

PLACID J. PODIPARA

**THE LATIN RITE
CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR**



KOTTAYAM

1986

THE LATIN RITE CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR



Rev. Dr. Placid J. Podipara C.M.I.
(1899 - 1985)



MALANKARA
LIBRARY

THE LATIN RITE CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR

Placid J. Podipara



No. 9

Denha Services
Vidyanagar, Manganam
Kottayam - 686 018

1986

The Latin Rite Christians of Malabar

Author

Rev. Dr. Placid J. Podipara C.M.I. †
(1899 - 1985)

A Publication of

Denha Services
Vidyanagar, Manganam
Kottayam - 686 018, Kerala, India.

Printed at

St. Joseph's Press Mannanam,
Kerala, India.

Copyright reserved

Price Rs. 20.00 (\$ 6.00)

Dedicated to

His Holiness the Pope John Paul II

the Head of the College of
Apostles and the living
symbol of Unity among
different Ecclesial Tradi-
tions in Catholic Communion

on

the auspicious occasion

of

His Holiness' Visit to India

February 1 - 10 , 1986

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Publisher's Note 	xiii
Forward 	xv
Introduction 	1
Chapter One: Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1500 – 1550	6
Chapter Two: Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1552 – 1600	23
Chapter Three: Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1600 – 1700	46
Chapter Four: Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1700 – 1800	52
Chapter Five: Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1800 – 1896: 1896–	74
Chapter Six: Some Churches and Latinisation,	92
Chapter Seven: Some Further Remarks and Conclusion	109
Index 	122

Publisher's Note

"Denha Services" is privileged to publish this monograph of the late Rev. Dr. Placid J. Podipara C. M. I., the greatest Indian ecclesiastical luminary of the twentieth century. As it is clear from the "Foreward", the author completed this study in 1963 and has revised it in 1972. Although he entrusted it to me in 1979, he did not allow me to print it immediately. During his last days, he went through the manuscript once again, and then permitted me to publish it.

Certain technical inconveniences forced me again to delay the publication. Thus the divine Providence has brought us to this most auspicious occasion of the Holy Father's visit to India, to publish this important monograph on the origin and history of the Latin Rite Christians in India.

As far as we know, this monograph in its manuscript form has given inspiration to a few doctoral dissertations. Its publication, we hope, will definitely help many others to engage in similar researches. We wish everyone in India and abroad a fruitful reading of this fully documented monograph.

Varghese Pathikulangara C. M. I.
(Co-ordinator, Denha Services)

Foreword

Many have written on the origin and growth of the Latin rite Christians of Malabar. This study contains also a review of the arguments advanced by them. Historical documents and the every-day life of the different communities of Malabar form the basis of this study.

Placid J. Podipara, C. M. I.

Rome, September 1963,
brought
up-to-date in Oct. 1972.
(except for statistics)

Introduction

1. There now exists in Malabar, the south west coast of India, about a million Catholics who follow the Roman rite. They are here termed the Latin rite Christians of Malabar, since the language of the Roman rite was Latin in their case. The Latin rite Christians who were in Malabar in the 14th century became extinct before the arrival of the Portuguese. The Portuguese reintroduced the Latin (Roman) rite into Malabar in the 16th century, and gave rise to the present Latin rite Christians of Malabar.

The Portuguese who were in India and the Indians of the Latin rite were, in the beginning, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Tomar. Then they came under that of Funchal whence they passed under that of Goa when Goa became a bishopric in 1533. Goa was raised to an archdiocese in 1558 with the newly erected diocese of Cochin (in Malabar) as its suffragan see. Thus by 1558 the Latin rite Christians of India came under Goa and Cochin. Both these sees enjoyed the Patronage (Padroado) of the king of Portugal.

Gradually the number of Latin dioceses increased in the whole of India, and now in Malabar itself there are seven Latin dioceses and an archdiocese. As a result of several adjustments and readjustments all these ecclesiastical units of Malabar now depend on the S. Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. In the course of this study we shall see how these ecclesiastical units of Malabar evolved and assumed their present position.

Of the Latin rite Christians of Malabar many are a mixture of European and indigenous elements; very few are of pure European blood; the vast majority are of pure Malabar blood. Those of mixed blood as well as those of pure European blood are now generally called *Anglo Indians*. They have also the generic names of *Parungui*, *Topas*, *Cupajakarar*, *Munnuttikarar* (= three hundred)

and *Mesticci* which last, however, cannot be applied to those of pure European blood.

All the Latin rite Christians of Malabar who are not of the aforesaid categories were sometimes called *Mundukar*. Sometimes the name *Mundukar* was restricted to those of Cochin and of the surrounding localities, while at other times to a particular section among the same. All, however, were and are divided into different communities each with its own specific name or names. Here are a few of these specific names: *Ezhunuttikar* (= seven hundred), *Murcar*, *Murcacar*, *Agnuttikar* (= five hundred), *Mucua*, or *Moqua*, *Nadar*, *Korukar*.....¹

Some of these specific names signify the profession to which the communities belonged or belong. Names derived from profession are applied to several communities of the same profession though each of them may have its specific name or names. As a rule each of these communities, even those of the same profession, does not intermarry with other communities. Communities that are not against intermarriage are, nevertheless, considered by the other communities more or less like those that are opposed to intermarriage.

2. Malabar is also the abode of Oriental rite Christians, the vast majority of whom are *St. Thomas Christians* who trace their origin to the preaching of the Apostle St. Thomas. The honorific titles of *Mapila* or *Nazrani-Mapila* are applied to many of the Oriental rite Christians.

By the St. Thomas Christians are meant not only those who claim to be the descendants of the converts of St. Thomas, but also those who have been at different times brought to the faith by the same or have become one with the same. In course of time long before the 16th century, descendants of the converts of St. Thomas together with their early converts and those who had become one with them came to be considered something like a caste or separate community with high social privileges equal to those of the highest Hindu nobility. Hence later

1. Malayalam names when transliterated into European characters assume different forms. In Malayalam itself certain names have different forms. Thus *Munnuttikarer*, *Munnuttikar*, *Munnuttiparizha*, *Munnuttiparigia* ... are different forms of the same name.

converts would only gradually be amalgamated with them through intermarriages. The chances for such an amalgamation were little for converts received as a body from non-Christian communities. So too Christians of a different origin, as v. g. those called *Southists* (Thekkumbhagar), would remain as a distinct community with no such special amalgamation.² Nevertheless, all could be one with the St. Thomas Christians in rite and ecclesiastical set up. Thus in common parlance all were and are called St. Thomas Christians.

The Portuguese found the St. Thomas Christians using the East Syrian (Chaldean) rite, being governed by East Syrian patriarchs and East Syrian bishops. These patriarchs and bishops were often called Babylonians and Armenians. The Portuguese accusing the St Thomas Christians of Nestorianism endeavoured to make them change into the Latin (Roman) rite and into the Portuguese Latin jurisdiction. There was resistance. But at the end of the 16th century the Portuguese Latin jurisdiction was imposed upon the St. Thomas Christians, and gradually their East Syrian rite was deformed to a great extent by mutilation and latinisation. As a result many became dissidents in the 17th century adopting Jacobitism and later on also the West Syrian rite.

Those who kept up their ancient communion with Rome and also their ancient East Syrian rite (deformed as said above) had to fight for almost three centuries to get bishops of their own rite and nationality. They are now known as Syro-Malabarians or Chaldeo-Malabarians or Malabarians, and are constituted into the Syro-Malabar Hierarchy. In their fight to get bishops of their own rite there occurred even "schisms" among them; the "schism" of 1874 is perpetuated in a few families that became "Nestorian" after 1907. From the dissidents who became Jacobites have arisen several other sects, and all these sects, except

-
2. The origin of the Southist is traditionally connected with a 4th century colonisation from abroad. Of the ancient Christians of Malabar all those who are not Southists are called *Northists* (Vadakkumbhagar). Each have their own version or versions regarding the origin of this distinction. It is interesting to note that among some Latin rite Christians near Quilon and among certain Tamil Brahmins also there exists the distinction between Southists and Northists.

the "Anglican" who are now merged into the 'South Indian Church', use the West Syrian rite. Those who become catholics now from among these retain the West Syrian rite and are known as Syro-Malankarites or Malankarites. They are constituted into the Syro-Malankara Hierarchy. (Malankara is another name for Malabar).

All the above-mentioned denominations whether catholic or non-catholic, numbering about two million and a half, are generally called *Syrians* after the Syriac language (Eastern or Western) which they used or use for liturgical purposes. The name *St. Thomas Christians* also is often applied to all of them although from the point of view of origin not all of them are St. Thomas Christians as said above. In a wide sense, therefore, *Syrians* and *St. Thomas Christians* are used as synonyms. In the following pages we too shall adopt these nomenclatures for the sake of avoiding confusion.

3. The aim of this study is above all to discover the origin of the Latin rite Christians of Malabar. The Portuguese worked among the non-Christians and the St. Thomas Christians, trying to evangelise the former and to latinise the latter. The Hindu kings (especially those of Cochin and Porca) were against non-Christians becoming christians. They deprived the converts of their government offices, properties and possessions. This opposition was withdrawn only by 1560, i e. some three years after the erection of the diocese of Cochin in 1558.

Do the Latin rite Christians of Malabar take their origin from a latinised St. Thomas Christian body which, for that matter, formed as it were the nucleus of the Latin diocese of Cochin in 1558, and to which have been incorporated later converts from among non-Christians? Or, again, could the Latin rite Christians of Malabar as a community be termed 'St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite'?

The whole question is pivoted on the first fruits of the religious activities of the Portuguese in Malabar. We have to see how the Portuguese approached the non-Christians and the St. Thomas Christians, and what the fruits or reactions were; especially before the erection of the diocese of Cochin in 1558. Events that followed the erection of this diocese, both before

and after the end of the 16th century, are also worth studying. We shall, therefore, take the whole period in question and divide it into different chapters in the chronological order. In the first five chapters along with a short history of the corresponding period, we shall deal with the work of evangelisation and latinisation carried on by Portuguese and the other missionaries. The remaining chapters also will be devoted to the same topics, but in a different manner.

By 'evangelisation' we mean the conversion of non-Christians to Christianity, and by 'latinisation' we mean not the imposition of certain Latin customs, but the successful imposition of the Latin (Roman) rite *in toto* together with the Latin Jurisdiction, on the St. Thomas Christians.

Since the chief places where the Portuguese made their influence felt in Malabar were Cannanore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon and the Travancore coast, we shall have to make references to these places in a special manner.

CHAPTER ONE

Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1500 - 1550

Vasco-de-Gama the great Portuguese admiral opened the way for Portuguese conquests in the East. He landed in Calicut (Malabar) in 1498, and it did not take time for his followers to begin their conquests. For the Portuguese political and religious conquests went hand in hand, and the one could not exist without the other. We are chiefly concerned with their religious conquests in the field of evangelisation and latinisation.

In this chapter we have to deal with the religious conquests of the Portuguese during the period that preceded the erection of the Latin diocese of Cochin in 1558, or more precisely from 1500 till 1550. We shall speak of evangelisation first and then of latinisation.

Evangelisation

Vasco-de-Gama at his first arrival (1498) established friendly relations with the Zamorin, the Hindu ruler of Calicut. Cabral followed Gama in 1500. When Cabral set sail from Portugal he had with him a "Vicar", eight secular priests, eight Franciscans, a student of philosophy, a lay-brother and a musician. He thus set out prepared for the spiritual conquest of the lands to which he was going. He landed in Calicut and erected there a "church". Soon the ecclesiastics began to preach the Gospel. Among their converts was a Brahmin who took the name of Michael a S. Maria. But in an uprising instigated by the Mohammedans some were wounded and some killed. Among those killed were three Franciscans. Those who escaped followed Cabral to Cochin. Reaching Cochin at the end of 1500 they preached in that town and in the neighbouring island of Vaipin, Michael a S. Maria serving them as interpreter. In 1501 Cabral went from Cochin

to Cannanore (north of Calicut) leaving behind in Cochin seven of his company who had come with him from Portugal.

Joao do Nova followed Cabral in 1501 bringing with him more Franciscans. Probably the Franciscans divided themselves between Cochin and Cannanore for evangelisation.¹ The second advent of Vasco-de-Gama in 1502 and the arrival of Francesco Albuquerque in 1503 gave a fresh impetus to the work of the missionaries. Alfonso Albuquerque who followed Francesco Albuquerque proceeded to build a fortress in Cochin before he returned to Portugal in 1503. The Portuguese got access to Quilon in 1503 and there too rose a Portuguese fortress. A Dominican, Rodrigo, who was left in Quilon to instruct and baptise the St. Thomas Christians of the place must have preached to the non-Christians also. Peter Jarric says that Rodrigo "confirmed and cultivated many mortals in the true faith and also turned (many mortals) from the slavery of demons to the sign of Christ."² One Manuel de S. Mathias is said to have worked later in Porca, Quilon and Trivellam.

The Portuguese took Cranganore in 1504 and erected a fortress there. Petrus d'Amarante was working in Vaipin till 1507, and then he went to Cranganore that year.³ Cochin became the seat of the Portuguese Viceroy as early as 1503 and continued to be so till 1530 when the Viceregal seat was transferred to Goa.

From Cochin and Quilon the Portuguese could extend their missionary activities to the Travancore coast (the area to the south of Quilon) and to the Fishery Coast. They worked in Cannanore and some other places also. We find the secular priests, the Franciscans and the Dominicans working in Malabar for the conversion of non-Christians. They began their work simultaneously with the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar. That their labours bore immense fruit is testified to by contemporary letters sent from Malabar to Portugal. We give below a

-
1. Cf. Ferroli D, SJ, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, Bangalore, 1939, pp. 93-96.
 2. Peter Jarric SJ, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1615, p. 494.
 3. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., l. c.

summary of a few of these letters published from the original by Silva Rego. The king of Cannanore wrote to the king of Portugal in 1507 that conversions from the low castes such as *Thiar* and *Mucua* were taking place in Cannanore. Slaves and vassals too were becoming Christians as the same king wrote in 1512. Lorenzo Moreno and Diego in their letter to the king of Portugal (Cochin, 1510) say that many *Nairs* had become Christians. One *Arel* (*Arayan*: a caste) "pilot of the Cochin bar" informed the king of Portugal in 1510 that himself, his family and some thousand of his followers had become Christians. According to Pero Mascarenhas (letter dated Dec. 20, 1514, sent to the king of Portugal) in the church of Cochin itself were baptised more than six thousand souls who lived in places around Cochin. The same on Dec. 7 of the same year had written that more women had become Christian, and that of the rest the majority were sellers of small articles, a few *Panicals* and some *Nairs*. Sebastian Peres, vicar of Cochin, informed the king of Portugal, Jan. 8. 1518, that many had become Christians and that many more would become if they were given money. According to his estimate (*ibid*) there were ten to twelve thousand Christians, and the major part of *Iravas* had embraced Christianity. He wrote to the king of Portugal in Dec. 1527 that in 1527 itself one thousand were made Christians.⁴

There was opposition on the part of Hindu kings, especially on the part of the king of Cochin. The opposition was manifested by depriving the converts of their property and government offices. These penalties did not affect the poor and the lowcaste people such as *Mucuas* and *Pulayas* who had no property nor government offices⁵. It must also be mentioned that the zeal of the Portuguese was too ardent to remain inert in front of oppositions. Peter Jarric speaks of this in this manner: "The king of Cochin though a friend of the Portuguese, almost from the beginning passed a law by which he forbade his subjects to become Christians unless they gave up their goods. ...The law remained, but many of his subjects from among the Saracens and

4. Silva Rego, *Documentacao Para A Historia Das Missoes Do Padroado Portugues Do Oriente*, Lisboa, I, 1947, pp. 212 sqq; II, pp. 61 sqq.

5. Ferrolli D, SJ, *op. cit.* pp. 156, 315, 375.

from among the heathens and also from among the Jews... were led to Christianity; nay also *Nairs* and *optimates*..."⁶.

Not only conversions from among the non-Christians, but also mixed unions with the Portuguese increased the number of Latin rite Christians. The Portuguese Viceroys encouraged the Portuguese in India to marry indigenous women, and endowed these families with properties and money. Albuquerque in his letter of 1512 speaks of evils among the new Christians of Cochin and says that the process of mixed marriages was going on quickly. According to his estimate there were about a hundred such marriages in Cochin and Cranganore⁷. Pero Mascarenhas in his letter cited above says that fifty eight local women were married to the Portuguese, that they had forty eight children, that three local women one of whom a Mohammedan, were married to three local men and that there were forty unmarried women with forty five children. Such was Pero Mascarenhas's estimate of mixed unions in Cochin for the year 1514. Antonio Real in his letter to the king of Portugal says that those that married did not want to serve the king, and that recently only old people had married and those too their slaves and captives⁸.

Cochin from the very beginning began to show signs of a town subject to the Portuguese. Vincenzo Maria a S. Catharina de Sienna in his *Viaggio All 'Indie Orientali* (Roma, 1678, p. 190) makes the following remarks about Christians subject to the Portuguese: They were of three kinds: the first called *Regnicoli* were soldiers from Portugal; the second were *Mestici* born of Portuguese soldiers and Indian women; the third were *slaves* converted to the faith. The first with the exception of the nobility were the dregs of Portugal, restless, often guilty of some crime or exiled; the second were badly brought up, most effeminate and sensual; the third were rude and fierce unable to do any skilled work⁹. In fact in the treaty concluded between the Dutch and the Portuguese of Cochin in 1663 it was laid

6. Peter Jarric SJ, op. cit., p. 510.

7. Silva Rego, op. cit., l. c.

8. Silva Rego, op. cit., II, p. 171.

9. Summarised by Ferrolli D, SJ, op. cit., II, Bangalore, 1951, p. 134.

down that "all true born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe; all married Portuguese and *Mesticos* shall proceed to Goa...; all *Topases* (semi-assimilated half castes) and Canarians (converts brought from Goa) shall remain at the disposal and direction of the General...". Slaves too were handed over. All free persons and persons belonging to the Church and subject to the king of Portugal were comprehended in the treaty¹⁰. Here we see how Cochin had fully developed into a "Portuguese town".

The number of the Latin rite Christians steadily increased in Cochin and in the neighbourhood through mixed unions whether legitimate or illegitimate and through conversions. On the Travancore coast thousands were baptised by St. Francis Xavier who arrived in India in 1542. "In the space of one month" says the saint, (Nov-Dec. 1544) "I made Christians of more than ten thousands in Travancore"¹¹. Quilon too had by this time become a regular mission field. St. Francis Xavier opened a Jesuit house in Quilon in 1548/49¹².

From all that has been said hitherto it is clear that in Cochin and in its neighbourhood thousands of non-Christian converts were received into the Latin rite before 1527. It *cannot* therefore be said that "the Indian Christian community of the Latin Rite on the Malabar coast from Cannanore to Quilon was being formed more by the adoption of the Latin Rite by the St. Thomas Christians than by conversions until the Jesuits began mission work in the area in 1560 after which latinisation and mission work went hand in hand"¹³. No doubt this kind of assertions are based on the assumption that the opposition of Hindu kings towards conversions to Christianity was withdrawn only in 1560. But, as we saw, the opposition did not affect the poor and the low-caste people; there was opposition on one side and conversion on the other side. The incorrectness of similar

10. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., II, pp. 20, 21.

11. Coleridge SJ, *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 1881, p. 280.

12. Peter Jarric SJ, op. cit., p. 494.

13. Arattukalam M (Mgr), *St. Francis Xavier (Souvenir)* Ernakulam 1952, p. 60.

assertions regarding latinisation of the St. Thomas Christians will become clear in the second section of this chapter.

Again, it is incorrect to assert that the nucleus of the Cochin diocese, when it was erected in 1558, was a body of St. Thomas Christians who had been latinised. This assertion also is based on the aforesaid ban of Hindu kings which, as we saw, was ineffective to stop the flow of conversions from among the non-Christians. The Cochin diocese, moreover, when it was erected had under it all converts who inhabited places down to Cape Comorin and beyond including the thousands on the Travancore and the Fishery coasts and on the coast from Cannanore to Quilon. If by nucleus is meant those of Cochin proper and the surrounding localities, we have seen that in these places there were more than ten thousand Latin rite Christians as early as 1527 when the town of Cochin had already begun to turn "Portuguese". Hence it cannot also be said that when St. Francis arrived in Cochin he found there a community of latinised St. Thomas Christians who later on formed the nucleus of the Cochin diocese.¹⁴ In truth St. Francis Xavier in his letter to St. Ignatius, Jan. 27, 1545, says that in Goa and in Cochin "there is abundance of all things *because they are inhabited by the Portuguese.*"¹⁵ We have seen what the nature of a Portuguese town was. It seems there were no St. Thomas Christians in the town of Cochin *when the Portuguese arrived there.*

Latinisation

We repeat that by latinisation is meant the total change of rite and jurisdiction as said in the Introduction.

When the Portuguese arrived in Malabar the St. Thomas Christians had an East Syrian bishop in Malabar in the person of Mar John. He, together with a Mar Thomas, was brought down in 1490 from the East Syrian Patriarch by two Malabar priests, Joseph and George. This Mar Thomas went back to his Patriarch and returned to Malabar with three other bishops, Mar Jabalaha Mar Denha and Mar Jacob. Mar John of 1490 was still alive

14. This assertion was contained in the address presented to His Eminence. E. Cardinal Tisserant by the diocese of Cochin on Dec. 3, 1953. (See below.)

15. *Monumenta Missionum*, SJ, Romae, 1948, pp. 258, 259.

when these four arrived in 1504. There were thus five bishops in Malabar in 1504, and of these Mar Jacob lived up to 1550/ 52. It would seem that one or two more bishops came to Malabar before 1552. The period under review is closely connected with Mar Jacob who lived up to 1550/52.

The national leaders of the St. Thomas Christians under their East Syrian bishops were indigenous priests with the office and designation of "Archdeacons". In the 16th and 17th centuries the Archdeacons played a very important part in shaping the history of the St. Thomas Christians.

Now, it does not seem that in the beginning of the 16th century there was any appreciable number of St. Thomas Christians in Cannanore and Calicut though there were some before the 16th century. For, in the letter which the four aforesaid East Syrian bishops wrote to their Patriarch in 1504 we read: "Sailing from there (Cannanore) we went to our Christians who are distant from there an eight days' voyage"; again, "our country where our Christians live is called Malabar and it has about twenty towns of which three are famous and strong, Crangol (Cranganore), Palor and Colam (Quilon). And in all these are living Christians with churches built in them. And *near them* is the great and rich town of Calicut where idolaters live".¹⁶ It does not also seem that the town of Cochin was at that time a St. Thomas Christian centre. For in the same letter the four bishops say that the Portuguese being driven away from Calicut in 1500 "came to the neighbourhood - I'qaributha - of our Christians, to the town whose name is Cochin."¹⁷ But in the close vicinity of Cochin there seems to have been St. Thomas Christians who were already there or who settled down there with the arrival of the Portuguese.

According to the letter of the four bishops cited above, there were at that time 30000 families of St. Thomas Christians in Malabar.

16. Giamil S, *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Ap. et Assyriorum Orientalium seu Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam, Romae*, 1902, pp. 14 sq.

17. Giamil S, *ibid.* p. 17 : Here is a literal translation of the original.

The Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians behaved each other as intimate friends and as children of the same faith. One of the Franciscans who was with Cabral, Simao de Guimaraes exercised his zeal among the St. Thomas Christians also as early as 1500/1.¹⁸ According to some, Luis de Salvador also was with Simao and both worked in and near Cochin. The two aforesaid St. Thomas Christian priests, Joseph and George, went with Cabral to Portugal, Rome and Venice. Vasco-de-Gama received in Cochin (1502) the St. Thomas Christians from Cranganore and promised them the help of his king, and they in turn presented him with "a red staff with silver ends and three silver bells". Alfonso Albuquerque, as we saw, left in Quilon in 1503 one Dominican, Rodrigo, to instruct and baptise the St. Thomas Christians there. In the agreement signed with the Queen of Quilon. Albuquerque laid down clauses for the protection of the ancient privileges of the St. Thomas Christians with whom he also exchanged presents. The Portuguese after capturing the town of Cranganore set fire to it; but at the request of the St. Thomas Christians the captain put out the fire and saved the churches. Again, the Portuguese very kindly received at Cannanore the four East Syrian bishops who arrived in Malabar in 1504. These bishops were admitted by the Portuguese to say Mass in their Oratory and were also financially helped by the Portuguese. In 1510 v. g. Albuquerque gave them a thousand *fanams* to rebuild their church in Cranganore. Thus the first relations between both the parties were very cordial. The Portuguese preached and said Mass in the churches of the St. Thomas Christians and rendered them also material help.¹⁹

But the Portuguese, especially the Franciscans, could not understand anything that was not of the Latin rite. Anything else was heresy or schism in their eyes. Hence their endeavour to enforce what they called "the customs of the Church of Rome" on the St. Thomas Christians. Of the five bishops spoken of above Mar John seems to have died soon; we cannot say when exactly Mar Jabalaha and Mar Denha died; one, Mar Thomas or more probably a new comer, was accused of "heresy", was absolved

18. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., I p. 94.

19. Schurhammer G, SJ, *The Malabar Church and Rome during the early Portuguese period and before*, Trichy, 1934, pp. 8.

and was taken to Goa between 1530 and 1536.²⁰ Mar Jacob for a long time went on well with the Portuguese receiving also a financial subsidy from the Portuguese king. He tried to keep up balance by adopting "the customs of the Church of Rome". When he was chaplain of the Portuguese in Cranganore, he said Mass in Latin and also heard the confessions of the Portuguese.²¹ Barros relying on the information obtained from students who were in Portugal says that of the four bishops of 1504 two died soon and the other two divided Malabar between them, the younger residing at Quilon and the older at Cranganore, that the older being virtuous stopped the tyranny of christianising for money, and that the governor Nuno de Cunha favoured him because of his virtues and also because he was very much inclined towards the order of priesthood and the ceremonies of the "Church of our Roman rite."²² The older seems to have been Mar Jacob. We do not know when exactly Mar Jacob began to adopt "the customs of the Church of Rome."

It did not take long before efforts at latinisation began to be fought against. We have an interesting letter from Alvares Penteado who was sent by the king of Portugal to unite the St. Thomas Christians with the Portuguese. The letter was written in 1518. Here is a summary of some of the pertinent passages of the letter: The king had sent Penteado to invite the St. Thomas Christians to be one with the Portuguese (of) (course in rite and jurisdiction); when the vicar of the church of the St. Thomas Christians at Cranganore had gone on a pilgrimage to Mylapore, Penteado went and resided in that church; the St. Thomas Christians attended his Mass and were glad to be taught by him; after four or five months the vicar returned and got angry with him and would not allow him to say Mass in the chief church; whereupon the people ceased to attend his Mass, and children went to him not to be taught but to accept presents, and this too without the vicar coming to know of it. Says Penteado: "As soon as their priest who came from Portugal

20. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., pp. 9, 10; Silva Rego, op. cit., II, p. 359.

21. Wicki J, SJ, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, II, Romae, 1951, p. 62, note 9.

22. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 21.

returned (from Mylapore) he was scandalised with me and asked me what I wanted. I said they should conform to Rome"²³. This happened when Mar Jacob was in Cranganore, and the vicar in question was most probably Joseph who had been to Portugal and who had received the hospitality of the Portuguese.

Mar Jacob also got into difficulties with the latinisers. In a letter written to the king of Portugal in 1523 Mar Jacob says: "As for Alvaro Penteado's baptising the Christians of the country, if thou doest this because thou thinkest that I baptise in a manner different from that which Jesus Christ gave in the Gospel, and some so informed thee, then mayest thou be informed by Father Master Joam Caro how thou hast been deceived in this. Do not think that I am so silly and know so little of the law, that I do not know the Holy Scriptures Old and New as far as concerns this matter of baptising *though it be true that I am not instructed in the usages of Popes and in the Roman usages*". Nevertheless, he says that he would allow Penteado to baptise if the king wanted it, but that the king would lose the friendship of the Christians, for "they esteem me", he continues, "very much and do not want anybody else to baptise them as long as I live". He also says he would introduce the Christians to the Portuguese priests *so that they might receive these priests after his death*. We can see here how attached the St. Thomas Christians were to their East Syrian bishop who was baptising them "in his manner" i. e. in the East Syrian rite. Although Mar Jacob (as is clear from the same letter) was receiving a financial subsidy from the Portuguese king, he was, nevertheless, baptising in the East Syrian rite. He was also *depending on the East Syrian Patriarch*. For, in the same letter he says he was one "who rules over the so called Quilon (St. Thomas) Christians" "in the things of God" "being deputed and sent by the Patriarch of Babylon"²⁴. This happened in 1523. The St. Thomas Christians, as the letter says, were adhering to Mar Jacob and it required that Mar Jacob should introduce them to the Portuguese priests so that they might receive the latter after his death. This excludes all latinisation of these Christians till 1523. Now, we have seen in the

23. Silva Rego, op. cit., III, pp. 546 sq.

24. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 10.

preceding section that already before this date the Latin Christian community in Cochin and in the surrounding places was formed by conversions from among the non-Christians and by mixed unions. Yes, when the Latin rite Christians were already formed as said above, the St. Thomas Christians stood attached to their East Syrian bishop who depended on the East Syrian Patriarch and who also was baptising in the East Syrian rite. Hence it is clear that the origin of the Latin rite Christians is not from a body of latinised St. Thomas Christians.

In another letter written to the king of Portugal, Dec. 17, 1530, Mar Jacob says that he went twice or thrice with the Franciscans and baptised 266 souls, that he had people "married at the door of the church", that "those who had the good will to go over to the customs of the Church of Rome" were hindered by the enemies who favoured those that were hard of heart, that there was good will among the people "so that we shall make progress" and that he had brought seven boys to be taught in Cochin.²⁵ From this letter some conclude²⁶ that a part of the St. Thomas Christians were ready to accept the Latin rite while a part had accepted it. But, a) the letter while saying that some were ready to accept the customs of the Church of Rome, does not say that some had accepted them except that some were married at the door of the church; b) the customs of the Church of Rome spoken of here need not have been the Latin rite *in toto*, and the acceptance of the same (if there was any acceptance) while Mar Jacob was living could not have been also the acceptance of Portuguese Latin jurisdiction. A year before Mar Jacob wrote this letter Joao Gracias had written from Cochin²⁷ that the St. Thomas Christians thought that "all that he (Penteado) says are lies" and that they did "believe rather their bishops". Note the word "bishops". This would mean that there were then at least two bishops whom the St. Thomas Christians believed and who were their bishops. This also excludes latinisation.

Now, in 1533 Goa was erected into a Portuguese Latin bishopric. The bishop of Goa thought and acted as though the

25. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 18.

26. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 19.

27. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 20.

St. Thomas Christians too were under him. One fra: Vincent Lagos, a Franciscan, seems to have been specially deputed by the bishop of Goa to work among the St. Thomas Christians. He went from place to place preaching and "building churches" after the Portuguese fashion. He also started a college (seminary) at Cranganore. St. Francis Xavier says that in that college (started in 1540/2) there were in 1549 about a hundred pupils "sons of the leaders of the St. Thomas Christians in the sixty places (villages) around (near) Cranganore"²⁸. The Portuguese later on ordained the students of this seminary in the Latin rite as they did in the case of some others whom they had sent to Portugal for ecclesiastical studies. By this time tension had increased between the Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians. The Portuguese influence was felt in Cranganore and Quilon. We give below passages from "Portuguese" authors who speak of latinisation during the whole of the 16th century thus giving us a picture of the period between 1500 and 1550 also. We will cite first passages from the reports of bishop Ros SJ written in the beginning of the 17th century, and then we will come to others.

Bishop Ros S. J. was a Spaniard from Catalogne who had spent several years among the St. Thomas Christians teaching, preaching and hearing confessions before he became their (first Latin) bishop in 1599. In his report (probably of 1601) he says: "When the Portuguese came to India there was Armenian bishop in San Tomé (Mylapore) who remained there fifteen years as wrote Diego do Conto, and at *Cranganore* the Christians had four churches and there lived their Prelate Mar Jacob, and also at *Quilon* they had a church before the Portuguese arrived there as appears from the history of the things and from many testimonies that I have had as much for Quilon as for Cranganore. *And the Christians left those places and the Prelates their churches on account of the many vexations that they suffered from some, also Religious, who did not understand anything that did not conform to the Latin rite, anything else being (for them) heresy and superstition, obliging them to eat fish and drink wine in Lent against their rite - that kind of fast being conformable to the sacred canons and to the fast of the primitive Church - so much so that through*

28. *Ibid.*

*similar troubles they were forced to quit their place; but Mar Joseph who preceded Mar Abraham (Mar Joseph came after Mar Jacob and before Mar Abraham) in order not to lose his authority used to live ordinarily in Cochin and here and in Cranganore many times he exercised his authority".*²⁹ Again, in the report of 1604 the same bishop Ros S. J. (?) has: "Afterwards when the Portuguese came to Cranganore and Martin Alfonso built a fortress there Mar Jacob with other Chaldean bishops still continued living there a long time and exercised their episcopal office as is proved from a certain relation. But afterwards the Franciscans *as well as other Thomas Christian clerics of the Latin rite formed by them* derao contra estos Armenios de faicao that no bishop or cacanar (priest) could say Mass except in places outside Cranganore and this in secret, because they forbade to say Mass in fermentato after the custom of the Greeks, nor did they allow the married cacanars to celebrate, and they forced the Christians to begin lent on Ashwednesday and to eat fish during lent. Therefore many Christians and clerics left Cranganore and went to Parur and Udiamper and Carturte".³⁰

We will now reproduce what Francis D'Souza S. J. speaks of Quilon. We saw that Albuquerque had left in Quilon a Dominican, Rodrigo, to instruct and baptise the St. Thomas Christians. "Since many Christians" says Francis D'Souza S. J. "were not baptised he (Albuquerque) entrusted them to the Dominican Rodrigo... But when later on the Portuguese wanted to force them to eat fish on fasting days and to commence lent on Ashwednesday and did not allow their priests to consecrate leavened bread in Mass they went back to the mountains to live with the Hindus."³¹ We shall see towards the close of this chapter that those who remained in Quilon did not mix with the Portuguese.

The above cited passages speak for themselves, and they show clearly what attitude the St. Thomas Christians took towards latinisers from the very start. They also show what "the customs of the Church of Rome" were and how the St. Thomas

29. Jesuit Archives, Rome, Goa 65, ff. 35-46; f. 43.

30. *British Museum* Add. Ms. 9853 f. 90.

31. D' Souza F. SJ, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo*, II, Bombay, 1888, 70.

Christians reacted when such customs (not the Latin rite *in toto* were imposed upon them. Even Mar Jacob who had adopted such customs left Cranganore, and, as we shall see, he spent his last days in Cochin. If he had accepted the Latin rite *in toto* with the Latin jurisdiction would he leave Cranganore?

Let us now hear Antonio de Gouvea. Gouvea will give us information also about the St. Thomas Christian youths who were ordained priests in the Latin rite. Gouvea is a Portuguese historian or apologist who wrote an account of the journey (*Jornada*) of archbishop Menezes of Goa and of the so called synod of Diamper that is said to have been celebrated by this archbishop in 1599. Gouvea has only praises for the Portuguese and he is all for bringing to light the fruits real or imaginary of the labours of the Portuguese among the St. Thomas Christians. In his book *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa frey Alexio de Menezes* published from Coimbra in 1606, after saying that the St. Thomas Christians had many errors, that their children sent to the Cranganore college were ordained in the Latin rite and Gouvea continues, "The Christians did not refuse giving him (fra Vincent) their sons to be brought up in the college, but they would never avail themselves of the teachings of their sons nor of their priesthood, because they would not let any of these who had been educated in the college in the Latin rite celebrate in their churches, much less reside in them, *nor did they allow them to do anything as regards change of their rite*, and they did not treat them otherwise than the other Latin priests whom they welcomed as guests and allowed to celebrate when they went to their churches."³²

Gouvea says again that two from respected families of Parur (near Cranganore) ordained in the Latin rite in Portugal were forced to live in Cranganore as exiles; one of them lived up to 1599; a church had to be put up for him in Cranganore; the people of Parur did not even want to profit by the spiritual favours the two had brought from Rome.³³

Francis D'Souza SJ gives us to understand that: those ordained in the Latin rite had to say Mass in Syriac in the

32. Gouvea (de) Antonio (Leo), *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa frey Alexio de Menezes*, Coimbra, 1606, I, c. 10.

33. Ibid.

churches of the St. Thomas Christians while they said Mass in Latin in Cochin and in the surrounding places.³⁴ Cochin, as we have seen, was already a Portuguese town; and in places around Cochin there were thousands of non-Christian converts following the Latin rite. This was why the priests in question were saying Mass in Latin in these places.

The youths ordained priests in the Latin rite were, for the most part, formed in the Cranganore college. As St. Francis Xavier says the students of the college were "the sons of leaders of the St. Thomas Christians" "in the sixty places (villages) around (near) Cranganore." Since even the parents of those who were ordained priests in the Latin rite did not admit the latter to say Mass in Latin in their churches, we can understand the nature of the stand taken by the "leaders of the St. Thomas Christians" "in the sixty places (villages) around (near) Cranganore" regarding change of rite. The students of the college were sons of leaders. The sixty places (villages) mentioned by St. Francis Xavier seem to have included almost the whole of St. Thomas Christian community. For, the St. Thomas Christians were often called "people of sixty four villages". Francis D'Souza says that they lived (in the 16th century) in sixty four villages from Cranganore to Quilon.³⁵ It cannot, therefore, be said that the sixty places (villages) of St. Francis Xavier signified places in the close vicinity of Cranganore where Latin rite Christians are now found in numbers, and that these Latin rite Christians are the descendants of the St. Thomas Christians of these sixty places. But were not those of the sixty places opposed to latinisation in the case of their very sons?

The information given above, covering as it does the whole of the 16th century, will be of help in the study of the second half of the 16th century also (chapter two). If the Latin rite

34. D'Souza F, SJ, op. cit., II, 71.

35. D'Souza F, SJ, op. cit.; II, 67.

In this connection we may also mention that in 1549 St. Francis Xavier "for the consolation" of the St. Thomas Christians and "to increase" their "devotion" asked for Indulgences for two churches in Cranganore, one of St. Thomas and the other of St. James. (Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 35). We may suppose that all these St. Thomas Christians were not of Cranganore.

Christians of Malabar had their origin from the St. Thomas Christians, or if among the Latin rite Christians of the 16th century there was a considerable number of St. Thomas Christians, the authors cited above would not have spoken as they have done.

Let us now turn to Mar Jacob. Mar Jacob, as we saw, left Cranganore because of "vexations", and he lived in Cochin with the Franciscans. This happened most probably in 1543.³⁶ In Cochin he was reduced to utter poverty. Damiao de Goes says that Mar Jacob at the end of his life "with much shame" asked Pero de Sequiera to give him "an alms and charity and to all Christians of the city of Cranganore" of 20 cruzados to redeem the copper plates which "out of necessity and being poor he had pawned to a certain man living in the Serra."³⁷ The copper plates contained privileges granted to the St. Thomas Christians in very ancient times. They were granted for those who were Christians already at the time when they were granted and "for all those who might be Christians thereafter."³⁸ St. Francis Xavier met Mar Jacob in 1549. The saint in his letter dated Jan. 26, 1549, written to the king of Portugal praises the great sanctity of Mar Jacob and asks the kings to recommend Mar Jacob "to the governors and procurators and captains of Cochin" because he was "disfavoured by Your Highness and by almost all here in India" except the Franciscans. Yes, Mar Jacob in his old age was disfavoured by the king and by all the Portuguese officials in India although, as the same letter says "now in his old age he is very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother, the Church of Rome." As pointed out above, to be obedient to the customs of the Church of Rome need not signify a change of rite *in toto* with the acceptance of Latin jurisdiction, much less, as some think, the conversion to the Catholic faith. Mar Jacob from the beginning of his arrival in 1504 till the date of the letter of St. Francis Xavier was attending to the St. Thomas Christians for forty five years. For, the letter begins by saying: "Jacob Abuna has been serving God and Your Highness in these

36. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 23.

37. *Chronica do Felicissimo Rey Dom Emmanuel do gloriosa memoria*, Lisboa, A. Alvares, 1619, part I, c. 98, p. 77, col., cited in *The Kerala Society Papers*, Trivandrum, Series 4, pp. 183, 184.

38. *Ibid.*

parts the last forty five years", and ends by saying "He has been working much among the St. Thomas Christians."³⁹ We have seen that Mar Jacob, as he himself wrote in 1527, "was deputed and sent by the Patriarch of Babylon" and that he was ruling "over the so called Quilon Christians" "in the things of God." In spite of his being "obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome" such a bishop was disfavoured by the Portuguese officials. This happened certainly because he adhered to his Patriarch without giving up his rite and jurisdiction.

Mar Jacob died probably in 1552, and thus ended the first phase of latinisation. If Mar Jacob had given up the customs to which he was obedient, or had gone away to live with the St. Thomas Christians, to all probability the Portuguese would have arrested and deported him to Goa or Portugal on charges of heresy as they did in the case of his successors and of his colleague "the younger bishop" (?). One would think that the St. Thomas Christians also were against Mar Jacob and this because of his obedience to the customs of the Church of Rome.

39. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 34.

CHAPTER TWO

Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1552 - 1600

Evangelisation

Evangelisation of non-Christians received a new impetus during the period between 1550 and 1600 because of 1) the erection of the diocese of Cochin in 1558, 2) the activities of the Jesuit missionaries, and 3) the withdrawal of opposition of Hindu kings.

a) The erection of the diocese of Cochin in 1558 greatly helped the missions in Malabar. What the bishop of Goa was doing from far the bishop of Cochin could now do remaining in the place.

b) St. Francis Xavier worked for the opening of a Jesuit house in Cochin before he set sail to Japan in 1549. The house was gradually started and a college was also attached to it in 1560.¹ Before the starting of the college the Jesuits had a school in Cochin frequented by some 150 Portuguese students.² To the college at Cochin which served for Jesuit scholastics were attached the missions of St. James (Palluruthi) and of St. Andrew (Arthingal) and also the seminary run for the St. Thomas Christians at Vaipicotta (Chenotta).³ The St. James mission, a league distant from Cochin had under it three parishes in which "new converts were kept in faith" and "very many were being baptised every year" so that "very few heathens remained back".⁴ Of the mission of St. Andrew, five leagues from Cochin in the kingdom of Mutertano (Muthedath) with its chief place at Arthingal, we shall speak in particular when we deal with the *Agnuttikar* (= the five hundred).

1. *The Kerala Society Papers*, l. c. p. 174.

2. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., I, p. 137.

3. Peter Jarric SJ, op. cit., p. 518.

4. Ibid.

c) After the withdrawal of the opposition of the Hindu kings the Jesuits could count "no less than hundred converts every month from among the Brahmins and Nairs".⁵ The Jesuits extended their activities from Quilon to the Travancore and the Fishery coasts also. Their college at Quilon too produced immense fruits. It was started about the year 1549 intended specially for the boys (about 50) of the Travancore and the Fishery coasts. Some of these boys were to be sent to Goa for higher studies. Now, Cochin rose to very great importance. Caesar Frederick, a Venetian merchant, who travelled the East from 1563 to 1581, describes Cochin as "the chiefest place that the Portuguese have in India next to Goa." "All that marry in Cochin", says the same, "do get an office according to the trade he is in ... The married citizens pay not any custom for these two commodities (silk and sugar); for all the other commodities they pay four per cent customs to the king of Cochin⁶ rating their goods at their own pleasure.⁷ After saying that the fortress of Cochin was built (by the Portuguese) not far from "Cochin", Peter Jarric (1615) continues: "After that various dwellings were put up not far from the fortress and they are so numerous (frequentia) that next to Goa the Portuguese have no greater city than this in India".⁸ Under the Portuguese government in the 16th century "newly baptised persons received a new dress, orphans were to be instructed and baptised notwithstanding opposition on the part of their relatives".⁹ All these show how the Latin rite Christian population of Cochin was growing in numbers. The jurisdiction of the bishop of Cochin extended from Cannanore southwards comprising the countries to the south, south-east ... He was suffragan to Goa which was raised to an archbishopric in 1558. Both Goa and Cochin were under the Padroado (Patronage) of the king of Portugal.

Wherever the Portuguese had any influence they were also doing mission work. Thus Cannanore, Chale, Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon &c were fields of Portuguese missions.

5. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., I, pp. 156, 315, 375.

6. The king of Cochin was not residing in the Portuguese town of Cochin.

7. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., I, p. 17.

8. Peter Jarric SJ, op. cit., p. 504.

9. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., I, p. 33.

Latinisation

The second phase of latinisation began after the death of Mar Jacob (probably in 1552). A Malabarian Latin priest Diaz wrote in 1550 that two bishops who were doing all things according to the Babylonian customs were made to obey the Church of Rome, and that they had given up such customs though a priest ordained by one of them was going about teaching the same.¹⁰ We do not know who these bishops were. Is Diaz referring to Mar Jacob and to "another"? Diaz also says¹¹ that the Thomas Christians "formerly had the Patriarchs of Babylon as their prelates. In their name there came men from Babylon to instruct them in the Catholic faith which they did according to the Babylonian customs not without some errors". Here Diaz seems to think that *when he wrote* the Patriarch had no jurisdiction over the St. Thomas Christians. Diaz administered the sacraments of baptism and penance in some places. He asked the king of Portugal to send church vestments &c thereby helping "to convert them". He speaks of reserved cases among them and recommends that the vicar of Cochin may be given authority over them, that some twenty boys may be sent to Portugal for studies and so on.

Fernando Paz in his letter of Jan. 10, 1557 says that the St. Thomas Christians were deprived of Armenian bishops for four years.¹²

Eredia SJ, a new comer, wrote from Cochin, 1552, saying: "There are in that town and its surroundings many Christians made by St. Thomas... They have many erroneous doctrines, because they were instructed by *two* bishops who came from Preste (sic)... They have very good churches. Many of their children are in the college of the late frey Vincente. I visited two of their villages; they obey in all things the Roman Church and are instructed by one of the two Malabarian priests who studied at Coimbra.¹³ The inhabitants of the two villages in question had no aversion for the priest who studied in Coimbra. Was it because the priest was saying Mass in Syriac? Who were the two bishops? Mar Jacob and "another"?

10. Silva Rego, op. cit., IV, pp. 477 sq.

11. Idem, Ibid.

12. Idem, VI (1951), pp. 247 sq.

13. Schurhammer G, SJ, op. cit., p. 22. note.

Let us now come to the battles fought by the St. Thomas Christians with the latinisers. The St. Thomas Christians adhered to their rite and wanted to be under their bishops. In 1553 the Pope explicitly confirmed the jurisdiction of the East Syrian Patriarch over the St. Thomas Christians. Following upon this there arose a rival line of Patriarchs who sometimes sent bishops to Malabar. Later on in 1562 the Pope restricted the powers of the Patriarch in the sense that he could institute Prelates only "in places in which Prelates are not instituted by the Roman Pontiff".¹⁴ Thus the Roman Pontiff was instituting Prelates for Goa and Cochin while the Patriarch with faculty from the Roman Pontiff instituted bishops in other places for the St. Thomas Christians.

We will continue with the letter of Fernando Paz (OFM) of Jan. 10, 1557 cited above. After asking the king of Portugal to provide for the conversion of non-Christians by means of a letter sent to all the non-Christian kings, making also provisions that the properties of converts might be given back to them Fernando Paz prays the king to write "another letter to the Christians of St. Thomas who may understand that they are favoured and remembered by Your Majesty asking them to be willing to forget their customs which they have from Armenia and to unite themselves with all heart to the Roman Church;¹⁵ because I say ... that it is the third year that I am going about among them with other Friars sent by the Father Custodian for

-
14. Giamil S, *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium seu Chaldaeorum, Ecclesiam, Romae, 1902, p.*
15. Meersman as quoted by (Mgr) Arattukalam (op. cit., p. 60) has "let those who err from the true faith be invited to give up their erroneous customs which they have learnt from the Armenians and enter sincerely into the Roman Church"; and, "we have succeeded in making our own (Christians) forget their beliefs and accept those of the Roman Church." Since the Portuguese documents distinguish "our Christians" from the St. Thomas Christians, the former being non-Christian converts, it cannot be argued that by "our own (Christians)" is meant here the latinised St. Thomas Christians. The whole letter is against this idea. Note also the distinction between "erroneous customs" and "beliefs": the latter is applied to "our own Christians" while the former to those who learned them "from the Armenians" or to the St. Thomas Christians.

this purpose and with other brothers of the college (of Cranganore) working to draw them away from the old customs, and I had them all almost moved to follow the Roman customs; *and the reason of this was that they were despaired of the coming of Armenian bishops of whom they were deprived for four years*, But as the demon is not stopping to work to trouble good souls, there came to Cochin an Armenian in the dress of a poor man and put himself among the Christians of St. Thomas showing a letter he had had from the Patriarch of Babylon in which it was said that the Patriarch had sent this man as bishop to them... Finally he was received by them *as a person much desired* and immediately they made arrangements that he might give ordination to the Christians in the manner in which they used to have it always. This bishop is of the same race of Nestor, but the heresies they say they have in these regions I never saw among the Christians. It is true that they have some bad things which in course of time might be removed v. g. the clergy have wives, they have usury, they have no auricular confession among them nor the commandments of the Church—*things they were about to forget gradually*; but by the coming of the bishop *they became cold*. Hence, Sir, to evade this great evil and offence to God, it is necessary to provide that these bishops come not to this region, and to see that Your Majesty commands them not to come, and also to command that if they would be found in it they would be immediately expelled; *because if these bishops are not here a multitude of souls would be made Christians drawn to the obedience of the Roman Church. Hence to remedy this, Your Majesty will have to send a bishop directly to them alone that he may ordain their sons going about among them and favouring them; because, by such a behaviour they will perhaps forget the Armenians and thus we shall occupy with him their churches* and shall not allow the exercise of their customs; and this way, *little by little*, in course of time we shall with Divine help put them into the customs of the Roman Church.

“The Father Custodian” continues Fernando Paz “the chief person and patron of this work seeing that he could not occupy so many churches, the Franciscan religious being few, asked the Dominicans and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to take up some churches and *de facto* they took them up. He also commanded to be promoted to sacred orders seven or eight Malabar brothers of the college (of Cranganore) that they might

go with these religious in this work hearing confessions and preaching to their country men since they know their language; for them I ask Your Majesty that all these Malabar priests occupied with this Christianity be received as chaplains with 24 pardaos each year for their maintenance, because the Christians are poor nor could the college give them anything..."

The letter reveals in very clear terms how attached the St. Thomas Christians were to the bishops of their rite and also to their rite. It was only when they were *despaired* of having bishops of their own rite that they showed willingness to accept the Portuguese; but when a bishop arrived in their midst forthwith they followed him. What about the churches taken up by the Dominicans and the Jesuits? Were they latinised (if they were churches of the St. Thomas Christians)? No, as we shall see below.

It is significant that the letter is silent about any success in latinisation before 1557 the year in which it was written.

Who was the bishop who, the letter says, arrived before (?) 1557? Carneiro SJ in his letter of Dec. 24, 1557 speaks of one who seems to have arrived in Cochin from Cairo and who was going to the interior conferred orders to some.¹⁶ Nunes Barreto SJ speaking of Mar Abraham (of whom we shall speak below) says in Dec. 1569 that he was in Malabar eleven years before i. e. in 1558.¹⁷ So the bishop in question could be Mar Abraham. Was this the one with whom Carneiro SJ got into difficulties during his missions in which he says he baptised many and subjected them to the Pope?¹⁸ Let us now turn to some other East Syrian bishops. From the side of the East Syrian Patriarch (Abdiso) whose jurisdiction over the St. Thomas Christians was explicitly confirmed by the Pope, there came in 1556 Mar Joseph and Mar Elias accompanied by bishop Ambrose Buttigeg OP and Fr. Antoninus Zahara OP (both Maltese). Bishop Ambrose was Papal representative in the East. Before they could proceed to Malabar all of them were detained by the Portuguese for eighteen months. While in detention at Bassein Mar Joseph and Mar

16. Wicki J, SJ, *Documenta Indica*, III, Romae, 1954, p. 792 sq.

17. Jesuit Archives, Rome, Goa ii, II, f. 494.

18. Wicki J, SJ, *Ibid.*

Elias were taught to say Mass in Latin. They were let out only on condition that they would not exercise any jurisdiction without the permission of the bishop of Goa who the Portuguese contended "was the bishop of Goa and of Malabar and of all India". They also promised they would send back an East Syrian bishop who was then in Malabar and whom the Portuguese could not take hold of. All these we know from a letter written: "to the king of Portugal by Antonio do Porto who personally knew Mar Joseph and Mar Elias in their detention. The letter written on Nov. 20, 1557 says: "they already know how to say Mass in Latin and have learnt the ceremonies of our bishops. I think with reason that they would do some good in Malabar always going about with our priests *because the Christians of Malabar are very fond of Chaldean bishops*". The letter insists that the Pope should ask the East Syrian Patriarch *not to send bishops to Malabar* and that the St. Thomas Christians should be asked *to obey the bishop of Goa*. The letter asks the king to have special powers given to the bishop of Cochin (Cochin was at the point of being erected into a bishopric) over the St. Thomas Christians.¹⁹ The letter reveals the Portuguese idea according to which the St. Thomas Christians too were under Goa. Hence it is a mistake to say that the St. Thomas Christians over whom the bishop of Goa was sometimes seen claiming jurisdiction²⁰ had passed over to the Latin rite and jurisdiction. The same may be said regarding the claims and actions of some Portuguese missionaries in Malabar. The letter reveals also how attached the St. Thomas Christians were to the East Syrian bishops. If Fernando Paz suggested to have a Latin bishop directly sent to the St. Thomas Christians, Antonio do Porto hoped Chaldean bishops using the Latin rite would do the work. All these prove that the Portuguese jurisdiction had not gained adherents from among the St. Thomas Christians.

The arrival in Malabar of Mar Joseph, Mar Elias, bishop Ambrose and Fr. Antoninus synchronised with the erection of the diocese of Cochin. Bishop Ambrose died in Cochin. Mar Elias

19. See the letter in Beltrami G, *La Chiesa Caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, Roma, 1933, p. 45.

20. Cf. v. g. Silva Rego, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 477 sq. where we find the bishop of Goa while in Cochin trying to deal with one ordained by an East Syrian bishop.

went back to his Patriarch, and then went to Rome where, in 1581, he submitted a report. In that report he says that the Christians of Malabar being Chaldeans liked to be governed by Chaldean bishops and that Portuguese (Franchi) bishops were not acceptable to them since such bishops were not Chaldeans.²¹ He also suggests (ibid) that Chaldean bishops going to Malabar could make their profession of faith at Goa so that they might have a safe conduct.

Mar Joseph and Fr. Antoninus worked much among the St. Thomas Christians. They sent back to his place a bishop (probably the one spoken of above) substituting him with another of orthodox faith.²² We do not know who this bishop was. Was he Mar Joseph himself?

In 1562 Mar Joseph went (was deported?) to Portugal. Fr. Antoninus was recalled by the Pope. Bermudez OP wrote from Goa, Jan. 2, 1563, that the bishop who went (deported?) to Portugal was a virtuous man and that it seemed to all that he should remain in Portugal for two years. In that letter Bermudez recommended to the Queen of Portugal both the bishop and the Italian (Maltese) priest (Antoninus) who (the latter) was sent out by the Holy Father and who had worked much among the St. Thomas Christians.²³

From Correa Amador SJ (Letter from Cochin, Jan. 15, 1564) we gather that Mar Joseph had made his archdeacon Vicar

21. Beltrami G, op. cit., pp. 199 sq.

22. Beltrami G, op. cit., p. l. c.; Report of Antoninus, *Analecta OP*, Romae, 1925 fas IV Nunes Barreto SJ in his letter to the Jesuit General (Cochin, Jan. 15, 1559) speaks of three bishops. Two of them might have been Mar Joseph and Mar Elias. The third whose name is not known was forced by the Portuguese to retract his errors, was impeded from performing sacred functions and was also detained in Goa. This seems to be the one with whom Carneiro had difficulties and had wanted to hold a controversy. Is this the same as the one who was sent back by Mar Joseph? (Wicki J, SJ. *Documenta Indica*, IV, pp. 230-233). The same Barreto in another letter of the same year says he had discussion with two Armenian bishops one of whom was converted to the Catholic faith (Ibid. p. 247).

23. Silva Rego, op. cit., IX, 1953, Documents for 1562-1565, p. 155.

General before he left Malabar.²⁴ This meant that Mar Joseph had exercised jurisdiction over the St. Thomas Christians. Here is a hint why Mar Joseph's colleague, Fr. Antoninus (a non Portuguese) was removed from Malabar, and why Mar Joseph was in Portugal. The Portuguese did not allow Mar Joseph to proceed to Rome. He returned to Malabar. Pope Pius IV in a Brief dated Jan. 27, 1564, approved of his return to India and asked him to teach the faith which his Patriarch had professed in Rome. He is termed in the Brief as bishop of Ninive and Visitor.²⁵ When Mar Joseph was away, it seems, the Patriarch sent Mar Abraham to Malabar. Correa Amador's letter cited above gives us to understand what the bishop of Cochin did while Mar Joseph was away. In Nov. 1563 the bishop with great pomp met some 8,000 St. Thomas Christians belonging to places 15-20 leagues around Cranganore, pilgrims to a place two leagues from Cranganore. He celebrated a solemn Pontifical Mass at Parur at which they all assisted. Then a Malabar priest preached a sermon on the Catholic Church and on the Primacy of St. Peter adding that the intention of the bishop was not material as that of East Syrian bishops, but spiritual, the salvation namely of their souls. The letter says that all gave obedience to the bishop in the name also of the others. The bishop then thought of appointing Vicars to all the churches of the St. Thomas Christians and to entrust them to the Jesuits. The number of the St. Thomas Christians is said to have been 100,000. The letter continues saying that if Malabar had not become a battle field as it did at that time "the bishop and the Fathers would have finished what they had begun". So nothing happened.

The bishop, however, did not give up his efforts. A letter written by Francis Lopez (Cochin, Jan. 6, 1565) speaks of what the bishop did after his failure of 1563.²⁶ The bishop together with the Custodian of the Franciscans, the Vicar of the Dominicans and the Rector of the (jesuit) college visited in 1564 some of the St. Thomas Christians. The St. Thomas Christians gladly welcomed the visitors. The bishop pleased with their good disposition appointed vicars to some churches so that they might

24. Ibid. p. 298.

25. Beltrami G, pp. 89, 90.

26. Silva Rego, l. c. pp. 417 sq.

“teach and administer sacraments in the rite of the Roman Church”. The priests of the St. Thomas Christians too welcomed this move. To bring his efforts to a happy conclusion the bishop planned to open a college in Cochin. But, says the letter, at this stage arrived an Armenian bishop in a ship which came from Portugal and the whole thing remained “em brance” (without effect). Who was this bishop? It seems it was Mar Joseph.

From the events described above it is clear that the St. Thomas Christians wanted by all means to be governed by bishops of their own rite. Only when they had no hope of having such bishops did they think of accepting Portuguese bishops. Any disposition to accept Portuguese bishops or the customs of the Latin rite was at once given up when a bishop of their rite arrived among them. And as a matter of fact such bishops arrived among them at all critical points.

When Mar Joseph arrived Mar Abraham seems to have been in Malabar. Mar Abraham is said to have arrived in disguise to evade the suspicion of the Portuguese. There was rivalry between Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham. Soon the Portuguese arrested Mar Abraham and took him away to Portugal. Supposing that the bishop sent back by Mar Joseph (see above) was Mar Abraham, did this deportation take place while Mar Abraham was on his way back to his place? Or did this deportation take place while he was in Malabar being sent by the Patriarch (Abdiso)? (There is much obscurity in the history of Mar Abraham before his return from Rome in 1566/7. With reserve we have reproduced what many have written about him.) It seems that it was while he was alone in Malabar that Mar Joseph introduced Latin vestments and unleavened bread in the celebration of Mass. We have seen that Mar Joseph used to reside in Cochin and exercise jurisdiction there and in Cranganore (Report of Ros SJ).

Mar Abraham on his way to Portugal escaped at Mozambique, went to Patriarch Abdiso and then to Rome. In 1565 the Pope sent him back to Malabar asking the Portuguese authorities to treat him kindly and to respect the authority of the Patriarch.²⁷ At the order of the Pope the Patriarch on Aug. 24,

27. Giamil op. cit., pp. 61, 71, 72, 73.

1567, erected two sees, Angamale and Gamila, assigning them respectively to Mar Abraham and Mar Joseph decreeing that the survivor of the two should rule the whole of his flock in India. Mar Abraham, moreover, was made head of all bishops and metropolitans in India.²⁸ But at his arrival in Goa the Portuguese imprisoned Mar Abraham. He however, escaped and went to his see being helped by the Jesuits and the bishop of Cochin.

In the meantime Mar Joseph was arrested on charge of heresy and deported to Rome for trial in 1567. He died in Rome in 1569, and thus Mar Abraham became the sole ruler of the St. Thomas Christians. As archbishop of Angamale he ruled them till his death, 1597. We give below a very short account of his regime.²⁹

The Portuguese had a strong rival in the person of Mar Abraham. They invited him to attend the provincial council of Goa of 1575 which he did not. He was invited as bishop *comprovincial* which he was not. In his absence the council decreed that the St. Thomas Christians were to be governed by bishops presented by the king of Portugal or that Mar Abraham was to attend the councils of Goa. But how eager the St. Thomas Christians were to be under bishops of their own rite is evidenced by a letter their leaders wrote to the Pope in 1578. In that letter they entreated the Pope to ask the Patriarch to send them five bishops since Mar Abraham was taken away from them. Was Mar Abraham taken away in 1578?

Mar Abraham informed the Pope that he did not go to the council because of the ill-treatment he had suffered at the hands of the Portuguese and that he would attend the future councils of Goa if the Pope assured him of his safety. His archdeacon was elected bishop of Palur with the Pope's approval. The Pope also made the archdeacon administrator of Angamale in case of the eventual vacancy of that see. Mar Abraham invited the Jesuits to work under him. He fought against one Mar Simon an intruder bishop who was finally sent away to Portugal. In a synod held at Angamale, 1583, he corrected books

28. Beltrami G, op. cit., 95, 96.

29. For details see: Giamil S, op. cit.; Beltrami G, op. cit.; Thaliath Jonas, *The Synod of Diamper*, Rome, 1958.

and forbade priests to marry. He entrusted his seminary at Vaipicotta to the Jesuits...

At the instance of the Pope Mar Abraham attended the Provincial council of Goa of 1585. The council accepted *in genere* the enactments of the council of 1575 in which enactments there was the clause that the St. Thomas Christians were to be governed by bishops presented by the king of Portugal or that Mar Abraham should attend the councils of Goa. The council also decreed that the Latin (Roman) Ritual and the Pontificals were to be translated into Syriac for the use of the archdiocese of Angamale. Mar Abraham put his signature to the acts of the council.

Mar Abraham did not put into execution the decrees of the council. Before long he was accused of heresy and other crimes, chiefly by the Jesuits. Two Papal Briefs were issued in his case.³⁰ The first Brief required a process to be made against Mar Abraham, if found guilty he was to be kept in custody and a Vicar Ap. appointed in his place. The Vicar Ap. according to this Brief was to be one who preferably knew Syriac. The Vicar Ap; however, was not to confer orders. Process was to be made against all, if any, who were suspected of heresy. The Brief was issued to the archbishop of Goa, 1595. Early in 1594 Mar Abraham reconciled himself with the Jesuits. The Jesuits then asked the archbishop of Goa to delay the execution of the Brief.³¹ It is said that a process was instituted and that Mar Abraham was found guilty though he was not kept in custody since he was living in the mountains. No Vicar Ap. too was appointed. The second Brief of Jan. 1597, also issued to the archbishop of Goa, required only that a Vicar Ap. was to be appointed if Mar Abraham died before the nomination of a successor directly from Rome. In fact the nomination of his successor was delayed because of the news that he was still alive.³² Mar Abraham died in 1597. The St. Thomas Christians stood with the archdeacon (not the former one who had died) expressing their intense desire to have an East Syrian bishop nominated by the Pope. Dom

30. See the Briefs in Beltrami G, op. cit., pp. 248, 249.

31. Thaliath Jonas, op. cit., See the last days of Mar Abraham.

32. Beltrami G, op. cit., See the last days of Mar Abraham.

Menezes, archbishop of Goa appointed Fr. Roz SJ as administrator; but soon cancelled the appointment in favour of the archdeacon requiring of the latter to make a profession of faith according to the formula prescribed by him. The archdeacon delayed. In the meantime the Portuguese authorities of Cochin both civil and ecclesiastical, in an assembly declared that the archdeacon was a good catholic, and there the archdeacon gave his assent to a profession of faith that was read out to him. The Jesuits informed Dom Menezes of all these and Dom Menezes at once started for Malabar.^{32a}

Dom Menezes exercised jurisdiction in the churches of the St. Thomas Christians. By giving ordination to many he gained a party for himself. By enlisting the support of the Hindu kings he brought the archdeacon to his heels. He then on the strength of the aforesaid Briefs, on the plea that there was no Cathedral chapter in the vacant see of Angamale and invoking his title as the Primate of the East "celebrated" what in history is known as the synod of Diamper. Excommunication *latae sententiae* was the weapon he was continuously using from the very beginning of his arrival in Malabar to gain his ends. The St. Thomas Christians have shown with sufficient reason that this "synod" has not the entity nor the value the Portuguese and those who believe them have given to it.³³

32a. See Thaliath Jonas, op. cit., for all that is said here and below regarding the developments that took place after the death of Mar Abraham as well as the behaviour of Dom Menezes.

33. Roz and Campori SJ who were present at the synod have written much against it. Roz as bishop of Angamale wrote to the Jesuit General and to the assistant General in Portugal that the Christians would be exposed to the danger of committing mortal sins if the decrees of the synod dealing with customs were approved by the Pope, that the synod was not in form, that there was no consultation nor discussion in it, that those who took part in it did not understand the contents of its decrees: that there was only making and writing of regulations which the assembled did not understand the meaning of that the acts of the synod contained many things unsupportable to the Christians, that the Christians put their signature to the acts because of Roz's insistence, that Menezes added to the acts certain things after the synod was over, that Roz as bishop had held a synod with the

At the "synod" the St. Thomas Christians were prevailed upon to condemn as heretic and schismatic their Patriarch who was in explicit communion with Rome. They were also made to promise they would be under bishops *immediately* nominated by the Pope. Many Latin practices regarding rite and canon law were decreed upon in the synod. East Syrian translation of the Latin Ritual and of other Latin ceremonies were to take the place of genuine East Syrian ones. It was also published abroad that Dom Menezes converted the St. Thomas Christians from heresy and schism.

Thus ended the 16th century at the close of which Roz SJ was appointed successor to Mar Abraham by the Pope. Angamale was reduced to the status of a mere suffragan see under Goa. The Padroado of the king of Portugal was also established over Angamale. Here we see latinisation of a nature different from the one the Portuguese were aiming at in the first half of the sixteenth century. The question of change of rite *in toto* was given up. Mutilation of the East Syrian rite, substitution of parts of the same with translations from the Latin, enforcing of Latin canon law and Portuguese Latin jurisdiction on the St. Thomas Christians under the Padroado of the king of Portugal - these were the meaning of latinisation aimed at during the days of Mar Abraham. In this they succeeded just as they failed in the other. And this has nothing to do with the origin or increase of the Latin rite Christians of Malabar.

We leave out all details that may bring to clear light how the Portuguese gained their end by astutely mixing up politics with religion, and how the St. Thomas Christians were unjustly branded as Nestorian heretics and schismatics.

* * *

We will conclude this section with comments on the report about the diocese of Cochin for the year 1598 written and signed

satisfaction of all and had changed certain things which Menezes had ordered, that he had sent to Menezes the signatures of the Christians &c. Roz insisted that the Pope should not approve the synod of Menezes... (*Jesuit Archives*, Rome, Goa, 15, f. 155; f. 176; ff. 178, 179) Campori too wrote in the same strain.

by the bishop of Cochin on Jan. 2, 1598. Here is the summary of the report³⁴.

- a) The boundaries of the diocese; Cannanore is not included.
- b) In Calicut and Chale there were a few Christians; the Church of Calicut under the Jesuits was built in 1596; they were not doing conversion work there because there was no peace with the king.
- c) In Cranganore there was a Portuguese fortress and a thousand Christians who went to confession and communion; there was the principal church with three chapels; there was also the college of the Franciscans in which St. Thomas Christian youths learned the customs of the Latin rite and from which had gone out many priests who were working in the diocese of Cochin (di questo vescovato) and who knew well the language of the place.
- d) (At Vaipicotta) the Jesuits had a seminary for the St. Thomas Christians where Chaldaic was taught and errors and Nestorian blasphemies were removed from books.
- e) In Cochin besides the house and the cathedral there were five parishes, five monasteries (of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits and Recollects), many oratories, confraternities, houses of Misericordia and hospitals; besides children there were 19495 Christians who went to confession and communion; near the city of Cochin (appreso a questa città di Cochin) there were some islands and in them were five parishes "of many Christians newly converted to our holy faith".
- f) Along the coast between Cochin and Quilon there were "nine churches of Christians newly converted", three of which were under the Franciscans, five under the Jesuits and one under a secular priest.
- g) In Quilon there were 4,000 Christians with the principal church and two monasteries, one of the Jesuits and the other of the Franciscans.

34. See the report in the *Jesuit Archives*, Rome, Goa 32, ff. 653-655.

h) From Quilon to cape Comorin there were under the Jesuits 14,000 "Christians newly converted".

(The report continues with other places which we leave out).

We have in this report the statistics of the Latin rite Christians of Malabar i. e. of the Latin diocese of Cochin in so far as it extended to places inhabited by the St. Thomas Christians. In 1598 Cochin was the only diocese for the Latin rite Christians of Malabar. We will now give a short comment on each of the items mentioned above.

a) *Cannanore*. We have seen that there were no St. Thomas Christians in Cannanore in the 16th century, and so there is no need of saying anything about Cannanore.

b) *Calicut and Chale*. In Calicut also there were no St. Thomas Christians in the 16th century. The "synod" of Diamper speaks of Christians of Thodamala away from Calicut. But it was found afterwards that they were not actually Christians. Chale too we leave out since the St. Thomas Christians had nothing there.

c) *Cranganore*. The number of Christians under Cochin i. e. the Latin rite Christians were 1,000 (who went to confession and communion). The garrison of the Portuguese fortress, their families &c are not to be excluded from this number.

We have seen how the St. Thomas Christians, their Prelates and priests had run away from Cranganore. We have also seen how the leaders of the St. Thomas Christians living in sixty places (villages) around (near) Cranganore resisted latinisation forbidding their own sons to say Mass in Latin in their churches. We have also to mention that the Portuguese were doing conversion work in Cranganore among non-Christians. Hence how many of the 1,000 and more mentioned in the report were latinised St. Thomas Christians? Very few if any. Note also that the report says that Cranganore was a Portuguese city (che ancor citta de Portughesi). We know what the nature of a Portuguese city was.

Even the 15 or 16 families of St. Thomas Christians which according to a letter of bishop Roz SJ dated Nov. 22, 1601³⁵

35. *Jesuit Archives*, Rome, Goa, 15, ff. 44, 45.

were in Cranganore seem to have had left the place by 1619. For in his letter of Feb. 14, 1619 the bishop of Cochin says: "Cranganore is a village of twenty or thirty families all of them either white or dark people"³⁶. It cannot be said, therefore, that Cranganore was a stronghold of latinised St. Thomas Christians. In the 17th century, as we shall see, bishop Roz SJ transferred his title and seat to Cranganore. Even this did not make the St. Thomas Christians inhabit Cranganore as we shall see when we treat of Cranganore again. Cranganore lost all its importance when the Dutch captured it in 1662 and destroyed the churches in it. It is, therefore, incorrect to say that the Latin rite Christians who are found today in Cranganore and in its borders are descendants of the St. Thomas Christians who adopted the Latin rite in the 16th century. Note that the report is silent about Christians under Cochin (i.e. Latin rite Christians) in the neighbourhood of Cranganore.

What about the St. Thomas Christian youths mentioned in the report as learning Latin customs? An interesting piece of information is furnished by a note dated Jan. 2, 1592. It says that the sons of St. Thomas Christians were studying with great pleasure under the Franciscans in Cranganore, that within the fifty years of such a formation many were ordained priests but *no one was working among the St. Thomas Christians*, that when boys picked up Latin they were taken and ordained by the bishop of Cochin and that they willingly remained with him "because they could eat &c" with the Portuguese³⁷. Again, in his report about the Serra of 1604 bishop Roz SJ says that the seminary of Cranganore was founded by the Franciscans in 1541, that they latinised the St. Thomas Christian youths, that "till today" not even one (trained in it) has worked in the Serra (i.e. among the St. Thomas Christians), and that the seminary belonged to the diocese of Cochin³⁸.

St. Thomas Christians were St. Thomas Christians even if they had changed into the Latin rite. But according to the documents cited above the latinised St. Thomas Christian priests

36. Ibid. Goa, 17, f. 251.

37. Ibid. Goa 47, f. 426.

38. *British Museum*. Add. Ms. 9853, 93v.

were not working among the St. Thomas Christians but were with the bishop of Cochin. This confirms what we have seen above, namely that there were latinised St. Thomas Christians (under the bishop of Cochin).

d) *Vaipicotta*. The seminary belonged to the archdiocese of Angamale started under Mar Abraham and was run by the Jesuits. The king of Portugal had subsidised it. The tendency in the seminary seems to have been to put into Syriac the ceremonies of the Latin rite. The study of Chaldaic (Syriac) was promoted since the Pope had said that Syriac was to be taught "for the variety of rites is one of the ornaments of the Church which is like a Queen clad in various garments"³⁹. Note that the Pope says "variety of rites", not "variety of languages". The seminary did a great service in "correcting" books which in the case of the St. Thomas Christians contained only material errors. But the corrections encroached upon innocent passages also.

e) *Cochin and the Islands*. The number of Christians in Cochin who went to confession and communion was 19495, and in Cochin besides the cathedral there were five parishes, monasteries, chapels &c. We have already seen that Cochin was a "Portuguese city" "the chiefest place the Portuguese have in India next to Goa". Bishop Roz SJ who died in 1624 complained that the tendency among some Jesuits was to work in Cochin rather than elsewhere since life in Cochin was more comfortable and *no other language* besides Portuguese was needed⁴⁰. This shows how Portuguesised Cochin was. Considering, therefore, the importance of Cochin and its nature as a "Portuguese city" one may not say that among the 19495 and more Christians of that place there was (if any) an appreciable number of latinised Thomas Christians. Fort Cochin v. g. which has an area of only 0'9 or 1'01 square miles had a population of 28,856 according to the census of 1951⁴¹. That in 1598 there was no (if any) appreciable number of latinised St. Thomas Christians in Cochin is confirmed by the treaty concluded between the Dutch and the Portuguese in 1663, 65 years after the report under review was written. The treaty, as we

39. Ferroli D, op. cit., I, pp. 169, 170.

40. Idem, op. cit., II, 283.

41. *The Malabar Herald*, Cochin, Aug. 20, 1955.

have seen, makes mention of the true born unmarried Portuguese, the married Portuguese, the mestici, the Topazes the Canarians, slaves and free persons and persons belonging to the Church wandering in the country and subject to the king of Portugal⁴². The first three were expelled from Cochin, and the rest allowed to remain at the disposal of the Dutch. There is no mention here of the St. Thomas Christians as such while the other Christians are singled out by their communal or national names. There is no reason to think that the St. Thomas Christians, if they were inhabitants of Cochin in 1598, left Cochin before 1663. The Canarians as a document of March 22, 1663 (cited below) says, were people whom the Portuguese had baptised and brought to Cochin from Goa.

In the islands near Cochin there were five parishes of new converts who were many. We have already seen how the Latin rite Christians in and around Cochin began to be formed from the very beginning of the Portuguese arrival in Cochin. We saw that as early as 1527 there were ten to twelve thousand Christians in Cochin and its surroundings converted from among the non-Christians. Since the parishes in question were of new converts as the report says, there was no question of latinised St. Thomas Christians in them.

f) *The coast between Cochin and Quilon.* The report says that in this area there were nine churches of new converts under the diocese of Cochin, and that five of them were under the Jesuits. It was in this region that the Jesuits began the mission of St. Andrew at Arthingal under the bishop of Cochin. St. Andrew, Arthingal, was the headquarters of the mission. We may remark that the community of Latin rite Christians called *Agnuttikar* (= five hundred) are found chiefly in this area, and that St. Andrew's church, Arthingal, is their chief church. We shall have to speak of this at length.

Before passing on to Quilon we would remark that the report is silent about any church of the St. Thomas Christians. If any of their churches was latinised under the diocese of Cochin, the report would have mentioned it.


42. Ferroli D, op. cit., II, p. 21.

g) *Quilon*. Quilon was once a St. Thomas Christian centre. According to some Portuguese reports⁴³ there were 12,000 St. Thomas Christian families in Quilon and they were held in high honour; and besides the chief church they had five other churches in the neighbouring kingdoms. But it is incredible that there were in Quilon itself or in Quilon and in its surroundings 12,000 families of St. Thomas Christians in the 16th century. There were only 30,000 families in the whole of Malabar according to the estimate of the East Syrian bishops of 1504.

Most probably it was for "Quilon" (called Columbam) that a Latin bishop Jordanus Catala was consecrated in 1329. This bishop, however, did not arrive in his see of Columbam. In 1348 there was in Quilon a Latin rite church built probably by Jordanus Catala when he was a missionary there before his nomination as bishop, or, by some others for the use of Italian (chiefly Venetian) merchants. Of the Latin rite Christians of Quilon of the 14th century we know nothing after that century. Were they indigenous or foreign? The Portuguese found no Latin rite Christian in Quilon, and the present Latin rite Christians of Quilon date from the 16th century. The Dominican Rodrigo, as we said, might have worked among non-Christians also. Later on the Franciscans and the Jesuits put up residences in Quilon and made conversions from among the non Christians.⁴⁴ Lancelotti, SJ, wrote from Quilon, Jan. 27, 1550, saying: "Here many are made Christians".⁴⁵ Now, among the 4,000 Christians of Quilon who were under Cochin according to the report under review, there could have been only very few, if any, latinised St. Thomas Christians. We should not forget that in Quilon there was a Portuguese fortress with its garrison. The Portuguese from 1503 onwards were very friendly with the St. Thomas Christians of Quilon, as we saw above. But when the Portuguese began latinisation those St. Thomas Christians who had come down to

43. V. G. Paolo de Trindade, OFM, *Conquista Spiritual do Orient*, (1638) Vatican Latin Codex, 746.

44. According to Paolo de Trindade (op. cit., ff. 693, 689, 1616) the Franciscans had missions in the neighbourhood of Quilon in Betimane (Venmani), Calecoulano (Kayamkulam?), Alapar (?), Marta, Gundra &c with four or five churches outside Quilon. Porca too was another mission.

45. See Diego Gonsalves SJ, the book to be cited below. 

live with them ran away to the mountains, as we have seen in the words of Francis D'Sousa SJ. The following event shows that even *those who were in Quilon did not mix with the Portuguese.*

The church which the St. Thomas Christians had in Quilon was given over to the Portuguese and a new one was built for them in upper Quilon. The church which was ceded to the Portuguese enjoyed several privileges. Now, the Portuguese vicar of that church contended in the beginning of the 17th century that the privileges belonged to that church and not to the new one. His reason was that the privileges were given for the church which the St. Thomas Christians had *abandoned* "because they would not mix with our Portuguese" (e por nao estarem de mistura com os nossos Portuguese largarao sua igreja). After examining the copper plate grants which contained the privileges, the bishop of Cochin and the Metran (bishop) of the St. Thomas Christians (Roz SJ) decided that the privileges were "for the church of the St. Thomas Christians" and not "for a particular church". But a sum of 150 fanams and some measures of oil were to be given to the church of the Portuguese also.⁴⁶ Because they would not mix with the Portuguese the St. Thomas Christians built *a new church*. Dom Menezes archbishop of Goa in his executorial decree fixing the boundaries of the dioceses of Cochin and Angamale says that the church of upper Quilon "Will retain its *ancient subjection to the Prelate of Angamale*".⁴⁷ Hence the church in question of the St. Thomas Christians and the St. Thomas Christians who built it because they would not mix with the Portuguese were never under Cochin. It and its adherents were not latinised. If any appreciable number of St. Thomas Christians were latinised (if at all any were latinised), the number of Christians of Quilon under Cochin (considering the mission work of the Franciscans and the Jesuits) would have been greater than 4,000.

The above mentioned facts show that a certain Bragana Pereira has gone wrong in his assertion that in 1515 the Portuguese returned to Quilon with Frey Manuel Mathias and converted 12,000 St. Thomas Christians who renounced Nestorianism

46. Diego Gonsalves SJ, *Historia do Malavar* (Circa 1615) edited by Wicki J, SJ, Munster, Westfalen; 1955, pp. 93, 94.

47. Ferroli D, SJ, *op. cit.*, I, Appendix.

and joined the Roman Church.⁴⁸ This statement seems to be stretched to cover the fake conversion made by Dom Menezes in 1599 at Diamper. But even according to Dom Menezes the church of the St. Thomas Christians of Quilon (with their adherents) was under Angamale through "its ancient subjection" and so it was never under Cochin nor were its adherents latinised. The "renouncing of Nestorianism" might well be the acceptance of certain Latin customs which was not change of rite or jurisdiction. We shall have to speak of Quilon again.

h) *From Quilon to cape Comorin.* The Christians mentioned in the report, as the report says, were "newly converted". Hence there is no question here of latinised St. Thomas Christians.

When the Portuguese came to India there was a church near cape Comorin (Thomaypalli). No doubt there were Christians in those parts in the 16th century.⁴⁹ It would seem they retired to the interior and were hinduised for the most part. In Thiruvamcodu, some 20 miles north east of cape Comorin there still exists the very old church of the "Tha(Dha)riaikal Christians". These Christians differ in their social customs from the other St. Thomas Christians. They are now only two families and are Jacobites. Many of them in former times emigrated from Thiruvamcodu to other places or were lost to Christianity. Something similar seems to have happened to the ancient Christians in question near cape Comorin. We have no evidence to say that they were absorbed into the newly formed Latin rite community of the place. The report under review expressly says that the Latin rite Christians of the place were new converts.

* * * * *

48. A. B. Braganza Pereira. *Histeria Relig. de Goa*. He quotes Amorim Pessoe, obras, III, 244, Notici sobre o estado de R. Pedro Port. 1779.

49. It is beleived that a royal edict of 1494 A. D. granting harbour dues to the church of Kumari Muttam refers to this church. The edict speaks of dues for certain categories of nets and of certain catch of fishes as well as of exemption from certain taxes in favour of those who lived in the four boudaries of Kumari Muttam. This according to the correct reading of the edict (See Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. VI, Part II, Trivandrum, 1927, pp. 180, 181). An erroneous reading of this edict has made some conclude that the Christians to whom this church belonged were fishermen!

We may note that according to the report there were no Latin rite Christians in 1598 in the neighbourhood of Cranganore; in the islands near Cochin all the Latin rite Christians were new converts; so also in the coast between Cochin and Quilon all were new converts. We cannot, therefore, say that in these places there were latinised St. Thomas Christians. And it is in these places that the Latin rite Christians called *Ezhunuttikar* (seven hundred) and *Agnuttikar* (five hundred) are chiefly found.

It is significant that the report does not speak of Christians newly converted when it deals with Cranganore, Cochin and Quilon. No one may conclude from this that there were no new converts in these places. Certainly there were new converts there and they were also many. According to the policy followed by the Portuguese in their settlements all Christians - Portuguese and indigenous - were considered as one people, the Portuguese freely intermarrying with the indigenous. In places mentioned above the Portuguese had fortresses and settlements. Cochin and Cranganore were even Portuguese towns. Hence the report makes no distinction between Christians and Christians in these places.

* * * * *

The report contains the net result of evangelisation and latinisation carried on by the Portuguese during the whole of the 16th century in places inhabited by the St. Thomas Christians. Our comment on the report as well as the other things we have said in this and in the preceding chapter clearly show that the St. Thomas Christians in the 16th century did not as a body give up their rite *in toto* nor accept the Portuguese Latin Jurisdiction (before 1599). The youths ordained in the Latin rite did so, and together with them a few here and there might have been absorbed into the Latin rite communities which, as we have seen, did not at all originate from the St. Thomas Christians. The reports of bishop Roz SJ and the words of Gouvea may be reread.

Some think that it was easier for the Portuguese in the 16th century to latinise the St. Thomas Christians than for the Anglicans in the 19th century to protestantise the Jacobites (St. Thomas Christian non-Catholics) of Malabar. But history testifies to the contrary regarding facts.

CHAPTER THREE

Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1600-1700

Before passing on to Evangelisation and Latinisation we will give a short history of the St. Thomas Christians of this period.

By the end of the century the St. Thomas Christians, as we saw, were brought under Portuguese Latin jurisdiction. Their archdiocese of Angamale was reduced to a mere diocese and was made suffragan to Goa. The Padroado of the king of Portugal was also extended over it. Jesuits beginning with Roz were their first Latin Prelates. The St. Thomas Christians were often calling the Jesuits *Paulists* or *Fathers of St. Paul*. At the request of the St. Thomas Christians backed by bishop Roz SJ Angamale was again made an archdiocese in 1608. But its title and seat were transferred to Cranganore. Cranganore too was under the Padroado. The territorial limits of the dioceses of Cochin and Mylapore (erected as a Portuguese Latin Padroado see in 1606) as well as of the archdiocese of Cranganore were fixed by the executorial decree of Dom Menezes archbishop of Goa (deputed ad hoc) on Dec. 22, 1610. By this new arrangement a few Latin churches such as Calicut, Chale, Tanore, Cranganore, Paliport came under Cranganore, and a few St. Thomas Christian churches such as Mattamcherry, Palluruthi, Porca and St. Thomas Cochin (not in Cochin proper) came under Cochin. Nevertheless this did not mean any change of rite in either case.¹ Cranganore, moreover, had under it certain isolated churches such as Thiruvamcodu,

1. Mattamcherry became Latin later on, as we shall see. The famous San Tiago mission of the Jesuits at Palluruthi was near the St. Thomas Christian church of Palluruthi. The Jesuit annual letters of 1594 and 1595 clearly state that the St. Thomas Christians did not pertain to that mission—non

Quilon... which as they were under Angamale before, were now under Cranganore. By this arrangement the Prelate of the St. Thomas Christians lost the jurisdiction he had in the whole of India over the St. Thomas Christians. Thus all the ecclesiastical units of India - Cranganore, Cochin, Mylapore and Goa - came under padroado Portuguese Prelates, and Goa had Primacy over all the others.

The St. Thomas Christians were bitterly opposed to the Portuguese Latin rule. The mutilation of their rite together with partial latinisations there of as well as the introduction of Latin customs and cannon law among them were the causes of their opposition, and they always longed to be under bishops of their own rite. Their opposition gradually assumed proportions until it ended in the famous Coonan Cross oath at Mattamcherry, 1653, on the occasion of the arrival of one Ahattallah who posed himself as a Patriarch sent by the Pope and whom the Portuguese deported away to Goa. By this oath the leaders of the St. Thomas Christians and many hundreds of the St. Thomas Christians swore they would never be under the Paulists (Jesuits and Jesuit bishops). All the St. Thomas Christians except some 400 (or 4000?) accepted the oath.

Twelve priests imposed their hands on the then archdeacon and proclaimed him archbishop. Many did not approve of this, though this was done under pretext of Papal authorisation. The Pope sent to them Italian Carmelites under the S. Propaganda Congregation. Before the arrival of the Carmelites very many were reconciled with the Jesuit archbishop. The Carmelite mission helped by influential St. Thomas Christian priests proved a success. One of the Carmelite Apostolic Commissaries, Joseph Sebastiani, went to Rome and returned as bishop-administrator

enim huc pertinent Thomaei - (*Litterae Annuae Societatis Jesu*, Napoli, 1604, pp. 849, 850). In 1591 the Jesuits built a church at Porca which was taken over by the St. Thomas Christians of the place, and another church was built for the new converts in 1601. Till 1610 this Latin church too was under Angamale (*Jesuit Archives*, Rome, Goa 65, ff. 16-21; Executorial decree of Dom Menezes, Ferroli D, l. c.) St. Thomas church of Cochin became schismatic as we shall see. We shall have to speak of these churches again.

Apostolic of Cranganore. He is sometimes called Vicar Ap. of Malabar.

In 1663 the Dutch drove the Portuguese away from the latter's strongholds and forced all foreigners to quit Malabar.² So Joseph Sebastiani consecrated as bishop-Vicar Ap. a St. Thomas Christian, Alexander Parampil, and put him over those who would not be under Cranganore. Mar Alexander Parampil was called "Commissary or Vicar Apostolic of the Province of Malabar or of St. Thomas."³

Those St. Thomas Christians who adhered to the arch-deacon accepted Jacobitism, became schismatics and in course of time, adopted the West Syrian rite. They were and are called *Puthankuttukar* (new party) while those who kept up their Roman Communion were and are called *Pazhayakuttukar* (old party).

Not long after the Carmelites were allowed to return under certain conditions. At the proposal of the Carmelites one Raphael Figueredo, an Indian-born Portuguese, was made Co-adjutor to Mar Alexander. He was not acceptable either to Mar Alexander or to the St. Thomas Christians (*Pazhayakuttukar*). He was a canon of the Cathedral of Cochin and he exercised jurisdiction in Cochin also.

After the death of Mar Alexander, 1687/92, Raphael Figueredo began his rule. But he was suspended for misconduct (he died just before the suspension order reached him) and Custodius de Pinho (appointed Jan. 16, 1694), Vicar Ap. of Great Moghul became his successor (under the Propaganda). Certain writings would suggest that Peter Paul (Carmelite) or Thomas de Castro (?) were made successors of Custodius de Pinho. Anyhow no one of these three was in Malabar.

-
2. The Cathedral of Cochin was converted to a store house. All the other churches except the church of St. Francis were destroyed. St. Francis church was converted into a Calvinist church.
 3. Brief dealing with the election of a Coadjutor for Mar Alexander Parampil.

Since Cranganore was not suppressed Prelates were nominated for that see under the Padroado. The nomination became effective only in 1694, and Didacus the one thus nominated remaining in Portugal (1694-1701) appointed archdeacon Fr. Mathew, a nephew of Mar Alexander Parampil to administer the Archdiocese.

Thus the St. Thomas Christians were divided between the Padroado and the Propaganda jurisdictions.

In 1700 Angelus Francis, a Carmelite (Latin) was appointed Vicar Ap. of Malabar under the Propaganda. The Carmelites who were in Malabar including Angelus Francis were in close touch with all the developments that were taking place there, and they were also the ones who had proposed Raphael Figueredo as Mar Alexander Parampil's successor. They had also the misfortune to see Raphael Figueredo suspended just before his death, Jan. 11, 1694.

Evangelisation

The Portuguese missionaries as before continued their mission work in the Latin rite among the non-Christians till 1663 when the Dutch took possession of Cochin and Cranganore extending their influence as far as Quilon. In 1644 the Jesuits had 14,700 Christians under them in Quilon. The Portuguese were not against ordaining to priesthood new converts or the children of the new converts. The vicars of Latin churches before 1613 were "not rarely" new converts. The Vicar of Cranganore some time before 1624 was the son of a Bengalee slave.⁴ After 1663 the Portuguese had to restrict their mission activities to places where the Dutch influence was not felt. The Jesuits, therefore, paid more attention to the south and they reaped wonderful fruits among the various castes in south Travancore.

The Latin Prelates of Cranganore till 1653 were attending the problems of the St. Thomas Christians and also to conversion work among the non-Christians. We find bishop Roz SJ sending St. Thomas Christian priests to convert the inhabitants of mountains. Some at least of these conversions must have been in the (East) Syrian rite. After 1653 there was utter confusion in the archdiocese of Cranganore, and for a long time there was no

4. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., II, p. 416; I, pp. 156, 315, 375.

Prelate to govern the archdiocese until Fr. (archdeacon) Mathew was made its administrator.

Latinisation

Between 1600 and 1653 the Portuguese did not try for any change *in toto* of the rite of the St. Thomas Christians. Their chief ambition to have the St. Thomas Christians put under their jurisdiction having been achieved, they thought only of translating Latin ceremonies into Syriac, and of enforcing Latin Canon law on the St. Thomas Christians. The St. Thomas Christians, therefore, were able to retain their rite as distinct from the Latin rite. In fact it is this rite (now called the Syro-Malabar rite undergoing gradual repristination) that is being used by the *Pazhayakuttukar* (old party now known as Malabarians also). Those who became schismatics, as we said, in course of time adopted the West Syrian rite, and are called *Puthankuttukar* (new party). Those who become Catholics from among these now keep the West Syrian rite now called the Syro-Malankara or the Malankara rite. They are called also Malankarians. Malankara is another name for Malabar.

Mar Alexander Parampil's nomination was a great relief for the St. Thomas Christians, and many schismatics came back to the mother Church. But the appointment of Raphael Figueredo stemmed the reunion movement. Even the Carmelites who elected Raphael Figueredo had to say much against him. Since the Portuguese were driven away from Cochin the St. Thomas Christians who had joined the Coonan cross oath and who were of the Cochin diocese were looking to Mar Alexander Parampil for relief. They too had to face despair because of Raphael Figueredo. These circumstances made many to remain in schism or to join the schismatics.

It has to be mentioned that the St. Thomas Christians in making the Coonan cross oath did not fall into schism. The oath was not a schismatical act since it was not directed against the authority of the Roman Pontiff. Even the leaders were publicly proclaiming their adherence to Rome.⁵ Gradually the crisis paved

5. See archbishop Garcia SJ's letter dated Jan. 3, 1659 – *Archives of the S. Propaganda Congregation*, Rome, Scritti riferitti in

the way for schism in the case of many. Before the crisis developed into schism many both before and after the arrival of the Carmelites abandoned the stand created by the oath. We must also remember that there was a body of St. Thomas Christians under Cranganore (though very small) who did not join the oath and whose number steadily increased before the crisis ended in schism. The leaders who were in bad faith deceived their followers by publicly protesting their adherence to Rome. Hence the St. Thomas Christians as an entire body did not prove unfaithful to Rome.

Since the Latin rite Christians of Malabar did not originate from the St. Thomas Christians, there was no question here of a body of St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite (there never was such a body) who remained faithful when all the others (as some say) proved unfaithful (which too did not happen as said above). The St. Thomas Christians of the diocese of Cochin were not latinised and so if they did not join the oath (they too joined), it was not the St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite (no such body ever existed) who did not join it. We may mention here that the St. Thomas Christian church of Palluruthi which was under Cochin is not Latin even today. It exists in the place where the Jesuits had their St. James mission and is also in the vicinity of Latin church. As we said above the St. Thomas Christians did not pertain to this mission. When the oath took place, Mattamcherry where the oath took place, and the St. Thomas church near Cochin were not Latin. What will be said elsewhere about these churches is enough to put things in clearer light.

Congre. General, Vol. 232, f. 297 sq. Garcia SJ was the archbishop of Cranganore at the time of the Coonan cross oath. The oath was directed against him and his Jesuit collaborators.

CHAPTER FOUR

Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1700 -1800

We will begin with a short history of the period. As said in the last chapter, Angelus Francis, a Latin Carmelite, was appointed Vicar Ap. of Malabar in 1700. Since he was under the Propaganda no Padroado bishop would consecrate him bishop. He, therefore, received consecration from Mar Simon Ada, an East Syrian bishop who according to several contemporary accounts, had gone to India at the request of the St. Thomas Christians to convert the schismatics among them. The consecration over, Mar Simon Ada went or had to go to Pondicherry where he died falling into a well. The appointments of Raphael Figueredo and Angelus Francis as well as the disappearance of Mar Simon Ada created in the St. Thomas Christians a general dislike for the Carmelites who were in the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar.

Owing to Dutch opposition the Portuguese (Padroado) Prelates of Cranganore and Cochin were not with their people, and so Angelus Francis was given jurisdiction over the St. Thomas Christians and Latins of Cranganore and Cochin *until* the Prelates of these sees would be present with their people (an *interim* arrangement).

Now, in 1774, Rebeiro SJ who was in Malabar was made archbishop of Cranganore under the Padroado. Since he was in Malabar with his people Angelus Francis resigned his office which he had held over Cranganore. But some St. Thomas Christians (because Rebeiro was a Jesuit?) expressed their desire to have Angelus Francis back, and Angelus Francis communicated their request to Rome. In 1708 there came to Malabar an East Syrian bishop by name Mar Gabriel who got the sympathy of some catholic and schismatic St. Thomas Christians.

In 1709 Angelus Francis (under Propaganda) was given jurisdiction over the St. Thomas Christians of Cranganore and Cochin *in places* where the exercise of jurisdiction of the prelates of these two sees *were impeded* or *would be impeded* (again an *interim* arrangement that was continued in the case of the successors of Angelus Francis also). The jurisdiction of the bishop of Cochin remained impeded in places where the St. Thomas Christians of that diocese were living. Thus practically all the St. Thomas Christians were divided between the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar (Propaganda) and the archdiocese of Cranganore (Padroado). There were also Latin rite Christians under these two units. But the Latin rite Christians, as we have seen, were not latinised St. Thomas Christians; no such body ever existed. From now on we use "St. Thomas Christian" and "Syrian", as synonyms.

The Vicariate Ap. of Malabar continued to be ruled over by the Carmelites. They fixed their residence at Verapoly and thus the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar later on (after 1838/45) came to be known after the title of Verapoly. Its origin is connected with the Syrians who brought down Joseph Sebastiani and requested Angelus Francis to be given back.

The Prelates of Cranganore from 1704 till the suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773) were Jesuits. They resided ordinarily in Puthanchira outside the Dutch influence. The seminary of Vaipicotta was transferred to Ampalacatt together with the residence of the Jesuits. In 1782 Joseph Cariattil, a Syrian, was made archbishop of Cranganore. Since Cranganore was considered a Latin see by the Portuguese Joseph Cariattil's rite was changed into the Latin though he was performing ecclesiastical functions both in Syriac and Latin. He was in Lisbon when he was nominated and consecrated archbishop of Cranganore. He died before reaching Malabar. He was succeeded by Thomas Paremmakal and George Sankurikal as administrators - both Syrians. After the death of Thomas Paremmakal in 1799 a faction was led by one Paul Pandari, a St. Thomas Christian who was consecrated bishop in Mesopotamia; but it subsided soon. From 1782/86 till 1799/1800 all the Syrians, even those of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar were under Cranganore (Padroado).

Evangelisation

The Carmelite Vicars Ap. of Malabar resided in Verapoly which was already a mission centre with a church which was built in 1673. Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, a Carmelite, says that "from the very beginning of this church every year about four hundred heathens...were instructed in the catholic faith and baptised and aggregated to the Church".¹ According to Angelus Francis there were under him in 1702, 114 churches of the St. Thomas Christians (fully or partially catholic) in addition to the churches of the *new converts*.² Here is a clear distinction made between the St. Thomas Christians and the new converts. As we shall see below the writers of this period and after include all Latin rite Christians of pure indigenous blood under the term "new converts". Msgr. Florence, one of the successors of Angelus Francis in his report of March, 25, 1769, says that "The Latin churches existing between Chettuvai (not far from Cranganore) and Collam (Quilon) are put under the Dutch domain".

To understand the nature of the conversion work carried on by the Carmelite missionaries and of the status of the Latin rite Christians we cite below passages from the works of Paulinus of St. Bartholomew who was a Carmelite missionary in Malabar for a long time almost till the end of the 18th century.

In his *Viaggio Alle Indie Orientali* Paulinus of St. Bartholomew says: "We may add those who every year are baptised in Verapoly, in the catechumenate where there are two apartments, one for men and the other for women who are to be converted, and in one year at least 300 go out of it. The newly baptised are distributed in Latin churches all of which consist of these *new gentile Christians called Margacar* v. g. people who have the law.³ I have already noted that the number of these new converts comes up to one hundred thousand, and I can add another thirty thousand in the vicinity of Cochin alone. There they are called *Munducar*, people of white clothes, to distinguish them from *Topasi* who speak Malayalam and Portuguese and put on hats

-
1. Paulinus a S. Bartolomaeo, OCD, *India Orientalis Christiana* Romae, 1794, p. 89.
 2. Ibidem, p. 85, nota I.
 3. Of the term Margacar as exclusively used to signify new converts we will speak afterwards.

and pants without socks and shoes ... All these are protected by the Dutch Company and belong to the authority of (the king) of Cochin. To keep them in order and subjection they have two captains, one for the *Munducar* and the other the *Topasi*, and these two captains direct and rule them and are responsible for them to the rule of Cochin. They are of very rich families and in business and wealth today they surpass the Christians of St. Thomas because these are agriculturists while the others are merchants of copra, of oil and of pepper.... The Latin Christianity is a great support to the Dutch Company in Cochin; being protected by that authority it protects and helps it being also prepared at all costs to take up arms⁴ against the enemies of the Dutch rule".⁵ In his report submitted in Rome towards the close of the 18th century the same Paulinus has: "The Latin Christians are those who, their gentile superstitions having been given up, have been from 1502 till the present day aggregated to the Church, and they follow the Latin rite. Regarding the Christians of the Latin rite i. e. those who at first by the Dominicans and the Jesuits⁶ and lately from 1657 onwards by the Discalced Carmelits have been converted from gentile superstitions to the Catholic faith, it must be noted that they have increased so much that

-
4. This "taking up of arms", some now say was a revival of the martial spirit of the St. Thomas Christians who were warriors in former times, the hint being that the Latin rite Christians are St. Thomas Christians. We do not think it worth the while to expose the baselessness of this assertion and hint. It is also said that many St. Thomas Christian soldiers who fought for the Portuguese became Latins. Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India II*, p. 401 is adduced in support of this assertion. But Gaspar Correa (l. c.) speaks only of some 8,000 *Malavars* under *two Christian captains*!! As we have seen all these assertions are against facts.
 5. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, OCD, *Viaggio Alle Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1796, pp. 143...
 6. The following were the Jesuit residences on the Malabar coast according to L. Carrez SJ: Calicut, Tanor, Chetuum, Cranganore, Angamale, Verapoly, Paliport, Udiampier, chanota, Cochin, S. Thomé, San Tiago, Vaipicotta, S. Andrea, Porca, Canarapoli, Calycoulam, Coulam, Mampolimam, Anjenga, Rey-tora, Nemam, Briniam, Pulluvalei, Puduturay, Tengapatnam, Travancore, Iniam, Colachey, Padur, Toppe, Cariapatnam, Rajacalmangalam, Maracury, Cottate, *Atlas Geographicus Societatis Jesu*, Paris, 1900.

in the territory of the Dutch Company alone and in its neighbourhood of the rule of Cochin... they number more than thirty thousand Christians besides those who are found in the kingdom of Travancore. What certain French and English men say is false: viz, these and other new Latin Christians are from abject gentile tribes. For, some Brahmins, many Nairs which is a noble caste, many artisans, many Cegos or Tivas who have the care of palms constitute this Christianity. Like the other gentiles they are bound by the common obligations and the civil laws of the kingdom, and in addition to this they are protected by the Dutch Company. Hence they are a very strong and respectable body, and they form the important portion of the subjects of the Company and of the Cochin king. Through villages and towns they are distributed in groups that have their official tribunes and magistrates. Over these two quasi Pretors or big captains who defend this body, give laws and deal with their cases before kings and the Company lest the rest be oppressed by litigations and extortions. This is also a reason why so many become Christians. They all obey the Vicar Ap. and their sons have place in the Verapoly seminary.⁷ The better clerics among them are proposed to parishes by the Vicar Ap. and are confirmed by the letters patent of the civil secretariate of Cochin. The rest who are less capable are made assistents to parish priests and live by their patrimony and by (performing) ecclesiastical functions..." According to this report there were at that time 120 Syrian and 34 Latin priests.⁸

Again, the same Paulinus in his *India Orientalis Christiana* says: "In the Vicariate Ap. alone, the seat of which is the church of Verapoly of St. Joseph... besides the Christians called Nazrani's who follow the Syro-Chaldaic rite, those of the Latin rite number about thirty thousand who being converted to the Catholic faith almost in a century enjoy the protection of the Dutch for whom, according to the oath which in the Cochin secretariate is demanded from indigenious parish priests, they are

-
7. Paulinus wrote this at the end of the 18th century. How the question of their admission into the seminary and ordination to priesthood stood before the time of Paulinus will be seen below.
8. *Analecta OCD*, Roma, 1937, pp. 260, 269, 270.

forced to take up arms and defend the town".⁹ According to Paulinus (ibid) the churches of Vaipin, Mattamcherry, Palluruthi (Latin), St. Luis, Castella, Angikaimal, Chathiath, Manacod, St. Andrew and others under Dutch influence were subject to the Vicar Ap. He also says, as shown above, that about 400 heathens were every year converted in the church of Verapoly, and this "ab ipsa hujus ecclesiae infantia" i. e. from 1673.

The words of Paulinus refer to the whole period from the beginning of the 16th century to the end almost of the 18th century. If there were any latinised St. Thomas Christians among the Latin rite Christians he would have certainly mentioned it. We will now cite below extracts from a document precisely of the year 1764. It is the report about the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar dated Sept. 4/Dec. 22, 1764, written by Carole di San Conrado, Procurator of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar and kept in the archives of the S. Propaganda Congregation, Rome. Here are the extracts:

"In the Vicariate Ap. there are three kinds of Christians; the first called the caste of Mapuli which means lords; the second called the caste of Topasi or Topassi (people of two languages, people of hat); the third... the caste of Munducar, and this is intended for Christians newly converted and baptised either by the Discalced Carmelite Fathers or by the Jesuit Fathers.¹⁰ The first or those called Mapuli are the chief ones converted by the glorious Apostle St. Thomas from Namputhiri's... This kind or caste of Christians *are all* of the Syro-Chaldaic rite... Under the direction and administration of the Vicar Ap. alone they are divided into 49 parishes two of which are shared half and half by Catholics and schismatics... Of this same caste of Christians there are 39 parishes more, eight of which are half catholic and half heretic under the direction of the archbishop of Cranganore..." The report continues saying that the Topasi

9. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo OCD, *India Orientalis Christiana* (op. cit.) pp. 119, 263.

10. Francis Sales OCD, Vicar Ap. of Malabar, in his report of churches written in 1773 terms all Latin rite Christians Munducar, and says they are converts already made or being made; Mapulas, he says, are noble; for him the Christians are of three castes, Topas, Munducar and Mapula.

and the Munducar are Latins and that except the Latin churches of Cattur and Tumboli the other Latin churches are administered by Latin priests. According to the report the Latin rite Christians had 28 parishes and 2 oratories. "All the Latin Christians" says the report, "depend on the Dutch and to appoint a parochus the consent of the government in Cochin of the Dutch is necessary". Syrian parochi, however, according to the report of Msgr. Florence, Vicar Ap. of Malabar, March 25, 1769, were at that time presented by the people and confirmed by the Vicar Ap.

The report of Carole di San Conrado gives the following statistics:

	Priests	people	parishes	oratories
Syro-Chal :	263	82,893	49	5
Latin :	29	40,989	28	2

The report also says that the Jesuits abandoned their seminary at Ampalacatt (the one of Vaipicotta transferred to Ampalacatt) and also their catechumenate. Paulinus of St. Bertholomaeo remarks that the Jesuits were bringing more than 200 pagans every year to the Catholic Church.¹¹ To which rite, Syrian or Latin, did the Jesuits make conversion from among the non-Christians?

The missionaries of the Cochin diocese could work only in places where there was no Dutch influence felt. These places lay from Quilon to the south. In the south of Quilon the Syrians had only one church which is no schismatic.

It is remarkable that none of the passages cited above speak of any latinised St. Thomas Christians. The Latin rite Christians *are all* termed new converts just as the St. Thomas Christians *are all* termed of the Syro-Chaldaic rite. The conversion of the Latin rite Christians is said to have taken place in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Note the bold contrast made between the Christians of the Syro-Chaldaic rite (= St. Thomas Christians) and the Latin rite Christians.

11. *Ibid.* p. 87.

S. Prop. Congr. in 1749 asked for a report. Boniface or Infant Jesus who was in Malabar 17 years sent the report. He says the Carmelite mission had erected 4 mission stations. The main one is Verapoly. "In that centre we have parish church for the New Converts from the pagan people. In the villages of Manghatt we have a house to assist the missionaries. The third is Ciatiat with the parish church for New Christians of the Latin rite. The fourth is Mattamcherry. The Catholics who descend from the ancient Christians of St. Thomas, the Apostle, are of the Chaldian rite; those who descend from those converted after the arrival of the Portuguese in that land and those who are being converted are of the Latin rite" (Arch. Prop. Fide, Rome, Congregationi. Particul Vol. 109 f. 119v-120r).

Fr. Anastasius of St. Jerome, Pro. Vicar Ap. in the report of March 25, 1775 says: "But in the Malabar, besides these ancient Christians of the Syro-Chaldaic rite, with them are found the New Christians of the Latin rite, the Syro-Nestorians, schismatics, Heretics (Calvinists) from Holland, Jewish people, Turks and pagans of various castes" (Arch. Prop. Fide, Rome, Scrittura riferite nei Congressi. Vol. 34. f. 472r).

Let us now come to the St. Thomas Christians and speak of them under the heading of Latinisation.

Latinisation

In this section we are going to deal not with latinisation directly, but with the quarrels the St. Thomas Christians had with the Latins. An account of these quarrels as well as the documents adduced there with will make it clear that there was no latinisation during this period. They will also serve to give an accurate idea about the class distinctions among the Latin rite Christians, if not also about their origin. The St. Thomas Christians, as we saw, were divided between the Propaganda jurisdiction of the Carmelite Vicars Ap. of Malabar and the Padroado jurisdiction of the Prelates of Cranganore. On the Whole they went on peacefully with the Prelates of Cranganore and we do not know of any latinisation under these Prelates. Under the other jurisdiction, however, it is said that some St. Thomas Christians allured by the offices offered by the Dutch to the Latin rite Christians of the Vicariate Ap. became Latins. Such, of course, if any, could not have been many.

The St. Thomas Christians during this period stood bitterly opposed to the Carmelite rule although it was some among them that had tried to keep the Carmelites with them when Angelus Francis resigned his office. The nomination of Raphael

Figueredo and the disappearance of Mar Simon Ada from Malabar as well as his tragic death at Pondicherry added fuel to the fire of bitterness that had begun to rage in their hearts against the Carmelites. Not only the St. Thomas Christians of the Vicariate Ap. but also those of the archdiocese showed their resentment against the Carmelites. On the other hand, the Carmelite missionaries of this period were harsh and stubborn; and they often teased the St. Thomas Christians over whom they lorded it over, so much so that in an instruction of 1774 the S. Propaganda Congregation had to warn them that they, including the Vicar Ap., were to be exemplary, patient and so on, conducting themselves as "Fathers and not as auterevoli dominatori."¹²

Several were the grievances of the St. Thomas Christians who in the documents connected with this period are termed "Syrian" and "Syro-Chaldean." Leaving out the other grievances we mention only two that are to our point. We give the accounts just as they are given by the Carmelite Visitor Ap. Lawrence Justiniani. The two grievances we intend to make mention of, were caused a) because the Latin rite Christians were ordained according to the Syro-Chaldean rite (*ordinarsi in sacerdoti di rito siro caldeo persone d'altro rito e casta*, as Lawrence Justiniani says; or *juxta ritum syro-chaldaicum*, as the S. Propaganda Congregation puts it), and b) because the children of the St. Thomas Christians were taught or intended to be taught in the same seminary with those of the Latin rite Christians.

To seek redress for their grievances the representatives, priests and laymen, of 72 churches assembled at Angamale in 1773 for deliberation. At the intervention of Lawrence Justiniani there was effected a compromise. Among the conditions proposed were a) the Carmelite (Vicars Ap.) would not ordain any Latin according to the Syro-Chaldean rite; b) the Syrians would not be asked to mix with the Latins; c) the Syrian seminary would be separated from the Latin seminary and would be erected in a place outside Verapoly.¹³ The reason for proposing these conditions on the part of the Syrians was, as Lawrence Justiniani

12. *Analecta OCD*, Romae, 1938, pp, 161-164.

13. Report: Archives of the S. Prop. Congr., Rome, *Scritti rif. nei Cong.* 1774-1775, Vol. 34.

clearly says in his report, their nobility (ofcourse according to their conception).¹⁴ Lawrence Justiniani put his signature to all the conditions except to those regarding the seminary.

Rome coming to know of the situation in Malabar virtually approved all the conditions proposed by the Syrians. The Instruction of the S. Propaganda Congregation cited above directed that the Vicar Ap. should abstain from ordaining according to the Syro-Chaldaic rite persons of a different rite.¹⁵ The Instruction was for fusing the seminaries without, however, offending the Syrians. But the thing was left to the prudence of the Vicar Ap.¹⁶

We have, therefore, to treat of the ordination of Latins according to the Syro-Chaldaic rite and of the seminary for the Syrians and the Latins.

Ordination of Latins according to the Syro-Chaldaic rite

Who are the Latins in this case and what is the meaning of ordaining according to the Syro-Chaldaic rite?

Malayalam copies of the aforesaid conditions kept in the hands of the St. Thomas Christians say that one of the conditions was that "the people Seven hundred (Ezhunnuttiparisha) ordained priests will not in future be made to go about according to Syrian custom": Ezhunnuttiparishakku pattam koduthu suriani mariatha pole inimel nadathuka illa. Here the referrence is to the priests of the *Ezhunnuttikar* made to go about (dressed) as Syrian priests. For according to the tradition of the St. Thomas Christians the *Ezhunnuttikar* had no priests from among them till about the year 1770, and the quarrel was occasioned when some of them were ordained priests and made to go about in the dress of Syrian priests. This tradition is confirmed by Msgr.

14. ... non vorrebero li mappola siro caldei framischiarsi qti creduti nobili cristiani cogl'altri latini d' Europa descendenza sieno o neofiti giusta il pregiudizio di gentili... avendo sempre conservato il punto di non dare le loro figlie à chichesisi richissimo de latini ne prendere di questi le figlie; donde non poco procedeva la difficultá di mandare li chierici siro caldei al seminario in Verapoli pensandoli confusi cogl'altri... says the report of Lawrence Justiniani.

15. *Analecta OCD*, supra citata.

16. *Ibid.*

Maurelius Stabilini, interim Vicar Ap. of Verapoly (Malabar) from 1827 to 1832. Finding fault with his predecessors he says: "no native Malabarian of the Latin rite was ordained to priesthood because of the opposition made by the Syrian clergy", "this opposition was won over regarding those Malabars who adopted the European dress", "the question of ordaining true Malabars was not treated of except about the year 1775", "before this period no true Malabarian of any caste was ordained a Latin priest, but only the Parunguini who, they say, originated from the Portuguese."¹⁷ Note that he is speaking of his predecessors the Vicars Apostolic.

That in the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar at least in 1769 there were no indigenous Latin priests except the Parunguin ones is attested to by report of the Vicariate for the year 1769. Says the report: "Ad 39um: The priests of this Vicariate are all indigenous and those of the Syro-Chaldaic rite are from Mapulae or Christians of St. Thomas; but the Latin (priests) derive their origin from families descending from the old Portuguese." We shall see in the next chapter that there were no priests from among the Latin rite Christians called Agnuttikar (five hundred) till about the end of the 18th century.

The words of Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini and the report of 1769 would seem to suggest (to say the least) that according to the St. Thomas Christian tradition referred to above, the Latin rite Christians in question (namely those who were ordained according to the Syro-Chaldaic rite) were the Ezhunnuttikar (seven hundred). From what Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini says, namely that the opposition of the Syrians ceased when the Latin priests put on the European dress, it is clear that "to go about according to Syrian customs" or like Syrian priests, seen in the aforesaid Malayalam version of the compromise signifies "to go about dressed like Syrian priests". This is evidently the meaning of "ordaining according to the Syro-Chaldaic rite" found in the documents cited above. For, the Carmelite Vicars Ap. were always using the Latin rite to confer orders even to the Syrians. Hence the word "rite" in this connection does

17. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, OCD, Hierarchia Carmelitana, Fasc. IV, Romae, 1939, p. 318.

not denote any liturgical function, but as the aforementioned Malayalam document expresses and as Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini hints, was the mode of dress adopted by the Syrian priests of the time. That dress differed from the soutane of European clerics and is now used only by non-Catholic St. Thomas Christian priests (as a rule).

Some would discredit the Malayalam copies of the compromise on the ground that the term Ezhunnuttikar occurring it, they say, was not in use before the 19th century. But the following documents stand against this way of reasoning. These documents contain information about the origin of different Latin rite communities of Malabar. We cite them here since they refer to the question of ordination also.

Document I

Noticias Do Reyno Do Malabar.¹⁸

This is a description of Malabar, written before 1786, and to all probability it was written by Joseph Cariattil (archbishop of Cranganore - see above) when he was in Lisbon. With Fr. Thomas Paremmakal he went to Portugal and Rome after the compromise effected between Lawrence Justiniani and the St. Thomas Christians. This document divides the Christians of Malabar who are not St. Thomas Christians into three classes and says:

“There are also three other castes of Christians living in Cochin and on the coasts of the sea to serve business men, strangers and also natives. Some of them being rich make their contracts as others. The first are called *Cupajakar* or *mesticos* or *Munutilparga*, that is, a community of three hundred men, and they are called thus not only because of the mixture of blood with strangers but also because there was such a number of (tantos forao os escravos) baptised slaves whom the Portuguese while they left Cochin handed over to the Dutch on condition that the exercise of the Catholic religion would be free

18. Bibl? Nacional, Fondo Geral, Lisbon, 536, ff. 1-29.

to them *They have priests* The second caste called *Munducar* or *Murcar* or *Murcacar* or finally *Eunutilparigia*, that is, a community of seven hundred men.¹⁹ This people were not baptised when the Portuguese left them to the Dutch. After the Portuguese left Cochin, they were in course of time (*com tempo*) baptised by (*pelo de*) those of Palluruthi and Etepalli. But they remained near Cochin for contracts, to have greater freedom to

19. *Murcar* and *Murcacar* stand for *Margacar* i. e. those who have the *margam* i. e. the way, or the law or the religion. Literally *Margacar* stands for Christians, but in ordinary parlance it means new converts. It is an offence for an ancient St. Thomas Christian to be called by this name. We have seen above Paulinus of St. Bartholomew clearly states that "new gentile converts" were called *Margacar*. *Murcar* also is used to designate new converts. The *Ezhunnultikar* (*Eunutilparigia* of this document) admit they were called by the name of *Margacar*; but they say that it means only "Christians" and that Francis Day applies it to the ancient Christians of Malabar (See Br. Leopold, TOCD - a Latin rite religious -, *The Latin Christians of Malabar*, pp. 211, 265). Yes, literally it means "Christians", but by use it means only "newly converted Christians" as every one in Malabar knows. Bishop Roz SJ in his diocesan statutes of 1506 (*Vatican Codex Indian*, Borgia, 18) makes a distinction between Mar Thoma Nazranikal (St. Thomas Christians) and the *Margacar*. He addresses the statutes "to the Rev. Archdeacon, amisakar, our visarakarer, Vicars, Rabbans of our diocese, the *Mar Thoma Nazranikal* and all *Margacar*". Hence the term goes back at least to the beginning of the 17th century, and it had at that time the signification given to it today. Francis Day, therefore, blundered when he wrote in 1863 (*The Land of the Perumals*, Madras, 1863, p. 211) that the ancient Christians of Malabar had the appellation *Marggacar*, if he means that the ancient Christians of Malabar have this appellation today, or have had it since the 17th century. The Latin rite Christians who quote Francis Day in this do not seem to pay attention to what he says about them. In his phrasaology Roman Catholics are Latins and they are composed of *Arawatnarleecar* (people of 64 villages) from Brahmins and Nairs, of *Moonoolucar* (the three hundred) "mostly from domestic slaves", of *Unuteacar* (*Agnutticar* or the Five Hundred) from Macuas (fishermen) and the low castes, and of *Erunoolucar* (the Seven Hundred) who are "descendants of soil slaves". He says that priests are "generally from the second and the fourth"! (p. 232, note).

N. B. The Syrians were *not* called *Munducar*.

deal with businessmen and for gaining their bread; a good deal of those who accept the holy faith were going and remaining there for the same reason, and so these also were considered *with the same name Ejunutilparigia* and without difficulty *they mixed* with all castes of Christians as the Cupajacar. *It is a short time that they began to be admitted to the priesthood.* Regarding occupation, they can exercise them (all) though such (occupations) be very low, without losing anything of their honour. The third class is called *Catacotical* or *Moquar*. This was more probably converted by the famous and saintly apostle Francis Xavier on the sea coast, or by the men of the place, when old zeal for religion was flourishing, by the work of the very zealous bishops Kxaiero and Aprota who were Babylonia. They are the vassals of the king of Travancore and Cochin; and both the others are under the Company of the Dutch notwithstanding which they pay tribute and other contributions to the kings of Cochin and Travancore. The *Moquas* keep themselves without mixing with the other two in Cochin. Their occupation is fishing in the sea....”.

About the Cupajacar mentioned in this document we need not say anything here. What we have to note specially is that the document contains the term *Ejunutilparigia* and says that from a short time before they began to be admitted to priesthood. Hence the Malayalam copies of the compromise spoken of above cannot be discredited on the ground that the term *Ezhunuttiparizha* occurring in it originated only in the 19th century. True, Fr. Thomas Paremmakal in his Malayalam book describing his and Joseph Cariattil's journey to Portugal and Rome do not speak of the ordination question of the *Ezhunuttikar*. From this silence it cannot be argued that the contents of the Malayalam version of the compromise spoken of above are to be discredited. The Portuguese document cited here was contemporaneous with Fr. Thomas Paremmakal and most probably it was written by Joseph Cariattil.²⁰

20. Fr. Thomas Paremmakal's book speaks of a similar (the same?) work which Joseph Cariattil wrote while they were in Portugal.

The document says the Ezhunnuttikar became Christians during the Dutch period and that other converts joined them sharing with them the name of Ezhunnuttikar. This explains why Portuguese surnames are not frequent among the Ezhunnuttikar as among the Cupajacar i. e. Parunguins.

The document does not make any distinction among the Moquas. It seems all fishermen on the coast are included in the term Moquas because they all are said to be under the kings of Travancore and Cochin. There is a tradition that the bishops Sabor (Kxaiero) and Aprota (or Proth) made conversions in the coastal areas in the 8/9th century. But in the 16th century there seems to have been no remnants of any such converts between Cochin and Quilon unless we would suppose that some of the Syrians of that place were the descendants of the converts in question. As for the Latin rite Christians of the place we have seen in the report of the diocese of Cochin for the year 1598 that they were all new converts. The Latin rite Christians from Quilon to the cape of Comorin too were new converts according to the same report. It is in this area that St. Francis Xavier worked. Other Jesuits worked on the coast between Cochin and Quilon. This would mean that the document may include the Moquas of this region with those of the Travancore coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin. We have seen that there were some ancient Christians on this coast between Quilon and cape Comorin in the 16th century. Were they converts of the aforesaid bishops? Is the document mixing together all those of the coastal region calling them Moquas and referring to the work of St. Francis Xavier, and mixing that also with the work of Sabor and Aprota? The second document adduced below will put things in clearer light regarding those of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar which extended from Chettuvai to Quilon.

Document II

Alcune notizie dei Christiani latini del Vicariato Apostolico Malabar.²¹

This is a report prepared by Msgr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna, Carmelite Vicar Ap. of Malabar in 1832. The author of

21. Archives of the S. Propaganda Congregation, Rome, *Scritti riferiti nei Congre. Indie Orientali*, 1832-1836, Vol. V, ff. 86 e ss.

the report when he was a missionary was asked by the S. Propaganda Congregation to report about what Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini had said and done regarding the different castes of Christians when the latter was ardently advocating the cause of Agnuttikar (the Five Hundred) whom he wanted to promote to priesthood amidst the opposition chiefly of the Ezhunnuttikar. The report is in Italian. A few passages are translated and given below.

“The present Latin Christians of Malabar are in general distinguished in to three classes. In the first are included all those who from their fathers’ side descend from Europeans: Portuguese, Dutch, English, German—all called commonly Topaz, Parengi, Munuticar. In the second class are numbered all those of a caste called Mucua; and by this name are called also the caste of Agnuticar. In the third are all those of Malabar blood who are not of Mucua lineage: their common name is Ezhunnuticar: among them there are persons originally of all tribes or castes that found among the gentiles, from the noblest Brahmin to the lowest Xudra. All new converts of whatever caste even of the lowest, except those of Mucua, enter into this class; in it there is no memory of the caste from which any one originated; and in domestic, civil and religious matters the question of origin is not attended to, but education, ability, riches and probity.”

“Topaz signifies one that has a hat; Pareghi is the name given to all Europeans in the Levant; Munnuticar signifies “from three hundred”; but I do not know why they are given that name.

Ezhunnuticar signifies “from seven hundred”, because originally they were composed of seven hundred families of different castes which a king of Malabar deputed to assist and serve the Portuguese new comers in India in writing, in commerce, in the army and in other responsible offices; to these seven hundred families made Christians have been afterwards aggregated all those who successively have been converted to this day as I have said.”

“The same king again assigned to the Portuguese another five hundred families all of the caste of Mucua, for serving them in all laborious and low occupations such as of being domestic servants, porters, carriers of palanquins..... These families are called Agnuticar which means” from five hundred; to these made Christians were united all the other Mucuas who in course of time were baptised. “In the Vicariate Apostolic there are 3,000 Topaz unequally distributed in 14 parishes one of which is of recent origin and small with 150 souls; there are (in the Vicariate Ap.) 9,000 Mucuas unequally distributed in II coast parishes the smallest of which has 700 souls all of the same race; in the rest they live mixed with the others: in two three fourths, in two others about half, and in the rest one third, one fourth, while in two there are only a very few families. The Ezhunnuticar are not less than 31,000 distributed in 19 parishes one of which being separated from 150 Topas, has remained their own without mixture with 2,300 souls.”

“Among the Topaz there are all occupations and professions, only a very few fish and they fish only in rivers. Among the Ezhunnuticar there are Mestieri, artisans and professionalists, and they also fish like the Topaz. Agnuticar or Mucua fish in the sea, do domestic service to others, are porters very few cultivate fields, many of the rich are business men in Cochin dealing in oil.... “Though Topaz is of several nations they remain as one body. The same is precisely the case with Ezhunnuticar though they are an aggregate of innumerable castes. This is similar to the Linguant and the Maumetans who admit all castes without distinction. The Mucua too form one race distinct from all others in blood and civil affairs. The Mucua keep aloof from other Christians because the kings will it and they also will it. All the governments of Malabar have till today kept this distinction of Seven Hundred and Five Hundred. The professions of Mucua are fishing, boat driving, to be porters and carriers of palanquins. All governments of Malabar are in need of these services. Hence they have a captain who deals with governments. Such is the will of kings:

the will of Mucuas is their attachment to their caste, no caste being inferior to that among all the gentiles, and so they are not incorporated with the other Christians. "In honour Topaz has primacy even among the gentiles; for they are from Europeans, honest, and dress like Europeans. There are judges and other officers from among them. After the Topaz next in honour come Ezhunnuticar and these too hold offices not inferior to those mentioned above. But Mucuas have no civil honour either before the Latins or before the Syrians, either before the gentiles and Muhamadans or before the Jews. They are counted as a low caste; it matters not whether they be rich or poor, they have no office; while going to the magistrates they stand far away; they remain as they were when they were gentiles."

(The document continues saying that these distinctions are due to caste system; it gives no credit to the fable regarding the origin of castes; it says that state of Mucua is due to caste rather than to occupation. "Various castes" it says "of other provinces although occupied entirely with fishing are not abject while the Mucuas of Malabar are such; in Malabar itself some Topaz and Ezhunnuticar (as also some Syrians) live with their families by fishing (in Vera-poly we have still examples) and no one considers them as vile").

"In religious matters" continues the document: "the Mucua are musicians, members of Confraternities and are also presidents in them. In processions they are not excluded from carrying the poles of the canopy. In funerals they accompany and are accompanied, and are given honourable posts according to the tax (they pay)."

We will continue with the rest of the document when we deal with the Agnuttikar in the next chapter. The document requires no comment. All the Latin rite Christians who were not Topaz and Agnuttikar were Ezhunnuttikar.

Document III

Copper - plate document of 14th Meenam, 322 of the Puthuvaipu era.²²

(14th Meenam 322 of the Puthuvaipu era corresponds to 22nd March 1663). The document belongs to the Paliath Achan, minister of the king of Cochin. It is executed in the old Malayalam script known as *vatteluthu*. The name of the people mentioned in this document could in *vatteluthu* script be read Ezhunutiparisha or Ezhupuramparisha. Here is the translation of the document:

“To the people Ezhunutiparisha/Ezhupuramparisha who are set apart (by the king of Cochin) for the service of the (Dutch) Company and to the people whom the Portuguese brought converted from Canara no harm should be done.”

Since the Portuguese document of ca. 1786 cited above contains the term Ezhunutiparisha and also agrees with this one of 1663 regarding the relations of the Ezhunutiparisha with the Dutch we may not say that the reading in the document in question is Ezhupuramparisha on the ground that the name Ezhunutiparisha is of 18th century origin. No one knows in history of a people called Ezhupuramparisha. The contents of this document agrees with those of the other documents as well as with the tradition, at least with the tradition among the Syrians. Hence it seems that the reading ought to be Ezhunutiparisha. All the three documents confirm all that we have been saying from the very beginning, namely that the Latin rite Christians of Malabar have not originated from the St. Thomas Christians, that no appreciable number of St. Thomas Christians adopted the Latin rite & c.

Let us now come to the seminary for the Syrians and Latins which will put matters in bolder relief.

Seminary for the Syrians and the Latins.

In 1682 the Carmelites had opened a seminary at Verapoly for the Syrians. The Syrians were not pleased with

22. *The Kerala Society Papers*, Series 5, Trivandrum, p. 280.

it since the professor of Syriac was a West Syrian. In 1764 Msgr. Florence, Vicar Ap. of Malabar, with permission from and under the full authority of the S. Propaganda Congregation re-erected the Seminary of Verapoly. It was meant for 10 Syrians and at least 6 Latins who were to be taught for 4 years. The S. Propaganda Congregation was to meet the expenses. It was reserved to the same Congregation to frame rules of discipline and study for the seminary. But the Syrians were reluctant to be with the Latins. In his report of April 2, 1767, Msgr. Florence says that at Mangat (Alangat) a seminary was provisionally started in 1766 meant for the Syrians and that the Latins were taught at Verapoly. The Syrians (at least some) seem to have been sent to Verapoly before 1773. It was because of their reluctance to be with the Latins at Verapoly that the representatives of the Syrians added the above mentioned clauses in the compromise they made with Lawrence Justiniani insisting on the separation of the Syrians from the Latins and on the erection of a seminary for the Syrians outside Verapoly. Lawrence Justiniani, as we saw, did not put his signature to these clauses. In his report cited above he says that Verapoly was "adapted for 18 Syrians and 15 Latins although the Syro-Chaldeans were reluctant to be taught in the same house with the Latins though (the Syro-Chaldeans) were entirely separated from them (the Latins)". The reason why the Syrians would not mix with the Latins, though both were in the same house, is given by Lawrence Justiniani in these words: (The Syrians) have always held to the point not to give their daughters to any Latin however rich, nor to take the daughters of the same: hence no little difficulty was proceeding in sending the Syro-Chaldean clerics to the seminary at Verapoly" (Report cited above).²³ Here the question concerned chiefly the Ezhunnuttikar Latins.

23. Nasce in parte il pregiudizio di siro caldei malabari verso li latini dall'essere originarii orientali, inscriti nel paese delle caste Indiane. Reputanti quelli nobili, e li latini Indiani ignobili e per tali tenuti e praticati dalli Rè e gentili dell' India, benchè Christiani entrambi. Onde non possono di pretere la nobilita Christiana secondo il pensiero dell'Indiche contrade è molto che non si guardino anco da miss.i stimandosi per antichità di Fede e di sangue piu nobili... (Report of Lawrence Justiniani cited above).

The Instruction of the S. Propaganda Congregation, 1774 directed to the Vicar Ap. of Malabar was for the fusion of the seminaries. But it advised the Carmelite missionaries to take all precautions and means lest the Syrians should be offended, and even to postpone the matter, if necessary, to a more opportune time. The S. Congregation feared that the Syrians might be lost to the Vicar Ap. and consequently to the catholic Church.²⁴ The Syrians, therefore, were not for a long time asked to mix with the Latins. They were using the separate kitchen, dormitory and other things Lawrence Justiniani says were being built for them (Report cited above). Hence the Dutch Governor Adrian Moens wrote on April 18, 1781 saying: „In this seminary (Verapoly) are really two separate Carmelite seminaries, one for the Latin and the other for the Syrian united Christians. In the first 6 and in the second 10 boys besides teachers are maintained at the expense of the Congregation for the Propanganda of Faith at Rome”.²⁵ In fact even today the Syrian quarters could be seen among the buildings preserved at Verapoly. The stand the Syrians took regarding abstention from mixed marriages (as recorded by Lawrence Justiniani) is being continued even today without any great change or mitigation in the case especially of the well-to-do Syrians, though the Syrian and the Latin clerics live together today and study together under the same roof. In a country like Malabar where caste feelings govern the choice of partners for marriages, where it is the parents or guardians that choose the brides and bridegrooms for their children, where people of several communities live side by side being fed by caste customs and traditions, intermarriage is the acid test to determine the identity or otherwise of the origin of communities. Every one in Malabar knows that even in this 20th century when social barriers are being pulled down, intermarriages between the Syrians and the Latins are very rare especially among the well-to-do. This would not have been the case if the Latin communities originated from the Syrians, or if the Syrians who at different times might have merged into the Latin communities were many in number. We shall have to speak of this again.

24. *Analecta OCD*, Roma, 1938, pp. 161, 163, 164.

25. Ferroli D, op. cit., II, p. 232.

When the Syrians assembled at Angamale in 1773 they had a mind to withdraw themselves from the Carmelite Vicar Ap. and also from the Cranganore rule. But as the result of the compromise made by Lawrence Justiniani they declared themselves under both the Latin rules. Some of them had in 1709 desired to follow Mar Gabriel and actually a few joined him together with some Jacobites. But the great majority then also declared themselves under the Carmelities. After the compromise made by Lawrence Justiniani they sent in 1777/8 Joseph Cariattil and Thomas Paremmakal to Lisbon and Rome. With all these facts in mind and also confusing them in his own way Francis Day wrote: "Many Romo-Syrian congregations attempted in 1709 to join the Syrians; in 1773 they declared themselves under the Latin Church, and in 1773 sent to Rome and requested that a Romo-Syrian Bishop might be attached exclusively to them".²⁶ Certain Latin rite christians quote Francis Day and argue that the words "in 1773 they declared themselves under the Latin Church" mean many Syrians became Latins in 1773! For Francis Day Romo-Syrian Syrian and Latin have meanings which Catholics do not attach to them. For him Syrians are Jacobites (and Marthomites who seceded from the Jacobites), Latins are Roman Catholics and Romo-Syrians a bit different from the last.²⁷ If Romo-Syrians declared themselves under the Latin Church in the sense of adopting the Latin rite, why did they ask for a Romo-Syrian Bishop exclusively for themselves as a Francis Day says? Again the whole story of 1773 as we narrated above is against all latinisation. Francis Day's "declared themselves under the Latin Church" means only that the Syrians as the result of compromise made by Lawrence Justiniani did not abandon the Latin rulers but declared themselves under them.

26. Francis Day, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

27. *Ibid.* p.263.

CHAPTER FIVE

Evangelisation and Latinisation, 1800-1896: 1896-

In this chapter we will treat of Evangelisation and Latinisation together with the history of the period without dividing them under separate headings.

We saw in the last chapter that when Thomas Paremmakal was Administrator of Cranganore (+1799) all the Syrians were under Cranganore (Padroado). Then in the beginning of this century George Sankurikal became Administrator. But several Syrians gradually went over to the Propaganda jurisdiction of the Carmelite Vicar Ap. of Malabar. Thus the Syrians were again divided between the Padroado and the Propaganda jurisdictions. In the last chapter we spoke at length about the three classes of Latin rite Christians - Topaz or Parenghi, Ezhunnutikar and Agnuttikar. We have seen that the Agnuttikar had no priests from among them till about the end of the 18th century, and how Msgr. Aurelius Stabilini advocated their cause. There were others also before him to make efforts to have the Agnuttikar ordained priests. We reproduce below the contents of the last part of Msgr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna's report cited in the last chapter as Document 2.

About the year 1778 Msgr. Francis Sales, Carmelite Vicar Ap. of Malabar tried to admit to priesthood some young men of the Agnuttikar community. But he had to give up the idea because of opposition. About the year 1780 Msgr. de Soledad of Cochin actually admitted two for ecclesiastical studies. Since even his "strong, violent, furious" nature could not conquer the opposition he had to send them to Goa for ordination. One of them died in Goa as deacon and the other, though he returned to his diocese as a priest, had to go about as a vagabond since

he was not received in any church.¹ Then about the year 1794 Msgr. Luis Maria, Carmelite Vicar Ap. of Malabar, admitted in the Verapoly seminary the son of an Agnuttikaren who had changed his dress and dwelling place passing for a Topaz. The trick was detected and the Vicar Ap. yielded to opposition. Msgr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna stops his narration here saying that the rest of the story was known to the S. Propaganda Congregation. He concludes with the remark that he was against the Topaz and the Ezhunnuttikar *monopolising* priesthood.

Now the rest of the story took place chiefly under Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini *interim* Vicar Ap. of Malabar. His predecessor had admitted into the seminary two Agnuttikar boys (called boys of fishermen caste) who, however, had to be sent to Bombay for their studies and ordination because of opposition. Maurelius Stabilini before he became *interim* Vicar Ap. had come to Malabar as Visitor to inquire into the complaints against his predecessor. He had taken with him to Malabar one of the aforesaid boys who by that time had been ordained priest. The Ezhunnuttikar were enraged at this. In a Pastoral Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini asked the other Latin clerics to agree to the admission of the fishermen caste to priesthood. He then threatened that if they would not agree he would deny priesthood to their community. But they would not; instead, they preferred, if need be to withdraw themselves from his jurisdiction (he was already Vicar Ap.). On Sep. 20, 1829, they sent up a petition to the S. Propaganda Congregation exposing their stand and asking Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini to be removed from office. Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini in the meantime went and lived at Arthingal, the chief church of the Agnuttikar, with a Syrian priest and the above mentioned

-
1. Hence the Agnuttikar had a priest and deacon before the time of Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini. Without mentioning this instance Msgr. Maurelius Stabilini in his zeal in advocating the cause of the Agnuttikar had said that the Agnuttikar had priests and also that his predecessors were not admitting to priesthood Latins except the Parunguins and lately also some others. Francis Xavier of St. Anna accuses him of contradiction and remarks that if he knew there were Agnuttikar priests he could have proved that instead of asserting it without proof (See Ambrose a S. Theresia, OCD, op. cit., (*Maurelius Stabilini*)). This, however, is not to our point.

priest of the Agnuttikar community. He also requested the S. Propaganda Congregation to relieve him of his office. Francis Xavier of St. Anna was deputed to inquire into the case. It is from a report of Francis Xavier of St. Anna that we reproduced the words of Mgr. Aurelius Stabilini in the last chapter, namely that the opposition of the Syrians regarding ordination to priesthood of a certain caste (Ezhunnuttikar) ceased when those who were ordained from that caste began to assume the European dress & c. In his report Mgr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna (cited in the last chapter as document 2) says that in his opinion the opposition in promoting the Agnuttikar to priesthood was due to the facts that the others did not want to be laughed at by the non-Christians, that the churches would not like them, that they were vile, rude and litigious &c. But, says he, some of these qualities the other Latins and the Syrians too had. While Francis Xavier of St. Anna was making his inquiries, the Agnuttikar (called the fisherman caste) sent up a petition to the Pope requesting for priests from their community. Aurelius Stabilini eventually left Malabar. The S. Propaganda Congregation in its Instruction dated June 1832 directed that the sons of fishermen were not to be excluded from priesthood though the number of priests from among them was not to be more than four or five. These priests were to be taught not in Verapoly, but in Bombay, and they were to be put in charge of churches of their own or of churches in which the majority was their caste. But because of certain difficulties the S. Propaganda Congregation permitted delay of execution of the Instruction. Whereupon one of the two priests mentioned above made so great an opposition that he became odious even to his own and was asked to leave Malabar. In 1835 Mgr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna wrote saying "Regarding this question Malabar remains perfectly tranquil now."² We need not enter here into the later history regarding when and how the Agnuttikar began to have priests again from among them as they have now. Now they have a bishop of their own (Michael Arattukalam) with his seat at Alleppey. He has jurisdiction over the Agnuttikar churches existing in the diocese of Cochin. It is worth mentioning that during the troubles under Aurelius Stabilini the Syrians stood by the Agnuttikar.

2. Analecta, OCD, 1. c.

Let us now come to the contentions of the Agnuttikar regarding their origin. The Agnuttikar would say now that they are St. Thomas Christians who adopted the Latin rite. The Malayalam term Agnuttikar may be twisted as Agnur-kar meaning "those from Agnur" which is a place north of Trichur. Hence the Agnuttikar say that they are St. Thomas Christians from Agnur who settled down on the sea coast and took to the profession of fishing. This argumentation has no weight in the light of what we have exposed above. If the derivation of the term Agnuttikar be such as they say, they themselves would not have accepted, as they have done, its English translation as the "Five Hundred." Again, since the other two names, Ezhunnuttikar and Munnuttikar, do not hearken back to place names but to the numbers 700 and 300 respectively we have to take the Agnuttikar also as a term denoting the number 500.

Some mitigate the aforesaid claim and say that they originated from the converts of Sabor and Aprotá (see above). But in the 16th century there were no such converts in places where the Agnuttikar dwelt. For, as we saw in the report about the diocese of Cochin for the year 1598, the (Latin rite) Christians on the coast between Cochin and Quilon were new converts distributed into nine parishes. (Those from Quilon to the cape of Comarin also were new converts.)

We have seen what the documents (1 and 2) we adduced in the last chapter (especially Document 2) speak about the origin of Agnuttikar. The whole story of their ordination to priesthood is enough to refute their claim of St. Thomas Christian origin. The church of S. Andrea, Arthingal, was the chief church of Agnuttikar. There were converts in that locality already before the church was put up in 1581. Peter Jarric says that the king of the place in whose territory there were many christians, would not give permission to build a church there and that the Christians of that place because of the king's opposition *had to remain for 12 years without a church*. The king at last gave his consent, says the same Peter Jarric, permitting to take materials even from a non-Catholic shrine. Not only Christians but also non-Christians contributed towards

the building of the church.³ Fr. Fenicio SJ laboured many years in this church. Within the radius of 20 miles there were five more churches and two missionaries used to work there before the advent of the Dutch.⁴ The church and the whole mission were under the bishop of Cochin. We refer back to the report of the diocese of Cochin for the year 1598 which categorically says that the faithful of this area under Cochin were new converts.

It is said (see note 3) that there were some St. Thomas Christians (residents)? in or near Arthingal. It is also said that these Christians had a chapel there which was under the Syrian church of (south) Pallipuram first, and then under the Syrian church of Muttam four or five miles away from Arthingal. The chapel is said to have been extinct when the church of St. Andreas was built close to it or contiguous to its wall in 1581. What happened to these St. Thomas Christians if they were residents there? Did they leave the place or were they absorbed into the Latin Community? If they were absorbed into the Latin community and if they were an appreciable number how could the report of the diocese of Cochin for the year 1598

-
3. Peter du Jarric SJ, op. cit., pp. 521, 522, 519, 520. Citing pp. 521, 519 of the book of Peter du Jarric some one said that the Jesuit Missionaries saw in Arthingal ancient Christian families, that the St. Thomas Christians too contributed for the church. (*The Deepika Special*, Kottayam, 1952, Dec. 3, p. 158). But Peter Jarric here does not use the adjectives *ancient* and *St. Thomas* while speaking of Christians. But the Jesuit Annual Letter of 1597 (Napoli, 1607, p. 536) speaks of veteres Christiani when it speaks of St. Andreas' church "inter ethnicos". The St. Thomas Christians there had the monopoly of entering the church while the local new converts from low castes were to be in the porch. Low caste converts from elsewhere and the slaves of the St. Thomas Christians could enter the church with the St. Thomas Christians *Jesuit Archives*, Rome, Goa, 65, ff. 16-21). Were these St. Thomas Christians, whether residents or not of the place parishioners of St. Andreas' is a question to be answered. If so what happened to them when the report about the diocese of Cochin was written in 1598? Does not the report say that all Christians under Cochin between Cochin and Quilon were new converts?
4. Ferroli D, op. cit., II, p. 74.

categorically say that the Christians of the place under Cochin were new converts? Would any one say that they gave origin to the Agnuttikar!

The agnuttikar community has always remained distinct from St. Thomas Christians. The latter were always treating the former as of an origin different from their own. We cite below the words of Joseph Sebastiani Commissary Ap. who was sent to Malabar after the Coonan Cross oath of 1653. Says he: "When I was in Muttano (Muttam) there came to me a *serious Christian* from St. Andreas a place near the coast, and at once the Christians of St. Thomas wanted to go away because he descended from the caste of Muccuas who were fishermen; but the good vicar made them stay on with these words: 'all can approach the font where there is medicine by which infection is removed and there is also the Apostolic delegate who can deal with all'. I spoke several times with this Christian of St. Andreas' *the chief man among the people*, Andrea Pereira, one who has knowledge of herbal medicines, a master in wrestling (and) much esteemed by and dear to the king of Cochin; through him I penetrated into certain secrets of importance with some advantage".⁵

The St. Thomas Christians in the 16th century, nay, even almost to the present day avoided the near approach of low caste people. High class Hindus also did the same. The attitude shown by the St. Thomas Christians of Muttam towards the chief man of St. Andreas' in question due to his having of the Mucua caste, the same attitude was being shown to the whole Agnuttikar community by the High caste Hindus also. The Carmelite historian Ambrose of St. Theresia says that those of the fishermen community (Agnuttikar) were held in such contempt by the gentiles and infidels that if a gentile met them they had to keep at a distance lest the gentile should be defiled.⁶ The same is the idea contained in the words of "the good vicar" of Muttam cited above regarding the relations between St. Thomas Christians and Agnuttikar. It is clear,

5. Sebastiani G, Prima Spedizione all' Indie Orientali, Roma, 1666, Lib. II, c. 12, p. 134.

6. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, OCD, op. cit., p. 306.

therefore, the Agnuttikar are not St. Thomas Christians. The Agnuttikar have now attached the qualification *Nazrani* to one of their associations. The term *Nazrani* as well as that of *Mapila* are titles of honour exclusively used as such to denote St. Thomas Christians. Nevertheless, as ordinary word meaning Christian both can be and are used to signify any baptised person or group.⁷ Joseph Sebastiani says again: "For some time I was in Muttano (Muttam) doing all that could be done for the benefit of that Christianity holding several times general meetings and governing the Serra (Malabar) without great labour. I contracted friendship with Fr. Gio: de Silva of the Society of Jesus whom I was having with me often enjoying his sweet conversation, he being the rector in St. Andreas a place near (Muttam) along the sea *pertaining to the diocese of Cochin*; and he always favoured me greatly, but more particularly on the feast of our holy Mother Theresa which I celebrated solemnly in that place where at that time Fr. Gio Taddeo baptised a certain gentile; and many St. Thomas Christians were also coming to render submission."⁸

What we have exposed above clearly indicate that St. Andreas was not a church of the St. Thomas Christians. The passage just cited from Joseph Sebastiani makes it clear that St. Andreas was in the diocese of Cochin, not in that of Angamale (Cranganore). It was also started under Cochin as we saw above. The St. Thomas Christians who were always going there (?) to make submission certainly belonged to other places and they were going there (?) because Joseph Sebastiani

7. Among the St. Thomas Christians there is a saying that the Christians of Malabar are : *Nazrani Mapala* (St. Thomas Christians) ; *Topaz Mapila* (Topaz Christian) ; *Mara Mapila* (Christians of the tree i. e. those who draw toddy from cocoanut trees : this is aimed at the Ezhunnuttikar among whom are converts from Iravas whose traditional profession is toddy drawing from cocoanut trees) ; *Nir Mapila* (Christians of the waters, i. e. those who fish : this is aimed at the Agnuttikar). Here *Mapila* is used in the ordinary sense of Christian, and *Nazrani* in the honorific sense. In some old Malayalam MSS and in certain catechism books the doctrines exposed there in are said to be such as are to be believed by all *Nazrani*'s. *Nazrani* is used there not in the honorific, but in the ordinary sense of Christian.

8. Sebastiani G, op. cit., p. 126

was there (?). There are some Agnuttikar who say that St. Andreas' joined the Coonan Cross oath against the Jesuits just to insinuate that St. Andreas' was a church of the latinised St. Thomas Christians. But we have seen that St. Andreas' was not a church of the St. Thomas Christians: Hence we need not labour the point whether it joined the Coonan Cross oath or not. If it joined the oath it could have been due to the veteres Christiani of whom we spoke above when we dealt with the story of the building of the church of St. Andreas'. We think we may now pass on to other topics.

In 1838 owing to Padroado troubles the Sees of Cranganore and Cochin were temporarily suppressed. The faithful of these two sees, both Syrian and Latin, were then put under the Vicar Ap. of Malabar. Then at the request of the St. Thomas Christians who had come from under the archdiocese of Cranganore the Holy See granted to the then Vicar Ap. the title of archbishop *AD honorem* which was given to his successors also. Now that all the Latin Rite Christians of Cochin too were under the Carmelite Vicar Ap., the Carmelites extended their missionary activities to the south beyond Quilon. In 1853/5 a Vicariate Ap. under the Propaganda was erected in Quilon (already set apart as a separate territory since 1845) for the Latin rite Christians and was entrusted to the Carmelites. Quilon proved a fertile mission field. The Carmelites turned their attention to the north also, but this does not concern us here.^{8b}

The Syrians as ever before were yearning for bishops of their own rite. At the request of some of them the Catholic chaldean Patriarch sent to them a Chaldean bishop by name Thomas Roccas, 1861. Believing that Roccas was legitimately sent to them many Syrians followed him. But being excommunicated Roccas returned to his place in 1864. Msgr. Bernadine was the Vicar Ap. of Malabar—by now called Vicar Ap. of Verapoly—at that time, and Fr. Cyriac Chavara (superior of the Syrian Carmelite Congregation founded in 1831/54) was his Vicar General for the Syrians.

8b. This was the occasion for the erection of the Vicariate Ap. of Mangalore in the north. The Vicar Ap. of Malabar then came to be known as Vicar Ap. of Verapoly.

By virtue of the concordat concluded between the Holy See and Portugal in 1857, and executed in 1863/4 the (Padroado) sees of Cranganore and Cochin were restored. The Syrians, therefore, again came under the Padroado and Propaganda Jurisdictions. During the troubles caused by Roccas in St. Thomas Christian body, nor any St. Thomas Christian church became Latin. In the history of the troubles caused by Roccas written by the aforesaid Fr. Cyriac Chavara we find no mention of any latinisation at all.⁹ When certain Syrian churches followed Roccas the parishioners who remained faithful either put up sheds to have Divine services performed in them or had their spiritual needs attended to in their neighbouring Latin churches. But when the troubles ceased all returned to their former churches. At the most one could think (?) that individuals might have remained back here and there attached to Latin churches. Msgr. Bernardine under whom were *all the Syrians* during the period under review until 1864, was very scrupulous in not allowing any change of rite. In his report submitted to the S. Propaganda Congregation in 1867, to the query whether the faithful pass from one rite to another Msgr. Bernardine answers thus: "I do not permit any one to pass into another rite, but if convenience is given they pass of their own accord. This is a rare thing in the middle group, more frequent among people of lower classes (*nella gente minuta*) and is not intentional since they adapt where they are, but if I find them out I oblige them to keep their own."¹⁰

The desire of the Syrians to be under a bishop of their own rite gave rise to another trouble in 1874. This time the trouble was caused by the Chaldean bishop Elias Mellos sent by the catholic Chaldean Patriarch. This time also people were made to believe that Elias Mellos was legitimately sent to Malabar. The schism of Elias Mellos is perpetuated in a handful of Syrians who after 1907 became Nestorians and adopted the East Syrian rite in its non-latinised form. The Carmelite Vicar Ap. of Verapoly (Malabar) during the troubles caused by Elias Mellos was Msgr.

9. This work in the original Ms is kept in the archives of the St. Joseph's (Syrian) monastery, Mannanam.
10. Archives of the S. Prop. Congre., Rome, *Scritture riferite nel congr. Indie Orien. a. 1865-1867*, Vol. 19, f. 1130: ad 90.

Leonard. The period that followed the arrival and departure of Thomas Roccas was a troubled one chiefly because of the restoration of the Padroado jurisdiction of Cranganore and Cochin. The schism of Elias Mellos brought in greater troubles. Msgr. Kierkels CP Delegate Ap. in India writes: "... When later the Padroado jurisdiction ceased to be impeded and administrators were appointed by Goa, during the long vacancy of suffragan sees, a number of St. Thomas Christians reverted to Cranganore jurisdiction. Others seem to have passed to the Latin rite both under Propaganda and Padroado jurisdictions, and their descendants have sometimes called themselves "Latin Syrians."¹¹ This is only a conjecture of Msgr. Kierkels. He says that the descendants of those who *seem* to have passed into the Latin rite have sometimes called themselves Latin Syrians. No, it is not the descendants as such of any ones, but it is the Latin rite Christians, especially the Ezhunnuttikar, that have called themselves Latin Syrians: This means that those who are said "to seem to have passed into the Latin Rite" at that time did not, if they did, constitute themselves into a distinct community.¹² If some passed into the Latin rite (which was not impossible in the case of individuals) they became one with Latin community of the time. We have seen how the Latin rite community had its origin and how numerous it was at its very start. As Msgr. Bernardine says (see above) this kind of change of rite could be only "rare in the middle groups, more frequent among people of lower classes", and also unintentional. .

Msgr. Leonard is said to have written in the Catholic Directory of India (1887, p. 138; 1888, p. 143) that the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar (of Joseph Sebastiani) "when it was erected on 3rd December 1659 ... embraced all the churches of the Latin-Syriac and Syro-Chaldaic rites." It is argued that "the churches of the Latin-Syriac rite", in the mind of Msgr. Leonard, stands for "Latin Syrians" or for latinised St. Thomas Christians. But even as late as 1750 (and also for a long time afterwards) though the non-Catholic St. Thomas Christians (Jacobites) were

-
11. Kierkels L, cp, *The Sixtieth Anniversary of the Catholic Hierarchy of India*, Bangalore, 1940, p. VII.
 12. If a few Latin rite Christians single them out as St. Thomas Christians the whole Latin rite community will take them to task.

using the latinised liturgical books of their Catholic brethren, the Syro-Malabarians¹³, they had however, gone back to certain old practices such as v. g. the use of *leavened bread* in the celebration of Mass. They and their rite, therefore, were called Chaldean while the catholic Syrians (Syro-Malabarians) and their latinised rite were called Syro-Latin. Thus Msgr. de Soledade of Cochin wrote to Rome "tutte quelle chiese schismatiche secondo l'antico rito caldaico consagrano in fermentato .. Ma supposta .. che mutino loro rito caldaico nel Soriano Latino..."¹⁴ Thus, the schismatic St. Thomas Christians were once called "Soriani Caldei" and the Catholic Syrians "Soriani Latini".^{14a} These peculiar terminologies do not seem to have been noted by those who affirm that the expression 'Latin-Syriac' stands for Syrians who adopted the Latin rite! In fact the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar when it was erected (in 1569?) embraced within its territory the dissidents who came to be called "of the Syro-Chaldaic Rite." It is said that Msgr. Leonard and his successor prohibited under pain of excommunication the latinised St. Thomas Christians under them not to reveal their change of rite. Did they do so? Certainly the two Prelates had to take particular care lest some Latins (those of lower class especially) should pass unnoticed under Syrian jurisdiction when the latter was *in fieri* and *in facio esse* (1887-1896, and a few years after 1896). Some would even adduce as a plea for such passing over that they were Syrians once. *In dubio melior est conditio possidentis*. If an appreciable number of Syrians had passed into the Latin rite at any time their identity could not be hidden in a country like Malabar. Here again we say that individuals might have merged unnoticed into the Latin community. Now let us see what Msgr. Leonard say in his report sent to the S. Propaganda Congregation in 1878: He says: "The *origin* of the Christians adhering to the Latin rite is from the Portuguese who, immediately after they had taken possession of the Malabar Coast, gradually, through the work of priests, were able to form some communities of

13. Archives of the S. Propaganda Congregation, Rome, *Istoria della Missione del Malabar*, Congre. Part. Vol. 109.

14. Archives of the S. Propaganda Congregation, Rome, *Scritti riferiti nelle Congr. Gener.* a 1794, Vol. 899, ff. 223, 224.

14a. The head of the schismatic St. Thomas Christians is often called in Roman documents as "Archidiarum Chaldaicus".

Christians of the caste said to be of fishermen. The government of these was provided for through priests and through the introduction of the sons of St. Francis, Dominic and Ignatius as missionaries. These working through the preaching of the Gospel converted many from the noble castes also.¹⁵ Msgr. Leonard says (ibid) that if the Apostle St. Thomas preached in Malabar, the origin of the Syrians goes back to the first days of the Church. The mind of Msgr. Leonard could not be expressed clearer than this.

Note: During the centuries the Syrians and the Latins were under the Latin jurisdiction, individuals at different times might have passed over to the Latin rite and *vice versa*. But what kept the Syrians together was more their attachment to their community (caste shaped) and to their antiquity than their attachment to their rite. Hence one can boldly say that change of rite could not have taken place except in the case of individuals. The Latin rite Christians also stood and still stand as distinct communities each with its own caste sentiments and communal isolation. The Topaz and the Ezhunnuttikar are an exception to some extent. But they too were and are treated by the others as separate castes.

Taught by the experiences of the days of Roccas and Mellos the Syrians began to make representations directly to Rome to get bishops of their own rite. Msgr. Leonard was not for giving their request. Rome made inquiries and in 1877 the S. Propaganda Congregation gave Msgr. Leonard a Coadjutor bishop in the person of Msgr. Marcelline (OCD) who was to look, exclusively after the Syrians. Msgr. Leonard could not do anything regarding the Syrians without the consent of Msgr. Marcelline. Msgr. Marcelline was further asked by Rome to take a Vicar General and Councilors for him from among the Syrians. (which, however, he did not!).

In 1886 Verapoly was made an archdiocese. Quilon (till then a Vicariate Ap.) was its suffragan see meant for the Latins. Both these were under the S. Propaganda Congregation. The

15. Carmelite (Disalced) General Archives, Rome, Copy, n. 440 a.

diocese of Cochin remained exclusively for Latins and was suffragan to Goa, both under the Padroado. Cranganore was suppressed its title having been reserved for Portuguese Prelates. The archbishop of Goa became Patriarch of the East Indies (the ancient ALL INDIA of the Syrians!) All the Latin rite Christians of Malabar in places where the Syrians lived in Malabar came under Verapoly, Quilon and Cochin (and Coimbatore). In 1887 a ritual separation was effected between the Syrians and Latins. The Syrians were constituted into the Vicariates Ap. of Trichur and Kottayam under the S. Propaganda Congregation.¹⁶ The Vicars Ap. were respectively Msgr. Medlycott (Anglo-Indian) and Msgr. Lavinge (French Jesuit).

-
16. Is Verapoly the mother of the rest of the dioceses of Malabar? To answer this question we have to take into consideration the historical formation and setting up of the ecclesiastical units of Malabar. Verapoly before it was made an archdiocese was a Vicariate Ap., and it was none other than Vicariate Ap. of Malabar prefigured by the regime of Mar Alexander Parampil (and Joseph Sebastiani OCD.) Before, when and after the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar was started, there existed in Malabar the diocese of Cochin and the archdiocese of Cranganore both under the Padroado. Cochin was erected in 1558 while Cranganore was the ancient Syrian archdiocese of Angamale transferred and transformed into Cranganore. The Vicariate Ap. of Malabar was an interim caretaker arrangement for faithful of Cochin and Cranganore in view of the Dutch opposition against the Portuguese. It got a kind of permanency only in 1838 when, due to Padroado troubles, Cochin and Cranganore were temporarily suppressed. But Cochin and Cranganore were reinstated in 1857/64. When the Latin Indian Hierarchy under the Propaganda was erected in 1886 Verapoly became an archdiocese, Cranganore was suppressed and Cochin remained, as before, suffragan to Goa under the padroado. Then for a short time more till 1887, Verapoly continued to be the caretaker of the Syrians (till the erection of Trichur and Kottayam). But the Syrians were then also under Msgr. Marcelline, the Coadjutor whose Coadjutorship was of a peculiar nature as we have shown above. He was a Coadjutor with all the authority of the Coadjutor; the Coadjutor could not do anything without his consent though his authority was delegated to him by the Coadjutor as prescribed by Rome; he was also to have his own Vicar General and Councillors from among the Syrians. Now the answer is easy.

1886 - Latins

In 1886, we saw, Verapoly was made an archdiocese with Quilon as its suffragan see under the Propaganda, while Cochin still remained as Goa's suffragan under the Padroado. In 1930 Verapoly was divided for the erection of the Latin diocese of Vijayapuram. Then came the division of Quilon and the erection of Kottar first, and then of Trivandrum. In 1950 the Portuguese government withdrew its Padroado from over Cochin and then Cochin was made suffragan to Verapoly. By a division of Cochin the diocese of Alleppey too was erected. Again, the Latin diocese of Calicut comprising the territories in the north which roughly were under Cochin and Cranganore successively, and then under the Latin diocese of Mangalore under the Propaganda, was also made suffragan to Verapoly. Thus we have at present the following ecclesiastical units in Malabar: Verapoly, Quilon, Vijayapuram, Kottar, Trivandrum, Cochin, Alleppey, and Calicut - all under Propaganda. Of these Kottar is not suffragan to Verapoly now.

The archbishop of Verapoly retaining his title of Verapoly has shifted his residence and Cathedral to Ernakulam. The church at Verapoly (the former Cathedral) is a parish attached to a Carmelite (Latin First Order) monastery. This Carmelite monastery has among its buildings the former residence of the Carmelite Vicar Ap. (Archbishop) and the former seminary edifice including the quarters once set apart for the Syrian clerics. The seminary was transferred to Puthanpally and then to Alwaye. It is entrusted to the Latin First Order Carmelites and is inter-ritual being under S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches. The seminary is now under the S. Propaganda and the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches. The Carmelites (OCD) are not Rectors; Rectors are from the three rites one after the other respectively. The monastery of Verapoly is indianised. Of the Latin ecclesiastical units mentioned above all except Calicut, are Indianised.¹⁷

17. When this study was completed in 1963 Vijayapuram and Trivandrun were not Indianised. The status of the seminary is said to be what it was in 1963. Now it is changed.

We will now speak a little about the principal communal elements in each of the above-mentioned dioceses.

Verapoly: Ezhunnuttikar (the great majority), Anglo-Indians (Parunguis), a few Agnuttikar, and some other castes - in all 170,868.

Quilon: Anglo-Indians, those of fish in the sea, those who fish in the back-waters, those of fish in rivers, those who do not fish, other caste Christians — in all 129,413.¹⁸

Vijayapuram: Depressed classes (the great majority), those who in Quilon are called Korukar with some others ... in all 71,000.

18. Here is a short description of these distinctions. In Kandachira, Chemmanad, Kanjirakodu, Kumpalam, Kallada, Sasthankodu there are those who fish in the blackwaters forming a community without intermarriage with other catholics of the same place. They marry with those of their community who are found in Anjengo, Murikkumpuzha, Puthukkurichi &c. In Kandachira and other places there is another community which the others call as of Kaniar origin. Those of Pavookara, Parimala, Mavelikara, Tharamuk, Valiaperumpuzha, Arammula are called Korukar and they fish in the rivers. They marry with those of their community found in Mangat five miles away from Quilon. Those who are found between Kozhithottam and Punnapra do not fish and form another community. On the coast near Quilon among those who fish in the sea there are "Northerners" and "Southerners" without intermarriage. We have seen that the 18th century documents speak only of three main communities of Latin rite Christians which are Topaz, Mucuas and Ezhunnuttikar. Some of the communities mentioned here live in places where there are also schismatic St. Thomas Christians. The schismatic St. Thomas Christians call them Murcar in general. This about the diocese of Quilon. In other Latin units also there are similar distinctions besides those we have given above. These distinctions are founded on the castes to which the Christians belonged before their conversion. Among the Syrians too there are such distinctions based on caste. our thanks are due to a friend who kindly gave us the details we have given here about the diocese of Quilon. Though caste is legally abolished in India, it preserves in every day life more or less as before. It will take centuries, it seems, before it will disappear from the everyday life of the people.

- (Kottar: Nadar, Vellalas. Fishermen and others — in all 198,054).
- Trivandrum: Nadar, Anglo-Indians, some of those of Quilon — in all 249,057.
- Cochin: Ezhunnuttikar, Anglo-Indians & c — in all 101,099. The bishop has jurisdiction over the Ezhunnuttikar churches of the territory of Alleppey.
- Alleppey: Agnuttikar, Anglo-Indians, Chavalakar & c in all 70,838. The bishop has jurisdiction over the Agnuttikar churches of the territory of Cochin.
- Calicut: Anglo-Indians, Depressed classes & c — in all 29,181.¹⁹

1886/7 The Syrians

As said above, in 1887 the Vicariates Ap. of Trichur and Kottayam were erected for the Syrians under the Propaganda with non-Carmelite Vicar Ap. set over them. Since this was effected by a separation of the Syrians from the Latins (*ritualis separatio*) the two Vicariates Ap. were erected *ratione ritus*. Then in 1896, Kottayam [having been suppressed, the Syrians were constituted into the Vicariates Ap. of Trichur, Ernakulam and Changanacherry. These three, moreover, were entrusted to Syrian Prelates under the Propaganda.²⁰ In 1911 a "new Vicariate Ap." was erected *ratione gentis* with its seat at Kottayam for those who are known as Southists who are of an origin different from that of the other Syrians though all be of the same rite. In 1923 Ernakulam was raised to a metropolis with the other units as suffragan sees. Again, in 1950 Palai was erected by a division of

-
19. The numbers are for the year 1962. Till a little before Quilon was Indianised it was counting thousands of new converts every year. The Latin Indian Prelates to are very zealous in conversion work. Nevertheless the Indianised dioceses have not that mission aspect which they had when they were under European Prelates.
20. The Vicar Ap. of Ernakulam was Mar Aloysius Pareparampil. He was one of the seven Syrian Carmelites whom Msgr. Leonard of Verapoly expelled from the Syrian Carmelite Congregation for having sent up petitions to Rome to get a separate bishop. He was in fact the ring leader.

Changanacherry. In view of the emigrants who had colonised the territory of the Latin diocese of Calicut, the diocese of Tellicherry was erected in 1953. In 1955 the Syrian territory was considerably extended so as to be coextensive with the territories of the above mentioned Latin diocese plus the territories of the Latin dioceses of Coimbatore, Mysore, Ootty and Mangalore. 1956 saw the division of Ernakulam for the erection of Kothamangalam. In the same year Changanacherry was also made a metropolis, with Kottayam and Palai as suffragan sees. The other units are the suffragans of Ernakulam. From 1917 onwards the Syrians are under the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches. Between 1962 and 1972 six mission Exarchates were entrusted to the Syrians in Central and North India.

All these ecclesiastical units except that of Kottayam have territorial jurisdiction in the full sense of the term over the faithful of the Syrian rite, and all except Kottayam make conversions from among the non-Christians of the territory. In the whole of the Syrian territory the bishop of Kottayam exercises personal jurisdiction over the Southists.

In the mission Exarchates the faithful of other rites are under the Syrian jurisdiction. The Syrians outside the Syrian ecclesiastical territory are under Latin jurisdiction.

In the territory of the Syrian dioceses the new converts from depressed classes remain as a rule as distinct communities without intermarriage with the others. But individual converts who are socially and economically well off are (though with some difficulty) amalgamated with the ancient Syrians through intermarriages.

The East Syrian rite which the Portuguese mutilated and latinised is gradually being restored to its genuine form. It is the Holy See that has taken the lead in this all important matter. The Syrian clergy because of the formation they get under the Latins do not know where they are both liturgically and canonically! Hence re-latinization of the de-latinized rite has begun to take place!

We have been dealing hitherto with the catholic Syrians of the most ancient rite of India. There are also catholic Syrians

of the Antiochene or Malankara rite (West Syrian). The St. Thomas Christians who after the Coonan Cross Oath of 1653 became Jacobites gradually adopted this rite. They are now spilt up into several sects. Till 1930 laymen becoming catholics from among them were being received into the Malabar (East Syrian) rite, and priests rarely in the Malankara rite itself. In 1930 two Prelates became catholic and started a mass movement towards union. They retain the Malankara rite and have a separate heirarchy. They also make converts from among the non-Christians. The new converts as a rule remain as separate communities. This new heirarchy also is under the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches. Malankara is another name for Malabar.

* * * * *

Statistics for 1962 :

1984

Malabarians

Ernakulam	226,567	..	..	..	..	349,165
Trichur	351,677	..	..	}	Irinjalakuda	207,064
					Trichur	349,165
					Palghat	38,204
Tellicherry	168,297	..	..	}	Tellicherry	309,856
					Mananthody	110,000
Kothamangalam	143,617	..	..	..	..	322,700
Changanacherry	335,756	..	..	}	Changanacherry	333,194
					Kanjirappally	141,425
Palai	230,556	..	..	..	..	278,175
Kottayam	71,154	..	..	..	..	108,775

Malankarians

Trivandrum	100,418	..	..	..	..	210,233
Tiruvalla	24,015	..	..	..	..	35,561
Bathery	..	..	..	..	..	10,000

Ps: The Syro-Malabar Mission Eparchies (Chanda, Satna, Sagar, Ujjain, Jagdalpur, Bijnor, Rajkot, Gorakpur) have 30,885 faithful in them This statistics of 1984 is according to the Catholic Directory of India (Publishers)

CHAPTER SIX

Some Churches and Latinisation

In this chapter we will deal with the latinisation of the churches of the St. Thomas Christians. Fr. Bernard (Syrian Carmelite) in his history of the St. Thomas Christians gives the names of certain churches which, he says, were latinised. We give below his list and also the details of latinisation as given by him.

1. Cannanore, Calicut, Thodamala. Fr. Bernard says that these churches were latinised after 1653 because there were no Prelates to look after them after the Coonan Cross oath of 1653.
2. Two churches at Cranganore. He says these were latinised after 1701 since the Carmelite Vicars Ap. were ruling over them. While the churches were latinised, says he, some Syrians left the place and some followed the Latin rite.
3. Thuruthipuram. This too, says Fr. Bernard, was latinised as those of Cranganore and for the same reasons.
4. Mattamcherry. He says this was latinised under Msgr. Raphael Figuerdo. (By error he speaks of the St. Thomas church of Cochin which, however, became schismatic)
5. Quilon. He speaks of the two churches one of which, he says, was exchanged with the old church that was given over to the Portuguese.
6. Venduruthy. This was latinised, he says, because of the increase of new converts. Some Syrians left the place, he says, while some became Latins.
7. Verapoly. This is said to have been latinised just like Venduruthy owing to the increase of new converts. The Syrians who left it built the church of Puthanpally.

8. Edacochi. He says this too was latinised due to the increase of new converts. Some Syrians are said to have left the place while the others were latinised.
9. Perumanur. This is said to have been built as Syrian in the beginning of the 19th century and is said to have been latinised with apart of the Syrians.
10. Mathilakam. The Carmelite missionary Prosper is said to have latinised it. Part of the people, he says, built another church close by.

We leave out from the list Petta of Trivandrum, Vadakkumcherry and Melarcodū. Petta of Trivandrum was built by a Syrian chieftain (Thachil Mathoo Tharakan); but it was not Syrian. The others came under Latin jurisdiction after 1896, the people remaining Syrian; but now (since 1955) they are under Syrian jurisdiction.

Remarks:

When it is said that certain churches were latinised we have to be careful not to be deceived by exaggerated statements. Those who have written on this topic including Fr. Bernard had not seen the documents we have now at our disposal. Again, there were churches in which both Syrians and Latins were parishioners. Some of these were built by the Syrians and some by Latin missionaries. Some churches, Syrian or Latin, were frequented by the Syrians or Latins of the locality. When the Latin authorities declared some of these churches as exclusively Latin the Syrians left the place or built churches for themselves. Certain individuals in this case might have become Latin. We will now come to each of above mentioned churches.

1. *Cannanore, Calicut, Thodamala.* We do not think there were Syrians in these places after the 15th century. See the letter of the East Syrian bishops of 1504 cited in a previous chapter. Hence it is not necessary to speak of the latinisation of these churches. From the report of the Cochin diocese for the year 1598 (cited elsewhere) we know that the Jesuits had built a church in Calicut in 1596; but that was a Latin church. It was thought that there were Christians in Thodamala; but on inquiry under bishop Roz SJ it was found that those thought to have been Christians were not such.

2. *Cranganore*. We have already seen that many Syrians, their priests and Prelates left Cranganore when the Portuguese began latinisation. We have also seen that in 1598 Cranganore was a Portuguese town with a fortress having a thousand Latins (under the diocese of Cochin) who went to confession and communion. Again, we saw that the Christian population of Cranganore had dwindled almost to nothing when bishop Roz SJ got the title of Cranganore in 1608. Under the Jesuit Prelates three churches, St. John's, St. James' and St. Thomas', were built in Cranganore where the Jesuits had also a college.¹ Nothing of all these procured for the St. Thomas Christians a church in Cranganore. Cranganore does not appear in the list of "Names of places and villages where stand the churches of the Christians of St. Thomas the Apostle subject to the gentile kings and kinglets".² This list deals with the archdiocese of Cranganore and was prepared in 1654. It includes in it also the churches that had joined the Coonan Cross oath. Hence there were no Syrians (except perhaps some individuals) when Roz SJ fixed his seat there (as we saw above) and also till 1654. It cannot be said that the Christians who were in Cranganore during this period were latinised St. Thomas Christians, since we have already seen what the effect of latinisation was in Cranganore. True the list cited above deals with places and villages under gentile kings, and Cranganore was under the Portuguese. But only the fortress and the town was under the Portuguese. The surrounding places were under a gentile king and the Syrians had no church there as the list indicates. We have already seen what the nature of the Christian element was in the town of Cranganore.

When the Dutch took Cranganore they found in the fort (1663/4) two churches including the Cathedral.³ The Dutch were not for a catholic community to flourish in Cranganore. The Latins who were there got weaker after the Dutch invasion. The Carmelites were looking after these Latins since they were under the Dutch as all the other Latins where the Dutch exerted their influence. In the report of Lawrence Justiniani cited in a

1. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., II, p. 337.

2. *Jesuit Archives*, Rome, Goa 68, ff. 64, 65.

3. Baldaeus cited by Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., II, p. 20.

previous chapter (1773) we read that in the church of Cranganore there were "a few Latins". The report about the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar for the year 1774 speaks of the church of Cranganore as Latin. In Paulinus' list of Latin churches under the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar⁴ we find a church in Cranganore dedicated to St. Francis Xavier and an oratory dedicated to St. Thomas. Both were set fire to by Tippu Sultan (ibid). This church and oratory are included by Paulinus among those of which he makes the general remark (ibid) that *they were of new converts* and erected by the Franciscan or Jesuit or Carmelite missionaries. We have quoted above the words of Paulinus which state that new converts were ascribed to the Latin churches and that the Latin churches consisted of the new converts. In his list of Latin churches under the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar Paulinus expressly says that Verapoly, Anjikaimal (Ernakulam) and Porcad were shared by both Syrians and Latins. It is clear, therefore, that according to Paulinus the few Latins of Cranganore were new converts. The Latin churches now seen in Cranganore are of very recent origin, one (Kottapuram) of 1872 and the other of 1940. In connection with Cranganore, therefore, there cannot be question of latinised St. Thomas Christians and of latinised churches during the Carmelite regime.

It will be interesting in this connection to go through the document of transaction by which the fortresses of Cranganore and Paliport were bought from the Dutch by the king of Travancore on 31st July, 1789. It reads :

The Lepers' house at Paliporto with the buildings, garden and further ground belonging to it remain in full possession of the Company.

The Romish church at Cranganore and Ayacottah stands from ancient time under the Company and must remain under them. The king shall not interfere with the same or with the persons. The Christians are to remain vassals of the Company and must not be burdened with any new tax.

The person's house at Paliporto which the Governor erected and gave as a present to the church shall remain with the church and no new burdens be permitted,

4. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, OCD, *India Orientalis Christiana* (cited above) pp. 267 sq.

The inhabitants shall keep their gardens and lands that they now possess as private property, such as are Christians remain the same as the Catholic Christian vassals of the Company and must not thus under any pretence be burthened with additional taxes, only paying to the king the sum they formerly paid to the Company.⁵

3. *Thuruthipuram*: If Thuruthipuram existed as a latinised church before 1598, the report about the diocese of Cochin for the year 1598 would have mentioned as a church existing under Cochin. But the report does not speak of any church under Cochin near Cranganore or thereabouts (Thuruthipuram is in this locality). It speaks of only churches of new converts in the islands near Cochin. Again, Thuruthipuram is a place which was in the territory of the archdiocese of Cranganore, and in that part no isolated place was assigned to the diocese of Cochin by the executorial decree of Dom Menezes of which we have already spoken. Hence if it was a church of the St. Thomas Christians of the archdiocese of Cranganore in 1654 in the above cited list of churches Thuruthipuram too would have appeared. But it does not. If Tirtiport of Raulin is Thuruthipuram then we have to say that Thuruthipuram existed as a Latin church when Raulin wrote his book (1745). (We shall have to speak of Raulin a little below). It is curious that the name of Thuruthipuram or Tirtiport or anything similar does not occur in the list of Latin churches in the above mentioned report of 1774, nor in the list of churches of Fr. Francis Sales OCD of 1773.⁶ Papanatti occurs in these two lists. But it was a Latin church. Lawrence Justiniani's description of the locality of Cranganore and Papanate is:

Papanate servitta da un prete soriano dotto in deffetto di Latini... Passai finita la visita a Cranganore fortezza antica con commandanti e soldati per lo piu g'n validi con

5. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, Trivandrum, 1902, pp. 390, 391.

6. Here is the list: Verapole, Ciattiati, Bendurte, Perumani (Perumanur: two public oratories dedicated to the most Holy Cross, Cross of the miracles: Latin church), Balluraparte, Vaipin, Matenceri, Manacherry, Saudiquel, Edacocil or Castella, Palliporto, Cranganore, Papanate, Cettua, Manacorte, Taquin, Cattur, Tumboli.

abitazione di pochi latini al fuora col fiume et altro canale andanti al mare e passanti sotto l'alte muraglie per due financhi, di la dal canale proveniente da Papanate e v vi una capelletta dove reside il paroco, la chiesa grande fabricata in terreno basso.

This description shows the locality of Papanate, and it seems it was some where near Thuruthipuram.^{6a} Lawrence Justiniani continues saying that "from Papanate, Cranganore and Paliport I passed to Parur." The Syrians gave him a grand reception at Parur. It was then that the Latins retired since the Syrians would not mix with them as we have already said. We quote once more the words of Lawrence Justiniani: "... ritirandosi li latini cristiani poiche quasi non vorrebbero li mappila siro caldei framischiarci quetti credenti nobili Christiani cogl'altri Latini da Europa discendenza siano o neofiti giusta il pragiudizio de gentili." Then he says that unless the Vicar Ap. and the missionaries had acted otherwise the Syrians would have fallen into the error of noble Christian gentiles "avendo sempre conservato il punto di non dare le loro figlie... .. &c" (as cited elsewhere). This would show that the Latins of Cranganore, Papanate and Paliport were new converts.

In Paulinus' list mentioned above the name Thuruthipuram does not appear though in the map given by him there is marked Thuruthipuram;⁷ but in the list he does not mention Papanate. Does this mean that Thuruthipuram was not built by missionaries as the other churches of the list which Paulinus says were built by missionaries? Raulin's Tirtiport of 1745 was Latin as Raulin says. What about Papanate which Paulinus does not mention and the lists of 1774 and 1773 do mention without mentioning Thuruthipuram? See note 6a above. Papanate was destroyed by Tippu before 1799.

6a. Msgr. Francis Xavier OCD. V. Ap. in his report of July 10, 1832 says Papanate was 40 miles north of Verapoly, was a flourishing centre of Christians, was destroyed in the war of Tippu: its inhabitants were killed or destroyed also where and the church almost ruined. After Tippu's death (1799) some Christians returned to the place, but they were few and poor. Archives S. Congr. Prop. Fide, Roma. Scritt Riferit. nei Congr. Vol. 40, f. 476.

7. Paulinus, *India Orientalis Christiana* (op. cit.) to face p. 235.

4. *Mattamcherry*. In the great controversy that took place between the bishop of Cochin and bishop Roz SJ regarding jurisdiction in Cranganore, Paliport &c a witness who was heard in the process deposited the following as known to all:

Mar Joseph, Predecessor of Mar Abraham, when in Cochin, resided in the house possessed by one Antonio Coelho⁸ and from there he decided the cases of Christians who went to him from all parts; this caused some differences between him and the bishop of Cochin; but Mar Joseph would not give up the possession he had in Cochin; the Syrians built the St. Thomas church in Cochin;^{8a} when the bishop of Cochin usurped it they built the one of Mattamcherry close by where the bishop of the Syrians exercised jurisdiction always as he was doing in Palluruthi; the bishop of Cochin had usurped the churches of Mattamcherry and Palluruthi which, however, he restored at the instance of the archbishop of Goa.⁹ This was an answer to the bishop of Cochin who claimed that for 50 years the churches were under him and that he had acquired the right prescription. Against this it was said that the St. Thomas Christians were schismatic during those 50 years and so there could be no prescription. The answer from the side of the bishop of Cochin was that no one had noted any schism.

After this process was over, by the arrangement that settled the controversy before 1610 Mattamcherry and Palluruthi (we think also St. Thomas' Cochin) were put under Cochin. But this did not latinise these churches. Mattamcherry as a Syrian church took part in the Coonan Cross oath of 1653. After some years we find it as a Latin church, the St. Thomas' of Cochin as schismatic and Palluruthi as Syrian and catholic. Even today these exist in this state.¹⁰ When the Dutch took Cochin many

8. This would show that the Syrians had no church in Cochin or nearby at that time.

8a. This church and the church of Mattamcherry were built probably after Mar Joseph's death (1569) by Syrians who settled down there for trade.

9. *Jesuit Archives*, Rome Goa, 65, Vol. II, f. 4.

10. The Jesuit annual letters of 1594, 1595, 1597 speak of Palluruthi. To the Jesuit mission of Palluruthi, the letters of 1594 and 1595 clearly say, pertained only new converts (non enim huc pertinent Thomaei) - *Litterae Annuae Societatis Jesu*, Napoli, 1604. pp. 849, 850; *Ibid.* Napoli, 1607, p. 534.

Syrians are said to have left Mattamcherry. Due to the preponderance of new converts, it is said, Mattamcherry was latinised. When? It is said that Raphael Figueredo who exercised jurisdiction in Cochin also¹¹ latinised it. But it was the Carmelites who carried on a vigorous mission work in Mattamcherry. Paulinus says that Msgr. Florence, Carmelite Vicar Ap. of Malabar (+1773) enlarged the oratory and the house of the Carmelites at Mattamcherry.¹² Paulinus also says^{12a} that Mattamcherry was one of the churches built by the missionaries and that it was composed of new converts (when he wrote, 1794). This means that the Syrian element in Mattamcherry was next to nothing if any. The church built by the Syrians was rebuilt by the Carmelite missionaries. This must be the reason why Paulinus includes the church among those built by the missionaries. Hence the Syrians must have left the place or joined the St. Thomas' church and became schismatics. We don't deny individuals might have remained back.

5. *Quilon*. We see only one church in Quilon. It was not latinised, but exchanged with another, the Portuguese taking it. We have spoken at length about it. Still, we may say something more.

We saw above that the church of the Syrians at Quilon (the one exchanged) was under Cranganore and that the Syrians had not mixed with the Portuguese. But the number of the Syrians of Quilon was steadily decreasing. Fr. Campori SJ wrote about this as follows on Aug. 20, 1618: "Formerly there was there (Coulam = Quilon) a large number of St. Thomas Christians, and more than 700 years ago they had a church in the very place where the cathedral and the fortress stand at present. Great privileges and revenues had been given them by the kings as I intend to relate it in extense another time if it so pleases God. *But after the coming of the Portuguese and as a sequel of wars* their number was greatly diminished. *They are now very few* and those very few assemble in a church they have

11. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., II, pp. 98-101.

12. Paulinus, *India Orientalis Christiana* (op. cit.), p. 81.

12a. Ibid. pp. 267 sq.

built outside the fortress in upper Coulam".^{12b} The church mentioned here as built outside the fortress is one which as we saw, was under Cranganore and to which the privileges and revenues were assigned after a dispute with the vicar of the other church which the St. Thomas Christians had left to the Portuguese because they would not mix with the Portuguese. As early as 1618 the adherents of this church were very few according to Campori SJ. Note that Campori does not say that the rest were latinised. "The coming of the Portuguese" and "the sequel of wars" had made the rest leave the place or die out. After the Coonan Cross oath of 1653 the Prelates of Cranganore were not paying sufficient attention to the Christians inhabiting the southern part of the archdiocese of Cranganore. As a result the church of Thiruvamcodu (the church of the Thariaikal Christians) became Jacobite. The St. Thomas Christians of Quilon who were *very few* immigrated into the east and north, to Chathannur and Kallada, and gradually became Jacobite. Their church at Quilon went into ruins through neglect. In its place they (Jacobites) have now put up a church calling it "Syrian church." The custody of this church is in the hands of a Mudalial (Mudalali) family that now resides outside Quilon. This family with its branches glories in having descended from 8/9th century foreign colonists. One Miruvan Sabriso (bishop Sabor?) obtained privileges for the Quilon church. These privileges were written on copper plates. Part of these plates are now with the Jacobites and the other part with the Marthomites (who secede from the Jacobites). The church was called *Tharise church*. The branches of the Mudalial family are now found in Chathannur, Kallada and other places and are Jacobite. Once they were the chief men of the church. Before the Jacobites built the present "Syrian church" on the ruins of the church in question the church existed as Syrian and catholic at least till the middle of the 18th century.

If any appreciable number of Syrians became Latins in Quilon they would have stood as a distinct body. For, the faithful of the diocese of Quilon are divided into Anglo-Indians, into those who fish in the sea, into those who fish in the backwaters

12b. Letter from Vaipicotta, Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., II, pp. 421, 422.

&c as we have seen; There is no St. Thomas Christian element in any of these as there is no distinct St. Thomas Christian Latin community in the diocese.

6. *Venduruthy*. "The island of Bendure" (Venduruthy) says Joseph Sebastiani "was bought from the king of Cochin" by the Portuguese.¹³ When Joseph Sebastiani was in Malabar one Christoforo de Miranda was vicar of Venduruthy. The church had to suffer much from the Dutch invasion. The Verapoly Gazeteer gives 1599 as the date of the foudation of the Venduruthy church. This date is only conjectural. A similar conjectural date in the case of Paliport, as we shall see, is wrong. Paulinus includes this church among those consisting of new converts and built by the missionaries. Hence there cannot be any question of latinisation here. We have seen that the report of the diocese of Chochin for the year 1598 speaks of some islands near (appreso) Cochin in which there were five parishes "of many Christians newly converted to our holy faith."

7. *Verapoly*. The church of Verapoly was built by Carmelite missionaries in 1673. There were a few St. Thomas Christians in the nearby locality. Joseph Sebastiani speaks of "a small (picola) population of the Christians of St. Thomas" a little away from Verapoly.¹⁴ This was in 1658 fifteen years before the church was built. The Carmelites even before building the church had begun mission work at Verapoly. The permission given by the civil authority to build the church begins "...To all the Margakar living in our place of Verapoly..."¹⁵ We have already spoken of the seminary attached to the church. The St. Thomas Christians too joined the Church. We saw above how numbers of non-Christians were every year converted to Christianity at Verapoly. The St. Thomas Christians had naturally to be thrown out. This happened after 1794 since according to Paulinus there were Syrians and Latins attached to the church in 1794.¹⁶ When the church was declared Latin the Syrians built the church of Puthanpally. A few individuals might have remained back.

13. Sebastiani G, *Prima Spedizione...* (op. cit.) p. 165.

14. *Ibid.* p. 165.

15. *The Sathianadam*, Ernakulam, July, 23, 1955.

16. Paulinus *India Orientalis Christiana* (op. cit.) l. c.

We do not know how Verapoly is marked as a Jesuit residence in the geographical Atlas of the society of Jesus by L. Carrez SJ.¹⁷

8. *Edacochi*. The Portuguese call this church Castella and its title is St. Lawrence. The Portuguese influence from Cochin was extended to Edacochi. Paulinus counts this church among those built by the missionaries and consisting of new converts.

9. *Perumanur*. The report of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar for the year 1774 has: "Perumani—two public oratories dedicated to the most holy Cross, Cross of the miracles. Latin church". The church at Perumanur, all admit, was built late in the 18th century. It was a Latin church as the report just cited says. The presence of the Syrians in that locality is not denied. But did they become Latin? If they did, how many? The Syrian church of Konthuruthy was built also for the Syrians who were in Perumanur.

10. *Mathilakam*. The question is how many Syrians remained back and what their condition was when the new church was built by those who held fast to their rite. In addition to the social factor the fact that the two churches exist close to each other stands against the latinisation of any appreciable number of Syrians. Prosper was not an exemplary missionary when he was in Malabar. His behaviour could only deter the Syrians from becoming Latin. He even put the properties of the Verapoly church in the danger of falling into Protestant hands.

Again, we doubt if the first church which is said to have been latinised was a Syrian foundation. Since Mathilakam is not seen in the list of churches of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar prepared by Francis Sales in 1773 (neither among the Latin nor among the Syrian churches)¹⁸ it was built, we may be sure, after 1773. Prosper's activities took place in the beginning of the 19th century before 1832.

17. *Atlas Geographicus Societatis Jesu*, Paris, 1900, p. 43.

18. S. Propaganda Archives, Rome, *Scritti riferiti (India Orient Relaz)* 40, ff. 354-365. It is this document that we have quoted above.

Note. When we deal with the latinisation of churches it is not the material church building that matters, but the congregations that were attached to the churches. Considering the social set up of the communities in Malabar, especially before the 20th century, and the Syrian laymen's part in the putting up of churches and in the administration of temporalities thereof, it is difficult to think that Syrians in appreciable numbers adopted the Latin rite anywhere at any time, or that churches which were Syrian foundations with any appreciable number of Syrians in it were latinised. Add to this, as we have seen, that in the 18th century the assemblies of parishioners of Syrian churches had a hand regarding the appointment of vicars for Syrian churches. About the material church building this question does not come up if the Syrians abandoned them or left the places where such buildings existed. If any appreciable number of Syrians had become Latin in any place intermarriages between them and the other Syrians would have been normal; but no such thing exists anywhere.

It is often said that in such and such places there are several Latin families that were once Syrian. Yes, Suppose that an individual Syrian became Latin. Since intermarriages between Syrians and Latins were and are very rare, the individual in question or his sons had to marry from the Latin community. The same held good for all his descendants. So even after several years there would be the Syrian tradition in several families, specially of the male lines, which branched off from the first family. All would say they were Syrians though the Syrian element in them be negligible. Add to this that in several parts of Malabar families of the same parent family have different surnames.

* * * * *

A "certain" writer wrote in *The Malabar Herald*¹⁹ saying "Writing on Diamper synod Raulin says that at the time of the synod in 1599 or thereabouts there were as many as one hundred and twenty eight churches in Malabar out of which not less than

19. *The Malabar Herald*, Cochin, March 7, 1953.

fifteen belonged to the St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite who had adopted this rite after the arrival of the Portuguese on this coast: *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Synoda Diamperitana*, pp. 428, 429." He then gives the names of these "not less than fifteen churches" as: Verapoly, Chettwaye (Cittua of Raulin), Thuruthipuram (Tirtiport of Raulin), Pallipuram (Paliport of Raulin), Vaipin, Cruz dos Milagres (= Ochanthuruthi), Vallarpadam (Baleport of Raulin), Chathiath (Cittiati of Raulin), Venduruthi (Bendiuti of Raulin), Mattamcherry, Dumia, N. S. de Salute (Saudi), Mundanveli (S. Luis of Rautin²⁰), Manacherry²¹, Edacochi (Castella of Raulin), S. Andrea (Arthingal: Raulin adds oratorium et duo alia prope illud).

We may make the following remarks:

a) Raulin does not speak of the "time of the synod 1599 or thereabouts", but of the time when he wrote i. e. about 1745.

b) Raulin does not use the term "St. Thomas Christians of the Latin Rite."

c) Raulin (l. c) gives the names of churches (mostly the names of places where the churches existed) and against each of several of these he adds the epithet *Syri*, or *Lat*, or *Lat-Carm*, or *Syr-Jesu-Carm Mescaae*, or *Schism*. Thus to Verapoly and Cittiati mentioned in the writer's list Raulin gives the epithet *Lat. Carm*; the other churches of the list of the writer are each marked as *Lat* by Raulin. In Raulin's list Enamaco is *Oratorium Jesuit*, and Mangat *Syr. Jesu. Carm. Moscaae*. Many others Raulin marks as *Schism*.

Raulin's title to the names of the churches is: *Notitia Topographica Malabarica Ecclesiarum Christianorum S. Thomae*. From this title and from the epithet *Lat* added to the churches in question the "certain" writer seems to conclude that the churches in question according to Raulin belonged to St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite. But if Raulin means this we have to say only that Raulin has gone wrong. To see that Raulin (if

20, 21. Raulin has only *S. Luis Lat*. it is shown as "Mundanveli (S. Luis) Manacherry". Is not Manacherry a church of the Agnuttikar, and S. Luis Mundanveli one of the Ezhunuttikar?

he admits the sense of the "certain" writer) has gone wrong, we have only to refer back to the origin of the churches of Arthingal (St. Andreas) and Verapoly which we have given above, We will adduce below a few remarks concerning certain other churches of the "certain" writer's list.

Raulin in his list gives the list also of Synagogues and Mosques in those places. When churches are seen - Raulin in his sub-title says that he perfected the list of Diamper with the help of another document.

II. *Paliport*. The Verapoly Gazeteer gives 1503 as date of the foundation of this church. To know something about the real origin of this church let us go to the annual letters of the Jesuit missionaries. We cite from Guerreiro's *Relacao Annual Das Coisas Que Fizeram os Padros De Companhia de Jesu Nas Suas Missoes* :

Vol. I (Coimbra, 1930) : report for the years 1600-1603; p. 29. The corner stone of the church of Paliport was laid (between 1600 and 1603) in the presence of the Rector of Cochin and of the St. Thomas Christians. Paliport is the stronghold of Mohammedans who capture Christians and Portuguese servants and conduct them to different countries. The church and the residence there will be a check to these Mohammedans and will serve also "for the Christianity we hope to make from the Mucuas and the gentile Cegos" (p. 336). The residence of Paliport and Porcu (Puracat) were attached to Vaipicotta. The work of the Fathers was to conserve those who were Christians and also to make new Christians. A gentile chief was converted at Paliport.

Vol. II. (Coimbra, 1931) : report for the years 1604-1606, p. 161. In Paliport 100 persons were solemnly baptised and in Porcu 52 (pp. 340,341). In Paliport the Fathers continue to give increase to "the new Christianity", but great obstacles are thrown in the way owing to the Jurisdictional dispute between the bishop of Cochin and bishop Roz SJ.

The dispute about jurisdiction, as we saw, was settled by the year 1609/10. In the executorial decree of Dom Menezes the church of Paliport "recenter condita" was assigned to bishop Roz SJ and was included in the territory of Cranganore. Note the qualification "recenter condita" used in the decree of 1610. We have seen that the Jesuits hoped to form a Christianity

at Paliport from Mucuas (fishermen) and Cegos (Iravas the majority of whom near Cochin was already converted as we saw above). At present there are Agnuttikar and Ezhunnuttikar at Paliport. See in this connection Document 2 cited in the fifth chapter which speaks of the origin of Agnuttikar and Ezhunnuttikar, and also the deed of transaction of transfer of the fortresses of Cranganore and Ayacottam from the Dutch to king of Travancore cited in the last Chapter.

12. *Vaipin and Cruz dos Milagres*. Frey Paolo da Trindade, OFM, in his *Conquista Spiritual do Oriente* (1638)²² speaks of two churches in Vaipin built by the Franciscans. One is a Na Sa da Esperanea and the other Sta. Cruz, 1606. Raulin (l. c.) indicates that the church of Vaipin is prope Cruz dos Milagres. Says Francis Day "Beyond Vypeen is the Cruz Mirabile or the wonderful cross, a small wooden church on the banks of an estuary formed by the backwater and erected there after the ancient became submerged".²³ Francis Day wrote this little before 1863.

13. *Cittiati* (Chathiath). In 1763 a Carmelite missionary Mattheo with permission from the Dutch Governor built a church and residence at Chathiath near Ernakulam. Mar Alexander Parampil in favour of the Carmelites exempted the church from episcopal jurisdiction. The decree granting this exemption is produced by Paulinus in his *India Orientalis Christiana* (op. cit.) among Monumenta (p. 263). Chathiath is at present a parish under Verapoly.

It is clear, therefore, that Raulin has gone wrong if by the epithet *Lat* he means "churches of the St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite". If the epithet *Lat* means this in the context, we shall have to say that Enamaco marked as *Orator Jesu* means an oratory of the St. Thomas Christian Jesuits, or that Mangat marked as *Syr. Jesu. Carm.* makes of Mangat a church of Syr. Jesu. Carmelite St. Thomas Christians. So too Verapoly and Chathiath would be Carmelite Latin St. Thomas Christian.

Now, Raulin's title is *Notitia Topographica Malabarica Ecclesiarum Christianorum S. Thomae*, i.e. a topographical information of Malabar in relation to the churches of the St.

22. *Vatican Codex Latin*, 7746.

23. *The Land of the Perumals* (op. cit.), p. 8.

Thomas Christians. While he deals with the topography or description of places where churches of the St. Thomas Christians (also mosques and synagogues) were found, Raulin naturally gave also the names of the Latin churches known to him as existing in the same places. As a parallel case we may here adduce the list of certain Latin Churches of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar as given by Paulinus. This is the list we have often mentioned above and we will presently give below in full. The title of the list is "Ecclesiae Latinae quae ex neophytis conflatae primo a PP. Franciscanis ac deinde a PP. Jesuitis et Carmelitanis Discalceatis erectae fuerunt". In this list against Verapoly, Porcad and Angicaimal he has marked *Lat & Syr.* If one has to judge from the title alone one will have to say that the Syrians of these churches were neophytes! So too we are not to judge of Raulin's list from its title alone. But if Raulin means what the "certain" writer means, we have only to say that Raulin has gone wrong as he has gone wrong in many other things.

To complete our remarks about the churches contained in the list of the "certain" writer we will add the following also.

We have already spoken about Verapoly and Thuruthipuram. Chettwaye (Cettua) does not exist now. The Jesuit Atlas cited above mentions Chetuum as a Jesuit residence. Vallarpadam is the Ballauraparte of the list of Latin churches found in the report of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar for the year 1774. Vallarpadam is an island near Cochin. Let us not forget that the report of the diocese of Cochin for the year 1598 speaks of some islands near Cochin with five parishes of "many Christians newly converted to our holy faith".

Ferrolli D, SJ in his *The Jesuits in Malabar* (op. cit.) II, pp. 161 sq. reproduces the list of Raulin. Ferrolli has added to the names of certain churches a note saying that they submitted to the bishop or to the Carmelites in 1658/9. He does not indicate his source, nor does he make his meaning clear. He adds this note to the Latin churches of Vaipin (as the Latins near the cross dos Milagres subm. to Carm. in 1658), S. Andrea (as Latins subm. to bishop in 1658 - Two chapels attached to it). Does he mean that these churches joined the Coonan Cross oath?

This is true in the case of Matingeri. A curious thing in Ferr-oli's list is that he makes Cochin, Gnarica and Trepruntare Latin! Dumia for him is Lat. Carm. Where from did he get all this information we do not know.

Now we will adduce the list of churches of Paulinus who had a personal knowledge of each of them. We have already given the title. The churches are : Cranganore (church and oratory), Paliport, Verapoly (Lat. & Syr.), Cettiath (Chathiath), Vaipin, Anjicaimal (Ernakulam, Lat. & Syr.), Bendurti (Venduru-thi), Mattincera (Mattamcherry), Castella (Edacochi or St. Lawrence), S. Luis, Saudi, S. Andrea (Arthingal), Thanghi, Tumboli (Dumia ?), Cattur, Alapusha (oratory), Manacodam, Porcada, (Lat. & Syr.).

Paulinus expressly says in general that these churches were composed of new converts (ofcourse the Syrians of three churches excepted), and that they were erected by Franciscans or Jesuits or Discalced Carmelites. See the title.²⁴

That the Jesuits had built many churches is testified to by Fr. Fenicio SJ who in his letter to the Jesuit General (1600) says : "... Now it is about twenty years that I am here ... My occupation during this time has been the conversion of infidels along this coast from Cochin to Coulano (Quilon). *We have built many churches* and *many* were converted to our Holy Faith, and *many* are converted every day, but with great labour, for the land is one of the most barren which the Society has here..."²⁵

About the Franciscans and the Discalced Carmelites who are said to have built churches we need not speak here.

24. *India Orientalis Christiana* (op. cit.) pp. 267 sq.

25. Ferroli D, SJ, op. cit., I, pp. 427, 428.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Some Further Remarks and Conclusion

We think that in the preceding chapters we have put into clear light how the Latin rite Christians of Malabar have had their origin and have grown in numbers. This chapter is intended to give as it were the finishing touch to the ideas contained in the preceding ones.

The Ezhunnuttikar sometimes say that the absence of Portuguese surnames among them is a proof that they were St. Thomas Christians. This argument, if it proves anything, proves only that they were baptised during the Dutch period. *Noticia do Reyno do Malabar* (cited above) says that they were baptised during the Dutch period. The same document as well as the report of Msgr. Francis Xavier of S. Anna (cited above) say that they mixed with other converts and gave them also the name Ezhunnuttikar. In the case of those who were baptised by the Portuguese in great numbers, or by those who followed the Portuguese, only when some of them come to the forefront do their Portuguese surnames also come to the knowledge of others. Otherwise they go generally by their Malabar house names. Several Priests of the Ezhunnuttikar till recently used to assume such surnames as Fernandes, de Padua &c. The modern tendency is for not assuming such names, or to give up such names.

It is sometimes said that the Ezhunnuttikar are from 700 St. Thomas Christians who for some reason or another became Latins. But if the Agnuttikar say that they are from 500 St. Thomas Christians, the Ezhunnuttikar would not agree. Then what about the Munnuttikar (Parunguis or Anglo Indians) whose name signifies 300? It is amusing to notice that the Ezhunnuttikar and the Agnuttikar, each exclusively of the other, sometimes

claim St. Thomas Christian origin. But there is no intermarriage between both (as a rule).

The Ezhunnattikar say that they have Syrian social and socio-ecclesiastical customs and so they were Syrians. The Agnuttikar too may rarely advance this claim. True, there are certain social and socio-ecclesiastical customs common to these and the Syrians. But we observe:

a) In certain places Syrians and Latins are living as close neighbours and in former times even attached to the same churches ministered to by Syrian priests. Francis Sales in his report of 1773 says: "It is impossible to assign the exact number of our Christians because of the continuous change of parishes, because of daily deaths and frequently because of the coexistence of Christians of both rites in churches which are many (in multis ecclesiis iisdem).¹ Syrian priests were ministering in many Latin churches. The report of the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar for the year 1774 (cited above) speaks of 4 Syrian priests in Verapoly, 1 each in Chathiath, Perumani, Balluraparte, Paliport,² Cranganore, Papanatta, Manacorte, Cattur. Till very recent times Syrian priests were vicars or assistants in several Latin churches;

b) There are among the Latins a few Syrians who at different times passed over to the Latin rite. Intermarriages also, though rare, very rare among the well-to-do, take place between the Syrians and the Latins. Hence certain Syrian customs or traditions are being kept up by some Latins though the Syrian element (ethnic) is negligible among them as we have explained in the previous chapter.

c) There is a tendency in new converts to imitate the customs and manners of old Christians of the places where they

-
1. Report presented to Cardinal Castelli. The list of churches we spoke of above goes along with this report.
 2. Lawrence Justiniani in his report (cited above) says that Paliport was in the Dutch territory, that because of the scarcity of Latin priests and the poverty of the place (per diffesos dei sacerdoti latini e povertà di luogo) Syro-Chaldean priests from Parur were serving there, and that they received them in the Travancore territory with the permission of the minister of the king of Travancore.

live in. The patrons of new converts not rarely encourage this. We have an example for this in the case of the Latins who, as we saw, were "ordained according to the Syro-Chaldaic rite" i. e. who after their ordination were made to go about (by the Carmelite missionaries) in the dress of Syrian priests. All these explain how the Latins have certain social and socio-ecclesiastical customs of the Syrians. Add to this that certain of these social customs are common to several Hindu castes of Malabar also.

It is amusing to see that when some Latins try to establish their Syrian origin from certain social and socio-ecclesiastical customs that are said to be common to the Syrians and Latins, other Latins go to the extreme. The latter say that the absence of such Syrian customs among them is due to the fact that when they abandoned the Syrian rite they abandoned also the Syrian customs which seemed to them as superstitions in relation to the pure catholic faith they found in the Latin rite.³ Certainly both these classes of Latins, but the latter class more than the former, know and feel what social customs mean to different communities in Malabar. The latter in the name of purity of faith apologise for the absence of Syrian customs among them! Arguments of this sort may perhaps appeal to foreigners who know nothing about Malabar and about the vicissitudes of the Latin rite Christians of Malabar. Another thing becomes clear from the stand taken by the two above mentioned classes, namely that the Syrian social customs among the Latins are neither universal nor have they any strong hold among the Latins. Both, however, say that the Syrians who did not become Latin in the beginning of the 16th century were hardened in their heresy and were converted by the Portuguese in the synod of Diamper, 1599, or a little before. But we have already seen that there were not Syrians in any appreciable number who became Latins in the 16th century (also afterwards). The whole Syrian community in the 16th century (we do not speak of the pre-16th century) was catholic and needed no conversion to the catholic faith. The synod of Diamper was nothing but a farce if viewed as a synod that

3. Cf. *The Sathianadam*, Ernakulam, 1955, Series : The Origin of the Latin Christians, passim.

converted the Syrians. We have to admit that though catholic in faith the Syrians had with them books that contained errors; but there was no hardening in any errors on their part.

From what we have exposed in the preceding chapter it has become clear that if Latin rite Christians are found today in certain places where the Syrians flourished at one time, it is not because the latter were latinised, but because the latter abandoned those places and European missionaries carried on conversion work among the non-Christians of those places.

That six out of the seven churches (or communites) founded by the Apostle St. Thomas were on the sea coast, that the Syrians were found on the sea coast from Cranganore to Quilon and that the Syrians led a "sea faring" life are sometimes given as hints to show that the Latins found mainly on the sea coast were originally Syrians. But four of the six churches in question (Palayur, Parur, Kokkamangalam, Niranam) are still Syrian. We have seen how two of the other three (Cranganore and Quilon) were lost to the Syrians, or were abandoned by them. The seventh, Chayal, was in the interior and does not exist now. We must here take into consideration that the Portuguese and the Carmelite missionaries carried on an intense missionary activity along the coast in question, and only along that coast. We have seen how numerous were their converts. These numbers in relation to the number of the present day Latin rite Christians would alone be sufficient enough to show that the Syrian element among the Latins of Malabar is feeble and negligible. That the Syrians had a "sea faring" life does not mean that they were by profession fishermen. It means only that they (not all) had ships and sea borne trade. This has nothing to do with the origin of the Latin rite Christians of the fishing profession. Still, these things are often advanced as hints to bring out, if possible, that the Latin rite Christians who by profession are fishermen (especially the Agnuttikar) are St. Thomas Christians!

The Syrians in their efforts to get bishops of their own rite, or to gain something they liked to have (as the restoration of their deformed rite) did sometimes exaggerate the number of

those of them who, they said, were latinised with their churches.⁴ This they did in order to gain the sympathy of higher authorities without, however, studying the question historically. They have thus exaggerated the threats and promises the Portuguese and the Carmelite missionaries made use of to draw the Syrians to the Latian rite. The Latin rite Christians now quote these exaggerated assertions to show, if possible, that they were once Syrians. But a truth seeker ought not to be content with these assertions made with a purpose. He ought to examine historical documents which in the light of the social set up of the Syrians will reveal to him the objectivity of the matter. Like most of the other communities of Malabar the Syrian Christian community too has its own social set up which excludes normal intermarriages with communities of a different origin. Hence even those Syrians who made the aforesaid exaggerated assertions would be reluctant to have the girls and boys of their families married to the Latin rite Christians. We will explain this point a little at length in the following lines.

Dealing with the question of the origin of the Latin rite Christians, or with that of the strength of the Syrian element among the Latin Christians, the only question a son of Malabar will put as an acid test will be whether intermarriages be normal between the Syrians and the Latins, especially among the well-to-do, and how if such marriages take place the Syrian community looks at them.

-
4. Here is an example. "Post erectionem diocesis Cochinchinensis jussu S. P. Pauli V a 1609 limites inter diocesis Cranganorensis (Syrianam) et Cochinchinensem (Latinam) determinati sunt. Occasione hujus delimitationis ecclesiae nostrae Mattamcherry, Palluruthi &c quae jam ante adventum Lusitanorum existebant, dioecesi Cochinchinensi adnexae et inter latians computatae et fideles ad ritum Latinum amplectendum partim prae potentia et violentia adacti sunt, partim favoribus et promissis ad idem inducti sunt; qui vere his artibus adigi non poterant physice et moraliter, ad aufugiendum coacti sunt ... Ita etiam longe intervallo administrationis Verapolitanorum ... plures ecclesiae syrianae habitae sunt latinae ... "*Libellus Supplex SSmo D. N. Pio X ... Et Em. Cardinalibus Oblatus* by the Syro-Malabar priests of the three Vicariates Ap. 1908. Our expositions in the previous chapters are sufficient enough to reveal the exaggerations contained in these lines.

In truth intermarriages between the two communities are rare and the Syrian community disapproves such marriages. Take the catholic Syrians and the non-Catholic Syrians. They differ from each other in faith and rite. Still, ecclesiastical authorities had to forbid intermarriages between them by threat of ecclesiastical punishments. If the Latins had originated from the Syrians, or if there was a strong Syrian element among the Latins, intermarriages between the Syrians and the Latins would have been normal. Take for example those called Anglican Syrians who became Protestants (Anglicans) from among the Jacobite Syrians of Malabar. Since they were a body they (the well-to-do among them chiefly) kept themselves, as far as possible, as a community without intermarriage with other Anglican converts. For some time the Jacobites from whom they separated were forbidden by ecclesiastical authorities to marry with them. Now although they are not an ecclesiastical unit (they are now one with the other Anglicans and others to form the "The south Indian United Church" as they were when they were "Anglican Syrians" with the other Anglicans), still, socially they keep up their identity and normally intermarry only with other non-Catholic Syrians.

Recently many from among the Jacobites and other non-Catholic Syrians have become catholics forming (as we said elsewhere) a separate Hierarchy with a separate rite, the Malankara Hierarchy and rite. This Hierarchy and rite are distinct from the Hierarchy and rite of the Malabarians or ancient Syrian catholics. Though different in rite the Malabarians have no social difficulty at all to enter in to normal matrimonial relations with the Malankarians who had remained separated from them for about three centuries. They became catholic only in 1930, and from that year onwards these intermarriages have become common and normal even among the well-to-do. But this kind of intermarriages do not exist between the Malabarians and the Latins even though they be of the same faith and were for three centuries under the same Latin Prelates. In the same manner there is no intermarriages between the Malankarians and the Latins though both be catholics. Why? Because the Syrians (St. Thomas Christians) and the Latins are not socially of the same origin whereas the Malabarians and the Malankarians are socially of the same origin. Social here

means communal. The same is the case with the Jacobites and the other non-catholic Syrians. The Malankarians who have recently come to the catholic Church, when there is question of marriage, in normal circumstances instinctively turn to the Malankarians or the Malabarians or to the non-catholic Syrians but never to the Latins even though they live in some places in the midst of Latins. Here, then, we have the acid test to find out the identity or similarity of origin among communities in Malabar. And for a son of Malabar this test alone is sufficient for the purpose. We may note that among the Syrians normally it is the parents or guardians of boys and girls that make all the arrangements for marriages.

In this connection we will speak a little about the Latin element among the Syrians and about connected topics.

We have said that there is a weak Syrian element among the Latins. Are there "Latins" among the St. Thomas Christians? Apart from the very few who have legitimately changed into the Syrian rite, there are those (and those are from among the people of lower classes mentioned by Msgr. Bernardine in 1867) who at different times happened to pass for Syrians. People of "lower classes" migrate from their places to the midst of Syrians and gradually settle down among the Syrians rarely marrying from families of their economic condition. The children of these gradually pass for Syrians. But since each community in Malabar lives by its social customs and traditions, every one of the place would point the finger to these "syrianised" families as exotic. Thus marriages with such families even though they be economically well off would be considered something undesirable in the case especially of the well-to-do. Even Latin families that by a rare exception contract marriages with Syrians for several generations are looked down as "not proper" by the Syrian community when marriage proposals come up.

The same is the sad case with converts received in to the Syrian rite. To the original St. Thomas Christian body later converts have been incorporated at different times. These converts, both old and new, are and ought to be considered St. Thomas Christians. For, their incorporation has been to the Church of the St. Thomas Christians considered as a provincial

(Particular) Church forming part of the Universal Church. But unfortunately, those who pride themselves in their antiquity give a caste touch to their antiquity as though Christian antiquity were a mark of caste nobility. In this they have also the support of their high caste Hindu brethren for whom St. Thomas Christians of the old stock are high in estimation. They thus make a distinction between those of the original stock and the new comers. Hence converts received in numbers from one caste or another find it difficult to have marriages with those of the old stock. Individual converts, however, have gradually become one with these of the old stock through marriages. Still, their families are not seldom singled out as of a new origin. Among the Syrians there is a community called the community of the Southists as we have said above. This community has an origin different from that of the original St. Thomas Christians. The result is that there is no normal intermarriage between these two, and each community has its own Prelates to govern it.

We now come to the Latin rite Christians. The social aloofness spoken of above is noticed among the different communities of the Latin rite also. We have indicated above that several communities of the Latin rite in Malabar have no matrimonial relations with other communities of the same rite. Take for instance the Ezhunnuttikar and the Agnuttikar. Each of these exclusively of the other contents to be of St. Thomas Christian origin. But there is no intermarriage (normally) between them nor between them and the Syrians. Both of them have the same rite and were for a very long time under the same European Prelates. Still, they keep mutual Exclusion. When the diocese of Cochin was divided for erection of the new diocese of Alleppey, the churches of the Agnuttikar existing within the territory of the diocese of Cochin were put under the bishop of Alleppey (who is of the Agnuttikar community), and the churches of the Ezhunnuttikar existing within the territory of the diocese of Alleppey were put under the bishop of Cochin (who is of the Ezhunnuttikar community). This was done in 1950/53 in spite of the identity of rite followed by both the communities. Thus it is clear that it is not difference of rite that divides the Christians of Malabar into different water tight communities. There is no meaning in saying that uniformity

in rite will make the Christians of Malabar forget their communal feelings. What lies beneath all external differences is caste. If nobility of caste is equated with antiquity of Christian belief (as it is often done in Malabar) it is but natural that each Christian community will try to appear as the oldest in Christian origin. And it is a trait of human nature that those who *feel* the inferiority complex try to deny what they *consider as superior* in others, or, if they do not succeed in this, to try to share with the others what they *consider* as superior in them. The vain elation of those who pride in their superiority complex and the meaningless efforts of those who, being touched with inferiority complex, endeavour to appear superior, will have an end only when all concerned will have realised that the real superiority of a community consists in its superior cultural achievements and in its more intense Christian life. Unfortunately what has become history once, will remain history for ever. And history is not without its effects good or bad. Even communal traits and feelings kept within legitimate bounds are an asset to humanity at large just as different rites are to the Catholic Church.

Regarding the caste or communal distinctions we have exposed the things as they are or as they have been to this day, in order to show that the various communities in Malabar have *lived* and *live* their history rather than have *written* or *write* it. These communities do not intermarry, do not even interdine in domestic feasts, have each its own customs and manners, differ one another sometimes even in the mode of speech though all speak the same language and live in the same place as close neighbours. They have each so to say a culture of their own based on their inner social life. In a country where history and social life go hand in hand protected, as it were, by caste feelings, the inner social life of a community is the best medium to know its history. This medium is more telling and eloquent than documents written in black and white or inscribed on stones and tablets.

Conclusion

Our exposition in this and in the preceding chapters, we believe, has made it clear that the Latin rite Christians of Malabar have not originated from the St. Thomas Christians.

The Latin rite Christians of Malabar take their origin from the Portuguese and from the non-Christians whom the Portuguese converted to Christianity. Their number steadily increased through Indo-European unions and through conversions from non-Christians made chiefly by the Carmelites. There are Portuguese and non-Portuguese European elements among them; the latter, however, are insignificant. The opposition made by the Hindu kings regarding the conversion of non-Christians did not have the desired effect.

There existed no latinised St. Thomas Christians as a body to form the nucleus of the Latin diocese of Cochin when it was erected in 1558. The Latin rite Christian community was already formed years before the diocese of Cochin was erected, and it was formed as said above.

It cannot be said that when the St. Thomas Christians of the Syrian rite fell into schism by the Coonan Cross oath, the St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite (as a body) remained faithful. The Coonan Cross oath was not a schismatic act; there was a body, though small, that did not take part in the oath; before the crisis developed into schism a good many abandoned the oath; there was no "St. Thomas Christian community of the Latin rite" as opposed to "St. Thomas Christian community of the Syrian rite".

Among the Latin rite Christians of Malabar there is a sprinkling of the St. Thomas Christian element (ethnically). This is due to a few St. Thomas Christians who at different times passed over to the Latin rite and also to intermarriages which, however, are rare. The Latin rite Christian community was already constituted before St. Thomas Christian elements began to appear in it. This element is small and weak and does not stand as distinct.

No Latin Christian community in Malabar—the Ezhunnuttikar or the Agnuttikar or any other—can call itself a St. Thomas Christian community. The term "St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite" or "Latin Syrians" has no meaning when applied to any Latin rite community of Malabar⁵.

5. "St. Thomas Christians of the Latin rite" and "Latin Syrians" are terms that are recently being applied by some

Dr. Ananthakrishna Ayyar a Hindu (Brahmin) scholar arrives at the same conclusion as we have. In his *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians* (of Malabar) he says:

“It has already been said that the Catholics of the Latin Rite belong to three communities, and all authorities agree, and popular opinion confirm the truth of the facts that they are the descendants of the converts by the early Portuguese missionaries. The members of the so called community of Seven Hundred declare that they are the descendants of the Syrian Christians who have adopted the Latin rite. So also do the community of the Five Hundred bring forward certain pretensions to call themselves the descendants of St. Thomas Christians. These pretensions are resented by the members of the Syrian community through out Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Further the members of the former call those of the latter low caste converts of the Mukkuva community. Keen controversies to establish the social superiority of the one over the other went on ten years ago.⁶ Many articles in support of their pretensions were published in the local news papers. It is quite possible that some Syrian families may have adopted the Latin rite and their descendants might have mingled in more ways than one with the descendants of those of the original converts during the long lapse of time. But that⁶ is not enough to prove that they are original descendants of the St. Thomas Christians. The members of the community of Three Hundred do not put forth any ambitious claims. Well-to-do members pass for Europeans while the poor are like their other Christian brethren, and do not trouble themselves about their status’.⁷

Latins to their community. The appellation “Syrian” as applied to the St. Thomas Christians came into vogue during the Carmelite period. During the Portuguese period all non-Latins were St. Thomas Christians, and the Latins “Our Christians” or “new converts” (except Europeans or Euro-Indians). Contemporary documents bear testimony to this. Some Latins now say that during the Portuguese period (16th century) the St. Thomas Christian community that adopted the Latin rite came to be called “Latins” and those who adhered to their rite “Syrians”. This is against all facts, and is an assertion of the present day.

6. The author wrote in 1926.

7. Ananthakrishna Ayyar, *The Anthropology of the Syrian Christians*, Ernakulam, Cochin Government Press, 1926, pp. 277, 278.

We will end with a few words regarding the special relation the Syrians have towards the Apostle St. Thomas and the special devotion they have or ought to have towards the same Apostle. This study has made it clear that the Syrians are related to the Apostle St. Thomas in a manner the Latins are not. This is why v. g. no feast of St. Thomas has never been of obligation (ecclesiastically) to the Latin rite Christians of Malabar. The Syrians have their own feast of St. Thomas as one of obligation from time immemorial. In this connection it may be mentioned that till recent times the feast of St. Francis Xavier was one of obligation in the diocese of Cochin (now Cochin, Alleppey and parts of other Latin dioceses).

On the occasion of the celebration of the 19th centenary of the arrival in Malabar of St. Thomas and of the 4th centenary of the death of St. Francis Xavier (1952) Msgr. Arattukalam, afterwards bishop of Alleppey, wrote: "All those who are not blinded by passion and prejudice will admit that in those days (16th century) the sweat of Portugal's missionaries and the money of Portugal's coffers have been lavishly spent to develop the church in Malabar. St. Francis Xavier is the greatest of Portugal's missionaries and by his Apostolic work as well as by the immense influence he had in Rome and Portugal he has done incalculable service to the Malabar Church as a whole. Both St. Thomas and St. Francis must, therefore, be regarded as Apostles of the Malabar Church, Syrian and Latin, and it is foolish to divide them between Syrian and Latin Churches."⁸

Here the author makes a distinction between the Syrian and the Latin Church within "the Malabar Church as a whole", and he is right in making this distinction which rests on facts. Now, St. Francis Xavier did not do much for the Syrian Church which St. Thomas planted and which preserves its entity, identity and continuity to this day. It must be

8. *St. Francis Xavier* (op. cit.), p. 53. Msgr. Arattukalam has endeavoured more than once to bring out, if possible, that the St. Thomas Christians who inhabited the sea coast were fishermen. But it is certain they were not fishermen by profession as the Agnuttikar. Even if they were, Msgr. Arattukalam cannot gain the point he is aiming at, namely that the Agnuttikar (fishermen by profession) are St. Thomas Christians !!

acknowledged with gratitude what good (Spiritual and material) the Portuguese and others have done to the Syrian Church. One, however, hesitates to decide whether the Portuguese have done more harm than good to the Syrian Church. But, if it were not for the Portuguese, the present Latin Church of Malabar, humanly speaking, would not have come into existence. The Latin Church of Malabar, therefore, must have a special devotion towards St. Francis Xavier "the greatest of Portugal's missionaries". This is why the Portuguese Prelates of the diocese of Cochin had the feast of St. Francis Xavier observed as one of obligation in their diocese till recent times. The diocese of Cochin owed its existence to the "sweat of Portugal's missionaries" and to "the money of Portugal's coffers". After the St. Thomas Christians were reduced under the Portuguese Padroado, Portugal's coffers were generously opened for the Thomas Christian parish priests. The Syrians are second to none in their devotion to St. Francis Xavier; but they would not divide their special relation towards the Apostle St. Thomas with any other community of Malabar.

P. S. Alleppey until 1807 was used by Latins (1500 in number) and Syrians (1100 in number). Because of quarrels separation of the two; the Latins were put in the newly built church of Mount Carmel, the Syrians retained the old church. (Prop. Archives, Rome, Scrittura Rifer. nei Congr. 1832-1836, Vol. 40, V.f. 87)

Msgr. Stabilini ordained one Callistus Gonsalves of the Fisher caste (son of one Emmanuel of Alleppey. This caused troubles. (Ibid. f. 475).

INDEX

A

Abdiso, Patriarch - 32
 Abraham, Mar - 18,28,33,98
 Agnuttikar - 2,4,67,79,110,118
 Angamale - 33,46
 administrator of - 33
 archbishop of - 33
 Anglicans - 45
 Archbishop ad Honorum - 81
 Archdeacon - 12,33

B

Babylon, Patriarch of -
 15,22,25,27
 Bishop, East Syrian -
 3,11,16,28,34,93
 Bishop, Ambrose - 28,29
 Bishop, Chaldean - 91
 Bishop Roz S. J. -
 17,18,35,38,46
 Blasphemies, Nestorian - 37
 Brahmins, Tamil - 3
 Bread, leavened - 84

C

Chaldei soriani - 84
 Canon Law, Latin - 50
 Cape comorin - 44,58
 Cariattil Joseph - 53,63,65
 Carmelites Italian - 47
 Cegos, gentile - 105,106
 Ceremonies, Latin - 36
 Chaldaic - 37,40

Chale - 24
 Chaldeo Malabarians - 3
 Chavara Cyriac - 81,82
 Christian Community - 117
 Indian - 10
 Latin - 16,103
 Syrian - 113,114,115,119
 Christians
 Latin rite - 1,4,16,20,24,
 36,83,112,113,116
 Oriental rite - 2
 Syrian - 119
 Thariaikal - 44,100

Church

 Latin - 102
 South Indian - 4
 Syrian - 100,104,120,121
 Universal - 116
 Tharise - 100
 Churches, Oriental - 90
 Cittiatil (Chathiath) - 106
 Clergy, Syrian - 61,90
 Coast, South west - 1
 Communion - 37,40,94
 Comprovincial - 33
 Confession - 37,40,94
 Congregation,
 Carmelite Syrian - 81
 S. Propaganda - 47,
 57,61,82
 Conversion - 37,44,49,50,112
 Cupajakar - 63,65,66
 Customs - 39,61,111
 Latin - 39
 Social - 111
 Syrian - 61,111

D

Diamper, Synod of -
19,35,103,111

E

Edacochi - 102
Elias, Mar - 28,29
Eunutilparigia - 64,65
Evangelisation - 23
Evangelisation and
Latinisation, 5,6,23,45
Execution - 34
Excommunication - 35
Ezhunnuttikar,
2,45,61,65,68,83,89,106,118
Ezhunnuttiparisha - 61,70

F

Faith, 1,55,65,111
Catholic - 55
propagation of - 1
pure Catholic - 111
Families, Syrianised - 115
Fathers - 57
Discalsed Carmelite - 57
Jesuit - 57
Figueredo Raphael - 48
Francis Angelus 49,53,54

G

Gabriel, Mar - 52
Gama, Vasco - de, 7,13
Goa - 1, 47
Provincial Council of - 34
Bishop of - 29

H

Heresy - 34,111
Heretic - 36
Hierarchy - 3,4,114
Syo-Malabar - 3
Syo-Malankara - 4,114
Hindu, high caste - 116
Holy cross - 102

Holy Faith - 65,101,107,108
Holy Mother - 21,22
Holy scriptures - 15
Holy see - 8,82,90

I

India Orientalis
Christiana - 106
Indians, Anglo - 1
Indigenous - 42
Inner Social Life - 117
Invasion, Dutch - 101

J

Jacob, Mar - 12,14,15,22,25
Jacobites - 83,91,100
Jacobitism - 3
St. Thomas Mission - 51
Jarric, Peter - 7,8,24
Joseph, Mar - 18,28,29,31,33,98
Jurisdiction - 98,105
ecclesiastical - 1
episcopal - 106
Padroado - 49,82
Portuguese Latin - 3,90
Propaganda - 49,82
Syrian - 84,90
Justiniani Lawrence - 60,94,96,
97

K

Konthuruthy - 102
Korukar - 2

L

Languages, variety of - 40
Latin - 110
Latinisation - 3,17,25,82,93,
102
Latinised St. Thomas
Christians - 38,40,118
Latini Soriani - 84
Latin rite Christians of
Malabar - 21,117,118,120

M

- Malabar - 1,11,12,23,91
 Bishop of - 29
 Christians of - 30
 Malabarians - 114
 Malankara - 91
 Malankarians - 114
 Mannanam - 82
 St. Joseph's Monastery - 82
 Mapulae - 62
 Mathias, Frey Manuel - 43
 Margacar - 54,101
 Marthomites - 100
 Mathilakam - 102
 Mattamcherry - 51,98,99
 Menezes, Archbishop of - 19
 Menezes, Dom - 35,96,105
 Mestici - 2,9
 Metran (Bishop) - 43
 Metropolis - 89,90
 Missionaries - 23,99,101,105
 Carmelite - 72,73,99,101
 Jesuit - 23,105
 Mohammedans - 105
 Mucuas - 67,68,69,79,105,106
 Mundukar - 2
 Munnutilparga - 63
 Munnuttilkar - 1,67,109
 Mutilation - 3,47
 Mylapore - 14,15,47

N

- Nadar - 2
 Nazrani - 80
 Neophytes - 107
 Nestor - 27
 Nestorianism - 3,44
 renouncing of - 44
 Thomas Christians of - 3
 Nestorians - 3,82
 Nobility caste - 116
 Northists (Vadakumbhagar) - 3

O

- Oath, Coonan cross - 47,50,81,
 91,92,94,98,107

Orator Jesu - 106

P

- Padroado - 1,24,36,74,121
 Paliport - 105
 Papal authorisation - 47
 Parampil Alexander - 48,49,50,
 53,106
 Paremmakal Thomas - 63,65
 Pareparampil Aloysius - 89
 Parungui - 1
 Patriarch - 81,82
 Catholic Chaldean - 81,82
 East Syrian - 11,15,16,26,
 28
 Paulists, Jesuits - 46,47
 Pazhayakuttukar - 48,50
 Penteado, Alveres 14,15
 Plates, Copper - 100
 Pontiff, Roman - 26
 Prelates - 89,114
 Latin - 114
 Syrian - 89
 Priesthood - 65
 Priests, Syrian - 110,111
 Primacy of St. Peter - 31
 Puthankuttukar - 48,50
 Puthanpally - 101

R

- Rauflin - 104,106,107
 Reberio - 52
 Rego, silva - 8
 Re-latinisation - 90
 Rite - 62
 East Syrian - 3,15,36,82,90
 Latin - 10,18,32,39,118
 Latin Syriac - 83
 Malankara 91
 Roman - 1
 Syrian - 49,115
 Syro-Chaldaic - 56,57,61,
 62,83,84,111
 West Syrian - 3
 Rites, variety of - 40
 Roccas Thomas - 81
 Rodrigo - 7
 Rome, Church of - 25

DENHA SERVICES

- No. 1 Dr. Quriacos Elijah Vadaketh, cmi., വ്യക്തിസാഹചര്യം (A study in Oriental Spirituality), 1984.
- No. 2 Dr. Varghese Pathikulangara, cmi., *Church and Celebration*, "The Interior of a church or chapel in the Chaldeo-Indian Tradition", 1984.
- No. 3 Dr. Varghese Pathikulangara, cmi., (comp. & ed.), വിശുദ്ധ കർമ്മങ്ങളുടെ ആരാധന, ആശീർവാദം (Benediction and Adoration) 1984.
- No. 4 Dr. Thomas Vellilamthadam, *African Payal*, "Towards a mental breakthrough in the Latin connection of Indian Catholicism", 1984.
- No. 5 Dr. Varghese Pathikulangara, cmi., (comp. & ed.), സന്യാസ-വൈദികരുടെയും ആശീർവാദികളുടെയും ക്രമം (Order for Blessing Residences of Priests and Religious) 1984.
- No. 6 Dr. Thomas Vellilamthadam, *Countdown to 1999*, "400 years of agony and action since 1599", 1985.
- No. 7 Dr. Varghese Pathikulangara, cmi., "*Further Documentation on Latin-Oriental Relations and the Mission of the Church in India*" ?!, 1985.
- No. 8 Fr. Thomas Chathamparampil, cmi., സഭാവിജ്ഞാനീയത്തിന്റെ മുഖവുര (An Introduction to Ecclesiology), 1985.
- No. 9 Dr. Placid J. Podipara, cmi., *The Latin Rite Christians of Malabar*, 1986.



MALANKARA
LIBRARY

DENHA SERVICES

A Fellowship at the Service of the Church.

- * To organize and to promote *ecclesial life*, is its aim.
- * *Mar Thoma Margam*, The Way or the Law of Thomas, is its inspiration and guide-line.
- * "Love the Mother Church and make her loved even with her triflings", is its motto.
- * "Fidelity to the directions of the Church", is its life-style.
- * Hence "Denha Services" proposes to publish books and booklets on all aspects of *ecclesial life*, especially that of the Thomas Christians.

Present Members of the Fellowship	Rev. Dr. Antony Kamukumpallil (Manager) Rev. Dr. Wilson Ukken Rev. Dr. Quriaqos Elijah Vadaketh cmi Rev. Dr. Varghese Pathikulangara cmi (Co-ordinator)
--------------------------------------	---

Present Address	Vidyanagar, Manganam Kottayam - 686 018 Kerala, India.
-----------------	--