

HISTORY AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JESUITS IN KERALA (1542- 1773)

**Thesis submitted to the University of Calicut
for the award of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

By

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SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled, **HISTORY AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JESUITS IN KERALA (1542-1773)**, submitted for the award of the **Doctor of Philosophy** of the University of Calicut is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Sri. V. INNASI MUTHU** under my supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for the award of any degree before.

Calicut University Campus,
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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

I, **V. INNASI MUTHU**, hereby declare that the thesis entitled, **HISTORY AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JESUITS IN KERALA (1542-1773)** is a bonafide record of research work done by me under the supervision of Dr. K. Gopalankutty, and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any other degrees..

Calicut University Campus,
Date: 29.03.2012.

V. INNASI MUTHU

CONTENTS

	PAGES
PREFACE	i – iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv – vii
ABBREVIATIONS	viii
INTRODUCTION	1 – 16
Chapters	
I. BACKGROUND	17 – 68
II. ADVENT OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AS THE FIRST JESUIT MISSIONARY TO INDIA	69 – 118
III. JESUIT MISSIONARIES AFTER ST. FRANCIS XAVIER	119 – 170
IV. FRANCIS ROZ AND OTHERS	171 – 206
V. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES TO KERALA	207 – 240
VI JESUITS AND CHRISTIAN ARTS	241 - 266
VII JESUIT ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE AND EARLY PRINTING IN KERALA	267 – 294
CONCLUSION	295 – 299
GLOSSARY	300 – 301
APPENDICES	302 – 321
LIST OF COPIES OF SOME JESUIT LETTERS	
LIST OF PICTURES	
LIST OF MAPS	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	322 – 340

PREFACE

It is with great pleasure that I record my gratitude to all those who have extended their help and assistance during the course of the preparation of this study. At the outset I bow my head and heart in all humility to God Almighty (the Universal Deity) for showering His blessings on me to overcome all difficulties for the successful completion of this work. The foundation stone for my thesis work was laid down by Dr. K. J. John (Ochanthuruthu), former Professor and Head, Dept. of History, University of Calicut. He not only encouraged me but also initiated me into historical studies. I will be grateful to him for ever for his timely valuable help.

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Last but not least, I express my sincere thanks to Bina Photostat, Chenakkal for typing and binding the thesis in time.

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Two things prompted me to select my topic. First of all, while I was studying for the degree course, my attention was drawn to the chapter on **Counter Reformation**. While reading it I happened to go through a sentence in one of the books: A Spanish soldier ‘crippled in war, Loyola resolved to fight for the greater glory of God.’ From that time onwards I have an eagerness to know more and more about that great saint. My own name *Innasi Muthu* is derived from the name of the great saint Ignatius of Loyola. This made me feel close to the great saint. I wanted to know as much as possible about that personality. Finally, I have a long-cherished wish to study about the charitable and welfare activities rendered by the Jesuits (the disciples of Ignatius) particularly in Kerala and the world in general. That induced me to select this topic: **History and Contributions of the Jesuits in Kerala (1542-1773)**.

Errors of commission and omission will surely be found in my work (thesis), for which I offer apologies and seek correction.

It is my hope and prayer that this little work will enlighten and inspire the reader through a better knowledge of the Jesuits in Kerala.

Calicut University,
29th March 2012.

V. INNASI MUTHU

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Successful completion of any serious work needs constant support and valuable guidance and supervision. I am fortunate in getting them from my esteemed guide and supervisor, **Dr.K.Gopalankutty**, former Professor and Head, Dept. of History, University of Calicut. No words can express my sincere thanks to him. He rendered me valuable suggestions and encouragements for the preparation of this study. Quite unpretentious but extremely microscopic and observative in thoughts, zealous and dynamic in actions, he infused new strength and energy into my effort. His help and support inspired me to go deep into the topic. His advice helped me to set the direction of this work. Working under his supervision has always been inspiring and delightful. With hardest patience he perused the successive hand written drafts, corrected my inadequacies and offered valuable suggestions for further improvement until the work got the present form. He patiently supervised this work amidst a multitude of other avocations and made useful and valuable suggestions, additions and alternations. I am indebted to him for his immense encouragement. It was his suggestion in fact that motivated me to be more systematic with my work. Without his affection, understanding and moral support I would not have been able to complete this work. I express my great sense of gratitude to him.

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This work would have been impossible without the sincere help and assistance I got from many a centres wherefrom I could collect the required materials for the work. My obligation to the staff of four institutions is beyond words—the Jesuit Archives at Malaparamba in Kozhikode, the Jesuit Archives at Shembaganur, Kodaikkanal (Madurai Jesuit Province), the IRISH Library at Nirmalagiri in Kannur and the History Dept. Library, University of Calicut without which the study would have been incomplete. The help they rendered in finding out files and giving a homely air to work was highly helpful for me. In addition, the personal library of Fr.K.S.Mathew was also a great source of information. The name of Fr. Edward Jaganathan of the Shembaganur Archives of the Jesuit Madurai Province will remain for ever in my mind because as a Jesuit priest himself he sincerely helped me for referring authoritative books pertaining to my topic from the Archives. So also, Fr. Joseph Kallepallil, S.J., Provincial of the Archives of Malaparamba, Kozhikode helped me a lot for referring authoritative works concerning my thesis. I will be always indebted to him.

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This thesis, which is the fruit of my hard labour would be the most befitting gift in memory of my beloved mother whose demise took place on the Christmas day (25th December) of 1980 who remained as a pillar of my life for higher education amidst misery and poverty.

The work completed within the framework set by the requirements for Ph.D. thesis, which had to be completed within a stipulated time schedule, suffers from many drawbacks. It is hoped that I will rectify them at the time of its publication.

V. INNASI MUTHU

ABBREVIATIONS

ARSI	:	Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu
DI	:	Documenta Indica
FX	:	Francis Xavier
HC	:	History of Christianity
HCI	:	History of Christianity in India
JRAS	:	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
LSFX	:	Leetters of St. Francis Xavier
Mss	:	Manuscripts
SFX	:	Schurhammer, Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times

INTRODUCTION

KERALA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Kerala extends from Manjeswar in Kasaragod District in the north to Parasala in Trivandrum District in the south with a length of about 540 kilometres and its depth inland varies from sixteen to about ninety six kilometres. The word *Kerala* or *Keral* is derived from the word *Cheral*, one of the old dynasties which ruled in Kerala. The natives love to call it *Keralam*.¹

The *Keralolpatti* (origin of Keralam), the mythical story of Parasu Rama reclaim the land of Keralam from the sea, for the benefit of sixty-four Brahman villages. But it is not in accordance with the scraps of history as have come down, nor with facts as they exist ². Even though it is full of Brahmanical legends, historically there is something to be learnt from it. It agrees with the *Mahatmyam* on the main points, the miraculous formation of the land, and the peopling of it first of all with Brahmins. ³

In Sanskrit Literature the country is designated by the name of Kerala. Pliny (A.D. 23-79), the great traveller refers to its ruler as *Calebotras*, and says that Muziris was the capital of the kingdom and *the first emporium in India*. Bishop Caldwell identified Calebotras with *Keralaputra* mentioned in the Asoka Edicts. It was Dr. Burnell who identified *Muzuris* with Cranganore.⁴ *Muzuris* is a Greek word and in Tamil literature it is known as

¹ William Logan, *Malabar*, 1887, Reprint, Delhi, 2009, Vol.I, p.1.

² *Ibid.*, p.121.

³ *Ibid.*, p.222

⁴

Muchiri.⁵ Recent archaeological excavations would suggest that it was located in a place between Kodungallur and Paravur. This is now called Pattanam, probably the relic of the name Muciri Pattanam.

The Rev. Mr. Foulkes says that Chera and Kerala denote the same country and it is certain that the two names are regarded as synonymous in Tamil and Malayalam.⁶ In the edict of King Asoka the country is styled *Ketala* or *Kerala*, the name which occurs, in the *Keralolpatti*. It is a dialectic (Canerese) form of the ancient name *Keram* or *Cheram* or *Chera*, a name which still survive in the *Cheranad*.⁷ The better known Canerese equivalent of *Chera* is *Kerala*.⁸ Cheraman Perumal was the last emperor of Kerala.

The indigenous word *Malayalam* had been considered as a compound of *Mala* (hill) and *ala* (wave), meaning the country of hills and waves. It is now clear that the inhabitants of the hill country were called Malayalar and their language came to be known as Malayalam. In course of time the people also came to be addressed as Malayalee.

Nalikeram in Malayalam means *coconut*. There is a possibility that the word *Nalikeram* is derived from *Keram*, which is the sanskritised form of *Cheram*, the name of the country from which north Indians collected the fruit (*nali*).

Though Kerala is a small state, it has its own importance. The mountains themselves play an important part in sheltering the country lying to

Cf. Ferroli, D., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, Bangalore, 1939, p.12.

⁵ Mundadan, M., *History of Christianity in India*, Bangalore, 1984, p.15.

⁶ Cf. D Ferroli, *op. cit.*, p.12.

⁷ William Logan, *op.cit.*, p.247.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

the west of them, for they cool down the winds passing over them.⁹ The rainfall in Kerala is heavy. The thickly forested region which lies near the boundary to Wayanad district, 44 kilometres from Kozhikode is popularly known as the *Chirapunji of Kerala* as it receives very high rainfall.

The flora and fauna of Kerala is very high. The Periyar Wildlife Sanctuary, Thekkadi, the Thattekkad Bird Sanctuary, located 12 kms from Kothamangalam, the Picturesque Periyar National Park, the Silent Valley National Park, etc. may be cited to illustrate the richness of wildlife in Kerala. The wild elephant is the most important animal of the State. Elephants are very abundant all along the chain of the Western Ghats.¹⁰

The Dutch Commander Van Rheede compiled and edited the *Hortus Malabaricus* which was published at Amsterdam in twelve volumes provides a comprehensive list and study of the medicinal herbs found in Kerala. He was assisted by the Carmelite father Mathew, an Ezhava physician called Itti Vaidyan and three Konkani Brahmin physicians from Mattancheri. This has now been published by the Kerala University with a study by Dr. Manilal, Professor of Botany in the Calicut University.

Many varieties of plants and flowers await classification, both in the magnificent forests of the Ghats and in the plains. The commonest tree in Kerala is the coconut palm. The areca is one of the most elegant trees. In 1500 A.D. Admiral Pedro Alvarez Cabral brought to India from Brazil the custard apple, the guava, the pineapple, the tapioca, the papaya, the cashew nut and the tobacco.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.58.

Kerala and the products of her mountains were well-known to the West Asians from the days of the Roman Empire, but some scholars have suggested that it goes back to King Solomon¹¹ (c. B.C.1000). This land of rivers and backwaters is busy – raising cash crops like tea, rubber, cardamom, cinnamon, coffee, cashew nut and pepper. Anjarakandi is known for the cinnamon plantations, which are believed to be the biggest in Asia. The orange estate at Nelliampathi hills, situated 32 kms. south of Palakkad produce high quality oranges.

Kerala's location by the side of the ancient international highway of seaborne trade, and her wealth of scents and spices made her unique.¹² The coasts of the State were known to the Jews, Phoenicians, Romans, Greeks and later on to the Arabs and Chinese long before Vasco da Gama came to India. Kollam, Kochi, Kodungallur, Kozhikode and Kannur were some of the prominent port towns which prevailed in Kerala in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Portuguese became the official language of port Kochi during the 16th century. Muziris was the most important harbour town in Kerala in the Sangam period which became an emporium as the foremost port of foreign trade. It was the first commercial station of India.¹³ Kodungallur (Cranganore), the historical town, 50 kms. south-west of Thrissur, was an

¹¹ See K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, four volumes (1937). Hebrew words for ivory apes and peacocks which, according to the Old Testament of the Bible, the shipmen of Solomon carried home, are of South Indian, Tamil – Sanskrit origin.

¹² M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1972, Introductory, p.viii.

¹³ William Logan, *op.cit.*, p.250. Muziris was well-known to western countries as early as 1000 B.C. It was from Muziris that the ships sent to Kerala by King Solomon bought spices to Israel. Cf. Velayudhan P.S., *Cochin in The History of Kerala*, I, 351. The fame of Muziris in the west is also confirmed by the arrivals there of St. Thomas the Apostle in 52 A.D. and of the Jews in 68 A.D. (traditionally believed so). Cf. Krishna Ayyar K.V., *The Early History in The History of Kerala*, I, 99.

ancient centre of trade and commerce. St. Thomas the Apostle, is believed to have first landed there in 52 A.D. Kochi, the commercial capital and the most cosmopolitan city of Kerala, known as the *Queen of the Arabian Sea*, has one of the finest natural harbours in the world. From the 17th century onwards the Arabs, the Chinese, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English had trade relations with Kochi. It was at Kappad (18kms) north of Kozhikode that Vasco da Gama who discovered the sea route to India, anchored the ships on 27th May 1498 with three vessels and 170 men. A monument is erected here. The historical town of Kozhikode was the capital of powerful Samoothiris. The natural beauty and prosperity of the town attracted travellers from all over the world. The famous traveller Ibn Batuta (1342-47 A.D.) notes –

We came to Kalikut, one of the great ports of the district of Malabar, and in which merchants of all parts are found.

Several other travellers who visited Kozhikode described it as a notable emporium of India. Kozhikode attained a position of pre-eminence in the trade of pepper and other spices, which made it India's emporium of international trade. It still retains the glory and charm of the bygone era. The city continues to be a centre of flourishing trade.

Kerala is blessed with beautiful beaches and serene backwaters (*kayals*). It is known as the *land of lagoons and beaches* as Kerala's 580 kms. long coastline is studded with world's best string of beaches and along the coastal plains is a vast network of lagoons, lakes, rivers and canals which provide excellent facilities of inland navigation. There are thirty four backwaters in Kerala of which the most important are the Vembanad, the Kayamkulam and the Astamudi. Boat race (*Vallamkali*) is one of the

important entertainments of Kerala. The Snake Boat Races have attained a phenomenal popularity all over the world. The Nehru Boat Race held on the Second Saturday of every year in August at the Vembanad Lake in Alappuzha is the most important Snake Boat Racing event in the State. Large crowds of people including foreigners take an active part in the Vembanad Punnamada boat race. The highlight of this prestigious event is *Chundan Vallam*.

Kathakali, propounded by Kottarakkara Thamburan is the most popular dance of the State. *Thullal*, a classical art form envisaged by Kalakkath Kunchan Nambiar of Killikkurissi Mangalam is another important entertainment of Kerala which have three forms – *Ottanthullal*, *Parayanthullal* and *Sheethanganthullal*. Kerala is also famous for its *Kalaripayattu*, a martial art intended for self defence – the Thacholi Othenan from Kadathanad in Vada-kara remain for ever through the folklore (ballads) of North Malabar.

Onam is perhaps the greatest feast in Kerala which falls in the month of August – September and commemorates the home coming of legendary king Mahabali. It is believed to have been prevailed upon the earth perfect justice, perfect trust, and perfect truth during the reign of *Mahabali*. People of Kerala conduct Onam as a festival in memory of *Mahabali*. In olden days *Mamankam Mahotsavam*, (*Mamakham* or *Maha Makham* literally means *big sacrifice*, *Maha* (= great), and *Makham* (= sacrifice), celebrated once in twelve years, was the most important festival of Kerala. The great Magha or *Mahamagha* was afterwards, corrected into, *Mamangam*. Parasu Raman told that the Gangadevi (*Ganges*), would come ¹⁴ on the day of the festival at

¹⁴ At the Mahamakham festival still held at Kumbhakonam, in Tanjore District, every twelfth year, the Ganges in the form of a blooming girl of seventeen-years (sometimes still seen by imaginative individuals) is believed to visit a certain

Tirunavayi. The last *Mahamagam* festival was held in 1743. The festival used to continue for twenty-eight days.

The Maramon Convention on the banks of the river Pamba is believed to be the largest religious congregation of the Christians in Asia. Sabarimala, the *Sacred Abode of Lord Ayyappa* is one of the most important Hindu pilgrim centres in India. Guruvayur, the major Hindu pilgrim centre, 31 kms. north-west of Thrissur, is known as the *Dwaraka of South* and is famous for the Sree Krishna Swamy Temple.

Tirur is the birth place of Thunjath Ramanujan Ezhuthachan, the father of Malayalam literature. Kottayam is referred as the *Mecca of publishing industry* in the Kerala State, as several prestigious newspapers (dailies), magazines and periodicals in Malayalam and English are published here.

Munnar has the highest peak in South India. Anamudi, which rises over 2695 m. and is an ideal spot for trekking. Bakel, the tiny village 14 kms. from Kasaragod is known for the mighty fort. Kovalam, located 12 kms. south of Thiruvananthapuram is regarded as one of the finest beach resorts of the world and also one of the best tourist resorts in the country.

The Malampuzha Dam described as the *temple of modern age* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a large irrigation dam. The Palakkad district and Kuttanad region in Alapuzha district have aptly earned the epitaph of *Granary of Kerala* or the *Rice Bowl of Kerala*.

tank in that town much bathed in on such occasions.

It was in Mananthavadi, an ideal picnic spot in north Wayanad, 34 kms. from Kalpetta that Pazhassi Raja, the *Lion of Kerala*, who waged war against the British East India Company, was cremated in 1805.

Geographically Kerala is divided into three units: 1. Highland (*Malanadu*), 2. Middleland (*Idanadu*) and 3. Lowland (*Theeradesam*).

The Highland includes mountains and the highest mountain peak in South India viz., Anamudi is situated in the Idukki district of Kerala. The mountains of Kerala (*Sahyaparvatham*) are a part of the Western Ghats. The Munnar and Thekkadi are the two important tourist centres of Kerala. Many types of wild animals can be seen here. The mountains of Kerala are famous for their desiduous forests, eg. the Nilambur forests. Many kinds of trees are abundantly growing here as the soil is rich and fertile. The Nilambur forest area is considered to be the world's oldest teak plantation. There are also a lot of Mahagani and other varieties of trees in the forest.

The Middleland includes the plains in which most of the people belonging to cities and villages live. As the soil is good for cultivation, majority of the people are engaged in agriculture which is considered as an honourable occupation. Cattle-rearing seems to be their secondary occupation. The lands are well-watered by rivers. There are 44 rivers in Kerala, big and small. Of these the most important are the Pamba, the Periyar, the Bharatapuzha, (the Nila), the Beypur (the Chaliyar), the Valapatanam, the Korappuzha, etc. Rice, vegetables, pepper, cinnamon, cardamom and other spices are most abundant.

The Lowland includes backwaters (lagoons) and coastal regions. People belonging to different occupations can be seen here. The main

occupation of the people in this area is fishing and salt manufacturing (also sailing). It is through the coastal regions that Kerala had trade relations with foreign countries in ancient times and later with the Romans, Greeks, Phoenicians, Chinese, etc. and made commercial contact with them.

Christianity and Islam were introduced in Kerala much before the rest of India. In Kerala people belonging to Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Jainism and other religions live together as brothers and sisters co-operatively with religious toleration.¹⁵ We have to add that Kerala was perhaps the only land where they received religious and social tolerance for centuries.¹⁶ All the religions flourished side by side in the centuries that followed and the entire landscape is dotted with temples, churches, mosques and synagogues. The climate of Kerala is moderate. Even though it is a small state in India, it has its own importance in many ways. It is now called as *god's own country*.

This dissertation **History and Contributions of the Jesuits in Kerala (1542-1773)** is an attempt to codify the history and contributions of the Jesuits who came to Kerala from 1542 to 1773. My effort is fully concentrated to link the order of events chronologically as it is an important factor. The Jesuits were continually accused of arrogance and from 1773 were suppressed by the Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774).

The primary source materials are the English translation of many of the letters written between the years 1581 and 1738 by the Jesuits who were working in Kerala. There are three typed volumes entitled ***Letters and Documents of the Syrian Christians*** These collection of valuable letters are

¹⁵ The noted historian M.G.S. Narayanan calls this a *cultural symbiosis*.

¹⁶ M.G.S. Narayanan, *op.cit.*, p.ix.

excellent primary sources for the present study. In addition to this, *The Jesuits in Malabar* (two volumes) published in 1939 and 1952 respectively at Bangalore is an excellent work done by Fr. D. Ferroli, S.J. which deals with the Jesuits in Malabar upto 1773 with elaborate description. This is considered as a better source book than any other on this question. To this day it remains the best guide to understand the Jesuit activities in Kerala.

There are several works as secondary sources such as *The Founding of the Jesuits: 1540* by Michael Foss, *A History of Christianity in India from early times to St. Francis Xavier: A.D. 52 – 1542* by George Mark Moraes, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times (1542 – 1552)* - four volumes by Georg Schurhammer S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History: 1542 – 1773* by John Correia Afonso, S.J., *History of Christianity in India Vol. I* by Fr. A.M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India Vol. II* by Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India Vol. III* by E.R. Hambye, etc.

The methodology of this study is descriptive, analytical and interpretative. At the same time I have undertaken field work by visiting Jesuit centres such as Jesuit Archives in Malaparamba, Calicut (the Jesuit headquarters in Kerala), Arnos Padiri Academy in Pazhur (Velur) in Thrissur District, Jesuit centres in Kalady, Ernakulam and Ottapalam, Jesuit Archives at Shembaganur in Kodaikanal in Madurai Jesuit Province, etc. Considerable efforts have been made to incorporate the details based on available materials.

CHAPTERISATION

This thesis is organised in seven chapters excluding **Introduction** and **Conclusion**. The first chapter deals with the background and the available Jesuit sources. In the second chapter the advent of St. Francis Xavier as the

first Jesuit missionary to India, especially in Kerala is mentioned. Chapter three describes in detail the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries after St. Francis Xavier but before Francis Roz. Chapter four explains about Francis Roz and other Jesuit missionaries who worked in Kerala following him. Chapter five which is a core chapter is a description of the contributions of the Jesuit missionaries to Kerala. Chapter six mentions about Jesuits and various forms of Christian arts. Chapter seven deals with Jesuit architecture, literature and early printing in Kerala.

Origin of the Reformation Movement

When there was clash and conflict between the Papacy and the State to become the head of Christendom in Europe in the Middle Ages and finally the Papacy won, there was a lot of corruption in the Christian religion. Not only the church was very corrupt in religious matters but even indulgences were began to be sold by the Pope and the Bishops with a view for getting salvation for the people from their sins. So many religious reformers such as Martin Luther, John Calvin, Wyclif, Zingly and others came forward to question about the existing system, and the Reformation Movement began under the auspices of Martin Luther.

Founding of the Jesuit Order

The rapid spread of Protestantism rudely awakened the Catholic Church to the necessity to mend itself. Within the Church there were pious critics of clerical abuses and many demanded sweeping reforms in discipline and return of the clergy to simplicity of original Christianity without denying the unity of Church organisation or the truth of its doctrines. It was at this juncture, the Catholic Church began to reform within itself under the

leadership of a brash Spanish soldier, Ignatius of Loyola, who devoted most of his life for the welfare of humanity as a servant of Jesus Christ by founding the Jesuit Order or the Society of Jesus (religious order of men in the Roman Catholic Church) in Paris in 1534¹⁷. 'Perhaps no other soldier in Europe combined religious feelings and national feeling as did the Spaniard'.¹⁸ He was one of those unusual characters of the 16th century.

Jesuita is the Latin equivalent of the word *Jesuit* was originally a nickname coined by people who disliked the new religious order and its determination to use the name *Society of Jesus*. The object of the order is the spread of the Church by preaching and teaching on the fulfilment of whatever else is judged the most urgent need of the Church at the time. Poverty, chastity and obedience are its chief vows. Education has been its chief activity almost from the outset and it has made notable contributions to scholarship in both theology and the secular disciplines. The members of the Jesuit Order – the followers of Ignatius – came to be called Jesuits.

The Order is governed by a Superior General residing in Rome, who is elected for life by the general congregation of the order consisting of representatives of the various provinces, there are now more than 90 regional provinces in the world, each under its own father provincial. Ignatius was elected the first Superior General of the order. A list of Jesuit Provincials is given as appendix I.

¹⁷ Ignatius of Loyola was born in the Castle of Loyola near Azpeitia (Guipuzcoa) in 1491 and died in Rome in 1556 after being the first General of the Society of Jesus from 1541 until his death. "All things to love and to serve" was his motto.

¹⁸ Michael Foss, *The Founding of the Jesuits 1540*, Great Britain, 1963, p.62.

The Jesuit Order was a pious fraternal order that got its approval as Order of the Jesuits after Pope Paul III (1534-1549) issued the Bull of Establishment *Regiminis Militantis Ecclesiae* on September 27th 1540. The bull gives a succinct account of the principles and objects of the Society. Motivated by the desire to restore piety, Loyola and the Jesuits were later strong proponents of the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits should be prepared to do any task assigned to them by the head of the Catholic Church, the Pope. Since then a band of Jesuit missionaries came to India as they had gone elsewhere in the world, to propagate the Catholic faith. They made their valuable contributions in the fields of architecture, sculpture, printing, literature, etc. apart from their prime responsibility of Christianization.

'From a small band of men at the time of its foundation, the Society of Jesus was to grow into the most powerful monastic order of its day'.¹⁹ 'No religious body has aroused more prejudice and seen its record coloured by so much sheer ignorance. The founding of the Society of Jesus was one of the most important and far-reaching events in the history of the Church'.²⁰

JESUITS IN KERALA (1542-1773)

An Outline of Early History

Jesuit presence in Kerala dates back to the times of St. Francis Xavier, the first disciple of St. Ignatius and one of the pioneers of the Society of Jesus. Since then, very many Jesuits have served in Kerala. In 1577 a *Jesuit house* was founded at Vaipicotta near Kochi. Later this house was developed into a full fledged seminary at par with similar institutions in Europe. Subjects

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*,

like philosophy, theology and Latin were taught here.

Till 1601 the Society had only one province in India, viz. Goa. But in 1601, Malabar vice-province was established to organize the works of Jesuits in South India. Its headquarters was in Kochi. At that time Jesuits had houses in Kochi, Vaipicotta, Kodungallur, Kozhikode and Kollam.

In 1601, Kerala church came under Jesuit jurisdiction with the consecration of Fr. Don Francis Roz, S.J. He was the first Latin bishop of the Thomas Christians. In 1606, there was a Jesuit house and a church at Tanur near Kozhikode. According to a catalogue, there were four Fathers working in three residences of Kozhikode, Tanur and Ponani in the year 1612.

Another important venture of the early Jesuits of Kerala was the college of Ambazhakkad²¹ near Angamali, started in 1662. Eminent scholars like Arnos Padiri (1681-1732), Constazo Joseph Beschi (1680-1747) (Tamil scholar), St. John de Britto (1647-1692) and Stephen Joseph Bremer stayed in this college. It was destroyed during Tippu Sultan's Malabar raid.

Thus the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed very vibrant and dynamic Jesuit presence in Kerala. But that chapter of history comes to a close with the suppression of Jesuits all over the world in 1773. They were expelled from the Portuguese dominions even before 1760. With this, almost all the Jesuit institutions were closed down. Suppression put an end to the flourishing Jesuit missions and ventures.

Hundreds of Jesuits visited Kerala during the period 1542-1773. Of these, in addition to the above mentioned eminent scholars, efficient Jesuits like Nicolo Lancillotto (d.1558), Henrique Henriques (1520-1600),

²¹ . Fr. Anthony Machado was appointed first Rector of Ambazhakkad.

Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), Albert Laerzio (1557-1630), James Fenicio, Diago Gonçalves (1561-1640), Nicholas Pimenta (1546-1614), Robert de Nobili (1577-1656), Antony de Proenza (1625-1666) and Andrew Freyre (1625-1692) visited Kerala. These early Fathers contributed their mite to the culture of Kerala in particular and to the world in general.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

The Portuguese kings, particularly King Dom Manuel (1495 – 1521) and his son and successor King John III, respectively known as Dom João III (1521 – 1557) were highly interested for the evangelization of the Christian faith in and beyond Portugal. Portugal enjoyed peace and relative prosperity under John III and his successor Sebastian (1557 – 1578) who were good friends of the Jesuits and recommended them strongly to their governors and officials in India.¹ The growth of the Catholic Reform movement was guided and promoted by Pius V, Pope (1566 – 1572) and Saint, who made good use of the Jesuits as theologians, preachers and agents of reform. He showed particular interest in the missions even establishing a short lived cardinalatial Congregation of Propaganda,² and granted many spiritual and juridical favours to the Jesuit missionaries.³ When the King of Portugal sent out his men on the quest of the new sea-route to the Indies, one of the most urgent instructions to these explorers was that they should diligently search for Christians in all those remote regions lying on their route.⁴ The universal religion claimed by Dom Manuel tinged with apocalyptic certainties, finds its

¹ John Correia - Afonso, S.J., *The Jesuits in India 1542 – 1773*, Gujarat, 1997, p.25.

² Towards the middle of the 17th century, with the dwindling away of Portuguese wealth and power in India, it became scarcely possible for Portugal to support the existing Missions, still less to open new ones. To meet this difficulty the Holy Father set up a special Board to look after them. Its name, put as briefly as possible, was and still is *Propaganda*. The Propoganda was created in 1597 but organized only in 1622. The official language of the regions under Padroado was first Latin and then Italian.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁴ George Mark Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India: A. D. 52-1542*, Bombay, 1964, p.204.

echo in the instructions given to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, the Captain of the first expedition he sent to explore Southeast Asia in 1508:

In every country you reach, you should enquire about Christians, or whether there are news about them, and about everything regarding trade, and in case you find Christians, you should welcome them, pay them every honour and good treatment, strengthen them in faith, confer on them the hope that very soon Our Lord will ordain that they be freed to serve them with full knowledge and deeds of true and faithful Christians with greater abundance of spiritual and temporal goods; you shall impart to them the news of our great concern for them, of our zeal and intention of greater exaltation of our holy Catholic Faith.⁵

John III was a zealous and generous Christian prince most desirous of doing all in his power to further the spread of the Gospel truth in the new empire which had fallen into his hands in the extreme East.⁶ With the advent of the Portuguese in India and their establishment of treaty of friendship with the local rulers on the West Coast and their insistence slowly in Kannur and Kochi the ban on conversion had been virtually lifted during the Governorship of Afonso d' Albuquerque. The adjoining state of Travancore had also followed suit. In 1526 an entire village on the island of Goa became Christian and received a Church. In 1529 the secretary of the Goan council, Diago Mariz, wrote to King John III that many natives had been, and were constantly being, converted in Goa. Conversions had also not been lacking after 1529, and ten years later there were already larger or smaller groups of

⁵ *Regimento* of 12.11.1508, partly transcribed *ibidem*, doc.15, pp.63-64.

⁶ Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of Francis Xavier*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, London, 1574, p.56.

new converts spread throughout the island and its neighbours. In addition to the churches in the city, there were also chapels in a series of villages. Most of these were dedicated to the Mother of God.

At the Pearl Fishery in March and April 1536 the mass baptisms of the men took place. This was followed by the baptisms of the women, the elderly and the children who had remained behind in the villages. The following year, during the next Pearl Fishery, there were further mass baptisms of the Paravas who lived in the north on the other side of the Tamraparni River in the territory of the king of Vijayanagar in Thoothukudi,⁷ Vembar⁸ and Vaippar. By the end of 1537 the entire state had accepted Christianity.⁹ Already in 1537 King John III had informed Francis Xavier, one of the founders of the Jesuit Society, through Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (the Portuguese Ambassador to the Holy See) that on Kanyakumari¹⁰ in India more than fifty thousand Hindus had let themselves be baptized and that there were hopes of converting the entire province.¹¹ Through the intermediary of the vicar general Miguel Vaz¹² who was by chance staying in Kochi, eighty five Paravas received baptism along with a Portuguese name.¹³ As in Goa and the Fishery Coast, similar conversions in the Christian faith had been taken place

⁷ Thoothukudi was more populous than any other village in the Fishery Coast. In 1644 it had 8,270 Christian Paravas. When Xavier and the Fathers arrived there, they were received by the people of that village with kindness and love. There were three seminarians from the town of Thoothukudi (Doc. 19.1).

⁸ Vembar (Bembar) was the last village of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast in the north. In 1644 it had 1,300 Christians.

⁹ Georg Otto Shurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, Vol.II, Rome, 1977, p.263.

¹⁰ In the broader sense, Kanyakumari embraced the whole of Southern India, including Thiruvithamcore and the Fishery Coast.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.258.

¹² The Franciscan Miguel Vaz was universally regarded as an honest and learned man, who held the office of ecclesiastical vicar for the whole of India between 1532 and 1547.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.262.

in several parts of India, particularly in the coastal areas¹⁴ where the Portuguese built their factories and forts.

When the Portuguese arrived (in India), Kerala was divided into many different principalities, not friendly to one another, of which the most important were those of the Samoothiri¹⁵ of Kozhikode¹⁶ and the Rajahs of Kochi¹⁷ and Thiruvithamcore.¹⁸ Though politically not united, the country was named Kerala from the very early days. That is the name by which the Malayalees love to call their native land.¹⁹ There is ample evidence that the

¹⁴ The coastal areas of India were divided as under: The Cochin coast from Kannur to Purakkad, the Travancore coast from Purakkad to Kanyakumari, the Fishery Coast from Kanyakumari to Thoothukudi and the Coramandel coast from Thoothukudi to San Thome.

¹⁵ At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the Samoothiri was the most powerful king in Malabar. Influenced by his Muslim merchants, he became immediately hostile to the *new comers*. The Samoothiri seems to have adopted the high sounding title of *Kunnalakkon*, or king of the hills (*Kunnu*) and waves (*ala*). The Sanskrit form of this title *Samudri*, or as it is pronounced by Malayalis *Samutiri* is that by which the chief Raja of this house became known to Europeans as the Zamorin of Calicut. The family is sometimes called the Eradi dynasty, and sometimes Netiyiruppu dynasty.

¹⁶ "Calicut became the most famous (port) in the world for its extensive commerce, wealth, country, town and king". Marcopolo proceeds "*Melebar* is a great kingdom lying towards the west. The people are idolaters; they have a language of their own, and pay tribute to nobody". Then he goes on to describe the commerce: "There is in this kingdom a great quantity of pepper and ginger, and cinnamon and turbit, and of nuts of India". (Cf. William Logan, *Malabar*, 1887, Reprint, Delhi, 2009, pp.283-84)

¹⁷ At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese Goda Varma (1502 – 1504) was the King of Kochi. Portuguese "who had the sword in one hand and the Cross in the other," killed the early Jews in Kochi.

¹⁸ Thiruvithamcore having about 2,00,000 soldiers runs down the coast to Kanyakumari. Between Kochi and Kannur there were the dominions of the Samoothiri. Since the coming of the Portuguese, the Samoothiri was at perpetual war with the Rajah of Kochi who, being protected by the Portuguese, held himself free from the Samoothiri's suzerainty. The Samoothiri was called Quetris. His Nayar soldiers were over 1,50,000. Though it is generally accepted that the Samoothiri was the most powerful ruler of Kerala, D. Ferroli, S.J. is of the opinion that the Rajah of Kochi was the most powerful ruler of Malabar.

¹⁹ Valarian Cardinal Gracias, former Archbishop of Bombay, *The Challenge of Kerala*, (address delivered under the auspices of the Catholic Society of Bombay, on 11th March 1959, St. Xavier's College Bombay), pp. 7-8.

Malabar coast constituted at one time the kingdom or empire of *Chera*, and the *nad* or country of *Cheranad* lying on the coast and inland south-east of Kozhikode remains to the present day to give a local habitation to the ancient name. *Bhaskara Ravi Varma* (c A.D. 700), *Vira Raghava Chakravarti* (A.D. 774) and *Sthanu Ravi Gupta* (c.A.D. 824) are the only really authentic names known of the kings or Perumals of ancient Chera or Kerala. And the last name of them is probably identical with the Cheraman Perumal (a title meaning literally *the bigman of the Cheras*). The chief seat of the Kerala Perumal was at Kodungallur (Cranganore), where located the headquarters of the Jewish and Christian communities.²⁰ The name of the great Emperor of Malabar is known to every child on the coast as *Cheraman Perumal*.²¹ He had reigned for thirty six years.²² He was a contemporary of the *gracious teacher* Sankaracharyar.²³ He embraced Muhammadanism, went to Arabia with the people of the *Veda*²⁴ and died at *Zaphar*, where his tomb is still to be seen.²⁵

From Dr. Gundert's note to deed No. 1 it is clear that the Cochin Raja was the last Perumal's lawful heir.²⁶ There was a town of the Kings called Kodungallur, twenty four kilometres from Kochi. There was a fine College, around 1540/41, which was built by Fra Vincenzo, the companion of the Bishop, where as many as hundred youths, children of the native Christians

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.272.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.147. *Cheraman Perumal* was the last emperor of Kerala who reigned at Kodungallur.

²² *Ibid.*, p.236. Also known as Unni Rama Kovil Tirimulapad.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.241.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.231

²⁶ Cf. William Logan, *op. cit.*, p.275, footnote 2.

who were called Christians of St. Thomas, were educated; for there were sixty villages of these Christians of St. Thomas around the town.²⁷

In the 16th century, rules forbidding sea travel were strictly observed in Kerala by members of the upper castes and by the Nayers, unless they were able to obtain special permission from the Brahmins. This strict observance is one of the reasons which explains why the Muslim communities had so much power at this time in overseas trade.²⁸ Portuguese witnesses showed that Kannur was one of the principal ports through which horses from Ormuz passed on their way to Vijayanagar.²⁹ Malabar seamen armed *with swords and daggers* were serving in Portuguese ships in the Indian Ocean in 1509.³⁰ Indian troops served at about half of the rate of pay allegedly received by Portuguese fighting men. And often enough they served *without pay and only for victuals or without pay or goods*, expecting and receiving rewards of cloth or food for *fighting well, for prisoners taken, for wounds*, besides whatever loot there might be.³¹ Indians were employed in campaigns on the west coast of the sub-continent in the 1530s and 1540s.

In addition to the above mentioned three Kingdoms (Kozhikode, Kochi and Thiruvithamcore) there were also minor principalities.³² Such

²⁷ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, Letter of Francis to the Rev. Father Ignatius of Loyola, General of the Society of Jesus, Rome (dated January 14, 1549 from Kochi), pp. 89 – 90.

²⁸ Genevieve Buochon, *Portuguese Documents on Sixteenth Century India in Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia – Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.92.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³⁰ G.V. Scammell, *Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in the Indian Ocean in Indo – Portuguese History: Sources & Problems*, edited by John Correia – Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.169.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp.170-172.

³² The Portuguese called them *neighbouring kings* or *reis vizinhos*.

neighbouring kings generally allowed the Portuguese to build factories or even fortresses in their territories.³³

The kingdom of Kannur³⁴ numbered over 2,00,000 Nayars. *Tecancuti* was a kingdom, stretching out towards the mountains. It numbered about 150,000 Nayars. Then there were the Kingdoms of *Tanur*, *Paru* whose Prince was a Priest; *Margati and Angamale*; *Barcati* under whose jurisdiction there were numerous Christians; *Porca*, whose Rajah was a Brahmin; Calicaulano (*Kulli-Quilon*) where lived many Thomas Christians; *Marta*; Tamunancur; *Oilanta*; *Rapolim*; *Mundare*; etc. From the above it is clear that Kerala was divided and subdivided in such a manner, as to appear almost incredible how so many kingdoms could be contained in such a small country.³⁵

Usually the Rajahs were kind to the Fathers. The Rajahs often gave lands, timber and stones for the building of churches.

The king of Kochi was the first to befriend the Portuguese, immediately after their arrival in India and these harmonious relations lasted. This friendship may be explained by the fact that the Kochi rulers had the same interests as the Portuguese regarding the Samoothiris of Kozhikode, direct rivals of Kochi. The Portuguese kings and the Kochi rulers considered themselves *brothers in arms*, and often corresponded with each other. The king of Kochi nearly always had a Portuguese secretary. The Portuguese

³³ Portuguese records give details of these kingdoms.

³⁴ Kannur was a Portuguese fortress which was the capital of the North Kolattiri chiefs who were the *Lord of Horses* was in former days a great emporium of the trade in horses between Arabia, the Persian gulf, and Southern India. It had good relations with Adah Raja.

³⁵ D. Ferrol, S.J. *The Jesuits in Malabar, 1542-1773*, Vol.I, Bangalore, 1939, pp.34 – 35.

budget in Goa included a kind of subsidy for the Kochi ruler, for his household.³⁶

Kochi came immediately, after Goa, both in honour and responsibility. Its Chamber corresponded directly with the Portuguese kings. The confraternity of Our Lady of Mercy (*Misericordia*)³⁷ had also the same status as that of Goa. (B.26, fl.9).³⁸ Kochi demanded permission to send every year a ship to Portugal, on her own responsibility and profit. (B.37, fl. 247).³⁹ The other cities were demanding just the same for themselves. Kochi was not, far from Kozhikode. Relations between the Portuguese and the Samoothiri

³⁶ A da Silva Rego, *The Monsoon Codices at the National Archives of the Torre do Tambo in Indo – Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia – Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.59.

³⁷ The *Santa Casa da Misericordia* founded in Portugal in 1498 was to assist the old, the disabled, the sick and the weaker sections among those in the overseas expansion. Whenever the Portuguese built a factory or fort, as a general rule, the Confraternity of *Misericordia* was also established. The charitable activities of the *Misericordia* included the care of the exposed children, the marriage of poor orphan girls, the ransoming of captives, the burial of the poor, caring and sheltering of the destitute, etc. The *Santa Casa da Misericordia* of Kochi probably came into existence during the period of Viceroy Francisco de Almeida, almost with the same structure of Lisbon *Misericordia*. By 1527 the Mercy House of Kochi was well organised. In 1612 it obtained many privileges from Dom Philip II of Portugal. The confraternity of *Misericordia* of Kochi was composed of lay Christians of good social standing as well as others devoted to the fulfilment of Christian charity in all forms like alms giving, visits to the sick, the needy and prisoners, the granting of dowries to the deserving girls, the running of orphanages and homes for the destitutes, running of charitable hospitals, the maintenance of poor families, etc. Much attention was paid by the administration of the *Estado* in the proper functioning of the House of *Misericordia*. The members of the fraternity were prepared to make personal sacrifices in the service of their neighbours irrespective of caste and creed. The membership in the fraternity was considered as an act of piety and Christian devotion. In the later period, the House of *Misericordia* became a part of every parish church in Kochi area. C.R. Boxer writes, "The story of the *Misericordia* at Goa is one of the redeeming features of Portuguese imperialism in Asia and one which has no parallel in other European Asiatic colonies until modern times. In succouring the needy and oppressed, befriending the orphan, and guarding the patrimony of the widow and the fatherless, this organisation performed a truly merciful task, and performed it very well" (HCI, 404-5).

³⁸ Cf. *Ibid* .

³⁹ Cf. *Ibid*.

at Kozhikode were quite normal. It seems that the Samoothiri even thought of receiving baptism. This desire, however, remained unfulfilled (B.37, fl. 427; B.38,fl.21).⁴⁰ One of his ports was Pallipur or Paravur. The Portuguese, of course, looked at such attempts with particular anxiety (B.26, fl.15; B.25,fl.184) ⁴¹

The next neighbour – king was the Adil Shah or Adil Khan, Sultan of Bijapur. The Portuguese named him *Idalcjo*, he being one of the most mentioned monarchs. Portuguese missionaries also frequented the court of Bijapur, where lived other Portuguese (B.57, fl. 388; B.61, fl.37).⁴²

The King is pleased with the reopening of the hospital (B.21, fl.21).⁴³ *Kodungallur* was of particular interest on account of the St. Thomas Christians who inhabited the territory and whom the Portuguese missionaries were trying to attract to the Catholic faith. Its college is often mentioned (B.20, fl.115). *Kollam*,⁴⁴ an old Portuguese position, is less mentioned in the *Monsoon Books*. It lies about half way between Kanyakumari and Kochi on the western side of the peninsula, and consequently on the Thiruvithamcore coast. There was a Portuguese station there, and it was the most important port south of Kochi.

We must suppose from an expression in a letter to the King of Portugal, that the whole country, except the fringe of land along the sea, was under the Rajah, who was an ally of Portugal. Kochi and Kollam became

⁴⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁴² Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

⁴³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.61.

⁴⁴ *Kollam* is only an abbreviated form of *Koyilagam* or *Kovilagam*, which word means *King's house*. The word *Kollam* is also applied to many other places where there were, *King's houses*, eg. *Kodungallur* or Cranganore. (William Logam, *op.cit.*, p. 230, note).

centres of pepper monopoly of the Portuguese. Between the Fishery Coast and the Portuguese settlement of Kochi, lay the kingdom of Thiruvithamcore. At the time of St. Francis Xavier the Rajah of Thiruvithamcore was known in his own country as the Maharajah or *Great Rajah*, a name probably acquired by his success, shortly before, in bringing under his authority a number of petty princes, or, more properly speaking, nobles, who had up to that time ruled the country, each as the small tyrant of his own neighbourhood. The *Great Rajah* of Thiruvithamcore was anxious to secure the support of the Portuguese.⁴⁵ It would appear that the *Great Rajah* had at least some authority at Manahpaud (Manapad) itself, and the whole Fishery Coast may have been under his suzerainty.⁴⁶ Along the East Coast of India there were only two positions of interest - St. Thomas of Mylapore and Thoothukudi. Both of them are often mentioned in the *Monsoon Books*.⁴⁷

The ruler of Porkad was really friendly to the Portuguese.

Condition of the Paravas

The Paravas (Paranthavars) inhabited the Fishery Coast extending over seventy leagues from Kanyakumari to the isle of Manar along the gulf that bears its name. Its capital was Thoothukudi. From time immemorial they had lived there as fishers and pearl divers.⁴⁸ (Even today Thoothukudi remains as the most important place for pearl fishery in India). Manapad remains as the centre of the Fishery Coast. The Paravas, the dark brown fishermen, after the Muslim traders had gained control for the Pearl Fishery,⁴⁹ saw themselves

⁴⁵ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, pp.190-191.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.193.

⁴⁷ A da Silva Rego, *op.cit.*, p.61.

⁴⁸ George Mark Moraes, *op.cit.*, p.143.

⁴⁹ The Fishery took place twice every year: Great Fishery in March and the Small Fishery, (for mother - of - pearl), which occurred in September (Cf. Doc. 44.2)

reduced to the status of day labourers, low castes and poor slaves. In addition to paying tribute to their Hindu Lords, they had to pay the hated Mohammedan lease - holders, and the arrival of the Portuguese had placed them between two fires.

In Thoothukudi, a considerable town on the coast, about half way between the two extreme points, about the year 1524 a Parava woman was insulted by a Muslim as she was selling a kind of cake known as *paniyaram*.⁵⁰ When her husband learned of this, he started a fight with the Mohammedan. During its course the Muslim traders cut off one of his ear-lobes. This was the greatest insult that could be inflicted upon a Parava, since their chief ornamentation were their ear-lobes drawn down to their shoulders by heavy gold ornaments.⁵¹ The honour of the entire caste was compromised. The incident sparked off a civil war between the Paravas and the Muslims. The injured Parava called on his friends and relatives for help. They seized their weapons and fell on the Mohammedan and his companions, some were mistreated, others were killed, the rest fled out to sea where a part of them were caught in a storm and drowned.

This proved revenge from the opposition. But the Paravas were the weaker party and they were not an equal match to the Muslims who dominated the Fishery Coast for years by their cruel manner of cheating and by the methods of atrocities and terrorism they adopted. Their way of hindrance could not be resisted by the enslaved Paravas. The Paravas, an unwarlike and mild race, were in the greatest perplexity and alarm. The Muslims were rich and powerful and many Paravas were robbed, ill-treated and slain. Not content with this, the Mohammedans decided to conduct a war

⁵⁰ *Paniyaram* is a rice dumpling with plain sugar.

⁵¹ Still even today it is the usual ornament of Parava women.

of extermination by sea and land against their foes. They bribed the Hindu landlords with valuable fits so that they would not let anyone escape and would help them in their work of revenge. A price of five *fanams*⁵² was placed on the head of a Parava. But the heads which were handed over to the Muslims were so numerous that the bounty was lowered to one *fanam*. When the Hindus saw that the price had been reduced, they ceased their slaughter but the Paravas, blockaded by the Muslims at sea and plundered by the Hindus when they fled in the interior knew no escape from their desperate plight. The wretched condition of the Paravas was so grave that they could not even escape from the grip of the Muslim minority. When their plight had reached its depts, God blessed them and sent them a saving angel in the form of the Malabar horse trader Dom Jojo da Cruz.⁵³ He visited the Paravas in

⁵² The *fanam* (*fanas*), a very small Indian gold coin, much alloyed, varied in value according to place and time. It was worth around 25 *reis* on the Fishery Coast and southern Thiruvithamcore. In 1548 three large chickens could be bought on the Fishery Coast for one *fanam*. Normally, it is equal in value to 12 reals (about half a crown). Four thousand of these would make 500 £ sterling, a very large sum for the sixteenth century.

⁵³ Georg Shurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, Vol.II, Rome, 1977, p.260. Dom Jojo da Cruz was an Indian Christian who became an Apostle of the Paravas. He was descended from the distinguished Chetti caste who had been born in the city of Kozhikode in 1498. In 1513, when he was only fifteen years old, he was sent by the Samoothiri as his ambassador to the court of King Manuel in Lisbon, where he was honourably received. He received baptism under the name of Joaõ da Cruz and in 1515 a title of nobility along with the robe of the Order of Christ. He became a Knight of Christ on March 12, 1515. Returning to Kozhikode in the same year, he was banished for his Christian faith. Full of zeal for his new faith, he built a church in Kozhikode and turned to trade since the Samoothiri had released him from his service for becoming a Christian. Fortune did not favour him. A loss of ships caused him to become indebted to the Portuguese royal factories for 40,000 *cruzados*. In the siege of Kozhikode in 1525, he was wounded and set sail for Kochi. On his way he suffered ship-wreck and lost everything – including his wife and children but he hardly escaped with his life. Before his departure the Samoothiri had confiscated his properties with over 35,000 *pardaus*. The Portuguese officials were not kind to him and even imprisoned him for his debts. He fled into the interior; but he returned again to Kochi with a letter of safe conduct from the *vedor* Pero Vaz and received at the end of 1535, as he had requested of King John III, permission to bring to Kanyakumari a dozen Arabian horses tax free in order to pay his debts with the profits. While he was vainly waiting for the Great King to pay for

order to persuade them to accept Christianity. They described their desperate plight to him and he told them that the only remedy consisted in their becoming Christians. The Portuguese would then help them as fellow believers against the oppression of the Muslims and would make the latter their hired hands. His advice was not without effect. The Paravas decided to embrace Christianity *en masse*. The *Patamgatins*⁵⁴ who went as envoys to Kochi all received Baptism, and promised that their whole nation would do the same. The Portuguese accepted their terms. In the prolonged war which continued for fourteen years in connection with the Pearl Fishery, the Parava Christians were successful. Martim Affonso de Sousa completely routed the fleet of the Mohammedan captains on June 30, 1538, near Vedalai.⁵⁵ The Fisheries were given back to the Paravas. Some priests were also sent among them, the chief of whom was Miguel Vaz, the Bishop of Goa's vicar, who came to India in 1532, and the whole people were rapidly baptized.⁵⁶

Through the victory of Vedalai the Paravas were freed from their oppressors. But their sufferings were not yet ended. From then on a Portuguese captain with his men every year from Kochi to Thoothukudi came to oversee the Pearl Fishery in March and April and again the next fall, and also to collect the taxes for the Portuguese King. His main duty was to protect the Christians against Muslim traders and soldiers. But the individual captains were not content with this. Their relations with the Jesuits were not always

his horses, he got the idea of visiting the Paravas in order to persuade them to accept Christianity. In 1537 he had asked for King John III for permission to collect taxes from the Pearl Fisheries for four or five years.

⁵⁴ Overseas of a Paravan village on the Fishery Coast.

⁵⁵ Vedalai is a village on the mainland opposite Rameswaram.

⁵⁶ Bartoli, (*Asia t.i.lib.i.p.49*) tells us that the first Paravas who were baptized at Kochi were seventy in number. The Mussulmans, he adds, sent in alarm in Kochi to offer a large sum of money to the Portuguese in hopes of buying them off, but the officer in command refused to traffic with the souls of the Paravas. After the defeat of the Mussulmans as many as twenty thousand, the inhabitants of thirty villages, became Christians.

very cordial. The Portuguese converts on the Fishery Coast had to suffer at the hands of the Portuguese officials. The pearl fishers complained that the captain made them pay him a certain tribute on account of their fisheries, even when they did not fish, and also to fish in a way which they did not like. The Christians were evidently looked upon by the Captain of the Fishery Coast as a race of slaves, with no rights and no friends. Again, the Captain and his friends used to claim a monopoly of the sale of rice, and to sell it to the natives at an arbitrary price, forcing them to take it whether they want or no, and then prosecuting them until they had paid him. In the same way the Portuguese official put dues upon their coasting trade, on which the transport of their provisions depended, their boats being not allowed to sail except under his licence. Further, he moved them about arbitrarily from village to village, never leaving them fixed for long in the same place, and exacting certain fees whenever they were thus transplanted.⁵⁷ Thus the condition of the Paravas in the Fishery Coast and the southern Malabar Coast in which they lived before the arrival of St. Francis Xavier, was pathetic and miserable. They were oppressed, suppressed and depressed by the Muslims and the tax collectors and thus they were discontented. The discontent of the Paravas led them to a mass conversion to Christianity. It is true that each of the converted Christian accepted Christianity by getting a Christian name. But they did not know anything about the doctrines of Christianity.⁵⁸ But the Jesuits were openly favoured by the Nayak of Madura. Hence we can assume with

⁵⁷ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.* Vol.II, pp.378 – 379.

⁵⁸ Christianity, conversions, religious personnel, etc. certainly occupy a large portion of Portuguese documents. It is a recurrent topic in the correspondence both on the part of the Portuguese Kings, and on the part of governors or viceroys. The kings insisted time and again on the need of evangelization. Christians were to be favoured and protected. The viceroys never forget such a matter in their annual reports. The local Christianity of St. Thomas was also referred to very often in Portuguese records. (B.25,fl.65; B.29, fl.169). Cf. A. da Silva Rego, *op.cit.*, p.69.

probability that the Jesuits could maintain a mission on the Fishery Coast. A certain disagreement between the bishop of Kochi and the Jesuits brought about some confusion. In the end the Jesuits took possession again of their missions. (B.21, fl.51; B.39, Fls.55, 77) ⁵⁹ The Jesuit mission at the Fishery Coast became prosperous and progressive only after St. Francis Xavier visited the Paravas at the end of 1542 who taught them the truth of Jesus Christ to become good Christians. From then onwards there occurred tremendous progress for the propagation of the Christian religion.

Social Condition

The Carmelite missionary Fra Vincenzo in his *Viaggio* (1656-57) in pages 246 – 249 gives a detailed description of the social condition of Kerala. The social hierarchy of Kerala in the sixteenth century constituted into a number of castes. The caste system in Kerala has assumed an extra ordinary complexity.

The First Caste is that of the Priests or *Brahmins*. In Kerala they are called *Namburis (Nambudris)*, which are divided into nine subcastes. *The Second Caste* is that of the soldiers (*Nairi*), who are subdivided into fifteen subcastes. *The Third Caste* is that of the *Cegos* or *Bandanini* who cultivate the palm trees. They are subdivided into three subcastes. *The Fourth Caste* is that of the *Goldsmiths*, in which art they are excellent, though their tools are few and primitive.

The *Carpenters* or *Giari*, are subdivided into many subcastes, from those who do inland work, to those who build houses, roofs and so on. The Fishermen or *Mucuvvas* are distinct according as they fish in the sea or in the river. Then there are the Barbers, the Smiths, the Washermen, the Masons, the

⁵⁹ A. da Silva Rego, *op.cit.*, p.70.

Drum players, the Puliyas (agriculturists), etc. The *basket-makers* of society are called *Kavaras*. Again, these are subdivided into numerous subcastes. The *Vannans* were probably carrying on the traditional occupation of washermen. They also practised the tailor's art and their womenfolk were midwives in the rural society⁶⁰. *Tachars* were carpenters and *Vellalars* were cultivators of the soil. *Vaniyars* were oil mongers. The *Vellalar* must have cultivated paddy in the compound and the *Vaniyar*, *Vannar*, and *Tachar* must have supplied the skilled labour in the respective fields to the churchmen.⁶¹ The *Nayadis* was the lowest caste among the Hindus. It is clear that slave-trade and slave-labour were quite common in ancient Kerala.⁶²

Pollution from birth is held as worse than that from death.⁶³ All men could touch any beast; many could touch dirty things; but mutual touch among castes was forbidden. If that happened, the member of a higher caste must bathe, in order to get rid of the pollution. Those who did not care were punished. On the roads, the inferior must yield to the superior. If a fisherman wished to sell his fish to a soldier, he places it in the middle of the road, some 20 or 25 paces far away. When the bargain is over, the soldier takes up the fish, leaving the money in its stead. When the Puliyas walk along the road, they announce their coming. Should others approach, the Puliyas must run away, otherwise they may be killed. There were no interdining or intermarrying between different castes. The same holds with regard to Rajah. No one gives water from his own well to a lower caste, otherwise the well is polluted. To purify a well they throw in burning coals and red-hot brass. One lives and dies in his own caste. Hence no rivalry, no emulation but

⁶⁰ William Logan, *op.cit.*, p.147.

⁶¹ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1972, p.34..

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.35.

⁶³ William Logan, *op.cit.*, p.147.

contentment. The sixteenth century Keralites were most strict in the matter of caste. It is all caste, caste everywhere ⁶⁴ it is birth and origin that constitutes caste, and not wealth or property, or difference in occupation. ⁶⁵The caste arise from the belief that the Brahmins originate from the head of Brahma, and others from his arms, or from his trunk, or from his legs, or from his feet, while the outcastes do not come from any part of Brahma at all.⁶⁶

Among several castes in Kerala there existed the *Marumakkattayam* (descent through sister's children), which entail no legal obligation on the part of the husband towards his wife and children. The latter belong to the mother's caste, not to the father's. The Brahmins, however, follow the *Makattayam* system by which the child belongs to the father's family.

In North Malabar the caste generally follows the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance, while in South Malabar the descent of property is generally from father to son. Not infrequently, however, two brothers, or more even, marry one wife. If she has but one son the child is fathered on the elder brother. Both men and women of the North Malabar caste were remarkably neat in appearance. ⁶⁷

The joint family, or *Tarwad*, consists of all the descendants of a common ancestress in the female line only. The offspring of a *Sambandan* union belong to the mother's *tarwad*, and have no claim on the father's property. The Malayali *tarvad* corresponds pretty closely to what the Romans called a *gens*, whereas in Rome all members of the *gens* traced their descent in the *male* line from a common ancestor, in Malabar the members of a *tarvad*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol.II, 1951, p.467.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*,p.440.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.144.

trace their descent, in the *female* line only, from a common ancestress.⁶⁸ The *tarwad* property is the property of all, and each member is entitled to maintenance from it, but has no claim to partition. The family property is usually managed by the eldest male member, who is called the *Karanavan*, and who can only be removed with the greatest difficulty.

Fr. Thomas Stephens, S.J., - the first English Jesuit missionary in India – gives an interesting account of the drinks of the people of Kerala. While writing to his father from Goa in 1579 he says:

The drink of this country (Malabar which is a part of Kerala) is good water or wine of the palm tree or a fruit called *cocoa*.⁶⁹

Sprenger reports from the Malabar Coast that men and women wore just a loincloth (and had long black hair).⁷⁰ In later reports on Malabar the kings of Kozhikode and Kochi are described with all their jewellery and their retinue.⁷¹

Before entering into the missionary apostolate of the Jesuits in Kerala it is necessary to go through the Jesuit sources which are helpful for the present study.

Survey of Sources

It has been well said that history as a subject of study is more or less completely at the mercy of sources and as such it is better to deal with the source materials regarding the Jesuits before entering into other chapters relating to my topic. There are innumerable source materials regarding the

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶⁹ Cf. D. Ferroli S.J., *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.48.

⁷⁰ Stephan Michaelsen, *Indian Society as Reflected in German Reports of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in The Portuguese, and the Socio- Cultural Changes in India, 1500 – 1800*, edited by K.S. Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, Pondicherry, 2001, p.523.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.525.

Jesuit activities in Kerala which are scattered here and there in different parts of the world, particularly in the countries of Europe such as Portugal, Italy, Spain, Holland, England, France, Germany, etc. It is neither convenient nor possible to mention all the sources concerning the Jesuits here. Fortunately some of these sources are available in English translation in India. Some of the important sources are discussed in this chapter.

Of all the missionaries who came to India (the Franciscans, Jesuits, Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans and others) the more numerous and also authentic and valuable records are those of the Jesuits, who have a continuous chain of historians from the middle of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th century.

A lot of source materials which supply valuable information regarding the Jesuits as their documents remain mainly in the form of Letters and annual reports. The late Fr. Quinn, S.J. of the Madura Mission, photographed a lot of Jesuit Letters, both official and private, from the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Valkenburg (Holland) and in Rome. These Letters are mainly seen in Latin, Portuguese and Italian languages. It was the late Fr. Leon Besse, S.J., once Superior of the Madura Mission, who translated most of these Letters into French.

For the sake of convenience the sources which I have consulted for my research work can be divided mainly into seven groups namely, 1. Ancient Jesuit Sources, 2. Modern Jesuit Sources, 3. Non-Jesuit Sources A. Ecclesiastical, B. Lay sources: Ancient C. Lay Sources: Modern 4 Periodical Publications 5. Works of the Chroniclers 6. Royal Records and 7. Some More Other Sources. Each of these can be subdivided. In this classification we have followed the pattern suggested by Fr. D. Ferroli S.J. in *The Jesuits in Malabar*.

1. Ancient Jesuit Sources

Jesuit Letters as Primary Sources

The Jesuit missionaries had written countless letters to their *confreres* in Europe.⁷² The official letters of the Jesuit missionaries converged towards their principal administrative centres, Goa, Lisbon and Rome. Lisbon was the point of departure and of return for the Indian sea journey, the residence of the Portuguese Provincial and the training ground for many of the future missionaries of India. Consequently to Lisbon and to Coimbra and Evora, where important colleges of the Society existed, were forwarded a large number of Jesuit Letters, which were at times copied in big folio volumes, after some editing, for reading at table during meals.⁷³

Regarding the significance of Jesuit Letters Georg Otto Schurhammer, S.J. (1882-1971) remarks thus:

Amongst the Portuguese sources the Jesuit Letters are of special importance. Their authors as a rule were well educated persons and many of them well acquainted with the languages and customs of India, like De Nobili, who studied Sanskrit at the Hindu University of Madurai, Beschi, the great Tamil scholar and author of the classical *Tembavani*, Stephens, well-known through his classical Christian Marathi *Purana* and Jerome Xavier, author of quite a number of Persian works, written for

⁷² John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542-1773*, second edition, Bombay, 1969.

⁷³ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *Indian History in the Cortorio dos Jesuitas in Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by himself, Bombay, 1981, p.73. For further information on this subject, please refer to the author's *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542 – 1773*, (second edition, Bombay, 1969)

the court of Akbar. Frois, one of the most prolific letter writers has an extraordinary passion for exact details⁷⁴

As to the historic value of Jesuit sources of information the same writer observes:

The value of the Jesuit letters and reports for historical purposes can scarcely be over estimated. It is true that the letters are from men reporting on their own work - work in which they had devoted their lives. It is also true that the members of the society realized the intensity of the struggle in Europe between the Jesuits and their enemies both inside and outside the Catholic Church, and the necessity for avoiding anything which might give a handle to their opponents. But the letters... though at times they may be coloured with enthusiasm are not open to any charge of international falsehood. In many instances they candidly admit failure and we may in general accept them when they tell of success. Tested by such information as we pass from independent sources, Indian and European, they emerge from the examination with the greatest credit and may for historical purposes be looked on as authorities of a very high order.⁷⁵

a) Letters of St. Francis Xavier

The letters of St. Francis Xavier (1506 – 1552) contain 124 in number. In 1545, a French translation of the famous letters of St. Francis Xavier, the first Jesuit missionary in the East and greatest of all Jesuit missionaries, written from Kochi on January 15th 1544, was printed at Paris.⁷⁶ Such was its success that a second edition was promptly called for in France, while a

⁷⁴ Schurhammer, *Preface* to John Correia – Afonso, S.J. *Ibid.*, pp xvii – xviii.

⁷⁵ Mac Lagen, pp. 17 – 18.

German edition was published that same year, 1545, probably at Augsburg. The letters of Francis Xavier are important much more for the inspiration than the information they contain.⁷⁷ Now the English translation of these letters are readily available as they are published recently at Anand, Gujarat. According to Xavier's Jesuit contemporaries Edmund Auger and Peter Canisius, his letters were a strong support for Catholics living in areas where the Church was suffering reverses. They were also effective propaganda for a new religious order, the Society of Jesus, which had been founded by Ignatius of Loyola, and of which Xavier was one of the original members.⁷⁸ His extant letters, dealing primarily with the consolidation and spread of the Christian faith in India and the Moluccas and Moro Islands of the Indonesian Archipelago and the introduction of Christianity to the newly discovered islands of Japan, are thus of great spiritual and historical interest.⁷⁹

b) The Annual Letters

The earliest letters of Louis Frois (1532 – 1597) dated Goa December 1st 1552 which was written at the command of Fr. Gasper Berze, the Flemish Jesuit who was then Superior of the Jesuits in India, supply a lot of information about Jesuits. "This can rightly be called the First Annual Letter"⁸⁰ says Wicki "in which is presented an outline of the activities of the

⁷⁶ The only extant copy of this edition, is to be found in the India Office Library, London.

⁷⁷ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.2, p.159.

⁷⁸ *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, translated and introduced by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., Anand Gujarat, second edition, 1993, *Forward*, p.xi.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xiii

⁸⁰ "It should be known that sometimes every year, sometimes every three years, letters were sent to the General of the Society in Rome, from every Province or Mission of the Society. The Provincial or Superior of the Mission himself wrote or ordered one of his subjects to write in his name, an account of every important and edifying events that had occupied in the Mission; each station was reviewed and a more or less detailed account given of the work accomplished by the Father in charge of the station. It is from these Letters, preserved in public

College of Goa"⁸¹From the historical point of view, Frois' most commendable qualities are the absence of verbosity and oratorical padding, and a passion for concrete facts. Schurhammer considered Louis Frois to be "*a born historian* which indicates his own practice in this regard".

Frois is a friend of facts and details..... As a born historian, he has a veritable passion for names, numbers and facts.⁸²

The Annual Letters of the Jesuits from India which were circulated in all the houses of the Society and were printed for wider publication and propaganda, were the chief vehicle which carried the news. "These edifying letters evoked such enthusiasm that in a short time the Society of Jesus was able to mobilize the whole of Europe for the missionary enterprise of the Portuguese nation."⁸³ The Annual Letters were written every year, usually in March and April, when the European ships waited to carry the mail home. The factors at Surat or Kochi then summoned up for their superiors the material of the previous twelve months. These letters are the most convenient for the historian to handle, and if one follows them for a number of years there is some ready - made history to be written.⁸⁴

libraries or in the Archives of the Society, that historians draw their materials for the history of the respective Missions of the Society". (L. Besse, S.J., *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus: His Times and His Writings*, Trichinopoly, 1918, Introduction, p.3)

⁸¹ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.2, p.60. The opinion of Wicki is reproduced by John Correia-Afonso, S.J.

⁸² M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, December 3, 1972, in memorium of Shurhammer for his *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, Rome, 1973, Vol.I, p.xxiv.

⁸³ Mathias Mundadan, *Church and Missionary Works in Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia – Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.16, footnote 3.

⁸⁴ Ashin Das Gupta, *Some Problems of Reconstructing the History of India's West Coast from European Sources in Indo - Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia - Afonso, S.J., Bombay 1981, p.177.

c. Letters and Documents on the Syrian Christians

The Archives of the Madura Province of the Jesuits (Shembaganur) possess three typed volumes entitled *Letters and Documents on the Syrian Christians*. They contain English and French translations of the many of the letters written between the years 1581 and 1738 by the Jesuits who were working in Kerala. These valuable letters translated into English are excellent primary sources.

d) The Litterae Annuae

In the *Epitome* of the constitutions of the Society of Jesus (No. 875) there is a rule which orders that the *Litterae Annuae* shall be sent to Rev. Fr. General by every province, in which things concerning each House as well as the whole Province have to be fully told, so that eventually they may serve to write the History of the Society. The practice though recommended by St. Ignatius himself actually started in 1581, and, as regards the Kozhikode Mission, we possess the photographs of the letters from 1596 to 1633.

e) Letters of Diago Gonsalves

Diago Gonsalves is the author of a number of letters, three Annual Letters of the Province of Goa, 1600, 30 Nov. 1602 and 27 Dec. 1609 and another letter to the General of the Society, Fr. Acquaviva, 27 Dec. 1609. These letters are preserved in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus. Information about the Samoothiri, the roving Kunhali Marakkar and political conditions in Kozhikode is to be found in these Annual Letters and other Jesuit reports.

f) Letters of Constanzo Beschi

Fr. Constanzo Beschi (1680 – 1747) has left us the *Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for the year 1731*. In it he points a dark picture of the Maratha invasion of Tanjore which throws light on the reactions of the southerners to the new power that was rising in Western India.

g) The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier

The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier by Henry James Coleridge is a source book for historians which supply abundant information regarding the life of Francis Xavier as well as the letters sent by the great saint to his companions.

h) Jesuit Letters and Indian History

A highly valuable book entitled *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542 – 1773* of John Correia – Afonso, S.J., the worthy student of George Mark Moraes supply a good source of Jesuit information to students of history. As the late Valarian Cardinal Gracias in his *forward* to the book remarks :

Father John Correia - Afonso, S.J., needs no introduction as a historian of rare merit possessing a flair for painstaking and meticulous research which has made of his book, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542 – 1773*, a most valuable contribution to the Indian Historiography.... Father Correia Afonso, by his publication of the Letters written by pioneering Jesuit missionaries in India, which he has critically discussed in an important manner, has opened a rich source of information to students of Indian history.⁸⁵

i) The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier

⁸⁵ Valarian Cardinal Gracias, *Forward* to the second edition of John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, p.vii.

The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., is a source book containing full of information regarding the Jesuits.

j) Editions and Publications of Fr. H. Hosten

The late Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., noted Jesuit historian and one of the most prolific letter writers, edited *Three Letters of Fr. Joseph de Castro, S.J.* He also published a lot of other Jesuit Letters. "Fr. Hosten's main achievement was to make available to scholars historical material from the vast treasure-house of Jesuit documents", thus remarks John Correia – Afonso, S.J., in his **Preface** to his well-known book entitled *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542 – 1773* for claiming the familiarity of Hosten.

k) Letters of the Portuguese

Letters of the Portuguese from the Tamil Countryside 1666 – 1688 by S. Jayaseela Stephen supply authentic information regarding the Jesuits in the Tamil country.

l) Seventeenth Century Tamilaham

Seventeenth Century Tamilaham as Gleaned from Jesuit Letters by M. Arumai Raj is another well-known work which supply a treasure house of Jesuit information.

Books as Primary and Secondary Sources

a) History of the Missions of the East

Manuel Dacosta (1540 – 1572) wrote the famous work *History of the Missions of the East till the year 1568* which he completed in the same year is a source book for historians which supply a lot of information regarding Jesuit activities in India during the early period.

b) The *Historia* of Alessandro Valignano

Alessandro Valignano (1539 – 1606), one of the greatest figures in the missionary history of the Jesuits, describes at length the Religion and Ceremonies of the Indians in 1583. He also completed in 1588 his *Historia del principio y Orientales (1542 – 64)* edited by Joseph Wicki. Valignano was in an excellent position to write the *Historia* as an accurate book of history as he wrote it only after a long stay in the East had given him a reliable picture of the conditions prevailing there. The sources he used were his own personal experience gathered in the course of a detailed description of the Jesuit residences and mission stations in the East. For the Indian historian Valignano's work has a special importance. The author himself has a personal knowledge of the East, and his book has the value of a primary source in some respects. Some chapters of the first part of the *Historia* give interesting information about the journey from Europe to the East, the castes and customs of India, and the Portuguese power in the country.⁸⁶

c) *Historia* of Fr. Louis de Gazman

Fr. Louis de Guzman (1543 – 1605) published his *Historia* in 1601 which includes thirteen books and a treatise.

The first three works contain matter of interest to the historians of India. In the first one itself there is an account of Portuguese beginnings in India, and of the work of St. Francis Xavier. The second book explains Jesuit activity in Goa, South India and Ceylon and has passages about the Nayaks of Madura, the Emperor of Vijayaanagara and the Zamorin of Calicut. In third we find a general survey of the Jesuit mission to the Mughal court up to the end of the 16th century. We can remember that Guzman write while Akbar was still living. The sources he used

⁸⁶ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.2, p.116.

were the published works on India available at the time, the letters of his brethren in the East, and the personal testimony of missionaries who had dwelt in India for many years.... From all these sources Guzman sought to take what was certain and proven, leaving aside other things that are not so in the same degree.⁸⁷

d) The *Histoire* of Pierre Du Jarric

The *Histoire des Choses Plus Memorables* of P. Du Jarric (1566 – 1616) can be considered as the best known of all the Jesuit mission histories. The first volume of his chronicle, which appeared in 1608 at Bordeaux, and the two succeeding volumes (1610 and 1614) bring the narrative up to the year 1609. Fr. Du Jarric's work is also - in the main – a translation of Fr. Guzman's and Fr. Guerreiro's works. CH. Payne, who in 1926 published valuable notes on *Akbar and the Jesuits* and who compared the chapters relating to the Mughal Empire with the corresponding portions of the *Historia* of Guzman and the *Relasam* of Guerreiro says that

in every case he found that Du Jarric used his authorities with fidelity, either literally translating or carefully summarizing. Except for an occasional reflection, or moral *aside*, he never abstrudes himself on his readers. Errors of translation are here and, there to be met with; but in a work covering close on two thousand five hundred quarto pages, composed from materials written in atleast four different languages, and available in many cases only in manuscript form, our wonder is, not that du Jarric made errors, but that he made so few.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*,p.117.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.120.

e) *Historia of Diago Gonsalves*

In addition to the Annual Letters of the Goan Province, description about the customs and social history of Keralites is to be found in Gonsalves' *Historia do Malavar (1615)*. Fr. Gonsalves was well placed to obtain a general view of the Kerala scene, especially in so far as it concerned the Society. He had quite a large fund of personal experience and took special care to observe Kerala customs and manners, and to examine places of historical importance. Moreover, having been entrusted with the task of writing a *History of the Order in India*, he worked through all the sources of eastern missionary literature.

The first part of the *Historia* exists in three manuscripts: one in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, another in the National Library of Lisbon, and a third in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon.⁸⁹ It is the second which Fr. Wicki considers as the final text prepared by the author for publication, and he has edited and published it at Coimbra, 1957 - 62, in three volumes. Vol.I contains books 1-5, all of them dealing with the life of St. Francis Xavier; Vol. II containing books 6-8, and Vol.III, books 9-10 detail the history of other Jesuit missionaries and their undertaking in India from 1546 to 1585. The other two parts are supposed to deal with the rest of the history.⁹⁰

We find in many places in the book reports of his personal experiences and recollections. These pieces of information are very valuable considering the following facts: as Assistant to the Jesuit Provincial of India for ten long years, he had made many visits to various places, and with his sense of keen

⁸⁹ Fr. Schurhammer calls the manuscripts Gonsalves I, II and III, while Fr. Wicki names them Ms R(ome), L (isbon), and A (juda) respectively.

⁹⁰ Mathias Mundadan, *op.cit.*, p.6.

observation personally acquainted himself with different places, peoples, their customs and manners; in the discharge of his official duties he had not only come to know intimately the Jesuit institutions and activities but also had to maintain a close relation with authorities both ecclesiastical and civil; he had been responsible for the despatch of a great mass of correspondence of the Province.⁹¹

The value of the history of Gensalves as a source book for the mission of the Jesuits in India and related affairs from time to time of Francis Xavier to 1585 is generally recognized. The very fact that the manuscripts in Lisbon has been used by numerous scholars is ample testimony to its value not only for Jesuit history but also for Indo – Portuguese history in general. Francis de Souza has this to say:

The father has given very vivid reminiscences of St. Francis Xavier and writes with great accuracy and in a clear fluent style.

Fr. Schurhammer has praised the *Historia* as a very valuable book, scholarly and authoritative, containing much useful information that is new, not found in earlier accounts.

With his wider knowledge and experience he deals, in his characteristic elegant style, with a variety of topics all of which we are not, at least directly, related to his main theme, but which are quite useful to students of both church history and secular and religious history of India for example, take chapters 1 to 14 of book 9, where we find the description of certain civil customs and manners of the Indian people such as their dress, marriages, social feasts as well as many religious practices and ceremonies. He shows his high appreciation for some of the fine customs of the Indian people. A number of pages are then devoted to a description of the gods, the temples,

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

temple services, caste distinctions, etc. He even attempts a comparison between the initiation and marriage rites of the Brahmins and the Christian sacraments.

f) The Book of Barbosa

Duarte Barbosa, the well-known Portuguese traveller also established an invaluable descriptive table of the structure of the society of Malabar.⁹²

g) Bartoli's book of Asia

Daniello Bartoli in the first book of his *Asia* (pp. 26-31), first edition, Rome, 1653), gives a long description of the ships used for the voyages, of the great dangers of the navigation, and of the virtues required in missionaries for India. He extracted his facts from the Processes; and the references, number and character of the witnesses. He very frequently gives the exact words of the witnesses. It was not the custom in his time to add footnotes and references: the story flows on from page to page in his grand folios without interruption or the anticipation of questioning, much as the narratives of Herodotus or Thucydides.⁹³ Bartoli is very full, accurate and industrious.⁹⁴

'Bartoli is one of the numerous Classics of Italian Literature. His style is as grand as Cicero's, as majestic as Livy's. Historians have now come to regard him as *substantially accurate*'.⁹⁵ He had access to the Roman Archives of the Society and made very good use of his opportunities.

2. Modern Jesuit Sources

a) La Mission du Madure

⁹² Barbosa, o.c., vol.II, pp. 3-74.

⁹³ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, pp. xi-xiii.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.x.

⁹⁵ Ferroli, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.3.

La Mission du Madure (1914) is a most reliable and painstaking work of Pere Leon Besse.⁹⁶ Though heavy, it is well documented. He also published the *Catalogues of the Malabar Province* (1914) which has appended by him to the *Jesuit Catalogues of the Madura Mission* and we find the most precious details in the personnel of the Malabar Province in it, on its various houses, on their financial resources, etc.⁹⁷ Besse has also written another book entitled *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus: His Times* (1918), an authoritative work which supply adequate source materials regarding the Jesuits.

b) The Madura Mission

The Madura Mission (1924) by J. Castets, S.J., is an important work to understand Jesuit activities in the Madura Mission. Fr. Castets was one of the most brilliant members of the Trichinopoly Historical School. He wrote an *Eassy on the Christians of St. Thomas* through the kindness of the Rev. N. Figueredo of Mylapore. The *Essay* is very valuable indeed and the writer has the style and knowledge of Jesuit documents. Fr. Castets died quite recently but his familiarity on the minds of the people lives long through his familiar *Eassay*.

c) The Jesuits in Malabar

The Jesuits in Malabar (2 vols) published in 1939 and 1952 respectively at Bangalore is an excellent work to prove the masterpiece of D. Ferroli, S.J. which deals with the Jesuits in Malabar upto 1773 with elaborate description. Still it remains as the best work to understand the Jesuit activities in Kerala.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, , p.4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 4-5.

d) *Oriente Conquistado*

Fr. Francisco de Souza's (1648 – 1712) well-known book *Oriente Conquistado* (1710) is another valuable source book which supply a lot of information regarding the Jesuits. The book is definitely the fruit of much study and research and hence of great historical value. For its composition, the author brought histories under contribution not only the printed Jesuit histories particularly of Bartoli and Lucena, but also many of the manuscripts kept in the Professed House of Goa, the chief being the history of S. Gonsalves. The worth of De Souza's work increases even more when one considers the fact that not only much of the original correspondence on which he drew but also the last two parts of Gonsalves' history are not extant today.⁹⁸

The *Oriente Conquistado* contains very detailed information about the various regions of Goa and the progress of Christianity there. It also gives news about the rulers of Kochi, Vijayanagara, Thiruvithamcore, Madura, etc. "So authoritative and illuminating are De Souza's two volumes, that they make the reader regret all the more that the manuscript of the third should have been lost".⁹⁹ "Though at times rhetorical and diffuse, the work is accurate".¹⁰⁰ The 1888 Bombay edition is common in India.

⁹⁸ Mathias Mundadan, *op.cit.*, p.14.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁰⁰ Ferroli, *op.cit.*, p.3.

3. Non- Jesuit Sources

A. Ecclesiastical

a) Letter of Fr. Jojo Maria Compori

Fr. Jojo Maria Compori, S.J., of the College of Santa Cruz in Vaipicotta describes the Acts of the Synod of Diamper in a Letter of the 28th Nov. 1599. The Synod of Diamper was first published in Portuguese by Anthony Gouvea (1606). It was translated into Latin and copiously annotated by John Facundus Raulin in his *History of the Malabar Church* (1745). The Synod was done into English by James Hough in the second volume of his *History of Christianity in India* (1839).¹⁰¹

Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes: A Portuguese Account of the Sixteenth Century Malabar by Antonio de Gouvea (2003) can be considered as an epic which deals with the relation between the St. Thomas Christians and the Jesuits through the Synod of Diamper or Udayamperur Soonahados (1599) and the Coonan Cross Oath (1653) as a result of which the St. Thomas Christians got the bishops from their own community for which they longed for years.

b) Arnos Padiri

A familiar book entitled *Arnos Padiri* (Johannes Ernestus Hanxleden, S.J. 1681 – 1732), the First Malayalam Poet Schoalr Orientalist, edited by Dr. J.J. Pallath, S.J. explains about the life history of that great scholar priest who can be considered as the greatest Jesuit missionary worked in Kerala. Fr. Hanxleden, S.J.'s *India Orientalis Christiana* (1794) is an important work for

¹⁰¹ A new English edition of Jornada has been brought out recently by Dr. Pius Melekandathil. Prof. Scaria Zakaria has published the Malayalam translation of the text of Synod of Diamper.

the History of the Missions in India. A copy is in the Father's Library, St. Aloysius College, Mangalore.

c) The books *The Syrian Church of Malabar* by Placid J. Podippara (1938), *The Syrian Church of Malabar – Its Cultural Contributions* by K.E. Job (1938) and *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* by K.J. Pothan (1963), supply abundant information regarding the Syrian Christian (Thomas Christian) community in Kerala who played an active role as pepper traders and greatest soldiers of Kerala. Their connection with the Portuguese was increasingly important. While the Syrian Christians were engaged in pepper trade on a large scale, the Portuguese on the otherhand, gave them protection, in return for the help rendered by them. This kind of connection between the Syrian Christians and the Portuguese is clearly stated in the above mentioned books.

B. Lay Sources: Ancient

a) *Calcoen*

Calcoen, a Dutch narrative of the second voyage of Vasco de Gama to Calicut, printed at Antwerp circa 1504 with introduction and translation by J. Ph Berjean (1874) is a good work which supply more details about the voyage to India from Portugal. A copy of this valuable book is to be found in Fr. Heras' Library, Bombay.

b) The records left by the Dutch writer Philip Baldeus has been of inestimable value to the historian of the period. Baldeus who was chaplain to the Dutch forces was present at the time of taking of Kochi from the Portuguese in 1663 and many of the books in the Jesuit Library of Kochi had fallen into his hands. He plagiarized and made use of them. *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and*

Coromandel, as also the isle of Ceylon (Translated from the High-Dutch printed at Amsterdam, 1672), London 1703, is a good English edition of Baldeus' Dutch work. It was translated in three volumes in 1703, at London. The second volume of this book is more useful. The book is to be found in Fr. Hera's Library, Bombay.

c) *The Voyage of Fr. Pyrard De Laval*

The Voyage of Fr. Pyrard De Laval translated by A. Gray, 2 Vols., (1887), to be found in Fr. Hera's Library, Bombay is a most interesting narrative. He was the guest of the Fathers in Kozhikode.

d) *Pietro Della Valle's Travels*

d) *Pietro Della Valle's Travels* is a very observant and reliable work. In this book he describes about the Queen of Ullal, the Kadri Temple, Kozhikode, the Kannur Misericordia, etc. The Italian edition of this book is to be found in the Fathers' Library, Mangalore.

C. Lay Sources: Modern

a) G.T. Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore*

A well documented and reliable work *Christianity in Travancore* by G.T. Mackenzie, was published at Thiruvananthapuram in 1901. It throws considerable insights in to the Jesuit missionary work in Kerala.

b) *Malabar Manual*

William Logan's *Malabar Manual* in two volumes has served as the basis of so many works. It is a monumental work.

c) *Madras District Gazetteers*

Malabar and Angengo by C.A. Innes, I.C.S., edited by F.B. Evans,

I.C.S., Government Press, Madras, 1915 also provide valuable information regarding the Jesuits.

d) History of Kerala

K.P. Padmanabha Menon's *History of Kerala* (1937) in four volumes is considered as an authoritative work regarding the history of Kerala, and this book is immensely helpful in knowing about the Jesuits who came to this land.

4. Periodical Publications

- a) *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
- b) *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, chiefly the articles by Jarl Charpentier on Fr. Fenicio and those of Abbot on Fr. Stephens.
- c) *The Examiner*, Bombay. The articles by Fr. Heras, S.J., on the Thomas Christians.

All these periodical publications proved a good description of the Jesuits who worked in Kerala.

5. Works of the Chroniclers

The works of the chroniclers contain a wealth of information, but above all they scrutinize political and military events with which the Portuguese were involved. The chroniclers provide the main thread of the major events which took place along the coast of the Indian ocean during the 16th century. However, the information therein must be verified and checked by a careful study of contemporary archives relating to the events and the people referred to. In reconstructing the history of India's west-coast, European documentation will still serve as the most important source, but we

must attempt to get down to the bottom of the archives to get the actual reality of the historical processes.¹⁰²

6. The Royal Records

The courtly customs of the Kerala kings have been described as early as 1500 by the *Anonymous Pilot* who accompanied Pedro Alvarez Cabral, and later by Duarte Barbosa. The account of wars in which the Portuguese were involved in Malabar reveals interesting details about the composition of the armies, the provenance of mercenaries, the strategy of sieges, the weapons used by Malabar soldiers and especially the combat techniques of the military caste of the Nayers; the account of naval battles contains much information about the tactics of the *paraos* and the defensive system of the fleets of Kozhikode.¹⁰³

7. Some More Other Sources

For Kerala the following works or accounts are of particular interest: the lengthy reports of some Jesuits like Francisco Dionysio (1578), Antonio de Monserrate (1579), Francisco Roz (1604) etc.¹⁰⁴ It must be remembered that many of these writers had lived in Kerala for long years and held responsible positions before they took to writing their accounts. They had easy access to the archives, where a lot of the original correspondence and reports were stored and which have perished since then. Though their primary interest was men and matters of their Orders, at least a few show a wider interest. Therefore, their usefulness not only for the history of Christianity in India during the 16th and 17th centuries, but also for the history of many a ruler

¹⁰² Ashin Das Gupta, *Some Problems of Reconstructing the History of India's West Coast from European Sources in Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia – Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.179.

¹⁰³ Genevieve Bouchon, *op.cit.*, pp.90 – 91.

¹⁰⁴ All of them provide good descriptions of the geographical, political, socio-cultural life of Kerala, of the ancient Christians of India in particular

of India, their dynasties, their possessions and policies, their administrative and economic systems, and in general for understanding the life, customs and practices of both Christian and non-Christian people of India is indeed great.¹⁰⁵

If we were to compare these histories and chronicles, it must be stated in all fairness that the Jesuit ones are the best. Fr. John Correia–Afonso calls them *products of the Jesuit Letters*, the great value of which is the scope of his study in the book *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542 – 1773*.¹⁰⁶ All the Jesuit histories are works of authors who had made a careful scrutiny of good source material. Four of them, Valignano, De Magistris, Diago Gonssalves and De Souza were men who lived in India for several years and had occupied many positions of responsibility, and had acquired intimate and objective knowledge of the people, and conditions of the country, and also availed themselves of original letters and papers in the Jesuit Secretariat of Goa. Valignano's (1539 – 1606) work is the most authoritative of all, both on account of the high standard of accuracy he set for himself (he is said to have corrected his history several times) before giving it to the publishers¹⁰⁷ and his judicious use of sources.

A Pearl to India: The Life of Roberto de Nobili (1959) by Vincent Cronin is a good testimony which supply detailed description regarding the

¹⁰⁵ A Mathias Mundadan, *op.cit.*, pp 3 – 4.

¹⁰⁶ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No. 2, p.109.

¹⁰⁷ Valignano wrote to the General of the Society in 1585 "... Therefore I begged your Paternity last year not to print that first part of the Indian History before I had gone through it once more and had submitted it to the perusal of the oldest fathers of the Province, for although I am certain that I have not written anything untrue and have employed great care to verify all my statements – since the History will be printed as composed by a member of the Society – I am not yet satisfied with it, until the work has been examined again, so that it may be thoroughly perused and pronounced reliable...." Quoted by John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.2, p.115, n.9.

life history of that great *sanyasi* priest of the Madura Jesuit Mission Province. In an address delivered under the auspices of the Catholic Society of Bombay, on 11th March 1959, St. Xavier's College Bombay, entitled ***The Challenge of Kerala*** by the late Valarian Cardinal Gracias, supply adequate information regarding the Jesuits and the background of Kerala at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese.

Another valuable book which supply plenty of information about the Jesuits is the famous book written by George Mark Moraes—the great teacher of John Correia–Afonso, S.J., - ***Christianity in India: from early times to St. Francis Xavier A.D. 52 – 1542***. The noted Jesuit historian John Correia–Afonso, S.J., wrote some more books in addition to his well-known work *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542–1773* such as ***Jesuits in India, Ignatian Vision of India*** and so on, all of which supply abundant information concerning the Jesuits. He also edited another famous book the title of which is given as ***Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*** which also supply adequate source materials pertaining to the Jesuits.

Georg Otto Schurhammer (1882-1971), S.J.'s ***Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*** (4 vols), Rome, can be considered as an epic which is an authoritative work regarding the life and times of Francis Xavier as well as of his contemporaries. Fr. Schurhammer (the most notable of foreign writers)¹⁰⁸ spent a whole lifetime in writing his truly monumental life of St. Francis Xavier which he virtually completed on his deathbed.¹⁰⁹ During the course of

¹⁰⁸ C.R. Boxer, *Some Second Thoughts on Indo-Portuguese History in Indo-Portuguese, History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia – Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.136.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.138.

his research, he unearthed a great mass of documents and source materials. He edited and published some and pointed out hundreds of others¹¹⁰.

Joseph Wicki's *Documenta Indica* in sixteen volumes is the most complete collection of the Jesuit Documents on India. The introductory chapters of each volume, the summaries which precede each document and the abundant footnotes increase the usefulness of this collection. In addition, Wicki's numerous articles in various scholarly periodicals are extremely useful for the history of the Jesuits in Kerala.

History of the Diocese of Cochin, Vol.I (European Missionaries in Cochin (1292 – 1558) by Gervasis J. Mulakara, Rome, 1986), is another source book in connection with the Jesuits. Likewise, *Jesuit Presence in Indian History* (Commemorative Volume on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the New Madurai Mission (1838 – 1988) edited by Anand Amaladass, Bombay, 1988), also contains full of information regarding the Jesuits. Another book entitled *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.I by A. Mathias Mundadan, Bangalore, 1989, also supply adequate information concerning the Jesuits. *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.II by Joseph Thekkedath, Bangalore, 1988, also supply enough source materials regarding the Jesuits.

Jesuits in India: in Historical Perspective edited by Teotonio R. de Souza and Charles J. Borges, Macau, 1992, is another well-known book to get information about the Jesuits. *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.III by E.R. Hambye, (Bangalore, 1997) is another well-versed book containing a lot of Jesuit information. *The Jesuits in India 1542–1773* (Bombay, 1997) by John

¹¹⁰ He has edited a number of documents, the chief being *Epistolae' S. Francisci Xaverii*, (Rome, 1944 – 45)

Correia- Afonso, S.J., is a fantastic work which supply sufficient information regarding the Jesuits.

Another valuable book which deals with the Jesuit activities in Kerala is the well-known book of K.J.John entitled *The Road to Diamper*, Cochin, 1999. Another authoritative work which deals with the Jesuits is *The Portuguese and Socio – Cultural Changes in India, 1500–1800* edited by K.S.Mathew, Teotonio de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, (Tellicherry, 2001).

It must be remembered that Jesuits have not been the only ones to publish Jesuit documents on India. Almost concurrently with the publication of the *Documenta Indica* at Rome, the Portuguese historian Antonio da Silva Rego, the President of Centre of Overseas Historical Studies in Lisbon, has been editing the *Documentacjo Para a Historia das Miss^{oes} do Padroado Portuguese na India*, published at Lisbon. Of the twelve volumes on India which have been issued to date, the last ten contain documents relating to the Society – and other documents as well–upto the year 1582. The original of these are for the most part to be found in the Portuguese archives. Another valuable book in connection with the Jesuits is named *The Dutch in Malabar* edited by A Gallatti and published in 1911. It provides information about the Jesuits from Dutch sources.

In addition to the above mentioned source materials, the following sources are also highly helpful for reconstructing the history of the Jesuits in Kerala.

Goa Archives

The choice of a subject for research will naturally depend particualrly on the availability of archival documentation, whether at Goa, Lisbon or

elsewhere.¹¹¹ Prof. C.R. Boxer (one of the most senior and respected historians of today) in his article *A Glimpse of the Goa Archives* has described the contents of the first 64 volumes covering the period 1574 – 1700.¹¹² There are four books on Malabar of the period 1759 – 60 which discuss mostly about missionary activities.¹¹³ In the archives are also to be found a history or description of Malabar by Fr. Diogo Gonsalves (c.1615) (*Goa 58*). There is also mention about the Synod of Diamper (its decrees in *Goa 62*).

Jesuitas (Jesuits)

There are 46 record books pertaining to Jesuits alone and cover the period 1664–1806. They are very useful for the Jesuit history of the past four and half centuries.¹¹⁴

Financial affairs of the Jesuits find an important place in some bundles, such as No. 82. Here we may quote a contemporary economic historian from Portugal who says:

At a time when accounting was no more than a vague and ill-defined thing in Portugal, already the Fathers of the Society had structured an organization which makes evident how indispensable for good financial management and the good administration of their revenues and goods they considered to be

¹¹¹ C.R. Boxer, *Some Possible Fields of Research in the History of Portuguese India (16th–18th Centures)* in *Indo – Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.183.

¹¹² V.T. Gune, *Source Material from the Goa Archives* in *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia-Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, p.22.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.30.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.32.

the keeping of books, clear and as perfectly written up as possible.¹¹⁵

There are also some important documents dealing with the Jesuits which are given as follows.

Document 95 is an important report on events in India during 1616 by Fr. Manoel Barradas, S.J., from Kochi, 12 December 1616.¹¹⁶

Doc. 63 is a certificate issued in favour of the Procurator of the Kochi Jesuit Province concerning the rights on pepper (1690).¹¹⁷

Doc. 56 provides a subsidy for seven missionaries of the Archbishop of Kodungallur.

Docs. 47, 48 and 50 provide support for various Jesuit works in South India. Docs. 51 – 53, 55, 56, 58,60 and 61 are concerned with land grants and claims, principally on behalf of the Kochi College. Docs. 71-73 refer to matters of properties of Jesuit institutions. Doc. 174 treats of land in Alemquer belonging to the Malabar Province (1680)¹¹⁸

Doc. 62 and 64 grant royal subsidies for Jesuit works. Doc. 68 is about a subsidy for the Jesuits in Kollam. Doc. 71 concedes the Malabar Province the right to buy the village of Comprem in Salcete. Doc. 142 is the proceedings of the 6th Provincial Congregation of the Malabar Province. Doc. 170 is a decree in favour of the Kollam College.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ John Correia - Afonso, S.J., *Indian History in the Cartorio das Jesuitas*, in *Indo - Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited himself, Bombay, 1981, p.76.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 - 81.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81 – 82.

The Cartorio holds a lot of material relating to particular areas of Jesuit work, and what we might call local history. Doc. 4 comprises copies of several papers about the ownership of the *cassabe* of Caranja by the Kochi College (1633). Docs. 13 – 16, 90, 121 – 9, 113 and 134 are various legal opinions (1646-7) on the controversy between the Kochi College and the Goa Novitiate, both of the Society of Jesus, about the ownership of the Salcete villages of Assolna, Velim and Ambolin. Docs. 41 and 119 deals with Jesuit work and the inhabitants respectively on the Fishery Coast (1568).¹²⁰

Docs. 165 – 167 deal with matters of Angamale, Kochi and Kodungallur. Docs. 180-181 are copies of a declaration of the Procurator of the Kochi Province. Docs. 117 and 182 treats of the revenues of the Kochi College. Doc. 194 is a petition on behalf of the Kochi College.¹²¹ Doc. 123 relates the endowment of the Kochi College.¹²²

Miss^oes (Missions)

They are seven in all of the period 1665-1791, and the documents in them are about the converts, accounts and terms of oaths of the missionaries in Malabar and Southern India.¹²³

The Vatican Archives

In the Vatican Archives which were founded in the present form by Pope Paul V (1605-1621) in 1612, there are some documents (Indice 1087) which refer to the Padroado,¹²⁴ the question of rites, dispensations, the

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 83 – 84.

¹²³ V.T. Gune, *op.cit.*, p.32.

¹²⁴ Since the advent of the Portuguese in India most of the Missions in the East had been run by the Portuguese Ecclesiastical Establishment. The King of Portugal chose the Bishops, paid them, built their churches, controlled the

Coromandel and Malabar (maps) and to moral questions (in Malayalam). In Vol. 18, shelf 41, are the minutes of the four briefs to Francis Xavier as apostolic nuncio. In general, it can be said that a considerable amount of material is available here, but it takes a lot of time and patience to fish it out of a nearly boundless ocean.¹²⁵

The Vatican Library

In the Vatican Library which was founded by Pope Sixtus IV, in 1475, in the section containing manuscripts, there are some 40 numbers, among which the constitution of the Thomas Christians, composed in 1606 in the Malayalam language by their prelate Bishop Francisco Ros (n.18), the *Flos Sanctorum* in Tamil by Fr. H. Henriques, printed in 1586 (n.24) and the *Christu Purana* of Fr. Thomas Stephens, written in the standard language of the Brahmins of Goa and printed in 1616 at Rachol (n.40)¹²⁶ are important.

The Portuguese text of the *Synod of Diamper* (n.632) can also be seen in the Vatican Library. In this Library is also to be found a Portuguese – Malayalam dictionary of Fr. Ernest Hanxleden S.J, in the section Barb v-xiv, cod. 126 the *Doctrina Christam* in Canarim (i.e. Konkani) printed in Rachol in 1642.¹²⁷

Missions, approved the Superiors etc. This was called the Portuguese Patronage or Padroado. It was a great help to the spread of the gospel where the Portuguese exercised some influence, that is along the coasts. The Portuguese kings had, indeed, the right of patronage (*Padroado*) on all overseas bishoprics since the erection of that of Funchal in 1514. Previously, from 1443 onwards, the right of patronage belonged to the Military Order of Christ, whose administrator, incidentally, was Don Manuel, since 1498. The official language of the regions under Padroado was mainly Portuguese.

¹²⁵ Joseph Wicki, *Archives and Libraries in Rome Concerning Portuguese India in Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia-Afonso, S.J., Bombay, 1981, pp 35 – 36.

¹²⁶ Cf. G. Schurhammer, *Thomas Stephens (1549 – 1619)*. It seems that Fr. Schurhammer did not know of the copy in the Vatican Library.

¹²⁷ Joseph Wicki, *op.cit.*, p.37.

There are also copies or translations of Jesuit letters from India and the Far East. Precious are the autograph letters of Fr. Roberto de Nobili, which for some years have been preserved in the section *Boneompagni* (before in the family archives).¹²⁸

The Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu

In the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* (the official designation of which is ARSI), the most important Roman Archives for Goa and Portuguese India, which was founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola himself in 1547, the cod. Goa 3 is for Malabar between 1610 and 1767 in the codices Goa 17 -20. In Goa 21 there is a collection of letters from Malabar, covering a period of 200 years.

Another important source for the history of the Jesuits in India is the catalogues of the Provinces of Goa and Malabar, which had to be periodically composed and sent to Rome. The oldest of this kind goes back to the end of 1552, with Xavier as Provincial. From their very rudimentary beginnings these catalogues, through various instructions of the General's Curia, became ever more detailed and provide us, on the whole, reliable information on the origin, age, occupation, character and talents of each member of the Province.¹²⁹

Corresponding to the Province of Goa, the archives possess a series of volumes of *Historia*, which concern the Dravidic south with Kochi as its centre. The documents, which mainly comprise the 16th and 17th centuries, are to be found in the codices Goa 47 to 57. The material concerning some missions has been collected in separate volumes: that regarding the Synod of Diamper (its decrees) in Goa 62. A number of codices contain controversies:

¹²⁸ Cf. ARSI 7 (1938), 168.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.40.

thus *Goa 51* letters and controversies regarding Robert Nobili; *Goa 64 – 6* controversies between the bishops of Kochi and Angamale (1607); *Goa 68* those between the bishop of Kodungallur and the apostolic missionaries about 1650.

The Archives of the Pontificia Universita Gregoriana

These archives possess a number of copies of the letters of Nobili to his relations.

Archives of the S.C. de Propaganda Fide

The archives, founded in 1627 contain memoranda of bishops, of missionaries, of nuncios and of apostolic visitors. *Tome 237* deals with Goa and Malabar.¹³⁰

The Indian Council of Historical Research is interested in the publication of source materials. The Jesuit documents are but auxiliary sources in the writing of a general history. The contribution they can make to such a history may be small, but it is not negligible, and it must be duly esteemed and utilized.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Wicki, *op.cit.*, p.45.

¹³¹ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, no.2, p.85.

CHAPTER II

ADVENT OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AS THE FIRST JESUIT MISSIONARY TO INDIA

On August 15, 1534, feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Ignatius¹ of Loyola and his six companions at the University of Paris gathered in the Chapel of Martyrdom of St. Denis near Paris on the slope of Montmatre. There Peter Faber (Favre), the only priest among them (who had been ordained to the priesthood by Jean du Bellay on May 30, 1534), offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and all his associates received communion at his hands, and the seven friends² pronounced their vows of perpetual poverty and chastity for the first time, and of going to Jerusalem and working there for the good of souls.³ It is remarkable that at this moment, from which may be dated the birth of the Society of Jesus.⁴

The Paravas of the Fishery Coast had sought from the Portuguese protection against their Muslim foes and the exactions of Vijayanagara officials; they had strengthened alliance in 1536 and embracing *en masse* the religion of their new friends. It soon became evident that most of the simple folk of the Fishery Coast were little more than nominal Christians. The above news did not take long to reach Portugal.⁵ From there it was conveyed to Diogo de Gouvea, Principal of the College of Sainte Barbe in Paris, who

¹ Convalescing from a fatal wound at Loyola in 1521, Ignatius decided to commit himself entirely to the service of God.

² How Ignatius contacted his companions is well described by Schurhammer in *Francis Xavier*, I pp. 41-208; Bankert B.W., *A History of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis, 1972, pp. 15-16.

³ John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *The Ignatian Vision of India*, Anand, 1991, p.6.

⁴ Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, Vol. I, second edition, London 1874, p.19.

⁵ John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *op.cit*, pp. 17-19.

passed the information on to Simon Rodrigues, a Portuguese companion of Ignatius, urging him to do his best for the spread of the Faith in the Indies. Gouvea also wrote to King John III of Portugal, on February 17, 1538, prompting him to seek the help of Ignatius and his companions for the evangelization of the Portuguese possessions in the East. This gave occasion for John III to turn his attention to Ignatius and his Companions. In the meantime Gouvea wrote to the Company itself, on behalf of which Peter Favre replied to Gouvea on November 23, 1538, saying that they were ready to go to India, but would do it only after placing themselves at the disposal of the Roman Pontiff and only if the Vicar of Christ asked them to do so.⁶

In a letter of August 4, 1539 to Peter (Pedro) Mascarenhas,⁷ King John III gave precise and urgent instructions to inquire into the lives of Ignatius and his companions.⁸ Mascarenhas moved fast, and discussed the matter with Pope Paul III (1534-1549) on November 18, 1539 and on March 10, 1540, he could already report that the matter had been brought to a successful conclusion. King John III sent an urgent order to Mascarenhas, his representative at Rome, to request Loyola to send post - haste six of his priests to go out to India with the new governor, Martim Afonso de Souza (Martin Alfonso de Souzao), to spread the light of the faith. Ignatius explained to Mascarenhas that he and his companions were bound to the Pope and took their orders from him. Mascarenhas then approached the Pontiff and obtained permission for Loyola to send as many of his companions as he

⁶ *Documenta Ignatiana: Epistolae et Instructiones I 132-133.* C.f Gervasis J. Mulakara, *History of the Diocese of Kochi*, 1986, p. 67, footnote 20.

⁷ Since August 1538, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas had been residing in Rome as Ambassador of his King at the papal court. Schurhammer G., *Francis Xavier I.* p.540. He was later Viceroy of India, 1554-1555.

⁸ The letter reached Mascarenhas on August 23, 1539.

could spare. Ignatius selected Masters Simon Rodrigues,⁹ Francis Xavier, Fr. Messer (Micer) Paulo (Paul¹⁰ of Camerino), an Italian secular priest who had entered the Society of Jesus in 1540 and Friar Francis de Mansilhas (Francis Mancijs), a Portuguese volunteer and aspirant to the priesthood who was later ordained in Goa and they left for Portugal in the company of Mascarenhas.

King John III of Portugal was much impressed by the life and example of Jesuits. The king retained Simon Rodrigues who was a Portuguese - at Lisbon, and who eventually established the University of Coimbra. The rest, with Francis as their head, embarked for India in the company of the governor, Martim Affonso de Sousa. As Supreme Commander of fleets in Brazil and India he had gained much experience. It was he who completely routed the fleet of the Muhammedan captains near Vedalai in 1538 and saved the Paravas from them. The flagship, the *Santiago*¹¹ by which they set sail on April 7, 1541 was the only royal ship sailing to India in 1541. It held over seven hundred tons and was a rich ship carrying a great deal of merchandise. It seems that Diogo Fernandez, a relative of Simon Rodrigues (one of the companions of St. Francis Xavier at Paris) was also included in the journey.¹². The clerk of the *Santiago* Henrique Solis Martim Affonso de Souza was in charge to take care of Master Francis and his companions.

Qualities required for a Jesuit missionary to India

⁹ In 1546 Ignatius appointed Rodrigues as the first Provincial of Portugal, *Documenta Indica*, I 21. C.f. Gervasis Mulakara, *op.cit.*, p.68, footnote 37.

¹⁰ Paul who was the first Italian Jesuit to come to India, had no family name *Micer* was a common title for priests and notaries.

¹¹ Besides *Santiago*, the India fleet comprised four other ships: Flor de la Mar, Santa Cruz, Santa Espirits and Sao Pedro. *Santiago* was the only royal ship the others belonged to private entrepreneurs. Schurhammer G, *Francis Xavier* II 3,4 11 C.f. Gervasis J. Mulakara *op. cit.*, p. 70, footnote 40.

¹² It should be noted that the lists of the members of the Society of Jesus sailing to India erroneously have Diogo Fernandes as a Jesuit, but he did not enter the order

The selection and preparation of missionaries for India presented many problems. It must be confessed that not all the missionaries dispatched from Europe to St. Francis Xavier's assistance were of his own intellectual and moral calibre. The impression even created in Europe was that only men of mediocre talent were sent to India. Ignatius himself was very keen that the men sent to India should be "persons on whose life and doctrine great trust could be placed". Ignatius' vigilant Secretary, Fr. Polanco, did not allow the brethren in India to forget their Superior General's orders. Laynez decided that those sent to the East should preferably be volunteers.¹³ The principles governing the selection and training of candidates for the Society of Jesus secured that the missionaries dispatched to India should in general be men of education and culture, whose powers of observation and judgement were well developed and who were expected to gain knowledge of the languages of their adopted country.¹⁴ Nicolas Lancilotto thought that native vocations might be fostered through schools.¹⁵ Ignatius stressed the importance of a good command of the local languages. On January 27, 1545, Xavier had already written to Ignatius about the qualities required in Indian missionaries (Doc. 47.2).

That these missionaries did not lack religious learning and holiness in succeeding years is amply proved by the array of famous names that stands out prominently in the history of the Society in India, Rudolf Acquaviva, Jerome Xavier, Alessandro Valignano, Jacabo Finicio, Robert de Nobili, John de Brito, Constanzo Beschi, and a host of others.¹⁶ It may be said without

¹³ John Correia – Affonso, S.J., *The Jesuits in India 1542 – 1773*, Anand, 1997, p.30.

¹⁴ John Correia – Affonso, S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian Hisjtory 1542 – 1773*, second edition, Bombay, 1969, p.69.

¹⁵ *Documenta Indica* I, 144.

¹⁶ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.2, p.58.

exaggeration that the first scene of the missionary labours of the Jesuits was the very voyage to India.¹⁷ It should be noted that no Indian was admitted to the Society in Xavier's lifetime. One of the reasons why Ignatius recalled Xavier to Europe in July 1553 (not knowing that he was already dead) was in order that he should make a personal selection of his future co-workers in the East.¹⁸

It is but natural that the Jesuits should have established their first residences in territory under Portuguese control. It was the King of Portugal who had invited them to India, and they had a duty to fulfil towards his subjects.¹⁹ But unlike the Portuguese territory in India the Jesuit missionary efforts were not confined to the coastal regions. Fr. Fenicio, for example, explored the land of the Todas on the Western Ghats and brought back information which was published there centuries later by W.K.R. Rivers in his work on that tribe. Fr. Fenicio also penetrated into *The Kingdom of the Salt*²⁰ across the Ghats from Calicut. It is clear from the records that Kannur, Kozhikode, Chaliyam, Kodungallur, Kochi and Kollam were important Jesuit centres in Kerala. "St. Francis Xavier converted Cochin to the Catholic religion".²¹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁸ *Documenta Indica* III, 4.

¹⁹ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No. 2, p.48.

²⁰ It was so called because Salt was made in its lagoons.

²¹ Gervasis J. Mulakara, *op. cit.*, p.38.

APPENDIX

St. Francis Xavier (1506 – 1552)

The European Years

Francis was born in the castle of Xavier, near Sangüessa, in northern Spain on April 7, 1506, the youngest and perhaps darling of five children, two girls and three boys. His father was Dr. Juan de Jassu, president of the Royal Council of Navarre. His mother was Maria de Azpilcueta, daughter of the royal chamberlain, Martin de Azpilcueta. At the time of her marriage, she had brought with her the castle of Xavier as her dowry.

In the summer of 1525, Francis, who had received his early education in the Castle of Xavier, left his home, to which he was never to return, in order to pursue his studies at the University of Paris, then the most famous school in Christendom. He had spent twelve years in the University of Paris. There he enrolled in the College Sainte-Barbe where he met two other students who were to have a profound influence upon him, Pierre Favre in 1526 and Ignatius of Loyola in 1529. In March 1530, upon completing his philosophical studies, he received a Master of Arts degree. Then, from 1530 until 1534, he lectured on the logic, philosophy, metaphysics and physics of Aristotle and became the professor in the College of Beauvais of the Paris University and from 1534 to 1536 a student of theology. During his years at the University of Paris he joined the small band that was to become the nucleus of the Society of Jesus. He became a perfect disciple of Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus. 'He had a heart capable of the largest devotion and the fullest sacrifice, a vigour of will that could never stopped short of success in any career to which he had once given himself, a mind above the

world'.²² He left Paris for Venice in November 1536. He was ordained with Ignatius in Venice on June 24, 1537.

Francis said his first mass at Vicenza. Bologna was the first scene of his priestly labours. His time was spent in preaching in the piazzas, in hearing confessions, visiting the prisons and hospitals, and catechizing children.²³ Several months in the year 1539 (the last of his life in Rome and as a companion of Ignatius) were spent in prayer, deliberation and consultation as to be the future of the Company.²⁴ Francis laboured in various parishes and hospitals in Monselice, Bologna and Rome until March 15, 1540, when he left the latter city for Lisbon in the company of the retiring Portuguese Ambassador to the Holy See. His conversation on divine things was irresistibly attractive.²⁵ The maxim of Jesus Christ – 'what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?' – always echoed in his mind. He was the secretary, and kept up the correspondence with the absent members. He thus began to be the chief letter writer of the Society.²⁶ As an Apostle for India, Bobadilla fell so ill as to be unable to travel, a substitute had to be found at the last moment, and Ignatius gave to the Indian mission his very right hand, his secretary (Francis Xavier).²⁷ Xavier had just time to receive the parting blessing of Pope Paul III, and then he embraced Ignatius for the last time, and set forth in the long journey.²⁸ The

²² Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, p.11.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47 – 48.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.20.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.55.

²⁷ Initially Xavier was not supposed to come to India. He was sent at the eleventh hour as a substitute for another Jesuit (Nicholas Bobadilla) who had fallen ill.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 56 – 57.

following year on April 7, 1541, he sailed for Goa as *Papal Nuncio* for the Far East.

Francis Xavier in India

(On Xavier's departure see F.X. I 713 – 729)

Francis Xavier – now priest of the Society of Jesus, Papal Nuncio and royal emissary began his voyage to India from Lisbon on his thirty - fifth birthday on April 7, 1541. The apostolate in India was the first mission territory of the Society of Jesus.²⁹ Francis himself was laden with favours by the King. John III had procured four Briefs from the Pope, two of which gave him the amplest possible spiritual facilities and jurisdiction, appointing him moreover the *Apostolic Nuncio* in the Indies. The other two Briefs recommended him to the especial care and protection of all the native Princes from the Cape of Good Hope eastwards, and especially to the Emperor of Ethiopia. The King also enjoined on Francis to write to him frequently and to give him an exact account of all that was done or required for the advancement of religion. Francis was to sail with the new Governor of the Indies, Dom Martim Affonso de Sousa (usually called Viceroy of Lives of St. Francis) of whom Xavier speaks in the highest terms in the letters. The King provided Francis with everything that he desired for the voyage.³⁰ The voyage from Lisbon to Goa generally lasted about six months. It was, however, on this voyage that Francis first began the practice of what has been called *Apostolical conversation*.³¹

²⁹ *Documenta Indica*, I, 21,22.

³⁰ Henry James Coleridge, *op cit.*, pp 85 – 86.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109 – 11.

Xavier's intention was to propagate the message of Christ and he utilized the opportunity in every possible manner throughout his journey by his kind words and deeds. He was engaged in charitable and other pastoral work.

On board scurvy broke out violently: friends neglected friends, the sick were left themselves, the medicine ran short, there was no one but Francis and his companions to tend the sufferers. Francis washed them and their linen, dressed their food, and fed them with his own hands. He had a little cabin of his own, but he gave it up to the sick. He had refused to take his meals at the Governor's table but accepted the daily portion of food which was sent to him: this he divided among the sick. On Sundays he preached on deck, the Governor himself attending the sermon. Francis himself appears to have suffered greatly from sickness in the first part of the voyage, which was lengthened beyond the usual time.³²

Rounding Africa, their ship put in at Mozambique at the end of August and wintered there. During his stay on the island, Xavier assisted his fellow voyagers and wrote his colleagues in Rome an account of his journey (Doc.13). Towards the end of February 1542, leaving his two companions in Mozambique to care for the sick, he sailed with Martim Affonso de Sousa, for Goa.

Francis first set foot on Indian soil on May 6, 1542. Thus it took over a year to reach India from Portugal though usually it takes no more than six months. That day he entered Goa in the entourage of the new Portuguese Governor, Martim Affonso de Sousa, with whom he had sailed from Lisbon. They were given a rousing welcome in the city of Goa. Xavier paid his first visit and respects of the Bishop of Goa Frey Juan de Albuquerque, a holy and zealous Franciscan, who lived near the cathedral, not far from the Royal Hospital where Xavier was residing. He presented the Bishop with the Papal Briefs appointing him *Nuncio*, which he had received from the King; and he declared that he was surrendering them to His Lordship and would not use

³² *Ibid.*, p.112.

them in any other way than that approved by him. The kind old bishop touched by such humility embraced his visitor and with great affection returned the documents to him and told him that he should make use of the facilities which he had received from the pope and the king. From that day on, these two men of a single mind and heart were bound together by a close friendship.³³ Xavier also made the acquaintance of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and of some of the missionaries, like the Franciscans who were already in the field.

The Bishop had an excellent assistant in his vicar general, Miguel Vaz Coutinho who came to India in 1532. Xavier also paid him a visit. Xavier struck up a friendship also with Fr. Diago, the cathedral preacher.

With the Sick and the Externs

Since it was the time of the monsoon, Xavier was unable to sail to the Fishery Coast in southern India where he had been destined to go. The four months of Xavier's stay in Goa, while he waited to sail for the Fishery Coast were not wasted. He plunged himself into charitable and other pastoral work in Goa. The centre of his activities in Goa was the Royal Hospital³⁴ where he devoted himself with love and patience to the care of the bodies and souls of the sick considering no task to be beneath himself. With like devotion he attended to the lepers and to those in prison, whom he visited. While in Goa Francis' daily order was simple. In the morning he performed his spiritual exercises at an early hour and celebrated Mass in the chapel of the hospital. He then gave his attention to the sick. He showed great love for them and went from bed to bed encouraging and comforting them. He heard their

³³ Teixeira 842; EX II 455, Cf. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, Vol.II, 1977, pp.156 – 57.

³⁴ John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No. 3, p.9.

confessions and brought them Holy Communion. When he was finished with the sick, he heard the confessions of the externs who came to see him. His life of prayer and poverty added credibility and force to his sermons.³⁵ "He comforted the sick with all the spiritual works of mercy", the physician Saraiva later declared. The scribe of the hospital noted, moreover, that Francis dealt openly and humbly with all, with great meekness and was thus able to draw many away from their sins.³⁶

During the four months of his forced sojourn in Goa, he preached to the Portuguese and instructed the children and the native converts, adapting for this purpose a catechism which had been composed by João de Barros (Doc. 14). Whenever he received alms, Xavier spent it entirely on the sick. Whenever it was necessary, he went begging with his sack from door to door to collect alms for his charges.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.11.

³⁶ Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, p.207.

College of St. Paul's in Goa

In 1534 Goa was established a diocese and the College of St. Paul's in Goa became the most important and the first Jesuit academic institution in the East. It was started as a seminary of the Holy Faith for training young converts in the Faith and prepare them to become apostles among their own people, by two priests Diago de Borba ³⁷ and Miguel Vaz on June 30, in 1541. It was inaugurated on the 25th January, 1543, the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, which accounts for its new name of College of St. Paul. The Church within the College which was beautiful was consecrated on that day and the first Mass was celebrated in it. Borba was the first rector of the College. In 1548, when Fr. Borba passed away, the seminary was handed over to St. Francis Xavier who was residing at the Hospital Real (Royal Hospital). The College of St. Paul's was the first house of the Jesuit Order in Goa and it remained for more than a century the headquarters of the Goa province and that of the Jesuits in India. The little Seminary of Fr. Borba grew so wonderfully that fifteen years later it could boast a staff of eighty-eight Fathers and more than three thousand pupils. "It was run on the same lines and with the same success as the most famous Jesuit Colleges in Europe". ³⁸

After some years, the old college building was demolished and two separate buildings were constructed, both connected to each other by a passage. Seminario de Santa Fe was for the students and the other building called Coligio de Sjo Paulo was for the residence of the Jesuits. In 1556, King Dom Jojo III issued an ordinance by which the College was opened for secular studies. In 1567 Bishop Gaspar built a Recollect Monastery next to the Mother of God. The boys who were being taught in this college are of

³⁷ Diago de Borba was a man of great learning and probity.

³⁸ Sauliere, S.J. *Red Sand*, Madurai, p. 80.

nine languages. Among those in the college, there were many who were learning Latin, and others who were learning how to read and write. Micer Paulo has the charge of the students in the college. The College receives many alms and the governor is very generous in its regard. In this college there were many youths of good character who had fine talents and memories (Letter of Lancilotto dated Goa, November 3, 1546 to Ignatius of Loyola in Rome).³⁹ The College had a large library and the first printing press in Asia was set up in this College, through which came the first printed publications.

In 1560 the Church of St. Paul's was demolished on account of its weak condition and the foundation stone for a larger Church with three naves was laid on 25th January of the same year. The new church (*Sao Paulo dos Arcos*) was built on the same site during the years 1560 – 1572. Some call it the College of the Conversion of St. Paul, and others, of the Holy Faith. The latter seems more appropriate since holy faith must be preached and planted. All the departments of studies from the College of S. Paul were transferred to the College of S. Roque which was also known as St. Paul, the New. The printing press from the old college was also transferred to the College of St. Paul, the New and the *third Purana* of Fr. Thomas Stephen (the first English Jesuit missionary who visited India) was printed here, in 1654.

By the time that Xavier landed in Goa, classes in Christian doctrine had passed into oblivion. At the beginning of 1542, shortly before his arrival, a leading percentage of Goa had sent a report to the king describing the moral corruption of the capital and of the whole of Portuguese India in the darkest terms. Ignorance of religious matters was one of the main evils in the city. Francis began with it. He spent his mornings with the sick in the hospital and noons, at the prison with its inmates. In the evenings, he went with a little bell

³⁹ *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, translated and introduced by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., second edition, Anand, 1992, p.168.

through the streets and squares of Goa and stopped at certain places, for example, at a street corner, and cried out in a loud voice: "Faithful Christians, for the love which you bear to Christ, send your sons and daughters and your slaves, both men and women, to learn about the faith, for the love of God". A short account of the Jesuit missionary techniques envisaged by Francis Xavier is given in appendix II. This novel approach proved to be successful. Children, slaves of both sexes and adults gathered around him.⁴⁰

Francis' preaching was straightforward and natural. He spoke of sins and their consequences for body and soul, of the injury which they do to God, of the everlasting pains of hell, of death, which only too often comes suddenly and hails of men when they least expect it before the judgement seat of God. He spoke also of the wiles of the devil and his deceitful temptations, of the scruples and the lack of peace which follow every violation of God's commands. And he did this with questions from Scripture and examples from daily life, from the writings and lives of the saints, or with a colloquy of a sinner with his crucified Saviour, as Ignatius did in the first week of the Exercises. His main means of winning over converts was however, his own personal dealings with them. No one could resist his cheerful manner. He was everywhere a gladly welcomed guest, and he knew how to take an interest in everything. 'He is a true Father', writes Manuel de Morjes 'no one can see him without great consolation, the very sight of him seems to move devotion: he is a man of middle height, he always holds his face upwards, and his eyes are full of tears, his look is bright and joyous, his words few and exciting to devotion'.⁴¹

Conversion of the Paravas

⁴⁰ Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *op.cit.*, pp 217-218.

⁴¹ Cf. Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.61.

The Fishery Coast⁴² figured prominently in the early Jesuit Letters and for two centuries it witnessed the labours of the Jesuit missionaries. When in Rome Francis had already heard of the conversion of the Paravas. Already in the voyage to India he had heard much about the pearl fishers, whom Martim Affonso de Sousa had freed them from their cruel oppressors, the Muslims at the battle of Vedalai. The Parava fishers had passed over to Christianity a few years earlier⁴³ and were in urgent need of Xavier's help. The legates of the Paravas were converted in 1535, the towns from Kanyakumari to Punnaikayal.⁴⁴ Since King John III had specifically requested the Pope to provide missionaries for the twenty thousand Paravas who had been converted on Kanyakumari between 1535 and 1537 but had received practically no religious instructions, Xavier sailed there as soon as the sea became navigable. When Xavier arrived in this area, a single secular priest was the pastor of all the villages. He seems to have remained in Thoothukudi without teaching Christian doctrine or visiting the other villages. Before leaving Goa, Xavier had composed three letters for Rome in which he described his voyage to India and his labours in Goa (Doc. 15) and requested spiritual favours for the mission, especially for the College of St. Paul in Goa.

Xavier's Apostolate in Kochi 1542-1545

(i) In the Fishery Coast Among the Paravas: October 1542 – September 1543.

⁴² The Pearl Fishery Coast extends from Cape Comorin to the island of Pamban or Rameswaram.

⁴³ The Franciscans had converted thousands of Paravas at Manappad but they were not properly instructed in Christian tenets and hence the Jesuits had chosen the Fishery Coast for their apostolate.

⁴⁴ Punnaikayal or *New Kayal*, Thiruchendur Taluk, between the towns of Manapar and Thoothukudi, near the mouth of the Tamraparni River, was a large village of the Paravas. In 1644 it had four thousand Christians.

After entrusting the College of St. Paul and the Goa apostolate in the hands of Diago Fernandes, Xavier accompanied by three Indian seminarians from the College, set sail for the Fishery Coast, the dream of his apostolate in India, on September 20, 1542.⁴⁵

On his way from Goa Xavier reached Kerala – first of all in Kannur and from there passed on by touching so many coastal regions such as Thalassery, Vada-kara, Kozhikode, Chaliyam, Tanur, Ponani, Kodungallur, Kochi,⁴⁶ Kayamkulam, Kollam, Kovalam, Vizhinjam, Thengapattanam, Colachel, Kadiapattanam,⁴⁷ Kanyakumari, Manakkudi etc. to the Fishery and Coromandel Coasts among the Paravas.⁴⁸ It took a month to reach Manapad⁴⁹ at the centre of the Fishery Coast and proceeding north to Thoothukudi on foot. The Paravas were without priests or catechists, churches or schools. At the outset Xavier sought the help of his seminarians and a few Eurasians to translate into Tamil the principal Catholic prayers and a brief catechism.⁵⁰ These he memorized and then taught others.⁵¹ After four months of apostolate there, he moved south to the coastland facing Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in order to assist at the great Pearl Fishery season. This over, he moved south again, to visit the poorer and more isolated Parava villages, and then west into Marava country. He continued these visits till September 1543.⁵² Everywhere Xavier

⁴⁵ C.f John Correia – Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.3, p.10.

⁴⁶ Kannur, Kochi, Kollam Colombo and San Thome were the five parishes of the ecclesiastical territory of Kochi.

⁴⁷ Kadiapattanam is situated to the east of Kanyakumari.

⁴⁸ In this journey he made short halts in Kannur and Kochi.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 360-380.

⁵⁰ It was in Manapad that Xavier is said to have performed his first miracle in October 1543.

⁵¹ Francis composed a short address in which he explained what it meant to be a Catholic, and had a translation made into Tamil, himself setting it down in Latin characters for his own use.

⁵² Much of the catechism was taught in the form of songs, easy to remember.

found the Parava Christians in the same ignorance of the Faith that had existed at the time of their baptism, some seven years earlier, the only change in their lives being that they now bore a Portuguese name.⁵³ Francisco Coelho was a native priest and assistant of Xavier on the Fishery Coast.

The Fishery Coast and the neighbouring parts of Southern India formed the scene of Xavier's earliest labours in that kind of apostolate which was to be his chief occupation for the remainder of his short life.⁵⁴ The letter which he wrote immediately after his arrival in Thoothukudi in October 28, 1542 to Ignatius of Loyola shows that he had passed through many Christian villages on his way on foot, along the sea coast-way (there was no road at that time) and that he had baptized a great number of children and an entire Hindu village. The villagers came up to greet the newcomers, especially the white Father, the *Swami*.

With the help of his interpreters, the three Parava seminarians, Xavier asked the people what they knew about their new faith. Their answer was that they only knew that they were Christians; they were ignorant of what they should believe since they did not understand the language of the Portuguese.⁵⁵ Nevertheless they brought him the children that had been born since the mass baptisms of 1536 and 1537, and the priest imparted to them the sacrament of rebirth with the simple baptismal formula and without further ceremonies.⁵⁶ The Parava children, with their large black eyes, were especially trustful. They left the white *swami* no rest, no time for his breviary, for eating or sleeping, until he had taught them some prayers, the Sign of the Cross, the

⁵³ John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *op.cit*, No. 3, p.10.

⁵⁴ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, p.130.

⁵⁵ Schurhammer, *op.cit.*, p.295.

⁵⁶ Xavier was accustomed to administer baptism in India without additional ceremonies to both children and adults since there was no time for more (DI III 420 – 421-600) Cf. Schurhammer, *Ibid*.

Creed, the Our Father, or the Hail Mary. And the same scene was repeated in each of the succeeding villages on the way to Thoothukudi. The priest was astonished by the quick apprehension of his small pupils and he thought of Christ's words: "Suffer the little children come unto me, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven!". And he was convinced that if they had anyone to instruct them in the faith they would eventually become good Christians.⁵⁷

Though the people are interested to get the pearls from the Paravas, Xavier was concerned only with their souls. He was least bothered about their pearls. His concerns were only with their souls.

While the ship with its passengers and crew sailed on to Thoothukudi Xavier continued the rest of the way on foot with his companions, the seminarians, in order to get to know the country and its people. Thoothukudi was nine leagues from Manapad, but there was no road to it.⁵⁸ After a few days' journey by foot, Xavier arrived in Thoothukudi, where he was welcomed by Padre Gonçaves, the parish priest of Kochi who had baptized the Paravas in 1535-36 and who had now come as Chaplain to the Portuguese.⁵⁹ It was on this occasion that Padre Gonsalves entrusted the entire Fishery Coast to Xavier.

Xavier spent four months in Thoothukudi - October 1542 to February 1543. He lived in a small house near the erstwhile San Pedro Kovil (St. Peter's Church), near the present Custom House. As a first step towards catechizing the people, he learned with much effort but in three months time the local language, Tamil and translated the basic Christian prayers into this language. On Sundays he brought together his people and instructed in a

⁵⁷ FXI 148. Cf. Schurhammer, *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Schurhammer, *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Schurhammer G, *Ibid.*, II 300.

gradual and methodical way the Christian doctrine beginning with the Creed, the commandments, the our father etc. He made them firm believers by making them recite repeatedly the profession of faith.⁶⁰

Although they had been baptized some six years ago, the Christians of Manapad did not know any thing about the Christian Religion. Xavier began to teach them the rudiments of Christianity.

Francis had devoted a year – from October 1542 to September 1543 among the Paravas. He took food only once a day, and made no difference whether he was journeying or not. He usually went on foot, and without shoes, living on roasted rice, which he begged as he went on. These facts are stated on the evidence taken at Kochi and Bazain. He often slept on the ground with a stone under the head.⁶¹ One of his fellow workers stated in the course of the process of his beautification:

His usual food was poorly cooked rice and still more poorly prepared fish, and at times sour milk with rice or a rice cake. But he told his subjects that they should eat as much as they needed to serve God, and that they should not eat for themselves but to support their body and offer it to God for His service. He wore a very old, patched cassock and a frock ⁶² and a completely dilapidated biretta.

In October, 1543 Xavier, together with two Paravas of the Fishery Coast, visited the Colombo Parish (Ceylon). After spending a day or two each

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 307-311.

⁶¹ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.166, footnote.

⁶² Cf. Georg. Schurhammer, *op.cit.*, p.457. *Sayo*, A frock reaching down to the knees. Over it was worn a sleeveless cassock.

in the Cow-Island, Jaffna and Candy, they went to Goa and remained there till December 21, 1543.⁶³

Since the victory of Vedalai Miguel Vaz had regarded the Paravas as his favourite children, and he was determined to do all that he could to help them. In order to free the Paravas from the tyranny of the Hindu kings of the mainland, he pondered over a plan for transferring them to an island, and giving them their own king, who would look after them and rule them with justice, and of sending them a priest to take care of their souls. He had taken the Paravas to his heart. They were his beloved children in Christ. He had risked his life for them at Vedalai and he was now ready to defend, if necessary, these people of Christ against the Muslims.

Xavier's companions, Fr. Mancijs and Fr. Paul of Camerino had not arrived from Mazambique at the time of his sailing for Thoothukudi.

The people of the Fishery Coast are said to have believed that Xavier had done some miracles by raising a boy who was dead by drowning in a well and a youth who was bitten by a cobra at night in the foot.

In October 1543, after a year spent on the Fishery Coast, Xavier returned to Goa. There he found Micer Paulo and Mansilhas who had arrived safely from Mozambique and received glad news of the progress of the Society in Europe. From letters which he received from Rome and Portugal, he also learned that the Society of Jesus had been approved by a bull of Pope Paul III on September 27, 1540, that Ignatius had been elected General on April 19, 1541, and that his companions had pronounced their solemn vows on April 22, 1541. From this time on with the Society now canonically established, Xavier could exercise his jurisdiction under Ignatius as superior

⁶³ Ibid., pp.360-380.

of India from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Xavier pronounced his own vows before the bishop of Goa.

(ii) In Kochi January 1, 1544

After settling that Fr. Paul of Camerino should govern the College of St. Paul for the Society, Xavier returned to the Fishery Coast on December 21, 1543, via Kannur, Kochi and Kollam with Francis Mancijas (Mansilhas), as well as with two native priests: Francis Coelho and Joam de Lizano with Joam d' Artiaga, a layman who had become attached to him after having been converted from a worldly life and some other assistants of the same kind. En route their boat stopped at Kannur and Xavier made use of the occasion to visit some families there. On New Year's Day, January 1, 1544 they arrived in Kochi. This marked the beginning of Jesuit mission and its activities in Kerala.

In Kochi Xavier and his companions lived in the house of Vicar, Pedro Gonsalves. Xavier also visited the Franciscans and established a very cordial relationship with them.

Kochi was already a well established centre of Christianity with many Churches, institutions and priests, both secular and religious. Xavier, therefore, decided to spend his time in Kochi in writing letters to his friends in Europe.⁶⁴ He wrote to the King and the Queen, to Ignatius and his companions in Portugal and Rome. In the letter to the King and the Queen he requested more financial aid for the Fishery Coast. To Ignatius he gave an account of his activities in India ever since his arrival there. On January 15 he signed a long letter for Rome (to Ignatius) giving an account of his activities in India ever since his arrival there and sent with it the formula of

⁶⁴ As the ships to Portugal used to leave Kochi Port soon his letters could be sent through these ships.

his vows (Doc. 20). To his companions he gave a vivid picture of his experiences in the new country and advised them to consider the worth of souls more than their University degrees.⁶⁵ Humanitarian activities, social work and education are some of the important items which attracted the attention of the missionaries. Portuguese turned out to be the *lingua franca* for a couple of centuries among the merchants just as Arabic was in the period before the 16th century.⁶⁶

(iii) Again in the Fishery Coast – February to November 1544

After 15h January 1544 Xavier and his companions proceeded their journey to the Fishery Coast where they reached by the middle of February 1544.⁶⁷ When they reached Kollam, Xavier had to deviate his journey to Ceylon to convey a special message of King John III of Portugal to the Ceylonese ruler, Bhuvaneka, Bahu.⁶⁸ From Ceylon Xavier went to his companions who had already reached the Fishery Coast.⁶⁹

Xavier divided the Fishery Coast into three regions with centres in Manappad, Punnaikayal and Thoothukudi. He entrusted Manappad to Mansilhas, Thoothukudu to Lizano and reserved Punnaikayal for himself.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Epistolae Xaverii, I, 152-157. C.f Gervasis J. Mulakara, *op. cit.*, p. 74, footnote 65.

⁶⁶ K.S. Mathew, *Introduction to The Portuguese and the Socio – Cultural Changes in India, 1500 – 1800*, ed. K.S.Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, Tellicherry, 2 000, p.xxvi.

⁶⁷ It was on 15th January that Xavier concluded his letter writing: they set out from Kochi soon after: *Ibid.*, pp. 411-425.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

⁶⁹ Schurhammer G., *Francis Xavier*, II, 411-424.

⁷⁰ Since Punnaikayal was in between Manapad and Thoothukudi, Xavier could watch the other centres too: C.f., *Ibid.*, 426-427. It was thus that it later became the residence of the superior. .

Each region comprised of several villages, and in each village Xavier appointed a *Kanakkapillai* whose duties were to teach catechism, to assist as sacristan, assemble the people for prayers, administer baptism in case of necessity, keep register of births and to enquire about impediments of marriages. Xavier appointed in each village, besides the *Kanakkappillai*, loyal and devoted laymen as missionary associates. He also encouraged Mansilhas and Lizano by his frequent letters and instructions.⁷¹

In 1556 João de Artiaga gave the following testimony on Xavier: "He never remained a month or twenty days in one place; he always went visiting from one place to another, always on foot and at times unshoed".

In a village Xavier did not stay more than 20 to 30 days. In 1556 João de Artiaga gave the following testimony on Xavier: "He never remained a month or twenty days in one place; he always went visiting from one place to another, always on foot and at times unshoed". After the instruction and baptism in a village he proceeded to the next. The method proved to be very successful especially among the low caste Paravas.

In the Fishery Coast in his second visit, Xavier had to visit other places. Two leagues north of Manapad was Alantalai which was a Parava village. An hour further on was Tiruchendur, on the edge of which a settlement of Christian fishers of the same caste was likewise to be found. But the town proper was inhabited by Brahmans. A half league beyond Tiruchendur was another large village of Paravas, Virapandyapatanam,⁷² and soon after this another, Talambuli,⁷³ all resembled Manapad and everywhere the *swami* had to baptize the children and teach the boys and girls some

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁷² Virapandyapatanam (*town of Vira Padya*) was north of Tiruchendur. In 1644 it had 2, 420 inhabitants.

⁷³ Talambuli is called a Christian village in 1558 and 1571.

prayers before they would let him go on his way.⁷⁴ Xavier made Punnaikayal his base, while his companions now assisted by *kanakkappillais* or catechists, separated themselves in order to care for the Paravas to many different villages along the coast (each one having a small circuit of his own allotted to him, within which he was to keep passing from village to village) during the tribulations caused by the war being waged by Rama Varma (Iniquitriberim)⁷⁵ the (Cera) Great King of Kollam and his brother Marthanda Varma, the King of Thiruvithamcore on one side and Vettum Perumal (Betebermal)⁷⁶ the (Pandya) king of Thoothukudi on the other (Docs. 21 – 44).⁷⁷ During the conflict both sides sought the assistance of the Portuguese (Docs. 23, 25 – 26) because of their powerful navy, soldiers equipped with firearms, and control of the horse trade. Xavier was involved in the negotiations because his Christians were in peril.

The Badagas⁷⁸ of the Vijayanagara army attacked the Parava Christians of Kanyakumari. They were dying of hunger and thirst. Xavier travelled south on foot to assist and comfort the Kanyakumari Christians and he urged and guided Mansilhas in his similar efforts to the north. Xavier remained in Kanyakumari for about a year. Through Xavier's intercession, the Portuguese assistance was given to the Kings of Kollam and Thiruvithamcore.

⁷⁴ Schurhammer, *op.cit.*, p.297.

⁷⁵ Iniquitriberim or more accurately, *Uniqui Treveri* (according to the early Jesuit historian Frois), which is the same as Unnikela Tiruvadi, a contraction of Unni Kerala Tiruvadi (Unni = son, Kerala = Thruvithamcore, and the term for king; Tiruvadi = ruler) a title of Rama Varma, king of Kollam and Kanyakumari up to the Tamraparni River from 1541 to 1549.

⁷⁶ Betebermal as the name used here is given as Betebermao in Doc. 40, and Beteperemal in Q157 are all Vettum Perumal, king of the district of Kayattar (1531 – 1551), to whom the people of Thoothukkudi were subject.

⁷⁷ Schurhammer, *op.cit.*, p.425-475.

⁷⁸ *Badaga* is a Kanarian word meaning *man of the south*. It was used for the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar. Usually it meant the forces of the emperor of Vijayanagar. Although the Badagas were allies of Iniquitriberim, they took advantage of the situation to plunder the Christians.

In gratitude for his intervention, the latter gave him permission to baptize the Mucuan fishers in their dominions.⁷⁹ Francis' time could not be spent in any one place, he was to travel from village to village, baptizing, catechizing, visiting the sick, examining the schools and urging the catechists to their duty, and as soon as he had made his round through the circle of country committed to him, he was to begin again and again in the same way. This is what Francis himself had done during the first year of his work among the natives, and to this work, he now had to keep Mancian̄s.

Xavier and his companions were to face problems of serious nature when the Christians of Kanyakumari and Thoothukudi were attacked by the Badagas⁸⁰ from the North. They had to suffer much also from their own Portuguese officials when these got involved in avarice, debanchery, cruelty and other similar vices.⁸¹

When the troops of the king of Vijayanagar attacked the Christians of Kanyakumari in the middle of June, Rama Varma promised to welcome the Christians of Thoothukudi and Vemb̄r into his dominion (Docs. 40 – 42). He had also asked Xavier to visit him (Doc. 39); this Xavier did in October (Docs. 42 – 43). In November Xavier was able to give Rama Varma a letter from the Portuguese captain assuring him of Portuguese help (Doc. 44). Full of joy and gratitude, Rama Varma gave Xavier – the **Periya Padre** or Great Father as he was popularly known – permission to baptize the Mukkuva fisher folk of the villages around Thiruvithamcore (on the western part of Kanyakumari) (Doc.45). He also gave him two thousand **fanams** from Rama Varma for the erection of churches in his lands. (Doc.50).

⁷⁹ The Mukkuas and Paravas spoke Tamil.

⁸⁰ It was during June – August 1544, *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁸¹ Schurhammer G., *op. cit.*, II, 454-458 (cruelty and immorality); 503-504 (greed), 540-541 (ambition for offices)

(iv) In the Mukkua Colonies – November-December 1544.

By the middle of November Xavier and his small band of helpers were at Puvar in Thiruvithamcore. The inhabitants of this area were mainly Mukkuas. Moved by moral pressure and inducements, and by the personality of the Great Father, the Mukkuvas welcomed him.⁸² He instructed a great many of them during November-December, 1544. Since he wanted to hold a solemn celebration of their mass- baptism Xavier went to Kollam to discuss the matter with the captain of Thiruvithamcore coast. The captain, Duarte da Gama (1544-47), happily welcomed the proposal and gave every assistance to Xavier.

By mid-November, Xavier along with his two new companions, Christováo Fernandes and Antonio Fernandes⁸³ inaugurated the solemn mass-conversion from Puvar, the northernmost village of the Mukkuas.⁸⁴ He repeated the same method and used the simple formula of baptism.⁸⁵ By the time he reached Pallam, the thirteenth village, he had baptized about 10,000 individuals.⁸⁶ At Pallam he got the shocking news of the Manar massacre, and therefore, he rushed back to Kochi without going to the fourteenth village of Manakkudi.⁸⁷ The mass conversions of the Mukkuas was the immediate cause that provoked the Rajah of Jaffna to use his sword against the innocent

⁸² D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar* Vol. I, pp. 24 – 6.

⁸³ Schurhammer, G., *op. cit.*, II, 467.

⁸⁴ There were fourteen Mukkua villages; the other 13 were: Kollankod, Valiavilathura, Tuturturai, Puduturai, Thengapatanam, Vaniem, Mitalam, Vaniakudi, Kolachel, Kodiapatanam, Muttamthura, Pallam and Manakkudi. *Ibid.*, 464, 468-469.

⁸⁵ For description of the method he used in each village. see *Ibid.*, 470-471, *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 273. The formula used was simple: *Documenta Indica* I, 15; III, 420-421, 600 Cf.

⁸⁶ Schurhammer, G., *op. cit.*, II, 421.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

new converts of Manar.⁸⁸ The incident arose a tense situation both in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and in the Coromandel Fishery, Thiruvithamcore and Kochi coasts of India.⁸⁹ Xavier hurried to Kollam and from there to Kochi to discuss with the captains the measures to be adopted against the Jaffna ruler.⁹⁰

In Thiruvithamcore Xavier received the news that the king of Jaffna on Ceylon had slain six hundred recent Christian converts on the island of Manar, and that the brother of the tyrant, the legitimate heir, had fled to the Fishery Coast and promised that, if restored to his throne, he would convert the people of Jaffna to Christianity.⁹¹ Taking advantage of this offer, Xavier went to Kochi and wrote to Mansilhas that he should finish what he himself had begun in Thiruvithamcore. As usual he stayed with the Vicar of Kochi, Pedro Gonsalves. The Vicar General, Migual Vaz, was also there, waiting for the next ship to Lisbon.

v) In Kochi again, December 1544 to February 1545

Xavier left again for Kochi on December 16. Towards the end of the year 1544 he sailed up the whole western coast of India.⁹² In a letter written early in 1545 he mentions having baptized as many as ten thousand in Thiruvithamcore in the space of a month between the middle of May and the middle of June 1544⁹³ and prepared another 4000 catechumens. No doubt the fame and life and miracles of St. Francis Xavier had spread far and wide through the whole coast of India. Village after village received him with joy

⁸⁸ See the chapter on the *Martyrs of Manar 1544* in Zalaski L., *The Saints of India*, 48-52. Cf. Gervasis J. Mulakara, *op. cit.*, p.79, footnote 83.

⁸⁹ Gervasis J. Mulakara, *op. cit.*, p.79.

⁹⁰ Schurhammer, G., *op. cit.*, II, 472-473.

⁹¹ Shurhammer, *op.cit.*, pp. 471 – 472.

⁹² Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*,p.206.

⁹³ K.J. John, *The Road to Diamper*, Kochi, 1999, p.90, *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 168-169, 273; *Documenta Indica*, I, 88, footnote 50.

where he had given the instruction and baptism of the inhabitants. As he went on he left behind him everywhere a written abridgement of Christian doctrine, and made provision for its regular teaching to the children and in the weekly assemblies of the new converts. By the end of the year it is said that no less than forty-five infant churches had been founded in this way. Bartoli also mentions the number just given, of forty-five churches founded in Thiruvithamcore. Francis, he says, always went barefoot, with a poor torn cassock and a sort of cap of black stuff on his head. He was always called the Great Father, and the Rajah had issued an edict that his own brother the Great Father was to be obeyed as himself, and that any one was at liberty to become Christian. The Rajah gave him large sums of money, the whole of which he spent in the relief of the people flocked to hear him, five or six thousand at a time, so that he was obliged to preach from a tree in the open fields, where also he used to celebrate mass in the presence of multitudes, under a canopy made of the rails of the boats. When he left the country, it was in great part Christian. Not long after the middle of June we find St. Francis again on the Fishery Coast.⁹⁴

Returning to Kochi in January 1545, Xavier met Miguel Vaz, the vicar general, who was sailing for Europe. He asked him to obtain more help from the king for the Indian mission. In his letter dated Kochi 20 January 1545 Xavier requested King John III of Portugal to increase the subsidies to India considering the fast increase in the number of the population of Roman Catholics as a result of vigorous evangelization.⁹⁵ Xavier wrote his companions in Rome about the great harvest to be reaped in India (Doc. 48).

In their exchange of news Miguel Vaz advised Xavier to discuss the

⁹⁴ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 206 – 208.

⁹⁵ *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 252 Cf. Jervasis Mulakara, *op.cit.*,p.89, footnote140.

Manar Massacre with the Governor in Goa. Hence having dispatched a quick letter to Mansilhas through the ship that took off from Kochi to the Fishery Coast, Xavier rushed to Goa.⁹⁶ He met Martim Affonso de Souza at Christmas time. The Governor, greatly indignant at the Manar slaughter, ordered a large fleet to be sent against the Jaffna ruler.

After his discussions with the Governor, Xavier sailed back to Kochi. On his way he paid a short visit to Kodungallur in early January 1545.⁹⁷

While in Kochi, Xavier met Mar Jacob, the bishop of Thomas Christians as the prelate was spending his retired life in Santo Antonio monastery of the Franciscans.⁹⁸ Here, from Miguel Vaz, Xavier heard the news of the chief events of the past year about the needs of the Church in Portuguese India. Miguel Vaz was going to Lisbon to appraise the King of the situation in India. Xavier wrote a letter to King John III on January 20 recommending the requests of Miguel Vaz⁹⁹. On January 27 Xavier wrote three other letters for Ignatius, Rodrigues and his confreres in Rome.¹⁰⁰

The ships from Malacca and Ceylon, that reached Kochi in January 26 and 27 brought happy news for Xavier regarding prospects of conversions.¹⁰¹ On February 4, another ship from Ceylon brought the Singhalese prince who

⁹⁶ Xavier sailed from Kochi for Goa on December 18, 1544: *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 244; see also Schurhammer G., *op.cit.*, II 482. Cf. Gervasis J. Mulakara, *op.ct.*, p.180, footnote 88.

⁹⁷ This information is gathered from Xavier's letter to King John III, dated January, 20, 1545: *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 254; Schurmammer .G, *op.cit.*, II, 484, 489. Cf. Gervasis.J. Mulakara, *op.cit.*, p.80, footnote 86.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 494.

⁹⁹ *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 248-254. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, II, 504,Cf. Gervasis of Mulakara, p.80, footnote 88.

¹⁰⁰ *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 255-260, 260-278, 278-282; Schurhammer G., *Francis Xavier*, II, 534, 536,539. Cf. Gervasis J. Mulakara, *op. cit.*, p.80, footnote 89.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*,521, 532. Cf. Gervasis J. Mulakara, *op.cit.*, p.80, footnote 90.

had received baptism and taken the name Luis.¹⁰² Mansilhas visited Xavier in Kochi on his way to Goa for his ordinations there.¹⁰³

Francis may probably have spent the greater part of July in preaching in Thiruvithamcore, baptizing peoples, and instructing his servants. Here, he is said to have miraculously raised four persons from the dead. The other miracle of the same kind are said to have taken place at Kollam on the coast. Though these happenings cannot be considered as historical facts, even now people firmly believe them with conviction as a reality. Actually in a sense, we can assume with certainty that it can be considered only as an exaggeration.

vi) In the Coromandal Coast: Nagapatanam and San Thome February-August 1545

From Kochi Xavier sailed southwards and after halts in Kollam and Colombo¹⁰⁴, reached Nagapatanam, a flourishing commercial city in the Coromandal Coast. Xavier's intention was to proceed with his journey from Nagapatanam to San Thome, where existed the tomb of the Apostle Thomas and where the captain of Coromandal Coast resided.¹⁰⁵ Due to unfavourable weather, Xavier had to spend about a month in Nagapatanam before he could resume his sail to San Thome.¹⁰⁶

Early in 1545 Xavier arrived in San Thome. He was received there by

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 544, Cf. *Ibid*, footnote 91.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 544, Cf. *Ibid*, footnote 92

¹⁰⁴ It was to revenge the ruler of Jaffna, who was responsible for the Mannar Massacre, that Xavier went to Colombo. But as it was the time of the Great Pearl Fishery and all the Paravas were in the sea, the captain advised that the small Pearl Fishery in September would be a better occasion to do so. Hence, Xavier had to return without realizing his punitive attempt. Cf. *Ibid.*, 547, Footnote 93.

¹⁰⁵ Henry James Coleridge, *op. cit.*, Vol.II,p.65.

¹⁰⁶ During this interval which included also the Holy Week, Xavier wrote a letter to Mansilhas on April 7, 1545.

the Vicar Gasper Coelho¹⁰⁷ whose residence was close to the church of the Apostle.

Xavier's visit in San Thome in April 1545¹⁰⁸ was more a pilgrimage than a missionary endeavour.¹⁰⁹ But once he was there he found the life of the Christians far deteriorated as these were blind with greed and immortality. Xavier therefore started an apostolate among the Christians themselves.¹¹⁰ He freed many from mortal sins; he witnesses the marriages of many others; and he brought peace and fear of God into the community.¹¹¹ In this sense we may say that the Jesuit activities were inaugurated in San Thome as early as in 1545.

What Xavier prayed for at the tomb of the Apostle was to get light to discern the field of his future apostolate. The light was granted to him and he saw that it was Macassar that invited him. By the end of August or beginning of September, he set sail for Malacca.¹¹²

In April Xavier wrote from Nagapatanam to Mansilhas, who had been ordained a priest and was on the Fishery Coast, that the campaign against Jaffna had been postponed (Doc.50). Xavier proceeded to Mylapore (Madras) to venerate the tomb of the Apostle Thomas, to whom he had great devotion and to pray.¹¹³ From there on May 8, he wrote to his friends in Goa that he now clearly perceived God's will. Towards the end of July he was again on

¹⁰⁷ Coelho was Vicar of San Thome since May 22, 1543: *Documenta Indica* III 193.

¹⁰⁸ Schurhammer G., *Francis Xavier*, II, 555.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 580: see also his letter daed San Thome, May 8, 1545: *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 288-294.

¹¹⁰ Schurhammer, G., *Francis Xavier*, II, 597-605.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.600.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.603.

¹¹³ Schurhammer, *op.cit.*, p.578 – 95: Xavier's sojourn in Mylapore was an important episode in his spiritual life, as may be seen from Schurhammer's account.

the Fishery Coast. In August he hoped to go to Malacca (Doc.51). There he was detained for three months where he received letters from Goa informing him that Jojo de Castro had been appointed the new Governor of India, and that three Jesuits, Antonio Criminali, Nicolo Lancilotto, and Juan de Beira, had arrived from Europe. On November 10 he gave them their assignments. Lancilotto was to remain in the college of St. Paul and the two others would go to the Fishery Coast and assist Mansilhas (Doc. 52).

In a letter of December 16 to his collaborators in Goa, he repeated his earlier orders. He would go to Amboina in order to discover the prospects of conversions in the Moluccas (Doc.54). He sailed for Malacca on January 1, 1546 arriving some six weeks later in Amboina. During the last days of June, he sailed from Amboina for Ternate, the capital of the Moluccas. After spending three months in Ternate, he sailed for the islands of Moro, remaining there until January 1547, when he returned to Ternate and, by way of Amboina, reached Malacca at the beginning of July, remaining there until the end of December. In Malacca he encountered three of the nine companions who had come to India from Portugal in 1546 and whom he had ordered to sail to the Moluccas: Juan de Beira, Nuno Ribeiro and Nicolau Nunes. A few days later Xavier sailed on a different ship from Kochi. From there he continued on to Goa.

Superior of the Mission under the Provincial of Portugal

In the letter of Francis dated Kochi 20th January, 1548 to King John III of Portugal, it was mentioned that he arrived at Kochi from Malacca on 13th of January of the same year. On January 20 and 22, 1548, he dispatched five letters to Portugal on the last ships sailing from Kochi. The first of these to his European companions gave a long account of his voyage to the Moluccas and of his plans for founding a mission in Japan (Doc. 59). From Kochi he travelled to the Fishery Coast. The few missionaries working there were overjoyed to have their great leader in their midst. There in Manapar (Manapad), he gathered them all – Criminali, Maraes the younger and Henrique Henriques – and order them to rest there a little from their continuous labours. It was during his short stay at Manapad that Xavier gave to the missionaries his famous instructions¹¹⁴ which is appended here as appendix III. At the beginning of March he arrived back in Goa, where he encountered Micer Paulo and two new companions, Nicolo Lancilotto and Francisco Perez, and admitted four candidates into the Society. Roque Oliveira, Afonso Castro, Gaspar Rodriques, and Cosme de Torres.

Nine days later Xavier sailed north from Goa to Bassein in order to discuss conditions in the Moluccas with the new Governor (Viceroy) Jojo de Castro who was in grave illness and wanted Xavier to be at his side when he died, as he eventually did on June 6, 1548. Xavier seems at this time to have composed his *How to Pray and to Save One's Soul* (Doc. 66) and his *Prayer for the Conversion of Infidels* (Doc.67). Xavier remained in Goa waiting for the arrival of the ships from Portugal. These brought with them four new companions: Gaspar Barzaeus (Berze) Melchior Gonsalves, Juan Fernjndez, and Balthasar Gago. After conversing with them, he set off for the Fishery

¹¹⁴ Ferroli, *op.cit.*, p.129.

Coast, where he arrived at the beginning of October. There he called a meeting of the missionaries, whose numbers had been increased by the arrival of Francisco Henriques, Baltasar Nunes, and Adam Francisco. In Kochi Xavier also spoke with the three who had been present with him at the death of the Governor Jojo de Castro: the vicar general, Fernandez Sardinha; the guardian of the Franciscans, Frey Antonio do Casal; and the superior of the Franciscan mission in Ceylon, Frey Jojo de Villa de Conde. Xavier certainly spent a good part of the winter of 1548 at Kochi at least two months.¹¹⁵ He must have remained about two months at Goa before returning to Kochi.¹¹⁶

Dom Garcia de S; , the Governor of India was a good friend to Xavier and took some measures for the protection of his favourite converts on the Fishery Coast. When Francis first came to India, he had but two companions, and he had never been able to live much with them from the time of the commencement of his apostolical labours. Now the little members of the Society of Jesus was being multiplied, and Francis had to govern them, form them and encourage them.¹¹⁷ The number of his religious subjects was almost doubled by the arrivals of the year 1548.¹¹⁸

Around the middle of November, Xavier was once more in Goa, meeting five more companions recently arrived from Europe. Among these was Father Antonio Gomes, who had been appointed by Rodrigues as rector of the college of St. Paul in Goa. Xavier had decided to erect a new station by sending Lancilotto to Kollam. From Kochi he was able to send letters to Europe on three different ships. In two of these, to Ignatius he indicated

¹¹⁵ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.65.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.66.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p.52.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.53.

problems on the Indian mission. In a third, he praised Antonio Criminali (for his evangelization work), gave Ignatius a report on Japan and again informed him that he would sail there.

Returning to Goa, Xavier reluctantly allowed Antonio Gomes to remain as rector and send Gazpar Barzaeus, armed with a lengthy instruction, to Hormuz. He likewise wrote an instruction to Micer Paulo urging him to remain at peace with Antonio Gomes and to provide for the missionaries' needs (Doc. 81). Xavier began his voyage to Japan on April 15. On June 20 he wrote from Malacca to Fr. Juan de Beira and his three companions that he was sailing to Japan and assigned them different tasks (Doc. 82). From Malacca he sent detailed instructions to Micer Paulo, Antonio Gomes and Baltasar Gago (Doc. 84) and wrote to his companions in Europe an account of what he had learned about Japan from the three Japanese Christians (Doc. 85). In a letter to Rodrigues, Xavier insisted upon the need for a new rector for the College in Goa (Doc. 86).¹¹⁹

It should be noted that until 1549 India was to some extent under the Province of Portugal. In 1549 Ignatius Loyola had erected India into a Province, and had made Francis Xavier its Provincial Superior. A number of historians have maintained that Ignatius' real motive for recalling Xavier was so that he might succeed him as general.

The Harvest

By 1549 the year in which Xavier was placed at the head of the newly constituted Indian Province of the Society, the Jesuits had established themselves in Goa, Kochi, Kollam, Kanyakumari and Mylapore, and it is about these places that they first gave news to Europe. It must be remembered

¹¹⁹ Francis spent three months at Kochi. During this time he preached in the churches, instructed children, visited the sick and conducted conversions.

that Xavier's was the first account of Jesuit missionary activities received in Rome, and the unique character of the narrative, the distance of the countries in question, the great results achieved, aroused feelings of grateful astonishment all over Europe. In 1552 the Jesuits in India had their headquarters at the College of St. Paul (Goa), where they came to be popularly known as Paulistas. It was the centre of their educational activities with Jesuits in formation and promising youths from the East, and had nearly a hospital for the indigenous population, founded by Paul of Camerino. "It is impossible to relate how much each of these Fathers is doing in spreading the name of Christ".¹²⁰ Very faithful also were the Jesuit efforts in Kollam and along the Thiruvithamcore coast. The extensive and important mission of the Fishery Coast came to have its headquarters in Punnaikayal (Punicale) under the zealous and able Henry Henriques, who built a retreat house and a hospital for the local people. More to the north was S̃o Thome (S. Tome) Mylapore, where in Xavier's time there were about a hundred Portuguese families and 1800 Indian Christians served by five diocesan priests.

Xavier set sail for Japan on June 24, 1549 and arrived safely at Kogoshima on August 15. He returned to India about the middle of November 1551.

Provincial of the East Indies

Xavier was given a number of letters from Europe and India. One from Ignatius dated October 10, 1549 appointed him superior of the new Province of India. His jurisdiction was to extend over all territories east of the Cape of Good Hope, with the exception of Ethiopia.¹²¹ Invested with this authority, Xavier arrived in Kochi on January 24, 1552, after an absence of two and a

¹²⁰ *Documenta Indica* IV, 486.

¹²¹ *Documenta Indica*, I, 507-10.

half years. With the ships which would soon be sailing for Lisbon, he dispatched two letters: one, for his colleagues in Europe, giving them an extensive account of his activities in Japan and his impressions of the country. (Doc. 96); a second for Ignatius, requesting him to send a rector for the College of St. Paul in Goa (Doc. 97).

Xavier turned his attention to the province of India, which had suffered much the mismanagement of Antonio Gomes. On February 4 he sent Morais the younger and Francisco Gonsalves to Goa with a letter for Micer Paulo directing him to dismiss the two from the Society for their disobedience in abandoning Beira (Doc.100). Xavier set about the task of reorganizing his provinces, making several important appointments. Melchior Nunes Barreto was made superior of Bessein. Anthony Gomes was transferred to Diu and was replaced at St. Paul's by Gaspar Bertze, who was also to be Vice-Provincial in Xavier's absence. Bertze was given several detailed instructions on a number of important subjects like government, temporal administration and personal conduct, as also a mandate eventually to dismiss Gomes.¹²² In the middle of February, Xavier arrived in Goa, where he spent the following two months preparing for his expedition to China, about which he had much information and many hopes after his visit to Japan. With the help of Diago Pereira, a wealthy merchant, who wished to be sent as an ambassador to the court in Peking, he hoped to be able to enter China.

Xavier wrote to the King about his plan for entering China (Doc. 109) and to Ignatius about his reorganization of the province (Doc. 110). On April 12, to insure the financial stability of the College of St. Paul, he appointed a layman, Manoel Alvares Barradas, as its procurator (Doc. 111). He then ordered Barzaeus to dismiss Antonio Gomes from the Society after the ships

¹²² M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., *op.cit.*, pp.391-419.

had sailed for Portugal (Doc. 112), chided Supriano for his contemptuousness (Doc.113), and drew up five instructions for Barzaeus to guide him in carrying out the duties of his office (Docs. 114 – 118)

On April 17, 1552, after attending these needs in India, Xavier set sail from Goa, never to return to it alive. He was accompanied by four members of the Society. Baltasar Gago, Pedro Acasova, Alvaro Ferreira, and Duarte da Silva; by the Chinese Antonio, who had been a student in the College of St. Paul in Goa and was to be Xavier's interpreter in China, and by the Japanese Anjiro. From Kochi he wrote to Barzaeus about the needs of its mission and those of Kollam and the Fishery Coast (Doc. 119). He also sent an instruction to Antonio de Heredia, the superior of Kochi (Doc.120).

Francis spent a few days at Kochi, as usual in his voyages to and from Goa. He was overwhelmed with news about the state of affairs on the Fishery Coast.

Xavier's hopes of entering China in an official capacity remained as an obstacle. He found lodgings on Pereira's ship. In the last of the five letters which Xavier was able to write from the Straits of Singapore, he bade farewell to his friend Diogo Pereira and thanked him for his generous assistance (Doc.129).

Towards the end of August, Pereira's ship, on which Xavier was sailing, reached the island of Sancian,¹²³ a Portuguese trading station off the Chinese coast at some distance from the city of Canton. The voyage from Singapore to Sancian was the last voyage of Francis. Since the entrance of foreigners into China was strictly forbidden, Xavier sought for someone who

¹²³ The little island of Sancian, which had been made so famous to the Christians as the resting place for a short time, of the body of St. Francis Xavier is described as half wild and barren, covered with brushwood, haunted by tigers, and inhabited by a poor and simple population.

could take him to the mainland in secret. He found a Chinese merchant who, for a large sum of money, promised to do so by night in his own boat. Meanwhile, towards the end of October, Xavier was able to dispatch three letters with a ship sailing for Malacca. Two of these were for Perez, ordering him to go from Malacca to Kochi with Oliveira. He also informed Perez about his voyage to Sancian and his activities there (Doc. 130 – 131). His third letter, with similar contents, was for Pereira (Doc. 132).

Xavier entrusted Manuel Chaves with four letters. Two of these were for Perez, informing him about the dismissal of Alvaro Ferreira and again instructing him to leave Malacca (Docs. 134 – 135). In his third letter, to Pereira, Xavier expressed the hope of seeing him the following year in China, or in heaven (Doc. 136). In his last letter, written on November 13, 1552 to Barzaeus and Perez, he again expressed his hope of entering China (Doc.137).

Death and Burial

The Chinese merchant who was to have taken Xavier to Canton failed to arrive as promised on November 19. Two days later Xavier fell ill. The next day he was taken to Diago Pereira's ship, one of the two still in the harbour of Sancian. Since the tossing of the ship aggravated Xavier's distress, he was taken back to the island. There he was placed in a straw hut which had been erected by Pereira. He had not been long in the island before, he fell ill of a fever which kept him to his bed for a fortnight.¹²⁴ Antonio China, the Chinese convert who had accompanied Xavier to Sancian as his interpreter, and Christoval were his only attendants. No hope remained and the fever came to bid him prepare to meet his Lord. He had long known that his death was at hand: he had taken leave of his friends, even in India, as if he were never to see them more. The fever went on, and he grew weaker and weaker.

¹²⁴ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.545.

He could take nothing for some days before the end came. His condition worsened and Antonio could see that his last hour had come. He placed a candle in Xavier's hand and, at last, on the Friday, the 2nd of December, about two in the afternoon, he fixed his eyes lovingly upon his crucifix, his face lighted up with joy, sweet tears poured from his eyes, and he breathed his last.¹²⁵ His dying words were: "In you, O Lord, I have hoped, let me never be confounded". When Xavier died he had a locket suspended from his neck which contained a small relic of St. Thomas, the formula of his vows and a signature of Ignatius which he had cut from a letter.

Xavier's body, dressed in the vestments which he had used for celebrating Mass, was placed in a wooden coffin and buried on the island. In mid-February, Pereira's ship, the *Santa Cruz* was ready for its return voyage to Malacca. When Antonio China expressed his concern about leaving Xavier's body on the island, Diago Vaz de Aragjo, the ship's captain, had the grave opened. Xavier's body, even though it had been buried with a large quantity of lime, was found to be perfectly fresh and incorrupt. Aragjo then had the coffin with the body brought on board his ship, which then set sail and reached Malacca on March 22, 1553. There were none of the Society there. On the following day a solemn procession was organized and the body was carried to the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, the shrine so much loved by Francis.

The vessel arrived at Kochi, where the body was venerated by Francisco Parez and a crowd of others. The captain went on in a boat to Goa, to announce the approach of the treasure which his ship contained. The Viceroy immediately equipped one of the large swift galleys of the country, and send the Superior of the College of Santa Fe, with two other religious and

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.572.

some Choisters and orphans, to escort the body at once to Goa. Six large boats arrived with Diago Pereira and a number of other Portuguese gentlemen and merchants on board, with torches in their hands, came to do honour to the Saint whom they had known and loved.

Later, still incorrupt, the body was brought to the church of the College of St. Paul in Goa, where it remained in view for three days.

The procession through the streets was impressively touching, *so much, says an eyewitness, that in all that assembly of Christians tears and sobbins were so universal, that the mere sight thereof was enough to make one become truly converted.* The clergy, the nobles, the people, even, it was remarked, the heathen and Mussulmans themselves, all thronged with torches and candles to honour one whom they regarded as their Apostle. Flowers were showered on the path, all the forts fired their cannon, the church bells rang joyously. So it went up to the College of St. Paul 'and although that day was the Friday of Lazarus,¹²⁶ the college nevertheless made great festival, all the altars were richly apparelled'. The sacred body having arrived in the church was placed near the High Altar, and a solemn Mass was sung with concert of voices and instruments comfortable to the solemnity of so great a feast.¹²⁷

Beautification and Canonization

During his lifetime Xavier was highly esteemed for the holiness of his life; the remarkable preservation of his body after his death strengthened this general conviction. Among the first petitioners for his beautification was his patron King John III. In 1556 he ordered his viceroy in India to have testimonies taken on Xavier's life and virtues. The king's wish, along with that

¹²⁶ Friday in Passion Week

¹²⁷ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, p.577.

of many others, was fulfilled in October 25, 1619, when Xavier was beautified by Pope Paul V. Xavier's canonization process was held in Kochi in 1557 and he was canonized by Pope Gregory XV on March 12, 1622, together with Ignatius of Loyola and others. In 1748 he was declared Patron of the Orient, in 1904, Patron of the work of the Propagation of the Faith; and, in 1927, Patron of All Missions.

The Letters

Xavier's letters were either private or public; that is, intended solely for the individual or individuals to whom they were addressed or in compliance with directives received from Ignatius – written with a view to the larger audience of persons interested in the works of the Society of Jesus. The circular letters could be accompanied by private notes, which were intended for those to whom the letters were addressed (Doc.5). The first letter to be so published was Xavier's great letter from India, dated January 15, 1544, to his companions in Rome (Doc. 20). A French version of it was published in Paris in 1545; a German version appeared in Germany that same year. These were followed by other printings of Xavier's letters in various languages.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a life of Xavier together with a collection of his letters was published in Latin by Orazio Torsellini (Horatius Tursellinus), S.J. in Rome in 1596. In the seventeenth century, two collections of Xavier's letters were again published in Latin translations by Pierre Poussinus (Petrus Possinus), S.J. in Rome in 1661 and 1667. In the eighteenth century, a Spanish edition of the letters was published by Francisco Cutillas, S.J. in Madrid in 1752. In the nineteenth century, an English version in *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier* by Henry James Coleridge, S.J., 2 vols, London, 1872, and a French edition by L. Joseph Marie Cros, S.J., in two volumes in Toulouse, 1894 were published.

Of the thirty-four original copies of the letters still extant, only nine are in Xavier's own hand (Docs. 4 5 7 8 9 11 46a 51 97); the twenty-five others are in the hand of scribes to whom Xavier dictated them. The remaining texts survive only in copies or in subsequent translations. There exists evidence of eighty-nine additional letters and documents written or dictated by Xavier, and there must have been many others which have been lost without a trace.¹²⁸ (There are twenty instructions or other documents of various kinds. For the sake of simplicity, all of Xavier's writings are designated as *Epistoloe* in the critical edition, as *Documentos* in the modern Spanish edition, and commonly as *Documents*).

Xavier had a high esteem for Ignatius, whom he regarded as his *old and true father* (Doc. 4). He keenly felt his separation from him and knew that they would never see each other again on earth except *through holy obedience* (Docs. 60 85 97). He had a high regard as well for Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises, which he made for the first time in Paris in 1534. He not only gave the Exercises himself (Docs. 6 9 55) but also had others give them (Docs. 16 47 73 80 92 101). His frequent references to the Exercises – for example, to the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits of the First (Doc. 85 89 90) and Second Weeks (Docs. 68 90) indicate the important role which they played in his own life and teachings.

His high esteem for the Society of Jesus may be seen in his references to it as a *Holy Society* (Doc. 59) and a *Society of Love* (Doc. 70). He was ever anxious to receive news of his earlier companions and of the works and

¹²⁸ Xavier's writings may be divided between letters and other documents or instructions. Despite the ambiguities of such a division, there are 108 letters: 1 5-13 15 – 17 19-52 54-57 59-63 65 68-74 76-79 82-88 90 92-100 102-104 107-110 113 119 122-29 131-33 135-37. Among these are included notes 12 16 17 49 5-8, and the description of the Moluccas in 55.11. There are (continuation from p.80 which is marked).

progress of the Society (Docs. 78 110). After his return to Kochi from the Moluccas, he could write to his colleagues in Rome: "If I ever forget the Society of the name of Jesus, 'may my right hand be forgotten' since in so many ways I have come to know the debt which I owe to this Holy Society". (Doc. 59 22).

Xavier's letters reveal both his charity and high zeal. He heard the confessions of, and preached to, the Portuguese wherever and whenever he could, and repeated and requested preachers from Europe who could assist them. One of his first concerns was for the care of the natives who had been baptized before his own arrival in India. (Docs. 20 14 19 2-4). At times his arms grew weary from the number of baptisms which conferred (Doc. 20 8), during the course of one month these amounted to more than ten thousand (Doc. 48 2). To insure the proper education of his new converts, he composed at least three manuals for their instruction (Docs. 14 53 58)

Francis Xavier is one of the outstanding men of the first half of the sixteenth century. He was the founder of the Indian Mission of the Society of Jesus. His major achievement was to consolidate and spread the Christian faith in India and in the Moluccas and Moro Islands of the Indonesian archipelago and to introduce Christianity to the newly discovered islands of Japan.¹²⁹ After spending ten years of intense toil as a missionary and a religious superior in India, the Malay Perinsula, and Japan, he died on December 2, 1552, on the desolate Island of Sancian where he had gone in the hope of being able to pass over to the Chinese mainland.

Planting the Society

¹²⁹ M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. *op.cit.*, p.xiii

In 1552 there were between forty-five and fifty thousand Christians in Thiruvithamcore and on the Fishery Coast. At the time of his death Xavier had under his direction already 64 Jesuits (19 of them priests), exactly half of the total number being in Goa.¹³⁰ Kochi was the most important Jesuit centre in India after Goa. It was also the first European mission centre in India and it was made their first capital in India by the Portuguese.¹³¹

The Diocese of Kochi

It should be noted that the erection of Kochi as an independent diocese with the Dominican George Temudo as its first bishop in 1558 was an important event in the growth of Roman Catholic Church in Kerala. He obtained several favours from the Raja Goda Varma, such as the restoration of civil (including property) rights to converts.¹³² The Jesuits, ably led by Melchior Nunes Barreto, were able to give more attention to the Malabar coast, and were greatly appreciated by Bishop Temudo who praised them to Fr. General Laynez in glowing terms. The Diocese of Kochi soon emerged as the centre for all Roman Catholic missionary endeavours in South India. With the erection of Kochi as a diocese, not only a Roman Catholic diocese was erected in Kerala since the eclipse of the Diocese of Kollam, but also the Portuguese Padroado, system was established over the newly created see. The Diocese of Kochi included the territories from Kannur to Kanyakumari on the west coast and all the Indian east coast.

¹³⁰ *Documenta Indica*, II, 612-21.

¹³¹ Gervasis J. Mulakara, *History of the Diocese of Cochin*, Vol.I, Rome, 1986, p.13.

¹³² The Diocese was erected by Pope, Paul IV by a Bull *Pro Excelenti Pro Eminentia* and declared Goa as its Archdiocese.

CHAPTER III

JESUIT MISSIONARIES

AFTER SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER

We have seen in chapter II that in October 1543 when Xavier returned to Goa from the Fishery Coast after spending a year there, he found Micer Paulo (Paul of Camerino) and Francisco Mansilhas (Mancijas) had arrived safely from Mozambique.

A brief biographical sketch of the Jesuit missionaries other than St. Francis Xavier, who arrived in India and subsequently visited and worked in Kerala from 1542 to 1773 is given below more or less in chronological sequence.

1. FRANCISCO MANSILHAS (d.1565)

Francisco Mansilhas was a Portuguese priest who sailed with Xavier from Lisbon in 1541. He was the second Jesuit missionary who worked in the ecclesiastical territory of Kochi, the first being Xavier. Later he became a companion of Xavier on the Fishery Coast. He was living in Punnaikayal, to the north of Kayalpatanam, a Muslim city. He was ordained by the bishop of Goa in 1545 (Docs. 45.2.50.1). But his qualifications for the priesthood were according to Lancilotto, not even the minimum. ¹Mansilhas had no education beyond the level of Latin, which too he did not know even to read.² He was not a priest and not a Jesuit, neither did he undergo any training as did the other members of the

¹ In a letter written dated Goa November 5, 1546 to Ignatius of Loyola in Rome, Lancilotto writes: "Francisco de Mansilhas is a man of good mind and intention, but utterly uneducated. He does not know how to read the office, which he is bound to recite each day, nor does it seem possible for him to learn enough so that he may ever celebrate Mass". (DI I 131-146).

² Schurhammer J, Francis Xavier, I, 716.

Schurhammer's sentence.... "No great learning was needed in India and any priest could find something to do there..." is a justification of the illiteracy of Mansilhas.

Company. His only qualifications to join Xavier was that he was a good-natured man desirous of doing some kind of missionary activity. His simplicity and earnestness impressed Xavier so much as to disregard his illiteracy and inefficiency. In the Fishery Coast he was entrusted with the northern centre of Manapad. Illiterate, inexperienced and inefficient, he easily lost patience with his flock and created occasion of quarrels and disputes.³ Nevertheless, he was entrusted with the care of the entire Fishery Coast and the Mukkua colonies. He continued in the Fishery Coast till 1547. In the meantime, he was ordained priest in Goa in the beginning of 1545⁴. He did not go to the Moluccas as he had been ordered to do. According to Francisco de Sousa, S.J., he was dismissed from the Society in 1548 for disobedience. (FX III 284-287, FX IV 540, note 63). He died in Kochi in 1565.

2. ROQUE DE OLIVEIRA

Roque de Oliveira, S.J. was born in the city of Aveiro around 1523. From 1544 to 1548 he taught in the College of St. Paul in Goa, where he made the Spiritual Exercises and in March 1548 was received by Xavier into the Society. From 1548 to 1550 he was a teacher in Malacca. In November 1550, he was sent to Goa to be ordained to the priesthood, but two years later, *in 1552, he was teaching in Kollam* and still not ordained. He left the Society in 1553. (DI I index; Doc. 84. 17-19; MX 429).⁵

3. ANTONIO CHINA

Antonio China (Antonio of the Holy Faith), so called because he had been born in China. He had come as a youth to the College of St. Paul in Goa, where

³ *Ibid.*, 428, 437, 457; *Documenta Indica*, I, 38.

⁴ As early as March 18, 1541 Xavier had written to Ignatius and Laynez about the ordination of Mansilhas. The necessary permission reached Goa by the end of December 1544; *Ibid.*, Footnote 35.

⁵ Cf. *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* translated and introduced by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., second edition, Anand, 1992, p.200, footnote.6.

he had been for seven years (1544-1551). During this time he had studied Latin for four years. *In 1552 he went to Kochi* and from there accompanied Xavier to the island of Sancian, where he assisted him until his death. He accompanied the body of the saint to Malacca in 1553, and from there he went with Beira to the Moluccas in order to work on the island of Moro. He returned to India in 1556, and from 1557 to 1560 instructed the catechumens of Goa in the faith. In 1578 Valignano greeted him in Macao as a *good Christian, upright and old*. To him we owe the magnificent accounts on Xavier's stay and death in the island of Sancian (DI *Documenta Indica* II 454-455; Q 4923 6039 6044 6080 6087 6100 6138 6144; Docs. 131.7; 135.9; Valignano, *Historia* 260-261; MX II 787-798 894-900; FX IV 640-643)⁶

Fathers Antonio Criminali, Nicolo Lancilotto and Juan de Beira arrived in Goa on September 2 1545.⁷ A brief account of the three Jesuits mentioned above is given below.

4. ANTONIO CRIMINALI (1520-1549)

Father Antonio Criminali, S.J., an Italian was born in Sissa near Parma on February 7, 1520. He entered the Society in 1542 and sailed for India in 1545 along with Lancilotto. While not yet a priest, he took the Jesuit vows at Rome on April 9, 1542 and went over to Coimbra for his studies. He was ordained in 1544 in which year he was included in the voyage to India that had to return to Lisbon due to bad weather. *After his arrival in Goa in 1545 (September), he was soon sent to Kochi. By the beginning of 1546 he reached Kanyakumari and became its Superior. As the superior of the mission of Kanyakumari, he was highly regarded by all.* In 1548 the Jesuits elected him as Superior of the Fishery Coast and Xavier confirmed this election⁸.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.431, footnote 20.

⁷ *Documenta Indica* I 58, Cf.*Ibid.*, p.140; footnote 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 44, 137, 242, 536,590-594.

But in June 1549, at the age of 29 he fell a victim to the attacks of the Badagas in a raid on a village near Vedalai on the Fishery Coast.⁹ (On his death see FX IV pp.361-368). Criminali is the first martyr of the Jesuits.¹⁰ He was highly esteemed by Xavier as a model missionary, zealous and prudent.¹¹ Criminali was succeeded by Henriques as superior of the Fishery Coast.

5. NICOLO LANCILOTTO (d. 1558)

Nicolo Lancilotto was born in Urbino, Italy. He entered the Society in Rome in 1541. He studied in Coimbra from 1542 to 1544 and was ordained there. In 1545 he came to India and taught Latin in St.Paul's College, Goa and he was Rector of the same College from 1545 to 1548. *He was the superior of Kollam.* In 1547 Lancilotto had painted a very dark picture of the reasons why Indians adhered to Christianity.¹² *From December 1548 he was in the city of Kochi with Xavier. At that time he wrote at length to Ignatius in Rome about various things in Kochi in reply to the letter of Ignatius of November 22, 1547.*

In the middle of 1549 Xavier placed the missionaries of the region of the Fishery Coast under the jurisdiction of Lancilotto. *In the same year Nicolas was called to the Kochi territory to found a College at Kollam for the entire region of the Thiruvithamcore, the Fishery and Coromandel Coasts. He founded the College and was the Rector of the same till his death. It was Fr. Lancilloto who transformed the church and the college of Kollam by using stone and lime instead of the first structures which were covered with palm leaves. In the*

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 44.

¹⁰ L.Zaleski, *Father Antony Criminali, S.J.*, in *The Saints of India*, pp.61-66.

¹¹ In his letter to Fr. Ignatius of Loyola in Rome from Kochi on January 14, 1549 Xavier wrote: "Antonio is on Cape Camorin with six others of the Society. He is in truth a holy man and born for tilling these lands. He is the superior of the companions who are in Cape Camorin. He is also esteemed by the native Christians, the Hindus, and the Muslims. It is almost impossible to say how much he is loved by the companions who are subject to him." (LS FX, 228).

¹² *Documenta Indica*, I, 182-83; John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *The Ignatian Vision of India*, Anand, 1991, p.47.

meantime, he was also the Superior of the Jesuits to the Southern Kochi Mission (Thiruvithamcore, the Fishery Coast and San Thome). In the next year Lancilotto suffered from consumption. Being very ill, he 'came to Goa with the intention of dying here'.¹³ In a letter to Ignatius in Rome from Kochi on January 14, 1549 Xavier wrote about Lancilotto as follows:

Although he is ill, Nicolo Lancilotto is now better and is living in Quilon,¹⁴ a city with a healthy climate, around eighty thousand paces from Kochi. He is in charge of a college that is to be erected there.¹⁵ *Lancilotto died in Kollam on April 7, 1558.* His great missionary spirit was much appreciated by Ignatius and Xavier. Lancilloto was succeeded by Francis Parez.

6. FRANCISCO PAREZ (d. 1583)

Born at Portugal, Parez joined the Society at Coimbra on January 25, 1544 and came to India in 1546. *He became Rector of Madre de Deus College at Kochi in 1552.* Later he governed many other houses of the Indian Province until he died at Nagapatnam on February 12, 1583.

7. JUAN DE BEIRA (d.1564)

¹³ Letter of Peter Louis, the Malabar, to the Provost General of the Society of Jesus, from the College of Goa in 1559.

¹⁴ Kollam is around 70 kilometers from Kochi.

¹⁵ M. Joseph Costello, S.J., *op.cit.*, p.228.

The idea of founding a Jesuit station in Kollam is seen mentioned in 1548 and for this purpose Nancilotto was sent there in January 1549. He started a college in Kollam in the same year and named it *San Salvador College*. Probably it was a school and the Jesuits taught there Portuguese, Latin and Catholic doctrines. It lodged about fifty youngmen and had about eight day scholars. Some of them became catechists and helped missionaries in evangelization work. In 1552 Lancilotto enlarged the college and built a beautiful church attached to it. (See the letter of Lancilotto dated October 29 to Ignatius Loyola in *Documenta Indica* II, p.379).

Juan de Beira was born in Pontevedra (Galicia). He was a soldier in Coruna in 1544. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1545 and sailed for India, the same year. *He worked as a missionary for some time in Kanyakumari* and then from 1549 to 1556 in the Moluccas. Compelled by sickness to return to India, he died in Goa in 1564.

On September 11, 1546 the Jesuits Francisco Henriques, Francisco Perez and Adam Francisco arrived in Goa from Portugal (DI I 363); on September 17, Henrique Henriques, Nuno Ribeiro and the younger Manuel de Morais (DI I 51); and on October 20, Cipriano and Baltasar and Nicolau Nunes in Kochi.

8. FRANCISCO HENRIQUES

Francisco Henriques joined the Society at Coimbra in 1545 and sailed for India in the following year. *From 1547 to 1548 he worked in Thiruvithamcore. At the instruction of Xavier, a college on the Kollam model had begun at Kochi by Francisco Henriques in 1549* on a site purchased by Governor Cabral along the sea for six hundred *pardaus*.¹⁶ The College was named *Madre de Deus* and Francisco worked in it from 1550 to 1551. At the beginning of 1552, the college had 150 extern students. In the same year he was in Thana where he died in 1557.

9. BROTHER ADAM FRANCISCO (d.1549)

Brother Adam Francisco entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra in 1542 and sailed to India in 1546. The following spring he was sent to Kanyakumari. *At the beginning of 1548 he went with Mansilhas to Kochi.* Returning to the Fishery Coast, he laboured with unceasing zeal and died on January 2, 1549.

10. HENRIQUE HENRIQUES OR ANRIQUES (1520-1600)

Henrique Henriques, a Jewish Jesuit was born in Villa Viçoça around 1520. He was a rich young man and a new convert from Portugal. After his studies in Canon law at Coimbra he became a soldier and entered the Society while yet a deacon, on October 7, 1545. In the same year of his ordination (1546) he reached Goa and *worked tirelessly on the Fishery Coast.* He was a scholarly Jesuit missionary who gave himself heart and soul to the study of Tamil, to the great delight of his Christians, and in time acquired remarkable proficiency in the language.¹⁷ Urged by Xavier, he gave himself wholeheartedly to the study of Tamil, which he was able to speak and write within a

¹⁶ It is generally believed that Baltasar Gago was its founder. But Schurhammer holds that it was founded by Francis Henriques while Wicki suggests that it was Anthony Gomes who was the founder.

¹⁷ John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *op. cit.*, pp.36-39.

year. Within six months he had completely mastered the language, cast it into form, and arranged its vocabulary, and his felicity in writing and speaking it had become a marvel to the natives themselves.¹⁸ He pursued relentlessly his Tamil studies and teaching his companions. He composed many works in Tamil including a Tamil grammar in 1549 for the use of the missionaries.¹⁹

Henriques has written compendiously about the creation of the world and the life of Christ, in which he briefly informs people about the essential things of our law and faith.²⁰ Not content with this, he attempted a Konkani and a Malayalam grammar modestly declaring to Fr.General that he felt he had a talent for composing a grammar in any language.²¹ Henriques was in charge of the two most important villages on the Fishery Coast – Thoothukudi and Punnaikayal – and some less important settlements (which he visited regularly, chiefly to baptize sickly infants in danger of death). *After the death of Crimali in 1549, he succeeded as Superior of the Kanyakumari mission.* For the next 25 years Henriques was the heart and soul of the Coast. He had about ten men under him almost all priests, whom he inspired and led by precepts and example. The Fishery Coast mission, excluding the island of Manar, covered twenty-seven villages, twenty of which had their own church. He has given the charge to teach the Christian doctrine to the whole people, to the boys in the morning, and the girls in the afternoon everyday and the women every Saturday and the men every Sunday.²²

¹⁸ Henry James Coleridge, *op.cit.*, p.33.

¹⁹ *Documenta Indica*, II, 158. His interest in the Tamil literature tempted him so much as to denounce his superiorship in order to devote himself entirely to the study of this literature: *Ibid.*, II, 238,240, 417,597-598.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p.4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VII, 442.

²² *Ibid.*, II, p.3.

The fisher folk were simple with practically no education, yet Henriques accomplished wonders with them.²³ He laid special stress on the Christian training of the young, and the regular instruction of adults. He selected intelligent students from the noble families of the Fishery Coast and sent them to the Colleges in Kollam and Goa for education.²⁴ He erected in the Coast many churches, a retreat house and a hospital. There were three principal means of which Henriques relied on his pastoral work: spiritual talks given to the more devout, who in time came to be organized into the confraternity of charity; the sacrament of penance or confession, initially of limited use because of the lack of Tamil-knowing priests; and the devoted and resourceful work of lay helpers. He died at Punnaikayal on February 6, 1600. He was respected not only by all the Christians, but by the Muslims and Hidnus as well.²⁵

11. YOUNGER MANUEL DE MORAIS

The younger Manuel de (Junior) Morais (Moraes) S.J., joined the Jesuits on November 5, 1543. Originally destined for Socotra, he was ordained in Goa to the priesthood at the beginning of 1549. He was assigned to the mission of Moro. *On March 18 he sailed with his companions from Goa for Kochi* in order to continue on with Xavier to Malacca. (See Doc. 68.4) After three years he was dismissed from the society by Xavier.

²³ John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773*, Bombay, 1997, p.39.

²⁴ *Documenta Indica*, II, 391.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p.4.

12. ANTONIO DE HEREDIA (b.1513)

Antonio de Heredia, S.J., was born in Braganza in 1513 and entered the Society in Coimbra in 1545. The following year, *already a priest, he sailed for India and went on to Kochi as superior. In 1551 he took charge as Rector of the Kochi College and continued in this post till January 1553.* From 1553 to 1557, with the exception of one year, he laboured on the mission in Goa, Bassein and Chaul. In 1561 he returned to Portugal, where after a year he was dismissed from the Society. Later he tried to join the Carthusian Order.

13. BALTASAR NUNES (c.1523-1569)

Baltasar Nunes, S.J., was born around 1523. He entered the Society in Coimbra in 1544 and sailed to India in 1546. He was in Chaul in 1547, and *from 1548 to 1552 he was stationed on Kanyakumari* and forced by illness to return to Goa, he died on the island of Chorao in 1569.

14. BALTASAR GAGO (c.1520-1583)

Born in Lisbon in 1520 Gago entered the Society there in 1546 and came to Goa after his ordination in 1548. He wrote long and impressive letters to Europe (DI I 500-507 548-575). *From 1549 to 1551 he was a missionary in Kochi.* In 1551 he accompanied the Governor, Alfonso de Noronha to Ceylon. In 1552 he went with Xavier to Malacca and later was sent to Japan. Because of his poor health, he had to return to India, where he died in Goa in 1583.

15. GIL BARRETO

Gil Barreto, S.J., was born around 1530 and went to India in 1548 as a candidate for the Society, which he entered in Goa. From 1552 to 1555 he was in Bassein, then a year in Diu, *and another in Kollam.* After this he lived in Goa, where he dedicated himself to studies. Called to Europe in 1560, he was dismissed from the Society in 1567.

16. FRANCISCO LOPES (c.1529-1568)

Francisco Lopes, S.J., was born around 1529 and entered the Society in Goa in 1548. He worked in Bassein and sailed with the viceroy to Hormuz in 1552 as a captain of the fleet. He then finished his studies in Goa, and from 1558 *was a missionary in Kochi and Kollam*. In 1568 he suffered martyrdom near Chale at the hands of the Mohammedans.

17. PAULO DO VALLE (d.1552)

Paulo do Valle, S.J., was born in Vizeu and entered the Society in Coimbra in 1547. The following year, already a priest, he sailed to Goa. A week later *he set out for Kanyakumari, where he laboured with great zeal*. He died in Punnaikayal on March 4, 1552, after having been ill with tuberculosis for three months.

18. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO

Melchior Nunes Barreto, S.J., was born in Oporto around the year 1522. He was the brother of the later Patriarch of Ethiopia. He entered the Society at Coimbra in 1543 and sailed to India from Portugal in 1551 with an appointment from Simon Rodrigues as superior of all the Jesuits then in India. Thus he became the vice-provincial from 1553 to 1556. After successful completion of various ministries in Goa, Bessein and Japan, *he came to Kochi in 1557 as Rector of the College*. He died at Goa on August 10, 1571.

19. EM MANUEL TEIXEIRA (1536-1590)

Born at Braganza in 1536, Teixeira joined the Society at Coimbra in February 1551, and a few weeks later set sail for India. In 1552 he was sent to Thana, although his normal residence was in Goa, where he was perfect of studies in 1559. Ordained as priest in Goa, in 1560, he lived from 1563 to 1566 in Macao charged with the opening of the Chinese mission. Returning to India, *he was Rector of the College of Kochi from 1569 to 1573 and in 1579*. From 1573 to 1574 he had charge of the whole Jesuit province. He died in Goa on March 19, 1590 (DI II, indices).²⁶

20. JOAO BRAVO (1529-1575)

João Bravo, S.J., was born in Braga in 1529. In 1548 he sailed with Perez to Malacca, where he was received into the Society by Xavier. *At the end of 1552 he went with Perez to Kochi*. He later studied in Goa and was ordained in the priesthood in 1558. He was a missionary in Bassein in 1560 and 1561, then master of novices and rector in Goa, where he died in 1575 (Docs. 89 129.3 130.1)

21. PETER LUIS (c.1532-1596)

Peter Luis, the first Indian Jesuit, was the son of a Brahman converted by Nicolo Lancilotto. Born in the Kollam district around 1532, he became a Catholic at the age of fifteen, and rendered yeoman service to the missionaries, as companion and interpreter, up and down the west coast. In spite of his repeated pleas ²⁷and the recommendation of Gonçalo da Silveira, he was admitted to the Society towards the end of 1560 by Fr. General Laynez ²⁸. Ordained in 1571, Luis laboured faithfully for many years in the Fishery Coast.

²⁶ .C f. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., *op.cit.*, p.366, footnote 3.

²⁷ DI, IV, 432.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 842, 857.

He went with Fr. Francis Anriquez to Kanyakumari, where he was one year and half and at his requests Fr. Antonio Criminali sent him to Goa to the College, to study and he arrived at the College the year when Fr. Antonio Gomes came. A year later he went with Fr. Antonio Gomes to the coast of Malabar, to the king of Tanur to be his interpreter and after that he returned to Goa. There he was with Antonio Gomes for one year. After that he went with Fr. Nicolo Lancilotto to Ceylon to be interpreter for the conversion of the infields and to teach the catechism to the catechumens and the Christians there. There he stayed for five years. For four years he was learning grammar and rhetoric and still learning logic with the company of the brothers²⁹. In 1580 he was labouring at Vaipicotta among the Syrians or St. Thomas Christians, his own countrymen.

Peter Luis must have helped in the completion of a Malabar Catechism, which was the first book in an Indian language published in India.³⁰

On one occasion Luis was attacked by non- Christians near Vaipicotta and almost beaten to death. He recovered. In the *Menology of the Society of Jesus* , Rochampton, St. Joseph's Press,1874, we read under March 5(p.72): 'At Malabar, in the year 1596, (March) Father Peter Aloysious, a son of one of the leading families of the Malabar Brahmins while fervently engaged in preaching the Faith of Christ, and in reprovig the inhuman practices of the infidels, some Hindus ran him through with their lances, and left him for dead'. At this time, sadly the doors of the Society had been closed to Indian vocations for almost twenty years.³¹

22. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO (1539-1606)

²⁹ . *Kerala Society Papers*, Part I, Thiruvananthapuram, p.45.

³⁰ Was not this Catechism in Tamil ?-- T.K. Joseph.

³¹ See John Correia- Afonso, S.J., *Ignatius and Indian Jesuit Vocations in Teotonio de Souza and Charles Borgia eds; Jesuits in India:in Historical Prespective.* pp.79-80.

Born at Chieti, Italy, in February 1539, Valignano had already made a name for himself as a lawyer, when he abandoned all his prospects in the world to enter the Society in Rome in May 1566. After a rapid formation, he was ordained priest in March 1570, and two years later was appointed rector of the college at Macerata. Such were his abilities and talent for organization that in spite of his youth the Jesuit General Mercurian appointed him in 1573, Visitor of the Missions of the Society in India and Japan. It was September 24, 1573, and Valignano was not yet thirty-five. He was official Jesuit Visitor in the East from 1574 till his death in 1606.

Valignano landed in Goa on September 6, 1574. He was official Jesuit Visitor in the East from 1574 till his death in 1606. *He set out on his visitation taking ship for Kochi around April 20, 1575.*³² In the space of less than three years he visited twice all the colleges, residences and mission stations of the Society of Jesus in India.³³ He once travelled on foot from Mylapore to Goa! sometimes under burning heat and inclement rain the vile he had to make do with unfamiliar food and drink, then we have some idea of the stuff of which Valignano was made.³⁴

In his first round the Visitor spent a month in Kochi, then moved on to Kollam and the Thiruvithamcore mission. Next he travelled east to the Fishery Coast, staying for three weeks at Punnaikayal, where he was much impressed by the good work done by Henriques and his companions. He also stopped at Manar, S.Tome of Mylapore and Nagapatinam. *By mid- November he was again in Kochi,* and in Goa by early December. He spent the month of December at the Jesuit residence on the island of Chorjõ, busy with a consultation of the Indian Province, followed by its first Provincial

³² John Correia- Afonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.2, p.60.

³³ *Documenta Indica*, X,1-5.

³⁴ John Correia- Alfonso, S.J., *op.cit.*, No.2, p.61.

Congregation.³⁵ The entire documentation of the Chorjo meetings bears witness of Valignano's administrative talent, great capacity for work, and forceful personality.³⁶

Valignano travelled northwards at the end of January 1576, with Vincente for companion. It took him a month to reach Bassein by sea, and thence he paid visits to Daman, Thana, Trindade and Bandra.³⁷ Everywhere he evinced keen interest in the work of his colleagues, encouraged them by his appreciation, and gave practical assistance. By the first week of April he was once again in Goa.

After spending practically all the rest of 1576 in Goa, attending to his paper work and other ordinary duties, besides helping to solve some important Problems of Church and State in Goa at the request of the parties concerned, Valignano sailed again for Bassein in mid-December and spent four months in the north. He returned briefly to Goa, and then he was off once more to the south, to study the question of the Thomas Christians and to visit again the missionaries on the Fishery Coast. Back again at his base, he sailed from Goa on September 20, 1577, for Malacca on his way to Japan, the land he was to love and serve so well. He would be away for six years, *landing Kochi in October 1583* to receive the news that he had been appointed Provincial of India.³⁸ During the first three years of his visitation (1574-1577) Valignano spent a good deal of his time in the colleges (which today might better be called schools) of the Indian Province.

23. ALBERTO LAERZIO (1557-1630) – FOUNDER OF THE MALABAR PROVINCE

³⁵ *Ibid.*,

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.62.

³⁷ H C I 379.

³⁸ *Documenta Indica*, XII,3, 827-44.

Alberto Laerzio was an Italian born at Orta, in the Papal States in 1557, entered the Society in 1576 and set out for the Indies in 1579. At Goa he took his final vows on the 9th of July 1590. He was in turn Master of Novices for 12 years, Rector of Salsette and *Socius* to Fr. Visitor. In 1599 he was deputed to Rome, to the congregation of the Procurators, by the Province of Goa. In September 1602 he returned with 60 missionaries of whom 35 were priests. He had negotiated with Fr. Claude Aquaviva, the Jesuit General in Rome, for the division of the two provinces. The offices he had held till then in the Society marked him out as the man best fitted to be in charge of the organization of the new Vice-Province.³⁹ In fact he remained Provincial until December 1611. *Having passed some time in the Missions of Malabar* he became again Master of Novices in 1619. Soon afterwards he was elected Procurator to Rome for the second time. He returned in 1624 and in 1626, almost at the end of his life, he was appointed Provincial again. *He died at Kochi in 1630.*

Laerzio is the true founder of the Southern Province, whose greatest achievement was the Madura Mission. Goa was too far away to understand the problems of the missionaries. They needed a nearer centre of authority, a closer nucleus of unity. Fr. Laerzio who was sent to Rome as Procurator, acquainted Fr. General Aquaviva with the state of affairs. Fr. Aquaviva understood the situation, and the General Congregation expressed a desire that a new Province should be formed. The matter was taken in hand in India, and a Vice-Province was established in Malabar in 1605 with Fr. Manuel Viega as its first Vice-Provincial.

After having *organized the College of Kochi* Laerzio set about visiting the Vice-Province. *He managed to visit Malabar proper* and the Fishery Coast. *In 1605 the Vice-Province of Malabar was made into a regular Province, and Fr. Laerzio became its first Provincial. The Feast of St. Ignatius was celebrated in*

³⁹ D. Ferroli, S.J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol.I, Bangalore, 1939. p.276.

Kochi with great splendour. The relations of Fr Laerzio with Archbishop Roz continued excellent – *as when he was in the Society* – wrote Laerzio; and the Archbishiop wrote about the Provincial:

All the Fathers here are doing their duty, and they help me as well as they can, above all the Provincial Fr. Laerzio. I do not know what I could do without him. I can assure your Paternity that he carries out very well what you have so warmly recommended him. It is on this account that he has many troubles and difficulties; but he does not mind, because being a good Religious, he desires to please you, and to serve God. Thus I consider, and shall always consider him as a father, and I shall always follow his advice.⁴⁰

We take the following from a letter which Fr. Manuel Roiz wrote to Fr. Alvarez on 25th November 1608 for the credit of Fr. Laerzio:

Fr. Provincial Laerzio governs very well. He is animated with great zeal for the well-being and the reform of the Society, as well as for the conversion of the heathen. Moved by this zeal, he did not hesitate to give up the churches of the Fishery Coast.

In short, we can say that Fr. Laerzio was a born Superior and a man full of initiative.

24. JAMES FENICIO

Born about 1558 at Capua in Italy, James Fenicio entered the Society of Jesus in 1580 and set sail for India in 1583. *He was the resident priest of Arthunkal, between Kollam and Kochi for over 30 years -1584-1602 and 1619-1632. His life in India was mostly spent between Kochi and Arthunkal, apart from relatively brief stays at Purakkad, Kozhikode and Tanur. He was a zealous missionary for long years in Malabar. He had close relationship with the*

⁴⁰ *Letter to Aquaviva, 23rd January 1611.*

Samoothiris of Kozhikode and he can be considered as the founder of the Kozhikode Mission. He was one of the first Europeans to write systematically on Hinduism. He was also the first who has left us a reliable description of the Todas. He is a successful diplomat and a holy religious. The letters of Fenicio are among the most interesting. In one of his letters he lamented that due to the lack of labourers in many places in Kerala the nestorians, the pre-Portuguese Christians of Kerala, were so abandoned that they lived like Hindus having only the name Christians. In another letter he says that the Viceroy had received instructions from the King of Portugal and the Pope to begin a Seminary at Vaipicotta for the Nestorians or Thomas Christians as they are called, in order to teach them rigorously in the Roman Catholic way.

From the account of Pyrard De Laval (who visited Kozhikode in 1607), we get an idea that Fr. Fenicio had done his evangelization work in Kozhikode. The account of Laval shows that there lived along with Fr. Fenicio another Jesuit father (a Portuguese) in Kozhikode. They were well-received of the Samoothiri, the King of Kozhikode and got from him a pension of 100 crowns a year.

It was over Calicut that Fr. Fenicio toiled for so many years, under the kindly patronage of the Samoothiri, that he had written his famous "Livro dos Seitas" which helped Baldeus (who destroyed the Jesuit Archives at Kochi in 1663) who plagiarized them to do his research work from the information contained in it.

25. GONÇALO FERNANDES (d.1621)

Gonçalo Fernandes was born in Lisbon. He had sailed to India as a private soldier and joined the Society in 1560, when he was still serving as a soldier under Don Constantino de Braganza. He studied at Goa and worked for many years among the Paravas (Baratha Christians) on the Fishery Coast. As far

back as 1596 he arrived at Madurai⁴¹ from the Fishery Coast. He built a hospital for both Hindus and Christians and opened a school with a Brahmin teacher for Hindu children. Fr. N. Levanto was with him in 1598 when he was visited by Fr. Pimenta. He was joined in 1606 by Fr. De Nobili who separated from him, to inaugurate his new method. He conducted a little school where he taught Tamil to children, and carried his broadmindedness to the extent of employing a Brahmin teacher. He preached in Tamil in his church, taught catechism to the children and did all that could reasonably be expected from a good missionary. "He was a good and zealous priest who had taken the trouble to learn his Tamil well so as to win soul to Jesus Christ".⁴² He was in Madurai till 1614, *went to Kochi in 1618* and returned to Thoothukudi where he died in April, 1621 and was buried in the church of Our Lady of Snows. He was a bitter opponent of Fr. De Nobili, against whom he wrote many damaging reports.

26. NICHOLAS PIMENTA (1546-1614)

Nicholas Pimenta was born at Santarem, Portugal in 1546. At the age of sixteen he joined the Society of Jesus in 1562 in which he held posts of responsibility such as that of Rector of the famous colleges of Coimbra and Evora, where he had taught Humanities and Theology. In 1596 he was sent to India as Visitor, was later appointed Provincial of Goa and, *in 1609, Visitor of the New Malabar Province*. He died at Goa on 6 March 1614.

Fr. Pimenta's letters are very informative and useful. He is very methodical in his accounts. His practice of reproducing extracts from the reports submitted to him give added weight to his letters. Pimenta's office made him singularly well fitted to give an overall picture of India.

⁴¹ Madurai is described as the *Athens of the South*.

⁴² Sauliere, S.J., *Red Sand*, Madurai, p.280.

Fr. Hosten has published in English some of Fr. Pimenta's letters, and few as these are they suffice to reveal the Jesuit Visitor as a man of experience and judgement, as we would expect of one who held such responsible offices in his Order.⁴³ From what his colleagues wrote about him, the Visitor seems to have been a kind man, but not lacking in firmness. Indeed some of those who came directly under his authority seem to have taught him rather-high handed at times.⁴⁴

Fr. Pimenta was evidently very businesslike in his ways not content with an oral request for Jesuit missionaries made by the Viceroy, he asked for it in writing. The original was then deposited in Goa Jesuit Archives, while a copy was embodied in the letter to the General.

27. DIAGO GONÇALVES (1561-1640)

Diago Gonsalves was born in Mondego (North Portugal) in 1561. He joined the Society in 1583 and came to India in 1591. After some work in Goa and Salsette, in 1597 he was sent to South, and *for nearly 40 years he laboured in Kollam*. The *Litterae* (1633) speak of him with great deference and esteem. He loved the people and was regarded by all as a saint. He died in Kollam, *in 1640*, eighty years old. *He knew Malayalam well, and possessed detailed knowledge of the conditions of the people of Kerala. This is embodied in his Historia do Malavar*. It is his *magnum opus*. He was engaged in writing this from 1604 onwards. It was in 1604 that Fr. Manuel de Veiga, the Provincial of India, entrusted him with the task of writing the history of the Province. Immediately he started in all earnestness to gather material for the same and to plan it out in detail. The *Historia* by D. Gonçalves, give good descriptions of places, persons, customs, etc. The MS is in the Roman Archives S.J. under *Goa*

⁴³ John Correia-Afonso, S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542-1773*, second edition, Bombay, 1969, p.61.

⁴⁴ D. Ferroli S.J., *op.cit.*, pp.282-84.

58. It consists of 88 sheets; made up of four books. *The first* treats of such topics as King Parasuramen, the Kings of Muterte, Lerte, Kochi, Parur, Mangate and of the Kingdom of Porca. Then it describes the various marriage customs of Brahmins and non-Brahmins, the laws of succession among kings, and untouchability. Some chapters are devoted to the political government and to the government called *chanam*. The book closes with some notes on the administration of justice, and on the sciences and, mechanical arts which were studied and practised in Malabar. As it appears from this bare index, the book is a mine of information on the customs, traditions and conditions of Malabar in the XVI century.⁴⁵

The second book is devoted to the religion of Malabar, to its gods, laws and ceremonies, to the doctrine of salvation, to certain ceremonies performed in order to get rid of sin at the various temples, ceremonies and feasts. Next it deals with the dead, their burial or cremation, and the barbarious custom of the burning of widows. The last chapters (22 to 27) describe the principal cities of Malabar and Thiruvithamcore, the kingdom of Coulao and Gundra, some legends and stories, and finally they give a short history of the origin of the Thomas Christians. *The third book* is a refutation and condemnation of certain marriage customs, of untouchability, and of many injustices done in the name of caste. *The fourth book* refutes, the theological errors current in Malabar and gradually leads to the admission of revelation and to the truth of Christianity.

In an extract from Vol XIV, (1945) of the *Archivum Historicum Soc. Jesu*, Fr. Wicki gives an idea of the book and of its importance. *Fr. Gonsalves had lived long in Malabar, he knew the language and had got his information both from personal observation and careful enquiry and research.* Far from living within the narrow circle of the Portuguese, he moved among people of all

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol.II, Bangalore, 1951,p.403.

conditions and castes, made friends with them, put them infinite questions, took notes and carefully compared them.

28. ROBERTO DE NOBILI (1577-1656)

Roberto de Nobili was born in Rome in September 1577. His family, which claimed descent from the Emperor Otho III, had begun to make a name at the beginning of the eleventh century when Manente de Nobili became governor of the rock fortress of Orvieto. For fifteen generations the Nobilies were important figures in Orvieto as Governors, Consuls and *Capitani al governo* until 1460.

By the age of seventeen Roberto was convinced that he had vocation to become a Jesuit missionary: to respond to the call of the embassies and the Annual Letters. He was good-looking and intelligent; a man of tall, thin body. In the teeth of violent opposition, he had entered the Jesuit novitiate, and when his ordination was drawing near, his relatives rose up in protest. Since he could not follow his vocation in Rome, he decided to leave. Without telling his family, he travelled south and crossed the frontier into the kingdom of Naples. Finally he was allowed to join the Society of Jesus. At the age of nineteen, in 1596, he entered the novitiate of Naples.

In 1599 Nobili entered on his *Philosophical* course, during which he studied logic, science, astronomy, metaphysics, psychology and ethics. The works consisted mainly in reading the writings of Aristotle, with his Christian commentators, and Nobili set about it with a will, for only men with good academic records were chosen for the coveted foreign missions. The General thought highly of Nobili and in 1600 invited him to Rome to begin the final part of his education-theology. Nobili applied himself well under such masters as Cardinal Bellarmine - a close friend. He created such a favourable impression in his theological course that during 1603 he was allowed the distinction of being

ordained priest before he had completed the final year of his three-year syllabus.

⁴⁶ Nobili arrived in Goa and was led to the College of St. Pauls', one of the finest buildings in Goa. For the next five months, Nobili lived at the College of St. Paul's, continuing his theological studies.

Nobili's studies at the College of St. Pauls' were interrupted – as a result of the change of climate – by a *terrible illness*. But he passed his examination in theology and by the end of 1605 was free to start his missionary work. In Rome he had met and favourably impressed an Italian named Alberto Laerzio, a missionary since 1579. It seems likely that Laerzio had settled with the General at Rome that Nobili was to join his own province.

In Kochi's College of the Mother of God Nobili met his superior, Laerzio. He was then forty-nine, twenty years Nobili's senior, an energetic Italian whose gentle manner had a determined and daring spirit. Though he had his limitations as an administrator, few could match his missionary zeal. Above all, he was broad-minded. These were qualities Nobili admired; and at once he and Laerzio were laying the foundations of a lifelong friendship.⁴⁷

It was agreed that Nobili should join the eight Jesuits working among the Paravas, or pearl-fishers, of the Fishery Coast, to learn Tamil. *At the end of March 1605 he sailed from Kochi* to the Fishery Coast and set about learning Tamil. His memory was so retentive that he seldom forgot anything he had once heard. ⁴⁸ After seven months with the pearl-fishers, he could speak and write Tamil adequately. He knew something about Portuguese India and the problems of the Paravas.

⁴⁶ Vincent Cronin, *A Pearl to India*, (the Life of Roberto de Nobili), New York, 1959, pp.19-21.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.86.

In November 1605 Laerzio arrived back on the Fishery Coast from a long tour of his province and he had chosen De Nobili to convert those living in the heart of Southern India. On 10th November 1606 a little group of explorers set out from Thoothukudi for Madurai. It consisted of Alberto Laerzio, his *Socius* (or assistant), Jeronimo Gomez, Gonçalo Fernandez and Roberto de Nobili. Madurai is 133 kilometres from Thoothukudi – at least five days' journey on foot.

The five travellers made their way to the outskirts where the Paravas lived and reached Fernandez's mission house. The mission in Madurai was then eleven years old. In addition to the fine house it consisted of a small neat church, an elementary school for boys under a Hindu master and – pride of the mission – a small dispensary.

Nobili's first Indian acquaintance at Madurai was the schoolmaster employed by Fr. Fernandez. Intelligent and well-versed in Hindu theology, he held the title of *guru* (spiritual teacher) in his own sect. He was a strict vegetarian and sincere inquirer after truth. Nobili set about winning the school-teacher's friendship by asking his help in his Tamil studies.

One of Nobili's first steps was to call Christianity not the religion of the Parangis but the true religion (*sattya vedam*). He was an educated man devoted to religion; he spoke Tamil; his manners were impeccable, yet he tried to associate with educated Hindus of Madurai. Nobili considered the possibility of a more radical adaptation. He had by his religious vows dedicated himself to a life of penance and chastity. Among the rules which he had to observe were to take only one meal a day of rice and herbs, during which he must not be seated; never to look at a woman; to live entirely by alms-though he had a right to ask for them, it was more proper to receive them without asking; when travelling to carry only his bamboo, gourd and antelope's skin; to avoid the defilement of

walking barefoot, he must wear wooden sandals. By such austerities, by prayer and meditation he hoped to destroy any feeling of attachment for the world and its pleasures, as a means to final reunion with God. ⁴⁹With his talents, his experience of India, his knowledge of men, his prudence and tact, Nobili exercised a most beneficent influence in his council for Indian Affairs.

Nobili came to the conclusion that to adopt the sanyasi's dress, diet and manner of living would prove the best means of opening the door of India. However, such a major change could be made only with the sanction of his superiors, of whom the most immediate was Alberto Laerzio. Nobili's suggestions were not only daring, they were revolutionary.⁵⁰ He started his great experiment in missionary work. The opposition was strong and widespread, but both Laerzio and Archbishop Roz were on his side. Their views were broad and far-reaching. When Laerzio presented Nobili's request to Roz, Archbishop of Kodungallur, he naturally considered it and after consulting Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, gave them his approval.

Fr. Gonçalo Fernandes and some others did not like this sort of adaptation, it struck them as detrimental to their national prestige. They accused Fr. De. Nobili of trucking of Indian prejudices and variety, and pandering to popular superstition. They denounced him to his superiors in Goa and Rome and started a long and painful controversy, in which the patience and heroic charity of Fr.de Nobili were sorely tried. But ultimately he won his case, and was allowed to carry on his work.

A distinguished Missionary of Mill Hill ⁵¹ wrote the following:

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.48.

⁵¹ Rev. B. Vlasveld, *Story of the Catholic Church in our Telgu Country*, Introduction.

The method of Fr. de Nobili has proved a success; it was then the only possible method, as it would be to this day, had not India undergone a great change by becoming part of the British Empire.

Despite Fernandez's reproaches, Nobili continued his experiment. His innate courtesy and kindness made the people feel at home. He spoke well, without any mixture of Portuguese, and he said things worth hearing. He listened too with close interest to what they had to say. He became specially popular with some of the younger men, who would come and converse with him. He was struck by their deep sense of religion. He found them extremely sociable and kind hearted. They would explain to him their customs, and knowing he was most anxious to conform to them, would warn him against false steps and give him useful advice regarding Hindu etiquette. Thus many things which had been pointed out to him by Fernandez as absurd now appeared to him as not only very reasonable but full of wisdom.⁵²

No longer an outcaste, Nobili began to see India not as the country of his voluntary exile, but as his own country – the country of *his* people. Madurai – almost from the very beginning – was his own town and he took a patriotic pride in its *beauty, wealth and large population*. Tamil was his language and he regarded it as *copious, elegant, most beautiful*. He loved it and studied it thoroughly, trying to discover behind the words the mentality of *his people*. Combined with his noble manner and unfailing courtesy, led them to the conclusion that he must belong to the caste of the Kshatriyas or Rājās. Nobili showed his willingness to enter Indian society.

Early in 1607 Nobili proclaimed to the people of Madurai that they had been mistaken in thinking that he belonged to the Parangi caste. He did this by

⁵² Vincent Cronin, *op. cit.*, p.52.

accepting the style of a R;jj; - and by organizing his house on strictly Indian lines. He could claim to be a R;jj; only by behaving like one.⁵³

Seated on the ground, he must take his rice with the tip of the fingers of his right hand and carry it to his mouth in the approved Indian style. Now he must drink water once only, when he had finished eating, pouring it into his mouth from a distance, so as not to sully the water-pot with his saliva, considered by Indians an extremely impure substance. After his meal, with his left hand he poured water out of the drinking vessel to wash his right hand clean. At first this way of life proved awkward, but soon he became used to it. He knew that he was being carefully watched and he, in his turn, was waiting to see the effect of his new manners.⁵⁴

Nobili continued scrupulously to observe the rules of the R;jj; caste. Men of the three highest castes – the best educated in Madurai – began to come and speak to him: at first only one or two, at rare intervals, then in groups. Though he was more dignified than his old colleagues, he gave them the impression that he was nearer to them, that he was one of themselves. They began to address him deferentially as *Aiyer*, the Master of the House.⁵⁵

About February 1607 Nobili had opened a course of religious instruction for those young men who had gathered round him and were eager to hear him. Naturally curious to know how his Tamil pupil was conducting his class, the school teacher inquired from those who attended it, and when he heard the praises they bestowed on Nobili, he decided to attend the course also. The school-teacher was not altogether ignorant of Christianity: he heard Nobili explain some of the terms such as *god, heaven, creation, life everlasting*, etc.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.56.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.57.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.57-58.

with eloquence and fervour, bent not only on convincing the mind but also on winning the heart. The school-teacher began to argue with Nobili, and being that reason was not always on his side, he began to show himself more humble and respectful.⁵⁶

Nobili had spoken louder and clearer than other Jesuits. He had a talent of extraordinary personal attraction. They had heard him speak, they loved him, and because they loved him wanted to be like him. And the way to be like him was to become a Christian.⁵⁷

Since coming to India Nobili had been known successively as Paulist, Parangi, Riji and Aiyer. With his first converts he now received a new title – that of guru.⁵⁸ Indians prefer a highly unequal relationship between master and pupil, priest and flock; so that by accepting Nobili's teaching Albert⁵⁹ and Alexis⁶⁰ and the rest looked upon themselves as disciples of Nobili.

As days went by, Nobili became increasingly aware that his black cassock and leather shoes were compromising his work. Those who lived in his immediate surroundings and knew him intimately could overlook them, being perfectly aware of his orthodox habits. To win the respect of Indians, Nobili would be obliged to adopt an even stricter life than formerly: to give up all amusements, to eat only one meal a day, to fast and do penance on the Indian scale; he would have, above all, to lead a hidden lonely life.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.60-61.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*,p.66

⁵⁸ *Guru* means both spiritual teacher – one who imparts knowledge – and spiritual master – one whose life is a model.

⁵⁹ Albert was the first disciple of Nobili.

⁶⁰ Alexis Nayak was the second Indian to have been baptized by Nobili – at the end of 1607. He was called Alexis Swami and Nobili hoped that one day he would become a priest. Nobili had arranged for Alexis to attend Kochi College, with a view to preparing him for the priesthood.

The consultors' approval reached Nobili in November 1607, a year after his arrival in Madurai. At once he discarded his black cassock and leather shoes. He had his hair shaved close to the skull and, since Indians considered a bare brow naked and indecent, he made a rectangular mark on his forehead with sandal. This, known as the mark of science of learning, could be worn by any well-educated man, especially by one proficient in philosophy. His body he draped in three pieces of red-ochre cloth, two round his shoulders, the third round his loins and extending below the knees. Sannyasis usually wore only a scanty loin cloth, but Nobili modified the fashion for his own dress. On his feet he clamped high wooden sandals. Though the light red ochre cloths proved more comfortable in hot weather than his black cassock, the sandals were meant to be awkward and penitential. He obtained a water-gourd to carry on his left hand when he went out, and a bamboo stick with seven knots to carry in his right hand. In Indian eyes Nobili was now what he claimed be, an ascetic, his life devoted to serving God: a beggar clother in the sunrise.⁶¹ Nobili bound himself by a solemn vow to continue as a sannyasi for the rest of his life.

With Laerzio's permission Nobili began to look for another house where he could lead in peace the life of a true sannyasi. He found a hut near and slightly to the north-east of the temple of Siva. He found it suitable; secluded enough to be peaceful, yet central enough to make it easy for visitors to call on him. He thanked the poligar for his kind offer and, at the end of November 1607, after saying good-bye to Goncalo Fernandes, moved from the Portuguese-style mission house, with tiled roof, to the little hermitage. A few days later he wrote to his friend Cardinal Bellarmine:

I am now living in a cabin with earthen walls and a thatched roof, which is more useful to me and makes me happier than if it were a

⁶¹ Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, pp.70-71.

rich palace..... My food consists of a little rice-abundant in this country – with some herbs and fruit; neither meat nor eggs ever cross my threshold.⁶²

As the fame of the Rĳĳi sannyĳsi spread, more inquirers began to be made. As many inquirers told him that if they had the Nayak's permission they would become his disciples, he thought of asking that permission. The Nayak heard of Nobili and invited him two or three times to the palace, saying that he would be glad to speak with him. He wondered why the stranger did not accept his invitation, and was told that the new sannyĳsi was so chaste that he never left his hermitage, lest his pure eyes should fall on a woman.

In December 1607 Nobili laid the foundations of a real home with several rooms to accommodate visitors, and a little chapel where he could say Mass. He finished the construction and was able to occupy them in May 1608. Laerzio summed up his impressions in a report to the General at Rome:

The dress of Father Robert consists of a long gown of a pale yellow colour. He might often be poorly dressed in rags. As for his head-dress it consists of a cloth of fine white linen.

Father Robert, to assert his position as a teacher of the Christian law, wears a thread. However, it consists not of three, but of five strands. Of these, three are of gold, and symbolize the Holy Trinity. To this thread he attached a cross which represents the Passion and Death of Jesus Christ.

His *house* is in a street where only the high castes may dwell. It is only when visitors have called two or three times and begged his interpreter and let them speak to the Aiyer that he allows them to

⁶² Cf. *Ibid.*, p.74.

be introduced, and have speech with him. (Aiyer, which means *Signore* is the name they give him).

The visitors find him sitting on a raised platform, covered with a red or yellowish colour. All – even the noblest and highest personages of the court – bow to him, raising their joined hands to the forehead.

The Father speaks the purest Tamil and pronounces it so well that even the most fastidious Brahmin scholars cannot improve on his diction. He has already read many books, and learned by heart the essential passages of their laws as well as many verses of their most famous poets. He sings them with such perfection and grace that all listen to him with pleasure and unconcealed admiration.⁶³

Laerzio came to know some of Nobili's friends and studied closely his methods of conversion. At the end of his month's stay he was entirely satisfied. Nobili had embarked on an entirely new and much more ambitious course: nothing less than an apostolate among the Brahmins.⁶⁴

Archbishop Ros, after consulting the Archbishop of Goa and the Inquisitors had given Nobili permission to wear the thread.

Ever since his arrival in Madurai he had been struck by the extraordinarily privileged and respected status of the Brahmins. It was easy to recognize one in the street by his swagger and the freedom of his behaviour, to which superiority of birth, rank and education gave him a right. A Hindu of lower caste would greet him by joining both hands, touching the forehead, then putting the hands above the head and saying, *Saranam, ayya, Respectful*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp.79-81.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.81.

greeting, my lord. Nobili's language was concise and elegant, enriched with many Sanskrit words, interspersed with proverbs and allegories, lengthened with endless polite and flattering terms. ⁶⁵

Nobili could speak Sanskrit and read Grantham. His main interest in the Vedas was pragmatic. He made a first attempt to adapt not only his dress and manners but his way of thinking to Indian preconception. He had a precedent for such a method. As a sannyāsi, he might be able to learn some of the doctrines of the Brahmins. Nobili knew what Ricci had done and evidently hoped to apply similar methods in India.⁶⁶ He began to extract from approved commentaries of the Vedas, a collection of texts and allusions best suited to serve as a basis of demonstration of the truth of Christianity.⁶⁷ He was living as an Indian, leading after his 20,800 kilometer journey from the West – a totally static life in the hermitage, making concessions in dress, diet, language and manners. ⁶⁸ Grace in him must act out the truth of his apprehensions. Between Rome and Madurai he himself must become the bridge of love. ⁶⁹

Nobili wanted the high-caste converts to be allowed to retain the *kudumi*, and for this innovation he obtained Archbishop Ros' approval.

On Pentecost Sunday, 7th June 1607, Nobili announced the good news to Laerzio:

To-day I baptized my beloved Brahmin Master. It was a great joy and consolation to me, to him, and to all the Christians. I gave him the name of *Diodato*, in Tamil *Sivadarma*. I hope that he will be of great help for the conversion of these gentiles, for he is a young

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.81-82.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.91.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.95.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.96.

man known throughout the whole town of Madurai. He belongs to a very good family and has the well-deserved reputation of a great scholar, learned in their laws and sacred books; and what raises him still higher in my esteem is that while still a gentile he was a man of excellent morals, modest and well-behaved.⁷⁰

Nobili had evidently decided that his Brahmin master's Tamil name was a suitable name for him to bear as a Christian. He had christened his first converts with Western names, such as Albert and Alexis, but already in the previous year he had given some Tamil names.⁷¹ The baptism of Sivadarma was the culmination of eighteen months' work, during which the Sanskrit master had become the Christian pupil. Nobili could well look at his Brahmin with satisfaction. A few Brahmins had been baptized in Portuguese territory, but for motives of gain, and in receiving baptism they had ceased to be Brahmins. Sivadarma was a true Brahmin and a true Christian; he bore a Tamil name.

While learning Sanskrit, studying the Vedas and Vedānta, and instructing Sivadarma, Nobili had continued to receive an increasing number of inquirers. They gave him no rest day or night. "The work", he wrote to Laerzio, "is so exhausting that I am afraid I shall not be able to carry on much longer and I feel it absolutely necessary to ask for a companion. But he must be a man of great courage, full of fervour, with a real desire to suffer for Jesus Christ". In spite of fatigue, however, Nobili's health had never been so good. He was not by any means accepted in Madurai. A series of sporadic attacks culminated at the end of December 1608.⁷² And yet in spite of all that, he kept Brahmin servants and studied their law.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.109.

⁷¹ Baptizing Alexis' brother, Viswanath, he had merely changed it slightly to Visuvjsam, meaning Faithful; and to another neophyte he had given the name Yesupatten, meaning Love of God. Alexis was the most fervent servant of Nobili.

⁷² Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, p.116

In view of the gravity of the charges, Nobili's enemies asked for his immediate expulsion and insisted that his Brahmin teacher should have his eyes plucked out, his thread removed and his tuft of hair cut off.

Nobili's method of adaptation (Inculturation)

Nobili like the early Christians was obliged to adapt himself: not as regards dogma- he never did that – but as regards Indian customs. Fortunately he was able to preach a suffering Christ and to show the cross, for Indians were accustomed to asceticism and even to death as a mark of love. His difficulty was not that the Indians were insufficiently religious, but almost, rather, that they were too religious.⁷³ He had the courage to conquer his first antipathy and adopt a more magnanimous view, born of the strength of his own faith and his love of the Indians.

On one occasion when he adapted his own way of life, Nobili makes a two hundred and forty kilometers journey on foot.

One very important change was made by Nobili at the end of 1609 or at the beginning of 1610. When he found out that sannyāsīs discarded their caste-emblems as a sign that they renounced all worldly honours, Nobili did likewise. He had taken the thread to conform to the customs of the Rājās, whose caste he had adopted: now that he was accepted as a sannyāsi, he had no further use for it, and he never wore the thread again.

A no less important innovation was Nobili's decision to allow converts to continue wearing sandal-paste on their foreheads. Francisco Roz, following the precedent of the St. Thomas Christians, who had used sandal from time immemorial, approved the use of sandal-paste as an ornament of the forehead, composed a special formula for blessing it and issued instructions as to the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.117.

manner of applying it. Nobili continued to wear his rectangular sandal mark. But he forbade his Christians the use of sandal ashes.

Nobili proved how well he understood and loved his converts. They on their side were quick to respond. These first Indians to become Christians without any temporal motive were as good as the best in Europe.⁷⁴

Nobili, with his wider experience of Indian literature and his insight into the Indian mind, was obliged to replace certain words used by Enriquez in his fuller Catechism by others which he considered more exact. The Catechism contained not only awkward and odd words but sometimes Portuguese words meaningless to Indians Nobili was cautious in his use of Tamil. He translated the names of the sacraments and allowed neophytes to make their profession of faith in Tamil.

A rumour began to spread in Madurai that Nobili was a Muni.⁷⁵ He was called a Muni in the sense that he was a being more or less divine. He was believed to be a new Muni, come to purify the Vedas. When those who knew him well had dispelled the rumour it became convenient to find an accurate and appropriate short name for the stranger guru. He was not a Parangi; he no longer wore the thread of a Riji. The people of Madurai decided – as a mark of approval – to call Nobili the Teacher of Reality – *Tattuva Bodhakar*.⁷⁶ To those in Madurai unfamiliar with its technical significance, the title would have

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.120.

⁷⁵ In a general sense, *Muni* means a holy sage. According to the *Dharmapada*, one of the Buddhist canonical books: "A man is not a Muni because he observes silence (*mona*), if he is foolish and ignorant; but the wise man who, taking the balance, chooses good and avoids evils, he is a Muni, and is a Muni thereby; he who in this world weighs both sides is called a Muni". The word also implied superhuman powers. A late hymn of the *Rig Veda* mentions a class of holy men different from the Brahmins; the Munis, or silent ones, who wear the wind as a girdle and, drunk with their own silence, rise on the wind and fly in the paths of the demigods.

⁷⁶ Tamil name of Fr. Robert de Nobili, The Sanskrit *tatva* (in Tamil *tattuva*), comes from *tat*, meaning *that*. Hence *tatvam* means reality, *haecitas*, authority, essential quality, *tatva* is opposed to *maya*, illusion.

conjured up the picture of a learned philosopher, highly respected and admired as a master. Nobili continued to be known for the rest of his life under the name of *Tattuva Bodhakar*. There were, in fact, some striking points of resemblance between what the Buddha had traditionally done and what Nobili was believed to be doing.⁷⁷

By Easter 1609, eighteen months after he had started his new way of life dressed as a sannyāsi, Nobili's converts numbered more than fifty. They were very fervent, continually asking him to hear their confession and teach them further. Nobili also gave instruction to catechumens four times a day; continued his Sanskrit studies and was learning yet another language – Telugu.⁷⁸ Nobili's Sanskrit helped him here, for Telugu literature, written chiefly by Brahmins, contained many Sanskrit words and these had been adopted in common speech. He was now obliged to hold in his head seven languages: Italian, Latin, Portuguese, Tamil, Court Tamil⁷⁹ Sanskrit and Telugu.

Already, on such a meagre diet, shut up in a mud box in a climate which compelled everyone else to live out of doors Nobili found his work crushing, yet day and night he was seeking to increase his burden with further conversions. In a letter written by Nobili to Laerzio it is shown that Nobili and Fr. Gonçalo Fernandez differ socially by their manner of living, yet in essential things of religion they are alike; they teach the same doctrine, have the same sacraments, etc.

Nobili began to plan a new church, for, by the end of 1609 his followers had grown to sixty; too many to squeeze into the existing mud-building. He

⁷⁷ Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, p.126.

⁷⁸ Telugu was spoken by the comparatively recent intruders from Vijayanagar – Vaishnavites – and also by the inhabitants of the eastern districts of the kingdom of Madurai.

⁷⁹ Court Tamil differed as much from ordinary speech as the *Aeneid* from the speech of an Italian peasant.

could not afford to buy land, so he turned to his benefactor, Errama Setti. Meanwhile, among the coconut palms and margosa trees, his new church took shape. He opened the Church of Jesus, as he called it, on the Feast of the Annunciation (25th March 1610) , for he had a special devotion to the Virgin Mary, often choosing her feasts for baptism, and celebrating them, when he could afford it, with a banquet for the Christians. The church was a fine, graceful building, inspiring devotion. It marked the definite establishment in Madurai of the religion professed by the Teacher of Reality: a church in Indian style for Indians.⁸⁰ Like all Christian priests in Southern India, a land which grew neither wheat nor grapes, Nobili uttered a Latin formula of consecration over unleavened bread and wine from Europe in his Indian-style church.

Nobili had mastery of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu and he was debating in these languages. The growing number of Brahmin converts brought Nobili yet another title. He had been accepted as a Raja by caste and a sannyāsi by profession. The Brahmin converts solved the difficulty by calling Nobili a Brahmin sannyāsi. Brahmin in that title meant religious teacher: a profession, not a caste. Doubtless the arrangement did not meet with universal acceptance, but it satisfied the Brahmin converts. At the end of 1611 Nobili, who believed that *Brahmin* was derived from a Sanskrit root meaning *to know*, definitely accepted the new title and from that time Sanskrit speaking missionaries with Brahmin disciples began to be known as Brahmin sannyāsis.

"Fr. De Nobili.... Illustrated his teaching by quotations from the sacred Books of the Hindus, he conformed to their customs in the choice of food, in the manner of taking it, in the way of dressing, in everything that could be done without sin. And he did not do this with his tongue in his cheek as if playing a huge joke but with

⁸⁰ Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, p.146.

the convictions and sincerity of an Apostle..... In his desire to be all to all, he adopted Indian customs and became an Indian to win the Indians to Christ"⁸¹

For long Nobili had wanted to preach in the countryside and as early as 1608 he achieved this goal by preaching among farmers around the Great Lake. A few months after his return from the Great Lake, early in November 1611 Nobili was unexpectedly summoned to Kochi. After a difficult fortnight's journey across the Ghats preaching on the way, he arrived in the Portuguese base. He had lain ill in the College of the Mjc de Deus expecting to die. *From Kochi he had taken ship* in a black cassock, speaking not a word of Tamil, expecting to work among the pearl-fishers. Now after five years in Madurai he returned to Portuguese India as a wandering sannyasi, in red-ochre cotton and wooden clogs, his brow marked with sandal, guru of a hundred and fifty converts in a great university city.⁸²

In the College of the Mjc de Deus, on the feast of her Presentation, 21st November, 1611 Nobili found himself by the solemn vows of a professed Father to the Society of Jesus. His vows, which included a declaration of obedience to the Pope, were received by Archbishop Ros in the name of General Aquaviva.⁸³ Every member of the community came to offer congratulations. Back in Madurai, Nobili had been well impressed by his reception in the villages to and from Kochi.

Nobili was the first to realize India's own clergy, educated as far as possible and to take every step within his power to bring it to fulfillment.⁸⁴ The idea of a Brahmin seminary first occurred to him in 1610.

⁸¹ Sauliere, *op.cit.*, pp.280-81.

⁸² Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, p.165.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.166.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.167.

Like Thomas Steps (the first English Jesuit in India), Nobili too decided to convey Christian truths in verse form. Undeterred by such fastidiousness, during his years in Madurai Nobili composed a Life of Our Lady in Sanskrit verse, canticles for marriages and funerals, and a summary of Christian doctrine in a hundred Sanskrit slokas. Besides these verses for Brahmins, Nobili wrote others in Tamil and Telugu (including a *Defence of Religion*), which proved very popular and were sung year after year in the Madurai Mission.

In his prose writings also as in his philosophic dispute, Nobili displayed that adaptation to the imagery and traditional knowledge of his readers which characterised Stephens' *Christian Purjna*. The *Agnana Nivaranam* – Dispelling of Ignorance – one of Nobili's three most important Tamil works, treats of God and His attributes in lively dialogues, using the jewelled language a Tamil audience loved.

Nobili for the first time introduced Galileo's discoveries to India.⁸⁵ His chief books are philosophical and theological, the most important being the *Gnanopadesam* – Spiritual Teaching – a Tamil work embodying the substance of his religious teaching – begun soon after his arrival and continually enlarged and improved, until at the end of his life it would grow into five volumes: a *Summa Theological* for Indians.⁸⁶

The *Attuma Nirunayam* – Disquisition on the Soul – is a highly technical work, crammed with Sanskrit terms. Nobili draws on Hindu scripture to prove his points. He adds a high-Tamil proverb: "The father and the mother of the world, the first parents...." Other Tamil works by Nobili include the *Tivviya Madirigai* – the Divine Model; *Tushana Tikkaram* – Refutation of Blashphemies; *Punar Jenma Acheba* – Refutation of Rebirth, also known as

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.178.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.180-181.

Dialogue on Eternal Life; and *Gnana Sanchivi* – Spirual Medicine. In these as in all his books, Nobili taught as far as possible in parable, a form specially pleasing the Tamils. He used every device of Tamil rhetoric to adorn his books. "One hand stroking, one hand striking, the child must be trained" is his version, but the Tamil gerunds "*oru kei aneittu* (one hand caressing)" "*oru kei adittu* (one hand chastising)" make the phrase pleasing and memorable. Another characteristic of his Tamil writings is the wide use of Sanskrit terms and even of Sanskrit grammar, such as his attempt to introduce the Sanskrit superlative ending *tama*. This was perhaps a result of Nobili's Renaissance schooling: to write Italian as much like Latin as possible. Finally the *Tushana Tikkaram* – Refutation of Blashphemies – a Tamil work, the last chapters of which form a handbook on the way to teach the gospel.⁸⁷ Nobili's guiding text is the passage from Exodus: "Thou shalt not speak against the Gods".

Pero Francisco forbade Brahmin Christians to be employed in Nobili's house or to use glass rosaries. Already, in December 1612 the Provincial had forbidden Nobili to baptize those who wore the thread or tuft of hair. Since the General had expressed the desire that the mission should continue, he could not recall Nobili from Madurai. But in August 1613 he did the next best thing: he forbade Nobili to baptize anybody at all.⁸⁸

Despite the reaction in his favour at Rome and Kochi, Nobili could not resume work in Madurai. The laws dated back to 1567 when the first Synod of Goa, under the presidency of its archbishop, had forbidden the wearing of the Brahmin thread by Christians and non-Christians alike. The prohibition was renewed by the second Synod in 1585. Nobili's case was largely based on such

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.182.

⁸⁸ Nobili then decided to concentrate on teaching. But even his dearest converts now turned against him.

texts as *The Laws of Manu* and the *Taittiriya Samhita* and with the aid of Sanskrit-speaking Brahmins he promised to prove it.

Nobili's *Answer to the objections raised against the methods used in the new Madurai Mission to convert Hindus to Christ* was the most scholarly document in the whole case. Nobili had originally written it in reply to Gonsalo Fernandez's accusations. It was a classic defence of the principle of adaptation. With extensive quotations from the most authoritative Indian texts, Nobili shows that the thread, hair-tuft, sandal-paste and baths can lawfully be tolerated. The evidence in his *Answer* had impressed everyone who read it. Since the Benedictine voted for Nobili and the Carmelite against, Lombard's vote proved decisive.⁸⁹

Once Nobili covered the one hundred and twelve kilometers from Madurai to Tiruchirapalli on foot, staff in hand as a beggar. In 1618 he had been obliged to leave the mission altogether and *spend some months at Kodungallur*, waiting for the Goa conference. By May 1619, the Goa conference finished, he was able to return and check the spell of petty persecution. The work of preaching continued, still hampered by war and, in 1622, by famine so severe that the dead were no longer buried and the dying carried to the riverside so that they might be washed away when heavy rains flooded the Vaigai.⁹⁰

In 1623, learning that no trouble was to be apprehended from Rome, Nobili decided to carry out his long-cherished plan of spreading the Gospel elsewhere in South India. He had a base among his converts in Tiruchirapalli; from there he hoped to create centres whence the faith would spread to neighbouring villages. As a wandering sannyāsi, he set out in June, escorted by a few Brahmin disciples. From Tiruchirapalli he walked north-west to Salem. As

⁸⁹ Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, p.229.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.232-233.

soon as he arrived there, Nobili sought the shelter usually accorded to wandering sannyāsis, but he was turned away by rich and poor alike. Finally he was obliged to take shelter outside the town in a *chatram*.⁹¹ He spent forty days in the *chatram* and contracted a very painful illness.

Moved by pity, one of the influential men of Salem offered Nobili lodging in his own house. Here he recovered his health and began to receive inquirers. Chief among them was the former ruler of the neighbouring state of Sandamangalam, Tirumangalam by name, who had been dethroned by his younger brother. Tirumangalam soon expressed the desire of becoming a Christian. As a result, Nobili's reputation spread; more and more visitors came; chiefly noblemen and theologians. The Nayak was moved that he assigned Nobili a house in the Brahmin quarter of Salem. From his new house Nobili was shortly summoned to the palace to advise the Nayak on important business.⁹²

Nobili walked barefoot and was a real and best Sannyāsi of the Madura Mission. According to him "true religion is concerned with the souls of men."⁹³ Like his Master he had come to build, not to destroy. He was the Brahmin Sannyāsi,⁹⁴ the learned Guru, the man who dealt specially with scholars, whom enquirers came to consult as he sat cross-legged on his tiger skin, chanting the divine praises in the Sanskrit tongue. He himself baptized the first pariah in the Madura Mission in 1624.

⁹¹ *Chatram* is a sort of inn with a roof supported by four columns and open to all winds.

⁹² Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, p.236.

⁹³ Sauliere, *op.cit.*, p.285.

⁹⁴ In the sense of the *Sannyāsi* who deal with the Brahmins, any more than the late Rev. G.U. Pope, who called himself Pope Aiyer. To hold the contrary opinion is to insult Indian intelligence.

At the end of 1624, Nobili was free to resume the baptism of high-caste Indians and on Christmas Day 1625 he baptized the most influential of all his Indian converts.⁹⁵

For the next few years Nobili spent much of his time outside Madurai, travelling between Tiruchirapalli, Salem and Moramangalam. In 1625 he was joined by a second assistant, a young Portuguese named Emanuel Martins who gave every promise of becoming a suitable Brahmin sannyāsi missionary. The mission had now entered a new phase.⁹⁶

In Madurai Nobili's efforts had been directed primarily towards the Brahmins, with their undisputed influence over all castes. But from 1612 to 1624, when the Constitution arrived, he was strictly forbidden to have anything to do with them. And after that date, when he was working in towns where Brahmin influence was less strong, he did not give special attention to the highest caste. For now Nobili aimed at nothing less than winning the whole country to Christ.⁹⁷

On 31st July 1626 a strange individual came to Nobili's house in Moramangalam. He told Nobili that he was a *pandaram* of the sect of Siva and he belonged to the lowest of the low – the untouchable Paraiyans. The man explained that he had come across a little Tamil book called *Signs of the True Religion* by Tattuva Bodhakar. He had been so impressed by reading it that he wished to become a disciple of its author. Nobili was impressed by the man's manner and learning, and the fact that he claimed two thousand disciples, including many Sundras. Nobili instructed him and after a few months, when the time came to choose a Christian name, Nobili could find none better than *Muttiudeyan*: "He who possesses happiness" – a name which the other

⁹⁵ Vincent Cronin, *op. cit.*, p.237.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.238.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

missionaries translated as Hilary. And so Nobili, who had baptized Sivadarma, the first Brahmin of the Madurai Mission, now baptized the first Dalit.

Before he was fifty, Nobili's eyesight had grown very dim, and he was writing to Europe for glasses. Laerzio's death in 1630 was a severe blow to Nobili. By the same year Nobili was preaching in Tiruchirapalli to the high castes. It was also in the same year that his relations with Tirumala Nayak began. Nobili arrived at the elephant – guarded palace with all the display of a famous sannyāsi and offered Tirumala presents with an address in Sanskrit. Tirumala seems to have taken a liking to Nobili and was highly impressed with his learning. On the spot he granted him an official licence to preach and build churches wherever he pleased in the territory of Madurai.⁹⁸

Nobili met a boy of twelve, the Nayak's son by his favourite queen. The young prince arrived one day at the hermitage. He was courteously received by Nobili, who answered his questions on this or that point of religion and gave him a copy of his *Principles of Catechism* in Tamil, probably an abridgement of the *Gnanopadesam*.

Antonio Vico had relieved Nobili from administrative worries by assuming the post of superior. Nobili decided to introduce a corresponding order of sannyāsis into the mission. They were to be known as *pandaraswamis* – religious teachers. Nobili was delighted. Just as he had hoped, the seed sown among the higher castes had now borne fruit in every caste.⁹⁹ Nobili decided to go to Tirumala Nayak and ask him to extend to his brethren Nobili's own licence to preach throughout the kingdom. This was obtained.

Nobili, undaunted, continued his mission. Much of his time was now spent building up a Christian literature in prose and verse, to which he

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.242-243.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.252.

encouraged his converts to add. Though Tamil characters were more easily cut than Devanagari, none of Nobili's books was printed during his lifetime.

The staple of Nobili's life continued to be theological discussion. One of his last recorded debates was with a Thiruchirapalli *pandaram*.

In 1654, when Nobili was sixty-eight, Barradas ordered him out of the mission.¹⁰⁰ Nobili did not want to rest, to leave his Indians. He asked only one thing: to die in the Madurai Mission, where he had spent his life and love.¹⁰¹ He had begun his work in the tumble down *retiro*, with its palm leaf thatch, and there he wanted to end it: in India, not on the hybrid coast which was neither Europe nor Asia.¹⁰² However, weak and almost blind, Nobili was no longer able to insist that Rome's will should be followed. This time his Portuguese superiors had the last word. And so, reluctantly, still wearing his red-ochre clothes, Nobili took up his bamboo staff and gourd and said good-bye to the Christians of Madurai. Then he walked out of the eastern gate, accompanied by a few Brahmin converts who refused to leave him, even at the price of exile.¹⁰³

Nobili set out on the same coast-road by which he had first entered the city. His thirty-nine years in the city had surely not been wasted. High-caste converts in the care of the Brahmin sannyāsis numbered 1208 scattered in the districts Madurai, Tirunelvely, Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur and Coimbatore (Kongunadu) while low-caste converts administered by the *pandaraswamis* numbered 2,975. When Nobili first arrived, there had not been a single Christian belonging to the hinterland of South India. Now he left behind him 4183.¹⁰⁴ *To*

¹⁰⁰ "It was deemed advisable to send him to some college where he might take rest and receive all the attention he deserved".

¹⁰¹ Vincent Cronin, *op.cit.*, p.262.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ A statistical data of baptism rendered by Pathiri Roberto De Nobili is given in detail in Appendix IV.

open the door of India to Christ – Nobili had implemented the motto on his banner.¹⁰⁵ The missionary methods he had evolved, his prose, his verse, his plans for a seminary could ensure that the door of India remained open.¹⁰⁶ He had been the first European to spend his life in the hinterland of Hindu India.¹⁰⁷

For two years, according to the Annual Letter, Nobili did much good by means of books which he wrote for children. But he was still yearning after the Madurai Mission. Perhaps, too, he was thinking still of his Brahmin seminary. After two years in Jaffna, Nobili was again shipped back to the peninsula to Mylapore – San Thome. He had been sent to die in the burial place of St. Thomas.¹⁰⁸ Nobili retired with a few faithful disciples into a hut outside the city walls where he spent the last years of his life praying and dictating revisions of his books. He still wore his red-ochre clothes, and fasted more strictly than ever, eating each day only a handful of herbs, without rice. From Mylapore one last letter was written, in Latin, to his sister Ludovica, then mistress of novices in her Roman convent. It was dated 23 September 1649, and Nobili distilled into it the essence of his own life.

Nobili's last years were saddened by news of the Portuguese decline. For some eight years Nobili lived on in Mylapore, known to Christians and Hindus alike as *o santo Padre*. Despite his age, his memory remained prodigious, his mind so orderly that he could visualize all he had written or intended to write, and he would amaze his copyists by referring not only to works he had composed, but even to those he intended composing, quoting chapter and verse. On 6th January 1656 the last line of his twenty volumes of *oleis* was written. Then he dictated his declaration:

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.263.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.264-265.

It is my wish that all I have written in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit should be in conformity with the mind of our Holy Mother the Roman Catholic Church.

A few days later Nobili fell ill. On 16th January 1656 Roberto de Nobili died.¹⁰⁹ He was buried in Mylapore, at the meeting point of the Portuguese and Vijayanagar empires. No monument, no inscription marked his grave---he needed none, for every Christian in India would be a living memorial to the Teacher of Reality. One who had loved so much belonged to the whole peninsula, not to any one town or village.¹¹⁰

"Fr. de Nobili's zeal and spirit of self- sacrifice made him the best worker in the Madura Mission. He was the very soul of Christian modesty"¹¹¹ It was Robert de Nobili who laid the foundations of the Madura Mission.

Roberto de Nobili belongs to the generation after Matteo Ricci, whose life was recounted in *The Wise Man from the West*. Like his fellow-Italian, Nobili entered the Society of Jesus and sailed for the East, where he was able to make progress only after he had discarded European for Oriental dress and adopted Oriental ways. Like Ricci, he was a pioneer in adaptation, that is, he tried to bridge sixty-five degrees of longitude by a combination of theology, love and good manners.¹¹²

The successors of de Nobili, the Brahmin Snnyāsis, about a dozen in all (the last of whom Fr. Arcolini who died in 1670) had sown the seeds, the new order of the Pandaraswamis (better adapted to work among the non Brahmins and the lower castes) was created to reap the harvest.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.267.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.267-268.

¹¹¹ Sauliere, S.J, *op.cit.*, pp.242-43.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, preface, p.9.

The *Pandara Swamis* like the Brahmin Sannyāsis owed their origin to the genius of Fr. De. Nobili. The first among the Pandaraswamis was Fr. Balthazar da Costa ¹¹³, who began about 1640 casting his net. Hundreds even thousands surrendered to his impassioned appeals. It was acknowledged by all accounts that the Brahmin Sannyāsis such as da Costa and his followers were never deemed useless.

The Brahmin priests of Fr. De Nobili remained for more than three centuries the backbone of the mission. They were learned men, well trained Christians and enjoyed great authority over the neophytes. Before the death of Fr. De Nobili in 1656, the Mission was recognized by the state as an Indian institution. The Brahmin converts, after following their Sannyāsis to Thiruchirappalli or Sathyamangalam had scattered throughout the Mission.

The 'Old Church' of Fr. Gonçalo Fernandes (a Paranghi) still remained. It was always the Church of the low caste, of the Paranghis. Its incumbent, Fr. Emmanuel Lopes, went about in his black cassock and leather shoes, living like a Portuguese and looking after a motty congregation of low- caste Christians, with a *little hope of improving them*.

¹¹³ Born in 1610 at Aldea Nova in Portugal, da Costa had been one of the most brilliant students of the Coimbra University. After completing his studies he obtained to be sent to India, was allotted to the Madura Province, and sent to Vembar on the Fishery Coast. In 1639 his superiors, being in quest of a good professor of theology, thought of appointing him to the Scholasticate of Ambazhakkad, but Fr. da Costa who had been fascinated by the missionary adventure begged them so earnestly, even piteously, that out of sheer compassion that they finally sent him to the Madura Mission. He arrived there when Fr. De Nobili and his companions were beginning to reap in exultation the harvest they had sown in tears. In 1640 he initiated his apostolate at Karur, and for thirty years he travelled up and down the mission from Thanjavoor to Thirunelveli, gathering a rich harvest of souls, chiefly among the lower castes. This man whose health was so frail that it had almost deterred him from being a missionary, became in course of time the greatest among them. His labours, his success, his talents, soon singled him out to be the leader of his companions. Thrown in the midst of a movement of mass conversions and called upon to pilot it, he seems at times to forget that it was the result of Tattuva Bhodakar's patient teaching. He translated de Nobili's great Catechism into Portuguese.

CHAPTER IV

FRANCIS ROZ AND OTHERS

(As a continuation of Chapter III)

29. FRANCIS ROZ

Don Francis Roz was born at Gerona in Calalonia, from honest Catholic parents legitimately married. *He was appointed the first Latin Bishop of the Thomas Christians of the Serra.* He had done a lot of work for the Thomas Christians who liked him very much. *Later he was appointed Archbishop of Kodungallur.* He had been the great co-worker of Archbishop Menezes at the Synod of Diamper. Card. Alfonso Gesualdo ¹ thus speaks of him:

He has been a priest for 15 years... In the Church of Angamale, he has worked for many years and even now he labours piously and usefully, hearing confessions, preaching the word of God, instructing those peoples in the true faith of Christ, all the more easily, for he knows Chaldean. His life is good and exemplary.

And so Fr. Roz was chosen Bishop of Angamale, which in 1600 was lowered to the rank of a Diocese, and made suffragan of Goa, and placed under the patronage of the King of Portugal. He was consecrated in Goa on the 25th of January 1601.

Soon after his appointment to the Bishopric of the Serra, Don Francis supervised the Syriac translation and printing of the Roman Ritual of the Exorcisms and Benedictions of the Missal. Further he got ready for the press the Missal and the Roman Breviary.

¹ *Archivio Conscistoriale, Acta Miscellanea, Vol.53, Apud Beltrami, pp.246-47. Cf. D. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabar, Vol.I, Bangalore, 1939, p.292, footnote 1.*

At the end of 1603, the Bishop having to visit the Samoothiri on certain State business availed himself of the opportunity to visit certain churches in the North, where the Christians were very much left to themselves. *The Samoothiri gave to the Bishop the most cordial welcome.* The Bishop succeeded in his negotiations and withdrew. *The inhabitants of Palur gave the Bishop a grand reception. Thence the Bishop went to Angamale* and by the advice of the Fathers; he convoked the Diocen Synod for the beginning of Advent. All the Priests and Delegates of the Villages assembled. The Bishop had translated the Pontifical into Chaldean. On the feast of St. Ambrose (7th November 1603) after having sung the High Mass according to the Syrian rite, he opened the Diocen Synod.

The Bishop built by subscription a church at Cheregate, in honour of the Virgin. There were 29 baptisms of Hindus at Vaipicotta, 31 at Porcão and 40 at Paliporto.

Fr. Roz had the highest esteem for Fr. Laerzio, whom he called *The Father of his soul.* He consulted him in difficulties, and, what is more, followed his advice. The Father, on the other hand, did his best to help the Archbishop in the reformation of the Diocese. According to his ability he granted him the Fathers he wanted: Fr. Campori, his Secretary, Fr. De Brito, his co-worker in the Mission Field, Fr. Callegari, whom the Archbishop loved, and whom he would have desired to be his successor. ²

30. ANTONIO VICO (1576-1638)

Vico was born at Montalto in Italy, near Fermo and Ascoli, in the year 1576. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1593 and sailed for India nearly at the same time as Fr. De Nobili. *He taught Grammar and Theology at Kochi during 1607-1610.* He joined Fr. De Nobili at Madurai in September 1610 and

² D. Ferroli., S.J., *Ibid.*, p.337.

became the great supporter and helper and faithful companion of Fr. De Nobili. He embraced Nobili's way of life and preserved in it till his death. Though the Sannyasis' life was very trying, he never looked backwards. His letters show that he lived in perfect harmony with Fr. De Nobili. His superiors regarded him as a saint. His manner of life and his scruples had reduced him to a state of extreme thinness, so that it was said of him that he was all spiritualised. The people, who have always looked upon penitent *Yogis* with the greatest respect, had for him the deepest veneration.³ Towards the end of his life his mental anguish increased, he was reduced to skin and bones and could not do much for the Mission. In letters and treatises he defended the methods of Fr. De Nobili and showed how the customs tolerated were perfectly lawful. Both he and Fr. De Nobili were of opinion that a Seminary for Brahmins ought to be established in Madura.

Fr. Vico was appointed Superior of the Mission during 1616-24 and 1632-38. He knew Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit and used to dispute in Sanskrit. He was the first one to die in the Madura Mission (18th October 1638).

³ *Ibid.*, p.349

31. HYACINTH MAGISTRATIS (1605-1668)

A little known author on South India is Fr. Hyacinth Magistratis, an Italian who entered the Society of Jesus in 1626 at the age of twenty-one. *He spent many years in the Malabar Province*, made several journeys to Europe on its behalf, and was even sent to Brazil as Visitor by the General of the Order. He died at Goa in 1668.

32. PADRE FRANCISCO BARRETO

Padre Francisco Barreto, S.J., is named Archbishop of Kodungallur (the title conferred on him by the Pope in 1662). In more quiet times he had taught Theology and Philosophy in Goa. In 1642 he went to Rome as Procurator of the Indian Missions. While in Europe he published a booklet on the Missions which were manned by the Jesuits of the Malabar Province. From it we gather the following interesting details. According to him Malabar is the coolest part of India, and its climate is very salubrious. The fish is so abundant that thirty or forty can be bought for a farthing. The kinglets are very numerous and almost always at war among themselves. Their wars, however are rather skirmishes than wars. It is enough that a Rajah orders his umbrella to be lifted high, for a battle to cease at once.

Of Kozhikode Fr. Barreto says that the Jesuits had done good work there, but when the harvest was ready, war broke out between Portugal and the Samoothiri, and they were compelled to leave the town. When peace was concluded they returned and rebuilt the church: On the day when it was blessed, the Samoothiri desired to enter it riding on an elephant; but the building was too small. "Well" – said he "build another, and a much larger one, at my expense". *Fr. Barreto remarks that the Samoothiri was very*

favourable to the Fathers, and that he often showed a desire to embrace Christianity.

Of the Fishery Coast Fr-Barreto asserts that it was sandy and barren along the sea and for about ten kilometres inland. Then he describes the fishing of pearls which took place in March and lasted for some three weeks. The fishermen are protected by the Portuguese, to whom they pay a yearly tribute. They are very devout and liberal in building churches. They hear Mass every morning and their feasts are the grandest and the noisiest in India.

About Madura Fr. Barreto describes the pioneering work of Frs. De Nobili and Vico. Of the Nayak he says that he could put on the field some 80,000 men, his horses being all from Arabia, and of the best that could be bought.

After his return to India, *Fr. Barreto became Visitor of the Missions and Provincial of Malabar (1655-58)*. He came into conflict with the Commissary Apostolic and was forbidden to set foot in the Serra. It was about this time that *he received his nomination as Archbishop of the Serra, and then of Kochi*. The cross was heavy indeed, but God in his mercy took him to himself for he died in Goa (23 October 1663).⁴

33. JOHN PHILIP GRANDI

In the 1660's there was in Mylapore a good Italian Father, John Philip Grandi by name. He had all the qualifications required to a good Madura Missionary. He knew Tamil to perfection, and has spoken it to a good deal in South Thiruvithamcore where he had been a missionary. He was a man of experience and an able administrator, since he was successively appointed Rector of Kodungallor and of San Thome. He was also appointed as visitor of the Madura Mission and after tour in the country and cheering up his

⁴ Cf. Mitras, II, P.55, Seen in Ferroli, *op. cit.*, p.77.

conferences all round, he went to the Fishery Coast to take up charge of that Mission.

Fr. Anthony Figueredo was the immediate superior of Fr. Grandi.

34. ANTHONY DE PROENÇA (1625-1666)

Anthony de Proença was born of noble parents in the town of Guarda at Romella, Portugal, in 1625. When he was very young he left his birth place and went to study at the Evora University, where he took his lodging in the Mac de Deus College which his parents had founded. After taking his degree of Bachelor in Theology he joined the Society of Jesus at the age of 18; at 22 he was already in Goa, though not yet a priest. His ambition was to preach the Gospel to the poorest among the poor. After many entreaties he obtained this favour in 1647, when he joined the Cochin Province, where he finished his theological studies and was employed by his Superiors in various offices to everybody's satisfaction, both at headquarters and in the missions where he was respected and loved by all. His presence produced on all, an impression of peaceful contentment and after he had joined the Madura Mission, he was the joy of his companions. Fr. Proença had mastered Tamil language and used to the work in the Mission. His zeal for souls was wonderful and he showed it more in deeds than in words. He obtained permission to travel throughout the Mission in the Madurai kingdom. He was the heart and soul of the Madura Mission.⁵ He was in Ambazhakkad till 1653. After ordination, he joined the Madura Mission where he laboured under the name of *Paramanandaswami*, served the Mission in various capacities to everybody's satisfaction till his death in 1666.

⁵ S. Jayaseela Stephen, *Letters to the Portuguese Jesuits from Tamil Countryside 1666-1688*, Pondicherry, 2001, p.26.

In 1663 Fr. de Proença made a missionary expedition into Marava which proved very fruitful. He baptized 252 persons among whom were two Yogis who, with the grace of God, became great apostles among their countrymen. Fr.de. Proença ruled like a Patriarch of the Old Testament over his congregation of Maleyadipatti.

Fr. de Proensa was revered and loved by all. His very presence radiated spiritual joy, and he seemed to have been endowed with a special gift for dealing with people, high and low alike. For instance, he was in the good graces of the powerful Zamindar of Cumaravadi, who permitted, and even favoured, his missionary work. His own flock loved him so much that, not satisfied with the simple burial given to their pastor on the banks of the Coleroon, they dug up his body and interred it in a special tomb, at Tottiam, a village north of the Caveri. The grave of *Paramanandaswami* became a place of pilgrimage, venerated by Christians and non-Christians alike. By his kindness, self-sacrifice and all-embracing charity he so endeared himself to Hindus and Christians alike that during three centuries a lamp has been kept burning on his tomb which is still visited by the descendants of those whom he loved and served so well.

As a missionary in Thiruchirapalli and Changupatti, and Superior of the Madura Mission during the last years of his life, Fr. Anthony de Proença acquired a knowledge of men and affairs that lends special weight to his testimony. He has composed a Tamil-Portuguese dictionary and must therefore have had a sufficient knowledge of the Tamil language. In addition, in him we have a representative letter-writer of the south. He wrote five Annual Letters in 1654, 1656, 1659, 1662 and 1665. He follows a system in the arrangement of the content in his letters that is rather helpful to the historian. He begins with an account of the political events which affect the

life of the Mission, and then proceeds to deal with the other things such as social and religious conditions. This account of times runs to several pages of very interesting information.

35. ANDREW FREYRE (1625-1692)

Andrew Freyre was one of the most distinguished workers in the Madura Mission. He was born at Galegam, near Lisbon in 1625 and joined the Society in 1643. He set foot on India's shores just a century after the first of the Annual Letters had been dispatched from the country, who was to specialize in their composition. A short time after his arrival in India the promising young priest completed his studies at Goa, *entered the Malabar Province, and in 1655 was sent to the Fishery Coast to learn Tamil. Padre Andre was at Ambazhakad, seeing through the Press the great Tamil Catechism of Padre De Nobili.* After sometime he left Ambazhakad, and together with the young Missionary John de Britto, set out on foot for his beloved Mission of Madura. He began his career in the Madura Mission, where from the very beginning, he was ranked among the most zealous and ablest missionaries. He served his apprenticeship as a missionary under Fr. Stephen de Ares who was the Superior of the Mission and was residing in Thanjavoor. After his apprenticeship he laboured ardously in Thanjavoor and Gingee regions facing persecutions, imprisonments, and frequent wars. Some kissed his feet, others solicited his blessing; and profiting by those dispositions, he began to teach them the way to salvation. Forty were soon baptized, and others continued to come to the Father for instruction. His headquarters was at the little village of Nandavanampatti, north-east of Vallam. He had worked hard for four months to bring order out of chaos in the crowded centre of Kutur (which was fast becoming Christian).

In 1678 Padre Andre was imprisoned by the Marathas, but one of their captains was moved to compassion and obtained his release. In 1666, on the death of Fr. Proença, he was appointed Superior of the Madura Mission. He held this office till 1670- suffering even imprisonment in the meantime – and again during the years 1679-83. In 1688, while he was working at the Fishery Coast, *he was nominated as Provincial of the Malabar Province.* His kindness and geniality were in impartial; he was always the *man of childlike, pious dispositions, reveres by his brethren and his converts,* described by Franco. *The veteran Missionary had been chosen for the Archbishopric of Kodungallur by Pope Innocent XII,* but he died at Mampolim before the Papal brief of appointment reached India in February 1692.

Fr. Freyre wielded *a wonderful pen,* to quote Fr. Proença, and the many Annual Letters he wrote bear witness to this. It was Fr. Freyre's style – modelled perhaps on that of Fr. Proença – to give at the beginning of his reports a succinct account of political conditions in the part of the country where he worked, together with some shrewd reflections. Fr. Freyre has written altogether thirteen Annual Letters of which only six have been preserved, there being a gap between the years 1668 and 1674. This is all the more regrettable from the historical point of view when we consider the quality of the information given by the great missionary in his reports.

In 1666 the Satyamangalam⁶ district numbered no less than six thousand caste Christians, distributed in 130 villages with 23 churches. From the letter Fr. Freyre wrote from Kandelur in 1667, it is known that from the time of its foundations about 1650, Satyamangalam had ever been one of the most flourishing districts of the Mission.

⁶ The vast Province of Satyamangalam include Coimbatore plus a part of Salem.

"Fr. Freyre was a man full of zeal and energy. He was *also wide and tolerant*".⁷ He knew Telugu as well as Tamil. He was known by the Tamil name *Periyaswamiar*. He was the dear friend and superior of Fr.de Britto. He had brought Fr. Britto into the Mission, nursed him on the way, trained him at Kolei, helped him in all his difficulties, watched over with paternal love, and seen him grow in to a fine missionary and admirable superior. Fr. Frayre appointed Fr.de Britto the best man as his successor.

36. SAINT JOHN DE BRITTO (1647-1692)

John Hector De Britto was born in Lisbon on the first of March 1647 as the fourth offspring of his parents. He was baptized on the 29th of the same month at the Parish Church of St. Andrews. His mother taught him the elements of Religion. John was keen on learning by his affectionate nature. Even in an early age he had an eagerness for learning. He had a practical turn of mind and the solid common sense which he was to display later as a Missionary. After the death of the Portuguese King John, he was appointed as a companion of the heir apparent, to the throne of Don Affonso. However, his court life did not prove an impediment for his noble vocation.

When he was eleven years old he fell ill beyond recovery, but with the intercession of St. Francis Xavier it was believed, he was cured. He had made St. Francis Xavier his favourite saint and hero and in gratitude, John decided to join the Society of Jesus. The prudence, tact and self-restraint which he had, were not without their value in the training of the Indian Missionary.

As a Jesuit novice, he was in simple dress. At the age of fourteen, feeling called to evangelical perfection, on 17th May 1662, he had applied for admission into the Society of Jesus and on the 17th of December of the same

⁷ Sauliere. S.J., *Red Sand*, Maudrai, 1947, pp.149-150.

year went to knock at the door of the Jesuit novitiate. The doors of the novitiate had been thrown open to John, but he was not at once admitted to join the novices. It was on Christmas day, 1664 Brother John de Britto was admitted to take the perpetual vows of poverty, chastity and obedience in the Society of Jesus.

Brother John had a good Novice Master in Francis Vitters. John was only eighteen, but he had reached such maturity that according to Fr. Vitters he could have been a teacher of the spiritual life. Brother John, having finished his Novitiate began his career as a Scholastic. It was to one of the Jesuit Universities that of Evora, that he was sent early in 1665 to begin the studies of a Jesuit Scholastic. In 1669, he having completed his four years course of Philosophy was sent to teach the Humanities in St. Anthony's College⁸, Lisbon. In the next year he was sent to study Theology in Lisbon itself. He never took more than one meal a day, and contended himself with some rice, vegetables and water, even when at the royal table. "A plank or a deer skin spread out on the ground served him as a bed."⁹

Having joined the Society, he obtained the privilege of coming to India. After becoming a priest he met Fr. Balthazar da Costa, a Portuguese clergyman. John was the first one to offer his services. He reached Goa after a six months voyage on the 4th September, 1673. His first visit in Goa was to the Bom Jesus, the magnificent church built in the Mosaico-Corinthian style.

In 1674 the Provincial for Malabar Padre Braz de Azevedo, called Fr. de Britto to *Ambazhakkad*, where he completed his third year of Probation, which every Jesuit had to go through after his studies. Towards the close of 1674 he entered the Madura Mission together with the veteran Padre Freyre.

⁸ The college of St. Anthony was the place of residence of de Britto.

⁹ *Sauliere, S.J., op. cit., p.152.*

(who was in charge of printing). In the meantime John began to adopt all the Tamil customs of wearing and usage. That is, he made himself all things to all in order to win all to Christ. Fr. John Tamilised his name as *Arulanandam*, and he is called *Arulanandaswamy*, the Tamil equivalent of John. The journey across the Western Ghats from Ambazhakkad to Kolei was Fr. John de Britto's first experience in missionary life. De Britto along with Fr. Freyre walked on bare foot from Ambazhakkad to Kolei, a distance of about 640 kilometers, by visiting so many places such as Vadakkanchery, Palakkad, Coimbatore, Ariyur, Satyamangalam, Dharmapuri, Tiruvannamalai etc., and converting a large number of Hindu flocks into the Christian faith. De Britto was in Kolei as an apprentice for one year. At Kolei he had Fr. Ignatius da Costa as companion.

In 1682 Padre Freyre invited Fr. De Britto to Topo, a small place on the Fishery Coast, which had become the Provincial's residence after the fall of Kochi.

In February 1691 he left Goa for Kochi.¹⁰ On the 23rd the ship drew near the port, but the Father could not land, for the Dutch did not allow any religious, except the Carmelites to enter Kochi. Thus they sailed up the river to Ambazhakad where their brethren were awaiting them. From Ambazhakad the Father went to Talai, where he met his Provincial Padre Freyre, to whom he rendered an account of his mission to Europe. From Talai he went to Pondicherry to accompany a sick man and to thank the Founder of the French settlement, Monsieur Martin, for the services he had rendered to the Mission. He then started visiting the various mission stations, for he had been appointed Visitor¹¹ in 1691. He reentered the Marava in May 1691. The

¹⁰ Coasting vessels took eight to ten days to go from Goa to Kochi.

¹¹ *Visitor*: It is the custom in the society for the general to appoint a *visitor* to make the *visitation* of the provinces of the order. Provincial superiors do

country was at war with Madura and the persecution of the Christians was the order of the day. Fr de Britto established himself at Karundankudi, in a forest, on the border of Madura with the Marava. He made persistent efforts to preach Christianity in the teeth of presecution.¹² In twenty months, from May 25th, 1691 to February 4th, 1693, he baptized 8000 catechumens.¹³ This extraordinary movement of conversions roused the anger of the Hindus.

In September 1692 Fr. de Britto writes to his brother Fernao:

"Many thousands have been converted and among them also friends and relatives of the Rajah. Our foes do not cease to persecute us, but the Rajah and his ministers lend no ear to their complaints".

Fr. John de Britto was an exact observer of Holy Obedience. He was considered as a saint (a Blessed one) by Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) on the 8th of April, 1852 and he was canonized by Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) on the 22nd of June, 1947. Blessed Archbishop John de Britto was succeeded by Archbishop Garcia.

37. GARCIA FR. IGNATIUS DA COSTA (1649-1710)

Fr. Ignatius da Costa was born at Porto Novo, in Portugal when Fr. John de Britto was only two years old. He had a brilliant course of study in the University of Coimbra, where he joined the Society of Jesus in 1666. By a very special privilege, rare in the Society, he was ordained at the age of twenty-four and sent to India. He joined the Madura Mission in 1674. In 1694 he was appointed Rector or Superior of the Mission on the Fishery

likewise for their distant Mission.

¹² A Arumai Raj, *Seventeenth Century Tamilaham as gleared from Jesuit Letters*, Tiruchirappalli, 2002, p.313.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Coast, and finally secretary to the Provincial. Sent to Rome as procurator of the Mission, he returned to India. In 1701, he was appointed *Rector of Quilon*, Rector of the Fishery Coast for a second term, *Superior of the Thiruvithamcore Mission and Provincial*. He died in 1710 at Manapad, where he had transferred the Provincial's headquarters.

38. FR. ANTHONY PEREIRA (1650-1685)

Brother Anthony Pereira finished his course of Theology at Ambazhakkad in 1677 and was sent to Ellamangalam to replace Fr. Amadio. Fr. Pereira died of exhaustion at Elamangalam in 1685 at the age of thirty five.

39. PADRE BRAZ DE AZEVEDO

Padre Braz de Azevedo, S.J., was Provincial in the South in 1673 and he wrote the History of the Malabar Schism. He was nominated Archbishop of Kodungallur. But this he did not accept.

40. ANTONY DIAS (1686-1726)

Antony Dias, born at Laura, Portugal, on 12th December 1666, came to India in 1688, joined the Mission in 1690, and worked successively at Madura, Ganavacarai and Calpalam and was appointed *Provincial of Malabar in 1716. He died in Thiruvithamcore on 3rd February 1726.* Fr. Anthony Dias' Letter of 1709 is very informative.

41. PETER MARTIN (1665-1716)

Peter (Pierre) Martin, the French Jesuit was born at Limoges in 1665, entered the Society in 1680, and fifteen years later left Europe to work in the missions of the Middle East. He subsequently joined the Madura Mission in 1700 and in 1714 was *deputed to represent the Malabar Province in Rome; there he died in 1716.*

42. SIMON CARVALHO

Fr. Simon Carvalho was one of the distinguished missionaries of the Madura Mission. He has the credit as the first missionary to settle at Ellacurichi where the Christians built a church and a house on the left bank of the Coleroon, on the territory of the Nyanar of Ariyalur. But being unable to control his grief at the trouble which followed the publication of the decree of the Patriarch of Antioch, he obtained from his superiors permission to leave the Madura Mission, and to *work in Thiruvithamcore. This was in 1705.* He was replaced by Fr. Manuel Machado.

43. CONSTANT JOSEPH BESCHI (1680-1747)

The description of Beschi by Leon Besse, S.J., who has superseded all the earlier biographers is given as follows:

Father Constant Joseph Beschi, of the Society of Jesus, was born at Castiglione¹⁴ delle Stiviere, in the province of Venice, on the 8th of November 1680. According to M.A. Agostini, who found out his baptismal register, he was baptized on the 13th of the same month, by the Arch-priest G.B. Conodia, his God-father being Don Giulio Bosio, and his God-mother Onesta Casselano. His father was Don Gandolfo Beschi and his mother Elisabeth Beschi. He received the names of Constant Joseph Eusebius; the last name, however, is never found in the documents relating to him; and all his life he signed his name Constanzo Guiseppe Beschi, or Constantius Joseph Beschi.¹⁵

¹⁴ Castiglione is a small town in the administrative province of Mantua.

¹⁵ Cf. L. Besse, S.J., *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus: His Times and His Writings*, Trichinopoly, 1918, p.11.

The following reliable data are supplied to M. Vinson by Fr. Sommer Vogel, and are quoted by M. Vinson:-

Beschi entered the novitiate of the Jesuits at Novellaria, the 21st October 1695,¹⁶ at the age of 18, and spent there nearly two years. From September 1700 to 1701 he taught the lowest grammar class at Povenna. In 1701 he was sent to Bologna, where he remained till 1710. From 1701 to 1703 he completed his three years' course of philosophy, having gone through the first year before entering the novitiate.

During the next three years he was made to teach successively the middle and highest grammar classes and the Humanities. In 1701 he had been given as Assistant to the Director of the great sodality of the alumni of the College at Bologna; in 1705-1706, he was himself the Director.¹⁷

From 1706 to 1710 he applied himself to the study of theology, being ordained priest probably in September 1709. From 1709 to 1710 he did his fourth year Theology, and prepared himself for the Missions. Beschi was now 30 years of age and had gone through all the stages of the long formation which the Society imparts to its Religious.

Beschi must have landed Goa towards September or October of the same year. After a few days rest he *was attached to the Malabar Province*. Most likely on foot, or partly by vessel and partly on foot, he reached his destination, *visiting on the way Ambazhakkad*, where the Province conducted

¹⁶ Vinson I. c. p.48 Alibi, 23 October, Cf. Ibid., p.12, footnote.

¹⁷ Sodalities of the Most Blessed Virgin are one of the features of Jesuit Colleges. Their official creation dates as far back as 1584. A Sodality is composed of the *elite* of the students, and has for its primary object to honour in an especial manner the Most Blessed Virgin. There is a Director who presides at the meetings; a prefect and counsellors chosen from amongst its members assist him in the fulfilment of his various functions.

a seminary for the Syrian clergy, and a house of studies for the formation of its own subjects. *The Provincial*, unable to reside in Kochi, from which town the Jesuits had been excluded by the Dutch since 1663, *had chosen his abode* further south, *on the sea-shore at Pillai Thope*. Being attached to the Madura Mission, Beschi must have been sent to Manapad or Thoothukudi, where he could begin the study of Tamil.

From May to November 1711 Father Beschi was at Pudupatti and at Gurukelpatti, a station in the Thirunelveli District where we shall meet him again. In 1712-13 we hear of his being stationed at Ayyampet in the Thiruchirapalli District.

The country the evangelization of which had been entrusted to Father Beschi, was the Coromandel Coast, which had 25 years earlier witnessed the zeal of Bl. John de Britto; it is now part of the Diocese of Kumbakonam.

"He (Fr. Beschi) constructed the dependencies of the Mission, such as sheds to shelter the Christians against the inclemency of the air, an enclosure to defend against the indiscreet gaze of the outsiders, and a ditch to protect the buildings against the freshes of the river. This cost him much labour and money".

In his *Sketch of the Life of Father Beschi* A. Muthusami Pillai the authority on Beschi says:

"From the time of his arrival in this country, he abstained from the use of flesh, fish, etc., and employed two Tamil youths to dress his food according to the Hindu custom, partaking of it only once a day.

"His conveyance was palankeen, with a tiger's skin for him to sit upon.¹⁸ Two persons attended, once on either side of the palankeen, to fan him, a third person carried a purple silk umbrella, surrounded with a golden ball, whilst two others carrying a bunch of peacock feathers (*toguey*) proceeded in front and whenever he alighted from the palankeen, he sat down upon the tiger's skin.

Father Beschi was distinguished for his piety, benevolence and learning. His principal efforts were directed to the conversion of souls, and they were uncommonly successful on several occasions. He displayed such skill in solving various subtle questions, with which his adversaries endeavoured to ensnare him.¹⁹

In 1715 we read of Father Beschi: Excellent genius - of a judgment and prudence sufficient, — endowed with great talents: of "*sanguine complexion*".

Father Manuel Machado, Superior of the Mission, in a letter dated from Marava, 30th August 1722 (v.70), wrote as follows:²⁰

"I had entrusted to Father Beschi the task of writing the Annual Letter."²¹

The Annual Letter of 1727, dated 16th July 1728, and signed Proper Giuliani, tells us that Father Beschi was in charge of the residence of Thanjavoor, and that in that year baptized 337 adults and 1025 children. Such results speak eloquently for the zeal of the Father.²²

¹⁸ Instead of a tiger skin some Missionaries used a deer skin to sit upon.

¹⁹ L. Besse, S.J., *op.cit.*, p.38.

²⁰ To Father General.

²¹ Cf. L. Besses, S.J., *op. cit.*, p.82.

²² *Ibid.*, p.84.

In 1731 Father Beschi baptized 312 adults, and 725 children.²³ *In 1746 he went as Visitor to the College of Ambazhakkad and we find him in the midst of seminary students of the Syrian rite.*²⁴

At the time Father Beschi visited Ambazhakkad, there were only eight Fathers, himself being included. The Rector was Father Joseph Hausegger, a Hungarian, with two companions. Attached to the Seminary and working in the mission- field of the Serra among the St. Thomas Christians, were Fr. Cyprian de Amorim, posted at Calicut; Fr. Lawrence Mendes, companion to the Archhbishop of Kodungallur, D. Antony Pimental, S.J. –Fathers Manoel Ferras, Peter Mechado and Beschi looked after the Syrian students. There must have been a certain amount of comfort, as compared with the Madura Mission.²⁵

Father Beschi spent his last days in Ambazhakkad in an atmosphere of learning and piety as such befitted an old missionary who had spent 36 years of his life toiling in the vineyard of the Lord. He died on the 4th February 1747, aged 67. He had been 49 years in the Society and 37 in the Missions.

Fr. Beschi was the most famous of the group of letter-writers. He is also rightly called *the father of Tamil Prose*; he was the pioneer in the field of Tamil fiction; he was the pioneer in Tamil lexicography, compiling the first Tamil dictionary. He is also the author of the famous *Tembavani* – the Immortal Garland – and he is known as *Viramamunivar*²⁶ (the great heroic ascetic), as a translation of the name Constantius.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.120.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.171.

²⁶ *Viramamunivar* means *The Great Champion Devotee* or the *learned sage and hero*, from the Tamil words *Viren* (hero), *Ma* (great), *Muniver* (ascetic or devotee).

44. JOAO RIBEIRO (d.1716)

*Joao Ribeiro who had been Professor and Rector at Ambazhakkad; accepted the See of Angamale and Kodungallur in a critical situation. In Kozhikode he had distinguished himself by drawing up a treaty between the Portuguese and the Samoothiri. He was a man much respected both in the Society and outside. Though Pope Clement XI had confirmed his appointment by the Crown of Portugal in 1701, he was not consecrated before the end of July 1703. From a letter of Fr. Thachard, S.J., one of the founders of the Carnatic Mission, we learn that Dom Joao was well conversant with both Syriac and Malayalam.*²⁷

From another letter Fr. Hanxleden who for four years was Secretary to the Archbishop, we get a glimpse of the Prelate's life in Malabar. He had no fixed abode, but had to live in one church, now in another. At times even his life was in danger from the Schismatics. In a letter dated 24 Septemeber 1714, the Archbishop writes to the Viceroy about the state of his vineyard. He says he is old and sickly. His eye sight is failing him; and most of these miseries are due to the innumerable troubles of the Diocese. *The old man died at Ambazhakkad 24 January 1716.*²⁸

45. ARNOS PADIRI (1681-1732)

Joannes Ernest Hanxleden S.J., who was affectionately called Arnos Padiri²⁹ by Kreralites is the most popular Jesuit missionary who worked in Kerala. The main centre of his activities was at Velur³⁰ in Thrissur District.

²⁷ Mitras, II, p.47. Cf.. Ferroli, *op. cit.*, p.90.

²⁸ Raulin says he lived up to 1720.

²⁹ Arnos is the corruption of Ernestus. He is variously spelt, Johann Ernesto, Johannus Ernestus, John Ernest Hanxleden, Johannus Ernusts, etc. The epigraph on his tombstone at Pazhur records his name as Fr. John Ernestus.

³⁰ Velur is situated about 20 kilometers away north- west of Thrissur town.

He was born at Ostercappelu near Osnabrueck in Hanover (North-West Germany) in 1681. After studying humanities he took up philosophy. An imperfect palm leaf manuscript now in the possession of one of the residents of Velur shows that Hanxleden volunteered to go to India to pay respects to the sacred relics of St. Francis Xavier.³¹

It was about the year 1699, that Father William Weber, S.J., adopted Ernesto as his spiritual son and invited him to go with him to Augsburg. In Augsburg after the usual tests, Ernesto was accepted as a *candidate* for the Society of Jesus. On 13 December 1700,³² he arrived at Surat and from there he went on to Goa.

Weber instructed Ernesto in the course of the journey in all the constitutions, Rules and Customs of the Society and the novice engaged himself, whenever possible, in prayer, reading and meditation.³³

When the ship landed in Goa Ernesto proceeded immediately to St. Paul's College of the Jesuits. The St. Paul's College of Goa was a reputed centre of learning under Portuguese administration but was generally closed to non-Portugals. But Ernesto by his disarming sincerity got entry and he informed the Rector of what had happened. He was received with the greatest charity and allowed to continue his Novitiate. There "he was ordained in strict discipline under excellent masters". After seeing the mortal remains of St. Francis Xavier at Goa, he had a chance to go through the library that great

³¹ Express April 10, 1973 – News with photo of Thavunni Ouseph. Cf. P. Thankappan Nair, *Father Hanxledon – Pioneer Indologist in Arnos Padiri*, edited by Dr. J.J. Pallath, S.J., Kozhikode, 1994, pp.47-48.

³² Hounder says: They reached Surat on 3 December 1700. The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.VII.p.131. The statement of P.J.Thomas and K.M.Mathew that Ernesto reached Kerala in 1699 is wrong. He must have reached Kerala only by the end of 1701, since paid a visit to Goa to pay respect to the mortal remains of St. Francis Xavier.

³³ Ferroli, *op.cit.*, p.318.

Saint had built. Francis Xavier had autographed one of the books in the collection with the name of God in Heaven in ten languages and the writing in Malayalam impressed Ernesto and he decided to learn the script. He wanted to know more about the Saint Thomas Christians who lived in Kerala.

Once the novitiate was over, Ernesto proceeded to Kerala in the South. He joined the Jesuit Seminary at Ambazhakkad, a few kilometers west of Chalakkudi in Thrissur District and did his theology where he was ordained priest. Huonder gives 2 February 1714 as the year in which Ernesto made his (final) profession.³⁴ Probably he was ordained at Ambazhakkad soon after the completion of his theological studies.

After completing his studies the young missionary seems to have engaged in teaching as preacher of the word of God at Ambazhakkad for a short period. He reached Ambazhakkad by the end of 1701 where he was attached to the great missionary establishment, the St.Paul's College. This is the place which was selected by the Jesuits to establish their printing press in 1663 following the destruction of their original establishment at Vaipicotta in Chandamangalam. The college of St.Paul was the oldest seat of Oriental learning in South India.

Ernesto came to Ambazhakkad as a Jesuit missionary at a time when Portuguese power was waning and the Dutch had seized from them the supremacy of the Arabian Sea. When Fr. Ernesto lived in Kerala, the State of Kochi was heavily under the influence of the Dutch because the Portuguese had surrendered the town of Kochi, with all its jurisdiction, income and lands to the Dutch on the 7th of January 1663.³⁵ As staunch Protestants the Dutch

³⁴ Cf. Mathias Mundadan, *John Ernest Hanxleden (Arnos Pathiri). His Contribution to Sanskrit and Malayalam Languages and Literatures in Arnos Padiri*, edited by Dr. J.J. Pallath, S.J., Kozhikode, 1994, p.66.

³⁵ Prof. S. Guptan Nair, *Introduction to Portuguese Malayalam-Dictionary in Arnos Padiri*, edited by Dr. J.J. Pallath, S.J., *op. cit.*, p.42.

were particularly hostile to Jesuits, the Counter-Reformers. The Padre, therefore, had to move to Thrissur, in the hinterland to perfect his knowledge of Malayalam and to be initiated into the secrets of Sanskrit. *He settled down at Velur³⁶ at the present Old Angadi (market place).* He put up a tent there and said mass. The place has since been converted into a chapel.

The Namboodiri Brahmins of that age who had exclusive right to teaching Sanskrit were averse to imparting knowledge even to Hindus of lower castes. No wonder, then, that they refused access to Sanskrit to a European. In Thrissur there existed at the time a Sanskrit academy of Brahmins. After some initial difficulties Ernesto succeeded in winning over the friendship of two liberal minded Brahmins of the Academy. It is on record that Ernesto learned Sanskrit from two Brahmins at the once famous Trissur Sanskrit College. His teachers in Sanskrit and Malayalam were two Namboodhiris, Kunjan and Sankaran, who hailed from Kaladi.³⁷ With their help he began an extensive course of studies in Sanskrit and high Malayalam. Ernesto who was already a considerable scholar in many European languages

³⁶ In Kerala two places have been known to be specially connected with the memory of Ernesto, viz. Velur (Ernesto writes correctly *Veilur*) about 20 kilometers north-west of Thrissur and Pazhur, 19 kilometers south-west of it. In *missionary* accounts including those of Paulinus the latter is also called *Pazhaiyur* and *Paulur*. The place is now better known as *Pazhuvil*. In Velur the house in which Ernesto lived for a number of years is preserved and some of the articles he used can still be seen in it. Paulinus says that Ernesto resided in Palur (Pazhur) and it was there he studied Sanskrit and Malayalam from the two Brahmins of Thrissur whom he had won over with some presents and brought to Palur. It was at Pazhur he spent his last days and died about which all accounts are agreed.

³⁷ Dr. P.J. Thomas and John Kaliath are wrong in stating that Arnos Padre learned Malayalam and Sanskrit from Kunjan and Sankaran who hailed from Angamali. There were no Nambudiri Illams at Angamali which was the citadel of Syrian Christians during the period in question. There were and are two Namboudiri Illams at Kaladi (birth place of Adi Sankaracharya) and one at Manickamangalam, about 5 and 8 kilometres respectively from Angamali. Moreover, Angamali exists for Kaladi as the railway station's full name is "Angamali for Kaladi" . This fact is stated in the German news November 15, 1972, p.10.

began to study Sanskrit systematically and had discussions with the Brahmins.

There (in Palur) he brought some Brahmins from the Trichur Academy which was in the vicinity, whom he had won over with presents, and spent ten or more years in continuous literary pursuit and conversation with these Brahmins. Knowledge is best fostered by social intercourse with persons who know well the subject and familiar discussions, for both nourish the mind, stimulate study and help to consolidate what is learned.

What endeared Ernesto to the Nambudiri community apart from his earnestness and love of learning was his skill in playing chess. He took advantage of the chess parties to converse with the Brahmins in Sanskrit and many stories are current in Kerala of the Padiri's quick wits and ready repartee.

Ernesto came to Kerala basically as a religious missionary priest, he was a missionary in Kodungallur, and parish priest in Udayamperoor, Kuruvilangad, Chettuva and Muttath. He was also vicar at Mater Dei Cathedral Church Kozhikode for 7 months. He also taught in Ambazhakkad seminary; assistant to Archbishop Serrani for 4 years. But he is remembered not for his priestly activities but for the polyvalent talents as an outstanding poet and a linguist scholar. Writing towards the close of 1715, Ernesto says that he had been the companion of Johnson Ribeiro (archbishop of Kodungallur 170 ¼- 1716) and started his great trials.³⁸

Since the soil in the area of Velur was loose and unsuitable for constructing a solid structure, he moved about two kilometers south, towards the Vengallasseri hillock. The rock of the hillock was eminently suited to

³⁸ Mathias Mundadan, *op. cit.*, p.68.

build a church and residence. The hillock was owned by the local Pervazhikkadu Nair family from whom Fr. Ernesto acquired the proprietary rights. A building was constructed on ancient Kerala style for the Padre's residence, besides digging a well which provided a perennial source of drinking water. The church of St. Francis Xavier was constructed by Fr. Ernesto in 1724.

There are different opinions regarding the death of Arnos Padiri. It appears that his fellow Christians at Velur, who could appreciate neither his genius nor his missionary zeal, developed such antagonism towards the Padiri as to threaten his very life. He had to flee by night to *Pazhuvil* about 40 kilometers to the South. After 30 years of dedicated service to the Church in Kerala, Fr. Ernesto's health which was always rather delicate, failed and *here he died at Pazhuvil in Thrissur District on March 20th 1732* apparently of snake bite. The 1729 catalogue says that he was in Ambazhakkad in the mission of Kerala and the one of 1733 says that he died at *Pallur* (Pazhur) on 20 May 1732.³⁹

Broken by studies and apostolic labours Ernesto died in March 20, 1732 and was buried in the Church of Pazhur. His death was universally mourned. The Maharaja of Kochi declared that the Paulists (as the Jesuits were then called in Kerala) had lost in him a great man and a pillar of their religion.⁴⁰ We have today a memorial building dedicated to him in Velur (also in Thrissur District) where he had lived and worked for some years.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF ARNOS PADIRI TO MALAYALAM LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

³⁹ This is the date followed by Huonder. But Sommervogel, Mac Kenzie, P.J. Thomas and others give 20 March 1732 as the date of his demise.

⁴⁰ P. Thankappan Nair, *op. cit.*, p.55.

The contributions of Arnos Padiri to Malayalam Language and Literature are remarkable. The life and work of Rev. Ernesto (Arnos Padiri) is known to Keralites very well. He had polyvalent talents as an outstanding poet and a linguist scholar⁴¹. He was one of the most remarkable scholar missionaries who dedicated their lives to enrich Malayalam literature with their multifarious contributions. The beautiful and devotional poems he composed in Malayalam made a greater impact on the people of Kerala than the writings of Paulinus, the well-known Orientalist.⁴² The greatest contribution of Arnos Padiri to Malayalam literature was his synthesis of Hindu philosophy with Catholic Religion.⁴³ According to Krishna Chaitanya "it is astonishing how superbly this European has been able to adopt these style (of Malayalam poetry)".

The mastery he achieved in Sanskrit surpassed even the Sanskrit scholars.⁴⁴ "Before him the study of Sanskrit was almost impossible for a European owing to the great variety of its elements and complexity and difficulty of its structure. He however flinch but with the help of two Brahmins went through the formidable task. Hence he become proficient not only in Malayalam but also in Sanskrit as his writings do testify. Bishopinck, who himself as a scholar in Sanskrit, wrote in 1732: "Hanxleden's knowledge of the Malayalam and Sanskrit languages was extraordinary. In these languages he has written two full grammatical works and some dictionaries. It is even said that he excelled the Hindu pandits in the knowledge and practice of both languages". John Ernest Hanxledon was most proficient in the Sanskrit language and no European scholar was ever equal to him (Examan, p.23). From the Brahmin book called *Siddharupam*, Fr. Hanxledon was the

⁴¹ Sreedhara Menon, *Social and Cultural History of India*, State series, p.15.

⁴² Mathias Mundadan, *op. cit.*, p.62.

⁴³ Thankappan Nair, *op. cit.*, p.55.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14.

first to put together a Sanskrit Grammar.⁴⁵ All indologists of eminence including Schlegel,⁴⁶ Max Muller and Schwartz have acknowledged the fact that father Ernesto was the pioneer among indologists. The proficiency he acquired in Sanskrit and Malayalam was profitably used by him to provide Kerala Christians with a Christian devotional literature similar to the *Ramayana* and other poems of the Hindus.

Ernesto according to Paulinus, had composed a few hymns in honour of the Blessed Virgin, some hymns in honour of some saints and some minor rudiments of the faith. He started his literary career and composed poetic works in Malayalam. His effort was aimed at creating a Christian lore in Malayalam. Arnos Padiri has been called *the first Malayalam Poet Scholar Orientalist*. The literary contributions of Arnos Padiri to Malayalam include: (1) *Puthenpana* (life of Christ in verse), (2) *Umma Parvam* (Life of Virgin Mary in Prose), (3) *Ummade Dukham* (Lamentation of Virgin Mary), (4) *Genovaparvam* (Story of the maiden Genevieve), (5) *Vyakula Prabandham* (Soliloquy of Virgin Mary), (6) *Ave Maris Stella* (a song in praise of Virgin Mary), (7) A Sanskrit Grammar, (8) Malayalam Portuguese Dictionary, (9) *Arte Malavar*⁴⁷, (10) *Varthamana Pusthakam* (Prose), (11) *Malayalam Sanskrit Dictionary*, (12) *Malayalam Portuguese Grammar*, (13) *Nishidha Parvam*, (14) *Yudhishtira Vijayam* and (15) *Chathuranthyam*.

⁴⁵ Quoted in *Vocabularium Malabarico Lucitanum* (V.M.L.) by Arnos Padiri, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1988, p.3.

⁴⁶ "The Jesuit Hanxleden... for more than thirty years laboured in the Malabar Mission gained great renown in that department; he produced many works in prose and verse in the old Indian (the Gronthom) and the common language (the Malabar), besides compiling dictionaries and grammars.

"The vestiges of many valuable works of his are still to be found in Rome. Paulinus St. Bartholomew, well known by many learned writings on Indian antiquity, frequently refers to the works and manuscript remains of Hanxleden". *The Aesthetic & miscellaneous works of Frederic Von Schelegal*, translated from German by E.J. Millington, London, 1849, p.428.

⁴⁷ Paul Manavalan, *Kerala Samskaravum Christian Missionarymarum*, Kottayam, 1990, p.270, ff.

Puthanpana

Arnos Padiri has been called "*the first Malayalam Poet Scholar Orientalist*". The most popular work of the Padiri is *Puthan pana* – (new ballad) so called because it was something new and different from the old ballads current among Christians then. According to Paulinus it is the most significant work of Ernesto. It is a devotional ballad in 12 sections (*padams*) about the life, doctrine and words of Jesus Christ. In this work there shines forth everywhere the simple, clear and wonderful teaching of Christ set forth in eloquent, persuasive and edifying language. The reading of this most holy life and doctrine nurtures, nourishes and promotes the Malabar Christians in their piety at home. This was intended to be recited or rather chanted in Christian homes. It is a remarkable narrative poem in the puranic mode.⁴⁸ The touching description of the sorrow of Virgin Mary over her crucified son in the twelfth canto of the poem is unique in the poems of lamentations. The *Padiri* has composed the lines with such an extra -ordinary touch of pathos that the reader, whether he is Christian, Hindu or Muslim, is moved. This is a book read all over Kerala by Catholics every day after supper.⁴⁹ For sublime pathos there are few poems in Malayalam Language which can excel this devotional song. True to the spirituality of Ignatian mould Arnos Padiri's spirituality was soaked in tears of agony and ecstasy of Mother Mary, and suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.⁵⁰ The poem was written in simple Malayalam though the poet could have used *Manipravalam* style. Since the epic is called *Puthan Pana*, it is said that Father. Ernesto wrote the *Puthan Pana* after the *Gnanapana* of Punthanam Nambudiri which is a

⁴⁸ Prof. S.Guptan Nair, *op. cit.*, p.38.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.53.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.18.

philosophical dissertation. Perhaps the missionary was given a copy of the Punthanam's work by his Nambudiri friends.⁵¹

Umma Parvam or **Daivamathru Charithram** is a short biographical sketch of Virgin Mary. This surpasses all other works of Arnos Padre in lyricism and perfect mastery of metre.⁵²

Vyakula Prabhandham, a short poetical work is another lamentation of Virgin Mary. Though this is a small work, it is one of the best works of Arnos Padiri from the literary point of view. It bounds in similies, metaphors, personifications, etc.⁵³

⁵¹ P. Thankappan Nair, *op. cit.*, p.53.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

A Sanskrit Grammar

Another work of Ernesto is *Gramatica Samscrdamica* (Sanskrit Grammar) which is entitled *Gramatica Grandonica*(Grandonic Grammar). According to Paulinus, Ernesto was the first European to compose a Sanskrit grammar, and that too based on the *Grantha* of the Brahmins known as *Sidharupam*. What claims pioneer status for Ernesto as an Indologist is the study of Sanskrit and writing of *Sidharupam*, the first elementary grammar of Sanskrit, which is read by all Sanskrit students. He copied out this grammatic treatise with his own hand from the palm leaf codices of the Sanskrit academy of Thrissur.

Malayalam-Portuguese Dictionary

As remarkable as Fr. Ernesto's grammar is his Malayalam- Portuguese Dictionary, which because of premature death, he was able to complete only till the letter *T* (tha). Fr. Joseph Hausseger, successor of Fr. Ernesto has carefully described the work. According to Father Paulinus, Bishop Antony Pimental, Archbishop of Kodungallur, augmented and completed the dictionary of Fr. Ernesto.⁵⁴ But Prof. S. Gupthan Nair opposed the opinion of Fr. Paulinus when he says. "There has been a widespread belief that Fr. Hanxleden's⁵⁵ unfinished dictionary was completed by Bishop Antonio Pimental. This is not correct".⁵⁶ It is clear from the end note that an earnest admirer of Fr. Ernesto made copious use of the most Rev. Pimental dictionary to complete the former's unfinished vocabulary. As the scribe who is believed to be Fr. Jacob Hausseger of Scheminte, Hungary (1700-1765),

⁵⁴ Cf. D.Ferrolì, *op.cit.*,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Antonio Pimental was a famous scholar who became the Jesuit Bishop of Kodungallur in 1721 and 1751 after earning much name and fame. He is known to have composed a dictionary of his own.

admits that the "said father (Ernesto) for reasons of his sickness and death could not finish the work, the next I copied from other vocabularies by the Most Rev. Antonio Pimental, Archbishop of Serra, also a great master of these languages".⁵⁷

The Malayalam–Portuguese Dictionary (*Vocabularium Malabaricum Lucitanum*) of Fr. Ernesto is a monumental work.

Grammar of the Malabaric Language

Fr. Ernesto composed a grammar of the Malabaric language. There were before his time several manuscript grammars composed by Discalced Carmelite Missionaries working in Kerala, but the one of Hanxleden seems to be fuller and sounder. The title of this text is *Arte Malavar*.⁵⁸

Varthamana Pusthakam is written in a chaste prose and is a work of great literary merit.⁵⁹

Nishitha Parvam is an evolution of Hinduism. It exposes the shortcomings of Hinduism as a religion.⁶⁰

Yudhishtiravijayam is a Sanskrit work of Arnos Padiri.

Chathuranthyam is another poetical work of Arnos Padiri which as its title shows is divided into four divisions and is noted for its philosophical disquisition. Written in *Gatha*, *Kakazhi*, *Kalakanchi* and other Malayalam meters, this work examines the ultimate realities of life such as death, hell, heaven, salvation, soul, destiny of man, etc. *Chathuranthyam* is similar to

⁵⁷ Prof. S. Guptan Nair, *op. cit.*, pp.43-44.

⁵⁸ (He begins with the declension of the noun *Villa* "bow", *genitive*, "villinde" of the "bow", after offering five paradigms of declensions in the manner of the Latin language, he treats of personal pronouns, verbal and irregular nouns, the conjugations of verbs and syntax).

⁵⁹ P. Thankappan Nair, *op. cit.*, p.52.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.54.

Ezhuthachan's *Bharatam* and Cherusseri's *Krishna Gatha* in metre and style. Here and there, the imagery style of presentation and lyrical qualities, simplicity of thought, etc. are what makes it a classical work.⁶¹

Smaller Works

There are several smaller works of Fr. Ernesto to be mentioned which he composed in honour of the most Holy Virgin, in honour of the saints, or for the instruction of the youth in the rudiments of the faith. There were in the town of Thrisuur, in Pazhuvil, in Velur and Puthanchira, Fr. Ernesto's secretaries who were copying his works and distributing them to people for a very low price.

46. JOSEPH HAUSSEGER

It is possible that *Joseph Hausseger., S.J.*, who succeeded Ernesto as missionary in Pazhur saw to the erection of a monument at the place of his burial.⁶² He had been in India since 1730 and *worked for some time in Kerala*. We possess a number of letters written by him from Kerala between 1732 and 1742.

47. ANTONIO (MANOEL CARVALHO) PIMENTEL (d.1752)

Dom Manoel, the Portuguese missionary sailed from Lisbon in 1698. *He worked in various parts of Malabr and especially at Ambazhakkad*. He completed Fr. Ernesto's *Vocabularium Malabarico- Lucitanum*, from the letter *T* onwards. *He was appointed to the Serra (as Jesuit Bishop of Kodungallur) by the King Joao V*, and was consecrated in Goa, on 20 February 1722. He died at Puttenchera on the 6th of March 1752 after earning

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.53.

⁶² The reference is to the building of the church of Pazhur which was dedicated to St.Thomas.

much fame. Though he had much to suffer both from the Schematics and the Propagandists; *he was greatly loved and esteemed in Malabar*. The people called him *Budhimetran* or Wise Bishop, on account of his prudence and tact. He was succeeded by Archbishop D. Joao Luiz de Vasconcellos, S.J. in 1735.

48. JOAO DA SERRA (JOAO LUIZ VASCONCELLOS)

Vasconcellos had been rector at Ambazhakkad, which he had built anew, and Provincial of Malabar in 1738. He was consecrated in Kozhikode by the Bishop of Kochi, Dom Clement.

49. SALVADOR DOS REIS

Salvador was provincial in the South in 1750, when the Province had lost most of its income owing to the Maratha incursions. He was appointed Coadjutor to Dom Joao da Serra by Pope Benedict XIV in July 1756, and was consecrated at Anjengo by Bishop Dom Clemente (February 5, 1758).⁶³ Twenty four years before he was made Bishop, he had worked in, and had been Superior of the Madura Mission. At Malayadipatti he counted many conversions though his consolations were tempered by the disturbed state of the country, due to the wars. Houses were pillaged, crops destroyed, women raped, men slaughtered.⁶⁴ Owing to his great influence and tact he succeeded in getting an audience from the King of Madura, an honour never granted to the Missionaries since the days of Tirumalai Nayaker.⁶⁵ He died in 1777 and lies buried at Puttenchera.⁶⁶

The analysis of the above description is suffice to get a historical data for the period 1542-1777 — from the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in Goa to

⁶³ Mitras, Ib. Cf. D.Ferrolì, *op. cit.*, p.91.

⁶⁴ L.Besse, S.J., *La Mission du Madure'*, p.136. Cf, Ferrolì, *Ibid.*, pp.91-92.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.207.

⁶⁶ India or Xna, p.68. Cf. Ferrolì, Vol.II. p.92.

the death of Salvador dos Reis –for a period of 235 years to know about the activities of Jesuits in Kerala.

CHAPTER V

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES TO KERALA

The Jesuit missionaries have, indeed, made significant contributions to the culture of Kerala. The most important contribution of the Jesuits was in the field of education. They opened theological schools and colleges (seminaries) at Kodungallur,¹ Angamaly, Vaipicotta and other places. It was the Jesuits who started the first European school in Kochi. It opened a new era in the history of education in Kerala. They also opened schools at Varapuzha and Kollam where languages like Latin and Portuguese were taught. The Jesuits also introduced certain Christian art forms in Kerala. *Chavittunatakam* - a Christian art form was envisaged by the Jesuits. The Jesuits also introduced their own system of architecture in Kerala. The Jesuits were also the first Europeans to study indigenous languages. They wrote several books, lexicographies and grammars in different languages. The first printing in India was started by the Jesuits in 1556. The Jesuits also Latinized the Christian Church in Kerala. Another contribution of the Jesuit missionaries to Kerala was the introduction of several agricultural crops. Different types of metals and liquors were also brought to India by the Jesuits. In short, the contributions of the Jesuits to Kerala is immense.

¹ Kodungallur is situated north of Kochi. It was at Kodungallur St. Francis Xavier and Fr. Vincent do Lagos worked and planned in living harmony for the good of the Indian church.

Education

The strategy of the Jesuits was the education of the young and it was to prove successful. Though the Jesuits have come to be particularly known for their educational work nowhere it is stated in the constitution of the Society prepared by Ignatius (its founder) that education is to be given special importance. The author of **Men on the Mission**, Felix Raj, S.J., is of the opinion that 'some of the best education in India is imparted by Jesuits' and almost all the educational institutions of the Jesuits are among the most reputed in the country. They were able to start seminaries and colleges in India particularly on the West coast of Kerala. In them students belonging to every religious, linguistic and caste group receive their education. All over the East, and especially among the Christians, the widest impact of the Jesuits was made through education, and it still is.²

Salvator College, Kollam 1549

The idea of founding a Jesuit station in Kollam is seen mentioned in 1548, in a letter of Gaspar Barzaeus written in December.³ In the same year Antony Gomes also had expressed his desire to have the Goan College raised to the status of a University and new colleges founded in Kochi and Kollam.⁴ Hence as per the suggestion of Francis Xavier to start a College in Kollam Nicolas Lancillotto was sent to Thankassery in Kollam district in January 1549. He soon started the College and named it **Salvator College**. It lodged about fifty youngmen and had about eight day scholars. The College was started probably for the training of candidates for priesthood. It was a

² John Correia-Afonso, S.J. *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773*, Bombay, 1997, p.43.

³ *Documenta Indica* I, 405.

⁴ See his letter dated December 20, 1548 addressed to Rodrigues, the Provincial, *Ibid.*, 414-16, 426.

landmark for the propagation of Catholic faith. Latin, Greek and Portuguese languages were taught in this college. After completing the education from this college, the bright students got a chance for higher education either at St. Paul's College, Goa or at Coimbra. The fact that the College was already functioning well in 1549 itself is clear from the letter of Antony Gomes dated October 25, 1549.⁵ In 1552 with the contributions from the people, Lancillotto enlarged the college and built a beautiful church attached to it.⁶

The students of the College were children of the noble parents of Kollam and the Fishery Coast.⁷ By 1558 the number increased to 70. Lancillotto governed the College till his death in 1558.⁸ Later a printing press was added to it.

Madre de Deus College, Kochi 1550

Bishop Albuquerque of Goa had already expressed to King John III of Portugal of his preference of the Jesuits to the Dominicans in founding a College at Kochi.⁹ Regarding the beginning of the College at Kochi, Gonçaves has this narration:

Pedro Gonçalves, Vicar of Cochin, together with the citizens requested Francis Xavier to send some Jesuits to Cochin for the education of the children. Before leaving for Japan Xavier ordered Antony Gomes, Rector of St. Paul's College Goa to send the Jesuits to Cochin. In 1549 Antony Gomes sent to

⁵ Lancillotto's letter dated January 11, 1551. *Ibid.*, II, 15-152.

⁶ Letter of Lancillotto dated October 29, 1552 and addressed to Ignatius Loyola. *Ibid.*, 379.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 379-380.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 180; Epistolae Xaverii, II, 76-77.

⁹ See the letter of Albuquerque dated Goa, November 28, 1548; *Ibid.*, *Documenta Indica*, I, 330-331.

Cochin Baltazar Gago as the first Superior of the Cochin residence. The citizens of Cochin, with the approval of bishop Albuquerque, entrusted to Gago the Madre de Deus Church that had been in existence since 40 years.¹⁰

The Jesuits started the **Madre de Deus** college at Kochi in 1550.¹¹ At the instruction of Xavier, a college on the Kollam model had begun at Kochi by Francisco Henriques in 1549 on a site purchased by Governor Cabral along the sea for six hundred *pardaus*. In the beginning of 1552 the college had 150 extern students. The purpose of the college was the education of the students who would later join the Society of Jesus.¹²

It is generally believed that Baltazar Gago was the founder of the **Madre de Deus** college at Kochi. But Schurhammer and Souza hold that it was founded by Francis Henriques.¹³ Wicki seems to suggest that Antony Gomes himself was the founder.¹⁴ In his letter dated Kochi 19-24 January 1552, Antony de Heredia says that the College had its beginning due to the preaching of Antony Gomes when the people liked and to whom they freely offered the house adjacent to the Church of Mother of God for the purpose of starting the College¹⁵

Ten years later there were 250 students attending the primary classes, where reading, writing and arithmetic were taught. Those who completed this primary course could begin the study of the humanities. In 1571 there were fifty students attending the first year of humanistic studies. In the following

¹⁰ *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 521, footnote 16.

¹¹ *Documenta Indica*, I, 290.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.14.

¹³ *Epistolae Xaverii*, I, 52, footnote 107.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 290.

year a second and more advanced course of the same was started. A course of the moral theology too was conducted at the college chiefly for the benefit of the local clergy.¹⁶

The College was the most important educational institution after St. Paul's in Goa. It had some 300 students and soon played an important part in the cultural life of the city and in the missionary work of the residential Jesuits.

The Vaipicotta Seminary, 1577

The Jesuit house at Vaipicotta near Kochi, known as the College of Santa Cruz founded in 1577 was developed into a full fledged seminary at par with similar institutions in Europe. Fr. John Compori was the Rector of this seminary. Subjects like philosophy, theology, Latin, Portuguese and Syriac were taught here. From one of the letters of Fr. Fenicio we come to know that the college was started as per the instructions of the King of Portugal and that of the Pope in order to teach the Thomas Christians rigorously in the Roman Catholic way.

College of Angamale, 1586

In 1586, Philip II approved a donation of 300 pardaos' made by the viceroy for the foundation of the Jesuit College of Angamale. In 1598, after the death of Mar Abraham, he entreated with the Pope to appoint a Portuguese Jesuit, Dom Luis Cerqueira, archbishop of Angamale.

The Saint Paul's College Ambazhakkad, 1663

As has already mentioned in chapter IV, the St. Paul's College Ambazhakkad was the great missionary establishment which was selected by

¹⁶ *Documenta Indica*, VIII, p.197; *Ibid.*, XIII, p.174.

the Jesuits to establish their printing press in 1663 following the destruction of their original establishment at Vaipicotta in Chedamangalam. The College of St. Paul was the oldest seat of Oriental learning in South India. St. Paul's College produced eminent men such as John de Britto, Stephen Joseph Bremer, Archbishop Riberio, Robert de Nobili Anthony de Proenga, Joseph Constantius Beschi (the great Tamil Scholar) and other eminent linguists and lexicographers such as Arnos Padiri and others. Most of the missionaries who came to Kerala and worked in Tamil Nadu during the period 1663-1790 had their Dravidian orientation here.

From the earliest times, Jesuits have been involved in the educational apostolate.¹⁷ The contribution of the Jesuits was not narrowly limited to the running of a few educational institutions, but they made a distinct contribution to the social, economic, scientific and literary progress of the country.¹⁸ Jesuit education is characterised by excellence and quality, and aims at producing men and women "of right principles personally appropriated; open to the signs of the times; in tune with their cultural milieu and its problems; men and women for others".¹⁹

Chavittunatakam

The Christian art form of *Chavittunatakam* which was envisaged by the Jesuits is described in detail in Chapter VI.

Jesuit Architecture

Jesuit architecture is given in detail in another chapter (in Chapter VII).

¹⁷ Teotonio R. de Songa Charles J. Borges (ed.), *Jesuits in India: in Historical Perspective I*, 1992, p.101.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.104.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.125.

Jesuits and Indian languages

It is a well-recognized fact that Jesuit missionaries have made, in different ways, important contributions to the study of Indian culture. This is particularly true in the field of language and literature. They put in great efforts to promote the study of Sanskrit as well as some important languages such as Malayalam and Tamil. Not only did they acquire great proficiency in these languages but wrote in them both in prose and poetic works of outstanding quality.²⁰ Robert de Nobili's service to the study of Sanskrit and Tamil and to a lesser degree, to Telugu are well-known.²¹ So too are those of the great Tamil Scholar Constant Beschi or *Veeramanunivar*²² and of Fr. Thomas Stephens.²³

The first Europeans who studied the Tamil language were the Jesuit missionaries working in Portuguese-owned parts of the sub-continent. Like the Spaniards the Portuguese had always claimed that their overseas conquests were not merely a result of Greed of exotic riches but direct outcome of a genuine desire to spread Christianity among the inhabitants of the globe. To justify this argument they saw to it that their hands of reckless marauding adventurers were accompanied by pious Friars and when Vasco da Gama landed in India at the close of the 15th century, he faithfully followed the same tradition. Some of these earliest Portuguese priests acquired without doubt a knowledge of the vernaculars. St. Francis Xavier, far from interesting

²⁰ Mathias Mundadan, *John Ernest Hanxleden (Arnos Padiri): His Contribution to the Sanskrit and Malayalam Languages and Literatures in Arnos Padiri*, edited by J.J. Pallath, S.J., *op. cit.*, p.61.

²¹ Cf. S. Rajamanickam, S.J., *The First Oriental Scholar*, Tirunelveli, 1972, p.81, D. Ferroli, S.J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. I, Bangalore, 1939, p.461; Vol. II, 1951, p.402.

²² Ferroli, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p.309.

²³ P.J. Thomas, *Malayala Sahityavum Christianikalum* (Malayalam Literature and Christians), Kottayam, 1961, pp.7, 97, 109, 117.

himself in a realistic study of native languages, considered the translation of the Catechism into Tamil 'to be the task one could accomplish with the help of some intelligent bilingual natives in a matter of several languages'. Xavier learned Tamil from three scholars - Thomas, Nusrat and Kovilhome.

Jesuits and Malayalam language

Some of the Jesuit missionaries had performed valuable services to the development of the Malayalam language. The Jesuit missionaries who made their valuable contributions to Kerala are Francisco Dionysio (1578), Antonio de Monserrate (1579), Francis Roz (1604) Clemens de Jesu, etc. Bishop Roz was the first to translate the O. Father and the H. Mary into Malayalam.²⁴ Arnos Padiri (Johann Ernest Hanxleden), the first Malayalam poet scholar, is the most popular Jesuit missionary, worked in Kerala.²⁵ His literary contributions to Malayalam language and literature has already been explained in Chapter IV. There is a small Malayalam grammar written by Fr. Fares (1715-1789) of the Jesuit Society. He had completed this work while he was residing at the Chathiath Church near Kochi.

It is a pity that the literary world of Europe knew nothing about the writings of Arnos Padiri till the books of Paulinus begin to appear in print. The main reason for this is that none of his works was published, and his manuscript lay almost hidden in certain places in Kerala.

Jesuits and Malayalam Lexicography

To facilitate the study of Malayalam language, the Jesuit missionaries composed dictionaries. This introduced the art of lexicography in Malayalam language. Of course in olden times there were *Nighandus* written in verses.

²⁴ D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I, Bangalore, 1939, p. 71.

²⁵ The literary contributions of Arnos Padiri to Malayalam is explained in detail in Chapter VII.

But the scientific method of lexicography were introduced by the Jesuit missionaries. One of the best examples is *Malayalam-Portuguese Dictionary* of Arnos Padiri. So Malayalam literature underwent radical changes under Jesuit influence.

Jesuits and Indian Vocabulary

The Jesuits enriched Indian vocabulary. There are more than 200 Portuguese words which have crept into Malayalam language and have become an integral part of the vernacular due to the intense contact with the Jesuit missionaries. It can be considered as a Jesuit contribution to Malayalam language and literature. Portuguese turned out to be the *lingua franca* for a couple of centuries among the merchants.²⁶ Portuguese is still alive in Malayalam in its day-to-day use and that too more in the material culture than in the religious sphere. The Jesuit missionaries wrote profusely in Malayalam which had the effect of introducing new literary genres in Malayalam. They started translating their books on theology, sermons, prayers and rituals into Malayalam. They even wrote directly several books on religion in Malayalam. Words like *kushini*, *varantha*, *mesa*, *kasera*, *vathil*, *kapithan*, *paranki*, *chapath*, *cemiteri*, *alamari*, etc. were adopted into Malayalam language.²⁷ There was an effective give-and-take in the social customs and manners.

Jesuits and Early Printing in Kerala

The Jesuits were pioneers in yet another field of communication which was to have a tremendous impact on religion and culture, the printing press. The learning of vernacular languages induced the Jesuits to lay the foundation

²⁶ K.S. Mathew, *Introduction in The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural changes in India, 1500-1800* ed., p. xxvi.

²⁷ Some of the Portuguese words generally used in Malayalam and their meanings or English equivalent are given in Appendix V.

for the printing press in Kerala. They made pioneer efforts in introducing the modern art of printing in Kerala where they had established printing presses at Kollam, Kochi, Vaipicotta, Kodungallur and Ambazhakkad.

The Jesuit missionaries were the founders of Christian literature in Kerala. They broke into print and the credit of being the first to set up printing in Kerala goes to the missionaries of the Society of Jesus. They had started printing presses in local languages like Tamil and Malayalam by the 1570's.²⁸

Jesuits and Latinization of the Kerala Church

Until the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century the Christians of Kerala were very Indian in their culture, though Middle-Eastern in worship. The Portuguese considered it their duty to bring these Oriental Christians under the supremacy of the Pope of Rome by Latinizing their Syrian liturgy and by purging them of their errors or *heresies*. The Portuguese who looked at once at the rituals and practices of the early Syrian Christians of Kerala as heretical, tried to impose their Latinized Roman rituals on them. They were able to a great extent, to bring their way in this matter after the Synod of Diamper, convened in 1599, Kerala Christians under the authority of the Pope.²⁹ The Portuguese tried to cut away all relations of the church of Malabar with the Patriarch of Babylon and to bring it under the jurisdiction and patronage of Rome.³⁰

Francis Xavier laid a solid foundation to the Latin Missions and was a corrective force to the Portuguese in India.³¹ The first Latin diocese under the

²⁸ A detailed description of **The Jesuits and early printing in Kerala** is given in Chapter VII.

²⁹ Chummar Chundal, *Christian Folklore*, Vol. I, Trichur, 1988, p.68.

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp.66-67.

³¹ Xavier Koodapuzha, *Synod of Diamper: A Juridico-Ecclesial and Historical Appraisal in The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India 1500-*

Portuguese *Padroado* was erected at Goa in 1534.³² In 1557 Goa was made an archdiocese with a suffragan diocese at Kochi.³³

Soon after the establishment of the Portuguese authority at Kochi and Goa they began to force the Thomas Christian Community and their bishops to conform themselves to the western Latin system. The bishops of the Thomas Christians were also induced to adopt Latin practices. Mar Jacob Abuna, the bishop of the Thomas Christians (1503-1552) who had completed his priestly studies in Portugal, began to administer sacraments according to Latin rites. He accepted and promoted some of the Portuguese practices and Latin customs.

In 1536 Mar Denha, the young bishop made a public confession, *rectifying* his mistakes and accepting the Portuguese pattern of worship and administration of sacraments.³⁴ This settled the differences between Mar Denha and Mar Jacob.

Mar Joseph who reached India in 1556 was detained in a Franciscan monastery at Goa and was taught to celebrate the liturgy according to the Latin rite. When Antonio do Porto, the Bishop of Goa and guardian of the Franciscan convent of Bassein reached his people in Malabar, he had to follow their East Syrian liturgical tradition. Subsequently he was taken into custody and transported to Portugal to be subjected to the inquisition. He taught his people to say the mass in Latin.

1800, *op.cit.*, p.224.

³² Pope Clement VII decided to erect the diocese of Goa on January 31, 1533, but as the Pope died before signing the bull of erection, his successor Pope Paul III issued the Bull *Acquam Reputamus* on November 3, 1534.

³³ Xavier Koodapuzha, *op. cit.*, p.224.

³⁴ Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação*, vol. IV, pp. 477.

The third session of the Goan Council passed ten decrees to conform the Thomas Christians to the Latin practices. It was precisely to take care of the priestly formation of the students from the Thomas Christians that Friar Vincente de Lagos was sent to Kochi in 1539 by Dom Juan de Albuquerque, the first bishop of Goa (1538-1553).³⁵

An extensive programme of latinization ensued extending over a full hundred years. Colleges were started to teach Latin and Roman Catholic service at the port centres of Kochi, Kodungallur and Kollam. Quite surprisingly the first institution endowed for the education and training of Indian priests was created in Kodungallur by the Franciscans in 1540, and it was destined specifically to the Thomas Christians. The first church of the Latin rite at Purakkad was built in the year 1570.³⁶ The Vaipicotta Seminary (1577) was started as per the instructions of the King of Portugal and that of the Pope in order to teach the Thomas Christians rigorously on the Roman Catholic way. As a result, practically the whole of the Christian community living in and around the ports of coastal areas including the two churches of Kodungallur and Kollam traditionally said to have been built by St. Thomas and later on enriched by Christian settlers from East Syria went over to the Roman Catholic fold and accepted the Latin Rite.

The Role of Kodungallur College in Implementing Latin Customs

The college of Kodungallur was established by the Franciscan Friar Vincente de Lagos mentioned above for instructing priestly candidates of the native Christians in Latin ways and traditions. Shortly after the advent in India, he preferred to work among St. Thomas Christians of Kodungallur. He

³⁵ He was sent to Malabar by Bishop Albuquerque.

³⁶ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. II, Bangalore, 1988, p.117.

founded the college around 1540/41,³⁷ five years before the Trent council, which made Seminary training obligatory in the catholic church. So far only a few select ones among the local clergy had been sent to Portugal for priestly formation and it seems that the liberal minded Mar Jacob encouraged such exposure for his priestly candidates.³⁸ But the number of priests trained in Portugal was too small to win over St. Thomas Christians to Latin and Portuguese obedience. Hence the idea of establishing a college for indigenous Christians was well conceived. With the establishment of this college, the formation of the native clergy on western lines became a normal practice in the Church.

Frey Vincent in his letter dated June 1549, says that students undergoing training in this Seminary used to go with the ordained priests to the Churches of St. Thomas Christians to say Mass as well as to instruct them on Sundays. They were sent to wean the natives from non-Latin rites, ceremonies, practices and customs.³⁹ The kings of Kodungallur, of Udayamperoor and Vadakkancheri showed sympathy with the work of Frey Vincent and his colleagues.⁴⁰ It also shows that Latin customs and practices slowly penetrated into the hinterland of Malabar through the able assistance of the Priests and students trained in this Seminary. In fact, the actual purpose

³⁷ According to Meershman, Wicki confirms that the seminary was started in 1541 (*Documenta Indica* XIV, 914, footnote 28).

³⁸ The Muttuchira inscription says that Fr. George and his nephew had gone to Portugal, for priestly studies in 1528 (*Kerala Society Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 253-254). In 1953, there were four aspirants from this Church in Lisbon for clerical formation. Priestly candidates from this community were sent also to Coimbra, where there were two aspirants in 1549. Even after the establishment of the Seminary of Kodungallur the members of the St. Thomas Christians were sent to Portugal. Thus there were four youngsters in Portugal in 1550: all for priestly studies.

³⁹ Antonia da in Silva Rego, *op.cit.*, pp.200-211.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*,

of the Seminary was to train a team of natives as promoters of Latin and western ecclesiastical customs and rites.

Friar Vincente's enthusiasm in conducting the seminary impressed Mar Jacob, who encouraged the Thomas Christians to entrust their children to Friar Vincente. The seminary was so dear to the heart of Friar Vincente that very often it was known as *Friar Vincente's Seminary*, *Friar Vincente's College*, etc. By 1545 Friar Vincente got an assistant, George of St. Peter OFM, who had just then returned from Portugal after his studies.⁴¹

Priests like Father George who returned from Portugal to Kerala in 1543 after undergoing priestly training there and Father Mathew Diaz who returned from Portugal in 1549 became the close associates of Frey Vincente's Seminary of Kodungallur. The training and curriculum of this college were so designed to mould the young minds of the students in the Latin spirit and culture. It was the Goan bishop who ordained these candidates to priesthood. Frey Vincente, the heart and soul of the seminary continued to be head of this institution till his death in 1551.

The highest appreciation of the Kodungallur seminary comes from no less a person than St. Francis Xavier himself. In his letter dated January 20, 1545 he informed King John of Portugal the flourishing state of the seminary and of the earnestness of Friar Vincente and recommended the seminary to the King's generous support.⁴²

⁴¹ Friar George was one of the four Malabarians who had gone to Lisbon in 1539 for higher studies: *Documenta Indica*, I 76, footnote 20. C.f. *Gervasis*, J.Mulakara, *op.cit*, p.61, footnote 99.

⁴² Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, II, 484. From this letter of Francis Xavier Schurhammer concludes that Xavier might have visited the Kodungallur seminary in June 1545: *Ibid.*, footnote 53.

João Pereira, Captain of Kodungallur (1545--1561) was another warm supporter of the seminary. In his letter dated, January 4, 1548, he requested King John III to help the seminary more generously. From the same letter we know that there were in 1548, 79 students in the seminary and that the first batch of the new priests were ordained on January 1, 1548. In the following year the number increased to 100 and subsequently increased thereafter. João Pereira pays glowing tribute to the work done by Friar Vincente.

In 1549, Xavier also wrote to Ignatius praising the work of Friar Vincente, who, Xavier informed Ignatius, wanted after his death to entrust the seminary to the Jesuits and as a preparation for this, wanted a Jesuit to teach in the seminary.⁴³ This idea of Friar Vincente was conveyed by Xavier also to Simon Rodriguez, Portugal's Provincial.⁴⁴ The Jesuits, thereafter, were much concerned about this idea.

There was no doubt that the seminary was started for the education of the boys of the Thomas Christians. But the recent authors of the Thomas Christian community think that the seminary and the priests formed in the seminary were not accepted by their own community because it was an institution started by the archbishop of Goa and later conducted by the bishop of Kochi, never by the bishops of Thomas Christians.⁴⁵

Proportionately the deepest latinization was that of the calendar. The Synod of Diamper (convened by Dom Alexis de Menezes, the *Padroado* Archbishop of Goa in 1599) added all the Latin feasts that do not exist

⁴³ *Documenta Indica*, I, 515, footnote 18, *Ibid.*, II, 400, footnote 26.

⁴⁴ *Epistolae Xavierii*, I 254, C.f. *Gervasis J.Mulakara, op.cit.*, p.62, footnote 104.

⁴⁵ The sponsors of this new theory are two doctors of Church History, A.M.Mundadan and Xavier Koodapuzha. They attempted to prove that the seminary was started for the latinization of the Thomas Christians.

among the Chaldeans, but were then considered holy days, 16 in all, raising the number of holy days to 31, beside Sundays. The goal of Catholicisation of Malabar Church was achieved by the successful end of the Synod of Diamper. Thus latinization is present not as a device to prevent hereby, but rather as a sign of community of faith.

Jesuits and Latinization of Thomas Christians

A lot of work of the Jesuits in Kerala was done among the Thomas Christians. Dr. Chandy, the Bishop of the Syrian Christians, treated the Fathers most kindly, and expressed a desire that they should continue to give him the help they had given to his predecessors, preaching missions to his flock and educating his seminarians, he even asked for some Fathers to settle near his Residence at Karlagatta. Though unable to comply with this last request, the Jesuits did their utmost to carry out the intentions of the Bishop, by reopening at Ambalakkad the Syrian Seminary they once had at Vaipicotta and resuming their teaching. They had already started a seminary at Vaipicotta which was aimed at the thorough Latinization of the Thomas Christians.

Besides the evangelization of the Hindus and the pastoral care of the Catholics, the spiritual welfare of Thomas Christians was also a concern of the Jesuits. Though the Jesuits were at Kochi from 1548, their work was almost totally confined to the city itself, and had not reached the villages of the interior or along the Kochi coast, where the Thomas Christians were mostly to be found. In 1557, however, Fr. Melchior Carneiro, having heard that a Nestorian bishop had slipped into the country and was spreading his doctrine and ordaining priests, toured the Malabar hills, the *Serra*, for two months in an effort to confirm the Thomas Christians in their Catholic faith. The account of his journey contains some of the most authentic available

information about the Thomas Christians. Fr. Melchior Carneiro was the first Jesuit who visited the interior parts of Kerala, where most of the Thomas Christians lived. He visited Angamali and Thodupuzha in 1557. In 1561 another Melchoir (Nunes Barreto), rector at Kochi, accompanied Bishop George Temudo in the canonical visitations of his diocese and met the Thomas Christians at Kollam and in the Serra, about whom he gathered valuable data.

From the Jesuit annual letter of 1580, written from Kochi, we get a glimpse of the work usually done by the Jesuit fathers as they visited the churches and villages of the St. Thomas Christians. The Jesuits of the Kochi College were working in three mission stations along the coast from Kochi to Purakkad: Sant' Jago of Palluruthi, Sant' Andre' of Arthunkal and the Holy Cross of Purakkad. Of these the most important station was that of Sant' Andre' of Muthedath, later called Arthunkal.⁴⁶

Fr. Feniacio, who came to the mission of Sant' Andre' in 1584, was invited by the Thomas Christians, who lived like pagans, to baptize them; and he baptized many. Some of them were "old with a white beard", and yet they had not been baptized.⁴⁷ Fr. Fenicio administered 1080 adult baptisms at Arthunkal between 1587 and 1602.⁴⁸

The churches of Sant' Jago and Sant' Andre' were built by the Jesuit missionaries for the purpose of converting Hindus to Christianity under the Latin jurisdiction.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Michael Arattukulam, *The Diocese of Alleppey in Christian Heritage of Kerala* (ed.), K.J. John, Cochin, 1981, p.262.

⁴⁷ D. Ferroli, S.J., *op. cit.*, p.427.

⁴⁸ Georg Schurhammar, *Mission Works of the Jesuits, Alleppey*, 1959, pp.17-18.

⁴⁹ Michael Arattukulam, *op. cit.*, p.363.

In a report on the Malabar mission of the Society of Jesus sent by Andre' Lopes in 1644, he mentioned that the mission of Saint' Andre' then had 2600 Christians. They were under five parishes: Manacodam (150), Holy Cross of Kadakkarapalli (500), Arthunkal (1500), Kattur (300) and Thumpoly (150).⁵⁰

The Jesuits who had been visiting Muthedath since 1569 should have recruited candidates for their college in Kochi and for the Seminary of Kodungallur. The Thomas Christians were baptized by the missionaries of the mission of Sant' Andre' from 1583 onwards by virtue of the written faculty granted to them by Mar Abraham in 1577.⁵¹ From 1584 to 1663 the Jesuits could and did recruit candidates to the Vaipicotta Seminary and to the Kochi College. Fr. Fenicio, who have longed to have local hands to assist him in his mission work must certainly have recruited candidates from among the St. Thomas Christians, of whom 500 had been baptized in 1583 before he came to the mission, and many others since then by himself. At the Jesuit College in Kochi, there were boys from the mission of Sant' Andre' in 1588.⁵²

From 1663 to 1766 the Jesuits had to move away from the territory occupied by the Dutch, who captured Kochi in 1663. They shifted their residence to Ambhazhakkad, and started a new seminary at Puthenchira, which they conducted until the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773.

In 1701 the Provincial of the Malabar province complained that the efforts at evangelization were confined to the coastal belt, that the interior places were completely neglected. Therefore some Jesuits dressed as Pandaraswamis came to a village called Nemom, six kilometres south east of

⁵⁰ Schuhammer, *op. cit.*, p.33.

⁵¹ Michael Arattukulam, *op. cit.*, p.371, footnote 17.

⁵² Pero Feceda, *Letter to the General* (Kochi, 7.1.1589).

Thiruvananthapuram; by their self-sacrificing lives and untiring efforts they could convert some thousands of high caste Hindus. About 4000 Nairs were baptized by Fr. Favares, a Jesuit missionary, renowned for his zeal and self sacrifice.⁵³ Almost complete latinization of the church of the St. Thomas Christians was effected by the Synod of Diamper which was held under the auspices Alexis de Menezis in 1599.

Fr. Francis Roz, S.J. was deputed by the third Goan Council to implement the decrees regarding the Thomas Christians. As has already mentioned in Chapter II, he was appointed the first Latin Bishop of the Thomas Christians of the Serra. He chose Vaipicotta as the place of residence of the Jeusits. He had done a lot of work for the Thomas Christians who liked him very much. He had spent three years among the Malabar Christians learning and teaching Syriac. As has already mentioned above, soon after his appointment to the Bishopric of the Serra, Fr. Roz supervised the Syriac translation and printing of the Roman Ritual of the Exorcisms and Benedictions of the Missal. He examined all the liturgical books with an inquisitorial eye and listened a good deal of such expressions. Further, he got ready for the press the Missal and the Roman Breviary. He translated some of the Syriac books found in Malabar. He noted very briefly in his memorial the absence of confirmation among the Thomas Christians.

At the end of 1603, Roz visited certain Churches in the North, where the Christians were very much left to themselves. We have seen earlier that the inhabitants of Palur gave the bishop a grand reception. Thence the Bishop went to Angamaly and by the advice of the Fathers he convoked the Diocen Synod for the beginning of Advent. All the Priests and Delegates of the Villages assembled. The Bishop had translated the Pontifical into

⁵³ Mark Netto, *The Diocese of Trivandrum in Christian Heritage of Kerala* (ed.), K.J. John, Cochin, 1981, p.377.

Chaldean. On the feast of St. Ambrose (7th November 1603) after having sung the High Mass according to the Syrian rite, he opened the Diocesan Synod.

Later Roz was appointed Archbishop of Kodungallur. He had been the great co-worker of Archbishop Menezes at the Synod of Diamper.

Latinization of the Syrian Church

Many attempts were made by the Jesuits to Latinise the Syrian Church of Kerala. One major attempt was the **Synod of Diamper**.

Alexis de Menazes and the Synod of Diamper

On 27th January 1597 Pope Clement VIII(1592-1605)authorized Dom Alexis de Menezes to appoint an apostolic vicar to the see of Angamaly as soon as Mar Abraham died. In 1598, after the death of Mar Abraham, Philip II entreated with the Pope to appoint a Portuguese Jesuit Dom Luis Cerqueira, archbishop of Angamale. The Portuguese in their attempt to appoint Roz S.J.as the administrator of the Thomas Christians did not succeed. But priests from the Society of Jesus were proposed as the consultators to the archdeacon. It was in this context that Alexis Menezes decided to intervene directly in the affairs of the Thomas Christians. He set out from Goa on 27th December 1598 and reached Kerala on February 1, 1599 with the definite goal of bringing the Thomas Christians under Portuguese *Padroado* and appointing a Latin bishop over them.

As soon as he reached Malabar Menezes visited the local kings who were eager to win the favour of the Portuguese against their local rivals. The first thing he did was to deprive the Christians of the protection of the local rulers. Making full use of his position as the second most important authority in Portuguese India, he induced the rajas not only to cease opposing his plans, but also to put pressure on the archdeacon and the Christians to his demands.⁵⁴

Despite the protest from the part of the Archdeacon Menezes began to exercise jurisdiction by making official visits to parishes and administering the sacrament of confirmation. He proposed to visit all the Churches of the St. Thomas Christians, put them of their heresies and errors, teach them the Catholic doctrine, destroy all the heretical books which they possessed, and in the end convoke a synod of all their priests, he would also get them to

⁵⁴ Jonas Thaliath, T.O.C.D. *The Synod of Diamper* Roma, 1958, pp.20-22; Joseph Thekkedath *Events Leading to the Great Uprising of 1653 in The Socio Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, op.cit.,p.182.

promise obedience to the Church of Rome and to take an oath to receive the prelate whom His Holiness would send them.

In the mean time Menezes also tried his best to gain the good will of the Christians by showing them benevolence and by giving alms liberally to the needy. His kindness and his concern for the poor made an impression on the people.

Menezes had come to know that the Syrian priests were very obedient and submissive to the bishop who ordained them. Hence he rightly concluded that by ordaining a number of priests he could get the whole-hearted co-operation and support of those priests and their parents and relatives for the synod which he had in mind. With this clever move Menezes was trying to create within the Syrian community a party devoted to his plans. He decided to hold some general ordinations at different places. Gouvea, the historian and panegyrist of Menezes, has distributed the strategy behind these ordinations at 150 candidates. As he gained ground he even dared to threaten to depose the archdeacon and appoint in his place a certain Thomas Kurian who has been a rival candidate for archdeaconship in 1583. Most of the local kings were already won over to his side and the community was on the verge of division. The exasperated archdeacon had to yield to the pressure and finally he did.

Menezes decided to spend the Holy Week with the important Christian community of Kaduthuruthy. In order to impress the people more and to make them appreciate the splendour of the Latin liturgy, he sent for a choir from Kochi and the Holy Week services were conducted with great solemnity. What touched the people most was the ceremony of washing of the feet on Moundy Thursday, when the archbishop in full pontificals was seen kneeling before each of the twelve *cattanars* in turn and washing and kissing their feet.

The service of Good Friday, with the veneration of the cross, made the people even more well-disposed towards Menezes. In this way Kaduthuruthy became the first community to be fully won over by Menezes. Others followed in the course of the ensuing weeks, Mulanthuruthy and Udayamperur (Diamper) being among the most important.⁵⁵

The Synod was to be held at Udayamperur. This was due to Menezes' convenience. Udayamperur was already on his side, while Angamali was the stronghold of the archdeacon. Besides, Udayamperur could be easily reached by water from the Portuguese strongholds of Kochi and Kodungallur. After making these arrangements and decisions, Menezes retired to the Portuguese fort of Kodungallur, where according to Gouvea, he completed without anybody's assistance the drafting of the decrees of the synod, from the notes he had taken about the customs and abuses existing in Kerala. When the drafting was over, he had the decrees translated from Portuguese into Malayalam.⁵⁶

The synod of Diamper solemnly began on the third Sunday after Pentecost, 20 June, 1599. Menezes presided and 153 *cattanars* and 660 lay representatives took part in it. The whole cathedral chapter of the diocese of Kochi, the choir, and many clerics, together with the captain of Kochi, Antony de Noronha, were present at the synod.⁵⁷

The whole of liturgical calendar was made to conform to the Latin one.⁵⁸ Finally, the authority of the Inquisitions of Goa was extended to the Thomas Christians.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ C.f. Eugene Tisserant, *op.cit.*, pp.53-55; Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, pp.183-184.

⁵⁶ C.f. Thaliath, *op.cit.*, p. 26-27; Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, pp.184-185.

⁵⁷ C.f. Thaliath, *op.cit.*, p. 29; Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, pp.185.

⁵⁸ C.f. Tisserant-Hambye, *op.cit.*, p. 178; Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, pp.185-186.

⁵⁹ Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, p.72

The synod of Diamper achieved one of the aims of Portuguese policy in Kerala. viz., to separate the Syrian Christians of Kerala from the Chaldean Patriarch and to extend the influence of the king of Portugal over those parts. On 4 August 1600 the right of patronage of His Catholic Majesty was extended to the see of Angamali.⁶⁰

In the words of Fr. Jonas Thaliyath,⁶¹ the Synod of Diamper was a turning point in the history of Christianity in Kerala. It gave a definite form to the tendency of Latinization that slowly prevailed in the Church of Kerala from the time the first Portuguese missionaries set foot there. It was the first strong Western cultural infiltration through religion in Kerala.⁶² But the subjection of the Thomas Christians to the Latin jurisdiction and the pursuance of the policy of Latinization to extremes never left the Church in real peace. The first and terrible consequence of this was the oath of 1653.⁶³

Menezes circulated a convocatory letter from Vaipincotta on May 14, 1599, inviting all the Parish Priests and representatives to the synod.⁶⁴ In this letter he claimed that the Pope Clement VIII has given all the powers to interfere in the Church of the Thomas Christians:

"Besides, the same was incumbent on Us by right, as the said Church had no chapter to take care of it during the vacancy of the see and as We are the Metropolitan of all the Churches in India and Primate thereof and of all the orient".⁶⁵

⁶⁰ C.f. Thaliath, *op. cit.*, p. 34, footnote 103; Thekkedath, *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Thaliyath, *Ibid.*, pp.25-26.

⁶² Chummar Chundal, *op.cit.*, p.66.

⁶³ C.f. Thaliath, *op.cit.*, p. 173-174; Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, pp.186-187.

⁶⁴ C.f. Thaliath, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

⁶⁵ Gouvea, *Synodo Diocesano F.I*; TISD, p.43.

Menezes convened the Synod at the Roman Catholic Church at Udayamperur (Diamper) from 20th to 26th June, 1599 for changing the Syrian Christians into *true* Roman Catholics. The Synod severed the connection between the Kerala Church and the *heretical* Persian Church and fealty to the Pope of Rome. The archbishop had already formulated the decrees of the Synod. These decrees deal with the entire ecclesiastical system of the Thomas Christians. The Acts of the Synod of Diamper were printed in Coimbra in 1606 together with *Jornada* justifying the activities of the Goan archbishop in Malabar.

The Synod of Diamper was a turning point in the religious history of India. Soon after this synod the *Padroado* (patronage) of the King of Portugal was extended over the eastern church of the Thomas Christians of India. As a result, from 1599 a major section of this Church was ruled over by Latin bishops from Europe. During this period of Latin rule radical changes in the liturgy, discipline, theology, spirituality, administrative system, traditions, etc., of the Thomas Christians were introduced after the western ecclesiastical pattern.⁶⁶ "The Synod enacted the fundamental changes in the rite and ecclesiastical laws of the Thomas Christians, dealt with doctrines, morals, discipline, abuses, superstitious practices and so on. Certain decrees are contradictory while certain others are not objectively true not to speak of generalizations and exaggerations seen in any, though many are excellent and useful".⁶⁷

Consequences of the Synod: Conflicts and Divisions

The synod of Diamper was a turning point in the history of the Thomas Christians. It was immediately followed by the events.

⁶⁶ Xavier Koodapuzha, *op.cit.*, p.223.

⁶⁷ Podipara, P.J., *The Thomas Christians*, Bombay, 1970, pp.25-26.

1. Appointment of a Latin bishop over the Thomas Christians (Nov.5, 1599).
2. Suppression of the Metropolitan See of Angamaly which was a suffragan of Goa (December20, 1599).
3. Extension of the Portuguese Padroado over the Thomas Christians (August 5, 1600).
4. Protest of the Thomas Christians and the Restoration of the Metropolitan title (December 22, 1608).

The radical changes introduced by the Synod of Diamper led to conflicts and divisions. Conflicts continued during the time of the bishops Stephen Britto (1624-1641) and Francis Garcia (1641-1659). Except the Jesuits the other Religious like Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans accused the Archbishop of arrogance and authoritarianism.

In the meanwhile, a Syrian metropolitan by name Mar Ahatallah reached Surat in March1652 in response to the letters which Archdeacon Thomas had secretly sent in 1648-49 to the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, the West Syrian patriarch of Antioch and the Nestorian patriarch of Mesopotamia. He had set out from Cairo some time after the archdeacons' letter to the Copitc patriarch of Alexandria reached there. In August of the same year he made his appearance at San Thome (Mylapore). Since the Portuguese authorities in India were suspicious of the orthodoxy of all those who came from West Asia, he was interned in the Jesuit college at Mylapore, till he could be handed over to the officials of the Inquisition in Goa. This news reached Kerala through some seminarians who had gone to Mylapore on pilgrimage.

Archdeacon Thomas and his close friends were quite to exploit the situation fully. They published in all parts of the *Serra*⁶⁸ the news that a Syrian patriarch sent to them by the pope in answer to their numerous petitions, had been unjustly imprisoned in Mylapore by the Jesuit fathers. It was then decided that a general meeting of the St. Thomas Christians should be held at Udayamperur to discuss about the best way to *liberate* the patriarch. The archdeacon wrote to the captain of Kochi, the civil authorities and cathedral chapter, complaining of the injustice that was being done by the Jesuits in preventing Mar Ahattalah from proceeding to the pope himself.⁶⁹

At the general meeting of the Christians at Udayamperur it was decided that a letter should be sent to Archbishop Garcia, requesting him to take Mar Ahattalah to Kerala. To hold a general constitutions on the whole problem, they would request to Garcia to go to one of the Churches of the 'Serra'. But Garcia replied them that even if Ahattalh's claim to have been sent by the Pope were true, he would not allow him to enter the *Serra* since he came without the permissions of the King of Portugal.⁷⁰ This policy naturally irritated those present. Before dispersing, they decided that as many as possible should assemble at Mattancheri.

In the mean time the people rose up in rebellion in several places, declaring the Jesuits to be schematics and heretics, in as much as they held in prison a holy patriarch sent to them by the pope. The Christians of Parur are said to have gone so far as to station armed boats in the rivers and backwaters, in order to killed any Jesuits whom they should chance to meet. The

⁶⁸ *Serra* is a Portuguese word which means mountain. It was regularly used in Portuguese documents to refer to the hilly regions where many of the St. Thomas Christians lived.

⁶⁹ Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, No.1, pp.195-196.

⁷⁰ They sworn declaration of seven witnesses examined by Sebastiani in 1637. The witnesses add that Garcia replied on a small piece of paper in order to show his contempt. See, *The Troubled Days*, pp.52-53. See also footnote 11.

Christians of Vaipicotta went armed to the Church and to the seminary. They shut the door which led from the seminary, who was also the vicar of the Church, never again to set foot in the Church. The seminarians were then asked to leave the seminary.⁷¹

When the news arrived that the fleet in which Ahattallah was being taken from Mylapore to Goa was approaching Kochi, Archdeacon Thomas accompanied by a number of *Cattanars* and *several thousands*⁷² of armed Christians, moved towards Mattanchery. Their leaders spoke to the captain of Kochi, the civil authorities, the cathedral chapter and the superiors of the various religious orders, requesting that Ahattallah be taken before them, so that they could examine his credentials. They declared that they were ready to punish him if he would be found to be an imposter. On the whole, the opinion of the civil and religious authorities of Kochi was in favour of allowing the archdeacon and a few *cattanars* to meet and question Mar Ahattallah in the presence of the commissary of the Inquisition and some religious of the city. But Archbishop Garcia vehemently opposed the idea.⁷³ Seeing that Garcia did not go to meet them nor send them any reply the *cattanars* and the Christians became even more enraged.

A news spread that Mar Ahattallah was drowned in the sea. The tension mounted and reached its peak and the community under the leadership of their archdeacon gathered in a Church of Our Lady (*Nossa Senhora de Vida*) at Mattancherry took an oath that they would not any longer obey Garcia nor have anything to do with the "Fathers of St. Paul" (Jesuits), who died away with the bishop who was sent to them by their legitimate authority.

⁷¹ Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, No.1, p.197.

⁷² One of the eye-witnesses who testified before Sebastian in 1657 says that those who accompanied the archdeacon were about 500. See *The Troubled Days* p.54, footnote 15. This could be an exaggeration.

⁷³ *The Troubled Days*, pp.54-55; Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, No.1, pp.197-198.

They would recognize Archdeacon Thomas as the governor of their Church. This event is known in history as ***The Coonan Cross Oath***. It took place on Friday, January 3, 1653.⁷⁴

There is considerable difference between the extant contemporary accounts and the Syrian Christian tradition regarding the manner in which the oath at Mattancherry was taken. According to all the contemporary written accounts that have come down to us, the oath was taken inside the Church and in front of a crucifix with lighted candles and over the holy gospels.⁷⁵ Syrian Christian tradition, instead speaks of the "Coonan Cross Oath". According to this tradition, a rope was tied to the open air cross that stands outside the Church of Mattancherry, so that all could touch at least that rope when the oath was being taken.

From 1599 the major sections of the Thomas Christians were ruled over by foreign bishops of the Latin rite, with the exception of Mar Alexander Parampil (1663-1687). Finally they were given indigenous bishops and are known the Syro-Malabar Church. Thus the Synod of Diamper marked the beginning of the rule of the European bishops of the Latin rite, suppression of the indigenous identity and imposition of an alien system on the ancient Church of the St. Thomas Christians of India.⁷⁶

Events Leading to the Great Uprising of 1653

The uprising of the St. Thomas Christians against Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuits in 1653 turned out to be one of the most important events in the history of the Church in Kerala. The divisions of the Thomas Christians

⁷⁴ Xavier Koodapuzha, *Indian Church History*, p.34; *The Troubled Days*, pp.59-60; Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, No.1, p.200. Also K.J. John.

⁷⁵ More references may be found in Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, I no.2, p.93, footnote 8.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.235.

into Syrian Catholics and Syrian Orthodox came as a result of the events closely connected with that insurrection.⁷⁷ The process of latinization of the Syrian Church of Kerala had already begun in a small way in the first decades of the sixteenth century and continued throughout the following decades.

The two most fundamental causes of the revolt of 1653 are the dissatisfaction of the St. Thomas Christians with the Jesuits for several of the decisions taken at the Synod of Diamper and the fight over the status and rights of the archdeacon. Several other factors also contributed their share in bringing about the rebellion. The most important of these secondary causes was the persistence with which the Jesuit archbishops excluded all the other religious families from the territory of the archdiocese. Thus Archbishop Britto in 1629 expelled Fr. Francis Donati, a Dominican, and his companions who had established a successful school for the teaching of Syriac at Kaduthuruthy. Garcia continued the same policy and foiled the attempts of the Carnalities to obtain a foothold in the archdiocese. This policy caused considerable ill feeling.

Agricultural Products of the Portuguese

The Jesuits introduced into India several agricultural products which can also be considered as a contribution to their credit. Some of the plants are as follows: Cashew nut, manioca or tobacco, tapioca, custard apple, guava, pineapple, papaya, cabbage, potato, sweet potato, rubber, tread fruit, mango etc., and an improved variety of coconut seed. They encouraged large scale scientific cultivation of ginger, pepper and coconut.⁷⁸

Metals and Liquors

⁷⁷ Joseph, Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, No. 2, p.181.

⁷⁸ P.J. Thomas, *Malayala Sahithyavum Kristhianikalum*, Aluva, 1961, p.37.

The Portuguese missionaries (Jesuits) brought to India West African gold, American silver, copper, lead, tin, quicksilver, mercury, coral, alum, wines, olive oil, demasks and taffetas. Kochi and Chaliyam emerged as new centers of trade in Kerala as a result of Portuguese (Jesuit) contact.

The Jesuits also enriched medical science. Garcia da Orta's treatise on the medicinal plants of India is the first systematic study of its kind.

The Jesuits work among the fisher folk of the Malabar coast, Kerala, among the Harijans of Tamil Nadu, etc. They continue their involvement in the secular and religious fields, contributing their mite to the total development of modern India.

The Jesuit missionaries converted many natives to their western religion and introduced many ethos of western culture into their daily life.⁷⁹ The Christian converts became the agents of westernization and there emerged in the sixteenth century a new social formation in the coastal settlements of the Portuguese especially at Kochi.

The Jesuits also introduced bakery items in Kerala. The well-known Chinese-nets of Cochin were introduced by the Portuguese from their settlement at Macau in China.⁸⁰

The Jesuits also made significant contributions to art and architecture, which can be seen to this day, albeit in poor condition. Most of all they were recognized and esteemed as men of science, especially in astronomy, agriculture and geography.

The Jesuit missionaries from Europe brought to Kerala not only their abiding faith but also their vast scholarship and commendable industry. Their

⁷⁹ K.V. Suji, *Cochin and the Portuguese: A study on the Colonial Impact*, preface p. i, Doctoral Thesis submitted to the Calicut University, January, 2000.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

pioneering works have immortalized them. They worked in schools and colleges, they manned Seminaries for the training of the native clergy, they laboured in towns and villages throughout the length and breadth of Kerala. They had written grammars, dictionaries, catechisms, spiritual books, puranas, etc. They had done immense good in the field of education, in the direction of souls, in hospitals, etc.

The Jesuits have contributed an important share in the religious, political, commercial, social and agricultural aspects of the culture in India in general, and Kerala in particular. They have also contributed to the renaissance which began in the fifteenth century. Most of the eminent scholars who studied the adventures and cultural influences of the Portuguese have recognized and admitted this fact. They wielded a considerable influence in the Indian languages too. In short, the Jesuits were and are good men and useful to the State.

CHAPTER VI

JESUITS AND CHRISTIAN ARTS

Christian art is sacred art produced in an attempt to illustrate, supplement and portray in tangible form the principles of Christianity, though other definitions are possible. Certain Christian art forms in Kerala such as *Chavittunatakam*, *Maargamkali Pattu*, *Ammanai Pattu*, *Pilgrim songs*, *Rambhan Pattu*, *Mar Thoman Pattu*, etc. are included in the folklore of the Christians of Kerala.

Theatrical performances prevailed among Kerala Christians. Syrian Christians and Latins have some folk songs. P.U. Lukas has made valuable contributions to this field by collecting those songs. His work on *Keralathile Syrian Krishthianikalude Purathana Pattukal* (Kottayam: 1910) is a voluminous collection of folk songs. Dr. P.J. Thomas quoted the same in his book on *Keralathile Krishtheeya Sahithyam* (Mannanam: 1935) and made studies on them also. Anthropologist L.K. Anantha Krishna Aiyyer (1924) made use of these songs for his anthropological and sociological research on the cultural history of Syrian Christians. Dr. Chummar Chundal's study on *Margamkali* (1978) and Rev. Dr. Jacob Vellian's monographs (1970) have also thrown light on the folkloristic traditions of Christians.¹

Chavittunatakam

When we analyze the impact of the Portuguese (Jesuits) in Malayalam literature, the significance of *Chavittunatakam* introduced by the Jesuit missionaries become clearer as the fore runner of Malayalam drama. *Chavittunatakam* derives its name from *Chavittu* or the forceful and rhythmic

¹ Chummar Chundal, *Christian Folklore*, Vol.I, Trichur, 1988, p.33.

footing of steps. It is a dramatic performance of beautiful measured steps. The actors stamp their feet on the wooden stage in time with *Chenda* and other musical instruments while they act and sing.² *Chavittu* means foot work or stamping and *natakam* means drama. It is a type of dance drama of valour and vitality performed by actors well-versed in acrobatic and distinguished by the forceful and rhythmic foot work introduced in central Kerala by the close of the sixteenth century by the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries. According to tradition the idea of *Chavittunatakam* was conceived as means to wean the local Christians away from the influence of *Kathakali*, a popular dance drama depicting the events of Hindu lore as it was very popular among them.³ The themes of *Chavittunatakam* adapted from the heroic lives of European Catholic emperors and from the Bible, were presented in the European operatic tradition.⁴ *Chavittunatakam* is a folk theatrical art of Latin Christians in Kerala. It is performed in conformity with musical pattern of the west.⁵

One of the most popular *Chavittunatakam* pieces is entitled *Kaarlman Charitam*,⁶ the story of emperor Charlemagne as it is narrated in the French medieval work *Chanson de Roland*. The narration and dialogues are in verse in *Chavittunatakam* and the actor sang and acted out his lines. The use of

² Sabeena Raphi, *Theatrical Traditions of Christians of Kerala in Christian Heritage of Kerala*, ed., K.J. John, pp.99-110.

³ "The Portuguese who came to Kerala as early as the sixteenth century, were responsible for introducing *Chavittunatakam* which is a type of play similar to the Miracle plays of the West. *Genova*, *KaaKalman* and *Napoleon* are some of the better known plays of this type It was in a way the Christian counterpart of *Kathakali* which was based on Hindu puranic stories". (Parameswaran Nair P.K., *History of Malayalam Literature*, (New Delhi, 1967), p.149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.99-110.

⁵ Chummar Chundal, *op.cit.*, p.57.

⁶ Other well-known *Chavittunatakams* are *Allesunatakam* (on the life of St. Alex) *Jenovanatakam* (on the life of St. Genevive), Daveedu Vijayam (on David and Goliath)etc.

western costumes and masks as well as curtain for the stage, then introduced was a novelty in Kerala. Since the plays are mostly of medieval emperors and kings of Europe, the costumes are elaborately and richly made befitting those personalities. Costume making is the most expensive part of *Chavittunatakam*. The movements of the actors on the stage arrest our attention as that of acrobats. They are more vigorous than graceful, more martial than artistic. No actor utters a line of prose.⁷ The actors sing, while they act and play. Playback is not admissible in *Chavittunatakam*. Acting in this dance-drama is spontaneous and realistic and not symbolic as in *Kathakali* of Kerala tradition. The actor identifies himself with the characters through music, gestures and expressions of emotions in *Chavittunatakam* theatre and thus enables the audience to appreciate the heroic characters fully. Though the literary quality of the songs and dialogues composed for *Chavittunatakam* was not admirable, their impact was remarkable in influencing the formation of a new Christian culture. Even today *Chavittunatakam* is a cherished heritage of Christians in central Kerala.⁸

Chavittunatakam, a form of Tamil *Terukkutthu* has many unique features which distinguish it from all other theatrical arts. It synthesises the religious, cultural, social and artistic aspects which has an influence in the coastal lines of the country. It is perhaps the only instance of the direct involvement of the cultural life of the natives. The Portuguese, however, due to a variety of complex circumstances made their impact felt in the cultural field also. There is clear evidence of the influence of religious drama of the medieval ages such as Mysteries and Miracles, Biblical plays, Magi plays, etc., in *Chavittunatakam*. They show unmistakable similarities with medieval

⁷ K.V. Suji, *Cochin and the Portuguese: A Study on the Colonial Impact* (Ph.D thesis submitted to the University of Calicut), January 2000, p.253.

⁸ *Ibid.*,p.254

European religious plays.⁹

In *Chavittunatakam*, the role of kings and military chieftains was given to persons with fair complexion. The Indo-Portuguese families were attracted by this art-form and gave their patronage. Their association with this art form was so intimate that they even identified it as *Parankikalute naatakam* (drama of the Portuguese).¹⁰

Some of the Syrian Christians might have participated in *Chavittunatakam* in the early periods. They might have accepted this theatrical art form.¹¹ This new cultural movement is well-known for its artistic and natural acting and dialogue and its contribution to dramatic arts.¹²

Sabeena Raphy discusses¹³ the origin and development of *Chavittunatakam* in her historical study on *Chavittunatakam*. She says that *Chavittunatakam* replaced the Hindu art forms, such as *Kuuttu* and *Kuutiyyattam* which were popular among Christians. *Chavittunatakam* filled the vacuum in the theatrical performance of Christians. It is very difficult to accept Mrs. Raphy's point that *Chavittunatakam* came in as a Christian substitute for Hindu arts.¹⁴

Mrs. Raphy presumes that *Chavittunatakam* was introduced with a view to encourage the marital spirit in Kerala Christians.¹⁵ The marital

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.24; Veliparambil George, *Early Printing and the Origin of the Press in Kerala. Contributions of Christian missionaries* in K.J. John, ed. *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, Cochin: *Kerala Times*, pp.161-168.

¹⁰ Chummar Chundal, *op.cit.*, p.69.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.72.

¹² Chummar Chundal, *op.cit.*, p.74.

¹³ Sarachandra, *The Folk Drama of Ceylon*, (Ceylon, 1966), P.95.

¹⁴ Chummar Chundal, *op.cit.*, p.75

¹⁵ *C.f.Ibid.*

tradition of *Chavittunatakam* inspired a militant spirit among the Christians. The militant Christians were called as *Karalmaran parimar* which meant the baron of Charlemagne.¹⁶ According to Mrs. Raphy *Chavittunatakam* was an art form exclusively of Latin Christians.¹⁷

It is an accepted fact that *Chavittunatakam* originated with the advent of Portuguese in Kerala. All the above mentioned scholars unanimously acknowledge this fact. The majority of scholars cited above have asserted beyond dispute that *Chavittunatakam* is a Christian counterpart of *Kathakali*.¹⁸

The texts which are used for the production of *Chavittunatakam* have come from Tamilnadu as the by-product of the missionary work. Literary as well as historical evidences establish this view point. The basic rudiments of contents, costume and presentation of *Chavittunatakam* can even now be visibly traced in some of the Christian theatrical arts of Tamilnadu.¹⁹

The theatre of *Chavittunatakam* is not confined to Kerala only. It is also seen in Tamilnadu and in Sri Lanka. *Muuvarasunatakam*, *Mar Allesunatakam* and other religious dramas were popularized in places where the missionaries has concentrated their activities such as Madurai, Tirunelveli Palayamcottah, Salem, Coimbatore, etc in Tamil Nadu. The traditional *Annaavis* of Tamilnadu call it *Terukkuutthu*. The above said plays are only seen among the Latin-convert Christian villages in Tamilnadu.²⁰

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*p.76

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.76-77

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.77.

²⁰ *Ibid*

Plays with Biblical themes are common in *Chavittunatakam*.²¹

There is a perfect parallel in the subject treated between the regular series of Old Testament plays and other Biblical stories in *Chavittunatakam*. The stories from the New Testament as well as the Old Testament used to be adapted for the *Chavittunatakam*. It has contributed much to the familiarizing of Biblical characters to Latin Christian folk.²²

The salient features of Mysteries and Miracles are seen profusely in *Chavittunatakam*. The history of Charlemagne well exemplifies some of the elements which were later to be so fully exploited in this kind of the Mysterious or Miracle plays. Its background is that of the *Crusades*. It is romantic and adventurous.²³ The lives and experience of the Saints were given artistic forms in *Chavittunatakam*.²⁴

In early days there were two storeyed stages for the performance of *Chavittunatakam*. This statement reveals that the stage of *Chavittunatakam* has a close affinity with the medieval theatre.²⁵

The dynamics of the movement in *Chavittunatakam* is moreover similar to operative movements of the West. *Chavittunatakam* represents the religious or liturgical drama of the medieval period in many respects. A student of theatre can easily reach the hypothesis that the impact of the foreign influence on *Chavittunatakam* is an epoch making phenomenon.²⁶

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.91.

²² *Ibid.*, p.92

²³ *Ibid.* pp.92,94.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.93

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.95.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.96.

The *Asan* of *Chavittunatakam* is known as *Annaavi*. From the beginning to the end of the drama, he is the guiding spirit. The *Annaavi* is the central figure in the sphere of both training and staging of the play. Actors for *Chavittunatakam* are trained in *kalaries* and local gymnasiums. Selected boys having good physique are ushered before the *Annaavi* by the parents and ceremoniously admitted according to the age-old *Gurukula* system.

In *Chavittunatakam* the martial element is very much predominant. Sword play is an indispensable factor in the play. Once it was common to use swords in the play. Years ago, it was a compulsory rule that the actors must have training in sword-craft, fencing *Kachakettu* and other exercises. But the sword play displayed now is merely nominal.²⁷

The staging of this play usually takes place in the rural areas on happy occasions such as Christmas and Easter, and in the coastal areas during prosperous period after harvesting. The whole atmosphere will be identical to that of a festival. All the friends and relatives are invited. Even the village *Shylocks* will donate freely towards the expenditure of staging the play. Thus, with the combined of all, the stage, greenroom, and light, etc. are arranged well. By evening the first *Keli* begins. Usually before 9 'O' clock at night the second and the third *Keli* come to an end.²⁸

Chavittunatakam is performed on an open stage of less width and more length, i.e., 30 feet and 100 feet respectively. The planks on the stage are fixed so as to produce a drumming sound if one happens to kick on out. In *Charlemagne* historical play there is a scene in which the Turkish Emperors accompanied by twenty five kings appear on the stage. Similarly there are occasions in the *Napoleanic* history and *Genovan* history also, where thirty to

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.100

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.102.

forty soldiers come together to the stage at a time. Now-a- days the dimension of the stage has been reduced considerably. Considering the stage facilities now the number of the characters of each scene is being reduced to a maximum of seven or eight.²⁹

As war is inevitable in *Chavittunatakam*, there will be kings on opposing sides. For this purpose the metas are built face to face. A big lighted *Nilavilakku* is placed on the floor of the open stage. The *Asan* with *Cymbals* in his hands, takes his seat near this *Nilavilakku*. The drummers and others take their places besides the *Asan*. The inaugurator of *Chavittunatakam* would be *Asan* himself.³⁰

The war scenes add to the popularity of *Chavittunatakam*. In these scenes they use both the methods of traditional marital fighting *Kalarippayattu* and foreign sword and shield play. Besides war and hunting, romantic sub-plots are also added on in *Chavittunatakam*. A typical example of such apologies, can be seen in the play of Charlemagne s history.³¹

Staging of *Chavittunatakam* is an expensive and tiresome task. In Kerala as well as in Tamilnadu *Chavittunatakam* - has taken indigenious and folkloristic- traditions of this land. The play which starts early in the night comes to an end by morning. The stage designer, the costume maker and the make-up artist are one and the same person in *Chavittunatakam*.³²

Palace and court scenes are common in the play. Emperors, Queens, Ministers, Soldiers and Priests adorn crowns. Shields, swords, spears and

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.102-103.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.103.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.107.

³² *Ibid.*, p.109.

other weapons are used in the war scenes. *Chenkol* or royal sceptre was used by kings in the play.³³

Nilavilakku, the indigenous and traditional oil lamp of Kerala used in *Kutiyattam*, *Krishnanattam*, *Kathakali*, etc., is seen on the *Chavittunatakam* stage also. Since the oil lamp has no significance in *Chavittunatakam*, it might have been introduced recently to get equal status with classical art forms of Kerala.³⁴

The literal meaning of *Chavittunatakam* is a drama which gives more importance to *Chavittu* (stamp of foot) on the stage. According to the traditional dramaturgical classifications, *Chavittunatakam* can be catalogued as *Natya* type.³⁵

Rhythm and timing of the music go together in *Chavittunatakam*. Timing is related to the texture in movements. Like the heroic *Padams* in *Kathakali* they use the same in *Chavittunatakam* also.³⁶In *Chavittunatakam*, *Kalaasam* of *Kathakali* is used in the same manner. *Kalaasams* are vigorous steps at the end of a song.

Chavittunatakam follows mainly the *Tandava* style of dance. It is essentially masculine in character, suggestive of strength and vitality. It is the special feature of *Chavittunatakam* that most of the characters are men, proficient in acrobats. There are, however, a few soft graceful steps of *lasya* style for women. Anyway, women characters are few in these plays and their

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.109-11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.111

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.113.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.116

roles are impersonated by men.³⁷ Foreign as well as indigenous elements are mixed in *Chavittunatakam* .

Music is an indispensable accompaniment in *Chavittunatakam*. There is no uniqueness in the music of *Chavittunatakam*.³⁸ Since it is a foreign art form, the music is also foreign in style. Some local influences are seen in the music. The influence of *Terukkuttu* songs is seen in *Chavittunatakam* in the corrupted form of *Ragas* and *Talas* of *Carnatic Music* adopted in this art form. According to Rev. Dr. Justine Panakkal the music of *Chavittunatakam* has close association with polyphonic music in some respects. *Chavittunatakam* has a fascinating choral music which shows the features of polyphonic chanting.³⁹ Music is important in *Chavittunatakam* as it is the soul of this folk theatre. Background music is also important. The music in *Chavittunatakam* is composed in extreme union with the time measure and movements.

The music of *Chavittunatakam* is the distorted product of classical music in the *raja* of *Harikamboja* , *Ananda Bhairavi* and *Sankarabharanam*. The influence of the Tamil folksongs such as *Kaavati chintu* , *Kummi* , *Kolattam* and *Ammanai* is predominantly seen in the music. The folksongs in *Chavittunatakam* have close affinity to *Terukkuttu* in Tamil Nadu.⁴⁰

Musical instruments used in *Chavittunatakam* are such as *chenta*, *tambore*, *violin*, *Harmonium*, *nathaswaram*, *maddalam* *mridangam*, *side-drum*, *cymbal* or *elattalam*, etc. Among these instruments *chenta*,

³⁷ Sabeena Raphy, *op.cit.*, p.104.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.187.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.118-119.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.121.

mridangam, nathaswaram, tambore and *elattalam* are important because rhythms and steps in *Chavittunatakam* require much stressing. *Chenta* and *elattalam* play a prominent role in the orchestra. Besides, an elaborate variety of musical instruments, old and new as *bulbul, claret, fiddle, dolakku, jalra, harmonium*, etc. are also used in accompaniment to songs. Before the beginning of the play, they perform the *kelikottu* (drum beating). This signal on the *chenta* is the announcement of the play. *Kelikottu* is common in the classical theatrical arts as well as in the folk plays of Kerala. No doubt it is an addition to the musical aspect of *Chavittunatakam* followed from the other theatre arts of Kerala.⁴¹

Kaa Ralman natakam is supposed to be oldest text among the texts of *Chavittunatakam*. *Charithranatakam* repeats the characteristic rhyme scheme of *Terukkuttu*. The most interesting element in *Chavittunatakam* is the verse dialogue, which has a variety of metres, enriching both the poetic and musical content of the play.⁴² The language used in *Chavittunatakam* is peculiar. The distinctive features of *pattu* are observed quite closely in *Chavittunatakam*.⁴³

The stories of *Chavittunatakam* are mostly familiar to the audience.⁴⁴

Themes of *Chavittunatakam* are of three kinds (1) Historical (2) Biblical and (3) Religious.

The aim of every story is to educate the illiterate village folk both Christians and non-Christians.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.121.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.130

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.138.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.140.

The themes of historical plays were the exploits of European historical figures. In recent times Indian historical stories and tales have been introduced in *Chavittunatakam* such as *Chandragupta Maurya*, *Ana Rkali*, *Akbar*, etc.⁴⁵

As for Biblical stories, themes have been adopted from the Old Testament, such as *Issac*, *Puurva Ouseph*, *Tobiyas*, *Yakkob*, *David*, etc. At the same time, characters of the New Testament like *Gabriel*, *BaRabas*, etc. are also brought out in *Chavittunatakam*. The Biblical stories helped to acquaint the Christians with the Bible to carry its message to them.⁴⁶

Religious stories are mainly confined to the lives of saints. *The Jeneva*, *St. George stories* and the like were of saintly origin and could cast their spell on the Christians. The story of St. Genevieve is depicted in *Chavittunatakam* in the title of *Genovanatakam*.⁴⁷

A Keralite version of *the story of St. Sebastian* is also popularized among the Catholics.⁴⁸ The traditional *story of St. George*⁴⁹ is described in the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.140

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.142

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.143.

⁴⁸ St. Sebastian was supposed to be a Namboodiri from a reputed *Illam* of Kerala and then he was persecuted for his conversion to Christianity by his own people. He was killed by arrows. The picture of St. Sebastian is always depicted with a bare body; his hands tied up to a tree and his body pierced by arrows. Sebastian became *Sebastianose* in Malayalam. There are a number of churches which claim the tradition of St. Sebastian in Kerala. The feast of St. Sebastian is widely celebrated in various Christian churches namely Valappad, Thozhakkavu, Kanjoor, Palluruthi, Mulavacad, Neendakara, Arthungal, etc. It is believed that St. Sebastian is the Patron Saint for curing certain epidemics like small pox and cholera.

⁴⁹ St. George is the Patron Saint of many churches in Kerala such as Angamaly, Ernakulam, Puthempally, Parapuram, Kalady, especially among the Latin rites. The legendary saint is popular and his heroic activities deep rooted in the traditional belief of the Christians of Kerala. The famous church at Edappally is dedicated to St. George and the main diety is the same Saint.

Chavittunatakam plays entitled *Givarghese Patayaliyum Perumbambum*, *St. George*, etc. The theme of this play describes the life of St. George as Givarghese and warrior who fought bravely and won martyrdom for the sake of Christianity and mankind in general. The main characters are St. George the prince and the dragon.

The heroic (*vira*) statement is employed throughout in all the plays of *Chavittunatakam*. These heroic sentiments were confined to superior type of persons such as Kings and Emperors.⁵⁰

The Latin Christians in India preserve the Art form of *Chavittunatakam* as traditional and ancestral property among them. It is evident that the artistes of *Chavittunatakam* are located only in Ernakulam, Alappuzha and Thiruvananthapuram Districts of Kerala. The artistes of *Terukkuttu* are located in Tamil Nadu and eastern border areas of Kerala, where Latin Christian population is predominant.⁵¹ It naturally follows that the respectable and financially sound families of the Christian community of the Latin rite are the early producers of *Chavittunatakam*.⁵²

⁵⁰ Chummar Chundal, *op.,cit.*, No.1, p.143.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.181

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.182. Nattachan, son of famous Varied Annavi, Brutus Chandy of Kochi, Esakkiyel, a Jew of Mattanchery, Sanjo Annaavi of Kolanchery, Pius of fort Kochi, Chemboliparambu Devassy of Kothadu, Panakkel Thommi Pyli of Kadamakkuddy, *Myna Asan*, *Chouri Asan* of *Madaplamthuruthu*, etc., were some of the early well-known exponents of *Chavittunatakam*. Villan Chikku, Konath Lonankutty, Pampu Kunjuvaried (He became so famous because of the role of the dragon taken by Kunjuvaried in the play- *St.George*), Painadathu Kunjuvaried, Eravally Ouseph, (famous for the female role of *Plamena*), St. Phlolina in *Plamenanatakam*, Kattupuram Souro Varu of Gothuruthu were some of the talented actors of *Chavittunatakam*.

Women are not allowed to participate in *Chavittunatakam*. In the production of the play the back stage workers have to work hard for the make-up, stage setting and other arrangements.⁵³

The musical forms of Syrian songs used for the Holy Communion of Christians gained immense popularity in *Chavittunatakam*.⁵⁴ As *Chavittunatakam* made its progress in the Kochi region, the participants of *Parichamuttu Kali*, entered the scene of *Chavittunatakam*. It is developed in places like Pallippuram, Gothuruth, Thiruthipuram, Thiruthoor, Mathilakam, Palluruthy, Ernakulam, Manassery, Kumbalangi, Kannammali, Vypinkara, Venduruthy, Poonhikkara, Vallarpadam, Ochamthuruthu, Cherthala, Arthunkal, Alapuzha and Kollam.⁵⁵ Even though it is seen that *Chavittunatakam* sprang up as the symbol of the *Kalari* culture of the Kerala Christians, perhaps more than that the religious and social factors also contributed to the birth of this dramatic movement.⁵⁶

Maargamkali

The word *Maargam* is derived from the Prakrit language. It is orally heard from some people that the word in use among the Christians *marga* is from the Greek word *Hodos* (way). It may be from the Gospel of Christ "I am the way, the truth and the life" that *margam*, *margakkar* and certain other names came into existence. Certain non-Hindu religious are also known

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.183.

⁵⁴ T.M. Chummar Chundal, *Maargamkali*, (Mal), first edition, Kottayam, 1973, p.35.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.42.

⁵⁶ Sabeena Raphy, *Chavittunatakam*, 1964, p.21.C.f. *Ibid.*, pp.42-43.

by the name *margam* (example Jaina margam, Budha margam) is also remarkable.⁵⁷

The literal meaning of *Margamkali* is religious dance song. It is a traditional dance of Syrian Christians.⁵⁸ It takes place on occasions such as weddings, the feast of the patron of the parish church, and community conventions. It is an old art form of Christians in Kerala which is considered as an ancestral property of the Knanaya community of central Thiruvithamcore. It is a major ballad of Christians.⁵⁹

Maargamkali is found in Kottayam, Alappuzha and Ernakulam districts. Kuttappan, son of Thyparambil Thommi, Marangattil Thomman Lucko and Vallya Puthanpurayil Chummare are famous *Maargamkali* Asans. *Maargamkali* proclaims the martial traditions, skill in weaponry and expertise in sports and arts of the Kerala Christians. It may be said that the compositions of *Maargamkali Pattu* were made in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. The song was composed in pure Dravidian style and metres. The Dravidian metres in *Maargamkali* are given Syric music. This poem may be sung in perfect Dravidian style also. In this, songs written in recent times are also recited.

The central protagonist of *Maargamkali* is St. Thomas. His arrival in Kerala, his missionary work, the miracles he performed, the friendship as well as the hostility of the people among whom he worked, the persecutions he suffered, the chapels and crosses he put up at several places, etc these details

⁵⁷ P.J.Thomas, *Malayalasaahithyavum Kristhianikalum* , Aluva 1961, p.132. footnote.

⁵⁸ T.M. Chummar Choondal, *op.cit.*, No.1, p.16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.44.

are seen in different stanzas of *Maargamkali* song.⁶⁰ The Church historians have taken the source materials from the folk narrations of *Maargamkali Pattu*. Fr. Placid J. Podipara (1970), Fr. A.M. Mundadan (1970) and a few others have acknowledged *Maargamkali* as a historical document to prove the traditions of St.Thomas⁶¹ in India.⁶² Since the content of the *Maargamkali* song is about the life and work of St. Thomas, it is sung with a devotional zeal and prayful spirit. Martyrdom of St. Thomas has been documented in *Maargamkali Pattu* briefly.⁶³

The music of *Maargamkali* songs is akin to that of chanting of Syrian liturgy. The mode of chanting Syriac liturgy was adapted to *Maargamkali* songs coupled with Dravidian tunes.⁶⁴ According to Dr. Jacob Velliyan, music of *Margamkali* is a Syrian chant coupled with Dravidian tune, especially the rhythmic endings, and as such is oriental and is to be treasured with great care. The mode of chanting *Maargamkali* songs was adapted to the chanting of the Syrian liturgy presumably because the songs were rendered by the Syrian church choirs. *Maargamkali* is an art in which there is equal importance for song and the element of dance. It represents the historical and social epochs of the Christians as a popular composition.

In later period new trends in the music were adapted in *Maargamkali* music such as *Vanchipattu* etc., and they were introduced in the villages of Onamthuruthu and Mullassery. Traditional musical instruments like

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.44-45.

⁶¹ St. Thomas has established crosses and places of worship at Kollam, Niranam, Kokkamangalam, Kottakayal, Chayal, Palayur and Kodungallur.

⁶² T.M. Chummar Choondal, *op.cit.*, No.1, p.216.

⁶³ The 3rd of July is celebrated in all Churches as the feast of St.Thomas, the Apostle who is revered as *Muthappan* or Grandfather by the Catholic Community of Kerala.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.195.

Kinnaram, *Nanthunny* and *Kuzhal* of the tribes of South India were mentioned in the song text of *Maargamkali* (Padam 14:9-10)⁶⁵

Thomas Maki ⁶⁶has an article made a detailed analysis of the songs of *Maargamkali*. The ancient song is made up of fourteen *padams* or stanzas in four hundred and fifty lines. Lines have been printed in the text not according to poetic compositions or metric systems, but on the basis of musical patterns. It appears that more than language aspect, importance of music was stressed.⁶⁷ *Maargamkali Pattu* was composed in the popular metric pattern namely *Kakali* , *Unakakali* , *Misrakakali* , etc. But the composition of the songs do not strictly conform to the rules of these metrical patterns.⁶⁸ The song begins with a *Vandanageetham* or invocation.

Scholars differ in their opinions regarding the authorship of this work. According to P.J. Thomas⁶⁹ the exact authorship of these songs has not been traced and the attribution of it to Itti Thoman Kathnar, a priest of Kallussery diocese in Kottayam is speculative and controversial. Thomas Makil is of the opinion that Anjilimoottil Ittithoman Kathanar, a revolutionary Knanaya, clergyman of the 17th century, has refashioned *Maargamkali* to the present form. All available evidence warrants the attributing of the authorship of the work to him.⁷⁰

Major steps in *Maargamkali* are five in number such as *Thinthaka Thinthai Tai*, *Mukkanni*, *Murikkumukkani*, *Erattavattam* and *Kacha padom* .

⁶⁵ C.f. *Ibid.*, p.196.

⁶⁶ Thiruhodaya Masika, December special (Kottayam, 1953)

⁶⁷ Chummar Choondal, T.M. *op.cit.*, No.1, p.210.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.57.

⁶⁹ Thomas P.J. (Mannanam:1935) *Syriani Krithianikalude Sahithyam* ,p.55-
C.f.*Ibid.*, p.49.

⁷⁰ T.M. Chummar Choondal, *op.cit.*,No.1 p.49.

Actors use simple gestures in order to explain the song. Footwork in *Velakali* of Alapuzha and *Kannayarkali* of Palakkad is seen in *Maargamkali*. It has close affinity with the Hindu kind of song compositions which was popular in Tamil language.⁷¹

Basically the form of the dance is circular⁷² the round dance may have been part of early Christian worship. The sun's rays are much more visible in *Maargamkali* where a number of dancers move in a circle around a central lamp in which each dancer has kindled a flame. The shifting texture of movement in *Maargamkali* to the right and then to the left is an effective expression of the sun's radiance.⁷³

In several respects *Maargamkali* resembles an ancient Greek dance, *Oklasma* in which dancers bearing swords and crescent-shaped shields move in a circle.⁷⁴ *Maargamkali* also followed the native traditional choreographic structure and hence it shows clearly the indigenous characteristics of the folk dances of the region where it is deep rooted.⁷⁵ It is a group dance in which Christians alone participate, and the heritage of the Kerala Christians who sing and play the historical ballads of St. Thomas. This word has organic relationship with the religious belief of the Kerala Christians. It is performed by twelve persons stepping in tune, wearing peacock feathers on head, standing around eleven lamps, clapping hands and signing. Though a chosen twelve engage in the play, young and even old join the singing, as it is a tribal song and as such well known.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.196.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.197.

⁷⁴ The Greeks said this dance originally came from Persia, which creates the possibility of a historical line with *Maargamkali* perhaps of Syrian origin.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.198.

In certain places *Maargamkali* is conducted only with song and dance. In certain other places, especially in Alapuzha district, it is a habit to conduct it only as *Parichamuttu Kali* .

Maargamkali Pattu may be included in the class of narrative songs. A careful study would reveal that it is legendary in character. It can be said that the legends dealing with *Maargamkali Pattu* have a historical foundation. Christians consider it as songs illustrating historical facts.

There is no particular costume for the participants of *Maargamkali* . A turban on the head and a dhoti form the dress. In recent times the system of wearing colourful dress is also introduced in this artistic entertainment. The steps of *Velakali* in central Thiruvithamcore are seen in *Maargamkali* . The steps of the famous local art form *Kanniyarkali* in Palakkad district are adopted by the *Maargamkali* participants.

It is also seen that imaginative *Annavis* (Asans) themselves compose poems to reform *Maargamkali*. In *Maargamkali* in addition to the historical (fourteen *padams*) songs, they also sing church songs, etc.

The style of *Maargamkali Pattu* is that of Western Music. Syrian Music forms the main stream of the song. In recent times there is a mixture of the rhythms of Kerala folk music in *Maargamkali* .

Maargamkali is based on *Acta Thomas* written by Burdusan of Ouraha (Edessa) of 3rd century.⁷⁶ The beginning of the song is Tamil fullness and interesting.

The Syrian musical tradition of the ancient Jews is seen in *Maargamkali* . There is a fair admixture of Hebrew terms in the piece.

⁷⁶ Chummar Choondal, T.M., *op.cit.*, No.1, p.45.

Maargamkali is divided into two parts:

- (1) Group dance by singing
- (2) Parichamuttu Kali by using weapons.

The text of *Maargamkali* bears testimony to the important functions of folklore and they are

- (1) the social context of folklore
- (2) the relations of folklore to the culture, which might be phrased as the cultural context of folklore.

Conducting *Maargamkali* at night on marriage functions and on holy days commonly existed among Nazranis up to recent times. Among the old songs of the Nazrani Mappilas, it can be said that in all the ways *Maargamkali Pattu* has the credit of importance.⁷⁷ In ancient times there were a lot of Nazrani youths in Kerala who were trained in this play.⁷⁸ Even today *Maargamkali* is traditionally in existence in Udayamperur, Kaduthuruthy and Chungam.

Maargamkali, the performing art is a multifaceted cultural forum that can be interpreted differently in various stages by investigation.⁷⁹ These songs give us considerable details about the various customs observed.⁸⁰ It is seen that the historian Peter Maffei declared in 1558 that the Nazranis wrote the heroic ballad of St. Thomas as description of songs and sung them by dancing when the Portuguese made anchor at Kochi for the first time.⁸¹ Correa

⁷⁷ P.J. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.66.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.82.

⁷⁹ Chummar Choondal, T.M., *op.cit.*, No.1, p.216.

⁸⁰ P.J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p.58.

⁸¹ P.J. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.66.

A member of the Society of Jesus wrote in a letter to Seema in 1564 from Kochi that on 21st November, the day on which St. Thomas made his footsteps in Kerala, Malankara Nazranis made pilgrimage to Maliankara near Kodungallur and it was also written that in that journey Malayalam songs about St. Thomas were used to sing with happiness. In *Jornada* which was printed in 1606 it is described that on one night the Nazranis of Angamali made Archbishop Menezes happy amidst his constant hard work by singing and playing with the songs of St. Thomas and others, who travelled throughout Kerala to convene the synod of Diamper.⁸² Gouvea, contemporary historian and secretary to Archbishop Menezes refers to the hearty welcome accorded to the Archbishop by the Christians of Kochi on his arrival and of their sincere assistance in the conduct of the Synod at Diamper. Gouvea also tells of *some plays* performed by the Christians of Kochi at night to entertain him on his return from Udayamperoor after the Synod.⁸³

Ammanai Pattu

Ammanai Pattukal are the folk songs on different deities. The Tamil tradition of these songs were seen in *Silappatikaram*. They end with the word *ammanai* and hence the name. These songs were sung by the Latin Christians in their church festivals. *Devamatha Ammanai* about Saint Mary is famous among them. Early Tamil Scholars and missionaries may be the composers of those *ammanai* songs.⁸⁴

Ammanai Pattukal of Tamil were popularised in the coastal areas of Kerala. The members of the Latin community sing these songs of *Ammanai*. The *Chavittunatakam* singers also sing this *Ammanai Pattukal* in their

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp.66-67.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.67.

⁸⁴ T.M. Chummar Choondal, *op.cit.*, p.44.

houses and during religious functions. *Devamatha Ammanai* and *Aandavar Ammanai* are some of the popular texts used for singing during the Lent period. These highly devotional songs depicted the life, sacrifice and death of Jesus Christ.⁸⁵ The traditional songs are still retained by the Latin and Syrian Christians.⁸⁶

Pilgrim Songs

In devotees to Saint Thomas, both Christians and non-Christians, conduct pilgrimage tour to Malayattoor hill top area near Kalady in Ernakulam district. They bear wooden cross on their shoulders and walk through the streets, reciting *Marthomman Pattu* which deals with the life and activities of St. Thomas, Apostle of Jesus Christ. *Maargamkali Pattu* is also sung during the pilgrimage season. Songs related to *Kurisumuthappan*, the folk version of St. Thomas in Kerala, is the outcome of the folk belief among Christians.⁸⁷

Rambhan Pattu

Rambhan Pattu is an ancient poem which deals with the history of St. Thomas. This song deals with the arrival and missionary activities of St. Thomas in India. The Christians of St. Thomas were in possession of these songs from early times. Some of them might have been, in all probability, manuscripts handed down from family to family. The text of the song was composed by Malieckal Thomas Rambhan of Niranam. Fr. Bernard had

⁸⁵ Dr. Chummar Choondal collected some of these songs from North Parur, Pallippuram, Cherai, Thankassery, Arthungal, Kozhinjampara, etc. from Kerala and Madurai, Tirunelveli, Palayamcottah, etc. from Tamilnadu.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.82.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.44.

published the song in his historical volume on *Mar Thomma Krishtianikal* (1916).⁸⁸

It is a real fact that innumerable Sanskrit words are seen in *Rambhan Pattu*. It was written on the style of the Syrian hymn *Uhaama*.⁸⁹ The manuscript of this song was seen earlier in certain families from the regions of Palayur to Changanassery in the south.⁹⁰

The *Rambhan song* is one among the most authoritative document of Indian origin of Christianity.⁹¹ It shows the salient features of the historical ballad. This ballad closely follows historical events from the early periods. Fr. A.M. Mundadan gives a short account of the song.⁹² He makes some important remarks about the song text. *Rambhan Pattu* might have lived in the memories of the people.⁹³

Mar Thoman Pattu

The song is about St. Thomas, which is a common prayer song. The song text contains twenty-four lines. By the blessing of Mar Thomas the ceremony is begun.

Dr. Chummar Choondal, T.M. has conducted a survey among *Chavittunatakam*, *Terukkuttu* and *Maargamkali* artistes in Kerala and Tamilnadu.⁹⁴ Some kind of Chindu forms are seen in the songs of

⁸⁸ Mundadan A.M., *Traditions of St. Thomas*, Bangalore, 1970, pp.60-61-
C.F. *Ibid.*, p.49.

⁸⁹ P.J. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.70.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.72.

⁹¹ George T.C., *Apostolate and Martyrdom of St. Thomas*, Ernakulam, 1964,
p.79.

⁹² Chummar Choondal, T.M., *op.cit.*, No.1, p.50.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p., 54

⁹⁴

Chavittunatakam and *Ammanai Pattu* compared to the other folk songs of Kerala which are replete with beauty, the songs of *Maargamkali* appears very pedantic.⁹⁵

It cannot be ignored that the *Rambhan Pattu* and *Margamkali Pattu* remain as important Malabar sources. Both these accounts, though of a later origin, represent the local tradition. A structural analysis of these songs may throw light on the East Syrian connections of Kerala Christians.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.54.

CHAPTER VII

JESUIT ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE AND EARLY PRINTING IN KERALA

JESUIT ARCHITECTURE

Jesuit architecture is found in different forms in different parts of India such as *pagoda style*, Manueline style, secular architecture, ecclesiastical architecture, mosaico-Corinthian style, religious-military architecture, civil architecture, etc.

Pagoda style

The Christians of Kochi and other parts of Kerala constructed their *pallis* (churches) in the pre-Portuguese period in simple idiom described as *pagoda style*.

In the early seventeenth century the Jesuit Father Fenicio sought to rebuild the small wooden church of *pagoda* type of Palayur which he regarded as a building *unsuitable for Christian worship*. His plan was to construct a stone church in Portuguese style. But it was resisted by the congregation.¹

St. Francis church at Kochi is the earliest stone church to be built in India in the colonial tradition and it became the model for all the church buildings that now exist in Malabar.² It remains as a symbol to commemorate the memory of St. Francis Xavier. It is a sixteenth century building,

¹ . K.V.Suji, *Cochin and the Portuguese: A Study on the Colonial Impact*, Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Calicut in January 2000, p.229.

² . H. Sarkar, *Monuments of Kerala*. New Delhi, 1973, p.56; T.W.Venn, *St. Francis Church Cochin*, 1947, p.3.

constructed over a wooden chapel of 1503. It was the burial place of Vasco da Gama from 1524 till 1536, when his body was sent to Portugal. The church was further renovated – first by the Dutch and then the British. It was built of laterite, the common building material of Kerala which has the great virtue of being soft when quarried but hardening on exposure to air. Because laterite is a coarse stone and cannot be dressed, it is covered with lime plaster.³

Important Jesuit churches of the Portuguese colonial period were the Santa Cruz, Madre de Deus, the chapels of St. Sebastian, Church of Our Lady of Guidance, Church of St. Lazer, *Santa casa da Misericordia* and St. Bartholomeo. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period when Portugal's own architecture was in a state of rapid evolution.

Manueline style

The age of discoveries first provoked that magnificent explosion of surface decoration known as the Manueline style,⁴ after Manuel (1495-1521), which marked the climax of medieval architecture before the revolution brought about by the Renaissance. It has been said that only one fragment of Manueline architecture survives in India: the 1521 doorway of the church of the Holy Spirit in Goa.⁵ In fact there are also two Manueline doorways

³ . K.V.Suji, *op.cit.*, pp.230-231.

⁴ . Manueline was a style of architectural ornamentation developed in Portugal. It was also an art of transition between Gothic and Renaissance. The most striking common feature of Manueline style is the twisted or cable motif, remarkable for its variety of application. Thick twisted forms were used as frames for apertures as strong coarses, window tracery, pinnacles, spires, vault ribs and even columns and buttresses. The luxuriant over loaded decoration employed in works of architecture was fundamentally naturalistic deriving its motifs from the traditional Portuguese association with the sea and shipping. See *Encyclopaedia of Art*, IV, London, 1971, p.1273.

⁵ . Anthony Hutt, *Goa: A Traveller's Historical and Archaeological Guide*, London, 1988, p.9.

preserved in the Mattancherry palace in Kochi.⁶ Probably it was a part of the palace built by the Portuguese in 1557 for the use of Raja Vira Kerala Varma of Kochi as he was living in a thatched building. One of these Manueline pieces has a carved relief of Goddess Bhagavati. These Manueline ornaments of the palace appear to have been removed by the Dutch when it was renovated by them after a century. The double storeyed palatial building with a quadrangular plan aligned around the Palayannur Bhagavati temple in the centre, a plan common in the native architecture of the aristocrats in Kerala. The walls of the palace are fully covered with murals executed in traditional style. Even now this palace exists in tact at Kochi.⁷

Some late echoes of the Manueline style can be found in the twisted rope motifs and cusped door with rigid archivolt in the Church of Our Lady of Hope in Vypin which was finished in 1605. Cusped arches entered Manueline architecture as a result of Muslim influence, but the Vypin cusps are unusual in being convex rather than concave, so that they hang down like swags. The façade is pierced by round headed *janelas* as is common in Portuguese churches.⁸

The colonial administration of Portuguese Cochin and the swelling of Christian population in around the Portuguese settlements necessitated the introduction of secular and ecclesiastical architecture of the colonial power.⁹

Secular Architecture

⁶ . Now they are kept in the store of the Museum. The Manueline nature of these pieces were confirmed by Dr.K.J.John, former Head, Dept. of History, University of Calicut who studied them in detail, *Adiverukal* (Mal.), Kottayam, 1993, pp.126-34.

⁷ . H.Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p.54;. Cf. K.V.Suji, *op.cit.*, p.235.

⁸ . K.V.Suji, *op.cit.*, pp.231-232.

⁹ . *Ibid.*, pp.228-229.

In the area of secular architecture many of the colonial idioms introduced by the Jesuits became an integral part of the present indigenous architecture.¹⁰

The Portuguese *mestres* introduced *colher* (*Koleri* or *trowel*) and other tools from Portugal for modern house construction work in Kochi. The rooms of Portuguese idiom were spacious and had ornated doors and they introduced broad *janelas* (windows) with wooden shutters instead of the traditional narrow *kilivathils* of vernacular style. The *verandhas* had well decorated and carved pillars. The nobility in the colonial society of Kochi constructed stately buildings, covered with balconies. Many houses had two storeys.¹¹

Ecclesiastical Architecture

Ecclesiastical architecture of Kochi was so closely bound up with other monumental arts, especially with that of wood carving as shown in the altar pieces introduced in Kochi by the colonial power either made in Portugal or in Goa. In the enormous cliff of gilded wood, the dominant elements of which were the solomonic columns with vine-leaf embellishments and acanthus foliage showing a monumental unity. The altar pieces found in and around the Jesuit churches of Kochi were enriched with decoration which was more and more thickly applied and mirrors were introduced at times. The Jesuits also decorated the churches with stained glass imported from Europe. Images of saints were introduced for the first time in Kerala and were made to adorn the niches on the church walls and ceilings were painted with religious themes. The paintings were generally in the style of European masters whom

¹⁰ . *Ibid.*, p.233.

¹¹ . Even today there exists a few houses in Fort Kochi constructed by the Portuguese. Cf. *Ibid.*, p.234.

native artists studied and replicated. Images were usually made of wood and many a time imported from Portugal.¹²

Caesar Frederick who visited Kochi in the second half of the sixteenth century mentions that the Jesuit church which was magnificently built of square stones exceeded all the rest in height and beauty.¹³

Mosaico-Corinthian Style

The magnificent Bom Jesus Church at Goa was built in the Mosaico-Corinthian style. Close to the Bom Jesus rose, majestic and imposing, with its three storeys and elegant façade, the Professed House built by the Jesuit Lay-brother Domingos Fernandes.

The little Seminary of Fr. Borba grew so wonderfully that “it was run on the same lines and with the same success as the most famous Jesuit Colleges in Europe.”¹⁴

Religious-Military Architecture

The majority of studies in Portuguese influenced architecture in India has concentrated mainly on religious and military architecture in Goa, Daman and Diu.¹⁵ The palaces and *quintas* (country estates) of the golden period of the Portuguese (from the second half of the sixteenth and the seventh centuries) were almost entirely lost as was the whole of the city of Goa. Today only a few churches and convents remain. The sacred nature of the

¹² . *Ibid.*, pp.232-233.

¹³ . *Ibid.*, p.233.

¹⁴ . Souliere, S.J., *The Red Sand*, Madras, 1947, p.81.

¹⁵ . Helder Carita: *Hindu Tradition and the Vastu Shastra in Indo-Portuguese Architecture in The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, ed. K.S. Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, Tellicherry, 2001, p.205.

religious buildings was influential, in some cases, for their protection by the Christianised indigenous population.

Civil Architecture

The spirit of Mannerism or Baroque style of architecture is evident in the majority of the cases of civil architecture through their façades and decorations. This style of architecture appeared in a very subsidiary form for the understanding of the significance and development of Indo-Portuguese architecture.¹⁶ The civil architecture built by the Portuguese has almost entirely disappeared.¹⁷

The architecture produced by the Portuguese in India, which revealed a notorious capacity of adoption to new conditions manifested itself immediately during the first decade of the sixteenth century by alterations to the metropolitan models. These alterations showed a strong emphasis on the symbolic dimension of its formal features whatever they might be: main entrance, roof, staircase, veranda or a decorative element.¹⁸ The specific importance which each element assumed, implied in turn a significant increase in scale of all the buildings. Churches, palaces, convents or hospitals underwent a gradual change in relation to the European models of reference. Regarding this, the alterations to the plans of the Sao Domingo's monastery which had been sent from Lisbon were significant.¹⁹

Within the framework of a symbolic charge of the architecture built in India by the Portuguese it was possible to observe from the beginning of the

¹⁶ . Rosa Maria Perez, *Portuguese Orientalism: Some Problems on Sociological Classification* in *ibid.*, p.205.

¹⁷ . *Ibid.*, p.207.

¹⁸ . Helder Corita, *op.cit.*, p.211.

¹⁹ . *Ibid.* According to King Dom. João III's Inspector of the Treasury "this land is not made for small churches."

sixteenth century the presence of a type of tower-house (*casa torre*) which was to develop into turreted buildings with very steep hipped roofs.²⁰

The tower-houses closely resembling a watchtower was clearly different from those other types in which it served a multitude of roles as a residence for administrators, captains, rural proprietors or even the town hall.

Influenced by intense political instability, this late medieval style served not only for defensive purpose but also as a means to mark out the territory and the urban landscape with a symbolic and dominant charge suitable for the image of the *kshatria* caste which the Portuguese adopted in India.²¹

The diffusion of the tower house as a widespread model has been confirmed by a letter from the Mayor of Bazain to the Viceroy in 1728 which stated:

... the tenants of Bacaim and Daman should be ordered to build a tower or a *casa forte* (type of tower house) in the village such as there was at the beginning of our government...²²

One of these tower-houses built in the sixteenth century is still standing today on the outskirts of Kochi. It served to house a small garrison whose object was to protect the town. Its construction was described by Gaspar Correia:

²⁰ . *Ibid.*

²¹ . *Ibid.*, p.214.

²² . Walter Rossa, *Cidades Indo-Portuguesas-Gujarat, Contao and Malabar*, London, 1997, p.28.

Today the tower is roofless but it appears in various surveys of the Cochin region carried out by the Dutch after they had conquered the territory.²³

The style of tower-house, which has almost completely disappeared assumed added importance as it became the origin of a style of civil architecture of turreted blocks with steep hipped roofs. This military and manorial feature confirmed its symbolic importance and spread into indigenous architecture.

If these turreted blocks with steeply inclined scissor roofs in the *corocheus* style had their origin in the tower-house, the manner in which they became the standard in Indo-Portuguese civil architecture of the first cycle indicates other factors in their development.

Indo-Portuguese Civil Architecture

Amongst treatises such as *Shilparatna*, the *Manasara* or the *Ansumat*, the *Mayamat* quite clearly contains a far greater number of references to civil architecture and town planning. It is therefore of greater significance. Experience tells us that the text of these treatises must be understood within the context of Renaissance European treatises as a theoretical and naturally utopian definition.²⁴

Although the *vastu shastra* and the *Mayamata* were marked by a metaphysical and speculative outlook, they permit a visualization of theoretical models of Hindu architecture, not only religious but also civil, fundamental to the understanding of the development of Indo-Portuguese architecture particularly during its second great period or evolutionary cycle

²³ . Helder Carita, *op.cit.*, p.214.

²⁴ . Helder Carita, *op.cit.*, p.216.

which took place sometime between the second half of the seventeenth century and the latter part of the nineteenth century.²⁵

The style of the grand two storey house of the great families of the Portuguese aristocracy, developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was progressively abandoned in favour of a single storey building constructed around a courtyard following ancient traditional Hindu codes. On studying the *Mayamata* text we observe the systematic reference to the concept of a one storey house used by everyone from the lower classes to the royalty. In the development of the model of a one storey house there was a tendency towards the creation of an ample low-lying ground floor with salient window frames which placed this floor above the ground level. If there is no specific explanation in the *Mayamata* for the existence of basements in domestic architecture, it was naturally linked to the rituals of the foundations of the buildings. These rituals implied the existence of an architectural structure in any building which took on a particularly important role in a tradition marked by a sacred vision.²⁶

There is no doubt that this tradition placed decorative emphasis on basements supported by small niches separated by columns, whose designs clearly revealed links to Hindu temple architecture.²⁷

Based on the information presently available on the development and significance of Indo-Portuguese architecture, we feel that research on the *vastu shastra* and its implication for the study of this architecture is just beginning. The implications of the symmetry of the proportions and

²⁵ . For a wider view of the development of Indo-Portuguese architecture in Goa, see Helder Carita, *Palaces of Goa—Models and types of Indo-Portuguese Architecture*, published by Cartago, London, 1999, *ibid.*, pp.216-217.

²⁶ . Helder Carita, *op.cit.*, p.218.

²⁷ . *Ibid.*

orientation of the buildings are sometimes difficult to trace, but they deserve appropriate study. Similarly the study of porticoes and verandas should be taken into consideration in the development of the model of the façade of the Indo-Portuguese house of the second cycle.²⁸ Civil architecture built by the Portuguese has almost entirely disappeared.

²⁸ . *Ibid.*

The last models of Indo-Portuguese Architecture

In terms of an overall model, the Brahmin *Chardo* house of the second cycle was formed by the linking of two structures, each belonging to different traditions. On the one hand the composition of the main facade and the sequence of rooms connected to it. This structure clearly related towards the exterior and the consequent social life, was linked to a nucleus of inward-facing spaces functioning around the courtyard. If the sacred and private character was maintained and preserved by the interior courtyard, the main façade stretching out over wide verandas and porches gave the social area and family relationship a new openness, unknown in a culture that had been crystallized into the closed caste system.²⁹

A balance between representational values of the house in terms of the exterior which were concentrated in the façade and the porch, and the values of privacy of domestic life appear to have become stabilized in this model.³⁰

The concept of a house with façades whose design related the floor plan of the building with the exterior, unknown in Hindu tradition, was fully integrated in this architecture but displayed an indigenous interpretation which was synthesized in the quality of the various influences. This relationship which the exterior of the façade was transferred to the rooms and entrance porch whilst domestic life remained fundamentally turned inwards and towards the inner courtyard. The courtyard continued to be the focal point of the domestic interior and around it a series of spaces were established which formed an independent unit in relation to the building of the main façade. It became in effect a second architectural unit with its own representational functions. A narrow corridor joined the porch to the dining

²⁹ . *Ibid.*, p.219.

³⁰ . *Ibid.*

room, the former *vasary* of the Hindu house, thus linking these two units. At the end of this corridor, a second door, normally kept closed, constituted passage to an area of a more controlled access. In contrast to the European and Portuguese house where the porch was merely a space of transition to a hall or entrance room, the corridor in the Indo-Portuguese house, always present in the Indo-Portuguese house, always present in all the large houses, restricted and protected the more private area.³¹

Always built perpendicularly in relation to the façade, the corridor connecting the porch to the inner area of the courtyard established a communicating axis with the layout of whole inner area.³²

The main façade tended to develop longitudinally and was therefore rather different to the lateral façades and the rear of the own building. These, linking the service area, were essentially of a functional nature.³³

It was in the main façade, as the main element for display and ostentation, where all the decorative efforts were concentrated and where the ancient tradition of exterior stucco work gave vent in the most varied of ways. The decorative designs of the late baroque continued and into it were gradually introduced various forms of clear Indian exotica. In a progressive adaptation to the climate and to the customs of greater participation by the household in life outside, the old side elevations, in the form of long running verandas, began to spread to the main façade.³⁴

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, this long veranda began to gain importance as it became the main leisure area, without the previous

³¹ . *Ibid.*, pp.219-220.

³² . *Ibid.*, p.220.

³³ . *Ibid.*

³⁴ . *Ibid.*, pp.220-221.

centuries' concern for privacy. As a result, the old *carepas* (oyster shell screens) were no longer necessary and decorative taste began to concentrate on the railings of the verandas and on their supporting columns. These wooden columns, in more elaborate cases, clearly repeated the shapes and decorations of gilt carved wooden columns.

The oldest relic of Jesuit architecture in India is probably the round portico of the new chapel of Old St. Paul's, or St. Paul of the Arches, to be seen not far from the present basilica of Bom Jesus. This chapel began on January 25, 1560, was solemnly inaugurated exactly twelve years later. Its sacristy held the revered body of St. Francis Xavier for some time in the early seventeenth century and it is a mute testimony to the first decades of the Jesuit apostolate in India.³⁵

Bungalow type buildings were introduced in India by the Jesuits. The Jesuit ideas and style influenced Indian architects.

The residence Arnos Padiri built in ancient Kerala style at Velur is according to the prescriptions of *Thachu Sasthram* (Science of Carpentry) of the time.

The town of Velha Goa (*Old Goa*) is a real museum of Jesuit architecture.³⁶ The coast of Goa is marked by *Portuguese* fortresses. Different aphorisms reproduce the splendour of Goa's architecture, the more known being: *Goa is the Rome of Orient* or *Whosoever visited Goa doesn't need to visit Lisboa*, etc.³⁷

³⁵ . John Correia-Afonso, S.J. *The Jesuits in India*, p.50.

³⁶ . Rosa Maria Perez, *op.cit.*, p.9.

³⁷ . *Ibid.*, p.10.

Overall, the skill of the craftsmen gave vent to an ostentatious imagination in a variety of designs where the strong colours gave an unmistakable Indian touch. This coloured the production of architecture for over four centuries.³⁸

Jesuits and Early Printing in Kerala

The history of printing Dravidian, mainly Tamil characters, falls into two parts: the history of printing of vernacular languages in India and the history of printing those languages in Europe. The first press in India was mainly used for printing Portuguese tracts meant to be distributed among resident members of the Society but soon a set of Malabar characters was cut.

Printing technology was introduced in Kerala by the Jesuit missionaries from Portugal. The earliest copies of books which have come down to us were printed in 1578 and 1579. They were produced to educate the Christian converts in the teachings of the Catholic Church.

In the sixteenth century Malayalam script was not fully developed and the writing was in the *vatteluthu* script which was common for Tamil and emerging Malayalam. This appears to be the reason why the earliest printed books in Kerala were in *Malavar Tamil*.

Unlike Tamil, Malayalam characters were not committed to print before the end of the 18th century. The first Malayalam book printed in Europe seem to have been **Giovanni Christofano Amaduzzi's Alphabetum Grandoniza Malabaricum sive Samerudonicum**, an essay on the Grantha—Malayalam alphabets with table and examples from materials supplied by Clemens de Jesu. The book appeared in Rome in 1722 and there is a copy of it in the Museum's collection. Clemens who died in 1782, spent several years

³⁸ . Helder Carita, *op.cit.*, p.221.

in Kerala where he devoted himself to mission work and a careful study of Malayalam language. During a visit to Rome he cut and engraved a set of Malayalam type for the press of the Society of Jesus.

Printing in Kerala

Instruction and teaching of the converts in basic doctrines of the Church and the learning of the native language necessitated the starting of printing press in Kerala. In Kerala, there are indeed, three centres of printing which put forward their claim to be first. These centres are Kollam, Kochi and Vaipicotta. There is no doubt that these centres had their printing press at the same time. But we do not have sufficient evidence to prove categorically which of these three printing presses was established first.

The Jesuits had started printing presses in local languages like Malayalam and Tamil by the 1570's. In the light of available evidence, one has to accept that the book **Tamburan Vanakkam (Doctrina Christam)**³⁹ printed in the San Salvador Press attached to the Seminary at Thankassery in Kollam on 20th October 1578 established by Fr. Joao de Faria S.J., is the earliest book printed in Kerala. As far as we know, it is printed in Malaga Tamil (*Malavar Tamul*), commonly used at that time in Malabar. A note given in Tamil language on the front page of this book **Thampuran Vanakkam (Doctrina Christam)** indicates that the book is a translation of the catechism book in Portuguese into Tamil by Fr. Henrique Henriques S.J., the Superior of the Madurai House in Kollam. A copy of this book (the only

³⁹ . The book was originally composed by Padre Manoel de Sao Padro in Portuguese. Fr. Henrique Henriques translated it into *Malavar Tamil*. It contained 16 pages of 10x14 cms size. The Malavar Tamil types for the press were first made by a Spanish Jesuit lay brother John Gonsalves. See D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, pp.470-471. It was studied in detail by Schurhammer and Cottrell. See their article *The first printing in Indian characters* in G. Schurhammer, *Orientalia*, Rome, 1963, pp.317-327. For a Malayalam translation of *Tamburan Vanakkam*, see K.J. John, *Adiverukal (Mal.)*, Kottayam, 1992, pp.178-188.

copy) was traced in 1951 and kept in the Harvard University Library in the United States of America.

There are many who hold that Kochi had the earliest printing press. Bishop Marcellinus of Verapoly, the author of the well-known work **Keralathile Sathiaveda Charithram**, printed at the famous **Koonammavu Press** in 1577, holds that Kochi had the earliest printing press in Kerala. He writes as follows:

Paulists (Jesuits) printed a theological treatise at Fort Cochin in **Malayanma Speech** in 1577. John Ganzalves, the Paulist lay brother, made the necessary types.⁴⁰

Dr. T.M. Chummar supports the contention that the first printing press in Kerala was established at Fort Kochi by the Portuguese (Jesuits) in 1579, and the book entitled **Doctrina Christiana** which was printed in this Press in 1577 in Tamil letters is the first book printed in Kerala.⁴¹

It appears that Fr. Henriques opened a printing press in Punnakayal in Tinnevelly District in 1578 and brought some Tamil books for circulation among the clergy.⁴² The **Christiani Vanakkam (Doctrina Christiana)**, a larger treatise of 122 pages was printed at the Madre de Deus college of Cochin on 14th November 1577.⁴³ A copy of this book is presented in the

⁴⁰ Marcellinus, O.C.D., *Keralathile Sathiaveda Charithram* (Koonammavu, 1872), p.78.

⁴¹ Chummar, T.M., *Bhasha Gadya Sahithya Charithram*, Revised Edn., (Kottayam, 1969), p.538.

⁴² Bharati, S.S., *Tamil in Modern India and the West* (Ed.), L.S.S.O'Malley, (London, 1968), pp.507-8.

⁴³ . Copies of this book can be seen in the Jesuit library of Belguim and also in the Bodleian Library London. The book was prepared in Portuguese by Padre Marcos Jorge and published in 1566. It was translated into *Malavar Tamil* by Padre Henrique Henriques and was written in dialogue form with questions and answers. See K.J.John, n.35, pp.162-63.

Sorbonne University Library in Paris.⁴⁴ Another book preserved in tact from the Kochi press is **Confessionario** printed in 1580.⁴⁵

Printing in Vaipicotta

In 1577 printing presses were established by the Jesuits in Wypeen island also. It is a fact that a printing press existed in Vaipicotta near North Parur around the period 1577. According to Prof.S.S.Bharati, **Floss Sanctorum**⁴⁶ or *Krithava Vedopadesam* (described as the *magnum opus* of Padre Henrique Henriques S.J.) produced at Vaipicotta in 1577 A.D. with types made by Fr.Gonzalves was considered to be the first printed book in Kerala. It was indeed a polyglot press, thanks to the efforts of Jesuit missionaries such as Antonio Guedes de Moraes, Francis Ross and others. In 1602 Padre Albert Laerzio S.J. brought from Rome and established at Vaipicotta seminary another press with Syriac types, as a gift from Pope Clement VIII.⁴⁷ The first book printed there was a literal translation of a few portions from Roman Missal. Several liturgical books were published from the Vaipicotta press since then.

⁴⁴ . George Valiparambil, *Early Printing and the Origin of the Press in Kerala: Contribution of Christian Missionaries*, ed. K.J.John, *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, p.162, Also see, K.J.John, ed. *Thampuram Vanakkam – Christian Doctrine in Malabar Tamil*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2005.

⁴⁵ . This book by Fr. Henrique Henriques is preserved in the Bodleian library, London. It has 107 pages and deals with the importance of confession.

⁴⁶ . The book is on the lives of saints and has 668 pages in thin white paper bound in leather adorned with various decorations. It is recorded in the book that the entire text of the book was examined by Don Matheus de Medina, the bishop of Kochi and approved for publication. A few pages including title page of this book kept in the Vatican library is missing and hence it is difficult to ascertain the place of publication. Some authors suggest that it was published from Punnaikayal on Pearl Fishery Coast. But circumstantial and internal evidence would suggest that it was printed at Madre de Deus Press of Kochi.

⁴⁷ . Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, Bangalore, 1939, pp.470-71; see also Annual Letter of 1600 in *Letters and Documents of Syrian Christians*, I, Jesuit Archives, Calicut, pp.151-152.

The printing press of Vaipicotta has, in addition to the Tamil religious tracts, produced several books in Syriac also since 1584 having the Syriac types brought from Rome. The Syriac books were written by Archbishop Francis Ross S.J. of Angamaly, who had moved his See later to Kodungallur along with the Syriac press. He was a scholar in Latin, Syriac and Malayalam.⁴⁸

It is a matter of surprise that no book in Malayalam was printed in these early presses of Kerala. As a matter of fact the earliest book using Malayalam types was printed for the first time at Amsterdam, in Holland in the renowned Latin book *Hortus Malabaricus* in 1678. Though a press was established in Ambazhakkad by Fr. Ignatius Aichamani for the printing of Malayalam books, we have no trace of the books printed. Hence historians hold that Malayalam was first printed in *Hortus Malabaricus*.

L.Besse S.J. in his book **Father Beschi** says:

Ambalakat is famous in the Annals of the Catholic Missions of Southern India and it will not be out of place to say here about a few words about its history (in connection with printing). It stood in the territory of the Caymal of Curugura, feudatory of the king of Cochin, and not very distant from Cranganore.

Ambalakat having inherited part of the staff of the college of Cochin and Cranganore, came to be known as the College of Ambalakat, a title which was confirmed by the General of the Society. For at one time there were in Ambalakat young Jesuits studying Philosophy, Theology and *Belles Lettres*. For the same reason the King of Portugal endowed it with a portion of the

⁴⁸ T.M. Chummar, *op. cit.*, p.539.

revenues formerly assigned to the College of Cochin, sufficient for the maintenance of those who lived there.

On account of the reasons mentioned above by L.Besse, S.J., Ambalakat (Ambazhakkad)⁴⁹ was selected by the Jesuits to establish their printing press following the destruction of their original establishment at Vaipicotta in Chendamangalam. Ambazhakkad had been extremely useful to the Catholic missions on account of its press set up there from the very beginning. Padre Giacinto de Magistris S.J. brought from Rome a press and a set of Tamil types and established at the college of Ambazhakkad in 1661.⁵⁰ That this press did not remain idle, we know from various sources. There is evidence that Fr. Ignatius manufactured Tamil types at Ambazhakkad in 1668. Padre Antonio de Proença, S.J. who is the father of Tamil Lexicography wrote Tamil Portuguese and Portuguese Tamil dictionaries and these were printed at Ambazhakkad. Among the books printed here, *Vocabulario Tamulico* (Tamil-Portuguese dictionary) of Padre Antonio de Proenza S.J. is the outstanding.⁵¹ This is the earliest specimen of a printed dictionary in any Indian language.⁵² In 1669 was printed the **first Tamil Portuguese**

⁴⁹ . Ambazhakkad is a place of historical importance in many ways. The office at which Fr. Roz and Fr. Campori revised the Roman Missal in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Udayamperur existed at Ambazhakkad. It was also here the Pontificate, translated by Fr. Machado for Bishop Dr. Chandy Parambil also remained there. For short intervals, Ambazhakkad remained the Scholastic of the Malabar Province.

⁵⁰ . The Jesuits shifted their seminary from Vaipicotta to Kodungallur in the wake of Dutch invasion of Kochi territory. They further shifted it to Ambazhakkad away from the Dutch possessions. See D. Ferroli, *op.cit.*, II, Bangalore, 1951, p.295.

⁵¹ . It was printed in 1697 and contain 16000 entries. The only printed copy survives in the Borgiano section of Vatican library (Fondo Indiano no.12). The Tamil types for this dictionary was prepared by a native Christian Ignatius Aichamani. See *Fra Paulino a San Bartholomeo, India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, p.182.

⁵² . K.V.Suji, *op.cit.*, p.244.

dictionary by **Rev. Antony Dubrial** and a grammar of Tamil in prose by Rev, Decosta.

The printing of Fr.de Nobili's work was a convenient pretext. The *Oleis* or palm leaf manuscripts at Ambalazhakkad contain the **Great Catechism** written in Tamil in four parts by Fr. De Nobili. In 1670 the press at Ambazhakkad was busy in printing them.⁵³ They were given for printing under the supervision of Fr. Andrew Freyre. The *Flos Sanctorum*, translated from Tamil into Malayalam by the late Garcia Rodriques, Archbishop of Kodungallur is also considered to be printed at Ambalazhakkad. Fr. Balthasar da Costa's *De Arte Tamulica* was printed at Ambazhakkad in 1670. It was likely the favourite text book of the young men who had an intention for priesthood in the Madura Mission. In addition, there exists at Ambazhakkad manuscripts of Fr. De Nobili, of Fr. Martinz, etc, they form only a very small fraction of those the Jesuits had in their Kochi Library. The rest were destroyed and scattered by the Dutch or used by their soldiers to light their pipes.

There was also a press for the printing of Malayalam books under the guidance and supervision of Fr. Aichamani at Ambazhakkad. From the printing press of Ambazhakkad were issued liturgical books for the Syrians and Tamil books for the Fathers and the faithful. Books were printed there in Syriac, Malayalam and Tamil as well as in European languages. The Carmelite Fr. Mathew of St. Joseph is said to have been struck by the fecundity of the pen of the Jesuits, who, at Thoothukudi, towards 1680 had shown him 16 or 17 different kinds of religious books in Tamil printed at Ambazhakkad.⁵⁴

⁵³. D. Ferroli, *op.cit.*, II, p.295.

⁵⁴. *Ibid.*, cited from K.V.Suji, *op.cit.*, p.244.

As has already been explained in the biographical sketch of Arnos Padiri, it is a pity that the literary world of Europe knew nothing about the writings of Arnos Padiri (Johann Ernest Hanxleden), till the books of the Carmelite Orientalist, Paulinus of St. Bartholomew begin to appear in print. The main reason for this is that none of his works was published, and his manuscript lay almost hidden in certain places in Kerala.

In 1706, four years before Beschi joined the Jesuit Mission in India, the German Lutheran Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg persuaded the Society for promoting Christian knowledge in London to send a further printing press to India and soon afterwards he was able to obtain a set of **Malabari** letters from Germany. From then on printing seems to have progressed steadily in Kerala.

The invention of printing press was one of the greatest factors that helped learning in all spheres of life. The novelty of printing and the vast circulation of the printed word in Kerala and the Fishery Coast astonished the traditional scholars of the region. When we consider that the popular and age old custom on the region was to compose and circulate works in verse form, the bold attempt of the Jesuit missionaries to translate their Latin or Portuguese works into vernacular and in prose and print them in thousands for circulation was a great enterprise in the sixteenth century.⁵⁵

The early printing establishments of Kerala started by the Jesuit missionaries were attached to their colleges or seminaries of Kollam, Kochi, Vaipicotta, Kodungallur and Ambazhakkad. The missionaries from Europe who taught in these institutions struggled hard to evolve a viable medium to translate the ideals of their civilizing mission in the vernacular. They succeeded in their attempts towards the close of the sixteenth century when the manuscript of the decrees of the synod of Diamper was prepared in

⁵⁵. K.V. Siji, *op.cit.*, pp.243-244.

Malayalam script. Yet it took 173 years more for printing the first Malayalam book in Rome.⁵⁶

It was in Rome that the first book in Malayalam was printed by Fr. Clement Pianius, a Carmelite missionary of the Vicariate of Verapoly, in 1772. At the behest of Bishop Florentius, the then Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, Fr. Clement wrote the famous book *Samkshepa Vedartham*, a compendium of the doctrines of the Church for the knowledge of entire nazrani (Christian) folks. He took the whole manuscript to Rome and got it printed in the versatile polyglot printing complex of Vatican. He himself made 1128 Malayalam types for the purpose. The book has 226 pages in large square (*Chathirezhuthu*) Malayalam characters. He brought 280 copies of this book to Kerala. This was the basic book for Catholic religious instruction in Kerala at that time. The book popularly known as *kompendi* is written in dialogue form between the master and the disciple.

Following the printing of *Samkshepa Vedartham* a few more books were printed in Rome of which the first was printed in the same year (1772), and the author was Fr. Clement himself. It was a Latin book entitled *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum* and it was through this book that Europeans had the first glimpse of an Indian language. The rest was the contribution of Fr. Paulinus.

The Jesuit missionaries made pioneer efforts in introducing the modern art of printing in Kerala where they had established printing presses at Kollam, Kochi, Vaipicotta, Kodungallur and Ambazhakkad. They were the founders of Christian literature in Kerala. They broke into print and the credit

⁵⁶ . The earliest book printed in Malayalam was in Rome entitled *Samkshepa Vedartham* in 1772 by Padre Clement Pianius, a Carmelite missionary. However, printing of some name with Malayalam types could be seen in *Hortus Malabaricus*, a Latin Botanical treatise printed in 1678 at Amsterdam.

of being the first to set up printing in Kerala goes to the missionaries of the Society of Jesus.

SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

The suppression of the Society of Jesus was an event of world wide importance. The year 1773 marks the clarion call as the death-knell in the history of the Jesuits. It was in that year the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774) by the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (21 July 1773). The Prime Minister of Portugal, the Marquis of Pombal I(1750-1777) moved quickly during the papal *Sede vacante* in three weeks' time, he ordered the Jesuits stripped of all Portuguese possessions.

The Portuguese were Catholics and the Jesuit missionaries propagated the Catholic faith under the patronage of the Portuguese King. Some of the Rajahs such as the Rajah of Kochi also encouraged the propagation of the Jesuit missionaries as the Rajah was a warm supporter of the Portuguese. Many Jesuit centres were established in Kerala such as Kollam, Vaipicotta, Kochi, Kodungallur, Ambazhakkad, Ponnani, Chaliyam, Kozhikode, etc. But the Dutch who conquered the land were anti-Catholics (Protestants who propagated Calvinism) and they expelled the Portuguese out of their strongholds mercilessly.

The terrible blows which the Malabar Province of the Society of Jesus suffered at the hands of these enemies of Portugal and of the Catholic Church, will help us to admire the wonderful Tenacity of the Jesuits, who continued to cultivate the field entrusted to them in spite of poverty, persecution and exile.

Against the terms of the armistice, which Holland had concluded with Portugal, the Dutch approached the port of Nagapatam with 7 ships well

armed and well equipped. They landed 600 men. The Dutch solemnly said they would be satisfied with 10,000 *patacas*, as war tribute.

The Portuguese factories which had formerly been established everywhere on the coasts of India and Malacca, and which used to be centres of commerce and wealth, were either closed, or has passed into Dutch hands. The Viceroys were compelled to spend huge sums on the wars and could not afford to sent to the Missionaries the modest stipends that had been agreed upon since the times of St. Francis Xavier. Now everything was practically stopped, or paid most irregularly. Missionary activity was thus crippled and the money of which the Missions were deprived, did not enrich the government.

In 1652 the Dutch founded the Cape Colony, as a convenient half-way station to the coast, and in the same year they laid siege to Colombo. The fort of Kuluture fell to the Dutch in 1653. From there they occupied the hills commanding the city of Colombo. The fates were against Portugal. After the fall of the city of Colombo came the turn off Jaffnapatanam which fell two years later. Thus the Portuguese lost their last stronghold in the island.

Thoothukudi had fallen to the Dutch in 1657. The Fishery Coast fell to them in 1658. By order of the Nayak of Madurai, the Fathers working there withdrew to the interior. The Dutch succeeded better at Pulicat where the Vijayanagara Emperor Venkata II granted them permission to erect a Factory. The Dutch expelled the clergy from Nagapatam in 1659. Kodungallur fell in 1662. The Dutch kept up the assault in Kochi uninterruptedly for eight days and nights till the garrison capitulated on January 8th, 1663. The Duch had made peace proclamation with Kochi on 14th of March 1663. After Kochi came the turn of Kannur(1663). The siege lasted eight days, till the Commander, having heard of the fate of Cochin, surrendered on the13th

February 1663. "Thus"- Baldeus says "we captured one of the oldest and strongest places of the Portuguese".

The Dutch always remained suspicious of the Catholics, and especially of the Jesuits. Alexander Rea writes: "The Dutch were intolerant of those, professing Roman Catholicism". In Ceylon they insisted on the banishment of all the Missionaries.

The Dutch made a treaty with the Samoorthiri in 1662 by which "they secured the right to the excessive purchase of pepper in Calicut territory".

It should be noted that the Portuguese had long been used to dealing with the *Bisnaga* empire, that is, Vijayanagar. The Jesuits had free access in to the Vijayanagar royal court. When the Vijayanagar `Empire reached in its zenith, during the period of Krishnadevaraya, the Portuguese power in India also increased tremendously.⁵⁷ But as a result of the battle of Talikota (1565), the Deccan Sultanates routed the mighty Vijayanagar army, and destroyed the Hindu empire and these events had an impact on the Portuguese and the Jesuits whose relations with Vijayanagar had been good.

By signaling the victory of the Dutch and surrendering of the Portuguese, on the 10th May the white flag was hoisted. Three Portuguese presented themselves to the Hollanders to treat of the conditions of surrender.

By 1665 the Portuguese prestige had declined and their possessions diminished. The Dutch seized power from Kannur in the west to Nagapatanam in the East. Portuguese forts on the Kanara coast were taken by the Nayak of Ikkeri. In these circumstances the Church under the *Padroado* suffered a lot. We must remember that the Jesuits had been driven out of Goa (their headquarters in India) itself in 1759. Due to the above mentioned

⁵⁷ The Portuguese had close trade relationship with the Vijayangar Empire.

circumstances the Portuguese had to surrender their dominions in India to the Dutch and quit the land.

The Jesuit Fathers who had watered the Nemom mission with their blood, disappeared from the scene one by one by death. When all the shepherds had disappeared, the sheep without shepherds could no longer hold on, thus finally the Nemom mission also disappeared, but it remains as a glittering monument in the annals of the history of the Church of India.⁵⁸

We have, for reasons of space and time, confined our study to this place. The Society however was restored in the 19th century.

⁵⁸ Fr. Paulinus, S. Bartholomeo O.C.D., *India Orientalis Christiana* (Rome, 1794), p.261.

Restoration of the Jesuits

As the Napoleonic Wars were approaching their end in 1814, the old political order of Europe was to a considerable extent restored at the Congress of Vienna after years of fighting and revolution, during which the church had been persecuted as an agent of the old order and abused under the rule of Napoleon. With the political climate of Europe changed, more stable and the powerful monarchs who had called for the suppression of the society no longer in power, Pope Pius VII issued an order restoring the Society of Jesus in the Catholic countries of Europe. For its part, the Society of Jesus made the decision at the first general congregation held after the restoration to keep the organization of the Society the way that had been before the suppression as ordered in 1773.

CONCLUSION

St. Francis Xavier was the first Jesuit missionary, who reached India on the shores of Goa on 6th May, 1542. Numerous Jesuits came to Kerala, (as they had gone elsewhere in the world), mainly from different European countries to propagate the Catholic faith, following the footsteps of Xavier. More important among them were Henrique Henriques, Alessandro Valignano, Francis Roz, Alberto Laerzio, James Fenicio, Robert de Nobili, St. John de Britto, Constant Joseph Beschi, Arnos Padiri and others.

The first band of Jesuits under the leadership of St. Francis Xavier marks a new impetus in the ecclesiastical history of India. The real drive for evangelization starts with the coming of St. Francis Xavier. The innovation and the new missionary techniques introduced by him proved to be a great success and was appreciable and accepted by all. A lot of people in the coastal regions particularly in the Coromandel, Malabar and Konkan coasts. Almost all the parishes of the coastal region were established either by him personally or by his co-workers during his lifetime. Fr. Schurhammer, S.J. mentions four parishes established by him, namely, Puvar, Kollencode, Vallavilathura and Thoothurthura. The rest of the parishes which the saint established are in the diocese of Kottar.

The early missionaries – sorely tried already by the long sea voyage, and few-in number had to cope with many difficulties. ‘They were in an entirely new environment, with a climate and food to which they could not easily accustomed; threatened by tropical diseases and animals; often lonely and unable to communicate with the local people in their language; handicapped by the loose living and greed of the Portuguese. Moreover, their

formation had often been rudimentary. The Jesuit constitutions had not yet been finalized and promulgated, so that in distant India the missionaries scarcely know how exactly they were supposed to live and work, and there was a patent dearth of good superiors to guide them and boost their morale. But it must be noted that the first Jesuit missionaries were helped by the support given to them by ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

The first Jesuits in India were engaged chiefly in pastoral work such as preaching and the administration of the sacraments, as also education, religious and secular. The missionaries were tireless in hearing confessions of the faithful. They promoted the fervour of Christian life, improvement in morals, regularization of marriages and reconciliations. They also achieved much by the example of their lives of dedication and broadmindedness.

No doubt much of what was achieved was due to the example and guidance of Francis Xavier himself. It has been said of the early Jesuits that they “were primarily itinerant preachers, like Jesus and his disciples, and they were engaged in a holiness ministry.” Xavier was not a simple missionary but also a path finder, who—as superior of all the Jesuit missions in the East, Apostolic Nuncio and Royal Visitor of the Padroado—had to survey a vast field of work and make his missionary plans. He was to all the *Great Father*. He was a pioneer who brought the word of God, a missionary who shared the hardships of his people and gave them churches, schools and catechisms; a superior who led his men from the front, of ardent zeal and undaunted courage, and above all of a passionate love for his master, Jesus Christ. He transmitted to the Jesuits in India the spirit of Ignatius of Loyola.

Xavier has done his evangelization work first in India among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast and then in Kochi in Kerala. He studied the problems of missionary activities in the country and made efforts to learn the

vernacular. He began to visit the villages travelling on foot, converted many of them and taught them the rudiments of Christianity.

Following Francis Xavier the second band of Jesuits arrived in India under the leadership of Antonio Criminali. Another band of Jesuits arrived India in 1546. After that so many Jesuits came to India and Kerala as well. The arrival of the Jesuits resulted in an intensification of Christian missionary activity.

The Jesuits established themselves in Kochi in 1548. At first their work was confined to the town. Later they began to work among the people of the coast. They entered Vaipicotta in 1577. In the following year, they built their first small church there. Three years later it was replaced by a large one.

The excellence of the learning system of the Jesuits was recognized by all who thought seriously about education in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Jesuits started seminaries, founded schools and colleges, built Churches and established printing presses in Kollam, Kochi, Vaipicotta and Ambazhakkad. They were the pioneers in the fields of printing, drama, art and literature. The Jesuit educational institutions prospered because the Jesuits gave scientific education in the Western pattern. There are even today several educational institutions in Kerala which are in the forefront of social formation of the community. Many European Jesuits came to Kerala, stayed here for long years, studied the language, composed poems and books, authored dictionaries and grammatical texts for the language and even introduced Western art form with Christian themes for the better formation of a Christian community in Kerala.

The Jesuits set up the first printing press in Kerala and issued from them the first books and periodicals. They studied Malayalam and Sanskrit and attempted to compose grammar and dictionary for the systematic study of these languages. The Jesuits also introduced many art forms and practices of Europe attached to religious festivals such as *Chavittunatakam*, *Maargamkali*, etc., and their spirituality helped the Roman Catholics for a new Christian formation.

Jesuit contribution to Malayalam language and literature are remarkable. Arnos Padiri's literary contributions to Malayalam are immortal. As has already been explained in Chapter IV, they include (1) *Puthanpana* (life of Christ in verse, 13 cantos), (2) *Umma Parvam* (Life of Virgin Mary in Prose), (3) *Ummayude Dukham* (Lamentation of Virgin Mary), (4) *Genovaparvam* (Story of the maiden Genevieve), (5) *Vyakula Prabandham* (Sohiloquy of Virgin Mary), (6) *Varthamana Pusthakam* (Prose), (7) *Ave Maris Stella* (A song in Praise of Virgin Mary), (8) A *Sanskrit Grammar*, (9) *Malayalam-Sanskrit Dictionary*, (10) *Malayalam-Portuguese Dictionary*, (11) *Malayalam-Portuguese Grammar*, (12) *Nishiddha Parvam*, (13) *Yudhishtira Vijayam* and (14) *Arthe Malavar*. It should be noted that among the many prose books which formed in the 17th and 18th centuries, *Varthamanapusthakam* is the most important. As Sir. E. Denison Ross observes: "The contributions of their [the Jesuits] missionaries to the historical and geographical literature of the world constitute an inestimable treasure-house of knowledge, and have placed under a lasting obligation all students of the East."

The Jesuit architecture which is peculiar in many ways was introduced in Kerala by the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuits also enriched Indian vocabulary by studying the Indian vernacular languages. Several

books, lexicographies and grammars in different languages were written by them for the conversion of the flock to the Christian faith. The credit of latinizing the Kerala Church goes to the Jesuits. The Jesuits also introduced in Kerala several agricultural crops such as cashew nut, tobacco, tapioca, pineapple, papaya, cabbage, potato, rubber, mango etc., and an improved variety of coconut seed. They were also engaged in large scale scientific cultivation of ginger, pepper and coconut. Kochi and Chaliyam became new trading centres of Kerala as a result of Portugese contact. Indian medical science was also enriched by the Jesuits. It should also be remembered that bakery items were introduced in Kerala by the Jesuits. The well-known Chinese-nets which are seen in Kochi were also introduced by the Portuguese from their settlement at Macau in China.

To sum up, it is worthy to remember that Jesuit activities throughout the world achieved all round success. They have contributed much to the progress of humanity at large.

GLOSSARY

Aiyer	:	The Master of the House, Also Brahman caste suffix
<i>Badagas</i>	:	Literally northerners; Forces of the emperor of Vijayanagar
Casado	:	Portuguese man married to native
Catchmens	:	Converts under pre-Baptismal instruction
Chavers	:	Mercenary soldiers
Christaō	:	Christian
Conferes	;	Colleagues
Cruzado	;	Portuguese gold coin worth 400 <i>reis</i>
Castado da India	:	The Portuguese State of India
<i>fanam</i>	:	A tiny little gold coin
Fidalgo	:	Portuguese word literally son of somebody
Guru	:	Spiritual teacher
Janela	:	Window
Kalari	:	Gymnasium and place to learn martial arts in Kerala
Kalarippayattu	:	Martial combat
<i>Kanakkapillai</i>	:	A scribe, accountant, administrator, catechist.
Kovilagam	:	Royal house
<i>Livros</i>	:	Books

Marakkars	:	A community of Muslim mariners of South India, settled mainly in port towns.
Misericordia	:	Holy House of Mercy.
Padiri (Padre)	:	Christian priest (Father)
Padroado	:	A combination of the rights and duties conferred by the Pope on the King of Portugal as patron of the Catholic missions.
<i>Pandarams</i>	:	Religious mendicants (teachers)
Paniyaram	:	Rice dumpling with plain sugar.
Parangi	:	Firangi, Malayalam of Portuguese
<i>Patamgatin</i>	:	Overseer of a Paravan village on the Fishery Coast.
Reinos	:	Those born in Portugal.
<i>Serra</i>	:	Hilly regions where many of the St. Thomas Christians lived.
<i>Socius</i>	:	Assistant

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I
(Introduction)
THE PROVINCIALS

1. Padre Andre Lopez (1650-1654)
2. Padre Ignazio Bruno, Viceprovincial (1655)
3. Padre Francisco, Barretto (1655-1658)
4. Padre Giraldo de Rocha (1659)
5. Padre Francisco de Oliveira (1667
6. Padre Joao de Maya
7. Padre G. Afonso Alvarez (Later on Bishop of Mylapore)
8. Padre Manoel Notticitt
9. Padre Manoel Rodriguez (1683-87)
10. Padre Andre Freyre (1687-1692)
11. Padre Domingo d' Almeida (1693-1697)
12. Padre Andre Gomez (1697-1700)
13. Padre Christobal Semedo (1700-1702)
14. Padre Andre Gomez Viceprov (1702)
15. Padre Antonio da Barros (1702-1705)
16. Padre Christobal Semedo, Prov. again (1705-1708?)
17. Padre Ignazio da Costa (1708-1710)
18. Padre Hieronymo Telles (1710-1711)
19. Padre Maneol Pereyra (1711-1714)
20. Padre Joao da Costa (1715-1716)
21. Padre Antonio Dias (1716-1722)
22. Padre Luis de Silva (1722-?)
23. Padre Joao Antunes Jun. (1732-.....?)
24. Padre Joao Antunes Jun. (1732-.....?)
25. Padre Francisco Cardoso (1735-1737)
26. Padre Luis Vasconcellos (1738-.....?)
27. Padre Salvador dos Reis (1750.....?)
28. Padre Jose Silveiro o(1757-1761)
29. Padre Lourenso Mendes (1761)

APPENDIX II

(Chapter II)

Jesuit Missionary Techniques

The arrival at Goa of the first two Jesuit missionaries to India, Francis Xavier and Paul Camerino, marked a significant new phase in Roman Catholic missionary activity.¹ It marked the advent of church militant in India. During the next three years they studied the problems of conversion and developed techniques of missionary activity to cope with the new situation. They established their headquarters at Goa in the College of St. Paul. "The method which he (Xavier) worked out among the Tamil speaking people of South Kerala and the Fishery Coast had two main characteristics, simplicity and repetition and was marked by that tremendous enthusiasm which was the secret of his success."²

In a letter to his colleagues in Rome Xavier explained the steps which he followed. Firstly, he sought out native Christians who understood Portuguese as well as Tamil, and in collaboration with them he made a translation of the fundamental prayers and tenets of the Christian faith. He himself then learned these translated formulae by heart, and he was ready to conduct his instruction classes. The next step was to gather together his congregation, and this he did by striding through the town ringing a hand-bell, and inviting all to follow him to the church. He conducted instructions twice a day for a month, until the congregation, especially the children that he concentrated particularly, for he realised that through them he could contact their parents, relatives and neighbours, and he trained them also to carry his lessons back into their homes so as to reinforce the constant repetition which he found essential in order to overcome the low level of retention of his native converts.

¹ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, II, pp.5, 8-10, 13-14.

² K.J. John, *The Road to Diamper*, Ernakulam, p.89.

The next step, once Xavier had mastered the instruction in the native language, was the more ambitious one of putting them into rhyming couplets and setting them to simple tunes, which he then taught to the children. One of the witnesses at the process of canonization of Xavier in 1555 – 56 described how effective this method of instruction had proved. These new and striking methods of attracting an audience and of holding their interest, the use of the bell for summoning the congregation and the setting of the instructions to music, highlight one of the major differences between the missionary technique of Xavier and his followers and that of the clergy who had already been in India for up to forty five years. He used this Pied Piper technique of rounding up a congregation and leading them off in the church for instruction. The method which Xavier adopted was a tedious one and was obviously requiring immense patience.³

Another point of missionary policy which Xavier continually emphasised was the importance of a native clergy. He preferred to preach by example as well as by precept.

The involvement of Xavier in evangelization work through the procedure which he adopted is clearly depicted in his letter to the Society at Rome from Cochin dated 31 December, 1543 the substance of which it contained is appended here.

Xavier and his companions translated the Catechism into the Malabar tongue. Xavier learnt it by heart, and then he went through all the villages of the coast, calling around him by the sound of a bell as many as he could, children and men. He assembled them twice a day and taught them the Christian doctrine: and this in the space of a month, the children had it well by heart. And all the time he kept telling them to go on teaching in their turn whatever they had learnt to their parents, family and neighbours.

³ *The First Jesuit Mission in Malacca: A Study of the Use of the Portuguese Trading Centre as a Base for Christian Missionary Expansion during the years 1545-1552*, p.42.

Every Sunday he collected them all , men and women, boys and girls, in the church, for two hours of divine service and instruction. They came with great readiness and with a great desire for instruction. Then, in the hearing of all, he began by calling on the name of the most holy Trinity: Father, Son and Holy Ghost, recited aloud the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Hail Mary* and the *Creed* in the language of the country; they all followed him in the same words and delighted in it wonderfully. Then he repeated the *Creed* by himself, dwelling upon each article singly. Then he asked them as to each article, whether they believed it unhesitatingly; and all, with a loud voice and their hands crossed over their breasts, professed aloud that they truly believed it. He took care to make them repeat the *Creed* oftener than the other prayers; and he told them that those who believe all that is contained therein are called Christians. After explaining the *Creed* he went on to the Commandments, teaching them that the Christian Law is contained in those precepts, and that every one who observes them all faithfully is a good and true Christian and is certain of eternal salvation, and that on the otherhand, whoever neglects a single one of them is a bad Christian, and will be cast into hell unless he is truly patient for his sin. After this he should recite the principal prayers as the 'Our Father' and the 'Hail Mary' and they said them after him. Then he and his companions went back to the *Creed*, adding the 'Our Father' and the 'Hail Mary' after each article, with a short hymn; for as soon as he had recited the first article, he sung in their language, 'Jesus, son of the living God, grant us the grace to believe firmly this first article of your faith: and that we may obtain this from you, we offer you this prayer taught us by yourself. Then he and his companions added this second invocation: 'Holy Mary', Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us from your most sweet Son that we may believe without hesitation this article of the Christian faith'. They did the same after all the other eleven articles.

Xavier and his companions taught them the Commandments also. Xavier gave them an instruction in their own language explaining the chief heads of the Christian religion, and the duties necessary to salvation. Lastly,

he admitted them thus prepared to Baptism. Xavier had been living for nearly four months in a Christian village, occupied in translating the Catechism. Every feast day he called the children to meet in one place and sing all together the elements of the faith. For this purpose he had appointed in each of the thirty Christian villages men of intelligence and character who should preside over these meetings, and the Governor, Dom Martim Affonso, who was a friend of the Society was good enough at the request of Xavier and his friends to allot a yearly revenue of 4000 gold '*fanams*' for the salary of these catechists.⁴ The circumstances under which the Paravas had embraced Christianity naturally directed the attention of Xavier.⁵ Xavier tells us in the letter to his brethren at Rome, that he left a copy of the *Christian Doctrine*, or Catechism in each of the villages when he departed, which was to be copied out and frequently recited.

⁴ Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of Francis Xavier*, Vol-I, 2nd edition, London, 1574, pp 151 – 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.165.

APPENDIX III (Chapter II)

Instructions of St. Francis Xavier

The first care of the missionaries should be to give Baptism to little children. This should not be committed to others, but should be done personally by the missionary. Do not wait to be called; but you yourselves go from place to place asking if there are children to be baptized, lest they should die without Baptism.

Next, teach Christian Doctrine to the children. Since you cannot be everywhere, see it that Catechists are well trained and perform faithfully their duty. When you visit a village, examine the children one by one.

Every Sunday gather the grown-ups into the church – especially the Pantagatins or leaders-teach them the prayers; endeavour to extirpate the vices and abuses rampant among them.

When you reach a place, find out the people who bear hatred. Do your best to reconcile them.

When Fr. Francis Coelho will have finished the translation of the Catechism in Malabar, read it to the men every Sunday, and to the women every Saturday.

Of the alms offered to the Church keep nothing for yourselves. Give all to the poor.

Try to get information about the sick, visit them. If their relations neglect to call you, refuse Christian burial to the dead.

When you visit the sick, say the CREED, and ask them article by article, whether they believe. Afterwards say the CONFITEOR and the other prayers. At the end read the gospel over them. Conduct burials in the following manner: Let the Cross go first. Then you follow with the children,

singing the Catechism. When you reach the dead man's house, recite an anthem; and another when you leave. Do not omit to make a short exhortation on the certainty of death and on the importance of living a good Christian life.

Exhort both men and women to take their children to the Church when they are sick, so that the gospel may be read over them.

Endeavour to put down quarrels and litigation. What you cannot do, let it be done on Sundays by the Pantagatins. Yet be careful not to leave spiritual works for temporal business. Big quarrels should be referred to the Portuguese Captain.

Endeavour to make yourselves loved. Seek to obtain more by love than by fear.

Do not punish any one before first asking Fr. Criminali. People who worship idols should be expelled from the village. Be kind to the children, if they deserve punishment, easily forgive them.

Do not speak ill of Indian Christians in the presence of Portuguese. Defend them. Speak up for them. It is but a short time that they have embraced Christianity, and it is to be wondered that they are not worse.

Help the Malabar Priests in spiritual things. See that they confess and say Mass. Do not write evil of them. Be friendly with the Portuguese Captains, and with the Portuguese. Do not speak of temporal things. Speak to them of death, judgement, gods punishments. Write often to the Fathers in Goa, and write to the Bishop with great reverence, for he is the ecclesiastical superior in these parts.

Even if the King asks you to go to some other country, do not go without Fr. Criminali's permission. Whenever you go, make yourselves loved, for thus you will be able to do much for the good of souls.

May the Lord grant it to you, and be always with you.

Amen

APPENDIX IV
(Chapter III)
Padre Roberto De Nobili
STATISTICS

Year	Baptisms	
1615	27	
1616	9	
1617	7	
1619	10	
1627	16	(At Trichinopoly)
1639	140	(At Trichinopoly)
	300	(At Madura)
1643	70	
		Christians in Madura, 320.
1644		High Caste Christians in Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Sattiamangalam: 1,000.
		Under the Pandraswamis in the same plaes : 2,500
1645		In Madura many apostasies; there remain only 26 Brahmins in Sattiamangalam.
1647		Number of Christians:
		in Trichinopoly 3,000
		in Tanjore 180
		at Sattiamangalam 320
1652		Number of Christians:
		in Trichinopoly 2,000
		at Sattiamangalam 500
		at Madura 320
		A considerable number in Tanjore.
1654-1656		Number of Christians:
		in Trichinopoly 1,240
		in Tanjore 985
		at Sattiamangalam 800
		at Candelur 606
		in Madura 385
Baptism, in the Madura Mission from 1607 to 1660	11,198	
"	"	from 1660 to 1700 52,794
"	"	from 1700 to 1765 401,176

		Total : 465,168

APPENDIX V

(Chapter V)

Portuguese words in Malayalam Words generally used in Malayalam

Malayalam	Portuguese	Meaning or English equivalent
<i>aata (attha)</i>	<i>ata</i>	custard apple
aayha (aya)	aia	nurse/maid
almayu	alma	soul
alpine	alfinate	breast pin
alppandi (chungam)	Alfandega	customs duties
althara	altar	high altar
amara	amora	mulberry tree
amaram	amarra	cable (of a ship or boat)
ananas	ananas(z)	pine apple
anju	anjo	angel
apostalan	apostolo	apostle
arulikka (ch)	reliquia	relic of saints
aspatri (asupatri)	hospital	hospital
astenti (ch)	assistente	assistant priest
astma	asma	asthma
avudotor (ovudotor)	auditor	one who verify the accounts
baldi (balde)	balde	bucket
banco	banco	bench
bankethi	banquete	banquet
barcas	barcasa	large boat
batata	batata	potato
batheri	bateria	battery
<i>bazaar</i>	<i>bazar</i>	market
biscottu (biskattu)	biscoito	biscuit
bõrma	forma	baker's oven

Malayalam	Portuguese	Meaning or English equivalent
botel	botelha	bottle
bucca	bucha	cork
burma	berrima	drill (to make hole)
button	botão	button
cameeza (kamis)	camiza	shirt
canalu (canal)	canal	canal
cappalon (ch)	capelao	captain
cappela (ch)	capela	chapel
cappy	cofe	coffee
capyar (ch)	capear	sacristan (one who covers ceremonial vestment on the priest)
Catholican (Katholikkan)	Catholico	Catholic
chaaak	saca	sack
Chaaaya	chā	tea
chaapa	chapa	seal, stamp, impression
chaave (chavi)	chave	key
changadam	jangada	raft (ferry boat)
chara	jarra	a jar
chinter	cinzel	chisel
chippuli	cepilho	a plane used by joiners
<i>Christiani</i>	<i>christao</i>	Christian
chunnambu	chuname	chunam (from lime)
churuttu	charuto	cigar
cokky	coque	cook
combraria	confraria	brotherhood
commander (kommantar)	commundante	commander
comminji	companhia	company
consul	cõnsul	consul
copy	cõpia	copy

Malayalam	Portuguese	Meaning or English equivalent
cordao	cordão	string to tie horse
culer	colher	mason's spoon
curry	caril	curry
curuz	cruz	cross
cusinji (kusinja)	cozinha	kitchen
dalmathi (ch)	dalmathica	a church vestment
diyabu (diyablu)	diabo	devil
dosha	doce	spongy cake of rice flour
elathor	elcitor	elector
emprador	imperador	emperor
eseritor (ch)	escritor	writer
esmola (esmol (ch)	esmola (esmole)	alms
gavarnador	governador	governor
general (jeneral)	general	general
<i>govi (govinnu)</i>	<i>couve</i>	cabbage
gudam	gudão	godown (warehouse for goods and stores)
inglishu (inglisu)	ingles	English
irayal	real	a Portuguese coin
iskul	escola	school
istri	esterar (estrirar)	pressing iron
jaara	jaara	jar
juba	juba	a shirt without collar
kaapiri	cafra	negro
kaarp	garfo	pork
kalusam	calss,as	trousers
kalvethi	calafete	calker
kapparikka	capar	to castrate
kappus	kapuz	hood
karppu	garfo	a port

Malayalam	Portuguese	Meaning or English equivalent
kasu (kassu)	caju (Brazilian acaju)	cashew tree
kathu	carta	letter
kirati	grade	grade, railing
kochu	coche	coach
konta	contas	beads of rosary
koora	couro	tanned leather
koratavu	corda	rope, whip
korchu	coche	coach
kumpasaram	confessar	confession
<i>lanter (rantal)</i>	<i>lanterna</i>	lantern
laseenja	ladainha	recital of prayers
lelum (lalam or elam)	leilão	auction sale advertisement
lesu	lenco	hand-kerchief
lista	lista	list
lova (loha)	loba	a wide cassock
machua	manchua	small vessels of recreation
madrinhamma	madrinha	godmother
mamam	mama	breast
mestri, mestari	mestre	master craftsman, foreman
molegu	molagueta	red chilly
moyanthu	molengu	lazy person
navali	navalha	pocket knife, razor
nave	nave	middle part of church
novana (ch)	novena	nine devotional prayers
olamari	almadia	a kind of ship
oppeece (ch)	office	office of the dead
oriojikka	nelogio	watch clock
osti (ch)	hostia	consecrated water
paapa (paappa)`	papa	the Pope

Malayalam	Portuguese	Meaning or English equivalent
padiri	padre	clergyman, priest
padrinhappan	padrinho	godfather
pagadi	paga	a type of tax
<i>pagamenth</i> (ch)	<i>pagamento</i>	payment
pangayam (pankayam)	pangaio	car
pappaya	papaia	a kind of melon
pasaram	passar	to transfer
patakkam	foquet	Chinese cracker
patha (paatha)	pato	duck, goose
pattakku	pataco (pattaca)	an ancient Portuguese coin
peelarsmon or mol	filiad	adopted son or daughter
peetha	fita	ribbon
pena	pena	feather writing pen
pera	pēra	guava (pearls also)
periteri	pedreiro	stone mason
pickaasu (pickkam)	picareta (picāso)	mason's pickaxe
pinja	pinha	pine wood
pinjani (pingani)	palangana	a flat dish
pintarikka	pintar	to paint
pippa	pipa	cask
pistal	pistola	pistol
pitar	painter	painter
poleesu (police)	policia	police
porku	porco	pig
<i>portico</i>	<i>portico</i>	porch
praguka (praaguka)	praga	to curse
presenthi	presidente	president
prumakatta	prumo	plumb
pushpam (ch)	pulpito	pulpit
rattal	arratel	a pound of 16 ounces

Malayalam	Portuguese	Meaning or English equivalent
ravekka	rabeca	a fiddle
reepa	ripa	piece of wood
registar(ch)	registro	record
renda	renda(rendo)	embroidery, lace
reshiti (rasithi)	recibo	receipt
ressi	reis	a Portuguese coin
ronda (rontu chuttuka)	ronda	patrol, the round
sabola(savala)	cebola	big onion
sacrari	sacrario	sanctuary
sakalathu (cakalassu)	escarlata	scarlet (woolen cloth)
salad(salladu)	salada	salad
sapaat	sapato	shoe
secretaria	secretária	secretariat
secretario	secretário	secretary
<i>sodathi</i>	<i>sorte</i>	lottery
soop	sopa	soup
tambakku (tambaku)	tabaco	tobacco
tambler	tambler	drinking vessel
tambor	tambor	drum
taarippu (tarripu)	tarifa	tariff
teserar(ch)(teserer)	tesoureiro	treasurer
tesora	tesoura	scissors
tothu	todo	measurement
tres	tres	a fraction of reas
turunku	tronco	jail
ulhi	alho	grant garlic
vara	vara	a linear measurement
varkkasu	barca	bark, a sea boat
vassi	basia	dinner plate, vessel

Malayalam	Portuguese	Meaning or English equivalent
vattaka	pateca	water melon
venchirikka (ch)	benzer	to bless
vender	`vendedor	salesman
ventinha(ch)	bentinho	a seapular (religious amulet)
vittitu (<i>villisu</i>)	<i>veludo</i>	velvet
vinju	vinjo(vinho)	wine
violin	viola	violin

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APPENDIX VI

List of copies of some Jesuit Letters

1. A sample of the "Litterae Annuae".
2. Annual Letter of Bathazar da Costa dated 29.10.1644.
3. Last page of Antony Provenca Letter dated 09.09.1662.
4. First page of Andrew Freyre Letter dated 10.07.1678.
5. First page of John De Britto Letter dated 14.05.1683.

APPENDIX VII

List of Pictures

1. Jesuit Emblem
2. Ignatius Loyola
3. Portuguese Cochin (16th century)
4. The Castle of Xavier
5. St. Francis Xavier, S.J.
6. Francis Xavier's Evangelisation
7. Fr. Alessandro Valignano
8. Roberto de Nobili
9. Blessed John de Britto, S.J.
10. Joseph Constant Beschi
11. Arnos Padiiri
12. Archbishop Dom Alexis Menezes
13. A Chinese Fishery-Net
14. St. Francis Church, Cochin.
15. Illustration of Manueline Doorways at Mattanchery Palace, Cochin (2).
16. Remains of Manueline Architecture of Mattanchery Palace, Cochin (2)
17. Title page of Doctrina Christa printed at Kollam in 1578.

APPENDIX VIII

List of Maps

1. Kerala 16th Century.
2. The Voyage of St. Francis Xavier to India 1541-42.
3. Francis Xavier's First Itinery to the Fishery Coast.
4. Francis Xavier's Second Itinery to the Fishery Coast.
5. Francis Xavier's Apostolate in the Fishery Coast in 1544 (Feb.-Nov.)
6. Francis Xavier's Apostolate in the Mukkua Fishery (Travancore Coast) in 1544.
7. Francis Xavier's Route to Ceylon and Sao Thorne in 1545.

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