

Appendix 9 Edessan migration: related texts

9.1. Kandanad Chronicle

From the *Chronicle of Kandanad* (Cheeran:2008: Part II, Chapter 2, pp.27-29)

Translated from Malayalam into English by Sarah Knight

Summary

- 1) Then followed a period¹ when they apostatized back into Hinduism;
- 2) The Christians of Malankara continued in their faith 'without distress' under the priests appointed by St. Thomas;
- 3) In the year 145 ¹ a sorcerer named Mani arrived showing many miracles and by prescribed procedures, brought relief in their sickness, causing many to follow him;
- 4) Only 64 families remained and they too were at the point of renouncing Christ and following Mani's doctrines;
- 5) At this time, 292 years (Niranam Chronicles Accara Recension:18) after the arrival of St. Thomas, in the Syrian country called Urfa, the Episcopa was divinely inspired to send help to the Malankara Christians;
- 6) This Episcopa went to Antioch and informed the Patriarch of that city, who summoned teachers and knowledgeable people to Antioch;
- 7) They sent for a respected merchant from Jerusalem called Thoma and sent him to Malankara with instructions find whether such Christians existed there and in what state;
- 8) He came back and informed Antioch of their plight of being shaken in their faith in the absence of teachers and priests;
- 9) On the instruction and command of the Patriarch, the same Episcopa of Edessa called Joseph set off for Malankara in the company of that merchant, taking with him priests, deacons and innumerable people;
- 10) They went by three ships and all arrived safely in Malankara ('*Maliampkara*' in old spelling) in the year 345;
- 11) Those who had not renounced Christ came together and received them, and together they went and showed themselves to the king of the country, Cherakon Perumal;
- 12) The merchant Thoma informed the king all the circumstances, and placed before him many valuable gifts;
- 13) The king was pleased and promised them all help, and conferred upon land to build houses, and many honours inscribed on copper-plates to be a lasting gift until the sun and moon remained.

Translation of the full text from the *Kandanad Chronicle* (edited by Cheeran:2008: Part II, Chapter 2, pp.27-29).¹

I. How the St. Thomas Christians were slowly drawn back to heathenism:

1. “Until the passing away of the two priests appointed by St. Thomas the Apostle, the Christians between Kurakkeni Kollam (an alternative name for Kollam or Quilon in the south of Kerala) and Paloor (or Palayoor in the north of Kerala) walked in the straight Holy Way without straying.

2. But after a long period of time, when those priests had passed away and there were no priests in the country any more, they were in a difficult state, and this was redressed to some extent by the elders performing marriage-rites and baptisms in a limited way, and they continued in that manner for a while.

II. Arrival of ‘Mani the Bard’:

3. In this manner (as they continued), at this time when, because it was a land of pagans and there was no one to teach the doctrines of the True Faith, and because of friendship with the heathen, some (Christians) happened to hear the stories and the myths of the pagans and learn the hymns and praises that were not true to The Way, and began to go and see and hear their festivals and celebrations in the heathen temples, and to make offerings secretly, and then, in the year 145, a sorcerer named ‘Mani the Bard’ came to Mylapore and led astray the elders of the Way and their leaders by his evil wonders, and persuaded them to renounce the Way.

III. Mani’s Doctrine and Incantations for all ills:

4. (At the same time) the remaining Nasranies also began to suffer constraints by the persecutions from the king that they worship Mani the Bard, and this pagan (or these pagans) came to Kerala, and upon the Christians of Kurakkeni - and there were many families from Kottattu to Kollam itself – (he unleashed) his sorcery against them (as a result of which) bringing sickness to them and death on their livestock, and when many of these calamities fell on them, it was found that if they brought him and got him to sprinkle his (sacred) ash, such misfortunes would leave them, and that if they learnt the Five Syllable Incantations of the Gurus, and drank the cows’ milk, buttermilk, (clarified) butter, dung and urine, these five stirred together, these calamities would dissipate, so it was told.

5. There were many people, those that belonged to 64 families that did not do any of these and who would not have the ash sprinkled on them.

6. At this stage, because there were no priests, and because there was no worship in churches, the people’s hearts began be utterly confused as a result of so many diverse things and rumours, (so much so) that the Nasranies began to go mainly to see ‘*mudiyeettum karumaniyum*’ (the meaning of this phrase has not been ascertained yet, though Cheeran defines them as temple-performances of the Goddess Kali’s life-events) and as they went,

¹ Translated from Malayalam to English, by Sarah Knight

because of friendships, they began to learn and sing stories, epics, poems and such other pagan hymns performed in costumes, and they did all this believing that they were effective cures against their misfortunes, and when they suffered from great fevers or being possessed by evil spirits, they sent for their Gurus and heard their incantations.

V. An argument over a funeral, and the origin of the ‘Manigrammakars’:

7. In those days when all these heretical things were well-established in them, when one of their elders died and some from the Way gathered together, a great argument broke out with some saying that the dead body had to be wrapped in new cloth (*kodi*) and laid on a pyre and burnt to ashes in a blaze of fire, and that in accordance with the scriptures, land had to be given in alms, and there was a conflict among the 99 -plus-5 -plus-60 villages.

8. Saying that they disagreed with the burial of the corpse, 96 (of these) families broke away from the remaining.

9. They learnt the ‘Five-Syllabic incantations’ and such other things in accordance with the doctrines of Mani the Bard, and renounced the Lord (Christ) and because they were families that had united themselves with Mani, they are known as ‘Mani *gramakkars*’ or Mani-villagers’ to this day.

10. Of the families 64 families that had suffered all the miseries he (Mani) had inflicted on them by his sorcery for the sake of the Lord, and had not aligned with his Guru-incantations, and not worn the ash, the many Christians who were in these families, Mani the Bard and his followers began to call these Christians ‘*Dhariyakkal*’ or ‘Non-wearers’, and this name is one by which these Christians are still known.

VI. The vision of bishop Joseph of Urfa:

11. In these days, seeing how these people had been carrying on in misery for the 293 years from the time of the arrival of St. Thomas the Apostle, and seeing how these Christians were growing faint, by the grace of the Lord, in his sleep the Episcopus of Urfa the Syrian country, in his sleep saw and heard in a dream these words: “Are you not aggrieved that the Christians of Malayalam-land (Kerala) whom I had redeemed by my blood have become indolent in sin and ruined?”, hearing which he woke up and went with great sorrow to the place where the Holy Patriarch Ignatius of Antioch sat, and informed him everything about this sorrowful vision, and the Holy Patriarch Ignatius summoned teachers and knowledgeable people to Antioch and consulted with them and sent for a respected merchant from Jerusalem called Thoma.

VII. The merchant, Thoma of Cana is deputed on a fact-finding mission

12. Following their command to bring back information about Malankara, he arrived in Malankara, and met with those who were made Christians by the efforts of St. Thomas the Apostle, identifying them by the cross which was their sign, and obtained from them all the information regarding their past state, and learnt from them of their sorrow for the want of priests, and deciding not to delay himself any more, quickly boarded his ship and returned to Jerusalem.

VIII. Antioch sends bishop Mar Joseph and a band of people to Maliamkara:

13. He informed all these matters to the Holy Ignatius, after which on the command of the Ignatius, he bade farewell to Joseph the Episcopa of Edessa and with him many priests, deacons and innumerable people.

14. With blessings they boarded ships and by the grace of the Lord, they all arrived in Malankara (*'Maliampkara'* in old spelling) and disembarked in the year 345.

IX. 'Knai Thoma' (corrupted Malayalam form of 'Thoma of Cana') meets the king:

15. After this, those people in Kottakkayal (Kodungalloor or Maliampkara) and those Christians of the 64 families who were known as *'Dharyakkal'* ('Non-wearers') came together and bowed to the metropolitan, after which the merchant Knai Thoma went to the presence of the king of Kerala His Lordship Cherakon Perumal and placed before him kingly presents and made known to him all the circumstances, as a result of which His Lordship became pleased and declared: 'I the Lord of the country shall undoubtedly give all that is needed,' after which utterance, granted honours inscribed on copper-plates that they may never be altered until the sun and moon remained, an account of which are as follows:"

X. King Grants them land to build a city and many honours:

16. Following this is a list of the 72 privileges and honours, including 11 royal accoutrements, 7 musical instruments, 16 personal ornamentations, 5 city decorations, 2 head ornaments, (permission to wear) elephant-ride, horse-ride, exemption from (taxes?), tributes from five castes, and a list of 18 castes 'given to them' to do their labouring and artisan jobs: 'which the king granted to Knai Thoma and his children and his people, and to all those of his religion to enjoy for ever.' (pp29-30)

XI. Building of the city of *'Maha-devar-pattanam'* or 'City of the Great God' in Kodungalloor; Archdeacon ordained from the local Christians; bishops arrive from Antioch: P.30-31

XII. 480 years later, in 825 AD, city of Kollam destroyed:

XIII. Arrival of Mar Sabor and Mar Aphroth, led by Sabr Yesu (*'Sabrishu'*) Christian dynasty of Vilwarvattom:

XIV. Arrival of the Nestorian bishop Mar Abraham

XV. Menezes convenes the Synod of Diamper:

XVI. The Portuguese drown Patriarch Mar Ignatius of Antioch in Kochi harbour and SC take the Oath of the Leaning Cross, rejecting Rome: (pp.33-35)

XVI. Arrival of Mar Gregorios Ab'd al Jaleel (1665):

9.2. Honours and privileges granted by the kind Cheraman Perumal in 345 AD, at the time of the Edessan Migration

Copied from Fr. K.T. Zachariah's (d.1980) extensive notes (from c.1935) as yet not catalogued), preserved in the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Theological Seminary, Mulanthuruthy, Kerala.

Zachariah claims to have copied this from a Palm-leaf book preserved in Chalakuzhy family of Mepral, Kerala, the present whereabouts of which are unknown.

Malayalam transcribed	English translation
Thazhayum Thandum, pallakkum, paravathanium,	Soft-mats ² , Long-poles ³ palanquin ⁴ and carpets,
Pancha-padam, venchamaram,	Five- <i>padam</i> ⁵ and white fly-whisk ⁶ ,
Thazha-kudayum, kodium, kudayum, nadyum, nadathum,	and royal-parasols, and flag and parasol and cheer-call (<i>kurava</i>) and procession,
Naaluvaay-kkuravayum, thakilum, murishum,	And ululation, and kettle-drum (thak(v)il-drum), and muri(a)shu-drum,
Veeravadyam, panchavarnam,	Victory-drum, and five-colours (?)
Veeramaddalam, pakal-vilakkum,	Victory drum and day-lamp(?)
Uchchippuvum, nettikkettum,	And top-knot ⁷ and forehead ornament
Pavaadayum, neervaal, ilamkuyil-kinnaram,	And skirt, and straight-sword,
Kappal, kappalsheelayum,	and ' <i>ilam-kuyil</i> ' lute ⁸ , and ship, and ship-sail,
Cheruthiri-channayum, channame:l	And fine-woven-linen and ..(?),

² Made of *thazha* (long glossy leaves of the *Pandanus fascicularis*) the finer varieties of mats (called *methappai*) are soft and silky to the touch, and are used to sleep on, or laid on the floor at important functions such as for the priest or the bride to stand on, or unfurled on the floor for important visitors to homes to sit upon.

³ This could signify either the long-poles of palanquins or long-armed oars of canoes.

⁴ Two other kinds of palanquin are mentioned in Vellian and in the *Paanan Paattu*=Ballad of Panans: *aandolam*, *thoakkumanchal* and *menavu* (Vellian 2001:65-67).

⁵ Zachariah has transcribed this as *Pancha-Padam*, and could signify numerous meanings; the most appropriate could be cloth for draping or bed-cover, or a garment. Compare '*karim-padam*' thick, dark woollen cloth for bed-cover or the floor. However, other sources such as Vellian (:66) lists it as '*pancha-vaadyam*' = the traditional Keralan orchestra of five musical instruments, which may be more fitting in the context.

⁶ The white fly-whisk is a traditional ritual-accessory in the presence of Indian royalty and also used in religious ceremonies; traditionally made of the tail-hair of Tibetan white yaks.

⁷ Hair tied in a bun on top front to the side of the head, and embellished with jewellery.

⁸ The use of '*ilam-kuyil*' or '*little-koel*' an adjective is not certain.

monnayum,	
Nediya-kudayum, nettoor-pettium,	And long-arm parasol and Nettoor-box ⁹
Edampiri-shankhum, chakram valampiri,	And left-spiralling conch ¹⁰ and right-spiralling disc ¹¹ ,
Amba:layum, manarkkolam,	And <i>ambala</i> ¹² , and pavilion ¹³ ,
Mankayaal, manka-kankanam,	<i>Mankayal</i> ¹⁴ , And ladies' arm-bangles
Pavizha-pathakkam, verukum, puliyum,	Coral-jewelled choker, And Civet-cat, and leopard,
Kinattil-panniyum, nayaattu-naayum,	And hog-trapped-in-a-pit, and hunting-dog,
Pulayaattu-saadhanam, munkaime:l-pathakkam,	Pulayattu-saadhanam ¹⁵ , Jewelled fore-arm-brace,
Munkayyum, thol-valayum, veera-shrinkhalayum,	And jewelled arm-brace, and jewelled shoulder-brace, and Chain of valour,
Idupadi, nagara-thoranam,	Idupadi ¹⁶ , city-festoon ¹⁷ ,
Veera-thandum, nantham-vilakkum,	And palanquin-of-valour and <i>nandan</i> (?)-lamp, ¹⁸
Hastha-kadakam, kanaka-mudiyum,	And arm- <i>kadagam</i> , ¹⁹ and golden crown,
Mudikkeezh-abaranam,	Jewellery-below-crown,

⁹ Traditional rosewood boxes embellished with decorative brass corners and hasps, made in the village of Nettoor, the small ones for valuables, pan-accessories etc., and the large ones for storing clothing.

¹⁰ This is the common conch, while the rare right-spiralling conch is sacred to the Hindu god Vishnu and is an important ritual accessory in the religious ceremonies of Hindus, Buddhists.

¹¹ The signification of this is not clear.

¹² This remains unidentified.

¹³ A mana(r)kkolam is a large open-sided pavilion with a decorative gateway, erected for weddings etc. The auspicious entry of a bride into the *manarkkolam* is mentioned in the Syrian Christian Ballads (Lukas 1910/2002:2).

¹⁴ Manka is 'female' or 'lady' in Malayalam, but *Mankayal* is uncertain.

¹⁵ Unidentified.

¹⁶ Unidentified.

¹⁷ Traditionally festoons are made of cream-coloured tender-palm leaves of the coconut strung up plain or plaited.

¹⁸ This could signify either a hand-held lamp by this name, or the honour of being shown the way by a dependent cast, holding this lamp.

¹⁹ The dictionary-definition for kadakam/kadagam is bracelet, or girdle, or even: 'one of the 18 modes of offence in (the Keralan Martial Art of) *Kalaripayattu*.'


Annamel-ambariyum	And elephant, and howdah on elephant,
Anchumula, chinchira, chankava,	cattle ²⁰ , chinchira (?), chankava (?)
Aatu-vaippu, paachil-maram, thekkum, kumbilum,	(and tree or timber of): <i>aattu-vaippu</i> , <i>paachil</i> , and teak, and <i>kumbil</i> ,
Aanjiliyum, valayum, naayum, nayattum, niranaazhi-aabharanangalum	(tree or timber of) and aanjili, and fishing-net, and dog, and hunting, and a bushel-full of jewellery

Note: This list adding up to 65 privileges seems the most authentic and near complete. Joseph Vellian includes a list (2001:65-67), copied from the Catholic historian Joseph Chazhikadan (History of the Southists). Although this list adds up to 72, it seems to lack authenticity, primarily because it uses interpretations of the terms rather than the actual words used in the list.

There are a number of discrepancies as well as agreements between the two lists. A tabulation of the two to see if the Zachariah list can be complemented by the Chazhikadan list has not been successful, precisely because of the latter's free interpretations, rather than the original terms used in his source. But they are listed below, so that further attempts can be made for more informed interpretations.

Unidentified terms used in Zachariah List (ZL).	Those not in the Zachariah list, but included in the Chazhikadan-Vellian list
Thandu	Courtyard
Ambala	<i>Antholam</i> (this is defined as a kind of palanquin).
Panchapadam	<i>Aalavattom</i> =peacock-feather fan; commonly used in Hindu/Buddhist/Jain religious contexts.
Channame:l-monna	<i>Kachcha</i> = a double layer of cloth worn around the waist by gentlewomen.
Idupadi	<i>Kachchappuram</i> = 'over-kachcha' as given above? Historically unidentified.
Veera-thandu	<i>Ka:lthala</i> =anklets.
Anchu-mula	<i>Ka:lchilambu</i> = ankle-bells.

²⁰ This meaning for '*anchumula*' is specious, derived from five-teats of a cow.

Some have interpreted this as the cow.	
Chinchira	<i>Kuthira</i> =horse
Chankava	<i>Kuzhal</i> =interpreted as ‘bugles’
	<i>Pattu-chatta</i> =silk tunic <i>Pattu-uruma:l</i> =silk scarf <i>Pattu-mundu</i> =silk cloth worn around the waist
	<i>Padippura</i> =interpreted as ‘out-house’ (outside toilet), but more likely, a gatehouse.
	<i>Pani-ppudava</i> =embroidered <i>pudava</i> . Not only is this not in the ZL, but not a garment known to have been worn in Kerala.
	<i>Ne:rrkkalanchi</i> =interpreted as ‘hangings from the headdress’. Not mentioned in the ZL, but possible because it was worn by women of Mesopotamia. But the term is not seen in any other list.
	<i>Pathine:zhu-parishakkumel karthavyam</i> =authority over 17 castes. Not mentioned in ZL but seen in other lists as well, but the number is usually 18.
	<i>Methiyadi</i> =wooden sandals 
	<i>Rajasakham-irippu</i> =defined as ‘honour to sit before the king’.
	<i>Veena</i> =stringed musical instrument
	<i>Theevatti</i> =torches.
	<i>Thookku-mancham</i> =hanging palanquin
	<i>Theendal-a:ttukal</i> =untouchability and un-approachability
	<i>Na:ikkudipparisha</i> =authority over four castes
	<i>Bhoom-karamozhivu</i> =exemption from land-tax

9.3. Northerners and Southerners

Distinctions between Northerners and Southerners as instituted by Knai Thoma (Kandanad Chronicle). Differences in traditions and customs between these two communities among the SCM

	Northerners	Southerners
Composition	‘Greater Ones’ of both the indigenous and immigrant Nasranis combined	‘Lesser Ones’ of both the indigenous and immigrant Nasranis.
Number of households	400	72
Lineage reckoned	patrilineal	Matrilineal
Deportment in marriage	standing	Kneeling
Symbol of marriage	the Cross.	The ‘ <i>Thali</i> ’= a small pendant.
Rites of marriage	Cover the bride head to toe completely with veil; Serve sweetmeats straight after marriage with	Cover the bride with veil, but with head exposed Serve sweetmeats before
Food served	<i>Ayani appam</i>	<i>Ayani karika</i> (uncertain)
Wedding herald	<i>Vilakithalayan</i> (lamp-carrier)	<i>Pandiyan</i> (of Tamil country – a caste)
Name of caste that do clothes washing for them.	<i>Veluthedan</i>	<i>Iramkolli</i>
Initiation of child to rice	Seated on the father’s lap	Seated on the mother’s lap
Trade	Silk, gold and silver	Medicinal herbs and woodland produce

9.4. Chronogram

From Mathew Chrusseril: *Kaduthuruthy Valiapally: (The Great Church of Kaduthuruthy)* 1982:7:

3 അക്ഷരസംഖ്യാനൂതം									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ക	ഖ	ഗ	ഘ	ങ	ച	ഛ	ജ	ഝ	ഞ
ട	ഠ	ഡ	ഢ	ണ	ത	ഥ	ദ	ധ	ന
പ	ഫ	ബ	ഭ	മ	ഷ	സ	ഹ	ള	ഴ
യ	ര	ല	വ	ശ	ഷ	സ	ഹ	ള	ഴ

പദസംഖ്യയെ എപ്പോഴും മറിച്ചുവേണം എഴുതാൻ. (ശബ്ദതാരാവലിയിൽ 'അക്ഷരസംഖ്യ' എന്ന പദം കാണുക) ശോവാല 543-ഇതനുസരിച്ച് 345 ആണ്.

The grid shows numerals 1 to 0 with the consonants of Malayalam alphabet arrayed beneath them, progressing left to right in the order they occur, for example: k, kh, g, gkh, below 1, 2, 3, 4 respectively.

The numerals for the letters *sha-va-la* (which in lyrical mode, is sung as *Sho-va-la*) are 5,4 and 3, which, according to the rules of the system Cherusseril says, are to be inversed to find the number, which in this instance gets '345'.

Finding the exact correspondences using this device is not made clear, deriving 5,4 and 3 being only one of all possible alternatives.

Cherusseril recommends the (1800 page) Malayalam alphabet compendium called *Shabdathara:vali* for more details on the subject.

9.5. Couto account of Cheraman Perumal

Diego de Couto's *Decadas da Asia*: VII, Book X, Chapter X, pp. 521-528²¹

On the origin of the ancient Emperors of Malabar, called *Perumals* and Zamorin; on the principalities in Malabar, and on their origin:

p. 521: As soon as we left this Zamorin, it seemed reasonable to give these Kings a new description, for everything which was written by the Writers is far removed from what we have seen today. As far as we know, along the coast of Malabar, which runs from the end of the Kingdom of Cananor to Cape Zamorin, a distance of 150 miles, and 15 miles from the land to the bottom of the hills, there were, more than two thousand years ago, twenty-five free landowners, among other less important ones, with the titles of Caimaes, Naoborins and Panicaes, also free of jurisdiction; but near these twenty-five landowners, there were others in the surrounding area, which were the following: Cananor, Tanor, Moringur, Cranganor, Paravur, Mangate, Idappalli, Kochi, Udayamperoor, Rey da Pimenta (the Pepper King), Turungul, Maturte, Porcá, Marta Pitimene, Cale Coulão, Changernate, Gundra and Travancor.

There were petty kingdoms of the minor Rajas like Quilon, Kayamkulam, Vadakkumkur, Idappalli, Cranganore, Tanur, Porakkad, Mangattu

Page 522: These landowners (as I mentioned before) had always been free, and they did not show superiority to anyone; but greed came, and a few contentions about jurisdictions started between them. With mutual consent, they elected someone to be the judge of their differences; and this person was not of the caste of Naire Bragmane, and neither of any of the entitled, but of humble caste, without state or land ownership, so as not to change with the distinction, and to understand that those who gave him the distinction, could remove it; and in that distinction (which I'll mention later) no son, nephew or relative would succeed, and upon his death another one would be elected, as in the elections of the Emperors of Germany. And to the one elected by all of them, the title Xarao (Cheraman) Perumal was given, and for his seat the city of Calicut was given. Many years after this election, and with the foreigners coming from Europe via Cairo, and from Persia to India for the spices, they took the City of

²¹ translated from Portuguese to English by Sérgio Ferreira, professional translator

Calicut to be a sea port, where merchants of all parts of India also traded. And thus these landowners came to be quite wealthy, as the stories will tell.

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From Emperor to Emperor, this distinction lasted till the year 347 A.D. according to the Brahmins of Calicut, and till the year 588 A.D. according to Cochim, in which the last Xarao Perumal ruled, the most famous of all, and the best man among them, and so affectionate towards the Christians of St. Thomas the Apostle who lived in Cranganore that he did not do anything without them, for at the time there were men who were quite saintly, and who lived a good life, as if they had come from the first plants of the Saint Apostle; and thus he fell for them, and through them he converted to our Faith, with which he lived for some years; as he became an elderly man, and induced by the Christians, he offered himself to the house of the Saint Apostle of Mylapore, with the intention of dying and being buried there. Thus, when making arrangements to leave, he announced it to all those kings, and called them, and bid them farewell, and they paid him homage until his return, which they affirmed would be soon. With everyone's consent, he left in the City of Calicut an armourbearer he raised called Manuchem Herari, who was from a village called Baluri, three miles from Calicut, who was already so valiant that, having this Emperor ordered the siege of the City of Madalagão, having already made the wall with three parts of the other...

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...where this Manuchem was staying, ordered them to stay put, saying these words in Malabar (Malayalam): *Manuchem madelu curabeda*; which mean "Where Manuchem lives, there is no need for a wall but him. (He is enough.)"

Finally, having this Emperor left for Mylapore, he died there, and this is agreed upon by the Chaldaic (or Syriac) writings of the Christians of the Malabar hills, and the *Olas* (palm-leaf documents) of Cranganore. I have no doubt that this is one of the three bodies found at the Chapel of the Blessed Apostle Saint Thomas, when Manoel de Faria, following Dom João's orders, found it, as João de Barros and I dealt with in our Decades; as this Christian Emperor went home on a pilgrimage and died there, it is plausible that the Christians would bury him there, because they considered him to be the Emperor of all of Malabar. This trip happened in

the years I already mentioned of 347, or 588 according to the *Olas* of Cochim; more than thirty years later, the Arab Moors came to the coast of Malabar in their ships looking for the goods of the East, settled in the land, and upon hearing of the death of the Perumal, and finding among the people boarding their ships some who had been on a pilgrimage...

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...led them to believe that he had been to the house of Meca offering himself to his Sancarrão, and died there, and that is how he was described in their books, where the foreign writers found him, and that is why they affirmed that the Perumal became a Moor. These barbarous Malabars did not take time into account, for when the Great Perumal died, Mafamede had not yet been born into this world, because he was born in the year 593 of the Christian era, according to the opinion of most people, while Ilhescas, Garibai and Fr. Jeronymo Romão in their Republics date his birth later. And he ran away from the City of Zidem to Medina Denelbi in the year of 633, in which he began to preach his faith, and from that time on the Arabs count their eras, which they call Hegerat, which means escape, and he died in the year of 656 at the age of 63: it is clear that this Perumal died before Mafamede was born, which means he could not have been to the house of Meca, as the Moors told the Malabars.

After the Great Perumal went to Mylapore, and upon hearing the news of his death a few years later, the Malabar landowners did not want to be subjected to anyone, so...

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...they stayed the way they were before the election of the free Emperors; and they did more, they took the title of Kings, with Manuchem Herari staying in the City of Calicut, where he became really wealthy and powerful with this deal and the trade, and he even usurped the title of Emperor by the name of Zamorin, which is the same, and subjected some landowners nearby, such as the ones from Tanor Chale, and had his nephews succeed him in the State, as in all the other kingdoms, always with the name Zamorin, which they still preserve to this day. And it should be known that since the death of the Great Perumal ninety-eight Zamorins have ruled in Calicut; and with this title (as I said before) only nephews succeed him, not sons; and no matter how many are born, they can only be named one of these three names: Manuchem, Mana, Bequerevem, and Vira Rainon, and the name is chosen by luck and

election, as the Bragmanes do with great ceremony. As soon as they inherit the kingdom, they get the title of Zamorin; and this is the reason why there is no catalogue of these kings, because all of them have the name Manabeden, or Zamorin. But it is known by their Olas that after Perumal died, or after Manuchem Herari succeeded in the Kingdom of Calicut, that since the year 1263...

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...98 kings have passed; and it is said, and their Olas say it too, that no Zamorin ruled for more than 24 years, and none less than 3.

These kings of Calicut did not have legitimate heirs, as they had to be nephews, and not sons, for the reason I'll soon give, and they had the obligation of adopting the Heraris of Baluri, apparently because they were descended from some relative of the first Manechem, who was left in Calicut by Zamorin, and among these they choose to adopt as heirs the most honest, and not the oldest or the closest to them, yet most of the time they choose the youngest one to raise in their palaces. Many a time has this Kingdom lacked legitimate heirs, and after the Portuguese came to India it happened three times; because the King who welcomed Vasco da Gama and his predecessor were both adopted. A legitimate son of one of the Princesses succeeded them, the one who led the great siege to our fortress of Calicut when D. Henrique de Menezes O Roxo was the Governor.

In the era of 1549 the King, who ruled in Calicut, not having more than one brother as an heir, adopted three Herari of Baluri brothers, and this way there would always be four heirs alive. This King...

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...died in the twelfth year of his rule, and his brother succeeded him, and of the three Princes, who had been adopted (as they do not leave, in case another King succeeds) one died, the middle one, and as the other two were evil and perverse, and caused embarrassment to the people, the King disinherited them and ordered them to be killed for fear of treason; and in their place three other brothers were adopted, also Herari of Baluri, because they cannot be any others. This happened in the year 1570, and this King died after 17 years of his rule, and

the oldest of the brothers succeeded him, who lived for ten years in the kingdom, and in his death another brother succeeded, who is the one who rules today, in the era of 1610, having ruled for 22 years. This King has a Prince who is his brother, his immediate successor, called Vira Rairon, and besides him there are eight other Princes of legitimate lineage, sons of Princesses, who were born after the adopted ones, and the oldest is 22, and the others are 17, 16, 10 and 6.

9.6. Bar Hebraeus on the establishment of Catholicosate in Seleucia

How the Catholicosate was established in Seleucia (later Seleucia-Ctesiphon): summarised from Chediath's translation of Bar Hebraeus Part II: *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* 1990:22-25:

Chediath translated Bar Hebraeus from Syriac into Malayalam. This is a translation from Chediath's Malayalam version into English, by Sarah Knight.

'When the Apostles assembled after the Ascension of Jesus, and the lot for preaching in India fell to the Apostle Thomas), Thomas travelled East and preached the Gospel to diverse people, among them the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Karmanians, Bactrians, those of Marga, and those of India. He went through the Fort in Tikrit, built by Arshadir *Ukkama* ('the Black'). He preached to the Magi he met there, and converted some important Jewish families.

Reluctant to go to India, Thomas was eventually sold by Jesus who appeared there, to a certain merchant Abban, sent by an Indian king in search of a skilled carpenter to build him a palace (p.18). Thomas was a Jew of the Tribe of Issachar (p.20). His original name was Juda, but later came to be called 'Thomas' because he was born a twin along with a brother. He lived in Palestine at first, and then was sent to India.

In the time of King Abgar, Mar Addai arrived in Edessa, and there he healed the king (who had been awaiting his arrival) of his leprosy. Mar Addai journeyed East again with his disciples Aggai and Mari. (p.21) King Abgar's successor put Addai to death.

Seeing that his master Mar Addai was killed, his disciple Aggai (a weaver of silk), fled East, and preached in all of Persia, Assyria, Armenia, Media, Babylonia Beth Huzaye, Gelan etc., all the way to the frontier of India. Then fearing that the faithful would abandon the faith because of Abgar's son the pagan king, he returned to Edessa. Refusing to do the king's bidding, Mar Aggai's legs were broken and he was killed. (p.21-22)

Unable to continue in Edessa, Mar Mari travelled East and preached in Assyria and all the region of Shinar. He is said to have established 360 churches in in the Eastern regions. Initially he taught in Beth Garma, but later when the people there oppressed him greatly, he went to Seleucia, the Persian royal city that was established by one of the Generals of Alexander the Great, Seleucus (Seleucus I Nicator), next to which was built later, the city of Ctesiphon. (p.22)

When Mari entered the city, he saw there the sorcerers. He approached a prominent man among them who was sick and at death's door, and he drew the sign of the cross over him, and the man was healed, and they received Mari into their city as an angel of God. He lived there for fifteen years, and preaching the Gospel in the neighbouring areas, died in the village of Badrana, where he was buried in the church that he had built (22-23).

After the death of Mari, the faithful sent representatives to Antioch, asking for a metropolitan, and the disciples in Antioch laid their hands on Abrosius, and sent him back (to Seleucia) to occupy the seat of his Master (Mar Mari). It is said that Abrosius traced his lineage to Joseph, the father of James and Joses (p.23).

His successor Abraham received his ordination in Antioch, and was sent to Seleucia when the Christians there were persecuted by the Persians. When he healed the son of the King of Persia of epilepsy, the king granted the Christians reprieve from persecution by the Persians. (p.23-24)

After Abraham, James became consecrated in Jerusalem and sent to the East. He too was of carpenter Joseph's lineage. He was buried in Seleucia.

After James, Ahadabooi and Kamisho, two of his disciples, were sent to Antioch, that one of them may be chosen receive consecration. While staying in a believer's house, they were accused of being spies of the Persians, and the civil authorities captured them and the householder with whom they were staying. Ahadabooi escaped to Jerusalem, but Kamisho and the householder were captured, labelled as spies, and crucified. The Patriarch of Antioch wrote to the metropolitan of Jerusalem, authorising him to consecrate Ahadabooi, and accordingly, he was consecrated and sent to the East. From that day onwards, the bishops of the West, (i.e. Antioch) gave permission that when the metropolitan of the eastern regions died, they should select one among them and consecrate him in Seleucia itself as their Great Metropolitan, and declare him as their Catholicose and Patriarch, and they sent the *sthathicon* (Certificate of Consecration) attesting this as well (p.24-25).'