

**LATINISATION, COLONIALISM
AND CONFLICT IN CHRISTIANITY
IN KERALA, 1653 - 1850**

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for the award of the Degree of*
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C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that this thesis, **Latinisation, Colonialism and Conflict in Christianity in Kerala, 1653-1850** is a bonafide record of the research work carried out by **Mrs. Anto Florance, P.** under my supervision and guidance. No part of this has been submitted earlier for any other purpose.



Dr. K.J. John

DECLARATION

I, Anto Florance, P., do hereby declare that this thesis entitled **Latinisation, Colonialism and Conflict in Christianity in Kerala, 1653-1850** is a bonafide record of the research work done by me under the guidance of Dr. K.J. John, Reader, Department of History, University of Calicut. I further declare that this thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title of recognition.

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Anto Florance P.

PREFACE

The present study is an investigation into the history and vicissitudes of Syrian Christians of Kerala especially from seventeenth to nineteenth century in which period most of the denominational diversities and sectarian formations in the Kerala church have emerged. Different periods of the history of Christianity in Kerala had been studied by a number of religious and academic scholars. They followed contrasting style and attitude. For a researcher it is a matter of great personal curiosity to know the background of the formation of various Christian sects and to bring to light the truth about the controversies prevailed among Christians in Kerala. As a student of history I am fascinated in the milestones of the church history of Kerala as I did not get correct answers to many of the questions regarding the controversies prevailed in Kerala history related to Christianity. The purpose of the present work is to examine this particular aspect of Christianity in Kerala that is the background of the formation of diverse Christian sects and christological debates. Knowing my interest in this area Dr. K.J. John, the former Head of the Department of History, encouraged me to take up a research work on this topic. As my research supervisor he outlined a detailed programme of work for the collection of materials for the study from various archival repositories at Madras, Goa, Chembakannoor, Bangalore etc. I was also fortunate in getting a library knowledge in Portuguese language from an intensive course conducted in Nirmalagiri College, Koothuparambu sponsored by the Fundação Orient of Portugal. I had long and useful discussions with Dr. A.M. Mundadan, Prof. K.S. Mathew, Prof. George Menacherry, Dr. Francis Pereparambil, Dr. Francis Thonippara and Dr. Pius Malekandathil, who instilled considerable insights in me on the topic of my research work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHEI	:	Arquivo Historico do Estado da India
AHSI	:	Arquivo Historico Societatis Iesu
ARSI	:	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
BPPR	:	Bullarium Patronatus Portugallie Regum
CMS	:	Church Missionary Society
EI	:	Epigraphica Indica
ICHR	:	Indian Church History Review
LDSC	:	The Letters and Documents on Syrian Christians
LM	:	Livros Moncões
MR	:	Missionary Register.
PCMS	:	Proceedings of Church Missionary Society
SOCG	:	<i>Scrittura Originali</i> referred in the General Congregations, Rome.
TPCP	:	Teresa Pally Copper Plates.
VRP	:	Vira Raghava Pattayam
WSC	:	West Syrian Church
WSP	:	West Syrian Patriarch

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MAP OF INDIA



KERALA →

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historians have not yet made the final pronouncement with regard to the origins of Christianity in Kerala. There are two different views on this matter: one view holds that Christianity was introduced by St. Thomas, one of the Apostles who is believed to have visited Malabar and preached here as early as in 52 A.D. The other view ascribes the arrival of Christianity in Kerala to early merchants and immigrants belonging to East Syrian or Persian Church.¹

The Persian Christians who migrated to Kerala and other parts of India around 5th century AD, settled down here since then, and became an integral part of Kerala Society. They brought with them the liturgy of East Syrian Church. They worshipped a peculiar type of stone cross with Pahlavi inscription. These crosses are still seen at certain Christian centres like Kottayam (two crosses), Kadamattom, Muttuchira, Alengad, Kothanalloor, etc. (altogether six in Kerala).² These crosses are cut in relief on slabs of granite, with the four arms of the cross of equal length terminating in a

¹ W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomas Christen*, Gutersloh, 1877, pp.673-79; K.J.John, *The Road to Diamper*, Cochin, 1999, pp.1-23.

² Pius Malekandathil, "Discovery of a Pahlavi-Cross from Goa: A New Evidence for Pre-Portuguese Christian Settlement in Konkan", in *Christian Orient*, 2002, pp.140-142.

foliated decoration. They are surmounted by a descending dove into the upper arm of the cross and are set within an arch on which is written a Pahlavi inscription.³ These crosses are the earliest Christian monuments of Kerala and their date is ascribed to be of 8th and 9th century.

When Christianity finally struck deep roots in Kerala, the characteristic form it took was the result of a protracted interaction between the Malabarian cultural milieu and the East Syrian ecclesiastical system.

The relations of Christianity in Kerala with its counterpart in East Syria continued upto sixteenth century. The Christians of Kerala did not bother about the details of the faith of the Bishops who came from Persia to help them. They also never involved in the controversies and splits that existed in the West Asian Church.⁴ The Native Christians depended upon the East Syrian Church for ecclesiastical necessities. The Persian Church, being passive in nature, did not develop any theological institutions or train any appropriate cadre of clergy.⁵ They were not Roman Catholics and were not under the control of Roman Pontiff. Their spiritual head was the Patriarch of the East Syrian Church.

³ H. Hosten, *Antiquities from San Thome and Mylapore*, Calcutta, 1936, pp.327-370; T.K. Joseph, *Kerala Christians and Their Ancient Documents*, Trivandrum, 1929.

⁴ Robin E. Waterfield, *Christians in Persia*, London, 1973, p.17.

⁵ T.K. Oommen, Hunter P. Marby, *The Christian Clergy in India*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 2000, p.40.

The first unquestionable evidence of the Church in Kerala is found in the famous passage of Cosmos Indicopleustus in his *Christian Topography* which states that "There were Christians in Male where pepper grows".⁶

These Christians of Kerala became prominent in the field of trade and commerce and gradually they received several privileges and favours at the hands of the local rulers. This is testified by the Terisapalli Copper Plate (849 AD) (Hereafter TPCP),⁷ Tazhakad Church inscription of Rajasimha (1028 A.D.)⁸ and the Copper Plate Grant of Vira Raghava Chakravarti (1225 A.D.) or the Vira Raghava Pattayam (Hereafter VRP).⁹

During the early medieval period Christians grew within the cultural milieu of Kerala adopting its social and cultural moorings and enjoying a position in the varna hierarchy of Hindu social system. The Syrian Christians slowly developed an identity of their own with relative autonomy and self rule

⁶ Cosmas Indico Pleustes, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas*, Trans. & ed., Mc. Crindle, London, 1907, pp.118-19. Cosmas Indico Pleustes of Alexandria was a merchant traveller, who visited India and Ceylon between 520-25 A.D. He is called Indicopleustus or Indian voyager. He published his account of travels by around 535 A.D.

⁷ T.A. Gopinath Rao, ed., *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, Madras, 1916, pp.66-86.

⁸ For the Text of the Inscription see TAS Vol. VIII, pp.39-40. Tazhakkad is two kms. east of the present Irinjalakuda town, in the present Mukundapuram Taluk of Thrissur district. The King Rajasimhan (1028-1043 AD) conferred privileges to the Christian traders like Chathan Vadukan and Iravi Chathan, who were members of Manigramam guild.

⁹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p.41. The VRP was granted to Iravi Kortan, a Christian merchant chief of Kodungallur, was given the status of *Manigramam* along with several other rights.

in ecclesiastical set up, with Archdeacon as their socio-religious head.¹⁰ Archdeacons maintained their authority as leaders of the community upto the coming of Portuguese in the 15th century A.D.

The coming of Vasco da Gama at Pantalayini Kollam near Calicut on 20th May 1498¹¹ opened a new chapter in the history of Kerala Christians. It signalled an end to Kerala Christian's isolation from the West. The Portuguese used the spiritual award *Padraodo* conferred by Pope Alexander VI (1493) as an efficient tool in establishing Roman Catholicism in the East.¹²

During the Portuguese rule, Catholic mission and missionaries were operated under the patronage of the King of Portugal. In spite of the substantial increase in the number of Christians, autonomy was neither conceded to them nor did they demand it. The ecclesiastical leadership, was predominantly western. However it seems that the need for training and developing a cadre of local clergy was recognised by the westerners. Thus the Franciscan missionary, Fr. Vincent Lagos founded a seminary at Cranganore in 1541 and another at Vaipicotta by the Jesuits in 1587 to train seminarians

¹⁰ Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All India*, Kottayam, 1972, p.23.

¹¹ E.G. Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama 1497-1499*, London, 1898. Also see Sanjay Subramanian, *The Career and Legends of Vasco da Gama*, Cambridge, 1997, pp.79-80.

¹² *Padroado* is a Portuguese word meaning Patronage. See Josef Wicki, "The Portuguese Padroado in India in the Sixteenth Century and Francis Xavier" in E.R. Hambye and H.C. Perumalil ed., *Christianity in India*, Alleppey, 1972, p.49. Also see C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 1415-1825, Johannesburg, 1961, p.228.

from among the Syrian Christians in the Latin mould.¹³ In 1534 the first Latin diocese was erected in the East at Goa. In 1557 Goa was made an archdiocese with a suffragan diocese at Cochin. Soon after the establishment of the Portuguese ecclesiastical authority at Cochin and Goa, they forced the natives to adopt Latin rite. The diffusion of Roman Catholic doctrines among the native Christians was seen as the most effective means for legitimising colonial control over them.

Armed with the Padraodo right and ecclesiastical authority granted by the Pope, the newly appointed Archbishop of Goa, Dom Alexes de Menezes¹⁴ sent strict orders to the Portuguese in Ormuz (the place through which Persian Bishops had to pass on their way to India) not to allow any Chaldean, Persian or Armenian Bishop to enter India without his special permission. This order was passed, since the Portuguese found that their domination over the Syrian Christians was not possible as long as the presence of East Syrian Bishops was there.

With the death of Mar Abraham, the last East Syrian Bishop of Malabar Church on 16 February 1597, Archbishop Menezes got an opportunity to bring the Syrian Christians to the fold of Roman Catholicism.¹⁵

¹³ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. II, Bangalore, 1988, p.58. Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Vol. XIII, Roma, 1948, p.767.

¹⁴ He was the member of the order of the Hermits of St. Augustine.

¹⁵ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, p.56. Paiva Manso (ed.), *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, Tom. I – Appendix, Olisipone, 1872, p.145.

He reached Kerala on 27 December 1598 and tried to gain the good will of the people. His concern towards the poor conditions of Kerala Christians attracted many. But the Archdeacon and his associates continued to resist the attempts of the Portuguese to interfere in the affairs of their church. By lavish bestowal of gifts, the Archbishop won over a good many of his opponents and defiant chieftains to his side.¹⁶

After winning a considerable number of people and effectively suppressing powers of the Archdeacon and ignoring the stand of his associates, Menezes proceeded to hold the Synod of Diamper. The Synod was convened on the third Sunday after Pentecost, 20 June 1599 and met for seven days, issued 200 decrees through "nine actions" (equivalent to sessions). Archbishop Menezes presided and 153 Cathanars and 660 lay representatives took part in it. The disciplinary decrees of the Synod concerning sacraments, the faith, such as the incarnation, the divine maternity of Mary, original sin, purgatory, the intercession of saints, the veneration of images, the church and its organization, the canon of the Bible, the Pope's supremacy as St. Peter's successor, list of canonical books of Bible, introduction of celibacy of priests, etc.¹⁷ were in the frame of the decrees of the Council of Trent aiming

¹⁶ The Archbishop spent about 18,000 *pardaos* for this purpose alone. *Pardao* was a gold coin circulated all along the Western India after the arrival of the Portuguese. For details see Pius Malekandathil, *Jornada*, Kochi, 2003, pp.LXVI-LXVII.

¹⁷ Michael Geddes, *History of the Church of Malabar*, London, 1614, p.86; G.M. Antao, *De Synodi Diamperitanae Natura atque Decretis*, Goa, 1952, pp.148-60; also see K.J. John, *The Road to Diamper*, Cochin, 1999, pp.152-163.

at the total renewal of the Malabar church. Through the Synod of Diamper, Menezes abolished many primitive and pagan customs which the Syrian Christians had adopted through their intercourse with the gentiles.

The Synod of Diamper, thus helped to achieve one of the aims of Portuguese policy in Kerala i.e., to separate the Syrian Christians of Kerala from the clutches of East Syrian church. In spite of the initial success the attempt of the Portuguese authorities to degrade the status of Archdeacon and to interfere in the socio-religious life of Malabar Syrians met with strong resistance from the Archdeacon and his associates. Even though the Synod of Diamper was regarded as a glorious achievement, a great act of Church Union carried through a minimum of expense¹⁸ from the Western Catholic point of view, the events followed culminated in the revolt of Connan Cross in 1653. There can be no doubt about the fact that the tone of the 17th century Malabar Church was set by the Synod of Diamper, which in practice was the imposition of Western Christianity and Roman idioms on the East Syrian Church of Malabar.

The present study – the Latinisation, Colonialism and Conflict in Christianity in Kerala from 1653-1850 – deals with the colonial interventions in the history of Christianity in Kerala. The epithet Latin or Western or the Roman Catholic church is different from that of the East Syrian or Nestorian

¹⁸ Stephen Neil, *A History of Christianity in India*, Cambridge, 1984, p.147.

church which was the official Christianity outside the Roman Empire. The Western church was organized under the Pope of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, and followed the Latin language in liturgy – the language of ancient Rome. Thus it has recorded the claim to catholicity by adopting the epithet Latin or Roman Catholic in its designation of the church of the West.¹⁹

Portugal, the staunch Catholic country inaugurated western colonial domination in Asia with the discovery of new sea route to India round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama in 1498. The Portuguese were both commercially and religiously motivated in their voyages to discover new lands and peoples. Portuguese Captain and his crew were equipped with spiritual authority originated from *Padroado* (the right of patronage in the newly discovered or conquered lands) entered Asia along with militant Catholic missionaries. They, in the course of a hundred years of work, brought the East Syrian Christians of Malabar, who were guided by Nestorian prelates, under the church of Rome. The Syrian Christians of Kerala submitted before the Portuguese ecclesiastical colonialism and cut off from their mother church of East Syria from the time of the Synod of Diamper.

Colonialism is an important stage in the history of world which made far reaching influence in making the contemporary world. It is a system of

¹⁹ A.V.G. Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, London, 1885, p.387.

domination, exploitation and underdevelopment of one society by another.²⁰ The underdeveloped Malabar Christian society and its leader looked upon Portuguese colonial domination as an effort of modernization. The Malabar Christians lacked an appropriate vision of a church of their own and they followed different colonial persuasions and its features from time to time. In the first stage, one group sided with the Portuguese, adopted Roman Catholic rite. In the second stage, the schismatic group emerged as a result of Coonan Cross Oath of 1653 under Archdeacon Thomas adopted West Syrian or Antiochean Jacobatism. In the final stage, one group under Palakunnathu Abraham Malpan by the influence of Protestant Anglican missionaries from England, adopted Protestantism and transformed into Anglicanised Marthoma Syrian rite. The pre-colonial backwardness and extremely poor economic conditions of the Malabar Christians, forced them to follow foreign persuasions. However, some of the basic features and the circumstances for the rise of different rites in Malabar church have been investigated in the present study.

The evolution of various Christian rites and sects in Malabar church was not a peaceful process. The subjection of Syrian Christians to the Latin jurisdiction and the latinisation policies of the Jesuits led to frequent friction between the Jesuit Archbishops and Archdeacons (the traditional head of

²⁰ Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Colonialism*, New Delhi, 1999, p.26.

Malabar church) which ultimately led to the revolt of Coonan Cross Oath of 1653. It is regarded as a very significant event, because in an early phase of colonialism in Malabar it was perhaps the first event where the native Christians fought against an ecclesiastical foreign power. The conflict virtually split the Syrian Christians into two: *Pazhayakoottukar* and *Puthenkoottukar*. The former remained in the Roman Catholic fold while the latter integrated with Antiochean Jacobatism of West Syrian Church. The adherents of the East Syrian Church later adopted and accepted West Syrian domination and cut off from the Roman Catholic union. Thus we could see the domination of Western Church and Eastern Church, two ecclesiastical entities of Christian World, from seventeenth century.

The conflict was not confined to foreigners and natives but also among the various groups of missionaries like Dominicans, Agustinians, Franciscans, etc. who supported Archdeacon against the Jesuits when the Portuguese authorities decided to reserve the mission field of Malabar to Jesuits.²¹ Mutual competitions and conflicts were also significant among various European colonial powers like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the German and the English who belonged to Roman Catholic and Protestant groups. The Dutch and the English were staunch Protestants and opposed the

²¹ Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All India*, Kottayam, 1972, pp.125-30.

Portuguese and the French who were ardent Roman Catholics which led to the colonial rivalries for a long period.

By the decline of the Portuguese power, the Dutch reached Malabar, supported the rebellious and schismatic group of Christians under Archdeacon Thomas and brought Antiochean Bishops of West Syrian Church in their ships to Malabar. Mar Gregorios, Antiochean Bishop of Jerusalem, who reached Malabar in 1665, regularised the episcopal position of the schismatic Marthoma I and slowly introduced Jacobatism in Malabar. But in later years Antiochean Patriarchs also followed the religious colonial domination of West Syrian church which ultimately led to a new split in the Eastern church of Malabar in later centuries.

A strange conflict also developed in Malabar Catholic church when Rome decided to act directly through Carmelite missionaries who were appointed as Vicar Apostolics under *Propaganda Fide* directly under Roman Curia.²² It was followed by a long period of conflict between the Portuguese *Padroado* Bishops and *Propoganda* Vicars Apostolic. However, Pope Gregory XVI took the bold step of solving the problems by issuing *Multa*

²² *Ibid.*, pp.132-34.

Praeclare, the famous Decree, on April 24, 1838 and suppressed the *Padraodo* rights of Portugal.²³

By the coming of Anglicans who had a special interest in the Syrian church of Malabar as per the insights provided by Michael Geddes who published *The History of the Church of Malabar* in 1694. He depicts the similarities between the ancient Church of Malabar and the Church of England.²⁴ The British Residents and the missionaries from Church Missionary Society who took special interest to revive and recast the West Syrian Jacobite church from its abuses, led to new confusion in the Jacobite church of Malabar. The group under Abraham Malpan and Mar Athanasius who favoured Anglican protestant reformation, emerged as Marthoma Syrian Church. The conservatives under Dionysius IV and Konattu Malpan stood by Jacobite faith under the jurisdiction of Antiochean Patriarch. The period of the study is completely dominated by various colonial powers which led to bitter feuds and conflicts and thus disrupted the normal serene state of affairs in the Malabar church that existed in pre-colonial period.

During the period of conflicts different ecclesiastical powers introduced different ritual languages in the Malabar Church service. Syrian Christians (both Catholic and Jacobite) used *Suriani*, Latins used *Latin* and

²³ Francis Pereparambil, *Leonard Mellano of St. Louis*, Rome, 1998. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), p.50.

²⁴ Michael Geddes, *op. cit.*, p.86.

Marthomites used English and later *Malayalam* for the first time as their liturgical language.

Almost all the denominations of the Christianity have adherents in Kerala. It includes a variety of groups like Syrian Catholics, Latin Catholics, Knanaya Syrians, Jacobites, Chaldeans or East Syrians, Orthodox Syrians, Marthomites, Anglicans etc. This Christian pluralism in such a small region like Kerala is perhaps one of the most complex aspect in the study of Christian Church.

Aim and Importance

The Malabar Church played a very significant role in making contemporary Kerala culture. The present study is an attempt to deal with some aspects of Kerala Christians under various European colonial powers. It also aims to understand the historical evolutionary growth of various Christian denominations and their impact on today's Kerala Christian culture. This investigation helps to give an awareness of the circumstances of the formation of various groups in Christianity which suited to answer the problems of the present. Some of the basic features of these different rites in Malabar church is also investigated in this study. This thesis also probes briefly into the Latinisation programmes followed by the Western missionaries, which transformed and connected the pre-Portuguese Malabar church with Western Roman Catholic church.

So far there was no attempt to study the conflicts and splits in the church of Kerala, which had its existence atleast from 16th century AD, under various colonial powers from the East as well as from the West. The present study is an attempt in that direction and highlights the dynamics of history resultling from external intervensions.

Scope

The scope of the present attempt focuses on the problems of Syrian Church, ecclesiastical developments, confusions, divisions, cultural development and so on. Though the study is regional in nature two aspects of the topic call for special attention – the religious affairs related to Catholic Syrians and the socio religious life of Jacobite Syrians. The time frame chosen for the study is from 1653 to 1850, of which the former marks the Coonan Cross Oath which is a land mark in the history of Kerala Church and the latter marks the beginning of Marthoma Church in Kerala by the impact of Protestant Anglicanism.

Generally this study focusses on the Western impact on Pre Portuguese Malabar Church or Syrian Church. The impact of Westerners and West Syrians on East Syrian Church of Malabar and the consequent development of different cultural diasporas related with new denominations also form part of this investigation. The concepts about the Western impact on Malabar Church

and its society are fast changing. In this context the present study attempts to think across or beyond traditional orientalist representations.

Statement of the Problem

1. It is to be analysed how far the religious devices was utilized by colonial powers to establish their colonial ventures or designs.
2. Strength and weaknesses of the religious measures adopted by various European powers in Malabar.
3. Various levels of responses or conflicts from the side of Syrian Christians against the colonial intervention and subsequent challenges.
4. How far the stimuli of natives effected the thrust of various colonial powers.
5. To analyse the circumstances for the formation of multi denominations in Christianity in Kerala.
6. To analyse the different means for controlling the natives by different colonial powers.
7. To what extent did these colonial intervention helped to shape various Christian denominations or rites.
8. How far these communities identified to re-shape their structure of organisations and
9. How far the give and take policy effect the cultural diasporas of Malabar.

Chpaterisation

This project focuses on Latinisation, Colonialism and Conflict in Christianity in Kerala. The period of this study, between 1653-1850, is very significant in the history of Malabar Christians. During this period Christianity faced serious conflicts and contradictions as a result of the arrival of Jacobite Prelates of West Syrian church and the European missionaries who belonged to both Catholic and Protestant groups. They were responsible for creating dissensions and formation of various Christian rites in Kerala.

Accordingly the thesis is divided into six chapters. The introduction is only intended to give a general background of Christianity in Kerala from the earliest period upto the Synod of Diamper in 1599 which is regarded as the basic event of conflict that developed in Kerala Christianity from the second half of 17th century. With the coming of European missionaries in Kerala quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in Malabar church. The Syrian Christian community before 16th century was only a small group who regarded Babylonian Patriarch as the head of their church and thus belonged to Persian church or East Syrian Church

During the greater part of the period of the study, the Syrian Christians were in contact with European missionaries. As is well known, the Portuguese enterprise in the East was both commercially and religiously motivated. The Jesuits, Fransiscans, Augustinians, Carmelites etc. played significant roles in

the conversion of Syrian Christians to Latin rite. The disciplinary decrees of the Synod of Diamper held during the close of sixteenth century was regarded as a milestone in the latinisation programme among the Syrian Christians of Kerala. Thus the whole of Syrians in Kerala successfully were brought in communion with Rome and cut off their connection with Babylonian Patriarch. Though the actions of Alexis Menezes, the Primate Archbishop of Goa, have been diversely judged, to most of his contemporaries who viewed him and his actions in the 16th century perspective, the Synod of Diamper seemed to be a glorious achievement, a great act of church union that had been carried with a minimum expense.²⁵ The contact with the Catholic missionaries from the West raised the standard of Christian instruction among the Syrian Christians to a great extent. It was also instrumental in removing some unwholesome practices and their social and spiritual life became disciplined considerably and for the first time they were brought under the Patronage of the King of Portugal. But these changes were not continued for a long period in a peaceful manner, because in course of time, dissensions began to surface.

After the Synod of Diamper, the ecclesiastical headquarters of the Syrian Catholics of the Diocese of Angamaly, was shifted to Cranganore. Their spiritual leadership was entrusted to the Jesuit Bishops like Roz, Britto

²⁵ Stephen Neill, *op. cit.*, p.147.

and Francis Garcia. Their authoritarian activities which led to Coonan Cross Revolt, are discussed in the 2nd chapter. The official attitude of the Portuguese under Roz and Britto was of sympathy but the attitude of Francis Garcia was always motivated by a sense of superiority and arrogance towards the Syrian Catholics. The Syrian Catholics felt that their religious freedom was suppressed and the position of their traditional leader Archdeacon was degraded and they regarded the Jesuit Bishops as following an ecclesiastical colonial policy. The tussle for power between the Archbishop and Archdeacon led to Coonan Cross Revolt in 1653 AD when they heard that an East Syrian Bishop namely Ahatalla who arrived secretly to govern them was drowned in the Arabian sea by the Portuguese. They gathered in indignation at the Coonan Cross in the church yard at Mattancheri and swore an oath to free themselves from the yoke of the Jesuits and not to accept the ecclesiastical authority of Goa. It was a period of great confusion in the Malabar church which marked the end of the unity of the Syrian Catholics.

By the middle of the 17th century the Portuguese monopoly in India was in full decline and was followed by the Dutch colonial domination. The Dutch seized the Portuguese settlements in India except Goa, Bassein, Daman and two isolated forts in Chaul and Diu.²⁶ But after the loss of most of her commerce to the Dutch, Portugal was no longer able to carry out her

²⁶ J. Wicki, *The Portuguese Padroado in India in the 16th century and St. Francis Xavier*, Rome, 1975, p.180.

missionary duties properly under *Padroado* obligations in Malabar church which remained vacant for 40 years continuously without a *Padroado* Bishop.

The third chapter deals with details related to the conciliatory measures adopted in the affairs of Malabar Church by new Pope Alexander VII who decided to send Discalced Carmelites directly from Rome through the newly formed missionary society called *Propaganda Fide*. They got permission from the Dutch government and entered Malabar region and brought back many of the churches and Syrian Catholics engulfed by the Schism as a result of Coonan Cross Revolt. Msgr. Joseph Sebastiani was appointed as first Vicar Apostolic of Malabar with his residence at Varappuzha, an island near Cochin. Thus the growth of Malabar Vicariate under *Propaganda* Bishops opened a new chapter in the history of Christianity in Kerala.

The conflict and problems of previous period continued during 18th century among Syrian Catholics due to the jurisdictional conflict between *Padroado* and *Propaganda* prelates known as 'double jurisdiction' when *Padroado* authorities appointed Fr. John Ribeiro as Bishop of Cranganore after a gap of 40 years. Archbishop Ribeiro administered the Syrian Catholics from Pukkotta or Puthenchira, near Trichur which was outside the Dutch territory. The conflict was mainly between the Carmelites and the Jesuits to whom respectively the Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar and Archepiscopate of Cranganore were entrusted. The result of this was nothing but chaos and

confusion which ultimately led the Syrian Catholics to demand the consecration of a native Syrian Catholic priest as their archbishop. They were satisfied when they heard the news of the appointment of Joseph Kariattil as the Archbishop of Cranganroe by *Padroado* authorities and Portuguese Queen Maria Francesca. But the sudden death of Kariattil at Goa shattered their dreams to obtain a native leader to rule over them. The untimely death of Kariattil and the negative attitude of *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* authorities to consecrate native leader as the archbishop of Syrian Catholics prompted them to turn towards Eastern Church which did not meet with success.

Pope Gregory XVI took the bold step of solving the problem of double jurisdiction by issuing the famous Bull *Multa Praeclare* on April 24, 1838 by which the *Padroado* rights of Portugal was suppressed. The *Padroado* reaction was followed by the followers of Goan Archbishop and this incident is known as *Indo Lusitanum Schism*.

The fourth chapter deals with the circumstance that led to the formation of Jacobitism in Kerala. Mar Gregorios, Bishop of Jerusalem sent by the Patriarch of Antioch, lawfully consecrated Marthoma I, the leader of the schismatic group of Syrian Catholics and his followers soon accepted him as their Bishop. Mar Gregorios diverted them slowly from Roman Catholic faith and from their previous Nestorian creed to West Syrian Jacobitism or

monophysitism and came to be known as *Puthenkoottukar*. They were led by Marthoma I and a long line of successors with the same title was continued who were belonged to the Pakalomattom family, and a step further claimed episcopal dignity as their right up to the first decade of the 19th century. An unbroken line of eight or nine Marthomas had occupied the See and the last few used a new episcopal title Mar Dionysius. From the mid 18th century the superiority of Pakalomattom family was questioned by other leading families of Malabar Jacobite community like Kattumangattu, Konattu, Pulikkottil, etc. which caused splits in the Jacobite church. A separate church called the Malabar Independent Syrian Church of Anjoor was established by Ramban Kurien of Kattumangattu family. He was consecrated as Mar Kurilose, secretly by Mar Gregorious, the Jacobite Bishop sent by the Patriarch of Antioch. Ittoop Kathanar of Pulikkottil family assumed the title Dionysius II, broke the sole episcopal line of succession of Pakalomattom family as a result of the 'divide and rule' policy followed by the Antiochean Patriarch. Konattu Malpan who belonged to Konattu family was the leader of conservative group of Jacobite church and he played a significant role in the history of troubles met by Jacobite Church in the 19th century, which led to a fresh split in the formation of Marthoma rite in Kerala. In this chapter an attempt is also made to analyse the effects of Antiochean colonialism over Jacobite church in Kerala which eventually caused a fresh split in the 20th century. In 1909 when the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch personally visited Kerala, he disposed

Mar Dionysius VI and consecrated Mar Cyril as metropolitan of the Jacobite church. The deposed Dionysius VI invited former Patriarch who declared him as 'Catholicos of the East' and thus freed himself from the control of the Patriarch of Antioch. This resulted in a major division among Jacobites, as 'Patriarch group' or 'Bava group' or 'Syrian orthodox group' and 'Metran group' or 'Orthodox Syrian group'.

The fifth chapter discusses the religious activities in Kerala under Anglican missionaries like CMS who viewed the pre-colonial Syrian church of Malabar had similar doctrines of Anglican church which enhanced their religious interest in Malabar Syrian Church. During that period the original Syrian features were more or less practiced by the Jacobites who were regarded as their friends. British Residents of Travancore and Cochin tried to recast the Jacobite church as it existed in the pre-Portuguese period in the mould of Protestant faith and customs. The Anglican mission successfully introduced marriage to the clergy and translated the scriptures into Malayalam, removed images from the churches and schools were opened in most of the Jacobite parishes which brought progress in the Jacobite church particularly during the Residency of colonel Munro in Travancore. A new crisis was developed between the Jacobite church and Anglican mission when Bishop Wilson suggested six points, with the backing of British colonialism, to implement in the Jacobite Church which was rejected by Dionysius IV. This event was followed by a new split under Abraham Malpan who

established a reformed sect which accepted the reformed Syrian liturgy and Malayam Bible and revised the form of the Holy 'Qurbana' and resulted in the formation of Marthoma Syrian Church.

The sixth chapter deals with the general conclusions on the vicissitudes of Kerala church under various colonial powers. Probably it is only in Kerala we could see several denominations and Christian rites emerged as a result of colonial domination, operating vigorously to maintain their separate identity by forgetting their Christian identity from which they claim the origins.

Sources

The exposition of the present study is based on (i) primary manuscript records (ii) the printed primary sources and (iii) general secondary works.

Manuscript Records

The primary manuscript sources and the printed primary works are discussed in accordance with the different European colonial powers like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, whose colonial policy was formulated and executed so as to influence the Malabar church whose members were traditional pepper growers.

(a) Portuguese period

Since most successful missionaries who contributed to the history of the period were members of different religious orders, a large proportion of

the relevant documents of the period are found in the central archival repositories of the concerned religious orders. The basic data for the study have been collected from various archives of Europe, the xerox copies of which were made available to me by my teacher. Many of these rich sources have been made more apparent and accessible in recent times by the publications of the records from *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Goa* (ARSI - Rome) and the Goa Historical Archives (Panjim) and from the photocopies of the documents with scholars worked in European Archival Centres.

Corresponding to Malabar church belonging to the province of Goa, ARSI, possess a series of volumes of *Historia* which are concerned about Cochin and its southern parts. The codices like Goa-Malabar Vols. 50-68 contain controversies between Jesuit Bishops and Archdeacons. The volume refers to the political turmoil of Malabar with wars among various kingdoms and civil wars in the kingdom of Cochin. Vol. 68 contain reference to Coonam Cross Oath and details about the reconciliation arrived at between Malabar Syrians and Catholic missionaries under *Propaganda Fide*.

Valuable source materials including photocopies of original documents from Vatican Archives are preserved in the Xavier Centre of Historical Research at Alto Parvorim and Central Library of Goa at Panjim. Correspondence of missionaries, letters from the factories of different regions,

letters of the Rajas of Cochin, etc. are documented under different categories preserved at these archival repositories are consulted for this study. A few records of *Livros das Moncoes* belonged to the Historical Archives of Goa (Panjim) are also examined for the present study. *Congregações* which have 24 books provide valuable information regarding various congregations of missionaries worked in Malabar church during the period.

Jesuitas contain 46 books pertaining to Jesuits alone cover the period from 1664 to 1806. Very few records related with inquisition are found in the category of *Inquisicao*. *Missões* (Missions) consisted of the documents on the converts, accounts and terms of oath of the missionaries in Malabar. *Acordãose Assentoes da Camara de Goa* (Resolutions and Records of the Meetings of the Municipal Council of Goa) consists of 4 Manuscript volumes on Malabar of the period 1759-60 referring to missionary activities.

A few relevant copies of letters and documents of Jesuit missionaries preserved in the Jesuit Archives, and *Propaganda* Archives, Rome are consulted as they are made available to me from the personal library of my supervising teacher.

The archives of the Madurai Province of the Society of Jesus housed in the Sacred Heart College (Shembaganur), Kodainakal, possess three typed volumes of unpublished sources entitled *Letters and Documents of the Syrian Christians*. These letters are written between 1582 and 1738 by the Jesuit

Missionaries who were working in Kerala. These letters are translated into English by eminent scholars and preserved as such.

A few documents related to *Padroado - Propaganda* conflict are kept in Diocesan archives at Cochin. The archives of the C.M.I. Monasteries at Mannanam, Kunammavu, Chethipuzha and Ambazhakkad and Carmelite Archives of Manjummel and Veropoly Archdiocese deserve special mention. The copy of the original version of the meorandum submitted by Syrian Christians to the Portuguese Viceroy, kept in the Ambrosian Library at Milan is also consulted.

(b) Dutch Period

There are voluminous source materials kept in the Tamilnadu State Archives related with Dutch enterprise in India. The government of Madras made printed list of these records in English as *Resolutions, Letters from Batavia, Translations of Letters from Native Princes* etc. *Album of Dutch Records 1704 to 1805 A.D.*, contain certain letters written by Dutch East India Company's authorities in Batavia to the rulers of Kerala on different occasions. *Records in Oriental Languages, Cochin State*, Book-II contain letters of Raja of Cochin to Batavia reveal the attitude of Cochin Rajas towards the Dutch Company on different issues. The 2nd part of *Selections* deals with the memories of the Dutch officials like Van Rhee de and Adrian Moens. Van Rhee de's *Memoir* written in the year 1677 AD contains the

reference to Dutch East India Company's agreement with local rulers of Quilon, Karthikapally, Purakkad, etc. Memoirs of Dutch governors carry the activities of Dutch company from 1677 to 1795.

Photostat copies of *Travancore Letters gathered from Dutch Records* are kept in the State Archives of Trivandrum. The translation of the Record – *Grandhavari* in Trivandrum archives refers that the Dutch extended their support to the Mutha Tavazhi branch in the disputed succession to the throne of Cochin which strengthened them to assault the Portuguese in Cochin.

In the Regional Archives, Ernakulam many Dutch Records like D.64, *Album of Dutch Records from 1704-1805 A.D.* are kept. These records are very helpful to know about the friendly attitude of the Dutch officials towards Catholic Syrians and Jacobite Syrians. This policy was mainly to consolidate and extend its power enforcing monopoly to pepper trade in Kerala. Many of the records now in the Tamilnadu Archives are those listed at Cochin in 1795 but they were transferred from Cochin Archives to Tamilnadu Archives when Cochin was captured by the Britishers in 1795.

(c) British Period

There are number of manuscript records belonged to the British period kept in the government Archives of Tamilnadu. The decision of the English East India Company to appoint a political Resident in Travancore on the basis of the minutes of Madras Council is maintained the despatches of the Political

Department dated 26th April, 1793. The reference about the perpetual alliance concluded between Raja of Travancore and English East India Company is found in the record of the *Political Despatches from England* dated 17th November, 1795. An extract of Anjengo Diary from minutes of Council in the Political Department on 10th May 1797 carries references related to political and commercial contacts. The private letter from Col. Macaulay, First Resident in Travancore, on 10th March 1806 refers his suggestion to send Dr. Kerr, Senior Chaplain of English East India Company to the visitation of Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar. The *Political Despatches from England* dated 29th September, 1809 give us details about the subsidiary alliance signed with Travancore and Cochin. *Military Proceedings of Travancore Military* dated 5th June 1812 refers how the revolt of Velu Thambi and Paliath Achan was suppressed. The miscellaneous record included Col. Munro's Report to government related to the administrative reforms in Travancore and Cochin.

Few records are found in the State Archives at Trivandrum. *A Report on the Affairs in Travancore* by Col. Munro dated 25.10.1814 is preserved there. Royal letters of 986-987 M.E. (1811-1812) belonged to No. 264 also give us details of Travancore and Cochin during the period of Col. Munro. Photostat copy of records recently acquired by State Archives from India Office Library, London, No.5256, on 25th October 1814, Ref. IOR.F/317/76 bears testimony to the social life of the people of Travancore.

Relevant records concerning the work of Anglican missionaries are consulted at the archives of United Theological College, Bangalore. The activities of Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East are systematically arranged and published in the form of *Proceedings of C.M.S.* and *Missionary Registers* annually from 1815 to 1832, are referred for this study.

The archives and libraries of Orthodox Theological Seminary and Marthoma Theological Seminary at Kottayam are valuable repositories of documents related to this work. The Library of Kerala History Association, Ernakulam, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum, Bishop Brown's Collections in Kannammoola also were consulted for this study.

Printed Primary Sources

(a) Portuguese period

The bulk of source materials found in various European Archives related with Oriental Churches are edited and published by many European authors mainly in 19th and 20th centuries. Goa, the administrative centre of Portuguese India, holds in its archives considerable source materials. Many of them were edited and published at different intervals enriching the Indo Portuguese historiography.

Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese official who served in Malabar from 1500 to 1516. He left an account of Malabar Society, *The Book of Duarte*

Barbosa: An Account of the Counties Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants, was completed about the year 1518 A.D. It was translated into English and edited by M.L. Dames in 2 Vols. and published in 1918 from London. It is virtually a mine of information about sixteenth century Malabar. Ludovico de Varthema, an Italian traveller who was in India from 1504 to 1508, left his travel account as *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserts and Arabia Felix in Persia, India and Ethiopia AD 1503-08*. It was translated into English and edited by J.W. Jones and G.P. Badger at London in 1863. He observes large number of Christians at Kayamkulam who were known widely as producers of pepper.

One of the most important contemporary work of Portuguese period is *Jornada* compiled by Antonio de Gouvea based on the notes taken by Archbishop Alexis de Menzes during the period of 'Synod of Diamper'. It was first published in Portuguese in 1606. The English translation of *Jornada* was rendered by Pius Malekandathil and published from Cochin in 2003. It is a valuable Portuguese account on religious and political situations of the 16th century Malabar.

The facicule VI of *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, (1857-1876) prepared under J.H. da Cunha Rivara's direction make available to us many original documents, mostly coming from the Goa archives.

The first and second volumes and Appendix of first volume of *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum* edited by Levy Maria Jordao and Pavia Manso between the years 1868 and 1872 are indispensable for the history of the period of the present study on the Padraodo and its prelates. The two volumes of C.C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, first published in the year 1894 are of great use for the present study.

In 1944-45 G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki jointly edited *Epistolae S. Francis Xaverii aliaque eius Scripta* in 2 Vols. A. da Silva Rego and J. Wicki have given us their monumental series of published documentation entitled *Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padraodo Portuguêz no India* in 12 Vols. (1947-58) and *Documenta Indica* in 14 Vols. (19480-79) respectively. J. Wicki has made available to us almost all jesuit documents on India. Silva Rego's *Documentacao* covers the period from 1499 to 1580 but we get considerable amount of information regarding later years also.

Achilles Meersman published some Franciscan documents in his work, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India*, (1971). A Meersman's many articles like, "Notes concerning the Ancient Residence of Cranganore and Cochin Bishops" in *Indian Church History Review* and many other articles by the author are significant for understanding the missionary work in 17th and 18th century.

(b) Dutch Period

Linschoten was a Dutch traveller who visited Malabar in the last decade of 16th century. He left Holland when about 13 years of age and aided his brother in their business enterprise in Spain and Portugal upto about 1583. After which he and his brother set out for India. He was fluent in Portuguese and Spanish languages. He appears to have used the official Jesuit accounts and some points of his narrative resembles that of Caesar Frederick. 1st volume of his work was translated into English in 1598 by William Philip containing Linschotten's description of East including Malabarm, published in London by John Wolfe as, *The Voyages and Travels of John Huyghen Van Linschoten: His discourse of the Voyages into ye East Indies*. It is a free translation having some translator's interpolations, but it is accurate and has formed the basis of the Burnell and Tiele edition of 1885. It remains as one of the important sources for the last decade of 16th century India.

Baldeus, the Dutch protestant chaplain who followed the Dutch troops, has left an eyewitness report of his experiences in Cochin and it was published at Amsterdam in 1672 entitled as *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East India Coast of Malabar and Choromandel*. His account is translated into English by A.J. Churchill as *Voyages and Travels into Brazil and East Indies* published at London in 1732.

Jacob Canter Visscher, the Dutch Chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1723 refers to the churches of Malabar. He observed that the smaller church at Kottayam was shared both by Romo Syrians and Jacobite Syrians. Visscher, in his 16th letter gives an account of the Syrin Christians and includes a vivid picture of the Bishops of both sides whom he had encountered. Visscher's letters contain a series of 27 letters. It was published by his brother after Visscher's death in 1736. They were translated into English by major Drury at Madras in 1862. The author's observations are valuable to understand the social conditions of 18th century Malabar.

Father Guiseppe di Santa Maria alias Monsignor Joseph Sebastiani, was the first Apsotolic Vicar of Malabar, directed by *Propaganda Fide* from Rome to pacify the Syrian Catholics who revolted in 1653 against the Jesuit Archbishop Garcia of Cranganore. Msgr. Sebastiani has recorded his experiences in Malabar. His first and second accounts of the journey in 1657-58 and 1660-63 are printed at Rome in Latin in 1666 and 1672 AD respectively. As a contemporary writer he described the two sieges of Cochin by Dutch and gives many particulars regarding the Syrian Christians.

India Orientalis Christiana (1794) by the Austrian Carmelite Missionary, Paulinus of St. Bartholomaeo deals with the history of Christianity in India especially of 17th and 18th century. Paulinus was the Vicar general in the Apostolic Vicariate of Verapoly from 1776-89. He has

collected a number of original documents related to the church history of Malabar and made use of while writing his treatise on Malabar. The Malayalam translations of this valuable historical work was rendered by John Pallath O.C.D. entitled as *Paurasthya Bharatathile Christumatham* and was published from Kalamassery in 1988.

Paulinos also wrote another historical work *Viaggioalle Indie Orientali* (Roma, 1796), translated into English by William Johnston, *A Voyage to the East Indies* and published at London in the year 1800. The *voyage* is actually much more than a mere description of his journeys. He describes generally about the social conditions in South India, above all Kerala in great detail.

The "Memorandum" of Van Gollenesse, the Dutch commander of Malabar from 1735 to 1743, was translated and published in Madras in 1911 by A. Galletti and A.J. Van der Burg, under the title *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records No.13, The Dutch in Malabar*. This is an account of the Dutch officials of Malabar from the year 1743 to 1795. Adrian Moen's memoir refers to the general conditions of Christians in Malabar. It is also useful in understanding the involvement of the Dutch in the ecclesiastical establishment in Kerala and about the different sects of Christian community in Malabar.

The travel account composed by Fr. Thomas Paremakal in Malayalam entitled as *Varthamanapusthakam* contains lot of information regarding the

affairs of the church in Malabar. He provides the details of his journey to Rome along with Joseph Kariattil and the return journey via Portugal towards the close of 18th century.

Fr. Ferroli, S.J., left a valuable source of information related with the ecclesiastical events of 17th and 18th centuries in his *Jesuits in Malabar*, in two volumes. They contain a mine of information as he had access to all the jesuit sources. It draws its information mostly from annual letters of the Jesuits and a few private letters. It is an honest attempt to describe the chequered history of the Jesuits in Malabar, though, however, often lacks the critical estimate of Jesuit sources.

(c) British Period

There exists enormous source materials concerning the 19th century related to the British period. The narratives of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) describe the state of Jacobite Church of Malabar in the nineteenth century as viewed through Anglican missionary eye. From their first expressions of concern for an ancient but "degenerate" church we see in these accounts a growing desire for reform in Jacobite Syrian church. Following Anglican ecclesiastical intervention, the Jacobite Syrians were to enter a period of internal dissention which would continue for more than a century and a half. The first set of CMS narratives consists of letters and reports of the missionaries, these being personal statements made public, and published in

the CMS records and proceedings from 1816 to 1856.²⁷ The second level of discourse consists of the oral depositions of witnesses (recorded by scribes in the court cases of 1879 and 1886). The Jacobite Syrians took their quarrels born out of Syrian confrontation with Anglican Theological influences to the ends. (*Judgments, Royal Court of Final Appeal – I II*, ME 1061/1886 AD, Trivandrum, 1890).

Europeans were familiar about the existence of an ancient Malabar church from the writings of Michael Geddes, a chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon in 1678 who had published his work *History of the Church of Malabar*, London in 1694. Geddes never went to India, but drew his information from the Portuguese writer, Gouveau's *Jornada*. Geddes depicts the Syrian church on the Malabar coast as a church of primitive purity, corrupted by contact with Roman Catholics. He also observes the similarities of the Anglican church with the ancient church of Malabar which generally created curiosity among the Anglican missionaries.

Claudius Buchanan, Provost of Fort William College, Calcutta, visited Malabar in the year 1806 and published his *Christian Researches in Asia* at London in the year 1811. It deals with his experiences among Jacobite

²⁷ *Proceedings*, Church Missionary Society, London, 1822-3, 1823-4, 1823-5; 1938-9, 1939-40; 1846-7. *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, 1825-6; *Missionary Register*, London, 1816; 1822, 1823, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1847; *Madras Church Missionary Record*, London, 1836. *Christian Mission Intelligences*, London, 1856.

Syrians. He also observes the resemblance of Pre-Portuguese Malabar church with Anglican church. In the same year Dr. Kerr, the senior chaplain of East India Company at Madras visited Jacobites in Malabar and his report was also published by C. Buchanan in his *Christian Researches in Asia*. Dr. Kerr held the same view about the Jacobite Church. Colonel Digby Mackworth visited Malabar while he was on a tour through South India in the year 1821 and 1822 has left an account of his travel in *Diary of a Tour Through South India, Egypt and Palestine in 1821 and 1822*. It was published at London in 1825. He observes the condition of Jacobite Christians after the departure of Colonel Munro, the resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1819. Anglican Bishop John Tucker, the Secretary of C.M.S. reported the general state of depression among Anglican missionaries when the Jacobite church dissolved their connection with Anglican church, in his *South Indian Mission*, published at London in 1835. It is a contemporary record to know about the circumstances in which pure Anglican evangelism in Central Travancore was evolved.

James Hough gives the details of the two visits of Anglican Bishop, Middleton in Travancore in the year 1820 and 1821 and his interview with Bishop Dionysius III. His extensive work, *History of Christianity in India* in 4 Vols. published at London in 1839.

W.S. Hunt is a scholar who took deep interest in the rise of Anglican church in Travancore and Cochin. His work, *The Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin 1816-1916* (Kottayam, 1920) covers the history of Anglican church for a period of 100 years.

The British period is splendidly documented by late Judge P. Cheriyan, who published, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1840* at Kottayam in 1935. Many relevant documents are printed in full as appendices to his volume.

Historiography

It seems pertinent to review the previous works related to the subject under study. Even though many general works on Malabar church are produced by various scholars, only a few deal with the impact of western culture on Malabar church. Though historiography of the Christian religious history of Malabar has become moderately rich due to the contribution of both Indian and foreign scholars, adequate attention on the western impact on native Syrian community of Kerala, especially during the Dutch and the English period is not adequately attempted.

The native scholars of the 19th century who wrote on Kerala History were preoccupied with political history. Shangunny Menon in the 19th century published *History of Travancore* in 1878. *The Travancore State Manual* by Nagam Aiya in 1911 and T.K. Velupillai in 1940 and C. Achutha Menon,

compiled *Cochin State Manual* (1911), added much to the general historiography of respective regions, but failed to deal with social contradictions and religious intricacies as a separate aspect.

The first native historian who grasped the importance of the social aspects was K.P. Padmanabha Menon. His *History of Cochin* (1914), deals in detail, the socio-economic and political aspects of the region from the beginning to the end of 19th century. Menon's *History of Kerala* gives a new perspective to the historiography of modern Kerala. The work is based on a bunch of letters written by Visscher, the Dutch chaplain of 18th century. In the first volume, the author has dealt in detail about the major trading communities like Jews, Christians and Muslims.

There are a large number of historians, solely concentrated on the development of Malabar church. One of the significant general work on the Syrian Christians of Malabar was written by T. Whitehouse, a missionary who belonged to Church Missionary Society. In his work *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land being Researches in to the Past History and the Present Conditions of the Syrian Church of Malabar*, published at London in 1873, he took much pain to translate the original documents, particularly the statements on history written by Indian Christians during the period 1770-1787. But in certain areas his interpretations are somewhat tendentious and are not historiactly dependable.

G.T. Meckenzie, the British Resident in Travancore collected original documents related to the 18th century Malabar Church and gave a general evolution of Christianity in Travancore in his work *History of Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1905).

Another important work is *The Early Spread of Christianity in India* by A. Mingana published at Manchester in the 1926. He explored many Syrian documents for information about the earliest days of the Indian church. E.M. Philip's, *Indian Church of St. Thomas* was published from Nagercoil in 1950. It is based on Syriac documents and followed a historical approach in writing the history of Syrian Christians.

Bishop Leslie Brown presents a balanced account of Syrian Christians and their beliefs. His book, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* was published from Cambridge in 1956. It is a very relevant work related to the study of Christianity in Kerala. He narrated the events of Malabar church from 16th century to 19th century. The first part of this book deals with the difficulties, quarrels and schisms prevalent among the Syrian Christians. The second part is concerned with the social life and customs of the Syrian Christians. The third part refers the worship, faith and liturgy of the Syrian church.

Cardinal E. Tissertant is considered as one of the foremost scholar of Eastern Christianity who published the work *Eastern Christianity in India* in

French language which was adapted, abridged and translated by E.R. Hambye into English, published in London in the year 1957. It is a standard work based on original source materials, deals with the general history of Syrian Christians from the beginning to the modern period. The original text is more valuable than the abridged version.

Similarly Msgr. Gregorio Magno Antao, former Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman brought out a number of documents related to the Synod of Diamper and established the validity of the Synod convened by Archbishop Alexis de Menezes through his well known work, *De Synodi Diamperitaneae Natura atque Decretis* (at the Pontifical Gregorian University, Roma, in 1938).

Jonas Thaliath took great pains to collect much of the original documents related with Synod of Diamper. He made a critical evaluation of the Synod in his work *Synod of Diamper*, published at Rome in the year 1958.

V.C. George published two works related to Malabar church. *The Syro Chaldean Church in Malabar* (Ernamkulam, 1964) and *The Church of India Before and After the Synod of Diamper* (Alleppey, 1997). Both these works dealt with the general history of Malabar Church in a narrative style.

C.B. Firth's, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, Madras, 1968, deals with the history of Malabar church from its origin upto the modern period. He made a general comparison between Eastern and Western church.

Placid J. Podipara is the historian of Syrian Catholics. There are several publications on the Syrian Christians by him. *The Hierarchy of Syro Malabar Church* (Alleppey, 1976) by him is an important for the period of our study. He refers specially, the conflicts emerged in the Malabar church during the 17th century. He doubts about the validity of Synod of Diamper and made an attack on the policies of Alexis de Menezes. He translated the travel account of Thomas Paramakkal, *Varthamanapusthakam* into English from Malayalam language, at Rome in 1971.

Joseph Thekkedath, the noted church historian in his doctoral dissertation published with the title, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J. Archbishop of Travancore 1649-1659*, at Rome in 1972, gives us an insight into various factors that led to the revolt of 1653. Thekkedath's *History of Christianity in India from the Middle of Sixteenth to the end of 17th century 1542-1700* was published at Bangalore in 1988 deals with the period from the arrival of S.T. Francis Xavier to the diversification and missionary efforts through the arrival missionaries from the West. It is a valuable reference work for the history of Christianity in India. One of the notable scholar of our study period is L.M. Pylee who published an important work entitled, *St. Thomas Christians and the Archdiocese of Verapoly* (Ernamkulam, 1977). It is a general work on Malabar Church but be concentrated on the activities of Carmelite Mission.

More penetrating study on the Carmelite Mission was presented by V.A. Pascal in his *The Latin and Syrian Hierarchies of Malabar* (Ernamkulam, 1938).

Mathias Mundadan, a renowned church historian wrote a general history of Christianity in the sixteenth century. This volume with the title *The History of Christianity in India upto the Middle of Sixteenth Century* is a detailed account of Syrian Christians. It was published at Bangalore in the year 1984. His other important published works are, *The Arrival of Portuguese in India and the Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob 1498-1552* (Bangalore, 1967); *Sixteenth Century Traditions of St. Thomas Christians* (Bangalore, 1970) and *Indian Christian's Search for Identity and Struggle for Autonomy* (Bangalore, 1970).

Jacob Kollaparambil is another scholar who had done extensive work on the history of Malabar Church during the 17th century. His two scholarly works relevant to the period of our study are *The Archdeacon of All India* (Rome, 1972) and *The St. Thomas Christians Revolution in 1653* (Kottayam, 1981). These two works are helpful to get deep insight into the conflicts in Malabar church in the 17th century.

There are many scholars who took great interest in Malabar church during the last phase of 20th century. Thomas Pallippurathukunnel, wrote *The Double Regime in the Malabar Church, 1663-1716* (Alwaye, 1982) observes

the difficulties and confusion of double jurisdiction in Malabar church. Stephen Neil's *History of Christianity in India* (Cambridge, 1984) is a general history of Malabar church from the period of its origin to 19th century. Xavier Koodapuzha, like his predecessors, compiled a general work, *Christianity in India* (Kottayam, 1982) and another one *Faith and Communion of Indian Church of St. Thomas Christians* (Kottayam, 1982). M.K. Kuriakose's, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials* (Madras, 1982) is a different type in which he took keen interest to throw light on source materials of church history. His annotated bibliography of the sources are very useful to the students of church history. Andrews Thazhath took interest to analyse *The Juridical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church, A Historico-Juridical Study* (Kottayam, 1987), James Abraham Puliurumbil's *A Period of Conflict in the Suriani Church of India 1800-1838* (Kottayam, 1994) is a work for a short span of period gives a detailed account about the events related to the suppression of *Padraodo* in Malabar. Abraham Pathiyil, wrote a general history of Malabar Church titled as *Christianity in Kerala* (Kottayam, 2000). Francis Thonippara, published, *Saint Thomas Christians of India: A Period of Struggle for Unity and Self Rule, 1775-1787* (Bangalore, 1999) narrated the events of Propaganda-*Padraodo* conflict for a short period. Joseph Perumthottam's, *A Period of Decline of the Marthoma Christians 1712-1752* (Kottayam, 1994) dealt with the confusions and conflicts of

Double Jurisdiction of Propaganda – Padraodo on Malabar church for a period of 40 years.

K.J. John's *The Road to Diamper* is an excellent work to give us a general background for this study. He establishes the validity of the Synod of Diamper and its impact on the Kerala church. The edited volume, *The Christian Heritage of Kerala* by the same author, published from Cochin in 1981 is a well-known publication on the legacy of Kerala Christians. Scaria Zacharia published the work, *The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper* (Edamattom, 1994). It is a reprint of the Decrees of Synod of Diamper published by Michael Geddes with an introduction.

European intervention in Kerala especially the Portuguese and the Dutch was discussed by K.M. Panikkar, first under the title *Malabar and the Portuguese* (Bombay, 1929) and another entitled, *Malabar and the Dutch* (Bombay, 1931) which are later incorporated into *A History of Kerala 1498-1801* (Annamalai Nagar, 1960). Later on his famous work *Asia and Western Dominance* (London, 1953) analyses the aspects and impact of western colonial powers.

T.I. Poonen's *Dutch Hegemony in Malabar and Its Collapse*, Trivandrum, 1978 is a standard work and Appendix-I of this book (pp.200-219) contains some details about Christians in Malabar in Dutch times extracted from Dutch records. It is a valuable source of information to trace

the conflicts and confusions among the Christians of 18th century. Another book by T.I. Poonen, *The Rise of Dutch Power in Malabar* also throws light on the events of 18th century.

Many scholars from the Jacobite church published details about Jacobitism in Malabar. A considerable number of them are in Malayalam. V.C. Samuel who wrote several volumes related to Jacobite church in Malabar, tried to trace the origin of Jacobitism to an earlier period. He does not accept the date of the arrival of Mar Gregorios in 1665, as the beginning of Jacobitism in Malabar.

P.V. Mathew who wrote the work, *Keralathile Nazrani Christyanikal*, 1653-1877 (Ernamkulam, 1993) is an extensive work which contains the details of different orthodox churches under their respective Bishops.

P. Ittoop's, *Suriani Christyanikalute Sabhacharithram* (Kottayam, 1906) was compiled on the basis of many original sources, later on followed by many authors as their model work.

C.M. Agur's *Church History of Travancore* (Madras, 1902) is an extensive work on Malabar church. It is originally intended as biographical sketches of pioneer missionaries but later have modified and extended as to trace the history of the Christianity from its origin in Travancore. There are three parts which comprise the history of Syrian, Roman and Protestant rites in Travancore.

M.E. Gibbs, notable scholar deals with the general growth of Anglicanism in Malabar through his work, *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (New Delhi, 1972). It is a very elaborate work based on the original documents and is confined only to the Anglican church.

J.W. Gladstone's *Protestant Christianity and People's Movements in Kerala* (Trivandrum, 1984) is also a very useful work which refers to Anglican missionaries and their activities by which social changes took place in Travancore.

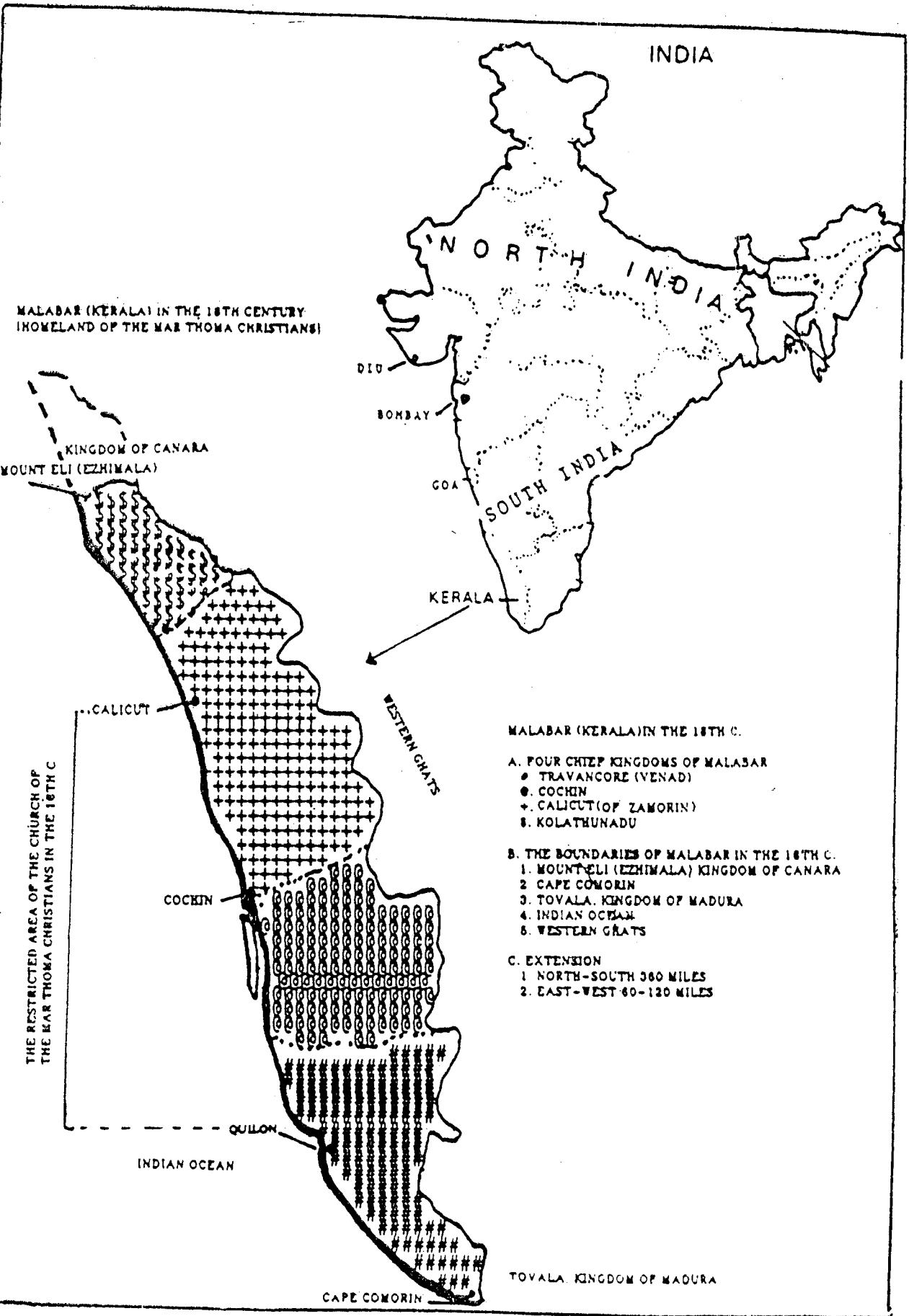
Francis Day followed a sociological approach in his work *The Land of Perumals of Cochin* (Madras, 1863), refers about Syrian Christians of Cochin area. It contains a lot of information about the significant events developed in Malabar church due to the influence of Western colonial powers, especially the Dutch.

L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer undertook an anthropological analysis on the social history of Syrian Christians in his work *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians* published at Cochin in the year 1926. It deals with Catholic Syrians of Cochin State, contains a lot of facts related with the general customs and beliefs. He also mentions the songs of marriage ceremonies which are translated into English. But some facts are not accurate, especially the comments on the religious significance of acts of prayers and worship.

K.V. Eapen highlighted the impact of British missionaries in the field of education. His work, *C.M.S. and Education in Kerala* (Kottayam, 1985), gives details of educational progress during the period of C.M.S. missionaries which transformed the culture of the people of Cochin and Travancore area.

Recently scholars like K.S. Mathew, Pius Malekandathil, Teotonio R. de Souza, etc. are working on the original documents especially related to Indo Portuguese contacts. They made a joint venture in editing and publishing *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800* (Tellicherry, 2001). Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed edited another work, *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads 1500-1800* (Tellicherry, 2001) is also very useful to get new aspects of European expansion in India.

In general the earlier works which came to light before the first half of the twentieth century are valuable records that throw light on various events related to the growth of Christianity in Kerala. But a close examination of these works show that most of them are descriptive in nature but not analytical. It is a fact that most of these works are sectarian. It is also noticeable that many of the works are written from sectarian religious point of view. The authors proved to be propagandists rather than historians. Their exaggerated and coloured views could not be taken as real historical facts. Therefore a fresh analytical probe is necessary for comprehending the



Continuous rain and warm climate, together with the varying attitudes, have created a flora of great variety. The wonderful medicinal properties of the herbs and roots are evident from the *Hortus Malabaricus*.³⁰ Kerala has been famous as the land of spices. The cultivation of spices and other cash crops have been testified by both indigenous and foreign writers. European traveller Marcopolo gives details of pepper cultivation of the Malabar coast.³¹ When Portuguese discovered a new, faster and more efficient sea route opened a new phase in the history of maritime trade. It exhibits an interim phase in which there were frequent clashes between the old world system and the emerging new world system. In the old world system, whose trade routes terminated in the Mediterranean and new world system related in the Atlantic centred made the Portuguese to enter the hinterland of Malabar and move from centres of exchange to centres of spice production, which finally resulted in the grafting of the institutions of new World System on the remnants of the old world system in Kerala.³²

Malabar had regular contacts with the outside world which perhaps has been one of the major reasons for the strong roots Christianity has taken

³⁰ The monumental work on the medicinal plants of Kerala compiled under the patronage of the Dutch in Malabar and published from Amsterdam between 1678 and 1703 in 12 Vols.

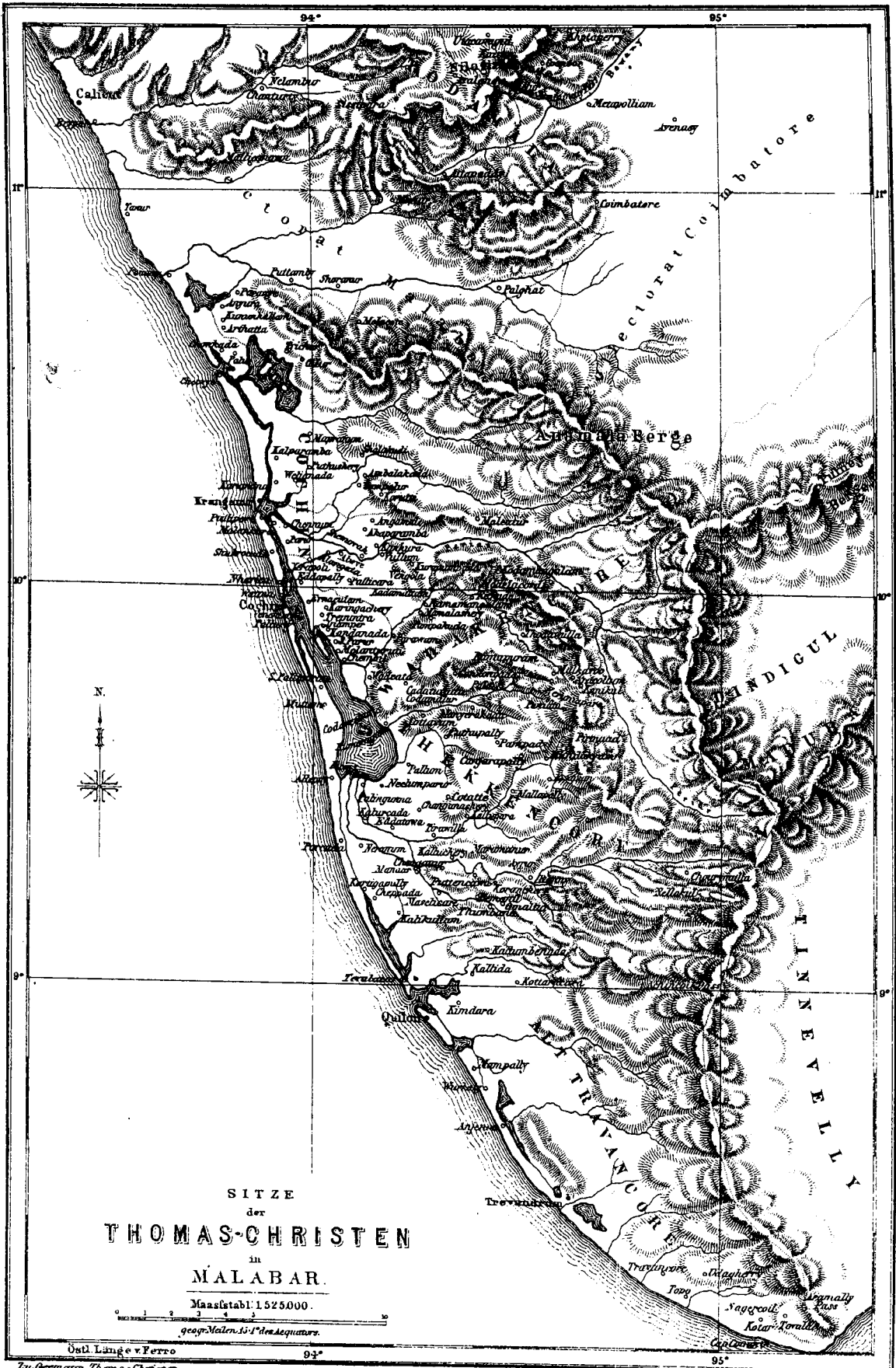
³¹ H Yule, ed., *Travels of Marco Polo*, London, 1913, pp. 363-64

³² For details about World System that emerged following the Geographical Discoveries see Immanuel Wallerstein *The Modern World System : Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy, 1600-1750*, New York, 1980.

along the Malabar coast. Successive foreign visitors, with the possible exception of the Dutch, have, had considerable influence on the life of the Malabar Church, and outside contact has been too regular and sustained for thought and worship with distinctive Malabar form.

Methodology

The Methodology used here is partly descriptive and partly analytical. An analytical exposition of the themes and events in chronological order, is followed throughout to avoid confusions and complications. The complex nature and the contrary reports of some events made it very difficult to find a continuity of events and in clearing up the facts. The opposing views and self justifying arguments with regard to controversial issues by persons of diverse groups made it necessary to follow the method of convergence of sources. The personal interests, conflicting ideas and enmity to the opposing group mingled with the facts sometimes rendered an impartial consideration of the events difficult. Historical and sociological approaches have also been made use of. This is mainly for arriving at conclusions with regard to the evaluation of the evolution of different Christian denominations in Kerala.



Vu. Germann, Thomas Christen.

Geogr. Anst. von Veitinger u. Klarow, Leipzig.

Thomaschristian Centers in the XVI-XVII centuries.
 Reproduced from W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Kirchen*, Gütersloh 1877.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROAD TO COONAN CROSS REVOLT

The first half of the 17th century witnessed constitutional conflicts with different dimensions and momenta between the Archdeacon¹ and the Portuguese Archbishop belonging the Jesuit order, which finally exploded in 1653, turned out to be one of the most important events in the history of the church in Kerala. The beginning of the discontent can be traced back at least up to the synod of the Diamper in 1599. Archbishop Alexis Menezes of Goa, secured the submission of the Malabar church to Rome, but the life of the church could not suddenly be transformed and assimilated into the "Roman Pattern". After the synod of Diamper, the basic question to be decided upon was "where in the Malabar church supremacy resides"?². The core of the issue between the Archdeacon and the Archbishop seems to have been this; who would govern the Malabar church, the Archbishop or the Archdeacon? There can be no doubt about the fact that the tone of the 17th century was set by

¹ The Archdeacon was the head of the Syrian Christians of Kerala. The Padiyola document (public document written on plam leaves) of 1509 which was in the possession of Pothanikat family at Kothamangalam, refers Archdeacons as *Jathikku Karthiavian* or *Arkadiyokkon*, as he was known in Malayalam, means one who is the lord or one responsible for the community. Placid J. Podipara, the *Hierarchy of the Syro Malabar Church*, Alleppey, 1976, p.105, see also Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of all India*, Rome, 1972, p.80, Msgr. Angelus Francis spoke of him as, "The prince of all the Syrian Christians". In accordance with the law of oriental churches, Archdeacons had always governed the Syrian Christians in all matters except those liturgical functions which were reserved for Bishops.

² L.W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of Syrian*, Cambridge 1982, p. 93.

the Synod of Diamper, which reduced the authority of the Archdeacon and introduced monarchical episcopacy as existed in the Western Church which they enjoyed traditionally. Portuguese Archbishops, who had tried to circumscribe the Archdeacon's powers and privileges, met with opposition and this resulted in repeated quarrels and reconciliation between the Archdeacon and the Jesuit Archbishops.

Before leaving Malabar after the conclusion of Synod of Diamper, Menezes appointed the Archdeacon as Administrator of Syrian Christians and he was given two helpers, Fr. Francis Roz and Fr. Stephen Britto, without whose consent he could not take any important decision.³ While in Goa Menezes got reports from Malabar that all was going well there and that the Archdeacon was loyally playing his part in carrying out the decisions of the Synod of Diamper, but there could be no security until a strong bishop was in power. Various proposals had been sent to Rome for appointing a bishop for Syrian Christians.⁴

By a Brief dated 20th December 1599, Pope Clement VIII appointed Francis Roz (Rodriguez) S.J, the Rector of Vaipicotta Seminary, nominated by King Philip of Spain and Portugal, as Bishop of Angamaly. He was

³ Shembaganur Archives of The Madurai Province of the Jesuits, "*The Letters and Documents on the Syrian Christians*". Vol.I, pp. 17-18 (Hereafter referred to as LDSC).

⁴ L.W.Brown, *op.cit* , p.92.

consecrated by Archbishop Alexis de Menezes on 25th January, 1601 and was accepted and received solemnly by the Syrian Christians in May 1601.⁵ The new Bishop was a Spaniard by birth, a multi linguist and highly proficient in Syriac and Malayalam. He was well qualified for his new work. He was pious and industrious and it was he who expunged or corrected the errors in the Syriac Missal or Taksa.⁶ He pressed on with the preparation and printing of Syriac translations of various service books of the Roman rite, as soon as he could set out on a visitation of his diocese. He travelled, as Menezes had done, the length and breadth of the region and everywhere celebrated the Catholic sacraments, settled quarrels and persuaded people to give up heathen customs⁷. At Karingachaira he settled a dispute between the *northist* and the *southist*⁸ parties among the Christians, which had led to fighting and arson⁹.

⁵ Andrews Thezhath, *The Juridical source of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Kottayam, 1987, p. 151. Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Syrian Christians Revolution in 1653*, Kottayam, 1981. p. 40. also see D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol.I, Bangalore, 1939, p.292.

⁶ L.M. Pylee, *St. Thomas Christians and the Archdiocese of Verapoly*, Ernamkulam, 1977,, p. 48.

⁷ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.* p. 93.

⁸ The Syrian Christians are made up of two distinct groups called *northists* and *southists* because their ancestors lived separately in the southern and northern streets of Cranganore. Southists, representing the present day Knanaa community and Northists, representing the present day all other Syrian Christians. They both use the same rituals and acknowledge the same spiritual heads but they do not intermarry. For details see K.J. John *The Road to Diamper*, Cochin, 1999, pp. 13-14.

⁹ D. Ferroli, *op.cit.*, pp. 295-301. Also see Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.II, Bangalore, 1982, p. 76.

Pope Clement VIII, reduced the Archdiocese of Angamaly to a diocese Saffragan to Goa and in the patronage of the King of Portugal to bring it under *Padroado* jurisdiction.¹⁰ When the news of the lowering of the status of their church became known to the clergy and the people, there was great consternation and anger. Bishop Roz himself knew of the discontent of the Syrian Christians over the new arrangements.¹¹ Both Bishop Roz and Archdeacon George of the Cross worked hard unitedly, sending petition after petition to Rome, requesting the restoration of the suppressed title.¹² Through their endeavours, the See of Angamali was detached by Pope Paul V from its subjugation as Suffragan See to the Archdiocese of Goa by his Brief dated 22nd December 1608¹³.

Realizing inconveniences of the Syrians caused by the synod of Diamper, Bishop Roz convened a diocesan synod in December 1603 at Angamaly.¹⁴ Bishop Roz wrote on December 27, 1603 to Fr. Alvarez, the Portuguese Jesuit Assistant, and published a Statute which is known as *The*

¹⁰ Jonas Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, Roma, 1958, p.34.

¹¹ Letter of Roz: Cited in D. Ferroli *op. cit.*, p.294.

¹² Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, p.75.

¹³ T. White house, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land being Researches into East History and the Present Conditions of the Syrian Church of Malabar*, London, 1873. p.147.

¹⁴ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter referred to as ARSI, Goa, Mal., Vol. 15, p.176. During the early years Archdecan worked peacefully with Archbishop and both of them convened the people for the Diocesan Synod at Angamaly. Paulinos a S Bertholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, p.70.

Rozian Statute.¹⁵ The most important canonical work of Bishop Roz is The Diocesan Statutes promulgated on 16 *Edavam* (May) 1606.¹⁶ The Statute is in Malayalam and is preserved in the Vatican Library MS Borgiano Indiano. 18. Another work of Bishop Roz related with the liturgy of Syrian Christians was the Raza text which he promulgated in 1603.¹⁷

During the early years of Bishop Roz's regime, he and the Archdeacon worked together in harmony. The office of the Archdeacon was still there and he was consulted on all important matters and his rights and privileges were respected. It was not continued for a long period. It was already evident that the balance of power had shifted in favour of the bishop from the time of the Synod. If the Archdeacon had been the 'defacto' ruler and head of the community before the intervention of the Portuguese, now after the Synod, the actual power rested with the Archbishop to whom the Archdeacon was a mere consultant. In a report from Malabar it is stated that when Roz became Archbishop the power of the Archdeacon began to dwindle "because he did not need the Archdeacon either as interpreter or as intermediary to gain the good will of the people, since he knew Syriac and Malayalam well and since

¹⁵ Scaria Zacharia, *Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper 1599*. Edamattam 1994, p. 41. Also see Xavier Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India*, Kottayam, 1982, p. 75. Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, p.76.

¹⁶ A copy of the Statutes is found in the State Regional Archives, Cochin, Kerala and another one is in the Carmelite Monastery, Manjummel, Kerala.

¹⁷ A copy of the manuscript of the Raza of Roz is kept in the Mannanam monastery. For details see George Nedungatt, S.J., *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, Rome, 2001, p.185.

he was tenderly loved and respected by all.¹⁸ This attempt to degrade the Archdiaconate, however, met with strong resistance not only from the Archdeacons, but also from the *Cattanars*¹⁹ and the people.

Bishop Roz, who knew well the history, customs, traditions and books of the Syrian Christians, wanted to transfer his See from Angamaly to Cranganore. To achieve this Roz, with the support of the king of Portugal, made the request to Rome²⁰. It was also advantageous to him because Cranganore was one of the strongholds of Portuguese power where there was a Portuguese fortress and where he would be much safer. Roz succeeded in getting Papal sanction for the transfer of his episcopal See from Angamali, which was in the interior and which was subject to a Hindu ruler and so was not a safe place for him. By the Brief, "*Cum Nobis Notum Esset*", dated 3rd December 1609, the Archdiocese of Cranganore was created²¹. The Bishop of Cochin was annoyed as superior rank was given to the Bishop of the Syrian Christians and he was not at all willing to lose Cranganore which was under

¹⁸ ARSI, Goa, Malabar, Vol. 68-II, p.741. This is a general impression held by many scholars like Joseph Thekkedath, Jacob Kollaparambil, Jonas Thaliath, A.M. Mundadan etc. on the basis of the above records.

¹⁹ Cattanar or Carthanar is a term used for the priests among the Syrian Christians. Scholars have expressed different opinions as to the origin or derivation of the term. J. Thaliath, *op. cit.*, pp.20-21. Francis Day, *The Land of Perumals*. Madras, 1863, pp.225.

²⁰ Andrews Thazhath, *op.cit.*, p.151.

²¹ Bull of Paul V dated 3rd December 1609, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugallie Regum I* (here after BPPR), ed., Maria Levy Jordao, Tom, I, Olisipone, 1872, p.180.

his jurisdiction. On 22 December 1610, the boundaries of the diocese of Cranganore and Cochin were fixed by Archbishop Menezes who was deputed for that by the Holy see.²²

Cranganore got a few Latin churches such as Calicut, Cranganore, Palliport (near Cranganore) but lost the Syrian Christian churches of Cochin, Mattancherry, Palluruthy and Purakkad which came under Cochin with no change, irrespective of rite.²³ By this limitation, the Cranganore see of the Syrian Christians was confined to a part of Malabar which was different from the former Angamali diocese whose jurisdiction extended over its subjects to the whole of India. In this manner the title of "All India" which belonged to the prelates of the Syrian Christians, became extinct. The quarrels between Archbishop Roz and the then Bishop of Cochin, Andrea S. Maria, continued and a Jesuit versus a Franciscan colour was seen in everything and everywhere²⁴.

Relations between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon began to deteriorate in the course of years. The Archdeacon who had lost almost all powers openly rebelled against the Archbishop by 1609. When the Archdeacon defied the Archbishop, he was excommunicated and a few priests

²² Placid J. Podipora, *Thomas Christians*, Bombay - London, 1970, p.148.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

who had revolted and denounced the Archbishop were subjected to the Inquisition²⁵. In 1612, the King of Cochin expelled the Archdeacon from his kingdom in order to obtain help from Portuguese through Archbishop Roz.²⁶ A reconciliation between Archbishop Roz and the Bishop of Cochin was also effected at that time.²⁷ The fluctuations of local politics affected the Archdeacon's position considerably and by 1615 he had to submit to the Archbishop. He was absolved on Easter Sunday on making profession of repentance and was allowed to continue his work for the Syrian Christians.²⁸

But the reconciliation was very superficial. From 1615 to 1618 there was peace between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon. Hence a considerable amount of pastoral work was done by the Portuguese missionaries during those years.²⁹ The Archbishop had occasion to leave his diocese twice for activities outside, and on both occasions, the charge was given to Fr. Francis Olivera, the Rector of Cranganore college. The Archdeacon George was greatly incensed at this not being preferred him for the temporary charge. Hence he rebelled.³⁰ The Archbishop excommunicated him again and

²⁵ See his letter to Cardinal Bellarmine on 18 November 1610, cited by H. Heras., *The Conversion Policy of Jesuits in India*, Bombay, 1933, p.171.

²⁶ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol. 17, pp.92-93.

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 96-97.

²⁸ D. Ferroli, *op. cit.*, pp.310-311.

²⁹ Joseph Thekkedath, *The Trouped Days of Francis Garcia S.J. Archbishop of Granganore 1641*, Rome 1972, pp.77-78.

³⁰ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.9. p.79.

pressurised the native kings to arrest and hand him over to the Portuguese. This stern treatment was supported by most of the fellow missionaries but some Jesuits like Father Stephen Britto and Father Jacob Fenicio found fault with the Archbishop for his tactless attitude towards the Archdeacon.³¹ But in spite of all friendly advice, Roz remained adamant and before his death he resolved the matter by granting permission to the Archdeacon to administer the See in the period of the Archbishop's absence. There was once again peace and the Jesuits were requested to carry on missionary work among the Syrian Christians.³² Archbishop Roz died on February 18th 1624 and was buried in Kottakavu (Northern Parur) Church.³³ Stephen de Britto succeeded him to the See.

Stephen de Britto (1624 - 1641)

Relations were generally good between Archbishop Britto and his Archdeacons, first George and later Thomas. Britto was a man of different nature from Francis Roz. Britto had a strong conviction that for the good of his flock it was better to keep peace with his Archdeacon. He therefore let the Archdeacon play his traditional role in running the affairs of the Archdiocese.

³¹ D. Ferroli, *op.cit.*, pp.367, 368.

³² Joesph Thekkedath, *op. cit.* n.9, pp.79-80

³³ A tablet in the old church at North Parur records his death.

Britto was familiar to the Serra³⁴ for he had worked for a few years as rector of Vaipicotta Seminary and had been consecrated as co-adjutor to Archbishop Francis Roz, with the right of succession, in 1620.³⁵ He knew Malayalam but not Syriac the lack which Roz considered a serious disqualification.³⁶ Perhaps the authorities might have hoped that the longstanding friendship between Britto and the Archdeacon would make the latter close his eyes to the defects of the Bishop-elect regarding rites and liturgy. Things went on smoothly for several years. The Annual Letter of the Jesuits for 1626 says that the Archbishop "lives in peace and harmony with the Archdeacon." In spite of the appearance of peace and co-operation, fresh trouble was very near. A letter of the same year written by Fr. Andre Pereira to the Father General of the Jesuits contains these remarks: "The new Archbishop of Cranganore does not begin well with the society. Our hopes were different. He is so friendly with the Archdeacon that there is room for fear of some storm for the Christians of the Serra."³⁷

One of the sources of the disagreement between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon was Britto's change of attitude towards the Recollects of

³⁴ The Portuguese called the region of Malabar located on the South-west coast of India as Serra.

³⁵ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.96.

³⁶ D. Ferroli *op. cit.*, p. 361.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-62.

Edappally.³⁸ Fr. Toscano S.J was the first Superior and spiritual director of the congregation.³⁹ In the beginning there were five members and later the number went up to ten. The congregation, however did not attract many candidates because the rules were very austere. Later on the Jesuits became suspicious about the Archdeacon's intentions in promoting the new congregation. Hence they wrote to the Jesuit General, requesting him to impede any move by the Archdeacon before the Holy See for the approbation of the Recollects of Edappally. By 1629 Britto openly turned against the new congregation when its members were found disobedient to his authority. The Archdeacon's effort to obtain Papal approbation did not meet with success. The congregation, however, continued to exist, at least in name, till the time of the general revolt of 1653.⁴⁰

There was another strong disagreement between the Archbishop and Archdeacon over the question of a seminary started by Dominican missionary Fr. Donati at Kaduthuruthy in 1627.⁴¹ Other religious orders had long been jealous of the Jesuit monopoly in Cranganore Archdiocese. Fr. Donati, a

³⁸ A new congregation of priests of Syrian Christians officially called, "House of Recollects", or "*Recolhimento of Idappalli*" was established by the Archdeacon with the Archbishop's permission and its first house was erected in the property of the church of Edappally. ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol.50, p.242.

³⁹ D. Ferroli, *Jesuits in Malabar*, Vo. II, Bangalore, 1951, pp.100-104.

⁴⁰ George Vithayathil. *Stephen Brito, Archbishop of Syrian Christians in Malabar*, Rome, 1971, pp. 150-153

⁴¹ Fr. Donati was a Roman by birth. He was deputed as missionary by the *Propaganda Fide*. Jacob Kollaparambil. *op.cit.*, n.2, p.124.

Roman by birth, sent to India for missionary work by the Sacred Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide*, was well versed in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac etc. and his services at Kaduthuruthy were appreciated by the Archdeacon and many of the Syrian Christians.⁴² This Dominican venture generated a heated controversy. Archbishops Britto insisted that no religious orders other than the Jesuits had any right to enter his Archdiocese. In 1628 Archdeacon George sent several letters to Portugal and to Rome, requesting the authorities to allow all religious orders to work among them and to appoint Fr. Donati as co-adjutor and eventual successor to Archbishop Britto.⁴³ The letter was sent to Rome and in 1630 the College of Cardinals accepted all the suggestions of the Archdeacon, ordering that other religious orders should be admitted in to Malabar, more native priests should be ordained and Fr. Donati should be nominated as co-adjutor to Archbishop Britto.⁴⁴

But the Portuguese king forbade any religious order other than Jesuits to interfere in the affairs of the Malabar Church. At the close of 1632, Archdeacon wrote letters to the Portuguese king and later in 1633 and 1634 to the Holy See against the Jesuits, complaining of oppression and unsympathetic treatment and praising Donati and his work. The local clergy appeared to be

⁴² *Ibid.* p.45.

⁴³ D. Ferroli *op. cit.*, n.5, pp. 365-366.

⁴⁴ G.T.Mackenzie.. *History of Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1905, p. 25.

appeared to be kept under strict tutelage, and further, the number of ordinations was so limited though several parishes were in need of priests. Moreover the Cattanaras were not allowed to preach, the triennial synods prescribed at the Synod of Diamper were not held, and non-Jesuit missionaries were still excluded.⁴⁵ On receiving these complaints, the Sacred Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* forbade under pain of excommunication any non Jesuit to be prevented from settling and working in Malabar.⁴⁶ Before this decision was made known in India, Fr. Donati was killed by pirates on his way to Malabar, while returning from Europe.⁴⁷

In December 1632 Archdeacon George and his supporters openly rebelled against the Archbishop during a meeting at Edappally and banned the Jesuits from the Syrian Churches.⁴⁸ Fortunately the breach lasted till Britto made peace with the Archdeacon and gave him a written document, in which he agreed to exercise important acts of jurisdiction only with the knowledge and consent of the Archdeacon.⁴⁹ When Archdeacon George died on 25 July 1640, Britto appointed George's nephew, Thomas Parambil alias, Thomas de

⁴⁵ E. Tisserant. *Eastern Christianity in India*, Bombay, 1957, p.76. L.W. Brown *op.cit.*, p.97.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴⁷ H. Heras, "The Syrian Christians of Malabar", *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1938; E. Tisserant, *op. cit.*, pp.77-78.

⁴⁸ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.9, p.83.

⁴⁹ ARSI. Goa-Mal, Vol. 58, pp.28 – 97. Also see T.K. Joseph's, "Some paper manuscripts in Vatteluthu, 1624-1658 A.D." in *K.V. Rangeswamy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, Trivandrum, 1946, p.62.

Campo as the new Archdeacon.⁵⁰ The new Archdeacon was young and in possession of the document⁵¹ delegating to him many of the episcopal powers. From the Jesuit point of view the appointment proved a cardinal error. But things went on peacefully until the death of Britto which occurred on 2nd December 1641.⁵²

Franciz Garcia (1641-59)

In the midst of the struggle between Archbishop Britto and Archdeacon for powers and privileges, Fr. Francis Garcia S.J. was appointed as Archbishop of Cranganore. He did not know Syriac and Malayalam. Garcia was determined to govern his archdiocese and not to yield to the demands of the Archdeacon. Thomas Parambil on the other hand, was equally determined to maintain the traditional status of the Archdeacon. Since the two started with such diametrically opposite views, a conflict was inevitable. Thus occurred a great crisis which was known as '*Coonan Cross Oath*' in 1653 which was marked by an almost continuous tug of war between them. The first four years of Garcia's government were filled with intermittent quarrels between him and the Archdeacon. Between the harsh and intransigent Garcia and the unscrupulous and resolute Thomas there was

⁵⁰ Joseph Thekkedath *op. cit.*, n.9, pp. 82-83.

⁵¹ The document referred in n.49.

⁵² Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.*, n.2. pp. 132-134.

hardly any possibility for a reasonable and lasting compromise.⁵³ Thus the breach between the two antagonists was never healed and the rift became wider and wider. The core of the issue was power struggle and their dispute over the jurisdiction. Both the Archdeacon and the Archbishop were intransigent, the former trying to vindicate his traditional position, and the latter denying such claims.

Garcia began his rule under difficult conditions. He knew the Jesuits were hated by the Syrian Christians who were urged to throw off the control of the Jesuit missionaries. In the experiences of his predecessors neither severity nor mildness had succeeded in winning the Syrian Christians to whole hearted obedience. The attitude of local rulers and other religious orders also annoyed Garcia terribly. Archdeacon Thomas received certain amount of support from other European missionaries like Dominicans and the Carmelites against the Jesuit Archbishop who denied their apostolate in the Archdiocese of Cranganore. With the help of the Carmelites, the Archdeacon sent two letters to Rome in 1647, complaining to the Pope and to the Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* that the Jesuits were not allowing him to exercise his jurisdiction and asking that the Carmelites be allowed to work among the Syrian Christians. The local kings also played an important role by shifting their support in favour of the Archdeacon. In the meanwhile

⁵³ Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.* n.9. pp. 21-24.

Michael Rangel, Bishop of Cochin, also extended his sympathy to the stand of the Archdeacon.⁵⁴

Another cause of conflict was related with economic matters. As time went on, economic grievances kept on accumulating on both sides. Caught in the feud between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon, the priests were getting annoyed and becoming increasingly dissatisfied. The allowances which Archbishop Garcia disbursed among them were less and less every year.⁵⁵ The Portuguese rulers failed to make available enough funds to pay the stipends of the Syrian clergy in full as per the agreement at the Synod of Diamper.

In these circumstances, Thomas Parambil made an effort in 1644 to openly publicize his grievances. To prepare and submit a joint demand that Archbishop Garcia should respect the traditional system of government in the Malabar Church, Thomas convoked a meeting of priests at Edappally.⁵⁶ However, since only a few priests attended the meeting the plans did not work well as the Archdeacon anticipated.⁵⁷ The assembled priests arranged for a meeting with Archbishop Garcia in Cochin. While in Cochin they also met

⁵⁴ Jaccob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.*, n.5, p.69.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁶ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol. 21, pp.18-19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

the municipal authorities and requested them to report their complaints to the king of Portugal.⁵⁸

At this juncture, around the end of November 1645, the newly appointed Viceroy of Portuguese India, Dom Philip Mascarenhas, reached Cochin. Soon the Archdeacon submitted a long memorandum under 20 heads against the Archbishop and the Jesuits of ignoring the promises of protection and other benefits made by Menezes at Diamper.⁵⁹ The Jesuits also met the Viceroy and offered their rebuttal to the arguments of the Archdeacon. During the 17 days of his stay at Cochin, the Viceroy realised the seriousness of the situation. He tried for a reconciliation between the two. To settle the matters, the Viceroy dictated before them the terms of a peace agreement. This *Concordia*' was signed by both the parties in the presence of the Viceroy on 12 December 1645.⁶⁰ The important points of the agreement were about 1) The decisions of the litigations among the Thomas Christians 2) conferring of ordination 3) appointment of Parish priests 4) the conduct of meeting 5) Pastoral visits 6) the Recollects of Edappally 7) the Parish of Vaipicotta 8) the chapel of Anjikaimal and 9) the subsidy of priests. The question of the

⁵⁸Jacob Kollaparambil, *Op. cit.*, n.5, p. 66.

⁵⁹ The Malayalam version of the memorandum with its Italian translation is extent in *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* (Milan Library, MSY 116 sup., Italy) Kollaparambil gives a summary of the memorandum together with the rebuttal of the Jesuits, See Jacob Kollaparambil, *op.cit.*, n.5, pp.73-84.

⁶⁰ ARSI, Goa-Mal, Vol. 68, pp.8-9. Vol. 50, pp.64-66.

admission of non-jesuit missionaries into Cranganore was evaded in the concord, as the viceroy foresaw the concord would not last long. Infact it gave way to further breach.⁶¹

From 1645 onwards the Archbishop and the Archdeacon were open antagonists. In order to diminish the authority of the Archdeacon, the Archbishop appointed Fr. Jerome Furtado, a Portuguese priest, as his Vicar General.⁶² According to Rosian Statutes, the Archdeacon was the *ex-officio* Vicar General of Cranganore. The new appointment increased the displeasure of the Archdeacon and the Syrian Christians against the Archbishop and the Jesuits which they expressed in different ways.⁶³ A judicial process was launched against the Archdeacon; but he took no heed about it.⁶⁴ Dom Garcia was determined not to yield to the pretensions of the Archdeacon, but to break his resistance and contumacy by every means. To realize his goal Dom Garcia also had other obstacles to overcome, chiefly the support given to the Archdeacon by the other religious orders, the viceroy and the native kings. For this he made recourse to the king of Portugal.⁶⁵ Thomas would then try with the help of the local kings to impede the work of Garcia and of the

⁶¹ Andrews Thazhath. *op. cit.* p.170. Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.*, n.2, pp.135-136.

⁶² ARSI Gao- Mal. Vol. 50, p.101, Andrews Thazath, *op. cit.* pp. 170-171.

⁶³ Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.* n.9, pp. 73-82.

⁶⁴Jaccob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.*, n. 5, pp. 94-95.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.74.

Jesuits among the Syrian Christians.⁶⁶ The Portuguese king favoured Garcia and directed the viceroy to assist the Archbishop in all possible ways, inducing the king of Cochin in his favour and ordering the Archdeacon into obedience. As a result, the king of Cochin shifted his favour from the Archdeacon to the Archbishop and the Archdeacon shifted his residence from Tripunithara to Edappally.⁶⁷ The Archbishop concluded the process on January 14, 1650 at Mamalacherry, with an interdict on the two Churches of Edappally as long as Archdeacon would remain there with the help of the local king.⁶⁸ The Municipal Council of Cochin and Captain of Cochin also supported the Archbishop's position. The Archdeacon however, did not yield. Archdeacon Thomas received a certain amount of support from the Dominicans and the Carmelites inspite of the prohibitions by the Archbishop. Fr. Joseph Alexiz de Jesu Maria, a Carmelite, built St. Teresa chapel at Kuravilangad and had started Congregation of our Lady of Mount Carmel.⁶⁹ In December 1649 Thomas wrote letters to the Pope and to the Cardinals of the *Propaganda Fide* with the help of the Carmelite Father Joseph Alexis. Writing to the Pope in Syriac, the Archdeacon complained about the oppressions by the Archbishop Garcia and requested the Holy father to allow

⁶⁶ Joseph Thkkedath. *op. cit.* n.9, pp. 36-39.

⁶⁷ ARSI, Goa-Mal. Vol. 50, p.104

⁶⁸ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol. 50, pp.104-109: judicial process from December, 30, 1649, through January 14, 1650.

⁶⁹ According to Jesuits he was a fugitive from his superiors in Goa.

all the religious orders to work among them.⁷⁰ In 1652 the Captain of Cochin, Antony da Silva de Menezes, made one last effort to re-establish peace between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon. But while both professed to desire peace, neither was willing to yield anything. Hence the breach continued. We are now on the eve of the fateful general revolt of 1653.⁷¹

We have to pause a little here from what has been recorded above. It is evident that no doctrinal question or theological difference marred the smooth and peaceful relations between the first three Jesuit Archbishops and the Archdeacon of Syrian Christians, during the half century since the establishment of the Archdiocese of Cranganore. There had been many quarrels and misunderstandings during that period between the Jesuits and the Archdeacon mainly for the assertion of authority and power. On certain occasion the misunderstandings were simply due to the fact that the Syrians wanted the Dominican or Franciscan missionaries to work among them in preference to the Jesuits. Sometimes, they disagreed because the number of Jesuit missionaries in the country was inadequate. The increasing dread felt by the Syrian Christians that their ancestral Syriac language, Rite and Liturgy were being gradually eliminated by the Jesuit Bishops. Both Stephen Britto and Francis Garcia did not understand the Syriac language, nor cared to learn

⁷⁰ Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.*, n.5, pp.97-98.

⁷¹ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.9, p.40.

it. The Syrian Christians were deeply attached to their liturgical language because, they thought it was the language of Jesus Christ.

The domination of the Jesuit Bishops, who had firmly tightened their hold on the Syrian Christians, ultimately paved the way for the rise of much jealousy and rivalry among the missionaries of various orders like Dominicans, Franciscans and the like. The Jesuit bishops considered other missionaries as intruders. 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 Kaduthuruty. Garcia continued the same policy and foiled the attempts of the Carmelites to obtain the foothold in the Archdiocese. This policy caused considerable ill feeling. The rigorous exclusion of the others left Archdeacon Thomas Parambil with hardly any room for manoeuvring and drove him to look for help beyond the pale of the Catholic Church and brought about the general revolt of 1653.⁷²

Shortly after the year 1600 it became clear that the Portuguese missionary enterprise was exhausting itself, and that there was not the least likelihood of really adequate measures being taken towards the conversion of the vast countries of the East which had been placed under the dioceses of the Royal patronage of Portugal. The rivalry between Portugal and the Protestant countries like Holland created divisions and conflicts in the missions.

⁷² Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.* n.28, pp. 68-69.

Holland, England and Denmark had already reached the Asian countries and they became a threat to the Portuguese. Financially, the *Padroado* could not support and subsidize the vast missions in the 17th century. Further the conflict between Syrian Christians and the Jesuits became unwieldy. This complex situations of 17th century prompted Rome to reorganize the missionary activities by giving shape to a new organizational set up known as the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*. It was directly under Rome and independent of Portuguese *Padraodo*.⁷³ The establishment of *Propaganda Fide* in 1622 under which the missionary orders of other nationalities could be distributed to the required areas where the existing missionary personnel and resources were unable to reach. On February 22, 1633 Pope Urban VIII sent an important direction to the Latin Religious Orders working in India to enter Malabar as any other mission area.⁷⁴ It was mainly intended against the Jesuits who, following the spirit and interest of their colonial masters, claimed a kind of exclusive monopoly over the missions.

The first half of the 17th century witnessed unprecedented constitutional conflicts which created chaos and confusion among the Syrian

⁷³ Pope Gregory XV erected the sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (the *propaganda*) by the constitution, June 1622. This constitution assigned, supervisory powers to the new sacred congregation in the missionary and ecumenical fields. Thenceforth, the *propaganda* began to intervene in the affairs of the Oriental churches and missions, even in those places where the *Padroado* had exclusive jurisdiction. The *Propaganda* also began to send missionaries to Malabar.

⁷⁴ E. Tesserant, *op.cit.*, p.78

Christians. In a letter of Dominican Fr. Donati, dated February 7, 1634, addressed to Msgr. Ingoli of the congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, he accuses the Jesuits of mal administration, lack of charity and honesty and disrespectful attitude towards the Syrian Christians and especially to their indigenous leader, the Archdeacon.⁷⁵

The Carmelite General Philip de Trinitate who visited India in 1636 pointed out the tragic consequences of the staunch Latinisation of the Jesuit Archbishop Garcia and his closest collaborators.⁷⁶ The eleven or twelve years between the accession of Archbishop Garcia and the general revolt of 1653 were marked by an almost continuous tug of war between him and Archdeacon Thomas Parambil.

The Archdeacon having thus through sheer inability to endure the oppression any longer, under the Jesuit rule, turned to Oriental Patriarchs to the Coptic Patriarch of Egypt at Cairo, to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon at Mosul, and to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch for an Oriental Bishop. The Coptic Patriarch however readily responded to the appeal and deputed

⁷⁵ Jaccob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.*, n.2, p.132.

⁷⁶ Xavier Koodapuzha, *Faith and Communion of Indian Church of the St., Thomas Christians*, Kottayam, 1982, p.96.

one priest named Mar Ahatalla whom he sent to the Patriarch of Mosul to be formally commissioned by him as a Nestorian bishop.⁷⁷

Mar Ahatallah's arrival in India, which, provided the occasion for the Syrian Christian's revolt. After the Synod of Diamper, the Syrian Christians have submitted to the Roman Catholic Church and followed the same customs as those of the Portuguese. This shallow union lasted only for 55 years from 1599 A.D. to 1653 A.D. The political situation in Malabar at this time, however was not conducive to producing good result from the efforts of the Jesuit Archbishop. Since 1650, the political scene of Malabar had been in turmoil, with wars among the various kingdoms and civil war in the kingdom of Cochin.⁷⁸

Ahatallah was said to have arrived at Surat in 1652 and to have proceeded to Mylapore where he was detained by the Jesuits, but he managed to send a message to Archdeacon through two Syrian clerics who were in Mylapore on a pilgrimage.⁷⁹ The newcomer called himself Ignatius, and assumed the title of "Patriarch of All India and of the Chinas". In the Syriac letter he sent to Archdeacon Thomas, he referred to his appointment by the Pope as Patriarch of the Syrian Christians and requested him to send some

⁷⁷ Vincenzo Maria di S Caterina di Siena, O.C.D., *II Viaggio All' Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1672, p. 153. cited by Jacob Kollaparambil, *op.cit.*, n.2. pp.139-140.

⁷⁸ ARSI, Goa-Mal. Vol. 56, pp. 547-548;

⁷⁹ ARSI., Goa-Mal. Vol. 68, p.91.

armed men to take him to Malabar. The news spread like a wild fire among the Syrian Christians, when the clerics returned from Mylapore. They told the Archdeacon that the patriarch was detained at the Jesuit College in Mylapore. The Archdeacon and his followers gave wide publicity to this news. They brought three letters written in Syriac which they claimed to have received from Ahatallah. Copies of these letters in Syriac, found among the Archdeacon's possession, when the Captain of Cochin raided his residence at Mulanthuruthy on October, 14, 1661, are kept in the archives of *Propaganda* in Rome.⁸⁰ In the first of these letters, Mar Ahatallah announced the news of his arrival at Mylapore and of his detention at Jesuit college and asked the Archdeacon to send priests and men to obtain his release and to conduct him to Malabar.⁸¹ In the second he advised Syrian Christians that in case he would not be permitted to go to Malabar, they might elect a College of 12 priests who would make one of their rank a bishop after the death of their ruling bishop.⁸² The third letter was a patriarchal testament to be read after the Malabarians knew for certain that Mar Ahatallah was dead or alive after 12 years to the date.⁸³ According to this testament, the Archdeacon would be made the patriarch of India automatically. These letters in fact influenced

⁸⁰ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.* n.28, pp.51-52.

⁸¹ V.C. George, *The Syro Chaldean Church in Malabar*, Tiruvalla, 1956. p. 157.

⁸² Joseph Thekkedath, "Events Leading to the Great Uprising of 1653", in *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India 1500-1800*, K.S. Mathew, T.R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, ed., Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 194-195.

⁸³ Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.* n. 25, p. 92.

very much all the subsequent course of actions among the Syrian Christians. The general opinion among the historians of the Malabar church is that only the first of these letters was genuine, and the other two were mere forgeries by *Cattanar* Ittithomman Anjilimoottil of Kallicherry, a close associate of the Archdeacon.⁸⁴ This opinion is based on the testimonies of witnesses at the informative process conducted by Bishop Sebastiani in 1662, especially on a sworn statement by *Cattanar* George Paramabil, one of the clerics who met Mar Atallah at Mylapore, that he had brought only one letter from the patriarch, and that the other two were forged by *Cattanar* Ittithoman.⁸⁵

The first concern of the Archdeacon and his followers was how to get Mar Ahatallah to Malabar. So they published the information in the first letter together with the reports of the pilgrims. The Archdeacon and his followers became jubilant at the prospect of their dream coming true. At the Archdeacon's request priests and lay representatives assembled at Udayamparoor to consider ways and means to bring Mar Ahatallah to Malabar. The assembled persons agreed on writing a letter to Archbishop Garcia requesting his co-operation in bringing Eastern prelate to Malabar. The Archbishop replied that, "Even if the patriarch were sent by the supreme pontiff, we can not grant him to you, since he came without the permission of

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 93.

the King of Portugal.⁸⁶ The Archbishop denounced him as an impostor and refused to talk about him. The Syrian Christians wanted to examine at least the credentials of Ahatallah; but the Archbishop would not allow them to do so. Instead, he persuaded the Portuguese civil authorities to deport him straight to Goa. Archbishop Garcia, warned the followers of Archdeacon against the intruder and told them that he had neither any mandate from the Pope nor any credentials from Portugal. Meanwhile, the Portuguese at Mylapore, growing suspicious about Ahatallah, shipped him off to Goa. The meeting of the Syrian Christians at Udayamparoor was concluded with a resolution that all should assemble again at Mattancherry when the ship with the Patriarch on board would arrive in Cochin.⁸⁷

The agitated Christians rose in bitter resentment against the Archbishop and Jesuits. In the meantime, the Archdeacon and his supporters continued their diligent efforts on behalf of Ahatallah. They wrote to all high ranking civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Cochin - the Captain, the city council, the Cathedral Chapter, the commissary of the office of Inquisition and the superiors of all religious orders.⁸⁸ Mar Ahattallah had no bull or brief from the Pope. Mar Ahatallah claimed that it was a letter from Archdeacon Thomas to the Patriarch of Alexandria that had stated that there were in

⁸⁶ Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.* in K.S. Mathew *et al.*, n.81, p. 196.

⁸⁷ Testimony of Emmanuel Vas on August 9, 1657. *Ibid.* pp. 196-197.

⁸⁸ Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.* n.5, pp. 102-103.

Malabar numerous Christian flock without a pastor, and had requested the Patriarch for a bishop or an Archbishop, which precipitated his journey to India.⁸⁹

Archbishop Garcia's reaction was to take a hardline, asserting that Mar Ahatallah was a schismatic and heretic, who was deceitfully pretending to be a Catholic to mislead the Syrian Christians. This information disturbed the Syrians very much and a unanimous resolution was taken to free the episcopal prisoner and bring him over to the Malabar church.

As the vessel with Mar Ahatallah on board was about to arrive at Cochin, the Archdeacon with a large number of *Cattanars* and hundreds of the Syrian Christians assembled at Mattancherry where the Cochin Royal family lived, to solicit the help of the *Rani* of Cochin to enable them "to meet the Bishop".⁹⁰ They also submitted a resolution to the Portuguese Captain at Cochin: "Moreover, Captain, we beg your honour for the love of God and the service of the Christian community to work hard to bring back the Patriarch (Mar Ahatallah) whom the fathers of St. Paul⁹¹ have taken from us, so that the

⁸⁹ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol. 50, p.226. *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ According to Vincent Mary O.C.D. *op.cit.*, p.54, 25,000 men were with the Archdeacon and the Cathanars.

⁹¹ The Jesuits were called by the Syrian Christians as Paulists or fathers of St. Paul, because they were first sent to Malabar from St. Paul's college, Goa, which was established by Francis Xavier in 1542 for the training of Asian missionaries. The college was named so because, a picture of the conversion of St. Paul was placed over the altar of the church attached to the college.

truth may be known and that this whole Christian community may obey, and in case the Patriarch can not be produced, let any other person of any of the four Religious Orders come here, by order of the supreme Pontiff, a man who knows Syriac and can teach us and help us in our offices, except the Fathers of St. Paul, whom we do not at all desire, because they are our enemies".⁹²

The city authorities and the queen of Cochin agreed to the proposal made by Syrian Christians. Fr. Bruno, Rector of the Vaipicotta seminary wrote to Archbishop Garcia that a terrible disaster would follow if Ahatallah was not allowed to land at Cochin. He was inclined to agree at first. But the hard liners were opposing him so much that he decided not to. But he did not allow him to land for the following reasons:

1. The Malabar priests and the lay people had no right to go against the rights of the inquisitors or the Archbishop.
2. They had no right to know by whom and to whom Mar Ahatallah had been sent, since they had acknowledged Dom Garcia as their Archbishop for so many years.
3. Since Mar Ahatallah was not presented by the king of Portugal there was a strong suspicion that he was not sent by the Pope Alexander VI and the King had a pact that anyone sent by the Pope had to be approved by the king.

⁹² Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.28, pp. 86-87.

4. Dom Garcia had doubts about the integrity of the letters brought by Mar Ahatallah. The Pope could not have appointed another bishop without informing him or consulting him.
5. The mob's insistence on seeing Mar Ahatallah on the land and not on the seas was indicative of a secret plan to abduct him and hide him. Probably, Dom Garcia thought so or simply pretended.
6. There was a standing order to the Portuguese sailors, not to offer passage to any Chaldean, Persian or Armenian priest or bishop wishing to travel to India.
7. The Queen of Kochi had accepted a huge bribe to get Ahatallah into Malabar. Bribing made the Jesuits doubt the integrity of the Archdeacon and the Syrian Christians.
8. Dom Garcia was afraid if Ahatallah were allowed to converse with any of the *Cattanars*, he might ordain him a bishop, following the Greek or Alexandrine rite.
9. Dom Garcia thought that the Malabar Christians would be forced to come to him for the Holy Orders if Mar Ahatallah was not allowed to land and remain in Malabar.⁹³

⁹³ Garcia, letter to Fr. Hyacinth of St. Vincent O.C.D. ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol. 68, p.182 on Aug. 22, 1658.

The ship arrived at Kochi. But Ahatallah was not allowed to disembark. The Captain of Cochin closed the gates of the town and manned the walls for defence and he maintained this policy until the fleet arrived at Cochin. After negotiating with the Commissary, the Viceroy and the Captain of the ship, he sent Fr. Emmanuel Vas to inform the Archdeacon that he and eight *cattanars* of his choice could go into the ship with the Portuguese authorities, to examine the credentials of Ahatallah. The Archdeacon did not agree to this; he wanted the Patriarch to be produced before the whole crowd, to be examined.⁹⁴ The Archbishop did not agree to this and the Archbishop did not want the eight priests to go into the ship because the Portuguese authorities did not understand the language of the Patriarch. The Archbishop feared that the translation by the Archdeacon would not be exact. Only unwillingly, did he agree to the proposition of sending eight priests into the ship. When the Archdeacon declined that offer, Archbishop told him, "since you don't want to examine, I am going to send him to Goa, to the Viceroy and the inquisitors, to be tried by them".⁹⁵

In order to satisfy the Christians, the Captain of Cochin sent to the ship his interpreter, Beneventure Rebeira, Commissary of the Inquisition, and ecclesiastical secretary, Fr. Emmanuel Vas, two guards of the Captain and an

⁹⁴ Emmanuel Vas testified that it was cathanar Ittithoman who insisted on this stand.

⁹⁵ Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.* n.5, p. 127.

Armenian resident of Kochi to ask the Patriarch about his identity and mission. But the two Jesuits who stood at the door, blocked their entrance in to the ship. So, they returned unsuccessfully.⁹⁶ But Fr. Emmanuel had a glimpse of Mar. Ahatallah. Soon afterwards the ship set sail for Goa. It stayed in Cochin waters only two days.

The Syrian Christian leaders wrote once again to the Archbishop of Cranganore, Francis Garcia to come to Mattanchery to meet the crowd within twenty-four hours. If he did not come, they would provide themselves with another prelate. They wanted him to reside at Angamaly and rule the church assisted by the *Cattanars* and not by the Jesuits.⁹⁷

Garcia did not go to Mattancherry nor did he send a reply. The people were enraged and they were not in a state of mind to have any fruitful discussion with composure.⁹⁸

The Coonan Cross Oath

When the Syrian Christians saw the ships sailing away towards the north, all their hopes of having an Oriental bishop as their prelate disappeared. Their resentment towards Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuits knew no bounds. About the subsequent fate of Ahatallah there are three stories. Some authors

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 128-29.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p.148.

⁹⁸ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol. 68, p,182.

assert that he was drowned in the sea at Cochin.⁹⁹ Some others like Jarri and Paols, say that he was tried before the Inquisition at Goa and was condemned to be burned.¹⁰⁰ Both these stories cannot be true and probably both are untrue, because the records at Goa show that when the civil authorities found that he was a schismatic, they sent him to Lisbon and from there he was sent to Rome. The Carmelite Eustache says that on his way to Rome he died in Paris.¹⁰¹

Whatever may have been the subsequent history of Ahatallah, the Syrian Christians before the walls of Cochin town were deeply angered because they heard the rumour that their Patriarch got drowned in the Arabian sea. Even though they made insistent pleas to the Archbishop Garcia, he turned a deaf ear to their demands. Finding that the Portuguese Captain of Cochin town supported Garcia, the supporters of the Archdeacon assembled in Mattancherry, a suburb outside the walls of Cochin and deliberated on the situation.¹⁰² They unanimously decided that on the basis of the 3rd letter of Ahatallah, Archdeacon Thomas might be the Archbishop in the place of Garcia. They were made to believe that the letter was from the Pope and

⁹⁹ Joseph Thekkedath *op. cit.* n.28, pp. 73-82.

¹⁰⁰ There is a tradition still existence that this Mar Ahatallah was drowned in Arabia sea by the Portuguese. But some authors believed that he was conveyed on board which immediately sailed for Gao where he perished in the flames of the Inquisition. Francis Day, *op.cit.* pp. 235-236.

¹⁰¹ Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.* n. 2, p.140.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, , p.184.

before they dispersed, they took a solemn oath before the Coonan Cross,¹⁰³ which was under the church of Our Lady of Life at Mattanchery where they assembled. There they passed six resolutions by which they declared that they would no longer obey Archbishop Garcia or any other prelate from the Society of Jesus nor would ever again admit the Paulists (Jesuits) in their churches.¹⁰⁴ They chose Archdeacon Thomas as their ecclesiastical governor and assigned to him four prominent *Cattanars* as councillors, promised to uphold his authority even at the cost of their lives and finally invited all to meet again at Edappally on the three-day fast of Jonas known as *moonu noyambu*.¹⁰⁵ Witnesses at the judicial inquiries spoke only of the oath made inside the church. The Archdeacon and the *Cattanars* placed a crucifix and lighted candles in the centre of the church. The Archdeacon and the *Cattanars* touching a Bible at the main altar, confirmed their resolutions with a solemn oath which came to be known in history as oath of Coonan Cross. The main content of the oath was that "neither they nor their descendants

¹⁰³ There are different traditions about the Coonan Cross. According to one group, when many people were holding on to the rope, with the pull, the cross tilted to one side. So the people called it Coonan Cross (Bent Cross) P.V. Mathew gives another reason. The Archdeacon Thomma Kurian Parambil, who was the leader of this revolt had a hunchback due to his old age. He was called "Coonan Kurian". The cross was known as Coonan Cross. Also see Jose Kuriedath, *Authority in the Catholic Community in Kerala*, Bangalore, 1989, pp.91-94.

¹⁰⁴ Jacob Kollaparambil, *op.cit.* n.2. p.140.

¹⁰⁵ T.K. Joseph found these resolutions in a document written in Vattelluthu, *op. cit.*, n.48, p.364.

would have anything more to do with the 'Paulit's' [Jesuits]."¹⁰⁶ This Oath was made on Friday, January 3, 1653. After the Oath Ahatallah's letter was read out to the crowd, and explained as though it conferred all the necessary powers on the Archdeacon.¹⁰⁷ *Cattanar* Chandy Kadavil then made a speech in praise of the Babylonian church.¹⁰⁸ Further, those who assembled at the site issued a manifesto and posted it in public places justifying their declaration of independence from and the Jesuits rule on the ground that they defied the Pope's orders by deporting Ahatallah whom they thought that Pope had sent to govern the Malabar church.¹⁰⁹ Having done these things, the crowd dispersed. On orders of the Archdeacon, the six resolutions were read out in all the churches of Malabar and Archdeacon Thomas was recognized by them as their ecclesiastical governor, independent of Archbishop Garcia.¹¹⁰

There is considerable difference between the contemporary accounts and the Malabar tradition regarding the manner in which the oath at Mattancherry was taken. According to the contemporary written accounts, those we could trace, they took this oath inside the church of Our Lady at Mattancherry and in front of a crucifix with lighted candles and touching their

¹⁰⁶ Jesuits were known as 'Paulits' because they were sent to Malabar from St. Paul's College, Goa. T. Whitehouse, *op. cit.*, p.159.

¹⁰⁷ Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.*, n.5, p.116. Christopher de Miranda's testimony.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.117; testimony of Cathanar Itticuruvola, Vicar of Muttam.

¹⁰⁹ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol.68, p.192; Sommaria relac,ão da Christandade da serra . . . de 1655.

¹¹⁰ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol.49, p.189: Fr. Azeve do's report in 1666.

hand over the Bible. But according to the Malabar tradition, a rope was tied to the open air cross that stood in front of the church at Mattancherry, so that all could touch at least that rope when the oath was being made. Now it is curious that none of the contemporary written account speaks of the open air cross and the rope. Nevertheless the documentary evidence cited above and the traditional account can be made to agree. According to Joseph Thekkedath, it is most likely that the *Cattanars* and the more important lay leaders took the oath inside the church before the crucifix and over the Holy Gospel as described by the documents. Whatever space was left in the church was occupied by all those who managed to get in there first. But the crowd was obviously too large to the church, and hence the majority, who had to be content with their place in front of the church and around the Coonan Cross, might have indulged in some spectacular display of the kind described by the traditional account.¹¹¹ The very unusual character of this oath is that it, made in the open air, must have helped to impress it in the memory of the participants and of all those who heard of it with the result that people later on spoke only of that and not of the more prosaic oath made inside the church.¹¹²

It is generally held that the oath was taken against the Jesuit rule and monarchical episcopacy under the Portuguese power, which culminated in the

¹¹¹ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.* n.28, p. 93.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

arbitrary rule by Archbishop Garcia and his denouncement by the Syrian Christians. Some Catholic historians argue that this event was never against the Roman Catholic church and the Pope and they did not intend to cut off their relations with Rome.¹¹³ However, the orthodox writers do not agree with this point of view. According to them, the oath was aimed not merely at the break away of the Jesuits' and the Portuguese connections, but also of the Roman Catholic church represented by the Pope and Archbishop Garcia.¹¹⁴ More than this, the oath was an attempt to regain the lost power of the Archdeacon and to regain the identity of his church which was East Syrian and which by the force of the Portuguese and the Jesuits had been mutilated and subjected to the Roman supremacy.

Evidently, at first Archbishop Garcia and his trusted councillors did not give much importance to the Coonan Cross Oath. They thought that they could take them back as in the past to the Roman obedience without much effort.¹¹⁵ After the Oath on the 3rd January, the crowd gathered for the festival at Edappalli for the "*Moonnu Noimbu*"¹¹⁶ (Three day fast of Jonas) on

¹¹³ *Ibid*

¹¹⁴ L.W. Brown *op. cit.* p.100.

¹¹⁵ ARSI, Goa-Mal. Vol. 65, p.565: Fr. Joao de S. Joseph, Primary testimonies of Bartholomeus Moreia Camelo, Canon Joseph de Rego and Fr. Antony Poma etc. Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.* n.5, p.82.

¹¹⁶ The three day fasting known as *Moonnu Noimbu* is a very famous practice among the members of Syrian Christians at the end of which they used to give in most of the churches a dinner to all the people together, to which all came, saying that they were honouring the three days which Prophet Jonas spent in the belly of the whale.

February 5th, a week after Mar Ahatallah had been deported, to hear the document believed to have passed on to Archdeacon Thomas by Mar Ahatallah. The Archdeacon took a decorated seat on an elevated platform in front of the church. A good gathering of people had assembled there including the clergy. *Cattanar* Chandy Kadavil read out the letter written in Syriac and explained the content in Malayalam. George Bengur joined him in giving some clarifications. There was another letter which authorized the Archdeacon to function as the governor of the Malabar church. The people congratulated him and the councillors. They took a collection towards the initial expenses of the new administration.¹¹⁷

Garcia was curious to know what was happening at Edappalli. He was not worried because he was sure that everything was safe as long as Mar Ahatallah was got rid of. The Christians would need him to ordain priests since there was no one else.¹¹⁸ But his calculations were wrong. He exhorted the people to submit to him. He could not punish them because they lived outside his territory. The only way to win them back was to give them a non-Jesuit bishop.

¹¹⁷ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol.65, pp.502-506: Sworn statements of eight eye witness in February 1653. L.W. Brown, *op. cit.* p.101.

¹¹⁸ ARSI, Goa-Mal, Vol. 49, p.180.Cathanar Chandy Kadavil's narration at the meeting of Alangad in 1657.

Archdeacon Thomas got himself consecrated based on the letter said to have passed on to him by Ahatallah. Twelve priests laid their hands over his head, according to the Alexandrine rite and he was declared a bishop. But this was in violation of the canons of the church. It is clearly stated in the book of Mar Abraham that no one could be consecrated bishop except at the Pope's orders and by three Episcopal consecrators.¹¹⁹

However, the Archdeacon received consecration at Alangad from 12 *cattanars* as metropolitan with the title of Marthoma I on 22 May 1653. The king of Alangad too was present.¹²⁰ Letters were sent to all the churches of Malabar requiring them to recognize Thomas as their Archbishop. Only two Southist churches, Kaduthuruthy and Udayamperoor, refused to recognize him because they thought that there was no validity for his consecration.¹²¹

The advent of the Dutch about this time in Malabar, their capture of Cochin, Quilon, etc. and the overthrow of the Portuguese power altered the political situation of Malabar and greatly helped the Syrian Christians to shake off the Roman allegiance and to form a new alliance with the Protestant church.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Bengur's testimony in 1662; ARSI Goa-Mal. Vol. 68, pp.502-506.

¹²⁰ P.V. Mathew, *op. cit.* p.5.

¹²¹ ARSI. Goa-Mal, Vol. 50, p. 178.

¹²² C.M. Agur, *Church Hy. of Travancore*, Madras, ICHCN, 1998, p.56.

Since 1650, the political scene of Malabar had been in turmoil, with wars among the various kingdoms and civil war in the kingdom of Cochin. Within weeks after the consecration of Archdeacon Thomas Parambil, he began to ordain priests. Garcia realized that he had lost the leverage of his Episcopal power to ordain, on which he was relying heavily to bring the rebels to his obedience. The only thing that remained was to get the local king to his side. This was not easy as there were several of them, fighting against one another. Both Thomas Parambil and the Archbishop tried to get them to their sides. The king of Kaduthuruthy allied himself with the ousted king of Cochin who was facing a civil war in his country. *Rani Gangadhara Lakshmi*, the old queen of Cochin, was supported by the king of Kottayam.¹²³ There were other kings fighting against one another. Thomas supported one king while Garcia supported the rival king. Thus, no one could get the support of all the kings of Malabar. The Queen of Cochin was asking for the help of the Portuguese to settle some dispute. They promised to help her if she would help them in return, by ordering the Christians of her kingdom not to obey the Archdeacon Thomas Parambil. She refused because the Portuguese had refused her request earlier, when she asked them to let Mar Ahatallah disembark at Kochi.¹²⁴

¹²³ ARSI, Goa-Mal, Vol. 56, pp.547-548: *Novas das gueras do Malabar do 650.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

Thomas Parambil was staying at Alangad. The Portuguese requested the king of Alangad to exile Thomas Parambil from his kingdom. So, he ordered him to show him the Papal bull authorizing his consecration. Thomas Parambil did not have the Papal document. But the friends of Thomas Parambil bribed the King and he was allowed to stay in his kingdom.¹²⁵

Only the king of Parur was favouring the Archbishop. He forbade his subjects to obey the Archdeacon. In one church, a priest ordained by the Archbishop was not allowed to stay in the rectory. The vicar of that rectory had to flee to escape the punishment. In his place, Dom Garcia appointed another vicar.

Dom Garcia recommended that the Viceroy should suspend the payment of customs to the queen of Cochin till she favoured him against the rebels¹²⁶. But the Viceroy feared to do that lest she should support the Dutch against the Portuguese. She could retaliate with a blockade on Cochin and the city could run out of supplies within a week.¹²⁷

The non Jesuit missionaries who lived in Cochin like Frs. Francis of St. Andrew, the Commissary of the Inquisition, Fr. Sebastian, Rector of Vaipin

¹²⁵ ARSI, Goa-Mal., Vol.68, p.422: A paper by Dom Garcia refuting the Inquisitor's claims

¹²⁶ Arquivo Historico do Estado da India (Goa hereafter referred as AHEI,) LM 23-B, pp.377-78; letter on June 30 1653.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.389-90; Captain to Viceroy on July 19, 1653.

Church and Fr. Anthony of the Mother of God, were on the side of the Archdeacon. In the beginning, Archdeacon was widely supported by many. Before his consecration a meeting was held at Kochi by the ecclesiastical leaders, presided over by the Viceroy himself on September 18, 1653, which was attended by the councillors and several high officials of the State, two canons of the Cathedral Chapter of Goa, major superiors of the Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits and the Capuchins accompanied by a companion for each superior. All except the Jesuits agreed to have a non-Jesuit Governor for the Malabar Church.¹²⁸

The Jesuit Priest, Fr. Gregory Domingues, observed that the cause of the revolt was not the Jesuits, but the Syrian Christians' affection for the Eastern rite and the inordinate ambition of Archdeacon Thomas.¹²⁹ Another point raised by Fr. Gregory was that the non-Jesuit missionaries did not know Syriac or the customs of the Syrian Christians. However, his arguments were not acceptable to others.

In a letter sent to the Archbishop of Goa on October 8, 1653, the Viceroy requested to send a non-Jesuit priest to Malabar to prevent Syrian Christians from becoming confirmed schismatics. He reminded him of the stubbornness of the church authorities and warned the Archbishop not to

¹²⁸ ARSI, Goa-Mal, Vol. 68, p. 366.

¹²⁹ Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, Trivandrum, 1906, p.186

repeat the same folly. Dom Garcia, however, did not heed to the advice of the Viceroy. He refused to give up the Jesuit monopoly over the Syrian church. He sent his Secretary, Fr. Hyacinth Magistris to Lisbon and Rome to plead his case to the authorities there.

In the meantime, the Archdeacon wrote to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities how the Syrian Christians loved the church, and how good the Archbishop Roz, the predecessor of Garcia, was to the Syrian Christians. But those who came after Roz, slowly changed their attitude and began to treat the Archdeacon without any regard. Letters were written to the Pope and to the King of Portugal. The bishop of Cochin also wrote to the Pope to open his eyes of mercy upon the Syrian Christians.¹³⁰

In October 1653, the *southists* called a meeting at Kottayam and resolved that no one of them should go to visit Archdeacon Thomas or recognize him as bishop. From among the *southist* parishners, only Kallicherry Ittithomman *Cattanar*, stood for Marthoma I. The majority of *northists* did not acknowledge Archbishop Garcia and the Jesuits. The Archdeacon began to rule the Syrian Christians as if he was their bishop.

Thus the revolt against the Jesuit Archbishop was very complete. In the whole number of Syrian Christians, computed to account to two hundred

¹³⁰ Jacob Kollaparambil, *op. cit* n.5, pp. 172-176.

thousand persons, it is said that only four hundred remained under the rule of Archbishop Garcia. When Rome came to know of the sad plight of things in the Malabar Church in 1655, she decided to act directly to pacify the Archdeacon and his supporters in the Syrian Church which heralded the new era of Propaganda and slow eclipse of Padraodo rule in Malabar Church.

CHAPTER 3

THE VICARIATE APOSTOLIC OF MALABAR AND THE CARMELITES

The oath of the Coonan Cross marked the end of unity of the Syrian church. The distintegration that took place in the Syrian church was like the process which a seed undergoes in producing a new plant. The new plant was to be the Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar¹ which was erected by Pope Alexander VII in order to solve the tangled problem of Malabar schism by which the church was split into two and ushered in an era of disruptive tendencies. Though the part of the church which remained loyal to the *Padroado* Archbishop of Cranganore was a very small minority, a feeling of mental tremor and uneasiness prevailed over the Syrian Christians. The intelligentsia among them felt unhappy over the situation and there was the yearning for a way out. The eyes of those who desired peace turned to the direction of the order of the Discalced Carmelites² about whom the Syrian Christians had already a good impression

¹ In the early Catholic Church, all Bishops were vicars of Christ. The Pope one of the vicar of the Christ, has his own Vicars who are known as Vicars Apostolic. They were Bishops or Archbishops or representative of Pope. For details see Maurice A Canney, *An Encyclopaedia of Religions*, Delhi, 1976, p. 376. December, 1659, the new Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar was erected by Pope Alexander VII; See *Catholic Directory of India*, 1887, p.168.

² Carmelites of Mount Carmel is a monastic order founded by about 1156 AD by a crusader named Berthold. In 1238 Mohammanadan danger made it necessary for them to leave Mount Carmel and established themselves in Europe. In 1247 the change from hermit to community life was sanctioned, and in 1431 the rule of the Order was relaxed by Pope Eugenius IV. This led to divisions. The best known and most widely spread group was the order of Discalced Carmelites or bare footed Carmelites who followed the stricter rule and Calced Carmelites who followed the milder rule. For details see Leon L. Bram, Funk and Wagnalls, *New Encyclopaedia Vol. V*, New York, 1946, pp. 165-66. Maurice A. Canney, *Ibid.*, n.1., p.93. Joseph Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J. Archbishop of Cranganore (1641-59)*, Rome, 1972, pp.68-69.

several years back, when these Carmelites had sown seeds of good will among them during their first visit.³

The advent of the Carmelites

The Carmelites had not yet established a mission in Malabar as they were not allowed to do it by the Jesuits and the *Padroado* regime in Malabar. But they were not far away, as they had established themselves in Goa in 1612.⁴ They came to India from Persia where they had been working since the year 1608, along with missionaries of other orders, for the conversion of Mongols who had conquered that region.⁵ From Persia the Carmelites spread into other places, one of which was Goa.

About the year 1634, a Carmelite missionary Fr. Jose Elias of St. Teresa with another Carmelite came from Goa to Malabar in order to see whether they could find a residence in the Archbishopric of Cranganore. But they did not succeed because of the opposition from the Jesuits.⁶ However, their visit resulted in the establishment of the congregation of the Scapular of Carmel at the ancient church of Kuravilangad. The members of the

³ Francis Thonippara, *St. Thomas Christians of India, A period of Struggle for Unity and Self Rule 1775-1787*, Bangalore, 1999, p.12.

⁴ Xavier Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India*, Kottayam, 1998, p.205.

⁵ L.M. Pylee, *St. Thomas Christians and the Archdiocese of Verapoly*, Ernamkulam, 1977, p.149.

⁶ Xavier Koodapuzha, *Faith and communion of Indian Church of St. Thomas Christians*, Kottayam, 1982, p.96.

confraternity of piety increased in numbers as testified by Fr. Vincent of St. Catherine, member of the Papal Commission to Malabar.⁷

Presumably because of the happy and pious memories which the Carmelites had left behind by the establishment of the confraternity in Kuravilangad, the idea of approaching them occurred to those Syrian Catholics who were desirous of ending the stalemate in the Syrian Church. They contacted the Carmelite fathers who were still at Calicut.

The news of the revolt and consequent split in the Malabar Church reached Rome through these Carmelite Fathers. At the same time, in 1655, the Pope also got the letters that Archdeacon Thomas de Campo alias Parambil Thomas had written in 1647 and 1649 (before Coonan Cross Oath) requesting that the Carmelites might be appointed as Archbishops in the place of the Jesuits.⁸ The Jesuits and the Portuguese government also had informed Rome of the situation.⁹ The newly elected Pope Alexander VII heard of the sad state of affairs in Malabar and condemned the coercive policy of the Jesuits and Portuguese Bishops and hoped to recover the revolted group with the help of Carmelite missionaries. *Propaganda Fide* discussed the matter in the

⁷ *Ibid.*, 150

⁸ Placid, J. Podippara, *Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Alleppey, 1976, p.126.

⁹ Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., *The St. Thomas Christians* (Malayalam), II, Mannanam 1921, p.64. Also see *The Examiner*, Bombay 1922. p.215; *The Malabar Mail*, Ernakulam, 1938, July 9, p. 62.

"general congregation" of August 16, 1655.¹⁰ After much study and reflection the Pope and the Congregation of *Propaganda* decided to entrust the duty to pacify the Syrian Catholics of Malabar church to Discalced Carmelites because the Archdeacon's letters had expressed special esteem for this group of missionaries. Accordingly, with the special interest of Pope Alexander VII, two Apostolic Commissaries, Fr. Joseph Sebastiani and Fr. Hyacinth of St. Vincent, as Papal Commissars with their companions were sent to Malabar as messengers of peace through two different routes. i.e. Fr. Hyacinth and his companions by sea and Fr. Joseph Sebastiani by a shorter route over land through Syria and Mesopotomia. Hyacinth and his companions travelling via Lisbon reached Goa later and reached Malabar on 10th March 1658. Obtaining Dutch passports they came down the coast after a long and adventurous journey. Fr. Sebastiani and his companions first reached Calicut and thence by the backwater went to Palayur, where they arrived on February 22nd, 1657.¹¹

On his arrival in Malabar Sebastani threw himself heart and soul into the work of bringing back the defectors to the Catholic fold by persuading them to give up their adherence to the false Archbishop who was the

¹⁰ Francis Pereparambil, *Leonard Mellano of St. Louis*, Rome, 1998, (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis), pp. 43-44. Cited from the records of Archivam Congregation de Propaganda Fide (A.P.F.) and Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (SOCCG)

¹¹ G.T. Mackenzie, *History of Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1905, p.61 Also See D. Ferrolì, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. II Bangalore, 1951, pp.39-41.

Archdeacon, Thomas Parambil. In this task Sebastiani met with stout opposition from the Archdeacon who was keen to stick to his position.¹² Proceeding inland, however, they met Archdeacon Thomas and began negotiations. He was obstinate, but many of his followers were willing to submit to Rome, though not to the *Padraodo* Archbishop Garcia. Prominent among the reconciled group were *Cattanars* Alexander Palliveetil and Alexander Kadavil and his own cousin Parambil Chandy who were his councillors; Sebastiani read out the letters brought from the Pope and the *Propaganda Fide*, addressed to the people and clergy to console them in the meeting held in the church at Kuravilangad. He told the people about the Pope's concern for the complaints he had received and his eagerness to redress their grievances. Sebastiani sent the copies of these letters to the neighbouring churches also. These letters stated that Sebastiani was appointed and consecrated by Rome for the people of Malabar. Sebastiani held many general *yogams* in order to pacify the rival group. He worked strenuously and diligently to bring back the defectors to the true path. The following of the Archdeacon thence forward began to dwindle.

At the end of the year 1657, the Christians of Kuravilangad, Kadathuruthy, Muttuchira and Muttam, in the South and those of Parur Angamaly, Kanjur etc. in the north, had rallied round the Apostolic

¹² Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. II, Banagalore, 1988, p.97 .

Commissary in large numbers. ¹³ Meetings continued for several months more, during which time the invalidity of the "consecration" conferred on the Archdeacon and hence of all his faked episcopal actions were discussed. Thomas de Campo, though in all probability personally convinced of his bogus consecration, stubbornly refused to resign, and used every means in his power to defend himself. Still inspite of the many divisive forces among the Christians, Fr. Joseph Sebastiani continued to win over to his side many Schismatics. Before the close of the year, the Carmelite fathers had successfully persuaded forty churches to submit to Rome; ¹⁴ but the reconciled Christians refused to acknowledge Archbishop Garcia. Sebastiani faced many difficulties because the Archdeacon and his partisans even spread their opinion that these Carmelite fathers were not sent by the Pope and that they were just members of the Jesuit society, but clad in Carmelite habit¹⁵. The Syrian Catholics held a meeting at the church of St. Thomas at Cochin and it was resolved that "Joseph Sebastiani of St. Mary should be nominated as the Bishop of the See of Malabar."¹⁶

Towards the end of 1657, it was reported that Fr. Hyacinth of St. Vincent had arrived at Goa with the official recommendations for which he

¹³ A.M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. I, Banagalore, 1984, p.172.

¹⁴ G.T. Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p.62

¹⁵ V.C. George, *The Church in India Before and After the Synod of Diamper*, Alleppey, 1977, p.152.

¹⁶ Francis Day, *The Land of Perumals Madras*, 1863, p.237.



had gone to Lisbon. Fr. Joseph Sebastiani could now absent himself, report to Rome on his activities and obtain new instructions. He entrusted Fr. Mathew, his companion, with temporary powers until the arrival of Fr, Hyacinth and gave him very detailed instructions. Fr. Joseph left Malabar on 17 January 1658. .¹⁷

Fr. Joseph Sebastiani submitted his report in Rome. The *Propaganda* Congregation learned the state of affairs relating to the Syrian Christians in Malabar. In the meantime, on January 5, 1658, Archbishop Garcia had sent his complaints against Sebastiani imploring the Pope not to do anything without hearing both the sides.¹⁸ The cardinals were hesitating about the steps to be taken to solve the question, because of the influence of Portuguese *Padroado* authorities in India in the field of ecclesiastical administration. But the Pope commanded Garcia to receive Msgr. Joseph Maria Sebastiani OCD as Apostolic Administrator¹⁹ The Pope also ordered him not to exercise any power either of order or of jurisdiction²⁰The appointment of Mgr. Sebastiani as Apostolic Administrator of the whole of Malabar was provisional for the

¹⁷ E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, Bombay, 1957, p. 82.

¹⁸ Placid J Podippara, *op. cit.* p. 135

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

spiritual needs of those Christians who were unwilling to remain under *Padroado*.²¹

The king of Portugal decided again that non-Jesuit religious orders were not to be admitted in the Archdiocese of Cranganore. The majority of the Syrian Catholics belonged to Cranganore and Cochin were under *Padroado* jurisdiction. Almost all of the newly united Syrian Catholics were against Archbishop Garcia. But Archbishop Garcia maintained that it was useless to try to restore these Christians to the Pope without bringing them at the same time under his jurisdiction. As the Patronage of the See was in the hands of the king of Portugal, the decision of the Pope would make confrontation with Goa as an infringement of Portuguese royal prerogatives by the Italian Carmelite friars.

While the Cardinals were hesitating, Pope Alexander VII decided that Fr. Sebastiani should go back to Malabar with the title of Vicar Apostolic and administrator of the Archbishopric of Cranganore. He was to receive episcopal consecration in Rome in the strictest secrecy, this being the first bishop sent to Malabar without the request of the king of Portugal. Joseph

²¹ Joseph Sebastiani was born on 21st February 1623 at Caprarola in the province of Viterbo in Central Italy. On 3rd March 1641 he made his religious profession as a Discalced Carmelite at the monastery of Santa Maria della Scala in Italy. Sebastiani Guiseppe, *Prima Speditione All India Orientali*, Roma, 1666. p.165. Also see Placid J Podipara, *op. cit.*, p.135.

Sebastiani was accordingly consecrated as Titular Bishop of Herapolis on 15 December 1659.²²

The new Vicar Apostolic was provided by *Propaganda* with precise instructions. These were directed towards one aim, the squashing of the schism emerged in Malabar as a result of the illegal consecration of Archdeacon Thomas Parambil as Bishop Marthoma I by a group of rebel priests. For this purpose he was given entire liberty as to the choice of means and was empowered with great authority. It seems that all eventualities had been foreseen - the life or death of the *Padroado* Archbishop Garcia, the co-operation or resistance from the Archbishop and the Jesuits, the opposition of local leaders etc. The Vicar Apostolic could, if he deemed it opportune, consecrate an Indian Bishop or divide the territory of Cranganore and Angamaly so as to form two districts, a southern and northern one. He also had the power to choose a successor and consecrate him²³. Vested with these powers he set out for India and landed at Cochin on May 14, 1661, to find out that Archbishop Garcia had died on 3rd September 1659. For twenty months Bishop Joseph Sebastiani with considerable success continued the work persuading the Syrian Christians to quit the Archdeacon Thomas Parambil.

²² G.T. Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. 62; also see E. Tisserant, *op.cit.*, p.83

²³ K.Werth, *Das Schisma der Thomas Christen unter Erzbischof Franciskus Garzia*; Limburg, 1937, pp.134 – 50..

Eighty four churches returned to the obedience of Joseph Sebastiani²⁴. Since then those Christians who had joined with Roman (Latin) rite were known as "United Syrians" and the rebels retained their original designation "Thomas Christians" or simply "Syrians"²⁵. Later on these two sections came to be known as *Pazhayakoottukar* (old loyalists) and *Puthenkoottukar* (new loyalists), respectively.

Bishop Joseph made his headquarters at Verapoli (Varappuzha) not far from Cranganore. He set out on a visitation with great pomp. But the capture of Cochin town by the Dutch in January 1663 entirely changed the condition of Christianity in Kerala.

Syrian Christians and Apostolic Vicars

The establishment of the Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar became a fact in the course of historical developments in Malabar. In the early stage of its existence it faced many difficulties. It was first opposed by the Jesuits on the basis of *Padroado* privileges. The missionary Patronage of Portugal was useful in the beginning, but later it became a hindrance. The formation of the Malabar Vicariate was treated by Portugal as an enmical institution which hindered the progress of missionary activity. On 6th January 1622, Pope

²⁴ J.F. Raulin *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo*, Rome, 1745, pp. 428-48.

²⁵ Julius Richter, *A History of Mission in India*, Edinburg and London, 1908, p.85

Gregory XV (1621-1623) founded a new congregation, the *Propoganda Fide* (Propagation of Faith), to direct the missionary activities of the whole church²⁶. But the *Padroado* power or missionary patronage of Portugal curtailed the free access of the missionaries sent by the *Propaganda Fide* to the Far East. The *Propaganda* protested against it and decreed in 1631 that the missionaries of all religious orders be granted free access to the missions by any route they deemed convenient. The Portuguese king supported mainly the Jesuits as the missionary sect in their mission lands, especially in the Archbishopric of Cranganore. The constitution of Pope Urban VIII, dated, 22 February, 1633 permitted all Religious Orders to enter into Malabar as any other Mission area inspite of the protests from the Government of Portugal.²⁷

By the middle of the 17th century the Portuguese monopoly in the East was in full eclipse. The new colonial powers, the Dutch and the English captured many of the Portuguese territories. Thus the *Padroado* rights of Portugal was restricted to those territories in which Portugal still retained actual temporal power. To the places the *Propaganda* sent Vicar Apostolics endowed with the episcopal character, they were not juridically residential bishops but the representatives of the Pope, hence they were called Apostolic

²⁶ Andrews Thazhath, *The Juridical Sources of Syro Malabar Church*, Kottayam, 1987, p. 149.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Vicars. The King of Portugal protested against the appointments of the Vicar Apostolics which he considered an evident violation of his privileges granted by the Popes in the past.

Bishop Joseph Sebastiani was sent to Malabar as Vicar Apostolic because it was necessary for those Christians who were unwilling to remain under the Jesuits of *Padroado* regime. By 1663 the Portuguese monopoly over Malabar was in full decline and the *Propaganda* continued to appoint Vicar Apostolics for those who were not under the Portuguese dominion. Thus the Malabar Vicariate continued its existence through centuries instilling dynamism and moulding the ancient Malabar church into a new and systematic form. This caused much rejoicing among the anti Jesuit Christians. For twenty months Sebastiani worked with considerable success and administered the sacrament of Confirmation to the faithfuls and conferred Holy Orders to the clerics who flocked to him from different parts of Malabar. Alexander Kadavil (Kadavil Chandy) and Alexander Palliveetil (Palliveetil Chandy) who were respectively the first and the second of the four councillors of the Archdeacon Thomas Parambil submitted and helped Sebastiani in all possible ways.²⁸

The contemporary documents give evidences that the revolt of Syrian Christians was against the Portuguese Jesuit bishops and not against the

²⁸ Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., *A Brief sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1924, p.98.

Catholic faith and the authority of the Pope. The presence of the Portuguese captain at Cochin and the manifesto which the Syrians published on the occasion of the appointment of the Archdeacon as their Archbishop confirm that the quarrel of the people was not with the Pope. Because of this reason the work of Sebastiani became very easy and most of the rebellious Syrian Christians were, in less than a year, united to the Catholic Church. Archdeacon Thomas persisted in his obstinate stand, inspite of the loss of the vast majority of Syrian churches from his authority. Atlast Bishop Joseph Sebastiani was compelled to declare Archdeacon Thomas a schismatic and this he did, solemnly pronouncing the sentence of Excommunication against him before a large assembly of people²⁹. He was considerably backed up by the Portuguese officials and the clergy of Cochin. Within less than three years churches like Udayamperur, Muttam, Kaduthuruthi, Muttuchira, Edapalli, Alangad, Kuravilangad, Thodupuzha, Palai, Kanjur, Malayattur, Pallipuram, Chalakudi, Angamali and Akaparambu, stood firmly on Sebastiani's side³⁰. Such achievements meant for him much protracted negotiations with the local chieftains and he also used presents and promises to persuade them³¹.

²⁹ V.C George, *The Syro-chaldean church in Malabar*, Alleppey, 1977, pp.172-173.

³⁰ A.M. Mundadan, *op. cit.* n.13, p.173

³¹ K.N. Daniel, *History of the Syrian Church in South India* (Unpublished Monograph) p., 8.

In the meantime, after a short defence, Cochin had fallen into the hands of the Dutch (6th January 1663).³² The policy of the Malabar Command from 1663 to 1697 was to consolidate and extend its power enforcing monopoly of trade in Kerala.³³ Though Msgr. Sebastiani had remonstrated with General Rickloff Van Goens, the Dutch Commander, about the purely religious nature of his position, he was ordered to quit Malabar forthwith.³⁴ He obtained, however, ten days extension of the Order. He immediately summoned a Synod³⁵ at Kadathuruthy. All priests in union with Rome as well as many lay men were asked to be present. Sebastiani told them how things stood and that he had powers to give them a bishop. All the members of the Synod unanimously proposed a cousin of the Archdeacon, parish priest of Kuravilangad, Parambil Chandy (Alexander de Campo), who happened to be Sebastiani's candidate also. On 1st February 1663, the new bishop was consecrated³⁶ after he had taken the oath to receive anyone coming in the

³² Immediately upon the conquest of Kochi, the religious zeal of the Dutch carried them away to the extent of pulling down a magnificent Jesuit Library in Kochi, one of the fairest in all Asia. The soldiers also destroyed the churches built by the Portuguese because the Dutch people were Calvinist Protestants and their hatred of the Portuguese intensified their religious bigotry. Francis Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-117. Also see K.M. Panikkar *Malabar and the Dutch*, Bombay, 1931, p. 126.

³³ M.O. Koshy, "An Evolution of the Political and Administrative Policies of the Dutch", in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads* (ed.) Pius Malekandathil, Jamal Mohammed, Tellicherry, 2001, p.481.

³⁴ Francis Pereparambil, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁵ E. Tisserant, *op. cit.* p.86

³⁶ G.T.Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p.63, L.W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St.Thomas*, Cambridge, 1956, p.107; E. Tisserant, *op. cit.*, p.86

name of the Pope and never to give episcopal consecration to his cousin Thomas de Campo without an express order from Rome. After settling the affairs of the Vicariate on a sound and satisfactory basis Sebastiani left Malabar for Rome in March 1663³⁷.

Bishop Alexander de Campo

It was by sheer accident Parambil Chandy alias Bishop Alexander de Campo became bishop and governed the Syrian Catholics as their Vicar Apostolic. They welcomed this unexpected event by which one of them became their ruler and looked forward to an era of autonomy and to the restoration of unity. Bishop Alexander as the head of the Catholic community attracted many more Syrian Christians to his side, and even expected, that the schismatic Bishop Thomas Parambil himself would turn to him. He styled himself "Metropolitan of All India" and "Gate of All India"³⁸ reminiscent of title of metropolitans from the East Syrian Church used in the pre-Diamper period.

For a century and a half the Dutch were satisfied with carrying on the normal trade in spices north of Lisbon, but after their rebellion against Spain in 1581, they were excluded from the harbour of Lisbon and resolved to oust

³⁷ L.M. Pylee, *op. cit.*, pp.169-70.

³⁸ Paulinos a Sancto Bartholomaeo, *Indian Orietanlis Christiana* Rome, 1794, Malayalam translation by John Pallath, *Paurasthya Bharathathile Chraistthava Matham*, Kalamassery, 1988, p. 94.

the Portuguese from the very source of their trade, in the same way as the latter had broken the Arab-Venetian monopoly. Their aim was very similar to that of the Portuguese at the end of the 15th century. The Dutch were not satisfied with trading only; they also wanted to establish a monopoly for themselves. Although Ceylon was the centre of all transactions between producers and consumers or traders, its conquest alone would not suffice; Malabar had to be brought under their sway.

Bishop Sebastiani, aware of the anti-catholic tendencies of the Dutch, thought that this would induce the Archdeacon Thomas Parambil to make them some advances. He therefore did not hesitate to break one of his instructions. On his way to Malabar he went to Goa to have his title of Apostolic Delegate for Malabar recognized by the *Padroado*. When he landed at Cochin on 14 May 1661, with adequate recommendations from the civil authorities and from the Inquisition of Goa, he presented himself in his new dignity. At Cochin neither the Chapter of the Cathedral nor the Governor was inclined to receive a bishop hailing from anywhere other than Lisbon. However, the schismatic Archdeacon Thomas Parambil was their main concern, for the Dutch military success made the suppression of schism more urgent. The Portuguese understood this and favoured his action.

After the conquest of Cochin and Canannore in January and February 1663, the Dutch made peace with the Portuguese through a decree

which was published at Hague in March 1663.³⁹ The terms imposed by the Dutch were as follows.

1. "The town of Cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands, with the documents and papers relating thereto, and whatever else is held in the name of the King of Portugal, all rights and titles there to being ceded to the Dutch General or His Worship's representatives.
2. "All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, movable and immovable property, slaves and whatever else may be, shall be handed over, as above.
3. "All free persons who have borne arms shall swear not to serve against the Netherlands in India for two years.
4. "All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march past with flying colours, drum beating, fuses alight, bullets in their mouths and two guns, to a convenient place outside the town, and lay down their arms beneath the standard of the General.
5. "All the true born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe.
6. "All married Portuguese and *Mestics* shall proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the General and his Council may permit.

³⁹ D. Ferroli, *Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. I, Bangalore, 1939, p. 132.

7. "All free *Topasses* (semi-assimilated half-castes) and Canarins shall remain at the disposal and direction of the General.
8. "The Clergy may take with them the images and the Church ornaments except those of gold and silver.
9. "All free persons and all persons belonging to the church now wandering in the country, if they be subjects to the King of Portugal, be comprehended in this treaty"⁴⁰ .

As the Portuguese had previously removed most of the valuables to Goa, the Dutch did not find much valuable booty within the city. Directly after the capture of Cochin, the Dutch Governor Rickloff took possession of it.

After a short period of destruction in the early period, the Dutch Governor became friendly with the Syrian Catholics. But the Syrian Church was not in a peaceful state because of the internal unrest, strife and divisions reflected in their community. The Dutch did not favour the Syrian church of the rebellious group under Archdeacon Thomas. The Dutch governor prevented Archdeacon Thomas from entering the territory of Cochin.

After the solemn Episcopal Consecration at Kaduthuruthy, Bishop Alexander formally took charge of the administration of the diocese of

⁴⁰ D. Ferroli, *op. cit.*, n.11, pp.20-21

Cranganore at Muttuchira where he was accorded a grand reception by the Syrian Catholics. He was very successful and he helped to attract many schismatic Syrians into the path of Catholic Church. Bishop Alexander de Campo ruled the Catholic community of Malabar very efficiently without any foreign missionary's help for five years. The Dutch tolerated Bishop Alexander and assumed a sort of protectorate over the Roman Catholics, both Latin and Syrian, only exacting an oath to pay no allegiance to the king of Portugal.

For the administration of the Vicariate, Alexander de Campo was, according to the arrangement made by Sebastiani, assisted by a council of five priests of whom two were carmelites, Fr. Mathew of St. Joseph and Fr. Cornelius of Jesus of Nazareth. In 1673 Fr. Mathew had become very much honoured by the Dutch governor, Van Rheedee, who made use of this old Carmelite priest to prepare the well-known botanical treatise '*Hortus Malabaricus*'⁴¹. It was with his help that Van Rheedee was able to maintain his ground among the Thomas Christians. The hostility of the Dutch towards the Carmelite missionaries gradually abated. Through the influence of Fr. Mathew the Dutch granted permission to him to build a church in a place called Chathiath, which formed part of the town Ernakulam. The land was granted by Cheranellur Kartha (Varekkat Kaimal), the local chieftain, in

⁴¹ K.S. Manilal, *Van Rheedee's - Hortus Malabaricus* (Eng). ed., University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2003.

1673.⁴² In the same year Fr. Mathew built another church at Verapoly, the second Carmelite Church in Malabar. Along with this church there was erected a house for missionaries which became a mother house of the Carmelites in Malabar. In 1675 a seminary was erected in the same place which later developed into the great seminary of Puthenpally and the present Pontifical Seminary of Alwaye. From this time onwards Verapoly became prominent in the ecclesiastical picture of Malabar. But Bishop Alexander resided at Kodavachur, opposite to Thannirmukkam, on the Cochin – Alleppey waterway. Bishop Alexander appointed Cashisha George Parambil as his Vicar General and nominated Mathew de Campo, his nephew, as his Archdeacon.⁴³ An oil painting kept in the Parish hall of the church of Kuravilangad with a Portuguese inscription, shows that Bishop Alexander and the Archdeacon were dressed like Latin prelates. Portions of the Latin Pontificals were translated into Syriac for the use of Bishop Alexander.⁴⁴ The original or its copy is kept in the monastery of Mannanam, Kottayam.

In spite of the favourable activities and rather peaceful administration of Bishop Alexander, the Carmelites were not satisfied with an indigenous Bishop in Malabar. They had always stressed the necessity of sending European bishops to Malabar. When a peace treaty was signed between the

⁴² See K.J. John, ed., *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, Cochin, 1981, p.158.

⁴³ Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All India*, Kottayam, 1972, p.152.

⁴⁴ Placid J. Podipara, op. cit., p.137.

Dutch and the Portuguese in November 1663, Sebastiani tried to return to Malabar. But he was not permitted and he did not visit Malabar again.⁴⁵ But since 1676 new Carmelites had been allowed to come again to Malabar.⁴⁶

Having considered the inability of Bishop Alexander due to old age, the Carmelites decided to elect a coadjutor to him with the right of succession. The *Propaganda* had already the proposal of Fr. Mathew of St. Joseph about Bishop Alexander's nephew Mathew de Campo as a suitable candidate. The Dutch Governor Van Rheede, Bishop Alexander and the Syrian Catholics also desired, Fr. Mathew de Campo as coadjutor of Bishop Alexander.⁴⁷ By the time four Carmelites were deputed by *Propaganda* to choose the co-adjutor. They were Fr. Celestine of St. Ludwina, Fr. Bartholomew of the Holy Spirit, Fr. Angelus Francis of St. Theresa and Fr. Agnello of Immaculate conception⁴⁸ Of the four Carmelite missionaries deputed only two Frs. Bartholomeo and Angelo Francis arrived in Malabar in 1676 with special Dutch passports.⁴⁹ Not long after their arrival they looked for a suitable Indian for the purpose. They averred that no local priests of Syrian Catholics was fit for the post.

⁴⁵ L.M. Pylee, *op. cit.*, p.170. .

⁴⁶ A.M. Mundadan, *op. cit.* ,p.173.

⁴⁷ T.I. Poonen, *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar – 1603-78*, Trichinopoly, 1948, p.281.

⁴⁸ Bartholomaeo of the Holy Spirit was born in Modena (Italy) in 1640. He came to Malabar on 22 April 1676 and elected Raffael as Coadjutor to Bishop Alexander. Angelus Francis and Agnello were also Italians but Agnello was also not participated in the election because he fell ill at Aleppo.

⁴⁹ Paulinos a Sancto Bartholomeo, *op. cit.*, p.85.

Finally their choice fell on Raphael Figueredo de Salgado, a priest of Portuguese extraction belonging to the Cochin diocese. Bishop Alexander refused to consecrate Raphael because of his mixed origin. Raphael was born in Kerala of Portuguese father and native mother. It was very clear that things were not moving in the right direction. Thomas Castro, Bishop of Cochin reluctantly consecrated Raphael at Calicut. Then the latter went to Goa, stayed there for about a year, awaiting the perturbation among the Syrian Catholics to calm down. In April 1678 he returned to Malabar. This event shook the confidence of the Syrian Catholics in the Carmelites and they felt much worried and there was much disappointment particularly among, those who wished to have the reunion of *Puthencoottu* and *Pazhayacoottu* sections of the community effected as early as possible. Though Raphael Figueredo was raised to episcopal dignity through the influence of the Carmelites, he caused much grief to the congregation. The Carmelite Fathers later wrote accusations against their own nominee, that, "a small knife which we have made and which cut into us cruelly".⁵⁰ In 1692 Bishop Raphael even excommunicated George S. Johanna, a Portuguese Franciscan who was the Vicar General of Bishop Alexander⁵¹. After proper enquiry Rome deposed him from the Bishopric by a Decree, dated 16th January, 1694 of the Pope

⁵⁰ Ambrosius a S. Theresia, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, IV, Rome, 1939, p.203 referred by V.C. George, *op. cit.*, n.15, p.159.

⁵¹ D. Ferroli, *op. cit.*, n.11, p.103

Innocent XI. Because of the troubles he was living for some time at Palliport. Bishop Raphael Figueredo Salgado breathed his last in October 1695 just before the execution of the order of his suspension took place⁵² and was buried in the Church at Palliport. The Carmelites thought it necessary to send one of their men to Rome to request the appointment of another prelate. The brahmin convert Custodio de Pinho who was already the Vicar Apostolic of Bijapur and Golconda, was appointed Apostolic Visitor of Malabar in January, 1684. But before he could assume office, he died.⁵³

Before the episcopal ordination and confirmation of Raphael Figueredo, Bishop Alexander had nominated his candidate Mathew de Campo as his Archdeacon to govern the Vicariate Apostolic as per tradition. Mathew was accused of abuses but no action took place against him because the serious events that had taken place related to Raphael Figueredo. Bishop Alexander died in 1687 and was buried in the church of Kuravilangad.

Carmalites Again

A near chaotic condition prevailed for some time. There was no consecrated Bishop in the Vicariate of Malabar. By the close of the century the Holy See, after prolonged negotiations, was able to persuade the Dutch to

⁵² G.T. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p.29.

⁵³ Catholic Directory of India , 1906, p.147. Also see Paulinus a.S. Bartholomeo, *op. cit.*, p.86.

permit Carmelites of three nations (Italy, Germany and Belgium) to work actively in Malabar through Amsterdam Decree.⁵⁴ Following this agreement Angelo Francis who was already in Malabar was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Malabar and was consecrated as Bishop by Mar Simon, a Catholic Syrian Bishop who happened to be in Malabar in 1700 from Persia⁵⁵. There was some difficulty for the consecration of the new Bishop. At that time there were two Bishops in India, Pedro Pacheco O.P., a Dominican who was the *Padroado* Bishop of Cochin from 1694 onwards and the other one was Bishop Augustine of Annunciation from the Order of Christ, the Archbishop of Goa (1691-1713). As the appointment of Angelo Francis was not pleasing to the King of Portugal, both of them refused to consecrate him, they did not want to acknowledge the fact that the Holy See could appoint the bishop in India without the approval of Lisbon.

The restored line of Carmelites Vicar Apostolic, which started in 1700, lasted from that year till 1886. Though the first note of discord between the Carmelites and the Syrian Catholics had already been struck in the 17th century, the appointment of Angelo Francis was enthusiastically welcomed by

⁵⁴ The Amsterdam Decree dated 1st April 1668, by the *Council of the Worshipful Seventeen*, in Amsterdam ie. the Government of Holland. D. Ferroli, *op.cit.*, n.38, p.132.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

the Syrian Catholics. However, the Portuguese *Padroado* authorities were not prepared to accept his appointment.

The situation of the Syrian Catholics in the beginning of eighteenth century was quite intriguing. They were now divided into two groups: one ruled over by Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly under *Propoganda*, and the other by the Jesuit Archbishop under the Portuguese *Padroado*. Often the two jurisdictions overlapped. The first half of 18th century was rather a peaceful period; only there was some administrative problems such as competition between the two jurisdictions, repression of the conflict between the two European colonial powers that were in India during the period and the scarcity of missionaries. However, the Carmelites who were directly under Rome could progress considerably in the pastoral work in the Vicariate because of the support received by them from the Dutch Company. They enjoyed a certain amount of freedom due to the concession obtained from the Dutch Government in 1695 through the effort Archbishop Peter Paul.⁵⁶ However, the power of the Dutch lay as a dead-weight upon the Malabar Church. The Jesuits were deliberately kept away as they were under the

⁵⁶ Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700) deputed Fr. Peter Paul of St. Francis, an Italian Carmelite, to appeal to Leopold I, Emperor of Germany and to negotiate with the Dutch government for free access to the Dutch territories for the European Bishops and other missionaries. Thus the Directors of Batavian Society of East Indies assembled at Amsterdam with Fr. Peter Paul on April I, 1698 and issued a decree and granted official permission for the Carmelite missionaries to work in the Dutch territories. See Francis Pereparambil, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Portuguese *Padroado*, and no Jesuit was allowed as Archbishop of Cranganore by the Dutch.

The Dutch and the *Padroado* Dioceses

In view of the Dutch colonial shadow, it became a difficult task for the Jesuits to erect their headquarters within Cochin territory. So they erected a new Jesuit seminary at Sampalur (St. Paul-Ur) near Ambazhakkad which was a town in the dominion of the Zamorin of Calicut, but lying very close to the districts in which the majority of Christian population resided.⁵⁷ They further strengthened their position by establishing two adjacent centres at Pucotta and at Puthenchira. By the Bull of 1600, *In Supremo Militantis Ecclesiae Solio*, the rights of Patronage over the Bishopric of Cochin as well as over the Archbishopric of Cranganore had already been handed over by the Holy See to the crown of Portugal⁵⁸. When the Dutch colonial power eclipsed,⁵⁹ Portugal claimed the ecclesiastical glory in their territories. The King of Portugal maintained his right to appoint the Archbishops of Cranganore and

⁵⁷ The seminary of Vaipicotta was moved to Ambazhakkad in 1662 which was destroyed by Tipu's troops in 1790. For details see D. Ferri, *op. cit.*, n.38, pp.286-97 and 550-1.

⁵⁸ ARSI, Goa-Mal. Vol. 68, pp.754-759, L.W. Brown, *op. cit.* p. 92 Also see Josoph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.2, p. 126..

⁵⁹ The Dutch lost all hopes of establishing a colony in Malabar, with the defeat at the hands of Marthandavarma, forced them to sign the Treaty of Mavelikkara on 15th August 1753. For details see Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, London, 1967, p.43. T.K. Velupillai, *The Travancore State Manuel*, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 1940, Appendix pp.137-142 (Malayalam version).

the Bishops of Cochin upto 1950.⁶⁰ But this was quite harmless, so long as the bishops were merely titular dignitaries, who were not allowed to set foot within their dioceses by the Dutch power. After the death of Archbishop Garcia, 5 nominations were made by the king of Portugal to the Archdiocese of Cranganore, but the nominees did not take up the post. The first two were Jesuits, Francis Boreto SJ., was forced to resign and the second one Andrea Pereira SJ died in 1682. The third and the fourth bishops were from the Order of Oratorians.⁶¹ They were Bishop Emmanuel and Francis Roz. The fifth one was a Benedictine. The sixth Bishop was Custodius Didacus.⁶² He too was in Europe for six years. Only during his seventh year did he come to take over the See in 1694. Mathew, the nephew of Alexander, was managing the diocese very well as the Archdeacon during these years.

With the appointment of Angelo Francis, as Vicar Apostolic of Malabar with additional charge of Cranganore, the Portuguese government at once, in 1701, nominated Dom John Ribeiro S.J., Rector of the Seminary at Ambazhakkad, as Archbishop of Cranganore, virtually after a lapse of 42 years since the death of Garcia in 1659. As soon as he assumed charge, he

⁶⁰ K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, London, 1953.

⁶¹ Oratorians - a Society of Priestly Order was founded first at Paris in 1611 by Cardinal de Berulle and was approved by Pope Paul V in 1614 which received the title "Congregation of the Oratory of Our Lord Jesus Christ in France". See Maurice A Canney, *op.cit.*, pp. 271-72.

⁶² J.F. Raulin, *op. cit.*, p. 447. Also see D.Ferrolli, *op. cit.*, n. 38, pp. 72-87.

putforth his claims over the Syrian Catholics in the Archdiocese. Bishop Angelo Francis readily agreed to surrender them to their legitimate Ordinary and he convened a conference of the Catholics at Verapoly and declared that he was no more their Bishop and asked them to submit to the authority of Archbishop Ribeiro.⁶³ However, this suggestion was not acceptable to the participants. A strong party was formed under the leadership of Abraham Geevarghese Thoma who met in the smaller church of Kaduthuruthy on 20th June 1704 and they passed a resolution in which they said that through the labours of the Carmelites, there were now 71 churches in complete union and 18 churches in partial union with Rome and only 28 remaining in Schism.⁶⁴ It proved unequivocally that most churches were on the side of the Carmelite Bishop Angelo Francis⁶⁵. The Dutch authorities also opposed the return of the Portuguese Archbishop and they "wrote letters to the neighbouring rulers to refuse all access to the Jesuits.⁶⁶ On January 15th 1707, Pope Clement XI wrote to the King of Portugal, acquitting Bishop Angelo Francis of any blame in the matter and asked the King to use his influence to induce the Dutch government to remove the obstacles which hindered the Archbishop from taking charge of his diocese. The Dutch government was obstinate and

⁶³ Jaccob Kollaparambil, *op. cit.* p.172.

⁶⁴ Schism is defined as a separation from the main body of Church not involving the rejection of any of the fundamental doctrines of the faith. See James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edinburgh, VIth Ed. 1967.

⁶⁵ D. Ferroli, *op. cit.* n.11, p.88.

⁶⁶ V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 1906, p.19.

refused to tolerate Portuguese Bishops. Archdeacon Mathew de Campo went to Chalakudy, met the Archbishop on 29th January 1705 and presented to him the Pontifical ornaments of the Archbishops of Cranganore.⁶⁷ Eventhough the Archdeacon visited the Archbishop and obeyed him, the majority of the Syrian Catholics were reluctant to do so. The Carmelites informed the *Propaganda* that the Catholics and the schismatics did not recognise Ribeiro on account of their ancient oath against the Jesuits. Ribeiro was forced to stay at Puthenchira (which was outside the Dutch territory). Later the Archdeacon Mathew de Campo feared, if the confusion continued, that the Syrian Catholics would take side with the schismatic Bishop Thomas. Moreover a Nestorian prelate from East Syrian church, Mar Gabriel entered in to Malabar in 1708 and created further dissension among the Syrian Catholics⁶⁸. The *Propaganda – Padroado* tussle in Malabar helped him to fish in troubled waters, and got followers from 22 Syrian Christian churches and exercised jurisdiction over them.⁶⁹

Archbishop John Ribeiro had a hard life because he could not have a regular residence, but he was not prepared to yield to the obstacles to assume the charge of the archdiocese Cranganore. The Carmelites then informed the

⁶⁷ Thomas Pallipurathukunnel, *The Double Regime in the Malabar Church 1663-1716*, Alwaye, 1982, p.107.

⁶⁸ Mar Gabriel was Nestorian Bishop from Persia. He reached Malabar without the permission of Holy See. Thomas Pallipurathukunnel, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-47.

⁶⁹ Andrews Thazath, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

Propaganda of the tragic situation of the Malabar Church due to the change in the administration of the Church. Archbishop Ribeiro could not look after the spiritual needs of the Cranganore Archdiocese as the Dutch expelled him from the church of Chalakudy. The soldiers of Zamorin of Calicut destroyed the church of Chalakudy, and he went to Parur and he was impeded by the same soldiers. The church of Ambalakkatt remained closed for three years owing to the excommunication of a certain Christians by the Archbishop.⁷⁰

The conflict between the Carmelites and Jesuits spread even beyond the limits of Malabar. In Malabar the conflict between the Carmelites and the Jesuits created great confusion among the Syrian Catholics. There arose division in the parishes; some obeyed Archbishop Ribeiro and others obeyed the Carmelites. The majority of Syrian Catholics did not want to accept Ribeiro because he was a Jesuit.

When the tension between *Padroado* and *Propoganda* became more acute, a general assembly composed of representatives of 20 Southern Churches was held at Varapuzha and at Alangad in 1709 and it sent a letter to the Cranganore Archbishop to accept the situation as it stood, that is to let the Vicar Apostolic exercise his authority whenever the Archbishop could not. The Archbishop did not heed to the clauses of the representation. Finally they sent a petition to Rome in favour of a Carmelite bishop. It was signed by 47

⁷⁰ Thomas Pallipurathukunnel, *op. cit.* p. 124.

priests and 42 lay men. They argued in the representation that the Dutch refused to tolerate the Portuguese bishop and that the Christians of Malabar, threatened to espouse Schism rather than obey the Jesuit Bishop.⁷¹

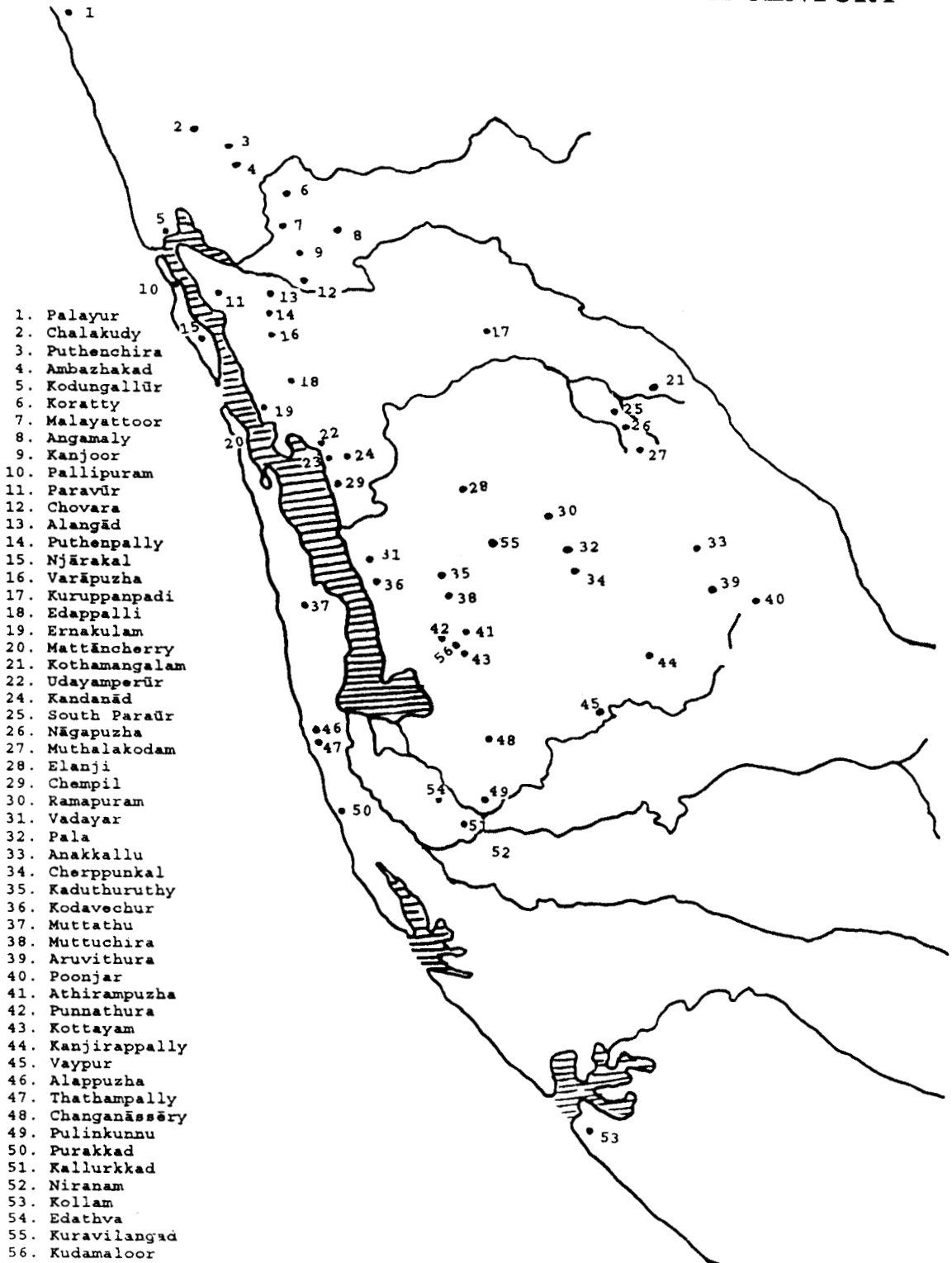
At last after much deliberations Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) issued the Decree dated 13th March 1709 extending the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic over the Diocese of Cranganore and Cochin and directed Angelo Francis of St. Theresa accordingly.⁷² Angelo Francis was thus according to his conferrers obliged in conscience to administer the Catholics of Malabar peacefully, and overcome the obstacles experienced by the prelates of Cranganore and of Cochin. He gave more importance to visiting parishes and consoling the faithful till his death on October, 15, 1712. With Angelo Francis, there began a long line of Carmelite Vicars Apostolic, who ruled over the majority of the Syrian and Latin Catholics until 1886. The controversy between the *Propaganda* and the *Padroado* authorities regarding the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Syrian Catholics continued even during the period of the Carmelite Vicars Apostolic of Malabar, who succeeded Bishop Angelo Francis.

The immediate successor of Bishop Angelo Francis was Bishop John Baptist Multedi of the order of St. Theresa, a native of Genoa who served till

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 130.

⁷² *Ibid.*

SOME OF THE IMPORTANT CHURCHES OF THE ST THOMAS CHRISTIANS IN THE 18TH CENTURY



his death in 1750. He arrived in Malabar in 1718 during the interval between the death of Angelo Francis in 1712 and the arrival of Bishop Multedi in 1718, the Vicariate was under the charge of Fr. Innocent of St. Leopold as pro-Vicar Apostolic. During this period political unrest because of internecine warfare under Zamorin of Calicut and Marthandavarma of Travancore with the native rulers in which the European powers present in the country – the Dutch and the English, also got themselves actively involved and external aggressions under Hyderali and Tipu Sultan from Mysore created an atmosphere of confusion throughout Malabar. So the 18th century was a period of distress and strain for the Malabar Church externally and internally.

Padroado – Propoganda Conflict

The Vicar Apostolic, John Baptist Multedi and the Carmelites strongly expressed their antagonism against the deputation of Jesuit Archbishop Antony Pimentel (1716-1752) and Francis Vasconcellos (1753-1756) and Salvador dos Reis (1756-1777) to Malabar. John Baptist informed the *Propaganda* congregation that the new deputation brought great disorders and confusion to Christianity in Malabar. The Vicar Apostolic attacked the royal Patronage saying that it was a privilege which rendered inapplicable and immune from every censure the one who followed and defended it.⁷³ Due to the Dutch prohibition the *Padroado* bishops could not enter their residences.

⁷³ Abraham Pathiyil, *Christianity in Kerala*, Kottayam, 2000, pp. 171-176.

The mutual suspicion of the *Padroado* and the *Propoganda* prelates coupled with a fear of the Calvinistic Dutch, prepared the ground for a direct and acute jurisdictional controversy between them. The result of this was nothing but chaos and confusion. The remark of Stephen Neill seems to be relevant to the situation: "The story of the Thomas Christians in the 18th century is dark, obscure, distorted and for the most part highly unedifying. The difficult arises not from the lack of authorities – there are, if anything, almost too many – but from the tendentious character of most of them."⁷⁴

In May 1722 Archbishop Pimental of Cranganore and the Vicar Apostolic John Baptist exchanged a few letters.⁷⁵ These letters reveal their mutual attitude and their disposition on the question of their jurisdiction over the church of Malabar ie., mutually intolerant attitude. Both desired the vanishing of the other from the scene. They put forward various arguments to prove that the presence of the opposite party was the cause of all troubles in Malabar. The Archbishop of Cranganore repeatedly sent complaints against the Vicar Apostolic to the Sacred Congregation, and the Congregation was forced to send instructions more than once to the Archbishop and to the Vicar Apostolic for continuing their work peacefully.

⁷⁴ Stephen Neil, *History of Christianity in India*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 59,

⁷⁵ Joseph Perumthottam, *A Period of Decline of the Marthoma Christians 1712-1752*, Kottayam, 1994, pp. 143-65.

In the light of the information received from Malabar, the *Propoganda* Congregation divided the churches in to three categories.

1. Those which were free where one or other prelate could govern either with peace or without considerable opposition from the Dutch government.
2. Those churches, where the prelates were impeded from the free exercise of jurisdiction through the opposition either of Christians or of the Dutch government or other native rulers.
3. Churches with a total impediment with no ecclesiastical functions due to certain events⁷⁶.

According to the *Propoganda* Congregation, the Vicar Apostolic was to exercise his jurisdiction only in those churches where the *Padroado* prelates could not freely exercise their jurisdiction.

In fact, from the struggle of many years, neither the Carmelites nor the Jesuits gained anything substantial. Both in fact, failed to exclude each other. From the experience they knew that the intensity and extension of the Dutch opposition, not only against the *Padroado*, but also against the *Propoganda* rule, depended mostly upon the attitude of the changing authorities. And the Syrian Catholics in general longed for a peaceful atmosphere. In such a

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 173-174.

situation, both group of missionaries realised that, continuing the jurisdictional dispute would make them only losers rather than winners. The juridical controversy wounded the church deeper than any other issue of the time. John Baptist, the Vicar Apostolic who ruled over the churches for 34 years, did much good and died on 6th April 1750.

When John Baptist was very old, and stood in great need of an assistant, the Pope on the 15th January 1746 appointed Father Florence of Jesus of Nazareth as co-adjutor and he became Vicar Apostolic in 1750. He administered the Vicariate efficiently up to 1773. In 1756 Salvador dos Reis of the Society of Jesus was appointed as the Archbishop of Cranganore⁷⁷ and was consecrated by Bishop of Cochin at Anjengo, south of Quilon, where he had the residence. The *Padraodo* Diocese of Cranganore remained vacant after the death of Salvador in 1777.

In the latter half of the 18th century a storm against the Jesuits began to sweep over the continent of Europe. In several countries, secular authorities ranged themselves against the Jesuit Order. The movement started in 1759 in Portugal where Marquis Pombal, Chief Minister of state, accused the Jesuits of disloyalty to the State and even of plotting to assassinate King Joseph Emmanuel.⁷⁸ All the Jesuits were banished and all their possessions

⁷⁷ C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, Madras, 1903, p. 255..

⁷⁸ D. Ferroli, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 490.

The King was so pleased with the Papal letter that he ordered the firing of 11 guns in honour of the Pope on receipt of the letter and also exempted the Roman Catholics at the Vicariate of Verapoly from all "public burdens whatever."⁸³ He was received by the Vicar Apostolic with great joy as he was expected to be of great service and help to the Carmelite mission. One of the notable works of Bishop Florence was that he rebuilt the seminary at Verapoly in 1764 and separate quarters in the seminary were arranged for Syrian and Latin Catholics. On 31st August 1771, an important order was issued by the Sacred Congregation that students for priesthood should be not less than 17 years of age and that both the Latins and the Syrian Catholics should be trained together in the central seminary at Verapoly⁸⁴ The Dutch governor Moens says that he had occasions to be with this Bishop more than once and that he appeared to him "to be a pleasant, edifying and learned man".⁸⁵ He was very popular among the Catholic community, especially among the Syrian Catholics.

Bishop Florence died on 26th July 1773. His funeral provoked a bitter quarrel between the missionaries and the local clergy, as to who should lead the coffin to the grave. The Carmelite missionaries claimed it as their

⁸³ Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomeo, *op. cit.*, p.XVI.

⁸⁴ Francis Thonippara, *op. cit.*, p. 25-26.

⁸⁵ A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, New Delhi, 1911, p. 184.

exclusive right. The Syrian clergy and their people took it as a grave insult to their community.

More over, the Syrian clergy complained that the missionaries treated their priests harshly so much so that one priest, Chacko Cattamar of Edappilly was even killed at the instigation of a Carmelite Priest Francis Sales.⁸⁶ Consequently on 20th August 1773 a general assembly was convoked by the leading Syrian clergy at Angamali in the historic church of St. Hormisdas⁸⁷. All the priests and one or two lay representatives from each of 45 parishes were present. Two Carmelites led by Lawrence Justiniani, the then Apostolic Visitor, joined the assembly and managed to settle the issues and the assembly was peacefully concluded. He conceded to the demands of the Assembly ie. 1) The Malabar churches in future could bury the bishops. 2) No punishment would be meted out for any grave crime committed by priests or lay men before the matter was judged by the representatives of four churches. 3) During the procession in connection with feasts, the priests, who celebrated the mass, not the Carmelite *padres*, should carry the reliquary. 4) The new seminary, the Pope intended to open in Malabar, should be for several

⁸⁶ Francis Thonippara, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

⁸⁷ A. M. Mundadan, *op. cit.*, n. 13, p. 150. Also see Pius Malekandathil, ed., *Jornada*, Kochi, 2003, p.350.

reasons, not at Verapoly but at Alangad.⁸⁸ But this reconciliation did not last as later events showed.

Meanwhile the question of a successor to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar became a serious issue in Rome and the authorities of the Congregation and the Holy Father selected Fr. Francis de Sales on July 10, 1774 as Vicar Apostolic of Malabar.⁸⁹

The new Apostolic Vicar arrived at Varapuzha on 13th October 1775 amidst internal problems. This Bishop was a German and most of the Carmelite missionaries working in the Vicariate were Italians. As a result, the Carmelites turned against the Vicar Apostolic and constant quarrels between them forced Bishop Francis to leave India in 1779 and he retired to the monastery of Mount Carmel, where he died on July 25th 1787⁹⁰. He was succeeded by Bishop Aloysius Mary of Jesus who was an Italian and held office from 1785 to 1802, which was a period of very bitter disputes with Syrian Catholics⁹¹. He was consecrated at Pondicherry and he arrived at Verapoly on 10th February 1787. He was a prelate of pacific temper, liberal and affectionate to the people under his jurisdiction and the people venerated

⁸⁸ Paremmakkal Thoma Kathanar, *Varthamanpusthakam* (mal.), Athirampuzha, 1936, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁹ Ambrosius a S, Theresia, *op.cit.*, p.262.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 273-74.

⁹¹ Paulinus a.S. Sancto Bartholomeo, *op. cit.*, pp.89-90.

him much⁹². His episcopacy lay partly in the Dutch period and partly in the British period.

The discontent of the Syrian Catholics with the Carmelites came to a head during the period leading to a general meeting of Syrian Catholics at Angamali in 1773. The following years became more pronounced. The strong national consciousness of the community and the desire for a native spiritual leader was also developed among the Syrian Catholics. The atmosphere gradually became tensed.

Meanwhile, Joseph Kariattil, a native of Cochin successfully completed his eleven years ecclesiastical studies at *Propaganda* college in Rome, became a significant native leader of Syrian Catholics. In 1782 Joseph Kariattil had been appointed as the Archbishop of Cranganore by the *Padroado* authorities and Queen Maria Francesca of Portugal.⁹³ Pope Pius VI sanctioned this appointment on 16th December 1782.⁹⁴ But his sudden death in Goa on his return journey from Europe shattered the dreams of the Syrian Catholics to obtain a native leader to rule over them. Thomas Paremakkal, who was the companion of Kariattil, whom the latter had nominated on his death bed as the "Governor" of Cranganore, became the leader of the radical

⁹² *Ibid.*, Also see C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁹³ Paramakkal Thoma Cathanar, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-31

⁹⁴ C.C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas No Oriente*, Vol. II, Nova Goa, 1894, p.50.

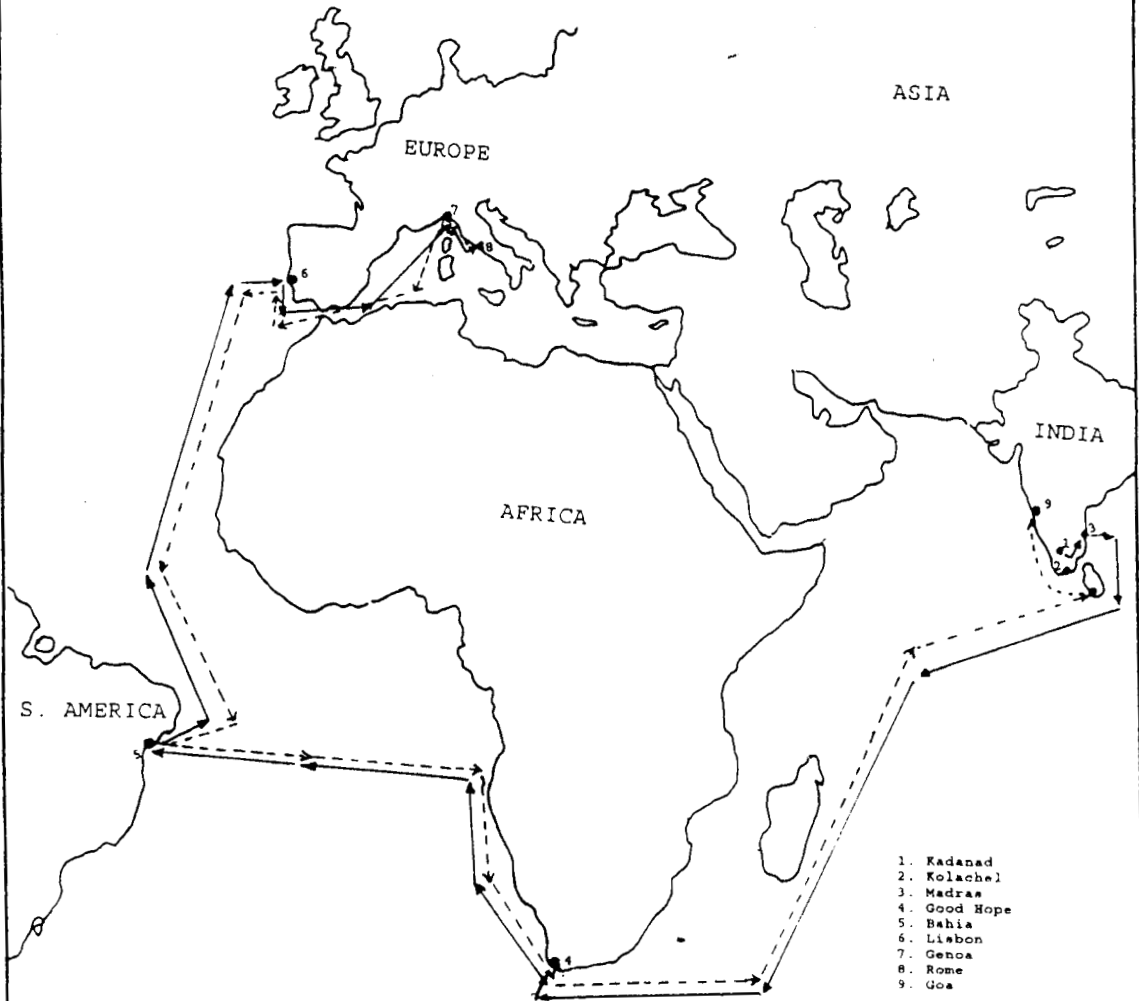
group of the Syrian Catholics of his time and held a sensational meeting at Angamali. The meeting held in 1787 was attended by representatives from 84 churches. Thomas Paremakal described the details of his journey to Rome along with Joseph Kariattil and the return journey and expressed doubts about the hand of foreign missionaries in Kariattil's death⁹⁵. Several complaints against Carmalites were published through *Angamale Padiyola* (Document of Angamali Convention)⁹⁶. Apparently through the good offices of Fr. Paulinus, the Maharajah of Travancore, after examining the case in the Travancore Court declared that all the complaints were baseless and he fined the Syrian Catholics for the 'illegal' Angamali convention. All this naturally provoked further controversy and conflict and embittered feelings. This state of tense atmosphere continued till Paremakal's death on 30th March, 1799. Bishop Aloysius Mary's period was also disturbed by external invasions under Haider Ali and his Son Tipu Sultan. In November 1789 Tipu entered the Cochin territory. With the conquest of Cochin by British commander Major Petrie and the expulsion of the Dutch therefrom, the British finally became the colonial masters in the whole region of Malabar.

Bishop Aloysius Mary feared an imminent revolt in Malabar when the news of the death of Joseph Cariyattil reached Malabar through a Portuguese

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 294-95.

⁹⁶The Angamali *Padiyola* was the spontaneous expression of the feelings of the Syrian Christian community assembled there. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-56.

JOURNEY ROUTE OF MAR CARIATTIL AND PAREMMAKKAL



vessel. He sent a report to Rome that the situation in Malabar was beyond control because the Syrian Catholics seriously doubted foul play by the foreign missionaries in this tragic event. In the eyes of the missionaries, the accusations against them were false and they categorically denied their responsibility in the death of Mar Kariattil.

The untimely death of Kariattil, the negative attitude of *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* authorities to consecrate a native leader as the Archbishop of Syrian Catholics, prompted them to turn towards the Chaldean church. The desire of the community to get Paramakkal as their new Archbishop was strongly expressed in *Angamali Padiyola*.⁹⁷ The struggle for self-rule became a passion of the community in the course of struggles over centuries.

The Syrian Catholics, frustrated as they were, and grown very restive under the oppressive situation, turned their attention to Mesopotamia and sent a deputation to the Chaldean Patriarch. The delegation carried with them letters from the priests, people and even from the King (of Cochin) which described to Patriarch Joseph IV (d. 1791), the deplorable state of affairs in the Malabar church. As Patriarch Joseph was away in Rome, John Hormex, Metropolitan of Mosul, received them. He was a recent convert to

⁹⁷ The representatives of 84 Parishes at Angamali under Fr. Thomas Paramakkal prepared and approved their demands in the form of a manifesto is known as *Angamali Padiyola*, dated, Feb. 2, 1787. See Paramakkal Thoma Kathanar, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-84. Also see Paulinus a.S. Bartholomeo, *op. cit.*, p.82.

Catholicism. He decided to consecrate a bishop for Malabar and wrote about it to the *Propaganda*. After writing eight times and after 16 months of waiting without receiving an answer, Mar Hormez consecrated one of the delegates, a layman called Paul Abraham Pandari.⁹⁸ He sent him back to Malabar with two priests, without assigning, however, any jurisdiction until he was approved by Rome. At the same time he informed the *Propoganda* of the step he had taken. However, Bishop Pandari, was not allowed to exercise his Episcopal office because of his ignorance and incompetence.⁹⁹

Bishop Aloysius Mary of Jesus was succeeded as Vicar Apostolic by his Vicar general, Raymond of St. Joseph in 1803¹⁰⁰. He was an Italian by birth and his period lasted for 13 years. Externally and internally the ecclesiastical climate in Malabar was quite peaceful. But the controversies between the *Propoganda* and the *Padroado* missionaries continued to rage in Malabar. After the death of Archbishop Salvador dos Reis of Cranganore, Fr. Pedro Figueredo was appointed as Governor of the Archdiocese of Cranganore.¹⁰¹

The significant event of this period was the visit of an eminent British Protestant dignitary, Claudius Buchanan, from Calcutta who was deputed to

⁹⁸ Placid. J. Poidipara, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁹⁹ E. Tisserant, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Also see Placid J. Podipara, *op. cit.* p. 117.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 97.

¹⁰¹ D. Ferroli, *op. cit.* n.11. p. 549.

Malabar to make a study of the Jacobite Syrian Christians here. The Residency of Colonel Macaulay was also a significant one to the Jacobite Syrians. Buchanan met Bishop Raymond of the Malabar Vicariate and requested him not to offer any objections to the circulation of the Bible published in Malayalam and Syriac.¹⁰²

After the demise of Bishop Raymond in July 1816, Fr. Miles Prendergast, an Irish Carmelite was appointed to the post of Vicar Apostolic in 1819. But he arrived in Malabar only in 1821¹⁰³. He was a strong disciplinarian and the steps he took to enforce discipline drove the indigenous clergy in to open hostility towards him. He resigned the post in 1828 and left for Bombay. Bishop Aurelius Stabilini, an Italian succeeded him and continued up to 1831.¹⁰⁴ His period saw the revival of indigenous monastic life in Malabar and the establishment of a monastic house at Mannanam which took the name of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate of Mount Carmel.¹⁰⁵ Bishop Francis Xavier Pescetto of St. Anne became the 9th Vicar Apostolic of Malabar on 9th July, 1832. Thirteen years of his regime was a troublesome period.¹⁰⁶ The first and foremost of the difficulties which

¹⁰²Francis Day, *op. cit.* p.248.

¹⁰³ Ambrosius a.S. Theresia, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 304-311.

¹⁰⁵ The Chronicles related its foundation kept in Mannanam CMI Archives.

¹⁰⁶ Ambrosius a.S. Theresia, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-320. G.T. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Also see Nagam Aiya *op. cit.*, n.54, p. 175.

Francis Xavier had to encounter was the clash with the *Padroado* Missionaries. The ecclesiastic authorities of Goa protested against the order of the appointment of Vicars Apostolic in Calcutta, Madras, Madura and Ceylon. According to the *Padroado* authorities it was an infringement of '*Jus Patronatus*' and they warned the people not to recognise the new Vicars Apostolic under pain of excommunication. Soon after the brief *Multa Praeclare* was promulgated suppressing the *Padroado* Dioceses, a "revolt" spread in the Portuguese territories by the Goan priests working in Malabar and other places coming under *Padroado* openly defied the Papal dioceses. This is known as *Indo-Lusitanum Schism*.¹⁰⁷ Those Syrian Catholics who were hostile to the Carmelites also aided the Goan priests in their campaign against the Carmalites and Vicariate Apostolic. The leader of the hostilities was a Goan priest named Manuel Jaochim Neves who was the officiating *Padroado* Governor of Cochin Diocese.¹⁰⁸ With the self-given title, "The Metropolitan elect of the Travancore Churches," he openly strove against Bishop Francis Xavier to wrest from him his spiritual authority.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ J. Waigand, *Mission Indiarum Orientalium*, Budapest, 1940, p.9. Also see E.R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1927, p.244.

¹⁰⁸ He was a Portuguese Dominican and a strong defender of *Padraodo* and therefore, used all means to belittle the *Propagandists*. About his appointment see Joseph Wicki, *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Arquivo Historico Societatist Iesu, hereafter (AHSI), Vol. XIV, Goa, 1945, pp. 533-34.

¹⁰⁹ James Abraham Puliurumbil, *A Period of Conflict in the Suriani Church of India*, Kottayam, 1993, pp. 224-25.

The Papal Bull *Multa Praeclara* and *Padroado* Dioceses

The Portuguese power in India was on steady decline. But the *Padroado* authorities were not prepared to accept this unpleasant reality and was continuing to insist upon their exclusive ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the Indian territory. In 1759 the Jesuits who had been pioneers in the Indian missions were expelled from Portugal and its colonies.¹¹⁰ Rome on the other hand did not leave this claim unchallenged especially in the context of the policy of Portugal was not favourable to the Missions. Pope Clement XIV by the *Dominus ac Redemptor* on 21 July 1773 suppressed the Jesuit Mission.¹¹¹

Meanwhile the *Propaganda Fide* was studying the various developments in the Indian missions. In a report of 1832, the gravity of the missionary activities under the *Padroado* rule was pointed out.¹¹² Moreover, Portugal was facing internal conflicts. On May 28, 1834 Portugal suppressed all the Religious Orders within their territory. In the previous year the Papal Nunciature in Portugal was unilaterally suppressed by Portugal. A civil war broke out between the King Miguel and his elder brother Dom Pedro.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ In 1759 Pombal, the "enlightened" chief minister to the king of Portugal, expelled the Jesuits from the Portuguese territories. In 1767, they were expelled from France and Spain and in 1773 Pope Clement XIV, yielding to pressure from Portugal, suppressed the Society. D. Ferroli, *op. cit.*, n. 38, p. 402.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

¹¹² James Abraham Puliurumbil, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹¹³ Carlton. J.H. Hayes, *Modern Europe to 1870*, New York, 1958, p.642.

Pope Gregory XVI took the bold step of solving the problem by issuing the famous Bull *Multa Praeclare* on April 24th, 1838¹¹⁴. It gave a death-blow to *Jus Patronatus*,¹¹⁵ which was so long enjoyed by the Portugal, but which, inspite of the great services it rendered to the Church in India for a long time, ultimately proved to be a great impediment for the spiritual and social welfare and progress of the people of this land. It was a period of great confusion in the Malabar Church, a double jurisdiction over the same people.¹¹⁶ By this Bull the Pope erected various Vicariates Apostolic in India, independent of the *Padroado* jurisdiction of Goa.

The Apostolic brief restricted the 'Patronage' or *Padroado* of the Crown of Portugal to Goa and the diocese of Macau only, giving in other places exclusive jurisdiction to the Vicars Apostolic under the *Propaganda*. According to the Roman document the diocese of Mylapore would go to the Vicariate of Madras, the diocese of Cochin and the Archdiocese of Cranganore to the Vicariate of Verapoly and the diocese of Malacca to the Vicariate Apostolic of Alva and Pegu. Tension mounted between Rome and Portugal and discussions were going on for a reconciliation. In the new set up

¹¹⁴ Francis Peraparambil, *op. cit.*, p.50.

¹¹⁵ E.R. Hull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 238.

¹¹⁶ V.A. Pascal, *The Latin and Syrian Hierarchies of Malabar*, Ernankulam, 1937, Appendix, p. 4. A Meersman, "Notes concerning the Ancient Residence of Cranganore and Cochin Bishops," in *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. V, n.1. Bangalore, 1971, pp.1-8.

the Archdiocese of Goa was without any suffragan. The Goan Archbishop Alvarnez wrote to his suffragan Bishops that Rome had no right to intervene and hence they should not accept the Papal Bull of *Multa Praeclare*. This open disobedience to Rome by the Goan Archbishop is generally known as *Padroado Schism* or Indo Lusitanum Schism.¹¹⁷

In this way, therefore, there came to be only Vicariates Apostolic in the whole of India, Burma and Ceylon, with the exception of the ancient Archdiocese of Goa, which remained as the sole relic of the glories of the Portuguese ecclesiastical power of olden days.

Padroado Reaction

The Bull gave birth stout hostility of *Padroado* followers especially of the Goan clergy. The blow which was thus dealt to the *Padroado* of Portugal in India, and particularly in Malabar, made the hostility of the Goan clergy keener than ever. A stout champion of the Vicariate's rights on the side of *Propaganda* was found in Ludovico (alias Louis) Martini of St. Teresa who was made Co-adjutor to the Vicar Apostolic in 1839, a year after the issuing of the Papal Bull. He successfully combated the Indo-Lusitanum Schism.

¹¹⁷ Francis Peraparambil, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51. For further details on issuing of '*Multa Praeclare*' and its consequences on Indian Church. See J. Metzler, *Die Missionen der Kongregation in Indien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Patronatsfrage*. "Memoria Rerum" Vol. III. pp. 399-422.

With the return of Churches under *Padroado* Jurisdiction to the authority of the Vicariate, it became so extensive that the Vicar Apostolic, Archbishop Francis Xavier, exclaimed, "From Cape Comerin to Canara and from the source of the sea to the mountain gates." It exercised jurisdiction from Cape Comerin to the Northern most limits of Malabar and even embracing the regions of South Canara.¹¹⁸

The reasons for the submission are first of all, their duty to the Holy See, and secondly, there is no real excuse for their resistance, as the following points will show; 1. The Holy See, in conceding the patronage, never meant to impede its own liberty to rule the region or to deprive itself of the power of making new laws and arrangements 2. The kings of Portugal no longer possess resources or facilities for exercising patronage, since those countries which were under Portuguese possession had been passed over to other civil powers which will not allow its exercise. 3. The Holy See has already in the past separated off portions of the old *Padraodo* dioceses from the Portuguese patronage and made them a part of Vicariate Apostolic.¹¹⁹ Hence the Holy See looks for obedience on the part of those who have hither to resisted, otherwise they will prove that having no reason for dissension, they can only be actuated by a disobedient mind.

¹¹⁸ L.M. Pylee, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

¹¹⁹ E.R. Hull, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

When the Papal Bull, *Multa Praeclare* reached India, a few months after the date of its publication, it was the Vicar - Apostolic who received it direct from Rome and at once he announced the message contained in it to the public. The *Padroado* authorities took it as a hoax or a forgery at the face of it. On account of the discredit which the Goan authorities attributed on the genuineness of *Multa Praeclare*, a certificate of authenticity was issued by Cardinal Fransoni, prefect of *Propaganda* on December 20th 1838.¹²⁰ The brief and this certificate were dispatched to the Rt. Rev. Thomas Griffiths, Vicar Apostolic of London, who in turn forwarded the document to the English government on January 17th 1838. This dispatch was officially acknowledged by James C. Meville of the East India House on January 17th, 1838 and a similar acknowledgement was made by the Madras Government to Dr. O'Connor, Vicar Apostolic of Madras on April 8th, 1839.¹²¹ After this, the resistance to the execution could rest only on questioning the right of the Sovereign Pontiff to legislate in the way he had done and on the principle that no Papal act could have effect without the sanction of the crown of Portugal.¹²²

¹²⁰ James Abraham, Puliurumbil, *op.cit.*, pp.237-38..

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹²² Fr. Antonio Carvalho, The Archbishop of Goa and Fr. Antonio Teixeira, The Bishop of Madras, denied the authority of the "Brief with a pastoral letter dated, October 8, 1838, that the Pope violated the *Jus Patronatus* of Portugal which can not be denied even by the same Pontiff. James Abraham Puliurumbil *op. cit.*, p.235.

The *Multa Praeclare* was not a formal abrogation of the '*Padroado*' nor an abolition of the *Padroado* Sees; for these still existed in name and title, though deprived of all jurisdiction which is normally inherent in a Bishopric. It was not precisely a direct attack. The motive at the back of the Pope's mind was that the *Padroado* had not only to a great extent ceased to be a means to the great end, the spread of the faith and the promotion of religion, but had made itself an obstacle and impediment to those ends by obstructing the efforts of others. When a law ceases to promote the end for which it was made and rather produces a contrary effect, that law is cancelled. The same with a contract, an arrangement, a concession of power and influence in the church. According to the Holy See, the *Padroado* had fallen in to this category and must go by the board, and so without being finally obliterated, it was for the time effectually suspended, by a transfer of its jurisdiction to other hands - as far as those three suffragan dioceses of Goa - Mylapore, Cochin and Malaccawere concerned.

When the *Multa Praeclare* was known to the *Padroado* authorities, it was instantaneously, unhesitatingly and firmly rejected. Whether the Portuguese Government protested against it directly to the Holy See, we have not yet discovered, as diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Rome were at that time suspended. The Carmelite missionaries who had come from Pondicherry to carry out this work soon met with serious resistance. A number of Goan clergy had been sent to the districts, in order to retain them

under *Padroado*, rather than to minister to them in any effective way. The consequence was, that the *Propaganda* missionaries found their progress blocked in every direction and disgraceful tussles ensued.¹²³

The Portuguese Bishop, Manoel de St. Joaquin Neves of Cochin totally ignored the Bull¹²⁴ and contended that it was merely an obnoxious and surreptitious Brief, which Bishop Xavier in concord with the French Missionaries of Pondicherry and Doctor O' Connor had extorted from the congregation *Propaganda Fide* in the name of Pope Gregory XVI, and that it deserved not to be called for the name of Bull because it was only signed by a Cardinal and his secretary. Bishop Neves deserves to be greatly admired for his patriotism, resided at Quilon. When the news of the Bull reached him, he summoned the chief officers of his Diocese and asked them not to submit to the jurisdiction of Verapoly and also made fresh efforts to oppose the execution of the Bull. Bishop Xavier also had given instruction to the Carmelite missionaries under him to travel in the country and publish the Vatican Brief of 24th April *The Multa Proclare*, annulling the Bishoprics of Cranganore and Cochin and to gather only as many of the members of those churches as were 'willing' to come in to the jurisdiction of Verapoly. Both parties sought Government aid and Bishop Xavier claimed that the

¹²³ Domenic Fernadez, *The Latin Missions under the Jurisdiction of Propaganda 1637 – 1838*, Vitoria, 1959, p.104.

¹²⁴ C.C. de Nazareth, *op. cit.*, pp.58 and 119-29.

Government of Travancore and Cochin should recognise him as the only rightful superior prelate of Malabar constituted by Pope and issue positive orders to all Roman Catholic subjects to subject themselves to him in every matter. Bishop Neves also demanded and obtained from the Travancore authorities a decree ordaining under heavy penalty, that all the Christians in the dominion of Travancore, should recede from the Jurisdiction of the Pope's vicar and place themselves wholly under Bishop Neves. The Diocese of Cochin at the time of its decreed abolition had Latin churches or chapels including the one at Alleppy and 154 in South Malabar. The Diocese of Cochin possessed 4 Latin Churches in North Malabar and 70 Syrian Catholic churches in central Malabar. The report of the visitation started by Msgr. Clemens Bonnard, the Apostolic Vicar of Pondicherry gives a general picture of the catholic church in India in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ The peace and tranquillity of about 3,00,000 Roman Catholics on the coast was at stake at this critical period. In some of the Churches of Narakkal in Cochin, Edappally belonging to Cranganore, Quilon, Anjengo, Cape Comerin, Koravallanghat, Attingal, Odachery etc. open rebellions took place between the two rival sects of priests. All appealed to the Government of Travancore for aid, and when that was found impracticable, they appealed to

¹²⁵ Msgr. Clemens Bonnard was deputed as the Apostolic Visitor of the Missions of the East. He does not distinguish between the Syro Malabar and Latin Catholics, but considers them as one and the same Catholic Church of Malabar. See Francis Pereparambil *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

the Government of Great Britain but it was growing weary of these disputes and left the disputants to themselves - in response to all appeals, the Honourable Court of Directors declared the policy of non-interference and Colonel Thomas Maclean, the British Resident, notified it in June 1840 to all ecclesiastical dignitaries concerned that it had been determined. They followed the policy of non interference in any dispute spiritual or temporal among their congregations in Travancore and Cochin.¹²⁶

But at last Verapoly made a clear gain. Notwithstanding the united efforts and hard fight of the Goanese priests headed by the Bishop Neves of Cochin, the great multitude of the Christians abandoned the Schism and submitted themselves to the Vicar Apostolic with all their churches. The Bishop of Cochin lost 21,500 Christians and 50 churches i.e., one third of its Christians and churches within 3 years and Cranganore lost another 20,000 and this loss steadily increased till 1861.

Seeing the efforts of the *Padroado* clergy to hold to the right of 'Patronage', preaching even against the authority of the Pope, Vicar Apostolic Francis Xavier on April 9, 1838 wrote a letter prohibiting his subjects from having ecclesiastical communion with those who maintain the schism¹²⁷. Although Bishop Neves could find 12 Syrian Priests of the archdiocese of

¹²⁶James Abraham Puliurumbil, *op. cit.*, p. 244..

¹²⁷*Ibid.* p. 238.

Cranganore to stand against the decision of the Pope, no Syrian parish declared obedience against the Apostolic Vicar¹²⁸.

Since the Archdiocese of Cranganore was suppressed, the Syrian Catholics implored the Pope to grant the title of "Archbishop" to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar under whom they were entrusted. Thus in 1840, at the instance of the Syrian Catholics and also in regard for his merit, the then Vicar Apostolic, Francis Xavier of St. Anna, OCD, was named "titular Archbishop".¹²⁹ His successors too were given this title. After having been elected the Archbishop, Msgr. Francis Xavier wrote to the Congregation that, on the occasion of his new dignity as Archbishop, he appealed to Bishop Neves and his adherents for conversion but they refused.¹³⁰

In a letter of September 14th, 1840 Francis Xavier informed the congregation that in Central Malabar only two churches and two oratories were in schism and all others were under the Apostolic Vicar. The co-adjutor, Ludovico, was of immense service in successfully combating the Indo Lusitanum Schism. St. Francis Xavier's church in Kottar, which was a centre of the Goan agitation, finally submitted to the Vicar Apostolic. This was followed by many others in quick succession. Bishop Francis Xavier

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 242..

¹²⁹ Francis Peraparambil, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

generally known as "the great Archbishop", died on 7th December 1844 and his remains were interred in the Cathedral at Verapoly.

On the demise of Archbishop Francis Xavier, Bishop Ludovico Martini of St. Teresa became Vicar Apostolic and the titular Archbishop of Cyrus (1844-53). In consonance with the principles in the Bull, *Multa Praeclare*, the Vicariate of Verapoly expanded and became unwieldy when its jurisdiction extended from Cape Comerin to the other limits of Malabar and even embracing the regions of South Canara.¹³¹ Rome therefore, decided to divide the Vicariate in to three ecclesiastical units. Thus in 1845 a provisional division of the extensive Vicariate of Malabar in to three working units, namely, Verapoly in the centre, Quilon in the South and Mangalore in the north was effected.¹³² This division was made absolute on 15th March 1853 through the Apostolic Brief *Exdebito* of Pope Pius IX.¹³³ On January 10, 1849, the schismatic leader, Bishop Neves, died, but at his deathbed he repented for his folly and expressed a desire to see Bishop Bernadine Baccinelli. But no one cared to communicate this to the Bishop though he was in Quilon at that time¹³⁴.

¹³¹L.M. Pylee, *op.cit.*, i, P.261

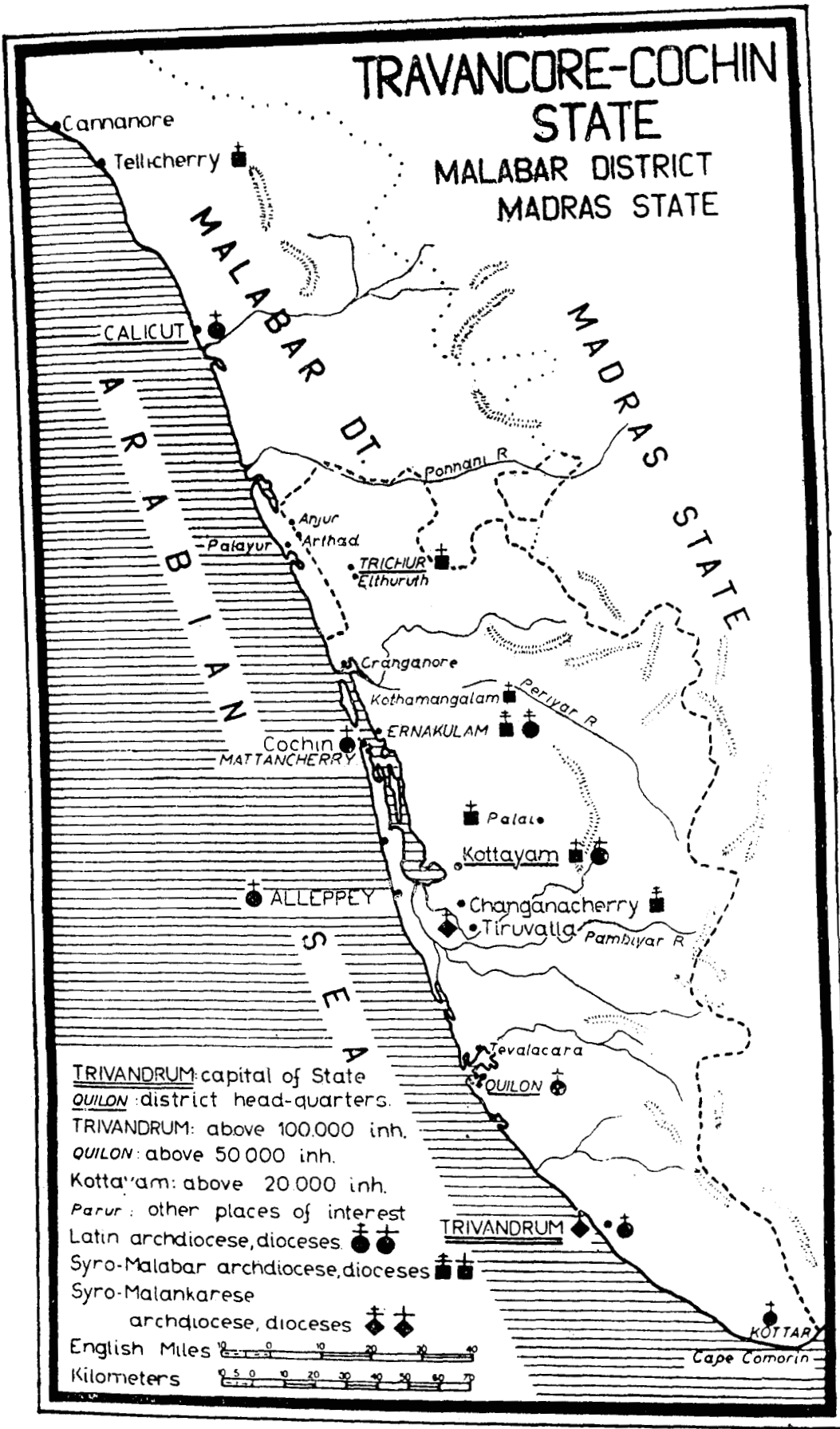
¹³² V.A. Pascal, *op.cit.*, p. 141..

¹³³ Francis Pereparambil, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹³⁴ P. Marcelino. *History of True Religion of Kerala*, (Mal.) Koonammavu, 1872 p.279.

TRAVANCORE-COCHIN STATE

MALABAR DISTRICT
MADRAS STATE



TRIVANDRUM: capital of State
QUILON: district head-quarters.

TRIVANDRUM: above 100,000 inh.
 QUILON: above 50,000 inh.

Kottayam: above 20,000 inh.
 Parur: other places of interest

Latin archdiocese, dioceses

Syro-Malabar archdiocese, dioceses

Syro-Malankarese archdiocese, dioceses

English Miles
 Kilometers

TRIVANDRUM

KOTTAR
 Cape Comorin

The old aspirations of the Syrian Catholics who were not content under the foreign Latin rule, still force them to go on with their demand and request for self rule. The dispute and rift between *Padroado* and *Propaganda* created in Kerala a situation which forwarded once more the idea of resuming the former bonds with Babylon. By the time a group of Syrian Catholics, though still few and weak had always maintained correspondence with the East Syrian (Chaldean) Patriarch.¹³⁵ It was in these circumstances that *Propaganda* received a direct petition on 1st June 1853, bearing the signature of 30 priests, with the main request for a bishop of their own rite.¹³⁶ Rome did not offer any answer to these petitions immediately.

The peculiar situation in Malabar i.e., the one catholic community under two jurisdictions and a community under two different political regimes, caused problem on the ecclesiastical level. Each jurisdiction, had its timely demands ascertaining its rights and patronage over the churches of *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. There were also conflicts between the faithful of the two rites (Latin and Syrian) in the same jurisdiction, interjurisdictional and intrajurisdictional. The temporal suppression of *Padroado* jurisdiction and the consequent end of the conflicts between the two jurisdictions in the Malabar church did not satisfy the Syrian Catholics.

¹³⁵ Placid J. Podippara, *The Thomas Christians*, London, 1970, p.188.

¹³⁶ E. Tisserant, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

CHAPTER 4

JACOBITISM IN MALABAR

The Syrian Christians who had revolted in 1653 against the Jesuits under the Archdeacon Thomas who unauthorisedly was made "Bishop" by 12 priests at Alangad governed his followers without any valid ordination for 12 years. It is said that the Archdeacon received consecration as Metropolitan with the title of Marthoma I on 22 May 1653, during the feast of Pentecost at the hands of twelve priests. During the ceremony the so called letter of Ahatallah was placed on his head.¹ Many historians are of opinion that these letters were nothing but forgeries made by Cattanar Anjilimootil Ittithommen.² One of the Cattanars George Bengur, Vicar of Kanjoor even made some objection and stated that, "because we had with us a Syriac book brought by Mar Abraham which said that no one could be consecrated Bishop without the order of the Pope and without three episcopal consecrators".³

¹ The Archdeacon claimed that Ahatallah had sent three letters which conferred on him powers of the Archbishop. The episcopal consecration of the Archdeacon by 12 priests was taken place at Alangad (Mangat). Later on religious assembly held at Vaipikotta, wherein another letter of Ahatallah was read out after lent, which conferred on him powers to ordain and to bless the holy oils.

² Joseph Thekkedath, *The Troubled days of Francis Garcia, Archbishop of Cranganore*. (1641-59), Rome, 1958, p.61, footnote 35, for evidence regarding the forgeries of Cattanar Ittithommen.

³ Joseph Thekkedath, "Events leading to Great Uprising" in K.S. Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, ed., *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India*, Tellicherry, 2001, p.203

Thus from 1653 the church of the Syrian Christians was continued in a divided state under two heads. The majority of the community and churches were with Bishop Alexander who had a valid episcopal ordination, but the pseudo Bishop Thomas's consecration was invalid and he was regarded as a rebel and schismatic by the others and was chased by the local rulers. More and more priests and churches were making submission from his side to that of Bishop Alexander de Campo. Because of this situation Thomas was left in a state of no survival. He was completely discouraged and it was obvious to him that in this state he could not continue for a long time. He found that everything was against him and against the very survival of his followers. His appeals to the Eastern Patriarchs, requesting for Bishops to regularize his position received no reply from anywhere. At one juncture he even sent a representative to the Jesuits expressing his willingness to join the Catholic fold provided it could be effected without loss of honour and without humiliation.⁴ Thus, when troubled from all sides and without any hope of survival, Thomas and party were remaining in a desperate situation, in answer to his appeals at last, a West Syrian Bishop named Gregorios with two companions arrived in Malabar in a Dutch ship at the end of 1665⁵. He had

⁴ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.2, pp.100-101, V.C. George, *Syro Chaldean Church*, Alleppey, 1977, p.151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101, P.V. Mathew, *Keralathile Nazrani Christianikal* (Mal.), Vol. II, Ernakulam, 1993, pp.11-12. Placid J. Podippara, *Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Alleppey, 1976, p.63.

been sent by the West Syrian Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. Thomas now gave up all thoughts of submission to the Catholic Church and decided to submit to the West Syrian Patriarch.

With the arrival of Mar Gregorios a new chapter emerged in the history of Christianity in Kerala. Mar Gregorios was a Bishop of Jerusalem sent by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch residing at the time at Diabekr.⁶ He was cordially received by Archdeacon Thomas and his followers because their long cherished demand was fulfilled at a precarious time and they regarded him as a Bishop sent by the 'Providence' in answer to their prayers. Mar Gregorios was received by Marthoma and party at Rapolin (Edapilly) with great jubilation because it was an extremely difficult situation to fight very hard against a powerful well established Roman Catholic Church. In the period between 1653 to 1665 that dissident group lost more than two third of their followers. With the arrival of Gregorios the ambition of Marthoma and his party was realized and they did not mind whether this prelate represented a different persuasion of West Syrian 'monophysite' group⁷. It was not

⁶ L.W.Brown. *The Indian Christians of St.Thomas*, Cambridge, 1956, p.3. Joseph Thekkadath, *op. cit.*, n.2, pp.00-101. M. Cyril *The Syro Malankara Church*, Alwaye, 1973, p. 24.

⁷ The West Syrian (Antioch) Christians believed that the 'humanity' and the 'divinity' in Christ formed one composite nature known as *Monophysitism*. Monophysitism was popular in West Syria with Antioch as headquarters was founded by Jacob Baradaeus. His opponents accused the adherents of Jacob as 'Jacobites' which later on others levelled against them as an epithet. Hence the designation began to refer to the West Syrian Jacobite Church.

doctrinal affinity that endeared Mar Gregorios to the secessionists, but the craving for an Oriental Bishop. After the Synod of Diamper of 1599 the historic connection of the Malabar church with East Syrian Church was terminated. Milne Rae has noted the fact that Gregorios was coming from a source different from Babylon, in these words, "If the supply of Bishops from the Patriarch of Babylon was hopelessly cut off, they would not refuse a Bishop from any oriental sect and so they were fair to take the first that came way. He happened to be a Jacobite, but such as he was, they vastly preferred him to any Bishop from the west."⁸ From then onwards the process of west Syrianisation of the Church of rebellious group under the Archdeacon Thomas Parambil gradually took place and by the end of the 17th century the church came to be called Jacobite. The coming of Mar Gregorios strengthened the party of the Archdeacon who now got valid episcopal ordination from him. Hence a permanent division of the Syrian Christians in to *Puthenkuttukar* and *Pazhayakuttukar* (the new loyalists and old loyalists) took place with the advent of Mar Gregorios. The alliance with the Antiocheans and the gradual alienation from some of their traditional practices which they had shared in common with the Persian church earned them a new popular appellation *Puthenkuttukar* (community of the New alliance). On the other hand those who followed the traditional liturgical

⁸ G. Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, Edinburgh, 1892, p.261.

practices though in its Latinised form began to be called *Pazhayakuttukar* (community of Old alliance).

Mar Gregorios proceeded with extreme caution and restored some of the old Syrian customs which had been abolished by the Synod of Diamper in 1599, eg. the use of fermented host for mass, the traditional vestments and the old Julian Calendar.⁹ He denounced the obligatory celibacy of Priests introduced in Kerala by the Latin missionaries.¹⁰ Many of the historians are of the opinion that in that situation, Mar Gregorios would not openly propagate the doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism.¹¹ The Syrian Christians were never preoccupied with the subtle distinctions in Christology¹² between the East Syrian Church and the West Syrian Church. The Jacobite historians even considered him as a restorer and not as an introducer-of Jacobitism. Mar Gregorios therefore did not introduce the tenets of Jacobitism at once,

⁹ The *Julian* calendar which was prevalent in Eastern church was restored among Jacobites in the place of the *Gregorian Calendar* which was introduced by Pope Gregory, in 1582. It was introduced among the Christians of Malabar through Synod of Diember. At present there is a difference of 13 days between these two calendars. For details see Mar Apprem, "The Portuguese and the Nestorians" in K.S. Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.172.

¹⁰ M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.138, A.M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. I, Bangalore, 1984, pp.101-102. E. Tisserent & E.R.Hambye - *Eastern Christianity in India*, Bombay: 1957, p.142.

¹² The West Syrian (Antioch) Christians believed in *Monophysitism*. It was just the opposite theory of Nestorius who believed that there are two natures in Christ, 'divine' and 'humane' and two natures in Christ - known as *Diphysitism* was popular in East Syria (Babylon). These two theories are popular theories of Christology and became popular in Eastern Christianity.

especially the liturgy, but he accommodated certain things of Antiochene Rite suitable to the local customs.¹³ An Oriental Bishop who would protect their original customs and consecrate their Archdeacon as Bishop was just what they wanted. E.M. Philip says that even the priests of Malabar did not have adequate ecclesiastical knowledge.¹⁴ Their understanding of the scriptures and the liturgy was just enough to utter the Syriac language and to do various functions attached to their office. Their understanding of Christology was very little. They were not properly instructed and trained. The usual way of training them was as follows: The elderly priests are known as *Malpans*, i.e., those who had fairly some knowledge in the Syriac language but not in liturgy, give instructions to the younger clergy in that language. The selection of priests was usually done from ancient and reputed families as a custom and prestige than out of the consideration of their talents or ecclesiastical learning. The usual practice was earlier ordinations of the deacons to the priesthood. They often lived, before their ordination with the Bishop or a senior priest or *Malpan*.¹⁵ The Malabar Church did not possess any facility to train its clergy systematically through an institution like a seminary or theological centres.

¹³ J.F.. Raulin. *Historia Ecclesiae Malabarica cum Diamperitana Synodo*, Rome, 1745, p.444. Paulinos a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, pp.98-99. Also see "the Malayalam translation of this book by Fr. John Pallath, *Pourasthya Bharathathile Christava Matham*, Kalamassery, 1988. M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.138.

¹⁴ E.M.Philip. *Indian Church of St. Thomas*, Nagarcoil, 1950, pp.199-200.

¹⁵ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.182.

Because of this reason, their quality as clergy has undergone much deterioration.¹⁶

Mar Gregorios who had arrived in Malabar in the year 1665, twelve years after the Coonan Cross revolt, worked among the followers of Marthoma I till his death on 24 April, 1671.¹⁷ It would be not at all improbable that Mar Gregorios was received at first as a Bishop of their old tradition and creed. Especially at a time when no one apparently knew enough theology to be worried by the changes of doctrines and the teachings of this Bishop could not have created many problems to the followers of Marthoma. But the Bishop's persuasions to follow his own church traditions in liturgy and other things were not resented by the followers of Marthoma I. We know that the new Bishop tried to celebrate Mass in a way they had not seen before. He refused the use of unleavened bread and the traditional vestments during the Mass.¹⁸ Mar Gregorios had a suitable climate during the time within the followers of Marthoma to transplant his own Jacobite church's characteristics. The dislike and hatred prevailing towards the Roman

¹⁶ P. Cherian, *The Malabar Syrians and the CMS, 1816 to 1840*, Kottayam, 1935, p.65.

¹⁷ Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All India*, Kottayam, 1972, p.147; Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.2, p.102.

¹⁸ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.111; Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, n.2, p.101; P. Thomas, *A Double Regime in the Malabar Church, 1663-1716*, Alwaye, 1982, pp. 150-61.

Catholics, the desire to go for eastern ecclesiastical rites and the desire for internal freedom were all helpful factors to the advancement of his works.

No doubt, the Bishop had regularized the episcopal position of Marthoma I, because this was an essential requirement at that time for the very survival of Marthoma I and of his followers, and, moreover that was to accomplish this objective the Bishop had been called for.¹⁹ Besides lending his co-operation in regularizing the episcopal status of Marthoma I, Gregorios had undertaken many other activities with the purpose of bringing integration between his own church traditions and those of the community which was under Marthoma I. On these activities the following observation can be made:

First, in order to bring the followers of Marthoma in union with the West Syrian Jacobite Church, Gregorios may have aggravated the existing dislike found within the followers of Marthoma I both against the Roman Catholics and the East Syrian Church. This was necessary to separate them from the holds of Roman Catholic and East Syrian Babylonian or Nestorian Church tenets. The Synod of Diamper, which had done a substantial amount of work in denouncing the tenets and traditions of the East Syrian Church as

¹⁹ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.112. Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.II, Bangalore, 1988, pp.102-103. Many authors were against this opinion that Marthoma I got valid consecration.

dreadful heresy i.e., Nestorianism, was helpful to Gregorios' success to a remarkable degree. Not only that this time, the followers of Marthoma I due to their subjection to Catholicisation through Latinization through Synod of Diamper in 1599 had preserved only a faded memory about their original East Syrian Church characteristics after an interval of 65 years. Because of these situations he need not have to make much exertions on these issues in a deep way. Now it was the Roman Catholic influences and traditions that he had to deal with much more energy than the other one. Indeed Gregorios had attempted very little in refuting the Nestorianism of the Malabar Christians at this time. This task was taken up only from the middle of the 18th Century, when a delegation of the West Syrian Jacobite Bishops, arrived here and completed the work started by Mar Gregorios.

Second, in order to accomplish the integration Marthoma's followers with his own church's traditions, Gregorios had to introduce a few of the traditions and practices of his own West Syrian Jacobite Church within the community of Marthoma. These he had to do cautiously and without giving any doubt in that matter, so that there might not arise least doubts in the minds of Marthoma's followers about the novelty of his teachings. Besides this the Church under Marthoma I should also be made officially to accept the Patriarch of Antioch, the supreme head of the church, as their head.

As observed by V.C. Samuel, of these the first thing was not very difficult to achieve for Gregorios, though it needed time for people to accept the change. In fact, Mar Gregorios had obviously begun to work on it, and those who came after him continued what he had begun.²⁰ But in the second aspect Gregorios did not achieve much and in fact he did not seem to have taken any step to promote it.²¹ It was only in later years that genuine and decisive move to introduce Antiochene practices among the schismatic group of Christians under Marthoma Ist was made.

Mar Gregorios succeeded to a degree in separating the followers of Marthoma from the customs and traditions of the Roman Catholic Church. He removed many things from them. For this purpose he declared himself, identifying with the Syrian features of the Malabar community, as the restorer of the old Syrian customs, which were abolished by the Synod of Diamper. In a letter to the priests of Mulanthuruthy, Kandanad, Paravoor etc. in May 1668 he makes clearly these points:

"We are aware of the tribulations you suffer from those who, having left the true and orthodox canons of the Syrian church, have joined the idolatrous Romans. They were once true

²⁰ V.C. Samuel, *Truth and Triumphs*, Kottayam, 1986, pp.24-25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.25-26; also see V.C. Samuel, *Athunika Bharatha Sabha*, (mal.), Kottayam, 1987, pp. 168-169; Cyril also follows this opinion. Also See M. Cyril, *op.cit.*, pp.27-28.

Syrians who zealously kept our faith; now they were made heretics by the undue influence of the wicked kings and queens of Portugal. They convoked an illegitimate synod (meaning the synod of Diamper 1599) and changed our apostolic faith; upset the canons of the holy synod of Nicea; mutilated the valuable and ancient traditions and rituals... Again our usual fast of Nineve, the Romans do not have. They do not have the 15 day's fast in August or the fast of Advent in December, as we have them. Even in Lent they eat fish and drink alcohol, which the Syrians never do. There are a lot of differences between us and the Romans....²²

Another letter states:

"Concerning the heretical teachings of the Romans on subjects such as the incarnation of the Word of God, the union of his divinity and humanity, his person, the nature, the will, etc., we have spoken to you on a previous occasion; therefore, a repetition of those is unnecessary now".²³

Indeed here Gregorios' attempt was to distinguish the doctrinal position between his own church and the Roman Catholics so as to make it clear that

²² This letter in full can be seen in E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-64.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-63.

the latter represents a deviating position. Notwithstanding, his persuasion that he had come to restore and maintain the Syrian traditions that had suffered through Latinization might have been well-attended by his hearers.²⁴

Mar Gregorios stated that he had come to restore or revive the "Syrian rite" changed in the synod of Diamper. By this he did try to imply a wider meaning, focusing attention of the people more on the common elements of both the East and West Syrian rites than their differences. Since the rites of the East Syrian Church and West Syrian Church displayed a lot of similarities in language, customs, liturgical traditions, he could induce easily the people of Malabar to believe that he followed almost the same rite.²⁵ He advocated a return to several ancient customs: Eastern liturgical vestments, leavened bread, traditional length of Lent (40 days before Easter), etc.

Thus Gregorios was most fortunate in diverting the attention of Marthoma's followers from their past connections both with the East Syrian Babylonian Church and Roman Catholic church. Mar Gregorios made use of this occasion to create an anti-Roman feeling among them. He told them that the Roman church was responsible for the crisis of their church. Their past

²⁴ See M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.75.

²⁵ Some similarities and common elements in the Nestorian church and Jacobite church held were the following: they had the fast of Nineve (*Moommunoimbu*), 15 days fast in August, fast for Advent in December, the Great Lent, etc. Again the custom of married clergy, the use of colourful liturgical vestments, use of leavened bread for Eucharist, etc. were common to both churches. The ministers of both churches more or less appeared same.

connection with the East Syrian Church was very tactfully substituted by reinterpreting it most conducively to adjust themselves with the West Syrian Church.²⁶ Focusing the community's attention on their past East Syrian traditions more than on the faith by which was substituted by the West Syrian Jacobite Church. Gregorios persuaded the community to follow the traditions of West Syrian Jacobite Church. The conviction of the community too was that Gregorios had come to restore and maintain their ancient traditions. So they were persuaded to accept Gregorios inspite of his doctrinal differences. Moreover, Marthoma and his followers were least concerned with the subtle differences between the East Syrian and West Syrian variations. They might have hardly heard of the West Syrian Jacobite Church as a church different from that of the East Syrian Babylonian Church as they were ignorant of the christological difference between these two churches. Marthoma was mainly concerned about his power and validity of his position which he had already achieved by Gregorios.

Fr. Paulinos a Sancta Bartholomaeo who collected a lot of documents related to Gregorios from Malabar sums up the following doctrinal standpoints propagated by Gregorios:

²⁶ In one of the letters of Gregorios, deliberate attempts made to reinterpret the history of the Jacobite Church can be noticed. Gregorios wrote; "For about 1600 years the Romans had no authority in this great church. Innumerable Bishops, priests, men and women who have lived in this church within this 1600 had died. Do you think that all of them were worthy only to be damned to hell? Never. Those who say so are uttering blasphemy". See E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp.161-62.

1. The Popes of Rome and Nestorius are heretics and hate them.
2. The Church of Antioch is the head and the mother of all churches.
3. In Christ there is only one Nature i.e., Divine.²⁷
4. The Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, not from the Son.
5. There is no Purgatory.
6. The Holy Mass is valid only in Leavened bread.
7. The Capa, not the chausible, is to be used for the Mass.
8. Lent is to be begun according to the Julian Calendar.²⁸

Now an important question which deserves our attention is, did Gregorios exercise any jurisdictional power over the followers of Marthoma? Brown's opinion on this matter is this: "...It seems Marthoma was left in control of the administration of the church while Gregorios performed his proper liturgical and teaching functions".²⁹ However, it is difficult to say that Gregorios had jurisdictional power over Marthoma and his followers. It was only after the middle of the 18th century, that a decisive move from the part of

²⁷ This can be termed as "only one united nature" - i.e, of the Divine and the Humane.

²⁸ Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, pp.99-100, John Pallath, *Paurasthya Bharathathile Chraisthava Matham* (Mal. Trans.), Kalamassery, 1988, p.108.

²⁹ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.112. Cyril also follows this opinion, See M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.27. But E.M. Philip tries to maintain that he did exercise jurisdiction. But this can not be proved. Because Philip's outlook all through his book is that the West Syrian Patriarch (hereafter use WSP) had exercised jurisdiction over Malabar even before the 17th century, which no historian is ready to accept at present. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.159.

the West Syrian Patriarch was made in this direction even though there might have been earlier movements in this direction.

From the Coonan Cross Oath of 1653 onwards, the revolted section of the Syrian Christians was guided by Marthomas I and a long line of successors with the same title as Marthoma, belonged to the Pakalomattom family, guided the destiny of that church. In former times it had the hereditary privilege of this family to have Archdeacons who governed the ancient Malabar church were selected from amongst its members. They had generally been, or ought to have been men consecrated by the Nestorian Bishops from Babylon.³⁰ Now however, the Pakalomattam family went a step further and claimed the Episcopal dignity as its right also. From 1653 down to the first decade of the 19th century, an unbroken line of eight or nine Marthomas had occupied the See, the last few of them bearing the Episcopal title of Mar Dionysius instead of Marthoma. But there had arisen a great difficulty. It was one of the firm, inviolable traditions of the ancient church that a Bishop could only be consecrated by another Bishop or by some still more elevated dignitary. This custom created confusions and at last the practice of the office of the Jacobite metropolitan as the sole possession of their own family was lost. The concept that the office of the Bishop being a family possession was an important cause of its weakness because it prevented the chance for the rise of qualified ministry in the church. In consequence of this the Jacobite Church was unable to strengthen its leadership against the

³⁰ Julius Richeter. *A. History of Missions in India*. Edinburgh & London, 1908, p.88.

exploitations and ecclesiastical colonialism imposed from Antioch from time to time.³¹

Mar Gregorios and Marthoma I conjointly guided the Jacobite church with utmost caution for six years. As the restorers of the old Syrian customs they created a great impression among the people and they showed respect and sympathy for both leaders. The lay people respected Mar Gregorios as a saint and ardently addressed him as "Gregorios Patriarchis".³² From a letter of Gregorios sent to the priests of Mulanthurithi, Kandanad and Parur we get an idea that he succeeded in creating anti-Roman feelings among his followers.³³ The Archdeacon's followers readily accepted Gregorios' teachings to strengthen their group and to protect their Syrian traditions against their hatred of Latinisation. Mar Gregorios died on 24th April 1671 and was entombed at the North Paravoor church in Ernakulam district.³⁴ Two years later, that is on 22 April 1673, Marthoma I followed him to the grave and was buried at Angamali Church.³⁵ During his time a brother of Marthoma I, was elected as his successor and was consecrated as Bishop Marthoma II. He was killed by a thunderbolt and was succeeded by his nephew in the same title.

³¹V.C. Samuel, *Malankaryude Anthyokyabandam* (Mal.) Kottayam, 1982, p. 93, Zachariah & Mammen, (ed.), *Erupatham noottandile Malankara Sabha* (Mal.) Kottayama, 1977, pp.99-100.

³² Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *op. cit.*, p.99.

³³ M. Cyril. *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³⁴ W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomas Christen*, Gutersloh, 1877, pp.525-7.

³⁵ V.C. Samuel, *op. cit.*, n.30, p. 159, Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Marthoma II who was consecrated at Kothamangalam and he ruled up to 1686.

During this period in 1685 the West Syrian Patriarch Abdul Mesiha I sent two West Syrian Bishops, that is, Mar. Baselios Yaldo and Mar Ivanios.³⁶ Mar Baselios was designated as Cathlicos who died within a fortnight of his arrival and accomplished nothing except that he was entombed at Kothamangalam where a grand anniversary feast in his memory is celebrated annually. Mar Ivanios, who lived for a period of 9 years,³⁷ did much to propagate his faith and traditions of West Syrian Jacobite Church and completed the work started by Mar Gregorios in 1665. The local Bishop Marthoma II was not on good terms with these foreign Bishops fearing that these Bishops desired to do administrative functions besides teaching functions.³⁸ Many Jacobite writers suspected the intention was to advance the jurisdictional claim of West Syrian Patriarch over the Malabar Church. Mar Ivanios's work was evaluated by T. Whitehouse as ". . . Mar Ivanios . . . governed our church. He consecrated a Bishop, re established our former church services and taught that Christ has one nature, and the Holy Spirit is

³⁶ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.112. T. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, London, 1873, p.307.

³⁷ W. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp.528-29.

³⁸ M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, pp. 26,29, 31-32, E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, Bombay, 1957, p.142; Bernard of Thomas, *A Brief Sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians*, Vol.2, Trichinopoly, 1924, pp. 168-70.

equal with Father and the Son. Thus he laid aside some of the Roman tenets and caused us to walk according to the church of Antioch"³⁹ They taught that the prayers should be said standing and not kneeling, and added that people should abstain from the flesh of strangled animals.⁴⁰ It is also said that "they did not say mass in lent except on Sundays, which were not fast days, nor did they wish others to do so".⁴¹ From the above reference it is clear that Ivanios introduced the faith and traditions of the West Syrian Jacobite Church among the community under Marthoma I in Malabar. Mar Ivanios encouraged the marriage of priests and deemed it necessary to remove statues and crucifixes from churches keeping only the pictures therein.⁴² He made clear distinction between Malabar Church and the East Syrian Church. On the other hand he availed a rare opportunity to confer episcopacy upon three local Bishops one after another.⁴³ When Marthoma II died in 1686, his followers selected his nephew as his successor, Marthoma III. Mar Ivanios first made him a *ramban* (monk) and after some days ordained him as Bishop.⁴⁴ Marthoma III reigned

³⁹ T. Whitehouse, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

⁴⁰ M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p. 77 cf. Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, p.103; Paulinus aS. Bartholomaeo, *op. cit.*, pp.105-06.

⁴¹ M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p. 77. cf. P. Thomas, *Double Regime in Malabar Church*, Always, 1982, p.157.

⁴² Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *op. cit.*, p.106. Bernard of St. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp.171-172. T. Whitehouse, *op.cit.*, pp.199-200.

⁴³ Mar Ivanios had consecrated Marthoma III and his successor Marthoma IV and his predecessor Martoma II would have been consecrated by him.

⁴⁴ Jacob Kollamparambil, *op. cit.* p. 177.

for two years from 1686-88. He was succeeded by Marthoma IV who got consecrated by Mar Ivanios who died only in 1694. and was buried in Mulanthuruthy church.⁴⁵

From 1673 to 1751 no West Syrian Bishops arrived in Malabar even though Marthoma IV had sent two requests that were unanswered. In 1700, one Mar Simon came to India sent by the Nestorian Patriarch of the East and on his arrival he fell in the hands of the Portuguese authorities who detained him in irons till his death at Pondicherry in 1720. During this period there emerged a major threat to the Jacobite church which threatened schism in it. This occurred with the arrival of Mar Gabriel, a Nestorian Bishop to reclaim his flock in 1708.⁴⁶ He seems to have caused a good deal of trouble to both the Syrian Catholics and to Marthoma IV.⁴⁷ Serious disputes arose in the church when Gabriel began to teach that Christ has two natures and two substances and to use both leavened and unleavened bread in the sacrament and to keep Syrian feasts. The Dutch Chaplain of Cochin, Canter Visscher gives the following description of his visit to Mar Gabriel at Kottayam:- "Mar Gabriel, a white man, and sent hither from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance, and dresses nearly in the same fashion as the Jewish priests of

⁴⁵ E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.170.

⁴⁶ As testified by Fr. Paulinos, Mar Gabriel reached Quilon in an English ship from Madras. Paulinos a S. Bartholomaeo, *op. cit.* p.107.

⁴⁷ M.Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Vol.II, Paris, 1740, pp. 553, 589.. L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.115.

old, wearing a cap fashioned like a turban, and a long white beard. He is courteous and God-fearing, and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp. Round his neck he wears a golden crucifix [cross]. He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from all animal food. His house, rather a large one for the habits of the Malabar people is situated on a hill in the kingdom of Tekkunkoor. He holds the Nestorian doctrines respecting the union of the two natures in our Saviour's person".⁴⁸

From the year 1714 to 1730 two Bishops ruled the Jacobite Church of Malabar. Marthoma IV the native Bishop ruled in the South, while Mar Gabriel the foreign Nestorian Bishop ruled in the North residing at Kottayam. After the death of Mar Gabriel in 1731 his adherents went back to their old party.⁴⁹

Marthoma IV's career ended in June 1728.⁵⁰ But just before his death he had consecrated his nephew as his successor under the title Marthoma V in 1728. Some of his people were put out because his consecration was not from a foreign Bishop⁵¹. His great object seems to have been that of his

⁴⁸ Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, trans., H. Drury, Madras, 1862, p.103. See. L.W.Brown, *op.cit.*, pp.116-117. Also see K.P. Padmanabhamenon, *A History of Kerala*, Vol.II, New Delhi, 1983, pp.44-47.

⁴⁹ P.I. Joseph, *A Period of Decline of Marthoma Christians (1712-52)*, Kottayam, 1989, pp.192-193.

⁵⁰ Paulinos says Marthoma IV died in 1717. Itoop says he died on 13 March 1728 Moens says 1735. Placid agrees the year 1728.

⁵¹ Paulinose a S. Bartholomaeo, *op. cit.*, p.108.

predecessors, to unite again the Christians of the Jacobite church under his own authority and it was a difficult task.

During the 37 years of his episcopal career Marthoma V had to face many serious problems. Politically it was a period of unrest. It was during this period that King Marthandavarma of Travancore enlarged his domains by the conquest of numerous petty principalities. As a result the Christians living in central and northern Travancore came under his sway. Marthandavarma and his successor Ramavarma were very well disposed towards Roman Catholics.⁵² Marthoma V being a schismatic and heretic as he had been always accused and advertised by his adversaries and hardly received any sympathetic consideration from Travancore Rajas. Marthoma's relation with, the Dutch too was quite unfavourable. They did not enjoy the support either of Dutch or of any European missionary was, ofcourse, much worse.⁵³ To face a few of them he sought the help from the West Syrian Patriarch who in turn sent a group of Syrian clergy including two Bishops, to the help of Marthoma V in 1751⁵⁴. By dispatching this delegation his definite aim, as is evident from the facts available, was to bring the Malabar Church

⁵² P. Shangunny Menon, *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, New Delhi, (reprint) 1985, p. 209. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *op.cit.*, p.174.

⁵³ P.Cheryan, *The Malabar Christians and the Church Missionary Society*, Kottayam, 1935, p.35.

⁵⁴ E. Tisserant, *op. cit.*, p.144. Also see Royal Court Judgement (Majority), No.III of ME 1061/1886 A.D. Trivnadurm, 1890, Para no. 97.

and its leadership under the jurisdictional control of the West Syrian Jacobite Patriarch. Of these three Bishops one had the title Catholicos. His name was Mar Baselios Sakralla. The other Bishop was Mar Gregorios⁵⁵ and the third was a single monk called Mar John. It was a turning point in the liturgical traditions of the *Puthenar* community. They introduced various Eucharistic *Anaphoras* of the Antiochean church.

As soon as they arrived, serious problems began to rise within the community. Marthoma V was apparently unwilling to receive them graciously when they arrived in a Dutch ship and a very protracted dispute arose about the responsibility of travelling expenses of the West Syrian Bishops. Marthandavarma, King of Travancore and the Dutch government persuade Marthoma V who at last paid the amount.⁵⁶ A group siding with the foreigners, particularly a group which was dissatisfied with Marthoma's episcopal standing, at once demanded his reconsecration and submission to the foreign Bishops.⁵⁷ But Marthoma V flatly refused the demands and did not submit and infact he went further in his stand by consecrating his successor himself, without seeking the co-operation of the Bishops from West Syrian

⁵⁵ See the letter of West Syrian Patriarch dated August (Chingam-25), 1753 in Z.M. Parrett, *Malankara Nazranikal*, (Mal) Vol.3, Kottayam, 1967, p.22. He quotes this letter, where the Patriarch mentions that the Catholicos was sent at the request of Marthoma V. E.M.Philip, *op. cit.*, p.176 of his book also refers about the consecration of this Catholicos.

⁵⁶ E.M. Philip, *op.cit.*, p.70.

⁵⁷ J. Ittooph, *Malayalathu Suriani Christianikalude Charithram*, (Mal) Kottayam, 1869, p.126.

Church who were present at that time in Kerala.⁵⁸ Since the dispute over the payment of the money had reached a deadlock, Mar Gregorios consecrated a man by the name of *Ramban* (monk) Kurien of Kattumangatt, who was an enemy of Marthoma VI in the year 1770. Kurien Ramban of Kattumangatt, took the title of Mar Kurilos who became the founder of the *Malabar Independent Syrian Church* of Thozhiyoor.⁵⁹ But in the meantime, the foreigners, being convinced that Marthoma V would not submit, threatened him by consecrating and placing against him a rival from among those who had accompanied them. He was Mar John, who was consecrated as Mar Ivanios and was made Jacobite Metropolitan in the place of Marthoma V.⁶⁰ No doubt, all these high-handed actions of the foreigners naturally irritated Marthoma V. Therefore, until his death there had been no peace and rapprochements between him and the foreigners. Marthoma V was died in April 1765 and entombed at Niranam.

After Marthoma V, Marthoma VI took on the leadership of the Church. He was consecrated in 1761 by his uncle Marthoma V. The conflict extant between his predecessor and the foreigners still continued. In 1772, however,

⁵⁸ K.M. Panikkar in *Malabar and the Dutch*, Bombay, 1931, pp.161-62. Also see *The Memoirs of Moens*, translated in A. Galletti's *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p.178.

⁵⁹ E. Tisserant, *op. cit.*, p.144.

⁶⁰ M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.35. E.M.Philip, *op.cit.*, p.180, A Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, Manchester, 1926, p.52.

a sort of diplomatic agreement was reached by the initiative of Dutch Governor Moens.⁶¹ On that basis Marthoma VI underwent a sort of reconsecration at the hands of the West Syrian Bishops. Marthoma VI knew that his consecration at the hands of his uncle was not considered sufficient and in 1772 he received all the Holy Orders again, from the first tonsure to episcopal consecration, from the hands of Mar Gregorios in the presence of Mar Ivanios at Niranam.⁶² He was given the name of Mar Dionysius and will hereafter known as Mar Dionysius I.⁶³ He reigned thereafter till his death in March 1808 although it cannot be held that during this time he had not been disturbed by the West Syrian Bishops.

Indeed during his ruling period there had been two Bishops from the West Syrian Church in the country, apart from Mar Ivanios, another one who had arrived from Syria in the year 1807 was called Dioscorus.⁶⁴ But he quarreled with Mar Dionysius on the issue that he is said to have extorted money from Cattanars and was deported by the company in April 1807 at the instance of the Resident.⁶⁵ During this period, due to the presence of those Bishops some efforts were made to transform the Jacobites of Malabar church

⁶¹ L.W.Brown, *op.cit.*, pp.121-22. Also see K.M. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, p.162.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., *op.cit.*, p.83, also see L.W Brown, *op.cit.*, p.122.

⁶⁴ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.126-27.

to the West Syrian Jacobite Church features. Mar Baselios died in 1764, Mar Gregorios in 1773 and Mar Ivanios in 1794.⁶⁶ Eventhough those Bishops did not enjoy any administrative freedom in the Jacobite church in Malabar in accordance with their original plan, still by their longer presence they could deepen the connection between the West Syrian Patriarch and Jacobite church of Malabar. Moreover, by the time of their deaths they could feel satisfied much about what they had accomplished in the Jacobite church of Malabar. They were able to do three things; one, they could force their wills upon a group of people in the church and out of that they were able to form a favourite group to the causes of the West Syrian Jacobite Church. Two, by pressing the Jacobite Bishop Marthoma VI, from all possible sides, they could bring him to undergo a reconsecration ceremony, which virtually meant, from their part, submission of the local Bishop to the West Syrian Patriarch of Antrioch. Three, they also made it clear that they could create disturbance and division still to the Jacobites and to its Bishops if they were unwilling to go along with the plans of the West Syrian Patriarch. The formation of a separate church called, the Thozhiyur church, clearly shows this tendency, and the cause behind it was West Syrian Bishop Mar Gregorios. Gregorios, the West Syrian Bishop, by consecrating Mar Kurilos of Kattumangattu family against Marthoma VI of Jacobite church attempted to organize a

⁶⁶ Joseph Cheeran, K.V. Mammen and P.C. Mathew, *Indian Orthodox Sabha Charithravum Samskaravum* (Mal), Kottayam, 2002, pp.350, 376, 383.

parallel church in the Cochin state.⁶⁷ It was seriously disputed whether Gregorios could consecrate one without special sanction to that effect from the Patriarch.⁶⁸ Mar Gregorios consecrated Kurien, Kattumangattu *Ramban*⁶⁹ as Bishop Kurilos (Cyril) on 28th November, 1772 without consulting Marthoma VI or getting the consent of the people. Anyhow after strengthening his position, Mar Dionysius I exiled Kurilose from Cochin. He left for Anjoor i.e., part of British Malabar where he established *The Malabar Independent Syrian Church of Thozhiyoor or Anjoor*.⁷⁰ At this instance the West Syrian Bishop had used the Kattumangattu family as their major instrument to establish their viewpoint i.e., to weaken Malabar Jacobite Church, but in the beginning of the 19th century they found Konattu family useful to the success of their plans i.e. to create internal conflict in Jacobite church. This led the Jacobite Church to be divided into pieces in the 19th and the 20th centuries. The formation of the Anglican church, the Marthoma Church and the Catholicos and the Patriarchal parties etc. was due to the effects left over the Jacobite Church by those internal feuds. In other words, in devastating all the possible progresses of the Jacobite Church and its

⁶⁷ George Menachery, ed., *The Thomapedia*, Ollur, 2000, p.91.

⁶⁸ C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, Madras, 1908, p.76.

⁶⁹ *Ramban* is professed monk in the Oriental Churches. He always wear cowl or schema embroidered with crosses. Bishops were chosen only from the ranks of Rambans.

⁷⁰ Paolose Mar Philexiose III was the head of this community from 1967. However, he together with a few priests and a few faithful embraced Catholic Church on 28th August, 1977 and became members of the Syro-Malankara Church.

various divisions from time to time with serious issues, it was the family rivalries in the Jacobite Church and the support rendered to them by the West Syrian Patriarch that had played a significant role. By making use of the internal conflicts, the West Syrian Patriarch drastically interfered in the affairs and by supporting one against the other led to disunity within the church shattered the harmony of the church and the West Syrian Patriarch created a pro- West Syrian Patriarch party and successfully dominated the Jacobite Church of Malabar.

The Jacobite Church faced degeneration as a result of number of split and divisions. In fact there were real historical causes for the decline of that community from within and without. Jacobitism in Kerala was a evolutionary growth and took a long period for the complete growth and it was a slow process. As the Roman Catholic section was guided by the European missionaries and church leaders, and united to Rome, in the same way the Malabar Jacobites also might have felt the need of a connection with West Syrian Patriarch and of the presence of his Bishops in their church. This presence would be a matter of stimulation and consolation to the Jacobite church against Roman Catholics⁷¹. But in later years various issues were developed and met with confusions and tribulations. Eventhough different groups emerged as a result of the split their basic doctrines and creed are

⁷¹ V.C. Samuel, *Sabha Valarunnu*, (Mal), Kottayam, 1981, p.169.

same. All of these groups are following *Nicean*, 'profession of faith'. Their customs are similar and basic adherence to Antiochean Monophysitism.

Antiochean Colonialism

In the study of Jacobitism in Kerala it would be helpful to us to analyse a distinct historical stage or period in the ecclesiastical development of Kerala, which intervenes between the post Coonan Cross rebellious group led by the Archdeacon and the modern Jacobite religious society among the Syrian Christians. Like the western religious colonialism of the Portuguese authorities in Kerala, Antiochene Patriarchs also followed a policy of domination on the Jacobite church which ultimately led to a new schism and conflict in the Jacobite Church in the in the last phase of 18th century and continued in later years, ultimately led to the split in 1912 as Patriarch's group and Metran group. The Patriarch successfully established a group favourably supporting it through the dependants and subservients which became a part of that church. The Metran group declared its' independence under its head like 'Catholicos of the East' with Devalokam in Kottayam as its headquarters and established autonomy in it. Antiochene rule shattered the religious beliefs and customs of the Jacobite church. The split or schism was not a sudden event; it was a long process developed from mutual distrust and enmity over a long period and ultimately ended in several divisions. The West Syrian Patriarchs' long cherished hope was to establish control over the Jacobite church and to

exercise jurisdictional powers, but it was opposed by the local prelates emerged from Archdeacon tradition. For that purpose they also successfully employed the divide and rule policy. A section in the church had gone too far in supporting the Patriarch and in yielding to his claims. But the other section was accustomed to count the Antiochean Patriarch as a sort of spiritual leader who did not interfere in the internal administration of the Jacobite church and its autonomy. But this group also depended more on the Patriarch to oppose the claims of the Reformed party in a later period. In order to strengthen the position of Mar Dionysius II, they invited the Patriarch and high-lighted his authority and claims over the Malabar Jacobite church. It was this crisis that developed in the course of the 19th century and it led to the consolidation of the Patriarchal claims in the Jacobite church.

When the Jacobite church heaved a sigh of relief on getting Episcopal consecration to its pseudo Bishop Marthoma I for saving their church from the hegemony of Portuguese or Papal rule by accepting Antiochean Patriarch. Their calculation was to establish an autocephalous church under the spiritual leadership of the Antiochean Patriarch. But effectively in the course of history the West Syrian Bishops deputed by the Patriarch successfully transformed the Malabar Jacobite church according to West Syrian traditions and also gradually brought the church under the control of the Patriarch of Antioch. But to accomplish these things they had to encounter oppositions from time to time from the local Bishops.

During the period of Marthoma II, two West Syrian Bishops who entered into Malabar in the year 1685 were Mar Baselios Yaldo and Mar Ivanios. Of them Mar Baselios had the designation of Catholicos who died within a fortnight; but Mar Ivanios lived for a period of about 9 years.⁷² He did much to propagate the faith and traditions of the West Syrian Church in the Jacobite church and tried his best to West Syrianize it. The local Bishop Marthoma II was not in good terms with the foreign Bishops fearing that this Bishop Mar Ivanios desired to do administrative functions of Jacobite Church.⁷³ The long interval of the West Syrian Bishops in Malabar pointed out that the local prelate, Marthoma II, objected to the jurisdictional interference of the West Syrian Bishops. If the West Syrian Patriarch's claim of jurisdiction had been admitted by Marthoma II by the insistence of Ivanios, the Patriarch definitely would have despatched other Bishops soon one after the other. But the scene was not favourable and because of that reason the Patriarch realised that it was quite useless to try further in this line in the Jacobite church to assert his authority. Hence he did not send Bishops to the Jacobite church although there were appeals from it during the first half of 18th century.⁷⁴ From 1693 till 1751 there was a long gap of the West Syrian Bishops in Malabar. Even though Marthoma IV had sent two requests for

⁷² Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit.*, p.104, L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.112, T. Whitehouse, *op. cit.*, p.307.

⁷³ M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.77.

⁷⁴ L.W.Brown, *op.cit.*, p.116.

Bishops and books as he found it necessary to adhere more closely to the Antiochene church in order to prevent the people from following Mar Gabriel, these requests remained unanswered.⁷⁵

Although Marthoma V had repeatedly asked the Patriarch to send Bishops, he was apparently unwilling to receive them even though there was a gap of half century without a proper West Syrian Bishop to do important ecclesiastical functions, and he hesitated to receive them graciously when they arrived. There developed a very protracted dispute at once about the issue related with the payment of travelling expense of these Bishops and other matters.⁷⁶ Politically it was a period of turmoil because Marthandavarma and the Dutch were not friendly with Marthoma V – Marthoma's hesitation was due to the increased charge claimed by the Dutch ship as travel fare, Rs.4000/- for the West Syrian Bishops. Marthoma V escaped to Travancore and secretly lived along with a Hindu family. Therefore the matter was reported to Marthandavarma who sent people to arrest Marthoma V. In the mean time, after 72 days house confinement⁷⁷ at Cochin, the West Syrian delegation was permitted to proceed to Kandanad to force Marthoma V to realize the fare. Marthanda Varma intervened and he

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ A. Galletti, *op. cit.*, pp.177-78; L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.120.

⁷⁷ E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.182.

called upon Marthoma and asked him to go to Cochin to satisfy the Dutch Commander's demand with regard to the travel money. While in the meantime many people came forward and by raising subscription and selling church properties and ornaments, they paid the Commander's debt and finally Marthoma V was released.

After the payment of the debt, Marthoma and the West Syrian team met each other at Puthencavu. However, they could not come to terms. One of the reasons for friction was that the West Syrian Bishops conferred clerical ordination on Nellimattathu Cattamar of Kothamangalam without consulting Marthoma V soon after the arrival of Syrian Bishops at Cochin.⁷⁸ In fact, from the beginning, their work was deliberately to undermine the episcopal stand of Marthoma V and by this means to bring his submission to the West Syrian Patriarch. The attempts in this way, was a direct attack upon the very authority of a local Bishop and such a provocative move within the jurisdictional area of a local and independent Bishop was hardly tolerable.

The conflict again continued when a group in the Jacobite church supported the move of the West Syrian Bishops against the local Bishop. They even dared to take control of the church from Marthoma V. As a preliminary attempt to this, they declared Marthoma's episcopal office invalid.

⁷⁸ P. Itoop, *Suriyani Christanikalude Sabhacharithram*, (mal.), Kottayam, 1906. p.126.

They insisted that he must submit to the delegates for reconsecration. But Marthoma resisted the attempt.

When it became clear to the West Syrian Bishops that Marthoma V could not be made to submit to their plans, they attempted to implement another plan to threaten his position. Mar Baselios consecrated their companion, a monk named John, as Bishop with the title Ivanios. It was in 1752 and he was declared Malankara Metropolitan in the place of Marthoma V.⁷⁹ Marthoma continued his resistance against the West Syrian Bishops.

A contemporary record ie., the letter of West Syrian Patriarch, Gheevarghese III dated August 1753 shows another evidence of the bitter relationship with Marthoma V.⁸⁰ The West Syrian Patriarch condemns in strong terms the disobedience of Marthoma V. After pointing out that Marthoma's consecration by his predecessor was invalid, he writes:

". . . This is not for good . . . The traditions within you, that were sowed by the Nestorians and others are contrary to the

⁷⁹ M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.35. Cyril quoting a letter from the Apostolic Vicar of Malabar, mentions that Baselios even had issued a suspension order against Marthoma V. Philip mentions Ivanios was consecrated in 1752 when it was found difficult to maintain harmony with the Marthoma V. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.180. Z.M. Parrett, *op. cit.*, p.28. See also Mingana where Abraham's account of this incident is referred. A. Mingana, *op. cit.*, p.52.

⁸⁰ This letter in full is given by Z.M. Parrett, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp.22-24.

traditions of us who are the Syrians. They must be rooted out. By that authority vested in us through the Holy Spirit, being the power of Jesus Christ, . . . We now command unto you by that authority, that you should acknowledge the supremacy of the apostolic See of Antioch; that you must obey all the commands and you must root out from you all alien customs and practices. It was heard that you were saying that there was no need of fulfilling of the position that you have at present. It was not known the authority for that; was it from books or from any other sources In the letter we have sent unto you, we had addressed you as Dionysius, but that does not mean that we have confirmed your position. The understanding is, that if you would get confirmation from those who had been sent from here, that is by laying on of their hands, then alone you will have acknowledgement. If you would obey what we counsel unto you, then approach Mar Baselios and Mar Gregorios and make harmony with them and get confirmation to your office from them. If you do so, then alone you do have salvation for your soul Be obedient and go to the aforesaid venerable fathers and get your Episcopal title acknowledged If you

go on the contrary to the above said suggestions you will be dethroned out of your Episcopal title⁸¹

If we carefully examine this letter, the most important command of the Patriarch was to acknowledge the supremacy of Antioch. This demand shows that Marthoma V had not submitted to this so far. Next the title, Marthoma was condemned and he was asked to take new title Dionysius. It also contains the warning to remove the church traditions contrary to Antiochene. All the terms of the letter show that the ultimate objective was to get jurisdictional control over the Jacobite church.

The 1770 manuscript referred to by Brown says that these disputes continued for 19 years.⁸² Apparently the Dutch government tried to reconcile both sides and succeeded to the extent of an agreement executed in 1754 by which no ordinations were to be made by Mar Baselios, without the approval of Marthoma V. The customs and rituals of Syrians would not be changed.

⁸¹ This letter was utilised by the Judges of the Royal Court Judgement, in 1886 as exhibit Royal Court Judgement , of Final Appeal No. III of ME 1061/1886, A.D. Trivandrum, 1890. Para no, 99. These Judges used this letter as a basis to establish the fact that the Jacobite church had accepted the authority of the Western Syrian Patriarch (hereafter use WSP). It should be noted, however, that it was in the context of the end of the 19th century, when the disputes between the patriarchal party and the metran party was going on about the authority of the WSP this document was used as an instance to support the authority of the WSP over the Jacobite church and its Bishops. But as a whole the letter does not communicate to us an idea that the Patriarch had any authority over the Jacobite church as such at that time.

⁸²L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.120. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.15. T. Whitehouse, *op. cit.*, p.206. P. Itoop, *op. cit.*, pp.129-130.

According to the document, the Episcopal position of Marthoma V was accepted as valid on the condition that Marthoma must follow the West Syrian Patriarch. Moens says that the agreement was only a temporary one and again disputes developed because the West Syrian Bishops violated the terms and continued ordinations and appointments without the consent of Marthoma V. The mediators like the Dutch company and King Marthanda Varma were both concerned about the harmony. This was considered by Marthoma V and he avoided an open agitation. After King's death in 1758, Marthoma unsettled the position of foreign Bishops.⁸³ Without considering the presence of three West Syrian Bishops, Marthoma V consecrated his nephew in 1760 to succeed him as Bishop and gave him the traditional title Marthoma VI who succeeded his uncle in 1765.⁸⁴

Politically it was a period of chaos and confusions. The conquest of Tipu Sultan devastated North of Malabar and it spread to the parts of Cochin and threatened the invasion of Travancore. The power of the Dutch began to dwindle to resist the attack of Tipu and the coming of English and their promised help to Travancore shows the beginning of a political change in the colonial power balance in Malabar. Naturally the political background during the period of Marthoma V created a sense of insecurity. After the death of

⁸³ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.121.

⁸⁴ A. Galletti, *op. cit.*, pp.177-78; K.M. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, pp.161-62; L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.121.

Marthoma V, the conflict with Marthoma VI was continued by the West Syrian Bishops. Their next plan was to weaken the power of Marthoma VI by creating a parallel church within Jacobite Church. West Syrian Bishop Gregorios secretly consecrated Kurian Ramban of Kattumangattu family with the title Mar Kurilos in the year 1770. From the King of Cochin, he got a royal proclamation in favour of his position and of his jurisdiction over the churches in the Cochin state. Not only the King of Cochin but also the Dutch authorities supported this move of West Syrian Bishops by issuing orders in favour of Kurilos.⁸⁵ Mar Kurilos established *The Malabar Independent Syrian Church of Thozhiyoor or Anjoor* which created a strange split in the Jacobite church. Undoubtedly the move was to create troubles to Marthoma VI and thus to weaken and subdue him to the plans of the West Syrian Patriarch. As a diplomat he has agreed the reconsecration from the same West Syrian Bishops.⁸⁶ But again like his predecessors he consecrated his nephew, Mathan with the title Marthoma VII. This shows that the conflict with the West Syrian Patriarch was a long drawn process and ultimately it led to another split in 1912.

⁸⁵ J. Ittoop, *op. cit.*, p.131; K.C. Varghese, *Malabar Swathandra Suriyani Sabha Charithram*, Kunnankulam, 1982, pp.31-32.

⁸⁶ The reconsecration was held on the first sunday of January 1772 at St. Mary's Church, Niranam by MarGregorios. Cyril referred this on the basis of the letter of Dionysius I dated 12 May 1778. M. Cyril *op. cit.*, p.38.

Cardinal Tisserant has stated that Marthomas IV sent in 1704 a petition to Rome, in the name of 29 Parishes under him, requesting the Pope to admit them into the Catholic church and that the petition was conveyed to Rome by a Carmelite Missionary, Augustine by name but nothing happened as the result of the petition.⁸⁷ Marthoma IV was not in good relation with the Antiochean Patriarch. Marthoma's repeated requests for a west Syrian Bishop was unanswered and this led to disappointment. After his death in 1728, Marthoma V again sent petitions, but in vain. So he approached Ezekiel Rabi, a Jewish merchant of Cochin who brought over a Bishop named Mar Ivanios from Bassorah.⁸⁸ He was found wholly unsatisfactory to both Marthoma V and to his community. He was a drunkard, short tempered and iconoclast in his behaviour and deported without ordaining Marthoma.⁸⁹ In 1751 the Marthomas V was ordered by the Dutch East India company to pay Rupees 4000/- as travel fare of West Syrian Bishops.⁹⁰ A team of foreign Bishops of a much more respectable character arrived in 1751. It consisted of Mar Baselios (1751-53), Mar Gregorios (1751-73) and Mar Ivanios (1751-94), two

⁸⁷ E. Tisserant, *op. cit.*, p.143, V.C. George, *op. cit.*, p.170.

⁸⁸ Some doubt that he was a Bishop. But Philip strongly argues that he was a Jacobite Bishop. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp.174, 176; L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.119. Philip writes he arrived in 1739, p.174. But Brown relying on the source cited by G.T. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p.88 dates it in 1747. L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.119. P. Ittoop writes that the date as 1748. P. Ittoop, *op. cit.*, p.124.

⁸⁹ It is also said that he embezzled church money and therefore arrested and deported in 1751. L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.119; P. Ittoop, *op. cit.*, p.127.

⁹⁰ Julius Richter, *op. cit.*, p.89.

clerics and a chorepiscopus⁹¹ named George Nameattallah,⁹² who was, "a clever man of business from Aleppo".⁹³

Later on some of his successors, particularly Marthoma VI, tried to unite with Rome by sending requests several times to Rome for reunion even after having received a valid episcopal consecration from the West Syrian prelates. It shows that the local leaders of the Jacobite Church were not in good relation with West Syrian Patriarch or they had been attracted by the condition of the Roman Catholics which was better than theirs. The whole question was taken up later by Fr. Joseph Cariattil and his companion Fr. Thomas Paremakal in 1778. They had the request of Dionysius I praying for his admission in to the Catholic Church. Here is the portion of the English version of the letter,

"When I took charge, I understood from the Jacobites who came during the rule of my predecessors, as well as from the Carmel priests of the Roman Catholic Church, that I had no true ordination, and that the priesthood I had received at the hands of my predecessor was not valid; and so I by hearkening

⁹¹ Chorepiscopus means literally 'country bishop'. It was appointed by the bishop of a large diocese to take charge of and administer the more remote districts and was empowered to confer minor orders. For details see Maurice, A. Canney, *An Encyclopaedia of Religions*, Delhi, 1976, p.101.

⁹² M. Cyril, *op. cit.*, p.35; G.T.Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p.36. E.M.Philip, *op. cit.*, p.181.

⁹³ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.120, G.T.Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p.36.E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp.176-82.

to their admonition in 1773 received a new in the Church of the blessed Virgin at Niranam all the Holy Orders from the tonsure to the Episcopal Consecration from the Jacobite Metropolitan Mar Gregory. Further, I was convinced from the learned priests of the Catholic Church as well as from the books of the Sacred Council that the creed I have received is not orthodox and also that none can be saved without the Catholic Faith, which, from the days of Our Lord to the present day remains spotless and immaculate. Through the medium of the above said priest I made earnest prayers to Dom Salvador des Reis, Jesuit ArchBishop of Cranganore, and to Fr. Florence of Jesus of Nazareth, the Carmelite Vicar Apsotolic of Malabar, asking them to receive me together with my people into the communion of the Catholic Church, and absolve us from the excommunication, which had befallen us in the days of our Fathers. And further, I asked them that, in case they could not receive me they would kindly send my request to the Apostolic See of Rome; but they refused to give attention to my prayer. So, I sent for Fr. Joseph Cariattil of our nationality, a former student of Propaganda college, and with tears in my eyes and with deep sorrow I revealed my mind to him and put the salvation of my soul into his hands; and he promised me saying:

'I will go to Rome a second time for you, even at the eight other persons from among the Syrian people, of whom some are priests and others secular, to represent me before the Apostolic See, and to inform the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda of my petition. So far as it lies within my power, I with my people swear before the omnipotent God and promise to embrace and believe with our whole strength what the Catholic Church embraces and believes"⁹⁴.

After the death of Cariattil the work for reunion of Marthomas VI with Catholic church was not done in the proper way.

The Confusions in Jacobite Church

It will be seen that for many centuries prior to 1653, Pakalomattam family, claimed a special position because Archdeacons are selected from this family only. From 1653 the Pakalomattam family went a step further and claimed the Episcopal dignity as its right also. The Archdeacon Parambil Thomas who was the leader of schismatic group and assumed the power of Archbishop with a title Marthoma I. The concept of the office of the Bishop being a family possession was an important cause of its weakness.

⁹⁴D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. II, Bangalore, 1951, pp.152-3.

From the days of Mar Gregorios who came in 1665, till the year 1813 all Bishops of Jacobites succeeded with the title Marthomas I, II, III, IV, V, VI. When Marthoma VI was consecrated by West Syrian Bishop, he took the title Dionysius I. He died in 1808 and by the time continued with Marthoma VII, VIII and IX. Marthoma IX was deposed by Joseph Ramban of Pulikkottil family who got himself consecrated by the Bishop of the Anjur church, Mar Philexinos and took the name Dionysius II on March 22, 1815. The usual practice of succession was the consecration of *Anandaravan* or nephew and it confined only to the Pakalomattom family. But there was a movement within Jacobite Church against the family domination and the continuous succession from the same family. The Marthoma IV and V faced serious opposition from within their church. So after the death of Marthoma V again the conflict was developed. One group opposed the succession of Marthoma VI. It was headed by Kurian Ramban of Kattumangattu family who had some knowledge and reputation in the West Syrian Script and traditions due to his closer association with the West Syrian Bishops who reached Malabar during that period. He was chosen as a Bishop candidate and a rival to Marthoma VI by the meeting of a few churches held at Kandanad. He had much supporters from the churches of Kandanad, Mulanthuruthy, Karingachira etc.

There was serious clash prevailed in the Jacobite church about its ministry. One group insisted its need of approbation in each time from the West Syrian Patriarch and other rejected that demand as unnecessary. Due to

the prevalence of this kind of dissention was suitably exploited from time to time by West Syrian Patriarch.

The Jacobite Church had followed the hereditary conception of the leadership from the locality. But West Syrian Patriarch's conception that in each time their sanction was essential for the functioning of the local leadership, had clashed with the local conception which had passed on from a leader to his successor.

From the mid 18th century the superiority of Pakalomattom family was opposed by other leading families. It was the rivalry arose between the Pakalomattom and Kattumangattu families in the later half of the 18th century that created dissension. Kurilos I of the Kattumangattu family, the first Bishop of Thozhiyur Church, got episcopal consecration from the West Syrian Bishop, Gregorios attempted to oppose Marthoma VI, the Bishop from the Pakalomattom family. By conferring episcopal consecration upon Kurilos, the attempt here was to create a parallel Church within the Jacobite Church in accordance with the plans of the West Syrian Bishops.

The rivalry or factional struggle did not end there. During the period of Marthoma VIII, there was an agitation led by Pulikkottil Joseph or Ittoop *Ramban* from Kunnamkulam on the question of the validity of his episcopal ordination. At the beginning of the 19th century Anglicanization was quite intense which was a set back to the Antiocheanization of the Jacobite church. The British Resident Col. Munro rendered his support to Joseph *Ramban*

weakened the position of Marthoma VIII. The consecration of Joseph Ramban on March 22, 1815 with the title Dionysius II by Philexinos, Bishop of *Malabar Independent Syrian Church of Anjoor* played leading and achieved the dispossession of the Pakalomattam episcopal rule over the Jacobite Church. He was the first one got the interest (Rs.3360) of *Vattippanam*⁹⁵ which he used for the construction of the Old Seminary at Kottayam. There had another leading family at that time standing both against the episcopal succession from Thozhiyoor and Pakalomattom. It was Konattu family of Pampakuda. This family and particularly Abraham Malpan played a leading role in the history of troubles in the Jacobite Church in the 19th century. One section sided with Anglican missionaries and favoured the reformation movement within the Jacobite church. The leader of this group was Abraham Malpan of Palakunnathu from Maramon and his nephew Mar Mathew Athenasius. In a Synod convened by Chepattu Mar Dionysius IV at Mavelikkara in 1836 it was decided to put an end to the Anglican attempts in Jacobite church. The pressure of Konattu Malpan and his associates were behind this decision was followed by the split of the Jacobite church in the year 1889 as Orthodox Syrian church and Marthoma church. In the 20th

⁹⁵ Shortly before the death of Mar Thoma VI (Mar Dionysius I), in 1808, through Macaulay he deposited 3000 poovaram (equivalent to 10500 Rs.) in the English East India Company for 8% interest. This is known as *Vattippanam* (the money deposited for interest). The interest was meant to be used for charitable works. According to the contracts of the deposit the metropolitan, Head of the Jacobite Christians had the right to draw the interest. In later years it became a serious issue and law suits were filed to get vattippanam. For details see M.O. John, *The Thomas Christians in India*, Vienna, 1987, pp.26-27.

century a major split has taken place when Mar Dionysius VI was deposed by Jacobite Patriarch who visited Malabar in 1909 and consecrated Mar Cyril as Metropolitan of Jacobite Church. Mar Dionysius VII invited former Patriarch, Mar Abdul Massih and with his consecration he set up a Catholicate and formed itself in to the Catholicos or "Metran group". The others retaining necessary canonical dependance on the Patriarch called themselves the Patriarch's group or the "Bava group".

CHAPTER 5

JACOBITES UNDER BRITISH COLONIALISM

The 18th century ended with the elimination of Dutch influence in Malabar. The thirty years nightmare of devastating invasions from Mysore ended with the battle of Seringapatam in 1799¹. It was this political vacuum that the East India Company tried to fill with the inauguration of British power in Malabar. As a result of English assistance in crushing the power of Tipu Sultan, the Governments of Travancore and Cochin, signed a treaty with the East India Company which provided for mutual assistance in case of attack and for a trading monopoly of the East India Company in the area.² It was also agreed that the British Raj should be represented by Residents in the courts of Travancore and Cochin.³ These Residents had wider powers for

¹ Nilakanta Sastri, *Advanced History of India*, New Delhi, 1970, p.625.

² On 17th Nov. 1795, A Treaty of perpetual alliance was concluded between Raja of Travancore and the Honourable East India Company see V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 1906, p.401-403. Same type of treaty was signed between Raja of Cochin and English East India Company. *Political despatches from England*, 29 September, 1809, p. 139. According to the treaty the Rajah had to pay the company was fixed at 8,00,000/- per annum, out of which Rs.4,01,655/- was subsidy. Article 18 of the same treaty, declared that all inhabitants shall remain in Cochin, shall be subject to the British Laws.

³ In 1793, it was decided to appoint a political Resident at Travancore. A extract from the minutes of Council in the political department under the 26 April 1793, concerning the appointment runs as follows: "The Honourable Governor acquaints board that he thinks it necessary to put the Honourable company to the expense of a Political Resident with the Raja of Travancore as the Supervisor of the Prince of Malabar is fully authorised to transact all the matters of the kind, lest should the government of Madras hereafter acquaint us that the affairs of the subsidy is not settled, a temporary Resident may be appointed for that purpose for any other occasional business which may occur". *Anjengo Diary* - An extract from the Minutes of Madras Council in the Political Department, 26, April, 1793, p.73, Tamil Nadu Archives.

political control of these two states than the Portuguese and the Dutch had ever possessed. The first two Residents were practically rulers of the country in the years 1800-1819. They were also staunch supporters and practising members of Anglican Church.⁴

The British Interest of Malabar Church

The interest of the Church of England in the Syrian Church of Malabar seems to have struck with the publication of the details of the journey of Archbishop Alexis de Menezis of Goa to Catholicise and latinise the ancient Church of Malabar.⁵ The book was written by Antonio Gouvea, who was the Prior of the Augustinian Convent in Goa and in 1603 he wrote in Portuguese, a narrative of the tour of the Archbishop Menezis to Malabar and the Synod of Diamper conducted by him. This was published in Coimbra in 1606 and usually cited as Gouvea's *Jornada*. This book supplied materials for Michael Geddes to write *History of the Church of Malabar*. Geddes was a staunch protestant and critic of Papacy. He was an Edinburgh graduate and was one of the first batch of Scottish students who came to Balliol College, Oxford. In 1678 he went to Lisbon as Chaplain to the English factory there and it was doubtless while he was at Lisbon that he read Gouvea's *Jornada*. After eight years residence at Lisbon Geddes was

⁴ P. Shangoonny Menon, *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, New Delhi, 1985, p.364.

⁵ D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. 1, Bangalore, 1939, p.206.

forbidden by the Inquisition to continue his work as Chaplain. The English merchants at Lisbon appealed to London against this as an infringement of treaty of rights, but before this appeal was heard James II came to the throne of Portugal and Geddes was suspended.⁶ After the arrival of William III in the helm of affairs in England and the promotion of D. Burnett to the see of Salisbury,⁷ Geddes in 1694 became Chancellor of Salisbury and in 1694 he published *History of the Church of Malabar*, Burnett in his *History of Reformation* say of Geddes,

He was a learned and a wise man. He had a true notion of Popery as a political combination, managed by falsehood and cruelty, to establish a temporal empire in the person of the Popes. All his thoughts and studies were chiefly employed in detecting this.⁸

As might be expected of a man with those views and with that history, Geddes, in taking his facts from Gouvea, narrated them with a Protestant bias against the Catholic Portuguese. After extensive and indepth studies on the pre Portuguese Church of Malabar, he concluded that Malabar Church never

⁶ James II was a convinced Roman Catholic and his fury of tyrant fell on the Anglican church. See Maurice Ashley, *Great Britain to 1688*, New York, 1961, p.413.

⁷ After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 William of Orange from Holland who was champion of the Protestants of Europe ascended the throne of England. G.M. Trevelyan, *England Under Stuarts*, London, 1965, p.424.

⁸ D. Burnett, *History of the Reformation*, iii, Oxford, 1982, reprint, p.306.

believed the doctrines of Popes supremacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, adoration of images, auricular confession etc.⁹

Geddes depicts the Syrian Church on the Malabar coast as a Church of primitive purity, corrupted by contact with Roman Catholics.¹⁰ He also observes the similarities of the Protestant Church of England with the ancient Church of Malabar.

According to Michael Geddes the following are the doctrines wherein the Church of Malabar agrees with Protestant Church of England, and differs from that of Rome.

1. She *condemns* the Pope's supremacy.
2. She *affirms that the Church of Rome is fallen from the True Faith.*
3. She *denies Transubstantiation or that Christ's Body and Blood are really and substantially in the Eucharist.*
4. She *condemns Images and the Adoration of them as Idolatrous.*
5. She *makes no use of oils in the Administration of Baptism.*
6. She *allows of no Spiritual Affinity.*
7. She *denies Purgatory.*
8. She *denies the necessity of Auricular Confession.*

⁹ M. Geddes, *History of the Church of Malabar*, London, 1694, p.86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

9. She *knows nothing to Extreme Unction.*
10. She *allows her priests to marry as often as they have mind and ordains such as have been married three or four times, and to widows, without any scruple.*
11. She *denies Matrimony to be a sacrament.*
12. She holds but two orders, *Priesthood and Diaconate.*
13. She *celebrates in leavened bread.*
14. She *consecrates with prayer.*
15. She *denies Confirmation to be a sacrament.*¹¹

The first Resident of Travancore and Cochin was Col. Colin Macaulay¹², who was soon faced with a serious insurrection called Travancore Rebellion.¹³ The suppression of this Rebellion in 1805¹⁴ was

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.117.

¹² In 1800, Major Macaulay was appointed as the Political Resident at Travancore and Cochin by the Bombay Government.

Anjengo Diary-1800, Bombay Castle, to Major Macaulay, Resident, Travancore, 16 April, 1800, p.139.

¹³ In 1800 Velu Thampi was appointed as *Dalawa* (Chief Minister) of Travancore with the approval of Resident Macaulay. He found a friend and ally in Paliath Achan, his counterpart in Cochin. Both of them organized a revolt against the English. C. Achuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, Ernakulam, 1911, pp.142-48.

¹⁴ William Logan, *Malabar*, I, Madras, 1886, p.562. T.K. Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manuel*, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 1940, pp.488-95. Also see Manuscript Records Govt. Archives, Madras – *Abstract of Despatches to England in the Military Department* – 14th April 1805 to 2nd October 1806. *Military Proceedings of Travancore Mutiny* – 5th June, 1812.

followed by a new treaty between East India Company and Travancore¹⁵. In the following year in 1806, probably at Macaulay's suggestion, the Madras government sent its senior East India Company Chaplain Dr. Kerr, on a visitation to the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar. This was followed by the arrival of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Provost of Fort William College, Calcutta, in the same year. The report of Dr. Kerr and the much more important report of Dr. Buchanan called *Christian Researches in Asia*¹⁶ which refers to Geddes' observations on the Malabar church, were later destined to bring into being the Anglican Church which was to have such profound efforts on the life of the Jacobite Church of Kerala, which was already separated from the Catholic Church.

In this turbulent period of Travancore's history, Macaulay faced an exceedingly difficult task. He was ground between the millstones of the East India Company demands for payment of every increasing subsidies, and the spend thrift young Raja's lardiness in making payments. The difficulties of

¹⁵ The company imposed the Subsidiary Treaty of 1805 on the Raja of Travancore proclaimed the virtual British Paramountcy over Travancore. By this treaty the British government became entitled to advice the Rajah on every issue connected with the administration of the affairs of Travancore. The Raja could hold no communication with any foreign state and could not allow any other European into his service or allow them to remain within his territories without previous sanction of the British government. A.J. Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, Madras, 1938, p.36.

¹⁶ Kerr's Report to Governor of Madras was published in the *Christian Observer* of November 1807. It was republished by C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, London, 1812, p.146. Both of them observed resemblance of the Jacobite church with the Anglican church.

his post were multiplied by his apparently difficult disposition. He was one of the most unpopular of British Residents, inclined to haughty and despotic behaviour. The way in which he exasperated the authorities of the two states seems to be one of the factors that led to the Travancore Rebellion. But along with his haughtiness and rudeness of his treatment of the people of this region, he was known by Dr. Buchanen and other Europeans, as a man of extraordinary kindness, a friend of the Christians and concerned for the spread of the Gospel. He was recalled in 1810 and returned to England, where he became a Major General, a Member of Parliament and Vice President of the Church Missionary Society.¹⁷

Soon after Macaulay returned to England, Raja Bala Rama Varma of Travancore died in November 1810, leaving behind him a contested inheritance. The East India Company adjudged *Rani* Lakshmi Bai the rightful successor to the throne of Travancore. Just before that time Colonel John Munro was appointed Resident in the place of Macaulay¹⁸. He was soon invited by the young queen to be her Dewan (Prime Minister). Along with his duties as Resident of the East India Company, he served as the Dewan of Travancore from 1811 to 1815, and Dewan of Cochin from 1812 to 1818.

¹⁷ W.S Hunt, *The Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin, 1816-1916*, Vol.I, Kottayam, 1920, p.6.

¹⁸ C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, New Delhi, 1990 (reprint), p.561. Political Department, Country Correspondence-1809, G.H. Barlow, Fort St. George to the Rajah of Travancore, March, 1810, p.56.

This very remarkable combination of powers was to have far-reaching results in the launching of the Protestant Mission in the form of Church Mission Society and in the whole subsequent history of the Jacobite Church of Malabar. The Court of Directors of the East India Company naturally did not approve this collocation of offices and power, but before their disapproval was finally communicated to him he had already given up the office of Dewan. These offices gave him the opportunity to reform abuses in the administration which he did with amazing thoroughness and energy. The efficiency with which Munro reorganized a chaotic administration won the undying gratitude of the young queen. With his deep interest in Protestant Missions, Munro was able to use his influence with *Rani Lakshmi Bai* to help the Jacobite Christians in many ways.

Munro was a man of deep piety and profound evangelical conviction. The Syrian Christians of Jacobite Church got special attention from the Resident. He found them poor, depressed and ignorant and, by evangelical standards, superstitious. He was intensely desirous of seeing a renewal of their life, and was prepared to take endless pains to fulfil his plan. His view of Christianity is of the sturdy evangelical type which was so common in England in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ He accepted the principle that was the duty of every Christian to support and encourage diffusion of true

¹⁹ C.B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, Madras, 1968, p.146.

Christianity and which in his opinion was identical with Protestant Christianity, he was himself guided by that principle in all his actions.²⁰ He wrote, "Regarding as I do, the diffusion of genuine Christianity in India, as a measure equally important to the interests of humanity and to the stability of our power, I view, with most sincere pleasure, the commencement of a systematic plan for the attainment of that object . . . Indeed from the situation of the Portuguese in India, strong arguments may be adduced for the diffusion of the English language, as a means of supporting the British power, as well as of extending the Protestant religion . . ." ²¹ Thus in supporting the native Christian community and Anglican Missions, the objective of the Resident were partly political and partly religious.

By the time 1813, the renewed policy of the East India Company came into force removing all disabilities hampering missionary works in India.²² Moreover, the newly formed Church Missionary Society in England, which was anxious to carry the Gospel to every part of the world, had established an

²⁰ P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar and the Church Missionary Society, 1816-40*, Kottayam, 1935, p.83.

²¹ Munro's letter to the Secretary of the CMS, in the *Missionary Register*, 1816, pp.452-53. P. Cheriyan. *op. cit.*, pp.340-41. Like many of his contemporaries Munro believed the introduction of English education and Christianity assist the stability of the British power in India. And the one cause behind supporting the native Christians and western Missions, was definitely this conviction which was politically oriented W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp.57-58, J.W. Gladstone, *Protestant Christianity and People's Movements in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1984, p.55; also see Munro's letter in *Proceedings of CMS* for 1819-20, pp.333-40.

²² M.K. Kuriakose, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials*, Madras, 1982, pp.88-89. Eugene Stock, *History of the CMS*, London, 1899, p.103.

auxiliary society of it, known as the Corresponding Committee of the CMS in Madras,²³ in November 1814, with the Rev. Marmaduke Thompson as its first secretary. Munro lost no time in sending his appeal to this committee praying that a few clergy man belonging to the Church of England might be send for evangelical work among the Jacobite Christians. In compliance with this request the Madras Committee diverted Thomas Norton to Travancore.²⁴

The CMS is a society organised by some members of the Church of England in 1799 to help in the propagation of the Gospel in Africa and in the East.²⁵ It was a child of 'Evangelical Anglicanism and its original name was 'the society for Missions of Africa and the East.'²⁶ After a few years, the full title *The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* was formally adopted. The outstanding men in this group who became the founders of CMS were Charles Simeon, Vicar of a Church in Cambridge, John Venn, Rector of Chapham and some distinguished laymen such as Wilber Force, Thorton Zachary Macaulay and James Stephen.

²³ They also established Corresponding Committees in Bombay and Calcutta in 1818 and 1812 respectively. Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Edinburgh and London, 1908, p.157.

²⁴ Letters of 28 February 1817 Quoted by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p. 106-107.

²⁵ A.Bagshaw, "The History of CMS", *CMS Triple Jubilee Souvenir*, Kottayam, CMS. Press. 1966, p.28, M.E.Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India - 1600-1970*, New Delhi, 1972, p.46.

²⁶ W.S.Hunt. *op. cit.*, p.3.

Col. Munro enthusiastically removed the social disabilities of the Jacobite Christians. He abolished the custom of *Ooliam services* (work without wages) especially on Sundays which they had been rendering to the Government.²⁷ He also relieved them from monetary contributions to the Hindu temples and festivals. By freeing from the civil disabilities and improving their social status, getting as many as them admitted into government services, this aim of raising them could be achieved.²⁸ Col. Munro always watched the progress of the Jacobite Christians with great interest and enquired periodically about the condition of various Jacobite Churches in the two states, Travancore and Cochin²⁹. He also took steps to improve the condition of Churches and also for the education of the Jacobite Syrian youths. He was determined to establish a college and also proposed to link 52 Parish schools with their 52 Churches. However, one important aspect of the missionary work which provided a background for changes in the society was their endeavours in the field of education. The educational endeavours of the missionaries exploded the myth that only the higher castes were destined to learn. It also laid strong foundations for the "cultural

²⁷ C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, Madras, 1902, p.577.

²⁸ Munro wrote to Thompson: "The Christians of all descriptions in Travancore have since my arrival in this country been relived from most oppressive burdens . . . Released from civil oppression they will be better disposed, I hope, to apply with cheerfulness to their religious duties." *Missionary Register*, 1816, p.453, *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-20, p.337.

²⁹ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 59. *Missionary Register* 1819, pp. 427-8.

renaissance" which had been taking place in the society.³⁰ The Christian missionaries were the pioneers of English education in Kerala and Schools were an integral part of their work. In the plan of Col. Munroe, who had invited the CMS to Kerala, much importance was given to the educational work for the believers that English education would give substantial help to the advancement of Protestant Christianity and stability to the British political power in India.³¹ The work of the missionaries – religious, educational and social – however, was one of the factors which created a new awareness among the people to struggle for their betterment. These struggles created tensions within the society because the depressed sections began to question many of the established customs. These were the beginnings of social changes in Kerala.³²

Since Munro stayed in Kerala for more than nine years, he had occasions to maintain deeper and frequent contacts with the Jacobite Church and its affairs before and after the advent of the CMS missionaries. The first occasion probably which made Munro contact the Jacobite Church was soon after his arrival in Travancore in succession to Colonel Macaulay in 1810 was

³⁰J. W. Gladstone, *op. cit.*, pp.70-71.

³¹ *Proceedings of CMS*. 1816-17. P.455. see also "Major Munro's Reply to the Secretary's Intimation," *The Missionary Register* 1816. P.452-454.

³² Eira Dalton, *Fellow Workers with God*, Kottayam, 1966, p.2.

to settle the internal confusion in the community related to the validity of the consecration of their Bishop Marthoma VIII.³³

After Dionysius' death, his successor Marthoma VII, took the leadership of the Church. But he did not live long. He died on July 17, 1809. Following this there arose a protracted dissension within the Church with regard to his successor. The disputed appointment of Marthoma VIII by Marthoma VII was opposed by a section in the Jacobite Church, but this case was reported to Colonel Macaulay who confirmed the appointment of Marthoma VIII. But after 18 months (September 1809 to February 1811) once again the dispute arose and this case was reported to Colonel Munro who was anxious only for peace and he arranged for the meeting of the representatives of the parishes at Mavelikkara in June 1811 to discuss the situation and to make peace.³⁴ But it did not end in peace. Discussions continued and both parties sent petitions to Munro who declared his final decision on the matter in 1813.³⁵ He declared that Marthoma VIII had been invalidly consecrated and so he could not continue in his office.³⁶ Nevertheless, Marthoma VIII continued in his office refusing to surrender till

³³ P. Ittoop, *Suriani Kristyanikalute Sabhacharitam* (Mal.), Kottayam, 1906, p.157.

³⁴ *Ibid.* pp.163-164.

³⁵ L.W.Brown gives this date as 1814. p.128. M. Cyril, *The Syro Malankara Church*, Alwaye, 1973, p.43.

³⁶ E. M. Philip, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas*, Nagercoil, 1950, p.202. He accuses that Munro conducted only a nominal enquiry into the allegations against Marthoma VIII.

his death on Jan 10, 1816.³⁷ It seems, as Brown has observed, that the Resident did not commit himself to any definite decision or take any action against Marthoma's office.³⁸ He left the matter to remain as it was. The Resident rendered his support to Joseph Ramban the chief opponent of Marthoma VIII.³⁹ This gradually weakened the position of Marthoma due to the lack of support from the Resident. The consecration of Joseph Ramban on March 22, 1815 with the title Dionysius II by Philexinos, *Malabar Bishop of Independent Syrian Church of Anjoor*, was very significant because it paved the way for the eclipse of Pakalomattam family's episcopal succession in the Jacobite Church.⁴⁰

Munro also visualized out of the appointment of the missionaries these plans. By reporting to the Resident about the real grievances of the Jacobite Christians, and their remedies, the missionaries could be used as a channel of communication between the Resident and Jacobite Christians. By this method Munro aimed to redress their grievances.⁴¹ This arrangement, of course, remained during the period, when Munro was in office as Resident

³⁷ L.W.Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, Cambridge, 1956, p.129.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.* pp.129-130.

⁴⁰ E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.205. Z.M. Parrett, *Malankara Nazranigal*, Kottayam, 1967, p.136. It should be noted here that while Marthoma VIII was still alive Dionysius II was made Bishop.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.59, *Missionary Register* 1819, pp.427-28.

and this was one cause which provoked opposition against the Jacobite community from all classes of people after the Resident's departure.⁴²

Another combined object of the Mission, as written by Munro was, "The establishment of an efficient system of education at the college, the translation of the Bible and the strict enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline ... It is only by an efficient course of instruction at the college that a respective body of native clergy can be procured for the service of the Syrian Churches and for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen."⁴³ To realise this objective he also planned the education of the laity. Munro believed that an efficient system of education, particularly in the English

⁴² See details of this opposition in Digby Mackworth, *Diary of Tour Through South India, Egypt and Palestine in 1821 and 1822*. London: 1825, pp.72-75; see also P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.142-43. Mackworth says that the services of nearly three hundred Syrians who were in the public services of the state were dispensed with almost immediately after Munro's departure and that the inferior officers of the Travancore government made this as an occasion for harassing the Christians.

⁴³ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-20, pp.168-69. In another letter he wrote: ". . . it is my intention to adopt the best measures in my power for placing it (the college) in a state of efficiency, and combining its operations with a system of parish schools among the Syrians . . . The principal object of the establishment of a college. In Travancore was to instruct the Cattanars and officiating priests among the Syrians in a competent knowledge of the Syriac language in which they are at present too generally deficient . . . With the study of the Syriac language would, of course, be combined that of the scriptures and other religious books . . . The plan of the college was also intended to comprehend a system of instruction in Malayalam to priests and the laity, and of translating the scriptures and the religious books into that language for general circulation and use." *Missionary Register* 1816, pp.453-54.

language, would contribute more effectively than any other plans to an early and substantial advancement of Christianity in India.⁴⁴

One of Munro's darling projects was the creation of a college for the education of the priests of the Jacobite Church. He believed that it was necessary for the very religious improvement of its condition. In that sense it can be said with some amount of certainty that it was Munro who first implemented the idea that for the improvement of the Jacobite Church in Kerala it needed proper education. For the execution of that plan he found an enthusiastic person in that community, namely Joseph Ramban. By this time a plot of land measuring 16 acres in extent at Kottayam on the shores of Meenachil River was obtained for the Jacobite Church from the *Rani* Lakshmi Bai of Travancore through the persuasion of Munro. Here the C.M.S. college⁴⁵ was erected in the year 1814, through the assistance of Munro. A part of the seminary was completed in 1815 and the training of priests was started. However, Munro believed that the assistance of the Joseph Ramban alone for the success of those measures was insufficient; for he found that the Jacobites themselves were lamentably deficient in knowledge, energy and

⁴⁴ *Missionary Register*, 1816, p.453; *Missionary Register* 1818, p.101; *Proceedings of CMS*, 1816-17, p.455.

⁴⁵ C.M.S. College at Kottayam became the first one in the state of Travancore where English was taught. It became the nucleus of Christian education in the whole state. Regarding the details of the establishment of this college, see W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p.70.

ability.⁴⁶ Therefore, he believed the necessity of assistance of intermediary agents to carry out efficiently these plans.⁴⁷ It was this background and enthusiasm to uplift the Jacobite Christians that made Munro to correspond with the CMS asking for their help. He desired to see as the head of this institution an Anglican clergyman of evangelical principles.

With reference to the translation of the scriptures into the vernacular and its wider circulation, Munro attached similar importance.⁴⁸ By this he believed that it will facilitate enlightenment of the Jacobite Christians. Munro attached the greater importance to the enforcement of discipline within the Jacobite Church. The presence of the missionaries and their counsels will help the Syrians to improve their moral and spiritual conditions.

Besides these objectives Munro also expected the conversion of the Roman Catholics of Kerala to Protestantism. He wrote to Thompson in a letter dated July 22, 1816, "I have sanguine hopes, when more missionaries are established in Travancore, that the great body of the Roman Catholic Christians in that country, will embrace the Protestant faith."⁴⁹

⁴⁶ W.J. Richard, *The Reforming Syrians of Travancore and Cochin*, London, 1895, p.183.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.338.

⁴⁸ He wrote "The translation of the Bible is a work of the first importance." *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-20, p.170.

⁴⁹ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1816-17, p.456; *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-20, pp.337, 339.

Apart from the objectives already mentioned above or even combined with some of them, Munro and the CMS missionaries had also another important aim with regard to the Jacobite Church. That can be spelled out as religious 'Reformation' or the renovation of the Jacobite Church.

Religious Renovation of the Jacobite Church and its Implications

The words "renovation" or "Reformation" convey a meaning that there were once something good and useful which now grown old and found decrepit, yet capable of being revived or restored to its original goodness and utility and the efforts to make it a new one is generally held by "Reformation".⁵⁰ When the CMS, Colonel Munro and the missionaries used the terms referring to the Jacobite Church they meant several things. Broadly speaking we can discern three things out of this:

1. They meant a restoration of the Jacobite Church purified and modified in its religious aspects to its purity after the removal of superstitious customs and practices.
2. They might have meant a gradual substitution in the Jacobite Church of an evangelical Protestant form of faith, liturgy, customs, etc. at the same time keeping the individuality and uniqueness of the Jacobite Church.

⁵⁰ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Vol.I, p.63.

3. They might have meant not only a purification of the Jacobite Church from its abuses derived from Rome, but also building up of the Jacobite Church as a free Church socially, organically, spiritually and intellectually enlightened by their own attempt which were entirely their own.

In a few of Munro's unofficial letters there are scattered references to support this position,⁵¹ that he advocated the spread of Protestantism in the Jacobite Church. In the Missionary reports of the time too are found some references to this policy.⁵²

In the light of this observation, it is extremely difficult to say that the CMS desired to revive the Jacobite Church in the direction of the Evangelical Protestantism." What we see in the unofficial letters of Munro, against this

⁵¹ Writing to Norton on Feb. 22, 1817 Munro notes: "I think that the Syrians are very little at present imbued with Nestorianism." In another similar letter he wrote to Bailey: "The translation of the English liturgy is another object of primary importance for I think if it were well translated it might without any difficulty be substituted in all the Churches for their present forms of worship." Letter of Munro dated May 23, 1818 cited by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.355-65; C.M. Agur also makes the same opinion in his book. See C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp.978-79.

⁵²The *Missionary Register*, 1819 on pages 427-28 reports: The restoration of the Syrian Church to the primitive integrity and its nearer conformity to their own will be greatly anticipated from the following statements: "with the utmost prudence, the Missionaries careful to alter as little as possible; that the character and the individuality of the Syrian Church may be preserved; and of such 'Reformation' as truth and conscience demand, the execution is committed, with their own consent, to the Bishop and clergy." "The expurgation of their ritual from the Popist ceremonious . . . and the restoration of the primitive Discipline and the government of the Syrian Church were made the subject of discussion with the present Metran above a year ago; and he then expressed his earnest wishes, that these objects might be effected."

official position, inclines us to reject as a mere insignificant thing which occurred by chance the real or official intention of the CMS Mission.⁵³

Munro visualised the enlightenment in the Jacobite church could be given by the circulation of the vernacular scriptures, the spread of general and religious education among the clergy and laity; and, the strict enforcement of disciplines. Many corrupting influences, superstitious practices and notorious customs derived from the contacts of the non Christian neighbours and other sources of influences had crept in to them. The fear of the evil spirit and resort to black magic to avert bad influences, the observance of auspicious days and hours, the avoidance of inauspicious omens etc. widely prevailed among the Jacobite Christians. It was the general ignorance of the essential emphasis of Christianity that led to such a set back in that Church's practice of a true Christian life. For the vast majority of the Christians and even for many clergy, the Bible was the unknown book. Most of them could not follow the Syriac, the language of worship. To the Anglican missionaries this general condition of the Jacobite church was deplorable. They were keen to reform the Jacobite church with a protestant bias by providing it with the frame of Anglican church of England.

The sources of the Anglican Mission, reveals that from the beginning

⁵³ A careful observation of the *Proceedings of CMS* of the year 1817-18, p.176, where instructions given to Fenn by the Society on the time of his departure to Travancore is enough to show the official policy of the CMS. Also see P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.136-37.

the Jacobite hierarchy had many apprehensions about this mission and its functions in their Church. The missionaries on their part had made some efforts to clear the misunderstanding from time to time.⁵⁴ Here the fear of the Church was that their new contact with the English would endanger what were considered to be their legitimate faith, traditions and customs. They also thought that this would ultimately lead to their submission to the English ecclesiastical power. "Eventhough", observes Brown, "the Church Missionary Society had made its policy of non-interference clear, its missionaries were there at the invitation of Col. Munro, who took a keen interest in all the affairs of the Church and seemed to consider he had a right to exercise paternal powers and to use the missionaries as his agents."⁵⁵ This proceeding of the missionaries at the suggestion of the Resident was not able to create a right understanding and co-relation between the Church and the objectives of the Mission. Munro or missionaries had not taken any definite steps to clarify the misunderstandings.⁵⁶ Due to these factors, the Church was

⁵⁴ The first interview of Thomas Norton with Dionysius can be taken as a typical example of this apprehension. L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp.133-34.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.134.

⁵⁶ Indeed we can certainly say that Dionysius I, II and III had understood the objectives of the Mission and that of Munro. Hence they did co-operate. The Missionaries on their part also have made known the objectives of the Mission to the Jacobite Church. Norton in his first interview with Dionysius II had made known it. Another eg. is Fenn. In an address delivered before the Mavelikkara assembly which met in 1818 he also made known a few objectives of the Mission. See Fenn's address reproduced by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.370-74. But how far their communication of the objectives of the Mission was rightly viewed and understood, and positively evaluated and seriously taken by the Jacobite Church is doubtful. The Church, indeed, had not taken a definite step in utilizing the aims of the Mission. This was the failure from her part.

slow to react to the demands of the missionaries particularly about "Reformation". This was misunderstood because of the association of the Mission with the British political power. They thought this as another attempt to over ride the Jacobite Church by a Western ecclesiastical power. There were people in the Jacobite Church who could give such a meaning to the functions of the Mission, particularly in the background of that Church's experiences during the Portuguese period.

First of all, Jacobite Church entered into a new phase in her history by its contacts with the English. As the immediate result of this, the Church began to experience a favourable political situation which was formerly denied to her. Secondly, who became conscious of the bad condition of the Church began to think in terms of remedies to its evils. This led to the founding of a seminary at Kottayam with an aim to train the clergy and to spread education in the scriptural and ecclesiastical field.

There was an internal dissension which had divided the Church into two parties. Eventhough the dissension had its origin from the time of the episcopate of Mar Thoma VIII on the invalidity of his episcopal office, yet that was not the real issue behind the contention. It was all about the nature of the connection of the Jacobite Church with the West Syrian Patriarch.

It was against this background that the CMS began to work in the Church at the persuasion of Munro. Therefore, as Munro supported one

party, the other party suspected his sincerity when he took interest in the affairs of the Jacobite Church.

Another important development at the end of this period was a new succession of Bishops in the Jacobite Church. They had their episcopal succession from *Malabar Independent Syrian Church* of Thozhiyur. Again about the validity of its Orders there began to emerge contentions in the Church. Some preventive measures, though adopted by the Resident to pacify the possible quarrels, were offending to the interest of a group which did not favour that episcopacy. So long as Munro was in office as Resident in Kerala, every thing went on quite peacefully, on the surface at the least. But after the Resident's departure, the aggrieved party reacted quite violently.

The Anglican Missionaries and the Jacobites

Munro found that the CMS missionaries were useful to fulfil the purposes and at his invitation, they began their functions in the Jacobite Church from 1816 onwards. He insisted them to work among the Jacobites, to effect renewal of their Church and to raise them from degradation. He hoped that a strong and friendly community would be a support for the British power in Malabar⁵⁷. The first group of missionaries who worked in the Jacobite Church during the period were: Thomas Norton, Benjamin Bailey,

⁵⁷ E.L. Tenbrink, *The CMS Mission of Help to the Syrian Church in Malabar, 1818-1840*, Bangalore, 1960, p.133.

Thomas Dawson, Joseph Fenn and Henry Baker. The most important among them were the so called "Kottayam Trio" – Bailey (1816-1850), Baker (1817-1866) and Fenn (1817-1826). Doran came at the close of this period.

The first of these missionaries, Thomas Norton, arrived in Cochin on May 8, 1816 and began work in the Jacobite Church and settled himself at Alleppey.⁵⁸ With the arrival of Benjamin Bailey to Kottayam by about March 1817,⁵⁹ the plans of Resident Munro with regard to the Jacobite church began to be executed. Norton gradually ceased to have much to do with the Jacobite Church and thereafter his labours were mainly confined to Alleppey and the surrounding places among the Roman Catholics until his death on 12 Aug. 1840.⁶⁰

Benjamin Bailey, who arrived Alleppey on Nov. 19, 1816 stayed with Norton until the following March with a view to study Malayalam and by the end of March 1817 he shifted his residence to Kottayam.⁶¹ His main involvements were with the Jacobite clergy, the translation of the Scriptures into Malayalam and later on the supervision of the C.M.S. press. He worked

⁵⁸ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1817-18, p.454, C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p.962.

⁵⁹ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1817-1818, p.121, P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.129.

⁶⁰ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p.148.

⁶¹ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1817-18, p.121; *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.103; P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.129; W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Vol.I, p.123.

within the Jacobite Church till the final rupture of the Mission in 1836. Till 1850 he continued to work residing at Kottayam.⁶²

Thomas Dawson, though had come along with Bailey and settled eventually at Cochin, later on was compelled to return home soon due to ill health.⁶³ Another Anglican missionary to arrive in Kottayam was Joseph Fenn who, it is said, was the first missionary directly sent to work in the Jacobite Church by the Home Committee of the CMS. In certain respects he is considered the greatest of the early missionaries. By profession he was a barrister, who reached Madras in May 1818 and was able to reach Kottayam only in October.⁶⁴ His involvement was with education of the youths of the Jacobite Church at the C.M.S. college and the Grammar School at Kottayam. Till the end of 1826 he worked among them.⁶⁵ It was a misfortune that ill-health compelled him to return to England after only eight years of service.

The next missionary of importance was Henry Baker. Though he had arrived in South India along with Fenn, he reached Kottayam only in April 1819 when a request was made by the missionaries at Kottayam, for additional helpers.⁶⁶ On his coming to Kottayam the oversight of the village

⁶² For further details see W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p.119.

⁶³ See *Ibid.*, p.35; P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.132.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.136-138.

⁶⁵ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp.124-127.

⁶⁶ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.144.

schools established attached to the parishes was entrusted to his care. And he succeeded by 1824 in introducing parochial schools in all the Jacobite parishes. Till his death in 1866 he worked in Kerala.⁶⁷

One of the unique feature of this Anglican Mission from the beginning of its work in Travancore was that it functioned under the open patronage, counsel and effective control of the British Resident, Munro. Indeed, he was not only instrumental in introducing this mission, but also the main planner and director of its functions in the Jacobite Church until the time of his retirement. How closely Munro had identified himself with this Mission is to be seen from several of his statements published in the Proceedings of the CMS Mission.⁶⁸ Eventhough the Mission lost open patronage from the successive British Residents in Travancore, they were exceedingly kind and well disposed towards the Mission. This relation, though beneficial, to a

⁶⁷ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp.54, 127-129.

⁶⁸ To cite for example: in a letter addressed to the secretary to the Corresponding Committee at Madras Munro insisted: "With respect to Norton, and all the persons who may be employed by the society in Travancore, I wish that they may be desired to receive my advice concerning the general application of their services." *Missionary Register*, 1816, p.452. Eventually the Committee placed Norton at Munro's disposal. Again, it was he who resolved to station Bailey at Kottayam *Missionary Register*, 1818, pp.101,105, to introduce a system of education at the C.M.S. College, to begin the translation of the scriptures into Malayalam, to enforce discipline among the clergy, etc. Letters of Munro in *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.105; *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-20, pp.168-69; P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.363.

larger extent, to the Mission and to the Jacobite Church it was to make bad consequences.⁶⁹

The policy of the East India Company was non-interference in the affairs of the Religion, but the actions of the C.M.S. missionaries in the Jacobite church were contrary to the policy of the colonial agenda.⁷⁰ They acted as the agents of the British Resident, proceeding according to his suggestions and themselves in the internal affairs of the Jacobite church. In this aspect the Society was unable to control its missionaries. Eventhough Munro's advocacy to the missionaries for a drastic interference with the life of the Jacobite Church was due to his sincere affection for that Church, it was hardly helpful to give a good impression when viewed from a different angle. Inspite of this the apprehension of the Jacobite Church about the Anglican Mission increased from the very commencement of it in the Jacobite Church.

Another unique characteristic of the Anglican Mission during the period 1816-1826 was, that almost all of the missionaries employed by the Mission in the Jacobite Church were very devout, prudent and hardworking men. Being in a strange land and beginners in almost every task assigned to them, they were devout in their labours. Not only they were pioneers in introducing and developing the education, the Bible translation, printing and

⁶⁹ See L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp.134-35.

⁷⁰ Chandramohan, P., "Colonial Connections of Protestant Missionaries in Travancore" (Unpublished article), New Delhi, p.2.

composition of dictionaries, and other similar things, but also they were able to maintain a good relation with the clergy and the Metropolitan of the Jacobite Church inspite of disagreements with respect to those parts of the Church rituals practised by the Jacobites. Here they were tolerant and their attitude was that of silence. Initially they did nothing but by the express sanction of the Metran and the senior Malpans,⁷¹ particularly that of Konattu Malpan.⁷² In that respect they were able to understand sympathetically and patiently the backward conditions of the Church, which the missionaries who came after them were unable to bear sympathetically.

We have noted the arrival of Thomas Norton to Alleppey in May 1816. Shortly after his arrival Munro made an occasion for a meeting between him and the Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius II, of the Jacobite Church. A report of this first meeting is given in the *Missionary Register* for the year 1818 as reported by Norton himself, which clearly gives an indication of how the Mission was viewed from the beginning by the Jacobite Church.⁷³

In this report of Norton, dated October, 18, 1816, we have the information that there existed even from the beginning some apprehensions in the mind of the Metropolitan and much more in the minds of clergy and the

⁷¹ Malpans means mater are learned priests or teachers in seminaries. See Placid J. Podipara, *The Thomas Christians*, Changanacherry, 1970, p.171.

⁷² Mill, principal of Bishop's College, while giving a report mentions this fact to a certain extent. *Missionary Register*, 1823, p.398.

⁷³ *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.98. P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.97-98.

people with reference to their contact with the English. The first effort of Norton was to remove the suspicion by making the objective of the Mission obvious.⁷⁴ Norton writes that after a little conversation, the Bishop was able to understand the intention of the Anglican Mission and received him as sent by the Lord to be the deliverer and protector, and prayed that God bless his efforts among his people.⁷⁵

Another topic which was touched during the conversation between the Bishop and Norton was the celibacy of the clergy. The Bishop replied that there was no opposition to this in principle; but he suggested that one of the reasons was the extreme poverty of the clergy to maintain a family.⁷⁶ To implement the practice of marriage among the Jacobite clergy Colonel Munro offered monitory allowances to those priests who were ready to marry. Munro offered a reward of Rs.400/- to the first priest and Rs.150 to Rs.200/- to others who entered into married life.⁷⁷ It is also said, a short time after this

⁷⁴ *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.98.

⁷⁵ Norton writes: "I endeavoured, therefore, in the first place to convince the Metropolitan in the presence of several of his Cattanars that we had no object in view than the benefit of the Syrian Church; and assured them that it was our sole desire to be instrumental by the Divine assistance in strengthening his hands for removing those evils which they have derived from the Church of Rome and which he himself lamented, and bring them back to their primitive state according to the purity of the Gospel, that they might again become a holy vigorous Church, active and useful in the cause of God". *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.98.

⁷⁶ This was not wholly true. On the contrary it was the Roman Catholic influence on celibacy that discouraged the marriage of clergy.

⁷⁷ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.133.

the Bishop issued a circular letter to all the Jacobite Churches informing them that "the prohibition of sacerdotal matrimony to be not of the Church of Antioch, but of Rome, and desired that the clergy would take the matter into consideration and comply with the ordinance of marriage, when convenient."⁷⁸

In consequence of this, two of the clergy were married immediately and forty more were engaged to marry. Norton reports: "At present the subject of Cattanars marrying is so novel that the people hesitate at giving their daughters to them in marriage. The hesitation will, doubtless, be removed in a little time."⁷⁹

After meeting the Bishop at Quilon, Norton settled at Alleppey, as directed by the Resident. Here he tried to implement his four fold objectives such as to learn Malayalam, to translate the Bible in Malayalam, to build a church and school, an orphanage and a boarding school for boys and girls at Alleppey. Norton was one of the pioneers of female education in Kerala. He intended to visit Kottayam frequently.⁸⁰ Metropolitan Dionysius granted

⁷⁸ *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.98.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.99.

⁸⁰ Some authors seem to say that the Metropolitan refused Norton's to reside in Kottayam so he was led to fix his quarters at Alleppey. This appears to be highly improbable. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp.120-121; P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.98-99.

permission to Norton and other missionaries to preach in the Jacobite Churches.⁸¹

It also seems the Resident gave clear instructions to Norton on many points as to how he should work within the Jacobite Church. Because, we find hereafter, Norton playing a vital role as an intermediary between the Resident and the people of the Jacobite Church in reporting the grievances of them to the Resident and for their remedies.⁸² In a letter Munro also requests Norton to take care of two things: "to hasten the translation of the Bible and to commence immediately a system of education at the college." Because he says: "The Bishop is naturally slow and will lose much valuable time unless he is stimulated by our advise and representations."⁸³

By the middle of June 1816 Norton went to Kottayam to examine the progress of the college and to held talks with the Metropolitan. On this occasion, Norton writes, that he was received well by the Bishop and he took him over the whole of the building. He says: "The Bishop expects it to be completed in about six months." About the students there, he reports, that

⁸¹ *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.110.

⁸² This we find from a letter of Munro to Norton dated July 22, 1816, where Munro thanks Norton for reporting to him the complaints of the Jacobite Christians. See this letter cited by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.345-346.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.346.

they were 25 and many more were expected. About their studies he was more sympathetic.⁸⁴

Again in August, Norton visited the college in order to make discussion with the Bishop on the system of education. He reports, the presence of thirty students and two teachers. The translation of the Scriptures into Malayalam had just begun.⁸⁵ Through a letter dated Feb. 28, 1817, Norton suggested a plan to the Bishop with the approval of the Resident about media of instruction in English for a few of the pupils of the Jacobite Church intended for priesthood and school masters.⁸⁶

It was during this time that the first Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, Middleton, paid a visit to the Jacobite Church.⁸⁷ The Bishop visited a number of Jacobite Churches in the northern Travancore and had conversations with the Jacobite Metropolitan and Norton. The Bishop observed that Norton was exercising a very remarkable influence over the Jacobite Church particularly upon the laity. When he was informed by Norton that the Metropolitan had

⁸⁴ Norton writes: "They were reading Syriac and I could not but look at them with earnest prayers that it might please God, by the grace of His Holy Spirit, to make them true ministers of Jesus Christ and send them through out the Syrian Churches". *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.102.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.103.

⁸⁷ This visit of Middleton was in Oct. (4-14), 1816 on his way back from Bombay. See M.E.Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p.65; James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India from the Commencement of the Christian Era*, London, 1839, Vol.5, p.27. This Bishop also paid another visit to the Jacobite Church in April 1821.

given him the permission to preach in the Jacobite Churches, the Bishop advised him to make only a very cautious use of that privilege.⁸⁸

Soon after the return of Middleton, took place the arrival of another remarkable Missionary of the CMS, Benjamin Bailey. He arrived in Alleppey on 19th Nov, 1816.⁸⁹ Within less than a week from this date Mar Dionysius II met with a sudden death.⁹⁰ Thereupon, Mar Philexinos of Thozhiyur was called to succeed him and take over all the responsibilities with regard to the Jacobite Church. Norton and the Resident seem to have played a vital role in securing this appointment.⁹¹ Philexinos took charge of office about Jan. 1817⁹² extending all his co-operation to the missionaries' functions in the Jacobite Church. However, he felt difficulties to carry out his functions due to ill health.⁹³ George Cattamar of Punnathra was appointed Vicar General to assist him and this arrangement continued for about eight months. In the meantime it was proposed to consecrate George Punnathra as Metropolitan. He was consecrated by Philexinos with the title Dionysius III on Oct. 29,

⁸⁸ James Hough, *op. cit.*, Vol.5, pp.28-31.

⁸⁹ *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.103.

⁹⁰ He died on (*Vrischigam* 12, K.E. 992) 24 Nov. 1816. *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.103; *Proceedings of CMS*, 1817-18, p.120.

⁹¹ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.106-107.

⁹² See the Royal proclamation issued of that occasion by C.M. Agur, appendix – xix, p.1. (The date of this proclamation is (*Dhanu* 26, K.E. 992) Jan. 7, 1817). Also see Z.M. Parrett, *op. cit.*, Vol.3, p.142.

⁹³ Whether it was due to ill-health this action is doubtful. It appears discontent in the Church that made impossible to Philexinos to continue in this office. Konattu Malpan and others had opposed Philexinos. See C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p.112.

1817.⁹⁴ After this Philexinos returned to his own See of Thozhiyur in the year 1817 during which period Norton was there.

By the end of March 1817, according to the Resident's suggestion, Bailey settled in Kottayam at a place adjoining to the C.M.S. college.⁹⁵ The factor which made Munro take this measure was his conviction that the clergy of the Jacobite Church in general and their Metropolitan were very slow in achieving the plans which he had in mind about their Church. Not only that, they would lose much time unless stimulated by the advice of English clergymen to implement their programmes. Munro wrote to Norton on Jan. 16, 1817: "We cannot calculate on the good management of the college and above all on the early translation of the Scriptures into Malayalam, unless an English clergyman is fixed at Kottayam and is placed in an efficient and direct superintendence over the affairs of the college and of the Syrian Church in general."⁹⁶ In another letter to Norton dated Feb. 10, 1817 he wrote: "Indeed I have no hope of the 'Reformation' or the improvement of the Syrian

⁹⁴ P. Ittoop writes this consecration date as (*Thulam* 26, K.E. 993) Oct. 29, 1817. (P. Ittoop, *op. cit.*, p.194; see *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.459, where also mentioned the month as October last. Brown also dates it as October Brown, *op. cit.*, p.135. The Royal proclamation was issued only in December (December 14, 1817 – *Dhamu* 2, K.E. 993). Also see C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, appendix – xix, p.2; Z.M. Parrett, *op. cit.*, p.142.

⁹⁵ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1817-18, p.121.

⁹⁶ Munro's letter to Norton cited in P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.348-49.

Church until an English Clergy is placed in superintendence over it."⁹⁷ Thus Bailey was directed to settle at Kottayam.

With the settlement of Bailey at Kottayam, Norton gradually ceased to do much within the Jacobite Church.⁹⁸ Now Bailey, assuming the leadership of the Mission under the counsel and direction of the Resident, began to implement the plans of the Resident in the Jacobite Church. The three needs of the Jacobite Church which required immediate implementation, according to Munro, were these: clergy must be given an adequate and efficient education at the college; the scriptures must be translated immediately and circulated; and discipline within the Church must be strictly enforced.⁹⁹ The Resident was anxious to see the immediate implementations of all those so that the results might be immediate.¹⁰⁰ Particularly his enthusiasm in disciplining the clergy was much more drastic. He gave solemn injunction to Bailey in this aspect. When he heard from him that the "commands of the Metropolitan are little regarded by the Cattanars in any case," and "that persons who were candidates for ordination as priests, were far from being

⁹⁷ Munro's letter to Norton cited in P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.350; See also *Proceeding of CMS*, 1817-18, p.121, *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.105.

⁹⁸ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.132. Norton hereafter confined his works to Alleppey.

⁹⁹ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-20, p.168. P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.344.

¹⁰⁰ Munro wrote even drastically about these to the Missionary, Bailey and to the secretary to the Corresponding Committee at Madras. Writing to the secretary, about the education at the college to be given he expressed his zeal in these words: "I propose that no Cattanars shall hereafter be appointed to Churches unless previously educated and examined at the college. *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.103.

qualified for that office," Munro ordered, "to assume a control and direction over the whole system of discipline and government of the Jacobite Church employing ofcourse the Metropolitan as your co-adjutor." He wrote:

The first point to be attained is to establish invariable obedience to your commands: And I request that you will in conjunction with the Metropolitan address a circular to all the Churches enjoining strict, uniform and implicit obedience to all your orders on pain of such penalties as you may think proper to establish. If any contumacy or neglect should be manifested by the Cattanars you will suspend them from office, and may report the case to the Resident who will adopt measures for their trial and punishment. All candidates for priests' orders should be carefully examined by you before their ordination by the Metropolitan, and should be invariably rejected if found to be unqualified."¹⁰¹

With reference to the translation of the Scriptures he expressed a similar zeal.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Munro's letter to Bailey dated Aug. 6. 1817, cited in P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.361-365.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp.351-52, 364.

Soon after Bailey's settlement at Kottayam he launched the programmes in the Church as directed by the Resident. He translated the Bible into Malayalam. Besides there was also a plan to construct a chapel attached to the college. For this purpose a sum of Rs.1000 had been procured from the Resident.¹⁰³ In the year 1817, 95 copies of the Gospels printed in Syriac by the Bible Society and sent for distribution among the Jacobite Churches.¹⁰⁴ On the whole, the work of the Mission by the close of 1817 was only in a preparatory stage as we are informed by the reports of this Mission.¹⁰⁵

The year 1818 may perhaps, be regarded as one of exceptional prosperity for the Jacobite Syrians. Early in the year, the college endowments received a windfall of a welcome gift of Rs.20,000 from the *Rani* of Travancore. During this year numerous public appointments were conferred on the Jacobite Syrians."¹⁰⁶ Another event of the year was the arrival of an

¹⁰³ See Munro's letter to Bailey dated May 29, and Aug. 6, 1817, cited by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.360-61.

¹⁰⁴ Letter of Munro to Norton dated March 27, 1817 cited by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.134, 357. The expense was met by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society and the execution of the work is superintended by Bailey.

¹⁰⁵ *The Missionary Register*, 1818, p.459.

¹⁰⁶ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.135; also see *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.459; *Missionary Register*, 1819, p.428. It is reported: ". . . so long ago as May last, more than 200 of the Syrians were employed in various offices under the government. . . ." *Missionary Register*, 1819, p.428. Besides a gift of Rs.20000/-, and a tract of land in the neighbourhood of Quilon, at least seven miles in circumference was annexed to the college endowment by the *Rani* was known as *Munrothuruthu*. *Missionary Register*, 1818, pp.428-29.

important missionary, Joseph Fenn.¹⁰⁷ He settled at Kottayam in October 1818 and mainly concentrated in teaching the Kottayam college. Since the arrival of Fenn, the subject of "Reformation" in the Jacobite church was taken up on a larger scale; and in order to ascertain in what particulars it is required and to effect its accomplishment by the authority, under the supervision of the Metran himself, an assembly was called to meet at Mavelikara on December 3, 1818.¹⁰⁸ In May 1818 Syrian metropolitan was granted a salary from the college funds.

The report of the year gives us the following information about the Scripture translation: "The translation of the Scripture into Malayalam was finished; but much time would be required for a careful revision. The Gospels were however, nearly ready for publication."¹⁰⁹ Mr. Bailey also translated into Malayalam the morning and evening services of the Church of England, with Litany and Catechism, part of communion service and several

¹⁰⁷ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.138.

¹⁰⁸ This assembly was attended by the Metran, 40 Cattanars, and 700 laymen. In this assembly Fenn delivered an address invoking their attention on many subjects: importance of union among themselves, the present state of their rituals, worship and ministry etc. See abstract of this address given in *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-20, pp.341-345; also cited by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.370-374. In the address it was also suggested the desire to select half a dozen of the ablest priests, who in conjunction with the Metropolitan and Malpan to define the current state of the Syrian rites in harmony with the mandates of the Scriptures. *Missionary Register*, 1818, p.428; also see P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.140. But nothing came out of this meeting.

¹⁰⁹ *Missionary Register*, 1819, p.429. However, this translation had defects. See P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.177.

of the Collectos, Epistles and Gospels. He also introduced these in the college chapel.¹¹⁰

The Mission was successful in introducing the idea of a "Reformation" in the Jacobite Church eventhough very little was actually done in that direction. If we look at the progress of the Mission between 1816 and 1818, the following observations can be made.

1. The Mission was successful in introducing marriage to the clergy.
2. In translating the scriptures into the Malayalam language they were nearly successful.
3. Images were removed from the Churches.
4. Scripture was read every Sunday in the vernacular language.
5. They were successful in their efforts to enrich the C.M.S. college with a proper economic self-sufficiency.
6. A good relation between the *Rani's* government and the Christians of the Jacobite Church was established at the instance of Munro.

¹¹⁰ *Missionary Register*, 1819, p.429. C.M. Agur notes: "In 1818 Col. Munro greatly urged the translation of the liturgy of the Church of England and its being substituted in all Syrian Churches in preference to other forms of worship . . . Mr. Bailey proceeded on with the work as quick as possible, so that he finished the Litany by July 1818, and commenced the Collects, Epistles and Gospels in August and within a short time more he translated as much of the Liturgy as enabled him to commence the Divine service in the Malayalam language." C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp.978-79. The disapproval of the Home Committee can be seen in *Missionary Register*. 1820. p.487 what can be said about this is, that Munro stimulated Bailey to do it ignoring the policy of the CMS in this matter.

7. By their persuasion an assembly of the Jacobite Church was called at Mavelikkara where they were able to intimate the necessity of the renovation of the Jacobite Church and its possibilities by the end of the year 1818.
8. Schools were opened in most parishes.

All these progresses of the Anglican Mission were during the time when Munro was in office. With the arrival of Fenn, Munro expected much from the Jacobite Church in the direction of its progress.¹¹¹ Munro retired from Travancore on the 24th Jan. 1819 owing to the illhealth of his wife.¹¹² His departure made serious impacts in the relationship between CMS Mission and the Jacobite Church and between the Church and the State established by him.

Even though the missionary accounts refrain from giving a detailed account of the state of affairs that soon followed Munro's departure, Colonel Digby Mackworth who visited this Mission while on a tour through South

¹¹¹ Munro wrote to Thompson on June 21, 1819: "It is a very great consolation to me in leaving this country that Mr. Fenn is fixed with the Syrians. He and Mr. Bailey deserve all your confidence. They are both sensible of the propriety of maintaining the integrity of the Syrian Church as a separate establishment, standing us it has done for so many ages a bright monument of Christian truth in the midst of the darkest scenes of idolatry and wickedness." Munro's letter to Thompson, *Proceedings of CMS*, 1819-1820, pp.170-173.

¹¹² P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.135, 141.

India in the years 1821 and 1822, has left us with some informations on the situation.¹¹³

Mackworth says, that the services of nearly three hundred Jacobite Christians who were in the public service of the State were dispensed with almost immediately after Munro's departure and that the inferior offices of the Travancore government made this an occasion for harassing the Christians. He says that for a long time the Missionaries were reluctant to draw the attention of the higher authorities to this situation of the Christians of Jacobite Church and when at last they represented the matter to the new Resident, Mac Dual, their representations proved ineffective, because the Resident merely referred the complaint to the Dewan. The cause for such an attitude from the Resident, suggests Mackworth, was strict order which he received from the Madras government not to favour a particular religious section. The Madras government of that time was led to feel that Munro had interfered too much in the internal affairs of the local government by pursuing a course of action breaching the religious neutrality of the British government. Admitting a large number of Christians alone into the public services of the state he created an atmosphere that was not encourageable. Therefore they took a different course in this affair.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Digby Mackworth, *op. cit.*, pp.72-75. Also see *Missionary Register*, 1823, pp. 157, where an account of Mackworth's visit to the Kottayam Mission is given.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.142-143.

The Resident Mac Dual died suddenly of cholera (in Nov, 1820) and was succeeded by Colonel Newall who held the office for the next six years.¹¹⁵ Though Newall does not seem to have attempted to secure appointments for the members of the Jacobite Church or obtain gifts for them from the Government or to have intervened with the government with a view to having their grievances redressed, he was exceedingly kind and well-disposed towards the missionaries.¹¹⁶

Anyhow the departure of Munro and the consequent reactions that occurred might have led the missionaries to pursue a different course of action in the whole matter. It appears for an year or more the missionaries were unable to pursue the proper course of action in their work in the Jacobite Church. Nevertheless, a clear division has been made of their labours by the missionaries hereafter. Their attentions, hereafter were on the scriptural translation, the spread of education, printing, training of the clergy, "Reformation" etc. rather than on the material enrichment of the Jacobite Church. Thus, with the departure of Col. Munro, there was the end of the hope that the Jacobite Church could be raised up materially out of the good offices of the missionaries and the Resident. The result of this situation was

¹¹⁵ Shangunny Menon, *op. cit.*, pp.387, 392.

¹¹⁶ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.156-157.

decisive upon the Jacobite Church. It began to change its attitude towards the Mission in the absence of material benefits.

During the close of the year 1819, the Mission was visited by James Hough, a chaplain of the East India Company. He visited several Jacobite Churches and engaged in conversation with Metran and clergy.¹¹⁷ Hough reports that when he had enquired whether any good effect was produced as the result of 4 years' work for the benefit of the priests of the Jacobite Church, the reply of Dionysius III was: "a little improvement, both in their understanding and moral conduct. Formerly none of them could read, and they seldom or never, heard a profitable discourse . . . but now, by the conversations and instructions of these Gentlemen, they have gained a little light and their morals are proportionately improved."¹¹⁸ When he sought an opinion of the Metropolitan with regard to the plans and objectives of the missionaries, his reply was: "I entirely approve of everything."¹¹⁹ He also enquired about these things: the necessity of a translation of the Syriac liturgy into Malayalam, the necessity of preaching during liturgy, the marriage of the clergy, etc. To all these the Metran gave his answers.¹²⁰ Hough reports that

¹¹⁷ James Hough himself notes his visit in Dec. 9, 1820, *Missionary Register*, 1822, p.425.

¹¹⁸ *Missionary Register*, 1822, p.427.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.426.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.426.

there were 150 Cattanars in the Church and among them 35 were married and, with the exception of 2 or 3, all of were married in the year 1820.¹²¹

During the year 1821, for secondary education, the missionaries opened the Grammar School and a Printing Press at Kottayam.¹²² On the state of the Mission we have these informations: "The scriptures are in the course of translation: several tracts . . . have been translated and several more are in the course of translation" ¹²³ "Forty students are receiving instruction at the college."¹²⁴ About parochial schools the report in the month of October says, these schools are 35 in number and several of them have been lately founded. High schools were built at Mavelikkara, Mallapally, Trichur, etc.¹²⁵ These schools contain 806 scholars. Of this number thirteen schools are maintained by the parish itself without pecuniary assistance from the Mission funds. The report adds, that they were yet about 20 Parochial Schools in which teachers were not appointed.¹²⁶ After reporting the import of Printing Machine the report says, "measures are in progress here (Madras) for the formation of a fount for Malayalam types; but it is feared that near a twelve

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Proceedings of CMS, 1821-22, pp.149-50, 152.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.149.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p.70.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.152.

months must elapse before they can be completed and sent to Kottayam".¹²⁷

There existed much cordial relationship between the Metropolitan and the missionaries:¹²⁸

Hough reports that in the year 1821 Bishop Middleton visited Travancore for the second time to enquire carefully about the Mission.¹²⁹ The purpose behind the second visitation was to know very closely the various involvements of the Mission and particularly to examine the allegation, that he had heard about the Mission, that the missionaries had interfered with the internal affairs of the Jacobite Church by introducing the Anglican liturgy. In order to test the truth of this matter the Bishop sought a private interview with Dionysius III with his own interpreter at Cochin. This was in April 1821.¹³⁰

Hough notes:

The Bishop's questions bore chiefly on the missionaries' policy towards the Syrian Church – whether they interfered with its internal affairs – whether they introduced any changes – whether they made proselytes . . . To all these the Metran

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.150.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.153.

¹²⁹ James Hough, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, pp. 71-73.

¹³⁰ Fenn had accompanied the Metran to Cochin to meet with the Anglican bishop. Middleton requested Fenn not to attend his conversation with the Metran because he wanted to know accurately and directly from the Metran through an interpreter of his own, whom he had arranged. P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.151.

replied in the negative. The conference lasted two hours, and the Bishop expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the explanations which he had received.¹³¹

The Bishop informed Fenn, that his apprehensions had been removed about many injurious reports of the missionaries which he had heard – that they had interfered to implant their own Church in Travancore out of proselytism of the Jacobite Church. The Bishop then took Fenn warmly by the hand clasping it between both his own, and saying, "I commend this interesting Church to your care."¹³²

Again towards the end of the year 1821 the Mission was visited by W.H.Mill the Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta and he made a report on the works of the Mission. W.H. Mill was in Kerala in 1821 and 1822 with a view to survey the Syriac manuscripts in the possession of the ancient Church: Naturally he spent much time with missionaries especially with Fenn with whom he had been at school.¹³³ They warmly welcomed him and took him round on their journeys and showed everything that he could wish to see of their work. Close acquaintance dispelled prejudice. Moreover, Dionysius III himself has addressed a letter to Lord Gambler, the president of the

¹³¹ James Hough, *op. cit.*, Vol.5, pp.72-73.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.73; where he quotes Le Bas', *Life of Bishop Middleton*, Vol.II, pp.205-206.

¹³³ *Missionary Register*, 1823, p.397.

CMS.¹³⁴ One thing to be noted here is, that eventhough the visitors from outside the Mission were favourably impressed with the various progressive endeavours of the missionaries, their reports give an impression of dissatisfaction with the progress achieved. The missionaries too notice this slow progress with in the Jacobite Church and particularly among the clergy. Nevertheless, the missionaries' expectation was great.

In a review of the Mission in the year 1822 presented to the Madras corresponding committee, there is reference to very little progress when compared to the earlier report. They merely report that "every thing is in progress, though the progress is slow, and much slower than we desire."¹³⁵ In this report they made two requests: one, to send a suitable principal from England for the college and the other, to adopt some plan for the extension of the Syrian College Library.¹³⁶

In the year 1823, Baker reports that 51 parochial schools have been established which in total contain 1333 children.¹³⁷ The Grammar School and College contain 43 students 45 students respectively.¹³⁸ About the press the

¹³⁴ *Missionary Register*, 1823, p.398; *Missionary Register*, 1822, pp.431-32.

¹³⁵ *Missionary Register*, 1823, p.452.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* pp.452-53.

¹³⁷ *Missionary Register*, 1824, p.404; *Proceedings of CMS*, 1823-24, p.149, where a list of these schools are given. See K.V. Eapen, *CMS and Education in Kerala*, Kottayam, 1985, pp.63-64.

¹³⁸ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1823-24, p.149; *Missionary Register*, 1824, p.405.

report is that it has not yet begun functioning.¹³⁹ About the translation of the Scriptures Bailey's report is: "In the revision of the Malayalam translation of the New Testament, I have proceeded as far as the 11th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews" He continues: "during the past year, some of the Syrian Churches have been repaired, and others are now under repair" ¹⁴⁰ The Metropolitan's co-operation to the Mission was appreciated. Together with it, his keen desire to see the progress of the Church is also mentioned.¹⁴¹

Bailey's general view of the Mission is expressed thus: "Unity and love continue to prevail in our Missionary circle which I consider no small mercy It is true, we meet with many discouragements to prosecute our endeavours to promote the glory of Christ among this ancient and interesting people."¹⁴² With the expansion of the activities of the Mission it requested for additional missionaries during the year 1823.¹⁴³ In response to this, Samuel

¹³⁹ Because though a fount of Malayalam types from the foundry of the college of Fort St. George had been received unfortunately that fount to be very defective and nearly useless. Therefore, efforts for a fresh fount of Malayalam types is reported on progress. (*Proceedings of CMS*, 1823, p.151; *Missionary Register*, 1824, pp.406-407).

¹⁴⁰ *Missionary Register*, 1824, p.406.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Proceedings of CMS*, 1823, p.152.

¹⁴³ *Missionary Register*, 1823, p.452.

Ridsle and John William Doran arrived in Kottayam in 1824 and 1825 respectively.¹⁴⁴

On the state of parochial schools the report mentions: "At present the schools are attended almost exclusively by Syrian children; the Roman Catholics are prohibited from attending by their Bishop: and the Mohammedans and heathens are averse to receive Christian instruction."¹⁴⁵

On the State of the Grammar School and the College, Fenn expresses his satisfaction. On the state of the Clergy the report is that there is some improvement.¹⁴⁶ About the revision of the New Testament, Bailey writes that the Gospel of Mathew he has prepared for the press, and the Acts are nearly prepared for the press.¹⁴⁷ Marmaduke Thompson who visited the Kottayam Mission during this year reports the remarkable exertions Bailey had made in

¹⁴⁴ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1824-25, pp.35, 126-27; *Proceedings of CMS*, 1826-27, p.45.

¹⁴⁵ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1824-25, pp.129-30.

¹⁴⁶ The report is: "In the past year, the improvement of the Cattanars was not great; but it is noticed, that some who have been ordained since the establishment of the Mission in Travancore, conduct themselves in a manner more befitting their vocation than their seniors. The rites and ceremonies of the Syrian Church continue as usual; yet a hope is entertained, that, as the light of the knowledge is diffused among them, their superstition will be laid aside. The Metran has indeed addressed a letter to the Churches prohibiting some heathenish customs, which had been observed at their feasts." *Proceedings of CMS*, 1824-25, p.130.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

setting the printing press with his own Malayalam types.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless his impression was that the Mission was not progressive in its aim of reforming the Jacobite Church. In that sense the Mission was in a state of disappointment. A considerable section of the clergy was reluctant to reform saying their old things as "customs". However, the one feature that gave hope to the missionaries was the cordiality that existed between them and Philexinos and Dionysius III. But unfortunately that bond was snapped all of a sudden when as the result of an attack of cholera and Mar Dionysius passed away to the grief of the missionaries. This occurred on 16th Monday, May, 1825.¹⁴⁹ Hereafter a downward movement of the Mission can be witnessed.

The year 1825 was an unfortunate one, not only to the Jacobite Church but also to the Mission. Mainly three things occurred during the year. One, the death of Punnathra Dionysius in May, two, the election and consecration of Dionysius IV in June and Aug. respectively,¹⁵⁰ and three, the arrival of a

¹⁴⁸ Thompsons reports: "Being found the Old Malayalam type faulty and hopeless of anything better, at least for a long time to come, Mr. Bailey, without ever having seen a Type Foundry its apparatus of any kind, eager to get some portions of the scriptures and some of the works respectively printed as soon as possible, set himself to endeavour to form his own types, with the aid as he could find from books alone and from common workmen. He had recourse chiefly to the Encyclopedia Britanica; and with the instructions, which he derived from this and another small work or two, a common carpenter and two sliver smiths he succeeded so completely in making Malayalam types of his own which in extremely beautiful and correct." *Ibid.*, p.133; James Hough, *op. cit.*, Vol.5, p.383.

¹⁴⁹ *Missionary Register*, 1825, p.545.

¹⁵⁰ Malpan Philippose was elected as candidate to episcopacy on June 25, 1825 and was made Bishop by Philexinos on Aug. 29, 1825. *Ibid.*

West Syrian Bishop named Athanasius on November.¹⁵¹ With the arrival of the Bishop Athanasius, a series of events occurred in the Church which seriously affected the future course of the Anglican Mission in that Church.

With the death of Dionysius III, the honeymoon of Mission and the Jacobite Church came to an end. Even though Mar Philexinos of Thozhiyur was called to assume the function of the Metropolitan, he did not heartily desire to take upon himself the troublesome task, because already there was a group of the clergy opposed to him under the Konattu Malpan. Therefore he desired to consecrate the successor to Dionysius III. Eventhough Malpan Philippose of Cheppad was chosen by the clergy as the successor to Dionysius by casting lots, there were oppositions from the missionaries to his selection.¹⁵² The missionaries desired that one of the two deacons, named Markose and Mathew, both of Kottayam, should be his successor. But their young age was deemed by the clergy as a bar.¹⁵³ Therefore the election of Philippose and his consecration were not without oppositions from the beginning. After his consecration, Philexinos continued in his office as the senior Metran with the royal proclamation again, till his death in Feb. 1830,

¹⁵¹ Mar Athanasius, the West Syrian bishop arrived Kottayam on Nov. 24, 1825. P. Ittoop, *op. cit.*, p.201.

¹⁵² *Missionary Register*, 1825, pp.544-45; James Hough, *op. cit.*, p.395; P. Ittop, *op. cit.*, p.197.

¹⁵³ Fenn's opinion about this is referred in the *Missionary Register*, 1827, p.607.

while Dionysius IV as junior Metran assisted him.¹⁵⁴ On the whole, Dionysius' attitude towards the missionaries was not at all favourable to the prospects of the Mission. However, when the West Syrian bishop arrived questioning the episcopal stand of both Philexinos and Dionysius IV, the latter strongly stood with the missionaries, till the suppression of the confusion that emerged in consequence of the foreigner's endeavours. A large number of clergy were also punished who stood by the foreign bishop.¹⁵⁵ Among them included the leading malpans of the Seminary at that time: Konattu Malpan, Abraham Malpan of Maramon, etc. The foreigner was soon expelled from the country¹⁵⁶ by the order of the Resident and at the instigation of the local Metran and the missionaries.

Soon after the expulsion of the foreigner, the situation in the Jacobite Church became confused. The Cattanars one after another began to desert the local Metran and the missionaries, particularly at the persuasion of the Konattu Malpan and others. They scandalised the Mission and the position of the local Metran. About the former they held that the missionaries were against the West Syrian Patriarch, that was why, they worked for the

¹⁵⁴ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.110.

¹⁵⁵ *Missionary Register*, 1827, pp.600-01; Z.M. Parrett, *op. cit.*, Vol.3, pp.159-160; E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.222.

¹⁵⁶ He was expelled in April 1826. *Missionary Register*, 1826, p.480.

expulsion of the Bishop from there. About the latter they held, that they were not at all Metran and they too were against the West Syrian Patriarch.¹⁵⁷

To what extent the disturbance created by Athanasius affected the interest of the Mission can be seen from the following report of the Mission. "This event," report the Proceedings, "has, as might have been expected, in some degree affected the Mission." The number of students in the college has considerably fallen down, because of the general disorder that arose in connection with Mar Athanasius' proceedings. Many of them had left the college. Similarly the condition of the parochial schools also has come down from 51 to 29, because many of the parishes which had followed Athanasius ceased to support the schools as an expression of their non-operation.¹⁵⁸ All these were during the year 1826. But looking at the progress of the Mission in the year 1825, we can see the following progress.

On the state of the college and the Grammar School it was reported that they were functioning well. Ridsdale was appointed to assist Fenn in carrying out the duties of these institutions.¹⁵⁹ About the parochial schools Baker reported that the total number of schools at the time was 48. The children attending the schools nearly all were from the Jacobite Church. The

¹⁵⁷ P. Cherian, *op. cit.*, p.169.

¹⁵⁸ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1826-27, pp.138-39; *Missionary Register*, 1827, p.604.

¹⁵⁹ *Missionary Register*, 1827, p.602.

Roman Catholics, Mohamedans and the Hindus still kept at a distance. Other children attending the schools were not more than 40 in all the schools.¹⁶⁰

On the state of the translation and the printing press Bailey reports, that he has been much pre-occupied in the last years with the preparation of the Malayalam types and has now a sufficient number of them ready to commence printing. Therefore he regrets to state that he was not able to pay sufficient attention as before to the translation of the scriptures.¹⁶¹ However, it seems that the Gospel of Mathew was printed and its copies were circulated among the people.¹⁶² On the general condition of the clergy of the Jacobite Church Bailey informs, there was little improvement.¹⁶³

The state of the Mission as a whole was troublesome in 1826. The causes for it have been already mentioned. Bailey says: "The last 18 months have been a season of great trial to us; but the Lord has supported us hitherto and enabled us to continue our labours in His glorious cause; though at present we see but little fruit, we trust that He will long to be glorified."¹⁶⁴ The disturbance affected the Jacobite people, the Churches, the

¹⁶⁰ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1825-26, p.101.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.101-102.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.101.

¹⁶³ Bailey writes: "There appears to be but little improvement among the Syrian clergy, whose minds seem to be still wholly absorbed in things which cannot profit them, instead of being occupied in promoting the spiritual welfare of their flocks." *Proceedings of CMS*, 1825-26, p.102.

¹⁶⁴ *Missionary Register*, 1826, p.601.

clergy, the college, the parochial schools and the Mission.¹⁶⁵ On the whole, the work of the Mission during 1826 was not remarkable with the exception that Luke's Gospel was printed and circulated; and a beginning was made to the extension of female education.¹⁶⁶

However, the involvement of the missionaries in effecting an order to the confused situation with in the Jacobite Church during the period of trouble of Athanasius, were not inconsiderable. On Nov. 24, 1826 Fenn went on furlough and Doran succeeded him in the superintendence of the college.¹⁶⁷ Even though Fenn intended to return, his ill-health did not permit him.¹⁶⁸ Infact his departure was a decisive loss to the Mission; at the same time an end to a remarkable chapter of the CMS' Mission of Help. But before his departure Fenn had furnished to the committee of the CMS a very interesting report on the state of the Mission in Travancore, which clearly summarises the work of the Mission so far.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

¹⁶⁶ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1926-27, pp.96-98; *Missionary Register*, 1827, pp.605-606. It is to be noted here that the foundation for the beginning of female education was laid as early as 1817 with the arrival of Bailey. His wife is considered the pioneer in this glorious effort. Later when Mrs. Fenn and Mrs. Baker arrived they strengthened and extended this work. See K.V. Eapen, *op. cit.*, p.144.

¹⁶⁷ *Proceedings of CMS*, 1826-27, p.45; *Missionary Register*, 1827; p.602.

¹⁶⁸ P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.159.

¹⁶⁹ This report is given in the *Missionary Register* 1827, 600-01, Cited also by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.159-160.

As we view the works of the missionaries from the accounts of the above noted visitors to that Mission, all those accounts show some common features.

1. All of them were impressed with the works of the missionaries in the Jacobite Church. The main purposes of their works, true to the spirit, were to raise the Jacobite Church literally and ecclesiastically. We have no evidence to cite that the missionaries interfered with the internal affairs of that Church which would finally lead to endanger its integrity and individuality. Moreover, there lies no instance to cite that the missionaries entangled themselves with the any part of the liturgy and customs of that Church. Their attitude was toleration with the conviction that due to political and other depressions and ecclesiastical ignorance, the Church was made so. Therefore their hope was that through the spread of education, the circulation of the scriptural knowledge and the proper training of the clergy these states could be remedied. Hence they patiently worked for the introduction and spreading of those measures in that Church.
2. All the visitors unanimously bear testimony that the works of the Mission were only in their infancy states. They say that there was a good relation between the missionaries and the Metropolitan of the Church. Nevertheless, they point out the existence of little discord

between the missionaries and a few clergy particularly with reference to the reforms. The clergy, due to their ignorance, were reluctant to accept the advice of the missionaries about reforms. They were extremely conservative in this aspect saying that what they have held so far were unchangeable. The tradition, faith, liturgy of their Church they held were unchangeable and the suggestions of the missionaries about changes in these they ignored. It was in this area that the missionaries had total disappointment. Nevertheless, the hopes were great that the spread of religious and general education through the college and schools and through the vernacular scriptures would bring changes to this set up.

3. Eventhough the Jacobite Church had determined to receive the Mission of help and the benefits those came out of its labours, there were factors within that Church which would easily endanger the whole collaboration. One of them was that Church's nominal, undefined and unsettled state of connection with the West Syrian Patriarch. There was a group of followers of this contact. The other problem was about its episcopacy. True to the custom of the Church, the Church had maintained its episcopacy from a bishop to the others in succession and later on from the Independent See of Thozhiyur by Philexinos. But to the followers of the West Syrian Patriarch this was quite unacceptable. According to their view the episcopacy of the Jacobite Church must be

from the West Syrian Patriarch, or through the nominees from him. Anyhow the issue became much more complicated from the time of Dionysius II and was a subject of contentions in the Church. Thus there were two groups within the Jacobite Church, one in favour of the West Syrian Patriarch and the other in favour of Anglican Mission. It was in this context that the Mission functioned in the Church. The Mission siding with one or the other of the groups was equally dangerous. However the Mission's sympathy was more with the native element than with the other. The native element had been strengthened day by day from the time of Dionysius II as he and his successors were supported by the local political set up and by the presence of the missionaries. Dionysius III till the time of his death, was able to keep up some balance in the whole matter to a certain degree. However the arrival of the West Syrian Bishop in 1825 set the whole matter in utter confusion, and out of its consequences neither the Mission nor the Jacobite Church was ever able to rise up. The West Syrian group came openly against the programmes of the Mission in the Jacobite Church with the conviction that the Mission was against the West Syrian Patriarch. The trouble so emerged, increased year by year and finally led to collision and separation.

Visit of Bishop Wilson

As the crisis between the Mission and Jacobite Church was moving on to an awkward situation, with a view to solve it, if possible, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta in the middle of Nov. 1835 arrived at Kottayam.¹⁷⁰ He met Metran Dionysius IV and his advisors and suggested six points to be adopted by the Jacobite Church for harmony between the Mission and the Jacobite Church. On the 19th of the same month Dionysius IV met him at Bailey's residence and the Bishop also paid a visit in return to Dionysius IV at the College.¹⁷¹ It was on this occasion, the Bishop suggested six points for consideration and implementation in the Jacobite Church. Those proposals are these:

1. The Metropolitan should, as a general rule, only ordain those who had passed through the college at Kottayam and obtained certificates of proficiency and good conduct;
2. Accounts showing the produce of the land and other property belonging to the Jacobite Church should be submitted annually to the British Resident;
3. A permanent endowment should, if possible be instituted for the uncertain dues realised on the occasion of the various ceremonies such as marriages and baptisms and funerals, for the need of clergy;

¹⁷⁰ J.W. Gladstone, *op. cit.*, p.66. M.E. Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁷¹ P.A. Oommen, *opCheppattu Mar Dionysius (1825-1855)*, Cheppadu, 1956, p.44.

4. Schools should be established in connection with every parish Church;
5. The clergy should expound the Gospel each Sunday to the people during divine service;
6. Prayers should be rendered into the vernacular and that one of the liturgies of the mass should be prepared and translated into Malayalam.¹⁷²

The Metropolitan thanked the Bishop for his suggestions and promised to put them before a general body of the clergy which would give them their best consideration.¹⁷³ Wilson also made a donation of Rs.1000/- to be administered by the Resident, the Metran and the Missionaries for the benefit of the Church.¹⁷⁴ On the following day (Sunday, 22nd November, 1835), Wilson along with the Metropolitan attended a Sunday service held at Cheriyaipalli, Kottayam, where the former also delivered a sermon¹⁷⁵. After having these, the Bishop left for Bombay. On Jan. 16, 1836 Dionysius convoked an assembly at Puthiyakavu church, Mavelikkara. It was attended

¹⁷² C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21, F.E. Keay, *History of the Syrian Church in India*, Madras, 1960, pp. 81-82; W. S. Hunt, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12; P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-21.

¹⁷³ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p.84.

¹⁷⁴ R. Collins, *Missionary Enterprises in the East*, London, 1873, p.123; J.W. Gladstone, *op. cit.*, p.67.

¹⁷⁵ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p.84; R. Collins, *op. cit.*, pp.124-25; P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.219.

by more than fifty clergy and a large number of laity.¹⁷⁶ The meeting was a lawfully constituted assembly of the church, because even the missionaries themselves, inspite of their oppositions, admit the fact that it was lawfully called.¹⁷⁷ All the proposals made by Bishop Wilson were rejected and a resolution was passed reaffirming the adherence of the Church to the Jacobite Patriarch and the customs received from him¹⁷⁸. In Mavelikkara Synod they took an oath that they would "have no further intercourse whatever with the church missionaries".¹⁷⁹ It marks the end of official connection of the CMS with Jacobite Church. The first phase of the C.M.S. mission was clearly at an end. But a section among the Jacobite church under Palakunnath Abraham Malpan as in favour of adopting some of the Anglican traditions. It led to a division in the Jacobite church which resulted in the formation of the Marthoma Syrian church.

The Split of Jacobite Church and the Rise of Reformist Movement

We have seen how the CMS Mission of help to the Jacobite Church, which had earnestly laboured for about 20 years in that community, had

¹⁷⁶ P.A. Oommen, *op. cit.*, p.53; P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.220.

¹⁷⁷ See the minutes of the Travancore Mission Assembly Conference, February 12, 1836, reproduced by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, pp.408-409.

¹⁷⁸ The resolutions of the Mavelikkara Synod are printed by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, Appendix H, pp.390-91.

¹⁷⁹ S.G. Pothan, *The Syrian Christians of Kerala*, Bombay, 1963, p.49.

departed from it after experiencing much frustration from their part.¹⁸⁰ Having failed to set hopeful possibilities of any changes in the traditional features of that Church the Missionaries decided it worthless to work further within them. Especially when from the part of that Church had decided that they do not follow any faith or teaching other than the faith of the Jacobitism and that they do not promote the missionaries to work further in their Church, it was evident that the separation was the better course. Fully consenting with the decision and respecting the declaration of Jacobite Church they dissolved all their connections. After the Mavelikkara Synod, the news about it and its declaration soon reached to the missionaries. They held conferences on 19 and 22 January, 1936 and took decision in the second one thus: "that it is the opinion of this meeting that by the decision of the metran, our connection with the Jacobite church is on their part virtually dissolved."¹⁸¹ This minutes was forwarded to the Madras corresponding committee for further action. John Tucker, the secretary of the committee, paid a hurried visit to Kottayam

¹⁸⁰ John Tucker's report of Jan. 1835 is enough to show this view point. He wrote, that 18 years of labour have been consumed upon this vineyard in which New Testament in Syriac and Malayalam has been put into the hands of the clergy and laity; schools have been established in different places; the influence of the missionaries has been exercised directly through the missionaries and the college. Besides many laity about 153 clergy have been trained by the missionaries. But there was not known to be one single instance of the genuine conversion to God any of them through the agency of the missionaries. John Tucker, *South Indian Mission*, London, 1835, pp. 38-39).

¹⁸¹ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p.13.

with a view to gathering first hand information about the Mavelikkara assembly and its outcomes.¹⁸²

Many of the elements of the Jacobite Church were repugnant to Anglican Evangelicalism, which was represented by the CMS. Moreover, the religious individualism the missionaries represented were alien to the oriental concept of the Church as a corporate body based on the continuity of tradition and a right worship, centred in the Eucharistic celebration. To persuade the Jacobite Church to get rid of these elements by the Evangelicals was not so easy. The missionaries thinking that the Jacobite Church can be easily reformed when the Bible is circulated, together with a biblically oriented education. This would be a futile attempt from the part of the Angelican Mission. Since the Mission was so rooted in the "iconoclastic zeal of extreme Protestantism" the conflict between the Angelican Mission and Jacobite Church was inevitable in the long run. That was what occurred later on.¹⁸³

The three immediate effects after the separation between the Mission land the Jacobite Church were these:

¹⁸² P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.249. Also see M.M. Thomas & C.P. Mathew, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, Delhi, 1967, p.59.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp.48-64.

1. Formation of the Anglican Church in Central Travancore

After the separation, the Mission ceased to be a Mission for the Jacobite Church alone. It hereafter designed to be for all, the Jacobite Church, Roman Catholics and non-Christians.¹⁸⁴ A small body of Jacobite Christians, but a significant group, who were close to the missionaries and their teachings, asked the missionaries to receive them and thus they laid the foundation for an Anglican Church in central Travancore. In this way the Mission entered into a new phase in its programmes. Hereafter they gave their attention to evangelistic and educational activities among the Christians as well as among non-Christians, especially backward classes of people. This eventually led to the formation of a diocese of the Anglican Church in Travancore in 1879.¹⁸⁵

2. Division of Properties

The second effect was the division of properties possessed jointly by the Jacobite Church and the Mission before their split. In the controversies that arose between Mar Dionysius and the corresponding of the CMS there existed serious disputes in regard to their rights in a certain property connected with the college at Kottayam and it was difficult to decide or to make a mutual decision. A court was set to decide the matter. The arbitration committee of Conrad Joseph Gustavus Baron D' Albedyhl, John Scipio

¹⁸⁴ John Tucker, *op. cit.*, p.41.

¹⁸⁵ W.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Vol.2, p.168.

Vernede and William Henry Horsley were nominated and appointed by the corresponding committee of CMS, the Metropolitan of Syrian Church and the Travancore government respectively as arbitrators to enquire into and decide upon the points at issue. They met at Cochin and examined all the documents produced before them and heard the claims of both parties and declared their decision on 4th April 1840. This was known as *Cochin Award*.¹⁸⁶

Star Pagodas of 3000 vested in English East India Company's funds in 1808 through Col. Macaulay for 8% interest, known as *Vattippanam*, the Cadamattam estate, the college at Kottayam and the land, granary etc. attached to it and the copper plate grants were awarded to the Metropolitan of the Jacobite Church¹⁸⁷. But with regard to Munro Island or *Munrothuruthu* (which was given by the Travancore government in the name of Joseph Fenn, the Principal of Kottayam College) was given to CMS, it was decided that as its rents were to be employed for a specific purpose, in which the assistance of the missionaries was necessary went to the missionaries.¹⁸⁸

Although the Metropolitan complained to the Madras government and later to the Court of Directors and they replied that dispute ought to be settled by a court. Before this order of the Court of Directors was received, the

¹⁸⁶ Their decision is given in Seminary Case Exhibits III, Royal Court Judgement 1061/1886, Trivandrum, 1890, pp.223-9. CM. Agur, *op. cit.*, p.127.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.128, P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.266, V.C. Samuel, *Truth and Triumphs*, Kottayam, 1986, p.8, P. A Oommen, *op. cit.*, pp.85-100.

¹⁸⁸ Francis Day, *The Land of Perumals*, Madras, 1863, p.253.

Resident had made over to the CMS missionaries the properties awarded to them. They refused to refund this property and the Metropolitan of Jacobite Church took no further steps. Even though the old Seminary was returned to the use of the Jacobite Church. It remained almost defunct till the end of the 19th Century.

3. Rise of the Reformation Movement

The third effect of the separation was the rise of the reform movement within the Jacobite Church under the leadership of Abraham Malpan, Syriac teacher of Kottayam Seminary. Under him a group of clergy and people organized a movement to work for the reform of the Jacobite Church from within clearly along the lines preferred by the Anglican missionaries. Thus emerged again a new situation of conflict between the conservatives and liberal elements within the Church. Till the year 1889 this conflict continued to affect causing schism in the Church. For a long period confusion and chaos prevailed in Jacobite Church. First in between Anglican missionaries and Jacobite Church but it continued with a strong vigour in between conservative and liberal elements within the Jacobite Church.¹⁸⁹

The teaching of missionaries among Jacobite Christians for more than twenty years had not been without result and there was among them a group who were influenced by that teachings attracted towards reformation joined

¹⁸⁹ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp.148-49.

the Anglican Church. In certain cases, the whole Jacobite parishes joined with the Missionaries. They wrote a memorial to the British Resident in September 1836 against Dionysius IV and decided to go ahead.¹⁹⁰ The breach widened and widened and final separation took place in May 1838. The 'Reform Party' under the leadership of Malpan Abraham of Palakunnath-*Cattanar* of Maramon Church and the representative of 12 other Churches viz., Caithayil Gheevarghese *Cattanar* of Puthupulli Church, Adangapratta Joseph *Cattanar* of Callupas Church, Eruthical Marcus *Cattanar* of Kottayam Little Church, Vengathara Ghevarghese *Cattanar* of Kolrancherry Church, Karingathe Jacob *Cattanar* of Thoombamon Church, Thomman *Cattanar* of Paravur Church, Mani *Cattanar* of Mamalacherry Church, Kangerathumotil Jacob *Cattanar* of Chathanur Church, Mattuny *Cattanar* of Tevalakarai Church, Marathumotil Thoma *Cattanar* of Venmani Church and Champacucherry Unithon *Cattanar* of Colloocherry Church gave their guidance to the reform movement.¹⁹¹

The object of the Reform Party was to remove the evil practices and superstitions that had crept in to the Jacobite Church and to improve the Church according to the progress of the age. The leader of the Reform Party, Palakunnath Abraham Malpan was a man of great talents eminently pious and

¹⁹⁰ See this memorial in M.K. Kuriakose, *op. cit.*, pp.129-132.

¹⁹¹ C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p.125.

ascetic in habits, full of grace and quite fitted to hold the chief position he occupied among the Reformers. He was a great friend of the English missionaries and his group accepted many of the doctrines and liturgical practices of the Anglican Church and discarded many of their ancient doctrines and practices. To give permanency to his views he compiled a Reformed Syrian Liturgy and translated it in to Malayalam for the use and benefit of the people. In this book all Roman doctrines of Transubstantiation, Prayers for the souls of the dead, prayers in veneration of the holy saints and martyrs and discarding the sacrament of confession etc which found their way in to the Syriac Liturgy during the period the Church was under Papal rule was carefully omitted. Moreover in the Reformed Liturgy the people were given an intelligent share in the service. The people were made to say responses and their position as worshippers was improved much. The Reformers had very exalted ideas as regards the priestly office and duties of ministers.¹⁹² The Reformers insisted that the candidates for the ministry should be men of sound learning and theological training and Christians who proved piety in every way fitted to be Pastors of Churches.

The Jacobite Syrian Metropolitan Dionysius IV felt quite uneasy about the activities of Abraham Malpan and his followers, and formally

¹⁹² L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.140, C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p.127.

excommunicated them from the Jacobite Christian community.¹⁹³ Malpan went to his mother parish at Maramon. The whole parish stood with him. The Reform group too who were on their part vindictive and revengeful similar like their opponents against them. No doubt, they had the moral support of the missionaries and also that of the British Resident.¹⁹⁴ The Reformers continued the use of the Jacobite pontifical from which, however, they expunged certain portions, like the anathemas against the council of Chalcedon and Pope Leo the Great, and the words which specify Dioscorus¹⁹⁵ as a saint. The modifications in the rituals and doctrines shows that they were 'Syrians' have never been a large body, but for nearly a century. They provided the greater part of the leadership in the Anglican Diocese of Travancore and Cochin as well as producing men and women capable of holding high positions in government services.¹⁹⁶

In 1840 Abraham Malpan surrendered his position in the College and gave himself up completely to the care of his large Congregation at Maramon.

¹⁹³ In March 1837 he wrote a circular to all his Churches prohibiting the faithful from inviting missionaries to preach and excommunicating any who joined them. P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.285.

¹⁹⁴ The Memorial they submitted to the Resident shows that they had reliance with the Resident. L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.140.

¹⁹⁵ Mar Dioscorus was a Jacobite Bishop from Syria arrived at Kandanat and lived with Dionysius but it is said he have exhorted money from the cattanars and quarrelled with the metran. See L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp.126-27.

¹⁹⁶ The Madras Committee stated that "decided conviction that we ought to preserve their identity and not attempt to amalgamate them with the Church of England"- Resolution of 14th March 1836. Recorded by P. Cheriyan, *op. cit.*, p.243.

Here he began to put in to effect the principles of reformation as he understood them. He started by celebrating the Holy *Qurbana* in Malayalam in his own church at Maramon making a few alterations in the liturgy. Abraham Malpan broke a statue of a saint which was kept in the Maramon church and was threw it in a well when he realised the futility of such practices.¹⁹⁷ But the structure of the *Qurbana* remained unaltered; it was still unmistakably the Eastern service which has persisted for so many centuries in the Church. However a new emphasis was given to the preaching of the word of God and the exposition of Bible. The main support for Abraham's policy came from deacons, who like him were deeply under the influence of biblical authority.

It was in such a background, the reform group took bold decision to strengthen their movement. That decision was to strengthen their party with a Bishop. Abraham Malpan therefore arranged for his nephew, deacon Mathew, who had been studying in a CMS school in Madras to go to Mardin and seek consecration from the West Syrian Patriarch himself. Mathew arrived there in July 1841 and stayed for 2 years as a member of the Patriarch's household. At last he was consecrated as Bishop Mar Athanasius, inspite of many letters from Dionysius IV warning the Patriarch against

¹⁹⁷ The statue was commonly called *Muthappan*, was venerated at an annual festival was suspended by Abraham Malpan, even though it meant great financial loss. See L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.141.

him.¹⁹⁸ The Patriarch who has done this consecration was Elias II, who at the time was residing at Mardin.¹⁹⁹ It should be noted here, that Mar Athanasius was not made an ordinary Bishop but the Metropolitan of the Jacobite Church.²⁰⁰ Mar Athanasius was infact, as observed by many authors, "The first Indian national ever to be ordained to any rank in the clergy by an Antiochean Jacobite Patriarch".²⁰¹ Infact, it was this Athanasius, who for the first time introduced the claim in the Jacobite Church effectively that the West Syrian Patriarch is the supreme head of the Jacobite Church and for the proper functioning of the Jacobite Metropolitan consecration from the Patriarch is essential.

As Dionysius IV was caught in a dilemma he turned towards the Antiochean Patriarch against Athanasius. To get out of the dilemma the way opened for Dionysius should be, strengthening of his connection with the Patriarch and winning him over to his side. Although there were inconsistency in the affair he did not have minded it.²⁰² He wrote to the Patriarch informing that the Mar Athanasius was the leader of the reform movement which is heretical and by deceiving the Patriarch had got

¹⁹⁸ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.141.

¹⁹⁹ V.C. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p.9.

²⁰⁰ See L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.142.

²⁰¹ V.C. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p.9.

²⁰² L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.142.

consecration as Bishop. Therefore, the error committed by the Patriarch in raising Athanasius should be corrected soon.²⁰³

Though Patriarch Elias II hearing this news was perplexed, he was much more happy about the events which were going on in the Jacobite Church, which he believed would be certainly favourable for his involvement there. He dispatched soon a West Syrian Bishop called Kurilose to India to investigate the matter and advance the claim that as the Patriarch's nominee he was the legitimate Metropolitan of Jacobite Church.²⁰⁴ Kurilose reached Kerala on Sept. 9, 1846.²⁰⁵ Now Kurilose took side with Dionysius and party.²⁰⁶ Dionysius was forced to resign his office as the Jacobite Metropolitan in favour of Kurilose. Both Kurilose and Dionysius approached the Resident for approval of this. But this was refused as Athanasius interfered in the matter claiming that he was the real person entitled to possess such an office and not the foreigner Kurilose.²⁰⁷ Mar Kurilose was banished from the states of Cochin and Travancore by the government authorities when

²⁰³ See Dionysius' letter to Resident Cullen of Sept. 13, 1846. He declares his acceptance of the Patriarch and his nominee Kurilose. V.C. Samuel, *op. cit.*, pp.10-11, Z.M. Parrett, *op. cit.*, p.186.

²⁰⁴ G.T. Mackenzie, *History of Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1905, pp.39-40, V.C. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p.11.

²⁰⁵ Letter of Dionysius to Resident Cullen, Sept. 13, 1846, *Ibid.*, p.12.

²⁰⁶ Note that Kurilose reached on Sept. 9 and the resignation of Dionysius was on Sept. 13. See the letter cited in Royal Court Judgement, 1886, Vol. I, Para n.165.

²⁰⁷ Letter of Athanasius to Resident Cullen dated June 10, 1847, *Ibid.*, para n.167.

he was accused of causing troubles in the Jacobite Churches.²⁰⁸ The Government of Travancore and Cochin soon after decided that Athanasius was lawful Metran of the Jacobite Church.²⁰⁹ Athanasius carried much weight with the Government and it is certain that he tried to carry out his duties conscientiously, and all parties recognized that in knowledge of the Scriptures and theology he was perhaps the most able Metran the Syrian Christians has ever had. Eventhough Mar Athanasius fortified his position from all sides, Dionysius IV continued his struggles with him till the year 1874 with the moral support of Kurilose. But in the year 1874, Mar Kurilose died and with him Dionysius's support had gone.²¹⁰

The cause for all these troubles was undoubtedly the lack of harmony among the groups within the Jacobite Church. Lacking an appropriate vision of a Church of their own and lacking a genuine concern to build a Church by useful foreign Church connections, what these groups tried to follow and maintain in their Church was a particular foreign Church persuasion and its features. To what extent those features of the foreign Churches are useful for their own Church was not seriously and sincerely contemplated or discussed in the Church circles concerned with that matter. Without seeking appropriate

²⁰⁸ Dionysius IV in his petition to the Government of Madras makes mention of this. *Ibid.*, Para. n. p.197.

²⁰⁹ Mar Athanasius was declared as lawful metran by Govt. of Travancore on 28 July 1852, and by Cochin on 4, October 1853.

²¹⁰ L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.145.

remedies to the genuine needs of the Church, the leadership of the Church taking sides with groups displayed an attitude of evasiveness. This led to serious troubles. A group within that Church came under the West Syrian Church and another under the Protestant influence. The tendency they followed was identification with the foreign connections. Mar Athanasius and party hoped by assuming somehow the office of the Jacobite Metropolitan as he could reform the whole Church in accordance with the Protestant line. But those who had identified with the Patriarchate hoped that within the ecclesiastical framework of West Syrian Patriarch alone there is possible salvation. The same was the viewpoint of those who had influenced by the Missionaries of the CMS.

The struggle in the Church between Protestantism and Conservatism was caused to increase much misunderstanding, hatred and bitterness. The conservatives in their bitterness of the Protestants tried to develop an attitude of discouraging everything that favoured Protestant influence whether good or bad in that respect. The Reform group also did the same in their hatred and condemnation of the conservatives. The conflict thus began between the former continued for more than fifty years, finally leading to their divisions and out of this struggle the jurisdictional claim of the West Syrian Patriarch was unquestionably established over a section of Jacobite Church. Infact this period was the most detrimental time to the Jacobite Church ever in her history which decided the separation of each conflicting element one from the

other. All of her progresses were arrested due to bitter feuds those took place in the mean time. They spent their time in fighting each other while remaining in two opposite camps. Instead of elevating the people ecclesiastically what they achieved was the division of the Church. In the latter half of the 19th century, a litigation ensued which finally split the Jacobite Syrian church into two groups. i.e., the Orthodox Syrian Church and the Marthoma Syrian Church. The group which favoured reformation came to be known as Marthoma Syrian Church.²¹¹ In the year 1889 by the Royal Court Judgement of Final Appeal, Churches were separated.²¹² The name Orthodox Syrian Church was accepted by the Jacobite group.²¹³

²¹¹ It retained some of the traditions of Orthodox church but accepted several Protestant tenets. It is a Protestant church.

²¹² Edavaka Patrika, Vol. V, No. 8, 1896, p.154. The Marthoma Church claims that this is the continuation of the name of Malabar Christians who were previously known as St. Thomas Christians.

²¹³ E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p.112.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing analysis is aimed at bringing to light certain important aspects in the culture and religious life of Syrian Christians of Malabar in the background of ecclesiastical penetration from West Asia and European colonialism. Christianity came to Malabar from Persia as evidenced from the Syriac documents recovered from this region supported by the dove-crosses or Persian crosses found in different parts of Kerala. Opening of the cape route to Malabar in the 15th century ushered a momentous change in the religious life of Syrian Christians.

In Kerala there are three different European powers exercised hegemony over the Syrian Christians in three different time phases. The colonial intervention of Portuguese Church, influenced by the militant notions of the Counter Reformation, enforced the process of Latinization i.e., introducing homogeneity and uniformity among the Syrian Christians in the frame of Roman Catholicism and evangelisation among non Christians by the Western missionaries resulted in the demographic growth of Christian and Malabar became most significant Christian part in India.

The Portuguese intervention in the life of Syrian Christians and non Christians by using *Padroado* device can be analysed as a new instrument of Portuguese colonialism. The creation of an empire in the East by using a

religious device helped them considerably which can not be possible with thousands of weapons or battles. The consequences of Portuguese colonialism in Malabar Church was lasting and permanent.

The Portuguese not only tried to propagate the kingdom of God but also the kingdom of Portugal. They utilized not only the device of God but also the designs of Portuguese crown also. The *Padroado* system ensured the Portuguese crown access to the spice production and exchange centres of Syrian Christians. The economic aspect of their religious policy can be analysed as the easiest means for resource mobilization. This analysis can be attested by the later developments i.e. the resistance movement followed by Portuguese crown against Pope when *Multa Praeclare* was promulgated as a means to suppress the *Padroado* right of the Portuguese crown which was granted by Pope himself in the past. Portugal opposed *Propoganda* Bishops called Vicars Apostolics because of the loss of religious authority by *Multa Praeclare*. The Portuguese authorities calculated that winning supremacy would create opportunities for reaping economic benefits. That was now shattered and their power declined considerably which prompted them to fight even against Pope.

A rebellious group within the Syrian Christians under the leadership of Archdeacon opposed the domination of the Jesuit missionaries in the Coonan Cross revolt of 1653. The incident shows that they were all strongly

attached to their traditions and way of life. They were not sufficiently open to appreciate the positive results and useful practice introduced among them by the missionaries. Coonan Cross revolt was only one way of 'response' against the Portuguese power under the Archdeacon whose powers were clipped and relegated to the background by the monarchical episcopacy introduced by the Jesuit Bishops.

The entry of Portuguese traders following the geographical discoveries opened a new phase in the history of maritime trade ie. the beginning of new world system in the economic field. Spice production increased considerably during the period between 1500-1600. It is estimated that spice production increased to 600%.¹ The spice production and progress in the field of maritime trade continued during the Dutch and British period vigorously. These colonial powers who operated in Kerala introduced plantation system.

Following this the economic condition of Syrian Christians' economic condition was much progressed. The Coonan Cross revolt of 1653 can be analysed in this background. The economic empowerment attained by the traditional spice producing community of Syrian Christian as result of colonial spice trade with Malabar, stimulated their revolting potentials. The

¹ Pius Malakandathil, "Merchants, Markets and Commodities" in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads*, ed., Pius Malandathil and Jamal Mohamed, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 251-257.

economic prosperity naturally was the basic reason to confront the colonial challenges or interventions.

Colonial attempts of the Portuguese missionaries to impose western habits and practices among the Syrian Christians triggered of the first split in the Syrian community in 1653 as Catholic Syrians and Schismatic Syrians. The religious policy developed by them as a weapon of psychological domination to complete their military domination successfully employed for a period of 150 years. But now the event of *Coonan Cross Oath* shows the first symbol of the decline of Portuguese temporal power in Malabar region.

The most important of Portuguese intervention in the religious field is Roman Catholicism. With the advent of the Portuguese, the Malabar Church was brought into the limelight of history and to the notice of the Christian nations of the west. Thus began an alliance between the Christian West and Christian East which was fraught with consequences that have shaped the destiny of the Malabar Church ever since.

Generally all the western missionaries arouse the Christian society of Malabar from the traditional lethargy. They brought certain new concepts and spiritual values. The contact with the Catholic missionaries raised the standard of Christian instruction among the Syrian Christians to a large extent. It was also instrumental in removing some unwholesome practices and their social and spiritual life became disciplined considerably. The

subjection of the Syrian Christians to the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy, Latinisation of liturgical traditions, canonical discipline through the synod of Diamper became a blessing in disguise.

The group which separated from the communion of Rome through the revolt of Coonan Cross Oath 1653 under Archdeacon Thomas faced many serious tribulations in later years. In 1806 when Claudius Buchanan visited their Bishop Dionysius I, he found the Jacobite Church as a "declining Church". The British Resident Colonel Munro and C.M.S missionaries made strenuous efforts to the 'renovation' or 'reformation' of the Jacobite church to restore it from the abuses, superstitious customs and traditions. The need of the theological education for the Jacobite clergy was fulfilled by establishing a seminary at Kottayam in the year 1813 with the help of Colonel Munro. Regarding the services rendered by C.M.S missionaries many of the scholars are of opinion that "by giving shape to new social ideas and giving impetus to new social trends, the C.M.S missionaries converted the static Jacobite society into a progressive."

But again as in the case of Coonan Cross Revolt, a conservative section of the Jacobite community held the council at Mavelikkara in 1835 and took an Oath as desired by the Dionysius IV that they would "have no further intercourse whatever with the Church Missionaries". After the withdrawal of the C.M.S from active association with Jacobite church, the desire for reform

continued under Palakkunnathu Abraham Malpan which ultimately reached in the formation of Reformed sect of Marthoma Church. The Jacobite church is now divided into several sects and groups.

From the analysis of the Socio-economic condition of Malabar, the Syrian Christians' primary concern was to live in harmony with their neighbouring social groups and to show respect to the faith and customs of their rulers. Syrian Christians were only a small community who led a simple life and most of them were engaged in agriculture and trade. Such a social pattern bred an innate conservatism that fostered the observance of old customs, which remained unaltered until the first two decades of 20th century.

In the first phase of the contact between the Portuguese and the native Christian was very cordial. The Syrian Christians really respected and loved the Portuguese Christians because of the patronage extended by them. During the second visit of Vasco de Gama the leader of Syrian Christians sought the support and help from the Portuguese and accepted the King of Portugal as their lord. Under the protection of the Portuguese, they conducted the trading activities smoothly and improved their economic position. The friendship began to weaken after long years when the Portuguese missionaries strenuously tried to abolish East Syrian customs and substitute them with practices and customs of the Latin rite. The basic problem consisted of social and organizational subjugation of Syrian Christians and degradation of their

traditional leader, the Archdeacon. The transformation of *Cattnars* into priests led to an attempted change of social relations. The protest was against the social transformation and the loss of ancient cult traditions.

The coming of the Dutch brightened the prospects of Schismatic group under Archdeacon Thomas who got regular episcopal consecration from Mar Gregorios. The Syrian Christians who were antagonised by the discontent of the Portuguese preferred the dignitaries from the Orient. The Calvinistic Dutch supported them and a bishop was brought from the West Syrian Church by Dutch in their ship which marked the nature of the religious policy of the Dutch in Malabar. Their policy can be analysed as a healthy diplomacy aimed at the economic benefits. They followed same type of paternal protection towards Jacobite Syrians and Syrian Catholics as these Syrian Christians generally were involved in the cultivation of spices and cash crops. The Dutch realized this fact very soon and employed successfully their policy of friendship towards Jacobite Syrians and the Catholics ruled by the Carmelite missionaries. By bringing Antiochean Bishops to help Jacobite Syrians regularly they got the support of that community. At the same time they had given permission to the Carmelites deputed by *Propoganda Fide* to enter in to their territories and to construct new churches for their use. They only opposed the Portuguese *Padroado* Bishops because Portugal was their commercial and political rival in the field of colonialism. So their religious policy was also intermingled with economic motivation as in the case of the

Portuguese. They were primarily motivated to ensure commercial prosperity. They tried to enlist the support and good will of the spice producing community i.e. Syrian Christians with a view to ensure the cargo for their Amsterdam bound vessels. By ensuring the same passage for Propoganda dignitaries and Antiocheam Bishops they respected both segments of Syrian Christians. They also tried to keep the conflict between *Padroado* and *Propoganda* in the limelight so as to maintain their colonial position secure. They also indirectly helped to maintain the division of Syrian Catholics and Jacobite Syrians as such so as to ensure the colonial exploitation by the policy of divide and rule. At the same time they did not enforce their religion or customs on the people who came under their sway or contact with them for commerce as evangelisation was not their priority.

The third wave of penetration under British missionaries i.e. Anglican protestants flashed up Malabar in the last phase of western colonialism. They were also motivated to establish hegemony over Syrian Christians especially Jacobites who were regarded as their friends on the basis of doctrinal affinity. They also formulated their religious policy for establishing their hegemony over the resourceful areas like Kottayam Belt which is more suitable for resource mobilization. The activities C.M.S missionaries were more concentrated on that location which was famous for spice production. The reformation programmes, again like Portuguese, had economic motives. British authorities were indirectly trying to have homogeneity and uniformity

in the socio-cultural and religious field among the Jacobites. English education in the C.M.S colleges and schools, Anglican model of training to Jacobite priests in the C.M.S seminary of Kottayam, married clergy and Anglican theology and liturgy tried to transform the Jacobite Church into an Anglicanized form of religion again triggered a new split in the Jacobite church resulting in the formation of Syrian Orthodox and Marthoma Church.

With the frequent exposure to different colonial powers, the community of Syrian Christians generally started redefining their own identity by imbibing elements from them. From the Portuguese they imbibed the Church discipline, theological notions of counter Reformation, European renaissance ideas and European social values etc. If we take a very long term view, we can conclude that the Portuguese opened the door for other European colonial powers to come to Malabar which brought dramatic consequences in the Malabar church. Because of the entry of European powers following geographical discoveries, spice production increased considerably during the period between 1500-1850.

The pockets of tension were enlarging in later years with the advent of European powers like the Dutch and the English. The Europeans generally were conscious of the territorial conflicts among the local rulers who played a significant role among the Syrian Christians settled in Cochin and Travancore kingdoms which parcelled out into number of native states.

The colonial impact upon Christian community of Kerala is interpreted as a reaction to assorted stimuli. The latter were composed of European undertakings under the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. While the reaction can be discerned in the forms of Syrian Christian culture which can be accepted as thesis and the European influence upon them can be regarded as antithesis. The various divisions and sects developed among the Syrian Christians can be considered as synthesis.

The problem here developed as a result of the confrontation of two civilizations during the stage of contacts. They have different values and concepts. *Malayali* and European are forms of relations between two cultures, two social systems and the symptoms of domination and subjugation. It created too much burden which was increased by ambitious Jesuit missionaries, West Syrian prelates and CMS missionaries. Consequences developed in longer range. When Bishop Wilson and CMS missionaries forced the Jacobites to adopt certain reforms in doctrinal as well as in practical life, the orthodox group resented it in the Synod met at Mavelikkara in 1836. This event is almost similar to the background of Coonan Cross revolt of 1653 when the Portuguese interfered in the religious life of their ancestors with a view to reform their church in the western line.

The end result of historical process is the formation of latinised to Catholic Syrian Christians, Antiochean oriented Jacobites and Anglicanized Protestant Syrian Christians.

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Appendix 1

LIST OF MISSIONARIES IN MALABAR

(Ambrosius aS. Theresia, *Nomenclator Missionariorum Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, Rome, 1944, pp.22,30,31,88,95,148, 153,201,199,211,216,242,243,285,319)

Name	Nationality	Birth	Death	In Malabar
Aloysius Mary of Jesus	Italian	03.12.1743	02.04.1802	25 years
Anasthasius of St. Jerome	Italian	26.02.1711	07.11.1776	35 years
Anasthasius of St. Mansueto	Belgian	08.04.1742	03.07.1780	1 year
Charles of St. Conrad	Italian	18.02.1725	06.01.1785	13 years
Clement of Jesus	Italian	07.04.1731	19.10.1782	19 years
Francis of St. Eliseus	German	10.12.1741	31.12.1794	21 years
Francis Sales	German	03.09.1732	26.07.1787	11 years
John Antony of St. Fortunato	Italian	19.09.1746	1779	4 years
John of St. Margaret	Italian	25.08.1738		9 years
John Frank of Conception	Italian	26.09.1756	13.07.1788	8 years
John Mary of St. Thomas	Italian	26.09.1726	1782	5 years
Lawrence of St. Rosina	German	08.01.1735	20.01.1797	30 years
Lawrence Justiniani	Italian	13.02.1720	06.1794	5 years
Paulinus of St. Bartholomew	German	25.04.1748	07.02.1806	13 years
Raymond of St. Joseph	Italian	13.04.1752	07.07.1816	31 years

Appendix 2

LIST OF BISHOPS IN MALABAR AND OF EASTERN PATRIARCHS

ARCHBISHOPS OF CRANGANORE

The list is based on Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, Nova Goa, 1924, v. II, pp.36-67, D. Ferroli S.J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore, 1939 & 1951 2 Vol. and other authorities.

Francis Roz, S.J., 1600-24.

Stephen de Brito S.J., 1624-41.

Francis Garzia Mendez S.J., 1641-59.

After Archbishop Garzia's death, the see remained vacant, and was administered by 'governors' without episcopal character till:

James de Anunciacião Justiniano, 1694-1701, who never reached India.

John Ribeiro S.J., 1701-16.

Manuel Carvalho Pimentel S.J., 1721-52.

John Louis Vasconcellos S.J., 1753-8.

Salvador dos Reis S.J., 1753-8.

Joseph Cariati, a Syro-Malabar, 1782-6, who did not occupy the see.

Joseph aetano da Silva Coutino, 1800, who did not reach India.

Paul da S. Thomé d'Aquina e Almeida O.P., 1819-23.

Joseph Joachim da Immaculada Conceição Amarante O.P., 1825, who did not occupy the see.

Manuel de S. Joaquim Neves O.P., 1845-8.

(By the concordat of 1886, the Cranganore jurisdiction, as a Padroao dependency, was definitely suppressed, but the title *ad honorem* was successively attributed to the Bishop of Damao, and finally to the Archbishop of Goa).

**VICARS APOSTOLIC OF MALABAR AND OF VERAPOLY, AND
ARCHBISHOPS OF VERAPOLY**

The list is based on 'Hierarchia Carmelitana', IV, *A.O.C.D.* II (1936). pp.188-98, and the works, already mentioned. We have also consulted the series of *The Madras Catholic Directory, 1883-1911*, and *The Catholic Directory of India, 1912-54*.

Joseph of St. Mary Sebastianai O.C.D., 1656-63.

Mar Alexander Parambil, 1663-87.

Raphael de Figueredo Salgado, 1677-94, d. 1695.

Custodio da Pinho, 1694-96.

Angelus Francis of St. Teresa, O.C.D., 1700-12.

John Baptist of St. Teresa, O.C.D., 1714-50.

(Innocent of St. Lepold O.C.D., coadjutor, 1734-5).

Florentius of Jesus Nazareth O.C.D., 1750-73.

Francis of Sales of Our Lady of Dolours O.C.D., 1774-80, d.1787.

John Mary of St. Thomas O.C.D., 1780-I, who died before reaching Malabar.

Aloysius Mary of Jesus O.C.D., 1784-1802.

Raymond of St. Joseph .C.D., 1803-16.

Miles Prendergast O.C., 1819-31, d. 1844.

Francis Xavier of St. Anne Pescetto O.C.D., 1831-44.

Louis of St. Teresa Martini O.C.D., 1844-53, d. 1859.

Bernardino of St. Teresa Baccinelli O.c.D., 1853-68.

Leonard of St. Luis Mellano O.C.D., 1868-97, who became Archbishop of
Verapoly in 1886.

Bernard of Jesus O.C.D., 1897-1919.

Angel Mary Perez Cecilia O.C.D., 1919-35.

Joseph Attipetty, first Indian Prelate, 1934-

Appendix 3

LIST OF CHRUCHES – SYRO ROMAN AND JACOBITE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Source:

(Paulinus aS. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome,
1794, pp.267-68)

Syro Roman Churches

Agaparambil	Our Lady
Alappuzha	Our Lady
Alengad	Our Lady
Ambazhakkad	St. Thomas
Anakkallu	Our Lady
Angamaly	St. Hormisdas
Angamaly	St. George
Arakuzha	Our Lady
Aruvithara	Our Lady
Athirampuzha	Our Lady
Chalakkudy	Our Lady
Changanassery	Our Lady
Chembu	Our Lady
Chennamangalam – Vypinkotta	Holy Cross
Chiyangot	St. Michael
Chovara	Our Lady
Edapally	Ss. Peter and Paul
Edappally	St. George
Elenji	Ss. Peter and Paul
Enammakkal	Our Lady
Ernakulam – Anchukaimal	Our Lady
Kadalnad	Our Lady
Kaduthuruthy	St. Dominic

Kaduthuruthy	St. Thomas
Kalloorkkad	Our Lady
Kalparamb	Our Lady
Kandanad	Our Lady
Kanjirappally	Our Lady
Kanjur	Our Lady
Karingachira	Our Lady
Koodalur	Three Magi
Koratty	Our Lady
Kothamangalam	Our Lady
Kottamathil	Our Lady
Kottappady	St. Lazar
Kottiyotta (sic)	Our Lady
Kudamalur	Ss. Gervasius and Protasius
Kuravilangad	Mary Major
Kuruppanpady	Ss. Peter and Paul
Mailakkomb	St. Thomas
Malayattur	St. Thomas
Manjapra	Holy Cross
Mattathil	Our Lady
Moozhikkulam	Our Lady
Muttam	Our Lady
Muttuchira	Holy Spirit
Nagapuzha	--
Nediyala	Our Lady
Njarackal	Our Lady
Njarammel	Our Lady
Pala	St. Thomas
Pallikkara	Our Lady
Pallippuram	Our Lady

Palur	St. Macarius
Parappurangady	Our Lady
Paravur	Ss. Gervasius and Protasius
Pazhur	St. Antyony
Perumattam	Our Lady
Piravam	Three Magi
Pulinkunnu	St. Sebastian
Purakkadu	St. Thomas
Puthenchira	Our Lady
Puthenpally	St. Theresa
Ramapuram	St. Augustine
South Paravur	John the
Baptist Thathampally	St. Michael
Udayamperur	Ss. Gervasius and Protasius
Uzhavur	St. Stephen
Vadakara	John the Baptist
Vadayattu	Our Lord
Valianad	Our Lady
Varapuzha	St. Joseph
Vaypur	Our Lady

Jacobite Churches

Angamaly	Our Lady
Chengannur	Our Lady
Kadamattam	St. George
Kadambara	Our Lady
Kalluchery	Our Lady
Kallupara	Our Lady
Kandanadu	Our Lady

Karthikappaly	Our Lady
Kathare (sic)	Our Lady
Kayamkulam	Ss. Gervasius and Protasius
Kollam	St. Thomas
Kollanchira	Ss. Peter and Paul
Kozhanchery	Our Lady
Kundara	Our Lady
Kuruppanpady	Our Lady
Mamalachery	St. Michael
Mavelikkara	--
Mulanthuruthy	Our Lady
Niranam	--
Pallikkara	--
Paravur	St. Thomas
Porakkotta	--
Puthenkavu	Our Lady
South Paravur	--
Thekkankulangara	--
Thiruvamkodu	St. Thomas
Thumpannur	Our Lady

Appendix 5

NAMES OF CHURCHES WHICH SIGNED THE PADIOLA

(Paulinus, aS. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, p.82)

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Angamaly | 41. Chungathil |
| 2. Kuravilangadu | 42. Ramapuram |
| 3. Pazhayur (Uzhavur) | 43. Kandanadu |
| 4. Puthukkad | 44. Elavur (Uzhavur) |
| 5. Parppookkara | 45. Payangalam |
| 6. Ollur | 46. Cherpunkal |
| 7. Enamackal | 47. Arattupuzha |
| 8. Puthenchira | 48. Pala |
| 9. Ambazhakadu | 49. Punnathura |
| 10. Chalakkudy | 50. Kottayam |
| 11. Koratty | 51. Kanjirappally |
| 12. Kuthiyathodu | 52. Vaypur |
| 13. Alangadu | 53. Purakkad |
| 14. Njarackal | 54. Pulinkunnu |
| 15. Varapuzha | 55. Thathampally |
| 16. Piravithanam | 56. Pallippuram |
| 17. Paravur | 57. Muttathu |
| 18. Chovara | 58. Palluruthy |
| 19. Kanjoor | 59. Paravur South |
| 20. Malayattoor | 60. Kadanadu |
| 21. Kunakkali | 61. Anakkallunkal |
| 22. Kothamangalam | 62. Poonjar |
| 23. Karakkunnath | 63. Ernakulam |
| 24. Udayamperur | 64. Changanassery |
| 25. Vadayattu | 65. Karagira |
| 26. Kaduthuruthi | 66. Kallurkkad |
| 27. Vykam | 67. Porayanthanathu |
| 28. Muttuchira | 68. Kottakkadu |
| 29. Kodavechur | 69. Kizhakkambalam |
| 30. Piravathu | 70. Manjapra |
| 31. Kodamalur | 71. Parappur |
| 32. Kothamallur | 72. Chembil |
| 33. Athirampuzha | 73. Chattukulangara |
| 34. Mulakulam | 74. Kalpparambu |
| 35. Elenji | 75. Veliyanadu |
| 36. Vadakara | 76. Edappally |
| 37. Arakkuzha | 77. Palayur |
| 38. Mylakkombu | 78. Vellur |
| 39. Nagappuzha | 79. Mattam |
| 40. Muthalakodam | 80. Nediachala |

Appendix 6

CALUDIUS BUCHANAN ON THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF KERALA

Source:

(C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, London, 1811, Pp. 106-148)

... But at the same time, I perceived, all around, symptoms of poverty and political depression. In the churches, and in the people, there was the air of fallen greatness. I said to the senior Priest, 'You appear to me like a people who have know better days'. 'It is even so,' said he. 'We are in a degenerate state compared with our forefathers.' He noticed, that there were two causes of their present decay. "About 300 years ago, an enemy came from the West, bearing the name of Christ, but armed with the inquisition : and compelled us to seek the protection of the native Princes. And the native Princes have kept us in a state of depression ever sine. They indeed recognize our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general next to the *Nairs*, the nobility of the country; but they have encroached by degrees on our property, till we have been reduced to the humble state in which you find us. The glory of our Church has passed away; but we hope your nation will revive it again. ' I observed that 'the glory of a Church could never, die, if it preserved the Bible.' 'We have preserved the Bible,' said he, 'the Hindoo princes never touched our liberty of conscience. We were formerly on a footing with them in political power; and they respect our religion. We have also converts from time to time; but in this Christian duty we are not so active as we once were; besides, it is not so credible now to become Christian, in our low estate' ... (p.117)

Appendix 7

KERR ON THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR

Source: [C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, London, 1811, pp. 148-151)

In the creeds and doctrines of the Christians of Malabar, internal evidence exists of their being a primitive church; for the supremacy of the Pope is denied, and the doctrine of transubstantiation never has been held by them. They also regarded, and still regard, the worship of images as idolatrous, and the doctrine of purgatory to be fabulous. Moreover they never admitted as sacraments, extreme unction, marriage, or confirmation. All which facts may be substantiated on reference to the Acts of the Synod assembled by don Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa at Udiyampur, in the year 1599.

The Christians on the Malabar Coast are divided into three sects. 1. The St. Thome or Jacobite Christians. 2. The Syrian Roman – Catholics. 3. The Latin Church.

1. The St. Thome Christians still retain their ancient creed and usages, and consider themselves as the descendants of the flock established by St. Thomas, who is generally esteemed the Apostle of the East. Their ancestors emigrated from Syria; and Syro Chaldaic is the language in which their church-service is still performed. They admit no images within their churches, but a figure of the Virgin Mary, with the child Jesus in her arms; which is considered merely as an ornament, and not a subject of idolatrous worship.

It has been believed that these Christians held the tenets of the Nestorian heresy, and that they were obliged to leave their own country in consequence of persecution. However, it appears that the creed they now hold denies that heresy, and seems to coincide in several points with the creed of Athanasius, but without its damnatory clauses. The service in their Church is performed very nearly after the manner of the Church of England; and when the Metropolitan was told that it was hoped that one day an union might take place between the two churches, he seemed pleased at the suggestion. In some of their churches, divine service is performed in the Syrian and Latin ritual alternatively, by the priests of the Christians of St. Thomas, who have adhered to their ancient rites, and those who have been united to the Church of Rome. When the latter have celebrated mass, they carry away the images from the Church before the others enter. The character of these people is marked by a striking superiority over the heathens in every moral *excellence*;

and they are remarkable for their veracity and plain dealing. They are extremely attentive to their religious and plan dealing. They are extremely attentive to their religious duties, and abide by the decision of their priests and metropolitan in all cases, whether in spiritual or temporal affairs. They are respected very highly by the Nairs; and the Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin admit them to rank next to the Nairs. Their number it is generally supposed, may be estimated at seventy or eighty thousand. The direct protection of the British Government has been already extended to them; but as they do not reside within the British territories, I am doubtful how far it may be of use to them. *To unite them to the Church of England* would in my opinion, be a most noble work; and it is most devoutly to be wished that those who have been driven into the Roman pale, might be recalled to their ancient Church; a measure which it would not be difficult to accomplish, as the country governments would be likely to second any efforts to that purpose. Their occupations are various as those of other Christians; but they are chiefly cultivators and artisans; and some of them possess a comfortable, if not a splendid independence. Their clergy marry in the same manner as Protestants. Their residence is entirely inland.

2. The Syrian Roman-Catholics are those who were constrained, after a long struggle, to join the Latin Church, and who still continue in her pale, though distinguished from her in this, that they are allowed, by a dispensation from the Pope, to perform all the service of the Church of Rome in the Syro Chaldic language.

The live under the authority of the Metropolitan of Cranganore, and the Bishop of Verapoli. The Roman – Catholic Syrians, it is thought, are much more numerous than the members of the original church. Their clergy, found hundred in number, are spread through the ancient churches; and, by retaining their language and acting under the direction of the Church of Rome, they leave no means unessayed to draw over their primitive brethren of Latin communion. There are said to be eighty-six parishes of Roman-Catholic Syrians subject to the dioceses of Cranganore and verapoli. The congregations are reported at ninety thousand. The Hindoos have more respect for the Christian of the original church, than for the converts of the Latin communication.

3. The Latin Roman Catholics are subject to the Primate of Goa, under whom is an archbishop and two bishops.

Appendix 8

MUNRO ON THE INTRODUCTION OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY TO KERALA (1816 A.D.)

Source: (*Missionary Register*, 1816, pp.452-454).

Regarding as I do, the diffusion of genuine Christianity in India, as a measure equally important to the interest of humanity and to the stability of our power, I view, with the most sincere pleasure, the commencement of a systematic plan for the attainment of that object; and the Society may be assured of my earnest desire to co-operate with them, by any means in my power, in the furtherance of their designs.

With respect to Mr. Norton, and all the persons who may be employed by the society in Travancore, I wish that they may be desired to receive my advice concerning the general application of their services; but to consider themselves as entirely under the control and inspection of the Society, in their detailed proceedings. They will report to the Society and obey its orders, according to the rules observed by the Missionaries acting in the Company's territories; but from the circumstance of Travancore being a foreign state, it is necessary, for many reasons, that the Missionaries should attend to the advice of the Resident, whose support will indeed be essential to the success of their exertions. I entertain a confident hope that by prudent and active measures, much may be effected in Travancore for the advancement of Christianity.

The Christians of all descriptions in Travancore have, since my arrival in this country, been relieved from most oppressive burdens Released from civil oppression they will be better disposed, I hope, to apply with cheerfulness to their religious duties.

An efficient and extended system of education, particularly in English language, will attribute more effectively than any other plan to the early and substantial advancement of the Protestant religion in India. The prevalence of the Portuguese language has substantially promoted the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion. Indeed from the situation of the Portuguese in India, strong arguments may be adduced for the diffusion of the English language, as a means of supporting the British Power, as well as of extending the Protestant religion; for the name and influence of the Portuguese nation have been preserved by the prevalence of their language, long after the subversion of their power by the Dutch; and if the Portuguese were in a state

to undertake conquests in India, their design would be greatly facilitated by the extension which their language and customs have obtained . . .

An establishment consisting of one principal and subordinate courts have been founded in Travancore and I have succeeded in procuring the appointment of a Christian Judge to act with each of these tribunals. This arrangement is highly favourable to the protection and respectability of the Christians in Travancore; and it is also agreeable to the Brahmins and Nairs who find in the integrity of the Christian Judges a check on the venality and corruption of other judges. I have, however, experienced difficulties in procuring respectable and honest men to fill the situation of Christian Judges to the several courts and that office in the principal court is still vacant in consequence of my having been unable to find a person qualified for the execution of its duties. The appointment of an English Missionary to that office would be attended with advantages to the cause of Christianity by the protection which it would afford to the Christians and by the credit which the wiser and impartial conduct of the Judge would reflect on the religion that he professed and it might perhaps be in the power of the Society to recommend fit persons for these situation, particularly in the principal court
....

I am sorry to say that the internal dissension among the Syrians have increased since Ramban Joseph has been elected to the office of the bishop. I expect that all the principal ecclesiastical authorities among the Syrians will arrive here in the course of a few days; and I shall endeavour to make some arrangement for the settlement of their disputes

Appendix 9

LETTER OF MUNRO TO BAILY (1818 A.D.)

(P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society*, 1814-1846, Appendix A, Letter No. 25, pp.364-365.

. . . All priests must, of course, be educated at the College previously to their ordination, and the laity should also to the greatest practicable extent receive instruction there. All this will in a primary degree depend upon your exertions and I am satisfied that you will spare no efforts to render the College eminently conducive to the general and early improvement of the Syrians. I hope that you continue your endeavours to introduce the English language among the branches of study at the College. This is an object of great importance, and claims your serious consideration. The translation of the English Liturgy is another object of primary importance, for I think if it were well translated it might, without any difficulty, be substituted in all the churches for their present forms of worship. You will of course gradually prepare the minds of the Syrians by a reference to the Scriptures to abandon the seven sacraments, the Mass, and other remnants of Roman Catholic usage
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Appendix 10

PADROADO PROPAGANDA CONTROVERSY : THE MULTA PRAECLARE (1838 A.D.)

Source: (E.R. Hull, *Bombay Mission – History with a Special Study of the Padraodo Question*, Vol. I, pp.239-244).

The Apostolic Letter of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI Concerning the institution of Vicars – Apostolic in the East Indies

Gregory XVI Pope

For perpetual Memory Hereof

The Roman Pontiffs, Our Predecessors, in accordance with the obligations of the Pastoral Office, have determined many things very expressly that, in the most extensive regions of the East Indies, they might provide for the increase of the Catholic Religion. For whereas, on account of the very great distance of those countries from the Apostolic See, and on account of the length of journeys and the difficulties of places, the cultivation of that extensive portion of the vineyard of the Lord must be very arduous, the Roman Pontiffs have earnestly demonstrated their solicitude to sanction by their authority, and order to be accurately observed, whatever, according to the different changes of the times, might seem likely to be useful to religion among those nations.

We omit to make mention of the care, never neglected by the Apostolic See, that priests should be encouraged everywhere to perform the duties of the sacred ministry in those places. We say nothing of the singular favour and benignity exhibited by Our Predecessors, that, in order not to retard the progress of the Catholic religion in those places, they made almost innumerable concessions, by which they suffered those nations to be treated more gently than the institutes of the canons and a more severe discipline required. We will only mention herein that indication of gratitude which in accordance with their dignity, the Roman Pontiffs showed to those who, it appeared, were useful to religion throughout those places.

The privilege of patronage, granted by the Apostolic See to the Most Faithful Kings of Portugal, that the Bishops of some dioceses in those regions might be elected upon their nomination, contains an evident proof of this

matter. For, whereas the piety and munificence of those Princes had contributed much to the founding of certain bishoprics in those most extensive regions, our Predecessors, desiring to reward their merits by a testimony of their gratitude, have granted that the Apostolic See would choose, as Bishops of those Dioceses, the persons whom, being worthy, they had nominated. Moreover, by the concession of this privilege the Apostolic Se expected that the vacancy of those Episcopal Sees would not be of long duration; that those places would secure suitable Bishops more easily, and that due assistance would be at hand for the Bishops themselves, such as would accord with their dignity. But it has come to pass from the vicissitudes of the times that this, which was for a long time a benefit to religion in those countries, could not remain in that state which the decrees of Our Predecessors, published under circumstances entirely different, and commanded to be observed.

Often times, whilst as yet we presided over the Council for propagating the Christian Name, we felt it to be Our duty to weigh the importance of the reasons which demonstrated that those countries, so wisely extending, which constitute a very great part of the vast peninsula on this side of the Ganges, necessarily require that the Apostolic See should succour religion in danger therein, and should modify the form of ecclesiastical government in such manner as would be consistent with the safety of religion. It was known to us that those regions are comprehended within the limits of the Dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin, and Myapore or St. Thome. It was also manifest to Us that our predecessors had granted to the most Faithful Kings of Portugal, patronage with respect to those Dioceses, and the privilege of nominating the Bishops. For this is contained in the Apostolic Letter of Paul IV of happy memory, of the 4th day of February in the year 1557, which begins *Pro excellenti*, by which he founded the Diocese of Cochin; likewise in that of Clement VIII, of the 4th of August 1600, beginning *In supreme, postquam*, and of Paul V, of the 6th day of February 1616, beginning *Alias postquam*, concerning the erection of the Archbishopric of Cranganore; and finally, in the Apostolic Decree of Paul V of the 9th day of January 1606, by which the Bishopric of Mylapore or St. Thome was established. We have never omitted, from that time, to make every endeavour for promoting the welfare of religion which the circumstances of the times allowed.

Bust since that we, though unworthy, have been raised to the chair of Peter, we have been incited much more frequently, and by records of the utmost importance, to aid religion, to aid religion labouring under very great difficulty in those nations. Weighing those things deliberately, and bearing in mind the obligations of Apostolic solicitude, we have therefore been induced to constitute, by Apostolic Letters of the 18th day of April 1834, beginning *Latissimi terrarium ratus*, a Vicar Apostolic depending from the Apostolic

See alone, who would have subject to him the populous city of Calcutta and its political prefecture. Whereas, however, some persons were found to resist the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic instituted by Us, and to contend the obedience ought not to be paid to our Apostolic Letters, because in them We had not, by an express mention, derogated from those things which Paul V, on the 9th day of January 1606, had decreed concerning the boundaries of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mylapore or St. thome; We, by another Apostolic brief, on the 4th day of August 1835, the beginning of which is *Commissi Nobis*, have rejected all this pretext of dissention, and have declared many things which would tend to establish more firmly the authority of the Vicar-Apostolic of Bengal. For the same reason it was that We determined that another Vicar Apostolic should be instituted at Madras, by a letter on the 25th day of the April 1834, beginning *Ex Debito pastoralis* This was also the reason why We published on the 23rd day of December 1836, another Apostolic Brief beginning *Ex munere pastoralis*, by which we committed the most extensive Island of Ceylon to be governed by a Vicar-Apostolic instituted by Us. For this reason finally it was that, desiring to provide for the necessities of religion among those people who inhabit that part of the peninsula which lies towards the East of the haut Mountains, and extends from the River Cauvery into Cape Comorin, We have committed the entire tract of country which comprehends the kingdoms of Madura, Tanjore, Morava, and Mysore, through our Congregation de Propaganda Fide, on the 3rd day of June 1837, to the care and jurisdiction of our venerable Brother Clement, Bishop of Drusipare, Vicar-Apostolic of the Coromandel Coast, - in a provisional way, and unit it may be otherwise decreed by the Holy See.

We understand that by these things, which have been hitherto decreed by Us concerning this country of the Indies, the advantage of religion in a very large part of India has been provided for. But, besides those places which have been given to be governed by Vicars-Apostolic, several countries yet remain, for the spiritual good of which We are bound to provide, and which are situated within the boundaries of the dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin, and Mylapore or St. Thome. We know that ecclesiastical discipline, the morals of the people, the Catholic faith in those countries, which so long lack a Pastor, have suffered great injury; and we are well aware that many use the pretext of defending and preserving the rights of those dioceses in order to resist the Vicars-Apostolic whom the Apostolic See has constituted, to oppose their authority, and endeavour to excite a pernicious schism. We sensibly feel that We, by reason of the office which God has committed to Us in succession to St. Peter, are wholly obliged to have a care of the Church, even in every scattered portion of the world, and to decree all things whatsoever that we see would contribute to the support of religion everywhere.

Therefore, having taken advice on so important an affair with our Ven. Brethren the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church placed over the affairs of

Propaganda Fide, the opinion of the same being approved of, and a mature consideration of the entire business having been instituted by Us, in the plenitude of Apostolic power We judge it fit to decree as follows :-

Videlicet, in a provisional way, and as the long Apostolic See shall come to no other new determination, we decree that all those countries which are contained within the limits of the Diocese of Mylapore or St. Thome, and which have been up to this time committed to no Vicar-Apostolic, are to be united to the Apostolic Vicariate of Madras; and that all jurisdiction and authority, ecclesiastical and spiritual, over those counties belong to our Venerable Brother Daniel, Bishop of Sidiitan and Vicar-Apostolic of Madras and to his successors. But with respect to the countries which are contained within the limits of the Dioceses of Cranganore and Cochin, and which up to this time have been delivered to no Vicar-Apostolic; in the same way We order that they be united to the Apostolic Vicariate instituted in the country of Malabar, the seat of which is in the town of Verapoly; and that all jurisdiction and authority, ecclesiastical and spiritual, over those countries shall belong to Our Venerable Brother Francis Xavier, Bishop of Amata, the Vicar-Apostolic residing at Verapoly, and to his successors. And that the country of Malacca beyond the Ganges may also receive the benefit of our Apostolic solicitude, and that We may provide for the safety and increase of religion therein, We in the same provisional way subject that entire country to the jurisdiction of our Venerable Brother Frederic Cao, Bishop of Zama and Vicar-Apostolic of Ava and Pegu.

We declare that in the ecclesiastical and spiritual government of those countries the Vicars – Apostolic above name depend immediately from Us, and from the Apostolic See alone; that they alone are to be regarded by all as the true Ordinaries of those countries; and that all should obey them, and receive ecclesiastical jurisdiction and faculties from them. Therefore We derogate from the Apostolic letters above recited of Our Predecessors concerning the erection and limits of the dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore or St. Thome, and likewise from that published by Paul IV, on the 4th day of February 1557, beginning *Pro excellenti*, concerning the erection of the Bishopric of Malacca; and moreover, We derogate also from the Apostolic letter of our Predecessor Paul IV, of happy memory, of the 4th day of February 1557, beginning *Esti sancta*, concerning the erection of the Archbishopric of Goa – so that the Archbishop of Goa cannot in future exercise any jurisdiction, under any title whatsoever, even worthy of special mention, in the counties of which we speak.

These things being thus determined, We consider that We have fully provide for the proper government of religion throughout those places, and we confidently hope that it will come to pass that, God Almighty blessing the design commenced by Us, these things may greatly tend to the increase of the Church. For We feel confident that all will pay to our decrease that obedience

which is due to our dignity, to whom through Peter the power of feeding, directing, and governing the universal Church has been delivered by God. Finally, we doubt not that those who hitherto have resisted Our will, will be susceptible of more wholesome counsel, and become sincerely averse to the most grievous evil of schism.

For besides that duty peculiar to every Catholic, by which he is bound to obey Peter speaking through Us, we are persuaded that they will now have realized, that those reasons which they have alleged in defence of their dissension can be no means excuse their opposition.

For it is well known to all that the Apostolic See, in conceding that patronage to the Most Faithful Kings of Portugal, never intended to place and impediment to its providing for religion in those countries, nor to its having the power to decree those things which, in consideration to the necessity of the times, the salvation of the Christian people might afterwards demand.

We think that they will also see how greatly different, and distinct from the present state of things, the times ere in which that privilege was granted and observed . We suppose that they are also aware that those countries, to provide for the good of which We have turned our attention, are no longer subject to the old political Government, under which it was easy for the Kings of Portugal to exercise their patronage; but that they have come under the sway of a most powerful sovereign, whose form of government and institutions, We are well aware, will no allow it.

Finally, We remember that the Roman Pontiffs Our Predecessors, not withstanding the concession of the patronage, have rightly decreed that from the Dioceses comprehended under that privilege provinces should sometimes be separated, and Apostolic Vicariates, embracing those provinces, constituted for the benefit of religion. Wherefore We trust that those who have not hesitated to oppose Us hitherto will easily perceive that they should take care lest, by refusing obedience to Our Decrees made in the present state of things, they openly show that they can produce no reason for their dissension, except that of a disobedient spirit.

Declaring the present letters to be, and that they shall continue to be firm, valid and efficacious and that they are to have their full and complete effect, and to retain the same, and are to avail to their widest extent for those in whose concern they have been issued, or whom they shall at any future time affect, notwithstanding any enactments to the contrary.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's under the Ring of the Fisherman, the 24th day of April 1838, the eight year of Our Pontificate.

Appendix 11

LETTER OF GOVERNOR – GENERAL OF GOA TO THE POPE CONCERNING INTERFERENCE WITH PADROADO RIGHTS (1853. A. D

Source: J.Godinho,

(*The Padroado of Portugal & the Orient* (1454-18600), Bombay (1924) p, 35

Having been informed that some Ecclesiastics arrogating to themselves powers and authority in various Missions of the Dioceses of Asia, which incontestably belong to the Real Padroado of His Most Faithful Majesty (King of Portugal), and have attempted, in discreditable ways, not in conformity with honesty or Christian principles, to obtain possession of Churches of our Missions, built and erected at the cost of great sacrifices of men and money by the Portuguese, and maintained for more than three centuries by the piety of their Kings and, it also having come to my knowledge that recently the said Ecclesiastics have sent an Apostolic Breve to the Vicars and Curates of our Diocese, whose parishes they intend to usurp, which Breve, if not apocryphal, has been treacherously obtained from the most virtuous Pontiff who occupies the Chair of St. Peter, in which Breve all those who remain loyal to their legitimate pastors are threatened with suspension of their orders, and considered as schismatics, if, within two months they do not recognize the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic, or of the Agents of the Propaganda; I was the Delegate of His Majesty; in this part of the Word, whose duty it is to assert and uphold the right and prerogatives of the Crown, warn you that the Royal Letters of the 5th April 1652 and 24th March 1748 and many others of different dates prohibit all the Portuguese to recognize any Bull or Pontifical Edict, devoid of the *Beneplacito Religio*; 2, that principles of honour, and the teachings of the Evangel compel every good and honest Christian not to hand over to anyone the goods of another party; 3, the notification No. 2608 of the 5th August 1852, from the Minister is determined not to cede any of his rights and prerogatives, as the Patron of the Churches in the East. After all, I am confident that you will consider as null and void the Breve mentioned above of the 9th May 1853, and you will despise the threats of those who have the audacity, and are not ashamed to ask a priest to be a traitor by helping them in the contemplated spoliation.

Appendix 12

Official Translation of *The Mavelikkara Padyola*

(P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society, 1816-1840*, Kottayam, 1935, pp.390-91).

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost: Padyola (agreement) drawn up in the year of our Lord 1836 corresponding to 5th *Magaram* 1011 at the Church dictated to the Virgin Mother of the Lord, at Mavelikkara, between Mar Dionysius Metropolitan of the Jacobite Syrian Church of Mavelikarai subject to the supremacy of Mar Ignatius Patriarch, the Father of Fathers and the Chief of Chiefs, ruling on the throne of St. Peter at Antioch, the mother of all churches; and his successor Mar Kurilos; and the Viars, Priests and Parishoners of Ancamali and other churches under the charge of the said Metropolitan.

That whereas at an interview held at Kottayam between the Right Rev. Daniel Lord Bishop of Calcutta and the Metropolitan, in *Vrishchikam* last, it was proposed by the former that certain changes should be introduced in the Liturgies and Ordinances of our Syrian church, and whereas it was stated in reply that a conference of all the churches would be held on the subject and its determination made known: we, the Jacobite Syrians being subject to the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch and observing, as we do, the Liturgies and Ordinances instituted by the prelates sent under his command, cannot deviate from such Liturgies and Ordinances and maintain a discipline contrary thereto; and a man of one persuasion being not authorized to preach and admonish in the church of another following a different persuasion without the permission of the respective Patriarchs we cannot permit the same to be done amongst us; and our churches being built by the aid of the prelates sent under orders of the Patriarch and on the wishes of the people of each Parish, and ornamented by their money, and as the accounts of the annual income accruing to our churches, under the head of voluntary contributions, offering and are required by the rules, furnished to our bishops, as is the custom in the churches of Antioch, as well as in the churches of this and other countries following different personations we are without our power, and feel disciplined, to follow, and cause to be followed, a different procedure from the above.

That the Honourable Colonel Macaulay having taken a loan of 3000 star pagodas from Valia (great) Mar Dionysius who died in 983, gave him a bond for the same. The interest on the amount having fallen in arrears, Mar

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Dionysius Metropolitan who died in 992 made a representation to Col. Munro and received the interest with which he (Dionysius) built the Seminary at Kottayam. Having also collected at the seminary the money brought by the prelates that had come here from Antioch and the property left by the late bishops of the Pakalomattom family, Dionysius laid out a portion of this together with the donation made by His Holiness the Maha Rajah on behalf of the Syrian X'tian youths, on Kanom, and therewith met the expense of their education. The Reverend the Missionaries who have come down to Kottayam in their profuse benevolence taught the youths at the seminary, English and other languages, protected our children life loving fathers, caused books to be printed for the benefit of all classes, rendered all necessary help in maintaining the prevailing discipline of the Syrian church, caused the annual interest due, to be drawn on the receipt of the Metropolitan, had superintendence over the affairs of the seminary, and caused ordinations to be made agreeable to the request of the people and the power of the prelates. While affairs were being thus conducted, the missionaries took to managing the seminary without consulting the Metropolitan themselves expended the interest money drawn annually on the receipt of the Metropolitan, dispersed the deacons instructed in the seminary conducted affairs in opposition to the discipline of our church and created dissensions amongst us, all of which have occasioned much sorrow and vexation. For this reason, we do (would) not follow any faith or teaching other than the orthodox faith of the Jacobite Syrian X'tians, to the end that we may obtain salvation through the prayers of the ever happy, holy ad ever blessed mother of God the redresser of all complaints and though the prayers of all saints.

Witness Father, Son and Holy.

Ghost, Amen

Name of the signatories



(Signed) Bonham Faunce Major (Ag. Ass. Resident)

(True copy)

NB 4798