

Narratives of religious identity:
the self-perception of the
Jacobite Syrian Christians of Kerala

Volume 2 Appendices

Sarah Knight

Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD in the Study of Religions

2019

Department of the Study of Religions and Philosophies
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

Contents

Appendix 1	Maps	5
Map 1.1.	1 st century trade routes between Mesopotamia/Levant and India.....	5
Map 1.2.	Christianity in South India in the antique and medieval periods.....	6
Map 1.3.	Syrian Christian migrations	7
1.4	Travellers' routes between Antioch and Malankara.....	8
Appendix 2	MV manuscript.....	10
2.1.	Full page image	11
2.2.	Sections – transcribed into modern Malayalam (pre-1971 script) and unicode phonetic transcription.....	12
2.3.	Comparison of Malayalam and Syriac versions of MV	31
Appendix 3	1771 <i>ola</i>	46
Appendix 4	Ancient Syrian Christian Ballads	54
4.1	<i>Thoma Parvam</i> (approximate translation in prose).....	54
4.2	<i>Margamkali Pattukal</i>	56
Appendix 5	Mar Abdel Massih I's letter to the Jacobite Syrian Christians.....	59
Appendix 6	Colophon of the 1301 Codex.....	62
Appendix 7	St Thomas: related texts, collated from Jacobite Syrian sources	68
7.1.	Chalakuzhy Thaliyola Grandham.....	68
7.2.	Summary of translated excerpts from Jacobite Syrian sources	71
7.3.	Hymns on St Thomas by St Ephrem the Syrian	73
Appendix 8	Manichaeism in India	77
8.1.	Karuthedathu <i>ola</i>	77
8.2.	Excerpt from Abdel Ahad (Patriarch Yacoub III) 1948:475-483):	78
8.3.	Rev. Peet on the terms: 'Manigrammakkar' and 'Tharissa'	81
Appendix 9	Edessan migration: related texts	83
9.1.	Kandanad Chronicle	83
9.2.	Honours and privileges at the time of the Edessan Migration	87

9.3. Northerners and Southerners	92
9.4. Chronogram.....	93
9.5. Couto account of Cheraman Perumal.....	94
9.6. Bar Hebraeus on the establishment of Catholicosate in Seleucia	99
Appendix 10 Kollam migration: related texts	101
10.1. Zachariah 1973 on Mar Sabor and Aphroth (Kollam 825).....	101
10.2. Persian Crosses	103
Appendix 11 Composite Jacobite Syrian accounts	106
Appendix 12 Copper plate charters	120
Appendix 13 Oath of the Leaning Cross.....	121
13.1. Text of the Oath	121
13.2. Padiyola of 1653	122
Appendix 14 Mar Ahatalla's three letters (1652-1653)	123
14.1. Letter 1 of Mar Ahattalla.	123
14.2. Letter 2 of Mar Ahattalla.	128
14.3. Letter 3 of Mar Ahattalla.	133
Appendix 15 17 th century Jacobite primary sources	139
15.1. Priest Itty Thomen's letter	139
15.2. Mar Gregorius Abdal Jaleel's Letter	139
Appendix 16 Arrival of Maphrian Mar Baselius Yaldo and Mar Ivanios in 1685	142
Appendix 17 Mar Thoma IV's letters	146
17.1. Letter 1 (translation copied from Yeates)	146
17.2. Letters 2-6	148
17.3. Table of summary details for the 6 Letters of Mar Thoma IV	170
Appendix 18 19 th century primary sources	173
18.1. Punnathara Mar Dionysius's letter to Gambier/CMS.....	173
18.2. Mavelikara Padiyola 1836	176

18.3.	Mulanthuruthy 1876	178
18.4.	Royal Court Appeal case judgement	181
Appendix 19	Ramban Bartholoyo Abdel Ahad (later Patriarch Yacoub III) – Articles of Doctrine and Faith of the Jacobite Syrian Christians.....	194

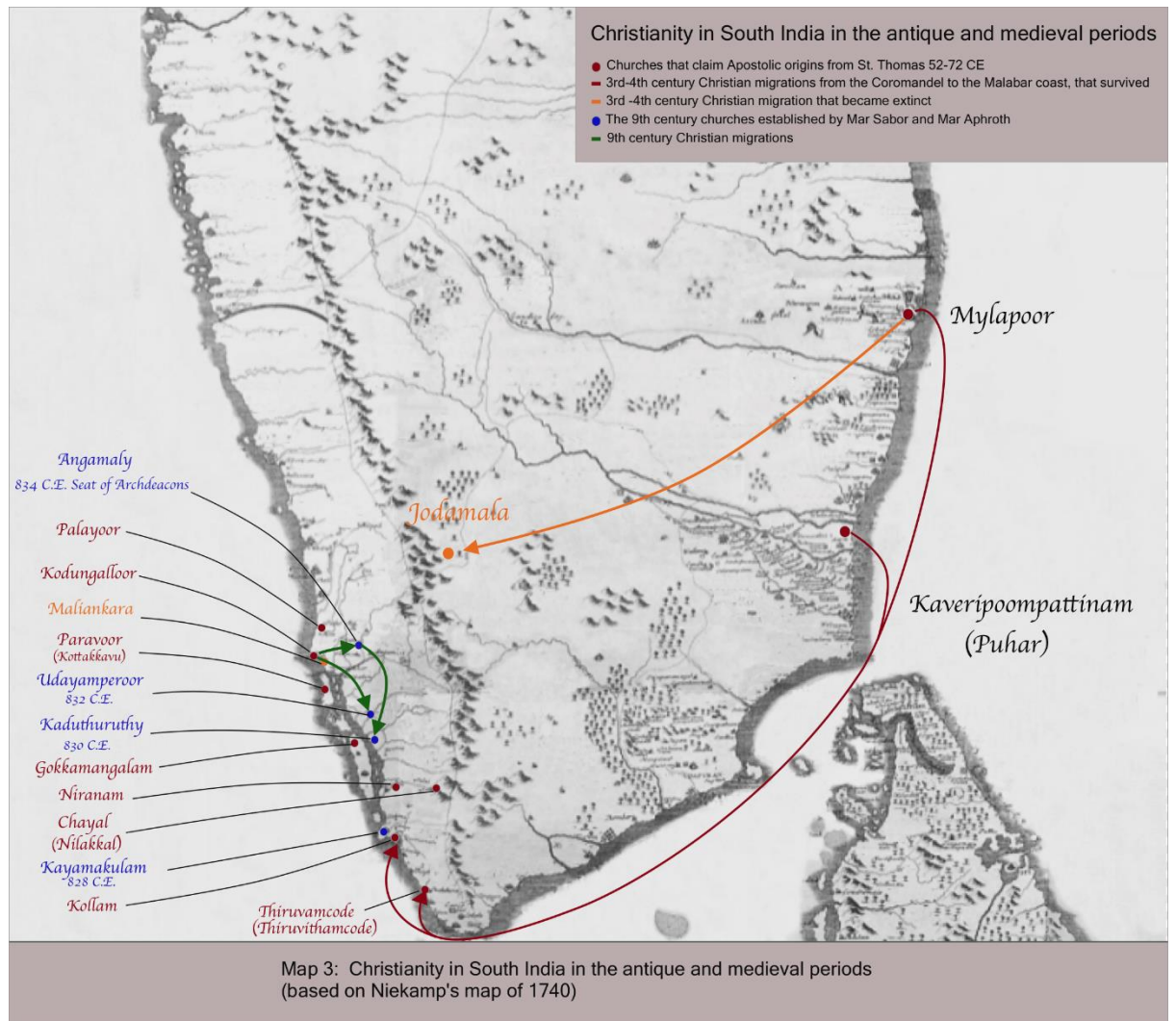
Appendix 1 Maps

Map 1.1. 1st century trade routes between Mesopotamia/Levant and India

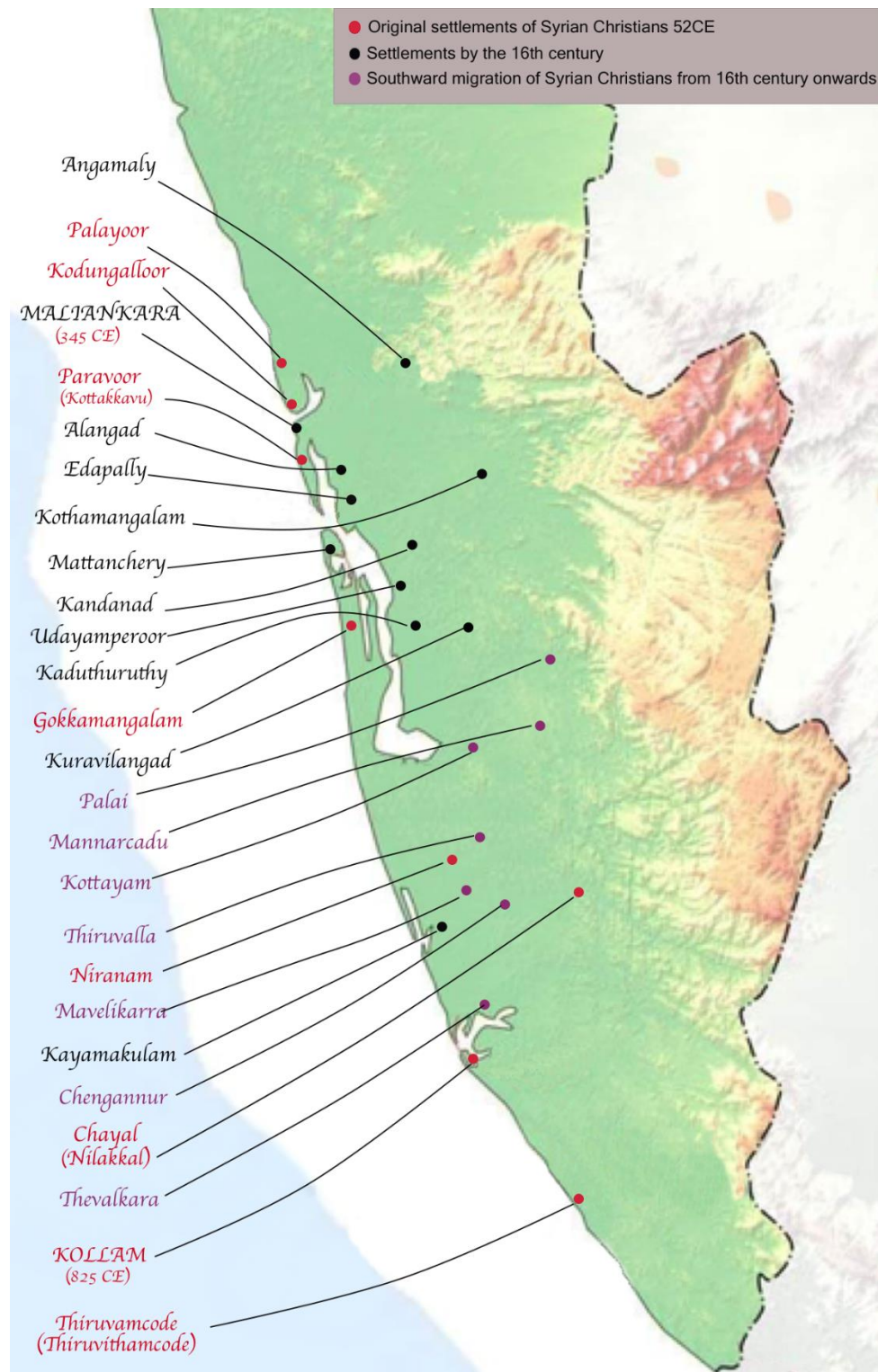


Map 1.2. Christianity in South India in the antique and medieval periods

(based on Niekamp's map of 1740).



Map 1.3. Syrian Christian migrations



1.4 Travellers' routes between Antioch and Malankara

These extracts show the routes that various travellers took between Malabar and Mesopotamia.

1.4.1 The Niranam Grandhavari (Chronicle) : 'The way from Malankara to Antioch' ¹

(From: Kurian Thomas 2000:165-6)

(I) write about the way of going from Malankara to Antioch:

From Kochi to Bagdad (*Vagudasu*), if you run two months (on board a ship) northwards you reach Bagdad.

For this, ship's fare of Rupees 60 is due per person.

If board is paid for by the ship-owner, another Rupees 40 is due as well.

From Bagdad to Nineveh (you) need to walk northwards for ten days overland. Then you reach Nineveh.

From Nineveh northwards to Antioch, if you walk seven days overland, you reach Antioch.

From Antioch if you walk westwards six days overland you arrive at the city of Bu'urppa. (Urfa?)

From there if you walk westwards for six days overland, you reach Ha'alvan.

From there westwards in five days you reach Peruva.

From Peruva if you take ship westwards in ten days you reach Jerusalem.

1.4.2. Marignolli's² account

(From: Yule 1866/1915: *Cathay and the Way thither*: p.328)

'How, or in what company, Marignolli quitted Ceylon, he left untold. We only gather from very slight and incidental notices that he must have sailed to Hormuz, and afterwards travelled by the ruins of Babylon to Baghdad, Mosul, Edessa, Aleppo, and thence to Damascus, Galilee, and Jerusalem. The sole further trace of him on his way to Italy, is that he seems to have touched at Cyprus.

In 1353, according to Wadding, he arrived at Avignon, bringing a letter from the Khan to the Pope (now Innocent VI), in which the monarch was made to express the greatest esteem for the Christian faith, to acknowledge the subjection of his Christian lieges to the Pope, and to ask for more missionaries.'

¹ Translated by Sarah Knight.

² A Roman Catholic cleric in the 14th century on similar journey

1.4.3. Route taken by Mar Joseph Pulikkottil³ in 1864, from Malankara to Mardin:1864⁴

Fr. Joseph Pulikkottil (1833-1909) travelled to Mardin, in 1864, to be consecrated as bishop Mar 'Joseph Mar Dionysius' by the Patriarch of Antioch. He narrates his journey in the travelogue: '*Journey to Mardin*', written by his scribe M.P. Varkey, and serialised in the newspaper *Malayala Manorama*, 1901, under the series 'Our Great Men'.

From a reprint of the articles in *Visits to the Holy Lands*, Dr. Kuriakose Cor-episcopa Moolayil (ed.). 2009:19-120. This excerpt pp. 39-89.

Summary of route from Kochi to Amid/Diarbakr, the seat of the Patriarch

Kochi to Goa -5 days;
From Goa non-stop to Bombay - 3 days;
(Delay in Bombay for over 2 weeks, waiting for a ship to Basra)

Bombay to Basra - 12 days;
Bombay to Muscat - 3 days;
Muscat to Bandar Abbas - 3 days;
Bandar Abbas to Bushire - 2 days;
Bushire to Basra - 4 days;
Basra to Bagdad (by flat-bottomed steamboat) - 9 days
(In Bagdad, 2 weeks' delay waiting for a caravan)
(Overland travel from Bagdad to Mosul in a caravan):
Bagdad to Kirkuk - 8days
Kirkuk to Barthalle - 3 days
Enter Mosul after 14 days.
Mosul to Mardin - 14 days
Mardin to Amid/Diarbakr - 5 days
(Actual travelling time – 63 days)

Return journey:

Amid to Baghdad by '*Kalak*' - a raft of inflated skins and wood, on the swift-flowing River Tigris; and from there, as before by steam-boat and ship back to Kochi.

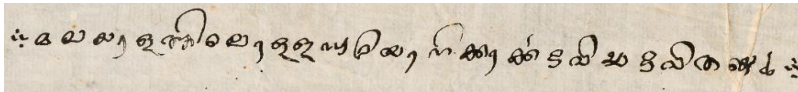
The whole journey, from Kochi to Amid, and back to Kochi, including delays, and stays at various monasteries - 14 months.

(Time taken: approximately 90 days)

³ Jacobite Syrian Orthodox bishop.

⁴ Translated by Sarah Knight.

Appendix 2 MV manuscript



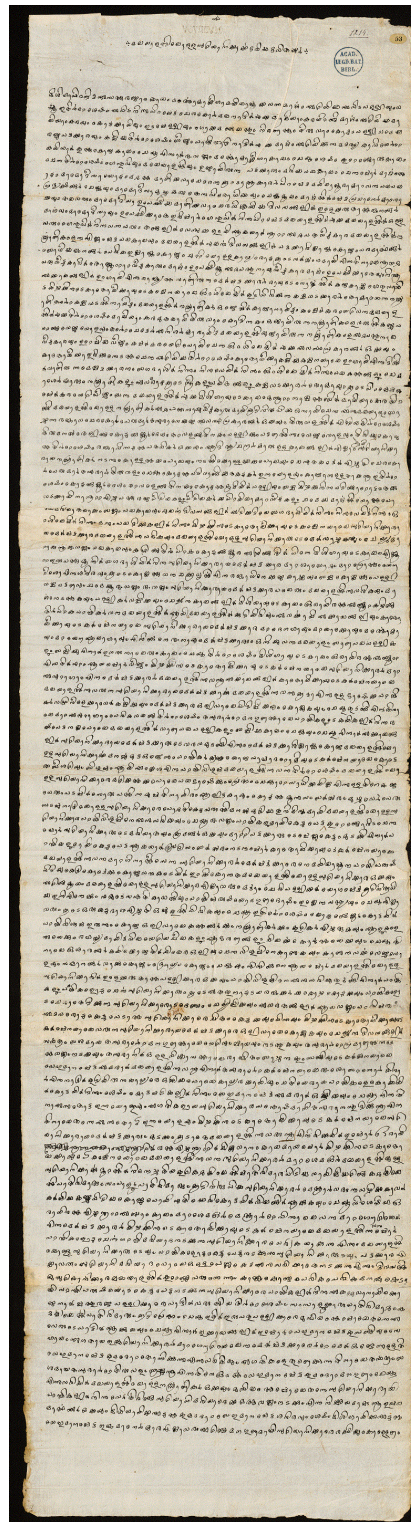
Malayāḷathiloḷḷa Suriyānikkārkkā bhavicca bhavithaṅṅgal (The catastrophes that have befallen the Syrians of Malayala).

Leiden University Libraries, ms. Or. 1214

120cm x 31 cm

This manuscript is dated approximately to 1720, and is attributed to Matthai Vettikkunnel, a native-born Syrian Christian priest. It is written on European paper, with four pieces pasted one below the other to form one long piece, and is stored as a scroll.

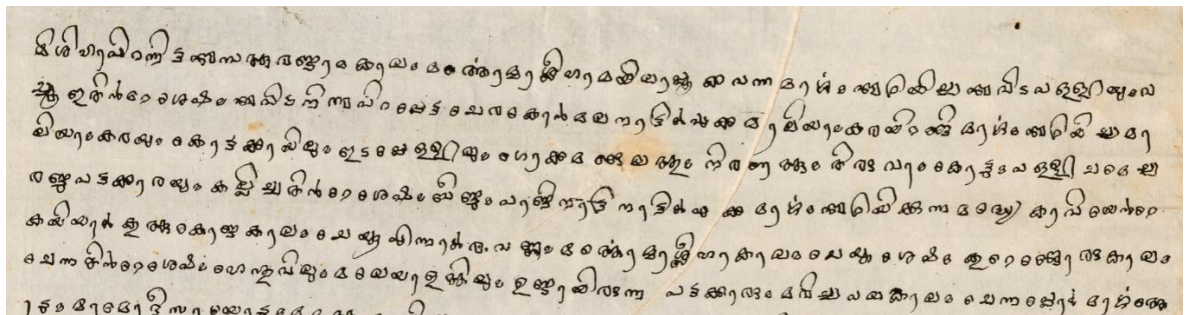
2.1. Full page image



2.2. Sections – transcribed into modern Malayalam (pre-1971 script) and unicode phonetic transcription

The continuous text of the manuscript is divided below into twelve sections based on subject coherence. Each numbered line corresponds to single lines of the manuscript. Under the image of the original manuscript, the text is given in modern Malayalam (pre-1971 script), and then in unicode phonetic transcription.

Section 1: lines 1-6



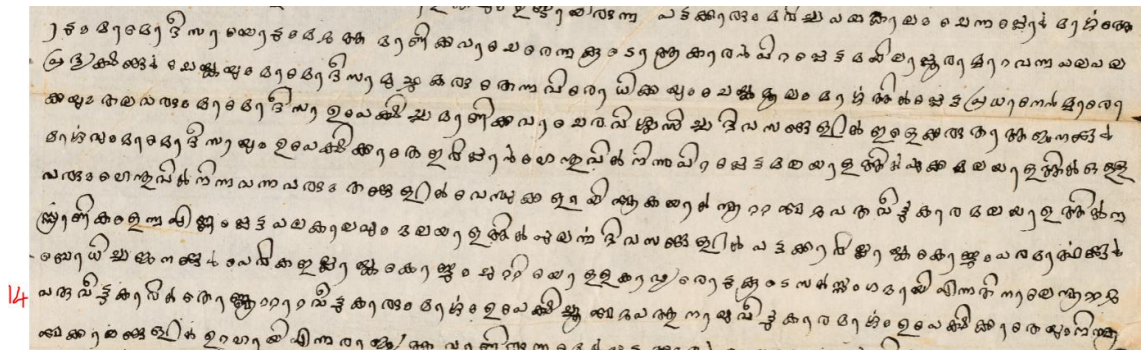
1. മിശിഹാ പിറന്നിട്ട അമ്പത്തരണ്ടാം കാലം മാർത്തോമ്മാശ്ലീഹാ മയിലാപ്പൂർ വന്ന മാർഗ്ഗം അറിയിച്ച അവിട പള്ളിയും വ
2. ചൂ ഇതിന്റെ ശേഷം അവിട നിന്നു പിറപ്പെട്ട ചെരുകൊൻ മലനാട്ടിൽ പൂക്ക മാലിയാംകരയിറങ്ങി മാർഗ്ഗം അറിയിച്ച മാ
3. ലിയാം കരയും കോട്ടക്കായിലും ഇടപ്പെള്ളിലും ഗോ ഗോക്കമങ്ങലത്തും നിരണത്തും തിരുവാംകോട്ടും പള്ളി ചമെച്ച
4. രണ്ടു പട്ടക്കാരയും കല്പിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം വീണ്ടും പാണ്ടിനാട്ടിൽ എക്ക മാർഗ്ഗം അറിവിക്കുന്ന മദ്ധ്യ കാവിയെന്റെ
5. കയിയാൽ കത്തുകൊണ്ട കാലം ചെയ്തു എന്നാൽ രം വണ്ണം മർത്തോമ്മാ ശ്ലീഹാ കാലം ചെയ്തു ശേഷം കറെഞ്ഞൊരു കാലം
6. ചെന്നതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഹെന്തുവിലും മലയാളത്തിലും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന പട്ടക്കാരും മരിച്ച പലകാലം ചെന്നപ്പോൾ മാർഗ്ഗത്തെ

1. Maśihā piṛannittā ambatta raṇḍām kālam Maṛttommā Slīhā Mayilāppūru vanna mārgam aṛiyicca avite paḷliyum vaccū(.)
2. ithinre śēṣam aviṭa ninnu pirappetta cērakōn Malanāṭṭil pukka Māliyamkarayiraṇi mārgam⁵ ariyica
3. Mālyamkara-yum Kōṭṭakkāyi-lum Iḍappaḷli-yilum Gōkkamaṇala-ttum Niraṇatt-um Tiruvitāmkōṭṭ-um paḷli camecca

⁵ ‘mārgam’= The Way, Christianity.

4. raṇṭu pattakkāre-yum kalppiccaṭinre śēṣam vīṇḍum pāṇḍi-nāṭṭil
(erroneous repetition of word) pāṇḍi-nāṭṭil ekka mārgam ariyikkunna madhye
kāvyanre
5. kaiyyāl kuttu koṇḍa kālam ceitū(.) ennāl ram⁶ vaṇṇam marttōmmā sli:hā
kālam ceita śēṣam kuranyouru kālam
6. cenna-tinre śēṣam Hentuvilum Malayāḷathilum uṇḍāyirunna paṭṭa-kkārum
marica pala kālam cennappō!

Section 2: lines 7-14



7. ടും മാമൊദീസായോടും മറ്റത്ത മാണിക്കവാചെരെന്ന കൂടോത്രക്കാരൻ പിറപ്പെട്ട
മയിലാപ്പുരാ മാറവെന്ന പല പല
8. പ്രദ്യക്ഷങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തും മാമൊദീസാ മുഴുകരുതെന്നു വിരോധിക്കയും ചെയ്തുമ്പോ
മാർഗ്ഗത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട പ്രധാനൻമാരൊ
9. കയും തലവരും മാമൊദീസാ ഉപേക്ഷിച്ച മാണിക്കവാചെര വിശ്വസിച്ച ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ
ഇളക്കെരുതാത്ത ജനങ്ങൾ
10. മാർഗ്ഗവും മാമൊദീസായും ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാതെ ഇരിപ്പാൻ ഹെന്തുവിൽ നിന്നും പിറപ്പെട്ട
മലയാളത്തിൽ പുക്ക മലയാളത്തിൽ ഒള്ള
11. വരും ഹെന്തുവിൽ നിന്ന വന്നവരും തങ്ങളിൽ വെന്യുക്കളായി ആകയാൽ നൂറു അറുപത
വീട്ടുകാര മലയാളത്തിൽ ന
12. സ്താനികളെന്ന എണ്ണപ്പെട്ട പലകാലവും മലയാളത്തിൽ പുലർന്ന ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ
പട്ടക്കാരില്ലായ്മ കൊണ്ടും പരമാർത്ഥങ്ങൾ
13. ബോധിച്ച ജനങ്ങൾ പെരിക ഇല്ലായ്മ കൊണ്ടും ചുറ്റിയൊള്ള കാവ്യരൊട്ടുകൂടെ
സൽസ്തംഗമായി എന്നതിനാലെ നൂറു
14. വരു വീട്ടുകാരിൽ തൊണ്ണൂറ്ററ വീട്ടുകാരും മാർഗ്ഗം ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചും അറുപത്തുനാലു വീട്ടുകാര
മാർഗ്ഗം ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാതെയും നിന്നു

⁶ ram vaṇṇam=abbreviation of "melchonna prakaram", with last syllable 'ram' used in conjunction with 'vannam' =manner'= 'in the said manner'; device used in Malayalam to condense/avoid repetition (archaic).

7. mārġattoṭum] māmōdisāyōṭum⁷ marutta⁸ Māṇikkavācērenna kuḍōtrakkāran
pirappetta Mayilāppūrā mārā vanna⁹ palapala
8. praddyakṣaṇaḷ¹⁰ ceiykayum māmōdisā muḷukarutenna virōdhikkayum ceita
muḷam mārġattilppetta pradhānañmārokkayum
9. talavarum māmōdisā upēkṣica Māṇikka vācēra viśvasica divasaṇaḷil
ilekkarutāttātha janaṇaḷ¹¹
10. mārġavum māmōdisāyūm upēkṣikkāta irippān Henduvil¹² ninnum pirappetta
malayāḷattil pukka malayāḷattil oḷḷa-
11. varum Henduvinnu vannavarum taṇṇaḷil bandhukkaḷāyi (.) ākeyāl nūttarupata
vīṭṭukāra¹³ malayāḷattil
12. nasrāṇikaḷ enna eṇṇappetta pala kālavum malayāḷattil pularnna divasaññaḷil
paṭṭakkārillayka koṇḍum paramārdhaṇṇaḷ
13. bōdhica janaṇṇaḷ perika illāyka-koṇḍum cuttiyoḷḷa kavvyarōṭukūṭa
salssaṇṇamāyi¹⁴ ennatināle nūttaruvaru¹⁵
14. vīṭṭukārīl toṇṇūttāru vīṭṭukārum mārġam upēkṣicū (.) arupattunālu vīṭṭukāa
mārġam upekṣikkātayum ninnū

⁷ Māmo:di:sa (Sy.)= baptism; one of the many Syriac vocabulary that has become naturalised in Malayalam.

⁸ ‘marutha’ = (Biblical usage) = ‘rebelled’ or ‘opposed’

⁹ ‘pirappetta, mara, vanna’- three verb-forms together meaning ‘set off and arrived’. All bear non-standard ‘a’ endings instead of ‘ō’ (as in standard: ‘purappettu māri vanna’) indicating either a colloquial or idiolect variant.

¹⁰ praddjakṣaṇaḷ ceijkajum = performing miracles.

¹¹ ilekkarutāttātha janaṇaḷ=people (Christians) who were not shaken, i.e. those who stood firm resisting proselytization.

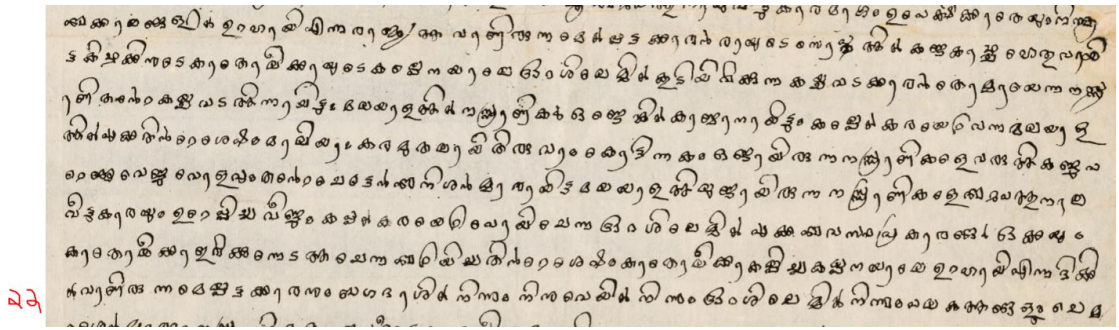
¹² Henduvil¹² ninnum pirappetta = setting off from Hendowi-country= alternative term for the Eastern regions of Southern India.

¹³ The combined number of Christians, from Mylapore and from Malabar.

¹⁴ Salssaṇṇam = an erroneous use of the word of Sanskrit root: samsargam = close relations; one of the few vocabulary-errors made by MV.

¹⁵ nūttaruvaru =: ‘the cohort of one-hundred-and-sixty’, from: nūttarupata of L11, which indicates the cardinal number, 160.

Section 3: lines 15-22



15. അക്കാലങ്ങളിൽ ഉറഹായി എന്ന രാജ്യത്ത വാണിരുന്ന മെല്ല്പട്ടക്കാറൻ രായുടെ സൊപ്പത്തിൽ കണ്ട കാഴ്ച ഹേതുവായി
16. ടു കിഴക്കിനടെ കാതോലിക്കായുടെ കല്പനയാലെ ഒറശിലേമ്മിൽ കുടിയിരിക്കുന്ന കച്ചവടക്കാറൻ തോമ്മായെന്ന നസ്തു
17. ാണി തന്റെ കച്ചവടത്തിനായിട്ടും മലയാളത്തിൽ നസ്സാണികൾ ഒണ്ടെങ്കിൽ കാണാനായിട്ടും കല്പേൽ കരയേറി വന്ന മലയാള
18. ത്തിൽ പൂക്കതിന്റെ ശേഷം മാലിയം കര മുതലായി തിരുവാങ്കോട്ടിനകം ഒണ്ടായിരുന്ന നസ്സാണികളെ വരുത്തികണ്ടു പ
19. (പ)റെഞ്ഞു വെണ്ടുവോളവും തന്റെ ചെട്ടൻ അതിശൻമാരായിട്ട മലയാളത്തിലുണ്ടായിരുന്ന നസ്സാണികളെ അറുപത്തുനാല
20. വീട്ടുകാരയും ഉറെപ്പിച്ച വീണ്ടും കപ്പൽ കരയേറി പോയി ചെന്ന ഒറശിലെമ്മിൽ പൂക്ക അവസ്ഥ പ്രകാരങ്ങൾ ഒക്കയും
21. കാതോലിക്കാ ഇരിക്കുന്നേടത്ത ചെന്ന അറിയിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം കാതോലിക്കാ കല്പിച്ച കല്പനയാലെ ഉറഹായി എന്ന ദിക്കി
22. ൽ വാണിരുന്ന മേല്ല്പട്ടക്കാറനും ബഗദാശിൽ നിന്നും നിറവെയിൽ നിന്നും ഒറശിലെമ്മിൽ നിന്നും പല കത്തങ്ങളും ചെ(മ്മാ)

15. akkālaṇṇalil urahāyi¹⁶ enna rājyatta vāṇirunna mēlppaṭṭakkāraṇ rāyuṭe¹⁷ sopnattil¹⁸ kaṇḍa kālca hētuvāyi

16. kiḷakkinuṭe kātōlikkāyuṭe kalppanayāle Ūraṣilēmil kudi-yirikkunna kacavaṭakkāraṇ Tōmmāyenna Nassarāṇi

17. tante kacavaṭattinnāyittum malayāḷattil Nasrāṇikaḷ oṇḍēṅil kaṇmānāyittum kappalēl karayēri vanna Malayāḷattil

¹⁶ *urahāji* = urahayi: Malayalamised form of Urfa, the north-Mesopotamian city, also known as Edessa, the latter name given by Alexander of Macedonia. of the same name in Macedonia.

¹⁷ *rā* + *ude* : Here *rā* used to indicate the writer is unsure of this individual's name. Possibly a shortening of '*innārude*' = of such-and-such-a-person; an unnamed person.

¹⁸ *sopnattil* : *sopnam*+*ithil*= *sopnathil*. Informal or oral form of the Sanskrit word 'Swapnam'.

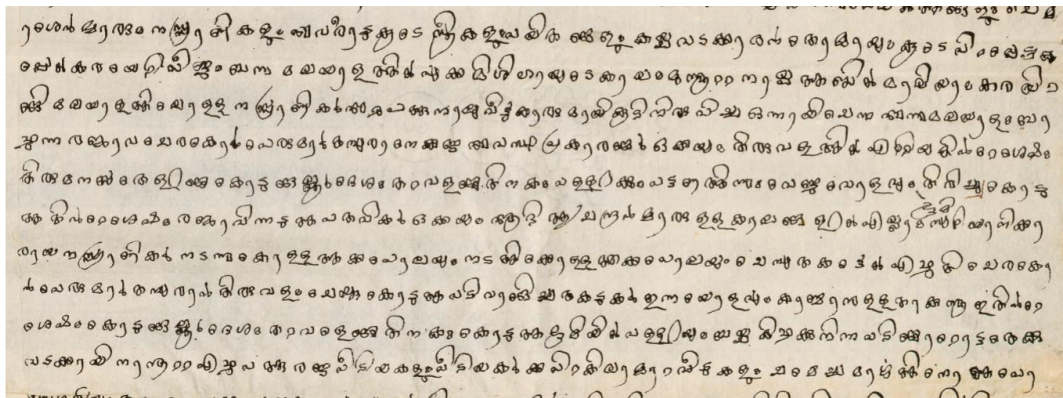
18. pukkatinre¹⁹ śēṣam Māliyamkara mutalāyi Tiruvāṅkōṭṭinnakam oṇṭāyirunna
Nasrāṇikale varutti kaṇṭu

19. parenyu vēṇṭuvōlavum tanre cēṭṭan anisānmār:yitta Malayālattilunṭāyirunna
Nasrāṇikale arupattu nāla

20. vīṭṭukārayum ureppicca vīṇṭum kappal karayēri pōyi cenna Ōraśilemil pukka
avasttaprakāraṇṇa! okkayum

21. Katōlikkā irikkunnēṭatta cenna ariyiccatinre śēṣam Kātōlikkā kalppicca
kalppanayāle Urahāyi enna dikkil

Section 4: lines 23-32



23. ാസെൻമാരും നസ്സാണികളും അവീരാടുക്കുടെ സ്ത്രീകളും പയിതങ്ങളും കയ്യുവടക്കാരുൻ
തോമ്മായും കൂടെ പിറപ്പെട്ട ക
24. പ്പെൽ കരയേറി വീണ്ടും ബന്ന മലയാളത്തിൽ പുക്ക മിശിഹായുടെ കാലം മൂന്നുറ്റ
നാലുത്തഞ്ചിൽ മാലിയാം കരയിറ
25. അി മലയാളത്തിലൊള്ള നസ്സാണികൾ അറുപത്തു നാലു വീട്ടുകാരമായിക്കൂടി നിരൂപിച്ചു
ഒന്നായി ചെന്ന അന്നു മലയാളം ബാ
26. ഴുന്ന രാജാവ ചെരുകൊൻ പെരുമാൾ തമ്പുരാനെക്കണ്ട അവസ്ഥ പ്രകാരങ്ങൾ ഒക്കയും
തിരുവളത്തിൽ ഏറ്റിയതിൻറെ ശേഷം
27. തിരുമനസ്സ് തെളിഞ്ഞു കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ ദേശം തറ വളഞ്ഞതിനകം പള്ളിക്കും പട്ടണത്തിനും
വേണ്ടുവോളവും (ഭൂമി) തിരിച്ചു കൊടു
28. അതിൻറെ ശേഷം രജാവിന്നടുത്ത പതവികൾ ഒക്കയും ആദിത്തു ചന്ദ്രൻമാരുള്ള
കാലങ്ങളിൽ എല്ലാം സുറിയാനിക്കാ
29. രായ നസ്സാണികൾ നടന്നുകൊള്ളത്തക്കപോലയും നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളത്തക്ക പോലയും
ചെമ്പുതകട്ടേൽ എഴുതി ചെരുകൊ
30. ന് പെരുമാൾ തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുവളം ചെയ്തു കൊടുത്തപടി വാങ്ങിച്ച തകടുകൾ ഇന്നയോളവും
കാണാനുള്ളതാകുന്നു ഇതിൻറെ

¹⁹ 'pukka'- Tamil for 'arrived'; see again in L20; also Tamil ending , 'pukkathinre' rather than 'pukkathinte'; the particle 'nte' replaced by 'nre' *Passim* .

31. ശേഷം കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ ദേശം തറവളഞ്ഞതിനകം കൊടുത്ത ഭൂമിയിൽ പള്ളിയും ബയ്യ കിഴക്കുന്നിന്ന പടിഞ്ഞാറൊട്ടു തെക്കു
32. വടക്കായി നാനൂറ്റ എഴുപത്തുരണ്ടു പീടിയകളും പീടിയകൾക്കു പിറകിലാ മാറ വീടുകളും ചമച്ച മാർഗ്ഗത്തിനൊത്ത പോ
22. vāṇiḷunna mēlppaṭṭakkāranum Bāgadāśil ninnum Ninuveyl ninnum Ōraśilemil ninnum pala kattaṇṇaḷum²⁰
23. śemmāśeṇmmārum Nasrāṇikalum avirāṭukūṭe strīkaḷum paitaṇṇaḷum kacavaṭakkaran Tōmmāyum kūṭe pirappetta
24. kappal karayēri vīṇḍum banna²¹ Malayāḷattil pukka Miśihāyūṭe kālam munnūta-nālpattañcil Māliyam-karayiraṇi
25. Malayāḷattil oḷḷa Nasrāṇikaḷ arupattunālu vīṭṭukārumāyi kūṭi nirūpica onnayicenna²² annu Malayāḷam
26. bāḷunna rājāva cērakōṇ Perumāl taṇpurāne kaṇṭa avastaparakāraṇṇaḷ okkayum tiruvalattil ettiyatinre śēṣam
27. tirumanassa teḷiṇṇa Koṭuṇṇallūr - dēśam taravaḷaṇṇatin-n-akam paḷḷikkum paṭṭaṇattinum vēṇṭuvōlavum (bhūmi) tiricu koṭutta²³-
28. tinre śēṣam rājāvinnaṭutta padavikaḷ okkēyum ādittya-candranmāruḷḷa²⁴ kālaṇṇaḷil ellām Suriyānikkārāya
29. Nasrāṇikaḷ naṭannu-kollattakka-pōleyum naṭatti-kkoḷḷattakka-pōleyum cembu-takaṭēl eḷuti cērakōṇ
30. Perumāl Taṇpurān tiruvalamceitu koṭuttapaṭi²⁵ vāṇṇica takaṭukaḷ²⁶ inneyōlavum kāṇmānuḷḷatākunnū(.) itinte
31. śēṣam Koṭuṇṇallūr dēśam tara-vaḷaṇṇatinakam koṭutta bhūmiyil paḷḷiyum baica kiḷakkuninna paṭinyārōṭṭa tekku-
32. -vaṭakkayi nānūta eḷupattu-ranṭa pīṭiyakaḷum pīṭiyakalkka pirakilāmāra²⁷ vīṭukaḷum cameca mārgattinotta-pōle

²⁰ kattaṇṇaḷ= priests; a corruption of the Sanskrit word: ‘karthā’ or ‘karthāvu’ = he who performs sacred rites. Later the derivative *Kathanār* was also common.

²¹ Residual Tamil phonological element ‘ba’ instead of ‘va’.

²² onnicu + cennu : ‘losing’ *sandhi*, in speech form, where the repeated consonant is ‘lost’.

²³ (bhūmi) tiricu koṭutta = Land measured out and given. The word ‘bhu:mi’ is inserted in the sentence below the line, and without it the meaning would have been puzzling, because tiricu also acts as an adverbial particle for the following verb, rendering tiricu koṭutta as ‘returned’.

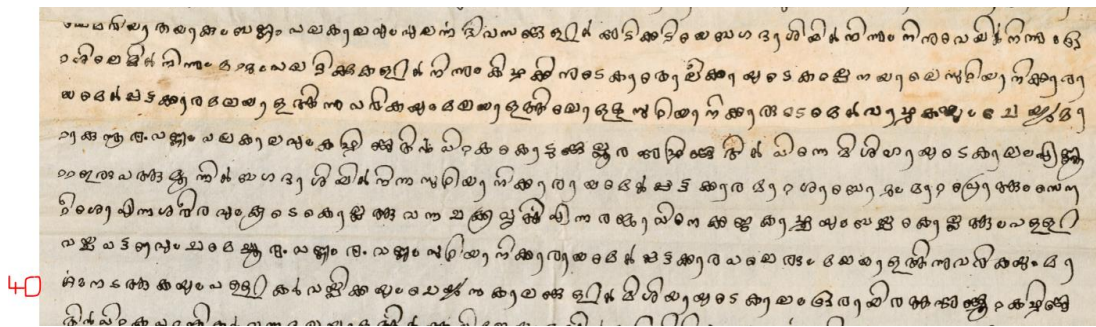
²⁴ Use of several consecutive Sanskrit words: śēṣam= after this; padavikaḷ= honours; ādittja(n)=sun; candran= moon, indicating a memorised set of phrases from an oral historical narrative.

²⁵ koṭuttapaṭi= informal spoken language meaning ‘immediately as was given him’

²⁶ takaṭukaḷ -standard rendering is *takiṭukaḷ* =plates, usually copper.

²⁷ pirakilāmāra- the preposition ‘pirakil’ (used here as a noun= the rear-parts) ending without inflection, such as *eikku* = towards; māra : final ‘i’ replaced by ‘a’. (passim).

Section 5: lines 33-40



33. മരിയാതെയാകുംബണ്ണം പലകാലവും പുലർന്ന ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ അടിക്കടിയെ ബഗദാശിയിൽ നിന്നും നിനുവെയിൽ നിന്നും ഒ
34. റശിലെമിൽ നിന്നും മറ്റും പല ദിക്കുകളിൽ നിന്നും കിഴക്കിനുടെ കാരോലിക്കായുടെ കല്ലെനയാലെ സുറിയാനിക്കാരാ
35. യ മേൽപ്പട്ടക്കാര മലയാളത്തിന്നു വരികയും മലയാളത്തിലൊള്ള സുറിയാനിക്കാരുടെ മേൽ വാഴുകയും ചെയ്യുമാ
36. റാകന്നു രം വണ്ണം പലകാലവും കഴിഞ്ഞതിൻ പിറക കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ അഴിഞ്ഞതിൽ പിന്നെ മശിഹായുടെ കാലം എണ്ണ
37. റു ഇരുപത്തു മൂന്നിൽ ബഗദാശിയിൽ നിന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരായ മേൽപ്പട്ടക്കാര മാറശാബൊറും മാറ പ്രൊത്തും സു
38. റീശോ എന്ന ശരീരവും കൂടെ കൊല്ലത്തു വന്ന ചക്രവർത്തി എന്ന രാജാവിനെക്കണ്ട കാഴ്ചയും ബയ്യ കൊല്ലത്തും പള്ളി
39. വയ്യ പട്ടണവും ചമച്ച രംവണ്ണം (repetition) രംവണ്ണം സുറിയാനിക്കാരായ മേൽപ്പട്ടക്കാര പലരും മലയാളത്തിന്നു വരികയും മാ
40. (മാ)ർഗ്ഗം നടത്തുകയും പള്ളികൾ വയ്ക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മിശിഹായുടെ കാലം ഒരായിരത്ത അഞ്ഞൂറ കഴിഞ്ഞ

33. mariyātyākum-baṇṇam palakālavum pularṇna divasaṇṇalil aṭikkaṭiye Bagadāsiyi- ninnum Ninuvayil-ninnum

34. Ōraṣilemil-ninnum mattu pala dikkukaḷil ninnum kiḷakkinuṭe Kātōlikkāyūṭe kalppenayale Suriyani-kkarāya

35. mēlppaṭṭakkara Malayālattinnu varikayum Malayālattil oḷḷa Suriyāni-kkārūṭemēl vāḷukayum ceiyyumārākunnū²⁸

36 ram vaṇṇam pala kālavum kaḷinyatin-piraka Koṭuṇṇalūra alinyyatil pinne²⁹ Miśiḥāyūṭe-kālam eṇṇūṭta-

²⁸ ceijjumārākunnū an emphatic ending with a long u:.

²⁹ alinjatil pinne – from ‘alijuka’ = be destroyed (pertaining to built structures; literally, come undone); alinjatil pinne = after being destroyed.

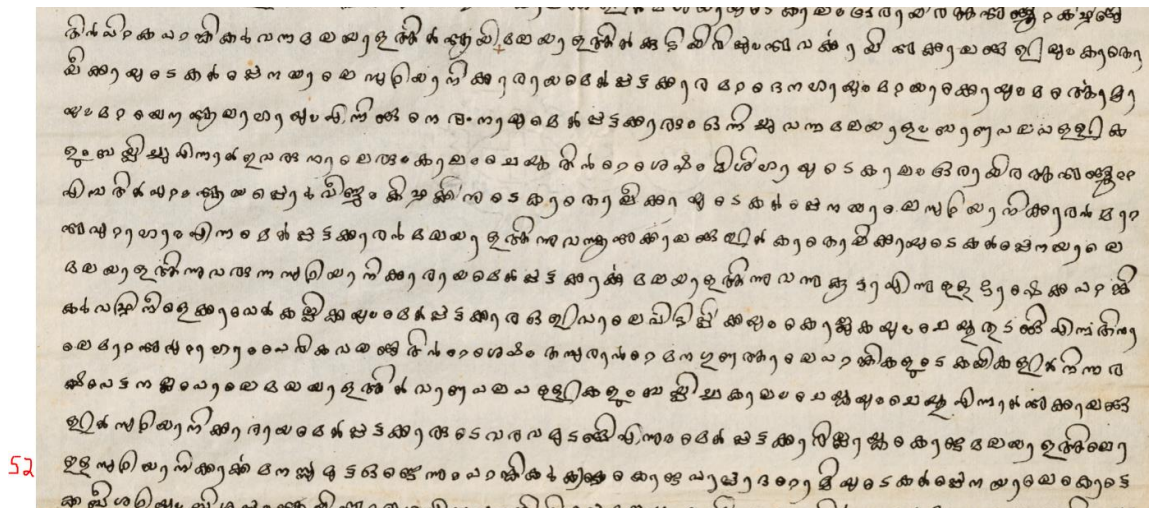
37. -irupattu-mūnnil Bagadāśiyil-ninna Suriyānikkārāya mēlppaṭṭakkāra māra śābōrum māra prōttum

38. sevarīśō enna śarīravum³⁰ kūṭe kollattu vanna cakravartti enna³¹ rājāvine-
kkaṇṭa kālcayum baica kollattum paḷli-

39. -vaica paṭṭaṇavum camecū ram vaṇṇam (ram vaṇṇam)³² Suriyānikkārāya
mēlppaṭṭakkāra palērum³³ Malayāḷattinnu varikayum

40. mārgam naṭattukayum paḷḷikaḷ vaippikkayum ceiyyunna kalaṇṇaḷiḷ
Miśiḷhāyūṭe-kālam orāyiratta-aññūra kaḷiñṇatiṇ piraka

Section 6: lines 41-52



41. തിൻ പിറകു പറങ്കികൾ വന്ന മലയാളത്തിൽ ആയി + (small cross sign here)
മലയാളത്തിൽ കുടിയിരിപ്പും അവർക്കായി അക്കാലങ്ങളിലും കാരോ
42. ലിക്കായുടെ കല്പനയാലെ സുറിയാനിക്കാരായ മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാര മറ ദനഹായും മറ
യാക്കോയും മർത്തൊമ്മായും
43. യും മറ യൌആലാഹായും എന്നിങ്ങനെ രം നാലു മേൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരും ഒന്നിച്ചു വന്ന മലയാളം
ബാണ പല പള്ളിക
44. ളും ബയ്യിച്ചു എന്നാൽ ഇവരു നാലേരും കാലം ചെയ്തതിൻറെ ശേഷം മിശിഹായുടെ കാലം
ഒരായിരത്ത അഞ്ഞൂറ

³⁰ śarīram (body)+ um = śarīravum (sandhi of substitution); also unusual usage of ‘body’ instead of ‘vyakthi’ = ‘person’.

³¹ cakravartti enna rājāvine – ‘the king named the Emperor’: unusual phrase; (perhaps from) the Copper-plates naming the king as: ‘Veera Raghava Chukravurthi’ = Emperor Veera Raghava (Nair 1859:35)

³² Most likely, an accidental repetition of the phrase ‘ram vannam’.

³³ pala+ pērum – this ‘losing’ sandhi would have rendered ‘palarum’, but given here as: ‘pale:rum’ = many people.

45. എമ്പതിൽ പുറം ആയപ്പോൾ വീണ്ടും കിഴക്കിനുടെ കാതോലിക്കായുടെ കല്പനയാലെ സുറിയാനിക്കാരൻ മാറ
46. അവിരാഹം എന്ന മേൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരൻ മലയാളത്തിന്നു വന്നു അക്കാലങ്ങളിൽ കാതോലിക്കായുടെ കല്പനയാലെ
47. മലയാളത്തിന്നു വരുന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരായ മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാർക്കു മലയാളത്തിന്നു വന്നുകൂടാ എന്നുള്ള ഭാഷയ്ക്കു പറങ്കി
48. കൾ വഴിനീളെക്കാവൽ കല്പിക്കയും മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാര ഒളിവാലെ പിടിപ്പിക്കയും കൊല്ലുകയും ചെയ്തു തുടങ്ങി എന്നതിനാ
49. ലെ മാറ അവിരാഹാം പെരിക വലഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം തമ്പുരാന്റെ മനഗുണത്താലു പറങ്കികളുടെ കയികളിൽ നിന്നു
50. ക്ഷപ്പെട്ട നല്ലപോലെ മലയാളത്തിൽ വാണു പല പള്ളികളും വെണ്ണിച്ച കാലം ചെയ്തും ചെയ്തു എന്നാൽ അക്കാലങ്ങ
51. ഉിൽ സുറിയാനിക്കാരായ മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരുടെ വരവു മുടങ്ങി എന്നും മെല്പട്ടക്കാരില്ലായ്കൊണ്ടു മലയാളത്തിലൊ
52. ഉള്ള സുറിയാനിക്കാർക്കു മനസ്സുമുട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും പറങ്കികൾ കാണുകകൊണ്ടു പപ്പാദുറൊമിയുടെ കല്പനയാലെ കൊട്ടെ

41. Paraṅkikaḷ vanna Malayāḷattil āyi (+)³⁴ Malayāḷattil kuṭiyirippum avarkkāyi(.)³⁵ akkālaṅṅalilum

42. Kātōlikkāyūṭe kalppanayāle Suriyānikkāyā mēlppaṭṭakkara māra Denahāyum mara Yākkōyum marttōmayum³⁶

43. mara Yau-Ālāhāyum enniṅṅane ram³⁷ nālu mēlppaṭṭakkārum onnicu-vanna Malayāḷam bāṇa³⁸ pala pallikaḷ

44. baippicu(.)³⁹ ennāl nālērum⁴⁰ kālam ceitatinte šēṣam Miśihāyūṭe-kālam orāyiratta-aññutta-

³⁴ The manuscript shows a cross inserted here. Its significance is unclear.

³⁵ 'kuṭiyirippum avarkkāji' - passive syntax without denoting agent: 'the tenancy (or settlement) became theirs' = 'they settled down.' Unusual syntax- the verb 'vanna' or its past tense 'vannu' would have been enough to convey the sense 'arrived', but the phrase 'Malayāḷattil āji' is added. The sentence conveys a sense of abrupt arrival and 'settling down', that is, without being *sent* by a known higher authority, *invited* by a native ruler, and without the usual courtesies of 'showing-face' (gaining an audience with) a ruler, gift exchange, permission granted to stay etc. as in previous instances or arrivals. Compare the first such arrival, L 21, 26, 27, and the second, L 38 and 39.

³⁶ marttōmajum: mar+Thoma+yum: *Dwitwa* or doubling *sandhi* where the consonant 't' is doubled. Here the honorific prefix 'Mar' is not separate from 'Thoma': 'marttōmajum': as in the other three names, perhaps because the oral agglutinated form is firmly set by frequent use, the 'Mar' (Saint) seldom being separated from references to the Apostle Thomas.

³⁷ 'ram' -avoiding repetition of the list = 'those four named bishops'.

³⁸ bāṇa =vanu= ruled.

³⁹ baippicu = vaippichu=built: closure with long 'u:' ending, indicating full-stop or period, consistent with other instances: vannū(L 46)=ruled; ceitū(L.50)=did.

⁴⁰ nālērum= elided oral form for 'nālu pe:rum'= the four individuals.

45. -eṇpatil puram āyappol vīṇṭum kiḷakkinuṭe kātōlikkāyūṭe kalppanayāle
Suriyānikkaran
46. Avurāḥāmenna mēlppaṭṭakkāran Malayāḷattinnu vannū (.) Akkālaññāḷil
kātōlikkāyūṭe kalppanayāle
47. Malayāḷattinnu varunna Suriyānikkaraya mēlppaṭṭakkārka Malayāḷattinnu
vannukūṭa ennuḷḷa bhāṣekka⁴¹ Paraṅkikaḷ
48. vaḷinīlekkāval⁴² kalppikkayum mēlppaṭṭakkāra oḷivāla piṭippikkayum⁴³
kollukayum ceitu tuṭaṇṇi ennatināle⁴⁴
49. Māra Avurāḥām perika⁴⁵ valaṇṇatinre śēṣam tamburānte managuṇattāle⁴⁶
Paraṅkikaḷuṭe kayikaḷil ninna
50. rakṣapeṭṭa nallapōle Malayāḷattil vāṇa pala paḷḷikalum baippica⁴⁷ kālam
ceikayum ceitū(.) ennāl akkālaññāḷil
51. Suriyānikkārāya mēlppaṭṭakkaruṭe varava muṭaṇṇi⁴⁸ ennum
mēlppaṭṭakkārillaika koṇṭa Malayāḷattiloḷḷa⁴⁹
52. Suriyānikkarkka manassumuṭṭa oṇṭennum⁵⁰ Paraṅkikaḷ kāṅkakōṇṭa Papa
Derōmijūṭe⁵¹ kalppanayāle (kōṭṭekka)

⁴¹ ennuḷḷa bhāṣekka - Here bhāṣa (=language) used to mean ‘manner’ or ‘way’= ‘in such a (strange) manner as that they (the Syrian bishops) could not come here anymore’. (Compare L61 for a similar usage.)

⁴² vaḷinīlekkāval: vaḷi+nīle+kāval= (way+all along+patrol) a long agglutination.

⁴³ piṭippikkajum – passivized form of *piṭikkuka*. This conveys the image of the Portuguese controlling events from afar; in this case, deputing their men to secretly grab hold of passing Syriac clerics from ships bound for Malabar, intensified by the next phrase *kollukajum ceitu tuṭaṇṇi* = and began to murder them.

⁴⁴ ennatināle= as a result of this

⁴⁵ perika- Tamil for ‘greatly’.

⁴⁶ managuṇattāle= by the grace or mercy.

⁴⁷ ‘b’ substitution for ‘v’; also one of the rare instances when the word ends in ‘a’ indicating incompleteness of sentence.

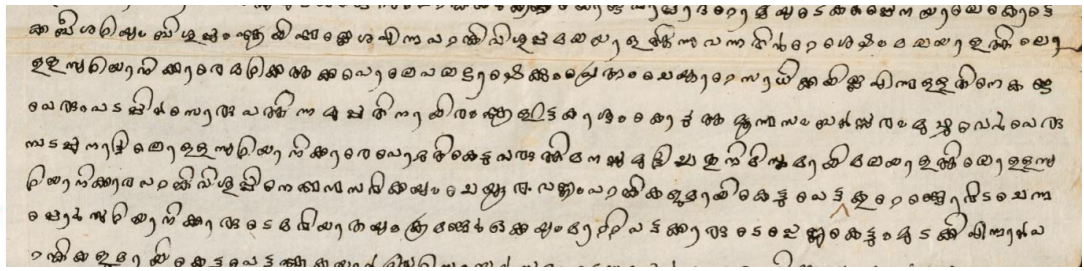
⁴⁸ varava muṭaṇṇi=arrival was interrupted.

⁴⁹ Malayāḷattiloḷḷa- ‘Malayala+thil+ulla’: agglutinated oral form = those in Malayala-country.

⁵⁰ manassumuṭṭa oṇṭennum= experiencing mental difficulty or being hard pressed: an understated or restrained form of saying: ‘experiencing mental distress’.

⁵¹ Papa Derōmijūṭe= Papa Deru:mi+uṭe= that of Pope Derumi.

Section 7: lines 53-58



53. കെ ബീശറിയും ബിശുപ്പും ആയി അല്ലേശ എന്ന പറങ്കി വിശുപ്പ മലയാളത്തിന്നു വന്നതിന്റെ ശേഷം മലയാളത്തിലൊ
54. ഇള സുറിയാനിക്കാരെ മറിക്കത്തക്ക പോലെ പല ഭാഷെക്കും പ്രേതം ചെയ്താറെ സാധിക്കയില്ല എന്നുള്ളതിനെ കണ്ട
55. പെരുമ്പടപ്പിൽ സ്വരൂപത്തിന്ന മുപ്പതിനായിരം ആളിട്ട കാശും കൊടുത്ത മൂന്ന സംബൽസ്സരം മുഴുവൻ പെരു
56. നടപ്പു നാട്ടിലൊള്ള സുറിയാനിക്കാരെ പൊറുതികേടു വരുത്തി മനസ്സു മുട്ടിച്ചതു നിമിസ്സമായി മലയാളത്തിലൊള്ള സു
57. റിയാനിക്കാര പറങ്കി വിശുപ്പിനെ അനുസരിക്കയും ചെയ്തു രാവണ്ണം പറങ്കികളുമായി കെട്ടുപെട്ട കൂറെഞ്ഞാരിട ചെന്ന
58. പ്ലോൾ സുറിയാനിക്കാരുടെ മരിയാതയും ക്രമങ്ങൾ ക്കെയും മാറ്റി പട്ടക്കാരുടെ പെണ്ണുകെട്ടും മുടക്കി എന്നാൽ പ

53. (kōṭṭekka) bīśariyum⁵² biśuppum⁵³ āyi Allēśu enna Paraṅki viśuppa Malayāḷattinnu vannatinre śēṣam Malayāḷattil oḷḷa

54. Suriyānikkare marikkattakkapōle⁵⁴ pala bhaṣekkum⁵⁵ prētnam ceitāre sadhikkayilla ennullatinekkakaṇṭa⁵⁶

55. Perumpaṭattil sorūpattinnu⁵⁷ muppatināyiram ālitta kāśum⁵⁸ koṭutta - (npattu) - mūnnu sambalsaram mūluven

⁵² kōṭṭekka bīśariyum= Vicar of the Fort (of Kochi): from Malayalam ‘Vicari’ for Vicar. The Fort of Kochi was the administrative and ecclesiastical headquarters of the Portuguese in Malabar.

⁵³ biśuppum- the initial ‘bi’ syllable is used interchangeably with ‘vi’ a few words later, viśuppa.

⁵⁴ marikkuka+ takka+ pōle = marikkattakka pōle: (sandhi of doubling and loss)= in order to subvert the Syrians. marikkuka= an informal phrase =to turn or subvert the Syrians: an informal usage.

⁵⁵ pala bhaṣekkum A second time the word bhaṣa (‘language’) is used to mean ‘manner’ or ‘way’. (compare L 47)= in diverse ways.

⁵⁶ ennullatinekkakaṇṭa - enna+uḷḷata+ne+kaṇṭa long agglomeration; ending in ‘a’, although the sentence is incomplete.

⁵⁷ sorūpattinnu - sorūpam+ atina= sorūpattinnu: the Sanskrit word ‘svarūpam’ used in its informal, oral form=to the king of Perumpaṭappu (dynastic name of the rulers of Kochi)

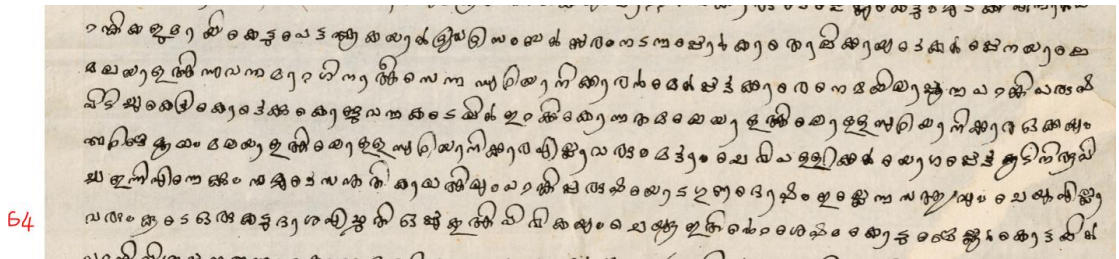
⁵⁸ ālitta kāśa = kāśa =coins, but here qualified by ‘ālitta’ = ‘figure bearing’= coins bearing the image of figures or people.

56. Perumpaṭappu-nāṭṭilolḷa Suriyānikkare porutikēṭuvarutti⁵⁹ manassu muṭṭicatu nimisttamāyi⁶⁰ Malayāḷattilolḷa

57. Suriyānikkara Paraṅki viśuppine anusarikkayum ceitū⁶¹ ram vaṇṇam Paraṅkikaḷumāyi keṭṭupeṭṭa⁶² kuraṇṇōriṭa cennappōḷ

58. Suriyānikkaruṭe mariyātayum kramaṇṇaḷ okkayum mātti paṭṭakkāruṭe peṇṇukeṭṭum muṭakki⁶³

Section 8: lines 59-64



59. റങ്കികളുമായി കെട്ടുപെട്ട ആകയാൽ ൫൧൫ (55) സംബൽസരം നടന്നപ്പോൾ കാതോലിക്കായുടെ കല്പനയാലെ
60. മലയാളത്തിന്നു വന്ന മാറഗിനാത്തീസെന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരൻ മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരനെ മയിലാപ്പുന്ന പറങ്കി പരുഷ
61. പിടിച്ചുകെട്ടി കോട്ടെക്കു കൊണ്ടുവന്ന കടലിൽ ഇറക്കി കൊന്നത മലയാളത്തിലൊള്ള സുറിയാനിക്കാര ഒക്കെയും
62. അറിഞ്ഞമൂലം മലയാളത്തിലൊള്ള സുറിയാനിക്കാര എല്ലാവരും മട്ടാംചെരി പള്ളിക്കൽ യോഗപ്പെട്ടുകൂടി നിരുപി
63. ചു ഇന്നി എന്നേക്കും നമ്മുടെ സന്തതികാലത്തിലും പറങ്കിപ്പരുഷയോട ഗുണദോഷം ഇല്ലെന്ന സത്യവും ചെയ്തു എല്ലാ
64. വരും കൂടെ ഒരു കടുദാശ എഴുതി ഒപ്പുക്കത്തി പിരികയും ചെയ്തു ഇതിന്റെ ശേഷം കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ കോട്ടയിൽ

59. Paraṅkikaḷumāyi keṭṭupeṭṭa ākayāl ⁶⁴(55) sambalssaram⁶⁵ naṭannappoḷ⁶⁶ katōlikkāyutte kalppanayāle

⁵⁹ porutikēṭuvarutti - poruti+kēṭu+varutti = caused annoyance and disgust; colloquial idiom for 'cohabitation was made unbearable'.

⁶⁰ nimisttam+āji – the more formal, Sanskrit root-word used, instead of informal *nimittam*+āji where the 's' is elided.

⁶¹ ceitū again, the final long u:, indicating a period.

⁶² keṭṭupeṭṭa=entangled; an uncommon expression, the more common being '*kettu-piṇaṇju*'.

⁶³ muṭakki- past tense of muṭakkuka = to suspend; here to mean 'forbade'; a term used in the ecclesiastical context where clergy or laity are excommunicated from the Church for infringement of rules.

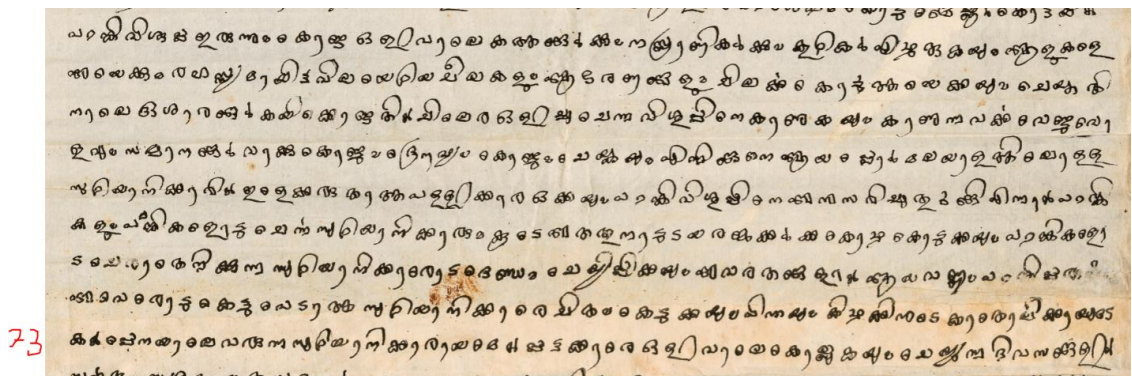
⁶⁴ Malayalam numerals for 5 and 5, with an indistinct letter in between.

⁶⁵ sambalssaram=years - The Tamil phoneme 'b' is used instead of 'v'.

⁶⁶ naṭannu (past T.) +appo:ḷ = naṭannappoḷ: sandhi of elision(u) and substitution= (when they) had walked – a Biblical turn of phrase.

60. Malayāḷattinnu-vanna Māragīnāttisenna⁶⁷ Suriyānikkāran mēlppaṭṭakkārane
Mayilāppūnna⁶⁸ Paraṅki paruṣa
61. pidicukeṭṭi kōṭṭekku-konṭuvanna kaṭelil irakki konnata Malayāḷattiloḷḷa
Suriyānikkāra okkayum
62. arinya mūlam Malayāḷattiloḷḷa Suriyānikkāra ellāvarum Mattāñceri paḷḷikkal
yōgappēṭṭa kūṭi nirūpica
63. ini enneikkum nammūṭe santati kālattilum Paraṅki paruṣayōṭa guṇadoṣam
illenna sattyavum ceita ellā
64. varum ku:ṭe oru kaṭudāśa⁶⁹ eḷuti oppu kutti pirikayum ceitū(.)⁷⁰ itinte śēṣam
Koṭuṇṇallu:r koṭṭayil

Section 9: lines 65-73



- 73 65. പറക്കി വിശുപ്പു ഇരുന്നുകൊണ്ട ഒളിവാലെ കത്തങ്ങൾക്കും നസ്രാണികൾക്കും കുറികൾ
എഴുതുകയും ആളുകളെ
66. അയക്കും രഹസ്സമായിട്ടു വിലയേറിയ ചിലകളും ആദരണങ്ങളും ചിലർക്കു
കൊടുത്തതെയെക്കയും ചെയ്തതി
67. നാലെ ഓശാരങ്ങൾ കയിക്കൊണ്ടതിൽ ചിലരെ ഒളിച്ചു ചെന്ന വിശുപ്പിനെ കാണുകയും
കാണുന്നവർക്കു വേണ്ടുവോ
68. ഉദ്യം സമ്മാനങ്ങൾ വാക്കുകൊണ്ടും ദ്രൗവ്യം കൊണ്ടും ചെയ്തതും എന്നിങ്ങനെ ആയപ്പോൾ
മലയാളത്തിലൊളള
69. സുറിയാനിക്കാരിൽ ഇളക്കരുത്താത്ത പള്ളിക്കാര ഒക്കെയും പറക്കി വിശുപ്പിനെ അനുസരിച്ചു
തുടങ്ങി എന്നാൽ പറക്കി

⁶⁷ Māra+ gināttis+ enna = Māragīnāttisenna (syllabic agglomeration) = ‘called Mar Ignatis’

⁶⁸ ‘Majilāppūnna’=Majilāppur+il+ninnum= Majilāppūrilninnum (from Mylapore); but here, an informal speech-form.

⁶⁹ kaṭudāśa = paper; from the Portuguese ‘cartaz’ = a naval trade licence; in Malayalam, any kind of paper; currently: ‘kadalās’.

⁷⁰ pirikajum ceitū, where pirikajum = departed+ ceitū = inflection marking past T. of verb+ ceijuka= ‘do’ - a long syntactical structure with six clauses preceding it.

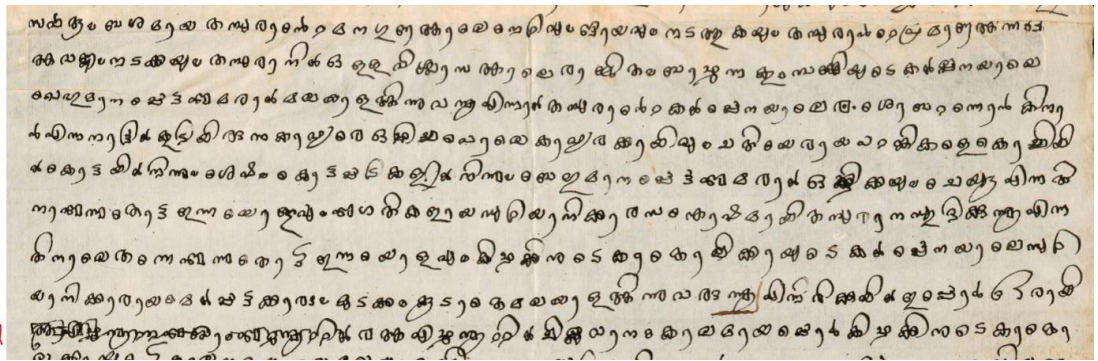
70. കളം പറങ്കികളോടു ചെർന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരും കൂടെ അതതു നാട്ടുടയ രജക്കൾക്കു കോഴ കൊടുക്കയും പറങ്കികളോ
71. ട ചെരാതെ നിക്കുന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരോട ദെണ്ണം ചെയ്യിപ്പിക്കയും അവര തങ്ങളാൽ ആയവണ്ണം പറങ്കിപ്പരുഷ
72. അവരോടു കെട്ടുപെടാത്ത സുറിയാനിക്കാരെ ചിതം കെടുകയും പിന്നയും കിഴക്കിനുടെ കാതോലിക്കായുടെ
73. കൽപ്പെനയാലെ വരുന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരായ മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരെ ഒളിവാലെ കൊല്ലുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ
65. Parañki viśuppa irunnum koṇṭa oḷivāle kattaññalkkum Nasrāṇikaḷkkum kurikaḷ eḷutukayum āḷukaḷe
66. ayekḱayum raḥasyamāyittā vilaye:riya cīlakaḷum⁷¹ ābharaṇaṇṇaḷum cilarkka koṭuttayekḱayum ceitatināle
67. ośāraṇṇaḷ kayikkoṇṭatil cilera oḷicucennu viśuppine kāṇukayum kāṇunnavarkka vēṇṭuvōḷavum
68. sammānaṇṇaḷ vākkukoṇṭum drauvyam⁷² koṇṭum ceikayum ennniññane āyappōḷ Malayāḷattiloḷḷa
69. Suriyānikkāril iḷekkarutātta paḷḷikkara okḱayum Parañki viśuppine anusaricu tuṭaṇṇi (.) ennāl
70. Parañkikaḷum Parañkikaḷo:ṭu cērṇna Suriyānikkārum ku:ṭe atātu nāṭṭuṭaya rajākkalkka kōḷa koṭukkayum Parañkikalo:ṭa
71. cērātenikkunna Suriyanikkarōṭa⁷³ deṇṇam ceiyippikkayum avara taṇṇaḷil āyavaṇṇam Parañkipparuṣa
72. avarōṭu keṭṭupeṭātta Suriyānikkāre citam keṭukkayum pinneyum kiḷakkinuṭe kātōlikkāyūṭe
73. kalppanayāle varunna Suriyānikkarāya mēlppaṭṭakkāre oḷivāle kollukayum ceiyunna divasaṇṇaḷil

⁷¹ cīlakaḷum – from the Tamil root word for cloth: cīla

⁷² drauvjam = money (Sanskrit) (formal).

⁷³ Suriyani+kkar+ōṭa= to+the Syrians(plural) – using the dative form instead of the more common accusative marker ‘e’ – ‘Suriyanikkāre’

Section 10: lines 74-82



74. സർവ്വതും ബശമായ തമ്പുരാന്റെ മനഗുണത്താലെ നെറിയും ഞായവും നടത്തുകയും തമ്പുരാന്റെ പ്രമാണത്തിന്നു ഒ
75. തവണ്ണം നടക്കയും തമ്പുരാനിൽ ഒള്ള വിശ്വാസത്താലെ രാജിതം ബാഴുന്ന കമ്പഞ്ഞിയുടെ കൽപ്പനയാലെ
76. ബെഹമാനപ്പെട്ട അമരാൻ മലയാളത്തിന്നു വന്നു എന്നാൽ തമ്പുരാന്റെ കൽപ്പനയാലെ രംഗൊബരന്നോൻ കിനാ
77. ന്നു എന്ന നാട്ടിൽ കുടിയിരുന്ന കാവ്യരെ ഒഴിച്ചു പോലെ കാവ്യരക്കായിലും ചതിയെരായ പരങ്കികളെ കൊച്ചിയി
78. ൽ കോട്ടയിൽ നിന്നും ശേഷം കോട്ടപ്പടികളിൽ നിന്നും ബെഹമാനപ്പെട്ട അമരാൻ ഒഴിക്കയും ചെയ്തു എന്നതി
79. നാൽ അന്നതൊട്ട ഇന്നയോളവും അഗതികളായ സുറിയാനിക്കാര സന്തോഷമായി തമ്പുരാന സ്മരിക്കുന്നു എന്ന
80. തിനാലെ തന്നെ അന്നതൊട്ട ഇന്നയോളവും കിഴക്കിനുടെ കാതോലിക്കായുടെ കൽപ്പനയാലെ സുറി
81. യാനിക്കാരായ മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരും മുടക്കം കൂടാതെ മലയാളത്തിന്നു വരുന്നു (bracket here) എന്നിരിക്കയിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരായി
82. (several letters deleted here) രത്ത എഴുത്തുറ്റിൽ ചിലുവാനും കാലമായപ്പോൾ കിഴക്കിനുടെ കാതോ

74. sarvatum baśamāya⁷⁴ tampurānte managuṇattāle neriyum ñāyavum naṭattukayum tampurānte pramāṇattinna

75. ottavaṇṇam naṭakkayum tampurānil oḷḷa viśvāsattāle rajitam vālunna kumbaññiyuṭe kalppanayāle

76. beḥumānappetṭa Amarān Malayaḷattinnu vannū (.) ennāl tampurānte kalppanayāle ram⁷⁵ sōbarannōn (Kina-)

77. Kīnān enna nāṭṭil kuṭiyirunna kāvyare oḷica pōle⁷⁶ kāvyara-kkayilum catiyer:ya Paraṅkikaḷe Kocciyil

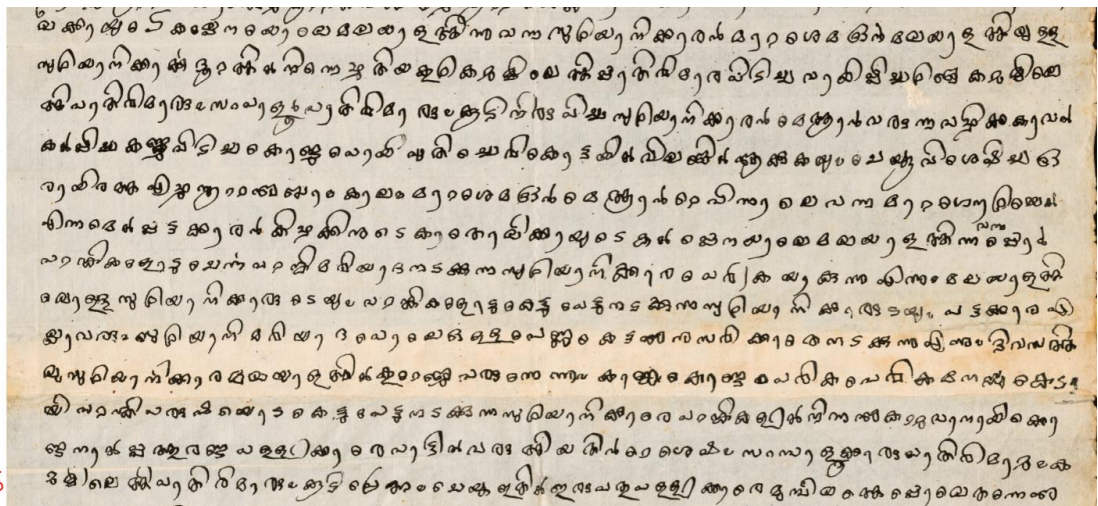
⁷⁴ baśam+āja= baśamāja ('v' replaced by 'b') = all-capable (God)

⁷⁵ 'rakm'='in the manner described'.

⁷⁶ Use of a dramatic Old Testament event as a simile, to emphasise the significance of the event.

78. kōṭṭayil ninnum śēṣam kōṭṭappaṭikaḷil ninnum baḥumānappetṭa Amar:n
oḷikkayum ceitū ennatinā(l) (missing letter supplied)
79. annutoṭṭa innayoḷavum agatikaḷāya Suriyānikkāra santōṣamāyi tamburāne
stutikkunnū(.)
80. ennatināle tanne annu toṭṭa innayoḷavvm kiḷakkinuṭe kātōlikkayuṭe
kalppanayāle
81. Suriyānikkarāya mēlppaṭṭakkārum muṭakkam kūṭāte Malayālattinnu-
varunnū⁷⁷ ennirikkayil ippōḷ
82. orāyiratta ⁷⁸() eḷunūttil cillu-vānam⁷⁹ kālam-ayappōḷ kiḷakkinuṭe

Section 11: lines 83-95



83. ലിക്കായുടെ കല്പനയാലെ മലയാളത്തിന്നു വന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരൻ മാറശെമദൻ
മലയാളത്തിലുള്ള
84. സുറിയാനിക്കാർക്കു ദൂരത്തിൽ നിന്നെഴുതിയ കുറി കറുമ്മിലെത്തിപ്പാതിരിമാര പിടിച്ചു
വായിപ്പിച്ചറിഞ്ഞു കറുമ്മിലെ
85. ത്തി പാതിരിമാരും സംപാളൂർ പാതിരിമാരും കൂടി നിരൂപിച്ച സുറിയാനിക്കാരൻ മെത്രാൻ
വരുന്ന വഴിക്ക കാവൽ
86. കല്പിച്ചു കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു കൊണ്ടുപോയി പുതിച്ചെരി കോട്ടയിൽ വിലങ്ങിൽ ആക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു
വിശേഷിച്ചു ഒ
87. രായിരത്ത എഴുനൂറ്റ അഞ്ചാംകാലം മാറശെമദൻ മെത്രാൻറെ പിന്നാലെവന്ന മാറ
ഗൗറിയേൽ

⁷⁷ A mark in the text at this point possibly indicating the end of the first part of the narrative, because the next sentence is a conclusion of the past history and the start of the description of the present context.

⁷⁸ The word 'aññūttil' written and struck out.

⁷⁹ cillu-vānam='in excess of'(informal).

88. എന്ന മെൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരൻ കിഴക്കിനുടെ കാതൊലിക്കായുടെ കൽപ്പെനയാലെ മലയാളത്തിനു വന്നപ്പോൾ
 89. പറങ്കികളോടു ചെർന്ന പറങ്കിമരിയാദ നടക്കുന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാര പെരികയാകുന്നു എന്നും മലയാളത്തി
 90. ലൊള്ള സുറിയാനിക്കാരുടെയും പറങ്കികളോടു കെട്ടുപെട്ടു നടക്കുന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരുടെയും പട്ടക്കാര എ
 91. ല്ലാവരും സുറിയാനി മരിയാദപോലെ ഒരു പെണ്ണുകെട്ട അനുസരിക്കാതെ നടക്കുന്നു എന്നും ദിവസത്തി
 92. ലു സുറിയാനിക്കാര മലയാളത്തിൽ കൂറെഞ്ഞുവരുന്നെന്നും കാൺകകൊണ്ട പെരിക പെരിക മനസ്സുകൊടാ
 93. യി പറങ്കിപരഷയോട കെട്ടുപെട്ടു നടക്കുന്ന സുറിയാനിക്കാരെ പറങ്കികളിൽ നിന്നു അകറ്റുവാനായിക്കൊ
 94. ണ്ട നാൽപ്പത്തുരണ്ട പള്ളിക്കാരെ പാട്ടിൽ വരുത്തിയതിന്റെ ശേഷം സംമ്പാളക്കാരു പാതിരിമാരും ക
 95. റുമിലെത്തി പാതിരിമാരും കൂടി പ്രെതം ചെയ്തു ഇതിൽ ഇരുപതു പള്ളിക്കാരെ മുമ്പിലത്തെപ്പോലെ തന്നെ അ
83. Kātōlikkāyūṭe kalppanayāle Malayālattinnu-vanna Suriyānikkāran Mara śemaōn Malayālattil-ullā
84. Suriyānikkārkka dū(sū)rattil⁸⁰ ninneḷutiya kuri Karumiletti-ppātiri-māra piṭica vāyippic-arinya Karumiletti-
85. -ppātiri⁸¹-mārum Sampālūr⁸²-patiri-marum kūṭi nirūpica Suriyāni-kkāran mettrāñ varunna vaḷikka kāval
86. kalppica kaṇṭu-piṭica koṇṭu-pōyi Puticcēri kōṭṭayil vilaññil ākkukayum ceitū(.) viśēṣicca
87. orāyirattēḷu-nūtta aṅcām-kālam Māra śemaōn mettrāñte pinnālē-vanna Mara Gaurīyel
88. enna mēlppaṭṭa-kkāran kiḷakkinuṭe Kātōlikkāyūṭe kalppanayāle Malayālattinna (vanna)⁸³ ppōl

⁸⁰ dūrattil ninneḷutija = written from Surat, important trading port on Gujerat coast, often a stopping-off point for ships from the Persian Gulf bound south.

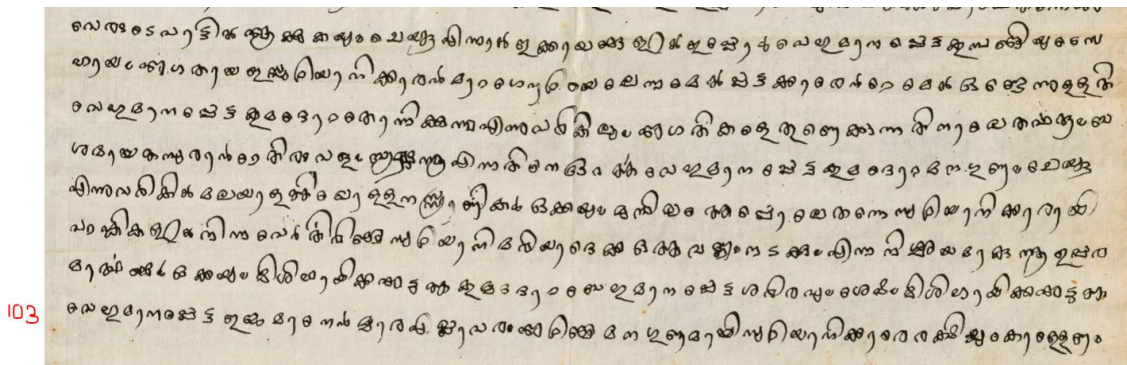
⁸¹ Carmelite padres or priests.

⁸² St. Paulists' padres=Jesuits; from the first church in which the Order was created, which corrupted in Malayalam reads as *Sambaloor+kkar* =folks of St. Paul.

⁸³ Missed word, inserted above the line.

89. Paraṅkikaḷōṭu cērṇna Paraṅki-maryāda⁸⁴ naṭakkunna Suriyānikkara perika⁸⁵ ākunnu ennum Malayāḷatti-
90. loḷḷa Suriyāni-kkārūṭeyum Paraṅkikaḷōṭu keṭṭu peṭṭu naṭakkunna Suriyāni-kkārūṭeyum paṭṭakkāra
91. ellāvarum Suriyāni maryāda pōle oḷḷa peṇṇu-keṭṭa anusarikkāte naṭakkunnūennum divasattilu
92. Suriyānikkāra Malayāḷattil kuranyu varunnennum kāṅka-konda perika perika manassu-keṭāyi⁸⁶
93. Paraṅki paruśayōṭa keṭṭu peṭṭu naṭakkunna Suriyānikkāre Paraṅkikaḷil ninna akaṭṭuvāṇāyikkonṭa
94. nālppattu-raṇṭa paḷḷikkāre paṭṭil varuttiyatire šēṣam Sampalūkkāru patirimārum
95. Karumilētti patirimārum kūṭi prētnam ceita (.) (Itil irupatu paḷḷikkāre muṇpilatte pōle tanne)

Section 12: lines 96-103



96. വരുടെ പാട്ടിൽ ആക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു എന്നാൽ ഇക്കാലങ്ങളിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കൂമ്പഞ്ഞിയുടെ സ
97. ഹായം അഗതായ (അഗതിയായ) ഇസ്സറിയാനിക്കാരൻ മാറഗൗറിയേലെന്ന മേൽപ്പട്ടക്കാരന്റെ മെൽ ഒണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതി
98. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കമദോര തോന്നിക്കുന്നു എന്നു വരികിലും അഗതികളെ തുണക്കുന്നതിനാലെ തർവതും ബ
99. ശമായ തമ്പുരാന്റെ തിരുവളം ബൃഹദുന്ന എന്നതിനെ ഓർത്ത ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കമദോര മനഗുണം ചെയ്തു

⁸⁴ marjādā missing inflection, as in ‘marjādajil’, but used elsewhere correctly.

⁸⁵ Tamil word for ‘great’, as in L92.

⁸⁶ Idiomatic usage: ‘manassu-keṭāji’ = ‘was heart-sick’.

100. എന്ന വരികിൽ മലയാളത്തിലൊള്ള നസ്സാണികൾ ഒക്കയും മുമ്പിലത്തെപ്പോലെതന്നെ സുറിയാനിക്കാരായി
101. പറങ്കികളിൽ നിന്ന വേർതിരിഞ്ഞു സുറിയാനി മരിയാദെക്ക ഒത്തവണ്ണം നടക്കും എന്ന നിശ്ചയമാകുന്നു ഉപ്പര
102. മാർത്ഥങ്ങൾ ഒക്കയും മിശിഹായിക്ക അടുത്ത കമദോറ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ശരീരവും ശേഷം മിശിഹായിക്ക അടുത്ത
103. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഇജമാനെന്മാര എല്ലാവരും അറിഞ്ഞ മനഗുണമായി സുറിയാനിക്കാരെ രക്ഷിച്ചും കൊള്ളണം.

96. averuṭe pāṭṭil ākkukayum ceitū(.) Ennāl iḱkālañṇālil ippōl beḥumānappetṭa kumbañṇiyuṭe (sa)

97. (sa)ḥāyam agatāya (agatiyāya) issuriyānikkaran Mara Gauri:yēl enna mēlppaṭṭakkāranre me:l oṇṭennuḷḷati-

98. beḥumānappetṭa kumadōra⁸⁷ tōnnikkunnū ennu varukilum agatikaḷe tuṇekkunnatināle tarvatum⁸⁸

99. baśamāya⁸⁹ tampurañre tiruvalam ennatine ōrtta beḥumānappetṭa kumadōra maṇa guṇam ceitū⁹⁰

100. ennuvarukil Malayāḷattiloḷḷa⁹¹ Nasrāṇikal okkayum muṇpilathe pōle tanne⁹² Suriyānikkārāyi

101. Paraṅkikaḷil ninnu vēr-tiriñṇu Suriyāni mariyādekka ottavaṇṇam naṭakkum enna niścayam ākunnū(.) uppara

102. (uppara)mārdhañṇaḷ⁹³ okkayum miśiḥāyikka aṭutta⁹⁴ kumadōra beḥumānappetṭa śārīravum⁹⁵ śēṣam miśiḥāyikka aṭutta

103. beḥumānappetṭa ijamānen-mara ellāarum ariñṇa managuṇamāyi Suriyānikkare rakṣicum kolḷaṇam.

⁸⁷ kumadōra='commander', ie., the Dutch Commander of Cochin Fort.

⁸⁸ tarvatum= for 'sarvathum' (Sanskrit)= 'all'/'entire'.

⁸⁹ baśamāyā for 'vasamaya'=literally, 'facile with'; here to mean '(Go) who is all-knowing'.

⁹⁰ mana guṇam ceitū=meaning 'in the goodness of your heart' (idiomatic).

⁹¹ Malayāḷam + il + uḷḷa = Malayāḷattiloḷḷā contracted agglutination.

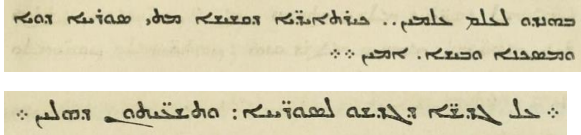
⁹² Muṇpil+atte+pōle+tanne= suffix agglomeration; informal expression='just as it was before'.

⁹³ 'upparamārdhañṇaḷ': for: 'īpparamārdhañṇaḷ': unusual substitution of initial 'i:'(=these) with 'u'.

⁹⁴ miśiḥāyikka aṭutta= 'beloved in Christ': common usage in encyclicals and pastoral letters.

⁹⁵ beḥumānappetṭa śārīravum= 'most respectful body'= 'yourself': stylised, formal expression for:'you'.

2.3. Comparison of Malayalam and Syriac versions of MV

Malayalam version, translated into English: Source: From the original manuscript: <i>‘The events that befell the Syrian Christians of Malayala’.</i> Translated from Malayalam to English by Sarah Knight Location: Leiden University Library Archives Or. 1214 Author: Author: (as stated in colophon): Fr Matthai Vettikkunnel, a priest of the Syrian Christian Church, Kerala. <i>‘Malaja:lattil oḷla Suriya:nikka:rkku b^haviṭṭṭa b^haviṭṭaṇal’</i> <i>‘The events that befell the Syrian Christians of Malayala-country’</i>	Syriac version translated into English J.P.N. Land’s translation in <i>Anecdota Syriaca</i> (1862) Syriac transcript - Syriac section pp.24-30. Latin translation - pp:123-127. English translation from the J.P.N. Land’s Latin version, by Dr. Patrick R. Cook, Cambridge University. Location: Leiden University Library Archives Or. 1213 Author: (as stated in colophon): Syrian Priest Matthai.  <i>‘Concerning things that happened in Syria (on the Malabar Coast) and their History’</i>
--	--

Section I: <i>L.1-6. (Arrival of St. Thomas the Apostle in Maliamkara in 52; establishment of seven 'churches' of Christian converts; his martyrdom)</i> Fifty two years after the birth of the Messiah, the Apostle Thomas arrived in Mylapore and preached The Way and built (the) church there; and after this, travelling from there and arriving in the mountain country of Chera-kon he disembarked in the land of Maliankara and preaching The Way and erecting churches in Maliamkara, and Kottakayil and Idappally and Gokkamangalam and Niranom and Tiruvankottu he ordained two priests as well, after which he went again to the Pandya country and while preaching The Way all around that country he was stabbed by the hand of a <i>Kavya</i> and thus ended his days, but after Thomas the Apostle had ended his days in said manner and after some years had passed the priests in the Hindu and Malayala- land had died and many more years passed.	<i>Section 1</i> In the year 52 of our Lord Jesus Christ, Lord Thomas came to India and moved toward Mylapore. He proclaimed the gospel to many who were made disciples and baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Then he departed and went into Malabar and arrived at Kerala. Now too, he evangelized to the inhabitants of this region. He also built an altar to the Lord here, and ordained two priests to serve at it. Then, he went to Kutkajel, where he built a church. He did likewise at at Irapeli, and Gukamaglam and Nernam and Tirubokut. Then he returned to Mylapore, where he was pierced with a lance by the unbelieving gentiles, and his soul reposed in peace. After his death, India and Malabar were left without a leader and a preacher, except for the priests whom the Apostle Thomas had created. For a period of 92 years, India with Malabar was made a widow, deprived of priests and ministers, and there were only the faithful of both sexes.
--	---

<i>Section II L.7-14. (Apostasy of most St.Thomas Christians by the end of the 3rd century under the influence of ‘Manikka Vacher the Sorcerer’; only 64 families remain as Christians)</i> Then there set out a sorcerer by the name of Manikka Vacher who opposed The Way and Baptism, and arriving in Mylapore he performed many many conjurings and forbade Baptismal immersions; and because of this all the leading figures of The Way, and the Elders, abandoned Baptism and believed Manikka Vacher; and in those days those people who were not shaken, in order that they (themselves) would not abandon the Baptism and The Way, left Hindu-land and arrived in Malayala-country, and those in Malayala-land and those who had arrived from Hindu-land became (like) relatives; as a result, a hundred and sixty families (now) in Malayala-land were counted as Christians and dwelt in Malayala-land for many years, (when) because they had no priests, and because they had not among them many people who were knowledgeable about the truth of the matters, they came to be closely associated with the unbelievers that surrounded them, and consequently of the 160 households, wholly 96 households abandoned The Way, and 64 households stood steadfast in it.	<i>Section 2</i> But truly, in that time there went forth a magician, whose name was Manîkbosr, one of the disbelievers, and he arrived in Maiopuram, where he performed many wonders through magical arts and scandalized the leaders and chiefs of the faithful and led them away from the true faith. Nor was there anyone to oppose his orders. Therefore, the remaining faithful fled and found asylum in Malabar. When they saw them, their faithful brethren in Malabar rejoiced with the greatest happiness, and they were mutually subjected to the customs of the faithful. Afterwards, however, when the 160 truly Christian families of Malabar had been without priests and leaders, dissension arose (I do not know the cause). That is to say, some rejected the orthodox faith whilst others did not do this. Of those who rejected the faith there were 94 families, whilst there were 64 families who persevered in the orthodox faith.
---	---

Section III <i>(L15-21: How the Christian merchant Knai Thoma from Jerusalem is deputed to go to Malabar to ascertain matters regarding the Christians there)</i> In those days in the Kingdom of Urhoi, because of a vision seen in a dream by the Bishop who ruled there and by the decree of the Catholicos of the East (they) deputed a merchant called Thoma, a Nazarani who dwelt in Urshilem to Malayalam to conduct his business and also to see if there were Nasranis (there) and he boarded ship and disembarked in Malayalam after which he summoned the Nasranis from Maliankara and such other places in Tiruvamkottu and saw them and spoke to those 64 households of Nasranis in Malayalam-country as if to his older and younger brothers and he strengthened them and boarding ship again he set off	Section 3 At the same time, a vision appeared at night to the Metropolitan of Edessa. At dawn, he arose and brought himself to the Catholicos of the East and told him about the vision he had seen. When the Catholicos had heard it, he sent messengers to all the diocesan churches and monasteries and cities, and summoned the people to himself. Then many great crowds met with their bishops and merchants, who told them what the bishop had seen. And they spoke among themselves. Then one of them rose up, namely a merchant, whose name was Thomas of Jerusalem, who responded by saying: ‘Listen, I have previously heard rumours of Malabar and India from the regions and from wandering men’. When he heard this response, the Cathalocios rose from his seat, went to him, lovingly embraced him, and said this: ‘I

and arrived in <i>Urishalem</i>, and going to the place where the seat of the Catholicos was, he informed him all these matters, after which by the order issued by the Catholicos, from the place of <i>Urhoi</i>,	beseech you, my beloved son, to set out for Malabar, to inspect the inhabitants of the region, and to tell me what has happened to them'. And thus, having been given an occasion, Thomas went to Malabar, and coming to Kerala he saw the Thomas Christians. They were both pleased, with the Christians telling him their story. When Thomas heard this, he gave them encouragement and strengthened them with sweet words, and immediately got in his ship and returned to his country. Then, back in his country, he went to the Catholicos and said to him 'Behold! I have seen the Thomas Christians with my own eyes, and we spoke together and were mutually agreeable. I gave them hope and returned'. When he heard these words, the Catholicos responded as follows: 'although I am ready to lay down my life, I ask you to tell me what it is that my children most desire me to do'. Then [Thomas] showed to the Catholicos what the brothers in Malabar had promised.
--	--

<i>Section IV: (L22-32: How the Edessans arrive and settle; how the King confers on them land to build a city, and honours and privileges inscribed on copper plates)</i> the Bishop who governed [the place of Urhoi] and from Baghdad, Nineveh and Urishalem along with many priests, deacons, and Nasranis, and along with them women and children, set off in the company of the merchant Thoma [and] boarded ship and arriving again in Malayala in the year of the Messiah 345 disembarked in Maliankara [and] met and conferred with the 64 Nazarani households in Malayala, and together they went and met with the king then reigning over Malayala, Chera-kon Perumal, and after having intimated to his majesty's mind all the circumstances, His Majesty in his pleasure granted sufficient and more land (this word is added below the line) within the precincts of the country of Kodungalloor, and after which he granted the Syrian Nasranis innumerable royal privileges to last in perpetuity as long as the sun and moon remain that they may conduct (walk) themselves accordingly, and execute likewise, and writing these privileges on copper-plates, gave it to them, and they straight away received these copper-plates which Chera-kon Perumal gave in his pleasure, and those plates are to be seen until this day(.) [And] after this within the precincts of the	<i>Section 4</i> Not long after (indeed, on the same day), with the help of the worshipful God and by the order of the Catholicos of the East, Thomas the merchant of Jerusalem went on a journey. With him went the bishop who had seen the vision, and with them were priests and deacons, and also men and women, young men and girls, of Jerusalem and Baghdad and Ninevah. They entered a ship and left for Malabar and landed at Malyamkara in the year of Our Lord 345. The inhabitants of Malabar gathered here and came to the brethren who had arrived for advice. Once this was done, they went to Serkun the king of all Malabar, and gave him gifts. And the king was pleased with the gifts and said to them: 'whatsoever you shall ask of me, I will give you'. And he gave them land as long and as wide as they wanted. Besides this, he gave them the royal honours, which were outlined in tablets of copper. You can see that these tablets are preserved for us to his very day. Having received all these things from the king, they returned to their homes in Moljamkaren and established a church and a city. And they built a church in the region of Kurmaklur, which they had received as a gift from the king, and built there a city of 472 houses from the eastern to the western part, which they duly inhabited.
---	---

country of Kodungalloor within the area of land given to them, they built a church, and they also built 472 shop-fronts stretching East-West and facing North-South, and behind the shop-fronts dwelling houses	
<i>Section V: (L.33-40: How bishops arrive regularly, sent by the Catholicos; and how a second wave of settlers including clerics and people, arrive in 823)</i> and lived in accordance with the Way with humility and courtesy for many days, and in those days, from Baghdad, from Nineveh, and from Urishalem and from many other places, there arrived regularly under the order of the Catholicos of the East many Syrian bishops and they came to Malayala and governed over the Syrians of Malayala. And afterwards, when a long time had elapsed in this manner, when after Kodungalloor was destroyed (was undone), in the Year of the Messiah 823 from Baghdad the Syrian bishops Mar Shabor and Mar Aphroth and the personage of Saur Issho in Kollam and having paid homage to and presented gifts to the king called Chakravarthi built	<i>Section 5</i> In those days, and afterwards, there came Syrian fathers on the orders of the Catholicos of the East and they cared for the diocese [<i>trans:</i> or simply ‘region’] of India and Malabar, whilst the Syrians spread from that city. Again, in the year 823, there came the Syrian Fathers: Mar Sapor and Mar Pherot, and with them the illustrious man Sebarjesu. So they came to the city of Kulam and went to King Sakirbirti and asked him for land. The king then gave them as much land as they wanted. And in the region of Kulam they established a church and a city. Then, after those days, bishops and metropolitans would often come on the orders of the Catholicos of Syria, who used to send them.

churches in Kollam and erected there a city too, and in these times when innumerable Syrian bishops were coming to Malayalam-country and leading (them) in the Way and building churches, when in the Year of the Messiah one thousand five hundred years had passed:	However, long after, in about the year 1500, the deceitful Franks came to the region of Malabar, and began to inhabit Malabar and India.
<i>Section VI: (L.41-52: Arrival of the 'Franks' (Portuguese); conflict with the Syrians; further arrival of Syrian bishops blockaded; arrival of Archbishop Menezes; the forcible bringing of the Syrians under the Franks)</i> the Franks arrived in Malayala-country (+) and came to inhabit Malayalam-country as well. Again, in those days, by the decree of the Catholicos, the Syrian Bishops Mar Denha, and Mar Yacou, and Mar Thoma, and Mar Yau Aalaha, in this manner as stated, four bishops arrived together and presided over Malayala-country, and built many churches. But when these four had entered their eternal rest when the Year of the Messiah had exceeded 1580, again by the decree of the Catholicos of the East, a Syrian Bishop Mar Abraham by name arrived in Malayalam-country. In those days the	<i>Section 6</i> Once more in these times there came Fathers of Syria: Mar Denho and Mar Thomas and Mar Jakob and Mar Jahb Aloho, and they were pastors of Malabar and India as in old days. Then, after those days, in the year 1580, came Lord Abraham, a Syrian bishop. When he came to Malabar, the savage Franks looked askance at him and laid traps for him and took pains to kill him. But with the help of Christ our Lord he was saved from their hands. Therefore, he was able to perform his duty in fear and trembling with great difficulty. For in those days the Franks, being the enemies of almighty God, began to lay snares on the roads where the Syrians walked, to seize them and put them to death. After the death of the Syrian bishop Lord Abraham, no bishop came to Malabar.

Franks put about a fashion that Syrian bishops who came to Malayala by the decree of the Catholicos could no longer come, and to this effect they appointed guards all along the way and began to cause the bishops to be captured stealthily and murdered, and when as a result Mar Abraham had suffered much, by the Grace of our Lord, he escaped the clutches of the Franks and ruled in Malayala, erected many churches and entered his eternal rest. But in those days seeing that with the obstruction to the arrival of the Syrian bishops and in the absence of bishops the Syrians of Malayala were suffering mental distress, the Franks by the order of Pope De Romi	Then a certain Frankish bishop came on the orders of the Pope of Rome.
<i>Section VII: (L.53-58: How the Syrians resist the Portuguese; how Menezes bribes the king of Kochi and with his help subjugate the Syrians; how their rites and traditions changed)</i> the bishari and the Bishop of the Fort, a Frankish bishop called Alleshu, arrived in Malayala after which he made many efforts of diverse fashions to overturn the Syrians of Malayala, and finding this not possible gave the ‘Royal Personage of Perumpatappu’ (ie., the Raja of Cochin) 30,000 <i>person-inscribed</i> coins and for three years in full he persecuted the Syrians of Perumpadopu (of Cochin) and distressed their hearts as a result of which	<i>Section 7</i> He strove to bring the Syrians under his authority, but the Syrians were against him. Then that rebellious man went to Quaqsin, the king of the region, and and gave him a present of thirty thousand double gold pieces. And the king began to harass the Syrians in various ways. For three years the vexatious king harassed the Syrians, and after these harrassments the Syrians had no strength left. Therefore, under coercion from the king, they submitted to the Frankish bishop. Then the Franks began to change the good traditions of the Syrians. They prohibited the marriage of

the Syrians of Malayala came to obey the Frankish bishop. After some years of carrying on in this manner, entangled with the Franks and having changed all their rites and traditions of the Syrians and having forbidden the marriage of priests	deacons and priests, and they taught a new and abominable faith.
<i>Section VIII: (L.59-64: How a Syrian prelate is killed in the Kochi sea; how the Syrians sever all links with the Portuguese and take an oath to that effect)</i> but since they were entangled with the Franks and had walked in this way for – (?) years by the order of the Catholicos a Syrian bishop Mar Ignatius came to Malayala whom the Frankish men captured at Mylapore and brought him bound, to the Fort and lowered him into the sea and thus murdered him which all the Syrians of Malayala came to hear as a result of which all the Syrians of Malayala gathered at the church in Mattancherry (Fort Kochi) and convened a meeting and consulted and took the oath that from henceforth forever, even in the times of our children we will not ally with the Frankish men for good or ill and all together having written a declaration to	<i>Section 8</i> When the Syrians had suffered this for 52 years, God saw fit to reveal the treachery of the Franks through Patriarch Ignatius, who came to Mailopur on his way to Malabar. As soon as this Syrian arrived in Mailopur, the Franks apprehended him. They weighed him down with chains and led him to Quaqsin (Kochi), where they drowned him in the waves of the sea. The rumour of this spread throughout all of Malabar, because of the Syrian deacons who lived there. And thus all the Syrians assembled in the church of Mutumseri, near Quaqsin (Kochi), and all the Syrians swore in the presence of the most sacred altar of the Creator, that for all eternity they would not aid the Franks nor those who sowed their seed. These words they committed to writing. Amen.

this effect and affixed their signatures to it, they dispersed. And after this (seating himself) in the Fort of Kodungalloor	
<i>Section IX: (L.65-73: Continued persecution of the Syrians by the Portuguese with the help of the local kings and chieftains by giving them expensive gifts and bribes)</i> After this, having seated himself in the fort of Kodangallore) the bishop of the Franks secretly wrote letters to the priests and Nazranis and sent them messengers, and secretly despatched for some (of them) expensive cloths and jewellery (,) as a result of which, having accepted these inducements, some of them clandestinely went and saw the bishop, and to those who came to see him he (gave) presents, both in words of promise and in money, and when things were going in this manner those Syrian churches who had not wavered all began to obey the Frankish bishop (,) But then the Franks and those Syrians who had joined with the Franks together gave bribes to the respective local Lords of the land, the Kings, and those Syrians who remained separate from the Franks without joining them (,) they had them tortured, and in which ever manner that they could, the Frankish men harassed those Syrians who had not united with	<i>Section 9</i> Now, when the Syrians had separated themselves from the Franks, and the strength of the Syrians had grown for a few years, the Bishop of the Franks began to send gifts of the greatest value to the priests of the Syrians, and to write them letters in secret. Some of the Syrian priests accepted these, and went to the Frankish Bishop at night, others refused them and would not go. When this had gone on for some time, some of the priests were scandalized and turned against the bishops. Others did not feel this way at all. Therefore, there arose dissension amongst the Syrians and two parties were formed. And thus the Franks overcame the Syrians, because part of the Syrians had sided with the Franks and the Franks solicited the lords and primates with with gifts, in order to make vex the Syrians.

them ;) and again (those Syrian bishops who were coming) by the decree of the Catholicos of the East they began secretly murdering them (those Syrian bishops who were coming) ;) and in those days:	
<i>Section X: (L.74-82: How the Dutch take the Fort of Kochi to the relief of the Syrians; how the arrival of Syrian bishops resume and carry on till 1700)</i> by the mercy of the Lord who controls everything (,) those who execute truth and justice and walk in the commandments of the Lord and rule their country by faith in the Lord, by the order of that (same) Company who ruled the country, there arrived in Malayala the honourable Amaran (?) who, just as by the commandment of the Lord, one named Isho-ber-Noon had expelled the heathens residing in the land of Kinan, he (Amaran) expelled from the fort of Kochi, those even more treacherous than the heathen (,) and the honourable Amaran expelled them from all other forts as well, as a consequence of which(,) from that time till now the hapless Syrians have rejoiced and even now offer praises to the Lord (.) As a result of this, from then till now, by the order of the Catholicos of the East Syrian bishops come to Malayala without hindrance (,) and in this manner it (is now) over one thousand seven hundred and	<i>Section 10</i> But at that time there came Amirol, a just and faithful judge, and prince of all India and Malabar, who cleared all the Franks from Quqsino, and from all the cities around India. This was a likeness of Joshua clearing away the Canaanites and other tribes. From that time to today, joy was made the part of the Syrians, and sadness the part of the Franks. The Syrians obey the Syrian fathers who come from Jerusalem and Nineveh and Baghdad and other regions, by order of the Catholicos of the East. The Franks, meanwhile, obey the Frankish bishops, who come from Rome and other provinces by order from the Pope of Rome.

some more years have passed, when by the decree of the Catholicos of the East	
<i>Section XI: (L.83-95: How the Camelites & Jesuits return; how they continue to persecute the Syrians; anxieties about the serious erosion in numbers of the Syrians)</i> a letter that was sent to the Syrians of Malayala from a distance away, by the Syrian bishop Mar Shemavoon by the decree of the Catholicos of the East, was captured by the Carmelite Padres and read and understood the contents. Then the Carmelite Padres and the Padres of Sampaloor got together and consulted and appointed guards to intercept the Syrian bishops along the way, and they captured them and took them to the Fort of Puthucherry, where they imprisoned them. Especially in the year 1705, Bishop Mar Gauriel who came after Mar Shemavoon, when he arrived in Malayala by the decree of the Catholicos, seeing that	<i>Section 11</i> Again, in the year 1705, there came Lord Gabriel, the Syrian Metropolitan, by order of the Catholicos of the East. and he saw both sides, and that there were many Syrians who had turned to the Franks, that they walked in all the abominable customs of the Franks, not remembering the foundations and root of the Syrian priests. He also saw that the priests of the Syrians who had followed the Franks did not take wives, as had the fathers of the Syrian priests, but abhorred the righteous marriages of priests in both factions. And thus, from those days onward, all the Malabar Syrians would follow the Franks, who night and day were diligently exerting themselves. Therefore, Mar Gabriel, the Syrian Metropolitan, embraced neither the Syrians his kinsmen nor the Syrians who had

the number of Syrians who joined with the Franks and who went by their rites was great and that all the priests including those of the Syrians of Malayala-country, as well as those Syrians who had joined with the Franks, went about disobeying the traditions of the Syrians like the marriage of priests, and that day by day the number of Syrians of Malayala were decreasing, the seeing of all which he became greatly, greatly heartsick, and in order to separate the Syrians who allied themselves with the Franks away from them managed to bring under his sway forty-two churches, after which the Padres of Sampaloor and the Carmelite Padres endeavoured together and brought twenty of these churches back under their sway like before	followed the Franks, but remained in between them, in the hope of bringing back the Syrian followers of the Franks. Because of this, many Syrians of both factions gathered around him. Of those who were following the Franks there were 42. To this day, however, because of the fraud and diligence of the Carmelites and Franciscans, twenty churches have fallen away from him.
<i>Section XII: (L.96-103: Appeal to the Dutch Commandeer for help and protection of the Syrians, so they could live according to their Syrian traditions)</i> (sway like before) But in these days, at the present time, if the Honourable Commander is convinced that the goodwill of the Company is on this impoverished bishop of the name Mar Gauriel the Syrian and if he believes that in protecting the destitute, the Lord who rules over everything, the Almighty God is pleased, bearing this in mind, and if the Honourable Commander will extend his	<i>Section 12</i> You will want to learn the truth, our illustrious and blessed lords — that if the chosen leader and blessed king of all India and Malabar will help the humble Syrian — the two factions will return to the Syrian fold and that the deceitful Franks will never dominate in India. Written by the hand Matthew, a miserable, humble and vile Syrian priest. Amen.

goodwill it is certain that all the Nasranis of Malayala will become Syrians as before and separate themselves from the Franks, and walk in the tradition of the Syrians, this is certain. These facts and truths the Commander who is of the Messiah and his honourable self and all those Masters who are of the Messiah, may they come to know and have compassion on, and give succour to, the Syrians we beg.	
---	--

Appendix 3 The 1771 *ola*

According to Jacob Kollaparambil, the Malayalam *ola* manuscript of this title in his possession is a 1771 recension, which he transcribed.⁹⁶

This translation into English⁹⁷ is from Kollaparambil's transcript (originally published in 1999 in Malayalam. Here, 6th edition: 2017:81-94). Kollaparambil describes the *ola* as containing 154 numbered leaves or *olas*, divided into two sections, and this history is contained in the second section.

Complete text of Section II

1. The book arranged by the divinely-appointed Preceptors (Malpans) from the ancient books for those children of God who have been immersed in baptism and their departed ones and their young children, for those who walk as children of the Lord and are called Christians, for to read and study the causes and ancient history that we may discern the name and goodness of the Lord, and that we may discern His power, and glory, and praise and magnify the state of mercy, the prophets, apostles, and holy martyrs, that we may walk in godly ways, what they entrusted to us, that we may be completed in all the knowledge and perfected in the Faith, those of us who believed in the Lord, for the affirmation of the faith of the believing Syrians, from the books of ancient days, we the divinely-appointed teachers have arranged this book in brief: Amen. We swear.
2. In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, we begin to write the history of the Way, that is existent in Malayalam:
3. In the days when Chozha Perumal was ruling the Chozha kingdom, because he saw in his dream a most splendorously built and unique palace, he determined to build one such palace for himself. Accordingly, he summoned a merchant called Haban (Havan) and deputed him to find a master carpenter to build it and when he (Havan) was going about in search of such a man, he arrived in the place called Mahosa, of the Kingdom of Yus. Jesus Christ appeared to him as a man of that country. When He enquired and heard the matter of Haban's search, he said that he would find him a master carpenter, most highly skilled in such works. Instantly, he brought the Holy Apostle Thomas and entrusted him to Haban.
4. When He commanded that he (Thomas) went to Malayala, the Holy Apostle Thomas pleaded with Him thus: you appointed two by two to proclaim the

⁹⁶ The Manalil Mecheril family of Vadakara, near Thalayolaparambu (Kottayam District) were the original custodians of this 1771 copy. It came into the possession of the Catholic priest and eminent historian Dr. Jacob Kollaparambil. After him, the present custodian (2018) is Fr. Baiju Mukulel, the archivist of the Kollaparambil collections.

⁹⁷ Translated by Sarah Knight.

Gospel in all countries. And when he sorrowfully pleaded that he was being sent alone to a land of unbelievers and idol-worshippers, the Lord answered him and spoke these divine words: As I have appointed two by two in all places, because you don't have a companion in the same way, do not be afraid on account of them. I shall be with you as your companion. And with this command, He gave the Holy Apostle Thomas confidence of heart, and bade him to Malayala with Haban.

5. Fifty two years after the birth of Christ, the Holy Apostle Thomas arrived in Mylapore, and when he had seen the King Chozha Perumal, and the King had intimated to the Holy Apostle Thomas what he had seen in his dream, he asked Thomas to draw a plan and build such a palace. Thomas drew a plan and design of the palace, and showed it to the King, and seeing this the King was pleased. He honoured the Apostle that he may spend funds as he saw fit and build him the palace. He sent him away with all necessary funds for the construction of the palace, and the Holy Apostle Thomas set off in order to collect the material needed for the construction. As he went, he preached the Way, and was mindful of the needs of the destitute and gave funds to them accordingly. In this manner, by his power performing many miracles, he preached the Way wherever he went. When the King heard that all the funds given were being spent on those joining his new Way, and not even the foundation had been laid for the palace, he summoned the Apostle Thomas (33). He ordered that he wished to see how far the work had progressed and what he had built. When the Apostle Thomas replied that the construction of the palace was complete, that it was in the heavenly world, and that he could not see it now, the King became enraged, and immediately sent for Haban as well, and threw the two of them into prison. While the King pondered over the shame and loss of honour he had fallen into, and in what manner they were to be punished, the young prince, his brother and heir, fell ill and died. The angels carried away his soul and showed him the heavenly places where they pointed out a palace, saying 'look this is the palace that the Apostle Thomas has built for your older brother, the King. If you hear his words and follow them, you will receive this palace for yourself', they said.
6. Then by a miracle, his soul returned to the body, the young prince revived and came before the king, and informed him of all that had transpired. The King believed and bowed before Mar Thoma the Apostle, and released Mar Thoma and Haban from prison, and brought them out. Both the King and his brother, and innumerable people, believed in Christ and received baptism.
7. Mar Thoma the Apostle set off from there and disembarked in Maliamkara, in the country of Cherakon, and in those days there was no kingly power in Kerala, but thirty two villages ruled by thirty two *gramanies*. He debated with them and performed many miracles and their minds were opened, and the truth triumphed. Many people from many villages believed and received baptism, and after this he appointed priests from two villages, namely Shankarapuri and Pakalomattom. And when he was going about proclaiming the Way, the angel of the Lord appeared to the Holy Apostle Thomas and said to him: 'the time has

come for the Virgin Mary who had given birth to our Lord to depart from this world: rise now and hurry to the land of Galilee'. And when the Holy Apostle Thomas stood before the Lord in prayer, he prayed and said 'because the place is far away, how am I to go there?' And when he prayed thus, a cloud descended from the sky, and while he was being carried away to Galilee, he saw the Virgin Mother being carried by angels amidst great celebration, to her heavenly world, seeing which the Holy Apostle Thomas cried out in a loud voice to the Virgin, and she gave him for a witness to the faithful, her sash and scarf. He instantly arrived in Galilee and saw the Apostles and Faithful all gathered there.

8. Again, by miracle he returned to Malayala and continued his labours in preaching the Way, and he established churches, namely: Kollam, Niranam, Chayal, Pallipuram, Pattamanaparavoor, Kodungallur, and Palayur, and he erected crosses as well. Then he appointed two priests, that is, Shankarapuri and Pakalomattom, and continued preaching the Way, and when he arrived at Mylapore again (34), the Holy Apostle Thomas was killed by the hand of a *kavyan*⁹⁸, and was buried in Mylapore.
9. But when the priests who were appointed by the Holy Apostle Thomas passed away, there were no priests to carry on teaching the Way, and the people were distressed, and continued in that weak state with marriages and baptisms being performed by the elders following basic rites.
10. When a considerable time had elapsed in this manner, because the land was filled *kavyars*, and there was no-one to teach the Doctrines of Truth, their intellect was corrected and they began to follow the ways of the *kavyars* as well.
11. In this time, a sorcerer named Mani arrived in the Kingdom of the Pandyas, and by his sorcery began corrupting the faithful of the Way, and forcing them to obey him, and those who would not obey him, he began with the power of the King, to forcibly make them obey. The Pandaries of the Manigrama are the people now descendants of those who obeyed and followed him in this way. Those who continued to follow the way of the Holy Apostle Thomas are to this day known as *people of the Doctrine of God*.
12. Again, this sorcerer called Mani arrived in Maliamkara and corrupted the Nazaranis who had received the Way from the Holy Apostle Thomas by his sorcery. He made them obey his teachings and those who could not withstand his oppression set off and retreated into other places, and in this manner, those who obeyed the heresies of Mani the sorcerer came to be known as *Manavalas* and those who followed the Way of the Holy Apostle Thomas, came to be known as those of the Doctrine of Thomas.
13. This *kavyan*⁹⁹ then set off from there and arrived in Malayala (34V) and from the River Kotta to Kollam there were many families who suffered many depredations on account of his sorcery.(gap here in the ola: Richards p83 in his partial copy of this text provides what is missing: he (Mani) brought

⁹⁸ Meaning unclear, various suggestions put forward, such as 'an unbeliever', 'a Hindu priest' (as they wear *kavi*, or saffron, clothes), or from *kavya* meaning Sanskrit vedas in verse form.

⁹⁹ In this place, Mani is described as a *kavyan*.

diseases upon them and pestilence in their cattle and he said to them that) These tribulations will be dispelled if holy ashes were put on them and that if they were to learn chants such as ‘the Five Letters’ (*panjaksharam*) and were to drink the five sacred products of the cow mixed together, these sicknesses would be cured, and convinced them of this. The ninety-six clans that had grown out of the eight clans all accepted the Master’s chants, such as the Five Letters, etc, and abandoned the Lord, and cleaved to Mani the preacher. And those remaining 64 Christian families who had borne the injuries done to them by his sorcery, by the love of the Lord, nor listened to his mantras, nor worn his ashes, came to be called *Dhariakkal* (non-wearers).

14. In this manner, when we were living in anxiety for 292 years, from the arrival of the Holy Apostle Thomas, by the mercy of the Lord, the Holy Apostle Thomas appeared to the Bishop of Urfa. He heard the voice of the Apostle saying: ‘are you not concerned that the Malayala that I had won by my blood is being destroyed by going astray without the Word?’ He went to the Holy Catholicos in Jerusalem and narrated to him all that transpired, after which he assembled metropolitans and malpans and conferred with them, and summoned the honourable Christian merchant called Thoma, and impressing upon him these events, when he was sent off to gather the circumstances existing in Malayala, he arrived in Malayala and because they wore the Cross as a symbol, he recognised them and enquired of them their (ola 35) circumstances, and learned that they were in great distress for the want of priests, and boarded his ship again, and returned to Jerusalem and presented all these particulars to the Patriarch, and when all the necessary leading men were assembled, he (Thoma) was commanded to go and live in Malayala and fulfil all their needs.
15. The Bishop of Urfa, priests and deacons, many men, their womenfolk, assembled and embarked on ships, and they saw them off with Thoma and bade them farewell, upon which, by the grace of the Lord, in the year of the Lord 345, they arrived in Kodungallur, and disembarked, upon which those who lived in Kottakkayal, and those of the 64 families, assembled together and paid homage to the Metropolitan, after which because the king who ruled all Malayala at that time was Cherakon Perumal, the Christian Thoma went to him, and laid gifts before him, and intimated to the King’s royal mind, the sorrows of the Christian people. Hearing this, the King’s mind was brightened, and in his pleasure declared: ‘without a doubt, we the King of the country, will give you all that you need’. In order that these were not altered as long as the sun or moon remained, he granted them: riding on carriages (*pallak*), carpet to sit on, five musical instruments, royal whisk, fans, soft mats, parasols, ‘calls of cheer’, progress/procession, ululation, cymbals, drum and great drum, day-lamps, skirts, crown ornaments, overcloths, forearm bands (gold), shoulder braces, badge of valour, conch, conch-wheel, street buntings, sacred thread wearing, nanda lamp, golden tiara, jewel under the tiara, elephant mount, earth-and-water, and so on, he granted them 72 honours, including trees of *attuveppu*, trees of *parvatta*, teak, *kumbalam*, dogs, hunting, hunting with dogs, and so on. And

all such honours were granted, inscribed on copper plates, and in the land of Kodungallur, in the bend in the river, land measuring 244 cubits measured by the elephant-rod, Lord Cherakon, by his honourable hands, gave to them ceremonially with flour and water sprinkled, which the sojourner Christian Thoma received this in writing, that is, in the year 345 of the Lord, in the month of *kumbha*, on Saturday 29th, and calling Kodungallur ‘City of the Great God’, they build them a church and lived there in strength.

16. The Nasranis who had come from foreign lands, and the Nasranis who were of Malayala, intermingled. And as they continued to live in this manner, because he repulsed the enemies of Malayala and because he expended money and efforts in this regard for the benefit of the people of the country, and because he presented to Cheraman Perumal a whole pint-measure of nine precious jewels that he may rule the country wearing a crown, Cheruman Perumal decreed that ‘this race of people shall not suffer any excess or privation from anybody until the end of the world. For this purpose, just as other castes also have in their employ, he attached 17 castes of people to our service, to render for us such services as are needed by us. These 17 castes of people were also employed in perpetual attachment to us that if anyone inflicted on us or them any excesses or privations, whether by noblemen, chieftains, kings, whether by temple power or by village power, if anyone did any unlawful thing to these 18 castes, these castes were to unite as one in opposition, and such deeds would not be expiated by paying a penalty. And this state continued until 920¹⁰⁰ of the Malayalam era.
17. When we were continuing in this manner, with positions of honour and prestige and following the straight path of the doctrines, the Christian Thoma and the Episcopa determined that priests were to be ordained from the families that were appointed by the Holy Apostle Thomas, to govern all the people of Malayala, and accordingly, they conferred upon one from that clan the honourable position of Archdeacon, and when they as foremost men of the doctrine, were thus governing over all the people of Malayala, from time to time, metropolitans were sent by the order of the Patriarch Ignatius of Antioch, and they removed and relieved their deficiencies and misfortunes, and gave counsel to the Archdeacon, and in this manner things continued for 480 years.
18. After this, in the year 825, a merchant named Iyyob¹⁰¹ along with two bishops called Mar Sabor and Mar Aphroth arrived in Kollam, and settled there. In those days, because in a dispute between the Jews and the Moors the Nasranis rendered help to the Jews, the Moors attacked the city and destroyed it. That day two princes of the House of Villiarvattom were also caught up in it.
19. After this, in the year 1508, the Franks arrived in Kochi. In the year 1545, the Syrian Mar Abraham arrived. Because he was of the land of Syria, we submitted to him. The Franks oppressed him greatly, and took him to Rome, from where he returned to Malayala. In the year 1598, the Portuguese metropolitan Alexeis

¹⁰⁰ 1745

¹⁰¹ Syriac for Job.

arrived, and because of the power he acquired by giving the King of Kochi excessive bribes, he began greatly oppressing the Archdeacon and the people, and after that, in the year 1599¹⁰², he gathered all (except a few) parishes of Malankara in Udayamperoor, and carried away our innumerable books and testaments. He erased all of them, and removed all the Syrian customs and traditions, and brought us by force to follow in the Frankish way, that we may proceed in that way. In those days, (36v) because the Archdeacon and the assembled people stood firm, the House of Perumpadappu (King of Kochi) oppressed the Archdeacon and caused to inflict a great deal of harm on the churches as well. They also gave the Archdeacon a promise in writing that he will be given 1080 *reals* per year if he were to execute these customs in Malayala. It was in these days that the marriage of priests was also prohibited.

20. Frankish customs were followed in this manner for fifty-five years, when in the year 1653, the Patriarch arrived in Mylapore. Thinking that if he was allowed to go on to Malayala, the Frankish customs now being practised will be undone, they had captured and imprisoned him, when two deacons, Deacon Itty Chengayil of Chengannur, and Deacon Kurian Kizhakedathu of Kuravilangatt arrived in Mylapore to kneel at the tomb of the Holy Apostle Thomas, and met the Patriarch and exchanged words, and both parties were filled with sorrow. When the St. Paulists¹⁰³ heard of this, determining that they should not meet and converse again, they immediately put him in a room under guard, as a consequence of which the Holy One, thinking that the Franks will deceive him, handed them (the two deacons) a Brief by which he ordered that as our Lord Jesus Christ had conferred upon his disciples complete authority, he was giving his archdeacon his complete authority to govern over them as their bishop. After this, the St Paulists came to know of all this and they immediately caught the two deacons and imprisoned them as well. They dwelt there a few days and then by cunning they got out of there and reached Malayala, and wrote letters to all the parishes, and everyone assembled. Then hearing that (ola 37) the Patriarch had been brought to Kochi, everyone went over to Kochi, and when they informed the King, he declared that the Patriarch will be brought before them the next day, and they only needed to be patient, after which the Franks gained the assent of the King, and treacherously murdered the Holy One by binding him and lowering him into the sea. Coming to know of the truth of this, as well as having seen some signs at the very same moment, the Syrian people, those of Malayala in their entirety, gathered at the church in Mattancherry. They swore an oath: We should not join with or obey these Franks who had committed this, and neither we nor our heirs will see them again, nor walk in their customs, and all this was written down on paper'. Setting off from there, they assembled in Alangatt and in accordance with the instructions in the Patriarch's Brief, the Archdeacon Thomas was consecrated as Metropolitan. Though we had walked

¹⁰² The writer is probably counting in Malayalam era, as Alexeis de Menezes arrived in January 1599 and returned the same year.

¹⁰³ The Jesuits.

55 years according to the Frankish customs, they did not give as promised in writing, even a penny of the 1,080 *reals*.

21. After this, in the year 1660, when by the authority of the Pope, a Metropolitan by the name Joseph, calling himself a Carmelite monk, the people of Kaduthuruthy and some others together, reneging on the truth and sworn oath, gave certain bribes to the King of Vadakkumkoor and brought the Metropolitan and seated him in the great church there. Because we would not accept his authority over us, Joseph the Metropolitan, thinking that we will accept a bishop from the same family, summoned Priest (Katanar) Chandy (ola 37V) of Panamkuzhakal family¹⁰⁴, and gave him some bribes, and persuaded him in this way. In the year 1663, Metropolitan Joseph consecrated Priest Chandy as Metropolitan for them, in Kuravilangatt Church¹⁰⁵, and with their joint enthusiasm, by providing a variety of assistance, and by giving bribes, and by convincing the people: ‘am I also not a member of this family? And so caused a dissention. The people who had joined the Metropolitan of *Chana-Adi*¹⁰⁶, who had been bribed over by Metropolitan Joseph, began calling themselves the ‘Old Faction’, and those who continued to obey the Metropolitan Mar Thoma as the ‘New Faction’¹⁰⁷.
22. In this manner, when they had continued as two factions, after the time of Metropolitan Joseph and Metropolitan Chandy, all those who had allied with them became allied to the Frankish Metropolitan. Immediately afterwards, another cleric arrived with a long beard, and calling himself ‘of the Carmelite Order’. He styled himself ‘Metropolitan of Varapuzha’, and from his residence there he started putting about: ‘is it not the St Paulists that you have sworn not to see? I am not of that Order’. Speaking this and many other cunning words and tactics, he convinced many people and paid all their expenses, by which they allied themselves with that Metropolitan, and continued in that manner.

¹⁰⁴ This is a branch of Pakalomattan clan.

¹⁰⁵ Panamkuzhakal is the family or clan-name of this priest, but his house was also called Parambil. Among the Syrian Christians of Kerala, often a ‘house’ could be referred by the name of its root-clan and also by the name of the plot of land to which a member has moved and built a house. Because individuals kept track of their original clan names, often one individual could be identified by three or four house-names, as for example: Ummacheril (root clan), Illikalathil (a property to which a branch moved), Thoppil a further move to a ‘grove or garden enclosure’, all three names being legitimate to a member of the last-named house. Hundreds of such instances of multiple nomenclature can be found in the *Kerala Charistava Charithra dayaractary* (The Malabar Christian Historical Directory) (ed. Philip George 1940).

Catholic historian Jacob Kollaparambil maintains that the consecration of this bishop took place in the Great Church (Valiapally) of Kaduthuruthy (1999:92), but most other historians agree that it took place in nearby Kuravilangatt church.

¹⁰⁶ Literally, ‘Whetstone grinder’. Why this appellation was applied to this metropolitan is unclear.

¹⁰⁷ The Jacobite Cor-episcopos and *Malpan* Kaniamparambil remarks on these appellations: At this point, there were effectively three Metropolitans in Malabar: Metropolitan Mar Thoma (indigenous Syrian Christian) who was consecrated by the laying on Patriarch Ignatius Ahatalla’s Brief and the laying on of hands by twelve priests on his head, Metropolitan Chandy of Parambil family (indigenous Syrian Catholic referred to as Alexander de Campo in Portuguese and other Catholic accounts) consecrated by Metropolitan Joseph, and Metropolitan Joseph (Italian Carmelite Catholic).

23. After this, in the year 1665, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the fifth Patriarch, arrived in Malankara. It was twelve years after the consecration of Metropolitan Mar Thoma that he received full consecration¹⁰⁸ by the hands of this Patriarch. And as things went on in this manner, in the year 1678, a bishop named Andrew¹⁰⁹ came. And again in 1685 the Catholicos Mar Baselius and episcopa Mar Ivanios arrived. The Catholicos lived for only 17 days. When Metropolitan Mar Ivanios was governing over us, the nephew of Metropolitan Mar Thoma (the Great) was consecrated as Mar Thoma II. He saw that in the customs followed in Malayala, there were some Frankish customs as well, which he expunged, and the rest he restored as they used to be in Malayala in times before, according to the customs of the Syrians. While these two Metropolitans governed us, Mar Ivanios passed away.
24. In 1708, a Nestorian Metropolitan called Gabriel arrived. Because he confessed to us that there were two natures and two persons in Christ, there was much contention between him and our Metropolitan about this matter. Some people from the Old Faction, and some from the New submitted themselves to him. After the time of that Metropolitan Gabriel, because there was no other like him, returned some to the one and others to the other.
25. After this, in 1748, Metropolitan Mar Ivanios disembarked in Kochi. When he came to our churches, without the permission of Metropolitan Mar Thoma V, he did certain acts and because the customs that were observed till then, he began to undo some of them, especially some of the traditions and customs that had been from the time of the Franks. This caused some upset and in order to resolve all these problems, Metropolitan Mar Thoma and the congregation of the church together, having sent letters to our Holy Father, Mar Ignatius the Patriarch, who rules over the throne of Antioch, and having supplicated to His Holy Self our difficulties and sorrows, and having despatched in the care of the foreigner Deacon Anthony, with the help of the Dutch Company, to send someone to us (ola 38V) who was constant in his Faith, to teach us in the Way of the Lord, and to carry out the traditions according to it, from there by the order of Patriarch Mar Ignatius, our Patriarch sent a Brief stating that he was sending someone in order to consecrate a new bishop by the name Mar Dionysius. He then despatched the Catholicos Mar Baselios, Metropolitan Mar Gregarios, and Bishop Mar Ivanios, and they arrived in Kochi in 1771. After they arrived, in accordance with the Brief sent, our Lord Mar Dionysius was consecrated as Metropolitan, and in this manner, we are now continuing according to the customs of the Jacobite Syrians, Amen.

¹⁰⁸ The initial consecration in 1653 by the laying on of 12 priests' hands and the Brief of Mar Ahatalla was considered uncanonical, and was completed only with this canonical consecration in 1665.

¹⁰⁹ Andreyos in Syriac.

Appendix 4 Ancient Syrian Christian Ballads

4.1 Thoma Parvam (approximate translation in prose) 110

Thoma Parvam (Epic of Thomas), also called *Ramban Pattu* (Ballad of the Monk), is an epic-narrative of 448 lines. It follows in detail, St. Thomas' missionary journeys in South India.

The epic begins as in other sources with St Thomas going to India with Haban (*Avan* in Malayalam) at the behest of Chozha Perumal. They boarded a ship in Arabia and first landed in Kodungallur in 50AD, in the month of *Dhanu*. He converted some people and established a church there. After a short stay, he hurriedly travelled to Mylapore and from there on to China. He returned to Mylapore, received treasure from Chozha Perumal, for building a palace for him, after which he arrived a second time in Malabar. This was at the request of an emissary from Malabar. They travelled by ship and landed in Maliamkara in 51AD, in the month of *Dhanu*. The Royal family and many Jews were converted and St Thomas established a church and erected a cross there (ll.1-66).

Then in 67 AD, he went to Kollam, preached, converted and set up a church and the cross (lines 1-73).

From there he walked north east – l.74. Trikpaleswaram, also erected cross l.79.

Went east, arrived in hill country of Chayal, taught them doctrine, how to pray etc. set up cross l.87.

Returned to Trikpaleswaram, (l.90) because two elders from Trikpaleswaram had come to him, begging him to return because the cross they were venerating had been desecrated by the pagans. Thoma sanctified it again (l.96). One of the elders was appointed as teacher (.101-2). Then he uprooted the cross he had set up and entrusted it to his disciple also called Thomas, and asked him to go to Niranam, to the south, and establish it there.

He went north again from Trikpaleswaram, and arrived in Gokkamangalam (l.113-4). Established church and erected a cross there.

Setting off from there, he arrived in Kottakkayal (l.122), set up a cross and taught the doctrine and how to pray.

Turned south and arrived again in Maliamkara. (l.130). Seeing all were adhering to the faith, he was pleased.

¹¹⁰ Translated and summarised in prose-form by Sarah Knight.

Then went north and arrived in Palayur. He erected a most beautiful cross for them to pray and worship.

In 59 (?), in Virgo Asterism (l.145), there arrived a messenger from the Chozha king, asking him to return to him. They walked harmoniously together and arrived in Mylapore.

Chozhan (the King) asked about the palace, not seeing any progress put him in prison. King's brother died, King is convinced of the truth of St Thomas's gospel, repents, and with great pomp, goes to the prison, releases Thomas, takes him in his chariot, begs forgiveness, does many penances (l.161-8), and that day 7,000 (incl all the King's family) are baptised and receive Christ. (l.180)

? Of Chunderapuri's rulers, Patros and Paulos, he chose the handsome Paulos (l.183). He ordained him as priest and appointed six men under him as teachers of the doctrine (.186).

They surrendered all their assets to the apostle. He put in order all their affairs, and wanting to return to Malayalam country, travelled by land and arrived Malayattoor. From there, he returned to Palayur, then Maliamkara, then Kottakkayal, then Gokkamangalam, and then Kollam. (l.201-6).

In all these places, he set up churches and crosses, appointed priests, and ordered their rituals and taught them how to pray. And in every place, after these things, he laid his hands on the elders and priests, and conferred on them the gift of the Holy Spirit (l.212).

Then he went from there to Niranam, he was happy. And to their elders also granted them the gift of the Holy Spirit. (l.217-8). In the company of the priest called Thoma, from Niranam, he went to Chayal, in the mountain country, and again set up church and cross, appointed a priest and elders and laid hands and gave them the Holy Spirit (l.225-6). And he also revealed to them all of this journeys. St Thomas put his robe on to Kepha, his constant companion and first disciple, in Niranam (?), then laid his hand on his head and entrusted to him the governance of all his people. (l.231-4). He commanded the believers to receive Kepha as himself.

This holy priest, called Thoma, who received more blessings than all the others, of the family of Malayekkal, was granted patrilineal succession of priesthood. (l.243-4), and many other blessings. He appointed many teachers, no less in wisdom and knowledge of the doctrine.

He entrusted to this Thoma a book so that they would remember the gospel as it was preached among them.

Now saying farewell to them, the Apostle's 'whole body and his sinews failed him and he became weakened. He embraced them and wept loudly.' (l.254-5). The companions all wept and he departed from there, and taking two companions, St Thomas travelled north and retreated into the Pandya country.

And thus until 69, in the Aries asterism, our holy father, St Thomas the Apostle, left us and journeyed to those countries who lived in ignorance. The blessings and grace and new teachings our holy father bestowed on us are countless, and too numerous to recount. (l.270)

(The ballad continues for another 200 lines)

4.2 Margamkali Pattukal

Margam-kali pattukal’ or ‘Ballads of the Way’ gives details of specific incidents in St. Thomas’ mission:

Excerpts taken from: *Ancient Ballads* by P.V. Lukas 1980:142-155.¹¹¹

(The Primary narrative is the same as in Bardesanes’ *Acta Thomae*, but the setting is Chozha-*nadu* or the Land of the Chozha- the south Indian kingdom of the Coromandel coast, and the king is not Gonduphares, but *Chozha-Perumal* or the King of the Chozhas.)

Introduction: - an invocation (p.142)

Strophe 1- the king’s dream;

the king sends Haban to find a carpenter (p.143)

Habban arrives in the city of Mahose, where he wanders looking for a carpenter; Christ appears to him;

Christ asks after Haban, who tells him his business, Christ promises to bring him a carpenter;

Christ brings Thomas before Haban and says: ‘Here’s the carpenter!’ and recommends him;(p.144)

Hearing their conversation Thomas is shocked;

¹¹¹ Translated and summarised in prose-form by Sarah Knight.

Pleads with Christ not to send him to India, not to send him alone etc. (p.145)

Christ comforts Thomas; tells him he's been sold to Haban, but that Christ himself will go with him to India; they arrive in Chozha-Perumal's country; Thomas receives the king's commission; receives treasure and materials to start work on the palace; the king goes away on a pilgrimage(?) promising to return in a year;(p.146)

Thomas travels through Chozha-land preaching the Gospel and baptising many; and he goes beyond it to the neighbouring country where he attends a wedding etc.... and he takes ship to Malacca and China (p.147); then he goes back to Mylapore in Chozha-country and preached there again;

From there he went to Maliamkara (on the West Coast) where he preached the Gospel....

St. Thomas' arrival in Kerala (in detail, from Strophe 8: p.146):

Having received his commission to build the palace, and taking a great amount of money and materials, St. Thomas travelled through Chozha's country preaching the Gospel and gaining converts. Boarding a ship again he travelled to 'Malacca and China,' as well before eventually returned to Chozha's country, where he continued to work: 'tirelessly walking and preaching the Gospel' again.

After some time, hearing of Malabar, he set off again and arrived in Maliamkara or Cranganloor (Kodungalloor) which was not far from there (p. 147). Here he first preached to such leading men as the *u:ra:lar* (the village head-man or the temple trustees), and many who heard believed in Christ.

He raised a cross here, "that they may daily prostrate themselves before it to keep fear and grief away, he chose two of the men who were of upright character, and ordained them as Guides and Preceptors. (in other words, priests). After this he proceeded south, and preached in these places, taught them the doctrines and seeing they were walking rightly in the Way, erected crosses in these places as well, and here it gives the names of the seven places already mentioned.

A legend that is unseen anywhere else except in this ballad: it gives the following on the Apostle's martyrdom: (p. 152-4)

When the Great Jewel of the Gospel shone brilliantly and eclipsed all else, and when the numbers of Christians had increased, the pagans were filled with envy, they searched for the Apostle keenly, but could not find him.

In those days, one day when St. Thomas in his wanderings, came by the temple of Kali, and some seeing him there, informs the pagan elders of his presence there. They drew near him faking friendliness and says: if you with folded hands worship Kali and fall at her feet, we will give you an extra serving of *payasam*, served as an offering to the goddess, you may eat it and go your way. At this St. Thomas is infuriated and said: 'I will do no such thing!' adding: 'the day I prostrate before her, her temple will burn down to ashes. I will never bow before her'. Hearing his words that the temple will become undone, the pagans are infuriated in turn, and demand to see it, to see if he spoke the truth. The Apostle then turns and looks at the image of Kali with intensity, and commands her to burn down the temple, and immediately the temple catches fire, and Kali comes out to St. Thomas in the form of a dog. The people run about in a great stampede cursing Kali, and the leading men of the temple keep a close guard on Thomas, Kali now runs away, the fire blazes on the temple and surrounding woods. Many fall into the fire and then, one caught in the fire leapt with evil intent, and stood aiming a pointed spear at Thomas, and at that moment was visible He who was Lord of heaven and earth, standing between them.

At his command, (a whole host of angles appear and sweep Thomas into a chariot and they carry him away). The Apostle escaped and took refuge in the Little Mount, and there was heard all their way, the sound of beautiful music, of various instruments, where they found him and thrust a spear at him, and he died, from where they collected his body and buried him in the House of Thoma, and his children daily saw this as their great treasure. They followed in his teachings, they vowed to follow the precepts of the Great God who had sent Thomas, and with this ends the '*Ballad of the Way of Mar Thoma Sleeha*' (St. Thomas the Apostle) (p.154).

Conclusion: Hymn of Joy (an invocation and greeting of different saints in different churches of the country - p.154-5)

Appendix 5 Mar Abdel Massih I's letter to the Jacobite Syrian Christians

This Bull was discovered in 2013, appended to a Syriac grammar book, MS *Samanvaya* Syr 18, f. 271r-272r.¹¹² It was written by the Patriarch of Antioch, Mar Abd' al Massih I (1662-1686), to the JSC of Malabar, and sent with Maphrian Mar Baselius Yaldo and bishop Mar Ivanius Hidayatalla, who arrived in 1685.

[271r]

'In the name of the Lord who, in the force of His power, preserves from all harm and injury those who serve Him and fear Him. Amin.

To the chosen congregation, which is shining in virtues and adorning [in active mood] by glorious deeds, which ornares (embellishes) in spiritual clothes as the desirable bride of Christ, who has been adorned by the Lord in glorious wedding garments and has been ornamented by the goldwork of prophecy, magnified by the pearls of the apostolate and rendered fragrant by all fragrances, perfumes and sweet herbs, whose life is in the murder of the One who has risen her, <to people> wise in things divine, adorning in virtuous conduct, excelling in the fear <of God> and zealous in spirituality; who are ornamented by virtues, perfect in the true faith, sons of the holy, universal and apostolic Church, who are loving God and desire his holy law, who are glorifying the Father, worshipping the Son and confessing the Holy Spirit, perfect in the fear of God and observing the commandments of the gospels, enclosed in the fold of Christ and imprinted by the royal seal, chosen for service and invited to the banquet; first and to begin with, the venerable and holy high priests [that is, bishops] of the townships of India and Malabar and Angamaly, heads of the churches and administrators and wise heads of the houses [family heads?], rulers [magistrates?] of the cities, heads of the fortifications and of the rural settlements, prefects of districts and islands; reverend priests of the rank of Aaron and pure deacons who serve in the churches and the monasteries, and perform service for the holy altar, and heads of the fighting ranks [probably of the monks = abbots] – to whom all, together and one by one, Christ has brought the bond and the chain of the love of Christ; those who are afar and those who

¹¹² Pampakuda archives, MS *Samanvaya* Syr 18, f. 271r-272r. According to Perczel (2013:427 footnote 23), a copy of the Bull 'was found on the last leaves of a manuscript containing Syriac grammar in the collection of the *Samanvaya* Ecumenical Research Centre in Pampakuda, Kerala'. Perczel does not give its contents.

are near, those who are travelling on sea and those who are dwelling in the ports, [271v], those who stay in the inhabited land and those who dwell in the wilderness, urban people and lords of the palaces, glorious leaders and illustrious merchants, skilled craftsmen, blessed labourers and natives of the land, servants and foreigners, that is, men and women, elderly and young, nobles and commoners, all those who will happen to read these confused letters from our humbleness, those who are preserved by the heavenly mercy of the divine Providence from all harm and injury, themselves and their sons and houses and goods and property and all the work and toil of their hands, in truth. Amin.

After greeting you with a holy kiss, let that, which we are relating to each one of you, be known to you, O brethren, my beloved, namely that the apostolate to you of Gregorios, that is, the venerable Abd al-Jaleel, was from the divine Providence, because you were not able to appoint and to consecrate for yourselves venerable bishops. Afterwards, you were in need and have already sent three times <envoys to us>. And we yielded <to your request> out of the love of Christ, and have sent to you our Fathers, our Father Mor Baselios, that is, Patriarch Yaldo, together with those who accompany him, not in order that he stays with you, but in order to fill your need and to consecrate for you venerable <bishops> and metropolitans. And after having fulfilled your requests, send them back to us. We do not want him to come to us after a long period, but after three years. And as we have returned <that is, answered> your request, so also you should return the deposit that we have entrusted <to you>. Bring it up to Basrah and hand it over to a merchant of our land, who is in Basrah. And you should wait in much peace. Let the peace of our Lord be with you and his grace with all of you, in truth. Amin.

And again, you do not need to be admonished concerning the true faith [272r] of the three Councils, because it is clear from your letter that you are correct in the confession of the Mother of God, Mary; of Christ being one nature, one hypostasis and one will, which is His, the Father's and the Spirit's; and that one is the holy, universal and apostolic Church; and of the orthodox Fathers. Let their prayers be a bulwark for us! May our Lord Jesus Christ protect you with his strong right (hand) forever, through the prayers of the dome of light Mary the mother of God and all the saints, Amen.³¹¹³

¹¹³ This sentence is in Arabic written in Syriac characters (Garshuni).

This letter was written on the seventh of the first Teshrin [October], in the year 1996 of the Greeks [1685], in Bohudaido [Beth Hudaydo], which is in the place of Niniveh and Assur, which is Mosul, that is, Beth Saydo.

[Under the letter, in red ink:] He drew and wrote this letter by the hand of Presbyter Philippos.'

Appendix6 Colophon of the 1301 Codex

Accessed https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.22.

Image of f.93v and 94r

Written in Syriac, translated into English by Dr Mikael Oez.

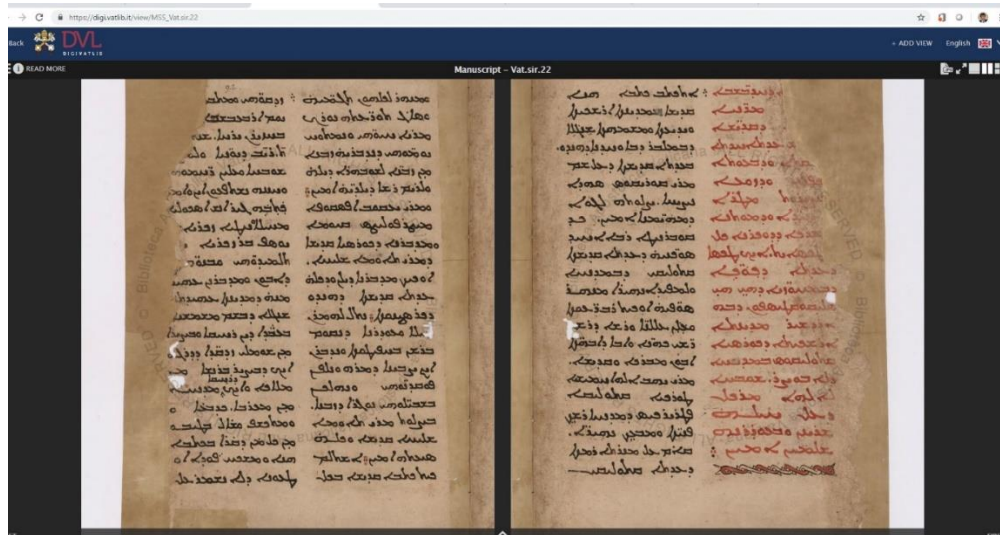
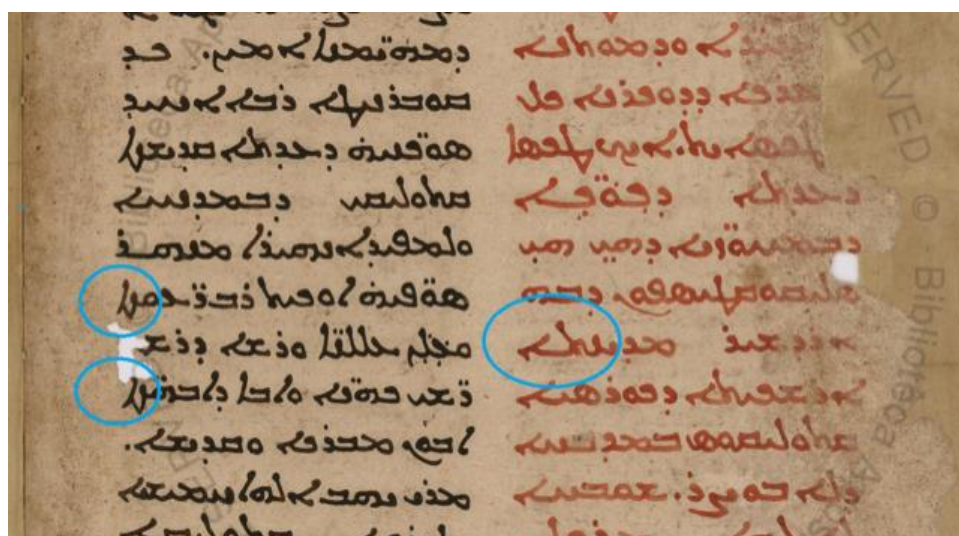


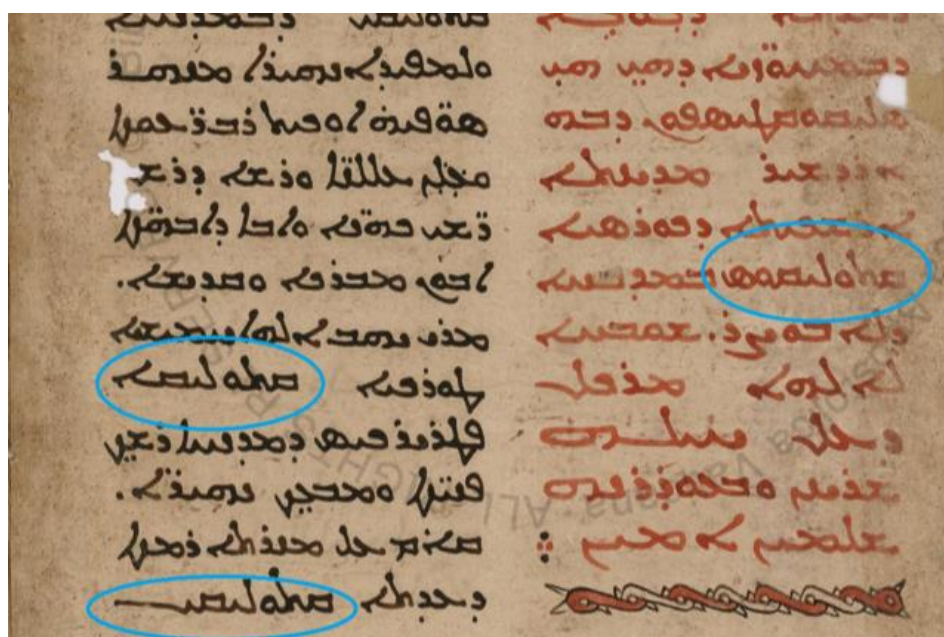
Image of f 94v



Discrepancy 1:



Discrepancy 2:



i(93Vi) [] of Sundays [] festivals [] of saints [] the new church [] and of the intercession [] and of the movement [] rain of the departed and the death and the rest of all memorial orderly. Alike the order of the church of Cucha of the *Maḥozgye*, which is Seleucia-Ctesiphon, in which the *Ardsbir*, the capital city of the See of Catholicos (Patriarchal See) is on the altar, without omission. Glory to God the Almighty by His strength we have begun and by His support we have ended, Amen.

[illegible]

(93Vii) This holy book was written in the capital, known and popular city of *Shingala* in Malabar, in the jurisdiction of India, in the holy church, under the name of Mor Cyriacus, the victorious martyr. May his prayer be for the general of the faithful, Amen.

[illegible]

When the Great Captain, who is holding the surges of the Holy Catholic Church in the East and the bright candelabra shines its corners, this is, the Arch-shepherd and Chief Prelate, Chief of Chief-priests, the Father of Fathers, the Blessed and Saintly Father Mar Yabballaha V, the Turk, Catholicos-Patriarch of the East, the Head of all Corners and the Source of light. He stands on the High Tower of the Catholic Church, (94Ri) and shines light to all its troops, and he opens its paths: may the Lord lengthen his life and stretch his days, so that he may lead it eternally to its glory and raise the head of its children, Amen.

[illegible]

And Mar Yaqub, the Episcopos Metropolitan and upholder and governor of the Holy See of the Mor Thomas, the Apostle, this is, our leader and that of the entire Holy Church of the India, of the Christendom.

[illegible]

May our Lord grant him strength and support to be upon us with diligence and to lead according to the will of his Lord, and to teach us His commandments, and to walk on His paths for a long time, by the prayer of Mor Thomas the Apostle and Saint and his entire band, Amen.

[illegible]

(94Rii) ከፍተኛ ጥራት ያለው የፍልግ ምርት
 ምርት [ጥራት] ምርት ምርት
 ያለው ምርት ምርት ምርት
 ምርት ምርት ምርት ምርት
 ምርት ምርት ምርት ምርት
 ምርት ምርት ምርት ምርት

[illegible]

[ד] וְיִשְׂרָאֵל כִּלְמָה וְהַחֲבִיבִים
חֲבִיבִים וְהַחֲבִיבִים

This colophon, along with the letter of 1504 by the four bishops resident in Malabar at the time, are presented as textual evidence for the Nestorian affiliation of Syrian Church of Malabar. The colophon is in a manuscript copied in Malabar in 1301, and was brought to the attention of scholars by Assemani in 1725.¹¹⁴ It has not been critically or epigraphically studied, but a preliminary examination indicates that the

conclusions drawn from it do not stand on safe ground for several reasons. The colophon begins (f.93v, in red ink) with the following statement:

“This Holy Book was completed in the Church of Mar Quryaqos in the royal city of Shingala in Malabar in India.... in the days of Mar Yaqub the Metropolitan Bishop and superintendent of the See of the Holy Apostle Mar Thomas, and the administrator of us all.... it was ended on Wednesday in ... the month of July... in the year 1612 for the Greek [1301]Glory to god and on us Ameen written by the weak and sinful student Zechariah Joseph son of Zechariah....”

In the second column of the same page (f.93v in black ink) it speaks of the Catholicos-Patriarch

‘the Great Captain of the Holy Catholic Church in the East who holds the boat in the mighty flood,¹¹⁵ the bright candelabra that gives light to all corners, the Arch-shepherd and Chief Prelate, Chief of Chief-priests, the Father of Fathers, the Blessed and Saintly Father Mar Yahballaha V, the Turk, Catholicos-Patriarch of the East, the Head of all corners, and the One that brings light to the East, who stands on the High Tower of the Catholic Church, and gives light to all its troops, and who opens the paths: may the Lord lengthen his life and multiply his days, that he may lead it eternally to glory, and may he raise the Head of its children, Amen.’

Here firstly, ‘Yahballaha the Turk’ is designated as the Vth Catholicos-Patriarch of the Nestorian Church, (the term used is *‘hmişoyo’*) whereas this celebrated hierarch¹¹⁶ is normally designated as the ‘Third’ (*tlitoyo*), which crucial piece of information the

¹¹⁵ In Wilmshurst (2011:194) it is ‘the holder of the key of the Holy Apostolic Church of the East’

¹¹⁶ Mar Yahb allaha III was of Ongut origin, and his intended journey to Jerusalem was interrupted by political unrest in the region. As a monk with influence at the Il Khanate court, and later as Catholicos-Patriarch of the Church of the East (1281-1317), he and his illustrious Jacobite contemporary Bar Hebraeus, together brought concord among the normally antagonistic Nestorians and Jacobites of the time (Wilmshurst 2011:187-88).

copyist seems to have been unaware of.¹¹⁷ Secondly, on the next page (f.94r) it states its authority, as ‘according to the rite of Kokhe (= the cathedral church of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, See of the Patriarchs of the Church of the East in earlier times.)’ Van der Ploeg admits that ‘this rite is different from the one of the “High Monastery” , so often quoted in Syriac MSS in Kerala and is therefore of particular interest. The new rite seems to have been introduced between the 14th and the 17th centuries, maybe in the beginning of the 16th. But this is only a hypothesis, nothing more’ (Van de Ploeg 1983:188-89). It would appear extraordinary that a Malabarian scribe possessed such detailed knowledge of the provenance of a rite, unless the archetype he was copying from had mentioned it. A cursory examination of the text indicates that it bears closer resemblance to the Jacobite rite

Fourthly, on f.93v, the orthography of the text in red and black shows some dissimilarities. The text in red bears close similarities with the main body of text, so this can be taken to be by the hand of the same copyist. But the colophon in black on f.93v differs significantly in the case one example, and that is the taw-olaf endings, and this characteristic is seen on taw-olaf endings on f.94r as well. While no conclusion can be drawn on this basis alone, all the small pieces of evidence mentioned above, points to a possible interpolation in this colophon.¹¹⁸

Consequently, it appears that it would be safer to set aside this colophon as evidence of the Malabar Church professing submission to the Catholicos-Patriarch of the Church of the East in the 14th century. In addition, Assemani himself stated that ‘Jacobites ...possessed for several centuries a considerable interest in India’, citing Assemani: ‘Praeter Nestorianos etiam Monophysitae in Indiam pervaserunt’ (Besides the Nestorians, there were also *Monophysites* throughout India) (cited in Etheridge 1846:156).

¹¹⁷ Van der Ploeg, however, translates it as Yahballaha III, stating that ‘whereas in reality he was the 5th of this name,’ thus compounding the error (1983:188).

¹¹⁸ When this interpolation took place cannot be determined, as the book was most likely to have reached the Vatican archives any time between 1599 and 1663, and Assemani brought it to light in 1725.

Appendix 7: St Thomas: related texts, collated from Jacobite Syrian sources¹¹⁹

7.1. Chalakuzhy Thaliyola Grandham

Palm leaf manuscript, translated from Zachariah's summary (Zachariah 1973).

According to this palm-leaf, apart from the 7 churches and crosses that St Thomas established, he also set up crosses in Aarthatt, Adavur, Aalikkam, Thiruvithamcodu, and other places not mentioned.

Palayur

This was where the Apostle is said to have performed the most oft-cited miracle. According to this document, there were many followers of Hinduism, powerful families, there was a great Vishnu temple, and a Kali temple, which was renowned for the power of its goddess. Here encountering Brahmins performing their ritual purifications in the temple water -tank, the St. challenged them on the efficacy of their rituals. He performed a miracle there and four leading Brahmin families were among those who received the gospel: Shakarapuri, Pakalomattom, Kalli and Kaliankavu. They were the 'Othi-kons' of that region, Othu meaning recitation, meaning teachers who recited the scriptures for the pupils who would learn them by-heart.

Ten Brahmin families altogether believed in the Gospels here (and were converted): Kalli, Kakkassery, Koladi, Cheruvathur, Meykkadan, Thaykkadan, Puliannur, Vazhapilli, Kidangane, Othanparamman.

Next to the Jewish Hill, Thomas erected a cross which later became a church, and that is the now famous, Aarthattu St Mary's Church.

There is a church still in that place and the day they received Christianity -July 15th is the Feast Day there even to this day. July is the height of the monsoons in Kerala, and no religious institution would generally prescribe a day in that month for festivities.

¹¹⁹ Translated from Malayalam into English by Sarah Knight

Maliankara

Here there were many Jews who had been living there from the time after King Solomon (the time of Babylonian captivity), St Thomas converted a good part of these Jewish people, as well as many Hindus.

Kottakkavu (or Pattamanaparvur)

According to Chalakuzhy ola, in this place there was a great Bhadrakali temple, and St Thomas arrived here at the time of the festival. Seeing that he was a foreigner, the people rioted saying a foreigner had polluted the temple precincts. Immediately, there was a storm, the temple was damaged. The next day finding the idol knocked down, there was an uproar in the place and they set about killing St Thomas, the Brahmin priest of Manakkil House stopped them and bringing St Thomas to the temple, asked him what God he was preaching, and whether he would show a miracle. St Thomas prayed and immediately a huge banyan tree in the temple ground toppled over, and snakes came out from among its roots, bit and killed some people. St Thomas took a jar of milk that come as offering to the temple, prayed over it and gave to them to drink and they revived straightaway. The families who were converted in the place are: Kottakkavi, Menavasseri, Chembasseri, Chethiyadan, etc. They entrusted the temple to St Thomas, and he had it destroyed and a church built in its place.

Gokkamangalam

In 56, St Thomas arrived here by canoe. Converted many but we do not know the details of any families.

Niranam

In 58, St Thomas set off from above and arrived in Niranam, and the people agitated saying that the man who had made the northerners wear the cross had arrived. They decided to move him on quickly. St Thomas was staying in the house of a barber. This barber had a child who was paralyzed and blind in one eye. Soon after his arrival, this child was found dead. The news spread that St Thomas had killed the child. There was an uproar, and people surrounded the house. St Thomas lifted up the body of the child and shouted to it 'Son, who killed you?' and the child came alive and said 'my father took the bribe from the people and killed me'. Another version says that 'he killed me for one bushel of new coins'. People ran away in terror, but six Brahmin families and 600 households were converted that day: Mangi, Madhati, Pattamukku, Thayal, Mattakkal, Palathra – these are the 6 Brahmin families.

St Thomas allowed this child to live with him. He established a church in this place and erected a cross.

At this time, someone called Shodarer Vasudevan- Namboodiripad of the Thayal family, came to St Thomas and being childless prayed for his blessing, and St Thomas gave him a small wooden cross to wear, and by that blessing, he had a child, and the current Thayal family traces its family to that child.

Kurakkeni Kollam

In 61, the Raja of Kollam heard about St Thomas and sent a messenger who accompanied St Thomas to the Raja's residence. The Raja was paralyzed and his only son was a mentally disturbed person. St Thomas healed them both, and the Raja gave him land and the expenses to build a church there. St Thomas led services there and many people were converted. And in Margampali ballad, there is a reference to this.

Chayal

In 63, St Thomas returned to Niranam, and from there he walked along the River Pambar, and arrived in the hill country of Nilackil or Chayal. Many Brahmin families and others were converted here, the leading one of which was Kalikavu.

General summary of the above:

St Thomas the Apostle arrived in 52; his evangelical work extended over what is now central Kerala. He established churches in 7 places and erected crosses in many more. He appointed priests from four leading Brahmin families: Kalli, Kalikavu, Shankarapuri, and Pakalomattom. Their remit was to be elders and Guides of the people. They guided and led the community of Christians in the 'right path' (consistently referred to as *The Way*) until the year 200. After this time, when priests became extinct from all these families, the elders of the community continued with just the important sacraments of baptism and wedding 'in a limited way', and: 'it was at this time that by the will of Almighty God the Edessans came to Kerala.'

7.2. Summary of translated excerpts from Jacobite Syrian sources

Apostolic origins;

The St. Thomas mission sees varying treatment in the Jacobite Syrian sources, with some giving it the pared down version as in MV, but others with considerable detail. Among the ten sources discussed here, the encyclicals and letters from bishops do not treat this subject, but it is addressed in the two chronicles, the 1771 ola, and the three published books. The Syrians' usually succinct narrative acquires particularised breadth when the oral or literary narratives of individual churches in their physical location are added.

Request from king

The king, at whose request 'the master carpenter' (St Thomas) is brought to Malabar, is named in all other accounts as 'Chozha perumal', meaning king of the Chozha empire, on the Coromandel or East Coast of India, as opposed to Gondophares of the Indus Valley as in Bardesanes' account (in Acta Thomae). Philip (1950:34-7) has suggested that this Chozha perumal (dynastic name) was specifically Kandaka Parashu a Chozha king that reigned in Mylapore.

Kandanad (p...) adds certain details, such as: St Thomas belonged to the tribe of Judah, that he arrived, after preaching to the Persians, Medes, and Indians, in the mountainous land called Malabar and in 'Hendo' on the east coast.

Arrival

Niranam gives a very concise account (p.28): 'In the year 52, St. Thomas the Apostle (Mar Thoma Sreeha) arrived in Malayalam-country and established seven churches as well.

Conversion miracles

Most of the detail around the conversion miracles is found in Zachariah and Kandanad. Zachariah had been able to access and draw upon olas from various individual churches, in a way that other authors were not able to do.

Established churches and erected crosses

The places the Apostle established communities of newly converted Christians, or, 'built churches', and their names are the same ones across the different Syrian accounts,

showing only minor regional variations. Syrian sources list ‘seven-and-a-half’ as the number of churches St. Thomas established in Malabar, which can sometimes appear confusing because of the regional variants for their names: 1) Palayoor or Chattukulangara (MV uses the more obscure name ‘Edapully’; 2) Maliamkara (Kodungalloor); 3) Paravur (Kottakayal, as in MV; also Kottakkavi /Pattamana-Paravur); 4) Gokkamangalam (Pallippuram, as in MV); 5) Kollam (Kurakeni-kollam), 6) Niranam; 7) Chayal (Nilakkal), and 8) Tiruvankottu (Thiruvithamkottu). Tiruvankottu is the furthest south and more isolated from the other places which are mostly concentrated in the central Malabar. The native accounts consistently mention the erection of palli , some kind of ‘houses’ for worship by St. Thomas.

The Kandanad Chronicle (Cheeran 2008:27) and Zachariah furnish details of the erection of crosses at various locations and these became objects of veneration from earliest times.

Appointing priests

That St. Thomas had conferred upon some families the position as priests is a recurring part of the narrative. Sources vary in the precise number of families entrusted with this honour from two to four (Niranam p29 ‘From among those who were baptised, he conferred priesthood to the two families of Shakarapuri and Pakalomattom.’) Sources vary in the precise number of families entrusted with this honour from two to four. Although individuals were appointed originally, the office of priesthood was understood to be hereditary, with echoes of the ancient Jewish custom of priesthood being confined to the Levites.

Martyrdom

In Niranam, St. Thomas’s martyrdom is given as the year 72, alongside what reads like a copied or memorised list of all the other Apostles and Evangelist’s, although omitting the manner of his death (p.29). None of the other sources give a date, but they all identify the location as Mylapore, and provide details of the cause and manner of his martyrdom (he was stabbed by a lance at the hand of a heathen).

Joseph the Indian does not make any mention of St. Thomas evangelising the Christians of Southern India, or of his miracles, or but there is a mention of St. Thomas in the list

of feasts observed by the SCM, stating: ‘They observe the octave of Easter with more festivity than any other, for they affirm that on that day St. Thomas, about whom they are very zealous, put his hand in the side of our Lord and recognised that he was not a phantom’, and further: ‘the first day of July is celebrated with great solemnity by Christians as well as the gentiles in memory of St. Thomas.’ (Vallavanthara p.177) He identifies the location of the Apostle’s as Mailapur (‘Milapar’). Although MV is silent on the translation of his relics to Edessa, Kandanad mentions that they were translated to Edessa in 396 (Kandanad 92).

7.3 Hymns on St Thomas by St Ephrem the Syrian

A selection of strophes from hymns by St Ephrem, relating to St Thomas and India.

Translated by Monsignor Lamy (University of Louvain, *S. Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones*), and given in Medlycott 1905:26-32

1. On Thomas the Apostle

(from Mss. in British Museum Add MS 17141, folio 85; strophes xiv, xvi and xvii))

xiv

‘Blessed art thou whom the Great King hath sent,
That India to his One-Begotten thou shouldst espouse;
Above snow and linen white, thou the dark bride didst make fair.
‘Blessed art thou, who the unkempt hast adorned,
That having become beautiful and radiant,
To her Spouse she might advance.

xvi

‘Blessed art thou, O merchant, a treasure who broughtest
Where so greatly it was needed;
Thou the wise man, who to secure the great pearl,
Of thy riches all else thou givest;

‘The finder it enriches and ennobles:
Indeed thou art the merchant who the world endowest!

xvii

‘Blessed art thou, O Thrice-Blessed City! that hast acquired this pearl,
None greater doth India yield;
‘Blessed art thou, worthy to possess the priceless gem!
Praise to thee, O Gracious Son,
Who thus Thy adorers dost enrich!’

From another section of the *Breviary according to the Rite of the Church of Antioch of the Syrians*, compiled by Clement David, Archbishop of Damascus.

i

‘Thomas, whence thy lineage,
That so illustrious thou shouldst become ?
A merchant thy bones conveys;
A pontiff assigns thee a feast;
A King a shrine erects.

ii

The bones the merchant hath brought,
Over them an outward watch he kept,
They from within guard over him keep.
Since on divers trades he embarked
Nothing so priceless did he acquire.

iii

In his several journeys to India,
And thence on his returns,
All riches, which there he found,
Dirt in his eyes he did repute
When to thy [sacred] bones compared.

vi

Neither promised nor hoped for,
One thing more did he [the creator] give.
Lo, in India thy wonders,¹⁶
In our land thy triumph,
Everywhere thy festival.

vii

Wonders during life thou performest,
These, after death, thou still continuest:
Under great bodily fatigue
In one region only didst thou heal.
Now, everywhere, without labour thou dost cure.

viii

As thou wast taught [by the Lord],
With the sign of the Cross and oil thou didst heal;
But now, without speech, demons thou expellest;
Without speech human ills thou curest;
Without prayer the dead do arise.'

From the same Breviary, vol vi, p638.

i

'The One-Begotten his Apostles chose,
Among them Thomas, whom he sent
To baptize peoples perverse, in darkness steeped.
A dark night then India's land enveloped,
Like the sun's ray Thomas did dart forth;
There he dawned, and her illumined.

ii

What dweller on earth was ever seen,
But Thomas, the Lord's Apostle,

On earth designing and a dwelling in Heaven erecting?¹⁷
Or on earth who so wise was found
Here of his genius essaying
What in Heaven a crowning secures?

v

The client of Thomas needs not men his praises to sing:
Great is the crowd of his martyred followers.
Lo, his Bones, his Passion, his Work proclaim ;¹⁸
His Miracles, him yet alive assert;
His Deeds the rough Indian convinced.
Who dares doubt the truth of his Relics?'

Appendix 8 Manichaeism in India

8.1. Karuthedathu *ola*

From an *ola* Mss. transcribed by T.K. Joseph, in Malayalam.

In *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents* (1929:AppendixII),
Trivandrum.¹²⁰

The state of the Christian Way in Kerala

Matters relating to the time after the sacred and holy Christian Way of Blessing [=Christianity] came to Malayala.

The Vellalas of Kaveripoompattanam were persecuted by the kings, and so they boarded ships and arrived in Kollam. The 72 families that arrived in Kollam became relatives with those believers in Kollam. When they were continuing in this way, in the Year of our Lord 293, those believers in Niranam and those in Kollam with the above-mentioned Tamils, did some things in the Tamil tradition and some in the Malayalam tradition. As they continued in this manner, in the year 315,¹²¹ a sorcerer called Manikkavacher arrived. He began directing his sorcery against some of those who followed the Way, and released among them some evil spirits ['his familiars']. This caused (among the Christians) fevers, madness, spasms of the limbs and death of their animals. When those who were affected by these calamities found that if they went to the sorcerer, and put some of the ashes he gave them on the sick people, they were seen to recover somewhat. Some of the others experienced violent and fitful spasms, after which evil spirits were exorcised out of them. Because this was a land full of heathen, the people began to accord the sorcerer respect and they became friends with him, and they began to accompany and lead other Christians also secretly to the sorcerer Manikkavacher. They listened to the 'five-syllabic mantra' (*panchakshram*) uttered by him over them, and they secretly gave offerings and made vows to the heathen temples. And they performed, and went to see being performed, rituals of *karumani* and *mudiyettu* [exact meaning not known]. They also learned the stories of the heathen

¹²⁰ Translated into English by Sarah Knight

¹²¹ Both these dates appear to be incorrect, as Mani is thought to have died in 274 AD.

sacred books (*kavyas*), and learned by heart the magical formulae from these sacred books, and they were continuing in this way secretly. [In those days] of those who had come from Chozhamandalam (Chozha country on the east coast), 24 families arrived [in Kollam?], looking for Manikkavacher. They and the 72 who had arrived earlier, united with each other by marriage.

During this time, an elder, who was given the ‘elder’ status by all the 72 families, died. Then 8 out of the 72 who had become entrapped in the sorcery of Manikkavacher in the Hendo country (Coromandel), 4 of those (24) who had come looking for him, and 20 of those who were from here (Malabar), in this manner 8 plus 4 plus 20, i.e., 32 families who had grown into 116, they set their hearts together, and decided that the above mentioned deceased person must be wrapped in unwashed new cloth and cremated. Those in Malayala (of?) the 64 families of the 336 families, those of Kurakkeni (Kollam) argued that, from the time they had become Christians and until then, they had always only buried their dead after wrapping them in washed white cloth, and interred them in the precincts of their homes. So this group argued that the deceased person must be buried in this manner, and there was much dissension on account of this. The eight families got together and declared that ‘we listened to the Master’s five-syllabic mantra, we drank the *Pancha Gavya* of the cow’s dung, urine, milk, buttermilk and ghee, and we are thus his disciples. If you will not listen to our words, we 116 will change our faith and leave’.

Manikkavacher entrusted to them the ‘familiar’ *moorti* (evil spirit) that served him, and they took her and settled her in the Panayannar grove (*kavu*). By Manikkavacher’s name, those families are called ‘Manigrammakkar’. Those 68 families who did not listen to the mantra of Manikkavacher and refused to wear his ashes, then wrapped the deceased in white cloth, and buried him in the precincts of his house, and these people came to be called ‘Non-wearers’ (*Dhariyakkal*).

8.2. Excerpt from Abdel Ahad (Patriarch Yacoub III) 1948:475-483):

(After a brief account of his birth etc.)

‘But soon he (Mani) began to deviate very far from the Orthodox faith, and began to preach some heretical views. (He taught that) as causes of good and evil, there are two

self-generating gods, a Good God and an Evil God respectively. He taught that the Good God was the creator of the Soul, and the creator of the body was the Evil God. He mingled the teachings of the Persian doctrinarian Zoroaster with the doctrines of Christianity, and his heretical teachings reflected the tenets of Persians. Holding these ideas, he travelled about preaching these statements and teachings which opposed the Truth when he was only 25 or 30 years of age. At the coronation of the Persian emperor Shapur I (between 241 and 242) it was at the royal palace that he first preached his above-cited heretical beliefs.

‘He (Mani) chose twelve disciples in order to propagate his doctrines, and sent them to different parts of the world, and he too set off from Persia, and travelled preaching in different places. He appointed and sent one of his disciples Adai to convert the Aramians, and the disciple Thomas to evangelise the country of India. When they came back and announced to him that none would accept their teachings, he became enraged, denounced Christianity, and declared that he himself was Christ and the Holy Spirit. His doctrines generally refuted the Doctrine of Resurrection, and not only that, but he also preached the principle of transmigration of souls. He did not encourage marriage, considering it prohibited. Setting aside the initial obstacles in the spread of his doctrines, he and his disciples worked hard to propagate his heretical views in diverse places. Gradually his objectives were fulfilled and many came to be knowledgeable in his teachings. But he was unable to continue his activities without obstacles. The bishop of Kashkar Archalavon (281+) debated with him and rejected his heretical teachings. By the end of the reign of Shaporthomman?? (270+) Mani came back to the capital of Persia and won followers to himself in the royal palace as well.

But the heathen priests and the Magi compelled the king to persecute Mani, and he was imprisoned. Somehow he escaped and ran away from there. Shapur’s successor Hormisdas (272 or 273) seem to have supported Mani. However, we see that later Bahram I had him flayed and crucified. Historians have different accounts of his end.

(Here follows a story about his end, with Mani claiming that he could heal the king’s son of an illness, on failing which the king had him killed and flayed, and his skin stuffed with straw and hung on the city wall. Then there follows an account of various books said to have been written by Mani, six of which were in Syriac and one in Persian, including ‘The Holy Sacraments’ and the ‘Gospel treasures’(?); how his teachings

‘spread like fire’ even after his death, in Persia, Turkey, regions in the Roman Empire, Armenia, India, China etc.; that not only the Christians but also other religionists strongly opposed his teachings; how Diocletian sent a Decree to persecute his followers (in April of 287) to eradicate his followers as traitors and enemies of the Roman emperor; and finally is given an account of the mode of worship of the Manichaeans: Sunday was a day of fasting, the anniversary of Mani’s death was a day of great celebration, baptism was conducted in a mixture of oil and water, the Lord’s Last Supper was a rite of worship open only to the Select, and they also taught that those things in the Gospels that supported Mani’s teachings were ‘assured Truths’, and the rest were rejected. They also rejected the Old Testament entirely.

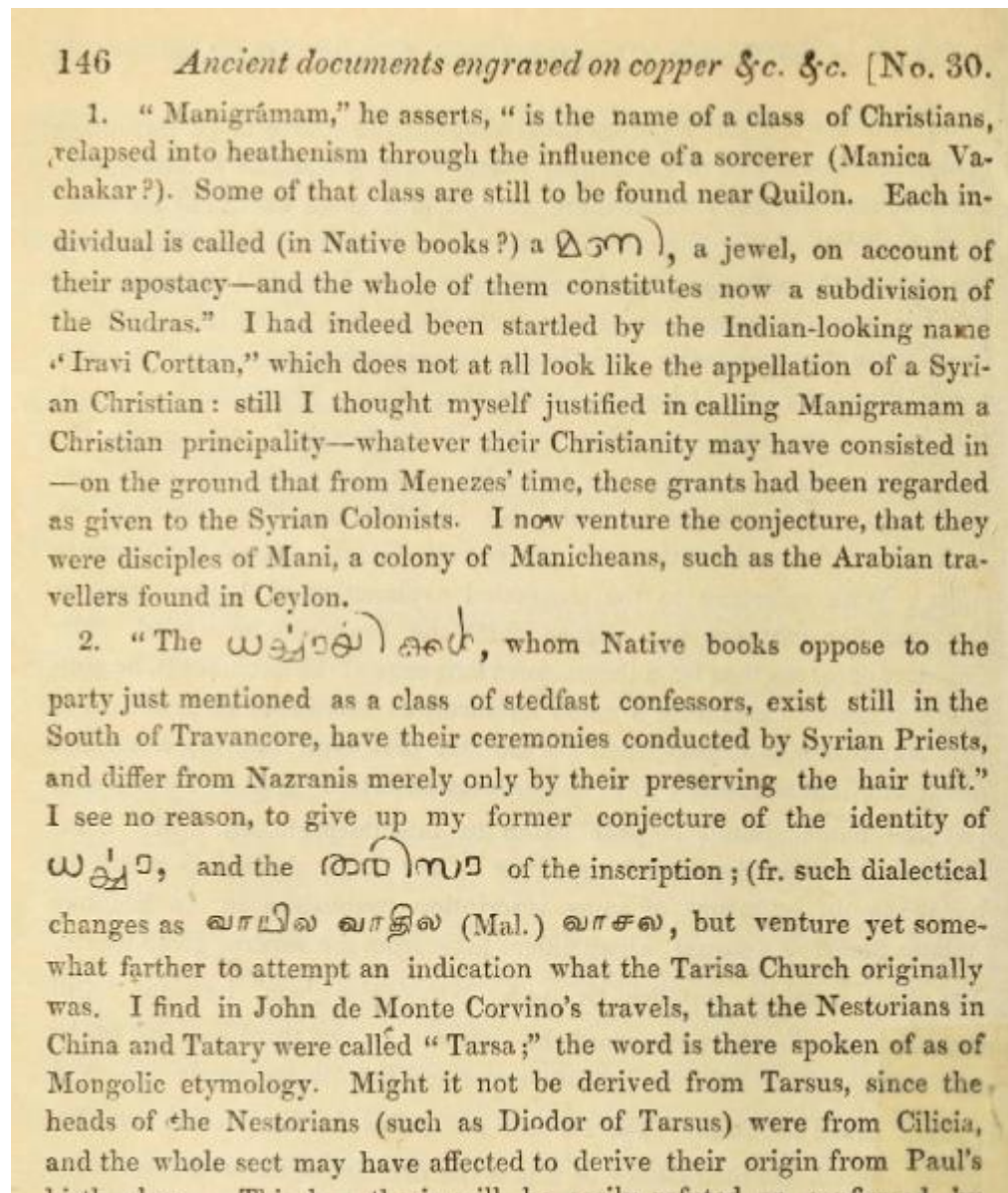
The Synod of Antioch that had deposed and excommunicated Paul of Samosata (269) is said to have excommunicated Mani also.’

8.3. The Rev. Joseph Peet (C.M.S Missionary based in Mavelikara, Kerala) on the terms 'Manigrammakkar' and 'Tharissa'.

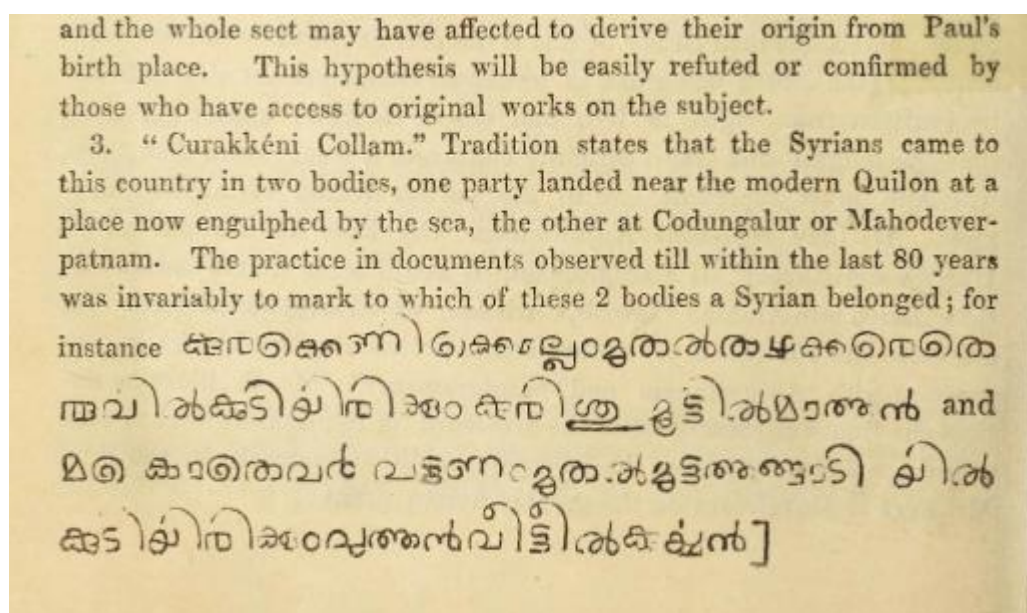
Cited in: Gundert, Herman (1844) *Translation and Analysis of the ancient documents engraved on copper in possession of the Syrian Christians and Jews of Malabar.*

Madras Journal of Literature and Science, No.30, June 1844, pp115-146.

Below, the first half (p.146):



Below, the second half (p146):



Transcription and translation of the Malayalam text above in the second half:

“Kurakkeni-Kollam mutal Tazhakkārē theruvil kudiṭirikkum kuriṣumūṭṭil Māthen (and) Makotēvar-paṭṭanam mutal Muṭṭatangadiyil kudiṭirikkum Puttanvīṭṭil Kurian...”

‘Mathen of Kurisumuttil-house’, from Kurakkeni-Kollam, residing in Thazhakkare Street’ (and) ‘Kurian of Puthenveettil family, from Makothevar-pattanam, residing in Muttathangady.

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 145¹ 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).¹²²

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 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)

¹²² Translated from Malayalam to English, by Sarah Knight

and as they went, 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 cloth 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.¹

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 ‘*Dharyakkal*’ 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 Maliamkara) and those Christians of the 64 families who were known as *'Dhariyakkal'* ('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. City of Kollam destroyed:

XIII. Christian dynasty of Vilwarvattom:

XIV. Arrival of the Nestorian bishop Mar Abraham

XV. Menezes convenes the Synod of Diamper:

XVI. The Portuguese drown Mar Ahattallah in Kochi harbour and the Oath of the Leaning Cross: (pp.33-35)

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

9.2. Honours and privileges 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 ¹²³ , Long-poles ¹²⁴ palanquin ¹²⁵ and carpets,
Pancha-padam, venchamaram,	Five- <i>padam</i> ¹²⁶ and white fly-whisk ¹²⁷ ,
Thazha-kudayum, kodium, kudayum, nadyum, nadathum,	and royal-parasols, and flag and parasol and cheer-call 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 ¹²⁸ and forehead ornament
Pavaadayum, neervaal, ilamkuyil-kinnaram,	And skirt, and straight-sword,

¹²³ 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.

¹²⁴ This could signify either the long-poles of palanquins or long-armed oars of canoes.

¹²⁵ Two other kinds of palanquin are mentioned in Vellian and in the *Paanan Paattu*=Ballad of Panans: *aandolam*, *thookkumanchal* and *menavu* (Vellian 2001:65-67).

¹²⁶ 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.

¹²⁷ 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.

¹²⁸ Hair tied in a bun on top front to the side of the head, and embellished with jewellery.

Kappal, kappalsheelayum,	and ‘ <i>ilam-kuyil</i> ’ lute ¹²⁹ , and ship, and ship-sail,
Cheruthiri-channayum, channame:l monnayum,	And fine-woven-linen and ..(?),
Nediya-kudayum, nettoor-pettium,	And long-arm parasol and Nettoor-box ¹³⁰
Edampiri-shankhum, chakram valampiri,	And left-spiralling conch ¹³¹ and right-spiralling disc ¹³² ,
Amba:layum, manarkkolam,	And <i>ambala</i> ¹³³ , and pavilion ¹³⁴ ,
Mankayaal, manka-kankanam,	<i>Mankayal</i> ¹³⁵ , 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,
Pulayaatu-saadhanam, munkaime:l- pathakkam,	Pulayattu-saadhanam ¹³⁶ , 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 ¹³⁷ , city-festoon ¹³⁸ ,
Veera-thandum, nantham-vilakkum,	And palanquin-of-valour and <i>nandan</i> (?)- lamp, ¹³⁹

¹²⁹ The use of ‘*ilam-kuyil*’ or ‘little-koel’ an adjective is not certain.

¹³⁰ 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.

¹³¹ 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.

¹³² The signification of this is not clear.

¹³³ This remains unidentified.

¹³⁴ 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).

¹³⁵ Manka is ‘female’ or ‘lady’ in Malayalam, but *Mankayal* is uncertain.

¹³⁶ This has remained unidentified.

¹³⁷ This has remained unidentified.

¹³⁸ Traditionally festoons are made of cream-coloured tender-palms of the coconut strung up plain or plaited.

¹³⁹ 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.

Hastha-kadakam, kanaka-mudiyum,	And arm- <i>kadagam</i> , ¹⁴⁰ and golden crown,
Mudikkeezh-abaranam,	Jewellery-below-crown,
Annamel-ambariyum	And elephant, and howdah on elephant,
Anchumula, chinchira, chankava,	cattle ¹⁴¹ , 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 correlating 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.

¹⁴⁰ 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) *Kalarippayattu*.'

¹⁴¹ This meaning for '*anchumula*' is specious, derived from five-teats of a cow.

Idupadi	<i>Kachchappuram</i> = ‘over-kachcha’ as given above? Historically unidentified.
Veera-thandu	<i>Ka:lthala</i> =anklets.
Anchu-mula Some have interpreted this as the cow.	<i>Ka:lchilambu</i> = ankle-bells.
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:rkkalanchi</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 അക്ഷരസംഖ്യാസൂത്രം									
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					
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. 521-528¹⁴²

On the origin of the ancient Emperors of Malabar, called *Perumals* and Zamorin; on the principalities which belong in Malabar, and on their beginning and 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 Calicut to be a sea

¹⁴² translated from Portuguese to English by Sérgio Ferreira

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

Page 523

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...

Page 524

...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...

Page 525

...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...

Page 526

...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...

Page 527

...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...

Page 528

...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).'

Appendix 10 Kollam migration: related texts

10.1. Zachariah 1973 on Mar Sabor and Aphroth (Kollam 825)

Zachariah, K.T. Rev. (1973): *Malankara Suriani Sabhayum Antiokya Simhasanavum*. (The Syrian Church of Malankara and the Holy See of Antioch) Edessa Press, Kottayam. (in Malayalam) Mor Adai Study Centre, Changanassery, 2010

Translated from Malayalam into English by Sarah Knight

Citing the Chalakuzhy *Ola* manuscript¹ (which has not been located yet) as well as other documents, Zachariah says of these two bishops as follows (1973:43):

‘In those days, in the Diocese of Tigris in Mesopotamia, two monks from the famous Monastery of Mar Augin’s in Usali came to Jerusalem, and they received episcopal ordination from the Patriarch Mar Ignatius Joseph who reigned at the time. But they did not wish to return to their country as episcopos. As a result, the Holy Patriarch sent them to Malayala-land for the benefit of the people there. They set off in the company of a large group of people, also taking with them some stone crosses that were ancient and that used to be in Mar Augin’s Monastery. It is said that they set off in many ships, two of which got caught in storms and foundered in the sea, and two ships arrived in Kollam in 825, so the tradition says.

Their activities in Malanakra:

These visitors seem to have had some commanding power that they soon won such favour of the king Sthanu Ravi Gupta, that he bestowed on them land to build churches, privileges and honours, the circumstances and names of which have been immortalised in the famous Kollam Tharisha-pally copper-plates which are still extant from that date. We have very scant information about the circumstances in Kollam when they arrived, but it could reasonably be assumed that some cataclysm was underway, so much so that, a new Era was begun in commemoration of the arrival of these dignitaries, the Malayalam Era, which was adopted by all Kerala’s kingdoms and principalities, and remained in wide use till the 20th century, and to a lesser extent even now, into the 21st.

The following churches were built by these bishops:

1. Kollam St. Mary’s in Year 1 ME/825-6 CE
2. Kayamkulam church Year 3 ME/829 CE
3. Kaduthuruthy church- Year 5 ME/830 CE
4. Udayamperoor church- Year 7 ME/832 CE
5. Angamaly church -Year 9/834 CE

The third gentleman of the group Maravan Sabrisho was a great man. They had brought much wealth with them. They placed these before the king of Kollam and won his favour. They gained for the Christians, tax-exempted land as well as some honours and privileges. These were inscribed on copper-plates and that is the ‘Kollam Copper-plates.’

Besides, when these Holy Fathers set off for Malankara, the Throne of Antioch had bestowed upon them a ring each.

At this time there was a princely family in Udayamperoor. This princely family used to be Kodungalloor. However, due to the Muhammedans attacks on the city, the Christians who lived in Kodungalloor had removed themselves to Udayamperoor along with their king. It was at this time that Mar Sabor and Aphroth came to Udayamperoor and built the church there. These bishops together now anointed the king and established his seat to be in Udayamperoor. Then they bestowed on that royal family a new name: 'King Joseph of the House of Jacobites of Vilvalvattom of Udayamperoor, (*'Udayaperoor Vilvalvattathu Yakoba Swaroopathil Ousep Rajava'*). Addressing him by this name, they put on his finger the signet-ring that had been sent with them by the Patriarch of Antioch, and which they had safely kept until then. After this they consecrated someone from Pakalomattom family as Archdeacon. And they got Joseph the Jacobite King to put the second ring that had been sent by the Patriarch and which they had kept safely, upon the hand of the new Archdeacon. From that time onwards, whenever a new king was anointed the Archdeacon was required to be present and put the signet-ring on king's hand, and when a new Archdeacon was consecrated, the king of the House of Jacobites had to put the signet-ring on his hand. The seat of the Archdeacon was also in Udayamperoor.

Holy Father Sabor died and was buried in Angamaly, and Holy Father Aphroth died and was buried in Kollam.

Zachariah has argued (citing the source: Nidhiyirikkal Fr. Mani's *'Mar Thoma Nasranies'* p.247) that this evidence strongly points to the Church having been until then, and even afterwards, of Jacobite faith, from the fact that 'Jacobite' was included in the name of the newly anointed king of the Christians. (1973:46). 'The first king of the Christians in Malabar, and he was a Jacobite; there all reason then to believe that the Church here at the time was Jacobite too. And this Church was under Antioch.'

Zachariah adds that the Kings of the Jacobites always took the name 'Joseph' as Mar Sabor and Aphroth had chosen this name in order to perpetuate the memory of the Holy Father who had consecrated and sent them, Mar Ignatius Joseph of Antioch. However, this dynasty came to an end when there were no sons to inherit the kingdom, and the only daughter was taken in marriage by a prince of the Kochi royal family. It is from that time onwards that the Head of the Syrian Christians had the ring placed on his finger by the King of the House of Perumpadappil of Kochi. And once this ring was put on him, he became officially the representative of all Christians of Malankara. It was not a new ring that was put on him, but the old ring used successively, because when an Archdeacon passed away, the ring had to be presented to the King of the House of Perumpadappil. Later when Malakara Christians had their own metropolitans, they wore these rings as a sign of their office.'

10.2. Persian Crosses

Images of the main 'Persian Crosses'

1. St. Thomas Mount Cross, of the St Thomas Mount Shrine, Chennai, Tamil Nadu.



Persian Cross 2 Kottayam Valiapally (Small) at the Church of St Mary the Great (Valiapally), Kottayam, Kerala.



Persian Cross 3 Kottayam Valiapally (Large), at the St Mary the Great Church (Valiapally), Kottayam, Kerala



Appendix 11 Composite Jacobite Syrian accounts

Collated from different Jacobite sources (summarised and translated, relating to key elements of the narrative history of the Jacobite Syrians)

The Mesopotamian migrations

The sources are consistent in the name, titles and authority of the hierarchs that sent the party as the Patriarch of Antioch (Eustedius in Pukadiyil 1969:113-4), in conjunction with the Catholicos of the East and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. While the narrative is foreshortened in some of the sources to: ‘Episcopos Mar Joseph was sent, accompanied by priests (kassisho), deacons (shemmashe), Christians, children (paithangal=small children) and women’. MV relates the location of the Christians settling in houses facing North and South in l31-33. This relates to the distinct communities created on the north and south sides of the street, which have been interpreted in different ways, and described in Malayalam as Thekkumbhagar (Southerners) and Vadakkumbhagar (Northerners). The sources also clearly indicate that with this settlement, the two ethnically distinct groups, ie., the indigenous ‘Nasranis’ of Malabar and Mesopotamian Nasranis, merged to form one Christian community. Kandanad (2008:30-31) gives details on how they were settled:

‘Occupying this position of honour, prestige and doctrinal truth , they instructed us on the way of the True Path. (Those of noble birth from among) the Nasranis who came from Jerusalem and (those of noble birth from among) the Nasranis of Malayala (united in marriage) and became relatives. In the same way, so as not to lose caste, those of a lower estate from among the newly arrived, and those of a lower estate or bonded to the native Nasranis were united (as another group of) relatives together. And one row of four-hundred shops were constructed for the ‘Greater’ Ones on the northern range, and another row of seventy-two shops (were constructed) for the Lesser Ones on the southern range, and this was instituted for as long as humanity existed’.

This is supported by a list of particularities of rites and practices set into place that would become the ‘traditions’ of each group, i.e., the nobles and their dependants, and would ‘set them apart in perpetuity’, such as occupations and laws of inheritance. Each community was also prescribed distinct cultural practices to follow, such as those relating to marriage ceremonies, so as to distinguish them in perpetuity. This, the SCM believe, was the reason for there being two distinct communities among them, though bound by the same faith, religious practices and episcopal provenance, and it was in this state that the Portuguese found them in the 16th century.

Episcopal provenance until the 16th century

Niranam (pp.116-7) provides the names and dates of the bishops who arrived between 905 and 1407, all bearing the title of Metropolitan. Some inconsistencies in the dates provided by Zachariah are also noted:

- 905: Denha, Raban, Yaunan and Mar Aavan.
- 988: Yohanan
- (gap of 68 years)
- 1056: Yousep (Thoma in Zachariah:1973:52)
- (gap of 66 years)
- 1122: Yackob
- (gap of 99 years)
- 1221: Yousep (1231 in Zachariah :52)
- (gap of 64 years)
- 1285: Dawid
- (gap of 85 years)
- 1370 Yohannan (only in Zachariah:52)
- (gap of 37 years)
- 1407: Yab Alaha

The JSC's relationship with the 16th century bishops:

MV mentions the arrival of four bishops soon after the arrival of the Portuguese, Mar Thoma, Mar Yabahalla, Mar Denha and Mar Yacob, in the early-16th century, giving three particulars about them: that they were Syrians, that they came by the decree of the Catholicos, and that they and built many churches (II.42-44). Although three Sources, the 1771 Ola, Niranam and Kandanad, do not mention these four bishops, Zachariah and Kaniamparambil provides details, most notable of which is their undertaking extensive church-building (Zachariah 1973:53-55). Zachariah mentions how the original seven churches established by Apostle Thomas, was increased to twelve by

bishops Sabor and Aphroth. At about the same time, three more major churches were added, raising the number to fifteen. This number was raised to 72 churches by these early-16th century bishops (Zachariah 1973:53-55).¹⁴³ Regarding the three bishops who came in the latter half of the 16th century, Mar Abraham of the Nestorian CofE, Joseph Sulaqua and Simon, both of the Chaldean Uniate Church, the Sources give some details of the relationship that developed between them and the SCM, especially in the case of Mar Abraham

(Manalil 2002:117, Cheeran 2008:32, Pukadiyil 1869:124). Because they had no other bishops arriving from Syria, the SCM are reported to have accepted the authority of Mar Abraham on condition that he was to perform no other episcopal functions in the Syrian Church except ordinations, and that he was not to interfere in the Syrians' faith and doctrine. However, Mar Abraham's apostasy from his own doctrines of the CofE under pressure from his Jesuit inquisitors, and his submission to Rome, led the Syrians to reject him (Cheeran 2008:32). In his earlier work (1982) Kaniamparambil briefly mentions that the 1503 bishop Mar Jacob, and the three bishops of the latter half of the 16th century (Abraham, Joseph Sulaqua, and Simon) were unprincipled bishops, and consequently were rejected by the SCM (1982:124). In his later work (1989) Kaniamparambil treats the subject at length, and concludes that Mar Abraham, Joseph Sulaqua, and Simon were crypto-Nestorians, who in the troubled times of the SCM in the 16th century, were trying to bring them under the Nestorian CofE, but that in simultaneously attempting to please Rome as well, they became rejected by both, and died tragic deaths (1989:56-63).

Joseph the Indian's account, notably coming prior to all the Sources, states that the Patriarch of his Church was in Antioch, his 'over-bishop' was called the Jacobite 'Catholica', who sends bishops and Metropolitans to Malabar (Vallavanthara 1984:168-70; 231-233).

Pukadiyil finds information about the early 16th century bishops only in European sources, and says: 'The Dutch Governor Moens in a letter mentions that in 1500, some Syrians bishops by name Mar Denha and Mar Yacoub came to Malayala' (1869:124), but he does not mention them performing any episcopal functions. The identity of the

¹⁴³ This last number is probably erroneous because in 1663 when the Dutch were in Malabar, both indigenous (Kaniamparambil 1982:146-7) and Dutch sources (Drury 1862:109) give the number of churches as 64.

three other bishops who arrived in the latter half of the 16th century, Mar Abraham of the Nestorian CofE, and Joseph Sulaqua and Simon of the Chaldean Uniate Church, are mentioned with some specifics on the response of the SCM, and their subsequent relationship with them. Niranam states that when ‘in the year 1545, Kollam Era 720,’ Mar Abraham arrived ‘by the order of Elia’, ‘the Franks influenced him (*swaadheenikkuka* = brought him under their control) and sent him Rome. He returned with the Law of the Pope’ (Manalil 2002:117), and here the consequent rejection of Mar Abraham by the SCM is implied. Pukadiyil (1869:125) and Kandanad (Cheeran 2008:32) add that Abraham had brought a great number of books many books with him, but, according to Pukaiyil ‘when they saw that the faith of this bishop differed from that of the Syrians, there was much argument’ (1869:125), and that a conditional acceptance of his authority was made, because they had no other bishops in the country. The conditions were that they would accept only the ordination of priests from him, and that they would co-operate with him if he did not make any changes to the faith and doctrines of the SCM.

Kandanad relates the changing relationship between Mar Abraham and the SCM as ‘because we did not have a bishop at the time, we received only ordinations from him.’ This Chronicle further recounts the SCM’s statement to Mar Abraham: ‘We will submit to you if you will obey the Syrian doctrines like us, we said to him, and when the Portuguese heard this, they oppressed him and threatened him with imprisonment, and sent him to Rome’, and further that: ‘He returned from Rome having submitted to the Pope, but when we heard his words, and his doctrine, we removed ourselves from him’ (Cheeran 2008:32).

Zachariah and Kaniamparambil cites from leading European historians of 18th-20th centuries (such as Moshein, Raulin, Le Quien, Hough and Mackenzie, (Zachariah 1973:56), Zachariah’s account seems to differ from all the others in that he describes the bishops of the 16th century, including Abraham (who the other sources all identify as ‘Nestorian’), and Joseph Sulaqua and Simon, as Syrians. Conversely, Kaniamparambil concludes that Mar Abraham, Joseph Sulaqua, and Simon of the 16th century were crypto-Nestorians whose designs on the SCM failed (1989:56-63). After a lengthy treatment of the careers of these three bishops in Malabar, Kaniamparambil concludes that Mar Abraham, Joseph Sulaqua, and Simon were unprincipled bishops, who in the troubled times of the SCM in the 16th century, were trying to bring them

under the Nestorian CofE, but that in simultaneously attempting to please Rome as well, they became renounced by both, and died tragic deaths (1989:56-63).

Joseph the Indian's account, notably coming prior to all these sources mentioned (his account was published in the *Paesi* in 1507, in Venice), states that his 'over-bishop' was called the 'Catholica', who sends bishops and Metropolitans to Malabar: 'and to the provinces, as he deems fit.' (pp.168-70; 231-33) The scribe of the text has added that this Catholica had also been mentioned by Marco Polo when he wrote about Armenia, how there were two groups of Christians in the region, one called Jacobites and the other Nestorians, but, just as Polo had done, the scribe makes clear that it was this Jacobite Patriarch ('Pope') and: 'this Catholica about whom Joseph was speaking' (p.169-70; 231-233).

The JSC's response to Latinisation.

Early attempts at Latinization- 1498-1545

During this period of early contact with the Portuguese, the SCM appear not to have responded positively to their attempts at persuading them to accept Rome's authority. The Syrian sources refer to how the Portuguese admiral Albuquerque invited the Syrians to the new church he had built for them in Kollam, but that they abandoned the city and withdrew to the hinterlands (Whitehouse 1873:30). The beginning of direct and forceful persecution can be seen to have started here, when the Catholic missionaries 'wanted to force them to eat fish on fasting days and to commence Lent on Ash Wednesday and did not allow their priests to consecrate leavened bread in the Mass, they (the SC) went back to the mountains to live with the Hindus.' Another incident that illustrates the Syrians' early disillusionment with the Portuguese was when they pleaded with them not to burn the ancient churches of St. Thomas, St. Mary and St Kuriakose in Kodungalloor (in their battles with the Moors there), the Portuguese disregarded it and burned all three in the city. Pukadiyil mentions how, although the city was rebuilt, the SCM abandoned it and emigrated to other regions (Pukadiyil 1869:123-4). The Portuguese then changed their policy to approaching the SCM slowly in order to bring them over to the Roman faith (Pukadiyil 1869: 124-126). Although the seminary set up by the Franciscans in 1545 to train Syrian young men into the Latin ways was unsuccessful, the those who attended the Jesuit seminary (established in 1587) was successful insofar as they were inured into it. However, when the newly ordained

returned to their parishes to promote Roman doctrine, the SCM denied them entry into their churches (Malekandathil 2000:129).

Five bishops are said to have arrived in Malabar between 1490 and 1504, and their doctrinal identity is a significant focal point for the debate on the episcopacy and doctrine of the SCM. Early Syrian accounts, including MV, the 1771 Ola, Niranam do not mention them at all. Pukadiyil, names a few of them, but asserts that the Syrian sources he examined do not mention their activities in Malabar (1869:124). Philip concedes that they were Nestorians, and Zachariah provides details of their activities based on a Syrian Ballad and the Chalakuzhy Manuscript. He states that they were sent by Antioch and undertook a significant expansion in the number of churches. One of these bishops, Mar Yohanan, was considered a saint by the SCM, and on his second arrival in Malabar in 1517, they are reported as going to Kodungalloor and giving him a 'splendid reception' (Zachariah 1973:55-6). It was at this time, according to Zachariah, that the Syrian Christians assembled in Angamāly and wrote a letter to Pope Gregory:

‘....Therefore, enable our Lord and Holy Father the Patriarch who is on the throne of Antioch, who from the beginning had sent us bishops, to continue to send us bishops yet again. For we have come to know that when they are sent here, they are being detained and oppressed. We beg the Holy Father of Rome to save us, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and in the name of the Holy and Blessed Mary, Mother of God.’

The impression gained is primarily one of a deteriorating relationship between the Portuguese clerics and the Syrian ‘Kathanars’ or priests, the reason according to Zachariah and Pukadiyil being the Syrians’ realisation that bishops being sent to them from Antioch were not reaching Malabar, giving rise to alarm which prompted the above letter.

Pukadiyil summarises the progress of Latinization attempts at this point as follows: ‘Assuming that the Syrians will eventually (and gradually) come to accept the faith of the Franks, they did not however, attempt to assert any authority over the Syrians, or disturb them in any way. As a result, they continued in their Syrian customs without alteration’ (Pukadiyil 1869:125).

With the arrival the Jesuits in 1545, Latinization measures are seen to have intensified. The Portuguese persecution that Vettikkunnel claims to have taken place in this period

is seen to have occurred in two ways, one directly by the mistreatment of the people and appropriation of their churches, and the other, indirectly by challenging the legitimacy and authority of their bishops, with their mistreatment, imprisonment and deportation that followed. Vettikkunnel refers to the impact of these actions by the Portuguese as having caused the Syrians 'mental distress', and leading to further intimidation, and loss of freedom and assets. In denying them bishops, they were left without spiritual guides, and could not get their priests ordained. The Syrian sources examined appear to corroborate Vettikkunnel's claims.

1547-1599

Chaldean bishops (Mar Joseph and Simon) arrive and are rejected – because they are Catholic Uniate and too close to Roman Catholic [Kandanad 31]

Concurrently with the Syrian bishop Mar Jacob's death in 1549, the Nestorian bishop Mar Abraham's arrival appear to have become an obstacle to Jesuit plans for reducing the SCM. According to Pukadiyil, the SCM did not accept him as their bishop because 'the Faith of the Bishop was found to be different from the faith of the Syrians, which led to serious arguments' (Pukadiyil 1869:125). With the Portuguese intercepting any Syrian bishops that arrived, the Syrians appear to have been willing to accept a Nestorian bishop. But three of the sources present a different picture. The fact there were 'serious arguments' between the SCM and the newly arrived bishop, and the condition they placed before him that 'if he obeyed, like us, the faith of the Syrians' they would accept him as their metropolitan, are significant. Nevertheless, in the absence of a bishop they appear to have accepted him, not as their metropolitan, but as a symbol and a figurehead under whom they could rally in their resistance to Rome. The Archdeacon is described as devolving his authority as Head of the Syrians to Mar Abraham, for the ordination of priests, signing a formal contract to this effect on 24th Kumbham (February) 1547 (Pukadiyil 1869:125, Cheeran 2008:31). The contract also included a clause that this acceptance was on condition that Mar Abraham did not 'obstruct the faith of the Syrians' (Pukadiyil 1869:125). With this conditional acceptance, and the threats from the Jesuits, the precariousness of Mor Abraham's position is evident, as imprisoned and pressured in their Fort in Kochi, he was forcibly sent to Rome for 're-instruction'. On his return with patents from the Pope, the Syrians are reported to have rejected him completely 'when he complied, and returned to

Malankara under the authority of the Pope, but when we heard these words and this faith, we withdrew' (Cheeran 2008:31-2), and reinstated the Archdeacon as their Head (1771 ola:11; Pukadiyil p125-6).

According to Pukadiyil, from 1545 onwards, when the Catholic Church began distributing its dogma through printed material, the Syrians' response was to decide that they were false propagandists and opposed them more vigorously, and forbade Latin priests from entering their churches altogether (Pukadiyil 1869:128). Vettikkunnel states that the Syrians were 'harassed for 3 full years' (MV 1.55), and although the period is not specified, the sources support his view that the Latin bishops in the period after Mar Abraham's death endeavoured to bring the Syrians under Rome. Pukadiyil states how the Archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes wrote letters demanding the SCM conform to Rome, and that their response was to ignore it. It was this continued rejection of Rome that led to Menezes travelling to Malabar personally, determined that since they would not comply by the various stratagems already used, he would use force to compel them to do so (Pukadiyil 1869:127). Once in Malabar, when Archdeacon Geevarghese ignored Menezes' summons, Menezes accused him of false pretensions of being the 'shepherd' or leader of the 'flock' of Malabar Christians. Menezes' reasoning behind his own claims over the was based the argument that Rome was the only True Church, and as such, authority over all Christians of the world devolved to the Pope of Rome, and that consequently, all churches in Malabar belonged to the Pope .

Putting pressure on bishops to force them to doctrinally conform to Rome was one of the important measures undertaken by the Portuguese throughout the 16th century. This was not limited to matters of doctrine, but also ecclesial matters such as who had authority over parishes and priests, and to temporal matters such as the procurement of pepper from the Syrians. The conflicts between the Nestorian bishop Mar Abraham and the two later arrivals, Mar Joseph and Mar Simon (arrived in 1567 and 1578 respectively) because the latter two represented the Chaldean Uniate Church which had professed subjection to Rome is also reported as a cause for disillusionment among the Syrians, leading to their loss of respect and acceptance as unreliable hierarchs (Pukadiyil 126-7). The harsh ways in which the Jesuits treated Mar Abraham and the two Chaldean bishops are seen to have caused revulsion in the Syrians, but not enough to accept them. Kaniamparambil summarises their activities '....their history is

pathetic. Metropolitan Joseph placed his feet in two boats- Roman and Nestorian, and, rejected by both the Syrians and Rome, died in suspicious circumstances in Rome. Metropolitan Simon came as a Nestorian. Encouraged by the absurd notion that he could win over the Portuguese, went to Rome. Unable to return, he died in a convent in Lisbon. Mar Abraham also adopted the position of keeping his feet in two boats. He died in Malankara. Later Romish bishops desecrated his tomb' (Kaniamparambil 1982:124).

Diamper

When the Synod began, at the outset, the assembled Syrians were read out the command that forbade them from leaving the premises until the very end, or assemblage and discussions in small groups (Malekandathil 2000:262-3; Pukadiyil 1869:132). However, in spite of these precautions, on almost every day of the sittings there were disturbances caused by the participants (Malekandathil 2003:262-3,267-8,275-6), but which were duly quelled.¹⁴⁴ Re-appraising the Synod, Philip attributes this acquiescence to the massed presence of a vast number of soldiers, Portuguese officials and Catholic clerics, and above all, the King of Kochi (as described in Malekandathil 2000:261). 'Their presence considerably added to the terror and panic with which the Syrians had already been seized' (Philip:1950:103).

Some of the enforcements of the Synod mentioned by the sources, seem to have caused the Syrians particular distress. The first was the abrogation of the 'Way and Traditions of St. Thomas' claimed and followed by the Syrians, and the substitution of it with 'St. Peter's Way', because according to Menezes, there was only one Church and that was the one established by St. Peter in Rome. The second was the enforcement of the celibacy of priests with immediate effect (1771 ola, para:19, Pukadiyil 1869:134, Philip 1950:105).¹⁴⁵ The third was the anathematisation of all spiritual and temporal authority other than Rome's, and they were required to verbally reject Antioch and any bishops

¹⁴⁴ Dr. Scaria Zachariah in his 'The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper: 1599', citing Gouvea on the proceedings of the Synod, mentions the disturbances at the Synod, which started as a murmur on Day2, and became an uproar on four subsequent days, i.e., on Days 3, 4 and 5 (1994:22, 23, 26, 27, 28), which were quelled by Divine Power according to Gouvea. Niranam briefly mentions how the priests appeared in one session, wearing their long tunics on their legs and their broad-trousers on their bodies, making an ironical statement about the upside-down and confused state of the proceedings.

¹⁴⁵ The separation of married priests from their wives was enforced after the Synod, in one instance causing the sudden death of a young priest recently married (Malekandathil 306-7, 317-8). Apart from the distress this caused, it also failed to recognise that among SCM, women, once married, could not return to her parents' home, in effect making them destitute. It is to be noted that this would have affected all the 150 priests that attended the Synod, as in the Syrian tradition, priests were almost always married men.

who came to Malabar under that authority. The swearing of oaths to this effect at the end of the Synod, of rejecting their own Patriarch and accepting the Pope of Rome in his place, putting their signatures to the Decrees, were conducted under duress, as according to Pukadiyil ‘when Padre Jacob (the interpreter) began to read out the words of the Oath for the Syrians to repeat and swear after him, the Syrians’ grief and sorrow, and the copious amount of tears they shed, God alone is witness; no words can describe them’ (Pukadiyil 1869:132).

While the successful reduction of the SCM to Rome was completed when the Synod ended on the 26th of June 1599 (Philip 1950:104-5) was a momentous event for the SCM, equally momentous was the subsequent systematic destruction of their books (Malekandathil 2003:295-6).¹⁴⁶ Menezes ‘carried away our innumerable books and testaments. He erased all of them, and removed all the Syrian customs and traditions, and brought us by force to follow in the Frankish way’ (1771 ola: para 19).¹⁴⁷

The Sources portray the post-Diamper period as one when the SC Church strained under the Latinisation measures. There was a semblance of accommodating the Latin practices and forms of liturgy and practices, but this was superficial. Kandanad and the 1771 Ola states that despite the oaths sworn at Diamper, the Archdeacon and the people took a stance of refusing to follow Latin ways, they were persuaded to do so by force. The persecution continued under the Jesuit archbishops with the collusion of the local kings, churches damaged and the people intimidated. The Archdeacon was promised over a large sum of money (1080 *Reals*) if he were to promote Latin rites and practices (1771 Ola 90-91; Cheeran 2008:32). Zachariah mentions how the ‘Franks’ caused a great deal of injury to the Syrians in this period, enforcing the Latin Mass, and placing of statues in churches, which the people ‘painfully endured’ (1973:65).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Philip describes this as ‘an act of vandalism’ and ascribes to it the absence of any material ‘to reconstruct any tolerably satisfactory account’ of the early history of the SCM

¹⁴⁷ Niranam adds a detail that despite letters of invitation to attend under severe penalty for non-compliance, two parishes, that of Thiruvitahmcode in the furthest south, and Chattukulangara¹⁴⁷ did not attend (Manalil 2002:117).

¹⁴⁸ Archbishop Britto ‘ruled with a rod of iron’ (Philip 1950:134), and because of the ‘arrogance and intolerance’ of his successor Garcia, ‘the Syrians came to truly know the burden of Roman yoke’ (Kaniamparambil 1982:131).

Oath of the Leaning Cross

Mar Ahattalla was detained in Mylapore by the Jesuits, but he was able to convey his mission to two deacons from Malabar on pilgrimage at St Thomas's tomb there.¹⁴⁹ They were also detained, but managed to escape carrying three letters from Ahattalla, the first asking armed Syrians to come and rescue him, the second, detailing how they were to proceed in the event of his coming to some harm, and the third, instructing them to raise their Archdeacon to the position of bishop if he was stopped from meeting them.¹⁵⁰ Summoned by Archdeacon Thomas, thousands of Syrians are reported to have assembled in Alangad church, but hearing the Patriarch was brought prisoner to the Fort at Mattancherry (in Kochi), they moved there to secure his release. Petitioned by the Syrians, the king of Kochi promised to get the 'holy man' released, but that night the Portuguese placated the king with a large bribe¹⁵¹ and tying a stone around Mar Ahattallah's neck, drowned the patriarch in the Sea of Kochi (Manalil 2002:120; Cheeran 2008:33; Pukadiyil 1869:137).¹⁵²

At this news, 25,000 Syrians (the Syrian people, those of Malayala in their entirety' according to 1771 Ola:20), are described as gathering outside the Portuguese fort. Here they swore an oath rejecting the Roman Catholic Church's authority 'as long as the sun and moon remain'.¹⁵³ One of the priests climbed the plinth of the cross to recite the words of the Oath which the people repeated in "one voice": 'we will never unite with the Franks who have murdered our Patriarch without fear of God. Neither we nor our children, we will never, in all times to come, unite with them. We will never obey the Romish Bishop Francis¹⁵⁴, as long as the sun and the moon remain; this we swear.' With the pull on the ropes, the cross tilted on its plinth, giving this event the name '*Kūnān Kurishū Sāthyām*' (Oath of the Leaning Cross). They wrote and signed a

¹⁴⁹ They were Chengayil Itty from Chengannur, and Kizhakedathu Kurian from Kuravilangad (Kaniamparambil 1982:132).

¹⁵⁰ These letters are in the *Propaganda Fide* archives in the Vatican: SOCG 234:f.355v,r; SOCG 234:f.344r; SOCG 234:f.354v,r.

¹⁵¹ None of the Sources examined seem to repeat MV's statement that the bribe was '30,000 coins', but merely, '...gave him a huge bribe' (Cheeran 2008:33); 'a liberal present' (Philip p135).

¹⁵² Niranam/Manalil 2002:120, Philip 1950:135 and Pukadiyil 1869:137, all mention the general Syrian belief that Mar Ahattallah was killed in this manner, and moreover, that the King of Kochi met with a tragic end the same night, falling down the stairs).

¹⁵³ Zachariah adds the following details on how the swearing of the Oath was conducted: 'Anjilimoottil Itty Thommen *Kathanar* ran to Thuppu Swamy's shop in the South Street of Mattancherry and bought four lengths of mooring rope, and passing them over the great granite cross there, and the crowd holding the length of these ropes in all directions...' (Zachariah 1973:66-67).

¹⁵⁴ Jesuit Archbishop Francis Garcia.

Padiyola (=declaration) to this effect before dispersing, and met shortly again in Alangad church.¹⁵⁵ Here, in accordance with Ahattallah's instructions, 12 priests are said to have laid their hands, and the letter, on the head of the Archdeacon and elevated him as bishop. In the third letter of Ahattallah¹⁵⁶, the Patriarch defends his instruction, permitting priests to consecrate a bishop as follows:

“And again, I say, before being a superior one should be a priest first, that is, the foundation of all superiority is the priesthood. And so, on the same order of the priesthood is added the faculty only. One becomes a priest and he becomes patriarch, and without it there shall be no superiority, because the priests can be god over all superiors when they confess their sins.”

The implication here is that when bishops and Patriarchs are consecrated, these are only ‘faculties’ added to their priesthood.¹⁵⁷ In this sense, priesthood is, Ahattalla argues, inferior to no other hierarchical positions in the Church.¹⁵⁸ An advisory council of four priests was appointed to assist Mar Thoma I: Chandy Kadavil (Kaduthuruthy), Chandy Palliveetil-Parambil (Kuravilangad), Geevarghese Vengur (Angamali) and Itty-Thommen Anjilimoottil (Kallissery). At this point, of the 200,000 Syrians, only 400 remained under Garcia, the remaining having declared their rejection of Rome.¹⁵⁹ After six years had passed, it was thought that the intractable SCM set against Rome could be won over again by the gentler approach of Carmelite missionaries, led by Joseph Sebastiani.¹⁶⁰ The two measures Sebastiani used- that of bribes, and propaganda against the legitimacy of Mar Thoma I's consecration,¹⁶¹ was successful to some extent.

¹⁵⁵ About 22km north of Kochi.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix 14 for this letter.

¹⁵⁷ This is thought to explain why even as patriarchs, they confess their sins before priests.

¹⁵⁸ Sources add that Mar Thoma I, consecrated in this unconventional manner, was not authorised to ordain priests or consecrate Holy Chrism, which was how he proceeded subsequently (Kaniamparambil 1989:88).

¹⁵⁹ Philip (1950:133-138) and Kaniamparambil (1982:131-138) give detailed analyses of these events, and critiques parallel Catholic versions.

¹⁶⁰ Jesuit Archbishop Garcia (died 1659) was still in place, and the Portuguese resisted direct episcopal deputations from Rome.

¹⁶¹ According to the 4th Canon of Nicaea, the consecration of a bishop is to be conducted at least by three other bishops laying their hands on him.

Once in Malabar, there was continuous conflict between Sebastiani and the Padroado Archbishop Garcia, which Hough describes at length (1839 Vol.II:317-338, 353).

The Antiochian bishops' arrival

The second set of events that MV omits is the arrival in Malabar of a series of Jacobite bishops, starting with the Patriarch of Jerusalem Mar Gregorius in 1665. One of the first acts he performed was to 'complete' Mar Thoma I's consecration by conducting the ceremony over him again (Niranam 126), and he purged the Syrian Church of some of the more serious doctrinal errors that had crept into it under Latin rule. After him, Mar Andreos arrived in 1678, but ill-health prevented him from accomplishing much in Malabar. Response to a further appeal from the Jacobites, in 1685, Antioch sent a five-member party including the Syrian Maphrian of the Syrian church of Antioch Baselius Eldo, a bishop, two monks and a layman, of which only the first two arrived safely in Malabar, the others having perished in the forests while crossing the mountains on foot for fear of being intercepted by the Catholic authorities. The octogenarian Maphrian died within 13 days, but he had elevated the bishop Mar Ivanios to the rank of Metropolitan of the Syrians. Mar Ivanios himself died in 1694.

MV & Mar Gabriel

Accordingly, by offering the Eucharist in both leavened and unleavened bread as the circumstances required, he appears to have moved from one identity to another, but to the Syrians, this was the litmus-test that revealed his true non-Jacobite beliefs. Through befriending him and making use of his services, it appears that Mathai was also dissembling to some extent. That Gabriel himself excommunicated Mathai, indicates that the relationship between the two was based on mistrust and hostility, and that Mathai and his parish were far from adopting Gabriel's dogmas and practices in accordance with those of the Church of the East. Gabriel's real intentions cannot be known, but his actions appear to reveal firstly, his tact in keeping the much more powerful and proselytising Catholic authorities appeased, and secondly in encouraging the defection from both the Catholic and Jacobite factions to his side. Through this endeavour, he appears to have been creating a support-base for his own cause, which under these circumstances, point to the introduction of the Nestorian faith into Malabar, after the failed attempts by Mar Sulaqa and Mar Shem'on of the 16th century.

There have been questions about Mathai harbouring Nestorian sympathies because of this collaboration with Mar Gabriel. In support of this, it is argued that a generation earlier, Vettikkunnel family hosted for a time a Syrian bishop, Mar Andreos (in c.1680), whose identity is challenged as possibly Nestorian. From a letter from Mar Gabriel cited by Perczel, It appears that the relationship between Mathai and Gabriel was fractious, with Gabriel threatening Mathai with excommunication for insubordination to him (Perczel 2013:430). Overall, there is nothing to support the notion of Nestorian sympathies on Mathai's part, in that all his other actions, the history of his parish church (Albhuthasaudham = miraculous edifice): history and missal of the Church of St Mary, Manarcad, 1967) and the family history indicate Mathai's strong adherence to the Syrian Church.

Later Dutch period with MV

Examining these dates, it is possible that Vettikkunnel was ordained as a priest, either by this Ivanios, or the native bishop he had consecrated, Mar Thoma IV. The Syrian sources (Niranam 129; Kandanad 36; Pukadiyil 1869:145) all agree in their account of Mar Gabriel, that: he arrived in 1708 (1705 in Zachariah:75); he came under the authority of the Nestorian Catholicos Mar Elia; because he tried to teach the Syrians that Christ had two persons and two natures, there arose a great deal of arguments; some from the Syrians and some from the Franks allied with him; he celebrated the Eucharist with both the leavened and unleavened bread; he observed fast-days like the Syrians; and that when he died, those who allied with him returned to their old Churches, the 1771 Ola:16 adding, 'because there was no other bishop like him'.¹⁶²

Vettikkunnel's relationship with Mar Gabriel is mentioned in Philip as one of expediency,

But on Vettikkunnel's ultimate aim seems to have been to oppose and resist the Carmelites, and stem the slow draining of the JSC to Rome's authority (Philip 1950:153).

¹⁶² His death is given variously as 1718 (Kandanad/Cheeran 2008:36), and 1730 (Philip 1950:153).

Appendix 12 Copper plate charters

There are four known copper plate charters given to four separate communities by different kings in Malabar over the first millennium (T K Joseph 1930:5,201-4).

Current name of charter, and details	Granted by	Recipient	Approximate year	Current location of originals
Jewish copper plate	unknown	Joseph Ramban	2 nd century	unknown
Knai Thoma plates 6 plates, of which 2 were lost.	the of, given by Cheraman Perumal	Knai Thoma	345	Unknown, presumed lost c.1544, or taken to Portugal by the Franciscans
Iravi Corttan plates	King ViraRaghava Chakravarthi	Iravi Corttan, Chief of the <i>Manigramam</i> of <i>Kodungalloor</i>	Unknown (Milne Rae dates them to 774, but this is not conclusive (1892:55-6).	Unknown
Kollam copper plates	Sthanu Ravi Gupta, King of Kollam.	Maruvan Sapor Iso	9 th century / 849 AD	Partly in the HQ of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, Tiruvalla, Kerala, and the HQ of the Malankara Indian Orthodox Church (also known as the Orthodox Syrian Church), Kottayam.

The four Copper-plate charters mentioned in Syrian Christian histories, based on T.K. Joseph (1929:) *The Malabar Christian Copper Plates*, in Kerala Society Papers, Series 4, pp.201-204.

Appendix 13 Oath of the Leaning Cross

13.1. Text of the Oath

From Zachariah (1973:65-66)

‘While they were gathered at Alangad church, they heard the Holy Father Ahattalla was brought bound, to Kochi, they went to Kochi, and appealed to the Franks’ Governor to release their Holy Father, which he refused. Then they went to the king of Kochi and pleaded their sorrow with him. When the Franks heard this, they bought the king off. Then the Franks tied a large stone to the neck of the most holy Father, Mar Ignatius Ahattalla of the Apostolic Throne of Antioch, and drowned him in the harbour of Kochi. When news of this spread, about 25,000 people gathered in Mattancherry in Kochi, under the leadership of priest Anjilimoottil Itty Thommen. They bought from Thuppu Swamy’s shop in South Street, four lengths of *ālāthu kayar* (thick mooring rope) and tied them to the ancient stone cross there and extended the ropes in four directions, and all the people took hold of them. Then they swore an oath as follows: ‘that as long as they live, they and their children will never take the faith of the Franks. Nor will they give up Antioch. Upon the Lord God, [we] swear. This truth [we] swear.’ They swore in this manner three times. This happened on Friday the 3rd of *Makayiram*, ¹⁶³ 1653, at 4 o’clock in the afternoon. Afterwards, they wrote there a *Padiyola* to this effect as well. With the pull of the ropes, the cross is thought to have tilted on its plinth, giving the eponymous name to this event’.

(Zachariah 1973:65-66)

¹⁶³ Corresponding to January.

13.2. Padiyola of 1653

‘As long as we and our children live, we will not take [accept] the Frankish bishop or their faith. But we will live in obedience to our Holy Father the Patriarch, and our Pothimadan Chemmayi who obeys him, this we swear, and we write this Padiyola to this effect, this we swear, is the truth’ (Zachariah 1973:66-7).

Also in Philip 1950:135, and Kaniamparambil (1982:135). Pukadiyil gives a longer version (1869:137-8).

I came to the city of Mylapore thinking that many men are coming here, and that priests would take me to your place, the Indias. In the year 1652 of our Lord, in the month of August, on Monday, I arrived at Mylapore in the monastery of the Jesuits. This is to say, I dwell in the same monastery, and they help me very much; may their reward increase hither and thither. Peace be with them, with you, and with us always, Amen.
I, Ignatius, Patriarch of all India and China.

(At the bottom of the letter, in a different hand:)

I, who am weak, priest Gewargis of Bengur,¹⁶⁸ the manager of Koshur¹⁶⁹

I told Frusiso¹⁷⁰ as it is written on this page

I, priest Gewargis, the manager of the church of St Mary, witness when he, the man Ignatius, wrote these, I know genuinely.

Priest Gewargis, the manager of the church of St Mary of Koshur.

¹⁶⁸ Vengoor

¹⁶⁹ Kochi.

¹⁷⁰ Archbishop Francisco Garcia, the Jesuit father who was ruling the Syrian Christian Church at the time.

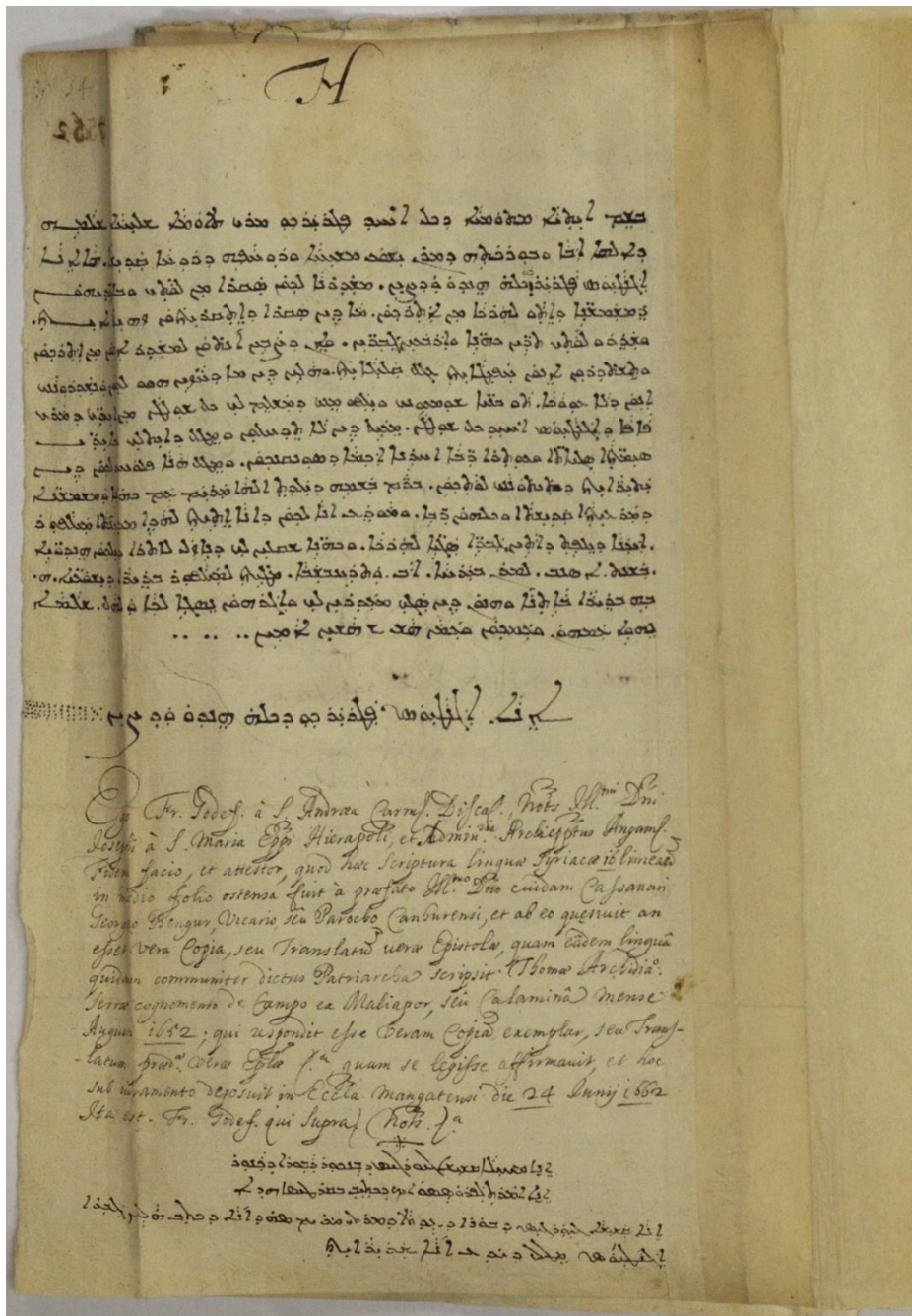


Figure 1 Mar Ahatalla Letter 1. Image of manuscript: SOCG 234; fol. 355r (front)

Father of all India.¹⁷⁶ Thus, elect twelve priests, who are good men, virtuous, learned, just, chaste and patient, and seat them in the council of the monastery of St. Thomas. When the bishop who governs your place dies, cast lots and select one of those twelve masters, and make him rule as your bishop. Do not fear, but believe me, and thus walk according to the custom of the Holy Roman Church¹⁷⁷. Besides, I have for you with me many treasures in addition to those I have given you. If [only] I could come to you, I will give them to you, and I long very much to see your faces and speak with you. However, I do not know whether God would permit me this or not. Unless He has forsaken me at the monastery of the Jesuits to pay the retribution of my sins.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, my children, pray for me on account of the sins I committed against the living God. The love of God the Father, the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with my lord, Pope Ignatius,¹⁷⁹ with you, with us and with all people, Amen.

I, Ignatius, Patriarch of all India and China.

(At the bottom, in a different hand):

I, who am weak, priest Gewargis of Benbur,¹⁸⁰ the manager of Koshur¹⁸¹

I told Frusiso¹⁸² as it is written on this page

¹⁷⁶ This is hard to interpret. Instead of ‘the Monastery’, perhaps he means: “make a monastery (in the name) of the blessed Apostle Thomas”. The reasoning may be as follows:

“how can I elevate the Archdeacon Thomas (the Head of the Syrians of Malabar) to episcopacy, because he is not even an ordained priest? Malabar does not have anyone who has taken the Holy Orders, who could be raised to the office of bishop. It does not even have a monastery. So first I will ask them to create a monastery. Then they will have to choose one of the monks there as bishop and consecrate him themselves.....”.

The next line supports this interpretation: ‘select twelve priests, who are good men, virtuous, learned, just, chaste and patient, and seat them in the council of the monastery of St. Thomas. When the bishop who governs your place dies, cast lots and select one of those twelve masters, and make him rule as your bishop.’ Mar Ahattalla appears to be showing the SCM a way out of their predicament. He is instructing them not to be dependent upon Syria to send them bishops, asking them to create a monastical institution from which to consecrate their own bishops, by the laying-on of the hands of twelve good priests.

¹⁷⁷ This is either an interpolation or, if genuine, difficult to interpret. Perhaps he is asking them to be patient, and follow the custom of the ‘Holy Roman Church’, until he himself arrives, with ‘many treasures’?

¹⁷⁸ Jacob Kollaparambil’s translation: ‘They received me at the monastery of the Jesuits to atone for my sins.’.

¹⁷⁹ The name ‘Ignatius’ would denote the Patriarch of Antioch, not the Pope of Rome. The collocation here of both ‘Ignatius’ and Rome’ is difficult to interpret. These references to the Pope and Rome appear to be interpolations, again questioning the authenticity of the letter as the genuine one, but rather a copy with interpolations.

¹⁸⁰ *Kashisho* (Priest) Gevarghese of Vengur.

¹⁸¹ Kochi.

¹⁸² Catholic Archbishop Francisco Garcia.

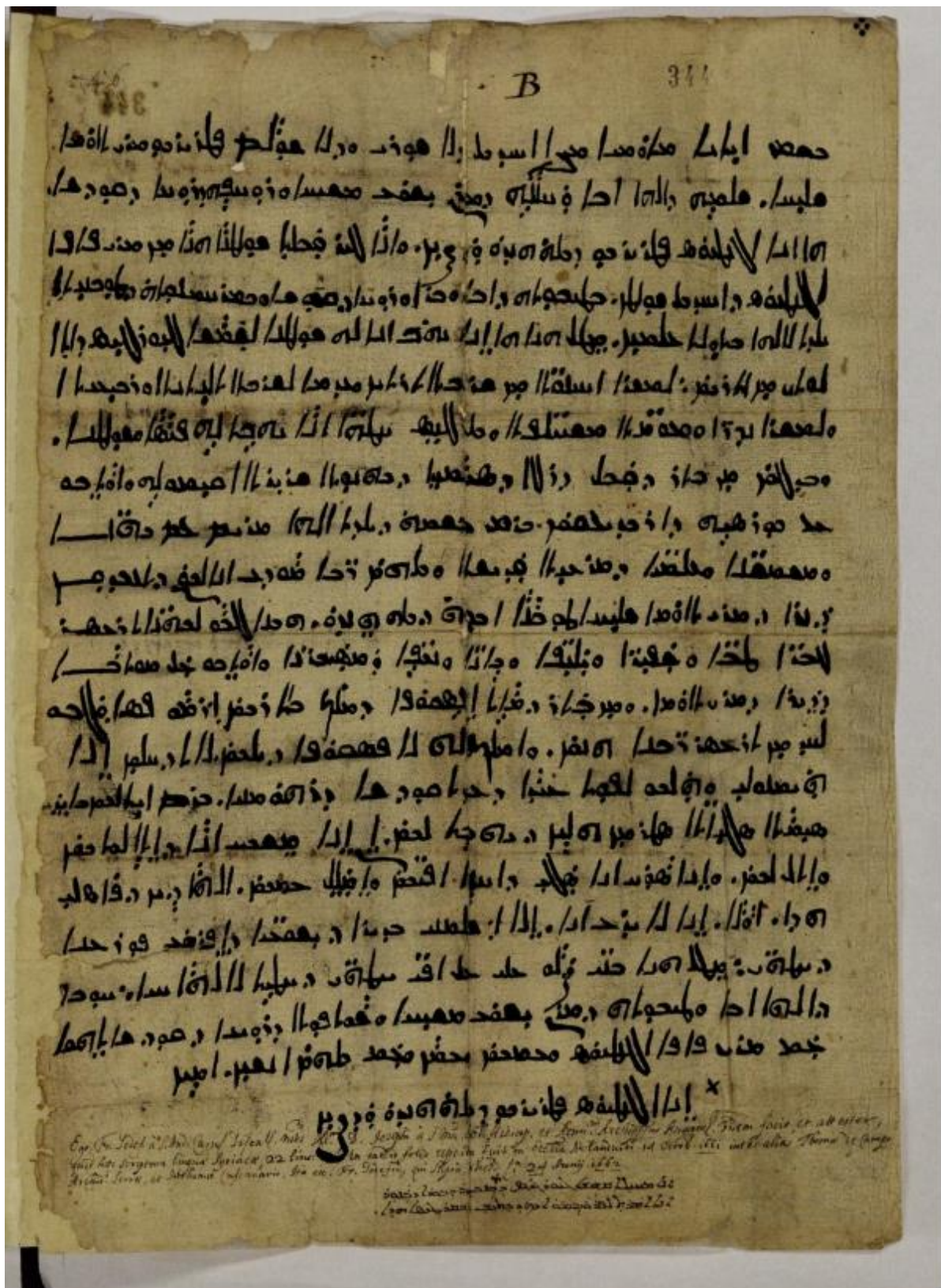


Figure 3 Mar Atharalla Letter 2. Image of manuscript: SOCG 234, fol. 344r (front)

This letter is not dated. It begins on fol. 354r and continues on fol.354v.

The paper measures 29.5x21cms, and is very thin and fraying along the top and left edges, with the loss of a few letters, but without affecting comprehension. There is a margin of 2.6 cm to the right. Three horizontal and two vertical folds are visible. This has the appearance of a genuine original.

Priest Geevarghese of Vengoor has added a witness statement at the end, for the benefit of Archbishop Francis Garcia, about the contents of this letter. He adds that this letter was not by Mar Ahattalla, but a forgery (a ‘craft’ and a ‘deceit’), created by Priest Itty-Thommen. Itty Thommen was the leader of the Oath of the Leaning Cross, and one of the four counsellors of Jacobite bishop Mar Thoma I, who had not betrayed him and defected over to the Catholic side.

Transcription into West Syriac Serto with full vocalization

[illegible]

¹⁸³ Transcribed and translated from Syriac into English by Dr. Makael Oez.

victory shall be desolate, for they are driven by their lust. And again, know what is imperial kingdom, this is the supreme power, above which there is none other, and it is spoken of in three orders, properly, by derivable and putatively; - properly from God, by derivable to humans and putatively to animals and birds. Therefore, I say to you, the dominion among men is temporal. And thus, it will last for the space and time willed by whom (God) the dominion is granted temporally. The proper dominion is that of the Patriarchate, or Catholicate or Papacy. Know that when paternity is given to a diocese that is ancient Christianity, it is an eternal possession, for it is given by God. God always exists and thus is His dominion eternal. Therefore, when a patriarch passes away from temporal life, it is appropriate and obligatory that another patriarch raises in the place of the deceased, as by the casting of lots among the forty wise elders of the supreme hierarchy. And you do likewise without vacillating your mind in the frailty of meaningless desires. Only believe that from among you can come a patriarch and Patriarchs for ever and ever Amen and Amen.

Thus, I, Ignatius, attest to your sanctity in our living God, that no one should reveal this matter until you hear the news of my death. Or after twelve years, and then you read it openly, that is, among the old priests, who by then shall only be a few, you may make bishops for towns after towns according to the need of the diocese. And again, I say, before being a superior one should be a priest first, that is, the foundation of all superiority is the priesthood. And so, on the same order of the priesthood is added the faculty only. He becomes a priest and he becomes patriarch, and without it there shall be no superiority, because the priests can be god over all superiors when they confess their sins. And the grace of our Lord be with you all now, always, and for ever and ever, Amen.

This document is written in the year 1652 of our Lord in Mylapore, the holy city.

I, Ignatius, Patriarch of all India and China.

I, who am weak, priest Gewargis of B(V)engur, the manager of Koshi (Kochi)
I told Frusiso (Archbishop Francisco Garcia) as it is written on this page

I, priest Gewargis, the manager of the church of St. Mary, witness that this is the text of priest Thomas (Priest Itty Thommen) for I know it is his craft, like the craft of the deceit.

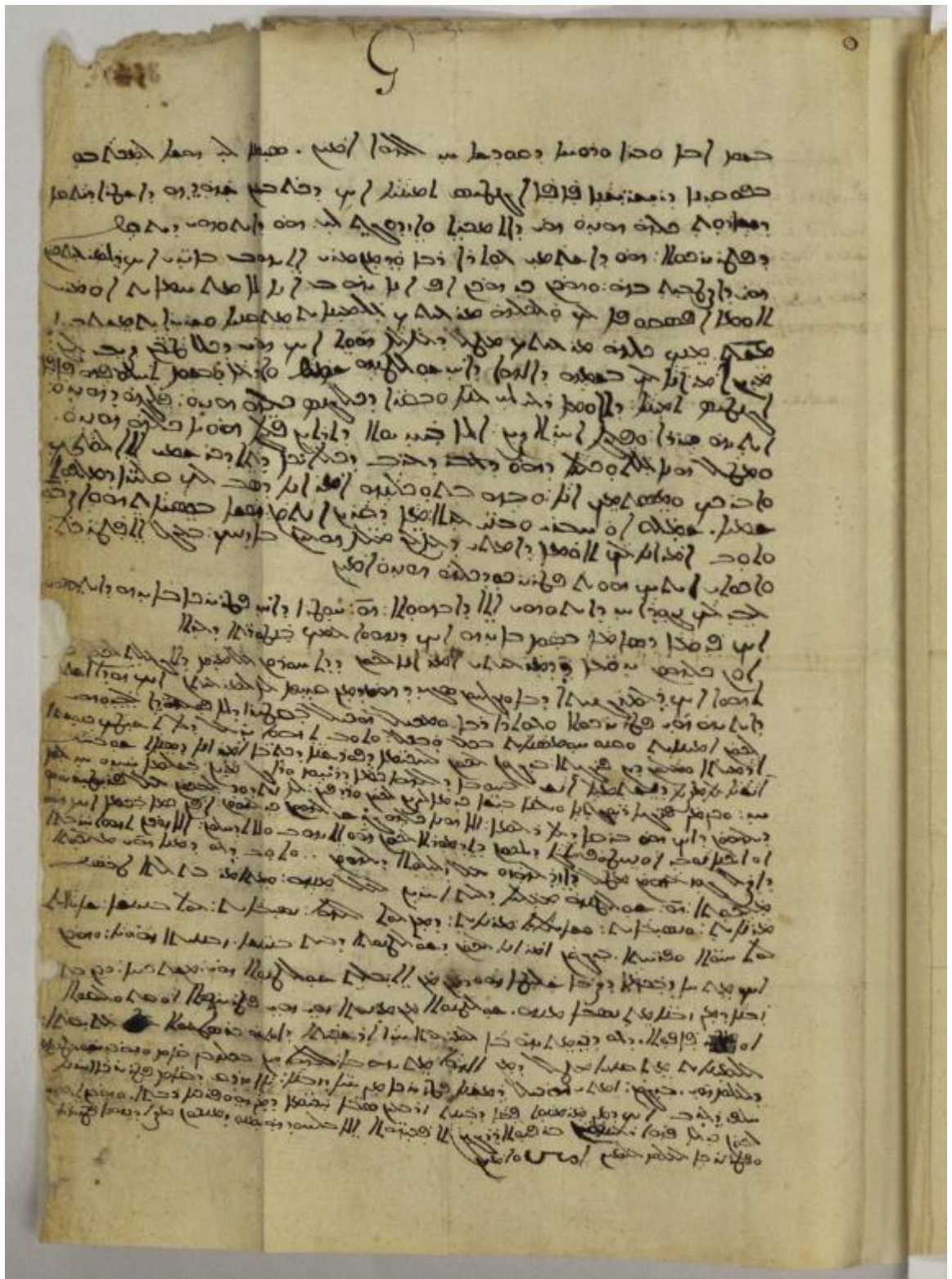


Figure 4 Mar Ahatalla Letter 3. Image of manuscript: SOCG 234: fol. 354r (front)

(The letter ends a quarter of the way down. Notes have been added below the text, in three different hands, in Latin and Syriac.)

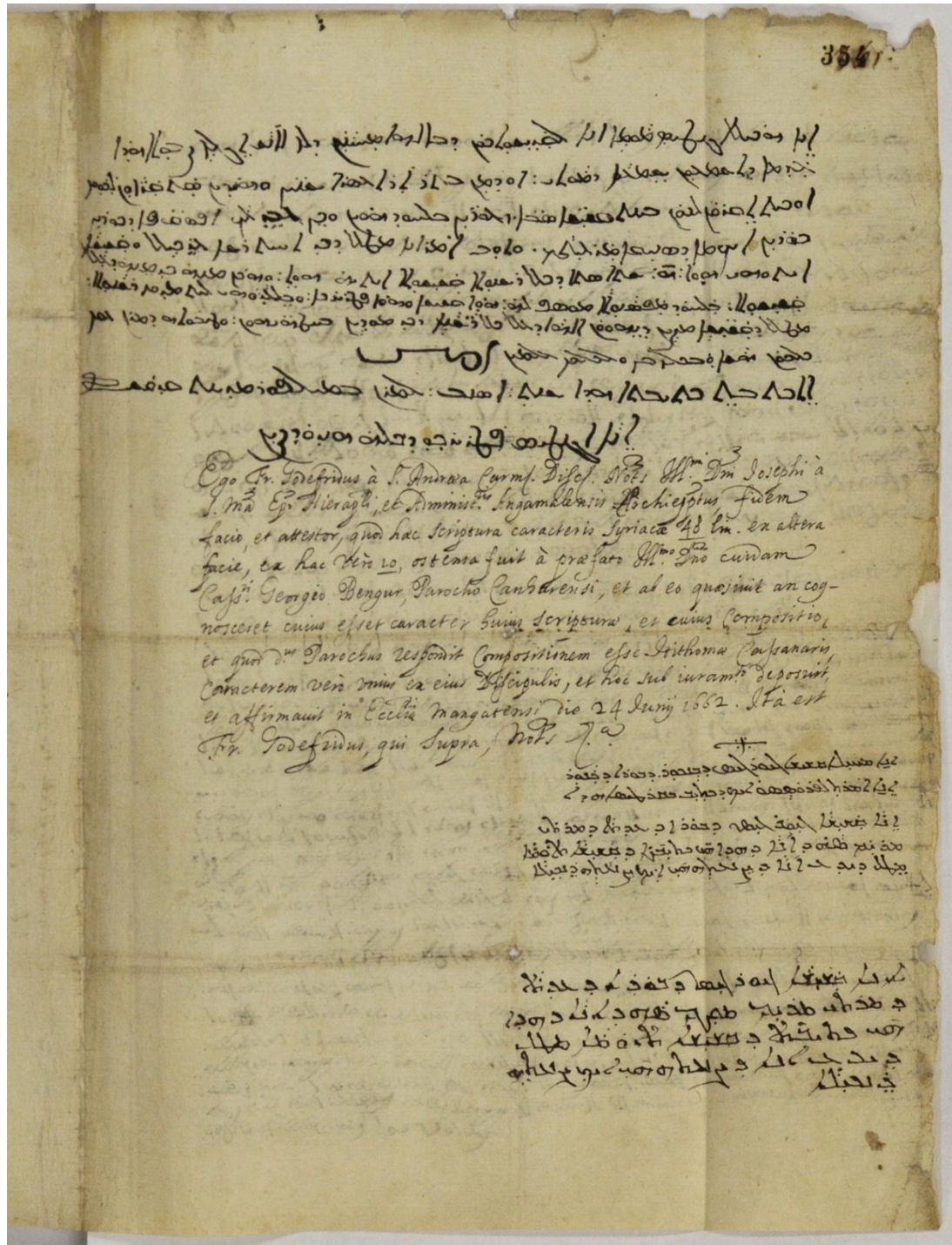


Figure 5 Mar Ahatalla Letter 3. Image of manuscript: SOCG 234: fol. 354v (reverse)

Appendix 15 17th century Jacobite primary sources

15.1. Priest Itty Thomen's letter

Letter from Priest Itty Thomen, one of Bishop Mar Thoma I's Councillors, to fellow Councillor Priest Kadavil Chandy, one of the two members of the same Council who joined the Catholic Church.

Translated from Malayalam into English by EM Philip 1950:165

“To my dear brother, Kadavil Chandy Kattannar. The honoured Patriarch of Antioch, being the Lord of Malankarai, and our sacraments being from early times conducted by prelates coming therefrom, padres of Sampalur [probably, of St Paul] resolved that we should not have them. As soon as we took the Oath at Mattancheri, some laymen said that differences and dissensions might arise among us. Then I broke a stick and said that the Portuguese and we should never unite unless and until the two pieces of the broken stick united. You, my brother, then said, ‘What Itty Thomen-achen spoke is a prophecy that cannot fail.’ My little finger now desires to touch my brother’s tongue that uttered these words. Remember that the agreement which we all together executed together to the Metran is not lost. To this effect, written by Itty Thomen Kattannar, from the Church of Chungam.”

15.2. Mar Gregorius Abdal Jaleel's Letter

Letter from Mar Gregorius Abdal Jaleel to the Churches of Parur, Mulanthuruthi, and Kandanad, 5th Feb 1668

Original in Syriac, translation into English by Kashisho Edavazhekal

From EM Philip 1950: 174-8

‘I am informed of the persecution you suffer from the blind men who, forsaking the true and orthodox canons of the Syrian Church, have adhered to the idolatrous Romanists. They were originally Syrians, following our true faith, but have afterwards turned heretics by the influence of the wicked kings and queens of Portugal. They held an unlawful council (Synod of Diamper) and changed the true faith taught by the holy Apostle of our nation. They upset the established canons of the holy Synod of Nice; confused the valuable rites and ceremonies of the early age; introduced proud and novel rituals in their stead; fell into impure heresies; and now they endeavour to let others fall into their pits. The heresies of the Romanists are many, which we have no time to enumerate in detail, and of which we hope to speak to you in person. We request you to be zealous in the canons of the Syrian Church. Remember that sufferings in this world will bring you happiness in the future life. The Lord commands: ‘He that endureth to the end shall be saved’; ‘the Kingdom of Heaven is taken by force’. St Peter, the head of the Apostles, writes in his Epistle: ‘Hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow His steps.’ St Paul, the tongue of the Holy Church, thus writes in his Epistle, to the Philippians: ‘Ye stand fast in one spirit with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel’. St James, the blessed, says: ‘Take the prophets for an example of suffering, affliction, and patience. You have heard of Job’s patience and his final glory.’ St Ephraim, the Syrian, writes: ‘Suffer sufferings, but do not turn from the truth. Accept death for the truth of your fathers.’ Again our prayer book says about martyrs in the ordinance for Thursday evening: ‘Martyrs say, “we do not forsake Him and His Son. We are of the stock of Abraham and heirs of Isaac. We die for the God of our fathers and inherit eternal life.”’

Look at the holy martyrs. They died for the faith of their fathers. The false Christians of India forsook the laws of the Syrians and accepted *new* laws one thousand and six hundred years after the arrival of St Thomas. For 1,600 years, the Romanists had no authority in this diocese. Many bishops priests, and deacons, and other Christians of both sexes, whose number God alone knows, have during the last 1,600 years, died in this diocese. Do you think that all of them are doomed to hell? Never. Those who say so are blaspheming and have devils in them. Till now priests were allowed to marry according to the canons. The Romanists forbade the marriage of priests and deacons. Many of them fell into the impurity of fornication. It was for this sin that God punished the world with the deluge, saving on Noah and his wife, and his sons and their wives. The same sin was the cause of the destruction of the Sodom and Gomorrah by a rain of

fire and sulphur. These unholy people now curse holy matrimony and love adultery. The wrath of God awaits them. Know that marriage is holy and the marriage bed is undefiled and that God judgeth all adulterers and fornicators. Again, the Romanists have not the fast of Nineveh, which we have. They do not observe the Assumption fast of 15 days in August, which we observe. They do not keep the Advent fast of twenty-five days in December, which we keep. In Lent, they eat fish and drink liquors, which the Syrians do not. So there are many differences in practices between them and us. I have told you on a former occasion about their heretical teachings on the incarnation of the Word of God, and on the union of His divinity and humanity, and on His person, natures and will; and so I need repeat them here. The name 'Church of Rome' is nowhere mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, neither in the Law and Prophets, nor in the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the general epistles of James, Peter and John, and the fourteen epistles of Paul. In none of these holy books is the Church referred to as the Roman Church. In the holy creed established by the 318 Fathers in the Holy Synod of Nice at the time of the orthodox Emperor Constantine, they laid down the faith in 'one catholic and apostolic Church,' and not in the Church of Rome. In the book of the Holy Eucharist it is written: 'O Lord God, almighty, Thine is the Holy Catholic Church'; and again, 'O God, Lord Almighty, receive this offering on behalf of the Holy Catholic Church'; and then again, 'O Messiah, the Peace of heavenly beings and Hope of earthly beings, vouchsafe thy peace and tranquillity to the four quarters of the world and especially to the Holy Catholic Church'. See that in all these, there is no mention of the Church of Rome. It was from the Romanist missionaries of Sampalur, that the Christians of India learned to believe 'in the Roman Church'. They forsook the true faith and the famous rituals of the Syrian Church, and fell into the heresies of the Romanists from love of money....Woe to them in that day of retribution in which the Great Judge shall occupy His throne with the holy Apostles on twelve thrones. Pray, therefore, that you may fully appreciate the truth and steadfast in it until the end; walk in His footsteps, and become fit to attain a good end.'

Appendix 16 Arrival of Maphrian Mar Baselius Yaldo and Mar Ivanios in 1685

From K.V. Varghese: *The life and devotional songs of Mar Baselius Yaldo*.¹⁸⁸

Maphrian Mar Baselius Yaldo was 92 years old when he set off for Malabar. In 1672-3, by Mar Baselius's effort, Mar Mathai's monastery near Mosul was made the seat of the Jacobite Catholicos.¹⁸⁹ Mar Baselios Yaldo assisted Patriarch Mar Abded Massih to consecrate the Holy Myron in 1684 in the Great Church of Mardin. In 1685, an Indian messenger begged Mar Baselios to come and be the shepherd and ruler of the Syrian Church in Malabar, that was being destroyed without a shepherd. Bava decided to leave his throne as Catholicos of the East, and set off for India. The Patriarch and other Holy Fathers were happy that he made this decision. Mar Baselius chose Ramban Hidayattalla of Mar Behnam's monastery, and Ramban Sharma of Mar Mathai's monastery, and two others, to accompany him.

Mar Baselios and his companions travelled by ship and disembarked in Thalassery (Thellicherry). They set off east from there, intending to reach Malabar over the mountains. In those days, Kothamangalam was on the overland trade route to the Pandya kingdom which ensured that travel was possible along this route. Kothamangalam was a celebrated trade centre, with links to Dindigul in Pandya kingdom. Goods were transported between the two places by bullock carts or human bearers. Baselius and party set off in the company of traders. Travelling through the forest, once they were faced by a poisonous snake, and on another a tiger, spreading terror among the travellers. When the tiger approached, Bava took out his holy cross and made the sign of the cross, at which the tiger roared and retreated, to the amazement of his companions. They continued on their journey and arrived at a place called Pallivasal, and because the sun had set, decided to spend the night there. The travellers inn in those days, was at the foot of the mountain, beside the river. Seeing this, Bava admonished his companions of the danger of spending the night at the inn, prophesizing that that night there was going to be heavy rain and flooding of the river. He advised them to go with him to a higher ground and sleep there. Some who had witnessed the

¹⁸⁸ Translated from Malayalam into English by Sarah Knight.

¹⁸⁹ This was the continuation of the Maphrianate of Tigris.

divine miracles Bava had already wrought in their sight, and discerning that he was a holy man, followed his advice, and went uphill to spend the night. By midnight, there was torrential rain, which brought heavy floods down the river. All those who had settled in the inn, and their animals, were washed away, to their death, by the flood. The next morning, Bava and his companions gathered some stones together, made an altar, and offered Holy Qurbaba there. This is how the place got the name 'Pallivasal' (where the church is). The altar is still used from time to time by some, and native inhabitants of the area still tell stories of this event, generationally passed down, and prayers and offerings are made there.

Bava and his companions set off from there, and arrived in a place called Kozhipally, half an hour away from Kothamangalam. Bava and Ramban Hidayattalla stayed there for a few days. We have no further information about the other two companions who had come with Bava from Mosul, or what happened to them. Seeing that there was human habitation in Kozhapally, Bava and Hidayattalla decided it was unwise to travel together, and that just one of them should go forward to get an idea of the surroundings. Bava left the Ramban, concealed on top of a tree, and himself went forward alone. When he reached the river that flowed by the settlement, he came across a man, a cattle herd (later identified as Chakkala Nair) and communicating through gestures, Bava understood that nearby there was a church. Bava asked the man to lead him to the church, but he declined, pointing to the cattle in his care. Bava then took his staff, and drew a wide circle and asked him to gather his cattle within it. And he did so. When the Nair saw that not one of them ventured out of the circle, the man was amazed and determined that the visitor was a man of divine powers. He led Bava across the river, where children who were bathing, tried to throw sand at Bava. But admonished by the Nair, they stopped, and accompanied them with loud cheers. When they reached the church, the church bell began tolling of its own accord. Hearing the bell and the children's cheers, people came running and gathered there. Bava entered the church and sat down at the south west part of the sanctuary. There was a deacon there who could speak Syriac, who ascertained from Bava all the particulars. He also understood the matter regarding Bava's companion, the Ramban. Immediately, the churchmen set off with the deacon to find the Ramban, and to make it known that they were coming with the knowledge of Bava, they took with them Bava's *rumal* (handkerchief). When they reached the tree upon which the Ramban was hiding, the Ramban was gripped with fear. When he saw the *rumal*, he assumed that they had killed Bava and had come now

to kill him too, and was in great fear and distress, and he would not consent to come down. But when the deacon said ‘slomo’ in Syriac (Peace be to you), and started conversing him, he was greatly relieved and climbed down joyously, and accompanied them back to the church. When Bava and the Ramban saw each other, their delight was indescribable.

Bava and the Ramban stayed there in peace and happiness. The great feast day of the church was on the 13th of Kanni (September). On the 12th before evening prayers, hoisting a flag is a preliminary function. When they asked Bava his permission to conduct this, Bava said that the celebration of the Day of the Holy Cross was on the fourteenth of September, and that the Romans celebrate it on the 13th to commemorate the finding of the Holy Cross, but that the Church celebrated the Day of the Holy Cross on the 14th. This church has for its foundation, the erecting of the granite cross, which stands in the west courtyard of it. It was erected on the 13th of September. The churchmen informed Bava that it was this event that they were celebrating on the 13th and Bava gave them permission to follow their custom, but that they should also celebrate the 14th as a day of obligation. And so the ceremony of the flag hoisting was conducted. The church feast day was also conducted to tradition. The next day on the 14th, Bava consecrated Ramban Hidayattalla as Bishop and conferred upon him the name of Ivanios. Bava instructed Mar Bavanios the importance of cleansing the Church of all the malpractices that had entered it from associating with other Churches. They continued in this manner for a few days. On the 17th, Bava was overcome with sadness and weariness of old age, and that day he received the last sacraments. His ailments got worse, and on the 19th, by 3 o’clock, at the age of 92, Bava entered his eternal sleep in the Lord. When his illness had reached critical stage, he was lying inside the church. Near the time of death, seeing people thronging into the church, he said to them ‘I see that you want to witness my end. But go outside and keep watch on the cross, and you will see a miracle’. The people thronged outside and they stood watching the granite cross. At the moment of his death, the cross was lit by a divine light, and the people were amazed and praised God at the site. On the next day, the 20th, Bava was interred inside the church, to the south of the sanctuary, where his tomb still stands. From that day till now, Bava’s anniversary is held, beginning with the 12th of September and lasting to the 21st, conducted in great solemnity. Nearby parishes also celebrate this anniversary.

From that day till now, every Saturday Holy Qurbana is conducted in the church. People make vows and offerings to the church in many ways, including their names as Yaldo or Basil, and offer new born babies as *adima* (liegemen), offerings of penance, gold, alms-giving, long meditations, and lighting oil-wick lamps. They received blessings and miraculous solutions to their varied problems, like sickness, loss of property, childlessness. Children who are born after Bava's intercessions or who bear his name, return to the church every year on his feast day, and thousands of them congregate to take part in the anniversary celebrations. The place continues to be a place where miracles are wrought. Bava was declared a saint in 1933.'

Appendix 17 Mar Thoma IV's letters

17.1. Letter 1 (translation copied from Yeates)

Letter 1: Dated 1709, from Mar Thoma IV in Kandand (Kerala) to Carolus Shaaf of Leiden University.

(Copied from a translation into English by Thomas Yeates 1818:152-154).

‘To the Primate of the Royal Syrian Priesthood, raised to the throne of Principality: holding the power of binding and loosing above and below; the most benign, compassionate, and indulgent, our Father, and lord, Mar Ignatius, Patriarch, triumphing with the triumphs of Apostles, and exalted with the exaltations of the Faithful; President of the illustrious throne of Antioch, the fourth Patriarchate, by the decree of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers assembled in the city of Nice, whose fame and renown is in all parts of the world: steward of the house of God in truth, and head of the Catholic Church, Maintainer of all Church order, and good shepherd of the sheep; diligently feeding the flock of the Eastern pasture, and bringing into the fold-door all the sheep of his care.

Blessed art thou our Father; chosen of God with abundant blessedness, which thou hast received from Peter the chief of Apostles; wherefore thou art a most pure vessel to receive the grace of the most high God.

My Lord, I implore thy benediction with thy right hand, full of cordial love: professing obedience and submission to your high authority; wherefore God bless thee on thy throne, etc. Amen!

I ask of thee, my lord, the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ which he imparted to his most pure Disciples in the Upper room at Sion: may the same be with thee!

I am utterly unworthy to write this letter becoming your eminency; but I wrote solely on account of the great distress of the Syrian Believers, well worthy of praise, now dwelling in Hindoo; and that you would be pleased to send unto us a Patriarch and a Metropolitan, and two Elders, such as are learned, and qualified in the reading of the Holy Scriptures. For these Hindoos are like sheep, having no shepherd; they have

scarce the understanding to discern between good and evil, but dwelling among heathens, infidels, and idolaters, are sunk in the deep gulf of sin, neither have they any certain dwelling. O my lord, put forth thy right hand, and bring us up from this gulf of sin!

There came sometime ago into our country Mar Gregory, a Patriarch of Jerusalem; and after him came the renowned Basil, a catholicos of the East, and with him Mar Junius, a metropolitan. After their death we were as sheep without a shepherd. Then came a certain one who said, that he was Metropolitan of Nineve, and that Mar Elias, the catholicos, had sent him. His name was Gabriel, and his faith in Christ was this, "there are two natures and two persons." Scandal! He spake much against Mary the mother of God, wherefore we believed him not. But a certain excommunicated elder, named Matthew, went over to him, and believed him, whereupon arose much confusion among us.

After this, I went to the Viceroy of the Fort of Cochin, and related to him these circumstances. Then said he to me, send a letter by me to your spiritual Fathers, and I will deliver it to Mar Ignatius of Antioch. Wherefore I look unto you for the said bishops, and for the cause of God, send us the missionaries with all speed. So be it. Amen.

This letter is written from the church of Cadenatte, called Our Lady V.M.G. In the cup of our Lord: in the year one thousand, seven hundred and nine.

Fold-door, Cadenatte, Hindoo.'

17.2. Letters 2-6

Letters 2-6, dated 1709 to 1721: University of Amsterdam archives: Special collections Hs.VI H 3: (d, f, i 1-2, r, and k 1-2).¹⁹⁰

Translations from Syriac into English from digital images of originals: ¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Catalogue (ed.) by M.B. Mendes da Costa 1902:203–204, no. 1260.)

¹⁹¹ Translations by Dr Mikael Oez.

does not suffer, the Divine Nature is beyond passions, in on Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son and the Word of God, the Father, we have learned, and not two natures, and we confess in He who is true God, and He is human as thus the Divine Book and the fathers witness, and not that there are two natures, or that the fathers knew that he dressed a body, and from Divinity and Humanity he is composed and united. And, if it was possible for Him to be divided in two natures, they would put two names, and they would not call, one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, but they divided Him, who is undividable, in two. If there are two, as they say, then one of them is the begotten Son of God, and not both of them.

We, with 381 fathers shout and say; we believe in one God, the father Almighty, and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the begotten Son of God, and in one Holy Spirit, the Lord life-giver of all. We worship this Trinity, and we reject the Quadraticity, and we dispose it from us with distance.

This is the faith we accepted from the fathers that were gathered in the city of Nicaea in the days of Constantinople. This is the first council of Nicaea of the 318 preaching that the Son is equal to the Father. And, it deposed of Arius in the days of Constantinople, 150 bishops were gathered. Thus, the second council of Constantinople decided and demonstrated that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son by nature, it destroyed Macedonios since he created the Spirit from the Father and the Son. They preached, the Spirit, and by one Living and Holy Spirit, who is the Lord and life-giving to all, coming forth from the Father and is worshipped and glorified with Father and the Son.

כלל פלגיה דאוריאל .. לך נעשה לך נעשה .. וזה חסד נאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה

עם חסד נאמרה¹² מן עמנו .. חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה

חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה
 חסד נאמרה .. חסד נאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה ונאמרה

An the following third council, it was gathered in Ephesus, 220 bishops with Cyril. It went against him who divided the unity of the Word with his living Flesh, and it confessed one nature of the Word that was fleshed, and it deposed of Nestorios.

This is the faith the father taught us who gathered in the three acknowledged synods, and they organised five fasting periods for us according to the habit of the true Syrians. We fast throughout the year, but Friday and Wednesday, and that of the Apostles, and the departure of the God-bearer, and that of the redeeming birth, and the fasting of Nineveh, and the great lent of the forty. We hold to the fasting of the apostles from Monday following the Pentecost, until 29 June, this is to say, we upkeep the feast of the head of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, and the fasting of the God-bearer, from first day of August until its full moon, this is, its half, that is to say, we celebrate the fifteenth day. And, thus we celebrate, we break our oath, and the fasting of redeeming birth of Christ, we upkeep the holy day of January. And, thus we, again, we celebrate, we break the oath, and the fasting of Nineveh, from Monday in the third week before the Great Lent, we upkeep until the morning of Thursday, this is to say, three complete days.

Our fasting is thus, when faith do not eat meat, not egg, not milk, not cheese, and nothing of the animal. And, on Wednesday and Fridays, it is not permitted for the faithful to eat prescribed food before the dusk of the sun.

Again, they organised the mysteries of the new covenant when we respect them and believe in them openly. The first one is baptism, the second the affirmation of faith, the third the holy mystery, the fourth the confession, the fifth the priesthood, the sixth the engagement and wedding, the seventh the other anointing of the sick. These seven mysteries come and stay with their receivers.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

۲۲
 ۲۳

[illegible]

¹ Title for Saint in Syriac, used for episcopal titles. Literary my lord in Syriac.

² John 1:14.

³ Matthew 13:33.

⁴ 1 Corinthians 5:7.

⁵ ~~the~~ the name of God, Heb. Jah *the Lord*.

⁶ Signature.

⁷ S. Sey.

⁸ S. Sey.

⁹ The final , referring to first singular possessive is not present in the manuscript.

¹⁰ S. Sey.

¹¹ S. Sey.

¹² S. Sey.

¹³ S. Sey.

¹⁴ S. Sey.

¹⁵ S. Sey.

¹⁶ S. Sey.

¹⁷ S. Sey.

¹⁸ S. Sey.

¹⁹ S. Sey.

²⁰ S. Sey.

²¹ S. Sey.

²² S. Sey.

²³ S. Sey.

²⁴ S. Sey.

²⁵ S. Sey.

²⁶ S. Sey.

²⁷ S. Sey.

²⁸ S. Sey.

²⁹ S. Sey.

³⁰ S. Sey.

³¹ S. Sey.

For that cause, to multiply and to increase the honourable and very much renowned kingdom of Kumpashi. God the merciful, that we request and we ask especially and his lineage, his generation, and his race. So be it, Amen.

[illegible]

For era of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty.
On the day of Friday, thirty of the month September. From Parupatuno, the church
of St. Thomas the Apostle.

[illegible]

Oh read entirely from FAWDFET (errors?) and kisses, Amen.

اَلَمْ يَرْجِعْهُمَا لَمْ يَرْجِعْهُمَا

Our Father, who art in heaven, etcetera.

: أُمِّي 78 أَحَقُّ 79 وَصَعْمَلُ ٥ مَقْطَلُ ٥

Jah⁴
Gate of all India⁵

80)
 لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله

¹ Barend Ketel? Commander of Malabar, of the Dutch East India Company 1709-1716 – NOT SURE!!

² Johannes Hertenberg, Commander of Malabar, of the Dutch East India Company 1716-1723.

³ Manuscript reads in singular.

⁴ the name of God, Heb. *lah the Lord*.

⁵ Signature.

⁶ Manuscript reads **أُسْفَا**.

⁷ Manuscript reads **لَمَّا**.

³⁸ Manuscript reads مُتَعَدِّلًا.

⁹ Manuscript reads .

¹⁰ Manuscript reads

¹¹ Manuscript reads 

¹² Manuscript reads حاشية.

¹³ Manuscript reads **مُحَمَّدٌ**.

In the name of the Almighty self-existent Eternal Being of necessary existence.

Mor Thomas, the feeble Metropolitan and Bishop of the true Christians of India, the Thomasean. We, the true Syriacs, the followers of Mor Thomas, the Apostle, who touched the side of our Lord.

That I am unworthy of your magnitude, however, for the sake of your letter and your much love, filled with delight, in me; to the great teacher, Carolos, who shines of scholarship in all. He who shall become a teacher from its sons, and the holy church rejoices.

Then, I shall be worthy grasping until we shall give selling and exiled time, as it is written, we shall read to the beloved for our support until the light darkens, so be it, Amen.

He writes and sends, and infinite under the glorious see of the saintly Mor Ignatius, the Antiochean Patriarch, who is our leader today. He who is the fourth patriarch the true and Orthodox fathers commanded, in the year three hundred and eighteen, who were gathered in Nicaea, the city. And, he, this one is renowned and prominent in the four corners of the world, so be it. Amen.

My lord, Carolos, because you know that the Franks are the enemies of us, the Syriacs. I shall humbly demonstrate my request to you. I shall not demonstrate much to you. For she, India, is and Eastern Antiochean diocese, and for our fathers were pasturing your threshing-floors, as it shall be distant from the Christians, my race, Fatimir Safmalo Carmiliti. This one is from the land of Kochi, and he, this king, thus harms me, so that they shall redeem me by support. I

.. جمع اسماء مذكورة في القرآن اسم ص ..

خوب، اما خدا شما را فراموش نکرده! او همیشه با شماست و همیشه با شماست و همیشه با شماست. پس هرگز نترسید و خدا را بخوانید. اما خدا همیشه با شماست...

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

In the years one thousand seven hundred and eighteen. Say the Lordly Prayer.

Jah¹
Gate of all India²

حمتا لك محمدًا اديسنيج .. اذن احمي وجمعنا..

اؤدا وكنه بيرة

¹ the name of God, Heb. Jah *the Lord*.

² Signature.

³ Manuscript reads وؤنيس.

⁴ S. Sey.

⁵ S. Sey.

⁶ S. Sey.

⁷ Manuscript reads ا.

⁸ S. Sey.

⁹ Manuscript reads ههؤسا.

¹⁰ Manuscript reads in feminine ههؤسة.

١٥ مَنُوسُ الْيَهُودِ مَعَهُمْ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ فِي ذَلِكَ مَبْنَعُهُمْ هَكَذَا هِيَ الْمَسْجِدُ.
 وَهَذَا كَيْفَ كَانَ فِي ذَلِكَ السَّنَةِ.

ملفوظات حضرت مولانا مفتی محمد شفیع رحمہ اللہ

لهم يومئذ عتقهم ذلک عظیم

❖ تمام

عبدلہ محمد احمد علی علیہ السلام

¹ the name of God, Heb. Jah *the Lord*.

²  is also used as a title for presbyters and priests.

³ **Abbas** is used as a title for priests, monks and abbats.

⁴ *ἐπίσκοπος* is also used as a title for presbyters and priests.

⁵ Manuscript reads **وَاللَّهُ**.

⁶ S. Sey.

⁷ Abbreviation for مؤلف.

⁵⁸ Manuscript reads **مؤمن**.

⁹ S. Sey.

In the name of the gracious Father, the compassionate Son, and the merciful Holy Spirit. We shall receive the gift filled with participation and kindness. The Lord is near those who call him in truth; and he fulfils the will of his fearers.

Hear their request and redeem them.

And protect oh Lord all of them,
his fearers.

So be it, Amen.

To Gabriel the great, the honourable renowned who incubates on the wall of Betawi. Thus he is the Lord who redeems and discerns judgement and justice. Mor Thomas, the bishop of the Syriac Christians of the Thomasean India writes.

I am unworthy to equally write to your eminency, but so that the query of my request shall be known. Oh mor lord, I ask from you, that you shall write a letter to the wall *Kushi*, thus we shall demonstrate it to the honourable Commodores. So that they may redeem me from the distress of my query.

Now it is needed for me, that they, *Fatirmir Sampalo* and *Karmlyati*, who are followers of the franks, shall be distant from the sanctuary of my race in the land of the King, *Kushi*, and as they will redeem me from this king, who does me harm. Only by that reading and the one letter to me.

For the sake of the glory of God you shall do me this thanksgiving, since we were participating and adherent tp you, to the Indians, so be it, Amen.

Until the wall of *Shurtoy* from the wall, *Cadollam*, there is our Christian race. They are adherent to the Franks from this people. Half is adherent to us. The *Sampuloye* and *Karmaltoye* are adherent to the adulterers on the seashore. That they shall not to

בער את כל חשוכי היום ויחיהו חיים ושלום
ויהיה. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח
ויהיה. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח
לפי כבודו. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.
עבדכם המלך המשיח
המלך המשיח
אמן אמן

לפיכך ידוע כי מלכותו המלך המשיח
הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.

הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.
הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.

הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.
הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.

הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.
הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.

הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.
הוא מלכותו המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו
המלך המשיח. ויבא מלכותו המלך המשיח.

¹ S. Sey.

²  the name of God, Heb. Jah *the Lord*.

³ Signature.

17.3. Table of summary details for the 6 Letters of Mar Thoma IV

Letter	Date	Written from	Addressee	Content
L1	1709	St. Mary's church, Kandanad	Patriarch of Antioch	Pleading for bishops and scholars to be sent to Malabar as the JSC are have no bishops to defend their faith; the heretical beliefs of a Nestorian bishop, Mar Gabriel.
L2	Thursday 10 th Oct 1717	St. Mary's Church, Chengannur	Schaaf in Leiden	In reply to Schaaf's queries about the doctrine of the JSC, makes a detailed exposition of it; also asking his help with the letters he had sent to Antioch, through the Dutch Commander in Kochi.
What happened to it: Schaaf is thought to have passed Letter 2 on to his Catholic friends in Amsterdam, from where a copy was sent to the Vatican.				
L3	Epiphany, Saturday 6 th Jan. 1720	St. Thomas the Apostle's church in Paravoor-pattanam.	Schaaf in Leiden	Asking him to write to the Dutch Commander of the Fort of Kochi, and to recommend his cause with the king of Netherlands, so that he may write to the Commander, to help in the oppression suffered by the Syrians from the Jesuits and Carmelites.
What happened to it: Not known.				
L4	1718	St. Mary's	Schaaf in Leiden	Asks him to translate his letters to the Dutch EIC; how the Jesuits and

		Church, Kandanad.		Carmelites are trying to reduce him to Rome; how they try to persecute him through the king of Kochi; he mentions a book he had sent Schaaf, of which he (Schaaf) had not acknowledged receipt.
	What happened to it: Schaaf is not known to have extended any help in this matter.			
L5	Friday 30 th Sept. 1718	St. Mary's church in 'Badnid' (not identified)	To the king of the Netherlands, asking him to write to the Commander of the Fort of Kochi, so that he may help the JSC, because the Jesuits and Carmelites are persecuting them. Note at the end to Schaaf to translate the Syriac letter to the king.	Thanking him for a printed book he had sent; solicits his help in speaking to the Dutch Commander, to help in restore the unity of the JSC Church.
	What happened to it: This remained at the Dutch Company's offices until archived.			
L6	17 th October,	Church of St. Thomas		Asks for more bishops and teachers to be sent, to rebut the heretical teachings of the Nestorian bishop Mar Gabriel; also that the

	1721	the Apostle, Paravoor	Patriarch Ignatius Antioch	of Dutch are putting pressure on him to bring over his Church to unite with the Protestants.
	What happened to it: Original letter was despatched to Antioch, but apparently, intercepted before reaching him, and now is in the Vatican Archives. The copy, which the Commander had sent to Leiden for translation, remained in a drawer in Leiden for a year, and was declared to be ‘not in Syriac’. It was accidentally discovered by Schaaf, and he replied to it. The letter, its Latin translation, and Schaaf’s reply were published by Schaaf in a small booklet, to great interest among scholars and the Catholic Church in the Netherlands. It was later discovered by Assemani and published with a Latin Translation (Assemani: BiOr III/2:464-468), as mentioned by Yeates 1818:151. Yeates also gives (pp.152-4) his own abridged version of a translation from the Syriac into English.			

Appendix 18 Primary sources from the 19th century

18.1. Punnathara Mar Dionysius's letter to Gambier/CMS

Letter from Punnathra Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan of the Syrian Christians (Jacobite) of Malankara, addressed to Admiral Lord Gambier, President of *Church Missionary Society*, and Bishop Henry, in 1821.

Translated from Syriac to English by Professor Lee May and published in the 'Christian Journal and Literary Register' Volume VII, 1823.

<https://archive.org/details/1822CMSMissionaryRegister/page/n433>

JAH.

In the name of the eternal and necessary existence, the Almighty.

Mar Dionysius, metropolitan of the Jacobite Syrians in Malabar, subject to the authority of our father, Mar Ignatius, patriarch, who presides in the apostolic see of Antioch of Syria, beloved of the Messiah.

Love from Christ and from the people of all the churches to lord Gambier, the illustrious, honourable and renowned president; and to our brother, Mar Henry, the honoured bishop of the city of Gloucester; and to the priests and deacons, and true Christians, great and small, in the church of England, who are devoted to these things, and are mindful of them, who both assist and provide that we should teach and preach the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ. Love from God, and grace from his only begotten Son, and protection from the Holy Ghost, be with you all evermore! Amen.

Beloved, kind, and honoured brethren in Christ, we would make known to you in a few words, what has happened to us from the depth of our poverty.

We who are called Syrian-Jacobites, and reside in the land of Malabar, even from the times of Mar Thomas the holy apostle until the wall of Cochin was taken in the reign of king Purgis,

kept the true faith according to the manner of the Syrian Jacobites, of real glory, without division or confusion. But by the power of the Franks our Jacobite Syrian fathers and leaders were prohibited from coming from Antioch: and because we had no leader and head we were like sheep without a shepherd or like orphans and widows oppressed in Spirit without support or help. By the power and dominion of the Franks moreover and by the abundance of their wealth and the exertions of their leaders all our Syrian churches in Malabar were subdued and turned to the faith of the pope of Rome.

In the year of our Lord 1653, came our spiritual father Mar Ignatius the Patriarch from Antioch to Malabar but when the Franks knew this they brought the holy man to the walls of Cochin imprisoned him in a cell and gave no small money to the king of Cochin. They then brought out the good man and drowned him in the sea and so put him to death. But when we knew this all the Jacobite Syrians in Malabar assembled in the church of Mathancherry which is in Cochin and we swore a great oath by the Father Son and Holy Ghost that henceforth we would not adhere to the Franks nor accept the faith of the Pope of Rome we accordingly separated from them. A short time after this some of our people again joined them and received the faith of the pope.

Again, in the year of our Lord 1753 came to us some holy Jacobite Syrian fathers from Antioch who turned us to our true ancient faith and set up a high priest for us.

We now have fifty five Jacobite Syrian churches in Malabar and as the Franks are more powerful and rich than we are they are hourly laying the trap of the pope for us and endeavouring to take us in it and from the power of a kingdom filled with idols the heathen have subdued us Jacobite Syrians just as Pharoah king of Egypt subdued the children of Israel, and had no pity. And, as the Lord sent Moses and Aaron, and delivered the children of Israel from the house of bondage of Pharoah, king of Egypt; so the Lord beheld our sorrows and afflictions; and there have been sent to us an illustrious leader, named Macaulay, and Mar Buchanan, the illustrious priest: and when they came to us, and saw our subjugation, and sorrow, and poverty, they brought us forth from the house of bondage, and consoled us with kind words, and assisted us with money.

After this, another illustrious leader was sent to us, named Munró: and as Joshua, the son of Nun, brought Israel to the land of promise, and put them in possession of Canaan; so did this illustrious, discerning, and prudent leader, bring back and save us poor people from the hand of violence: and he built a school and one church for us, in the place called Cotym; which he

did with great trouble, labour, and expense, in order that our eyes, made dim by the depth of our poverty, may be opened by the knowledge of the declarations of the holy and divine books. All the deacons, moreover, and children, who are taught in the school of our place, are cherished by the assistance of this illustrious leader. Again the priest Benjamin* the priest Joseph, and the priest Henry, our spiritual and temporal friends, brothers, and assistants, whom you have sent to us, that they may root out the thorns and tares from among the children of God, are anxiously seeking all the requisites for the redemption of our souls, as well as constantly teaching all the deacons and children of our place the English language.

The books of the New Testament which ye sent us, we divided, and gave to the churches in Malabar; and, with great joy, does every man present his prayer unto God for you: and we trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is merciful to those who show mercy, that he will give you a good reward in the day of judgment, even thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold, for your work and labour for us, and that he will make us rejoice with you But we are unable to recompense you by any earthly riches: the more however shall we supplicate God daily that your dominion may be increased, and that he would subdue those that hate you under your feet: and daily may your preaching in Christ Jesus be increased; and may God raise up among you leaders who fear God, and who are kind to the poor, endued also with knowledge and prudence!

We have heard too that the people of your land are beseeching God for us, that he would supply and complete that which is defective and imperfect, both in our bodies and souls.

Respecting Samuel the priest, who is held in honour by us, we received the letter which he sent by the hand of Joseph the priest; and we read and understood what was written in it: and very much did we rejoice, with exceeding great joy on account of your friendship for us. And may the Lord, who both hears prayers and grants petitions, lengthen your lives, and increase your peace!

But we call to mind the adage, " A glance is enough for the intelligent," and avoid prolixity. Besides, James, the honoured priest, will make known to you all that is going on among us. And I, the Metropolitan Mar Dionysius, your friend, very cordially salute you: also Abraham the priest, our obedient servant, and all the deacons, and children that are in the school. All the priests, moreover, and deacons, and the whole congregation of Christians who are in all the churches in Malabar, salute you. May grace be with you all: even so. Amen !

Our Father which art in heaven &c.

Remain firm in the power of Jesus!

In the year of our Lord 1821. On the third of the month Ranun the first, Friday.

From the school of Cotym.

(Signed) MAR DIONYSÍUS, Metropolitan of Malabar.

The same letter can also be seen in the Missionary Register 1822: pp. 430-433.

<https://archive.org/details/1822CMSMissionaryRegister/page/n433>

18.2. Mavelikara Padiyola 1836

Source:- 'Syrian Church History' by Very Rev.(Dr.) Kurien Corepiscopa Kaniamparambil}

<http://syriacchristianity.info>

‘Enclosed here is the resolution (Padiyola), unanimously accepted at the Mavelikara Synod of 1836, held at the Mavelikara Puthiyakavu St.Mary's church.

MAVELIKARA PADIYOLA

In the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost the one true God, Padiyola (agreement) drawn up in the year of our Lord 1836 corresponding 5th Makarom 1011 at the church dedicated to the Virgin Mother of Lord at Mavelikara, between Mar Dionysios Metropolitan of the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malankarai subject to the supremacy of Mar Ignatius Patriarch, the Father of Fathers, and the Chief of Chiefs ruling the throne of St. Peter of Antioch, the mother of all Churches and his successor Mar Kurilos, and the vicars, priests and parishioners of Ankamali and other churches under the charge of the said Metropolitan.

That whereas an interview held at Kottayam between the Rt.Rev. Daniel, Lord Bishop of Calcutta and the Metropolitan, in Vrischikam 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 ordinance 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 against us, and our churches being built by the aid of the prelates sent under the order 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 according to our churches under the head of voluntary contributions offerings etc, are as 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 persuasions we are without the power, and feel disinclined, 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 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, Mar Dionysius laid out a portion of this together with the donation made by HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA on behalf of the Syrian Christian 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 youth at the Seminary, English and other languages, protected our children like 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 ordination 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 the 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 Christians, to the end, that we may obtain salvation through the prayers of ever happy, holy, and ever-blessed Mother of God, the redresser of all complaints and through the prayers of all Saints. Witness, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Amen'

18.3. Mulanthuruthy 1876

The resolution (Padiyola) unanimously accepted by the Malankara Syrian Church at the the Mulunthuruthy Synod in 1876.

This translation from Malayalam into English is by Very. Rev. Dr. Kurien Corepiscopa Kaniamparambil, and has been taken from:

http://www.syriacchristianity.info/PARAVUR/mulunthuruthy_padiyola.htm

Accessed 24.8.2019

‘Obeying your Holiness’ Kalpana, dated 19th Edavom 1051 (1876) to all Churches, we have assembled on the 15th Midunam in this Church at Mulunthuruthy, built in the name of Mor Thoma Sreeha (Apostle) and we heard of our Holiness” Circular Kalpana, read publicly on the occasion of the inauguration of the Synod, asking us to codify measures to the effect that we may be firm in the Orthodox faith and in the obedience to the commands from the Throne of Antioch.

As it is essentially necessary to show that our Church in Malayalam (Malankara), had been continually watered and nurtured by the presence of Antioch, we submit a brief history of this Church, from the time it was guided by St. Thomas and we submit also measures to be taken, so that this Church, may not hereafter, be robbed by the enemies and it might always remain firm in the faith and obedience. And we do most humbly request, that our prayers may be read and measures confirmed by Your Holiness.

In the 52nd year of our Lord, St. Thomas arrived in Malayalam and preached the faith to our forefathers, established the Church and founded churches and appointed priests and they adhered to the true faith and in course of time, when the Church was in distress owing to the scarcity of priests, the honourable Knai Thoma came to Malayalam in 345 and learning the pitiable condition of the Church and the possibility of its total extinction if immediate help is not rendered, he again came with Metran, priests and deacons and laymen from the Land of Syria under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, with a big amount of money – and for the progress of our community, he obtained privileges and caused to consecrate Metrans from this land and the Church was thriving in high honour, upto 825 when the merchant Iyob and Syrian Prelates arrived in Malayalam and the Church progressed in honour and esteem. And at that period, ‘Paramkikal’ (Portuguese Roman Catholics) came and proselytised our forefathers by force into their slavery and again in 1600, a Synod was convened at Udayaperror by Allesu (Alexis) Paranki Metran who burnt all our Syriac books and made changes in the true faith. And when prelates from the traditional Pakalomattom family were ruling over us the Moran Patriarch Bava arrived in Malayalam in 1653 and he was done away with, brutally and we assembled at Cochin Mattancherry and took the Oath, that we would never have any relation with the Parankies: and they gradually succeeded in taking by deceit a portion of our people. In 1665 came Mor Gregorios Bava of Jerusalem at the order of the Holy Throne and he consecrated the Archdeacon who had been administering the Church at that period. And in 1686 Baselios Bava and Ivanious Episcopa reached Malabar and since it was a period of decline of the Paranki power, Ivanious Episcopa expelled all the Paranki practices, and everything in accordance with the Jacobite Syrian practise was re-established during his life here for 30 years. Then in 1751 came Baselios Maphrian and Metrans Gregorious and Ivanious and others and regularised the consecration of Mor Thoma Episcopa, giving him the title ‘Mor Divanyasious’ and giving him Staticon and other privileges. And in 1815 Pulikottil Youseph Divanyasious Metropolitan of the line of Kattumangatt Metran, founded the Kottayam Seminary and earned properties for the same and made arrangements for instruction – in a laudable manner. Then came English Missionaries and stayed with us deceitfully influenced some to feel that their ancient practices were not desirable. Consequently, the Church, through the then ruling Metropolitan Mor Divanyasious (III) appealed to the Throne of Antioch; as a result of which, Mor

Athanasius Abdul Masih and Sabor Remban came in 1825 and the missionaries, influencing the ruling Kidangan (Philoxenous) metropolitan, succeeded in sending them back and since we could not concede to the behests of the missionaries, that we should follow practices contrary to our faith and canons the representatives of all churches assembled at Mavelikara Church on 5th Makarom 1011 and drew up a Padiyola, which convinced them that they could never overturn us or our faith through deceit and hence they caused a split and as a consequence they sold out much of our properties and in addition, they sent Deacon Mathai of Palakunnath, of the parish of Maramon, who had been expelled from our Church, to Madras for education and Protestant orders and from there too he was expelled by the authorities for misconduct. And he, fabricating letters as those of certain churches, belied before the Holy Throne that he was a ‘Kasseeso’ (Priest) and through such crooked means got himself consecrated Metran, and returned to Malayalam where-upon all the churches were called together at Kandanad by Philipose Mor Divanyasious Metropolitan, and as a result of scrutiny of his ‘Sthathikon’, his crookedness and deceit came to light and he with some members from the South went to Kallumkathra church and there a Padiyola with his signature and seal was drawn up, in which he promised that he would never deviate from the Orthodox faith and from the submission to the Holy see of Antioch and from the Canons promulgated by the 3 General Councils; and those few church members promised that so long as he follows that path, they would accept him as Metran. The records brought by Mor Yooyakim Kurillos Metropolitan, who had been deputed by the Patriarch as a result of the report of the Kandanadu Yogam (assembly) were found by the Quilon committee, as fabricated, and the Royal Proclamation was obtained by the Metran, who with government support unjustly ruled us and over churches and ruined all our resources – this man called ‘Beliar’ with crookedness together with power tried to overturn our faith and thus embrace Anglican faith has brought about schism and heresy; and repudiated the excommunication orders, firstly of our Holy Father, Patriarch Elias and secondly of Patriarch Yakub and now lastly of Your Holiness and despotically continues in his wicked actions, siding with the missionaries. Our oft-repeated grievances to the Holy See, describing his efforts to mar our faith, we had been preserving from the times of our forefathers were not redressed. Your Holiness, after your installation felt compassion on us and for solving our grievances, left your Throne and travelled to Constantinople, and London and met the authorities

there and in Madras in Nilgiri, Trivandrum and Cochin and succeeded in revoking the Royal proclamation, which he had obtained on the plea that he was having the Patriarchal Bull with him. We have assembled here to confirm the aforesaid faith, submission and Church administration. Holy Father, from the Origin of this Church, we are under the jurisdiction of the Holy See of Antioch, which, in order to help and deliver us, on every occasion of our depression had offered us much riches and the Holy Anointing Oil – ‘Mooron’ through the prelates and confirmed us in faith and built many churches – and now the hardships Your Holiness suffered during the crisis – all these facts would never depart from our minds and from our posterity’s minds. From the earliest ages, the Syrians in Malankara and their churches are under the spiritual authority of the Patriarch of Antioch. Nobody else has any kind of authority. Since our Metrans and Priests receive Holy “laying on of hands” from the Holy See, the power to appoint and remove them rests with the Holy See. The spiritual administration over the Syrian Community and of their churches and the authority to appoint and remove metrans rest with Your Holiness. Now Your Holiness has come to Malankara, aware of our deplorable situation, to administer spiritually, our community and churches and by the grace of God suppress the enemies of the faith.

We, hereby declare before the High priesthood of Your Holiness that from the Faith of the three Holy Synods handed over to the Holy Church, and from commandments of your Holiness, the Head of our religion and Faith, neither we nor our children would depart either to the right or to the left – up to our death. And we, take this Solemn Oath, holding Sleebea (Cross) and Evangelion (the Gospels) before God and in the presence of your Holiness, that there would be no departing from this until the last moment of our death.’

Source: 'Syrian Church History' by Very. Rev. Dr. Kurien Corepiscopa Kaniamparambil

18.4. Royal Court Appeal case judgement

Extract from the Royal Court ruling, relating specifically to the period of history covered in this thesis.

NB 'Ittoop' refers to Pukadiyil 1869; 'Howard' refers to Howard 1864, 'Day' refers to Day 1863, 'Buchanan' refers to Buchanan 1812. 'WW2' and 'W3' refer to two 'histories' awarded prizes in a competition in 1870, run by Mr Ballard, the Resident of Travancore and Cochin. They are written by Revd Kurien and Revd Eapen respectively, both Jacobite Syrian Christian priests.

'47. Accepting then these books as our guide, we proceed to consider the past history of the Church. That history may be conveniently divided into two Grand Periods for the purpose of this case. viz. the first period commencing from the foundation of the Church and ending with the overthrow of the Portugese Power in India, which undoubtedly, had great influence in religious matters over the Syrian Churches here i.e. till 1663; and the second period commencing from that year or 1665 and extending to the date of this litigation.

48 Now to the first Period. It is admitted by both Parties and allowed by all the Historians that the Apostle St Thomas arrived in Malanakari in A.D. 51-52, preached Christianity and made many converts. He is said to have built seven churches at seven different places in Malabar and ordained two men as Arch-Deacons, one from each of two respectable families, viz Sankarapuri and Pakalomattom. He made Cranganore near Cochin the centre of his Diocese. Leaving the affairs of his Church here in the hands of his two nominees upon whom he had conferred holy orders, he left Malayalam. How the Diocese fared after him, we have no authentic account any where. All our historians are singularly silent on the subject. About a hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the church, i.e. in A.D. 200 we are told by Ittoop, that some Christians of India had written to Demetrius the Bishop of Alexandria, requesting him to send a teacher to instruct them in the doctrines relating to the beliefs in Christ. (WW p. 87; Book III p. 121).

Ittoop is confirmed in this matter by Dr: Day whose work on "The Land of Perumals" was referred to in the course of the argument (p. 212). Beyond this, we have no information of any kind about the Syrian Christians of Malabar for a long time.

In A.D. 325 the first general Council, well known as the Council or Synod of Nice was held. This was the first epoch in the history of Christianity. To this Council, priests and prelates from all parts of Christendom were invited. Representatives of all Dioceses in the Christian world attended that Synod. In the Acts of this Council, we find the Christians of India were

represented by their Bishop or Metropolitan who had subscribed to them (the Acts). He was Johannes, Metropolitan of Persia and India. (Dr. Buchanan p 229; Revd: Howard p8 Dr Day p215). All the English Historians are agreed regard to this representation of India at that grand Council. This fact has an important bearing on the. present dispute. The Council of Nice among other matters relating to the revival and establishment of Christianity, revision of the Scriptures, and framing a code of faith and rituals, etc, settled the jurisdiction of the several ecclesiastical heads who were charged with the due carrying out of the acts of the Council. Infact this was an important part of the work done at the meeting of the Representatives from all Christian communities. Ittoop say “to prevent the rise of heresies in future” (heresies being the immediate occasion of the Council of Nice) four Patriarchs were appointed over four Sees. The Patriarchs appointed were 1) the Patriarch of Rome, 2) the Patriarch of Constantinople, 3) the Patriarch of Alexandria, and 4) the Patriarch of Antioch. These were given authority and supreme jurisdiction over their respective Sees. Besides these four Patriarchs, one was appointed at Jerusalem as a mark of distinction for that place with the title of the fifth Patriarch and subordinate to the Patriarch of Antioch.

51 It was also laid down that the Catholica appointed at Tigris (Bagdad). to manage the affairs of the Eastern Churches subject to Antioch was common and could exercise all the function of Patriarchs (Ittoop pp. 39 a1Jd 41; WW. p. 145).

52 This account of Ittoop is fully confirmed by Exhibits EEE and XXXVIII. The latter of these documents was filed by the Appellant himself as a reliable document. In these the Patriarch of Antioch is said to have been given authority over all the East and the Patriarch of Jerusalem specially designated the fifth Patriarch, was made subject to the See of Antioch. Thus it is seen that so early as the 4th century, the Christians of India accepted the Patriarch of Antioch as their Surpreme authority in the Ecclesiastical Government of their Church, Johannes their Metropolitan or Bishop representing them at the Council of Nice.

53 Within almost twenty years of the decision of the Council, we find the Patriarch of Antioch taking action upon it. Thomas of Cannan. who had much intercourse with the nations of the Western Coast, in pursuit of merchandize arrived at Cranganore in A. D. 341: Seeing some persons at that place wearing the cross about their neck, he made enquiries about their religion and soon learned that they were his co-religionists. Upon further enquiry, he, to his sorrow, discovered that they were in great distress on account of the spiritual as well as temporal affairs of their Church. Thomas, who had a great zeal in the cause of Christianity, at once resolved to use every effort to promote its adoption or restoration among the people. With

such a resolution he soon returned to his country and with the aid of the Catholica of Bagdad, (already referred to) set out on a voyage to Malabar with a Colony of Syrians consisting of men, women and children numbering in all about 400, some Deacons and Joseph Episcopa of Uraha under the direction of Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch. This party arrived at Cranganore in A.D.345. It is further said that Thomas gave up his secular calling altogether and devoted himself entirely to the service of the Church in Malabar of which he himself assumed charge, by the direction of the Patriarch of Antioch. All the historians are agreed with regard to the above account of the Mission of Thomas and of the useful work done by him in the cause of Christianity under the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch. (Dr. Da·y p. 214; Revd. Howard p. 15; WW pp. 88-91).

54 Mr Gover, the counsel for the Appellant, urges all improbability in Eustathius being the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, because the Patriarchs have been known all along by the titular name of Mar Ignatius. But it must be observed that this title was assumed for the first time only by the 3rd Patriarch and that the first two Patriarchs had no such titular name. (WW p.67; Book III p. 145) Hence there is no improbability in the account of the historians. There is not even a suggestion that at that time there were more than one Patriarch at Antioch.

55. This Thomas had an interview with King Cheraman Perumal the then Sovereign of Malabar, and obtained from him various privileges and honours and, above all, a grant of land for the purposes of his mission. The grant was engrossed on a copper plate. With the help of the Ruling Power, Thomas built a church at Mahadeavapuram-Kodungalloor in the Cochin State - which he made his capital.

56 Captain Swanston, as quoted in Howard, says of this Thomas that he introduced among the people in Malabar “Several Bishops, priests, as also many Christians, men, women, and children from foreign parts.”

57 Thus we see Thomas made the power of the Patriarch of Antioch supreme in Malankarai in those days and founded a colony, as it were, of Syrians. For many years after Thomas’s mission, there is again a long blank in the history of the church. Communication with Antioch was extremely difficult in those days. But it was different with Persia and Alexandria which had extensive trade with the Western Coast. This is the chief reason why we find further on that ecclesiastics from Persia, Egypt and Babylon visited Malabar oftener than Antiochians.

58 When Cosmos, a merchant of Alexandria who had extensive trade with Indian Coasts, speaking of Malabar, says Christian churches existed in Malabar.....the Bishops being sent from Persia where they were consecrated; the doctrines of that period were those of the Nestorians, for the Patriarch of Persia was at that time subject to the Nestorian Patriarch of Seleuccia (evidently Babylon). (Dr Day p.215; WW2 p.7, Book III p.135). It must be observed here that the Nestorian Creed had its origin in A.D. 429. It was the Creed established by Nestorius Bishop of Constantinople. With regard to the origin of the creed known as the Jacobite Creed, there is some difference of opinion among the Missionary historians themselves. Revd Howard says that it takes its name from James Baradaeus – an eminent promoter of their tenets, though Eutyches is regarded as the founder of the doctrine (p.20 Note). While Dr Day says that it is derived from Jacob of Uraha who in A.D.656 was consecrated Bishop of Uraha. (P.216 Note). Mr Ittoop almost agrees with Dr Day (P.66 and 63; Book III pp145-6).

59. However, one thing appears certain, viz. that these creeds began to split the Christians in the East, of those days, into sects, in about the sixth or seventh century. With the difference in their doctrines, we have nothing to do now. Suffice it to say there is some difference between them regarding the nature and Person of Christ.

60. Now to come back to the history, the Patriarch of Antioch who had adopted the Jacobite Creed and who had authority over all Asia, the East and the Indies, sent a Catholico about the tenth century to those parts. This is Howard's account (p20). But Dr Day says that about 696 a bishop of the Church of Jacobites arrived in India from Alexandria (p.216). He doubts the authenticity of this account. Whatever may be the truth of this fact, it is clear that the visits of the foreign ecclesiastics in those days were few and far between, either owing to want of interest in the Syrian Christians here or to the difficulty and enormous expense of sea voyages in those troublesome times. On account of this rarity, the Christians of Malabar welcomed and venerated foreign bishops, Episcopas or Metrans and allowed them to take part in the spiritual affairs of their Church, whatever might be their creed and beliefs. It must also be remarked that the differences that divided the Eastern Christians, i.e. those that recognised the supremacy of the Patriarchs of Syria, Persia, etc, had not become so great until the tenth or eleventh century, so as to exclude the prelates of one creed or great aversion to the others. They could not very well afford to do so. They had no choice in the matter. They were obliged to accept things as they came to them. In this connection it is highly interesting to note what Rev Howard says of the frequent visits of Nestorian bishops from Persia and Egypt to Malabar. He says

“Thus early, it seems, were the tenets of Nestorius introduced into” the Church of Malayala; and the testimony of Cosmos, who visited the country in A.D. 522, shows that it was then in communion with the Nestorian Patriarch; the Bishop or Metropolitan of Malabar receiving his consecration from the Catholicos of Babylon. But it is doubtful whether the Nestorian heresy ever took a deep hold in this branch of “the Church” (Howard p.19).

61 This becomes apparent as we proceed with the history of the period.

62 In A.D. 825, M.E.I, two Ecclesiastics or Episcopas by name of Mar Sabor and Mar Abrotha arrived in Malabar under command of the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon. They had interviews with the Rulers of the country and were much respected by the Syrian Christians their Arch-Deacon. With the aid of the one and the co-operation of the other, they travelled through built churches and looked after the religious affairs of the Syrians (Book III p. 121 · Howard p.19). Ittoop observes “It was subsequent to the coming of these Episcopas that the Nestorian Creed came slightly to be intermingled with that of Malayalam. (W W. p.95-98.)

63 The Nestorian Christian merchants of Persia and other places who had large trade in pepper and other articles of the Western Coast freely mixed themselves up with their co-religionists in Malabar, so that gradually the repugnance of the Syrians here to Nestorianism gave way and they became reconciled to the change though they always watched for an opportunity the revert to Jacobitism, the creed of their Syrian Patriarch.

64 Thus the Syrians of the Western Coast became a rich and influential class of people. They were much respected by their Hindu neighbours and the Ruling Authority. The increase of their power was not unattended with evil. They became the object of envy to others and to the Ruling Authority. Oppression followed envy. This oppression becoming unbearable, they gave up seeking Royal favour and, meeting in a body, resolved to elect one of themselves as their King who was styled "the King of the Syrians of Apostle Mar Thomas" and the Community itself being designated Swaroopam. Udayamperoror, as is commonly known to European Missionaries, Diamper, was made their Capital. Succession in the Kings family was made hereditary. This state of things continued to some time till one of the Kings, the last of them, dying issueless the Christians were again subjected to the Native Ruler, this evidently was about the end of the tenth century. Then followed a succession of Metropolitans from foreign parts who ruled over the Church. They were Johannan 988/163, Mar Thomas 1056/231, Mar Jacob 1222/299, Mar Joseph 1231/396, Mar David 1285/460 and Mar Yavalah 1407/582 (WW. pp. 95, 98; Book III p.122.)

65 After giving this list (this may not be a regular succession in an unbroken line) Ittoop observes "thus Episcopas came down to Malayalam from foreign parts from under the Antiochian Supremacy or from Babylon under the orders of the Nestorian Patriarch till the arrival of the Portugese in 1500" (WWp.98.) This account is not altogether unconfirmed. Messrs. Howard and Day, to some extent, been him out. Dr. Buchanan says, referring to the anti-Portugese period, "The European priests were yet more alarmed when they found that these Hindu Christians maintained the order and discipline of a regular Church under Episcopal Jurisdiction, and that for 1300 years past they had enjoyed a succssion of Bishops appointed by the Patriarch of Antioch. (Dr. Buchanan p. 201.) This 13 hundred years take us back to the second century. The above was the impression or the Portugese and the full belief of the Syrian Christians when the Portugese came to India and began to force their religious beliefs and doctnnes upon the Syrians as well as the Hindus.

66 The advent of the Portugese resulted in the persecution of the Syrians to join the Roman Faith. For some time at the beginning, the Portugese under the belief that the Syrians could be persuaded by peaceful means to adopt their faith, treated them with kindness and consideration. But gradually finding them tenacious in the profession of their own Jacobite faith, the Portugese changed their attitude towards the Syrians in matters of religion. The Syrians would not yield to persuasion or even to persecution. They resisted the efforts of the Portugese to convert them.

67 Finding the Syrians unyielding, the Portugese resolved to adopt gigantic measures to accomplish their end. They charged the Syrian Metropolitan Mar Joseph whose Head Quarters was then at Ankamalikarai with having taught Portugese youths who were residing with him some heretic doctrines, summoned him to Goa and sent him to Portugal and thence to Rome. This was in 1547. Finding their Bishop gone, the Syrians were in great distress and were anxiously looking for some Ecclesiastical Head to lead them and guard their faith against heresy. At this juncture, Mar Abraham, a Nestorian Metropolitan under the direction of the Patriarch of Babylon, arrived in Cochin in 1547 A.D. He brought many religious books for the Syrians. (Howard p. 24; WW3 pp. 27, 29, Book III p. 141.) According to one Historian, Abraham was sent on the application of the Syrians of Malabar, and according to others he was sent by the Prtriarch himself unasked. (Howard p. 25; Dr. Day p. 217.) Ittoop says, "as some difference was found between that Episcopa's faith and that of the Syrians, much dispute ensued. There being no Episcopa for the Syrians at that time, Arch-deacon Gevurgese, the superior in Malankarai resolved to obtain Ecclesiastical Order alone from him and received

from him in full, all dignities on the 24th Kumbhom of 1547 and agreed to work on terms of union, if the faith of the Syrians would be in no way violated." (Ittoop p.102; Book p.122.)

68 This is indeed, a very significant fact to show how zealous the Syrians were in preserving their old faith uncontaminated by contact with the professors of other faiths even under the persecution of the Inquisition.

69 The Portugese having got scent of the judicious union between the Syrian Metran and the foreign Nestorian Episcopa Abraham, felt frustrated in their object and at once brought down Abraham to their Capital, threatened and ill-treated him; and with the help of the Cochin Raja sent him to Rome. He effected an escape and reached Babylon (Book III p- 122.) In the meantime, Mar Joseph who had been sent to Rome by the Portuguese returned to Malayalam. Mar Abraham also about the same time, returned to Malabar under the orders of the Patriarch of Babylon. A dispute ensued between the two. The Syrians would not acknowledge the latter as their Head because he was suspected to have gone over to the Roman faith and to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. Nor would they receive Mar Joseph their former Metropolitan because he had gone to Rome and submitted himself to the authority of the Pope. The result was they conducted themselves in obedience to their Arch-deacon and in conformity with precedents. The Portuguese disposed of the two disputant Episcopas in the way they thought best.(Howard pp. 25, 26,

Ittoop p. 102.)

70. For ten years, after all this commotion, there was comparative quiet. But the Portugese would not be satisfied with anything less than the complete subjection of the Syrians to Papal Supremacy and complete conversion of them to Roman faith. At this juncture a small incident occurred which forcibly showed the antipathy of the people· i. e. Syrian Christians, to other than their own Jacobite creed. It was this. The Patriarch of Babylon hearing of the then state of the Syrian Church in Travancore, sent a Nestorian Bishop named Simeon to take charge of the Church. The people and their Arch-deacon strongly opposed him and would not receive him. They even preferred to him Mar Abraham whom they had at first refused to accept. However, the Portugese disposed of him as easily as they did the other two that had preceded him.

71 It is not to our purpose to pursue the Portugese inquisition any further. But no persecution of any _ki nd would make the Syrians to give up their old and simple faith.

72 The climax of the persecution was reached in 1599 and culminated in the so-called Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur). On the 20th June of that year, the Portugese Archbishop Menezes by name, called a meeting of all the Syrian clergy at Diamper for the purpose of settling their doctrines, canons and rituals. The Arch-Deacon, Cathanars &c. all attended. The decision of the Synod was communicated to them. Their books which were denounced to the heretical were burnt and destroyed. All traces of Apostolic succession in their church were obliterated. (Howard. p. 36, Ittoop p. 110, Revd. Eapen p. 21, Dr. Day pp.231-233)

73 This high-handed action had been preceded by precautionary steps taken to prevent the arrival of any more Prelates from Syria, the object being to render the people utterly helpless. Orders were issued to their seaports to arrest foreign prelates who might arrive there (Howard p. 29.)

74 Thus was the Syrian Church subjugated to the Portugese. But the subjection was only for a time. The Syrians were watching for an opportunity to throw off the yoke.

75 In 1604 the Arch-Deacon Gevurgese died, appointing Arch-Deacon Thoma as his successor. The earnest desire of the Syrians then was to get a Metropolitan from One of the Eastern Patriarchs to consecrate their Arch-Deacon and make him Metran. So far the historians are agreed. At this point a divergence occurs in the histories Revd. Howard says (P. 45.) that the Coptic Patriarch at Grand Cairo sent them a Syrian Bishop by name Ahattala to take charge of the Church. But adds in the footnote "Captain Swanston and Dr. Day call him Attila. In the Syrian manuscripts he is called Mar Ignatius" But Dr Day says (pp. 234-235) a person named Attila or Mar Ignatius, who appears to have been a Nestorian arrived as Bishop from Babylon". Ittoop says "while affairs were in this state, Ignatius Patriarch of Antioch arrived at St. Thomas Church at Mylapore in Madras on his way to the Syrians of Malayalam" (**WW**. p. 114, Book III p. 148.) Revds. Kurian and Eapen support him.

76 As much turns upon the dispute as to whether this person was the Patriarch of Antioch or a Nestorian from Babylon, we deem it necessary to consider here this matter rather carefully.

77 The historians are all agreed about the date of this person's arrival in India. It was 1653/825 or 1654. Howard allows that the Syrian Manuscripts call him "Mar Ignatius." Dr. Day himself gives him that name. Ittoop who must have had access, as already pointed out, to the Church records, as well as the other two Syrian Christian historians, positively say that that person was Mar Ignatius, the Patriarch of Antioch. Mr. Howard does not say how he got his

information that that person was a Nestorian and not the Patriarch. It must be borne in mind that "Mar Ignatius " is the titular name of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

78 With the above facts, may be considered the observation of Dr: Day at p. 216 that "the Jacobite sect came to India in 1663 according to some authorities; and from that period most of the prelates of the Malayala Church have considered themselves as dependent upon the See of Antioch."

79 From the foregoing, we incline to the opinion that the person who came to India in 1653-54 was the Patriarch of Antioch. In this view we are in a manner confirmed by what followed his arrival.

80 The Portuguese hearing of the arrival of Mar Ignatius at Mylapore and fearing that if he came to Malankarai, the Syrians might revert to their faith, giving up the Portuguese persuasion, arrested and detained him there. Here all the historians substantially agree as to what followed this detention. Ittoop says that the hearing of their Patriarch's arrest at Mylapore, two deacons of the Syrian Church went to that place to communicate to their Patriarch the affairs of their Church and obtain his commands. They accordingly had an interview with the Patriarch who drew up a Staticon to have Archdeacon Thoma to be consecrated and appointed as Metropolitan and entrusted the same to the deacons and sent them away secretly to Malayalam. The Deacons on their return summoned the people to meet at Alangad and communicated to them what had occurred. (Ittoop p. 117; Book III p. 148). This is Ittoop's version but Howard and Day do not expressly speak of the meeting of the Patriarch and the Deacons and the authority entrusted to them to consecrate Thoma as Metropolitan; but say that the Patriarch had communicated to this flock his approval of the appointment of Thoma as Metropolitan. However, substantially they all agree about the authority given. (Day p.235, Howard pp45, 46).

81 To resume the history; the Portuguese brought this Mar Ignatius in fetters to Cochin. Howard says (here it is important to give his own words) "He was seized and embarked in fetters for Cochin but not before he had found the means to communicate with his flock, approving of the appointment of Thoma and directed that four assessors should be nominated to act with him but enjoining him on no account to consecrate the holy oil or presume to confer order. Almost to the same effect is Dr Day's account of the Patriarch's instructions. (Day p235).

82 When Mar Ignatius was brought down to Cochin on his way to Rome, the people became enraged and their excitement knew no bounds. They at once assembled and Allegad and in a body went to the Portuguese governor and solicited the release of their Patriarch. The Governor declined to grant their prayer. Thereupon the Archdeacon and the people, numbering about 25,000, resolved to forcibly effect the release of the Patriarch and boldly marched to the fort where the Patriarch was confined. The Raja of Cochin was appealed to. He at first seemed to sympathise with the Syrians but finally yielding to the influence of the Portuguese allowed them to have their own way. (WW pp 114-117, Book III p148, Day pp235-236.) The Portuguese in some mysterious way, disposed of the Patriarch. Some believed he was drowned with a stone tied to his neck; some that he was burnt to death; and other that he was sent off to Rome. (Ittoop p. 117; Book III p. 148). Anyhow he was not heard of afterwards.

83 The Syrians' rage could no longer be restrained. None could control them. They met at Muttancherry Church and resolved that they should never again unite themselves with the Portuguese who had, without any scruple or fear of God, murdered their holy Patriarch; that Francis Metran of the Roman persuasion should not be acknowledged as their superior; that Arch-deacon Thoma should be consecrated as Metran in accordance with the Staticon given by Ignatius Patriarch and that their ancient and spotless doctrines should be followed. A Patyola (Resolution) was accordingly drawn up "and all unanimously, and casting themselves on the refuge of God, attached a large cable to the Koonan Cross at Muttancherry and extended it both ways in the market place; and the people assembled held by this rope and unanimously and with one voice swore as stated above and separated themselves from the followers of the Roman faith". This was on the 3rd Makarom 1654. This event marks an epoch in the history of the Syrian Church. The Syrians then split themselves into two parties known as Puthenkoor and Palayakoor. The former were Jacobite Syrians following the creed of the Patriarch of Antioch and the latter were Roma-Syrians following the Roman Creed of the Pope of Rome.

84 The Puthenkoor people after the meeting at Muttancherry came to Alengad Church and, in obedience to the Staticon of Mar Ignatius consecrated Arch-deacon Thoma with the title of Mar Thoma Metran. This was 55 years after the Synod of Diamper. The Puthenkoors became independent of the Portuguese.

85 But the Syrians did not feel that everything was quite complete. They felt that something very important in their estimation to perfect the Dignity of their Ecclesiastical Head, i.e.

Metropolitan was wanting. They enjoyed no peace and comfort on account of the want . Mar Thoma himself admitted the irregularity and invalidity of his consecration. After various endeavours and troubles, Mar Gregorius, the fifth Patriarch of Jerusalem, was got down to Malayalam by the command of the Patriarch of Antioch in 1665/840. He perfected the consecration of Mar Thoma I. (Dr. Day pp. 236, 237, WW. 177; Book III, p149, Howard p49.)

86 With this event ends the first grand Period of the history of the Syrian Church.

87 We have been so far able to cull a short history of this period from the materials that the respondent was able to produce, labouring as he, did, under disadvantages, viz. the Appellant withholding important Church Records and the Portuguese. having destroyed some Records at the Synod of Diamper.

88 Apart from the works of reference.already noticed, _we have an important document which fully bears out the facts established by the above historical sketch. The value of the document, as establishing the supremacy of the See of Antioch over Malankarai Edavagai is very much enhanced by the circumstances under which the document came into existence, the parties between whom it passed and the occasion which gave rise to it. We mean the seventeen questions proposed by the Madras Government through its Resident in 1813 A. D. to the then Metropolitan of the Syrian Church , Mar Thoma VIII, as we have to notice this document at some length further on, we may here briefly observe that answers to question 1, 2, 3, 4, 15 and 16 amply confirm the conclusions we draw from the foregoing history as given below.

89 Now looking back to the account given above, we cannot but be struck with the tenacity with which the Syrian Christians of Malabar adhered to their old faith, the faithfulness with which they tried their utmost to continue under the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch; the eagerness with which they sought spiritual control from him, and failing to secure it from him from any other Eastern Patriarch the boldness with which they resisted the Nestorian and Roman Prelates during the latter portion of this Period and even the ruling. authority; to preserve their Jacobite faith pure and uncontaminated, and the admirable manner in which they unanimously freed themselves from the influence of the Popish Priests and established once more again their Church as a pure Jacobite Church under the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch.

90 After this hard struggle of more than 1500 years, a new era dawned upon them. Of the beginning of this new era i.e. our second grand period, .(1665 to 1877). Revd. Howard says (p: 49) "The unwearied exertions of the people were at length rewarded by the " arrival in Malayala

of Gregorius Bishop of Jerusalem about the year "1665 or perhaps a little earlier. In that year he consecrated."Archdeacon Thomas to be their Metropolitan and continued to "render the assistance of his counsel in the Government of the Church " until his death. The arrival of Gregorius introduces us to a period "in the history of the Church in Malabar not more remarkable for the "restoration of the Episcopate to the remnant of the Native Church than "for its adoption of the Jacobite Liturgies and rituals in the place of "those of the Nestonans which had been in use previous to Synod of Diamper" . He further on says (p. 51), It appears doubtful, " Indeed whether the distinctive tenets of the Nestorians had ever taken any very strong hold in the Church in Malabar; and the present remarkable instance shows how feebly they maintained that hold in the hearts "and affection of a people who were resolved to be free;" and we may add how they once, more freely breathed under the supremacy of Antioch which they eagerly and as their birth-right clung to. From all accounts, *it* may be safely concluded that the Portuguese influence wholly ceased and the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch restored in 1665.

91 The second period (1665-1877). Mar Thoma I was eventually consecrated in 1665 by Gregorius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, under the Command of the Patriarch of Antioch. Thoma I and Gregorius jointly ruled the Church with peace. It was from this time that regular church Government commenced under the auspices of the See of Antioch. Mar Thoma II, the Anandaravan of Mar Thoma I was consecrated as the next Metropolitan by Gregorius who continued to manage the spiritual affairs of the people for some time even after this event. Gregorius died on the 14th Medom 845 M. E./1669, Mar Thoma I having died on the . 12th Medom 845 M. E./1669, two "days before the other. Thus the consecration of Mar Thoma II was doubtless during the lifetime of Gregorius and his spiritual management of the Church. There can, therefore be no doubt about the consecration having been done by that Patriarch. Mar Thoma II's rule commenced in 845/1669. According to Ittoop, Mar Gregorius died only in 1685 and not in 1669. However, one thing is certain viz. that he was alive when Thoma II was consecrated. The Syrian Christians of Malabar, of whom Dr. Buchanan, with great earnestness, says (p. 219) " That if there was such a thing in the World as ordination by the laying on of hands in succession from "the Apostles, it was probable that they (Malabar Syrian Christians) possessed it, and that there was no record or tradition to impeach "the claims;" again (p. 220) " I did not consider that the Church of England was entitled to reckon her ordination to be higher or more sacred than that of the Syrian Church," would not be slow to have the Imposition of hand done by the Delegate from their Patriarch (whom they had got down with

very great difficulty to perfect the consecration of their previous Metropolitan) especially when he was on the spot.

92 We make no doubt, therefore, that Mar Thoma II was duly consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem acting as the authorised Deputy of the .Patriarch of Antioch.

Appendix 19 Ramban Bartholoyo Abdel Ahad (later Patriarch Yacoub III) – Articles of Doctrine and Faith of the Jacobite Syrian Christians

From Ramban Bartholoyo Abdel Ahad (1948): *'The History of the Syriac Church'* pp.551-569.

Summary of the first 9 of the 23 Articles, of the Doctrine and Faith of the Universal Church already codified by the beginning of the 3rd century.

With citations from Ante-Nicene Church Fathers.¹⁹²

‘1. God is Three in One; He is the Creator of all things visible and invisible; Trinity cannot be denied, nor can the God and the Creator be separated, nor can they be counted as more than One; (this was confessed first by St. Theophilose of Antioch- see his refutation of the Roman Judge of Antioch, Otholicose; these are summarised in Yacoub 1948:306)

2. The Son of God and Saviour of the World took human material body from the Holy Mary, and was manifest in the world. They rejected the heretics’ allegation that because the world/matter is full of evil God who is pure and Righteous cannot be joined with matter, and so his body was perhaps brought down from heaven or some such ethereal place, and that what the humans had seen as Christ was nothing but an insubstantial vision;

¹⁹² Translated from Malayalam into English by Sarah Knight.

3. That the Son of God took corporeal body from Mary by the Holy Spirit; He was not born in the worldly way; his mother Mary was a Virgin before and after his birth; those who are referred to as his ‘brothers’ in the Gospels and Epistles, James, Jose and Simon etc. are none other than children of Joseph by his first wife; because it was firmly held that Mary was ‘betrothed’ to Joseph not with the intention of leading a married life;

4. That the Church gave Mary the honour as ‘Mother of God’ because God took material body from her; this assignation was in place even from the time of the Apostles and continued from then; (see ‘The Miracle-worker St. Gregory’s *The Annunciation to the Mother of God*’ in the book: “The Church Fathers’ Sermons for the whole Year”; see also *The Life of John the Patriarch*’ in Bar Hebraeus’ Chronodicon. Some say (Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 15: 591) that this tradition originated with the great Church Fathers of the Alexandria, but this is not correct;

5. That when Christ took human form, his Godliness united with his humanness in an indivisible way. This was even without these two natures losing their separate properties and becoming a third new nature; His nature was One, ie, a united yet remaining separate – ‘*m’r’kbo*’ one, the Church taught (see the *Memre* on ‘Faith’ by St. Gregory the Miracle-worker; also, Bar Hebraeus’ book ‘Minorus Kudishe’, ‘Shethastho’ 4, Cheppaleon 4, Posukko 2, Nishe 2.);

6. That the Second person (*K’numo’*) in the Trinune God entered the Virgin and took flesh from her, and rejected the teaching of Paul (of Samosata?) and Arthimon, that he who was born of Mary was a mere human, that by his righteous life he became holy, and God descended and dwelt in him, as heretical;

7. That when Christ took human form, he naturally and willingly subjected himself to natural human weaknesses such as hunger, thirst, tiredness, weeping, sleep, the Passion of the Cross, and death itself; these his sufferings were real and experienced in his body, not mere insubstantial vision or ‘in appearance to be so’ or even that these were suffered by some one else who looked like Christ, as some heretics had declared;

8. That Christ the God suffered the Passion in his body, died and was buried (again, from the *Memre* on ‘Faith’ by St. Gregory the Miracle-worker) ; that neither while he was on the cross nor when placed in the tomb did his Godhead remove itself from his body or his soul; and rejected as heresy, the teaching that although Christ the God suffered Passion in his body, his

Godhead was untouched by that Passion, and that when Christ entered the Passion, his Godhead separated from him; the Church also rejected the arguments from the pagan philosopher Kelsos that if he was God he would not have permitted being betrayed by a disciple and crucified by the Jews, that if it was God who was crucified in the flesh, blood would not have come out when his chest was pierced; (Origen wrote refuting this);

9. that there was no salvation outside the One Catholic Church; (the term 'Catholic Church' used first by the third Patriarch of Antioch St. Ignatius.) Later Origen, St. Cyprian, and other writers also used this term. Non-believers, heretics and the excommunicated were categorized as 'those alien to the Church' The term 'Church' is but 'One Body'. Those who are separate from this Body cannot be part of the True Church, because, a body cannot be separated or divided in itself. When separated, they each do not become a new Body, but rather separate limbs; as St. Cyprian said: 'to whom the Church is not his Mother, God the Father cannot be the father'; only if salvation was available to those outside Noah's Arc, can the same be for those outside the door of the Church; (see St. Cyprian's book on the 'One-ness of the Church'.)

Further, Ignatius Yacoub III goes on to give the three visible signs that distinguish or identify as such, the Apostolic Church'.