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3

(Supplement)

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**An Historical Introduction
to the
Syriac Liturgy**

Syro-Malabar Liturgy—Encounter of the
West with the East in Malabar



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Syro Malabar Liturgy

Encounter of the West with the East in Malabar

1. Introduction

Cyril Korolevsky, in his *Living Languages of the Church*, said that there is no other Eastern church that has been so thoroughly latinized as the Malabar one. From the early centuries of Christianity this apostolic church of South India has had intimate relations with the Persian and Seleucia Ctesiphon churches. It used the East Syrian Liturgy from early times, and the presence of the Persian bishops as heads of this church helped preserve its East Syrian features. At the same time the Malabar church did not fail to enrich itself with Indian adaptation. The result of all this was a church that was "Hindu in culture, Christian in religion and Syro-Oriental in worship". The missionaries from the West tolerated this Eastern and Indian church at first, but later, tensions and frictions appeared in Malabar. The principle of romanization was approved in the Synod of Diamper (1599), convoked by the missionaries for the Malabar church. Its regulations were put into force, for the most part, by Bishop Roz (1599—1624), and the spirit of Diamper was kept up by his successors, both missionaries and natives, until recently.

Yet there has always been a small but steady attempt from the part of the Syro-Malabar faithful for the restoration of the Liturgy. Rome too took interest and finally various liturgical texts were restored to East Syrian original flavour. It is true that much more is to be done in this line. Still today there is a strong move to engage simultaneously in the process of liturgical restoration, revision and adaptation.

A

2. East Syrian Liturgy

The various liturgical rites in the church have their roots in the apostolic times. In the course of the centuries, they developed into distinct liturgical families giving forms to specific liturgical theology and liturgical spirituality. All of these rites took definite shape only by the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century.

In the past few decades there has been a growing interest in the study of the East Syrian liturgical family to which the Syro Malabar liturgy belongs.

As a liturgy that had its origin outside the Greco-Roman world, and in Judeo Christian ambient, liturgiologists got interested in it. Its main anaphora, that of the Apostles Addai and Mari, because of its ancient origin (3rd cent.) and semitic features, drew attention of the students of liturgy. The famous cities of Edessa which was outside the Roman empire till 216 AD, and Nisibis were Jewish centres, which later became centres of Jewish Christians. It was among the Syriac speaking Jewish Christians that the East Syrian liturgy took its origin and initial growth.

There was a time when scholars believed that the East Syrian liturgy was an off-shoot of the Antiocheane liturgy. But a closer and deeper study of its history, development, content and structure proved such an assertion to be baseless. Today East Syrian (also called Chaldean) liturgy is considered as belonging to an independent liturgical family or type.

Today it is believed that Edessa and Nisibis formed a liturgy of their own, different from the Antiocheane liturgical tradition.

3. An Eastern Liturgy**The Relation Between the Persian and Malabar Churches**

The earliest liturgical text of the Malabar church is Ms. *Vat. Syr.* 22, an epistolary copied in 1301 for the use of the Malabar church, from a text of the Beth Kokhe Cathedral of

Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The feasts in this calendar are typical of the East Syrian calendar.

The colophon of this Syriac manuscript shows a strong relationship between the churches of Seleucia and of Malabar:

“This holy book was written in the royal, renowned and famous city of Chingala (Cranganore) in Malabar... in the time of the great captain and director of the holy catholic church of the East... our blessed and holy Father. Mar Yahb Alaha V... and in the time of bishop Mar Jacob, Metropolitan and director of the holy see of the Apostle Mar Thoma, that is to say, our captain and the director of the entire holy church of Christian India” (fol. 93v).

The obvious connection between the hierarchies of these two churches, which make use of the same lectionary and the same liturgical calendar, prompts us to look back to earlier centuries to seek evidence for such a possible relationship there.

The Malabar and the Persian churches trace their origin to St. Thomas the Apostle. The strong tradition of the Malabar church in this regard is supported by the third century apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, which assigns the apostolate and the martyrdom of St. Thomas to India, and which states that his relics were taken to Edessa. The Persians, too, connect their church to the Apostle Thomas because of a tradition which holds that Addai, a disciple of Thomas, evangelized Edessa, and that Addai's disciple Mari founded the church in Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

The earliest allusion to a hierarchical relationship between these two churches is a fourth century Malabar tradition, according to which a colony from the Middle East settled in Malabar in 345 A. D., under the leadership of a merchant named KNAI THOMA (Thomas of Cannan). The group included a certain bishop Joseph of Edessa, four priests, a few deacons, and seventy families. Regarding such hierarchical relationships, there are clearer testimonies by the East Syrian patriarchs in later times, such as Ishoyahb II (628—643), Ishoyahb III (650—660) and Timothy I (779—823).

The colophon of *Vat. Syr.* 22 of 1301, as has been seen above, points to the intimate relations between the Malabar and the Mesopotamian churches. Such evidence is scarce in the preceding centuries; but the few documents we have seen point to the same conclusion, namely that these two churches were closely related. In the absence of any other church's intervention in the affairs of Malabar, one must suppose that the only church related hierarchically to Malabar was the Mesopotamian one. Since it is established that bishops for the Malabar church were received from Mesopotamia, because of the liturgical evidence of *Vat. Syr.* 22 (1301), and since we lack proof for the use of any other liturgy in Malabar one may safely conclude that the use of the East Syrian liturgy in Malabar is very early.

B

4. An Indian Liturgy: Adaptation

At this point one must ask whether the Malabar Christians preserved the East Syrian Rite just as an imported treasure, or whether they allow Hindu India to influence the Christian discipline and worship that came from abroad. A few decrees of the synod of Diamper (1599) dealing with <superstitious> practices, and the testimonies pertaining to the strange and <heretical> practices of the Malabar Christians given by western travellers like Barbosa (1519), Monserrate (1579), Vincenzo Maria (1672) and Paulinus (1796), shed light on the problem.

The Synod of Diamper (1599), prohibited Hindu musicians from playing instruments in church (canon 133), a practice prevalent even today. The synod forbade the Christians to dine with <infidels> (canon 169). It prescribed that marriage is to be performed in the church, and it prohibited <the throwing of rice in a circle> on the occasion of marriage (canon 188). The fact is that marriage was considered a great family feast conducted at home, and the agrarian people of India even today throw rice at auspicious occasions as a symbol of greeting and prosperity. Diamper did not hesitate to condemn the practice of celebrating *Onam*, a social occasion of merry-making and sumptuous feasting (canon 245), which even today is a common feast for the whole of Malabar. To distinguish Christians from Hindus, the former were asked not to wear ear-lobe ornaments (canon 258), which to many until recent times, were just male ornaments.

Diamper also denounced the practice of sick persons > lying in the church > (canon 231). Hindus have the practice of spending their days of special meditation and prayer (*bhajan*, for example) in sacred places expecting divine grace. There was another regrettable decision about the dealings with the sick: Hindus used to write formulae (*mandras*) and scriptural passages on a piece of palm leaf which they tied to the body of the sick. This practice among Christians was prohibited (canon 249). Nineteen years after Diamper, a Jesuit missionary, John Mary Campri, witnessed this practice, and in a letter written in August of 1618 he admits that the practice was widespread and that he himself was subscribing to it because of its efficacy. He wrote:

The St. Thomas Christians are in the habit, when sick, to have some passage of the Gospel read over them by the priests, and also to have sentences from the Gospel written down and placed in little gold or silver cylinders or locketts, which they carry tied to their arm, as a remedy against disease, and a safeguard against the devils. So that wherever we happened to pass we had much to do to content those who by all means desired to get those little papers. In this church this task assumed such proportions that we were unable to satisfy every one. Not only Christians, but even pagans entreated us for them .. Our Lord often rewards the faith of those who ask for those papers by restoring them to health.

One of the peculiarities of the Malabar church pointed out by Barbosa was the clerical habit: «They wear tonsure on their heads, the opposite of ours, that is to say, where ours shave, they wear hair, and where we have the hair, they shave it. They go dressed in white shirts and caps on their head, barefooted, and with long beards.» The tonsure «opposite of ours,» mentioned by Barbosa is called *kudumi* in India, and in the past it was worn by most men. The bare feet and long beard are typical of the Hindu *sanyasi*, and the white shirt is quite practical for the tropical climate of Malabar.

About the Eucharist celebrated in Malabar, Barbosa wrote:

They communicate with salt bread instead of wafer, and they consecrate of the bread enough for all that are in the church...

Each one who communicates goes to receive it at the foot of the altar with his hand. They take raisins which come from Mekkah and Ormuz and put them for a night in water, and on the next day when they have to say mass, they squeeze them and with the juice they say their mass.

Monseratte, too testifies that the raisins were used in Malabar. He further says that there was a ballshaped lump in the middle of the Eucharistic bread made out of rice flour, which the priest consumed at the Communion, the rest of the bread being given to the faithful. Since India does not grow wine, Christians had to make use of the raisins for the Eucharist. Almost two centuries after Monseratte, we have a description of the Malabar Eucharist left us by Paulinis A. Bartholomeo, a Franciscan missionary (1796). He says that the wine used in Malabar was made from the coconut sap, called *Thagaram*, which is rather strong liquor distilled out of coconut. According to him the Eucharistic bread was made out of flour mixed with oil and salt, and the freshly baked bread was used at the altar.

A similar testimony of 1705 notes that the Franciscans corrected the abominable error of consecrating the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in cakes of rice and wine of palm. In the absence of vineyards in India this looks like a typical adaptation. One may also note that Malabar does not grow wheat. And hence the use of rice flour is also understandable. Yet the synod of Diamper does not mention this among the «abuses» of the church, which is difficult to understand. It may be that this was the revival of a practice which was dead long before Diamper. The scarcity of further documents leaves uncertainty about the matter.

Regarding the church edifice, Monseratte testifies that the churches were built like the temples of idols of those regions and he further notes that it was an archbishop—perhaps Mar Abraham—who ordered them built in the Western fashion.

Instead of the wedding ring prescribed in the East Syrian marriage service, the Malabar Christians use a small gold ornament called *tāji*. With threads drawn from the bridal veil, the bridegroom ties it around the neck of the bride. A cross com-

posed of twenty-one minute embossed points distinguishes the Christian *tali* from the Brahmin one which usually has Hindu images on it. Though there is no mention of *tali* in Diamper, from the attempt of Robert de Nobili to preserve it in Madura in the first part of the seventeenth century, and from its present use among the Malabar Christians, we might conclude that *tali* was an accepted adaptation in the Diamper period.

There were several other minor adaptations in the life and worship of the Malabar church, such as the paraphernalia used for the festivals and the rites in connection with the services for the dead.

5. Healthy Relations with the Portuguese

The end of the fifteenth century was the beginning of a new epoch for the Indian church. The arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in 1498 opened the way for easier communication between the West and India. In Malabar the missionaries found a Christian community. They were accepted as Catholics by the missionaries though the latter were aware of the fact that the Indian Christians belonged to an Eastern tradition. Thus, in 1502 when the Malabar Christians visited Vasco da Gama in Cochin, there was an exchange of gifts between them, and the groups were delighted at their common faith.

The good relations existing between the Malabar Christians headed by the Chaldean bishops, and the Portuguese, are expressed in a letter which the Chaldean bishops sent to the Patriarch Elias in Mesopotamia in 1504:

When we... came to this town of the Indians, Cannanor, we made them with (the Portugese) understand that we were Christians... We were received by them with greatest joy... and they honoured our pilgrimage exceedingly for Christ's sake. We remained with them for two and a half months and they told us that we also should on a certain day celebrate the holy mysteries, that is to say, offer the Holy Sacrifice... Their priests daily offer the Holy Sacrifice, for this is their custom and rite. Therefore, on Nosardel Sunday (Sunday after Pentecost) after their priests had celebrated, we also were admitted and we celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, and it was pleasing in their eyes.

C

LATINISED LITURGY

6. Tensions and Frictions

St. Francis Xavier, in a letter of January 26, 1549, to the Portuguese King John III, shows such great pleasure and affection toward Mar Jacob († 1552), the Chaldean bishop in Malabar. But his letter gives the impression that the saintly and virtuous bishop was not given «the due honour he deserves» by the Portuguese civil authorities of Cochin. It seems that the political interest of the Portuguese was a main factor for the change in their attitude. The bishops of the Malabar church were appointed and sent by the Chaldean Patriarchs: This custom was acknowledged and approved by Rome, even though neither the Persian church nor the Malabar church ever claimed that the latter was an integral part or an outgrowth of the former. Thus letters of Pope Pius IV (1565) to the Archbishop of Goa, to the Latin bishop of Cochin and to the Chaldean Patriarch support and strongly recommend Mar Abraham approving the legitimacy of the custom of appointing the Malabar bishops in this manner. But the political motives of the Portuguese expeditions and missionary works could not tolerate this custom. The privileges of *Padroado*, or patronage, given by Rome to the portuguese kings to take care of their mission territories and to appoint bishops there could not smoothly co-exist with the traditional authority of the Chaldean Patriarch. We shall see how this issue affected some of the Chaldean bishops who were in Malabar in the sixteenth century and the Eastern tradition of the Malabar church of that period.

Mar Jacob, who had been highly commended by St. Francis Xavier, was later told that baptism he administered was invalid, and that he should allow the Latin missionaries to re-baptize those who were baptized by him. The matter was raised in a letter of Mar Jacob himself sent to John III, the king of Portugal, in 1523. This letter was in reply to a letter the king had earlier sent to him through Alvaro Penteado, a Portuguese missionary, which asked that the missionary be permitted to re-baptize those whom Mar

Jacob had baptized. In his answer Mar Jacob asserts his knowledge of the Scriptures and his ability to administer valid baptism, while confessing that he is not well-versed in Roman ceremonies.

This may be viewed as the beginning of a tendency to devalue East Syrian sacramental rites and to suggest their replacement by Roman rites as the means of reform. Thus, the authenticity of rites other than Latin ones in India was undermined by this tendency. The missionaries, it seems, wished to be on the safe side and to insure that the Christians with whom they came in contact were validly baptized. That assurance was sought through re-baptism and the introduction of the Roman ceremonies. Out of this misguided zeal and ignorance, missionaries were instituting a policy of romantization

In trying to win Malabar Christians over to the discipline of the church of Rome, the Portuguese emphasized missionary work by Latin priests among the Thomas Christians, and the training of Malabar clergy in Portuguese seminaries in India or in Lisbon. The Portuguese succeeded in doing this already in the time of Mar Jacob. In his letter of 1523 Mar Jacob informed the king of Portugal that he would keep the Portuguese priests close to him, so that after his death the Christians might receive them in his place. So also from a letter of St. Francis Xavier, we know that in 1549 there were about a hundred pupils from the best Thomas Christian families studying in the seminary at Cranganore founded in 1541 by Vincente de Lagos, O. F. M.

In the seminary the clerics were trained in Western disciplines. Since Syriac was not taught in the seminary, the priests who were ordained there were unable to perform the liturgical services in the Malabar churches. Antonio de Gouvea, who was in Malabar toward the end of the sixteenth century, testifies that the Thomas Christians did not allow their own children who were ordained in the Franciscan seminary to work in the Malabar parishes because they were not trained in the Malabar Rite. They treated those priests as guests, as they treated the Latin priests. In the long run, this seminary was a failure as far as the Christians of St. Thomas were concerned; and this was so because of the policy of Latinization by adopting which the promoters though

they could reduce the whole community into the subjection of the Latin and Portuguese jurisdiction and rite. »

Mar Joseph, the Chaldean bishop who was sent in 1556 to Malabar with Ambrose Buttigeg, the Papal Nuncio to Mosul, and another bishop, Mar Elias, was the brother of Patriarch Sulaqa, who received the pallium from Pope Julius II in 1553. In spite of this, Mar Joseph was detained in Bassein (Goa) for eighteen months. There he was taught to celebrate Mass in Latin and made familiar with « the ceremonies of our bishops. » Only then was he sent to Malabar.

This training had a very great impact on him. And later under the pressure of the missionaries, he introduced certain Latin innovations into the Malabar church. In a history of the early Jesuit missions, Mar Joseph's work is thus described:

From the year 1558 there governed the Christians of St. Thomas one Mar Joseph who, in order to show himself Catholic and to gain the good will of Portuguese, put the affairs of the Serra (Malabar) in to better order, so far as concerns Mass and Sacraments in the Roman style. Before that they had celebrated covered with an amice and over that a stole. He ordered the use of our hosts and wine, for before they had consecrated lumps kneaded with oil and salt and used sweet wine squeezed from moistened raisins.

Mar Abraham was the last Chaldean bishop of Malabar († 1597). He was given the title « Archbishop of Angamaly » by the Chaldean Patriarch. He first arrived in India in 1558 but in 1565 was deported to Rome, where he was « converted » and received Holy Orders from the Patriarch of Venice. Having pledged fidelity to the « Roman » faith in 1568, he returned to India with the authorization of the Chaldean Patriarch. But on arrival he was detained in Goa since he lacked credentials from the Portuguese king. In 1570 Mar Abraham escaped from this detention and joined the Malabar Christians. The Portuguese knew of his presence there but were unable to act against him. In a Provincial synod at Goa (1571), to which Mar Abraham had been invited, but which he did not attend, it was decided that the Thomas Christians should be under the *Padroado* of the Portu-

guese king, the result of which being that their bishops in the future would not be appointed by the Patriarch. It was also decided that the decrees of Trent would be enforced in Malabar.

In a letter dated 18th January 1580, sent to Emmanuel de Gois from Cochin, Matheus Ricci, S. J., describes some aspects of the liturgical life of the Thomas Christians: Mar Abraham uses the Roman vestments; communion is given to the faithful under one species only; they have all the sacraments except Confession and «Extreme Unction.» They use Chaldean as the official language. To introduce all the Latin ceremonies and rites they are to be translated into that language—the new Roman Missal, the Roman Breviary, etc. The translation of the Roman Missal and Breviary was also recommended in the third Provincial synod of Goa, held in 1585.

From the above it becomes obvious that the Portuguese came across a group of Catholics in Malabar, whose customs they could not understand, still less appreciate and accept. As the time passed the problems were increased on the pastoral level. The missionaries could adopt the Malabar customs in the place of the Roman ones which they were familiar or solve the problems by latinizing the Malabar Christians.

The problems were really acute in the years immediately preceding the synod of Diamper. Some aspects of the issue, especially regarding fasting, are dealt with in a long letter of Jerome Xavier, S. J., the Rector of the Cochin seminary, in 1590. This letter, addressed to Father Aquaviva, the Jesuit General, is in MS *Goa—Malabar* 14, fol. 1v-2v, of the Jesuit Archives in Rome. The General was asked to give a decision as to whether the missionaries should accept or reject the customs of the place. Portions of the letter which interest us can thus be summarized.

1. For the Thomas Christians, Lent begins three days earlier since they do not have any carnival. They do not have *quatuor tempora*. They fast fifteen days before the feast of Assumption in August: so also they keep the three-day fast of the Ninivites eighteen days before the beginning of Lent.

2. Their fasting is very rigorous—without using milk, eggs, milk products, fish, wine and betel leaf («which they chew

always»). On the days of fast they eat only at 5 p. m. «Now we are doubting whether we should conform ourselves to them, also due to the scandal to these Christians if they see that we are eating meat and fish and drinking wine when they are fasting.» Some of the missionaries are fasting in conformity with them; others follow the Latin use, and try to avoid the scandal by saying that the Roman church prescribes differently.

3. The difference in fasting is a problem in the seminary at Cochin, where actually the students are to be trained in the customs of the locality. But it is good to introduce them to the Roman customs «since with their (seminarians) true faith and Roman doctrine the missionaries can turn them away from the Syrian customs.»

4. The Thomas Christians abstain from meat on Friday and Wednesday; but they eat meat on Saturday.

5. They compute the day from evening, and hence the fast day begins on the eve with the sunset. Thus Tuesday evening and Thursday evening they cannot eat meat; but they can eat it on Wednesday evening and Friday evening. In the same way Sunday evening they are permitted to work. The missionaries are following the Roman customs in all these things. «I do not know whether it is for edification or for scandal.»

6. Their priests and seminarians recite the divine office in choir even they live far away from the church. If the same is done by the missionaries, the people will be edified. No wonder the people have greater esteem towards their clerics than towards us.

7. «For us, the Syriac language is a problem» for singing the divine office in the church with others; so also for celebrating Mass, wedding and the burial.

8. «It is easy to observe their feasts; likewise also the fasts. But the manner of their fasting is difficult for us: to eat at eleven o'clock and in the evening will be very painful for us though through it the religious fervor will grow. It is really a strong argument to say that they are not edified when we eat meat while they are observing the fast.»

In this letter, the differences between Roma and Malabar church are clear to the missionary. Those customs have nothing to do with dogmatic teachings, and hence the Malabar Christians could be permitted to observe them. But the question is pastoral feasibility in the sense of «convenience to the pastor.» In fact, the missionary was aware of the right thing to do—to conform himself to the people by adopting their customs. But it is «painful.» So the solution, easy to the missionary, was to conform the Christians to the Roman customs, which meant romanization. It was this tendency which was strongly prevalent among the missionaries on the eve of the synod of Diamper (1599). An official approbation and enforcement of this tendency were the best results they could desire from the synod.

7. Synod of Diamper (1599)

At the time of the convocation of this synod, Malabar was not a suffragan to Goa, neither was it under Padroado, nor a part of any Latin hierarchy. Hence in convoking this synod for the Malabar Christians, Menezes, the Archbishop of Goa, acted *ultra-vires*. Though the synod is proved to be invalid, it has had lasting influence on the liturgy and liturgical discipline of Malabar.

The synod suspecting Nestorianism in the Malabar church, formulated the decrees with a view to reduce it to the Roman pattern. For this, the restricted use and destruction by burning of several Syriac books were considered inevitable. It proposed to translate the Roman Mass into Syriac for use of the Malabar church. It met with great opposition and hence the *Qurbana* text was kept; but permission was given to priests to make use of the Syriac version of the Roman Mass, which was shorter, for week-day use.

Several modifications were made in the text of the *Qurbana*. The Institution-Narrative was dractically the same as that of the Roman canon. The Creed was translated from the Roman missal, for the *Qurbana*. Prayers from the Roman missal, such as *Agnus Dei*, *Domine non sum dignus* were introduced into the *Qurbana*. The vestments and the rubrics for the *Qurbana* were all Roman. The liturgical calendar of the Roman church substituted the East Syrian calendar.

Liturgical discipline regarding the sacraments was made totally conformable to that of the Roman church. Thus, the age of the candidate for baptism, the place of baptism, and the manner of administering Viaticum were fixed, following the Roman norms of the time. The sacrament of Confirmation was to be administered as a separate sacrament, and not with baptism as was the practice of the Orientals. The synod enumerated the clerical orders as they were in the Roman Pontifical, disregarding the fact that the Malabar church had only the orders of reader, sub-deacon, deacon and priest. The synod prescribed that marriage was to take place only in the church.

The penitential discipline was centered on private penance. In this the public penance which still existed in some form in Malabar was simply ignored. Confession prior to communion was made the norm. The law of annual confession was promulgated by the synod to the dismay of the Malabar Christians.

At variance with the traditional obligation of reciting the divine office in choir, the synod imposed on the clergy a serious obligation to recite the divine office in private, in case they fail to recite it in choir.

Rules were formulated to make the sign of the cross as the Romans did—from left shoulder to the right shoulder. The synod ordered the use of statues, surplice and holy water as in the Roman liturgy. The synod wanted to reduce the liturgical discipline of the Malabar church to a purely Roman one, although the *Qurbana* text was to be East Syrian, because the idea of using the Syriac translation of the Roman Mass met with great opposition. To avoid any possible Hindu “superstition”, the synod ordered the suppression of several local customs which had actually nothing to do with Christian faith and worship.

8. Text of Qurbana and Diamper: A Detailed Study

Though it is clear that the Malabar Church used the East Syrian *Qurbana* at the time of Diamper, not much is known regarding its exact text. From the decrees of the synod of Diamper one could get some idea about it since the synod, by way of explaining the corrections prescribed, at times gave the full or partial text on which it worked.

In a study, "The Work of Meneses on the Malabar Liturgy", by R. H. Connolly proved beyond doubt that the liturgy prior to Diamper could be traced from the decrees of the synod, and that it was the East Syrian Liturgy, though it was different, in certain cases, from the standard Nestorian Liturgy.

By a comparison of the Diamper text with a few manuscript texts of the East Syrian Liturgy of the Apostles, Douglas Webb has shown that the text worked on by the synod, and hence in use in the Malabar church in the period immediately preceding the synod, was a composite East Syrian text "containing many features which do not usually appear in the ordinary manuscripts", and that its parts were composed mostly after the Alqosh type manuscript.

9. Text of the Qurbana in the Synod of Diamper

No text of the Syriac missal as revised in the synod has come down to us. The only means to get into the text of the Diamper *Qurbana* is an exploration of the Acts of the synod, and of the Latin version of the *Qurbana* which Gouvea composed supposedly on the basis of the synodal decrees and the then existing Malabar missals. Connolly, in a comparative study of Gouvea's text of the *Qurbana* with the English translation of the East Syrian *Qurbana* given in Brightman, proved that the text of the Malabar *Qurbana* even after the reform in Diamper remained substantially East Syrian.

The synod was aware of the several anaphoras used in the Malabar church. Actually it mentions three, in addition to that of Addai and Mari: Theodore Nestorios and Diodore. It is difficult to identify this last one since the East Syrian MSS. do not contain an anaphora under the name Diodore. But whatever it be, the synod forbade the use of any anaphora other than that of Addai and Mari.

The synod also suggested the use of Syriac translation of the Roman Mass since it is shorter, and hence, according to the synod, more convenient for the daily celebration of the Liturgy (canon 123).

Changes in the Qurbana

The changes in the text of the *Qurbana* prescribed by the synod amount to forty. They can be thus distinguished: six in litanies, seven in hymns or anthems, four in formulae pertaining to the deacon, one in a response of the people, one in the text of the gospel lesson, one affecting the whole creed. In the prayer of the priest, there are five in the pre-anaphoral part, four within the anaphora and eleven in the four variable *huthame* (final blessings).

Many of the changes were in view of doctrinal integrity. Thus fifteen of the changes concern the names of reference to Christ. This was a protection against Nestorianism: the simple titles like *Christ*, *Jesus*, and *the Son* were amplified into expressions like: "Jesus Christ His Son our Lord." In the same way the title "Mother of Christ" referring to Mary was changed into "Mother of God." Four changes were intended to substitute the name of the Chaldean Patriarch with the name of the Pope.

The liturgical style of naming in anticipation bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ was to be abolished. So also the names of Nestorius, Theodore and Diodore were to be removed from the commemoration. In the Creed, canon 116 directed the addition of the phrase, *Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero*, and the substitution of *filius essentiae Patris (Isya)* with *consubstantialem Patris (Kyana)*. Actually the Syriac word *bar kyana* means the same as the *homousios* which term was transliterated as *heumasios*. The net result of the changes was to make it conformable to the Creed in the Roman Missal. Following the Roman liturgical laws of the time the synod prohibited the clerics below subdeacons to touch the sacred vessels (canon 124), and those below deacons to use the stole (canon 126). The bread for the Eucharist was to be pure wheat flour, and the wine pure Portuguese (canon 126). The synod also ordered the use of consecrated altar stones, and chalices of valuable metal (canon 129).

In the response of the people, "May Christ hear your prayers," the synod made some modification with the addition from the Roman *Te igitur*: "et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae et Apostolicae Fidei cultoribus" (canon 117).

In the rite of Fraction, the synod "detected" a sacrilegious and impious action. After breaking the bread in two, the priest dips the one in the right hand in the chalice, and with that signs the other loaf in the left hand. Then he holds both parts together in his hands, and in order that moistened and the bended part of the host in the right hand may not fall apart, he presses that moistened part against the loaf in the left hand. The synod considered it a reflection of the Nestorian faith which, according to the understanding of Meneses, held that the Body of Christ did not contain the Blood. (Evidently this is without any foundation). The synod thought that the priest, by pressing the moistened loaf against the other at the Fraction, was trying to infuse the Blood into the body. The synod prohibited such a ceremony (canon 122).

Institution—Narrative

It is a well-known fact that the Institution-Narrative does not appear in the early manuscripts of the anaphora of Addai and Mari. Though the synod of Diamper (1599) speaks about the Institution-Narrative used in the anaphora of Addai and Mari at the time of the synod (canon 109—110) it does not give any specific information about the source of this Institution Narrative.

In a study on "The Malabar Liturgy", Burkitt pointed out that the Chaldean bishops who came from Mesopotamia were responsible for this addition, since they changed the liturgical texts "at will". The addition, says Burkitt, was made by a bishop "after the Nestorian revival of 1490". This opinion is based on the suggestion of Gouvea (1606).

In 1944 Alphonse Raes brought to light folio 101 of manuscript *Vat. Syr.* 66 of Mar Joseph (1566), on which is written an Institution-Narrative. It is written right at the beginning of the liturgy of the Apostles.

The synod, in its observations on the Institution-Narrative, stated that the *verba consecrationis* should be the same as in the Roman missal. A comparative study of the Diamper text with those of Mar Joseph and the Roman Missal might shed light on their relation and resemblance to one another (see next pages *infra*). Both the texts of Mar Joseph and Diamper have certain characteristics of the Roman canon:

1. "On the day previous to his suffering";
2. omission of "which is broken for you";
3. "and raises the chalice a little above the altar",
4. The Chalice of my blood.

At the same time, Joseph and Diamper have their peculiarities:

1. "In truth" seen in the consecration of bread and wine;
2. the position of "and whenever you eat this bread and drink this chalice".
3. "and this will be for you a pledge for ever".

The text of Mar Joseph contains the characteristic expression of Eastern Rites at the beginning of the Institution-narrative "In the night in which he was to be betrayed". That is not kept in the Diamper text. The clause, "and this will be *for you* a pledge for ever, "was changed by Diamper into "and this will be *for us* a pledge *until the end of the world*", since the "pledge" given to us is for so long as we are away from the Lord.

In the Diamper text the Institution / Narrative is given after the Epiclesis and before the Fraction. It is placed outside the anaphora. In Mar Joseph, the rubrics indicate that it is recited at the end of the Fraction. This, too; is outside the anaphora.

It could be that already before the Diamper, possibly in the synod of Angamaly held by Mar Joseph in 1583 which dealt with the *Qurbana*, the Institution Narrative was shifted to an earlier place, i. e., before the fraction.

Epiclesis

Diamper was very sensitive about the Epiclesis. In the anaphora of Addai and Mari there is no allusion to the changing of the bread and wine by the Holy Spirit. Actually Diamper did not modify it. But it dealt with the hymn, "When the priest enters the sanctuary, which appeared at the Fraction, in which reference is made to the invocation of the Spirit by the priest to consecrate the bread and wine. The synod decreed to leave out the expression; "The priest invokes the Spirit who comes down from heaven?" Evidently the synod understood this hymn as epicletic. The position of the hymn, namely among the hymns of Fraction which immediately followed the Institution-Narrative, tended to support such a conclusion,

Since Diamper: Bishop Roz

Since Meneses, who convoked the synod of Diamper, was the Archbishop of Goa, the promulgation of the synodal decrees became the responsibility of Archbishop Roz who a few months after the synod, was appointed head of the Malabar church on December 20, 1599. Roz had been in India since 1584. He knew well Malayalam, the vernacular, and Syriac, the liturgical language. Since he worked closely with Meneses for the success of the synod, and since he was well-known to the Malabar Christians he was well-equipped to do the job easily.

The diocesan *Statutes* promulgated by Bishop Roz (the first Latin bishop of the Thomas Christians) in 1606 was a comprehensive code of diocesan regulations. In 1603, in the synod of Angamaly, he prepared a missal implementing several of the decrees of the synod. Roz, who was, essentially, for the romanization of the Malabar liturgy, did not agree in all things with Meneses. The condemnatory attitude of Meneses towards the local customs was not apparent in the *Statutes*. Though Roz romanized the liturgy, *Statutes* gave the impression that he did so, not to extirpate the East Syrian liturgy, but to remedy the laxity of the liturgical discipline of the church. By presenting the Roman ceremonies in the Syriac, he impressed the Malabar Christians with his apparent understanding and sympathy towards their Rite, which for many, consisted in the Syriac language. In introducing new offices for the feasts, he kept the structure of the East Syrian liturgy, even when the content was borrowed from the Roman liturgy.

Though Roz gave the Roman ceremony of baptism, he acknowledged the baptism by immersion which was in existence in Malabar. Roz specified and expatiated the norms given in Diamper. Thus, he gave a detailed description of the confessional and baptismal font. He also gave a minute description of the communion ceremony, which was not even dealt with by Diamper. Of course, the ceremony, given by Roz was specifically Roman.

10. Bishop Roz and the Qurbana Text: Details

The *Statutes* did not go into details concerning the *Qurbana*, except in the case of communion. For the rest, it gave as norm the decisions of the second synod of Angamaly (1603).

- 44v On the celebration of *Qurbana* and on the priests who celebrate it:
- 45r There is much confusion in the diocese because the priests celebrated the *Qurbana* in several ways. The *Qurbana* therefore, shall be celebrated as we ordered in the second synod of Angamaly; if priests will not do this every day, they shall not celebrate the *Qurbana*:
- 47r The ministers below the deacons should not wear the stole. Those below the subdeacon should not touch the chalice and paten with their hands..;
- 47v Knowing that it is the result of the greatest ignorance to read the Apostle and the Gospel after the Offertory, all priests shall celebrate the *Qurbana* as it is written in our *Taksa*.

The fact that the Mannanam manuscript of the *Qurbana* prepared at the synod of Angamaly survives is helpful to this study. It contains the text of the *Qurbana* (pp. 1-58) and the rubrics for the celebration of the most solemn *Qurbana*, called *Raza* (pp. 59-68). The text of the *Qurbana* was intended to provide a uniform liturgy, eliminating the then existing confusion. That missal was presented as the only authentic one to be used.

A particular item which the Statutes dealt with was a correction in the *Qurbana* text of the synod of Diamper pertaining to the position of the readings. A comparative study of the first part of the Diamper text with that of the Rozian text will explain this:

Rozian texts (<i>Mannanam MS</i>)	Diamper text (<i>Raulin</i>)
Page	Page
8 A. In the name of the Father	(omits)
B. Your commandment	(omits)
C. Glory to God in the highest	293
D. Our Father	293
9 E. Prayer before psalmody	293—294
F. Psalms	294—295

	Page
10 G. Blessing of incense	(omits)
H. Anthem of the Sanctuary; Hymn <i>Laku mara</i> and Trisagion	295
11 I. Prayer before the readings	
12 J. Readings	
K. Creed	
13 L. Prayer of the faithful	296—304
15 M. Preparation of offerings	300—301
15—16 N. Dismissal of the unworthy	
16 O. Offertory	301
17 P. Offertory anthem continued	302—303
Q.	304—305 N
R.	305 I
S.	305—307 J
T.	307 K

The order (A,B,C,D, etc.) in the above table helps to understand how in the Diamper text, readings (I, J) and creed (X) came after the Offertory (O, P). The dismissal of the unworthy (N, Q) has changed its place in the texts but the rite of dismissal was obsolete at the time and hence it was not of much importance.

The place of the readings in the Diamper text has been observed by Connolly, Codrington and Webb, and they conjectured that either the Syriac manuscript from which Gouvea made the Latin translation, or the manuscript of his Latin translation was accidentally displaced, causing disorder in the printed text. Connolly proved that this disorder was not the result of the changes proposed in the synod of Diamper.

In a later study, Webb compared the text of Gouvea with other manuscripts and showed that there are other texts with similar disorders. He remarked that Gouvea's text could more easily fit into the order of MSS *Brit. Mus, Add 7181* (A.D. 1570), *Camber. Add. 2035* (A. D. 1686) and *1984* (A. D. 1707), which form a special group. They have repetitions in the order of the first part of the *Qurbana*:

hymn <i>laku mara</i> and Trisagion	(H)
Offertory	(O)
creed	(K)
hymn <i>laku mara</i> and Trisagion	(H)
readings	(J)
prayer of the faithful	(I)
offertory	(O)
offertory anthem continued	(P)
dismissal of the unworthy	(N)
offertory anthem	(O)

Webb holds that Gouvea might have had a copy of one of these manuscripts when he prepared the translation. He might have prepared the order of the *Qurbana* avoiding repetitions, and the result was the order we find in his Diamper text. The possibility of using such a manuscript can be admitted, but Webb does not say why such repetitions appear in the above manuscript.

In the second part of the Mannanam manuscript (pp. 59—60), Roz has given rubrics for the preparations for the celebration of the Raza:

Raza must be celebrated on important feast days and Sundays in all the churches where there are sufficient number of priests and servers. For this, there should be a priest celebrant, a deacon, a subdeacon, and at least four in the minor orders. Of these, two should vest themselves like the deacon, others should have albs on.

On the right side of the sanctuary there should be a table with two candles and the book containing the *kerjana* (Old Testament readings) and the Epistle placed on it. The Gospel book must be on the altar itself.

While all are ready, the service begins. The deacon and the subdeacon stand behind the celebrant to his right and left respectively. Other servers kneel down.....

In the first part of the manuscript where the simple text of the *Qurbana* is given, the Roman rubrics prevail still more. Thus on pages 6 and 7 prayers from the Roman ritual for vesting are given. And on page 7 it is prescribed that the priest should wear a biretta while he goes to the sanctuary.

The rubrics of *Raza* contain other specific Roman practices. On page 63 the celebrant is given direction to read the Gospel privately eventhough it is sung aloud by the deacon. The deacon, before the reading of the Gospel, kisses the right hand of the celebrant. On page 62 the servers are asked to sit on the steps of the altar during the first and second readings.

Holy Communion

The *Statutes* gave a detailed discription of the communion service within the Raza:

fol. 36r (a) How Vicars should give Communion to the lay people: After having known the number of the communicants, the vicar puts the necessary particles of hosts in a chalice or in a corporal.

36v (b) When they approach for communion, according to the local custom, men should kneel on the north side and women on the south side ..

37r (c) Before the communion of the faithful, the priest should instruct them:

Those who receive Communion without the prior reception of the sacrament of confession, or not fulfilling the penance received in the confession, will fall into hell...

So let only those who confessed their sins (properly) dare to receive the Eucharist.

37v (d) The deacons and the communicants should say the *Confiteor*. The vicar, then with folded hands, should turn to them and recite over them the (formula of) absolution:

38r "May the Almighty God have mercy on you, forgive you your sins and bring you to everlasting life. Amen. May the Almighty and merciful Lord grant you pardon, absolution and remission of your sins. Amen." The vicar shall bless them with the sign of the cross (*rusma*). The deacon should respond, Amen.

11. The Impact of the Liturgical Changes of Diamper and Bishop Roz on the Malabar Liturgy of the Subsequent four Centuries

The principle of Latinization was accepted in the synod of Diamper, and Bishop Roz applied it officially to the liturgy of the Malabar church. Three reasons for accepting the principle of Latinization can be suggested: the fear of heresy in the Eastern liturgical texts; the idea that Eastern liturgy is imperfect because of the lack of medieval western devotions; and the conception of the "Latin" liturgy (which was the Roman for them) as faultless and ideal. All these reasons are found in one form or other in the modern Malabar church. Hence it is worth-while to discuss in chronological sequence the major events in the history of the Malabar liturgy since the Diamper-Rozian period, and to examine the activities of important persons who have exercised great influence on the later Malabar liturgy.

12. The Printing of the Liturgical Books

Taksa

The Syro-Malabar *Taksa* (missal) was first printed in Rome in 1774 with the latin title, *Ordo Chaldaicus Missae Juxta Morem Ecclesiae Malabaricae Superiorum Permissu Editus*. An Instruction of Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to the Latin Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, dated September 3, 1757, indicated that the text of *Qurbana* corrected by Meneses in the synod of Diamper should be sent to Rome with a Latin translation so that a syriac missal for the Malabar church could be printed. It is not known how this *Instruction* was followed up. MS *Borgiano Latino 280*, fol. 241v—282v of the seventeenth century gives a report on the selection of the text for printing. It can be summarized.

Father Charles of Conrad, a Carmelite, brought two exemplars of the Malabar missal to Rome, and another Carmelite brought a third exemplar of the same. Because of the differences in their contents, Rome had to find out which of those manuscripts was in use in Malabar. For further deliberation on the issue, J. S. Assemani, the Syriac scholar, was consulted. He suggested either to print the Menesian Missal, which was partially

Roman, or to get another exemplar subscribed to by all the Malabar priests. With this he actually discouraged the use of the manuscripts brought by the missionaries. These suggestions were sent to the *Congregatio super Correctionem Liplorum Ecclesiae Orientalis*, for decision. Cardinal Antonelli, one of the consultors of this congregation, suggested to provide the Malabar church with the missal of the Chaldeans which at that time (1767) was already in the press. This was also to make sure that the Holy See might not be accused by anyone of depriving the Malabar church of its Eastern liturgy. This, if executed, might also be a response to the request the synod of Diamper (canon 267) made to the Holy Father to furnish the Malabar church with a missal. But this suggestion was objected to violently by other consultants and members of the Congregation. It was decided that the Chaldean missal should not be given to the Malabar church without knowing the will of the people of Malabar. As a compromise two copies of the Chaldean printed missal were sent to the Malabar Vicar Apostolic asking him to convoke an assembly of all the Malabar priests to know whether they would accept the Chaldean missal.

In an assembly of the priests of Malabar the Chaldean missal was rejected. The malabar priests asked Rome to print the missal brought to Rome by Fr. Charles. In accordance with this, one of the two manuscripts brought by Fr. Charles was printed. It is hard to know which one was the choice.

Since the Roman edition, the Malabar missal went through several editions, keeping the text of the 1774 edition, ofcourse, with some editions, especially the readings for new feasts. The 1946 edition of the missal, as Archbishop Kandathil said in its Foreword, tried to "have a correct edition of our Missal in close conformity with the Roman edition (1774)." Because of its easy accessibility, in our study reference to prayers of the missal will be made to this edition.

In the edition 1774 several prayers which were not in the East Syrian *Qurbana*, were added:

1. "The Father of Truth".
2. A final blessing in honour of the Virgin Mary
3. A prayer of bidding adieu to the altar:

4. Four other *hutama* (Final blessing)
5. *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God) before the minor Elevation
6. Two prayers before the celebrant receives the chalice
7. Three post-communion prayers

Of these the first three prayers were taken from the Maronite missal. The presence of these Maronite prayers could be due to the influence of J. S. Assemani, who served as a consultor in the committee which edited the Malabar missal.

The *MM* (Menezian Mass) contained several additions. It prescribed that the celebrant should enter the sanctuary with biretta on, and that the server should carry the *Taksa* (missal). In *DM* (the Diamper Mass) the server was to go before the celebrant swinging the thurible. *MM* began the *Qurbana* with "In the name of the Father..." while *DM* began with the exclamation, "Glory to God in the highest."

MM imitated the Roman mode of blessing the deacon before the Gospel. *DM* did not give any such rubrics. In *MM*, unlike *DM*, the celebrant kisses the altar before the *Enarxis* and before the *Pax*. *DM* contains Minor Elevation before *Pater Noster*, and adds *Domine non sum dignus* before the communion of the celebrant. The communion rite was a translation from the Roman missal, but the East Syrian communion formula was retained, with an addition at the end, "*ad vitam aeternam*", taken from the Roman missal. *MM* prescribed a genuflection every time the sacred species are handled after the Institution Narrative. *MM* contained only the anaphoras of Addai and Mari, leaving out the anaphoras of Theodore and Nestorius, in accordance with the decrees of Diamper (canon 121). There was no provision for the *proper prayers* of the *Qurbana*: the initial psalmody, anthem of the rails, psalm verses between the readings the anthem of the mysteries sung at the offertory procession, and the communion hymns. It remained so until recent times when the *Proper Prayers* were introduced (1968)

Before the communion, *MM* has the prayers, "*Let not your body, O, Lord...*" and "*Sanctify our bodies...*" both of which

are additions of 1774. *DM* has in their place, "*Lord my God, I am not worthy ..*"

A few prayers of *DM* are omitted in *MM*. Thus the prayer of the veil, "*Amictus lumine ..*" said while covering the offerings after the offertory; "*Lord, extend your right hand ...*" after the psalms; and the "*To you I have lifted ..*" after the Fraction; the deacon's invitation, "*Praise the living God* " and its response said before the communion, the priest's prayer "*Precious blood of the Lord*" recited after receiving the chalice.

A decree of the *Congregation Super Correctionem Librorum Ecclesiae, Orientalis*. dated June 1, 1766 gave responses to four questions on the text of Fr. Charles. The first allowed the retention of certain prayer, *coram throno* (before the glorious throne) even though it did not appear in the Roman missal. The second was concerning a prayer before the Gospel. The question was whether to change the expression "*imago genitricis*" (image of the Father) to "*substantiam genitricis*" (substance of the Father). The answer was NEGATIVE. The third answer directed the commemoration of the Pope whenever the Patriarch and bishops were commemorated. The last answer was in favor of retaining the Elevation of the sacred species immediately after the Words of Institution, even though it is not the place for elevation in the Eastern Rites.

In the printed missal, the East Syrian Calendar was replaced with Roman one, adding only the feast of July 3rd (St. Thomas), and December 18th (St. Thomas), and the feast of the Ninivites, eighteen days before the beginning of Lent. The readings were given as in the Roman missal, generally only two each for every day, and making the text of the *Pishita* conformable to the *Vulgate* whenever the former varied notably. It is to be noted that no readings were assigned to the feast of Ninivites since they were not in the Roman missal. Latin prayers for vesting were translated and were printed in the missal.

Further, the missal contained the Syriac translation from the Roman missal of the services for Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Passion Friday and of the Candlemass of the second of February. The Mass of the Presanctified was

translated from the Roman missal, but "*Praeceptis salutaribus moniti*" was substituted with the parallel prayer of the East Syrian *Qurbana*, "Make us worthy..."

The Missal included also a text for the most solemn *Qurbana*, called Raza. It contained only the prayers and ceremonies which were additional to the simple *Qurbana*.

Ritual

A Syriac translation of some ceremonies of the *Rituale Romanum* was printed in 1775 in Rome. It contained the rites of baptism, Confession, Anointing, as well as translations of other ceremonies from the *Rituale Romanum*, such as formulas for blessing holy water, a place, a candle, food, statues and sacred pictures.

13. Blessed Kuriakose Elias Chavara

Blessed Father Chavara (+1871) was the first Prior General of the Carmelites of Mary Immaculate (C. M. I.), a local religious congregation. He was in close contact with Archbishops Bernardine (+1868) and Leonard (+1898). It was Chavara who prepared the first *Thukasa*, rubrics for the celebration of the *Qurbana* in Malayalam, in 1868. He adopted whatever was possible from the Roman Rite, closely following the *Ritus Servandus in Celebratione Missae* given at the beginning of the Roman missal of Pius V of 1570.

Fr. Chavara prepared the ecclesiastical calendar with the Roman feasts and assigned for them colours of vestments. Since the existing Breviary did not contain Offices for the feasts, he prepared a set of Vespers for important feasts. In this he followed the East Syrian structure, as did Bishop Roz, but romanized them with some modifications. Thus "Lord be with you" (*Dominus vobiscum*) was introduced instead of the East Syrian, "Peace be with you" (*slamma amakom*); "*per Christum Dominum nostrum*" instead of the ending, "Lord of all for ever", or "Lord of all, Father, Son and Holy Spirit for ever." The Roman *incipit* of prayers. "Oremus" (N'salle) was a novelty to the East Syrian usage.

In a Syriac letter of May 31, 1861, sent to the Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Chavara asked permission for certain liturgical reforms, most of which were intended to conform the Malabar church to the Roman. The letter, a copy of which is kept at the Mannanam monastery, can be thus summarized:

1. Herewith is enclosed a Syriac translation of the Holy Saturday service of the Roman church. Since the Malabar church makes use of the Roman services from Ash Wednesday to the Passion Friday, and since the long service of ancient East Syrian service for the day is no more in use, this translation was prepared.
2. As it is prescribed and practised in the Mass of the "Holy Church", our *Qurbana* also could end with the reading of the prologue of Saint John's Gospel.
3. We use incense in our daily *Qurbana*, in variance with the practice of the Roman church here which uses it only on Sundays and feast days. Since this is embarrassing to the faithful of the Roman Rite who happen to attend our *Qurbana*, we may follow the Roman custom in this.

The letter concluded with a repeated plea for the approbation of the above items, and of a Syriac Breviary prepared by Chavara, and taken to Rome by Bishop Leonard. All the above three petitions were given negative answers, whereas the Breviary was approved, as it was said above.

Father Chavara is responsible for introducing several other devotions in Malabar. He dedicated each day of the week to saints. In this attempt Saturday was dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, though the East Syrian divine office assigns Wednesday to Mary's special commemoration.

14. Other Innovations of the 19th Century

In the directives given to the Syrian Churches of Cranganore diocese on 6th Feb. 1968 from the ecclesiastical office of the *Governador*, it is prescribed that the priest should wear shoes and stockings during the liturgical services. In 1844 the second

edition of the missal appeared, and in 1845) that of the sacraments. This last one contained also several sacramentals taken from the *Rituale Romanum*. Archbishop Bernardine (1853-68) reduced the number of fasts to nine excluding those which preceded the 8th of September and the 15th of August. Novenas and monthly devotions of Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Joseph, as well as the confraternity of the Bl. Virgin (*Darsanam*) were popularised in this period, translating into Syriac the necessary prayers from Latin. White cassocks of western type for priests were introduced.

Archbishop Bernardine in a decree prescribed certain items concerning liturgical discipline: Thus:

1. Quarter of an hour before the beginning of the mass the church bell is to be tolled.
2. The celebrant priest has to carry the chalice into the sanctuary at the beginning of the Mass, and he should bring it back after the Mass.
3. Chasuble should have sign of the cross on the back.
4. The colours of the liturgical vestments were to be the same as those of the Latins.
5. The use of Holy water is to be encouraged.
6. Women should make their confession only in the confessional. Every church should have atleast four Confessionals.

D

THE RESTORATION OF THE LITURGY

Declarations Process

15. A. The Pontifical

There has always been a small group of the St. Thomas Christians who opposed latinization from its beginning. They and the archdeacons many a time requested the Holy See to restore their Rite. But the official project of restoration started in a peculiar situation when Rome was asked to co-operate with latinization. It was in connection with the restoration of the Pontifical. Syro Malabar bishops asked permission from Rome to make Syriac translation of the Roman Pontifical since at that time Malabar Bishops conducted the ceremony of Ordination

within the Syriac Mass using the prayers in Latin from the Roman Pontifical. Two languages and two liturgical rites were fused into one ceremony! The Malabar bishops requested Rome to reduce the confusion by making all the prayers in Syriac (1908 and 1934). Though the Oriental Congregation desired that the Malabar Church accept the Chaldean Pontifical in Syriac, a baseless fear of the domination of the Chaldeans prompted them to ask for such a Syriac translation of the Roman Ordination Rites. In fact they prepared and sent a Syriac translation to Rome. When Mons. Rene Graffin, the scholarly and well-appreciated editor of the *Patrologia Orientalis*, was asked to print such a Syriac text (1933), he said, he would never do it since to agree to print it would be to co-operate in mischief, that is, latinization. The Sacred Oriental Congregation consulted oriental scholars and liturgy experts like Cyril Korolevsky, Dom Placid De Meester OSB, and Mons. E. (Cardinal) Tisserant. In Dec. 1934, taking into account all their suggestions, Pope Pius XI categorically stated: "Latinization is not to be encouraged among the Easterners. Half measurers are ungenerous and they do not bring good results. So continue in *status quo*, but organise at once a commission for the revision of the earlier pontifical which can be printed part by part". Under the presidency of Father James Voste O. P. the Commission making use of several manuscripts available at the time, completed the work of the Syriac Pontifical in 1939; but due to several reasons, such a book was printed and published only in 1957.

The restored Syriac Pontifical was promulgated in Malabar in 1958, and ordination ceremonies in Malayalam were printed in 1960, and the rites of episcopal ordination for the first time was used in Malayalam in 1968. These rites are also to be revised.

16. The Qurbana

After the restoration of the Pontificals, the sacred Oriental Congregation concentrated on the Qurbana. On March 10, 1954 a committee was set up with Fr. Cyril Korolevsky, Fr. Placid J. Podipara C. M. I. and Fr. A. Raes S. J. (the president), and Fr. Emmanuel Dhelhy (at present a Chaldean Bishop) as an assistant. The Syro-Malabar Bishops were informed of the committee on May 6, 1954. The Committee presented the new draft of the

restored Qurbana under the title: *Liturgia siro—Malabarese—Revisione Ristampa del Missale Siro—Malabarese—I*. It contained:

1. The text of the Qurbana
2. Rubrics and directions (*ordo celebrationis*)
3. Notes regarding the interior of the church, vestments etc.
4. Scheme and content of the changeable prayers of Sundays and feast days (*propria*).

This text was sent to the Syro Malabar Bishops and twice they were asked to send their opinions and suggestions. It was at this time that the first Syro—Malabar liturgy committee was set up on August 4, 1954. In fact the tendency in Malabar was not for restoration, but for shortening and Vernacularization. Though the bishops were apprehensive about the restoration, most of the bishops welcomed the draft in 1956 in the light of the explanation given by the Roman liturgical Committee. The plenary session of the Cardinals of the Oriental Congregation discussed the text on May 27, 1957. The final text was approved by Pope Pius XII on June 26, 1957.

After this the Sacred Oriental Congregation published three books:

Taksa d'Quddasa including the Syriac text of the restored Qurbana with the anaphora of Addai and Mari (Alwaye, 1960):

Ordo Celebrationis Quddasa juxta Usum Ecclesias Syro—Malabarensis, containing rubrics in Latin for the different forms of celebrating Qurbana (Rome, 1959):

Supplementum Mysteriorum sive Proprium de Tempore et de Sanctis juxta Ritum Ecclesiae Syro—Malabarensis which is a collection of the variable parts of the Qurbana the restored Calendar and the scriptural passages to be read in Qurbana.

The Syriac text was printed in 1960 (Alwaye) and a text with a partial Malayalam translation was printed in 1962 which

was introduced in the church on July 3, 1962. But already on January 20, 1962 through a decree (*De Ritu Sacrificii Eucharistici Restaurando*), Rome allowed the new *Taksa* (Missal) to be used in seminaries, study houses, and noviciate houses.

The common pastoral letter sent by the Syro Malabar bishops on July 3, 1962 exhorted the faithful to accept the new *Qurbana* in a spirit of filial love and obedience to the Holy See.

This edition of 1962 had omitted a few items like *Pugdanakon* (your command) diptychs, and a few huttamas (final blessings) which were in the 1960 text. On December 3, 1963 the Sacred Congregation permitted some amendments and abbreviations in the text in response to the requests made by the bishops in Oct. 1963.

The Syro-Malabar Liturgy Committee was entrusted with the preparation of a full and better Malayalam version of the Syriac text.

There was much opposition from the part of some of the faithful and clergy against the elimination of Western elements in the formation of the 1962 text. Such objections slightly influenced the formation of 1968 text. This text presented to the Oriental Congregation on Aug. 6, 1968 was approved on Aug. 7, 1968 *ad experimentum*. It was a hasty approval without having time (Summer Vacation in Rome) for an adequate study on the text since the text was expected to be promulgated by the bishops on Aug. 15, 1968 (speech of Cardinal Ruben Aug. 26, 1980). In fact there were certain mutilations in this text. On May 9, 1969, Rome limited the experimentation to two years and July 29, 1971 it extended the period for another three years.

The *Supplementum Mysteriorum* contained variable parts for every Sunday and feast day of the liturgical year. A unit each of the variable prayers for each season (and not for every Sunday or feast day) was inserted into the 1978 edition of the missal.

17. Finalising:

A Tedious Process

In 1973 and 1974, the Syro Malabar Bishops Conference expressed its desire to accommodate various situations and

cultural demands of the country in the liturgical reform and to work simultaneously on restoration, revision and adaptation of the liturgy.

In fact the Roman policy was first to explore the genius of the Syro—Malabar liturgy by restoration and try to experience that liturgy before getting into the area of cultural adaptation. This is right in the context of the Malabar Church which had lost the memory of the flavour of its authentic East Syrian liturgy for the past four centuries.

Two opposing views concerning liturgy evolved in the course of the years. A small group stood for the implementation of the typically East syrian liturgy, not giving enough weight to indigenization and pastoral adaptation. Another group thought primarily of pastoral *aggiornamento*, perhaps not giving enough emphasis at times to the traditional heritage. One group upheld the "ideal" even when the general community of the faithful was not prepared to understand or accept it. The other group sought alternatives to elements which were never personally experienced.

This discord appeared in the Central Liturgy Committee and there was hardly any hope of arriving at a text of consensus among the members.

To worsen the situation, new directives of the Roman Mass (1969) endorsing "Mass facing the congregation" crept into the Syro—Malabar Church and was accepted by some Syro—Malabarians as a norm for celebration. Unauthorized and unopposed, this Mass "facing the people" became a familiar thing to the church. In the course of the decades some stood out as proponents and promoters of this practice. In fact the 1968 text had permitted the liturgy of the word to be celebrated "facing people" at the Bema and the rest turning "to the East". According to the 1962 text, however, the entire Qurbana was to be celebrated turning "to the East".

The hierarchy too was divided in all these matters and no one could heal the wounds caused by this disension. Eucharist which is "the Sacrament of unity" became painfully a cause of discord in the church.

Several attempts were made to make a better and a final text in the face of the fact that time granted *ad experimentum* for the Qurbana text elapsed. Several texts met with deadlock in the Central Liturgical Committee while others were rejected by the Sacred Oriental Congregation.

Meanwhile several liturgical texts, not authorised by the entire hierarchy, appeared (1974). Thus the notoriously known "Mini Mass" which left several prayers and rituals in printing and the "Indian Mass" (Indianized Mass) which did violence to the content and structure of Qurbana (1974), began to be used. The main defect of such texts was the lack of agreement among the bishops. In the light of this, the Syro Malabar Bishops' Conference (Aug 12-14, 1974) decided that thereafter Bishops conference should give approval to liturgical texts subject to the final approval of the Holy See, and that the individual hierarch may publish paraliturgical texts only. On Jan. 3, 1977 the Sacred Oriental Congregation in a letter to every Bishop of the Syro-Malabar Church, prohibited the use of the liturgical texts without the authorization of the Bishops Conference and the approval of the Holy See.

In Aug. 1974 the Bishops' Conference appointed a committee with a bishop as the head to prepare the Malayalam text of the Mass. Although such a text was prepared (1978) it was rejected by the Bishop's Conference. On Aug. 12, 1980, a document from Rome entitled, "*Report on the State of liturgical reform in the Syro-Malabar Church*" was sent to all the bishops as an aid to the bishops conference that was to meet in Rome later that month during their *ad limina* visit. This document insisted that Syro Malabar liturgy should be faithful to the East Syrian liturgical tradition, and that changes should be introduced only with an organic growth in mind.

In a Syro-Malabar Bishops' Conference met in Rome to discuss liturgy, on Aug. 28, 1980 Pope John Paul II emphatically reminded that the church should be faithful to and preserve its traditions and that the goal for any change in liturgy is its organic growth. Addressing the Syro-Malabar hierarchs His Eminence Cardinal W. Rubin instructed that the

dogmatic character of liturgical reform should be based on papal documents like *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, *Catechasi tradendae*, *Dominicae Cenae*, and *Inestimabile Donum*. He directed that a text of the Qurbana was to be presented to Rome before Easter 1981.

The Syro-Malabar Bishops' Conference (Dec. 4—4, 1980) gave guidelines for the preparation of this text:

1) No substantial change in the anaphora 2) A few pre-anaphoral and post-anaphoral prayers can be made optional 3) new alternative prayers can be introduced 4) spontaneous prayers can be used in the place of certain specific prayers.

As per the decision of the Bishops' Conference of March 30, 1981, opinions of the members of the Church concerning the Qurbana text was solicited. 7,581 letters received on the matter (505 priests; 2,559 sisters and 4,517 laity) were tabulated.

A text prepared was sent to Rome on Oct. 1981, but it was rejected, and clear guidelines for preparing a new text was given (March 1, 1983) by the Sacred Oriental Congregation in the document *Observations on the Order of the Holy Mass of the Syro Malabar Church 1981*. One of the main objections was that the text presented was that of simple mass, not taking into account the fact that the solemn Qurbana is the norm for any Eastern church. According to *the observations*, a new text of the Qurbana was to be sent to Rome before Sept. 15, 1983. After the Syro Malabar Bishops' Conference of July 19—20, 1983, those who favoured the document and those who did not welcome it sent separate evaluations to Rome; The first under the title "*Observations on the directories from the Holy See on the Qurbana Text* (August 16, 1983) and the second, *A Response to the Observations of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches*.

The Bishops' Conference of December 4—5, 1983 directed the central liturgical committee to prepare the text on the basis of the Roman documents and guidelines, of the spirit of Malabar Liturgy and the pastoral needs,

As per the direction from Rome, the text of the most solemn Qurbana was to be prepared. The central liturgical Committee appointed a sub committee headed by the author of this study to get the Raza (most solemn Qurbana) ready. This Committee prepared two texts, one in September 1984, and the other in Nov., 1984. The central liturgy committee convened on Feb. 6, 1985 met with so much tension and discord among the members. Exaggerated view-points led them to the non-approval of any text. For some it was too liberal a translation, for others it was too rigid.

Finally it was suggested that a literal translation made by a member be studied making use of also the Nov. 1984 draft. The growing animosity that existed between the factions of liturgical revision, reached the point that no text could satisfy the varying and opposing view points. Hence the bishops appointed an episcopal committee to prepare the Raza text in consultation with, if they so wanted, the central liturgical Committee or other experts.

After having consulted the central liturgical Committee and other persons, the episcopal committee brought before the Bishops' Conference 17 points of clarification which could be guidelines in the preparation of the Raza text. These were points of dispute and the Bishops unanimously agreed to the solution presented by the committee. It was a relief, and there arose a hope that the liturgical uneasiness would soon be over.

As the text was in preparation, there came from Rome another document entitled *Final Judgement* in July 1985 which also was given as a guide for the formation of the text. Taking this document too into account, the final draft of Raza was prepared, and it was circulated among the bishops in Sept. 1985.

This text of the Raza into which the suggestions of the bishops were incorporated was the matter of discussion in the Bishops' Conference of Nov. 8, 1985. The conference "saw the text of the Raza prepared by the Bishops' sub Committee as per direction of the Congregation for the oriental churches dated July 24, 1985. (Prot N. 955/65), and resolved to forward that text to the Congregation for necessary action." (resolution of the

Conference). The Conference also requested permission to make necessary adaptations in the Raza for the missions- This was granted on Dec. 19, 1985. Rome approved the Raza text and it was used by His Holiness Pope John Paul II at Kottayam during the ceremony of beatification of Blessed Elias Chavara and Sr. Alphonsa. Even when the Raza text was approved by the Bishops Conference, in complying with the Roman document "Final Judgement", there was a clear understanding that when the simple form of the Qurbana will be prepared separately, there will be enough scope for pastoral adaptations and revision. But after its approval from Rome, some bishops ignored this *viability*, and hastened to print the text of Raza as such, and introduced it in their dioceses. Most of the bishops were for improving the Malayalam language of the text for which not sufficient time and attention were allotted prior to its approval. Several studies, serious ones and sarcastic ones, on the Raza text appeared in Malayalam and in English. Tensions once again piled up to a crisis. It seemed that there was no way to reach a solution to the problem of Qurbana.

In Aug. 1987 His Eminence Simon Cardinal Lourdasamy Prefect of the Oriental Congregation visited all the Syro-Malabar dioceses in Kerala gathering first hand informations about the crisis and possible solutions. On the basis of his report, the Holy Father asked the Cardinal members of the Sacred Oriental Congregation to study the issue.

After the plenary session of the Cardinals the matter was again taken to the Pope who approved the *Directories on the order of Syro Malabar Qurbana in solemn and simple form* on April 30, 1988 and was officially sent by the Congregation to all the Bishops on May 5, 1988.

18. Roman Directives of May 5, 1988 Pastoral Concerns

At the outset the Roman "Directive on the order of Syro-Malabar Qurbana solemn and simple Forms" stated that the good of the faithful (*bonum fidelium*) is the pastoral norm governing all liturgical legislation (art. 2). In the covering letter of the

Directives signed by His Eminence Simon Cardinal Lourdusamy, Prefect of the Sacred Oriental Congregation, it is further said that "The Congregation.. formulated a "*Via media*" with the intent of putting together the spirit and the principles of liturgical reform on the one hand, and the pastoral needs on the other".

In fact to *celebrate* the liturgy is to proclaim the good news; it is to say who we are and what we are and in a meaningful and delightful way; it is to bring people to faith and commitment. Hence the aim of a liturgical rite is not just to be performed, just as the aim of a song is not to be sung; the aim of a reading is not to be read, but to meet Jesus Christ, to meet God. Hence the pastoral aspect of liturgy and liturgical reform is very important. The Directives, therefore, distinctly views the different aspects of the one and the same celebration:

1. the spirit and the principles of liturgical reform,
2. the pastoral needs.

The spirit and the principle of liturgical reform demands that any directive in this connection should be theologically sound, liturgically correct and pastorally feasible. But in fact, the document is aware of the psychological tension and lack of harmony that had vexed the Syro-Malabar Church in the past few years.

Hence it does not look at the best, but at a "*Via media*" with the intent of putting together the spirit of liturgical reform and the pastoral needs in the actual situation of the church. The *directives* does this, when it insists on a good and steady catechesis with a view to arrive at the ideal; "In this regard one can never insist enough on the need to introduce where it does not exist, and to strengthen where it does, the study of the liturgy, especially the Syrian liturgical heritage, according to the best contemporary methods, and also the present day pastoral exigencies in India. This is especially necessary in seminaries and houses of religious formation. Only through a knowledge of the total ecclesial and theological context of the tradition can the liturgy itself be fully understood. A similar penetration into the meaning of liturgy should be provided to the faithful, according to their needs and

circumstances, by means of a precise and regular catechesis (Covering letter).

Sacred congregation wants "to respect fully the right of the hierarchs to express themselves freely" (Covering letter) in liturgical issues, and it awaited to know their mind from the official report of the Syro Malabar Bishop's Conference held in Dec. 2-3, 1986. Every attempt was made, states the document, to accede to all legitimate requests of the hierarchy, while at the same time preserving intact the fundamental spirit and structure of the rite (No. 7). The document further professes that it does not deprive the local ordinary of his right and duty to resolve concrete pastoral issues and authorize local customs in the renewed liturgy within the legitimate limits (No. 4). Thus pastoral concern of the document gives very clear exposition of a preparation before implementation.

The basic sources for the document are given as three:

- 1) The most solemn Qurbana called Raza approved in 1986.
- 2) The official report of the SMBC of Dec. 1986.
- 3) "Final judgement" of the S. Congregation for the Oriental Churches concerning the Order of the Syro Malabar Qurbana (1985).

But in preparing the *directives*, an attentive review was made of all the relevant documents of the past decades, including all official and private texts and communications, especially the Qurbana texts of 1962, 1968 and resorted Raza (1986) as well as the proposed order of the Holy Mass (1981) observations on the order of the Holy Mass (1983), a response to the observations (1983) Final judgement (1985) and the Official report of the SMBC meeting of December 2-3, 1986 (No. 6).

Now to prepare the text in the light of the *Directives*, "The text of the Taksa or Order of the Solemn Qurbana and simple Qurbana should be prepared by the SMBC on the basis of approved Raza text and these directories" (8a).

For the implementation of the text, again there is a clear guidance: "The moment the new text for the solemn and simple forms comes into effect, the use of *all other* texts previously

authorised, including the Missal introduced "*ad experimentum* in 1968 and still in use in many dioceses, is "*ipso facto*" forbidden" (No. 5).

"The Malayalam (the Vernacular) text of the liturgy is the competence of the Syro Malabar Bishops Conference in consultation with experts in language and liturgy..." (No. 88); whereas the Sacred Congregation needs only "an accurate and complete English translation for final approval" (8 d).

The confusion caused by the introduction of the 1986 Qurbana text in a very few dioceses was pastorally disturbing. Hence precaution is taken for the next text:

"Preparations should be made to promulgate and introduce this text *everywhere* by a *fixed date* not later than three months after the date of the final approval of the text by the Congregation (No. 10).

The document is conscious to proceed slowly and cautiously: Other options, adaptations and improvements in the text may be proposed for approval later.

19. Texts of the simple and solemn Qurbana 1988.

The new *Directives* gave specific directions on several of the prayers and ceremonies of the simple and solemn Qurbana. According to the direction a new *taksa* or order of the solemn and simple Qurbana was to be prepared. A single altar missal for all the forms of the Qurbana—Raza, solemn and simple—was sent to Rome for approval along with separate texts for simple form and for solemn form, Keeping the time target prescribed in the *Directives*, namely, Dec. 31, 1988. For this, under the leadership of Bishop Sebastian Mankuzhikary, several committees worked assiduously, and with the consensus of the bishops (without any voting at all) the text passed through the bishops' conference. The Syro Malabar church is awaited the word from Rome, as on a Holy Saturday waiting for the risen Lord. Though some have strong opposition to the *Directives* and send *memoranda* to Rome against the final text sent for approval (1988), we hoped that this stage will mark the end of discord and tensions, and that

Rome will intervene strongly against anything that might harm the spirit of harmony and understanding.

A decree from the Sacred Oriental Congregation dated April 3, 1989 (Prot. No. 955/65) approved the text with a few slight modifications, most of which were centred around clarity of expression and conformity with the Directives of May 5, 1988. On the basis of this the new Taska was printed and promulgated on the 3rd of July 1989. An official communication (Ap. Nunciature N. 35 131. May 8, 1989). Permitted printing of the Solemn and Simple forms separately.

20. Other Liturgical Books

In 1938 the *Breviarium Chaldaicum* in three volumes, edited in 1886 by Paul Bedjan for the Chaldeans, was published by the Sacred Oriental Congregation for the Chaldeans and Malabarians. Two volumes, that of Lent and Easter, (1967) appeared in Malayalam first. Then prayers of other seasons too appeared in booklets published by the authorised liturgy committees. Meanwhile another set of Divine office in three volumes in Malayalam for the use of the sisters appeared without the approval of the hierarchy. Another three volume Divine Office worked out by the Sub-Committee for the Divine Office appointed in 1973 was published first in 1982 and then in revised form in 1986.

For four centuries, the Syro Malabar Church was using the Syriac translation of the Roman Sacraments as seen in the Roman Sacramentary. The Portuguese had in fact, made the Syriac translation from a later sacramentary of the diocese of Braga in Portugal. For the restoration of the sacraments, Rome gave a Latin text with rubrics in Italian and accordingly, the restored sacraments were printed in Malayalam and used in the church from Dec. 18, 1968. The author of this article had prepared the Malayalam text but according to the direction of the Bishops all the formulae of the sacraments were given in indicative, rather than in optative and subjunctive as was in the original. Also some of the prayers were shortened. Sacraments also need revision.

The funeral services and the office for the dead were introduced in Malayalam in 1966. It was accepted with acclama-

tion in the church, because of both its content and musical quality. The restored ceremonies of Hosanna Sunday, Passover Thursday and Passion Friday were introduced in 1969. But they are not the best of the kind, and lack in many respects. Holy Saturday services and Easter ceremonies are still to be prepared and introduced. The text of the sung Mass—lyric and tunes—was approved *ad experimentum* on Aug. 16, 1971.

Ever since several unapproved (by the entire hierarchy) texts of sung Mass, including that of the Requiem Mass, appeared. Most of them are defective. There is an effort from the part of the hierarchy to fix the tunes, even of ordinary hymns of the Qurbana, in order to make sure that the Qurbana does not become an opera or an orchestral piece, limiting the singing only to the choir or the highly talented singers. Two new sets of sung Mass were approved in 1989.

21. Conclusion

The romanization policy changed the general attitude of the Malabar Christians toward their own rite and liturgy. Except for a small voice, heard periodically down the centuries, which complained about the latinization, the majority was brain-washed. An indifferent attitude toward different Rites in the Church grew slowly in them. It led them to depreciation of their own rite and liturgy. Four centuries of romanization prompted them even to refuse to accept, or at least to offer a cool welcome to, the restored form of their liturgy. Because the spirituality they fostered was based on the popular devotions of the mediæval western church, it has become very difficult to introduce them to sound liturgical life and spiritual principles.

After a long process of latinization, delatinization and partial re-latinization, the Syro-Malabar Church should now be convinced of the need to be more open to both liturgical tradition and to pastoral exigencies. Human skills, power politics and church politics proved to be ineffective to keep oneness and harmony in the church. Now all should prayerfully seek help from *above* and power of the Holy Spirit that "we all may be one" beginning with context of the celebration of the Eucharist.

E

Studies on the Text

I

22. Raza: The most solemn Qurbana: Its characteristics

Among the St. Thomas Christians the terms generally used for the Sacrifice of Mass, are *Raza*, *Qurbana*, and *Quddasha*, each meaning the mysteries, the offerings and the hallowing respectively. The term *Raza* in singular generally indicates any sacrament and in plural the Eucharist. Among the Malabar Christians the singular is specifically indicative of the most Solemn liturgy, while among the non Catholic Thomas Christians *Raza* means church procession. The hymn sung during the transferal of eucharistic gifts from the side niche (Beth-gazze) to the altar is called D'Raza (of the mysteries).

Qurbana is the ordinary word used, also in Malayalam to indicate the celebration of the eucharistic mysteries.

The term *Quddasha* means hallowing, making holy. In Liturgical tradition it means the celebration of the holy mysteries. Generally this is the term used to indicate the Anaphora.

Forms of Celebrations

Every Liturgy has its own mode of solemnity in celebration. The restored text of the Qurbana gives three kinds of celebrations: The solemn, the most solemn and the simple.

1. **Solemn:** It is the sung mass commonly known as the high mass. With trained laymen acting as deacons, lectors etc; and a choir helping the people to participate better in liturgy, this form of celebration is the ideal one for sundays and other ordinary feast.

2. **Most Solemn:** With prayers and ceremonies additional to the above solemn form, the most solemn liturgy, *Raza*, is celebrated on exceptional occasions.

3. *Simple*: It is the ordinary dialogue mass with people actively participating. In Eastern tradition the simple form does not exclude singing.

23. Raza: The most Solemn Form Prayers and Ceremonies Additional to Those of the Ordinary Qurbana.

The additional prayers and ceremonies of the Raza appear in the liturgy of the Word, except for the signing of the forehead of the deacons which takes place immediately after the Fraction. The parts proper to the Raza are given below (in italics) within the sequence of the prayers and ceremonies of the ordinary *Qurbana*:

1. Glory to God in the highest, Our Father, prayer.
2. *Special psalmody and its concluding prayers*
3. *Kissing of the cross and the anthem of the rails*
4. Hymn "laku mara", incensing trisagion.
5. *Two lessons (the law and prophets; the anthem of the rails) also in solemn*
6. *Psalm before the Epistle (SURAYA)*
7. *Homiletic introduction (Turgamma) to the Epistle*
8. Epistle
9. Psalm before the Gospel (ZUMARA) also for solemn
10. *Kissing of the Gospel, and its anthem*
11. *Homiletic Introduction (Turgamma) to the Gospel*
12. Gospel, preparation of the gifts
13. *Special prayer of the faithful*
14. Dismissal of the unworthy
15. *Ceremony of prostration*
16. Offertory, creed, Anaphora, Fraction, *signing the forehead of the deacons*
17. Prayers preparatory to communion, communion
18. Thanksgiving and final blessing.

It is to be noted that the special feature of Raza are well-known from the liturgical commentaries of Abraham bar Lipheh (seventh century) and Pseudo George of Arbael (eleventh century) The anthem of the rails and the psalms before the Epistle and Gospel vary according to Sundays and feast days.



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