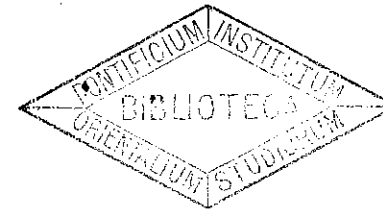


INDIA AND THE
APOSTLE THOMAS
AN INQUIRY. WITH A CRITICAL
ANALYSIS OF THE *ACTA THOMAE*

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CHAPTER II

THOMAS, THE APOSTLE OF INDIA

I.—THE WITNESS OF ST. EPHRAEM AND OTHERS

OWING to the frequent wars waged between the Roman Empire and the powers ruling east of the Euphrates, whether Parthian or Persian, from some time before the dawn of Christianity to even after the fifth century and later, communication between Europe, Western Asia, and the countries beyond the Euphrates was generally cut off for long periods, and, when open, was of the most fitful character. In ecclesiastical history we find a singular fact which illustrates the truth of this statement. In the year A.D. 139 Achadabues and Kam-Jesu, *alias* Job-Jesu, were, at the dying request of Jacob, the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, sent to Antioch in order that one of the two might be chosen and appointed his successor (Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, Abbeloos and Lamy's edition, 3 vols., Lovanii, 1872-77, vol. iii., col. 24; and Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, in 4 vols. fol., Romae, 1719-28, vol. ii. p. 396, and vol. iv. p. 41), for the ecclesiastical usage then prevailing required that the person elected to the see should receive consecration at the hands of the Bishop of Antioch. On their arrival at Antioch, the two candidates were denounced as Persian spies to the authorities. Both were seized, but Achadabues escaped to Jerusalem, while his companion, Kam-Jesu, and his host were executed as spies by the prefect or governor of the city. This sad event naturally led to a change

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of the ecclesiastical rule in the case of the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

The occurrence shows how political difficulties hindered and made it impossible to keep up any intercourse between the churches within the Roman Empire and those under barbarian sway beyond the border in the Far East. It is owing to this, no doubt, that so little of regular history has been handed down to us through the ordinary channels of Western Church records regarding the preaching of the Apostles, the doings of their disciples in the sub-apostolic age, and the foundation of churches outside the Empire, especially in the Far East. On the other hand, regarding such apostles and their disciples as worked within the boundaries of the Roman Empire—even apart from what the canonical books mention—a good deal of general history and some circumstantial details have found their way down to us; though on looking closely into the subject, it will be noticed the limits of even such information do not extend beyond the basin and the shores of the Mediterranean.

If, then, any morsels of information regarding the apostolic and sub-apostolic age have escaped the general havoc wrought by the Mahomedan and Mongolian hordes in the East, we can only hope to recover them by careful search among the Syriac records still existing in the far eastern churches and monasteries. Guided by this conviction we have for years devoted our efforts towards recovering from Syrian sources whatever may cast a gleam of light upon the Indian Apostolate of Saint Thomas. Though it has involved long and patient research to follow up every clue and to collect together every scrap of information recovered from the treasure-house of the East, and to re-set it in its proper place, we now feel ourselves in a position to place before the reader results which we believe to be

well worthy of serious attention. These results, we think, will throw new light on a subject which—owing largely to contentious discussions—appears to have become more and more involved in doubt. In this we may well see a just retribution of Providence. The Apostle who had stood in the full light of the public life and miracles of our Lord was nevertheless capable of doubt when His resurrection was announced; so also the field of the same Apostle's labours has been shrouded with unnecessary doubt. It will be an ample satisfaction if we can remove all reasonable doubt as to the main facts.

The earliest author of the Eastern Church, whose recovered writings serve to remove it, is the Deacon Saint Ephraem, the Great Doctor of the Syrian Church. He was a native of the city of Nisibis, and had lived there up to A.D. 363, when the surrender of that town by the Emperor Jovian to Sapor, the King of Persia, took place after the death of his predecessor, Julian the Apostate, and the partial defeat of the army under the same. The Saint then retired to Edessa, which had become the frontier town of the Empire (see Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, Bohn's ed., 1862, bk. xxv. chap. viii. p. 397). As the Relics of the Apostle Thomas had been treasured in that city from an early period, and as Ephraem had lived there for fully ten years till his death, which occurred in the summer of 373, it certainly seemed strange that in the numerous published works of so prolific a writer—in those which fill six folio volumes of the Roman edition by Assemani, and in minor works subsequently published—no direct evidence could be found regarding the Indian labours of the Apostle, so specially venerated in the very city in which Ephraem resided, the city which, largely owing to his influence, became the general centre of Syrian literature. It was not until past the middle of the

nineteenth century that such evidence was forthcoming.

The first writing of Ephraem which threw clear light on this subject appeared in 1866. It is No. 42 of his *Carmina Nisibena*, so styled by the editor Bickell, because they refer chiefly to the city of Nisibis. The hymn in question consists of ten strophes, and is composed in form not unlike that of Greek and Latin odes, with a 'refrain' to be sung after each strophe. Ephraem composed most of his hymns that they should be sung at the public services of the Church. Bickell (*S. Ephraemi Syri, Carmina Nisibena*, Lipsiae, 1866, Introduction, p. 33) remarks: 'These refrains which always contain a prayer, or a doxology, were undoubtedly sung by the people in chorus, while the hymn was sung as a solo by a cleric.' This style of singing took its origin in the Syrian Church, and Ephraem composed his hymns in order to prevent the people continuing any longer to sing those tainted with Gnostic errors composed by Bardaisan and his son Harmonius.¹

¹ The history of the origin of the singing of St. Ephraem's hymns is as follows. The saint had noticed that the people were in the habit of singing the hymns composed by Harmonius, the son of Bardaisan, and he feared that, attracted by the melody, they would gradually imbibe the errors of father and son. He therefore set himself to master the art of poetical composition in his mother tongue, and in the rhythm of Harmonius. Eventually he became so great an adept in the art, that the bulk of his numerous writings are actually in metre. In the composition of the *Madrāshās*, or hymns, St. Ephraem adapted his to suit the tunes already in popular use—juxta numeros Harmonii alios composuit libros (odas); cujusmodi sunt ea quae in Hymnis et Encomiis Sanctorum virorum ab illo sunt elaborata—Ex eo tempore Syri juxta numeros canticorum Harmonii scripta Ephraem psallere solent (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iii. cap. xvi.).

Theodoret, after saying that Ephraem successfully refuted the writings of heretics, adds (*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv. cap. xxix.): 'Et quoniam Harmonius Bardesanis filius cantica quaedam olim composuerat, et modorum suavitate impietatem admiscens, auditorum animos demul-

Ephraem in
Edessa
63-373

No. 42
ed.

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M.S.
6th cent.

The collection of hymns edited by Bickell is from British Museum Add. MS 14572. The MS consists of 117 folios, and is assigned by Bickell to the sixth century; some folios of the text have been lost, but the deficiency is supplied from Add. MS 17141 (of which more will be said further on), and from MS 1457.

We give a translation of the first three strophes of Hymn 42; the remaining strophes have no direct bearing on our subject. We may remark here that in our English rendering of this hymn and of others that follow we have endeavoured to retain the divisions of the original as far as has been possible; this, however, was found impracticable in the first and fourth hymn quoted:—

I

No. 42

‘(Thus) howled the devil: into what land shall I fly from the just?’

‘I stirred up Death the Apostles to slay, that by their death I might escape their blows.

‘But harder still am I now stricken: the Apostle I slew in India has overtaken me in Edessa; here and there he is all himself.

‘There went I, and there was he: here and there to my grief I find him.

cebat et ad exitum pertrahebat; ipse modorum compositione ab illo mutuatus pietatem canticis permiscuit et suavissimum simul ac utilissimum medicamentum audientibus exhibuit. Atque haec cantica festos martyrum dies laetiores ac splendidiore etiamnum efficiunt. St. Jerome subjoins (*De viris illustr.*, cap. 115): ‘Ad tantam venit claritudinem ut post lectionem Scripturarum, publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus [Ephraemi] scripta recitentur.’ See also Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, i. pp. 47-48. For further proof that St. Ephraem taught the singing of hymns in the churches, see Lamy, *S. Ephr., Hymni et Sermon.*, iv., praef., p. xx. See also Rubens Duval’s *La Littérature Syriaque*, Paris, 1900, pp. 18-21 of 2nd ed.

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II

‘The merchant brought the bones:¹ nay, rather! they brought him. Lo, the mutual gain!

‘What profit were they to me, while theirs was the mutual gain? Both brought me loss.

‘Who will show me the casket of Iscariot, whence courage I derived?’

‘But the casket of Thomas is slaying me, for a hidden power there residing, tortures me.

¹ That the removal of the Relics of Thomas from India to Edessa was effected by a merchant is asserted not only in this hymn but also repeatedly in the quotations that follow. St. Ephraem does not give us the name of the merchant, but it is found in the Chaldean Martyrology, preserved by the Nestorians. The Rev. A. J. Maclean in the last chapter of his book, *The Catholics of the East and his People* (London, 1892), treating of the ‘Kalendar, Fasts and Festivals, Sundays’ of the ‘Eastern Syrian Christians (known also as Nestorians),’ gives at pp. 346-352 the contents of the ‘East Syrian Kalendar.’ We reproduce from the feasts of saints (p. 350) the first section of the Kalendar to enable the reader the better to judge of the antiquity and authority of the same:—

OLD STYLE

January 1.—Mar Shalita (obsolete; see September 19).

January 24.—St. George’s companions, martyrs (obsolete).

March.—First Wednesday. St. George, martyr.

April 15.—Mar Shimun Barseba’i, Catholicos (obsolete).

April 24.—St. George, martyr. A great festival.

April 27.—St. Christopher, martyr, and St. George (obsolete).

May.—First Tuesday. Sons of Shmuni (2 Macc. vii.). Universally observed.

May 15.—St. Mary.

July 3.—St. Thomas, who ‘was pierced with a lance in India. His body is at Urhai (Edessa), having been brought there by the merchant Khabin.’ A great festival.

July 15.—St. Cyriac (‘Mar Quriaqus, whom Halinus killed in Persia, and Diuliti, his mother.’) Ruinart in his ‘Acta Martyrum Sincera’ (p. 477) says that Ciryus and Julitta died at Tarsus about 305 A.D. The Greeks keep their festival on this day, but the Latins on June 16.

July 29.—St. Peter and St. Paul (obsolete).

The reader will understand that the remarks between brackets are those of the editor, and the dates in italics represent the Syriac dates.

III

'With profit Moses, the elect, in faith transported bones.¹

'If then so great a Prophet held that help from bones could be obtained, rightly did the merchant believe the same, and rightly a merchant he styled himself.

'The merchant has made a profit, has become great and rules.

'His treasury has greatly impoverished me, for to Edessa it is open, and the great city by his aid is enriched.'

The second quotation we give is, like the preceding, from a *Madrāshā*, or Hymn of St. Ephraem. It is

of the MS., while those bearing the sign of quotation, as at July 3 and 15, are verbatim quotations of the MS. In the extract given above three festivals bear the note 'a great festival'—(1) that of Thomas the Apostle, (2) that of St. George, and (3) that of St. Cyriac. SS. George and Cyriac are both greatly venerated among Syrians, and their names are very commonly borne by the Christians. The extract, we venture to think, will of itself disclose the fact, that these festivals are those of primitive martyrs venerated in the East, for only such were entered in the earliest Church Calendars. The MS used by Mr. Maclean is dated A.D. 1443, 14th May, but it is obviously a copy of an ancient Calendar.

Mention is also made of the removal of the Apostle's Relics from India to Edessa by Solomo (Solomon), bishop of Bassorah c. 1222 (*The Book of the Bee*, edited with English translation by E. A. Wallis Budge, Clarendon Press, 1886, being part ii. vol. i. of Semitic Series of 'Anecdota Oxoniensia'). He writes (chap. 48, p. 105): 'Thomas . . . because he baptised the daughter of the King of the Indians, he (the king) stabbed him with a spear and he died. *Hābban*, the merchant, brought his body and laid it in Edessa.' This is the name of Gondophares' messenger, who is said in the Acts of Thomas to have taken him to India, and likely enough wrongly introduced in place of Khabin. In such matters the reading given by a Martyrology must carry greater weight; besides, the similarity in sound may have induced a transcriber to make the substitution.

¹ Regarding the removal of the bones of Joseph (see Gen. 1. 24, 25; Exod. xiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32, referred to in Acts vii. 16), the authority of Moses is brought forward in support of the practice of the Church in venerating the remains of God's martyrs and saints, and the words of St. Ephraem disclose the early practice and belief of the Syrian Church.

published by the learned Syriac scholar, Monsignor Lamy, of the University of Louvain, in his *S. Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones*, four volumes in quarto. He devoted to his researches for the material and to the editing of the last volume, from which the further quotations are taken, ten years of labour (vol. iv., *Mechliniae*, 1902, col. 694 *seq.*). The hymn we are now going to quote is taken from British Museum Add. MS 17141, folio 85; Wright (*Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum*, pp. 359-363) assigns the MS to the eighth or ninth century: it contains a large collection of hymns ascribed to Ephraem, Isaac of Antioch, and Jacob of Batnae (Sarug).

The *Breviary according to the Rite of the Church of Antioch of the Syrians*, seven quarto volumes, published 1886-1896 at Mosul, at the press of the Dominican Fathers, also contains strophes 1-2, 6-7, 10 of this hymn in vol. vi. p. 631. This *Breviary*, compiled from ancient codices, was edited chiefly by a learned Eastern scholar, the late Clement David, Archbishop of Damascus, a student of the Propaganda College. After his death the work, the materials for which he had prepared, was carried through the press by his collaborators. These volumes contain a large collection of hymns and liturgical prayers of great value, and, as Monsignor Lamy remarks, they offer a better text than even the old Nitrian codices of the British Museum. We take this early opportunity to express our deep and sincere acknowledgments for his kindness in sending us advance sheets of the fourth volume above mentioned, containing the hymns we are going to quote from; we also wish to thank him for much additional help given without stint whenever applied to.

The hymn now in question contains seventeen

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edM.S.
8th or 9th

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strophes or stanzas; we offer an English version of the last seven:—

ON THOMAS THE APOSTLE

XI

‘Blessed art thou, Thomas, the Twin, in thy deeds! twin is thy spiritual power; nor one thy power, nor one thy name:

‘But many and signal are they; renowned is thy name among the Apostles.

‘From my lowly state thee I haste to sing.

XII

‘Blessed art thou, O Light, like the lamp, the sun amidst darkness hath placed; the earth darkened with sacrifices’ fumes to illuminate.

‘A land of people dark fell to thy lot that these in white robes thou shouldst clothe and cleanse by baptism: a tainted land Thomas has purified.

XIII

‘Blessed art thou, like unto the solar ray from the great orb; thy grateful dawn India’s painful darkness doth dispel.

‘Thou the great lamp, one among the Twelve, with oil from the Cross replenished, India’s dark night floodest with light.

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.

XV

‘Blessed art thou, who hast faith in the bride, whom from heathenism, from demons’ errors, and from enslavement to sacrifices thou didst rescue.

‘Her with saving bath thou cleansest, the sunburnt thou hast made fair, the Cross of Light her darkened shades effacing.

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!’

The third quotation we offer is from another hymn given in the same *Breviary*, vol. vi. p. 635, and is taken from col. 704 of Monsignor Lamy’s fourth volume. The hymn consists of eight stanzas; we omit two:—

ON THOMAS THE APOSTLE

I

‘Thomas, whence thy lineage,
That so illustrious thou shouldst become?
A merchant thy bones conveys;
A Pontiff assigns thee a feast;¹
A King a shrine erects.²

¹ This is a reference to the institution of the annual festival at the church of Edessa in honour of the Apostle: from Edessa the celebration of this festival spread over the whole Christian world. The feast kept by the Syrian churches is not the festival of the martyrdom, but that of the translation of his Relics to Edessa, and this feast is kept on the 3rd of July, the same day as in former times, as is shown by the Nestorian Calendar quoted above, and by others that will follow. It cannot be supposed that this festival is the commemoration of the translation of the Relics under Bishop Cyrus, when they were, as will be shown later, removed from the old church, in which they had previously reposed, to the great new church erected in honour of St. Thomas. The *Chronicon Edessenum* assigns the translation to A.D. 394, and gives the day of the month as the 22nd of August. So the feast of the ‘Translation,’ kept on the 3rd of July by the Syrian churches, must refer to the first arrival, or the ‘Deposition’ of the Apostle’s Bones in that city.

² This possibly refers to the concluding statement in the Acts

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.¹
In our land thy triumph,
Everywhere thy festival.

of Thomas. King Mazdai (Misdeus) is there stated to have opened the grave of the Apostle, and not finding his bones, took some of the dust and applied it to his son, and thus delivered him from the devil's possession. After this the king may perhaps have become a Christian, and have joined the brethren under Sifur. If so, he would probably be the founder of the first church built over the original tomb of the Apostle at the town now known as Mylapore. It is to some such tradition that Ephraem appears to refer.

¹ From this it would appear that in Ephraem's time merchants who had visited the Indian shrine brought back reports of miracles wrought there, and of favours obtained: this is also implied in the Nisibine hymn quoted above. Thus also Marco Polo and others bear witness to similar occurrences at a later period, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter. Ephraem moreover expressly affirms that the inhabitants of Edessa were aware of miracles and favours granted in their city, and that the fame of St. Thomas had spread far and wide.

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.'

Our fourth quotation from St. Ephraem comes also from the *Breviary*, vol. vi. p. 638. In Monsignor Lamy's fourth volume it will be found at col. 706. It consists of six strophes ; we quote only three :—

ON THOMAS THE APOSTLE

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?¹
Or on earth who so wise was found
Here of his genius essaying
What in Heaven a crowning secures?

¹ Ephraem refers to a vision related in the Acts of Thomas. It was the vision of a beautiful building in heaven which the Apostle

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Schoenfelder, at Bamberg, in 1866, based on one MS. We quote from Budge's translation, p. 105, chap. xlviii. : 'Thomas was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Juda. He taught the Parthians, Medes, and Indians [Oxford MS., in India and Sind and Persia]; and because he baptised the daughter of the King of the Indians, he stabbed him with a spear and he died. Habbân, the merchant, brought his body, and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of our Lord. Others say that he was buried in Mahlûph, a city in the land of the Indians [the Oxford MS says he was buried in India].'

II.—THE WITNESS OF THE LITURGICAL BOOKS AND CALENDARS OF THE SYRIAN CHURCH

The extracts from the hymns of St. Ephraem, given in the preceding pages, some of which are embodied also in the Breviary above quoted, have already demonstrated to us what was known and believed by the Edessan Church, then the head and centre of the Syrian Christians, in regard to the connection of the Apostle Thomas with India. Through the kindness of Mgr. Lamy, we have been favoured with additional extracts from the same Breviary, which we now place before the reader (*Breviar.*, tom. iv. pp. 427-484):—

The feast of Saint Thomas is fixed on the 3rd of July.

FROM THE *Sedra*:—

'O blessed Apostle, valiant Mar Thomas, whom the violent threats of the King on account of the palace thou didst build for him in heaven, did not affright.

'Blessed Apostle, be thou praised, O Mar Thomas, thou whose slavery secured freedom to the Indians and the Kushites [Ethiopians] blighted by the evil-doer.'

And further on:—

'O Apostle Thomas, athlete of the faith, who preaches the Gospel and convertest peoples from their errors, and who for the love of Christ sufferest scourges and wounds and enterest the abode of joy.'

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A prayer ascribed to Jacob of Sarug, in verses of twelve syllables, like his other metrical compositions, contains the following:— *V. cont.*

'The Apostle Thomas on leaving for India, parting from the apostles, wept and moved them to tears.

'He asked them to implore the mercy of our Saviour to assist and support him in his preachings.

'Behold, he said, I go now to a darkened (blind) land as architect, pray that I may erect a palace that may rise to the Kingdom above. #

'Join me in prayer that my building may not be cast down by the flood.

'O blessed Thomas, whom thy Lord hath sent as a torch to illuminate the land shrouded in the darkness of error.

'O blessed one, thou goest forth as a ray of the sun to dissipate the dark night of India.

'O blessed Thomas, whom the heavenly bridegroom hath sent to unite unto him the dark bride whom thou hast cleansed and made whiter than snow.'

At Matins, after the hymns of Ephraem, given above, a prayer composed by the same saint is given. It is in seven-syllable verse, and contains the following:—

'Blessed be he who solemnises thy commemorative feast, O bright Apostle Mar Thomas.

'Of thee He has made a source of blessings; a refuge for all who are in pain.

'By thee He has converted the Indians to the true faith and has baptised them in the name of the Trinity.'

Again in the *Sedra* of the morning we read:—

'Kings and judges attend his preaching, are converted, and quit their evil ways, and plunge into the celestial waters of baptism; from black they become fair. When the sick and the paralysed approach him his word restores them to health; they come to him void of sight and depart with sight restored. As the sun lights up and gladdens the world, so Thomas the Apostle brightens and gladdens dark India by his numberless blessings. The heavenly hosts and the souls of the just are charmed with admiration when he measures and marks out the earthly palace, while his Lord completes it in heaven. While that celestial

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beauty expanded itself the king believed and was baptised with the children of his house and the nobles of his court.'

THE CHURCH OF THE JACOBITE SYRIANS

The following quotations from the service-books of this church are taken from Assemani, who gives the traditions of the Syrian churches connected with the Apostle Thomas (*Bibl. Or.*, iv. pp. 30 ff.).

In the Office of the feast of Saint Thomas, kept on the 3rd of July :—

'The Lord sent him to preach the Gospel in the East Indies [*in India Orientali*],' etc.

And also :—

'This Thomas whose memory we celebrate, on being sent to India, was sold as a slave. . . . While he was designing the splendid palace, the Lord was raising it up in heaven.'

Again :—

'Like unto his Master, pierced by a lance, with the honour of the Apostolate, he gained a martyr's crown.'

THE NESTORIAN SECTION OF THE SYRIAN CHURCH

Up to the close of the fourth century the Syrian Church was one, with its literary head-centre at Edessa. Some time after the outbreak of Nestorianism, the extreme eastern section of the Syrian Church, outside the Roman Empire, was captured by the rising sect of Nestorius. Later, Eutychianism, or the Jacobite heresy, as it was subsequently named from Jacob Baradaeus, its ardent upholder, made a second breach in this church. Centuries later, the Maronites broke off from the Jacobites, and returned to the centre of church unity. This divided state explains how the Nestorian section, more than any other church, became and remained closely related by position and intercourse with the centres of Christianity beyond the Euphrates. The continued evidence borne by that church therefore carries much additional weight.

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In the Office for the feast of Saint Thomas, kept on the 3rd of July, at Vespers (*Bibl. Or. ut supr.*), we read :—

'The Indians inhaled the odour of life by thy doctrine, O Thomas, and discarding all pagan customs at heart and externally, they commenced to cultivate chastity.'

And lower down :—

'The Lord has deigned to grant Saint Thomas to his faithful church as a treasure found in India. . . . who for the faith was by a lance pierced.'

The following occurs in the Canticle :—

'As Christ had anointed Peter to the High Priesthood of Rome, so thou [O Thomas] to-day among the Indians [hast received the same honour].'

In the Nocturn we read :—

'Thomas took the route to India to demolish the temples of demons, and to extirpate immorality prevailing among men and women.'

We append some further quotations from non-Catholic Syrian calendars, published by Assemani (*Bibliotheca Vatican. Codicum Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, tom. ii., from a Jacobite calendar, codex xxxvii. p. 250) :—

'(1) Tesri—October, die 6, Coronatio Thomae Apostoli et regis Indiae et Misadi, ejusque filii Johannis—et decem, &c. p. 266.—Tamuz—Julius, die 3, Thomae Apostoli. p. 271.—Elul—September, die 16, S. Thomae Apostoli.

'(2) From another Jacobite Calendar, codex xxxix. : p. 275.—Mensis Tesri prior—October, die 6, Thomae Apostoli.

'(3) From a Syrian Calendar of Saints, codex xxx. pp. 114 ff.—p. 117.—Tisrin prior—October, die 6, Coronatio Thomae Apostoli. p. 131.—Julius 6, S. Thomae,' etc.

These entries will show that the old principal feast of Saint Thomas, kept on the 3rd of July, gradually fell off in importance; this happened, no doubt, after the destruction of Edessa, and the disappearance of the Relics from the city. Things have come to such a pass, that now, even at Edessa, the present Urfa, no particular



feast, in the popular sense, is any longer kept in honour of the saint. This we learnt lately at Rome from Syrians who had newly arrived from Urfa. The commingling of the Syrians and Greeks under the new conditions prevailing under Mahomedan rule, brought about the keeping of the feast on the same day, October the 6th, by both communities, though, as should be remarked, the old date yet retains its place in the later calendars. The Armenians also now keep the feast with the Greeks on the 6th of October.

III.—THE WITNESS OF THE FATHERS OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

We pass on now to review the testimony given by the Fathers of the Western Church to the Indian apostolate of Saint Thomas.

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St. Gregory of Nazianzus¹ (Homil. xxxiii., *Contra Arianos et de seipso*, cap. xi., Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, vol. xxxvi., 2nd of Gregory Naz. col. 227): 'What? Were not the Apostles strangers [foreigners] amidst the many nations and countries over which they spread themselves, that the Gospel might penetrate into all parts, that no place might be void of the triple light or deprived of that of truth, so that the cloud of ignorance among them even who sit in darkness and the shadow of death might be lifted? You have heard what Paul says: *to me was committed*

¹ Gregory was born A.D. 330, and ordained priest in 361; he was consecrated bishop by his friend St. Basil; he did not take up the work of a bishop, but retired into solitude. In 372, however, his father, the bishop of Nazianzus, induced him to share his charge; his father died soon afterwards, and the death of his mother followed in 375. Gregory then quitted Nazianzus, and in 379 the people of Constantinople called him to be their bishop. In 381 he resigned his see and returned to Nazianzus. There he again exercised the episcopal office till 383, when Eulalius was named bishop. Gregory died between 389-390. By the Greeks he is emphatically termed the 'Theologian' (Bardenhewer, *Les Pères de l'Eglise*, French transl., in 3 vols., Paris, 1898, ii. pp. 90-105).

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the gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision. Peter indeed may have belonged to Judea; but what had Paul in common with the gentiles, Luke with Achaia, Andrew with Epirus, John with Ephesus, Thomas with India, Mark with Italy? Not to speak of each separately, what had the other Apostles in common with the people to whom they were sent?'

St. Ambrose¹ (*Opera omnia* edidit Paulus Angelus Ballerini, Mediolani, 1876, tom. ii., *Enarratio in Psalm. xlv.* § 21, cols. 389-390), after mentioning the civil wars among the Triumviri, continues: '*Making wars to cease even to the end of the earth, he shall destroy the bow, and break the weapons, and the shields he shall burn in the fire* (Ps. xlv. 10). And in very deed before the Roman empire became expanded, not only were the kings of each city mutually at war, but the Romans themselves were constantly weakened by civil strifes. Whence it came to pass that wearied of civil wars the supreme Roman command was offered to Julius Augustus, and so internecine strife was brought to a close. This, in its way, admitted of the Apostles being sent without

¹ Ambrose, the son of a Pretorian Prefect of Gaul, was born c. 340, and was chosen bishop of Milan, while acting in his official capacity as Governor of Æmilia and Liguria in maintaining order between the Catholics and Arians then assembled in the church for the election of a bishop. He was then only a catechumen, but was forced to accept the office; he received baptism on the 30th of November 374, and was consecrated bishop on the 7th of December following. He sold his patrimony, and on assuming episcopal charge distributed the proceeds among the poor. There were two important incidents in his life. The first was the conversion and baptism of Augustine in 387, who was destined to become the great light of the Western Church, and whose conversion was largely due to the prayers of his mother, St. Monica. The other incident occurred in 390, when St. Ambrose forbade the great Theodosius to enter the church, and made him humbly do public penance for the massacre of the people of Thessalonica, which had been ordered by him in revenge for the murder of some imperial officers by the populace, during a tumult. St. Ambrose died on the 4th April 397 (Bardenhewer, *ut supr.*, ii. pp. 317 ff.).

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delay, according to the saying of our Lord Jesus : *Going therefore, teach ye all nations* (Matt. xxviii. 19). Even those kingdoms which were shut out by rugged mountains became accessible to them, as India to Thomas, Persia to Matthew. This also (*viz.*, the internal peace) expanded the power of the empire of Rome over the whole world, and appeased dissensions and divisions among the peoples by securing peace, thus enabling the Apostles, at the beginning of the church, to travel over many regions of the earth.

St. Jerome¹ (Epist. lix. *ad Marcellam*, alias cxlviii. Migne, *P.-L.*, vol. xxii., 1st of Jerome's, cols. 588-589): 'The last sheet contained the following question, Did our Lord after his resurrection abide with his disciples for forty days and never go elsewhere? or did he secretly go to heaven and thence descend, at no time denying his presence to the Apostles?

'If you consider our Lord to be the Son of God, of whom it is said, "Do I not fill the heavens and the

¹ Jerome was born at Stridon, a small village on the frontier between Dalmatia and Pannonia, either in 331, or, more probably, in 340; he went to Rome at the age of twenty to commence his literary studies; he received late baptism at the hands of Pope Liberius. From Rome he went to Treves, then renowned for its school of theology; later he was at Aquileia, whence he went to the East, and arrived at Antioch in 373. On the death of an intimate friend he retired into solitude. During this period he studied the Hebrew language. He was ordained priest at Antioch c. 378. Called to Constantinople by St. Gregory of Nazianzus, he went there before the close of 379. 'Ecclesiastica necessitas,' as he terms it, made him give up his exegetical studies, and he went to Rome, where he attended the council held on account of the schism of Antioch, and acted as the Pope's secretary. It was during this stay at Rome that he commenced the revision of the old Latin text of the Scriptures, and this formed the turning-point of his life. On the death of Pope Damasus he decided to quit Rome, which he left in August 385 for Antioch; thence in company with the noble Roman ladies, Paula and Eustochium, he went to Palestine, and settled down the next year at Bethlehem, where he wrote most of his works and letters, till his death in 420 (Bardenhewer, *ut supr.*, ii. pp. 364-394).

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earth, saith the Lord"? . . . You certainly need not doubt that even before the resurrection the true Godhead so dwelt in the Lord's body, as to be in the Father, as to embrace the expanse of the heavens, and to pervade and circumscribe all things, that is, so as to be within all things, and, without, to contain all things. It is foolish to limit to one small body the power of him whom the heavens cannot contain; and yet he who was everywhere, was also all entire in the Son of Man. For the Divine nature and the Word of God cannot be parcelled out, or divided by place, but, while everywhere, is all entire everywhere. He was indeed at one and the same time with the apostles during the forty days, and with the angels, and in the Father, and in the uttermost ends of the ocean. He dwelt in all places: with Thomas in India, with Peter at Rome, with Paul in Illyricum, with Titus in Crete, with Andrew in Achaia, with each apostolic man in each and all countries.'

St. Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia (died between 410-427). Extract from Sermon xvii., Migne, *P.-L.*, vol. xx. cols. 962-63. This sermon was delivered on the occasion of the dedication of a church named 'Basilica Concilii Sanctorum' — Assembly of the Saints, at Brescia in 402. For this church the relics of Saints Thomas, John the Baptist, Andrew and Luke had been secured—hence the title. 'We possess here the relics of these four who having preached the kingdom of God and his righteousness were put to death by unbelieving and perverse men, and now live for ever in God, as the power of their works discloses. John at Sebastena, a town of the province of Palestine, Thomas among the Indians, Andrew and Luke at the city of Patras are found to have closed their careers (consummati sunt).'¹

¹ A friend once wrote to us: 'All I know at present is that St. Paulinus had relics of St. Thomas at Nola, and St. Gaudentius at

✓ St. Paulinus of Nola¹ (Migne, *P.-L.*, vol. lxi. col. 514): 'So God, bestowing his holy gifts on all lands, sent his Apostles to the great cities of the world. To the Patrians he sent Andrew, to John the charge at Ephesus he gave of Europe and Asia, their errors to repel with effulgence of light. Parthia receives Matthew, India Thomas, Libya Thaddaeus and Phrygia Philip.'

✓ St. John Chrysostom.² This Doctor of the Greek Brescia, but I could not find anything to show how they obtained these relics, which they placed in their respective churches.' No doubt many another among the readers of these pages would feel inclined to ask the same question. An excellent little essay was written for academical honours by Mathias H. Hohlenberg of Copenhagen, entitled, *De originibus et fatis Ecclesiae Christianae in India Orientali, disquisitio historica ad finem saeculi decimi quinti perducta*, Havniae, 1822. The title is rather high-sounding, but his effort to establish that the first evangelisation of India was by the Apostle Thomas, is not only commendable, but on the whole is the best thing yet published on the subject, and we have found it often suggestive. The writer (p. 82), referring to Bolland. *Acta SS.*, die 18 Febr. et 22 Jan., adds that, besides at Nola and Brescia, the relics of Thomas were also deposited in the 'basilica Apostolorum' at Milan. There are thus three places, all in upper Italy, where relics of this Apostle appear at about the same time. The mention of the relics of Thomas at Milan will be found also in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* [details of this important Martyrology will be given presently] (p. lxxiv. and p. 57, first col., bottom): *vii. id. Mai, Mediolano, de ingressu reliquiarum Apostolorum Johannis Andreae et Thomae in basilica ad portam Romanam*. If we bear in mind that in the year 394, as mentioned above, the relics of the Apostle Thomas were, at Edessa, removed from the old church to the new magnificent basilica erected in his honour, it will be noticed that an opportunity would then offer itself to extract from the urn or sarcophagus that held them some portion of the relics, and morsels or fragments from these could be obtained by pious pilgrims and conveyed to Italy, where precisely they are found in the cities of Nola, Brescia, and Milan, in the possession of their bishops, Paulinus, Gaudentius, and Ambrose, after 395.

¹ Paulinus was born at Bordeaux in 353; his devotion to St. Felix of Nola led him to that city, to which he was accompanied by his wife, who was now a sister to him; he was made bishop of Nola in 409, and died in 431 (Bardenhewer, *ut supra*, ii. pp. 344 ff.).

² John, the son of a general of the Eastern empire, born at Antioch in 344 (or perhaps as late as 347), was surnamed 'Chry-

Church does not expressly state that Thomas the Apostle preached the faith to the Indians, but as he says they were evangelised by an Apostle and with the gift of tongues, we can see that some one apostle was present in his mind. We may almost legitimately infer that that apostle was Thomas, for such was the evidence of the saint's contemporaries, as we have shown above. The well-known fact that the Relics [the Bones] of the Apostle were then at Edessa, a fact which Chrysostom himself attests elsewhere (*Homily 26 on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, vol. 63, col. 179), and the general knowledge of the Apostle diffused from that city, make the inference most probable (see also his testimony quoted in Chapter IV.). We should remember also that the saint was a younger contemporary of Ephraem.

In the first of the three passages St. John Chrysostom asserts that in the Apostolic age the Indians, in common with the Scythians and others, accepted the mild yoke of the Gospel teaching. In the second passage he speaks of the gift of tongues conferred on the Apostles, and mentions the Apostle of India as one endowed with the gift. In the third passage he mentions that the apostles erected altars everywhere, and among the Scythians, Persians, and Indians. The three passages will be found below.¹

sostom' or 'Golden-mouthed,' because of his great eloquence. As deacon and as priest he occupied the pulpit at Antioch from 387 to 397, during which time his most famous homilies were preached. He was chosen for the Patriarchal see by the people of Constantinople, and consecrated by Theophilus of Alexandria in 398. After a few years he incurred the displeasure of Eudoxia, and was exiled by the feeble Arcadius, but again soon recalled by the Emperor and Empress, owing to a tumult among the people. Exiled a second time in 404, through intrigues of Theophilus and others, he died 14th September 407 (Bardenhewer, *ut supra*, ii. pp. 164 ff.).

¹ The following are the passages from his works as they appear in a Latin version (*S. Joan. Chrysost., Opera omnia*, edit. Montfaucon, Parisiis, 1735, tom. i., *Quod Christus sit Deus*, § 6, p. 566):—

I. *Tunc pascentur simul lupus cum agno*. On this he writes: De

St. Gregory of Tours bears strong and clear testimony to the Apostle's martyrdom and burial in India, as will be seen in the quotation given in our next chapter.

St. Bede the Venerable [born c. 673, died 735], *Opera omnia*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1688, tom. iii., Excerptiones Patrum, Collectanea, &c., col. 485: 'The Apostles of Christ, who were to be the preachers of the faith and teachers of the nations, received their allotted charges in distinct parts of the world. Peter receives Rome; Andrew, Achaia; James, Spain; Thomas, India; John, Asia; Matthew, &c. Further evidence from his Martyrology will be found below.

IV.—THE WITNESS OF THE ANCIENT CALENDARS, SACRAMENTARIES, AND MARTYROLOGIES OF THE LATIN CHURCH

Each Church from ancient times had its own list of feasts, *ferialia*, containing 'dies natalis martyrum,' the anniversaries of the martyrs of that particular church; and 'depositio episcoporum,' the anniversaries of the demise of its bishops; besides special feasts. Two

feris hominibus id dictum est, de Scytis, Thracibus, Mauris, Indis, Sauromatis, Persis. Quod autem omnes illae gentes sub uno jugo futurae essent, alius propheta declaravit his verbis: *Et servient ei sub jugo uno, &c.*

II. (p. 567): Et quomodo illos omnes, dicit quispiam, attraxerunt Apostoli? Qui non nisi unam linguam habebant, nempe Judaicam, quomodo Scytam, Indam et Sauromatam docere potuit? Accepto nempe per Spiritum Sanctum linguarum multarum dono.

III. (pp. 574-575). Speaking of the preaching of the Apostles he says: Ubique altaria excitarent, in regione Romanorum, Persarum, Scytharum, Maurorum, Indorum; quid dico? vel extra orbem nostrum.

IV. (Tom. xii., *Commentar. in Epist. ad Hebr., homilia xxvi., § 2, p. 237*): Aaronis autem, Danielis, Jeremiae, et Apostolorum multorum, nescimus ubi sita [ossa] sint. Nam Petri quidem et Pauli et Johannis et Thomae manifesta sunt sepulcra. Aliorum autem cum sint tam multi, nusquam sunt nota.

separate lists were kept, one for the 'depositiones' and the other for the 'dies natales' and festivals. The Roman church had thus a similar *feriale*, which in the past has been called by different names. The Roman *feriale*, containing the two lists under the headings 'depositiones episcoporum' and 'depositiones martyrum,' was first discovered and published by the Jesuit, Bucher (De Doctrina Temporum, c. cxv. pp. 266 ff. Antwerp, 1634), and thus came to be called the *Kalendarium Bucherianum*: it was reproduced by Ruinart in *Acta Sincera Martyrum*. It was subsequently found that this Calendar formed only a part of a larger compilation bearing the name of Furius Dionysius Philocalus, and comprising a variety of elements, such as an Almanac might contain, and had been prepared for one Valentinus.

The latest development of the discoveries of this important document is given by the late Professor Theodore Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, tom. ix., ed. in 4°, Berolini, 1891, which contains his second edition of this ancient Roman Calendar. Mommsen shows that Philocalus was not the author, but being a celebrated calligraphist of the age he transcribed the compilation, and appended his name to it. Quoting De Rossi, Mommsen shows that Philocalus inscribed himself the 'cultor' and 'amator' of Pope Damasus: *Damasi s[ui] pappæ cultor atque amato[r] Furius Dionysius Filocalus scripsit*. Under these circumstances Mommsen thought it best to style the compilation—*Chronographus anni CCCLIII*.

This Calendar, or rather Almanac, is partly civil and partly ecclesiastical, and a long chronology is attached to it, which has no doubt undergone very considerable enlargement since its first appearance. The civil part comprises eight sections:—dedication to Valentinus; pictures representing principal cities, Rome, Alexandria,

Constantinople, &c.; an imperial dedication, the birth days of the Cæsars—in *his d(omini) n(ostri) Constantii*; figures of the seven planets, &c.; the signs of the Zodiac; representations of the months, &c.; pictures of the two emperors of the day, one seated and crowned, the other standing uncrowned; the complete fasti consulares *A. U. C.* 245 to 753; and *post Christum* from annus 1 to 354. Then commences the ecclesiastical part containing: (ix) the Paschal cycle from *p. Chr.* 312 to 358, and with some omissions continued to 410; (x) a list is here intercalated of the Prefects of the city; (xi) the 'depositiones' or burials of the bishops of Rome, the last mentioned being Julius who died A.D. 352; (xii) the feriale of the Roman Church 'depositiones martyrum'; (xiii) a list of the bishops of Rome ending with Liberius elected in 352; (xiv) the divisions or *regiones* of the city of Rome; and lastly (xv), the chronology or *Liber generationis*, &c. Of section (xiii) Mommsen gives a critical text from existing MSS, and supplements defects or omissions from a reconstructed text prepared by Mgr. Duchesne in his *Liber Pontificalis*.

This compilation was first prepared in 336, and was made public with later additions in the year 354. Mgr. Duchesne (*Bolland. Acta SS.*, November, vol. ii., 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum, ediderunt Joh. Bapt. de Rossi et Ludov. Duchesne,' pp. xlviii.–xlix) observes that the list 'depositiones episcoporum' contains the names of only some of the Popes; and the 'depositiones' or 'dies natales martyrum' also contains only some of the Roman martyrs, while others are omitted. He concludes that what has been given in this compilation is only an excerpt of the Roman feriale now lost.¹

¹ For full particulars regarding this ancient document the reader is referred to the following authors who have ably and fully discussed it in recent years: De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, tom. i. p. iii; tom. ii. p.

A similar calendar belonging to the Church of Carthage was discovered and published by Mabillon. It was also incorporated by Ruinart in his *Acta* above mentioned. It opens with the following heading: *Hic continentur dies natalitiorum Martyrum et depositiones episcoporum quos ecclesie Cartaginis anniversaria celebrant.*¹ This Carthaginian calendar is rather provincial than diocesan, and belongs to the beginning of the sixth century, and is not much later than A.D. 502.

Next in antiquity to the Philocalian is another Roman calendar found attached to the Leonine Sacramentary Codex of Verona, the date of which is *c.* 488. The third calendar in order of date is the Gelasian *c.* 495, so called after Pope Gelasius and found attached to his Sacramentary. The fourth is the Gregorian attached to the Sacramentary of Pope Gregory the Great, *c.* 591.² The *Sacramentarium* formed the *Missale* of the ancient church, and the calendar was attached to it, as now to our modern Roman Missal. The same practice pre-

vi; Mgr. Duchesne in his edition of *Liber Pontificalis*, tom. i. pp. vi. and 10; and Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae: Scriptores Antiquissimi*, tom. ix. p. 13, Berolini, in 4to, 1891; articles 'Calendar' and 'Martyrology' in the *Dict. of Christ. Antiquit.* Philocalus' Calendar will also be found in *Bolland. Acta SS.*, June, vol. vii. pp. 178–184; and Migne, *P.-L.*, vol. xiii., col. 675, where it is printed side by side with the Calendar of Polemeus Silvanus, dated 448, but these two publications contain only the civil portion of the Calendar, and not what is termed the Roman *feriale*.

¹ The ancient custom in this matter is stated by St. Cyprian of Carthage (*Epist.* xxxvi.), when he asks the clergy to make known to him the day on which each confessor suffered: *Dies eorum quibus excidunt nuntiate ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus. Quamquam Tertullus . . . scripsit et scribat et significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosae mortis exitu transeunt, et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum.*

² For the three *Sacramentaria* of the Roman Church see Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, in 3 vols., published with his *Opere*, Arezzo, 1771; or separate in one vol.

vails in the Syrian Church as may be seen from its printed Missals. Intermediate between the Gelasian and Gregorian calendars comes the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, of which more later.

The earliest calendar, the Philocalian or 'Chronographus anni CCCLIII,' contains the names of only two Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, *III. Kal. Jul. Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostiense*, with the commemoration *de Cathedra Petri* assigned to the 22nd of February; the feast of the Nativity is given on the 25th December. It contains a scanty list of Roman martyrs, and also the names of Cyprian and of one or two non-Roman martyrs.

The MS of the Leonine calendar is defective, and the leaves containing three and a half months are missing; the manuscript now begins with *XVIII. Kal. Maias*, the 14th April. The feast of our Saint George is found in this calendar on *IX. Kal. Maias*, the 23rd of April. The existence at Rome, in *Velabro*, of an ancient basilica dedicated to the saint accounts for the inclusion of his name in this ancient calendar, and attests the early diffusion of his festival. Of the Apostles, besides St. Peter and St. Paul, we have Saint Andrew, Peter's brother, *Prid. Kal. Dec.*, 30th of November, and Saint John, *VI. Kal. Jan.*, 27th of December: the Holy Innocents are also commemorated and two dedications of basilicas, *Angeli in Salarium*, and another which, though marked *Natale sancti Stephani in Coemeterio Callisti Via Appia*, is not the feast of the saint himself, but of the dedication of his basilica, as Muratori (*Litur. Rom. Vetus, ut supr.*, vol. I., col. 70) points out. The missing portion of this calendar would probably not have contained the names of any of the other Apostles, as none of their festivals fall between January and the middle of April.

The Gelasian calendar has *kalendis Maii*—1st May,

Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum,¹ *Natale Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, and Saint Andrew on the usual days, and *XII. Kal. Jan. Sancti Thomae Apostoli*, on the 21st December; it gives also St. John the Evangelist.

The Gregorian calendar, as might be expected, contains more names than any of its predecessors. It gives the following feasts of the Apostles: St. Philip and St. James, St. John *ad Portam Latinam*, St. Peter and St. Paul jointly, as also a separate feast of St. Paul on the day following, St. Andrew and St. John the Evangelist.

These Sacramentaries, even the earlier Leonine, generally give more than one mass for each of the above mentioned Apostles. For the festival of St. Thomas the Gelasian has a special mass (*ut supr. lib. II., § LXXI.*), *In Natali Sancti Thomae Apostoli*; it gives three proper prayers for the same. The first of these is the prayer now named 'Collect,' which in the ancient Sacramentaries bore no name; the second is marked in the text 'Secreta'; and the third 'Post Commun.' or post-communion. The primitive first prayer or collect of this mass remains unchanged in the Roman Missal to this day, but in the Secret a few verbal changes have been introduced, and a new post-communion has replaced that of the Gelasian. There is no proper preface to this Gelasian mass, though several

¹ With reference to a similar double entry of the two Apostles occurring in the *Martyr. Hieron.*, Duchesne makes the following remarks (p. lxxvii): *Jacobus qui hic cum Philippo jungitur . . . neque aliquo vinculo cum Philippo conjunctus est, ut pronum fuerit ambos simul uno festo celebrari. Sed Jacobi pariterque Philippi basilicam Romae aedificaverunt pontifices Pelagius I. et Johannes III. circa annum 561; hic fuit initium festi communis, ea causa Jacobi post Philippum in Kalendaria inserendi. Quod quidem in hieronymiano factum est, sed non ubique; nam neque in Indice Apostolorum Philippo Jacobus sociatur neque, &c.* For the principal statement he gives a reference in a note to his *Lib. Pontif.*, tom. i. p. 306, No. 2. The inference to be drawn is that the insertion of the double feast is posterior to the issue of this Calendar.

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of the other masses have, in addition to the three prayers, also their special preface. These ancient prefaces, like those still retained in the Roman Missal, always contain some special reference to the mystery, or the saint commemorated.

Though the existing text of the Gregorian Sacramentary does not mark the feast of Saint Thomas in the calendar, or contain a mass for the same, there is proof available that it formerly did contain a mass for the feast. In the collection of prefaces at col. 1044 (apud Muratori *ut supr.*), under the heading *Undecimo Kalendas Januarii*, NATALE SANCTI THOMAE APOSTOLI, a preface is given: 'Vere dignum et justum est,' &c. The editor remarks in a footnote that the above preface in the Vatican Codex is assigned *in unius Apostoli ad missam*. The date given above for the feast would place it on the 20th December; this must be due to an error of the copyist: the reader will observe that the date is written in words, not in Roman numerals, as in the previous quotations; probably the last character of the Roman numeral XII. was effaced by age, or inadvertently overlooked by the copyist who wrote 'undecimo Kalendas' instead of 'duodecimo Kalendas.' The calendars show no variation of this date, and it may be taken for certain that 21st December was the accepted date of the Apostle's martyrdom. In the old 'Secret' of the mass in the Gelasian Sacramentary occur the words, 'Cujus honoranda confessione laudis tibi hostias immolamus,' &c. These words, retained also in the present Roman Missal, imply that the Apostle suffered martyrdom, and so do the words of the heading, IN NATALI SANCTI THOMAE. In the Martyrologies the words *in Natali* or *Natalis* are only used for martyrs.

The Hieronymian Martyrology is anterior to the Gregorian Sacramentary, and though never used for

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Liturgical or ecclesiastical services, is a document of very considerable authority. Compiled largely from ancient authentic documents existing in the fourth century, the primitive body of the compilation comprised three principal elements, viz.: A Roman calendar fuller than that which has come down to us through Philocalus; the eastern Greek calendar, probably of Antioch, comprising also that of the Church of Nicomedia; and nearly the entire African provincial calendar. The Greek portion incorporated appears to have been derived from the same source from which the translation in Syriac was done, which has come down to us bearing the date 723 of the Seleucan era (A.D. 411-412), and which is the oldest Syriac dated MS extant. This calendar, though styled by Dr. Wright, who discovered it in the British Museum, 'an ancient Syrian Martyrology,' is, in its principal part—from 26 Kânân (December), to 24 *Teshri*, November (pp. 423-431), a translation of a Greek calendar, closing, according to Wright's translation, with the words: 'here end the Confessors of the West.' What follows bears the heading: 'the names of our Lords, the Confessors who were slain in the East'; this second portion, covering pp. 431-432, consists of one and a half pages of octavo in print (see *Journal of Sacred Literature*, London, January, 1866, pp. 423-432, where the translation first appeared). The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (*ut supr.*) gives of the first above part the Syriac text, and in parallel columns offers also translations in Greek and Latin, pp. li.-lxiii., and so attempts to reproduce for the benefit of students the primitive text now lost. Of the second part it gives the Syriac and a translation only in Greek, pp. lxiii.-lxv. This Hieronymian Martyrology, as Mgr. Duchesne shows, incorporated also a considerable number of local feasts of the churches of northern Italy, which makes him

suspect that the work was compiled in that locality. It first went under various names—of Eusebius of Cæsarea, of Jerome, and of Chromatius and Heliodorus; but is now generally known as the 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum.'

The existence of such a compilation was known to St. Gregory the Great. We have a letter (Ep. viii. 28, J. 1517) written by him (between 590-604) in reply to Eulogus, the bishop of Alexandria, who had asked him 'to send a collection of the acts of all the martyrs which had been compiled by Eusebius of Cæsarea.' The Pope replies that he does not know of such a work, and has searched in vain at Rome for such a collection; but he adds, 'We have the names of nearly all the martyrs marked with their separate passion (martyrdom) for each day, gathered in one volume, and we daily offer the Mass in their honour. But this volume does not specify what each suffered, but gives only the name, place, and day of passion. Whence it comes that many (*multi*) from diverse lands and provinces are known to have been crowned on each day, as I have said. But this we believe your blessedness possesses.'

Prior to this, Cassiodorus (between 540-570) (*De Institutione divinarum litterarum*, c. 32) exhorted his monks to 'read regularly the passions of the martyrs, who flourished all over the world, which you no doubt will find—*inter alia*—in the letter of St. Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus, that moved by their holy example you may be led to things heavenly.' The letter here mentioned is that which prefaces this Martyrology, and is in reply to one by the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome. These two letters, which are acknowledged to be fictitious, it would seem were known to the writer as prefacing some codex containing the acts of martyrs which he recommends the monks to read; and this may have led him to

suppose that other codices similarly contained the letters and the acts. But the ordinary codices of the martyrology which are prefaced with these letters contain no acts of martyrs, but answer the description given by Pope St. Gregory, that is to say, they give the name of each martyr and the place and date of martyrdom. It follows that this Martyrologium was in existence in Italy by the middle of the sixth century. Mgr. Duchesne shows (*ut supr.* p. xliii.) that it was in France towards the close of the same century; and he further infers (p. lxxiv.) from a close analysis of the saints of the churches of northern Italy found in the text, that 'nulla ratio est distinguendi inter collectorem illum (referred to by Cassiodorus) et martyrologium, quem ipsa Chromatii et Heliodori cura Italiae superiori adnectit.'

The existing MSS do not present the primitive form of this Martyrology. De Rossi concludes, from a comparison with the texts of other martyrologies dependent on this, that the older recension had entries of superior value to those now found. In its present form the martyrology contains a great many erroneous entries, resulting from the incorporation of marginal notes on older codices; these have become duplicated by insertion in wrong places and at different dates; names have been misread; others have been split up and new entries have thus been formed. These alterations and the non-survival of primitive documents make it extremely difficult to reconstruct the Martyrology in its primitive form. De Rossi was hopeful of doing this till disabled by paralysis, and, if attempted, he has left no trace of his work. Even his share in preparing the introduction for the publication of the Hieronymian text of the Martyrology, was but partly completed, and his collaborator, Mgr. Duchesne, had to finish the work. The arduous task of re-constructing the primitive text awaits the enterprise of a competent scholar.

The edition referred to has been very carefully prepared. The oldest principal texts of the different recensions are given in three parallel columns, with the variants of a large number of subsidiary codices dependent on the Hieronymian Martyrology. The codex princeps occupies the middle column, and though now at Paris, it formerly belonged to the monastery founded about 698 by St. Willibrord, the Apostle of Friesland, at Epternac, in the diocese of Treves, and is therefore known as the *Epternacensis*. As De Rossi remarks, it was 'written by Englishmen for the use of Englishmen.' The Calendar attached to this MS was written for St. Willibrord himself, and holds an entry in his own handwriting: this Calendar is written in an Anglo-Saxon hand, and is not later than 702-706. The Martyrology to which it is now attached was written a little later, but the whole manuscript is probably well within the first quarter of the eighth century. Its text is remarkable for accuracy of entries and purity of readings.

The column to the left is occupied by an excellent codex, now known as *Bernensis*; it formerly belonged to Metz, and was written at the latter end of the eighth century; the last quaternion is missing, and the text is incomplete from 22 November to 24 December. The remaining column contains what is now known as the codex *Wissemburgensis*: it belongs to the family of codices named after the monastery of Corbie in the diocese of Amiens, and was written late in the eighth century. A fragment is also given, all that now exists, of the codex *Laureshamensis* (of the convent of Lauresheim or Lorch, diocese of Treves); De Rossi terms it an 'insigne fragmentum.' It is important we should take note that, in the opinion of this learned Christian archæologist, it is 'the only existing sample of the fuller Jeromian text' now lost, containing also some historical

details taken from the Acts of the Martyrs. This fragment was lost for a time in the Vatican Library till recovered by Mr. Henry Stevenson (see *Martyrol. Hieron., ut supr.*, pp. x.-xi., § 3).

We now proceed to show what the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* contains regarding the Apostle Saint Thomas.

In the complete manuscripts, on a folio preceding the text of the martyrology proper, there is a list containing the festivals of the Apostles only. In the Epternac codex this list is headed: 'Notitia de locis Apostolorum,' and the entry regarding Saint Thomas is as follows:—

† xii. kl. ian. Nat. S. Thome apostoli in India et translatio corporis ejus in Edessa (V. K. Jul. 2^m.) [it should be v.n., July 3rd, as the text shows].

NOTE.—This brief entry exactly sums up all that has to be said: the *Natalis* or martyrdom is kept xii. kl. ian. (21st Decr.), and the feast *translatio corporis ejus in Edessa*, on July 3rd.

In the body of the Martyrology (cod. Epternac) there are two entries:—

- (I.) v. Non. Jul. Translatio Thome apostoli in Edessa (*a*).
(II.) xii. Kal. Jan. Passio Thomae apostoli in India (*b*).

The above are the readings given *in situ*, but the editors in a summary of the Apostle's festivals (p. lxxvii.) add the following explanatory notes:—

(*a*) Ita E. [Epternac], cett. [caeteri]: In Edissa Mesopotamiae, transl. corporis S. Th. ap. qui. passus est in India.

(*b*) Ita E.; N. [for 3rd col. of print]: In Mesopotamia, civitate Edissa natl. et transl. corporis S. Thomae qui translatus est ab India, cujus passio ibidem celebratur v. non. iul.

The best and most accurate statement of the Apostle's festivals is given, as was to be expected, by the Epternac copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology:

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thus on the 3rd of July—v. non. Jul. 'the translation of Thomas the Apostle in Edessa,' and on the 21st of December—xii. Kal. Jan. 'the Martyrdom (*passio*) of Thomas the Apostle in India.' These entries represent the real facts as to the two celebrations kept by the Church in memory of the apostle. It should also be noted as regards note (b) that N. (the third codex and other readings of codices given there) distinctly says that the feast was celebrated in India on the 3rd of July: we shall recur to this later. ^{in Mesopotamia?}

Besides the two entries (I.) and (II.) which we have extracted from the Martyrology (pp. lxxvi.—lxxvii), there are two others (*in corpore*):—

(III.) v. Kal. Jan. In Edessa Translatio corporis S. Thomae apostoli (c).

(IV.) iii. Non. Jun. Natalis S. Thomae apostoli.

(c) [Our note: ita codd. Bernen. fragment. Lauresh. et N.]

As regards (III.) v. Kal. Jan., 28th of December, "In Edessa the translation of the body of Thomas the Apostle," as this is a week after the feast kept on the 21st, it may be taken as a celebration of the octave. The fourth entry (IV.) iii. Non. Jun. is obviously an error, and is not supported by other texts. Duchesne says: Ex Gregorio Turonensi scimus apostoli festum ab Edessenis Julio mense celebratum fuisse; etiam nunc a Syris Julii 3 Thomas recolitur, ergo dies v. non. Julii recte, dies iii. non. iun. errore assignatus est. The reader will have noticed that in some of the best texts of the Martyrology, as shown by the editorial notes reproduced under (a) and (b), some confusion or rather blending of the 'natalis' and the 'translatio' has occurred, though the same texts designate Edessa for the translation and India for the martyrdom. This point could be further confirmed, if necessary, by entries in the other codices. These double entries taken together, if

anything, confirm more fully the accuracy of (I.) and (II.).

As to the feast the Syrian Church keeps—not that of the martyrdom, but of the translation of the Relics—we have in the Roman Martyrology a parallel case of another Apostle. This Martyrology marks the feast of St. James the Apostle, the brother of the Evangelist John, on the 25th of July; this is not the feast of his martyrdom, which, as the Martyrology informs us, occurred at Jerusalem, about Easter, under Herod (*Acts* xii. 2), but of the transfer of his Relics thence to Compostella, in Spain: and this is the only festival of this Apostle in the Roman Martyrology.¹ So also the Syrians keep only one feast of Saint Thomas, the feast of his translation to Edessa; more will be said on this subject in another part of the book.

De Rossi also treats fully (p. xvii., *ut supr.*) of the two ancient codices of Lucca, edited by Florentini, *alias* Florentius Franciscus Maria, *Vetus Occidentalis Ecclesiae Martyrologium D. Hieronymo tributum*, Lucae, 1668. Mabillon dated the older of these codices c. 800; De Rossi would assign it to the eleventh century. The following two entries of the festivals of Saint Thomas are taken from the printed edition:—

- xii Kal. Januarias. In Mesopotamia civitate Edessa Translatio corporis S. Thome apostoli, qui translatus est ab India; cujus passio ibidem celebratur v Non. Julii.
v Nonas Julii. In Edessa Mesopotamie translatio corporis S. Thomae Apostoli, qui passus est in India.

¹ The following is the entry *ad diem*: Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, fratris beati Joannis Evangelistae, qui prope festum Paschae ab Herode Agrippa decollatus est. Ejus sacra ossa ab Jerusalem ad Hispanias hoc die translata, et in ultimis earum finibus apud Gallaeciam recondita, celeberrima illarum gentium veneratione, et frequenti christianorum concursu, religionis et voti causa illuc adeuntium pie coluntur. (*Martyrol. Roman.*, Romae, typis de Propaganda Fide, 1878, editio noviss., SS. D. N. Pio Papa IX., auspice et patrono, a S. Rituum congregatione ad haec usque tempora adprobata.)

The former entry blends the feast of the 'natalis' with that of the 'translatio,' an inaccuracy common to several MSS, but both entries distinctly specify (1) that the *passio* was in India, (2) that the *translatio* was from India, and one of them (3) specifies that the feast was kept in India 'v Non. Julii,' or the 3rd of July.

The *Martyrologium Bedae* (see critical discussion by De Rossi, *ut supr.*, p. xxiv. § 15), according to the Bollandist edition, *Acta SS. Martii*, tom. ii. p. xlii.; and Migne, *P.-L.*, tom. xciv., *Oper. Bedae*, tom. v. col. 1137, gives the following entry:—

(I.) xxi, xii Kal. Jan. Nat. S. Thomae Apost.

Florus addit in ATL [Codd. Attrebatensis, Tornacensis, Laetiensis], qui passus est in India, lancea quippe transfixus occubuit. Hujus etenim corpus translatum est apud Edissam civitatem. T quinto nonas Julii.

From Bedae *Opera omnia*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1688, tom. iii. col. 359; also Migne, *P.-L.*, tom. xciv., *ut supr.*, col. 1137, the *Martyrologium* as given there:—

xii Calend. Jan.

Natale beati Thomae Apostoli qui Parthis et Medis Evangelium praedicans, passus est in India. Corpus ejus in civitatem quam Syri Edessen vocant, translatum, ibique digno honore conditum est.

Martyrol. Bedae, Bolland. *Acta SS.*, *ut supr.*, p. xxii.; Migne, *ut supr.*, col. 965:—

(II.) v Nonas [Julii]. Translatio S. Thomae apostoli in Edessa ex India.

Addit B [Barberinianum] qui fuit passus in India 12 Kal. Januarii.

At same date the Cologne edition, *ut supr.*, and Migne, col. 966:—

v Nonas Julii apud Edessam Mesopotamiae translatio corporis sancti Thomae apostoli.

Bede supplies the following particulars regarding his Martyrology (at the close of his *Hist. Eccl.*, col. 390, Migne, tom. vi., *Oper. et P.-L.*, tom. xciv.): *Martyrologium de natalitiis sanctorum martyrum diebus; in quo omnes quos invenire potui, non solum qua die, verum etiam quo genere certaminis, vel sub quo iudice mundum vicerint diligenter [al. om. diligenter] adnotare studui.*

The reader should be informed that in the discussion above mentioned De Rossi says that the Bollandist edition of Bede's Martyrology by no means reproduces all that the best texts of the same offer, and he repeats the caution, previously given by Scipio Maffei, that superior MSS of Bede's text exist in the Chapter House (of the Canons) at Verona; and, on his own account he adds, that he found there not one but two parchment codices of the ninth century, numbered LXV. and XC., which contain a text *fere absque additamentis*; he mentions also the existence of other ninth-century MSS of the text at the Vatican. The 'Florus,' named after our first quotation above given in the Martyrology, was a sub-deacon of the Church of Lyons, A.D. 830, who first enlarged Bede's work.

We are enabled through the kindness of the authorities of the Cathedral of Verona to further strengthen the above witness from Bede's Martyrology, by giving also the readings for the two festivals from the two ancient codices highly commended by De Rossi. The Cathedral Chapter is the fortunate possessor of 450 ancient codices, comprising these two:—

A.

Codex lxx. (63) *Venerabilis Bedae Martyrologium*, fol. 47^v, line 11:—

(1) xii kl̄ iān sc̄i thome apti
(Kalendas Januariās Sancti Thome apostoli).

Codex xc. (85) *Orationes Hymni Preces Martyrologium Bedae*, fol. 109^v, 3rd last line:—

(2) xii k̄ iān nāt sc̄i tōme, apti.

N.B.—The letter *h* by a later hand of the tenth century.

B.

Codex lxx. (63) fol. 23^v, line 12 :—

(3) v ñ ñl Translatio thome, apti.

Line 13 :—

In edissa passus vero In India.

Codex xc., fol. 103^v, line 1 :—

(4) v nōn ñl translatio thome apti.

Comparing A (1) and (2) with (I.) of Bollandist edition, we ascertain that the true reading of Bede's Martyrology at December 21 gives *natalis* of the Apostle with no additional remark. Comparing similarly B (3) with (II.) of Bollandist edition, the genuine reading of the text expresses two separate ideas or facts—in (II.) *translatio in Edessa ex India*, and in B (3) *translatio in edissa passus vero in India*. Thus Bede's Martyrology harmonises completely with the Hieronymian in placing the 'martyrdom in India,' and the 'transfer of the Relics to Edessa,' of the Apostle Thomas.

Codex lxx. contains the larger, Codex xc. the abbreviated *Martyrologium* of Bede.

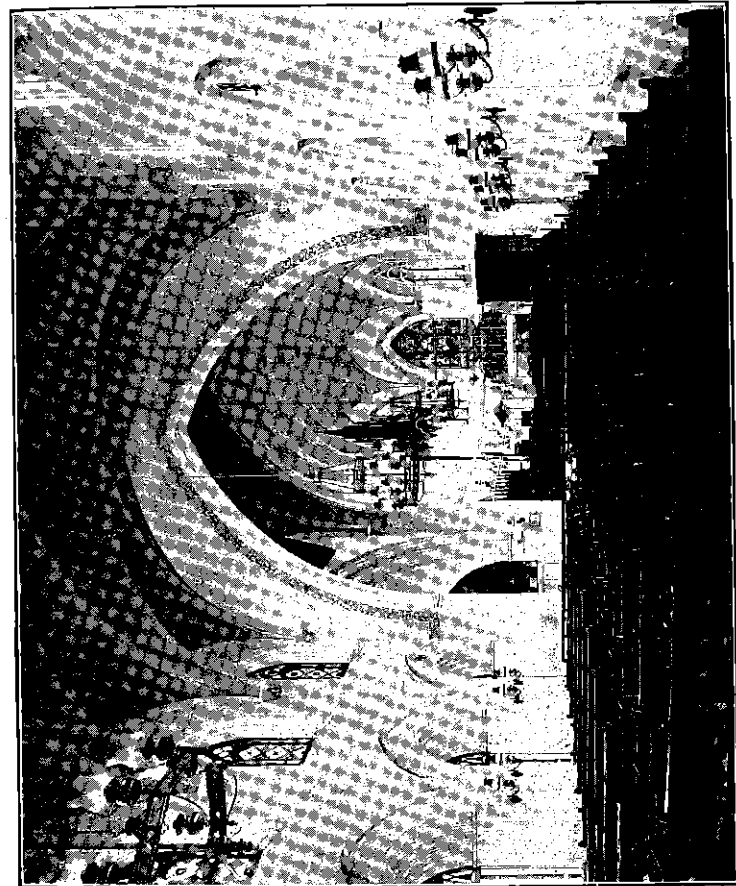
We shall close this section, dealing with the Liturgical Books of the Western Church, with two quotations from the authorised *Martyrologium Romanum* in present use, and a short historical note on its revision and authorised edition.

Duodecimo Kalendas Januarii.

Calaminae natalis beati Thomae Apostoli, qui Parthis, Medis, Persis, et Hyrcanis Evangelium praedicavit, ac demum in Indiam perveniens, cum eos populos in Christiana religione instituisset, Regis jussu lanceis transfixus occubuit; cujus reliquiae primo ad urbem Edessam, deinde Orthonam translatae sunt.

Quinto Nonas Julii.

Edessae in Mesopotamia Translatio sancti Thomae ex India, cujus reliquiae Orthonam postea translatae sunt.



INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF SAN THOMÉ

The Roman Martyrology now sanctioned for use was prepared by Cardinal Baronius, and approved by Pope Gregory XIII. in a brief dated January 14, 1584; it is a new edition of the Martyrologies of Ado, Archbishop of Vienne, and of Usuard, revised and completed. As to the part which the Pope personally took in the revision, Baronius states in the *Tractatus*, which is prefixed to every edition, cap. viii.: 'Cui [videlicet Martyrologio] etsi ex nostris Notationibus levis certe aliqua accessit emendatio, vel si quid additum reperitur (quod quidem perraro factum invenies), id nos ejus, cujus summa est in Ecclesia auctoritas, constanti voluntate fecisse lector intelligat.'

Baronius speaks of three editions—the third, of 1584, is his work; the two preceding he styles faulty.

V.—THE WITNESS OF THE GREEK AND ABYSSINIAN CHURCHES

The Liturgical Books of the Greek Church comprise among others:—

Tà Μηναία, the *Menaea*, used in the plural, denotes the entire series of Office books which are usually bound in twelve volumes, one for each month. A single volume of the compilation, for a month, is termed τὸ μηναιὸν in the singular. The *Menaea* contain the variable parts of the Offices for fixed festivals, comprising a variety of elements.

Τὸ Μηρολόγιον, the *Menologium*, answers somewhat the purpose of the *Martyrologium* of the Western Church; it contains the acts and lives of martyrs and saints. One was compiled by order of the Emperor Basil (A.D. 867–886); and Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 911) directed Simeon Metaphrastes to compile the lives of saints and the acts of martyrs arranged in order according to the months of the year. This was the earliest

compilation of the sort; there is another in Latin by Surius, and that of Alban Butler in English is perhaps the latest.

Τὸ συναξάριον, the *Synaxarium*: Goar defines it 'sanctorum vitas volumen brevibus verbis complectens συναξάριον est.' In the plural, συναξάρια denote the twelve volumes for the year containing short lives of saints and acts of martyrs read in the Liturgical Offices.

The two first quotations given below are from the *Synaxarium*; the other two are from the *Menologium*, compiled by order of the Emperor Basil.

The *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*¹ gives (col. 113 seq.):—

'The same month [October] 6.'

'The conflict of saint Thomas the apostle, named also Didymus [the Twin]. He having preached the word of God to the Parthians, and the Medes, and the Persians, and the Indians, and having brought great multitudes to the faith of Christ by miracles innumerable, was put to death by Misdus, King of the Indians, because Uzanes, his son, and Tertia, the mother, and Narkia had believed, and were by him baptised. On this account he was consigned to five soldiers, who, taking him up

¹ Edited by the Bollandists, '*Propyleum ad Acta SS.*, November, Bruxelles, 1902, e codice Sirmondiano, nunc Berolinensi, Opera et Studio Hippolyti Delehaye.'

As to the value of the text, we reproduce for the reader's information some of the remarks of the editor *ex prolegomenis*, col. i.-ii.: 'Licet enim archetypum nequaquam dicendum sit Sirmondianum Synaxarium, caeteris omnibus quae inspeximus, tot commodis praestare visum est, ut facile palmam tulerit. Etenim vel hac sola ratione multis antecellit quod uno volumine duodecim menses complectitur, cum in aliis plerisque vel dimidia tantum vel etiam minor contineatur; nec ita raro contingat ex genuinis fratribus alterum in nostris regionibus, puta Parisiis, commorari alterum non interierit in locis multum dissitis, puta Hierosolymis vel penes monachos Athonenses peregrinari. Integritate quoque alia pleraque superat . . . esto inter vetustissima non connumeretur, antiqua tamen ex stirpe procul dubio ortum est, simulque uberrimum, ita ut sanctorum nominibus festorumque commemorationibus affluet.'

the mount, covered him with wounds and made him attain his blessed end. Nisifor and Uzanes remained on the mount; the apostle, appearing, told them to be of good heart. For he had ordained Nisifor a priest and Uzanes a deacon.

'After these things had happened, the son of the King was suffering from a mortal disease, and the King asked that a relic of the apostle might be brought to his son who was already beyond hope of recovery, and near death. As the body of the apostle was not found, he ordered earth from the grave to be fetched. On this earth touching the dying man he was cured at once. But the King, even then not having believed, died a corporal and spiritual death.'

Col. 781:—

'The month of June, 30.'

('Feast of the Commemoration of the Apostles.')

'5. The seventh Thomas, who is also named Didymus [the Twin]. He having preached the God-Word to the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Indians, was by these killed, transfixed with lances.'

The *Menologium*.—The subjoined extract is taken from the best edition of the work, one superbly illustrated; divided into three parts with Greek text and Latin translation.¹

Pars i., p. 97:—

'October, the sixth day.—The contending of saint Thomas the Apostle. After the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ when the Apostles each went to the countries which had fallen to them by lot to teach, to saint Thomas fell the country of the Indians, where he preached Christ. Because he had brought to the faith of Christ the wife of the King of the Indians and her son, he is traduced before the King, who orders Thomas to be cast into prison with other convicts. The King's son, with his mother and others, not a few, enter the prison by bribing the soldiers, are by him baptised, and, after a suitable delay, from

¹ Jussu Basilii Imper. Graece olim editum, munificentia et liberalitate SS. D. N. Benedicti XIII. nunc primum Graece et Latine prodit, studio Hannibalis Card. Albani, Urbini, 1727.

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among them priests and deacons are ordained, who taught in the name of Christ. On the King coming to know this, being angered, he ordered the Apostle to be taken from the prison and consigned to soldiers to be executed. The holy man thus taken to the mount is by them transfixed with a lance and killed. 1244

Pars iii., p. 146 :—

'June the thirtieth.'

'Synaxis of the Twelve Apostles.'

'The seventh, Thomas Didymus, is by the Indians transfixed by lances.'

As regards the Abyssinian Church, we may quote from an Ethiopian Calendar of the twelfth century, which was published by Job Ludolf.¹ This Calendar contains the following entry for the feast of Saint Thomas :—

In mense Octobris 6, Thomas Indiae Apostolus.

The practice of the Greek Church of keeping the Apostle's feast on the 6th of October, as we have already seen, had affected other Eastern churches, and now we find the Abyssinian Church, which was dependent on the Church of Alexandria, observing the same date. As is known, even to the present day the Abyssinian schismatics receive their 'Abbuna' or bishop from the schismatic Coptic patriarch of Alexandria.

¹ *Commentarius ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam*, Francofurti, 1691, pp. 389-436.

CHAPTER III

SAINT THOMAS'S TOMB IN INDIA

ON the broad fact that Saint Thomas the Apostle, according to the evidence of antiquity, had preached the Gospel and sealed his teaching by his martyrdom in India, it should be taken for granted that if his tomb were to be discoverable anywhere, it would naturally be found within the limits of India proper. Yet this, which in itself is but an historical aphorism, has met with the strongest opposition ever since the Portuguese first announced the discovery of his tomb at Mylapore. This opposition has come first and chiefly from quarters which must cause an impartial historian, who patiently investigates the whole history of the case, to consider the same as being rather the outcome of 'odium theologicum,' than arising from insufficient historical evidence.¹

¹ Basnage was amongst the first to deny the Indian Apostolate and martyrdom of Saint Thomas, and *Assemani* (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. iv. p. 25 ff.) gives a full refutation to his statements. La Croze (*Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, Lahaye, 1724) rejects the tradition summarily. Tillemont (*Mémoires Hist. Eccl.*, Venice, 1732, tom. i. p. 359), on the erroneous supposition that the entire body of the Apostle was at Edessa, declines to accept the tradition; in his additional Note 4 (p. 613) he accepts a statement of Theodoret, and thereupon builds a further supposition that Thomas, one of Manes' disciples, may have given occasion to the supposition that the Apostle had visited India; a refutation of this will be found in Chapter VI. The Rev. J. Hough (*History of Christianity in India*, London, 1859, vol. i. p. 30 ff.) denies that any Apostle was ever in India. Sir John Kaye (*Christianity in India*, London, 1859) considers it a worthless legend. The Rev. G. Milne-Rae (*The Syrian Church in India*, London, 1892) rejects the tradition; while Dr. George Smith (*The*

A plausible excuse for the general feeling of scepticism created by these writers was, in part, offered by the want of previous historical knowledge shown by the Portuguese authorities and writers in India who claimed to have discovered the body, or the entire remains of the Apostle, coupled with other uncritical details.

Once the opposition view, arising at first from the doubt regarding the tomb, was taken up and ruthlessly exploited, it was extended to the preaching of the Gospel by the Apostle within the geographical limits of India, and a widely extending prejudice was formed. It is only in more recent times, when men indifferent to that 'odium,' or guided by their familiarity with, or their long researches in India approached the subject, that they came gradually to admit the Apostle's mission to India, and to consider the strong historical claim of Mylapore to be the possible site of his martyrdom and burial, as not unfounded. Some of these expressions of opinion will be found in the course of this work.

Under these circumstances, and eliminating the con-

Conversion of India, 1903) ignores the subject altogether, dating the first conversion of India from A.D. 193.

As a sample of some of the absurdities put forward regarding the Apostle Thomas's connection with India, we take the following from this last writer's work, *Geography of British India*, by Dr. George Smith, London, 1882, pp. 370-371: 'The southern suburb of Saint Thomé, two miles south of the Fort [of Madras], with an old Roman Catholic church, is identified by Heber and by H. H. Wilson with the Mailapoor, or Mihilapoor, where the Apostle Thomas is said to have been martyred on 21st December 58 A.D. The rocky knoll of the Little Mount, five miles south-west of the Fort, with church dedicated to St. Thomas, attracts crowds, under the belief that the Apostle perished there. A cave in which he concealed himself and a cell in which he worshipped are shown; but it has been proved that it is *Thomas Aquinas whose name was given to this place.*' The gross absurdity of the last sentence, from a historical point of view, passes conception; and yet this is the sort of stuff that is put before the rising generation in the Government and Protestant missionary schools in India, and, for all we know, it may yet be the text-book for geography in those schools! The *italics* are ours.

roversial element from an historical investigation, it has been thought best, after setting forth the available evidence for the Indian Apostolate, to bring forward such evidence as will uphold for Mylapore¹ the claim to the tomb.

I.—THE VISIT OF THEODORE TO THE INDIAN SHRINE OF THE APOSTLE THOMAS BEFORE A.D. 590, AS SET FORTH BY ST. GREGORY OF TOURS

Gregory of Tours, the best known of the writers of the Merovingian period and the father of Frankish history, born, probably on November 30 in 538, at Clermont-Ferrand, the ancient Avernia, bore the name of George Florentius which he subsequently dropped on assuming that of Gregory from his maternal great-grandfather, Gregory, bishop of Langres. He was educated by his paternal uncle, St. Gall, bishop of Clermont, 546-554. In 573 he was elected to the see of Tours. Fortunatus of Poitiers, the Christian poet, has left a laudatory poem commemorating the event, addressed 'ad cives Turonicos de Gregorio episcopo.'

The Bishop of Tours in his *In Gloria Martyrum*, a work which he revised in 590, shortly before his death (which occurred on the 17th November, 593 or 594), writes: 'Thomas the Apostle, according to the narrative of his martyrdom, is stated to have suffered in India. His holy remains (*corpus*), after a long interval of time, were removed to the city of Edessa in Syria and there interred. In that part of India where they first rested, stand a monastery and a church of striking dimensions, elaborately adorned and de-

¹ The now accepted form of writing the name in English is Mylapore; but this to a foreigner would not convey an idea of the right pronunciation of the word. The Tamil, or current native form, is given in English by Colonel Yule as *Mayilāppūr*; with the Latin sound of vowels, termed the Italian, we would write *Maiāppūr*.

signed. . . . This, Theodore, who had been to the place, narrated to us.

Gregory's authority for the tomb of the Apostle Thomas being situated in India came from an eye-witness, Theodore, probably a travelled Syrian Christian, who had visited the Indian Shrine and venerated the Relics at Edessa as well: he may then have gone to Gaul making, or completing, a tour to the celebrated sanctuaries of Christendom, and may have so come to Tours also to venerate the renowned shrine of St. Martin. In the interesting evidence recorded by Gregory in the last quarter of the sixth century the following points are brought clearly to light: the existence of a narrative, or Acts of the martyrdom of the Apostle, 'historia passionis eius,' which declares that he suffered martyrdom in India, 'in India passus declaratur'; the existence of the first tomb of the Apostle, 'in loco regionis Indiae quo prius quievit'; a church of large dimensions covering the Indian tomb, 'templum mirae magnitudinis'; a monastery adjacent, 'monasterium habetur,' the monks of which, no doubt, conducted the services at the Shrine; the further knowledge that, after the remains of the Apostle had remained buried in India for a long time, they were thence removed to Edessa, 'corpus post multum tempus adsumptum in civitatem quam Syri Aedissam vocant'; and, finally, that they were buried anew at Edessa, 'ibique sepultum.' These several points, as the reader will remark, embrace all and even more than is necessary to establish the fact of the early knowledge of the existence of the Indian tomb of the Apostle.

The reader may be interested to know in what spirit Gregory undertook the task of writing the lives of the saints and martyrs of God, and of recording the miracles they worked. We extract for this purpose a short quotation from his introduction to his book *In Gloria*

Confessorum (infra, pt. ii. p. 748): Nobis, ut saepe testati sumus, nec artis ingenium suppeditat nec sermonum facundia juvat, veniam temeritati libenter indulgeat (lector), quem non jactantia mundalis erigit ut scribat, sed depremitt pudor ut sileat, amor timorque Christi impellit ut referat.

The reader may further desire to be acquainted with the pains he took to obtain direct information from eye-witnesses, and he is careful to indicate the source. Here is a list of some of those who brought him information from foreign lands which he incorporated in these writings; for fuller details the reader should turn to the editor's general introduction to St. Gregory's hagiological writings, pp. 456-461, written by Krusch. The sixth century was by no means wanting in pilgrims whose piety urged them to travel to far and distant countries to visit the places where reposed the mortal remains of God's faithful servants, and who came to Gaul as well, or started thence. Among such informants Gregory names the Deacon Agiulph, whom he sent to Rome in 590, who brought back thence relics of martyrs from the catacombs, and who gave him the particulars of the life of Pope John, of which he made use. Another deacon of Tours had visited Jerusalem, and had made the pilgrimage to the Holy Places, whose testimony Gregory quotes as that of 'our deacon' (*Gl. Mart.*, c. 1), the 'man named John' (c. 18), and again the 'deacon John' (c. 87.) There occurs mention of probably another pilgrim who had visited Jerusalem and had come to Tours (*ibid.*, c. 5). Theodore came to Gaul from India and met Gregory, and gave him the interesting historical details, part of which the reader has seen above. Gregory learns particulars concerning St. Julian, whose life and miracles he described 'fidelium fratrum relatione' (*Mir. S. Jul.*, c. 33). He is enabled to give the acts of the so-named 'Seven Sleepers'

(martyrs who had suffered at Ephesus), from a Syriac MS, 'passio eorum quam Siro quodam interpretante in Latinum transtulimus'; another codex gives the name, 'interpretante Johanne Syro.' To him, probably, Gregory also owes other Eastern details incorporated in his works.

We now pass on to give the reader the sequel of Gregory's narrative concerning the Apostle Thomas. This describes a quite natural scene, not uncommon even in Europe in the early and later Middle Ages, when great fairs were held in certain places on the festival of some saint greatly venerated by the people: 'In the above named town, in which, as we said, the sacred bones (*artus*) were buried, there is on the feast day a great gathering, lasting for thirty days, of all classes of people, coming from different countries, with votive offerings and for trade, buying and selling without paying any tax. During these days, which occur in the fifth month, great and unusual blessings are conferred on the people. . . . While at other times you have to draw water from wells at a depth of over a hundred feet, now [at the season of the festival] if you dig to even a short depth you find an abundance of water, which is no doubt due to the favour of the blessed Apostle. . . . After that, there is such a supernatural downpour of rain that the entrance of the church and the grounds around are swept so clean of all defilement and dust that you would think the ground had not been trodden.' We shall examine the incidents of this account, and endeavour to bring out more prominently its special features.

First of all, mention is made of the town 'in which the sacred bones were buried'; this clearly points to Edessa, and has been so taken by subsequent writers. But do the climatic and other details given above suit Edessa and its surroundings? We have grave reasons

for suggesting they do not; to us it appears there has occurred a confusion in reporting these details, and that there has been a blending of the accounts given by Theodore of two festivals, one kept at Edessa and the other in India. But these cannot be appropriately discussed until the date of the festival has been ascertained.

Gregory, after telling us that during the festival a fair is held, and a great gathering takes place lasting for thirty days, adds that these days occur 'in the fifth month.' As he does not offer any hint to make us suppose he is reckoning by a foreign calendar, we have no option but to conclude it must be the fifth month of the general calendar in use in Western Europe—that is, the Roman Calendar. The fifth month of this Calendar is the *Quintilis* (fifth), afterwards named Julius, or our July.¹ The feast, which lasted a month, occupied the whole of that month. Gregory continues: 'Decursus igitur festivitatis diebus,' &c. (this covers the whole of July). 'The days of the festival having passed,' &c. Thereafter, or from this time forth, 'there is such a supernatural downpour of rain,' &c. 'Dehinc emissa divinitus pluvia,' &c. This heavy rainfall witnessed by Theodore—for all these local details appear to have been communicated by him to the writer, it is difficult to see how else Gregory came to know them—occurred at the beginning of the following month, August, when the festival was over. Looking more carefully into the

¹ The Roman Calendar year, said to have been introduced by Romulus, consisted of ten months—1, Martius; 2, Aprilis; 3, Maius; 4, Junius; 5, Quintilis (afterwards Julius, in honour of Julius Cæsar); 6, Sextilis (afterwards Augustus, from Octavianus Augustus); 7, September; 8, October; 9, November; 10, December. The year so reckoned agreed neither with the solar period of the earth's rotation, nor with the lunar course; so Numa Pompilius is said to have added the two months that head the present calendar—Januarius and Februarius. It was Julius Cæsar who fixed the calendar, named after him 'Julian,' on an astronomical basis.

details, it is necessary to note that the drought is described as being extreme before, but at the festival water is easily found; there must then have been partial rain-falls during the month of July—the days when the feast was kept; while the heavy downfall, which sweeps the roads and paved enclosures so clean as to leave no speck of dust or dirt behind, came in the beginning of August. Can this description of abundance of water supply, and of partial and torrential rains in July and August fit the case of Edessa? We say decidedly no; for that precisely is the driest and most parched season of the year in Syria and Mesopotamia. The reader should bear in mind that the Mesopotamia of the Romans embraced the city of Edessa, and it is to this we refer. Lately, while on a visit to Rome, we had a special opportunity to test the accuracy of our earlier information on this subject regarding the climate at Urfa—the name by which the old city of Edessa is designated by the Arabs. Having met with natives of the place, we had the opportunity of personally questioning them on the subject. We elicited that the season of the rains occurs in the months January to March inclusive; during the whole period of summer it does not rain, and the greatest heats prevail in July and August, when the land is quite parched. The Syrian fifth month corresponds to January, the year commencing in September; the depth of wells at Urfa averages twenty feet. All this clearly shows that the description of the festival of Saint Thomas given by the Bishop of Tours and held in July cannot be that celebrated at Edessa. Further, the July festival in honour of the Apostle can be no other than that shown in the Church service-books, fixed for the 3rd of that month, and celebrated alike at Edessa and in India. If, then, climatic circumstances force us to the conclusion that this festival cannot be taken for a celebration at Edessa, can it be applicable to the celebration in India at the Shrine?

Let us look at the details given of the fair held during the festival. The custom is noted that during this fair the fees or charges usually levied at fairs were not exacted. Now this is a peculiarly Indian custom, yet surviving in places where Western usages have not superseded those of native origin, and indicates that the narrative is in touch with India. At certain large and special fairs—often connected with religious festivals—in order also to attract people from surrounding districts, as also when the object is to establish an annual fair at some new centre, or to open a new market on a private property, the remission of customary rent charges, for a time, is rather the rule than the exception, whereas at the former, viz. the religious fairs, usually no charges are made.

What are the climatic influences prevailing at the Indian Shrine of the Apostle at Mylapore during the months of July and August? The east or Coromandel coast has the benefit of two monsoons or rainy seasons; one, the north-east monsoon, during October and November, the rainfall in the latter month being the heaviest in the year; the other, the south-west monsoon, which coming across the peninsula from the Malabar coast prevails from July to some time in September. The rains during this monsoon are not heavy. Yet there are occasionally heavy downpours, like that described in the text, occurring when accompanied by thunder storms, as the writer himself has witnessed, in August. One such heavy monsoon-fall in early August is all that is required to explain the altered scene described in the text. To those who witness a monsoon outburst for the first time, the scene is singularly impressive for the cooling change it effects in the atmosphere, the removal of all dirt and filth from the surface of the land, and the abundant supply of water it affords after a long and trying season of heat and drought. It is therefore not surprising to find one ignorant of the causes

producing it, like Theodore, proclaim it a God-sent rain.

It is appropriate to note also that the earlier falls in July, when they do occur, mitigate the temporary water famine which otherwise would prevail; this evil was specially severe before the present reservoirs for the supply of Madras were formed; even this feature of the land has not been overlooked in the narrative.

But might not the rainfall of the south-west monsoon have been much heavier on the Madras coast centuries ago than now? There can be little doubt that such was the case. Anybody who has paid attention to natural causes which increase, diminish, or bar altogether the downfall of rain from moisture-laden clouds traversing any tract of country, must know that it is regulated by the existence of forest lands on that tract. If there be an abundant or a sufficient supply of forests the rainfall will be abundant and ample from such passing clouds, but if the land be deforested by the improvident hand of man, the tract will receive next to no rain, except under peculiar atmospheric circumstances, combined with the amount of moisture prevailing in the air. For the present purpose it is sufficient to inform the reader that the whole of the hinterland of Madras has been entirely deforested almost as far back as the Nilgherries. The present data of rainfall, therefore, can afford no criterion of what it must have been during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon in ages back, before the denudation of the land had taken place. The oft-recurring *kad* or *kadu* (forest or jungle) in the names of villages and places in the hinterland of the peninsula, shows how different was the state of the land formerly. Ptolemy, in mentioning the early capital of the Sora, now styled the Chola, country, styles it *regia Arkati*, which, by common accord, is taken to designate Arkot. The Tamil form is *Âr-kâd*, which

means 'the six forests'; this town lies due west of Madras, and may be taken as a sample of other names that could be produced. These remarks are also borne out by the fact that the south-west monsoon clouds may now be seen fleeting over Madras and denying the parched land the benefit of the moisture held in suspense, which they subsequently discharge in the Bay of Bengal under more favourable atmospheric conditions, as captains of steamships are often known to remark.

These observations may be thought sufficient to justify our view that St. Gregory wrongly attributed the scene of the festival described as occurring at Edessa, whereas it could only fit the surroundings of the Indian Shrine. Even the error in giving the depth of the wells in that neighbourhood, while not at all applicable to Edessa, indicates that the narrator was a travelled Eastern who had crossed the Syrian desert, and having but a slight acquaintance of India, supplemented his remarks as to the extent of drought with home ideas.

One further remark should be added on the details of this pregnant narrative. While the monastery mentioned attached to the Shrine and Church suggests Mesopotamian Ascetics and Monks and consequently a Syrian Liturgy, Ritual, and Calendar—for the clergy of every Rite invariably carry these with them wherever they go; the record that even in India the feast of the 3rd of July was kept, shows that there, in accordance with their Calendar, the clergy kept the feast of the Translation of the Apostle's Relics to Edessa. All this admirably fits in with, and confirms the data previously given from the Hieronymian Calendar. As to whether the taint of Nestorian error had already sullied the purity of primitive faith, the reader is referred to Chapter V., p. 199, note.¹

¹ Gregorii Tvronensis *Opera*, ediderunt W. Arndt et Br. Krusch, Hannoverae, 1884 (in two parts, and forms *tomus primus* of *Scriptores*

II.—KING ALFRED'S EMBASSY TO THE SHRINE,
A.D. 883

The record of the next visit to the Apostle's tomb has come down to us with something like an interval of three hundred years. As the former went from the extreme East, so this goes from the extreme West. A venerable authority, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, relating the events of the early history of England, tells us that the greatest of her Anglo-Saxon kings who ruled over Southern England also venerated the memory of the Apostle of India and showed himself grateful

Rerum Merovingicarum, belonging to the series in 4to of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, part ii. pp. 507-508, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 31-32:— = PL LXXI coll. 733-734

Thomas apostolus secundum historiam passionis eius in India passus declaratur. Cujus beatum corpus post multum tempus adsumptum in civitatem quam Syri Aedissam vocant translatum est, ibique sepultum. Ergo in loco regionis Indiae, quo prius quievit, monasterium habetur et templum mirae magnitudinis diligentique exornatum atque compositum. In hac igitur aede magnum miraculum Deus ostendit. Lignus etenim inibi positus, atque inluminatus, ante locum sepulturae ipsius perpetualiter die noctuque divino nutu resplendet, a nullo fomentum olei scirpique accipiens: neque vento extinguitur, neque casu dilabatur, neque ardendo minuitur; habetque incrementum per Apostoli virtutem, quod nescitur ab homine, cognitum tamen habetur divinae potentiae. Hoc Theodorus qui ad ipsum locum accessit, nobis exposuit. In supra dicta igitur urbe, in qua beatos artus diximus tumulatos, adveniente festivitate, magnus adgregatur populorum coetus, ac de diversis regionibus cum votis negotisque venientes vendendi, comparandique per triginta dies sine ulla thelonii exactione licentia datur. In his vero diebus qui in mense habentur quinto, magna et inusitata populis praebentur beneficia. Non scandalum surgit in plebe, non musca insedet mortificatae carni, non latex deest sitiendi. Nam cum ibi reliquis diebus plusquam centinum pedum altitudine aqua hauriatur a puteis, nunc paululum fodias, affatim lymphas exuberantes invenies: quod non ambigitur virtute haec beati Apostoli impertiri. Decursis igitur festivitatis diebus, theloneum publico redditur, musca quae defuit adest, propinquitas aquae dehiscit. Dehinc emissa divinitus pluvia ita omne atrium templi a sordibus et diversis squaloribus qui per ipsa solemnia facti sunt, mundat, ut putes eum nec fuisse calcatum.

for benefits received by his intercession. While King Alfred was defending the city of London, besieged by the heathen Danes, he made a vow; but the date when this occurred is not known.¹ It was in fulfilment of this vow that King Alfred sent an Embassy with gifts to Rome, and to India to the Shrine of the Apostle: 'The year 883 [884]. In this year the army went up the Scheldt to Condé, and they sat down one year. And Marinus, the Pope, then sent *lignum Domini* [a relic of the Cross] to King Alfred. And in the same year Sighelm and Aethalstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the king had vowed [to send] thither, and also to India to Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew, when they sat down against the army at London; and there, God be thanked, their prayer was very successful, after that vow.'²

It will be as well to see what some of the best modern writers of English history have to say in regard to this mission sent to India, whether they consider it an ascertained fact in history, or treat it as legendary. Dr. Lingard, the Catholic historian, an esteemed authority (*Hist. of Engl.*, vol. i. chap. iv., 6th edit., London, 1854, p. 112), says of the king: 'Often he sent considerable presents to Rome; sometimes to the nations in the Mediterranean and to

¹ Dr. R. Pauli in his *Life of Alfred the Great* (translated from the German, London 1893, pp. 146-148) says it is uncertain when the Pagans were before London, 880 or even later.

² See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle according to the several Original Authorities*, edited with a translation by Benjamin Thorpe, London, 1861, vol. ii. p. 66. Vol. i. contains the Anglo-Saxon texts, seven in number, in parallel columns; vol. ii., the translation. Of this passage there are six Anglo-Saxon texts (vol. i. pp. 150-153); all are dated 883. Four of the texts are practically identical, and translate as above; a fifth makes no mention of Sighelm and Aethalstan, and ends at 'Bartholomew'; the remaining sixth omits everything after 'sat one year.'

Jerusalem; on one occasion to the Indian Christians at Meliapour. Swithelm, the bearer of the royal alms, brought back to the king several Oriental pearls and aromatic liquors.' Professor E. A. Freeman, a distinguished Protestant historian, has the following (*Old Engl. Hist.*, London, 1869, p. 131): 'King Alfred was very attentive to religious matters, and gave great alms to the poor, and gifts to the churches. . . . He also sent several embassies to Rome. . . . He also sent an embassy to Jerusalem, and had letters from Abel the Patriarch there. And what seems stranger than all, he sent an embassy all the way to India with alms for the Christians there, called the Christians of Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew.' The writer of the article 'St. Thomas' (*Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*) has the following entry: 'In the 9th century Sighelm and Aethalstan were sent by King Alfred with alms to Rome and thence to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew.'

The sending of this embassy with gifts is supported by the early Chroniclers whose works have come down to us. The first of these is Florence of Worcester, who died 1117. In his Chronicle under the year 883 he says: 'Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, died¹ and was succeeded by Swithelm, who carried King Alfred's alms to St. Thomas in India and returned

¹ Forester appends the following note: 'Asser did not die till 910 (see *Saxon Chronicle*), and he continued his life of Alfred to the forty-fifth year of that prince's age, A.D. 893. Ethelward, not Swithelm, appears to have been Asser's successor as bishop of Sherborne. See the list of bishops at the end of this work.' The lists of bishops are considered to be by Florence of Worcester, as they are in all the MSS. In the Sherborne list (p. 421) Asser is No. 11, Ethelward No. 12, and Sighelm No. 15; no dates are given. Pauli wrote his *Life of Alfred* about 1850; on pp. 146-148, dealing with the mission of Sighelm and Aethalstan to Rome and India, he says, 'they were probably distinguished laymen. Except on one occasion (890) Alfred's ambassadors to Rome were always laymen, so far as we know.'

in safety.'¹ William of Malmesbury in an original work writes: [Alfred] 'very attentive on bestowing alms, he confirmed the privileges granted to the churches which his father had sanctioned. Beyond the sea, to Rome and to Saint Thomas in India he sent many gifts. The legate employed for this purpose was Sigelinus the bishop of Sherborne, who with great success arrived in India, at which every one at this age wonders. Returning thence he brought back exotic gems and aromatic liquors which the land there produces; besides also a present, excelling all else in value, a portion of the Lord's rood sent to the King by Pope Martin.'² The Pope's name is undoubtedly a mistake, whether original or introduced by some careless amanuensis; no Martin was Pope at the time, but Marinus, the name correctly given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, was then Pope;³ he held the see of Peter from 882 to some date in 884. There occurs another substantial difference between what William says regarding the relic of the Cross sent by the Pope and the statement of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The

¹ See the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, translated by Thos. Forester, London 1854, p. 73.

² *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis, de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, edition of T. D. Hardy, London, 1840, vol. i. p. 187: [Elfredus] Eleemosiniis intentus privilegia ecclesiastica, sicut pater statuerat, roboravit; et trans mare Romam et ad Sanctum Thomam in India, multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus Sigelinus Scireburnensis episcopus, cum magna prosperitate, quod quivis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; inde rediens, exoticos splendores gemmarum et liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportavit. William of Malmesbury dedicated his history to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who died in 1147. The book itself is supposed to have been written between 1114 and 1123, and subsequently much improved; the author died 1142-1143.

³ We have since had occasion to ascertain that Pope Martin, elected in 1281, though only the second of that name, took the name of Martin IV., as the two Popes bearing the name of Marinus were enumerated in the list of Popes under the name of Martin.

latter says the relic was sent the same year and seemingly before Sighelm or Sigelinus conveyed the king's alms to Rome, whereas William makes Sigelinus, on his return from India, the bearer of the relic to the king. The Saxon Chronicle should undoubtedly carry the greater weight; it is, besides, a contemporary document.

III.—VISITED BY MARCO POLO, A.D. 1293

The honour of the third visit to the tomb, memory of which has come down to us, is somewhat contested between Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller, and Friar John of Monte Corvino, both Italians. The visit of Polo on his return from China described in his narrative falls in 1293,¹ and that of the future Archbishop of Pekin (Cambalec) probably between 1292–1293; in other words, the travellers crossed each other's path somewhere on the route between India and China. But as there is good reason to hold, as will presently be seen, that the Venetian had paid India an earlier visit, precedence is given to him.

Colonel Yule's monumental edition of Marco Polo's Book of Travels will supply all we want, and we shall also find Yule a most useful guide in dealing subsequently with the recorded visits of other travellers to the Shrine.

'The Body of Messer Saint Thomas the Apostle,' he says (vol. ii. chap. xviii. p. 338), 'lies in this province of Maabar at a certain little town having no great population;' 'tis a place where few traders go, because

¹ Colonel Yule (*The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2nd edition, London, 1875, vol. i., Introduction, p. 22) says in the text that the party sailed from the port of Zayton (Southern China) in the beginning of 1292; according to Persian history, as given in the note, the Princess Kokachin and party arrived in the north of Persia in the winter of 1293–1294; that would fix the date of their passage through Southern India c. 1293.

there is very little merchandise to be got there, and it is a place not very accessible. Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage. For the Saracens also do hold the Saint in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens and a great prophet, giving him the title of *Avarian*, which is as much to say "Holy Man." The Christians who go thither in pilgrimage take of the earth from the place where the Saint was killed, and give a portion thereof to any one who is sick of a quartan or a tertian fever; and by the power of God and of Saint Thomas the sick man is incontinently cured. The earth I should tell you is red. A very fine miracle occurred there in the year of Christ, 1288, as I will now relate.' His earlier visit to India, of which mention is made above, probably occurred about that year.¹ 'The

¹ Yule (*ibid.*, p. 21), giving the personal history of Marco Polo, says: 'At one time we know that he held for three years the government of the great city of Yangchou, &c.; on another occasion we find him with his uncle Maffeo passing a year at Kanchau in Tangut; again, it would appear, visiting Kara Korum, the old capital of the Kaans in Mongolia; on another occasion in Champa, or Southern Cochin China; and again, or perhaps as part of the last expedition, on a mission to the Indian Seas, when he appears to have visited several of the southern states of India.' The party, with the Princess, left China in 1292; the occurrence mentioned above in the text is definitely fixed by Marco Polo at 1288, of which he seems to have personal knowledge of some sort; hence it is about that year the earlier visit to India may be placed. Polo probably did not visit Mylapore when travelling in the suite of the Princess, but must have seen the place on some previous occasion. The whole tenor of what he writes and the minute details given imply it. These details are such as to bespeak personal knowledge: 'the body lies at a certain little town having no great population'; 'it is a place not very accessible'; the mention of the practice of 'taking of the earth,' and the important detail, 'the earth, I should tell you, is red,' an observation that would not occur to one who had not visited the locality. Then again his statement, 'a very fine miracle occurred there in the year of Christ 1288, as I will now relate,' the emphatic manner in fixing the date, and the interest he takes in narrating what occurred, still further prove a personal acquaintance with these facts.

Christians,' he resumes a little further on, 'who have charge of the Church have a great number of the Indian nut trees whereby they get their living; and they pay to one of those brother Kings six groats for each tree every month.'¹

In this narrative though the Shrine is located, the church kept by the Christians mentioned, the pilgrimage of Christians and Saracens not overlooked, and the province called by its Mahomedan appellation, the name of the 'little town,' however, is omitted. Nevertheless no reasonable person will refuse credence to the statement that the little town where the body lay was Mylapore, subsequently named San Thomé by the Portuguese, now a suburb, lying to the south, of the city of Madras. Similarly in the preceding narrative of Theodore, which has come down to us through St. Gregory of Tours, mention is made of a place, and India is indicated, 'in loco regionis Indiae quo prius quievit.' A church enclosing the Shrine, and pilgrims flocking to it are similarly mentioned. Theodore also takes note of a monastery then existing; of this Marco Polo says nothing, so it may then have been destroyed to be rebuilt at a later age. Polo speaks of the body being there; St. Gregory with greater accuracy had recorded 'in that part of India where it first rested,' and 'after a long interval of time was removed to the city of Edessa.' The omission of any mention of the province is easily accounted for in the story narrated by a pilgrim traveller, who was not in the habit of taking geographical notes, but such an omission would not occur in the Venetian's account. If, then, the state-

¹ In Native States in Southern India the tax on cocoanut and other fruit trees is fixed at so much per tree per annum according to age and yield; and valuation of groves is based on the same data; these are ancestral usages. The text here appears faulty; we should substitute 'year' for month.

ment of Marco Polo carries conviction with it, by what criterion of historical criticism can the intelligent reader refuse it to the narrative of the pilgrim Theodore, who, seven hundred years earlier, had visited the tomb of the Apostle in India, and described it in similar terms?

As this chapter deals with the Shrine and its surroundings, we reserve for treatment elsewhere what Polo reports of indigenous traditions regarding the Saint's martyrdom.

IV.—VISITED BY FRIAR JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO, A.D. 1292-1293

John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan Friar, is justly called the founder of the First Catholic Mission in China. He had been engaged for many years in mission work prior to being sent out to China.¹ From mention made of his age in the first of his three letters published by Colonel Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1866, vol. i.), it is inferred he was born *c.* 1247, but it is not known in what year he

¹ M. Henri Cordier, whom we had the pleasure of meeting at Paris, and of discussing with him the date of Friar John's visit to China, told us he held to the view he had expressed in a previous work, that the year could not be definitely fixed. We here reproduce the opinion expressed by this learned Chinese scholar in his edition of *Oderic de Pordenone*, Paris, 1891, Introduction, p. xviii.: 'We learn from a letter of Monte Corvino, dated from that city (Khan-bâliq) in 1305, that he had been alone in China for eleven years; and that two years before that letter a lay-brother named Arnold of Cologne had come and joined him: he would thus have arrived in China in 1292; that is to say, during the lifetime of Kubilai.' 'These figures,' M. Cordier observes, 'do not quite agree with the rest of his letter; for he tells us that he had left Tauris in 1291, that he stayed thirteen months in India at the church of Saint Thomas (Mylapore), where he lost his travelling companion, the Dominican, Nicholas of Pistoia.' We would suggest the date of arrival as being between 1292 and 1293; it might even have been the beginning of 1294 when he entered China.

entered on his missionary labours. The earliest mention of him dates from the year 1272, when he was sent by the Emperor Michael Palaeologus on a mission to Pope Gregory X., who reigned 1271-1276. John soon returned to the East with several companions, and remained there till 1289. Once more he returned to the Papal court with glad tidings of the desire of the peoples in Armenia and Northern Persia to receive the faith, of extensive conversions, and of the favourable disposition of Arghun,¹ the reigning Khan of the House of Hulagu (reigned 1284-1291). The Pope rejoiced at the good news, and sent him back; this was his fourth trip, at the head of a second band of helpers. Gregory X. at the same time entrusted him with letters to Prince Arghun, the King and Queen of Lesser Armenia, and, among others, also to the great Khan Kublai, reigning in China. 'John remained at Tabriz,' says Yule, *ibid.*, p. 166, 'till 1291, and then proceeded to the Far East in order to fulfil his mission to Kublai, travelling by the way of India. It is not likely that he reached Cambalec in the lifetime of the old Khan, who died in the beginning of 1294, for voyages were slow, and he stayed long at St. Thomas and other places on the coast of Malabar or Coromandel.' He was created Archbishop of Cambalec in 1307 with the full powers of a Patriarch, and seven suffragan sees were created to be placed under him, for which seven friars of his Order were sent out

¹ This is the Prince, the Khan of Persia and Kublai's grand-nephew, who in 1286 lost his favourite wife, the Khatun Bulughan, who left him her dying injunction 'that her place should be filled only by a lady of her own kin.' Hence ambassadors were sent to the court of Kaanbaligh (the Cambalec of our Italian travellers) to seek such a bride. 'The message was courteously received, and the choice fell on Lady Kokachin, a maiden of seventeen *moult bele dame et avenant*,' as Marco says; in whose suite, on her way to meet Prince Arghun, Marco and his uncles left China (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i., Introduction, p. 21).

consecrated bishops from Rome. Of this large body of bishops only three reached their destination, three others succumbed on their journey to the effects of the Indian climate, while the seventh either did not start or returned after going a part of the way, and sixteen years later was the occupant of a see in Corsica, but died Bishop of Trieste.

'I, John of Monte Corvino (he writes in his first letter, *ibid.*, p. 197), from the city of Cambalec in the Kingdom of Cathay, in the year of the Lord 1305, and on the 8th day of January, of the Order of Minor Friars, departed from Tauris, a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord 1291, and proceeded to India. And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptised in different places about one hundred persons. The companion of my journey was Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, of the Order of Preachers, who died there, and was buried in the church aforesaid.'

In his second letter, also 'dated from Cambalec a city of Cathay,' and in the 'year 1306, on Quinquagesima Sunday in the month of February,' he gives the heads of his first letter, which show that it has come down to us entire. The second, however, did not fare as well; it got separated into two sections; of these the latter was lost, but the substance incorporated by Wadding in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi. pp. 71-72, has been preserved. Yule shows that the two sections form one complete letter. The date given above, 1306, is borne by the once lost section; the other bears no date, but the two fit in aptly as to time. The letter contains only a short paragraph referring to India in the first section, but not bearing on our subject; the second portion will be quoted in Chapter V. The third letter, which is actually the first in date and written from India,

it is unnecessary to quote.¹ Archbishop John, aged upwards of eighty years, died at Cambalec in 1328.²

V.—MENTIONED BY BLESSED ODERIC,
A.D. 1324-1325

Blessed Oderic of Pordenone in the district of Friuli, Italy, was born 1286 (see Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. pp. 4 and 6); at an early age he took the vows of a Franciscan, and acquired a reputation for holiness of life. From a statement he makes at the beginning of his book it is inferred that he left his convent for foreign missions in the year 1315-1316, being

¹ This letter was sent from the Coromandel coast by a bearer, no doubt a European and probably an Italian traveller who met John and his companion Nicholas at the tomb of the Apostle, and in whose arms the latter is said to have expired (see Friar Menentill's covering letter, *Cathay*, vol. ii. p. 210). As no mention of this death occurs in this letter, and as it seems to be entire, it may have been written prior to the occurrence: it is therefore legitimate to infer that another letter, which has not come down to us, must have contained the announcement of his companion's death. Besides this homeward-bound traveller, John mentions in his second letter a 'gentleman of Lucolongo, a faithful Christian man and great merchant,' who was the companion of his journey from Tauris, who 'bought the ground for an establishment, and gave it to him for the love of God,' whereon he built a church separated only by a street from the great Khan's palace. All this goes to show that, during the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, intercourse between India and even China and Europe was not of such rare occurrence as people are sometimes led to suppose; and that besides the Polo family, a not inconsiderable number of Europeans journeyed to and fro between Europe and the Far East, though their letters and correspondence are only forthcoming in a few cases. See Angelo De Gubernatis: *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Orientali*, Livorno, 1875; also his earlier *Memoria intorno ai Viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Orientali dal Secolo XIII. al XVI.*, Firenze, 1867.

² This date is obtained from the letter of the Christian princes at the great Khan's court addressed to the Pope, asking for a successor to their late lamented archbishop, whom they describe as 'a man of weighty, capable, and holy character.' See their letter, dated about July 1336, in Yule's *Cathay*, vol. ii. p. 314.

then thirty years of age. After spending some years as a missionary in Armenia and Persia, he landed at Tana,¹ to recover the bones of the four brethren of his Order who had suffered martyrdom there in the spring of 1321.² This removal which, with even the heavy

¹ From the island of Ormuz he passes to Tana in twenty-eight days (Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. p. 57), where the four friars had suffered martyrdom. 'The land (of Tana) is under the dominion of the Saracens, who have taken it by force of arms, and they are now subject to the Empire of Dile' (Delhi), *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 58. The Kiji kings of Delhi overran the West Coast and the Deccan in the early years of the fourteenth century, and these were more or less subject to that empire at this period. The Sultan of Delhi at the time must have been Gheiss-Uddin Toghlaq, who ascended the throne in 1320 according to the best chronology (Yule).

² The Holy See sanctioned the *cultus* of the Martyrs of Tana by a decree of July 10, 1894; by another, of August 14, 1894, the Congregation of Rites granted the recital of an approved Office and Mass for the feast of Blessed Thomas of Tolentino. The addition authorised for insertion in the *Martyrologium Romano-Seraphicum Sanctorum et Beatorum trium Ordinum S. P. N. Francisci* is the following:—

April 6.—Tanae in India beati Thomae a Tolentino Ordinis Minorum, qui cum tribus sociis ejusdem ordinis glorioso pro fide Christi martyrio coronatus est.

From the Lesson of the Breviary, which we subjoin, the date on which the martyrdom took place was the 2nd of April 1321:—

Ayton rex Armenorum sacerdotes aliquot a Ministro General Ordinis Minorum expostulavit, qui in ipsius regno catholicam religionem propagarent ac tuerentur. Thomas igitur quatuor addictis sodalibus, illuc est missus; exceptique a populo summa veneratione innumeris schismaticos ad Ecclesiae unitatem reduxerunt, et infidelibus quamplurimis persuasere ut christiana dogmata profiterentur. Accidit autem ut Ayton ab armis Saracenorum premeretur; quamobrem Thomas cum binis sociis ad Nicolaum quartum Romanum Pontificem et ad reges Gallorum et Angliae ab eo legatus auxilia petiturus venit; qua legatione perfunctus in Armeniam reversus est, abductis secum duodecim religiosis viris ex eodem Franciscalium ordine in aeternam earum gentium utilitatem. In Persiam transgressus, inde iterum a sodalibus suis in Europam mittitur docturus Pontificem de christianae religionis propectu in Tartarorum imperio. Erat is Clemens eo nomine quintus; qui Thomae nuntiis usque adeo delectatus est, ut Joannem a Monte Corvino illic strenue operantem, Archiepiscopum Cambalicensem primumque Sedis Apostolicae Le-

monsoon rains in India, would have to be placed at least two years after the burial, could only have been effected *c.* 1323. Thence he proceeded to Quilon, which he calls Palumbum. There he took passage on board a ship—a junk—to a ‘certain city called Zayton, in which our Friars have two houses, in order there to deposit these sacred relics. On board that ship there were quite 700 souls, what with sailors and merchants.’ This shows he took passage on board a Chinese junk he found at Quilon homeward-bound. After discussing Malabar, which he calls ‘Minibar’: ‘From this realm,’ he continues, p. 80, ‘tis a journey of ten days to another realm which is called Mobar, and this is very great, and hath in it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. His church is filled with idols, and beside it are some fifteen houses of the Nestorians; that is to say, Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics.¹

gatum apud Orientalium gentes creaverit eique Franciscas septenos addiderit suffraganeos Episcopos, quibus ecclesiastica hierarchia constitueretur. Thomas his feliciter gestis in Orientem tertio redit. Dum vero novam apud Tartaros et Indos expeditionem cogitans Colam contendit, adversa navigatione Tanam deducitur, ubi gloriosum cum tribus suis sociis martyrium fecit. Nam a Saracenis comprehensus ac de religione multa interrogatus, fidei catholicae veritatem praedicans, Mahumetis falsitatem libero sermone corripuit. Vinculis propterea, conviciis ac verberibus affectus, tum soli ardentissimo diu objectus, denique quarto nonas Aprilis millesimi trecentissimi vigesimi primi truncato capite vitam finivit. Eius sacrum corpus a beato Oderico in templum Fratrum Minorum civitatis Zaitonensis elatum est; abscissum vero caput Tolentinum delatum, magna ibidem pietate colitur. Cultum autem beato Thomae ab immemorabili tempore praestitum Leo decimus tertius Pontifex Maximus ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto ratum habuit et confirmavit.

¹ Blessed Oderic went on to China with his treasure and landed at Zayton: he stayed three years with Archbishop John of Cambalec, and returned home, Yule says, *via* Tibet through Lhassa, Khorasan, and by the south of the Caspian to Tabriz and thence to Venice. In the month of May 1330, while attached to the Convent of St. Anthony of Padua, in compliance with the request of Friar Guidotto,

VI.—VISITED BY BISHOP JOHN DE MARIGNOLLI,
A.D. 1349

The history of Bishop John's narrative is quite romantic. ‘The notices of Eastern travel,’ says Yule (*Cathay*, vol. ii. p. 311), ‘are found like unexpected fossils in a mud-bank imbedded in a Chronicle of Bohemia,’ which the bishop—then attached to the court of the Emperor Charles IV. at Prague, whom he had met in Italy when Charles went to be crowned by the Pope in 1354, and whom he accompanied to Germany—wrote at the request of the said Emperor. ‘Charles,’ the English editor remarks, ‘would have shown a great deal more sense if he had directed his chaplain to write a detailed narrative of his own Eastern experiences.’ The task imposed on the bishop appears to have been most uncongenial to him, so to relieve himself somewhat of its tediousness, he interpolates his work by inserting in odd places scraps of his travels.

Some slight details regarding John of Florence are found in Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, and but for the above discovery the identity of the two Johns would have remained undetected. John was a native of Florence, and belonged to the noble family of the Marignolli of San Lorenzo, who derived their name from a village named Marignolle in the valley of the Arno. In 1338, after the death of Archbishop John of Cambalec, there arrived at Avignon an embassy from the great Khan of Cathay, bringing a letter from the Khan himself and another from the Christian princes at his court to the

the minister of the Province, he related his story, which was taken down, or turned into homely Latin, by William of Solagna of his Order. On his way to the Papal court at Avignon he fell sick and was taken back to his province of Udine, where he died on the 14th of January 1331. He was abroad fourteen and a half years. The decree of his beatification was issued by Clement XIII. in 1755.

Pope. The embassy was graciously received by Pope Benedict XII., who reigned 1334-1342; replies to the letters were duly sent by the Khan's messengers, and the Pope expressed his intention of speedily sending envoys to the Court. On 31st October 1338 he nominated the four following envoys: Nicholas Boneti, Nicholas of Molano, John of Florence, and Gregory of Hungary. The first, Yule says, either never started or returned after going part of the way, and is found in 1347 as bishop of Malta. The party left Avignon in December 1338, and journeying across Asia did not probably arrive at Peking much before the middle of 1342. After a stay of three or four years at the capital, Marignolli proceeded to the houses of his Order at Zayton, and thence sailed for India on the 26th of December (probably) 1347. He mentions his arrival at Columbum (Quilon) just before the following Easter, where he tarried with the Christians for upwards of a year; during the monsoon of 1349 he set sail to visit the Shrine of the Apostle.

He says of the Shrine (p. 374): 'The third province of India is called Maabar, and the Church of St. Thomas, which he built with his own hands, is there, besides another which he built by the agency of workmen.' Regarding a local tradition of the Apostle's presence on the island of Ceylon, he reports the Saint ordering the trunk of a tree that had been cut down on the island: 'Go and tarry for us at the haven of the city of Mirapolis'; which, as Yule observes, is a Graecized form of the name of Mylapore. The local traditions of the Apostle's martyrdom and others, which he relates, will be noticed in Chapter IV.

p. 125, 126

VII.—VISITED BY NICOLÒ DE' CONTI,
A.D. 1425-1430

Nicolò de' Conti left Italy while young, traded at Damascus for many years as a merchant, thence proceeded further east through Persia, sailing by the coast of Malabar onwards; he visited some parts of the interior of Hindustan, Burmah, and Bengal; also the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, and Java; and also went to Southern China. On his way homeward he sailed up the Red Sea, crossed the desert to Cairo, and eventually returned to Venice after an absence of twenty-five years. Of his visit to Mylapore, after rounding the peninsula, he says: 'Proceeding onwards the said Nicolò arrived at a maritime city, which is named Malepur [should be Malpuria], situated in the second gulf beyond the Indus (the Bay of Bengal). Here the body of Saint Thomas lies honourably buried in a large and beautiful church; it is worshipped [venerated] by heretics, who are called Nestorians, and inhabit this city to the number of a thousand. These Nestorians are scattered over all India, as the Jews among us.'¹

On his return to Italy, Conti sought absolution from Pope Eugenius IV., then at Florence, for having denied

¹ The quotation given above is from R. H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1857, p. 7 of text. While at Paris we were able to see, through M. Cordier's kindness, the primitive Latin text published long after the narrative had been taken down in writing by Poggio. It is to be found in *Poggii Bracciolani, Historiae de varietate fortunae, libri quatuor*, published at Paris, 1723, by one 'Joanne Oliva (Rhodigiano)'; the travels form the fourth book of the 'Historiae,' and occupy pp. 126-153, but bear no separate heading to indicate what they are. We reproduce the text of the passage above quoted from the Latin original, p. 129:—

Malpuria deinde maritima civitas in secundo sinu ultra Indiam sita, Nicolaum exceptit. Hic corpus Sancti Thomae honorifice sepultum est in amplissima, ornatissimaque basilica, colitur a haereticis. Hi Nestoritae appellantur qui ad mille hominum in ea urbe habitant: hi per omnem Indiam tanquam Iudaei inter nos sunt dispersi.

his faith during his travels in the East. The Pope imposed on him as penance to dictate an account of his travels. The Pope's secretary, Poggio, took down the narrative in Latin, but this remained unpublished at the time, while an Italian translation was put in circulation. M. Henri Cordier informed us that the interview between Pope Eugenius and Conti at Florence took place in the year 1438, which was the only time the Pope was there. It is from this date that Conti's return to Italy can be fixed. Supposing Conti had returned two or three years earlier, we come to 1435, and his evidence bearing on the Shrine at Mylapore might be of a date even ten years earlier; thus we come to *c.* 1425: it will not be unsafe to fix the date somewhere between 1425-1430.

VIII.—WHAT AMR', SON OF MATTHEW, SAYS,
A.D. 1340

Amr', son of Matthew, a Nestorian writer, who flourished about 1340 (Assemani, *Bibl. Oriental.*, tom. iii. p. 580), hands down the Nestorian tradition (*ibid.*, tom. iv. p. 34) regarding Saint Thomas in India: 'His tomb stands on the peninsula Meilan in India, to the right of the altar in the monastery bearing his name.' The topographical details would denote information brought back by a pilgrim or merchant who had seen the place. Correctly enough, mention is not made of the body, but only of the tomb; the church is implied while the altar and monastery are mentioned; the position is fixed on the seaboard; and a corrupt form of the name of Mylapore is given.

IX.—WHAT THE NESTORIAN BISHOPS SAY, A.D. 1504

The letter written in 1504 from the Malabar coast to the Catholicus of the East, the head of the Nestorian Church, by the four Nestorian bishops, who had

recently arrived there, brings the record of the Indian Shrine of the Apostle down to the arrival of the Portuguese in India. After describing the religious activity awakened by their coming, they say (Assemani, *Bibl. Oriental.*, tom. iii. p. 594 f.): 'The houses as well of Saint Thomas the Apostle have commenced to be occupied by some Christians who are looking after the repairs; they are situated at a distance from our aforesaid Christians (of Malabar) of about twenty-five days,¹ and stand in a city on the sea named Meliapor, in the province of Silan, which is one of the provinces of India.' It should cause no surprise to find the new arrivals mixing up Ceylon and India, and locating Mylapore in the former. The Shrine would seem to have fallen sadly into neglect during the lapse of the preceding half century between the visit of Nicolò de' Conti and this account sent to Bagdad. An express mention of the tomb of the Apostle on the site of the 'houses of Saint Thomas' was not necessary, as its existence was too well known to require any; and, for all we know, the expression may be meant to cover all the buildings there—so the bishops confine themselves to writing of their restoration, which would ensure the return of a resident native colony of caretakers.

This letter mentions also the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast; we reproduce the passage: 'Our Fathers should also know that powerful ships have been sent out from the West by our brethren the Franks to

¹ The length of the journey from Malabar to Mylapore, fixed at twenty-five days, denotes the time it took travellers on foot to go across the hills from Malabar to the Coromandel coast. Indians did not make the journey by sea owing to danger, delays, and cost; and up to recent years the pilgrimage to Saint Thomas's Shrine used to be made on foot by the Saint Thomas Christians. But on the extension of railways they may also, like their fellow-pilgrims in Europe, journey by rail in future. See Paulinus à Sto. Bartholomeo, *India Oriental.*, pp. 240-241, on land journeys in India.

these Indian shores. The voyage occupies a whole year; sailing first due south they pass the land of Khus, that is Aethiopia; thence they come to these lands of India; and after purchasing pepper and other merchandise they return home. By this route, now opened and thoroughly explored, the above King, whom may God preserve, sent six other enormous ships, which arrived after a six months' sail at the city of Calicut. They are most expert sailors.'

Since the above was written, an interesting paper on 'The Connection of St. Thomas with India,' by W. R. Philipps, has appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii., 1903. We feel bound to refer to it here because of vague hints thrown out and 'speculation' indulged in that 'Carmana,' our modern Karmān in Southern Persia, might represent Calamina, where some writers have said the Apostle Thomas suffered martyrdom and was buried. The writer holds that, 'from a geographical, an ethnical, and indeed, as it seems to me, from every point of view' (p. 149), the site of the Apostle's tomb ought to be looked for in that quarter rather than in Southern India.

The question of 'Calamina' will be treated by us at the close of the following chapter, and what strictly appertains to it need not be discussed here; but now we need only say Calamina does not exist, and never had a geographical existence. The question, however, regarding the Indian tomb of the Apostle is quite a different subject. It is, of course, and it ought to be, quite immaterial to the scholar where the tomb is located. He will, however, feel bound to follow the evidence given by history for its identification. If India is the country, as we have found to be the case on the evidence adduced, where we should look for it, what place is there in India, other than Mylapore, which has ever set forth a claim to it?

Decidedly none: not only in no other part of India, nor elsewhere, has such a claim been raised—that of Edessa was for a second tomb where the sacred remains rested after removal from India, as has been seen and will again be discussed in the next chapter. Why then should there be any objection to its being placed in Southern India, and topographically at Mylapore? The writer admits indeed 'there is nothing inherently improbable in such a supposition.' As to 'Carmana' or Carmania of old, now Karmān, the Nestorians, who had churches, priests, and Christians in that part of Persia down to past the middle of the seventh century, must certainly have known if at any time it held the Apostle's tomb. A claim so much nearer home would not have been overlooked by them; they certainly would not have come to India to search for it. We give below two quotations that show how groundless is the suggestion now put forward in the paper under discussion. Assemani (*Bibl. Oriental.*, tom. iii.) publishes several letters of the Nestorian patriarch, Jesuab, A.D. 650-660; the extracts are taken from letter No. 14 (p. 130), addressed to Simeon, bishop of Revardshir, the Metropolitan of Persia at the time; the first refers to the Christians at Merv, the second to those at Carmania:—

Ubinam ingens Maruanitarum (civitatis Maru [Merv]) populus qui quum neque gladium neque ignem aut tormenta vidissent, solo medietatis bonorum suorum amore capti, velut amentes, e vestigio in barathrum perfidiae, hoc est, in aeternam perniciem ruerunt. The writer goes on to say all denied the faith, except two priests, who, as he remarks—instar perustarum titionum ex flamma impietatis evadentibus, &c.

Ubinam etiam sunt Caramaniae totiusque Persidis sanctuaria? quae non per adventum satanae, aut jussu regum terrae, aut mandatis praesidis provinciarum,

excisa corruerunt, sed exigui unius vilissimi daemonis flatu, &c.

There were, then, Nestorians in the town and province of Karmān; if they never left any intimation to posterity that the Apostle's tomb was in their midst, it is unlikely any later suggestion will induce a scholar to place it there.

We owe it in fairness to the writer of the paper to add that having received from us a copy of the above passages, he reproduced them by way of rectification in a note published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1904, p. 31, under the heading *Miscellanea*. This phase of the question may now be considered closed.

CHAPTER IV

FURTHER HISTORICAL AND TRADITIONAL RECORDS OF THE APOSTLE

I. THE APOSTLE'S RELICS AT EDESSA AND SUBSEQUENT REMOVAL

THE Syriac text of the *Acts of Judas Thomas*, edited by Wright (*ut supr.*), as also P. Bedjan's edition of the same in *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Paris, vol. iii., state that the Bones of the Apostle were removed from India during the lifetime of the king under whom Thomas suffered martyrdom: the quotation is from Wright's translation, 'for one of the brethren had taken them away secretly and conveyed them to the West.' The Greek version recites: *εἰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν κλέψας αὐτὸν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν ἀπήγαγεν*—for one of the brethren having stolen him [the Apostle's remains] had removed him to Mesopotamia. The Latin, *De Miraculis*, says: Misedus, reserato sepulchro, ossa invenire non potuit, quoniam reliquias sancti apostoli quidam de fratribus rapuerunt, et in urbe Edissa a nostris sepultus est. St. Gregory of Tours (*l.c.*) says: Thomas apostolus secundum historiam passionis ejus in Indiam passus declaratur. Cujus beatum corpus post multum tempus adsumptum in civitatem, quam Syri Aedissam vocant, translatum est ibique sepultum. The older Latin, *Passio*, recites: Syri ab Alexandro imperatore romano veniente victore de Persidis praelio, Xerse rege devicto, impetrarunt hoc ut mitteret ad regulos Indorum ut redderent defunctum civibus; sicque factum ut translatum esset

de India corpus apostoli et positum in civitate Edissa in locello argenteo quod pendet ex catenis argenteis. The date of the war waged against the Persians by the Emperor Alexander brings us to A.D. 233 (Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. viii.), and the mention of the silver casket holding the Relics, to the year 442 (*Chronicon Edessen.*, Guidi's ed., *infra.*, p. 7).

St. Ephraem gave us no hint when the Bones of the Apostle were removed to Edessa by the merchant, whose name also he omitted to mention. There are thus two traditions—one that the Relics or Bones (not the whole and entire body as some have supposed, importing European ideas into Eastern questions, and these have based thereon the inference that the Apostle's body could not have been in India if it were buried at Edessa) were removed from India in the Apostolic age. The other that the removal took place at a much later date. The Alexandrian date—towards the middle of the third century—on general grounds does appear the more probable of the two, not because of the supposed interposition of the emperor, but because it fits in better with surrounding data, and with the reopening of the trade route to India *via* the Euphrates; by the successful termination of the war, the way would be paved for such removal.

The Relics of the Apostle, while at Edessa, underwent a local translation from one church to another. In the short life of St. Ephraem, from which Assemani has published extracts (*Bibl. Oriental.*, i. p. 49), the following event is narrated: 'About this time a paralytic lay at the door of the church of Saint Thomas in the same city [Edessa]: on seeing the Saint, according to his custom, he begged alms. Ephraem replied, gold and silver I have not, but of what I have I will give to thee. Wilt thou be healed? Certainly! answered the paralytic. If thou canst do aught, for the Lord's sake

help me. Ephraem then taking him by the hand said, In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, arise. Immediately the man suffering from paralysis was healed, and he who was lame stood upright on his feet,' &c. The reader will remark the strong resemblance this narrative bears to that mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles* (chap. iii. 6-8) of the cure of the lame man by the Apostles Peter and John. We are not here vouching for the authenticity of the cure and its details; it is unnecessary for our present purpose; but the narrative discloses a local circumstance we feel bound to accept—that during the life of Ephraem there existed at Edessa a church named after the Apostle, holding the Relics of which Ephraem speaks in the hymns quoted in a preceding chapter.

Some years later another and a larger church in the same city was completed in honour of the Apostle, described as the 'Great Church,' or the 'Basilica'; and to this the Relics were removed with great pomp and ceremony. The *Edessan Chronicle*, which is an excerpt from the city archives made by an anonymous (published first by Assemani), No. xxxviii., recites¹: Anno 705, mense ab (augusto), die 22 advexerunt arcam Mar Thomae apostoli, in templum magnum eidem dicatum, diebus Mar Cyri episcopi. 'In the Seleucian year 705 = A.D. 394, on the 22nd of August, when Cyrus was bishop, the casket [containing the Relics] of the Apostle Thomas was removed to the great church erected in his honour.' A further entry, No. lxi., recites: Anno 753 Anatolius Stratelates (militiae praefectus) fecit argenteam capsam in honorem ossium sancti Thomae apostoli. 'In the year 442-443 Anatolius the General (in command of the troops) made an offering of a silver casket to hold the

¹ *Bibl. Oriental.*, vol. i. p. 388 ff.; re-edited by Guidi, *Chronica Minora*, tom. iv. of third series of 'Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium,' 1903, versio, p. 6, No. xxxviii.

built by a King, p. 27.

+ p. 27

+

Bones of the Apostle Saint Thomas.' This was suspended, as we have seen, by silver chains from the roof.

Some writers have confused the second removal mentioned here with the first arrival of the Relics at Edessa. Barhebraeus (*Chronicon Ecclesiast.*, ed. of Abbeloos, and Lamy, tom. i., col. 66) says: 'Eulogius was made Bishop of Edessa, and he built the Church of Mar Daniel, which is also styled of Mar Domitius. During his episcopate the casket of Mar Thomas the Apostle was brought from India to Edessa, and was placed in the Church of Mar Thomas.' The learned writer is here mistaken. The *Edessan Chronicle*, No. xxxiv., has the following entry, 'Per idem tempus' [that is, A. Seleuc. 689=A.D. 378-379], 'Mar Eulogius became bishop,' &c.; he died A. Seleuc. 698=A.D. 387-388, as is stated in No. xxxvii. If Barhebraeus' statement were true, the Relics would have entered Edessa several years after the death of St. Ephraem; this of course cannot be admitted.

Ephraem, who was born at Nisibis and had lived there up to the year 363, quitted it before the entry of the Persians, when that city, after Julian's defeat and death, was by Jovian, under the conditions of peace forced upon him by Sapor, King of Persia, surrendered to the Persians, and removed to Edessa. He lived there until his death, which occurred on the 9th of June 373 (see *Chronicon Edessen.*, No. xxx.; also Lamy, *St. Ephr., Hymni et Serm.*, tom. iv., praeft., p. xxviii., and tom. ii. pp. 89-97). It was during this period of ten years that he wrote his hymns on Saint Thomas. It becomes thus perfectly clear that the Relics had been at Edessa long before the time assigned by Barhebraeus for their arrival from India. From the manner in which Ephraem speaks of their presence among the citizens and of the influence they exercised on them, the reader can realise for himself that a sufficiently lengthy

period must have elapsed since their first arrival at Edessa.

The writer of the article 'Saint Thomas' in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquity* makes the error of confusing the older with the new church, and supposes that the cure of the leper mentioned above occurred at the door of the great church. This second church was completed after Ephraem's death, and the Relics removed thereto in the year 394, as shown above.

Both the Church historians, Socrates and Sozomen, record the erection of the new church, but not in the sense of the writer of the above article, who states that 'St. Thomas was interred at Edessa, [as] may be inferred from Socrates and Sozomen.' They say nothing to imply a burial of the Apostle in the church. After having detailed in previous chapters the persecution waged by the Emperor Valens against the Catholics, they pass to his attempt to impose the Arian belief on the city of Edessa.¹ Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv. cap. xviii.; Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. lxvii.) says: 'I think it unworthy to pass over in silence what had been done in Edessa of Mesopotamia. In that city there is a renowned and splendid basilica (*μαρτύριον*) dedicated to Thomas the Apostle, &c., which the emperor [Valens] was desirous to see,' &c.² And Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vi. cap. xviii.;

¹ The Edessan Chronicle supplies the following data in support of the persecution of Catholics (Guidi, *Chronica Minora*, Scriptorum Syri, series 3a, tom. iv., Parisiis, 1903, *versio*, p. 5 *seq.*). After mentioning, No. xxx., the death of St. Ephraem, which occurred on the 9th of June, A. Seleuc. 684-311=A.D. 373, in the following entry, No. xxxi., it recites: 'In the month of Sept. of the same year the church of Edessa because of the Arian intrusion had to be surrendered by the people.' The entry of the Arians thus took place three months after the death of the Saint; at No. xxxiii., 'the same year,' that is, the year A. Sel., given previously, 689-311=A.D. 378-79, 'on the 27 of *Kanun* (December) the Catholics re-entered and occupied the church of Edessa.'

² It must be taken for granted that the church was not com-

Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. lxxvii.): 'Having heard that in the city of Edessa there was a noble church (εὐκτήριον), dedicated to Thomas the Apostle, he went there to see it. He [Valens] found the people of the Catholic church holding their assemblies in a field near the city—for there also the Catholic churches were taken from them. He violently reproached the prefect, and even struck him on the cheek,' &c. Neither passage, as may be seen, can be construed to support the theory put forth that the Apostle had been buried in that church, implying a burial after death. Rufinus (born about 345, died 410), who visited the city of Edessa some time afterwards, says much the same as what the two above quotations contain (*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. ii. cap. v., Migne, *P. L.*, tom. xxi. col. 513): Edessa namque Mesopotamiae urbs fidelium populorum est, Thomae Apostoli Reliquiis decorata. Ubi cum per se imperator populos vidisset ecclesiis ejectos in campo habere conventiculum, tanta, dicitur, iracundia accensus est, &c. Here we find mention made of the Relics, not of a burial; and indeed it would have been surprising had Rufinus expressed himself differently, since he had ample opportunity to acquaint himself personally with the local traditions of Edessa and the history of the Relics, when he visited the city.¹

At this church great annual festivals used to be held. A sermon preached at one of these celebrations has come down to us. This, from internal evidence, Tillemont holds (*Mémoire. Hist. Eccl.*, vol. i. p. 358) to have

pleted at the time of the emperor's visit, and certainly did not then hold the relics of the Apostle. The reader is referred to the date given above of their transfer to this new church, A.D. 394.

¹ His visit is mentioned in the eighth chapter. After describing what he had seen of the disciples of St. Anthony in Egypt, he adds what he had himself seen in the neighbourhood of Edessa (*ibid.*, col. 517): Habuit autem per idem tempus Mesopotamia viros nobiles iisdem studiis pollentes. Quorum aliquantos per nos apud Edessam et in Carcarum partibus vidimus; plures autem auditione didicimus.

been delivered in the year 402. The homily had been wrongly attributed to St. John Chrysostom.¹ What is peculiar about it is, that the homily should have been cited under the name of this Doctor by the Lateran Council held by Pope Martin I., A.D. 649, and by the Sixth Ecumenical Council held at Constantinople, A.D. 680. Tillemont (*ibid.*, vol. xi. p. 392) suggests three grounds for rejecting it as not the composition of the Doctor of the Church—difference of style, thoughts expressed therein not held worthy of him—and since the context shows the sermon to have been delivered at Edessa and before the Shrine of the Apostle in the year aforesaid, there is no reason to suppose that he (Chrysostom) had then visited the city. He concludes with the remark that even in the lifetime of this great preacher homilies came to be attributed to him not the product of his genius. The sermon is based on the text from St. John xx. 28, containing Thomas's avowal of Christ's divinity, 'My Lord and my God!' and was preached against the Arian denial. The opening section contains language grossly exaggerated, but the latter portion is a fine piece of eloquence, not unlike what may be found in some of Chrysostom's homilies.

Tillemont is, however, wrong in an inference he bases on the composition, that 'the homily clearly states that the body of the Apostle was all entire in one place, and that, where the preacher delivered the homily' (vol. i. pp. 358-359). We reproduce the passage which occurs at the opening of the address: 'Shall I speak of Thomas as a man? But his tomb (τάφος) proclaims his death? But then I shall be reproached by the very events (we witness). He is dead and he is immortal; he as a man died, but he dazzled the world as an angel.

¹ *Oper. S. Joan. Chrysost.*, tom. viii., *Sermo in sanctum Thomam apostolum*, col. 497-500, Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. lix.; ed. Montfaucon, Parisiis, 1836, tom. viii. p. 625.

He suffered martyrdom (*passionem excepit*), and he struggles in his sufferings. He lies here below and is in glory above. Nothing can conceal him; he has spread his light over the whole world. He has been buried, but he shines forth everywhere as the sun. The relics of the just have gone round the world, &c. Every corner of the earth holds a part of Thomas; he has filled every place, and in each place he subsists entire, &c. The barbarians honour Thomas, all people celebrate his feast this day, and make an offering of his words as a gift to the Lord, "My Lord and my God!" The presence of the Apostle spoken of is his spiritual and moral presence and influence. The passage, 'he lies here below,' is easily understood of the body being on earth while the spirit soars aloft; but in this case it may have also a reference to the presence of his Relics in the church. But it is not justifiable to take this passage in an isolated form and apart from the historical connections of these Relics, known to the people present at the sermon.

Frequent mention of the continued presence of the Relics at Edessa could be adduced from different writers down to the period of the Crusades. The last witness who makes mention of them, Archbishop William of Tyre, will be found quoted later. But, while it will not be necessary to extend this investigation further, we will not deprive the reader of the beautiful narrative left us by a lady pilgrim who visited the Shrine early in the last quarter of the fourth century. For, apart from the fact of her narrative confirming the general tradition, she gives us a glimpse of what took place at the Shrine within a few years of the death of St. Ephraem. We are indebted to Professor Gamurrini for having brought to light this early 'Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta' from the one MS known to exist, which fortunately fell into

his hands: for details of text, discovery, and history of the same, the reader should consult his two papers in the Roman publication, *Studi e Documenti di Storia*, 1884-1885—the vol. ix. of 1888 contains the first edition of the 'Peregrinatio'; see also *Bibl. dell' Accademia Storico-Giuridica*, Roma, vol. iv., 1887, pp. xxvii. ff. The book was published apart with notes, *S. Silviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*, altera editio, Romae, typis Vaticanis, 1888, in 4to; we quote from the latter edition, pp. 33-34:—

'Pervenimus in nomine Christi Dei nostri Edessam: ubi cum pervenissemus, statim perreximus ad ecclesiam et ad martyrium sancti Thomae. Itaque ergo juxta consuetudinem factis orationibus, et caetera quae consuetudo erat fieri in locis sanctis: nec non etiam et aliquanta ipsius sancti Thomae ibi legimus.

'Ecclesia autem ibi, quae est ingens et valde pulchra et nova dispositione, et vere digna est esse domus Dei; et quoniam multa erant, quae ibi desiderabam videre, necesse me fuit ibi stativa tridua facere. Ac sic ergo vidi in eadem civitate martyria plurima; nec non et sanctos monachos commanentes, alios per martyria, alios longius de civitate in secretioribus locis habentes monasteria. Et quoniam sanctus episcopus ipsius civitatis, vir vere religiosus et monachus et confessor, suscipiens me libenter ait mihi, quoniam video te, filia, gratia religionis tam magnum laborem tibi imposuisse, ut de extremis porro terris venires ad haec loca: itaque ergo, si libenter habes, quaecumque loca sunt hic grata ad videndum christianis, ostendimus tibi. Tunc ergo gratias agens Deo primum, et sic ipsum rogavi plurimum, ut dignaretur facere quod dicebat. Itaque ergo duxit me primum ad palatium Aggari regis, &c.

We append a translation:—

'In the name of Christ our God we arrived safely at Edessa. On arriving there we visited without delay the

church and the martyrdom of Saint Thomas [the Apostle]. In accordance with our usage we there performed our devotions and what else we are accustomed to do when visiting holy places. We also read portions of the Acts of Saint Thomas [at his Shrine]. The church is indeed a large and handsome edifice of a new design, and it is really worthy to be the House of God. As the city held many sites which I desired to visit, I stayed there for three days. And so I was able to see many shrines of martyrs, as also holy monks dwelling, some at the shrines, others in monasteries situated in isolated places far from the city. The holy bishop of the place, a truly religious man, a monk, and a confessor of the faith, received me most kindly. He said to me, Since thou, my daughter, for the sake of devotion hast undertaken so great a task as to journey so far from the extreme end of the world, if it be pleasing to thee, I shall with pleasure take and show thee all the sites which are of interest to us Christians. First thanking God [for this favour], I begged of him to do what he had offered. So he guided me first to the palace of King Aggar' [Abgar], &c.

The date of this pilgrimage is fixed by the learned editor between the years 385 and 388, and this partly from internal evidence. The writer herself he took to be one Silvia, whose brother at the time held the highest office at the imperial court of Constantinople; he supposed she came on this pilgrimage from Aquitania in France. The account has been written by her for the benefit of religious ladies living in a convent, to whom she shows herself greatly attached. Proof for much of all this is forthcoming from the context of the book. But the opinion that the writer was Silvia was not accepted as decisive, but as one that may be retained until further discoveries on the subject were made. From the quotation given the reader is able to see the familiar tone in

which the remarks have been jotted down in a diary, apparently shortly after their occurrence, and the book itself has the appearance of being nothing more than a reproduction of these notes in their original simplicity, fully reflecting the writer's impressions.

The question of the authorship of the 'Peregrinatio' has been lately discussed very fully by the Benedictine, Dom Marius Ferotin of St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough. The research discloses that the lady pilgrim came from the western coast of Spain; her name is either Etheria, or more probably Egeria, for an entry of another copy of the MS. has been found in an old catalogue with that name, and she is styled an abbess, a dignity to which she may have been elevated after her return to the convent (*Le véritable auteur de la 'Peregrinatio Silviae,'* par Dom Marius Ferotin, Paris, 1903).

The lady pilgrim paid a similar visit to the shrine of the first virgin-martyr, St. Thecla; and there also, besides praying at the tomb, she read, according to the pious usage of the time, the Acts of her martyrdom. We need hardly remark these would not be the distorted Gnostic edition that has come down to us, but a copy of the Acts accepted and recognised as catholic and genuine by the Christians of that age. The remark applies with equal force to the Acts of Thomas which she records she had read at his Shrine. This offers clear proof that there were copies which had not been distorted and utilised for Gnostic purposes, as we find is the case with those that have come down to us. The Acts the pilgrim carried with her were in Greek, as also was the Codex of the Scriptures, as shown from her quotations.

The Relics of the Apostle remained at Edessa even after the Greek emperors of Constantinople had lost the



SKETCH MAP OF SAN THOMÉ, MYLAPORE

city and it had passed under Arab or Saracen sway. When the Crusaders first obtained possession of the city and surrounding country, and it had become a county of the new Kingdom of Baldwin, they were known to be still there. The latest mention we find of them is, as we said before, by Archbishop William of Tyre in his *Historia Rerum in partibus Transmarinis gestarum* (Migne, P. L., tom. cci.). In book xvi. chap. iii. the year of the events narrated is given 'anno 1142'; at the beginning of chap. iv. William narrates what occurred 'eodem anno' [viz. 1142]; at col. 642 he says: 'Sanguinus [Zenghi] imperator Turcarum e civitate Musula [Mosul] obsedit urbem Edessam'; and at chap. v. col. 644: destructo ex magna parte muro civitatis hostis ingreditur, cives gladio perierunt nullo parcens sive aetati sive sexui; and towards the end (col. 645): Urbs antiquissima et nomini christiano e temporibus Apostolorum devota, verbo et praedicatione Apostoli Thaddaei ab infidelium superstitione eruta, indebitae jugum passa est servitutis. Dicitur in eadem urbe et corpus beati Thomae apostoli, una cum praedicti apostoli, et beati Abgari regis corporibus esse sepultum, &c. All this goes to establish the fact that when Zenghi, the Emir of Mosul, captured the city in 1142, the Remains of the Apostle Thomas were known to be yet there. Pagi (*apud* Baron. *Annales*, 1144, cap. xiv.) assigns the capture of Edessa to the year 1144, and Mansi holds it to have taken place in 1143; Baronius himself in his *Annals* does not mention the capture of the city by the Saracens. Would not William of Tyre, being practically on the spot, be in a better position to know more accurately the exact date than writers in Europe who would receive the news a year or two later, and perhaps with no fixed date?

The city was captured by Zenghi from the Christian knights after a siege of twenty-eight days. A year later,

SLAB OF CHALCEDONY WHICH COVERED THE APOSTLE'S RELICS AT CHIOS, NOW IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ORTONA, SHOWING FIGURE BUST AND GREEK INSCRIPTION



the Saracen hold becoming weaker, the citizens invited Count Joscelin, the holder of the county, to return. He re-entered the city and held it with his knights, but the fortress remained in the hands of the Mussulmans. Noradin, the son of Zenghi deceased, who had been engaged in asserting his claim to the throne, on learning what had happened, hastily recruited an army and arrived suddenly before the city, which he promptly recaptured; he sacked the place, slaughtered the inhabitants, and destroyed the city. A full account of these events will also be found in Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris, 1849, vol. i. pp. 350-357, with details from Mahommedan sources as well; see also Rubens Duval's *Histoire politique, religieuse, et littéraire d'Edesse*, Paris, 1892, chap. xiii., p. 252 ff. Pagi (*l.c.*) quotes the *Annales* of one Signantius, abbot, who, writing of the destruction of churches that had occurred, mentions also that of the Apostle—'in qua Thomaei Apostoli corpus reconditum est.'

It is taken for granted that it was after this second sack and destruction of Edessa that some of the surviving Christian inhabitants recovered the Relics of the Apostle from the ruins of the church. As the whole of Asia Minor was liable to be overrun by the rising Mahommedan power, these were transferred for safety to an island off the coast—that of Chios. No details are now likely to be found as to how and when the transfer to Chios took place; there is, however, ample evidence that they were there held to be the genuine Relics of the Apostle, as the stone—for they appear to have been placed in some sort of a tomb—which covered the remains bore his name and bust engraved, of which an illustration is reproduced.

Of their subsequent history we are put in possession of ample details through the kindness of Archdeacon

Perenich of Ortona, who is also the Vicar-General of that diocese, jointly administered *in perpetuum*, together with his own, by the Archbishop of Lanciano. Ughelli gives an account of the removal from Chios to Ortona à Mare, but by some strange fatuity and ignorance of elementary geography he describes the removal as having taken place by sea from Edessa. Nicholas Coleti, in the second edition of Ughelli's work, corrects the mistake, saying the island of Chios should stand in the place of Edessa, but leaves the text unaltered. The following details are taken from this second edition.¹ The cathedral, which was formerly dedicated to our Lady, is now dedicated to the Apostle Thomas, and holds his Relics in a chapel. An inscription in the church attests that the first dedication was made on the 10th November 1127; the Relics rest there since 1258. A local document is reproduced by Ughelli in the text which gives an account of the transfer from Chios (see cols. 774-776). The local story recites that on the 17th of June 1258, by order of Manfred, Prince of Taranto, a fleet under Philip Leonard, the admiral of the prince, had sailed under the orders of a certain Stolio; the ships eventually reached Chios. On the approach of the fleet the inhabitants fled the town, and a landing being effected, it came to be known, through a monk found in the church, that the Relics of the Apostle Thomas reposed under a slab bearing an inscription and the figure of a bust. The Relics, together with the covering stone, were removed to the ship of Leo Acciaiuoli of Ortona, and the ship in company with two others set sail for Ortona, which was reached Friday the sixth of September. The Relics were removed in solemn pomp to the cathedral. A monument recording

¹ *Italia Sacra, Ferdinandi Ughelli, Abbatis SS. Vincentii et Anastasii ad aquas Salvias*; editio secunda cura Nicolai Coleti, Venetiis, 1720, tom. vi. col. 773 seq.

the event was placed in the church at a later date, bearing the following inscription:—

D. O. M.
LEONI DUCI ET CIVI ORTONENSI
CLASSIS PRAEFECTO
QUO SUB MANFREDO A CHIO INSULA
ANNO DOMINI MCCLVIII
OSSA BEATI THOMAE APOSTOLI
CAELITUS ADMONITUS
AD ORTONAM PATRIAM
TRANSPORTAVIT
CIVES ORTONENSES OB TAM PRAECLARUM
FACINUS GRATI ANIMI ERGO
MONUMENTUM AETERNUM
POSUERE
ANNO DOMINI MDCIII.

And outside the church, the following:—

Magne Leo in patriam spoliis Orientis onustus
Dum remeas, Thomae huc ossa beata refers.
Thomae ossa infidi, tetigit qui vulnera Christi,
Tartara ex latebra quem rediisse negat.
Plus tibi debemus cives pro munere tanto,
Quam si adducta tibi huc India tota foret.

While at Ortona the Relics underwent another vicissitude. A Turkish fleet under Ali Pasha captured the town on Thursday, 1st August 1566; the town was sacked by the enemy, who burnt and destroyed the churches, including that of the Apostle. Finding the altar of the Saint protected by heavy iron railings, and their efforts to burst open the Shrine failing, they employed gunpowder, and caused an explosion which burst up the stone forming the altar slab and fractured also that of chalcedony brought from Chios, mentioned in the footnote. It would seem that they expected to find great treasure there. On the departure of the Turkish

fleet, when the inhabitants were able once more to return to the city and ascertain the extent and nature of the damage sustained, they found, at the bottom of the accumulated debris and cinders, the sacred bones of the Apostle, which had reposed under the altar with the relics of other saints, most providentially preserved intact. But they missed his head; after further search it was found crushed under the weight of a portion of the fractured altar-stone; they reverently picked it up, and were afterwards able, to their great joy and satisfaction, to reconstruct the skull so thoroughly that no part was found missing. A Notarial Act of what had occurred was drawn up by those present, attested and signed by the Bishop, John Domenic Rebiba; the Judge, John Vincent de Renaldo; the Syndic, Pompeius Panza; Joseph Massarius, Public Notary, and many others. This 'Deed of the Verification of the Relics' bears the date of 16th November 1566. A copy of this document has been kindly furnished by the Archdeacon, Vicar-General of Ortona.¹

¹ The principal sections of the deed are as follows:—

'Deposuerunt, declaraverunt, et confessi et testificati fuerunt cum juramento in vulgari sermone:

'Che al primo del mese di Agosto dell' anno di N. S. 1566, giorno di Giovedì, essendo brughiata la detta Venerab. Chiesa di S. Tommaso Apostolo nella detta città di Ortona dall' armata Turchesca, essi D. Bartolomeo, &c., &c., ed andando per vedere il danno di detta Chiesa, la ritrovarono tutta brughiata, e rivoltandosi verso il sacro Altare, ove riposavano l' Ossa del Glorioso Apostolo Tommaso, lo ritrovarono tutto in terra spezzato, e la gran feriatà riversata sotto sopra, ed entro, dove era la casetta delle Sante Reliquie, uno grandissimo fuoco, e carboni accesi, &c., &c. Con alcuni legni incominciarono a levare il fuoco da detto Altare, e incominciarono a ritrovare le sante Ossa immacolate e intatte, come se non state fossero nel fuoco, e lustravan come vetro; il che vedendo essi Don Bartolomeo e Luca in presenza di essi Giovanni, Bernardino, Leonardo, Sebastiano ed altri, cominciarono a pigliare dette sante Ossa, e porle in una tovaglia, e in alcuni fazzoletti, non senza grandissima effusione di lagrime di tutti, e così

The slab of chalcedony marble, which was brought over from Chios, is preserved in the church, and, as said above, it was fractured by the Turks. It has the bust of the Apostle engraved on it, and on either side of the head are engraved the Greek words *Ἅγιος Θώμας*, 'Saint Thomas.' Owing to the stone being fractured by the explosion, it is now affixed to the wall of the chapel where the Apostle's Relics were replaced, and the following inscription is placed below it:—

MARMOR CALCEDONIUM
PARVA DIVI THOMAE AP̄LI IMAGINE
AC NOMINE GRECE INSCULPTO
DECORUM
SARACENORUM BARBARIE
SACRA OMNIA ANNO MDLXVI
INCENDIO VASTANTIUM
INFRACTUM
NATIVOQUE OB IGNEM COLORE DESERTUM
URNAE EJUS AP̄LI EX AERE
EXTERNAE DEAURATAE
SUB ALTARI CONDITAE
ELEGANTIUS NUPER ERECTO
ADPOSITUM
AD SACRAE POSTERITATIS MEMORIAM
ORDO POPULUSQUE ORTONENSIS
HIC COLLOCANDUM CURAVIT
ANNO MDCCCLXXIV

ne ricuperaron una gran quantità, facendo il simile esso Don Bartolomeo e Luca il sabato seguente in presenza di detti D. Giov. Aloisio, Giov. Bernardino, Giov. Leonardo, ed altri. Poscia la Domenica seguente, quarto di detto mese di Agosto 1566 detto Giov. Antonio con detto Luca ed altri ritornarono in detto luogo e compitamente ricuperarono tutte le sante Reliquie di detto Apostolo dalli carboni e sassi, &c., poi non potendo ritrovare il Glorioso capo d'esso Apostolo, detti D. Giovanni Ant^o, Luca ed altri sudetti stavano malinconici, e piangendo, sempre pregando Nostro Signore G. C. loro volesse ispirare dove stava detto capo, e così cominciarono tutti con gran fatica a muovere detta feriatà; e Iddio lodato, ritrovarono la testa di detto Glorioso Apostolo di Cristo sotto alcune pietre di detto santo Altare, rimasta sotto detta feriatà illesa dal

The sacred Relics now repose in a bronze urn placed beneath a marble altar. The head of the Apostle is placed in a silver bust (see illustration), and is exposed to public veneration on the celebration of the feast.¹

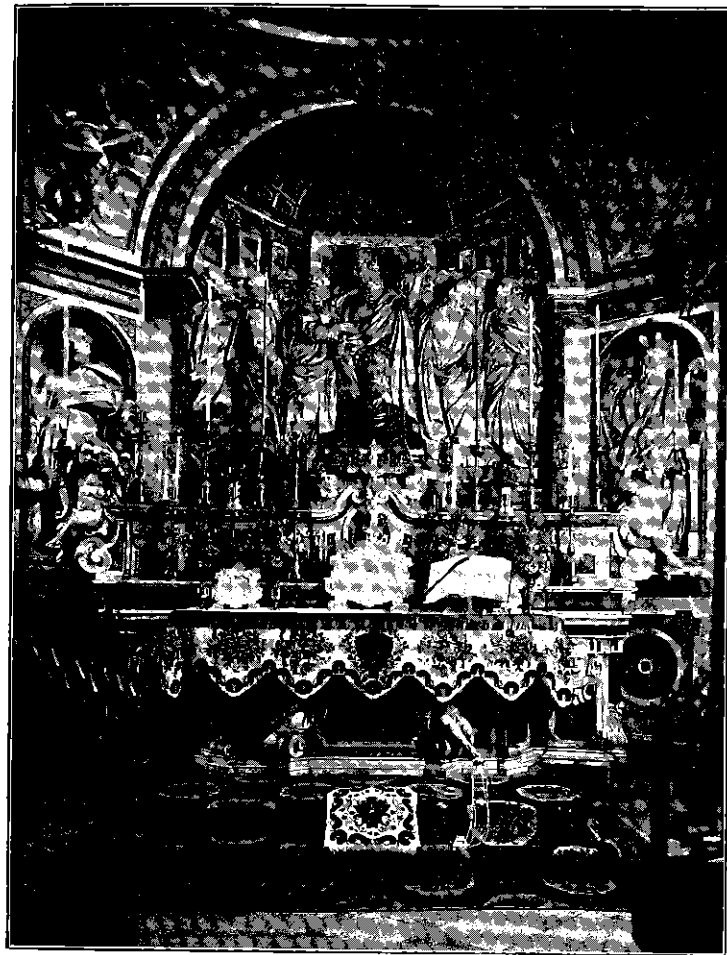
Ughelli cites a book written by De Lectis on the transfer of the Apostle's Relics to Ortona. This, the latter says, took place on the date above mentioned, sixth September 1258; the Archdeacon has kindly informed us that the book, of which we could find no copy, was printed at Fermo at the press of Astolfo de' Grandi in 1577, and bears the title: *Vita del glorioso Apostolo di Cristo Tommaso, con la traslazione e miracoli in esso per virtù di Dio operati, &c.*

II.—THE APOSTLE'S MARTYRDOM UPHELD

Tillemont, in his remarks on the Apostle's history, makes a reference to Heracleon's statement that Thomas did not suffer a martyr's death, only to reject it. He points

fuoco, ma però rotta per il peso che l'era caduta sopra; e così divotamente con lagrime pigliarono la detta testa e fu ricomposta per le mani di essi D. Bartolomeo, D. Giovanni, ed alcuni altri sacerdoti, con l'intervento del quondam D. Muzio de Sanctis allora Vicario di detta Chiesa, in presenza del Magnifico Giovan Battista de Lectis Fisico [*anglice*, Physician] e detti Giov. Tommaso de Summa e Giuseppe Masca ed altri, ricomponendola di modo come se mai rotta stata fosse, con tutto il martirio, senza mancarvi pur un minimo osso, &c., &c., e di pui li sopradetti dichiarano che ivi erano conservate altre sante reliquie, ed essi tutti dicono ed affermano che l'Ossa del Glorioso Apostolo Tommaso riconobbero da quelle altre dallo splendore e lucidezza che avevano quell'Ossa, le quali erano negre come ebano, l'altre erano bianche.

¹ The Archdeacon writes: 'Thrice in the year feasts are kept in honour of the Apostle. On the first Sunday of May, the day fixed for the celebration of the solemn transfer to Ortona; the 6th of September, the day of the arrival of the Relics at Ortona; and on the 21st of December, the day of the Apostle's martyrdom. The feast day in May is the occasion when the Head of the glorious Apostle, enshrined in a rich silver bust, is exposed to public veneration, and is carried in solemn procession through the city. This is not done at the other festivals. The May festival is kept up for three days.'



ALTAR OF ST. THOMAS, CATHEDRAL, ORTONA À MARE (ITALY), UNDER WHICH THE APOSTLE THOMAS'S RELICS REPOSE

out that Theodoret numbers him among the martyrs, and observes that this passage can hardly be applied to any other but the Apostle. The passage occurs in the work entitled 'Graecorum Affectionum Curatio' (Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, vol. lxxxiii., of Theodoret's works, vol. iv., *Sermo viii. de Martyribus*): Pro aliis festis vestris [videlicet gentilium] Petri et Pauli et Thomae et Sergii et Marcelli et Leontii et Panteleemonis et Antonini et Mauricii aliorumque martyrum solemnitates peraguntur.¹ He opposes the Christian festivals in honour of the martyrs to those kept by the pagans in honour of their divinities in Syria. The name of Thomas occurring after those of Peter and Paul cannot but be that of the Apostle Thomas, there being besides no prominent martyr of that name; and if a reason be sought why Thomas is named in preference to any other Apostle, it will occur that it arose from the circumstance that in the country, and around, where Theodoret resided, no martyr was held in greater honour, or no festival was celebrated with greater pomp and affluence of people, than that of Thomas in the chief town of the neighbourhood, Edessa.

Tillemont also makes mention of St. Gaudentius, who expressly states that the Apostle was killed by infidels; the quotation was given in Chapter II. p. 45.

There is also the evidence of St. Asterius, Metropolitan of Amasia in Pontus, who died at the end of the fifth century, 499 (Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. xl. col. 326—*In praise of the Martyrs*): 'Consider how many you slight by one wrong: John the Baptist, James, named the brother of the Lord, Peter, Paul, Thomas. These I call leaders

¹ Theodoret, born 387-396, was made bishop of Cyrus near the Euphrates in 423, died c. 458 (Bardenhewer's *Les Pères de l'Eglise*). The passage of Theodoret given above is quoted by Card. Baronius in his essay prefacing the *Martyrologium Romanum*, and by Ruinart in the general introduction to his *Acta Sincera Martyrum*.

of Martyrs.' St. Nilus of Constantinople, who died in 430, is equally clear on the subject; he retired from the court with his son Theodulus to the monastery of Mount Sinai (*apud* Photium in *Bibliotheca*, Codex 276, homil. secunda—*De Christi Ascensione*): 'Stephen, like a branch, is lopped off from the Church, and another palm fruitful of martyrs springs up. James and Peter are cut off; another martyr arises, and when he is struck off, another fruitful palm sprouts. The vintage removes Paul, and, another shoot maturing, Thomas appears,' &c.

There have not been wanting, however, writers of modern date¹ who do not hesitate to put forth this old fable, first prompted by Valentinian envy at the glory derived by the Church from the number of her martyrs, to rob the Apostle Thomas and others of the glory of having attested the truth of their preachings by the seal of martyrdom. Heracleon's passage referred to occurs in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromat.*, lib. iv. cap. ix.: 'For not all that were saved made the confession in words [before tribunals and magistrates] and so died [by suffering martyrdom]; of this number were Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi,² and many others.' Dr. Murdock comments that Clement allows the statement to pass unchallenged; this he takes as a proof that he had nothing to allege against it. Heracleon denies the martyrdom not of one but of several of the Twelve Apostles; and it is not a little surprising that, in the light of present-day ecclesiastical literature, writers are found to appeal to such an authority in opposition to the common belief of Christendom. The first question

¹ Among modern writers who contest the martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas are Dr. James Murdock in his *Notes to Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, 11th ed., London, 1878, p. 21; R. A. Lipsius, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, art. 'Acts of the Apostles (Apocryphal),' pp. 26-32, &c.

² In the Gospels Levi is Matthew; compare Luke v. 27 and Mark ii. 14 with Matthew ix. 9.

to be asked is, Does Clement's silence imply his avowal of the truth of Heracleon's assertion? Those who have had occasion to study this work of Clement cannot but be aware how great is the difficulty of ascertaining what the writer accepts and what he merely adduces by way of erudition and a show of general knowledge. Let us turn to the author himself and see if he offers a key to the solution of this difficulty. There are certain passages in which he explains his method of treating the subjects he brings forward. In one place he says (*Stromat.*, lib. vii. cap. xviii.; Migne., *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. ix. col. 556): 'The Stromates may not be compared to a cared-for garden, planted on symmetrical lines to please the eye, but rather to a mountain all covered with (wild) trees of cypress, plane, laurel with (creeping) ivy, as well as with apple, olive, and fig trees in such manner that of set purpose the fruit-bearing and the wild trees are intermixed.' And again, 'The Stromates thus disregard connection, and style, as the pagans themselves renounce all flower of language and sow their dogmas secretly and without method, wishing the reader to take pains and endeavour to detect them.' And once more (lib. vi. cap. i.): 'The flowers on the lawn and the fruit-bearing trees in the orchards are not ranged separately according to species, &c.; so in like manner all the different thoughts that have passed in our mind—without any effort of style and order but of set purpose—are jotted down pell-mell, and like unto a variegated meadow our varied work of the Stromates has been composed.'¹ After this open avowal by the author that he has purposely jotted down indiscriminately ideas of all sorts that have floated through his mind, it would seem useless to inquire why Clement did not correct the Valentinian's assertion if he disapproved of it.

¹ These passages are quoted from Bardenhewer's *Les Pères de l'Église*, vol. i. p. 241, Paris, 1898.

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Additional evidence for the Apostle's martyrdom was given in Chapter II., and will be found elsewhere.

III.—DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE MARTYRDOM

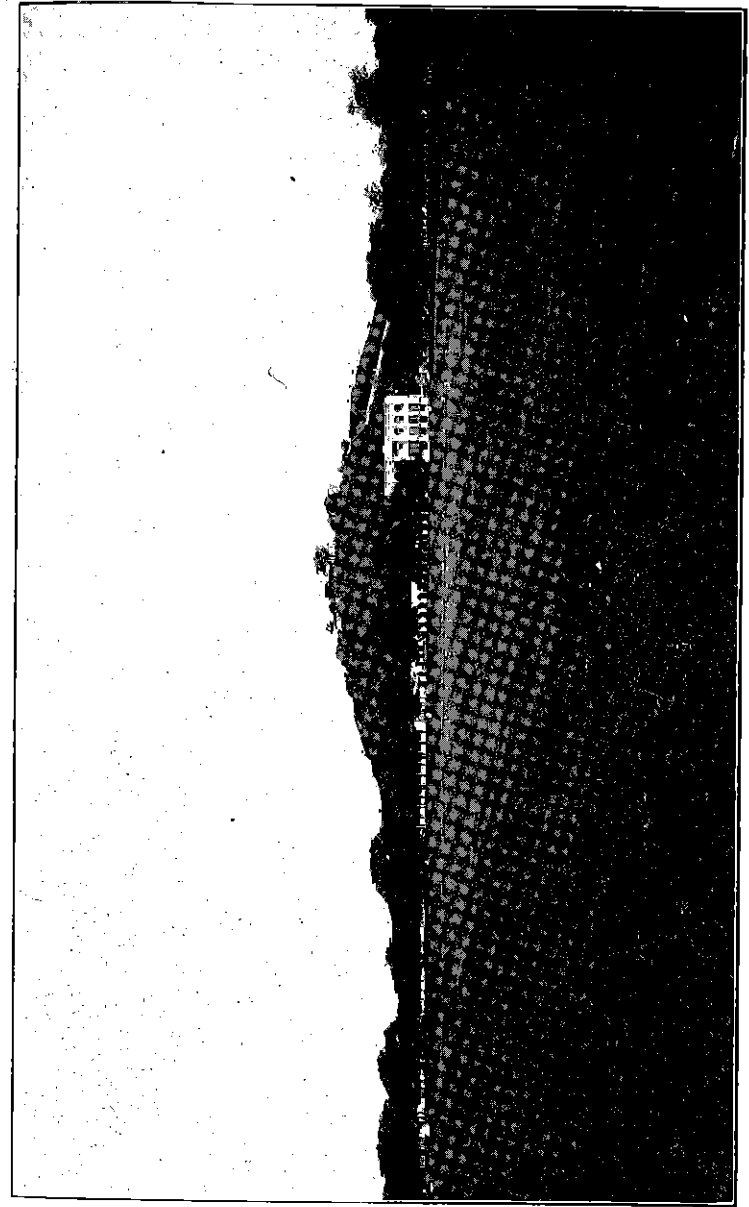
It will be part of our task to set forth successively the different versions of the Martyrdom.

The Acts of Thomas :—

The Syriac text, Wright's translation, p. 293 f. : On the King having decided on the Apostle's death, he hesitated as to what orders he should issue, 'because he was afraid of the great multitude that was there present, and because many believed in the Lord even of the King's nobles.' The King therefore decided on taking Thomas away from the crowd. He made him accompany him under a guard to a distance of about half a mile beyond the town, and then said to them, 'Go up on the mountain and stab him.' On their reaching the top of the hill Thomas asked to be allowed to pray, and having done so, he bid the soldiers execute the order they had received : 'the soldiers then came and struck him all together.'¹

¹ There are two Mounts St. Thomas in the vicinity of Mylapore, the 'great' and the 'little' mount. The former is the one generally designated as Mount St. Thomas. The following topographical details will enable the reader to form a clear idea of the localities reputed to be connected with the memory of the Apostle at Mylapore (consult Map of Mylapore and its Environs, and Illustrations) :—

1. *Mount St. Thomas* ('the Great').—The church which now crowns the summit was erected by the Portuguese ; there had been one probably before. When the writer visited the place, on climbing the hill, he was struck by noticing, halfway up the hill, an artificially levelled spot—the hill itself is an abrupt, insulated hill of protruding granite. On inquiry he was informed that in former ages the Nestorians had a bishop's residence on the spot. He has since learned that there exists an old record in the archives of the diocese of Mylapore—undated and unsigned—stating that at the time the Portuguese arrived at Mylapore (subsequently named *San Thomé*) the Mount St. Thomas was wooded, and was the resort of Nestorian



MOUNT ST. THOMAS, TRADITIONAL SCENE OF THE APOSTLE'S MARTYRDOM ; CHURCH ON SUMMIT

The Greek version reads : ' He handed him to four soldiers in command of an officer, ordering them to take him up on the mountain and there to pierce him with their lances, and then return to town, &c. Having ascended the mount and reaching the spot of execution, Uzanes persuaded the soldiers to allow him to pray, and having prayed, (he said), Arise, complete the orders of him who sent you—the four coming forward pierced him with their lances, and falling he died,' &c.

The Latin *De Miraculis* has the same story, and

hermits [say, monks]; the church and monastery that had stood on the mount had crumbled and was in ruins. The mount is about six miles from Mylapore, and is traditionally reputed to be the site of the Apostle's martyrdom. It stands out conspicuously by its towering height in a flat country.

2. *The Little mount* is only two miles from the town of San Thomé; it is an outcrop of granite some eighty feet high. Local tradition points to it, not as the site of the martyrdom—it is made the centre of the peacock legend—but as the place where the Apostle sought refuge from his persecutors, and probably it was the place he would resort to for prayer and contemplation; it has a small cave at the summit, now enclosed in the church crowning the knoll. The Jewish custom should here be remembered, practised by our Lord as well, of resorting to hill tops for prayer and seclusion (Luke vi. 12; xxii. 39, &c.); further, all the shrines of Israel were situated on hill tops. The most prominent hill on the Malabar coast, a table-top mountain in appearance, named Malcatur, is also traditionally connected with the Apostle. Near the summit of the granite outcrop of the 'little' mount, there is a cleft in the rock which always holds some water, though it is difficult to say whence it comes.

3. *The Apostle's Tomb*.—This traditional site, now adjacent to the seashore, has recently come to be enclosed in the crypt of the new Cathedral of San Thomé. We have said 'now adjacent,' because there is an old tradition that the sea was at one time some miles, say two or three, farther to the east, that extent of foreshore having been gradually cut away—even now on a calm day portions of older Mylapore can be seen lying in the bed of the sea; and further there is evidence that when St. Francis Xavier visited the place and spent a month there, he lived with the Portuguese priest stationed there. Then there was a house and a garden to the east of the tomb; the house has since disappeared, engulfed in the sea with what land once stood between it and the shore. The erosion still continues.

mentions that he was put to death by the lance. The Latin *Passio* alters the account entirely. In this version the death of the Apostle occurs at a much earlier period. When at the Apostle's prayer and bidding the idol in the temple was destroyed (see *Critical Analysis, &c.*, No. 32), 'The priest of the temple, raising a sword, transfixing the Apostle, saying, I will avenge the insult to my God.'

Liturgical Books and Martyrologies:—

The old Nestorian Calendar (quoted Chap. II. p. 23) says [Thomas] 'was pierced by a lance in India.'

The Jacobite Breviary: 'Pierced by a lance he gained a martyr's crown.'

The Nestorian Breviary: 'Who for the faith was by a lance pierced.'

The other entries omit to state how the Apostle was put to death.

The Latin Church:—

No entry of detail of death is found earlier than Florus' addition to St. Bede's Martyrology, of the year 830: 'Pierced by a lance he died.' *b²*

The Greek Church:—

Synaxaris (Bolland. SS., see Chap. II. p. 66, second quotation): 'Was killed, pierced by lances.'

The Menologium of the Emperor Basil, ninth century (*ut supr.*): 'Pierced by a lance he was killed.' *b⁶*

Local version of the martyrdom prevailing on the Coromandel coast, Mylapore:¹—

Different reports of this tradition have come down to us. The earliest is recorded by Marco Polo, and

¹ The name signifies peacock town. The etymology given by Yule is Mayiláppur: *Mayila*, peafowl, and *pur*, the Indian suffix denoting place. Burnell gives a different derivation, and thinks it was probably *Malaippuram*, mount-town; but Mylapore lies on a

that of Bishop John de' Marignolli comes next. We reproduce them from Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., and his *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Marco Polo (*ut supr.*, vol. ii. p. 340): 'Now I will tell you the manner in which the Christian brethren who keep the church relate the story of the Saint's death. They tell the Saint was in the wood outside his hermitage saying his prayers, and round about him were many peacocks, for these are more plentiful in that country than anywhere else. And one of the idolaters of that country being of the lineage of those called *Govi* that I told you of, having gone with his bow and arrows to shoot peafowl, not seeing the Saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks; and this arrow struck the holy man on the right side, insomuch that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator. Before he came to that place where he thus died, he had been in Nubia, where he converted much people to the faith of Jesus Christ.'

Marignolli's account (*Cathay*, vol. ii. p. 374 f.): 'The third province of India is called Maabar, and the church of Saint Thomas which he built with his own hands is there, besides another which he built by the agency of workmen. These he paid with certain great stones which I have seen there and with a log cut down at Adam's Mount in Seyllan, which he caused to be sawn up, and from the sawdust other trees were sown. Now that log, huge as it was, was cut down by two slaves of his and drawn to the seaside by the Saint's own girdle. When the log reached the sea he said to it, "Go now and tarry for us in the haven of the city of Mirapolis." It arrived there accordingly, whereupon the King of that

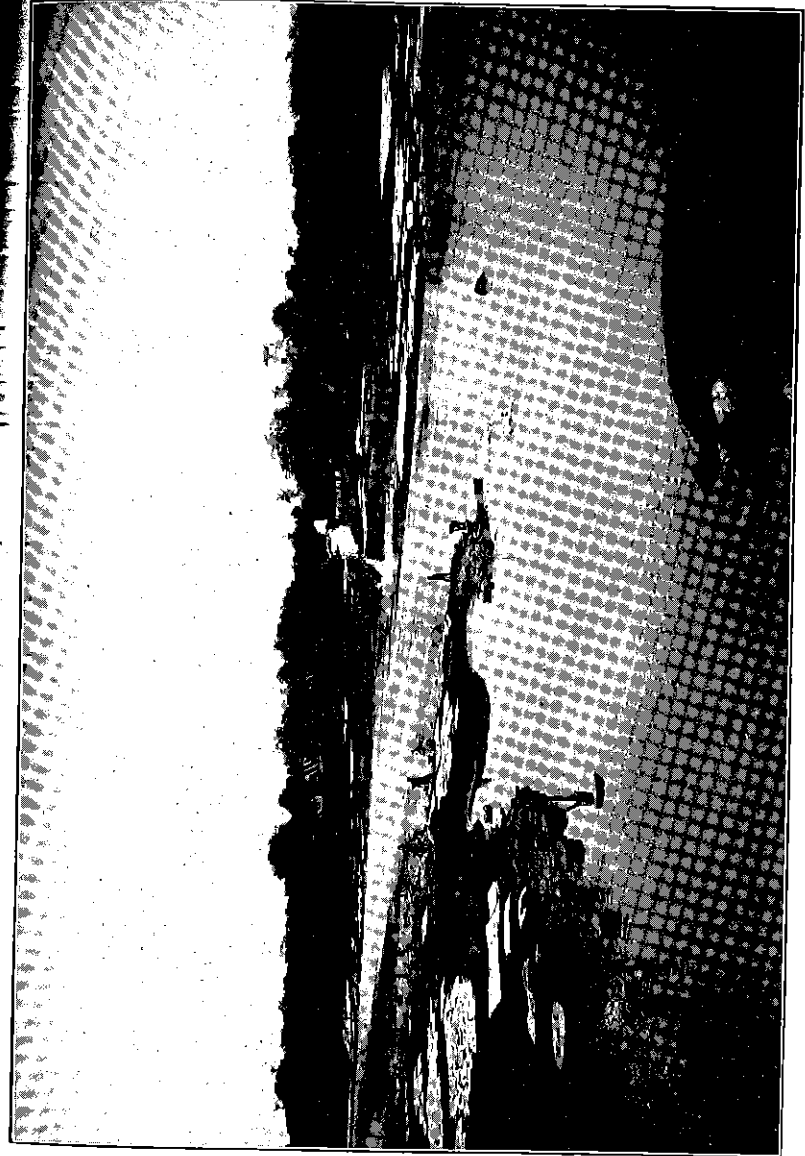
flat seashore. The mount mentioned in the Acts, as the spot where the Apostle was executed by the king's order, now called the Great Mount St. Thomas, never held a town. The Catalan map of 1375 gives the name *Mirapor*.

place with his whole army endeavoured to draw it ashore, but ten thousand men were not able to make it stir. Then Saint Thomas the Apostle himself came on the ground, riding on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, a mantle of peacock feathers, and attended by two great lions, just as he is painted, and called out, "Touch not the log, for it is mine." "How," quoth the King, "dost thou make it out to be thine?" So the Apostle, loosing the cord wherewith he was girt, ordered his slaves to tie to the log and draw it ashore. And this being accomplished with the greatest ease, the King was converted, and bestowed upon the Saint as much land as he could ride round upon his ass. So during the daytime he used to go on building his churches in the city, but at night he retired at a distance of three Italian miles, where there were numberless peacocks . . . and thus being shot in the side with an arrow, such as is called *freccia* (so that his wound was like that in the side of Christ into which he had thrust his hand), he lay there before his oratory from the hour of complins, continuing throughout the night to preach, whilst all his blessed blood was welling from his side ; and in the morning he gave up his soul to God. The priests gathered up the earth with which his blood had mingled and buried it with him.'

Both these early travellers, as well as Barbosa, were told substantially the same tale concerning the Apostle's death.

We will add a further recital given by Linschoten¹: 'They say that when S. Thomas had long preached in the Kingdom of Narsinga, and but little profitted, because the Bramenes, which are the ministers of the Pagodes,

¹ Vol. i. chap. xv. p. 85 f. of the edition by Dr. Arthur Coke Burnell, *Voyage of Linschoten to the East Indies*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1885, of A.D. 1584-1589. Burnell reproduces an early English translation, placing within brackets interpolations and redundancies. These have been omitted.



LITTLE MOUNT ST. THOMAS AND CHURCH

their false and devilish idols, sought all means to hinder him. S. Thomas desired the King to grant him a place where to build a chappell, wherein he might pray and instruct the people, which was denied him, by the means of the Bramenes and other Enchaunters, wherein they put their trust: but it pleased God (as they say) that a great tree or péece of wood fell into the mouth of the haven of the towne of Meliapor, whereby neyther shippe nor boate could pass out, nor come in, to the King's great hinderance, and the losse of the daylie trafique to the towne: whereupon the King assembled to the number of three hundreth Elephantes, to draw the tree or péece of wood by force out, but all in vaine, for he could not do it: which he perceiving, neither yet that all his Bramenes and Southsayers could give him counsell, he promised great and large rewards to him that could devise any meanes for the helping thereof; whereupon the Apostle S. Thomas went unto the King and told him that he alone (if it pleased him) could pull it forth, desiring no other reward for his paynes, but only the same péece of wood to make him a chappell or house to pray in: which the King granted, although both he and his Bramenes esteemed it for a jest, and laughed thereat: wherewith S. Thomas took his girdell, and binding about the péece of wood, without any payne drew it out of the river upon the land, to the great wonder of all beholders, specially of the King, that presentlie gave him leave to make his chappell of the same péece of wood: through which miracle divers of them received Baptisme, and became Christians, whereby the Bramenes fell into much lesse estimation with the common people, in authoritie: so that they were great enemies to S. Thomas, and by all meanes sought to bring him to his death, which in the end they performed, having thereunto persuaded some of the people, which thrust him into the backe béeing on his knées in the

same chappell praying : which History as yet is found painted and set in manie places and churches of India for a memorie.'

When the writer visited Mylapore for the first time, he likewise was told the story of the peacock, and that the incident had happened at the Little Mount, where he then was, as also that the Apostle fled or was carried to the Great Mount, where he died. Yet this narrative did not conceal the impression that the people who were recounting the event held that the Apostle Thomas was killed for the faith. He would premise, from the long experience he has had in Malabar, that the inner characteristics of the Southern Indian are nowhere more prominent and more clearly marked now than in Malabar, and are more observable there than they are in the present-day dwellers of the eastern coast, where a greater and more constant contact with foreign races and manners has largely helped to round off, if not efface, such peculiarities. It should at the same time be clearly borne in mind that the inhabitants of both the southern coasts are of the same race, and, even in times not so very ancient, used the same language and the same writing on the western coast as on the eastern, even down to the days of our early missionaries; the inscriptions that have survived in Malabar, and the early books printed, were produced in no other than the ancient form of Tamil letters. The writer, then, clearly realised that those at Mylapore did not intend to deny the martyrdom; but under the plausible veil of the accidental flight of an arrow having for its object not the peacock but the person of the Apostle, he understood, they meant to avert by this device the slur, the shame, and the dishonour that would fall on their town and people did they openly avow to the stranger that the Apostle had been done to death by their forefathers. This view of

the Mylapore legend may appear singular and fantastic to those not thoroughly acquainted with native character, thought, and ways in Southern India, but the writer has had more than one instance to convince him of the truth of the observation he here mentions. In fact, it is nothing more nor less than an application of the principle of 'Saving-Face,' of which more than one instance has of late been offered by China in her intercourse with Western nations.

There are, besides, interesting variations and details in these narratives worth a closer inspection. In the first narrative, that of Marco Polo, we have: 'I will now tell you the manner in which the Christian brethren who keep the church relate the story of the Saint's death'; but if we go back to what preceded this narrative, *i.e.* the section quoted in a preceding chapter, we have what appears to be a different view of the case: 'The Christians who go thither in pilgrimage take of the earth from the place where the Saint was killed, and give a portion thereof to any one who is sick of a quartan or tertian fever,' &c. Marignolli says the same: 'When this earth is taken as a potion it cures diseases, and in this manner open miracles are wrought both among Christians and Tartars and Pagans.' Now, this Christian practice applies to tombs of martyrs, and was not certainly in the early ages extended to the tombs of holy persons who had not died for the faith; the practice, in other words, attests the Apostle's martyrdom. Ruinart (*Acta Sincera Martyr. in passione SS. Epiodii et Alexandri*) writes: *Eorum sacra corpora tempore Gregorii Turonensis in crypta sancti Joannis sub altari cum beati Irenaei reliquiis collocata erant, de quorum monumentis, ut ait ille [S. Gregor. Turon.] 'de Gloria Martyrum,' cap. 50, si pulverem cum fide colligitur extemplo medetur infirmis.* St. Gregory Nyssen (Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. xlvi.; *Oper.*, tom. iii., col. 739), *Sermo in*

laudem Sancti et magni martyris Theodori, says: Si quis etiam pulverem quo conditorium, ubi martyris corpus quiescit, obsitum est, auferre permittat, pro munere pulvis accipitur et tanquam res magni pretii condenda terra colligitur.

It may be interesting to note that this St. Theodore—whose feast is kept on the 9th of November, and who was greatly venerated in the early ages, having churches erected in his honour in different countries, one even in the Forum at Rome—though bearing a Greek name, was by no means a Greek. The homily of Gregory quoted above gives a full account of his martyrdom and of the festival kept at the church which enclosed his sacred remains; it had also mural paintings and pavement decorations illustrating his martyrdom and glorious triumph for the faith. The following details are given: he enrolled himself in one of the Roman legions, and suffered martyrdom as a Christian soldier at Amasia, the metropolis of Pontus, A.D. 306. As to the country of his birth, this is what Gregory reports: *Patria praeclara et strenuo huic viro est ea regio quae ad solem spectat orientem, nam etiam hic, sicut Job, ex partibus orientalibus nobilis est.* The name Theodore, God's gift, has its corresponding term in other languages as well, like *Deusdedit* and *Deodatus* in Latin, so also there is a Syriac equivalent, *Jaballah*. Theodore would appear to belong to the land beyond the Roman border, and may have been an Assyrian: he must certainly have been a Christian before his enlistment in the pagan legion of the empire.

But to return to our subject. While the two first narratives give internal evidence of the Apostle's martyrdom, the third version of the story is explicit on the subject: 'The Bramenes were great enemies to S. Thomas, and by all means sought to bring him to death, which in the end they performed, having there-

unto persuaded some of the people which thrust him into the backe, béeing on his knées in the same chappell praying—which history as yet is found painted and set in manie places and churches of India for a memorie,' &c. So the 'Saving-Face' story narrated at Mylapore does not deny the martyrdom, and the paintings referred to support it.

The Portuguese on arriving in India, unaware of the historical data adduced above regarding the remains of the Apostle, were wrong in supposing that the tomb at Mylapore yet held them.¹ This, however, would not

¹ It will not appear surprising if the learned Assemani looked upon the statement put forward by some Portuguese and other writers, wrongly informed, that the Relics of the Apostle Thomas were discovered and found in the Indian tomb, Mylapore, on the arrival of the former. To those who have followed the historical and traditional course of the story of the Relics thus far narrated, the meaning to be attached to Assemani's rejection of the story referred to below, will be quite clear and self-evident, viz., the Bones (not to use the misleading term *corpus*, body), could not have been found by the new European arrivals at Mylapore, when it was known, on undoubted evidence, that these Relics were in the fourth century deposited at Edessa. If no other inference is drawn from the statement there would be no further question. Mr. W. R. Philipps, dealing with the 'Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India,' reprint from *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii., 1903, p. 151, expresses himself as follows: 'The opinion of Assemani, mentioned by Bickell . . . is of great weight in such a matter as this. Assemani, who wrote at Rome early in the eighteenth century, was perfectly well informed; and no one could be more competent to pass judgment on the facts. He deemed these Indian relics of St. Thomas a Nestorian fabrication.' Now this short statement, which does not inform the reader what was Assemani's opinion as to St. Thomas and his connection with India, is misleading. It has been construed to mean that Assemani denied the Apostle's connection with India; and the change of type in the text adopted by the printer to enforce the conclusion has added an external weight to the passage. If the inference is drawn that, in Assemani's opinion, the Relics of St. Thomas were never in India, it would not only be misleading, but would directly oppose the learned Orientalist's emphatic statement. In the fourth volume of his learned work, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Rome, 1728, the author covers ten folio pages with his proofs in defence of the Indian apos-

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imply that a minute search, by screening the earth, would not yet yield minor fragments of bone or other relics. The hasty and furtive manner in which the Bones must have been removed by the merchant Khabin would yet leave lesser relics in the tomb; and, in fact, the Relic held at the Cathedral of San Thomé consists of the fragment of a rib and of the extreme point of a lance, as were shown and declared to the writer by the former Bishop of San Thomé, the Right Rev. Henrique José Reed Da Silva, since retired.

IV.—TRADITIONS REGARDING THE APOSTLE

The West Coast or Malabar Traditions.—The tradition universally accepted by the Saint Thomas Christians of this coast attest the following points:¹ (1) that

tolate of Thomas, which he establishes on the authority of the Fathers in reply to Besnage's cavillings. He further adduces evidence from the Liturgical Books of the Syrian churches, including the Nestorian section, and of Syrian writers, both in proof of his apostolate as well as of his martyrdom in India. The *corpus*—or Bones—he points out, were transferred from India to Edessa; and he lays emphasis on the fact that Syrian, Greek, and Latin writers 'write of the body of Thomas, from the fourth century, as having been removed to Edessa of Mesopotamia.' What then does Assemani deny? He denies that the body was found by the Portuguese in India; and quite rightly. In mentioning the Nestorians in this connection Assemani was misled by statements published in Europe. The Nestorians in India knew perfectly well that the Relics had been long before removed elsewhere, for they had annually celebrated in India the festival of the *Removal* of these Relics on the 3rd of July. Read note p. 134; pp. 60-62; also Theodore's statement, text and note, pp. 74-80.

¹ We give a summary of the traditions found prevailing in India at the arrival of the Portuguese from their early writers in support of what we say:—

Maffei, *Hist. Ind.* (1st ed. 1588; p. 85 of reprint, Coloniae, 1590): In Socotram insulam . . . fertur adisse primum [Apostolus Thomas], deinde multis ibi factis christianis trajecisse Cranganorem . . . Colanum petiit . . . trans juga montium ad oram orientalem contendit . . . christiana re bene gesta perrexit in Sinas . . . In Coromandelem ad revisendos . . . neophytos rediit. Coromandelis caput

The Apostle Saint Thomas landed on the Malabar coast at Kodangalur (Cranganore); (2) that seven churches, or, more correctly, centres of Christianity

et regia tunc erat urbs Meliapor. . . . Inusitatae magnitudinis truncum in litus jecerat mare quod eo tempore leucas fere decem ab urbe distabat . . . apostolus regi conditionem tulisse fertur si truncum illum sibi ad templum vero Deo aedificandum daret . . . sese protinus ad urbem attracturum. . . . Cum rex annuisset. . . . Thomas zona quo erat praecinctus . . . immanem stipitem facili ductu sequentem . . . in ipso poemerio statuit, &c.; he is killed by the Brahmins, first stoned, then pierced by a lance.

Du Jarric, *Thesaurus rerum Indicar.*, Coloniae, 1615, tom. i. pp. 579-583, repeats similar details.

Gouvea, *Jornada*, Lisbon, 1606, has a similar account, with some reference to Nestorian archives of Angamale in regard to bishops sent to Socotra and China.

A Portuguese *Report on the Serra*, written in 1604, Brit. Mus. Add. MS., 9853, leaf 86 in pencil and 525 in ink, supports the tradition of the Apostle's preaching at Socotra, Malabar, and Bisnaga. [Bisnagar, now in ruins and called 'Hampe,' in the present Bellary district, is the name of the capital of the kings who, at the arrival of the Portuguese in India, ruled over the Coromandel coast and held Meliapor, 1490-1508; hence that portion of the eastern coast was by them called Bisnaga.]

The Malabar Christian tradition of the arrival of St. Thomas in their country is upheld by Colonel Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. i. p. 75, note. After quoting the different names Cranganore had borne at different periods—in the Apostolic age it was known as *Muziris*—he says: 'Cranganore is the seat of one of the old Malabar principalities, and famous in the early traditions of both Jews and Christians on that coast. It was there that, according to the former, the black Jews of the tribe of Menasseh first settled and abode for more than one thousand years; it was there that St. Thomas is said to have first preached on the shores of India, and there also the Mahomedans were first allowed to settle and build a mosque.'

McCrinkle, in his *Ptolemy*, London, 1885, p. 51, repeats: '*Mousiris* may unhesitatingly be taken to represent the *Muyri* of "Muyri-Kodu," which, says Yule, appears in one of the most ancient of Malabar inscriptions as the residence of the King of Kodangalur or Kranganur, and is admitted to be practically identical with that now extinct city. It is to Kranganur, he adds, that all the Malabar traditions point as their oldest seaport of renown; to the Christian it was the landing-place of St. Thomas the Apostle; &c.

assigned to that early period of evangelisation, were established; of these Palur, Kodangulur, and Parur, were in the north, while the others lay to the south; some of these centres exist no longer, such as Cranganore, destroyed by the Dutch; (3) that the Apostle passed from Malabar to the Coromandel coast, where he suffered martyrdom; (4) that at some subsequent period a violent persecution raged against the Christians on the Coromandel coast, compelling many of them to take refuge among their brethren on the western coast, where they settled down; the Christianity on the Coromandel coast would thus appear to have been destroyed.

The writer feels bound to lay strong emphasis on this tradition in support of the claim of Mylapore to hold the tomb of the Apostle. He is thoroughly convinced—even quite apart from all the evidence adduced in the preceding pages—that if the claim of Mylapore to be the place of the martyrdom and of the burial of the Apostle was not based on undeniable fact, the Christians of Malabar would never have acknowledged their neighbours' claim to hold the tomb of the Apostle, neither would they ever be induced to frequent it by way of pilgrimage. Had this been a case of a fictitious claim put forth to secure public notoriety and importance, they would as probably have, anyway, set up one for themselves, and would have certainly ignored the claim of the former.¹

¹ To the European scholar it may appear paradoxical that the Saint Thomas Christians on the west coast, Malabar, kept the feast of the *Translation* of the Relics of the Apostle Thomas from India to Edessa on the 3rd day of July in accordance with the Syriac Calendar; yet it is so to this day. That the festival had also been kept in India in ancient times we have the authority of the Hieronymian Martyrology, quoted in a preceding chapter. The Christians of the Syrian rite to this day call it the *dohārana*, i.e. the 'translation.' They keep no feast of the Saint on the 21st of

The tradition that the Apostle landed on the Malabar coast, coming by sea, is indirectly confirmed by what St. Francis Xavier found to be the belief existing among the Christians of the island of Socotra at the time of his visit, viz. that they were the descendants of the converts made by the Apostle Thomas (see below).

December; this latter feast is kept in India by the native Christians on both coasts, the converts of our Latin missionaries subsequent to the establishment of the Portuguese on the two coasts. To the European mind this seems inexplicable, and in consequence the doubt has been raised by some whether the statement be true; while others have thought this offered an argument to reject the Indian apostolate of St. Thomas. Those who have taken either view have only looked at the question superficially. The question is, What regulates the Liturgy and the Calendar of a Church? We answer unhesitatingly, the Rite to which it belongs. If the rite of the missionary be the Latin, he will, as the missionaries of the present day practise, introduce everywhere the Latin Missal, Ritual, and Calendar. If Greek, that of the Greek Church will be adopted. If Anglican, that of the Church of England as by law established. So, if Syrian, that of the respective section of the Syrian Church to which he belongs will be introduced. The first Christianity established by the Apostle on the eastern coast, according to an ancient tradition of the Christians of the west coast (reported by Portuguese writers and mentioned in the Report of 1604, Brit. Mus.), was exterminated at an early date by persecution, and many went across and joined their brethren on the west coast. So there remained no permanently established continuous Church at Mylapore. When at a later age Nestorianism forcibly captured the episcopal sees of Mesopotamia and Persia, the clergy and bishops coming from there to India and Socotra brought with them their own Rite (if it had not already pre-existed) as well as their heretical tenets. This is how the ancient Christians in India came to adopt the Syrian Calendar and Liturgy of the Nestorians; and this is how, followed by the priests they then had, they came to keep the feast of the Apostle not on the day of his martyrdom—which they no doubt would have done had their Church continued autonomous with a regular succession of clergy; but the case not being so, and they having become a part of the extreme eastern section of the Church of the Syrian Rite, the Calendar and Liturgy found among them by the Portuguese was naturally that of the Nestorian Church. It is a safe axiom—Liturgy and Calendar follow the Rite. See Paulinus à S. Barthol., *India Oriental. Christ.*, Romae, 1794, pp. 132-33.

The earliest mention of the existence of Christians on that island is that by Philostorgius, the Arian Church historian, in his narrative of the mission of Bishop Theophilus to the Homeritae; the reader will find the details, belonging to the year *c.* 354, given in Chapter V., Section iii.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, before the middle of the sixth century (*Topographia Christiana*, Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. lxxxviii. col. 170), says: 'Similarly on the island named of Dioscoris [the Greek name for Socotra], situated in the same Indian Ocean, whose inhabitants speak Greek, and are a colony placed there by the Ptolemies, the successors of Alexander of Macedon, there are clergy ordained in Persia and sent there, and a multitude of Christians.'

The Arab travellers of the ninth century, whose narrative was published by Reinaud, with Arabic text and a translation in French, in two small volumes, Paris, 1845, mention Christians on the island (vol. i. p. 130): 'The same sea holds the island of Socotra. . . . The greater part of the inhabitants are Christians.'

Abulfeda (Reinaud's *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Paris, 1848, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 128): 'L'île de Socotora a quatre-vingts parasanges de longueur. Ses habitants sont des chrétiens nestoriens.'

Marco Polo, A.D. 1294, also mentions these Christian inhabitants (vol. ii., *ut supr.*, pp. 398-399): 'Further towards the south you come to an island called Socotra. The people are all baptized Christians, and they have an Archbishop.' And again: 'Their Archbishop has nothing to do with the Pope of Rome, but is subject to the great Archbishop who lives at Bandas [Bagdad]. He rules over the bishop of that island, and over many other bishops in those regions of the world, just as our Pope does in these.'

Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, tom. ii. p. 458 ff.) gives two lists

of the sees under the Nestorian Catholicus or Patriarch. In the second, which is that by Elias, a Nestorian Bishop of Damascus, the see of Socotra is placed under the Metropolitan of Persia, and this appears to be the older of the two lists; while in the first list, that given by Amr', son of Matthew, of about A.D. 1349 (*Bibl. Or.*, tom. ii. p. 425), Socotra is placed as the eleventh Metropolitan see under the name of Katraba. No date can be assigned to the authorship of the first list. Lequien (*Oriens Christiana*, tom. ii. col. 1290) mentions the transfer of one Elias from the see of Jerusalem to the Nestorian Metropolitan see of Damascus in the year 893, but concludes: 'Plane Eliam, tabulae et nomocanonis auctorem, illo de quo nunc est sermo recentiore duxero.'¹

Nicolò Conti, *c.* 1435, visited Socotra and spent two months there (R. H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1857, p. 20 of narrative): 'This island produces Socotrine aloës, is six hundred miles in circumference, and is, for the most part, inhabited by Nestorian Christians.'

The evidence of the local tradition mentioned before is contained in St. Francis Xavier's letter written from Goa, 18th September 1542, to the Society at Rome (Coleridge's *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, London, 1872, vol. i. p. 117). As the Saint gives the last full account of the state of Christianity on the island before its entire disappearance, we make no apology for reproducing it in full:—

'After sailing from Melinda we touched at Socotra, an island about a hundred miles in circumference. It is a wild country with no produce, no corn, no rice, no millet, no wine, no fruit trees; in short, altogether

¹ Elias, the author of the list, is styled the bishop of Damascus by Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, vol. ii. p. 391, and in *Index ad verb.*, but at p. 458 he calls him the archbishop of the see. For further details regarding the see of Socotra, see vol. iv. p. 602, of same work.

sterile and arid, except that it has plenty of dates, out of which they make bread, and also abounds in cattle. The island is exposed to great heat from the sun; the people are Christian in name rather than in reality, wonderfully ignorant and rude: they cannot read or write. They have consequently no records of any kind. Still they pride themselves on being Christians. They have churches, crosses, and lamps. Each village has its Caciz [Syriac term for priest; correctly *Kashisha*], who answer to the Parish Priest. These Caciz know no more of reading or writing than the rest; they have not even any books, and only know a few prayers by heart. They go to their churches four times a day—at midnight, at day-break, in the afternoon, and in the evening. They use no bells; but wooden rattles, such as we use during holy week, to call the people together. Not even the Caciz themselves understand the prayers which they recite; which are in a foreign language (I think Chaldean). They render special honours to the Apostle St. Thomas, claiming to be descendants of the Christians begotten to Jesus Christ by that Apostle in these countries. In the prayers I have mentioned they often repeat a word which is like our Alleluia. The Caciz never baptize any one, nor do they know the least what baptism is. Whilst I was there I baptized a number of children, with the utmost good will of the parents. Most of them showed great eagerness to bring their children to me, and made such liberal offerings out of their poverty of what they had to give, that I have been afraid to refuse the dates which they pressed upon me with such great good will. They also begged me over and over again to remain with them, promising that every single person in the island would be baptized. So I begged the Governor to let me remain where I found a harvest so ripe and ready to be gathered in. But as the island has no Portuguese garrison, and

is exposed to the ravages of the Mussulmans, the Governor would not hear of leaving me, fearing that I might be carried off as a slave. So he told me that I should soon be among other Christians who were not less, perhaps more, in need than the Socotrians of instruction and spiritual assistance, and amongst whom my work would be better spent.

'One day I went to Vespers as recited by the Caciz; they lasted an hour. There was no end to their repetitions of prayers and incensations; the churches are always full of incense. Though their Caciz have wives, they are extremely strict in regard to abstinence and fasting. When they fast they abstain not only from flesh meat and milk, but from fish also, of which they have a great supply. So strict is their rule that they would rather die than taste anything of the kind. They eat nothing but vegetables and palm dates. They have two Lents, during which they fast; one of these lasts two months. If any one is profane enough to eat meat during that time, he is not allowed to enter the church.

'In the village there was a Mussulman woman, the mother of two young children. Not knowing that their father was Mussulman, I was going to give them baptism, when they ran off, all of a sudden, to their mother to complain that I was trying to baptize them. The mother came to say that she would never let me baptize her children. She was a Mahomedan, and would never have her children made Christians. Upon this the people of Socotra began to cry out that the Mussulmans were unworthy of so great a blessing; that they would not let them be baptized however much they desired it, and that they would never permit any Mussulman to become a Christian. Such is their hatred of Mussulmans.'

The customs described as prevailing among the Christians of the island are those peculiar to Nestorian Christians.

The Carmelite Friar Vincenzo Maria di Santa Catarina (*Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, Venezia, 1683, lib. v. cap. ix. p. 472), describing the state of the island on his voyage home about the middle of the seventeenth century, found Christianity quite extinct, with but some faint traces of Christian names yet lingering.

The Apostle Thomas, prior to his going to Socotra, is said to have traversed the Ethiopia of old, preaching the faith through the country known subsequently as Nubia. That he had preached to the *Kushites* (the Semitic name for Ethiopians) more than one testimony has been adduced in Chapter II. from the Liturgical Books of the Syrian Church. Marco Polo mentions also the tradition in the quotation given above (p. 125), and says that mission preceded his to India—so he had learnt from the Christians on the Coromandel coast. An echo of this tradition is also found in *Sermo in Sanctos xii. Apostolos* (tom. viii. p. 11, *Oper. S. Joan. Chrysost.*, Parisiis, 1728), wrongly attributed to this Doctor: 'On one side Peter instructs Rome; on another, Paul announces the Gospel to the world; Andrew chastens the learned of Greece; Simon conveys the knowledge of God to the barbarians; Thomas cleanses the Ethiopians by baptism; Judea honours the chair of James,' &c.¹

There appears to be a fixed idea in the minds of some in connection with the preachings of the Apostles,

¹ An unsupported tradition says also that the Apostle visited the Magi who, guided by the mysterious star, came to Bethlehem to pay their adoration to the new-born Saviour, and baptized them. The passage is found in 'Opus imperfectum incerti auctoris' apud Chrysost., tom. vi., ut supr., p. xxviii., *Commentar. in Matth.*, now held to be the work of an Arian of the fifth century: Denique cum post resurrectionem Domini Thomas apostolus isset in provinciam illam ubi reges stella Bethlehem ducti degebant adjuncti sunt ei, et baptizati ab eo facti sunt adjutores praedicationis illius.

not after their dispersion to carry out the mandate given them by their Divine Master, they remained permanently in that country and its vicinity, to which each had mutually agreed to go, and that practically they visited no other locality. Such an opinion is based on no authority, but is the mere outcome of a self-formed conception of things untested by such evidence as we have bearing on the subject. The mandate itself was to go forth and preach unto all nations, Matt. xxviii. 19, *Going, teach ye all nations*; Mark xvi. 15, *Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel*; Luke xxiv. 47, *Penance and the remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem*; Acts i. 8, *You shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth.*

This implied that after His ascension they should tarry in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem for some considerable time to fulfil the mission entrusted to them 'beginning at Jerusalem,' viz. 'to Jerusalem, all Judea and Samaria,' before their dispersion. This will be found confirmed also by Peter, when Acts x. 42 is read with its context. If we test history as has come down to us regarding the separate preachings of the Apostles, the fact that they were not tied down to any one country or nation will appear evident. They were the sowers of the Gospel seed, and the Master who had prepared the ground to receive that seed sent them to sow it broadcast all over the world. They were the heralds of the new Gospel, which it was incumbent on them to announce to every living being. Thus, of Peter we know that besides being specially the Apostle of the Circumcision, he practically traversed all Western Asia from Palestine to the Black Sea, and from Antioch of Syria to Pontus. His first letter, written from Rome, which he styles Babylon because of its depravity and

corruption, was addressed to his first converts residing in 'Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,' geographically comprising the whole area above mentioned. Certain passages of the letter indicate clearly that these primitive Christian converts had already commenced to experience the hardships of persecution, and that in its cruellest form, torture by fire, it should be noted that the whole of that section of country was under Roman sway, for he openly mentions (chap. iv. 1-5, 12-16) 'sufferings in the flesh' which some had already endured, and warns them that they must 'not think it strange' if they were to be 'tried by burning heat'; this implies that fire was already resorted to, to add the acuteness of anguish to the Christian's sufferings for his faith. It should also be kept in mind that a large portion of this section of Asia likewise formed the special field of the Apostle Paul's labours as described in the Acts.

After this extensive course of apostolic preachings, Peter went to Italy and fixed his seat at Rome, yet so as to make excursions into other fields as well.¹

¹ The first persecution against the Church raised by the Emperor Nero, during which the Apostles Peter and Paul and a host of first converts to the faith suffered martyrdom, may here be briefly told:—

Under secret orders from Nero, and for his personal gratification to witness a great scene of horror and tragedy, it was devised to set fire to a part of the city of Rome. The scene occurred on the 19th of July, A.D. 64; the fearful conflagration lasted some nine days, and it consumed the greater portion of the city. Gibbon says that of the fourteen *regiones*, or quarters into which the city was divided, four only escaped the fire, three were levelled to the ground, the other seven presented a melancholy scene of ruin and desolation. The monuments of Greek and Roman art, the trophies of the Punic and Gallic wars, the most sacred temples, with their shrines, votive offerings, and paraphernalia for the services of the State religion, were all consumed. The people, burnt out of house and home, crowded in the vicinity of the Campus Martius, where, under the tyrant's orders, sheds were erected to shelter them, and bread and provisions dis-

John again, who had been somewhat tied down to Phesus because of the charge of the Blessed Virgin entrusted to him by our Lord, after the demise of the Blessed Mother of God, is known to have travelled to Italy and

tributed. But, angered and enraged as the populace were at the loss and destruction of their property, the rumour that the emperor had purposely come from Antium to witness the scene and that it had been got up for his amusement, excited them to such a pitch that they threatened the emperor. Hence every step was taken to appease the popular rage; an inquiry was set on foot to ascertain the origin of the fire, and thus to divert attention from the suspicions that had been raised against the emperor.

The inquiry established that the fire originated at the covered stalls of the *Circus Maximus* frequented by Eastern traders and that the quarter in the vicinity of Porta Capena, occupied by the Jews, had escaped the conflagration. These circumstances would tend to throw suspicion on the Jews, the more so because of their irreconcilable attitude to the national worship. This, coupled with the destruction of the fanes and temples by the fire, was exploited to fix the blame more definitely on this alien element of the population. The Jews held important positions in the court of the emperor, and exercised great influence in the city; so, to divert adroitly all suspicion from their body, they cast it on the believers of the new faith, whom they hated most intensely. The cry was thus turned against the Christians—people of an unknown, mysterious faith, who seemed, even more than the Jews, to keep aloof from Roman life, its social intercourse and amusements. The cry once raised was taken up rapidly, the most absurd popular rumours regarding Christians, their practices and beliefs, were spread and accepted by the exasperated multitude. The emperor, glad of the opportunity to divert all suspicion from his own person, and anxious to throw a victim to popular fury, did his best to appease and conciliate the people. He, in consequence, threw open the imperial gardens, which occupied the present sites of the Vatican and the adjoining Borgo, and ordered games and sports to be got up there for the people's amusement. It was then that the alleged guilt of the Christians offered the opportunity of making them subjects of popular sport. In the morning sports they were brought out covered with the skins of wild beasts, and pushed into the arena to be torn to pieces by the dogs set at them. In the evening the park was lit up by a novel feature of horror, never heard of before or since. Christians were covered with skins or other absorbent wrappings, steeped with oil and tar, tied to posts, and set on fire.

This is what Tacitus tells us of these inhuman scenes (*Annales*, xv. 44): 'The confession of those who were seized (viz., the Chris-

to have gone to Rome, where both Peter and Paul had taken up the government of that Church, and there, at the 'Porta Latina,' became a confessor of the faith by undergoing the ordeal of being plunged into a

tians) disclosed a great multitude of their accomplices, and they were all jointly, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city as for their hatred of human kind, condemned to death. They died in torments, and their torments were embittered by insult and derision. Some were nailed to crosses, others, sewn in skins of wild beasts, were exposed to the fury of dogs; others again, smeared with inflammable materials, served the purpose of torches to illuminate the darkness of night. The gardens of Nero were utilised for the melancholy spectacle,' &c. These are the circumstances under which the first general persecution broke out against the Church, and this is how the first martyrs were done to death.

Let us now hear what some witness from the body of these Christians, and a chief amongst them, has to tell us as to the cause and motives of this outbreak of ferocity. St. Clement of Rome, *Epist. 1*, cap. v-vi, referring to the cause of the persecution, says it was *διὰ ζήλον καὶ φθόνον*—'owing to envy and animosity;' indicating thereby the feelings and the motive which guided the Jews to cast the blame of the conflagration on the Christians. Of Peter he says: 'Because of this (envy and hatred) Peter suffered not once or twice but often, and so through martyrdom passed to his crown of glory.' On account of the same envy and hatred, 'Paul, under the prefects [sub Tegelino et Nymphidio Sabino] suffered martyrdom.' Then, passing to the great body of the faithful, he adds: 'To these holy men who showed the way to life was joined a great multitude of the elect who suffered executions and tortures, leaving unto us a noble example. Because of this animosity women [dressed up as] Danaides and Dirces, after suffering dreadful and monstrous indignities, persevered to the end; and though feeble of body secured the great reward.' This persecution broke out at the beginning of August, A.D. 64. The martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul, A.D. 64-66, were but separate incidents in the long course of its events. See Tacitus, *ut sup.*; Dom H. Leclercq, *Les Martyrs*, vol. 1., *Les Temps Néronniens*: Paris, 1902.

In the days of the Apostles there stood prominent in the vicinity of the Coliseum a huge statue of Nero. The site was not exactly known, but during recent excavations and researches made in the vicinity of the present church of Santa Francesca Romana, the site of the statue appears to be ascertained. The campanile of the church is said to occupy almost exactly the spot where had stood that statue of 'Nero-Helios,' a standing bronze-gilt figure, 120 feet high, placed in the centre of the atrium of the 'Golden-House.'

of boiling oil.¹ As these had done, so other apostles, Thomas among them, must have acted.

It should therefore not appear surprising if ancient tradition reports Thomas to have preached to many nations. Barhebraeus (*Chron. Eccl.*, iii. 4-6) records the tradition of the East: 'He evangelised many peoples, the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carabeans [read Karmanians], Bactrians, Margians, and Indians.' Sophronius the Greek (*apud Hieron. De viris illustr.*, Appendix v.) has the following: 'The Apostle Thomas, as has been handed down to us, preached the gospel of the Lord to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carmanians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, Magians (or Margians).'

St. John Chrysostom has the following significant passage (*Hom. 62, alias 61, Oper.*, ed. Montfaucon, Parisiis, 1728, tom. viii. p. 370): 'They (the Apostles) all feared the attack of the Jews, most of all Thomas; hence he said, *Let us go and die with him*. Some say he wished

¹ This occurred when the persecution of Domitian was at its height, and he suffered at Rome in the year 95 near the site named afterwards, when enclosed within the walls commenced by Aurelian in 271, 'Porta Latina.' These are the words in which Tertullian (*De Praescil Haeres.*, 36) describes the occurrence: 'O glorious Church of Rome! . . . where John plunged in boiling oil suffered no harm, and was immediately sent into exile to an island' [Patmos]. St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, cap. ix., adds: 'After the death of Domitian and the cancelling of the cruel edicts of his reign in that of Nerva, John was able to return to the city of Ephesus,' in A.D. 97. Eusebius has the same (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 18); here he organised the churches in Asia, and survived till the time of Trajan (Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 23, quoting Irenæus). St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, li., n. 12, says he was past ninety years when he returned from exile. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, writing to Pope Victor, c. A.D. 180, says that John died and was buried at Ephesus. The Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, in their letter also attest the burial at Ephesus. Tillemont, *Mémoir. Hist. Eccl.*, i, article x. p. 350, ed. *ut sup.*, maintains that his body yet reposes in the church dedicated to his honour at Ephesus [perhaps now a mosque]. Nothing, at any rate, is now known regarding it.

to die ; but it is not so, for he rather spoke through fear. But he was not rebuked ; his weakness was yet tolerated. Eventually he certainly became the most adventurous and irrepressible. It is, indeed, wonderful, that he who before the crucifixion was feeble, after the cross and faith in the resurrection, should be the most fervent of all. So great is the power of Christ ! He who was afraid to go to Bethania with Christ, he, deprived of the presence of Christ, travelled almost the whole inhabited world — οὗτος τὸν χριστὸν οὐχ ὁρῶν οκεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην διέδραμε [*lit.* he, not seeing Christ, almost all the inhabited world traversed] ; was in the midst of the most bloodthirsty races, who sought to take his life,' &c. This implies that this Doctor of the Church was fully cognisant that, according to the tradition handed down, Thomas was the most travelled of all the Apostles ; this the quotations adduced specify in detail, and they should go a long way to uphold the traditional record that has come down to us.

While these sheets were passing through the press an additional piece of traditional evidence, anterior to any quoted above, comes to hand furnished by the *Gospel of the XII. Apostles*, recovered from different Coptic papyrus and other texts. This apocryphal Gospel cannot be placed among those St. Luke had in view when he wrote : 'Many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things which have been accomplished amongst us' (Luke i. 1), for it makes free use of the texts of the four canonical Gospels, leaning chiefly on that of John, and also refers to the Apocalypse, in its rendering of the history of the last three years of Jesus. It was thus of a later date ; the chief narrator of events is a pseudo-Gamaliel. Though no precise date can yet be fixed for this compilation, not unknown to early Christian writers, it will probably not be later than the second century. Our quotation

from the text is taken from M. Eugène Revillout's paper (*Revue Biblique*, 1904, April and July numbers, p. 324). The second fragment of the text contains a special blessing bestowed on Peter, and subsequently on each of the other Apostles. As the full text has not yet appeared, we avail ourselves of what the writer has reproduced in the article. After giving textually the words of the blessing bestowed on Peter, he says : 'Après il donne une bénédiction spéciale à chacun des apôtres. Notons seulement que, pour saint Thomas qui doutait toujours, il est annoncé que sa foi serait désormais un aigle de lumière qui volerait dans tous les pays jusqu'à ce qu'ils croient en leur Sauveur, &c.' The text contains many extra-canonical statements ; and what is produced here is a *post-factum* statement, embodied in the words of the blessing, of what Thomas was to have done as an apostle, viz. : 'To the doubting Thomas it was said that his faith would henceforth be an eagle of light that would fly to all countries until the peoples would believe in their Saviour.' This would not have been written of Thomas unless tradition had already reported that he had visited nearly 'the whole inhabited world' in the course of his apostolic career. The passage, in other words, reflects a much earlier tradition of fact, of which Chrysostom has left the written record which has been quoted above.

We will now sum up the traditional record of the Apostle Thomas : (1) He would have preached through the whole of that tract of country lying south of the Caspian Sea—the 'Mare Hyrcanum' of his days—east of the mountain range of Armenia and of the Tigris, down to Karmania in Southern Persia. (2) It would be during this first apostolic tour that he came in contact with the north-western corner of India at Gondophares' court. (3) After the demise of the Blessed Virgin Mary, when, according to ecclesiastical tradition,

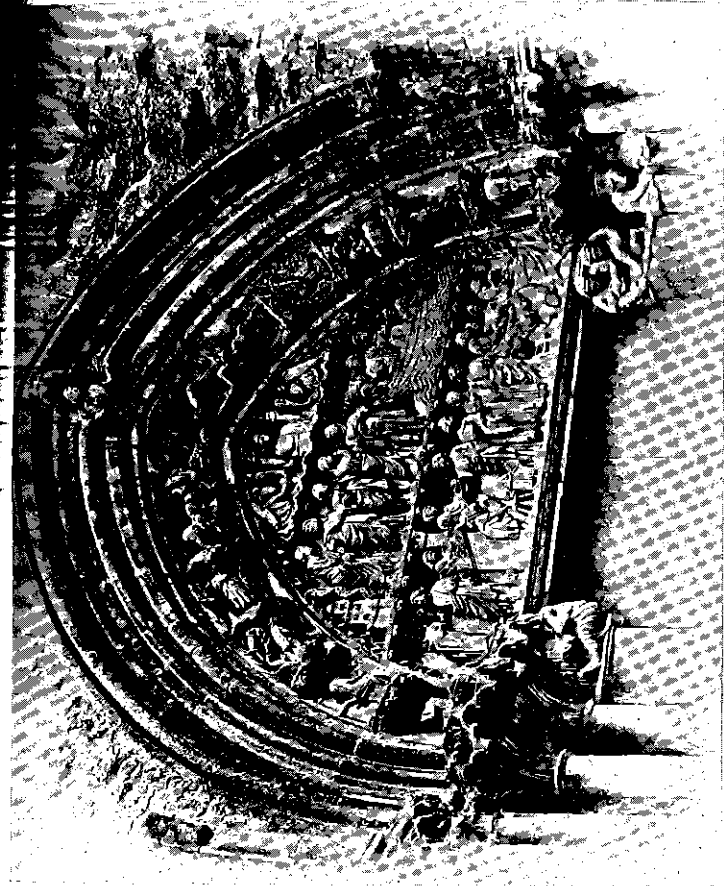
the second dispersion of the Apostles took place,¹ Thomas commenced his second apostolic tour. Probably from Palestine he travelled into Northern Africa, and thence, preaching through Ethiopia, he passed on to Socotra, where he must have stayed some time to establish the faith. Going thence, he would have landed on the west coast of India. It is not necessary to hold that he first landed at Cranganore; he may have landed previously anywhere to the north of the present Mangalore, if it so pleased him. But, in any such case, the fluvial configuration of the land between Mangalore and Calicut would, in all probability, have rendered travelling by land along that coast impracticable at that age, and would have compelled his taking to sea again to make a landing farther down the coast. At any rate, as in those days *Kodangulur*—the *Μωζαίτις ἐμπορίον*—of the Greek and

¹ The tradition that the Apostles, by some supernatural intervention, received intimation to assemble at the dwelling of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of Jesus, before her demise, is, like other sound ecclesiastical traditions, based on a solid foundation. The undermentioned are some of the authorities in support of it:—

I.—St. Gregory of Tours, A.D. 590, *In Gloria Martyrum*, lib. I. c. 4, p. 489, pars ii. vol. I, ed. Arndt et Krusch, Hannoverae, 1885: Denique impleto beata Maria hujus vitae cursu, cum jam vocaretur a saeculo, congregati sunt omnes apostoli de singulis regionibus ad domum eius.

II.—Modestus, Archbishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 631–634, Migne, *P. Gr.-L.*, tom. lxxxvi., col. 3300, *Encomium in dormitionem Deiparae Virginis Mariae*, sec. ix.: Divini Apostoli ex omni terra, quae sub sole est, properarunt vi superna ducti et impulsī, ut eam invenirent sanctissimam matrem, per quam electi a Christo digni facti sunt, qui in Spiritu Sancto apostolatū, sanctissimam omnium quae a Deo tribuuntur, dignitatem assequerentur: quae prope erat ut consequeretur et perciperet in caelis ipsius bona, quae nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt (I Cor. ii. 9), quae per ipsam humano generi sunt donata.

III.—Andrew, Archbishop of Crete. He is said to be the author of the new style of hymns called *Canons*, introduced in the Liturgy of the Greek Church. He appears to have lived a long life; first known as secretary to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, promoted in 711 to the see of Crete, and died *c.* 720 (lived 668–720). He has left three



STAINED GLASS IN PORTAL, CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME, SEMUR, CÔTE D'OR (FRANCE)