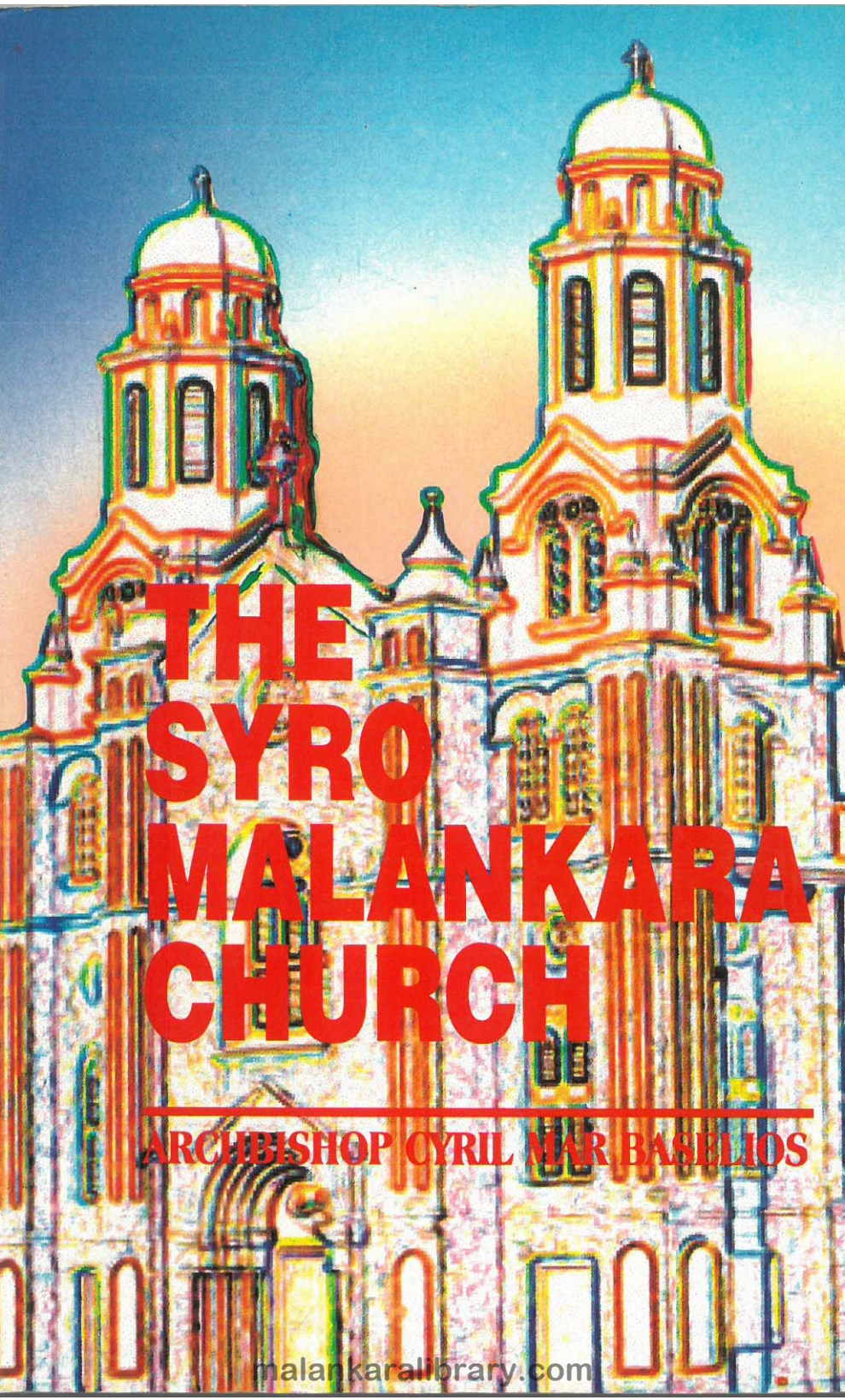




THE SYRO MALANKARA CHURCH

ARCHBISHOP CYRIL MAR BASELIOS

Fr. Jinse Meppurathu

**THE
SYRO-MALANKARA
CHURCH**

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SYRO-MALANKARA CHURCH**

**ARCH BISHOP
CYRIL MAR BASELIOS**



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Very Rev. Fr. Jacob, O.I.C.
Superior General
November 15, 1973

Imprimatur (First edition)

Most Rev. Benedict Mar Gregorios
Archbishop of Trivandrum
December 3, 1973

Printed at

St. Joseph's Press, Trivandrum-14

FOREWORD

(To the First Edition)

The existence of a Christian community of apostolic origin, in the southern corner of the Indian sub-continent, with the unusual vigour that it shows today, is for many a mystery and an enigma—an enigma, since they could hardly conceive of such antiquity for a small and apparently insignificant community; a mystery, since the vigour and the fruitfulness which this Church manifests today, seem to have been in hibernation for nearly 2000 years. But then, the history of any people contains elements which are not easily understood; how much more so, the history of the people of God, a community of supernatural dimensions. The present volume is a study of one particular aspect of this Church.

It has been said that God writes straight, with crooked lines. God, in His infinitely wise providence, makes use of all events even the failures and transgressions of men, to work out the ultimate good of His people. Through political vicissitudes and their repercussions on its life, the Church of St. Thomas was split into two, about three centuries ago. In consequence this Church has been under a cloud since then. But in this cloud there was a silver lining. The community that broke off from the main body, eventually inherited a most ancient spiritual heritage, which crystallised in the Church in its very primeaval and formative period.

The Christian Church which was born in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, began to have a more or less organised form of life in Antioch. "It was at Antioch that the disciples were first called Christians." It was there that the liturgical formularies began to take shape. It was from there that the messengers of the Gospel sallied forth into the wide world.

The St. Thomas Christians who separated them selves from the main body keenly felt the need of stability and fellowship. They looked round and eventually sought support from an ancient ecclesiastical community stemming from Antioch and inheriting its most ancient traditions, but unfortunately separated from the universal centre of Christian Church, the See of Peter in Rome. (It is true that Peter was

Bishop also in Antioch. But from Antioch he had moved on to Rome, as once he did from Jerusalem to Antioch, and made his definitive seat in Rome.)

Here we find two Christian communities both originating from the Apostles, entering into a fellowship. It is important to remember that both already had their existence as Christian bodies with their own identity. In spite of the close relations they established with each other, they did not fuse into one, giving up their identity. Actually they entered into an equilibrium which was fundamentally unstable and has ever since created perpetual ferment and discord.

At the same time, continuous efforts were being made for re-establishing unity in the St. Thomas community. These efforts were truly of epic dimensions. Actually reunion started as an organic movement nearly three centuries after the separation. Archbishop Mar Ivanios as the virtual, but informal spokesman of the Hierarchy, sought and obtained reconciliation with Rome. Again in God's inscrutable ways, only a small remnant returned to its heritage. This tiny organism, once it re-established full communion with the universal Church, has been growing vigorously and has now left behind more than four decades. In spite of its numerical limitations it has already proved its authenticity in every field of Christian life and activity and what is more, it holds within itself a great hope for the future. The present study concerns the identity of this community, at the same time ancient and new, apostolic in its origin and full of zeal for the apostolate.

There was no time when the genuine figure of this Church needed to be set forth more clearly in its burgeoning life and its clear lineaments. Fr. Cyril has succeeded in presenting this Church in one of its most important aspects. May this book enable all to appreciate the meaning and the beauty, the vigour and the vitality which flow from the fullness of Christian communion, as exemplified in the life of the Syro-Malankara Church.

Benedict Mar Gregorios,
Archbishop of Trivandrum.

Trivandrum,
15-11-1973.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A A Ch.	Archives of the Archdiocese of Changanacherry, India.
A A S	Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vatican
A A T	Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum, India.
A D Th	Archives of the Diocese of Thiruvalla, India.
A O C D	Archivium Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum, Rome.
A P F	Archivium S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Rome.
A R S J	Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome.
C J C	Codex Juris Canonici.
C G	Congregatio Generalis (A P F)
C P	Congregatio Particularis (A P F)
D D C	Dictionnaire Droit Canonique
D T C	Dictionnaire Theologique Catholique.
f (ff)	Folium, (Folii).
Fonti I-III	Condificazione Canonica Orientale, Fonti, Serie I, Fascicolo, III, Disciplina Antiochena (Siri); Nomocanone di Bar Hebreo.
Fonti VIII	Codificazione Canonica Orientale, Fonti, Serie II, Fascicolo VIII, Studi Storici.
Fonti II-VIII	Condificazione Canonica Orientale, Fonti, Serie II, Fascicolo VIII, De Fontibus Juris Ecclesiastici Syro-Malankarensium.
Fonti II-IX	Codificazione Canonica Orientale, Fonti, Serie II, Fascicolo IX, Fontes Juris Canonici Syro-Malankarensium.
H C J	High Court Judgement in the Syrian Church Case, Travancore, 1946.
I O	Indie Orientali.

I O C	Indie Orientali e Cina.
MP II	Litterae Apostolicae Motu Proprio datae "Sollicitudinem Nostram" Pii XII, 1950.
MP IV	Litterae Apostolicae Motu Proprio datae "Cleri Sanctitati" Pii XII, 1957.
P G	Patrologia Greca.
R C J	Royal Court Judgement, Trivandrum 1889.
r	Recto (front page).
S O C	Scritture Originali riferite nei Congressi (APF)
S O C G	Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (APF).
S O C P	Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Particolari (APF).
v	Verso (back page).
Vol.	Volume.

INTRODUCTION

The existence of a Christian Community in Malabar, from very early times is admitted by historians both Catholic and non-Catholic, though they are not agreed about the exact time or nature of its origin.

The early Christian Community of Malabar was of one faith and rite until its division into two Christian denominations, one remaining under Latin bishops and the other denying obedience to them. But the latter did not continue to remain in their wavering state but formed an independent Church and cherished a communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. This Church is referred to as the Malankara Church in this book.

The Malankara Church made serious attempts at reunion with the Apostolic See of Rome and was ultimately successful. As a result the Catholic Malankara Church came into existence. We use the term "Malankara Catholic Church" or "Syro-Malankara Church" to denote the community reunited with Rome in contradistinction to its counterpart the "Malankara Orthodox Church" which is not in communion with the Roman Pontiff.

The purpose of this study is to examine the juridical status of the Malankara Catholic Church as a particular Church within the Universal Church and investigate in the course of our discussion the nature of its liturgy and canonical discipline, thus laying a sort of foundation for further studies on a particular institute or its discipline or liturgy.

Our study, being juridical in its purpose, is not a study of the history of the Malankara Church either Catholic or Orthodox. But very often we found it necessary to bring relevant historical circumstances and facts to bear on the juridical points involved, for, without them our discussion would be incomplete. Hence much of

our discussion is historico-juridical and for this reason our method too may bear that name.

We divide the subject of our study into two parts. In the first part we discuss the juridical relations of the Malankara Church with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and in the second the reunion and the constitution of the Syro-Malankara Church. Both of these discussions are necessary, we believe, for an understanding of the juridical status of the Syro-Malankara Church as a particular Church. We shall explain the reasons for adopting such a division.

The juridical status of the Malankara Catholic Church as a particular Church in the Universal Church is dependent on its juridical constitution by the Holy See. But this constitution is largely based on the juridical nature and status of the Malankara Church. In fact it was the juridical status of the Malankara Church as an autonomous Oriental Church that induced the Holy See to recognise it juridically as such. Hence an examination of the nature of the Malankara Church became an integral part of our study.

An examination of the nature of the Malankara Church in itself would have been simple, had it not been complicated by the complexity of its history. For the Malankara Church had been for long in a jurisdictional relationship with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch giving the appearance of some dependence and almost losing its autonomy as a separate particular Church. Hence it is necessary to examine closely the nature of the jurisdictional relationship which it has entertained with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. We shall therefore, find out if the Malankara Church did enjoy autonomy as a particular Church before the time of reunion, in spite of its jurisdictional relationship with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

Thus we begin with a discussion of when and how the relationship with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch began. Later we shall examine its vicissitudes. The role played by the Antiochene rite in the continuation of such a relationship and in shaping the history of the Malankara Church as a particular Church was extremely significant. An identification of the liturgy and discipline of the

Syro-Malankara Church is nothing but an investigation into the process of the introduction and adoption of the Antiochene rite into the Malankara Church. Hence we discuss it in the first part and make use of our conclusions in the second.

In the second part of our study we shall explain how the Holy See, recognising the autonomous nature of the Malankara Church, acknowledged the juridical existence of the Malankara Catholic Church as a particular Church within the Universal Church. And once the basis of such a juridical existence is clearly stated we can conveniently identify its liturgical and canonical rites, which would on the one hand clarify the juridical status of the Church itself as having a determined liturgy and discipline and on the other hand prepare the ground for further investigations in a particular institute of its discipline in the interest of the canonists. In this aspect, therefore, we preferred in our study a consideration of the nature and formal aspect of its liturgy and discipline to an enumeration of all the particular laws and customs existing in this Church. This would help us, we believe, to judge with decisive norms, if a particular institute existing or to be created in its liturgical or canonical rites, would be in accordance with the spirit of them. We presume that this would be in keeping with the nature of our study as a beginning and foundation for further studies.

This study was originally a dissertation submitted for a Doctor's Degree to the Faculty of Canon Law of the University of Gregorian, Rome. No serious change in the original work was found necessary in publishing it even though slight modifications in the style of references were made for easy reading. The need for documentation was keenly attended to and while the English translation of the documents was given in the body, care was always taken to produce them in their original language in the footnote.

I take this opportunity to express my deep respect and gratitude to His Grace the Most Reverend Benedict Mar Gregorios, Archbishop-Metropolitan of Trivandrum, for his encouragements and especially for having written a Foreword for this book. Sincerely I thank Very Reverend Father Antonio Wuyts, S. J., who rendered me constant

assistance as the moderator of the original work. Gratefully I remember the timely helps of my friends without which this book would have still remained a mere idea.

Cyril Malancharuvil

Pontifical Institute of Philosophy & Theology,
Alwaye,
1-12-1973.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

The Ecclesiology propounded by the Vatican II Council has been noted for its accent on the reality of the Apostolic individual Churches in their Catholic Communion. Thus the importance of the ancient apostolic Churches especially that of the orient too loomed large. It was against this background that the Judicial nature of the Syro-Malankara Church was made the subject of a critical study. The outcome of this study was the book 'The Syro-Malankara Church' first published in 1973 by the Pontifical Institute of Philosophy and Theology, Aluva. In fact, the content of the book was a Doctoral thesis submitted to the Faculty of Canon Law in the Gregorian University, Rome, in 1965. Fortunately, no serious change had to be made in publishing it as a book. The book was well accepted and widely distributed to the result that a second edition has become necessary, which need is met by this publication.

We note it with satisfaction that we didn't have to make any correction or revision on anything except on the statistics or lists of names in the Appendices. The present demand for the book is a good sign that our people are interested in their ecclesial life, which, in fact, is the foundation of Christian life. A historic juridical study on the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church is highly useful and relevant in these our days when the two big factions of the Malankara Church are still struggling for achieving a unity among themselves. The Juridical status of the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church obtained and recognized in the Catholic Communion is a matter of great significance especially in terms of the juridical autonomy and ecclesial identity of the Malankara Church as a whole. This is all the more relevant against the background of our ecumenical dialogue and efforts for unity.

While the book is useful for the Non-Malankarites to know more about the Malankara Church the book is immensely valuable both for the Catholic and Non-Catholic sections of the Malankara Community to get rooted in the Malankara Church with clear perceptions and solid convictions.

As it has been already mentioned in the introduction to the first edition, this book remains a basic study for further historical investigations and theological reflections on the life and mission of the Malankara Church. The Chosen Bibliography and the references to the original documents, published and unpublished, are extremely helpful for scientific research and specific studies on several subjects related to the Malankara Church.

With the hope that the book will continue to serve the different sections of our people in several ways in terms of their ecclesial life and mission, I gladly present this edition to all those who are interested in this regard.

While I take this opportunity to thank once again all those who had helped me to bring out the first edition, I do gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to all those who have collaborated to publish this second edition especially Rev. Fr. Wilson who has undertaken the responsibility of the task.

Most Rev. Cyril Mar Baselios

Archbishop's House,
Pattom, Trivandrum-4
1-12-1997

PART I

**THE MALANKARA CHURCH AND ITS
RELATIONS WITH
THE JACOBITE PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH**

The Malankara Church begins Communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch

We discuss in the first part of our book the nature of the relationship which the Malankara Church had entertained with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. For it was this relationship that on the one hand helped the Malankara Church to remain in its oriental features and on the other weakened its juridical position as an independent and autonomous Church.

But before we begin to discuss the nature of this relationship we have to examine its origin. For many Jacobite historians have postulated a time-old juridical relationship of the Church in Malankara with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and even interpreted it as a jurisdictional dependence on him. So they believe that the Church in Malabar was exclusively of Jacobite right from the beginning of Christianity in India and that only in the 16th Century was it forced to submit itself to the "Roman Church"—meaning by that Catholic Church.

Hence we must find out when and how a communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch was begun. This will certainly throw much light on its nature. This is the subject of our study in the first chapter. The purpose of the preliminary note of this chapter is to point out that we do not have any historical evidence to argue for a juridical relationship of the Church in Malabar with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch before the second half of 17th C. This is, so to say, a negative approach to the problem. In the second article,

therefore, we shall explain, relying on the historical evidence we have, when and how such a contact was begun.

Art. 1. A Preliminary Note: Relations with Jacobites before 17th C .

Historians, both Catholic and non-Catholic, admit that there existed early relations between the Malabar Church and the Churches in the Persian Empire. But those who postulate a primitive Jacobite Church in Malabar interpret them as a communion with the Jacobite Church in Persia and, therefore, with the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch¹. But they do not bring any documentary evidence or any well founded tradition to support their claims². On the other hand, we have historical and documentary evidence admitted by historians which shows that those relations were with the Chaldean Churches under the Catholicate of Seleucia-Ctesiphon³ to try to prove which would be labouring the obvious. These Churches were not only not Jacobite, but radically opposed to Jacobitism.

Evidently the Persian Metropolitans who used to consecrate bishops for the Christian community in "Male", the pepper-growing land, visited by Cosmos Indicopleustes during his travel in the "Insula Indica" probably between the years 520-525, could not have been 'Jacobite' at least in the sense of a distinct Christian denomination⁴. For, the first Jacobite hierarchy was set up by Jacob Baradeus in the year 543 after monophysitism was condemned in the Council of Chalcedon in 451⁵. That this relation was with the Syro-Chaldean Churches is made clearer still by another report according to which the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Isho' yahb III (650-660) is said to have accused Simeon, the Metropolitan of Rewardashir, of causing by his schismatical opposition the interruption of the episcopal succession in places under his jurisdiction which extend upto "Kalah", 1200 parasanga distant from Persia. Many historians understand this as referring to the Indian Church⁶. Similarly we find that the Church of India after having been elevated to a Metropolis, was the tenth in the hierarchy of metropolitan Sees under the Chaldean Patriarch

Zalbha-Zacha (714-728)⁷. We must also remember that the Seleucian Patriarch Timotheus I (789-823) was clearly exercising jurisdiction over the Indian Church⁸. In the beginning of the 14th C. the Malabar Church was reported to have been ruled by the Chaldean bishops Mar Jacob “Vicarium et gubernatorem sed is S. Thomae Apostoli” and Mar Jahb Alaha, the Catholicos and Patriarch of the Orient⁹. Then onwards Bishops were regularly sent to the Malabar Church from the Chaldean Church. No historian even from among the Jacobites denies that the Malabar Church was, from the 15th C. onwards, definitely under the Seleucian Patriarch¹⁰. In enumerating some clear testimonies, the historicity of which is accepted by historians, we were trying to show that while there is no historical evidence or founded tradition to prove a communion between the early Malabar Church and the Jacobite Church either of Persia or of Antioch there were admitted historical facts that clearly indicate that there existed a relationship between the Chaldean and Malabar Churches. Our intention was not to present all the testimonies or indications that might argue for such a relationship nor to explain the nature of it¹¹. Some authors maintain that the Malabar Church had had relations with the Alexandrian Coptic Church. F. Day writes: “.... According to one authority (unfortunately he does not mention whom) a Bishop of the Church of the Jacobites arrived in India from Alexandria about A. D. 696....”¹². But he does not produce any evidence to substantiate his statement. Markizi (1364-1441), a Moslem writer in Cairo indeed speaks of a deputation from Indian Christians who requested bishops for them from the Church of Alexandria at the time of Patriarch Simon, the Syrian¹³. Germann quoting the report of Renaudot¹⁴ describes that deputation and the consequent mission from Alexandria to India¹⁵. After narrating the whole story, Germann himself reports that these missionaries did not reach India as they were killed on the way by the order of the Caliph¹⁶. Le Quien disagree with Gusmanus Ludovious who seems to have affirmed that there existed an earlier relation with Alexandrian Patriarch¹⁷. But he speaks of a request for bishops from the Indian Christians in the 14th C¹⁸. Whatever conclusion we draw from these reports, none of which speaks of an Alexandrian bishop governing the Indian Christians, it is evident that we do not have any historical records, reliable or unreliable, of such

Alexandrian relations left in the Malabar Church. Neither do they, even if historically proved, constitute an argument to prove an earlier relationship with the *Syrian Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch* which only has a direct bearing on our study. Concluding, therefore, we may say that there exists no historical evidence—at least none has so far been brought forward—that would support the claims of the Jacobites that the early Malabar Church had communion with the Jacobite Church of Antioch¹⁹. Some historians take it as a definitely settled point: “..... Whatever has been written in favour of an early connection between the church of Malabar and the Patriarchate of Antioch and of all the East, there is no historical probability whatsoever, or even the slightest evidence that any Indian group of Christians ever came under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch whether Catholic, Greek dissident or even Jacobite.....”²⁰.

Art. 2. Towards a Relationship with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch

We have seen in the previous article that there is no historical evidence that would prove the existence of a jurisdictional relationship between the Malabar Church and the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch till the second half of the 17th C. In this article we shall discuss how and why this contact was begun.

Dissatisfaction with the Latin Rule

After the death of Mar Abraham in 1597, the last Syrian Bishop of the See of Angamali in Malabar ¹, Bishop Francis Roz, S. J., the first Latin Bishop for the Syrians, took charge of the See in 1601². Though the Malabar Syrians were dissatisfied with the Latin rule, they were still tolerant of Bishop Roz, since he knew Syriac and Malayalam well and could have personal contact with his flock³. But in later years by the time of Bishop Francis Garzia, S. J., the people were completely disgusted with the rule of the Latin bishops. In 1654 Jesuit missionaries reported from India that the Syrians were sending secret requests to the Syrian Patriarchs who had been sending them Bishops formerly⁴.

But the Portuguese authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, on account of the “*jus patronatus Lusitanorum*” were determined to prevent the arrival of any ecclesiastic who was not under the “Padroado”⁵. It was in this situation that a certain Syrian Bishop, known among the Malabarians as a Patriarch, managed to come up to the tomb of St. Thomas in Mylapore in the year 1652, where he was found to be schismatic and taken in custody by the Portuguese Inquisition⁶. Later after having been brought, inspite of the people’s protest, to the fort of Cochin, he was sent to Goa and then to Portugal for Inquisition. In 1654, just after these events, it was reported from Malabar: “Adeodato [the Syrians of Malabar called him “Agnates”, (Ignatius) while among the Portuguese he was known as “Adeodatus”, a translation of the Arabic name ‘Ahattalla’ and of ‘Yahb Allaha’ in Syriac⁷] was sent to Goa and from there to the kingdom (Portugal), where, either because of lack of true information or because he knew well how to pretend and hide, he found many who favoured him. From the kingdom he went on to Rome with the Archbishop of Mirra and some say that he died in France, while others affirm that he arrived in Rome. But it is not yet certain what may have happened in that curia.....”⁸. But in a letter written on 3rd Jan. 1659 to the Pope by Bishop Garzia, he declared that the Syrian bishop died at Paris on his way to Rome⁹. The people of Malabar, however, believed, and still believe, that the newly arrived Bishop was drowned by the Portuguese in Cochin¹⁰. Whatever be the truth of this rumour, this event turned out to be the climax of the growing discordance between the Portuguese bishops and the Malabar Syrians.

The arrival and the disappearance of this Syrian bishop is in itself not very significant to our study. But in fact there are some historians, especially Jacobites, who take this Syrian bishop to be the Patriarch of Antioch whom, they believe, the people of Malabar had called upon to their support. In that case, this could be taken as the first event that led to a hierarchical relation with the Church of Antioch. Mar Thomas IV, much later on the leader of the Malankara party, when writing to the Patriarch of Antioch in 1720, did not count Ignatius Ahattalla as their bishop¹¹. But Mar Dionysius III, another bishop of the same community, writing to the English authorities in 1821

mentioned Ahattalla as his predecessor from Antioch ¹². Evidently he was under the impression that the Malabar Syrians had always been Jacobites in communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

At any rate, because such a claim is, in fact, brought forward, we have to examine the case of Ahattalla more closely. The fact that he arrived in Mylapore is unquestionably true¹³. As to his identity no certain conclusion can be drawn. All those who came in contact with this newly arrived bishop either failed to verify the credentials he brought with him or did not give the correct information after having verified them. In 1656 Fr. Barreto wrote of him as “an unknown Armenian, who falsely claimed himself to have been a Patriarch sent by the Holy Father to govern that church” ¹⁴. In 1657 the Apostolic Commissary Giuseppe A S. Maria, O.C.D., who was sent to Malabar to remedy the situation, made a “processus informativus” but arrived at no definite idea of who the Syrian who had come to Mylapore really was. Some of the witnesses declared that he was a Syrian and from Babylon while others admitted that even this was still doubtful¹⁵. Bishop Grazia in 1658, replying to the letter of the Apostolic Commissary wrote: “In addition, I say that I could keep in custody that Adeodatus, even if he were sent by the Roman Pontiff not to say by the Patriarch of Alexandria or by some other schismatic”¹⁶. So he too does not speak of his identity with certainty. Leaving this question thus undecided, we will have to draw our conclusions from the fragmentary evidence we have at our disposal.

Ahattalla, a Nestorian Bishop

Among later writers J. S. Assemani takes him for a Nestorian bishop. He bases his opinion on the fact that Mar Thomas IV, a bishop of the Malankara Church much later on, does not, when writing to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, mention him as their bishop, although he mentions all the others individually¹⁷. Protestant historians of the Malabar Church, like Rae, Day, Howard etc., also follow this opinion¹⁸. The Chaldean Bishop Mar Gabriel, who was in Malabar at the beginning of the 18th C., declared that the Syrian bishop in question was called Mar Matti and was sent by the Nestorian Patriarch to India¹⁹.

Ahattalla, a Chaldean Catholic Bishop

The local historians, on the other hand, are rather inclined to believe that he was a Catholic bishop from the Patriarch of Babylon, though sent to Malabar without permission from Rome²⁰. The following are the facts that favour their opinion. We have already noted that the Archdeacon and the Syrian community of Malabar were anxious to get back to the Syrian rite. To effect this they could have written, these historians argue, only to the Patriarch of Babylon who had been sending them bishops till their subjection to the Latin rule. Evidently, to return to their former rite they would not appeal to the Patriarch of a different rite. Thus they would write only to the Patriarch of Babylon, whether Catholic or Nestorian. Now as they were Catholics—atleast from 1599, i.e., from the Synod of Diamper!—and wanted to remain Catholics they would not write to the Nestorian Patriarch to send them a bishop²¹. Besides, the letter which the newly arrived bishop sent them from Mylapore shows that he was not a Nestorian bishop. He wrote: “In the name of Mary, the Mother of God” (In nome della Genetrice di Dio Maria, ed i sacerdoti chierici della Grege santa....)²². A Nestorian Bishop who comes at the request of a Nestorian community would not write this especially when he requests their help. Therefore, they conclude, neither the newly arrived Syrian bishop nor the people to whom he directed the letter were Nestorians. This is corroborated by the letter of Patriarch Mar Elia written to Cardinal Caraffa, then Cardinal protector of the Chaldeans: “.... urged by the letters of the leaders of their nation is constrained to request Your Illustrious Lordship, that those people may be provided with bishops of their own language and nation...”²³. This Patriarch was evidently Catholic and it was to him that the Syrians in Malabar had been writing in their difficulties.

So too we see the Archdeacon writing to the Patriarch of Ninive in 1659 asking for bishops and sacred books. In his letter he also mentions the calamities that had occurred, especially the loss of Ahattalla²⁴. He would not have mentioned Ahattalla unless he had believed that he had been sent by the Patriarch himself, and that the matter was known to him already. His letter also makes it clear that

neither party was Nestorian. It runs: "The peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ to the Holy Catholicos, Lord Elia, who sits upon the celebrated throne of Ninive... through the mercy of our Lady Mary, the Blessed Mother of Christ God and of St. Thomas...."²⁵. Evidently this cannot have been written to a Nestorian Patriarch by a Nestorian Prelate. They admit, however, that he had not been sent canonically, as he could not produce any credentials either from his Patriarch or from the Pope. On the other hand Rome explicitly declared that he had not been sent by the Roman Pontiff²⁶. It is interesting to note that he was called "schismatic" and not "heretic" in the said Apostolic Brief, which did not say whether he was heretic in his faith or was merely transgressing the rights of the Roman Pontiff.

Germann, after having studied the question, suggested that Ahattalla was sent by the Patriarch of Urumia, to which place the Patriarchal See of Amida (Diarbeker) was transferred by Mar Elia. The Patriarch of Urumia fell into schism, according to him, in the year 1653-1654²⁷.

Ahattalla, a Jacobite Bishop

Besides the Jacobite historians, Vincenzo Maria di Catherina da Sienna seems to hold that he was a Jacobite bishop when coming to Mylapore. He says that Ahattalla was Schismatic bishop expelled for his demerits from the Jacobite Church of Damascus which he has ruled over some time. He also affirms that Ahattalla, finding himself discredited in Syria and disowned by his own people, went to Babylon where he received a new mission and letters from the Nestorian Patriarch and proceeded to India²⁸. Mackenzie too seems to hold that the newly arrived bishop was a Jacobite²⁹. But this seems to be untenable, if we take into consideration the full report of Vincenzo. For he himself adds that Adeodato went to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon to procure a letter from him, confirming him in his new mission. But this would not have happened, if he had actually been a Jacobite bishop. For the Patriarch of Babylon, Catholic or Nestorian, would not allow a Jacobite bishop to interfere in the government of their churches, as Jacobites and Nestorians were not in mutual

communion. Jacobitism was born just as a reaction against Nestorianism.

Besides, we have clear evidence that the newly arrived bishop had on several occasions spoken of his mission to the Pope³⁰, and atleast externally shown himself as a Catholic to those who came in contact with him as we shall see soon in the following pages.

Ahattalla, a Catholic Bishop converted from Jacobitism

We have seen how historians have produced solid arguments to prove that the Syrian bishop who arrived at Mylapore was not Nestorian but Catholic. And in fact there is clear evidence to show that he did not profess Nestorianism but made frequent reference to the Catholic Church. From this these historians concluded that he was a Catholic Chaldean bishop. But we have solid reasons to question the validity of this conclusion. For in the light of more documentary evidence, we may believe that Adeodatus who arrived at Mylapore was indeed a Catholic bishop but reunited with the Catholic Church, from the Jacobite Church.

Let us see first how he himself described his status and mission. While this bishop was detained in Mylapore he is said to have sent a letter to the Archdeacon of the Syrian community, informing him and his people of his arrival and requesting them to liberate him from the hands of the Portuguese Inquisition. In this letter he described himself as follows: "Behold! I Ignatius, Patriarch of India and China, send you from my part a letter through the clerics, who had come over here from your region. And when you have carefully read the letter, send me some priests and forty men. If you send them from your region make haste to get them here. O! Sons! listen to me and be informed that I have been given all powers from the hands of Lord Pope Ignatius, the highest plenipotentiary.... In the name of Mary, mother of God, priests and clerics of the Holy Fold and all the elders, I make it known to you that I have come to the city of Mylapore...."³¹. Thus we see that he claimed himself to have been the Patriarch of India and China³². But in 1654, just two years later the report from

Malabar mentioned above described him thus: "By virtue of this letter there came to the city of Mylapore on a Dutch ship a certain Adeodatus, who claimed that he had been the Bishop of Damascus and elected Patriarch of Antioch, but expelled by force from that dignity by a greater and more powerful rival; and that the electors moved by pity at the disgrace he had to suffer, gave him the title of Patriarch with jurisdiction on all Syrian Christians with whom the Christians of Serra are still mingled; and that with this dignity he came to the city of Cairo, when he found the letter of the Archdeacon sent to the Patriarch of Alexandria, who sent him to govern the Christians of Serra; and that he was not only regretful of his journey, but highly surprised at the calumnies and lies that were written in asking for themselves a bishop for that Christianity while their own Archbishop was alive. All these are found certain from the voluntary confession of the said Adeodatus...."³³. In a report from the same place in 1656 we are told more of the past of this bishop who seems to have made a voluntary confession. He is reported to have said that he was born in Aleppo; that his name was Adeodato and that he was the Archbishop of Damascus; that during the time of Pope Urban VIII he went to Rome and the Pope received him with great honours and gave him the necessary Apostolic Briefs, though all of them were lost on his way back to Damascus as he was plundered by the robbers. He told the ecclesiastics in Mylapore that he was elected Patriarch by the bishops of his place—which was only meant to deprive him of his Archdiocese—and that then he was forced to leave his diocese. It was at the time when he was in Cairo that he came to know of the request for a bishop made by the Archdeacon of Malabar and this brought him to Mylapore³⁴. The Capuchin missionaries too, whose letters have already been referred to³⁵, wrote of his travelling to Rome and the abjuration of errors having gathered the news from the bishop himself. They added that he had with him a Missal of the Maronites, printed in Rome, and approved by the Roman Church³⁶. Let us try to find out of his testimony about himself, as given in the reports referred to above, is true. We have documentary evidence to affirm that a certain Cyrillus Ahattalla (Adeodato), Archbishop of Damascus had made his profession of Faith in Rome in 1632, i.e., during the time of Pope Urban VIII: "The letters of John Firmus, the Guardian of Aleppo

regarding the Archbishop of the Jacobites of Damascus, Ems and Nicomedia and his petitions having been referred to by the same Rev. Assessor, the Sacred Congregation delegated His Eminence Barbarius and the Rev. Dom 'Magister Palatii' to examine them"³⁷. One month later in a letter to the Guardian of the Capuchin missionaries in Aleppo, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide informed: "The Archbishop of the Jacobites of Damascus Ems and Nicomedia has safely come here and has been welcomed and received. Since the profession of Faith he made was not well conforming to the profession of Faith, prescribed for the Jacobites by the Florentine Council and as found in the sixth book of Fr. Thomas Carmalitanus on the salvation of all peoples, it had to be made anew. With regard to his requests a special Congregation 'Particularis' was arranged to examine them and to refer them to His Holiness with some answers in view of serving that nation of numerous people..."³⁸. After his reunion with the Catholic Church, this Catholic bishop wrote from Aleppo in 1634, informing the Congregation that he had safely reached his destination, but that on the way having fallen into the hands of robbers, had lost everything he had with him. Besides, he told them that he had to suffer much from the hands of his own people on account of his conversion to Catholicism as a result of which he had to leave his own place³⁹. We find again the same bishop writing from Egypt in 1646 giving details of his tribulations and of his taking refuge in Persia from where he had come to Egypt. He explained to the Cardinals of the Roman Congregation that he was preserving in his faith in spite of all the persecutions and added that he was waiting for a reply from them⁴⁰. In the light of these historical data, we may view the testimony of the newly arrived bishop Adeodato, who described himself as a native of Aleppo and also as the Archbishop of Damascus. We may also remember his expulsion from his diocese and his tribulations on account of which he fled to Cairo where he happened to hear of the Archdeacon's letter⁴¹. May we not then suppose that the Syrian bishop who came to Mylapore in 1652, calling himself Adeodato and Archbishop of Damascus and coming from Alexandria, is the same as the one who is reported to have made this profession of Faith in Rome in 1632, and after having suffered long persecution, remained in Egypt deprived of his diocese and jurisdiction.

This supposition seems to be well founded. And it is not contradictory to any of the testimonies, which described him as coming from Aleppo, from Persia and Alexandria⁴². For from his own letters written much earlier than his arrival in Mylapore we learn that he first fled to Persia and after having governed some churches there, came to Egypt and was waiting for a reply from the Roman Congregation⁴³. Similarly the arguments of the historians who have examined the letters and the records of his conversations with the ecclesiastics in Mylapore, with a view to proving that he was a Catholic are all quite consistent with it, and, in fact, corroborate this explanation. The testimony of the Capuchins from Madras that he had brought with him a Missal of "Maronites" (most probably a missal in Western Syriac) which was printed in Rome and approved by the Church of Rome is quite understandable as he was a Jacobite convert⁴⁴. The report that he was persuaded by the Alexandrian Patriarch to go to govern the Malabar Christians seems to be correct. For the Archdeacon of Malabar is reported to have written letters expressing disagreement with the Latin bishop to many oriental Patriarchs including that of Alexandria⁴⁵. It is likely that Adeodato and the Patriarch of Alexandria were friends, especially in view of the fact that the latter was at least inclined—if not converted—to Catholicism⁴⁶. Leaving aside, therefore, further verification of all that was said of him, we may easily conclude that he was a Catholic bishop, though converted from Jacobitism, and that he had come to Mylapore in the hope of getting to the Christian Community in Malabar where he had chance of becoming their bishop. We have no reason to suppose that he reverted to Jacobitism before coming to Mylapore. On the other hand all the evidence go to prove that he was a Catholic bishop, or at least that he appeared in Mylapore in that capacity: ".... This Adeodato, pretending externally as a Roman Catholic but in reality, besides being schismatic and heretic and subject to the Alexandrian Patriarch, was infected with the errors and heresy of Nestorianism, of which he readily gave evidence in Mylapore. On meeting some priests he said to them that our Saviour Christ was not God, but a mere man and consequently the Blessed Virgin Mary was not the Mother of God. He wrote the same thing to the Archdeacon of Serra. All these are evident from a letter written by Fr. Aleartill de Leiva....

after having spoken with that Adeodato collecting true information on his coming and life....”⁴⁷. Thus at least externally he appeared to them Catholic. If the ecclesiastics accused him of Schism and heresy detected from conversations with him (!) it is only but an expression of the spirit of the times. They are not consistent either in their accusation. For if he, according to them, was subject to the Alexandrian Patriarch, he could not have been a Nestorian. Most probably they might have misunderstood him when he narrated to them the story of how he happened to hear of the request of the Archdeacon of Malabar to the Alexandrian Patriarch. As to the accusation of Nestorianism, we have shown earlier how Adeodato himself, writing from Mylapore to the Christians of Malabar, invoked the name of Mary, Mother of God: “in nome della Generatrice di Dio Maria”⁴⁸. Hence the affirmation that Ahattalla (Adeodato) was an actual Jacobite bishop sent by the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch, and still less the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch himself, is unacceptable. But even granting that he really was so, this could not be construed as an argument in favour of a jurisdictional relationship of the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch with the Malabar Church. For the new bishop was accepted and welcomed by the Archdeacon and party only on the supposition that he was sent by the Pope⁴⁹. It was on this firm belief that they listened to his voice. Moreover the bishop himself claimed to have been sent by the Pope and thus implicitly acknowledged that the loyalty of the people was to the Pope and not to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch⁵⁰. Thus even if they had received him in their midst and he were a Jacobite bishop, this can in no way be counted as a relationship or a subjection to the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch.

Discordance with the Ruling Bishop

But even though no such relationship had so far been made, later events were to pave the way to it. For the offended Syrians got together at Mattanchery and in their despair at not being able to get a Syrian bishop, bound themselves by an oath to obey neither the then ruling Bishop Garzia, nor any one from among the Portuguese. This was the famous event known as the “Coonan Cross Oath”⁵¹. The

following is an account of the episode as given by the Re Dominus Mendez, then Cathedral chaplain of Cochin, in the "processus informativus" made by the Apostolic Commissary on 9 Nov. 1657: "They first assembled in the church of Odiampalur, where first the letter of the Patriarch was read. After having read it they then wrote to the Archbishop who was at Cochin that they acknowledged no other prelate than him and that they did not want that Patriarch, and that they were only asking him to go to Odiampalur where all awaited for him, so that he be reconciled once again with the Archdeacon with whom he was in discordance for some time. The Archbishop, however, replied that he did not want to go there and that even if that Patriarch had come it was not for them to accept or admit him into Serra (Malabar). For he could not concede it to them even if he had come with faculties and Apostolic Brief, since he was not approved by the King of Portugal. The Christians, therefore, having known that the Patriarch was led to Cochin, gathered themselves at Mattancheri; from there they wrote to the city, to the Captain of the City, to the Council and to all Religions asking if the Patriarch would be presented to them, so that they might examine whether he had come with orders from the Supreme Pontiff, promising that if they found it otherwise they themselves would drown him in the sea; they did invoke also the authority and influence of the Queen of Cochin. But all this was in vain because of the workings of the Fathers of the Society (of Jesus) and of the Archbishop. (Question 13; What did the Christians do afterwards?) Reply: They wrote to the Archbishop, asking him to go at least to Mattancheri to be their shepherd, if he would not give them the Patriarch, and that if he did not go they would elect a Governor. The Archbishop, however, did not reply but only warned that they should not go there. Then the Christians elected the Archdeacon Governor with some Cattanars (Priests) as councillors, taking an oath in the church of Mattancheri that they, until death, would neither obey the Archbishop nor ever admit the Fathers of the Society into Serra. (Question 14 : What did the Christians do after this?) Reply: After hearing that the Patriarch had left for Goa, they gathered themselves again at Edapally, where the letters, which the Archdeacon claimed to have been sent to him by the Patriarch, were

read..."⁵². Next the Malabar Christians proceeded to consecrate the Archdeacon as bishop, believing that they had received faculties for the same from the Pope through the letters of the newly arrived Syrian bishop⁵³. As one of these letters fully clarifies several points of our discussion we shall quote it here in full: "In the name of the eternal Essence, Almighty without beginning and end. The Patriarch Mar Thomas, Apostle. The peace in God the Father and the mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the communion of the Holy Spirit I, Ignatius, Patriarch of all India and China. Now, since I have received this faculty from Lord Pope Ignatius, the Plenipotentiary, through the Grace of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and through the compassion of the Blessed Mother of God, always Virgin, I do grant faculty to cleric George, who has come to me from your region, to dispense from consanguinity of the first grade to the third and fourth; to absolve from vows, from other oaths, and from sins of every kind for which I have given faculty and permission. Then, again, when he receives the dignity of legitimate priesthood, appoint him and make him sit on the throne of the Archdiaconate. In the name of Mary, Mother of God, I grant to the priests and clerics and the laity of the Holy Fold and to all the Elders that you make it that (there in?) the Monastery of St. Thomas, the Blessed Apostle, be the Father of all India. And, therefore, elect twelve priests, who are good, upright, talented, just, chaste, and patient men, and make them sit on the throne of the monastery of St. Thomas; and when the Bishop who governs your region dies, cast lots and elect one of those twelve Doctors and make him govern our country. Don't be afraid, but trust me and proceed according to the rite of the Holy Roman Church; be aware that besides what I have given you, I have with me great treasures and if I can come to you I would give them, being very eager to see you and speak to you. But I do not know if God will permit me this or not. They have received me in the monastery of Jesuits to atone for my sins which I have committed against God. The love of God the Father, and the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with Lord Pope Ignatius, and with you, and with us, and with all men. Amen. I, Ignatius, Patriarch of all India and China"⁵⁴.

According to this letter, on May 22, 1653, on the feast of Pentecost, twelve priests of the Syrian community “consecrated” the Archdeacon as bishop with the title of Mar Thoma I, and all the churches, except for a few, followed him in denying obedience to their legitimate bishop ⁵⁵.

Attempts for Reconciliation Failed

News of the defection of the Malabarians duly reached Rome and two Apostolic Commissaries Guiseppe a S. Maria O.C.D. (known to the Christians of Malabar as “Sebastiani”) and Hyacinth (Giacinto) de Vicentio were sent to Malabar by the Roman Congregation of Propaganda Fide, endowed with special powers from Pope Alexander VII to investigate and settle the matter⁵⁶.

Without entering into a discussion of this mission and the reasons for its failure ⁵⁷, we simply note that the Archdeacon and a few of his followers, inspite of all the efforts of the Apostolic Commissaries to bring them back to obedience of the legitimate Archbishop, remained schismatics. For, the Archdeacon and his party stubbornly demanded that he be consecrated bishop⁵⁸. In the meantime they tried to get a ratification of the Consecration from other quarters. It was then that a certain Syrian merchant, Stephen by name, came to Malabar. Taking this occasion to confirm the people in their belief that the Archdeacon was indeed consecrated in virtue of faculties given by the Pope, Ittithoman Cattanar once again fabricated Papal Briefs declaring that the Syrian mentioned above was a cleric and the nephew of the new Pope, who had specially been sent to Malabar to stabilise the position of the Archdeacon and to grant him further faculties to fulfil his ministry⁵⁹.

But the falsehood of these pretensions was known to the leaders of their party. They, therefore, turned to the Patriarch of Babylon for help, asking him to send them bishops and liturgical books. The letters were not directed to the Nestorian Patriarch, as it is evident from the letters themselves. For it is said in the letter: “....through the mercy of our Lady Mother of God, Mary most blessed mother of Christ God...”

(per la clemenza della Signora Genetrice di Dio Maria madre benedettisma di Christo Dio"...')⁶⁰. It is certain that a Nestorian would not use this formula in writing to another Nestorian. We have no evidence if the Patriarch of Babylon had made an immediate answer to their requests.

On the other hand, the Apostolic Commissary losing all hope of reconciling the schismatics, solemnly excommunicated them⁶¹.

Support from the Jacobite Patriarch solicited

Thus, denied support both by the Apostolic Commissary and by the Catholic Patriarch of Babylon, the Archdeacon's party felt the impossibility of getting the Archdeacon consecrated bishop. This explains why they received help from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch in their need.

And so in 1665 there came to Malabar a Jacobite bishop Mar Gregorios by name who declared that he had come at the order of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. According to the historical evidence we have at present this was in fact the first time that a Jacobite bishop was delegated by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch to enter into a communion with the Malankara Church. Thus we see that only in the second half of the 17th C., did the Malankara Church begin to entertain a relationship with the Patriarch of the Antiochene Jacobite Church.

We may conclude this article with the words of an English historian of the Syrian Church of Malabar. "...if the supply of bishop from the Patriarch of Babylon was hopelessly cut off, they would not refuse a bishop from any other oriental sect, and so they were fair to take the first that came the way. He happened to be a Jacobite, but such as he was, they vastly preferred him to any bishop from the West"⁶².

1. Cf. E.M. Philip, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas*, (2nd ed.), Kottayam, 1951, Chapters 9, 10 and 13. Many of the recent authors accept the thesis he proposes in this work W. Germann, speaks of this belief among the Jacobites of Malabar: "Noch immer wird in Kottayam ihm zu ehren (he speaks of Mar Gabriel, who was a Chaldean bishop and died in Malabar) ein jährliches Fest gefeiert, aber die Gemeinden welche, glauben seit uralter Zeiten von Antiochien zu depend ernen, halten ihn für einen Jakobiten..." W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gutersloh 1877, p. 559.

2. The Jacobites do not deny the early relations with the Persian Churches. They only argue that these relations were with the Jacobite Churches in Persia. We do not find it necessary to enumerate their arguments here. For they have been examined earlier and have been rejected as wanting in historical basis and logical sequence. Cf. Brown, L.W., *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, Cambridge 1956, pp. 287-288; Tisserant Cardina I Eugene (Authorised adaptation from the French by E. R. Hambye, S. J.), *Eastern Christianity in India*, Calcutta 1957, p. 17; V. C. George, *The Syro-Chaldean Church in Malabar*, Tiruvalla, 1957, is itself meant to be an answer to the contentions of the Jacobites. Referring to their arguments Fr. Placid, a learned historian on the Malabar Church observes: "Quidam Jacobitae malabarenses recentiore tempore audent asserere sine tamen ullo solido fundamento, maphrianos seu catholicos Tigrithenses Jacobitas esse illos annitistes qui episcopos in malabariam mittebant usque ad saeculum XV. Horum autem rationes indignae videntur quae hic transcribantur..." Placidus a S. Joseph, T.O.C.D., *De fontibus juris ecclesiastici Syro-Malankarenisium*, Codificazione canonica orientale, Fonti Serie II Fascicolo VIII, Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1937 (henceforth quoted as: "Fonti II-VIII"), p. 22, n. 31.
3. Seleucia-Ctesiphon were the twin cities facing each other on the bank of the river Tigris. They were often named together and constituted the Metropolitan See of the Great Metropolitan of the East i.e., of the Persian empire, Cf. Chabot, J.B., *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris 1902, pp. 682, 272. It is not clear when Seleucia-Ctesiphon became a Catholicate" or who obtained the title "Catholicos" first. See the discussion on this point in Assemani Joseph Simonius, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, Vol. I. Romae 1725, pp 6-10. However, we find that in the Synod of Seleucia held by its Metropolitan Mar Isaac in 410, he calls himself "Catholicos" and claiming jurisdiction on all the other Metropolitans. Cf. Chabot, J.B., *op. cit.*, p. 272 can. XXI; *ibid*, p. 213 footnote I: For a detailed description on this Synod confer Labourt Jerome, *Le Christianisme dans l' Empire Perse sous la dynastie sassanide (224-632)*, Paris 1904, p. 92 sq. In the Synod of Markabta in 424, the Saleucian Catholicos Dadisho (Dadjesus) declared himself completely independent of the Antiochene Patriarch and appropriated the title of Patriarch. Cf. Chabot J.B., *op. cit.* p. 296. Labourt Jerome, *op. cit.*, p. 123. The Chaldean Patriarch had his Patriarchal See in Seleucia-Ctesiphon until the time of Timotheus I (728-823) who transferred it to Bagdad Cf. Fonti. II-VIII, p. 19, n. 24; Paulinus as. Bartholomew, O.C.D., *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae 1794, p. 254. After centuries of severe persecutions from without and heretical and schismatical factions within, this ancient Catholicate remains still divided into two sections one under the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch who has his patriarchal residence in Bagdad and the other under the Nestorian Patriarch who was forced to set up his official residence in Chicago. Cf. (Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale), *Oriente Cattolico, Cenni storici estatiche*, Citta del Vaticano, 1962, pp 92, 359, 377.
4. It may be noted here that we mention the report on the visit of Cosmos not as though it were the first indication of the existence of a Christian community in South India, but as an early report incontestably accepted by historians both Catholic and non-Catholic: "The first detailed and objective text we have is the report of Cosmos Indicopleustes...": Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E.R. Hambe, *op.cit.* p. 11; "The first unquestionable historical reference to the Church of South India is a passage in the Christian Topography of Cosmos...": Brown, L.W., *op. cit.* p. 68, Cosmos gave testimony to the existence of a well organised Christian community in "Male", the pepper-growing land, governed by Bishops who used to be ordained in Persia. See the report of Cosmos in PG 88: 169. 445-448: Comments on this report in PG 88: I. 30-40; See the English version in McCrindle, J.W. *The Christian Topography of Cosmos*. London 1897. pp. 118-119.

5. Cf. Attwater Donald, *The Christian Churches of the East*, Vol. I, London 1961, p. 147; Furthermore we see that the Monophysites themselves were not in stable position to exercise any power outside their territories during those periods: "...Tuttavia anchei patriarchi monophysiti della stessa sede non ebbero per parecchio tempo residenza fissa; dimoravano per lo piu a Dijarbeker (Amida, sul tigris superiore), ovvero al convento di Barsauma vicino a Melitene (sull'Eufrate superiore), e quantunque il patriarca Elia (709-724) ottenesse dal Califfo l'autorizzazione di costruire dentro Antiochea la prima chiesa esclusivamente monofisita, non ebbe tuttavia il permesso di trasportarvi la propria sede....": D. Ricciotti Giuseppe, *Studi Storici: siri*. Codificazione canonica orientale, Fonti Fascicolo VIII, Typographia poliglotta Vaticana, 1932, (henceforth quoted as "Fonti VIII") p. 121 sq.
6. Cf. Fonti II-VIII, p. 18, n. 23 quoting Mignana Alponus, *The early spread of Christianity in India*, in "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library", Manchester 1926 (reprint), p. 31, Mackenzie C.T., *Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum 1901, p. 5. Raulin Johannes Focundus, *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum synodo Diamperitano*, Romae 1745, p. 433. See also Assemani J.S., *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 131; Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E.R. Hambye, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 14: seem to adopt a different interpretation on giving the name of the place.
7. "... Heriae vero et Samarcandae et Sinarum Metropolitae creavit Salba Zacha Catholicus. Aiunt sane, Achaeum, et Silam illos constituisse: sed ordine si ensem antecedunt Metropolitae Heriae et Indiae (Heriae is the ninth in the order of the enumeration), Sinensis Samarcandensem..." Ebedjesus. *Collectio Canonum Synodicorum*, VIII, 15, in Mai Angelo, *Scriptorum Veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, X. I. Ebedjesus: *Collectio Canonum Synodicorum*, Romae 1838. pp. 141-142; cf. also Assemani J.S., *op. cit.*, vol. III, I, p. 938; Ibn At-Taiyib, *Das Recht der Christenheit, II Teil*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* vol. 168, *Scriptores Arabici*, tomus 19, Louvain 1957, p. 123.
8. Cf. Labourt Jerome, *De Timotheo I Nestorianorum Patriarcha (728-823)*, Paris 1904, p. 48 sq; Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 14; "... Alii poro metropolitae nempe Indiae, Persidis, Maru, Damasci, Raziqitarum et Hariunitarum et Samarkandarum in longiquis disitis regionibus.... current censensionis unionisque litteras ad patriarcham quolibet sexennio semel mittere... ad patriarcham tributum secudum facultates et patrum canones pro expensis domus patrum..." : Assemani J. S., *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 439 and vol. III, p. 617 giving the latin version from Ebedjesus, *op. cit.*, VIII, can. XIX; See also Labourt Jerome *De Timotheo I Nestorianorum Patriarcha (728-823)*, p. 49. See the letters of Timytheu I to the Archdeacon in India., referred to in Ibn At-Taiyib, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.
9. Cf. Codex Vaticanum Syrorum, 22 (olim 12, a. 1301, in Tisserant Eugene, *Specimina Codicum Orientalium*, Rome, Bonn 1914, p. 34, quoted in Fonti I-VIII, p. 22, n 30).
10. Cf. Paulinus a S. Bartholomew O.C.D., *op. cit.*, p. 20. He gives a list of bishops sent to Malabar by the Seleucian Patriarchs borrowing it from Renaudot. *Liturgiarum Orientalium collectio*, Paris 1716, p 257; See also Giamil Samuel, *Genuinae relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum seu Chaldeorum ecclesiam*, Romae 1902. He reproduces many documents extant in the Vatican Archives giving the historical and juridical condition of the Malabar Church. Find the other works in the bibliography given in this book.
11. On the history of the early Malabar Church consult the historical books we have referred to in the bibliography. The nature of the relationship which the Malabar Church had entertained with the Persian Churches has a direct bearing on the doctrinal orthodoxy of the former. A good many competent orientalists had studied the issue. Many of them have

proved the orthodoxy of the Malabar Christians in their actual faith. Cf. Schurhammer George, *The Malabar Church and Rome during the early Portuguese period and before*. Trichinopoly 1934; Fr. Heras S. J., "The Orthodoxy of the Malabar Church" in the Examiner, Bombay 12, May 1934; Cathanar George C. J., *The orthodoxy of the St. Thomas Christians, containing some correspondence and reviews concerning the Syrian Church in Malabar*, Trivandrum 1904. See the other pertinent works in the bibliography given in this book.

12. Cf F. Day, *Land of Perumals of Cochin, its past and its present*, Madras 1863, P. 216; Cf. also G.B. Howard, *Christians of St. Thomas and their liturgies*, London, 1864, p. 19.
13. "Tempore Simonis Syri, Patriarchae, Indorum legatus venit petiturus, ut eis episcopum ordinaret, sed recusabat, donec ei Sultanus alium ordinandi facultatem dedisset...." Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 522, note, I., quoting *Historia Coptorum Christianorum*, ed. Wetzer 1828, p. 93.
14. Cf. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitorum*, Paris 1713, p 185.
15. "... In der Geschickte der Jakobitischen Patriarchen Alexandriens ... wird berichtet, daSS zu Zeit des Patriarchen Simon (688-704) des Chaliphen Abd-Almalik (685-705) und des Agyptischen Praefecten Abdelaziz ein Bote aus Indien den Patriarchen ersucht habe, den Indern, die nicht unter der Herrschaft der Mohammedaner standen, einen Bischof zu ordinieren, aber der Patriarch habe dies nicht ohne die ErlaubniS des Muhammadanischen Fursten zu tun gemagt... und dem Gesandten ausgegeben, zunachst diese zu erwirken. Diese Weigerung benutzten hatten sich einige Gajaniten, wie die von der ersten Gesandtschaft her uns bekannten Julianisten nach einen fruheren Patriarchen genannt werden, sich an den Inder gemacht und ihn zum Bischof der phantasiasten Theodor gefuhrt. Dieser weihte ohne Bedenken einen Bischof aus der Mareotis fur die Inder und ordnierte ihm Zwei Priester als Begleiter auf die Reise nach Indien bein..." Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.
16. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
17. "...Quae de illa Mar Thomae in Indias profectione Lusitani scriptores evulgare curarunt Ludovicus Gusmanus e Soc. Jesu in sua de Indicis expeditionibus historia contraxit in hunc sensum: multi in India Christiani sunt.... habent ii Archiepiscopum, episcopos et sacerdotes, qui omnes e Syria veniunt, Plerumque eos ad ejusmodi expeditionem Patriarchae Babylonico seu Alexandrini designante.... "Haec Gusmanus, quae ideo praesertim accurata satis non sunt, quod Alexandrini Patriarchae memnit... nesci ebat Alexandrinos Patriarchas seu Melchitas seu Jacobitas a Nestoriana (heresia) qua Malabaranses infecti erant semper abhorruisse..." Cf. Le Quien Michael, O.P., *Oriens christianus in quatuor Patriarchatus digestus*, vol. II, Paris 1740, cols. 1273-1274.
18. "... Quamquam infra dicemus, circa saeculi decimi quarti medium Malabarenses ab Alexandrino coptorum Patriarcha Metropolitam sibi mitti postulasse, ne christianae leges in totum apud eos extinguerentur; ab eo vero designatum fuisse syrorum quemdam Jacobitam quem ad Mosulensem Catholicum misit, ut ab illo ordinaretur..." *Ibid.*
19. Some historians, in fact, report that the Antiochene Patriarchs continued to claim Jurisdiction directly over the Persian Churches and therefore also over the Indian Church in spite of and against the claims of the Seleucian Patriarch. Cf. Le Quien Michael, O.P., *op. cit.*, vol. II, cols. 1086-1088; Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D. *A brief sketch of the history of the St. Thomas Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1924, pp. 11-14; Fonti II-VIII, p. 19, n. 26: "Renaudotus citat Allatium, dicentem Patriarcham Antiochenum vindicasse sibi jurisdictionem in Indiam. Nilus Doxopates (1043) dicit Asiam et Indiam fuisse sub

Patriarcha Antiocheno, etsi hic nullos episcopos illuc miserit..." This is quoted from Paulinus a S. Bartholomew, O.C.D., *op.cit.* p. 88. It may be noted here that some churches in South Persia, with which probably the Indian Church might have had some connection, were in a state of opposition to the Seleucian Catholicos, which made it possible for them to have relationship with the Antiochene Patriarch. Cf. Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S. J., *op.cit.*, p. 18; Raulin J. F., *op. cit.* p. 433; Mignana A., *op., cit.*, p. 33; Mackenzie, G.T., *op. cit.*, p. 5; Fonti II-VIII, p. 18, n. 22. Perhaps one can conclude to a rival jurisdiction. At any rate this does not constitute a valid argument to justify the claim that the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch had exercised jurisdiction in India. The historians who refer to the reports mentioned above themselves deny it. "...verum, ad annum usque ad 1665 nullus Jacobitarum praesulum in Malabaraia comparuit...": Paulineus a S. Bartholomew, O.C.D., *op. cit.*, p. 25, note 1; Placid of St. Joseph, T.O.C.D., *The Patriarch of Antioch*, Mannanam. 1931, p. 139; Cf also Fortescue Adrian, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, London 1929, p. 192. They suggest that these claims were made by the catholic Antiochene Patriarchs. Granted that the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarchs, anxious to keep for themselves the prerogatives of the ancient Patriarchal See of Antioch, could also have made such claims, it does not seem to have had any practical bearing on the Malabar Church as it is clear from history. We find a document in which such a claim is said to have been made. In a "memoriale" submitted to Cardinal Chrozone by the Jacobite Patriarch of Anioch in his attempt to reunite with the Church of Rome, he states that he had twice sent bishops to the Christians of Malabar, though they did not get any hold on the community. But the report contained so many false affirmations that it is considered thoroughly unreliable. Those who examined it wrote on it: "... sed notandum quod dicitur sunt etiam falsa ad finem...": Cf. Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu (henceforth quoted as ARSJ), Goa, 14. ff. 323-324. The reuniting Patriarch might have been making an attempt to remind the Cardinals of the prerogatives of the Antiochene Patriarchs who before the heretical factions enjoyed patriarchal powers over churches in the East.

20. Cf. Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 17, referring to Korolovskij Cyril "Antioch" in Dictionnaire d' Histoire et de Geographie Ecclesiastique, vol. III, Paris 1914, col. 602-612; The full article is to be found, *ibid*, cols. 563-704.
1. Mar Abraham was a Chaldean bishop and was Archbishop of St. Thomas Christians from 1568-1597. He died on 26 Feb. 1597. Cf. Mullbauer Marimilian, *Geschachte der Katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*. Freiburg im Breisgau 1852, p. 160; About the life and activities of this Syrian bishop, Cf. Thevarmanil Cyriac, *Mar Abraham, the Archbishop of St. Thomas Christians in Malabar*, (a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Ecclesiastical History in the Gregorian University, Rome) Rome 1965 (unedited).
2. Cf. Giuseppe a S. Maria, O.C.D., *Prima spedizione all' Indie Orientali*, Romae 1666, p. 2; Mullbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 160; See a brief sketch of the life-history of Bishop Roz, *ibid.*, note, 4; Francis Roz was preconized at the consistory of 20 Dec. 1599: "Referente Cardinale Gesuald providit (Summus Pontifex) Ecclesiae Angamalensi vacanti per obitum Mar Abraham, de persona Francisci (Roz), (added above the line), fuitque, dicta Ecclesia ex metropolitana reducta in episcopatum, et constituta suffraganea metropolitanae Ecclesiae Goanae..." A. V., *Acta Consistorialia, Acta Camer'* vol. 13, fo. 133, v. "quoted in Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S.J., *op. cit.* p. 72, note 1; he was consecrated at Goa on 25 January 1601; Cf. Adelhelm Jann, *Die Katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan*, Paderborn 1915, p. 169 sq.; Paulinus a S. Bartholomew, O.C.D., *op. cit.*, pp. 64-55.
3. Cf. Mullbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Giuseppe a S. Maria, O.C.D., *op. cit.*, p. 2. We do not discuss here how and why there arose a discord between the Syrians of Malabar and their Latin Bishops, as this topic is explained in the books dealing with the history of that period: Cf. the bibliography given in this book.

4. Cf. ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, f. 83, in which we hear of the letters sent by the Archdeacon of Malabar to different Patriarchs; Cf. also Du Jarric Peter, S.J., *Thesaurus rerum indicarum*, 1615, vol. III, 1/1, p. 72, quoted in Mullbauer, *op. cit.* p. 161; According to Vincenzo Maria di S. Catherina da Sienna, who was sent to Malabar together with the Apostolic Commissary Giuseppe a S. Maria the Syrians were sending secret letters also to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. Cf. Vincenzo Maria di S. Catherina da Sienna, *Il viaggio all'Indie Orientali*, Romae 1672 (Venetia 1678) pp. 153-154.
5. Cf. Geddes, M. *The History of the Christianity of Malabar*, London 1613, p. 41; In the letter which Bishop Garzia wrote on 22, Aug. 1658 to the Apostolic Commissary of Malabar, Fr. Hyacinth de Vicentiis, he argued: "... praeterquam quod cum venisset Adeodatus (the newly arrived Bishop was so named) ex praesentione nostri regis Lusitani dabatur vehementissima suspicio quod non potest esse pastor hujus ecclesiae, ex pacto, et conventionem facta cum Alexandro sexto Pontice Maximo. Addo talem Adeodatum non dico a Patriarcha Alexandrino, vel ab alio schismatico, sed a Summo Pontifice Romano missum, me potuisse illum detinere, quia evidenter illius lettera erant subreptitia et contra meum jus quaesitum, quia SS. Pontifex Romanus non solet neque potest praeficere duos immediatos pastores in una ecclesia cathedrali..." ARSJ, Goa, 68, vol. I, ff. 182-183. Bishop Garzia writing to the Cardinals of the Propaganda Fide on 25, July 1659, reminded them of the right of the Portuguese Crown in the missions. Cf. *Archivum S.C. de Propaganda Fide*, Scritture Originali referitte nei Congregationi Generali (henceforth quoted as APF., SOCG), vol. 232, f. 324; Cf also Mackenzie, G.I., "History of Christianity in Travancore; in *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. II (ed. V. Nagamaiya), Trivandrum 1906 (henceforth quoted as Mackenzie, G.T., *op. cit.*, vol. II), p. 172; right from the beginning of the Portuguese settlement in Goa such arrangements were done to prevent the arrival of the Syrian Bishops. Cf. for example, the pact made by the Portuguese with the king of Ormus, ARSJ, Goa 12, ff. 439-445; See the different plans adopted by the ecclesiastics as narrated in the letter of Fr. Dionysio, S.J., in ARSJ, Goa 12, f. 448. The difficulties which the Syrian Bishops Mar Joseph, Mar Elias, Mar Abraham and others had to undergo in their attempt to get in Malabar and remain in their episcopal dignity, were due to this prearrangement. Cf. ARSJ, Goa, 12, 13, *passim*; Beltrami reproduced many letters giving the details of this matter: of. Beltrami G., "La Chiesa Chaldea nel secolo dell'Unione", in *Orientalia Christiana*, 29 (1933), fasc. 83, pp. 40-43; 96.
6. Fr. Francis Barreto, S.J., then Provincial of Malabar, writing in 1657 from Malabar giving the "Information" reported: "...Anno e Nativitate Domini 1652 appulit ad civitatem Sancti Thomas Armenius (the Syrians were so called in Malabar quidam, qui se et Damasci Patriarcham et a Romano pontifice in hujus ecclesiae pastorem ac prelatum missum esse affirmabat. Hujus novitatis certiores facti Arcidiaconus, Cassanares (the Syrian priests were thus known) et reliqua Christianorum multitudo, maximum in hac diocesi perturbationem excitaverunt...." ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, f. 115. While he was staying in Madras two Capuchin Fathers had written about him. Cf. the letter of Frs. Efreim de Nevez and Leon de Bange from Madras, in ARSJ, Goa 18, f. 163. Another letter also has been written on 27 Aug. 1652 by the same Capuchins about the newly arrived Bishop. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 163 v. There is a lot of other testimonies, both contemporaneous and of a later period about his arrival in Mylapore. Cf. ARSJ, Goa 668, vols. I, II, *passim*. See the testimonies of the witnesses in the "processus informativus" made by the Apostolic Commissaries in APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 115-140.
7. "... cujus nomen apud Christianos S. Thomae in supra dicta scriptura erat "Aganates" apud Lucitanos vero "adeodatus"...." See the testimony of Rev. Dominicus Mendez, the Cathedral Chaplain of Cochin, given in the "processus informativus" on 9, Nov. 1657, Cf. APF SOCG., vol. 232, f. 132; Bernard of St. Thomas, *A Brief Sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians*, Trichinopoly 1924, p. 67.

8. "....Adeodato (the Syrians of Malabar called him "Agnates" (Ignatius) while among the Portuguese he was known as "Adeodatus" a translation of the Arabic name "Ahattalla" in Syriac) fu inviato a Goa e d'inde al Regno (Portugal, ove (dove) o per mancamento delle vere notizie, o perche egli has saputo ben fingere, e coprire i sudingani trovo molti, che lo favorivono. Dal regno passo a Roma con Archivescovo di Mirra e dicono esser morto in Francia altri affermano essere arrivato of Roma ma in fine adesso non consta che sia compasso in questa curia...." Cf. "Summaria relatione della christianita della Serra" ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, f. 63.
9. Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 232, f. 303; Brown *op. cit.*, p. 100, note 2.
10. Cf. EM. Philip, *op. cit.* p. 147; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Some others believe that Ahattalla was burned at stake in Goa, after the Inquisition process. Cf. Mullbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 301 See his observations on this point, stating that this is the first and last in the history of the Missions, *ibid.*, Plaulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
11. Cf. Bernard of St. Thomas. T.O.C.D., *The St. Thomas Christians*, vol. II, Mannanam 1921, pp. 169-170. But Mackenzie argues that Mar Thomas counted Ahattalla as the first Bishop of the Syrians, as he speaks of himself as Mar Thomas V, while he is actually only Mar Thomas IV. Cf. Mackenzie, G.T., *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 204-205.
12. Cf. W. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 655, 452; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.
13. See the contemporaneous testimonies in ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, ff. 62, 63, 115; APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 130, 132, 137; vol. 234 ff 320-370.
14. "Ignotus Armenus" qui se Patriarcham ad eam ecclesiam gubernandam a SS Patre missum falso asserebat; "The letter of Fr. Barretto to the General of S.J., on 10th Sept. 1656. The original letter is found in ARSJ., Goa 9, I, ff. 219-222. We quote the Latin translation from ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, f. 92. He gave the same information in a letter still later written in 1657. Cf. *ibid.*, Goa 9, ff. 115.
15. See the answers given by the witnesses to the questions of the Apostolic Commissary in APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 115, 142.
16. ".... addo talem Adeodatum non dico a patriarcha Alexandrino, vel ab alio schismatico, sed ab a SS Pontifice Romano missum me potuisse illum detinere...." Letter of Bishop Garzia on 22, Aug. 1658 to the Apostolic Commissary Giuseppe a S. Maria O.C.D., in ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, f. 182.
17. Cf. J. S. Assemani, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 622; See also the observation of La Croze, *Histoire du christianisme des Indes*, vol. II, (2nd ed.), La Haye 1758, p. 359; Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 452.
18. Cf. Rae, George Milne, *The Syrian Church in India*, Edinburgh, London 1892, pp. 259-260; F. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 255; Howard, G.B. *op. cit.*, p. 45.
19. Cf. Visscher, C., *op. cit.*, p. 103, quoted by Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-452.
20. Cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 63-70, 78-79. It may be good to remember that the Malabar Church was definitely in Communion with the Patriarch of Babylon from the 13th C. onwards. Cf the previous article of this chapter.
21. Note that they always believed that the newly arrived Bishop was sent to them by the Roman Pontiff. The new-comer also specifically mentioned in his letter that he had been sent by the Pope. See the impression of the people about this Bishop as noted down in the "processus informativus" made by the Apostolic Commissary, and their discussions with

- their Bishop Francis Garzia and the other Portuguese authorities in APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 115-140.
22. Letter sent from Mylapore, CF. APF., SOCG., vol. 234, f 361; Cf. Footnote 31 of this article.
 23. S. Giamil, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-97.
 24. Cf. APF, SOCG., vol. 234, ff. 358-359. Two of these letters are to be found in their original Syriac in this volume. They were found together with other letters in the church of Mulanthuruthy in 1662, and brought to Rome by Bishop Giuseppe a S. Maria, O.C.D. after having been translated by maronite priest in 1664, Cf. Note 31 of this article.
 25. "... La pace del Nostro Signore Gesu Christo al Catholico Sanctissimo chiamato D. Elia che sede sopra la sede celebre.... di Ninive.... per la clemenza della signora *generairie de Dis Maria Madre benedettissima di Christo Diks*, e di S. Thoma vescovo dell'India... "Letter of the Archdeacon to the Patriarch of Ninive, Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 234, f 359. The Italics is ours.
 26. "...Et hoc vobis filii significandum duximus, quemdam nomine Ignatium Caltrimenzem, Attalla seu Adeodatum assertum Patriarcham et Sehismatium, qui in Malipore (Mylapore) captus fuisse dicitur nec a fel. rec. Innocentio X nec ab ullo alio R. Pontifice praedecessore Nostro istuc missum fuisse...." Breve datum Romae die 20 Jan. 1660, reproduced in Giuseppe a S. Maria O.C.D., *Secunda spedizine all'Indie Orientali* Venetia, 1683, p. 41.
 27. Cf. W. Germann, *op.cit.*, pp. 453-455. But Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S.J., give a different date for these changes and other names of the Patriarchs who effected them. According to them it is Simon XI (1638-1656) who changed the Patriarchal See from Salmas to Urumia. And it is Simon XIII Denha (1662-1700) the first Patriarch at Kotchannes, who reverted to Nestorianism. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 195.
 28. "... in si mala dispositione, passando per Alexandria un certo vescovo schismatico" chiamato per nome Atalla il quale dopo haver governato qualche tempo in Damasco la chiesa de, Giacobiti, per li suoi demeriti era stato scaciato, il patriarcha al quale pochi giorni prima erano giunte le lettere accennate... di Arcidiacono... vedondosi discreditato in Siria a abborito dalli proprii nazionali per la via di Babilonia, dove ricevuta nuova commissione nuove lettere dal patriarcha de' Nestoriani prese il canumino per l'India...." Vincenzo Maria di Catherina da Sienna, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154. He does not mention from where he gathered this information. Perhaps he might have received it from hearsay. At any rate much of the data which he brings seems to have been reported also by the Jesuit missionaries, of which we shall speak in the following pages.
 29. Cf. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 182.
 30. See the letter which is reported to have been written by himself from Mylapore; See also the arguments which the local historians bring to prove that he was a Catholic, exposed earlier in this article.
 31. "...Ecco ch'io Ignatio Patriarcha di tutta l'India e della Cina, vi mando da mia parte una lettera coi chierici; i quali dalla vostra regione sono venuti qua; e quando havarete letto la lettera con diligenza manderete da me di preti e quaranta homini e se li vorrette mandare dalla vostra regione procurate di mandarii con ogni prestezza. O,! Figli, ascoltatevi e sappiate da me che m'e acconsegnata ogni potesta dalle mani del D. Papa Ignatio Plenipotentiario... In nome della Genetrice di Maria, ed I sacerdoti e chierici della Grege santa e tutti maggiori vi facio consapevoli che io son venuto a questa citta di Mylapor...." The English translation is ours. The original letter which is reported to have been written

by the "Patriarch" himself was in Syriac and has not yet been discovered. But a copy of it in Syriac was found in 1662, in the church of Mulanthuruthy and after having been duly authenticated was brought to Rome to be studied by the General Congregation of the Propaganda Fide. It is now to be found in the APF., SOCG., vol. 234, f. 355v. together with an Italian translation in f. 361. The Italian translation was made by a Maronite priest and is attested to as follows: "Io Stephano Edenen Maronita missionario indegno della S.C. de Propaganda Fide, arciprete e predicatore da natt. nella citta D' Aleppo, ad instantia dell' Ill-Mgr. Giuseppe di S. Maria Vescovo Hierapolitano ho fedelmente interpretato dalla lingua Caldea nestoriana in Italiano questa lettera che sua Illustrissima n'ha portato dall'India, e attesto esser fedelmente interpretato nel 1654 a 2 di Nov....' *Ibid.*, f. 364 v. We give the translation found here. There is still another translation into Latin, which can be found in vol. 232, f. 2. It is this which is quoted by Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 78.

32. The Churches of India and China were named together from the 8th C: "...Ubi notandum est, sedem nestorianam Indiae seu Malabaridis inter nestorianas dioceses decimam tertiam numerari (but of note 7 in the first article of this chapter) et ultimum locum obtinere, Haec eadem Metropolitana Sedes saec. VIII Sinensi Metropoli conjuncta era, unde etiam apud Guoveam in "Historia Alexii de Menezes, episcopus nestorianus, "Indiae et Sinarum" Metropolitanus dicebatur (Cf. Benaudot, *op. cit.*, p. 365) Hi Metropolitani nestoriani Malabarenses... se "Portam totius Indiae" nominabant, atque "Metropolitanus" et "Portam" esse dicebant et in litteris suis signabant...." Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
33. "alla cita Meliapor (Mylapore) in una nave Olandese un chiamato Adeodato, che diceva esser vescovo di Damasco eletto Patriarcha di Antiochia, ma che per forza era stato cacciato da quella dignita da un altro maggior e piu potente adversario, e che percio gl'elettori commosi dalla sua digrazia gli diedero titolo di Patriarcha con giurisdizione sopra tutti i christiani soriani, tra quali intravano ancora i christiani della serra; e che con questa nuova dignita era venuto alla citta del Cairo, ove lo trovo la lettera dell' Arcidiacono per darsi al patriarcha di Alexandria, il quale lo haveva mandato a governare in christiani della serra; e che non solamente s'era pentito di questo viaggio, ma che grande mente si meravigliava d'essersi scritte tali inganni, e bugie, domandandosi vescovo per quella christian nita essendo vivo il proprio Arcivescovo. Tutto questo consto per voluntaria confessione del detto Adeodato..." Cf. ARSJ, "Relatione summaria della Christianita della serra" Goa 68, vol. 1 ff. 62-63; the author of this report is not mentioned there.
34. "...Examinando de que era, donde vinha, que Religiam professava, e que buscava em Meliapor, respondeo: que nascera em Alepo, e se chiamava Adeodato, que era Arcebispo de Damasco, e em tempo do Papa Urbano VIII estivera em Roma, onde Sua Sanctidade, e os Cardea es I he fizrao multas honoras, mas que tornando para o seu Arcebispado com datas do Papa e Bullas de sello pendente, antes de chegar a Damasco fora salteado de ladroes, que sobre o despoierem do tudo o que leavva, e ainda das Bullas Apostolicas o deixarao elico de feridas... (after narrating the whole history of his election and the expulsion he continued). O Arcebispo meu successor, e author de tragedia me quis consolar, dizendo: Temos vos creado Patriarcha de tudo o mundo, em qualquerparte, onde ouver gente Suriana, podier exercitar vossa jurisdicao: bascai entre ella vida. Ed com o temor damorte, e por nao viver enter tal gente, fui ao Cairo, onde tinha chegado carta do Arcediago da Serra para o Patriarcha de Alexandria. em que Ihe pedia prelado. O mesmo Patriarcha me persuadio, que viesse governar os Christaos da Serra...." Report of the Jesuit missionaries from Serra, Cf. ARSJ, Goa 68, f. 82 sq.
35. Cf. Footnote 6 of this article.
36. "... sc elle diz que elle foi a Roma depoisde feito sacerdote, ou Arco. deseu Patriarcha, e que em Roma elle tem celebrado a sancta missa, sem duvida que em Romanao Ihe terao

dado licenza de dizer missa, se nao depois de ter abjurado os erros de sua seta, que se assi he que elle tenha dito a Missa em Roma nao tem elle agora rezao de se dizer Jacobita.... quer elle sizer a santa Missa pello missal dos Maronitas estampado ex Roma. conforme a seta que elle pofesa aqual he a seta dos Jacobitas que aqui nos disse que professava nao pode elle clobrar a Missa per esse missal.... he contrario ao de sua seta, o missal dos Maronitas he approvado pella Igreja Romana...” Letter of Efrem de Neves and Leon de Bange from Madras on 30. Aug. 1652, Cf. ARSJ, Goa 18, f. 163.

37. “.... Referento eodem Rom, Assessore litteras Pris. Joannis Firmi Guardiani Aleppi de Archiepiscopi Damasci Ems, et Nicomedia, nationis Jacobitarum et de ejus petitionibus, S. Congregatio ad eas examinanda deputavit Eminentissimum Barbarinum et Rev. Dom. Magistrum S. Palatii... “Cf. APF. CG. Acta (a. 1632) vol. 8, f 65, n. 36. This information is dated 26, April 1632, cf. also f. 45, n. 31. It seems that already he was received into the Church in Aleppo, and was coming to Rome only to pay homage to the Pope and to receive necessary documents; For in a letter to the V.R. Guardian Gioanve Firmo in Aleppo Rome expressed its satisfaction at the conversion of the said bishop: “.... Questa Congregazione che dalla conversione dell’ Arc. de’ Giacobiti da V.R. f. ita com molta sua lode e da quella di quel mercante Armenio, e da altri sue diligenze, massime nella nuova scuola, s compromette maggior frutto dalla sua manse in codesta citta....” Cf. APF., Lettere (1632) vol. 12. f. 36.
38. “.... L’ Arcivescovo di Damasco Ems e Nicomddia Giacobita e giunto qua a salvamente et e stato ben veduto e ricevuto. E perche la professione della fede, che haveva fatta nanzi V.R. non stava bene, per non esser conforme a quella che nel Sac. Concilio Fiorentino fu prescritta a Giacobiti, e si trova registrata nel 6° libro del P. Tomaso Carmelitano de procuranda salute omnium gentium se gli e percio di nuovo fatta rifare. Quanto poi alle sue domande se e ordinata una Congregazione particolare per essaminar’o e farne poscia relatione a S.Santita accio pigli le reso’ utioni che parranno spedienti per servitio di codesta numerosa nazione....” Cf. APF., Lettere (1632) vol. 12, ff. 53v-54.
39. “....Proponiamo alli Emi. et Rev. Li S. N. Cardinali sopra alla Sacra Congregazione et questi servo, et ministro loro Arcivescovo Atalla, Arcivescovo di Damasco, come sono arrivato in Aleppo, sono salvo, ma ci e accaduto di perdere et fare predita ca degli’ homini impii, et infedeli... mettendo ci in colpa con dire che e venuto dal paese delli Franchi volete fare li Jacobiti franchi... e questo faccio sapere alle V. Emm. se vogliono che (aguitiamo) di andare o’ vero di tornare a Roma, ci facino sapere per ogni modo, la ca perche la mia confessione.... con la chiesa..., da Aleppo dell’anno 1634, a di 12 di luglio.” The letter of Adeodato to the Cardinals, Cf. APF., SOCG., (1635), vol. 59, f. 140. The original letter in Syriac is to be found in f. 141a.
40. Cf. The letter of “Cirillo Arcivescovo di Damasco” in APF., SOCG., (1646) vol. 128, f. 98, 99. The letter is referred to in APF., C.G., Acta (16-1-1646) vol. 17, f. 7. Among other things he says: “....il vescovo di Persia in Aesbhan, non essendo in illa nessuno che la curi, et impretar qualche entrata da poter viver in illa a percio sono venuto ad Egitto e da Egitto mandai lettere e qui sto aspettando la risposta di V. III. ma., e D.o sa come sto in loco pegio dell’carcere...” *ibid.*, SOCG., (1646) vol. 128, f. 98.
41. Cf. Footnote 33 of this article.
42. See the testimonies of the witnesses referred to earlier in this article.
43. Cf. Footnote 40 in this article.
44. Cf. The letter quoted in Footnote 36 of this article.

45. "...scrivendo al patriarcha di Babylonia a quello de' copti in Alexandria, *et al* Giacobita in Diarbeker (tutti tre schismatici e heretici) (!) chiedendo a ciascuno nuova provisione di vescovo...." Vincenzo Maria de Catherina da Sienna, O.C.D., *op. cit.*, p. 154.
46. In a report of the Capuchin missionaries at about this time presented to the Holy Father it is said: "Beatissimo Padre. La missione de FF. Capuchini della sola provincia di Turena alla Francia continua sino dalli 25 anni in qua et hora mantiene missionarii... (then the mission fields are enumerated...) nell' India in Surat dell' impero del Gran Moghor. Et in Madras patan vicino Meliapur di Isola di S. Thomae.... Hanno redutto Ignatio Patriarcha de' Suriani d' Antiochia con tre vescovi, molti sacerdoti Armeni nestoriani, Suriani, Greci, Copti tutti heretici schismatici all' unione della chiesa santa.... E per avviso nuovamente ricevuto dal Cairo dalli 23 d' Aprile ultimo s' offerisce bellissima occasione di ridurre a nostra fede non solo il patriarcha ma ancora tutta la setta delli Copti chi sara di piu di trenta milla anime..." Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 212, f. 282. In the General Congregation of the Propaganda Fide on 28 March 1651, it is referred to: "...proponente Emo. D. Cardinali Barberino libellum supplicem pp. Capuchinorum Provinciae Turennae significantium quod ipsi a viginti quinque annis operam et laborem impendunt in patribus Oreintalibus, unde fructus uberrimus per Dei Gratiam reportarunt ex conversatione multorum hereticorum et precipue Ignatii Patriarchae Suriani Antiochiae et Patriarchae Coptorum cujus auxilio maxime oritur commodit s faciendi majores profectus in illa natione..." Cf. APF., CG., Acta (1651) vol. 20, ff. 29 v-30.
47. "...fingendosi questo Adeodato nell' esteriore Catholico Romano, ma nella rellta, oltra essere schismatico et obedire al Patriarcha d' Alexandria schismatico et heretico, stava infetto d' errori et heresie di Nestorio, del che subito diedi mostra in Meliapor; perche trovandosi con alcuni preti disse loro che Caristo Salvatore nostro non era Dio, ma puro homo e per conseguenza la sacratissima Virgine Maria non era madre di Dio; et Pistesso scrisse all' Arcidiacono della serra; il che tutto consta da una lettera scritta dal padre Aleartill da leiva.... dopo haver parlato con questo Adeodato e pigilato vera informatione della sua venuta e vita.... Cf. The Jesuit missionary report, in ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, f. 63.
48. Cf. The letter quoted earlier in this article.
49. See the letter of Ahattalla sent to the Archdeacon, APF., SOCG., vol. 232, f. 2; vol. 23, f. 355v, f. 361. Bishop Garzia wrote to the Pope on 3 June 1659: "...sunt usque in praesentem diem SS. Pontifici semper obedientiam praebeuisse neque unquam quidquam scriptis verbis aut operibus contra istam demissionem et affectum molitos fuisse; et licet Arcidiaconi in jurisdictionem Arciepiscopi saepe saepius insurrexerunt Pontificis Romani cognitionem studium et benevolentiam nunquam deseruere; quinimmo ipse Arcidiaconus qui nunc falso et insolenter omnia sua deque perturbando pontificia munia exercet, faletur sibi hanc dignitatem collatam auctoritate S. Pontificis cujus diplomata ei tradita fuere ab Adeodato Armeno ab eodem S. Pontifice. ut isipse dicitavit et aliis fide suavitatis misso ad hanc provinciam christianorum S. Thomae moderandam...." APF., SOCG., vol. 232, f. 298. The same is attested to by the testimonies given by the witnesses in the "processus informativus" made by the Apostolic Commissary. Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 232 ff. 115-140.
50. See the letter of Ahattalla referred to in Note 31 of this article; compare it with the testimony of Bishop Garzia quoted above in Note 49.
51. Keeping the detailed description of this event found in books of history of the Malabar Church (cf. the bibliography given in this book), we could form an idea of the situation from the testimonies of several witnesses, all contemporary, given in the "processus informativus" made by the Apostolic Commissary. Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 115-140. Cf. also Relatio summaria della christianita della serra, ARSJ, Goa, 68, vol. I, f. 63 sq.

52. "...convenerunt primo in ecclesia Odiampere ubi lecta fuit primo epistola ipsius patriarchae, qua lecta, subinde scripserunt Arciepiscopo qui erat Cochini quod non agnoscebant alium prelatum quam ipsum et nolebant talem patriarcham solumque rogabant ut ipse iret Odiampere ubi omnes ipsum expectabant, ut iterum reconciliaretur cum Arcidiacono cumquo ab aliquo tempore dissidebat. Arciepiscopus vero respondit se nolle illuc ire et quod etsi venisset ille patriarcha quod non esset illis eum ostensurus nec admissurus intra serram; nam etsi veniret cum facultate et Brevis Apostolico cum non esset approbatus a Rege Lusitano, propterea non posset ipsum eis concedere. Christiani vero postquam sciverunt patriarcham duci Cochinum convenerunt Mattancherem, unde scripserunt civitati, capitaneo civitatis, capitulo, religiosis omnibus rogantes ut eis patriarcha ostenderetur, ut possent examinare an veneret ex commissione S. Pontificis, promittentes quod si contrarium reperiissent ipsimet illum in mari sommergere vellent; quod et fecerunt interponentes auctoritatem et instantias Reginae Cochinesis; verumtamen totum fuit absque effectu ob diligentias patrum Societatis et Arciepiscopi. (Quaeritur 13. Quid postea fecerint Christiani?) Respondet: Scripserunt Arciepiscopo rogantes. ut iret saltem ipse Mattancherem cum non concederet ipsis patriarcham et ipse esset illorum pastor; quodsi non eret essent facturi gubernatorem. Arciepiscopus vero non rescripsit sed solum admonuit quod nolebant illuc ire. Tunc Christiani elegerunt Arcidiaconum in gubernatorem cum aliquibus aliis Cassanaribus sociis et in ecclesia Mattancheri juraverunt quod usque ad mortem non essent amplius obediri Arciepiscopo nec admissuri amplius Patres Societatis intra serram. (Quaeritur 14. Quid post haec fecerint Christiani?) Resp. Postquam audiverunt quod discessisset Patriarcha Goa Ulysipenem versus, convenerunt iterum Rapolim (Edapally) ubi lecta fuerunt litterae, quas Arcidiaconus asserebat sibi missas ab eodem Patriarcha..." Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 133-134. The English translation is ours. See the other testimonies more or less with similar accounts, *ibid.*, ff. 115 sq.
53. Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 120, 128.
54. "In nome dell'Essenziale eterno. Omnipotente, privi di principio e fine. Il Patriarcha D. Thoma Ap. La pace in Dio Padre, e la misericordia del nostro sign. Giesu Christo, e la discesa dello S. Spirito. Io Ignatio patriarcha di tutta l'India e della Cina. Hor (ora) havendo io ricevuto questa facolta dal' D. Papa Ignatio Summoplenipotentiaro, per la gratia del Padre, e del Figlio e dello Spirito Santo, e per la misericordia della beatissima *Genetrix di Dio*, sempre vergine, percio io dono faculta al chierico Giorgio, che dalla vostra regione e venuto a me accio dispensi nel sanguinita dal primo grado in fin al terzo, e quarto; che assolve i voti, li giuramenti diversi et i peccati d'ogni genere, di cio io *n'ho dato faculta* e licentia. La onde *ricevuta la dignita dell'impositione del legitimo presbiterato, lo constitute, e faretelo sedere sopra la cattedra dell' Arcidiaconato*; fra tanto *in nome della Madre di Dio* Maria faccio a sacerdoti e chierici a secolari della santa Grege, et a tutti i maggiori che facciate che il monastero di S. Thomaso Apostolo beatissimo sia padre di tutta l'India, e pero elegerete dodici preti che siano uomini buoni, retti, dotti, giusti, casti, e pazienti, e li farete risedere nella cattedra del monastero di S Thomaso; e quando sara morto il vescovo che governera la vostra regione, getterete la sorte et elegerete uno di quei dodici dottori, e lo farete governare il nostro paese. Non timiate, ma credetemi, *e caminate secondo il rito della santa chiesa Romana*, consciosa che altre quel ehe v'ho dato, n'ho per le mani gran tesoro, e se potro venire da v'io daro essendo che io sono molto desideroso di vedervi, e parlar con essi voi; e se eco Iddio me lo permetta o no, non lo so, ma m'hanno ricevuto nel monastero di Giesuiti per sodisfare a miei peccati, ch'ho fatto contra Iddio La carita di Dio, Padre, e la gratia del nostro Signore Giesu Christo e la communione dello Spirito Santo sia con il D. Papa Ignatio, e con voi; con noi, e con tutti l'homini. Amen. Io Ignatio Patriarcha di tutta l'India e della Cina..." APF., SOCG., vol. 234, f. 357. The English translation is ours. The original letter which was in Syriac is to be found in f. 344. This letter, however, was fabricated by one of their priests named

"Ittithoman" who was the councillor of the Archdeacon an implacable enemy of "Latinisation". We are informed of this falsification by the testimony of "Georgius Bengur Cassanar" another councillor of the Archdeacon, who later returned to the obedience of the Latin Bishop. Cf. ff. 340-341.

55. Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 232, ff. 297-305; See the answer given by Emmanuel vaz, Vicarius S. Mariae Salutis, on 9 Aug. 1657 to the Apostolic Commissary: ".....omnes acceptaverunt exceptis paucis cassanaribus et circa mille secularibus et in hoc magnam vim habuit metus et timor..." *ibid.* f. 125; Similarly we have the testimony of D. Thoma de Rego, given on 8 Nov. 1657: ".....omnes ecclesiae acceptaverunt excepta ecclesia mejori Carturtensi, ubi etiam aliqui christiani ipsum acceptarunt..." *ibid.*, f. 130. The Sacred Congregation Propaganda Fide estimated it has 150 thousand catholics: "....Ad relationem Emi. Card. Pallotti S. Congregatio iustis de causi mota, et voto congregationis particularis ingereas circa negotium apud Archiepiscopum Angamalenis cum ejus Archidiacono, qui ut asseritur dignitatem episcopalem sibi arrogans cum m/150 Christianis reduxit ab obedientia praedicti sui Ordinarii..."
56. The works of Guiseppe a S. Maria, O.C.D., Prima et Secunda spedizione all' Indie Orientali, (of which we have already made mention) give details of this mission. Cf. also the work of his co-traveller, Vincenzo Maria di Catherina da Sienna, O.C.D., which has also been referred to earlier. The discussions of the Apostolic commissaries with the Archbishop of Angamali and the people could be seen in ARSJ, Goa 68, vol. I, II (passim) and APF., SOCG., vol. 232 (passim).
57. Cf. Note 56 of this Article. The Congregation Propaganda Fide decided in the General Congregation of 22 Nov. 1655 to send Fr. Hyacinth "....esse illuc transmittendum P. Hyacinthum a S. Vincenzio Carmel. Disc. cum duobus vel tribus sociis sibi placitis et gratis non solum ad capiendas veras facti informationes sed cum facultate communicandi cum praedicto Arcidiacono et ejus sequacibus..." APF., Cg., Acta (22 Nov. 1655) vol. 24, ff. 79-80. Accordingly Fr. Hyacinth, Fr. Matheus a S. Joseph and Fr. Marcel of St. Ivo started for India through Lisbon and Fr. Joseph of St. Mary (Guiseppe a S. Maria) and Vincent Mary of St. Catherine of Sienna travelled through the continent. The latter group reached Malabar on 22 Feb. 1657. Having made some negotiations with the Archdeacon's party they left for Rome on 7 Jan. 1658 to submit their report to the Congregation. Cf. APF., CG., Acta (26 April 1659), vol. 28, f. 26. Fr. Hyacinth and company arrived in Malabar on 10 March 1658. They too had made some attempts to bring back the separated churches to the obedience of the Archbishop, but all in vain. Fr. Hyacinth died at Cochin on 10 Feb. 1660. By this time Fr. Joseph of St. Mary was consecrated Bishop in Rome secretly on 15 Dec. 1659 (cf. the Ap. Bull testifying to the consecration of Fr. Joseph of St. Mary, APF., SOCG., vol. 232, f. 420) and was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Malabar on 26 Dec. 1659. Then a second time he arrived in Malabar on 14 May 1661 (cf., L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 106; but Germann says at the end of April 1661 cf. *op. cit.* p. 474). A good many parishes were received back into the Church. The Archdeacon and a few parishes (Bernard says that there were 71 parishes on the catholic side 28 with the Archdeacon while in 18 parishes both parties were found at the end of the rule of the native Bishop Alexander Palliveetil. Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 122-123; he adds that there were only less than 60 parishes reconciled at the time of Joseph of St. Mary, cf. *ibid.*, p. 121; the rest remained in their state of schismatical attitude when Joseph of St. Mary left for Rome in 1663.
58. Joseph of St. Mary described the claims of the Syrians thus: "....Fra i punti principali proposti da Ittiachan, alcuni furono: che la disposizione dell' Arcidiacono fusse publica si; ma solo verbale, per sua confessione incolpando di tutto il patriarcha. Chei o comandosi che nessuno lo riconoscesse per vescovo, fino ad altra determinazione; restando egli con

L'habito e titolo. Che il popolo e Re di Mangati volevano scrivere a Roma, perche l'Arcidiacono venisse fatto vero prelato di quella christianita, perche cio era necessarissimo, per conservatione dell'honor loro. Questi furono alcuni de' punti principali proposti, prima da Ittiachan, e poi dalla Giunta dalla quale furono chiamati i padri..." Guiseppe a S. Maria, O.C.D., *Prima spedizione all'Indie Orientali*, p. 125.

59. There are two letters of this kind. Both of them are fabricated and the originals are found in APF., SOCG., vol. 234, ff. 346, 348. They are written in Syriac and their Italian translations are to be found in ff. 362. Both of these are written in the form of Apostolic Briefs, as coming from Pope Alexander VII, giving faculties to Stephen (mentioned above) and also to the Archdeacon in order to ratify and rectify everything that pertains to the good government of their church. They are dated 2 March, 1657.

That they were fabricated by Ittithoman was testified by D. Georgius Bengur, parochus Canhurensis, on 25 Junii 1662: "...ipsam (referring to one letter) novi et scio esse Ittithoma Cassanaris"; again referring to the other he said "...scio et affirmo esse characterem Ittithoma Cassanaris, et eum publice aperuisse eandem fuisse Roma huc missam a Romano Pontifice...." *ibid.*, ff. 340-341.

60. See the letters of the Archdeacon, in APF., SOCG., vol. 234, ff. 350, 351. There are two letters which are written in Syriac. The Italian translations are to be found in ff. 358, 359. In them the Archdeacon describes the sufferings his people had undergone at the hands of the Portuguese, their misfortune in losing the Syrian bishop who had been maltreated by the same, the arrival of the Cleric Stephen, their need for some bishops to help them, etc.
61. ".....stabilito questo (referring to the consecration of Bishop Alexander Palliveetil which took place on 1 Feb. 1663) di consentimento communesi determino che si facesse l'ultima diligenza coll'Intruso, mandando due del suo seguito, per essortarlo ad obedire, con speranza d'ottenere quanto desiderava e quando no con minaccia di censure.... finalmente rappresentai l'estrema e ostinata malitia dell'Intruso, e d'Ittithoma Cassanaris suo compagno, e facci legere la sentenza, che diedi contro di essi dichiarandoli incorsi nelle censure ecclesiastiche fulminate da sacri canoni, da "concilii, e dalla constitutioni Apostolici contro i rebelli di santa chiesa, essendo essi schismatici, heretici, e dogmatizzanti circa la valida e legitima clettione e consacratione de' vescovi; relatando i loro eccesi, e dichiarando le pene; con proceder' in questo nel piu giuridico modo possibile; come pure s'era fatto nella fabrica di tre processi contro i medessimi dal padre Giacinto e da me..." Guiseppe a S. Maria, O.C.D., *Secunda Spedizione all'Indie Orientali*, pp. 139-144.
62. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

The Vicissitudes in the Jurisdictional Relationship with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch

We have seen in the previous chapter when and why the Christians of Malabar had to have recourse to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. This relationship of theirs, though begun on account of a practical necessity, later was to turn out to be a jurisdictional relationship with varying forms.

The impact of this relationship on the Malankara Church is the object of our study in this chapter. That is to say, we shall examine how this relationship affected or did not affect the juridical nature of the Malankara Church as an autonomous Church. Therefore we treat only of the juridical aspect of it in the different periods of its history.

We can distinguish four such periods according to the varying intervention and influence of the Jacobite Patriarchs in the ecclesiastical government of the Malankara Church, which intervention and influence were in turn largely dependent on the measure of the ecclesiastical power which the local leaders in Malabar could command among their subjects. These four periods will be the subject of the four articles of this chapter.

Art. 1. The Government of the Malankara Church During the Time of Its Early Bishops (1665-1772)

The Archdeacon who was installed as the ecclesiastical head of the separated Syrian community of Malabar could not come to an agreement with either of the Apostolic Commissaries, Bishop

Guiseppe a S. Maria, O.C.D., and Fr. Hyacinth a S. Vincentio, O.C.D.¹ However, a good many of the parishes being aware of the bogus character of the ceremony they had performed in consecrating the Archdeacon as a Bishop, returned to their legitimate superiors². The rest of the parishes continued to stay on under the pseudo bishop who did not hesitate to exercise all the episcopal functions³. And it was while he was thus governing the dissident community that the Jacobite prelate Mar Gregorios came to Malabar in 1665 at their request.

First Contacts

This Mar Gregorios was the Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem and bore the title of "Patriarch"⁴. The Archdeacon who was called Mar Thomas I hoped to be consecrated bishop by him and it was with this hope that he had managed to get the Jacobite prelate into Malabar. But the foreign prelate taking this opportunity to win over the dissident group to the Jacobite sect, kept on postponing the consecration.

Many Jacobite and protestant historians are of opinion that he did eventually consecrate Mar Thomas I, but do not give any documentary evidence for their view⁵. Catholic historians, however, generally affirm that Mar Thomas I did not receive valid episcopal consecration⁶. They base their opinion on the fact that the successors of Mar Thomas I, kept on applying, as we shall see later, to Rome or to Antioch to be consecrated bishops. Now if Mar Thomas I, had really received valid episcopal consecration, they argue, such requests would obviously have been pointless. But to this, Jacobite historians reply that such requests were made only by those who had been consecrated by the local Metropolitan without the intervention of the Patriarch of Antioch as it was in fact the case with Mar Thomas V and VI⁷. This is however no adequate answer to the question at issue. For Mar Thomas IV, who is reported to have been consecrated, according to the testimony of the Jacobites themselves, by Mar Ivanios, the Antiochene prelate who came to Malabar in 1685, also made such requests. This is evident from a "relatio" on the state of affairs among the separated group of Syrians in Malabar, prepared

by the Cardinal Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the study of a General Congregation of the Cardinals in 1708⁸. And it is confirmed by the suggestion made by the missionaries that faculty be given to the Vicar Apostolic to consecrate the schismatic "bishop" and to make him co-adjutor to himself⁹.

At any rate, during the time of Mar Thoma I, Mar Gregorios could not have had any power over the Malankara Church. He was even compelled to bow to the wishes of the people, as we will see later in the next chapter when we deal with the innovations he tried to make in their rite. However, during his stay in Malabar he created among the dissidents a general antipathy against Catholics and succeeded in restoring Syrian customs, at least in part¹⁰. He claimed to be an ardent and close friend of the Syrians, anxious to preserve the oriental traditions of their Church. This is quite clear from a letter he wrote to the parish priests of Paravoor, Mulanthuruthy and Kandanad on 5th May, 1668¹¹.

As this letter is addressed to some parish priests privately, we are inclined to believe that he did not enjoy any governing power in the community. It is significant that he does not make any mention of the Archdeacon. Thus this letter may be nothing more than a secret propagation of the Jacobite doctrines and traditions intended to form a private group of sympathisers. His tactful presentation of the Jacobite doctrines under the label of "Syrian customs" will also be dealt with in the next chapter.

Thus without any governing power over the Syrian community, Mar Gregorios spent his life in Malabar as an ardent follower of the Syrian rite influencing the people along these lines. He was therefore highly respected and lovingly remembered by the people of the separated community in Malabar¹². Mar Gregorios is reported to have died in 1670 a few months before the death of Mar Thomas I¹³. During the reign of Mar Thomas II¹⁴, there came to Malabar in 1678 a Syrian called Mar Andreos claiming to be a bishop and even a Patriarch¹⁵. Whatever might have been his real status, he never exercised any jurisdictional or priestly power in the Malankara Church and, therefore, his arrival is irrelevant to our study.

Further Relations with Antioch

But in 1685 two Jacobite prelates were sent by Patriarch Ignatius Abdul Mesih I of Antioch. One of them, Mar Basil (Baselios), was a Maphrian¹⁶ and the other, Mar John (Ivanios), was a bishop¹⁷. The arrival of these bishops is really significant for the history of the Malankara Church. But before we begin to discuss it, it will be useful to examine closely the state of the Syrian community they came to, in order to better understand the activities of the Antiochenes among the Malabarians.

Mar Thomas I according to some historians died in 1670. Others would have it that he died in 1674¹⁸. If Mar Thomas II ruled the community from the year 1670 till the arrival of the Antiochene bishops in 1685, he must have governed the community for 15 years. And it is evident that he was the sole leader of the community in this period. How then shall we explain the arrival of these new prelates? Was it an unwanted intervention on the part of the Antiochene Patriarch? Or was it the answer to a request made by the Syrians themselves asking for a bishop from Antioch? And if so, what could have persuaded them after they had put up with their leader for such a long time, to ask for a new bishop from Antioch?

Since our historical data is extremely meagre, we are not in a position to answer these questions with any certainty. We can, however, get an idea of the situation, with the help of the few facts that historians give. None of them speaks of an appeal made by the Syrians. But we find in their accounts that the newly arrived bishops were solemnly received by the community in Malabar, even though right up to their arrival in the midst of the dissidents, they had to remain in disguise for fear of the Catholic group¹⁹. We may, therefore, conclude that the arrival of the new bishops was not undesired by the Syrians of the Malankara Church, and they might even have been long awaited by their leaders hoping to obtain a valid consecration for them. On the other hand the Archdeacon did not intend to allow his reception of valid orders become the occasion of his Church becoming subject to the Antiochenes though the foreign prelates probably had this in view. That this is likely is confirmed by the report

that the Antiochene prelates found themselves opposed by the Archdeacon in their attempt to propagate new doctrinal tenets or to obtain authority over their Church²⁰.

At any rate none of them received jurisdictional power over the Malankara Church. For, when Mar Thomas II died in 1686, he was succeeded by Mar Thomas III who governed the Church for two years²¹. Then in 1688 Mar Thomas IV began to reign. And after the death of Mar John in 1693, no Antiochene bishop arrived in Malabar until the year 1747. So once again we see that the Malankara Church was governed by the local leaders only.

New Appeals to Antioch

All this time Mar Thomas IV made an attempt to reunite with the Catholic Church only to be tragically frustrated²². Disappointed he sought to stabilise his relationship with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch once again. He wrote a letter to the Patriarch in 1709, in which he requested him to send some bishops and missionaries from Antioch. But as a prelude he seems to have promised obedience and submission to the Antiochene Patriarch²³.

We may rightly ask why Mar Thomas IV turned towards Antioch after so long a period of rule. From the circumstances we can deduce that this was no more than an act of refuge on his part, since the future of his party was extremely uncertain. In other words, it was not on account of any jurisdictional supremacy of the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch over the Malankara Church. This is clear from the history of that period.

It was at this time that Mar Gabriel, a Chaldean bishop came to Malabar²⁴. Since he was a Syrian and a Chaldean, the Archdeacon feared that his followers would accept the newly arrived bishop as their real pastor²⁵. This transition would be the easier too on account of their former loyalty to the Chaldean rite. Antiochene rite on the other hand was still new and had not yet penetrated into the general mass of the people. Besides, the Archdeacon himself was not a validly consecrated bishop, a fact known at least to a few. We find in fact that

Mar Gabriel did have a large following, according to a report of the Cardinal Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Nicolas Zucarius, given to the particular congregation of the Cardinals on 16 Aug. 1750²⁶. It was this danger that persuaded Mar Thomas IV to write to the Antiochene Patriarch. This is clear from his own words. For he says: "There came some time ago into our country Mar Gregory, a Patriarch of Jerusalem, and after him came the renowned Basil a Catholicos of the East and with him Mar Junius (Joannes?), a Metropolitan. After their death we were as sheep without a shepherd. Then came a certain one who said, that he was Metropolitan of Nineve, and that Mar Elias the Catholicos had sent him. His name was Gabriel and his faith in Christ was this, there are two natures and two persons. Scandal: he spoke much against Mary the Mother of God, wherefore we believed him not. But a certain excommunicated elder, named Matthew, went over to him and believed him, whereupon arose much confusion among us...."²⁷. He requested for doctors and professors from Antioch. This was to oppose the Chaldean, who was called by Paulinus an implacable enemy of the Jacobites and Mar Thomas²⁸. It is therefore quite understandable that Mar Thomas made haste to ask help from the Antiochene Patriarch.

As his first letter did not produce any considerable effect, Mar Thomas IV wrote a second to the Antiochene Patriarch in 1720 in which he repeated his requests for bishops and for missionaries²⁹. Here again he described his Church as orphan and unstable. These expressions of his seem to be significant. They could mean that his church had no more learned bishops to lead and teach it; it could also mean that after the death of Mar Gregorios, Mar Basilius and Mar John, the Malankara Church had no more validly consecrated bishops. It is, however, difficult to understand his comparison of the Church to an orphan if he meant only the first. This is confirmed by subsequent history. For the successor of Mar Thomas IV who, though consecrated by him, was not regarded as a validly consecrated bishop neither by himself nor by others. Similarly the Roman Congregation and the Patriarch of Antioch considered him a mere layman³⁰. As regards Mar Thomas IV himself we do have clear testimony of the people

and of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide³¹. His request, therefore, for bishops from Antioch must have been for his own consecration.

It was precisely this orphan state of the Malankara Church that brought Mar Gabriel to Malabar³². Thus for Mar Thomas IV to prevent a secession of the people there was no remedy at hand more efficacious than to get himself validly consecrated and to make himself fit to be the leader of the community. The observation of Paulinus is meaningful in this context: "All his efforts and interest were to get installed as bishop either by the Roman Pontiff or by the Antiochene Patriarch Ignatius hoping that the faction could be increased and thus he could expell all strangers Catholic as well as Jacobite...."³³. But Mar Thomas IV did not get any answer from the Patriarch of Antioch; neither did his effort of reuniting with Rome turn out to be successful. Then continuing to be the leader of his community until 1728, he left the care of his Church to his successor Mar Thomas V.

Relationship with Antioch Strengthened

The next occasion in which the Malankara Church found it necessary to come closer to the Antiochene Patriarch was the advance of the Dutch power in south India. During this period, as Hough reports, Mar Thomas explicitly wrote to the Dutch Calvinists that he and his people were following the Jacobite creed and that the Antiochene Patriarch was their spiritual leader³⁴. This again seems to have been a subjection to the jurisdictional power of the Patriarch, and therefore, we have to examine it closely.

The struggle of Mar Thomas IV against Mar Gabriel made him strengthen his relationship with the Antiochene Church as against the Chaldean Church. Thus imperceptibly the contrast between Chaldean and Antiochene was stressed by each of the rival bishops in his attempt to secure a better following than his rival. Now it was the Calvinist Dutch who came to reconcile the two and this gave them an opportunity to meddle with the internal government of the Syrian Church³⁵. His alliance with the Dutch authorities helped Mar Thomas to bring over more than 70 churches to his side³⁶.

This friendship, however, slowly turned into an ecclesiastical communion with the Calvinists who exploiting the occasion made an attempt to convince Mar Thomas and his party that just like Nestorianism, Jacobitism too was heretical and that Calvinistic-Protestantism alone was the Orthodox faith. Mar Thomas, however, refused to make any compromise until he got permission from the Antiochene Patriarch³⁷. It is, therefore, clear that Mar Thomas was caught between the devil and the deep sea. Mar Gabriel was his avowed enemy, while Calvinism was shocking to the Orthodox Syrian. He solved the dilemma by a subterfuge, declaring himself to be subject to the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch, though the latter had never arrogated that role to himself³⁸. Adding to this difficulty there was the ever standing accusation of his invalid consecration. Nor could he obtain a valid consecration from Mar Gabriel or from the Catholic bishops, since he remained a rebellious schismatic in their eyes³⁹. The only solution that he found was to take refuge with the Patriarch of Antioch. The whole situation was explained in a letter of P. Bonifacius a Bambino Jesus O.C.D. to the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1748⁴⁰. Here again we see that the recourse of the Syrian community of Malankara to the Patriarch of Antioch was not based on any jurisdictional power, but merely on accidental and pragmatical reasons.

After the death of Mar John in 1693, as has been said earlier, no Jacobite Bishop came to Malabar until the year 1747. So the local bishops alone governed their Church in all these years. In 1747 there came a Jacobite bishop who was agreeable neither to the Catholics nor to the dissidents themselves. Since he was a fierce iconoclast, Catholics as well as dissidents petitioned the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to remove him from their midst⁴¹. At any rate, Mar Thomas did not allow him to exercise any power over his community. This is clear from his own letter to the Roman Pontiff, in 1748, expressing a desire to effect a reunion of him and his people with the Catholic Church. He wrote: "And after this some of us have followed the Carmelites, others the Portuguese; Hence the people of our diocese who was one is divided into three groups and at present there is no charity, no unity among us. Finally, there came a bishop and without

knowing from where he came and what he does, some of us followed him....”⁴².

Malankara Church Defends Autonomy

The reunion efforts of Mar Thomas V too were not successful and being disappointed he once again looked to Antioch⁴³. So thanks to the continuous efforts of Mar Thomas V through the Dutch, the Patriarch of Antioch finally sent the bishops Mar Basilius and Mar Gregorios, together with Ramban (Monsignor) John and two other clerics, to Malabar⁴⁴. Their presence in the Malankara Church was quite significant in its history, as they claimed a real jurisdictional power over the Syrian community and tried to introduce many Antiochene customs among the Syrians in Malabar. But this claim was not admitted by Mar Thomas V and this brought him into a conflict with them⁴⁵. In fact the Antiochene prelates were called upon only to confer episcopal consecration on Mar Thomas V. But exploiting this situation they tried to establish their authority over the Syrian Church of Malankara, and postponed the consecration of the local bishop.

On the other hand Mar Thomas would not in any way hand over the government of his Church to the Antiochenes. The conflict reached its climax when Mar Basilius consecrated Ramban John who came with him from Antioch, under the name Mar Ivanios, and appointed him the Metropolitan of the Malankara Church in 1752. He was known later as Mar Ivanios and remained a rival to Mar Thomas V⁴⁶. This unprecedented jurisdictional intervention was strongly resisted by Mar Thomas V, and it seems that the newly appointed Metropolitan was never acknowledged in his position, as it is clear from the fact that Mar Thomas V even later continued to enjoy the same power over his community as he had before. Mar Thomas refused to pay the travelling expenses the Antiochene prelates owed to the Dutch Captains insisting that the Antiochenes should first fulfil their obligation towards himself by consecrating him, as this was the only reason for which they had been invited. But it was precisely this that induced the Antiochene bishops to avoid consecrating him. For they

saw clearly that it was the want of a valid episcopacy in the Malankara Church that made them turn towards Antioch, and the hope of stabilising Antiochene supremacy would be in vain if they consecrated Mar Thomas V as Bishop.

The fact that Mar Thomas V did not want to hand over the charge of his Church to the Antiochenes is evident from his appointing his successor to himself when threatened with banishment from Malabar. This we gather from a letter of the then Vicar Apostolic of Malabar to Rome: “....Mar Thomas V in the past year, even though suspended by the Jacobite Maphrian, retorting the suspension on him, consecrated his nephew, Joseph by name, lay-bishop (as he himself is) with sacrilegious and ridiculous ceremonies on June 29....”⁴⁷.

It is significant that Mar Thomas V replied to the suspension imposed by the Maphrian with a suspension of his own, a clear indication that he did not accept Antiochene authority over the Malankara Church, for which neither the Patriarch nor the prelates had any right. The fundamental reason of this transition from a spiritual communion to a jurisdictional supremacy was the double dealing of Mar Thomas V and his predecessor, making reference to an unfounded and unwanted dependence on the Antiochene Patriarch before the Calvinist Missionaries and Dutch authorities to escape their inevitable persuasion to Calvinism. The absence of a protest or an overthrow of the Calvinistic infiltration is understandable against the background of the increasing political power of the Dutch and of the lack of a valid consecration for Mar Thomas V, with whom a group of people was already dissatisfied⁴⁸.

The Claims of the Antiochene Patriarch

At any rate the Antiochene Patriarch tried his best to stabilise his power over the Malankara Church exploiting the situation. He claimed canonical obedience from the Malankara Metropolitan writing to him on 25 Jan. 1751, thus: “....I command you now in virtue of the authority given to me by Jesus Christ through the power of His Holy Spirit, who granted me, who am weak and infirm, the supreme power of the Apostolic See of Peter in Antioch: You must

acknowledge the supremacy of the Apostolic See of Antioch and obey all the orders therefrom. I command you besides that you must remove from among you all the traditions and customs alien to you. And indeed you must obey all what Mar Basilius and Mar Gregorios, who are in your midst now, order or counsel you. For I have given them authority to represent me (Lit. I have placed my words in their mouth). Be obedient and approach the above - mentioned Fathers to rectify your episcopal status and thus you all shall live in harmony and in mutual charity....”⁴⁹. This is the first time that we find the Antiochene Patriarch claiming a jurisdictional supremacy over the Malankara Metropolitan, which, however, was successfully resisted by the latter. They could come to an agreement only in 1772 and on condition that Mar Thomas be consecrated bishop that he might govern the Malankara Church independently. The fact that the government of the Church was independent after his consecration is evident from the subsequent history, especially from his alliance with the Catholics and later with the Protestants⁵⁰.

First Valid Episcopal Consecration

However, the Antiochene bishops continued to stay in Malabar. Mar Basilius died in 1764 and Mar Thomas V a little later⁵¹. Mar Gregorios together with Mar Ivanios consecrated Mar Thomas VI in the church of Niranam in 1772⁵². The new bishop took the name of Mar Dionysius I, and from then onwards the Malankara Metropolitans came to be known by that name.

This in fact was the first episcopal consecration conferred by the Antiochene prelates, of which we have historical certainty. With a validly consecrated bishop at the top, a new period began for the Malankara Church, which is characterized by an autonomy and an almost absolute absence of all interventions from the Antiochene Patriarch. We have seen that hitherto the relationship that the Malankara Metropolitans entertained with the Patriarchs of Antioch was for obtaining a valid episcopate. They did not consider it as a jurisdictional dependence on the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch even though the latter had tried to drift it along that line. We shall see in

the next article how the Malankara Church during the period of her autonomy kept away the influences of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and how this independent rule ended in an alliance with Protestantism which once again induced the Malankara Church to look back to the Jacobite Church of Antioch.

Art. 2. The Autonomous Rule of the Malankara Bishops (1772-1876)

Valid Episcopacy Helps Autonomy

After the consecration of Mar Dionysius I in 1772, the Malankara Church was better established than before as it was endowed with a valid episcopacy. The valid episcopal consecration gave the Malankara Church an added stability as an autonomous Church. It was in fact the lack of valid episcopacy that constrained it to keep up a relationship with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

The episcopal consecration of Mar Dionysius I, in 1772 is the first valid one in the Malankara Church, of which we have historical certainty. As the question of the reunion of Mar Dionysius I, with the Catholic Church was discussed in Rome the validity of his consecration was thoroughly examined and sufficiently proved. Information was sought from many who were in some way or other connected with the Malankara Church¹.

Mar Dionysius I, himself acknowledged that his consecration in 1761 was null and void as Mar Thomas V, who had consecrated him, himself had no valid consecration and that in 1772 all the Holy Orders were conferred on him anew right from the beginning: "Since I heard from some orthodox priests and from some of the followers of Jacobites that I lacked in the Episcopal character and that my ordination had been null I have been promoted to that dignity; hence on the first Sunday of the month of January in the year 1772, I took care to be promoted to the Orders and received them from clerical Tonsure to Episcopate inclusively from the Jacobite Archbishop Gregorios at St. Mary's Church, Niranam². Dr. Cariattil, who went

to Rome to advance the reunion efforts of Mar Dionysius I, of which we shall speak in the second part of the study³, strongly defended the validity of Mar Dionysius' ordination against all accusations and clarified it to the officials in Rome⁴. Fr. Joseph Soledado, O.C.D., then ecclesiastical Governor of Cochin and Cranganoor, clearly acknowledged that Mar Dionysius I, was a validly consecrated bishop: "Nonetheless, I say that he has been consecrated, and I hold this for certain, attributing all these confusions to the Apostolic Vicar and to the other Propagandists, who out of vested interests try to obscure the cause of the said Mar Thoma..."⁵. Bishop Carlo, the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, sending his reports to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on 26th April 1781, seems to have affirmed it: "...with regard to his consecration he (the Vicar Apostolic) believes truly that Mar Thomas has been consecrated bishop by the Jacobite Archbishop Gregorios and he persuades himself to believe it not only on the testimony of many priests but also of many lay-people of good standing..."⁶. Even after the consecration of Mar Dionysius I, the Antiochenes remained in Malabar but without any power in Church-government. Mar Gregorios who was aged, was under the protection of Mar Dionysius. Before he died in 1772 he consecrated Ramban Kattumangat as Mar Cyril, who could not, however, have any power in the Church⁷. Mar Ivanios lived till the year 1794 and he was never on the scene except on the occasion of ordaining two priests as Rambans⁸. Thus Mar Dionysius alone was the Malankara Metropolitan and the leader of the community. It is to be noted that it was Mar Dionysius' predecessor who appointed him the Malankara Metropolitan, and neither for such an appointment nor for its ratification did he approach the prelates from Antioch. He approached them only for episcopal consecration. That both before and after his consecration he only was responsible for the whole community is evident from his recognition by the local governments⁹. This, indeed, is very indicative of the situation. For if Mar Gregorios who was sent from Antioch had any jurisdictional power over either the Metropolitan or the people, his appointment of Mar Cyril would have been at least partially acknowledged. On the contrary, he was forced to flee from the place to the British dominions¹⁰. Neither do we see the Antiochenes claiming any power against Mar Dionysius. This is

clear from the fact that even when Mar Ivanios was alive, it was Mar Dionysius, who convoked a Synod in 1781 to discuss the reforms to be effected in the liturgy and in Church-discipline¹¹. Similarly, it was he who consecrated Ramban Mathai, his nephew, as bishop and appointed him his successor¹². In the discussions with regard to the reunion with Rome, Mar Dionysius was considered to be the responsible head of the community to make any move and decision of reunion¹³. From all this it is clear that in this period the Malankara Church was governed independently by the Metropolitan of Malankara without any regard whatsoever to the supposed power of Antioch over it¹⁴.

The desire for a unified Malankara Church with an autonomous rule was developed in the time of Mar Dionysius I, and he took upon himself the obligation of working towards the realisation of this idea. Thus he turned his attention towards Rome to see if reunion were possible, while keeping, of course, the individuality of the Church of Malankara¹⁵. But once those efforts for reunion with Rome were deplorably frustrated, he befriended the Protestant missionaries who were gaining ground in the mission-fields of India with the assistance of the English Colonial Power¹⁶.

Friendship with Protestants

This independent state of the Malankara Church helped considerably the Protestant missionaries to propagate their new doctrinal tenets in the Malankara Church. Thus in no time did they modify the orthodox faith of the Malankara Church, while they managed to prevent all connections with Antioch¹⁷.

It was at this time that Dr. Buchanan, an English Missionary from Calcutta, came to Malabar to investigate the possibilities of a union with the two denominations as he was sent by the Government of Bengal to make studies on Christianity in India¹⁸. At any rate, the Metropolitan did not make any compromise in matters pertaining to faith or rite¹⁹.

The independent position of Mar Dionysius I, can be understood from another event of this period. In 1807 there came to Malabar Mar Dioscoros, an Antiochene Prelate sent by the Patriarch Ignatius Mattai of Antioch²⁰. But because of his shortcomings in Malankara, he was forbidden to exercise any function in the churches of Malankara and finally he was sent back by Mar Dionysius I, with the help of the British Resident²¹. On this action of his, neither the Patriarch nor the Prelate could reproach Mar Dionysius I. It assumes special significance, when we note that the Antiochene Patriarch in 1751, on a conflict between the Antiochene Prelates and Mar Thomas V, did reprimand and command the Malankara Bishop. But then Mar Thomas V, having no valid consecration, was badly in need of communion with the Patriarch, which the latter interpreted, against the will and all the intentions of the Metropolitan, to be a jurisdictional dependence on himself. Now, however, Mar Dionysius had removed that scandal of a non-valid episcopacy, which was for the Church of Malankara a ground of anxiety right from the beginning, and formed themselves into an established community²². Thus he could move on without any dependence on the Antiochene Patriarch.

Mar Dionysius is reported to have died in 1808²³. Then Mar Thomas VII took over the government of the Church by virtue of his appointment by his predecessor. But after a year of his rule, Mar Thomas VII died in 1809 before he could appoint for himself a successor, with some sort of canonical formalities. Some affirm that his successor, later known as Mar Thomas VIII, received episcopal consecration at the death-bed of Mar Thomas VII²⁴. A group of people, however, being dissatisfied with this procedure opposed Mar Thomas VIII, under the leadership of Ramban Joseph. But as long as the British Resident Macaulay was in office, Mar Thomas VIII, was acknowledged as the real ecclesiastical head of the Malankara Church²⁵. Later, when Col. Munro took charge as the Resident in 1810, accusations of the opponents of Mar Thomas VIII, gained more weight.

Mar Thomas VIII, Looks Back to Antioch

It was in this situation that Mar Thomas VIII, was asked to answer a questionnaire, that was sent to him from the Madras Government, in order to investigate the state of the Malankara Church. On 20th April 1812 he answered it. As to the question of the episcopal succession in the Malankara Church and on the juridical relation with the Antiochene Patriarch he answered that the Malankara Church was always under the Antiochene Patriarch and that this dependence began with the arrival of Cnanai Thoma. Besides, he added, it was the representatives of the Antiochene Patriarch who consecrated bishops for Malankara²⁶.

This declaration of dependence on Antioch, at a time when the Malankara Church was enjoying an autonomous rule, must be closely examined if we wish to see whether the Malankara Church was already subject to the Antiochene Patriarch or not.

In the preceding pages we have already shown that the uncertain position of Mar Thomas VIII, resulted from the accusations of his opponents and the undue intervention of the English Missionaries and the civil authorities in the government of their Church with a view to Anglicanise it. Realising the danger, and finding that the only way of keeping away the English Protestants from not contaminating their Faith and Rite, he declared that the Malankara Church had always been under the Church of Antioch, making it clear to them that it could never lose what it had from there. A close analysis of his reply will show us what he really meant. It is evident that he could not consistently and correctly affirm that the Malankara Church had always been under the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. It is historically untenable, and if ever he meant it, this assertion of his, is not consistent with his own statement that this dependence had begun with the arrival of Cnanai Thoma. The immigration of Cnanai Thoma in Malankara was supposed to be, as he himself had described it in his answer, in the year 345 A. D., and there was no Jacobite Church at least in the sense in which he understood the term, in Antioch or anywhere else in the world during this period²⁷. Presumably, therefore,

he was mentioning only the early history of the Malankara Church, on the background of its early relation with the Syrian Churches in Persia under the supremacy of Antioch. This is all the more clear from his assertion that the bishops for Malabar were consecrated by the representatives of the Patriarch, as this meant that the Catholicoi were sending bishops to Malabar who were evidently not Jacobites. If, however, he believed that this ancient relation was with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, it is evident that he was expressing a false belief, which had no foundation in history, nor in the actual situation of the Malankara Church, in the light of the explanations we have given at the beginning of this book.

This would be again confirming our argument that his declaration was not meant to explain their actual relationship with Antioch, but to assert the fact of their being an Oriental Church, having an ancient rite and an Orthodox Faith, far remote from that of the Anglicans and could not therefore be submitted to the reformations, which the Protestants were proposing. Hence from the answer of Mar Thomas VIII, nothing could be drawn in favour of the existence of a jurisdictional power of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church.

After having made an enquiry into the matter of the conflict between Mar Thomas VIII and Ramban Joseph, the British Resident declared in 1813 that Mar Thomas VIII, being invalidly consecrated, could not continue in his office²⁸. However Mar Thomas VIII, continued in his office till 1815 and, before he died, appointed his nephew as his successor²⁹. It is to be noted that neither he nor his successor tried to secure a valid consecration or a ratification from the Antiochene Patriarch. Furthermore, the government of the Church was transferred from Mar Thomas IX to Mar Dionysius II, who was the head of the opponent party, and was formerly known as Ramban Joseph Pulikot.

Autonomous Rule Continues

Mar Dionysius II, did not wish to establish any new relation with the Jacobite Patriarch, but he was consecrated bishop in 1815

by Mar Philexinos, the native Bishop of Anjur³⁰. He was recognised as the true Metropolitan of the Syrian community by the Government in January 1816³¹. This Royal Decree was issued under the pressure of the English Power, which was anxious to check the intervention of the Antiochene Patriarch in the affairs of the Malankara Church, and it considerably helped the Church to keep aloof from Antiochene influences. But this independence was soon to be lost by the intervention of the Protestant Missionaries³². From this time onwards the Civil Authorities began to intervene in ecclesiastical matters, especially with regard to the recognition of the Malankara Metropolitan, and this intervention had its influence even upto recent times.

Mar Dionysius II died in 1818, without having been able to appoint a successor³³. Finding this vacancy an excellent opportunity to establish his claim over the Malankara Church, Mar Philexinos II of Thozhiur³⁴ took on himself the charge of the community and styled himself the Malankara Metropolitan. The civil government was in favour of him. But Mar Philexinos II had soon to consecrate Malpan (Doctor in Ecclesiastical Matters) Geevarghese Punnathra as the Malankara Metropolitan, who took the name of Mar Dionysius III. The Civil Government issued a Decree, confirming Mar Dionysius III in his position and Mar Philexinos had to withdraw to the church of Thozhiur³⁵.

But on May 16, 1825, unexpectedly, Mar Dionysius III died, without having consecrated his successor. Thereupon the people elected three candidates and from among them Malpan Philipose was chosen to receive the episcopal consecration. Thus Mar Philexinos II was once again called upon to consecrate Malpan Philipose as the Malankara Metropolitan in 1825³⁶.

If we, therefore, closely examine this period of the Malankara Church, we understand that no relationship, spiritual or jurisdictional, was contracted with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. Both Mar Dionysius I and his successors ruled their Church independently. The complaints against Mar Thomas VIII were due to the absence of a canonically valid consecration and not to the absence of a

representative from Antioch, at his consecration. They thought of getting an Antiochene Prelate not to appoint him as the Malankara Metropolitan but to consecrate him validly. This is clear from the fact that Mar Thomas VII, who was directly appointed by Dionysius I, without any intervention of the Antiochene Patriarch, was always held by all as their real and canonical Metropolitan, and no one complained against him as an intruder³⁷. Furthermore the idea of looking back to Antioch for a valid consecration was cherished only by one of the two groups while the other was trying to secure for their candidate a valid consecration from Mar Philexinos II of Thozhiur. Similarly his successor, Mar Dionysius III, who was consecrated by the same Mar Philexinos II was unanimously accepted by the people. At the election of Mar Dionysius IV it was even more pronounced. For he being elected by the representatives of the Malankara Church, it was decided to call upon Mar Philexinos II and not any Antiochene Prelate to consecrate him Bishop.

These facts, therefore, show that neither the Bishops nor the people of Malankara as a whole, thought the presence of the Antiochene Prelates necessary in the Government of their Church during this period³⁸.

The End of the Autonomous Rule: Finding Refuge under the Patriarch

It is most interesting to note that towards the end of his rule, Mar Dionysius III, writing in 1821, to the President of the Church Mission Society, Lord Gambier, declared that he was the Metropolitan of the Syro-Malankara Jacobites under Mar Ignatius the Patriarch of Antioch³⁹. We have to examine this statement to see the reasons why Mar Dionysius III began to open up new relations with the Antiochene Patriarch after such a long time.

It is evident that Mar Dionysius III, in the first year of his reign, because he was cherishing the hope of being on good terms with the English Missionaries, did not acknowledge any supremacy of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church. But later he realised that communion with the Protestant would endanger the Orthodox Faith and the integrity of the Rite.

But he feared protesting alone against the unjust claims of the English Missionaries, especially when the British power was steadily growing in South India. He expressed his fear in the following words, when he left the Synod of Mavelikara in 1818: “....I am walking now on a precipice; tomorrow I must either disagree with the European Protestants or betray my Church. Their intention is to alter our Faith. Even if I have to lose my fame” I shall not be a betrayer. Pray that I may pass through this trial without danger....”⁴⁰.

In this dilemma he devised a plan to solve the problem, the consequence of which was beyond his intention and control. He wrote to the Antiochene Patriarch to send a Jacobite Prelate to the Malankara Church⁴¹. He thought he could preserve his power and influence by keeping up cordial relations with the English Missionaries, while at the same time making it clear to them that it was impossible for him to carry out the proposals made by the Missionaries, on account of the presence and possible protest of the Antiochene Prelate⁴². This request however, gave the Antiochene Patriarch an opportunity to stabilise his claim of power over the Malankara Church. Thus in 1825 he sent Mar Athanasius, a Bishop from Antioch and Ramban Abraham just at the beginning of the rule of Mar Dionysius IV⁴³. Many of the Jacobite Historians interpreted this request of Mar Dionysius III for new bishops from Antioch, as an invitation to consecrate him anew validly⁴⁴. But this assertion of theirs is not consistent with their own declarations. E. M. Philip, one of their authoritative historians explains the reason why Mar Dionysius III had to call upon the Antiochene Patriarch and the motive involved therein⁴⁵. When he deals with the accusation brought forward by Mar Athanasius against Mar Dionysius, E.M. Philip expresses his conviction that Mar Dionysius was validly consecrated. And it was Mar Dionysius’ conviction too, though they had no explicit document to produce in confirmation of it⁴⁶.

Furthermore, if Mar Dionysius III had invited the Antiochene Bishops to consecrate him, the foreigners would not have sought an opportunity to prove the invalidity of his consecration and succession. As is described by E. M. Philip himself, it was just by chance that the Ramban from Antioch—not even Mar Athanasius—found a

Manuscript of Mar Ivanios describing the details of the consecration of Mar Cyril, the predecessor of Mar Philexinos⁴⁷. It is from this narration that Mar Athanasius argued that Mar Dionysius III was not a validly consecrated Bishop. If Mar Athanasius had been invited to consecrate Mar Dionysius III, there was no need of such an argument as it should have been a fact admitted by everyone in Malankara. On the other hand, they had to explain this to the Malankara Metropolitan and to persuade him not to perform any episcopal function. It was then that he agreed to their suggestion⁴⁸. This shows that hitherto he was exercising his episcopal power without any scruple or anxiety. This is all the more clear from the fact that such a temporary agreement did not last long. No sooner were the Antiochenes expelled from Malabar—the reason of which we leave aside—than the Malankara Metropolitan began to act just as he was doing before. Neither was he consecrated anew any time later. And the people never doubted his episcopal dignity.

From all this, therefore, it is clear that Mar Dionysius III tried to re-establish relations with Antioch, not to receive a valid episcopal succession, nor to submit his Church unconditionally to Antioch but to veil his protest against the reformations of the Protestant Missionaries, by pointing out to them that he was bound to preserve the orthodoxy of his Church, as it was in communion with Antioch.

Sad Consequences

However, as we have noted above, this return to the Patriarch of Antioch caused further trouble in the Church of Malankara. It is reported that Mar Athanasius was sent by the Patriarch to rule over the Church of Malankara, and the Malankara Bishops convoked a Synod at Kottayam on 29th Dec. 1825, to verify the credentials of Mar Athanasius⁴⁹. At any rate, from the letters of the Protestant Missionaries we learn that there was a great dispute between the foreign and local Bishops⁵⁰. The subject of the dispute seems to have been the claim of Mar Athanasius to be the Metropolitan, who even wanted to declare invalid the consecration of Mar Dionysius IV. Similarly they attempted to introduce Antiochene customs by

abolishing the existing traditions. But the Malankara Bishops and the people were not prepared to concede to their claims⁵¹.

However, at this time we see the jurisdictional power of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church quite predominant. For Mar Athanasius did not hesitate to excommunicate the local Bishops. He even reordained 19 Priests who were already ordained by the local Bishops⁵². It seems that the local Bishops did not take it seriously. As a result of this conflict between them, Mar Athanasius and his colleague were expelled from Malankara by the order of the civil authorities in 1825 itself⁵³.

Disagreement with Protestants

Thus Mar Dionysius IV alone was left as the Metropolitan of the Malankara Church. This evidently helped the Protestant Missionaries to continue their work among the Syrians slowly persuading them to reform their Church according to the Pattern of the English Church⁵⁴. But this undue intervention ended in a conflict and a permanent separation of one from the other. In 1838, when the whole affair was discussed before a Commission gathered at Quilon Mar Dionysius IV once and for all put an end to the communion and declared his allegiance to the Patriarch of Antioch⁵⁵.

Internal Strife invites Antiochene Intervention

Letters were pouring into the office of the Patriarch of Antioch asking his help⁵⁶. This time, however, they were from different quarters and with different purposes. For already by now the Church Mission Society Missionaries had gained a number of sympathisers for them from among the Syrians. As Mar Dionysius IV disagreed with the Protestant Missionaries, these Protestant-minded Syrians formed a rebel group against Mar Dionysius IV, and joined the Protestants. Evidently, they had the support of the Protestants who loved to see a Metropolitan who would favour their ideas of reformation. On the other hand, it was clear to the opponents that none among them would be chosen as successor to Mar

Dionysius IV. Thus they tried to accuse Mar Dionysius IV of his invalid consecration, of his illegal procedures, etc., before the Patriarch, with a view to getting him deposed.

To create among the people, at least among the Protestant-sympathisers, an opinion that only the bishops who were consecrated by the Antiochene Patriarch or with his intervention were consecrated validly was comparatively easy, as such an idea was already lingering among them, on account of the double dealings of the Metropolitans, who had recourse to Antioch in facing the past aggressions of the Protestants, and who declared sometimes even publicly the need of an Antiochene Prelate to rectify the affairs of their Church⁵⁷. This tendency to look to Antioch for help and the requests for Bishops gave the people an occasion to evaluate highly the supremacy of Antioch.

The fanning of this idea proved to be the best means for the opponents to accuse Mar Dionysius IV (who had received his episcopal consecration neither from the Antiochene Patriarch nor with his approbation) of his invalid consecration. Thus the rebel-group, as though representing the whole of the Malankara people, wrote to the Patriarch on 22nd Dec. 1840; "...The priests, deacons and the people of all the Syrian Jacobite Churches of Malankara (Malayalam) under Your obedience make it known to Your Lordship that: we were for a long time in many trials and tribulation, on account of the absence of a Bishop, having an episcopal consecration from an Apostolic See. In 1825 there came to us Mar Athanasius, called also Abdulla Messih⁵⁸, who was expelled by the Government. As he had satisfied our long cherished desires to our great joy, we were all, as a community, pleased with him. But Mar Philexinos, who was vested with the robes of a Bishop and his dependent, Mar Dionysius full of jealousy and spirit of vengeance, together with the Protestant Missionaries, who were conspiring against him and with the help and influence of the civil authority, expelled him. From this time onwards the Church of Malayala became a widow.... After the death of the above - said Philexinos⁵⁹ the present Mar Dionysius, according to his superficial knowledge and as one without the Graces of the Holy Spirit through

the Holy Fathers, subdued the churches of Malayala and began to rule our afflicted churches....”⁶⁰.

After having paved the way for a misunderstanding with regard to Mar Dionysius IV, on the part of the Patriarch, the opponent group without revealing their spirit of reformation, but pretending to be keen on keeping zealously the Orthodox Faith, sent from among them Rev. Mathews to the Patriarch to be consecrated and appointed as Metropolitan of Malankara⁶¹. He reached Mardin and having reported the whole situation in Malankara got himself ordained and consecrated as the Metropolitan of Malankara under the name of Mathews Mar Athanasius⁶². He returned to Malabar on 17th Feb. 1843, with all the necessary credentials from the Patriarch to prove his new mission before the authorities concerned against Mar Dionysius IV⁶³.

Mar Dionysius, too, was not silent all this time. After having completely broken off with the Protestants in the Synod of Mavelikara on 16th Jan. 1836⁶⁴, he hastened to stabilise his communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. But it is not quite clear what the nature of the relationship between them was. We learn from a letter of Mathews Mar Athanasius to the British Resident on 15th Jan. 1844, that the Patriarch had excommunicated Mar Dionysius IV, after having gathered information about him from the letters of his opponents⁶⁵. But we do not know what his reaction to this action of the Patriarch was, if he had ever come to know of it. To all appearance, he seems to have continued in his position till his voluntary renunciation of his office to Mar Cyril, of which we shall speak soon. Besides, according to the testimony of Mathews Mar Athanasius himself, in his letter of 21 Sept. 1843, we see Mar Dionysius V convoking a Synod at Kandanad, to examine the credentials of Mathews Mar Athanasius⁶⁶. Similarly late in the year 1847, in a letter of the Patriarch Mar Elias II, dated 2nd March 1847, we find the Patriarch expressing his great joy to Mar Dionysius for having received Mar Cyril cordially⁶⁷. We do not have any indication of a reconciliation ever effected between them. On the other hand we understand that no sooner did the Patriarch come to know of the Protestant leanings of Mar

Athanasius than he rejected and deposed him from his office⁶⁸. From this, therefore, we may conclude that the news of the deposition of Mar Dionysius was nothing but an accusation against him, made by the opponents before the civil authorities or, if it were ever true, it was caused only on account of a misrepresentation of facts by his opponents before the Patriarch, which did not have any lasting effects.

The Spiritual Supremacy of the Patriarch Acknowledged

At any rate by this time both the bishops and the people of the Malankara Church seem to have in some way acknowledged the supremacy of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church, as is clear from their continuous appeals to the Patriarch.

This can be gathered also from the letter of the Patriarch of Antioch to the people on 1st Feb. 1840, in answer to their request for bishops and sacred books. He wrote: “....if it is possible I myself will come; then I will bring along bishops, Holy Chrism and the books that you asked for, and I will appoint bishops, priests and deacons for you, and determine the rituals. Now I hear that a bishop appoints another bishop, and a priest, another priest. This way of acting is against the Holy Gospels, for Our Bl. Lord Jesus Christ gave this power to the Apostles. He made them deacons first, then priests then bishops and finally Patriarchs. They, in turn, handed down this great power, upto this time to their successors of every generation. Therefore until I come nobody from among you has any power from me, unworthy as I am, or from God, to appoint a deacon or a priest or a bishop....”⁶⁹.

Here we see a direct and unhesitating affirmation of his power over the Malankara Church. There had been no document before, which indicated so clearly the extensive power of the Patriarch. It is also interesting to note that it is the first letter of its kind.

In a letter of his on 1st Aug. 1842, informing the people of the consecration and appointment of Mathews Mar Athanasius as the Metropolitan of Malankara, the Patriarch besides claiming to be the supreme head of the Church of Malankara, affirmed his authority by

sending holy Chrism to Malankara through the Metropolitan. We quote the letter: “.... Our beloved and loving children, we inform you again, you have complained in your letters of the lack of a pastor, of a valid priesthood, of baptism and of a leader and of similar things. We felt sorry on hearing that you, the faithful, are scattered and dispersed. As we were trying as to find a learned and a true pastor to be sent to Malankara to console and lead you spiritually, there came to us our beloved son Cashisa Mattai (Mathews Mar Athanasius) from among you. We were glad to see him here and thought it best he should be your Father and pastor in everything, as he is one from among you.... We ordained him first deacon, then priest and after that Ramban and finally Metropolitan. We inform you, who are our beloved children, with great love that for the benefit of your youth we have given holy Chrism to our beloved son Metropolitan Mar Mathews. Again after the great feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord, we intend to consecrate holy Chrism which we shall be happy to send you there....”⁷⁰.

This is the first time we see that the Antiochene Patriarch having consecrated a Malankara Bishop appointed him Metropolitan for the Malankara Church. As is clear from the letter, the Patriarch seemed to have been concerned with the governing of his people in Malankara, and with providing them with Metropolitans and Bishops. The mention of holy Chrism is specially significant, as it was meant to affirm clearly that the supreme power of consecrating holy Chrism was reserved to him⁷¹.

Now we shall see if the local bishops admitted this claim of the Patriarch over their Church or not. As to the submission of Mathews Mar Athanasius to the Patriarch at this period there is no doubt, eventhough later, when he was acknowledged by the local Government and supported by the Protestant Missionaries he denied the claims of the Patriarch. For, Mathews Mar Athanasius claimed power over the Malankara Church as the Metropolitan only in virtue of his appointment by the Patriarch. Besides, he argued that the actual Metropolitan was excommunicated and deposed by the Patriarch, the supreme head of their Church. This, in fact, was his argument against

Mar Dionysius IV, to win over to himself the Malankara Church. In his correspondence with the British Resident he always mentioned of this point. On 21st Sept, 1843 he wrote to the Resident: "I respectfully bring it to your notice that the Antiochene Patriarch, the supreme head of the Syrian Christians, who are in Malayala and elsewhere, had excommunicated Mar Dionysius IV who acts without his obedience and permission. To this effect the Patriarch sent a letter to the community and to the bishop himself. On 1st Feb., 1842, he appointed me Metropolitan over all the Syrians in Malayala and with the credentials for the same he sent me here... I am waiting for your counsel to begin to carry on the work, which the Patriarch has entrusted me with...."⁷².

On 30th Nov. 1843 again Mathews Mar Athanasius wrote to the Resident: "... I intend to exercise all the powers attached to my duty and dignity by law and by custom, as I have been appointed Metropolitan directly by the Patriarch of Antioch...."⁷³.

On 15th Jan., 1844, writing to the same Resident Mathews Mar Athanasius declared that he had promised obedience to the See of Antioch: "...when a Metropolitan is consecrated, whether he be Antiochene or Malayalee, he shall make and sign a profession of Faith and a promise of obedience to the Antiochene Patriarch, unconditionally. This I did before my consecration..."⁷⁴.

From all these letters, therefore, it is quite clear that Mathews Mar Athanasius acknowledged the supreme power of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church, even though we cannot but affirm that the sole motive behind it was to secure for himself the recognition of the civil authorities in his office of Metropolitan. Our conclusion is confirmed by his attitude towards Antioch later when he was deposed and excommunicated by the same Patriarch, whom he had once accepted as the supreme authority.

The acceptance of the authority of the Patriarch by Mar Dionysius IV at this time cannot be denied. Besides his letters to the Patriarch, informing him of the reformation caused within the Church by a few, he submitted a Memorandum to the British Resident on

30th Jan. 1846 in which he said: “....Since Abraham Cathanar and his nephew, deacon Mathew (Mathews Mar Athanasius) and some others having abandoned the customs of the Syrian Church, and followed some other ecclesiastical discipline and customs of their own fabrications, they were separated from the Church, and of this separation, information was given in writing to the most Holy Father, the Patriarch Mar Ignatius, who is the head of the Syrian Church. But Mathews Mar Athanasius presented himself before the Patriarch with a letter, forged in the name of the people of Malankara, and, having misrepresented to the Patriarch everything and having given a pseudoname, came here as Bishop and is causing dissensions. This has been already intimated to him. Since he was denounced by the Patriarch who, having given the appointing decrees, sent Mar Cyril Joachim, the Metropolitan of Thurabdin to rule the churches according to the discipline of the Syrian Church and to protect the ecclesiastical customs. He has arrived here on the 26th of this month. With consent, the charge of the Church has been handed over to Mar Cyril. As the most Holy Father Patriarch has written in the decree that Mar Cyril should rule over the churches in Malankara and execute everything that pertains to the Church, I humbly request you to send all ordinances to him (Mar Cyril) that concern the churches and the seminary....”⁷⁵.

Here again we must remember the fact the Mar Dionysius was constrained to have recourse to Antioch as this was the only means for preventing Mathews Mar Athanasius from taking over the office and dignity of the Malankara Metropolitan. For by now it was a generally conceded and accepted opinion that the Antiochene Patriarch had to consecrate the Malankara Metropolitan.... On the other hand, Mar Dionysius in assuring this dignity did not have anything to do with the Antiochene Patriarch, while Mathews Mar Athanasius was consecrated and appointed by the Patriarch himself. Thus, as it was too late to question the accepted fact of the supremacy of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church, Mar Dionysius had to comply with this opinion and proceed accordingly.

While Mathews Mar Athanasius was claiming power over the Malankara Church, reports were made to the Patriarch accusing him

of his communion with the Protestants. Thus the Patriarch in 1846 sent his delegate Mar Cyril Joachim to investigate into the matter and empowered him to depose Mathews Mar Athanasius if he was found guilty⁷⁶.

Mar Cyril, however, instead of settling the matter, declared himself Metropolitan over the Malankara Church, and Mar Dionysius in order to prevent Mathews Mar Athanasius from not taking possession of this office, renounced his title, which he had hitherto possessed in favour of Mar Cyril and informed the civil authorities of his renunciation⁷⁷.

But Mathews Mar Athanasius complained to the Government of this trick played on him by Mar Cyril and Mar Dionysius⁷⁸. The Government left the matter to be examined by a committee which met at Quilon in 1848 and judged the matter in favour of Mathews Mar Athanasius. The Committee was of the opinion that Mathews Mar Athanasius being a native and directly consecrated by the Patriarch, had to be declared Metropolitan of Malankara⁷⁹.

Soon after this decision, the Patriarch hastened to appoint a delegate with special powers over the Malankara Church, thus affirming his supremacy over the same. There came, therefore, an Antiochene prelate, Mar Athanasius Stephen with Ramban Simon to Malankara in 1849⁸⁰. On 28th Sept. 1848, the Patriarch wrote from the monastery of "Kurkuma" to Mar Dionysius: "....Beloved son! we have sent the Bishop, Mar Athanasius Stephen, together with Ramban Simon, as Apostolic Delegate and faithful Bishop. We have given them orders to meet you and all the Syrians and all our people who dwell there in towns and cities, and to visit all the churches and to order and execute everything and everywhere according to the Apostolic Canons of the Syrian Church. But since I send them, as it is written in their credentials and common letters, as our procurators, none of you shall resist them...."⁸¹.

But on the advice of the British Resident, the civil authorities did not allow the Antiochene Prelates to exercise any power or to stay on in Malankara. On their appeal to the Director General of the

English East India Company, the English officials in India were ordered not to interfere in the ecclesiastical matters of the Syrians and to allow full freedom to the Syrians to admit or not to admit the Antiochenes. However, the local Government forbade the people to resist the Metropolitan whom they recognised. Thus in 1852 Mathews Mar Athanasius was recognised as the Metropolitan of Malankara with the following declaration: "As the Metropolitan Mar Dionysius, who was residing in Kottayam, retired from his office on account of his old age, and whereas to that same office Mar Athanasius has been appointed Metropolitan in virtue of his credentials, which he had brought from Antioch, hereby it is declared that all "Puthenkoor"⁸² Syrians of the Malankara Church shall accept him as Metropolitan and keep the traditional practices"⁸³.

After this declaration, though Mar Athanasius Stephen and Mar Cyril could remain in Malankara, they were impeded from exercising any episcopal power in the Malankara Church⁸⁴. The situation, however, became more difficult by an Ordinance of the local Divan (an officer more or less equivalent to the Prime Minister) in 1863, who attached penal sanction to the violation of the decree given earlier.

Despite these occurrences, however, the spiritual authority of the Patriarch was not diminished. For the dignity of Mathews Mar Athanasius as the Malankara Metropolitan was recognised by the local Government, only in virtue of the consecration and appointment he had obtained from the Antiochene Patriarch. On the other hand, Mar Cyril, though an Antiochene Prelate sent by the Patriarch, could not be declared Metropolitan as he could not prove before the Government that he was legally appointed by the Patriarch and received by the people as such. Besides, the appointment of Mathews Mar Athanasius was not yet nullified by the Patriarch. This is clear from the letters both of Mar Dionysius and of Mathews Mar Athanasius himself. On 30 June 1846 Mar Dionysius wrote to the British Resident that Mathews Mar Athanasius was separated from the Church and it was made known to the Patriarch. Evidently, therefore, the separation was done by him and not by the Patriarch, who had appointed Mar Athanasius as the Malankara Metropolitan,

in virtue of which appointment precisely Mar Athanasius had claimed that office⁸⁵. On 10th June 1847 Mar Athanasius, writing to the British Resident, argued: "...before they act as described above (referring to the exercise of jurisdiction by Mar Cyril and Dionysius) they should have first seen that my authority was withdrawn either by the power that conceded it or by some other authority that equals it...."⁸⁶.

Even when Mar Athanasius Stephen came to Malankara as a Delegate of the Patriarch, he was not appointed as the Malankara Metropolitan in preference to Mar Athanasius. Neither could such an appointment have been made as it was against the tradition and will of the people of Malankara that an Antiochene be appointed Metropolitan over the Malankara Church⁸⁷.

Thus the position of Mathews Mar Athanasius was thought to be necessarily recognised by the Government in virtue of his consecration and appointment by the Patriarch, and because of his having been a native of Malankara. This is implicitly affirmed by the fact that the followers of Mar Dionysius IV thought it necessary to send Malpan Joseph Pulikottil to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch to be consecrated and appointed as the Malankara Metropolitan in preference to Mar Athanasius. Accordingly, Malpan Joseph was sent to Mardin to the Patriarch and was consecrated by him as the Malankara Metropolitan, Mathews Mar Athanasius having been deposed from his office⁸⁸. Malpan Pulikottil, known as Mar Dionysius V after his consecration, returned to Malankara in 1866 and claimed to be enthroned in his new dignity⁸⁹.

Now leaving aside a discussion on the particular historical details, if we examine the situation, we see clearly that by 1866 the Patriarch of Antioch exercised Patriarchal powers over the Malankara Church, by sending Holy Chrism, claiming "Resisa (Cathedraticum)" and appointing and deposing the Malankara Metropolitan at his own will. The Malankara Metropolitans, on the other hand, seem to have not denied the supremacy of the Antiochene Patriarch, even though an acknowledgement of it was beyond their intention and will as we have already explained. At any rate, this situation brought the Malankara Church to a difficult period in its history.

Art. 3. The Malankara Church Brought under the Authority of the Antiochene Patriarch Peter III (1876)

The appointment of Mar Dionysius V, as the Malankara Metropolitan could have been legal only after the declaration of the local Government issued in 1863 in favour of Mathews Mar Athanasius, by which all Syrians of the separated community were ordered to follow him, had been withdrawn. But the Civil Government was at first reluctant to recognise the newly arrived Metropolitan, namely, Mar Dionysius V. After having made some attempts in vain to get legal recognition, Mar Dionysius V, appealed to the Patriarch himself as a final resort¹.

Thus the Patriarch of Antioch, Peter III, having pleaded for the case before the officials in England, reached Malankara in 1875². He met the King of Travancore personally and asked him to annul the Decree issued in favour of Mathews Mar Athanasius, and accordingly on March 4th 1876, the Government granted complete freedom to all the Syrians to follow any Metropolitan they chose. Thus the Syrian community was divided between Mar Athanasius and Mar Dionysius V, each of whom tried to show himself the legal Metropolitan of Malankara, in virtue of his appointment by the Patriarch of Antioch.

The Patriarch Convoked Synod

As both the Malankara bishops looked towards the Antiochene Patriarch as their spiritual head, the Patriarch found in this event the best opportunity he was looking for to establish his supremacy over the Malankara Church. He, therefore, convoked a Synod of the Malankara Church in 1876 at Mulanthuruthy³.

The spiritual supremacy of the Patriarch and its acknowledgement on the part of the local bishops were evidently manifested in the Synod of Mulanthuruthy; to trace out what power the Antiochene Patriarch obtained over the Malankara Church during this period it would be enough to examine the proceedings of this Synod. Briefly we discuss it as answers to two questions, namely:

1. Was the Synod of Mulanthuruthy a valid and representative one of the Malankara Church?
2. What powers were acknowledged or attributed to the Patriarch by this Synod?

The first question is asked to ascertain its legal right to make decisions on behalf of the whole community. An answer to the second question would indicate what power the Antiochene Patriarch obtained over the Malankara Church in and by this Synod.

A Representative Synod

To see if it was a Synod of the Malankara Church and its legal rights, the situation of the Church has to be examined. We find that even after the appointment of Mar Dionysius V, as the Metropolitan, a good many parishes were following Mathews Mar Athanasius, the former Metropolitan. Furthermore, Mathews Mar Athanasius had already appointed his nephew as his successor in 1868, without any approbation or recognition from the Patriarch⁴, which itself was one of the issues to be discussed in the Synod.

It is reported that there were 180 parishes in the Malankara Church at that time. Out of these, III parishes were acknowledging Mar Dionysius V⁵ as the legal Metropolitan, and therefore, accepting the authority of the Patriarch. The rest of the parishes followed Mathews Mar Athanasius. Of those which followed Mar Dionysius, 102 sent their representatives to the Synod at the order of the Patriarch, while the parishes under Mathews Mar Athanasius refused to take part in the Synod⁶. They questioned the power of the Patriarch over the Malankara Church and argued that the power of appointing a successor to the Malankara Metropolitan rested with him only. Furthermore, they claimed that the Malankara Church was equal to and independent of the Antiochene Church⁷. The power of the Patriarch over the Malankara Church at this time, therefore, had a direct bearing on the legal force of this Synod, which we can gather only from the period immediately preceding this event.

It is true that the Malankara Church always cherished its desire to be autonomous and to keep its immunity from all kinds of subjection. But as a result of its past relations with the Patriarch of Antioch, legal and illegal, hidden and public, it was at the time of this Synod, under the power of the Patriarch. The question whether it was really desired or intended has no practical bearing on the existence of such a situation. This is amply clear from the events immediately preceded.

At a time when there was no relevant juridical relations with Antioch, Mar Thomas VIII declared, in order to avoid the Protestant influences on his people and to check the power of his rival who was supported by the Protestant Missionaries, that he was under the authority of the Antiochene Patriarch. This, in fact, was not prejudicial to the free status of his Church as it was nothing but a nominal adhesion having no solid basis. Later when Mar Dionysius III, at the end of his rule, played the same trick, it took a long time to get rid of the undue intervention of the Antiochene prelates, who were even struggling to depose the native bishop. The reign of Mar Dionysius IV was undisturbed and free from all intervention of the Antiochene bishops as long as there was no internal conflict among the Malankara people themselves. But Mathews Mar Athanasius threw himself at the feet of the Patriarch to secure an episcopal consecration. And having been consecrated he claimed the dignity of the Malankara Metropolitan as against Mar Dionysius IV, spreading an opinion that only the consecration by the Antiochene Patriarch was valid. Therefore Mar Dionysius IV, too was constrained to appeal to the Patriarch himself. Antiochene prelates were then sent to help Mar Dionysius. However, Mathews Mar Athanasius, in virtue of his appointment by the Patriarch and because of his being a native bishop, was recognised by the Government to be the true Metropolitan, while he himself was declaring his allegiance to the Patriarch. The people too were led to think that the Antiochene See had always enjoyed supremacy over the Malankara Church, especially against the background of the ancient splendour of the Antiochene See, once the Queen of all the East. This impression was confirmed by the consecration and appointment of Mar Dionysius V, by the Patriarch himself, as the

Malankara Metropolitan. The total effect of all this was an acceptance and acknowledgement of the spiritual supremacy of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church. On this acceptance the Patriarch conducted himself as the supreme head of their Church and began to exercise his Patriarchal power over them. He appointed and deposed Malankara Metropolitans, sent Holy Chrism to the churches, prevented the local Metropolitan from doing the same, collected "Risiso" (Cathedraticum) from the churches and finally came himself to Malankara to convoke a Synod and to establish his authority on firm grounds⁸.

At this stage therefore it was inconsistent to say that the Antiochene Patriarch had no authority over the Malankara Church. Their submission to the Patriarch was perhaps unexpected and undesired, but the fact could not be denied. They could refuse further obedience to him and break away from him, rescinding, however, from judging the moral aspect of the issue. But this would mean only that after a period of subjection, the Malankara Church became free from the power of the Patriarch. In fact, Mathews Mar Athanasius and his followers did deny further obedience to the Patriarch, but adopted the doctrinal tenets of a new sect—Protestantism—leaving, therefore, the former or the existing Malankara Church as such in the hand of his rival. The latter however, possessing the same legal powers as Mathews Mar Athanasius did continue to be the head of the Malankara Church, but subject to the power of the Patriarch. Thus the Malankara Church as such did not refuse obedience to the Patriarch.

Therefore we find that at the time of Mar Dionysius V, the Malankara Church as such had accepted the authority of the Antiochene Patriarch⁹. Thus this Synod, convoked through his authority, with the assistance of a legal Metropolitan and attended by the representatives of the Churches under his authority, must be judged as a Synod of the Malankara Church¹⁰. Hence the decisions and affirmations of the Synod could be taken as those of the Malankara Church.

Powers Attributed to the Patriarch

Now we shall see what powers of the Patriarch were acknowledged by the Synod or what more he acquired therein. Here we are concerned only with the decisions of the Synod in which the authority of the Patriarch over the Malankara Church was affirmed.

On 15th Nov. 1876, the first day of the Synod, the Patriarch addressed the members of the Synod declaring his duty of protecting them from their enemies and explaining his negotiations with the King of Travancore. He said: “....The King having abrogated the previous declaration—which was given in 1863 in favour of Mathews Mar Athanasius—issued another one in which it is said, “by the letter of the Patriarch, I have declared him Bishop in the first Decree, but now since he was deposed from his dignity by the Patriarch, I too leave him unrecognised and abrogate the previous Declaration”. Through the letter of the Patriarch he got authority over the Churches. When the Patriarch deposed him, the Government too refused him his place in the Church. On account of this our people are extremely consoled....If you love your Church and the Faith of your ancestors, hearken to the orders of the Patriarch according to the previous practice (!) obey them and give your consent in writing to me. If not, give me your reply. Even now it is not late. Or being established on a firm foundation, elect learned and efficient and wise procurators of the people and give them as responsible representatives authority in writing to deal with the Government officials about things ecclesiastical, civil and criminal. For, a people without leaders and authority will soon be extinguished....”¹¹.

We have a very good picture of the power of the Patriarch over the Malankara Church in this speech. The fact that the appointment by the Patriarch is decisive in deciding the Malankara Metropolitan is clear from the first part of it. On the other hand we find that there is not yet a written document given by the people on which the Patriarch could base his claim. He wanted to obtain one, so that he might build up his jurisdictional power on firm grounds. At any rate, he wanted to have a definite reply from the people to know their attitude towards his claim¹². Furthermore, he gave them a suggestion to choose a few

from among them to be the official representatives of their Church in its Government. But he added that this should be done only if they had established their Church on firm grounds, giving a hint, therefore, that they should keep themselves under the Patriarchal See of Antioch¹³. It is therefore clear that he wanted to have his supreme power recognised by the Synod.

Examining the procedure of the Synod we see that this claim was approved by the Synod. On the second day of the Synod, 16th Nov. 1876, the people requested: “....The Patriarch who is the highest authority over the Apostolic See of Antioch and our Holy Father who are the Syro-Malankara Jacobites, be the President of that Council....”¹⁴. Thus they recognised him to be the President of the Synod.

Among the decisions they made during the following days they declared that “.... so that there will never be any opposition to the obedience towards the Apostolic See and the Orthodox Jacobite faith, the parishioners of each Church shall write a document of promise, which, having been attested legally, shall be kept in the archives of all Churches and the copies of which with the signature and seal of the civil Chancellor be sent to the Father (Patriarch)”¹⁵.

After demanding, therefore, a promise of obedience from the Malankara people, the Patriarch made arrangements also for the collection of the “Cathedraticum”: “Let it be ordered that the number of parishes be determined so that it may serve also the collection of ‘Cathedraticum’. The Synod has decided that it would be very good for the stability of Orthodox faith if the book of canons and laws and other requisites be printed with the authority and seal of the Patriarch and sent to each of the churches to make sure that nothing be done that is not in conformity with that book....”¹⁶: The Synod was closed on 18th Nov. 1876, with a “Padioloa” (public document) signed by the people requesting the Patriarch to approve and execute the decisions they had taken. With this Synod, therefore, the Malankara Church was definitely brought under the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch. The documents referred to above publicly affirmed it thus: “From ancient times the people of Malabar and their churches are

under the spiritual power of the Patriarch of Antioch. In this no one else has power. Since our bishops and priests receive (Holy) Orders from you, you have power to appoint and depose them. Your Holiness (Jacobite Patriarch) has the spiritual care of the Syrian people and Churches of Malabar and also the power of nominating and deposing Bishops.

We and our posterity will not, until death, deviate either to the right or to the left from the faith of the three Councils of our Holy Church handed over or from the precept of our religion of true faith and of Your Holiness who is the Head. We, therefore, unanimously swear before God and Your Holiness touching the Cross and the Bible that until the last breath there will not be any change for this.

Requesting your Holiness to put in effect all canons and laws pertaining to religion, we pray to confirm the decisions as read now for the administration of our Church, to confirm on the commission of 24 members and the Metropolitan elected to it as responsible without partiality in all things pertaining to religion and community, and to appoint a Metropolitan from outside who shall watch that nothing may happen against faith or obedience...."¹⁷.

From this declaration we understand that the Malankara people had submitted themselves to the spiritual supremacy of the Patriarch. We shall speak later what they meant by the "Spiritual Supremacy". The supremacy of the Patriarch was manifested again in this that he consecrated six more Bishops and, dividing the territory of the Malankara Church, which upto now was a whole unit, into seven dioceses, placed them over each of them¹⁸. Mar Dionysius V as the Metropolitan was deputed to handle all lawsuits concerning the entire Church, with the help of the "Association"¹⁹. Appointing the newly consecrated Bishops the Patriarch declared in their "Systaticon" (Appointing Bull): "We grant him power over Churches, over the fields, Church properties and over everything that pertains to the Churches. They should be administered according to his orders. He shall appoint administrator (economos) for the churches who shall collect the income from the fields, foundations and plantations which belong to the churches. Finally, they shall give yearly report of this to him..."²⁰.

In this way, therefore, by the Synod of Mulanthuruthy in 1876 the Patriarch established his supremacy, though for a short time, over the Malankara Church, leaving, however, aside those who did not submit to him.

Art. 4. The Withdrawal of the Metropolitan of the Malankara Church from the Jurisdiction of the Antiochene Patriarch (1911)

Even after the erection of seven dioceses in the Malankara Church, Mar Dionysius V continued to be considered as the local head of the whole Church¹. In fact Simon Mar Dionysius of Cochin questioned this authority of Mar Dionysius V, who in turn tried to stabilise his claim by declaring that the former's consecration as Metropolitan was defective on account of the lack of popular approval for it. But this invited a remarkable rejoinder from the Patriarch. He affirmed that he could consecrate any one at his will, without any regard whatsoever to the opinion of the Malankara people². He was thinking of his power over the Malankara Church which had already been stabilized.

Movements to Restore Autonomy

But the Malankara Metropolitan and the people who had already begun to think that it was too much to have yielded to the claims of the Patriarch in the Synod of Mulanthuruthy, were getting more conscious of the loss of the autonomy they had been enjoying before. Neither did they forget that it was done in their anxiety to prevent Mathews Mar Athanasius from occupying the Malankara Metropolitan See.

At any rate, such a rethinking was already on the move during the time of Mar Dionysius V, who ruled the Church until July 11, 1909³. Mar Dionysius VI succeeded him as the Malankara Metropolitan⁴. As for the consecration so for the appointment of Mar Dionysius VI, the intervention of the Patriarch was solicited⁵. During the ruling period of Mar Dionysius VI, the Antiochene Patriarch

Abdalla II, visited the Malankara Church and in supposition of his supremacy over the Malankara Church, he demanded that all the Bishops should by a public deed acknowledge his supreme power in the Government of the temporalities of the Church⁶. There arose, therefore, a dispute between the Patriarch and the Malankara Metropolitan with regard to the nature and extension of the power of the Patriarch over the Malankara Church.

Making a distinction, Mar Dionysius VI argued that the Patriarch had supremacy only in spiritual matters and not in the internal Government of the Church, especially of the temporalities of it⁷. By supremacy in spiritual matters they meant consecration of Bishops and of the Holy Chrism for the Malankara Church and a general supervision over the perfect preservation of the orthodox faith of the Jacobite Church⁸. This distinction was first made by Mathews Mar Athanasius when he was excommunicated by the Patriarch and later by his successor. He argued that at most the Patriarch had power to consecrate Bishops for the Malankara Church⁹. The civil Government had accepted the distinction and after having examined the history of the relationship of the Malankara Church with the Patriarch, determined it in the following way: “....As far as we could learn from history we think that the Patriarch had exercised his supreme power over the Malankara Church only in spiritual matters....”¹⁰. Later in giving the final judgement on the case between the Patriarch’s party and Metropolitan’s party, the Judges said: “.. In general our opinion is: that the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Antiochene See over the Malankara Church has been accepted and recognised by the Syrian Jacobite Church and its Metropolitan and that the exercise of this supreme power consists in consecrating Metropolitans, himself or through his delegate, to administer the spiritual things of the Church in this place, and in sending the Holy Mooron (Chrism) for the use of baptism etc., to these churches and in a general supervision over the spiritual affairs of this Church; and that the power of the Patriarch has never been exercised in the administration of the temporalities....”¹¹.

It was on this declaration that Mar Dionysius VI, built up his argument against the claims of the Patriarch. The people were

gradually divided into two parties as they favoured one or the other. Even the members of the executive body of the Malankara Association were found on both sides¹². The dispute reached its climax on May 31, 1911, when the Patriarch of Antioch excommunicated Mar Dionysius VI¹³.

It was in 1826 that an Antiochene Prelate first attempted to excommunicate the Malankara Metropolitan, that is to say, in the conflict between the Antiochene Prelate, Mar Athanasius Stephen and the Malankara Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius IV. But it had no visible effect whatsoever on the community and we found that Mar Dionysius IV continued to rule his Church until 1845 when he voluntarily renounced his dignity in favour of Mar Cyril. Later in 1866 the Antiochene Patriarch himself deposed the Malankara Metropolitan Mathews Mar Athanasius and publicly excommunicated him in 1876 in the Synod of Mulanthuruthy. Lastly in 1911 Patriarch Abdalla II excommunicated Mar Dionysius VI and deposed him from the office of Malankara Metropolitan.

As on former occasions so now, the Malankara Metropolitan did not submit to the Patriarch. He argued that the Malankara Church was always autonomous in its own Government, and no Patriarch had ever intervened in it¹⁴. Thus once again the Malankara Church felt the need of liberating itself from the jurisdiction of the Antiochene Patriarch.¹⁵ Thus it had to choose between submitting to the claims of the Patriarch and resuming the autonomous state which it had enjoyed in its early period.

On the other hand Patriarch Abdalla continued to exercise his supreme power over the Malankara Church. Thus he consecrated two Bishops for the Malankara Church, Paulos Mar Athanasius for the Church of Angamali and Mar Severios for the "Suddist" group, who, as it was expected, followed his Ordinances. Besides, he consecrated Holy Chrism on 19th August 1911, in the Church of Mulanthuruthy¹⁶. Finally he convoked a Synod in Alwaye on 30th August 1911 and appointed Mar Koorilos Malankara Metropolitan in the place of Mar Dionysius VI¹⁷. The claims of Patriarch Abdalla could be made out from the promise of obedience required from the Malankara Bishops

before their consecration. The authority claimed by the Patriarch was very extensive and the Bishops who sided with the Patriarch readily yielded to him. Mar Paulos Athanasius declared: "I will perfectly accept and keep the faith, traditions and customs of the Syrian Malabar Church over which Your Lordship has supreme power, and the canons of the Holy Fathers of the three Ecumenical Councils and all laws instituted by Your Lordship and your successors as useful for ecclesiastical administration.... I will accept from your holy hands Chrism.... consecrated only by the Holy Antiochene Patriarch and will send it for use in the Churches entrusted to me and when it is finished I will accept it again from the Antiochene See and use it. It will not do anything outside the power Your Lordship gives me. Your Lordship and your successors have power to excommunicate and depose me if I do anything against Your Lordship or your successors or outside the power given to me...."¹⁸.

Again in the Synod of Alwaye in 1910, they acknowledged: "This meeting unanimously feels that the power should continue which from antiquity belongs to the Antiochene See and consists in examining the rectitude of the actions of the Prelates, Priests and other administrators, and in rectifying them if they are not right; besides, such power is highly necessary for the stability and progress of the Malabar church....."¹⁹.

As it is evident all these affirmations were directly intended to curtail the powers of Mar Dionysius VI, who denied the Patriarch's claim for extensive powers over the Malankara Church.

Autonomy restored

But Mar Dionysius VI and his followers, declaring the nullity of the proceedings of the Patriarch in a Synod held at Kottayam on 7th Sept. 1911, tried to secure independence for the Malankara Church through the institution of a Catholicate. This was the only solution which they could find to keep their Church equal to that of Antioch while not losing its Syrian features. For they were contemplating the juridical figure of the ancient Syrian "Catholicate" in Tagrit²⁰. "It would have given them autonomy and at the same time avoided a

breach with Antioch”²¹. They then wrote to the Patriarch of Antioch, Mar Abdal Messih, who it is said, having been denied further recognition by the Turkish Government as the legal Patriarch, had been expelled from his office. They asked for his help and invited him to Malabar²². The Patriarch listened to their claims and accusations against the rival Patriarch Abdalla, and declared that the excommunication hurled at them by Patriarch Abdalla was null and void²³.

Not long after the Patriarch of Antioch, Abdal Messih, arrived in Malankara and on 15th Sept. 1912 he instituted or restored the Catholicate in Malankara. The first Catholicos was Mar Ivanios of Kandanad, one of the six Metropolitans consecrated by Patriarch Peter III, the former Patriarch of Antioch. The formulation of the “constitution” issued on this occasion expressed the claim of the Malankara Community to be autonomous in the internal Government of their Church. It was issued as an ordinance from the Patriarch himself: “....By the Grace of God, according to your requests, we have enthroned a “Maphrian” or Catholicos under the name of Paulos Basilios, and consecrated the new Bishops Mar Geevarghese Gregorios, Mar Joachim Ivanios and Mar Gregorios Philexinos. We realised that if we did not nominate a Maphrian for the Malankara Church, our Church in Malabar would not preserve in her pristine purity and holiness. But now we understand that it would for ever, by the power of our Lord, persevere in them and be stabilised more than before in its communion of charity with the Antiochene Church, we obtained the happiness of our heart.... Your Catholicos and Metropolitans who are your Pastors will, we hope, satisfy your requirements; With the assistance of the Metropolitans, the Catholicos will consecrate according to the canons of our Holy Fathers, Metropolitans and Holy Chrism for you. After the death of the Catholicos, your Metropolitans have the right and authority to enthrone a Catholicos in his place. Nobody shall have any right to prevent them from doing it. However, everything shall be done prudently, orderly and according to the customs with the counsel of the Committee which is under the Presidentship of Mar Dionysius, the Malankara Metropolitan.... Given from the Seminary of Parumala, 8 Kumbham 1913”²⁴.

After having constituted a Catholicate, the Malankara Church was left to the autonomous rule of the Malankara Metropolitan Mar Dionysius VI²⁵. However, all the parishes did not follow Mar Dionysius VI in his separation from Abdalla, the rival Patriarch of Antioch. From this time, therefore, the Malankara Church was divided into two parties, one acknowledging a certain spiritual supremacy of the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Church, and the other completely accepting his supremacy both in spiritual and temporal matters²⁶. Each party had its leader, who styled himself Malankara Metropolitan.

Attempts were made to make a reconciliation between the two local parties and to keep up the relationship with the Antiochene Patriarch, as the spiritual head of the whole Malankara Church²⁷. While they were making efforts for reconciliation the Catholicos Party strongly and insistently argued to get the Malankara Church recognised as an autonomous Church with the Catholicos as its head. But the Patriarch refused to accept the institution of the Catholicate and consequently all the efforts were frustrated²⁸.

In 1931 the Patriarch of Antioch Mar Elias visited Malankara and as a result of a reconciliation, absolved Mar Dionysius VI, from the excommunication hurled at him by Patriarch Abdalla II in 1911. But before he could make any further negotiations to settle the dispute, he died in Malankara on 13, Feb. 1932²⁹, leaving Mar Ephrem I as the Patriarch of Antioch.

During the time of the Antiochene Patriarch Mar Ephrem I, the Catholicos Geevarghese Mar Basilios II, together with the delegate of the Patriarch went to Antioch to discuss the possibility of a reconciliation between the two parties. But the Patriarchal Synod though willing to concede freedom to the Catholicos with regard to the internal government of the Malankara Church, put forward other conditions that considerably restricted the powers of the Catholicos and consequently unacceptable to his party³⁰.

Having no hope of making a reconciliation, the Catholicos' party decided to complete its separation from the Patriarch. Even though

this attitude was present right from the beginning of the institution of Catholicate in Malankara in 1913, it was formally expressed only in 1934 when they codified a new “constitution” for their Church calling it “Orthodox Syrian Church”³¹.

Thus the power of the Patriarch over them was completely denied by this group and the two parties of the Malankara Church continued to be ruled independently under two ecclesiastical heads, namely the Catholicos of Malankara and the Metropolitan under the Patriarch of Antioch. If we examine the subsequent history we shall find that the efforts of the Catholicos’ party to restore the autonomous state of the Malankara Church were successful. For, the present Orthodox Syrian Church of Malankara entertains only a spiritual communion with the Patriarch of Antioch³².

Recapitulation

Resuming our discussion in this chapter on the jurisdictional relationship of the Malankara Church with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, we may make the following observations.

In the beginning from 1665-1772, this relationship was a sort of friendship and spiritual communion and the Malankara Church had kept it for securing a valid episcopacy and to keep up, as they thought, an episcopal succession from an Apostolic See. No jurisdictional intervention in the Malankara Church, in spite of the attempts of the Antiochene prelates to that end, was allowed, though the Antiochene liturgy and discipline—at least to some extent—were permitted to be gradually introduced. In 1772 as the Malankara Bishop got himself validly consecrated, thenceforth the community took up an independent stand. It was only in 1813 that a Malankara Bishop once again had recourse to the Antiochene Patriarch acknowledging, though nominally and out of a practical necessity, his authority over the Malankara Church. Again for thirty years the Malankara Metropolitans governed the Church independently until Mathews Mar Athanasius, opposing Mar Dionysius IV, went to Antioch and got himself consecrated as the Malankara Metropolitan. His intention in

adopting such a procedure was explained in the previous pages. Though he pretended allegiance to the Antiochene Patriarch to win over Mar Dionysius he had in fact worked only to free the Church of Malankara from the intervention of the Antiochene Patriarch. But his lack of interest in preserving the orthodox faith and traditions of the Syrians in Malankara, and the innovations made at the instigation of the Protestants, caused the majority of the people again to cling to the Antiochene Patriarch. Taking this opportunity, the Patriarch established his authority on such firm grounds that it could not be approved or disapproved according to the change in the circumstances. However, the whole Malankara Church did not agree to this submission and it gave occasion for an independent community to be formed. But since they had adopted a different faith and discipline, they could not claim to have been fully identical with the original autonomous Malankara Church.

However, later the Majority of the people of the Malankara Church under the leadership of the Malankara Metropolitans made efforts to regain the autonomy of their Church, while keeping the Antiochene liturgy and discipline. Thus in 1934 they denied the Antiochene Patriarch all jurisdictional powers over the Malankara Church declaring themselves completely autonomous under their head, the Catholicos of Malankara. Even in the final reconciliation, effected after the long and tiresome lawsuits, the claim of the Catholicos' party was maintained substantially.

However, they were willing to attribute a certain spiritual supremacy to the Antiochene Patriarch. For the people and leaders of the Malankara Church on account of their separation from the Catholic Community, were gradually led to attribute the prerogatives of the ancient Apostolic See of Antioch to the Jacobite Patriarchate of Antioch. Similarly the Apostolic See of Antioch was considered to be at least equal—if not superior—to that of Rome. For them therefore, to accept the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch was to accept the supreme head—or one of the equally honoured Patriarchs—of the Universal Church, of which they are made a part as a particular Church. We may compare this concept with the notion of particular Churches,

which are self-contained, in the Catholic Church whose undeniable Head is the Roman Pontiff. By accepting, therefore, the spiritual supremacy of the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch the autonomous character of the Malankara Church as a particular Church is considered not to have been denied nor diminished.

What is particularly significant for us is to note that it was the "Holy Synod" of the autonomous Catholicate of Malankara, which claimed to have represented the Malankara Church, that made attempts at reunion with the Catholic Church and gave rise to the Catholic Malankara Church.

The juridical status of the Catholic Malankara Church is, therefore, to be understood against this background of the independent and autonomous nature of the Malankara Church before reunion.

1. Cf. Footnotes 56-59 of previous chapter.
2. By the end of the year 1662, there were 84 parishes which belonged to the catholic communion while 32 adhered to the other side. Cf. "Breve Raconto di tutto P" operato da Mgr. Guiseppe" APF., SOCG., vol. 233, ff. 182-207; See the list which Fr. Bernard gives in his *op.cit.*, vol. II, pp. 121-123 cf. Note 57 in the second article of the first chapter.
3. In the "processus" made by the Apostolic Commissary, Rev. Itticuruvila Cassanar, Vicarius ecclesiae Mutanensis, on 7 Aug. 1657, declared as follows: "(Quaeritur: An exercuerit postea omnia munera episcopalia?) Resp. Omnia, excepta corifirmatione. Is enim consecravat olea in feria quinta majori, et saepe habuit ordinationes, quibus promovit ad sacerdotium fere quindecim cassanares, et ad ordines minores sexaginta circiter clericos; dispensavit super impedimento matrimonii cum pluribus, et constituit multos vicarios, suspendit et cetera praestitis juris episcopalis, et saepius excedens ordinando plerumque indigntissimos et irregulares. Et quantum ad ordines statuit istas leges quod scilicet qui vellet minores, solveret prima vice centum quinquaginta fanois (panams, an Indian coin) pro subdiaconatu sexaginta quatuor pro sacerdotio centum quinquaginta...." Cf. APF., SOCG., vol. 232, f. 118.
4. Cf. Assemani, J.S., *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 463; Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99; Germann, *op.cit.*; p. 525; Buchanan Claudius, *Christian researches in India*, London 1858, p. 149; Day, *op. cit.*, y. 236, Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. "....The Metropolitan of Jerusalem had the honorary title of the "fifth" Patriarch and it is on account of this that the Syrians called him "Patriarch"...." E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 158. In fact Jerusalem was made a Patriarchal See and was recognised as such by the early councils. But the Jacobites and Nestorians, as they had few followers there, reduced it to a mere Archiepiscopal See keeping, however, for the Bishop of Jerusalem the honorary title of "Patriarch". "....Elia... ad ecclesiam Sehart translatus fuit.... mox adjuncta eidem fuit Heirosolymorum Sedes, ut scilicet chaldeos ibidem commorantes Archi-episcopus pasceret; pessimo Nestorianorum et Jacobitarum exemplo, qui plures easque procul positas Ecclesias uni Antistiti commendant, et Hierosolymitarum sedem, quae patriarchalis est, Archiepiscopali dumtaxat honore dignatur..." Assemani, J.S., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 550.

5. Cf. *The Travancore Royal Court Judgement*, translated by E.M. Philip, Kottayam, 1890 (hence forth quoted as "RCJ") n. 91; Rae, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-270; Fortescue Adrian, *op. cit.*, p. 365; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 202; E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 167.
6. Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 142; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 168-170; Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.
7. "....The new Bishop was not satisfied with the manner in which he was ordained. The belief of the Syrian Church was always (!) or at least from 1665 onwards that any consecration done without the Patriarch or his delegate was null and void...." E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 173, The English translation is ours.
8. "....Havere intanto quel vescovo schismatico introdotto con i Padri carmelitani missionarii un trattato d'unione colla S. Chiesa Romana, et essere tanto lui, quanto i suoi schismatici disposti a prestare obbedienza al S. Pontifice, ogni volta che da Sua Santita venisse egli confermato vescovo della serra. Qual trattato piacendo molto a quella christianita per l'odio che porta a padri della Compagna essendosi congregata coll' Arcidiacono, scrisse una lettera a Nostro Signore, con supplicarlo di far consacrare per loro vescovo il detto prelatto schismatico, havendo a questo effetto inviato a Roma uno dei detti padri missionarii, che fu detto esser morto per strada... che quando Sua Santita avesse stimato bene di condescendere all'istanza di detto vescovo, e de medessimi cattolici, sarebbe stato espediente che la Santita Sua nel da facolta al detto vescovo Vicario Apostolico iv¹ dimorante di consacrare il detto vescovo schismatico avesse costituito unitamente lo stesso Vicario Apostolico al governo principale della serra...." *APF, SOCG.*, vol. 562, anno 1708, ff. 685-685 v.
9. *ibid.*, (note the latter part of the account above). It is also to be noted that the missionaries always referred to the schismatic bishop as "laicus mitratus" or "intrusus" to indicate that he was not a validly consecrated bishop: cf. the various accounts they sent to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, in *APF, SOCG.*, vol. 232, 233, 234 (passim). Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 108 et passim. These appellations, however, cannot be taken seriously. For later, when referring to validly consecrated bishops they still used the same phrase as we shall see later in this book.
10. Cf. Raulin, *op. cit.*, p. 444; Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.
11. This letter was originally written in Syriac and had been kept in the archives of the Malankara Metropolitan. E. M. Philip, Secretary to Mar Dionysius V, has translated it into Malayalam and has reproduced it in his book referred to in this study. The letter is given in full on pp. 160-164 of the *op. cit.*, We have quoted it in the third chapter.
12. Cf. Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 100. He claims to have had a booklet containing the praises of the prelate, from the church of Callurcat.
13. Historians give different dates for the event. We have given the dates that are found in local sources. Cf. E. M. Philip *op. cit.*, p. 167; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 167; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 202. But Germann says that Mar Gregorios died in 1672 and Mar Thomas I, in 1673. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 525-526. Paulinus too gives the same, and affirmed that documents in the archives of Verapoly were consulted. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103. We have some information on the same from some reports of Fr. Matteo di S. Giuseppe, O.C.D., to Rome. Supplying some information to be studied by the General Congregation of Propaganda Fide on 10 Dec. 1674 he wrote ".... essendo gia morto il falso Patriarcha (referring to Mar Gregorios) giudeo di Ittithoma... suoi aderenti et essendo venuti all'obbedienza del vero vescovo... " *APF, SOCG.*, vol. 23, ff. 115-117; The same occurs also in a letter to Fr. Celestion on 29 Dec. 1674; "...dopo di questo tempo migliora la serra notabilmente: con la morte di falso Patriarcha giudeo di Itti Thoma nestorino, Benkur

Archidiacono vescovo intruso Giorgi et molti altri cassanari e christiani ribelli di presenti tutto sta quieto" *ibid.*, f. 130.

14. Here again the dates vary. The local sources give them as 1670-1686. Paulinus says that Mar Thomas II lived only 8 days and his successor only upto 1676: Cf *op. cit.*, p. 103. According to him it was Mar Thomas IV, who ruled in 1676: "...gubernabat quartus hic Thomas qui vixit usque ad 1686 ..." *ibid.*, p. 104. Other historians also speak of a Mar Thomas who was elected but who died within eight days of a thunderstroke, but do not count him as Mar Thomas II: Cf. Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 142. The list of Paulinus is wrong as it is evident from his own account. For according to his computation Mar Thomas IV reigned upto 1696 and Mar Thomas V, until 1717 when Mar Thomas VI began his rule. On the other hand it is certain that Mar Thomas VI died only in 1808. Thus his reign would cover 91 years! The inaccuracy of Paulinus' dates is also evident from the testimony of Buchanan who in 1800 estimated the age of Mar Thomas VI, whom he was visiting, as 82 years. Paulinus himself reports that he had visited Mar Thomas VI, in 1785: Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 109. The local sources seem to be preferable.
15. Cf. Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S. J. *op. cit.*, p. 143; RCJ, n. 93; Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 528: he claims to have obtained the information from the writings of Bartholomew Hanna, a Syrian priest who was sent by the Congregation of Propaganda to Malabar and was residing there at that time. Besides, he affirms that Paulinus, Assemani and Swanston took him to have been the successor of Mar Gregorios. Cf. *ibid.*; L. W. Brown, gives 1676-1682 as the period of Mar Andreos' stay in Malabar: Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 112.
16. "Maphrian" is a title adopted by the Jacobites to indicate the ecclesiastical office equal to that of the "Catholicos" of the Nestorians.
17. Cf. Assemani, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, II, p. 463; other historians too report the same: Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 149; RCJ, n. 94. But Germann says that Mar Basilius was a simple bishop and Mar John, the Maphrian, *op. cit.*, p. 528. He seems to have adopted the opinion of Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 106. But this is against all other reports and especially that of Mar Thomas IV, who, writing to the Patriarch of Antioch in 1709, acknowledged that Mar Basilius was the Maphrian and Mar John a simple bishop. Cf. the letter reproduced by Germann himself in *op. cit.*, pp. 535-536.
18. Cf. *the different opinions referred to in Note 13 of this article.*
19. Cf. RCJ, n. 93; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 149; G.B. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp 52-53.
20. "Anno 1676 die 15 Oct. gubernabat quartus hic Thomas de Campo (we have already shown that Paulinus was wrong in indicating the ruling period of Mar Thomas IV; Cf. p. 41, Note 14) laicus intrusus, qui vixit usque ad annum 1686, quo novis Jacobites Basilio et Joani se opposuerat, ne ipse dignitate sua excideret...." Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 104. And again as to the difficulty the Jacobite bishops had to undergo, he explained: "...Joannem fuisse verum episcopum Jacobitam quo.... schismaticos ad disputandum provocabat, per easque errores sous spargebat. Opposuit se eisdem P. Hanna et Thomas de campo intrusus, ob quam causam versus boream progressi, Joanes paulo post obiit in oppido Mulanthuruthi, Basilius autem in Codamangalam ubi annua e jus parentalia schismatici celebrant". *op. cit.*, p. 106; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
21. All the historians agree in this that Mar Thomas III ruled only for two years. But they disagree in fixing this period. The local sources give it as between 1686-1688, while the others report that it was from 1674-1676. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 168 as against Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

22. See our discussion on the reunion attempts of Mar Thomas in the first chapter of the second part of this book.
23. The original letter of Mar Thomas IV, is in Syriac and it has been translated into Latin and published by Dr. Charles Schaaf from the University of Leiden, in 1714. Cf. *Relatio historica*, Ledien 1714. The English translation, which we give below is of Thomas Yeats, *Indian Church History*. London 1818, pp. 152-154, reproduced by Germann: "...Thoma, the infirm, bishop of the ancient and Orthodox Syrian Christians of Hindoo to the Primate of the Royal Syrian Priesthood.... Mar Ignatius Patriarch triumphing with the triumphs of Apostles.... President of the illustrious throne of Antioch, the fourth Patriarchate by the decree of 318 fathers assembled in the city of Nice.... My Lord, I implore thy benediction with thy right hand full of cordial love: *Professing obedience and submission to your high Authority*. wherefore God bless Thee on thy throne.... I am utterly unworthy to write this letter becoming your eminency but I wrote solely on account of the great distress of the Syrian believers, well worthy of praise now dwelling in Hindoo; and that you would be pleased to send unto us a Patriarch and a Metropolitan and two elders, such as are learned and qualified in the reading of the Holy Scriptures..." Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 534-536. The underline is ours, and we have given only the passages pertinent to our discussion here.
24. *APF.*, Acta anni 1728, vol. 98, f. 97 Relatio Card. Dellia, on 23 Feb. 1728: "...Questi per nome Gabriele dopo il 1704 sintruse nella serra del Malabar, souvertendo quei popoi e seminando fra essi velenose dottrine, con segregati dall' ubedienza del Vicario Apostolico...." But Land dates his arrival as 1705!: "Anno 1705 venit dominus Gabriel Metropolita syrus Orientis Catholici jussu", *Anecdota Syriaca*, I. P. 127, quoted by Germann, *op. cit.* p. 543, footnote, 1. Paulinus, however, gives it as still later in 1708: Cf., *op. cit.*, 107. Mar Gabriel was reputed to have been a Nestorian both among the Missionaries and the Syrians. But at least in 1704 he was treated as a Catholic. His profession of Faith, written both in Syriac and in Arabic together with their translations, is found in *APFSO*. Anno 1706, vol. 549, ff. 325-340. In f. 325, Patriarch Guiseppe della cita Amed detta Diarbeker" testifies that he had received the profession of Faith from Mar Gabriel on 20 March 1704. This fact was again referred to in the General Congregation of the Cardinals in 1704. "Mgr. Gabriel Arcivescovo di Odurbigen di nazione e rito chaldeo si converte alla Fede Catholica; professione Fidei, apced Patriarcham chaldeam Mgr. Guiseppe, del Amed Letta Diarbeker, 16 Dec. 1704". *Acta C. G.* anni 1704, f. 291. From this account we can easily understand another point also that Mar Gabriel could not have arrived in Malabar in 1704. For it was on 16 dec. 1704, that he made his profession of faith before the Chaldean Patriarch, after which only he was supposed to have started his journey. Thus the date given by Land seems to be preferable.
25. A report of a protestant mission-correspondent, on 17 July 1715, is quoted by Germann: "Landinwärts von Cochín waren zwei syrische Bishop Mar Thomas und Mar. Gabriel. Beide konnten sich nicht mit eniander vertragen, daher es vor cinigen Jahren durich hollandische Abgeordnete aus Cochín.... so geordnete ware, daSS der erste einen Landstrich sudwärts und der andere einen Landstrich nordwärts unter seiner Verwaltung hat... Und wenn solche gute Vermittlung nicht geschehen ware.... indem die eine Partei dem Thomas und die andere dem Gabriel angehangen hatte...." *op. cit.*, p. 552. Visscher, a Dutch Chaplain of Cochín at that time, who visited Mar Gabriel in Kottayam gives the same report. Cf. Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, 1743 (English translation, 1862, p. 103: quoted by L.W. Brown, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-117.
26. The Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide explained thus: "Dopo accaduta circa l'anno 1730 la morte del vescovo Gabriele nestoriano i christiani del suo Partito si divisero in tre classi; essendo degli eretici Malabar di rito chaldeo ritornarono

all'ubbedienza dell' Arcidiacono loro capo Thomaso del Campo, una porzione di quei cattolici del medesimo rito chi erano stati sedoti dal defonto, si sottomise al Vicario Apostolico: et al tra porzione si sottopose all Arcivescovo di Crangannor vivendo ciascuno quietamente sotto il governo di quel superiore ecclesiastico che rispettivamente si avevano eletto". Cf. *Relatio habita in C. Particulari*, 16 Aug. 1750, *APF*, C.P. Acta (1750, Vol. ff.)-14. Thus we learn that he had so many followers as to be divided into three groups. Land wrote that 42 churches were under Mar Gabriel: "Gabriel Metropolitae syrus nec syros consanguineos suos etiam Syros, qui Francos secuti erant, amplexus est, sed quasi medius inter eos mansit, eo consilio ut syros Francorum assecclas reduceret, Propterea syri bene multi ex utrisque partibus ad illum se contulerunt et ex iis quidem, qui Francis adhaerent, quadraginta duae ecclesiae. Hodie autem per fraudem et diligentiam Carmelitarum et Franciscanorum viginti ecclesiae ab illo sese disjunxerunt..." J. P. N. Land "Anecdota Syriaca", Deiden, 1862, p. 127. Cf. also Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 543. Le Quien repeats the report: Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 553-589; Cf. also *APF*, CP, Acta, (1750), vol. 109, f. 3. Mar Thomas IV, on the other hand had only 25 churches under his authority. Cf. L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 116; quoting "Quatorzieme continuation des missionnaires danois de Tranquebar", pp. 71-72.

27. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
28. Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 108: "...inplacabilis hostis Jacobitarum et Thoma de campo, catholicos dolis, artibus, simulatione circumveniebat et alliciebat ut eos in suas partes pertraheret".
29. The copy of it is found in Assemani *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 466-467; Cf. also Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 204-205. Raulin, *op. cit.*, p. 447; Paulinus says: "Hic igitur Thomas anno 1720 die Sept. ex oppido parur epistolam scripsit ad Ignatium Patricarcham Antiochenum..." *op. cit.*, p. 109. This and other letters were sent through the Dutch Authorities. But this second letter did not reach its destination. Germann explained this by saying that it was hindered by the Catholics: "....Schaaf der Sohn antwortet am 12 Dec. 1720 in des Vaters Namen, als ob dieser noch lebte, daSS schon 5 Briefe abgegangen sein und daSS er zur fernerer Vermittlung der Correspondenz nach Antiochien bereit sei, also muSS er doch den Brief den Patriarchen empfangen und weiter geschickt haben. Aber es scheint, daSS die von Holland abgeschickten Briefe nicht an ihren Bestimmungsort gelangten, sondern von den Katholikeen aufgefangen wurden. Anders ist es nicht erklarlich, daSS in Holland biz jetzt das Original jenes Briefes nicht entdeckt ist und daSS Assemani im Archiv der Propaganda in Rom ihn auffand und ihn auf Syrisch mit lateinischer Ub ersetzung veroffentlichen konnte...." German, *op. cit.*, p. 545.
30. Cf. The letter sent to himself from Rome on 19 Sept. 1750. *APF*, Lettere vol. 175, f. 164: letter to the Archbishop of Crangannoor, on 12 Sept. 1750. *ibid.*, ff. 160-162. Cf. the letter of the Antiochene Patriarch sent to Mar Thomas V, quoted in *RCJ*, n. 99.
31. Cf. art. I. ch. I in the second part of this book.
32. The condition of the catholic group also was not very encouraging. Before 1694 Mar. Alexander died and only in 1704 Bishop Rebeiro took over the charge of the Archdiocese of Crangannoor. The Syrians were not very anxious to follow the Vicar Apostolic.
33. Cf. Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
34. Hough J. "History of Christianity in India, London, 1839, vol. II, p. 392; Germann brings the report of a Dutch missionary given on 1 July 1729: "...Valerius Nicolai.... bot seine Vermittlung an um sie beide (Mar Gabriel and Mar Thomas) in der wahren orthodoxen Lehre zu vereinigen. Mar Gabriel erwiderte ihm in einigen Briefen in papistischen Wendungen, Mar Thomas antwortete am 11 Feb. 1730, aus Kandanatt, er konnt auf, den

Brief nicht entgegenen bis er von seinem Patriarchen Erlaubni dazu empfangen hatte....” *op. cit.*, p. 558.

35. Cf. note 25. *of this article*. Mar Thomas himself had written a letter to the Dutch Governor Jacob de Tong on 8 June 1729, asking help in his struggle against the enemies of his Church, cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 557-558.
36. Dr. Schaaf writing to La Croze on 25 July 1725 spoke of his intermediation for Mar Thomas “.....Solches aber kann dem Mar Thomas und den Thomaschristen gar keinen Schaden bringen, sondern im Gegenteile ist der Bischof Mar Thomas sehr glücklich gewesen, daS sein Brief in meine Hände gefallen ist nachdem er zuvor überall ist hingesandt worden und ihn niemand hat übersetzen. Dadurch daS der syrische Brief in so vieler Vornehmer Hände geraten ist dadurch ist solches ausgewirkt, daS es vor die Ostindische Compagnie gekommen ist, die sich die Sache hat angelegen sein lassen und meine Correspondenz mit dem Bischof Mar Thomas festgemacht und hat die Ostindische Compagnie sich des Bischofs angenommen und gemacht, daS er mehr denn 70 Kirchen wieder bekommen welche den St. Thomaschristen von den Papisten abgenommen waren....” Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 538. Before he had only 25 churches with him, Cf. Note 26 of this article.
37. Cf. note 34, *of this article*: the report of the Dutch correspondent on 1 July 1729; Cf. also the letter of Fr. Bonifacius a Bambino Jesu to the Cardinals in Rome in 1748, *APF*, SOCP, (16 Aug. 1750) vol. 109, f. 95 (quoted below under no. 40). The local historians also report the same: “It seems that the Dutch had made an attempt to convince Mar Thomas that just as Nestorianism, Jacobitism too is heretical and that Calvinistic Protestantism alone is orthodox religion” E.M. Philip. *op. cit.*, p. 174. Cf. also Hough *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 392.
38. The vain efforts of the protestant missionaries were thus explained: “..... Die Missionare wundern sich nach dieser Aussprache nicht mehr daS alle Bemühungen des Predigers Nicolai in Cochín.... Vergeblich waren so daS er klagen mußte mit den römischen Syrern waren von vornherein gar nichts anzufangen und Mar Thomas verschanzte sich alsbald hinter Antiochien. Die Missionare halten dafür daS an eine Vereinigung mit den Protestanten gar nicht zu denken wäre....” Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 561.
39. Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.
40. “.....così stavano li christiani di S. Thome quieti ciascuno sotto il governo che più gli conveniva; solamente alcuni schismatici stavano malcontenti del loro capo, non essere in alcuno modo consagrato, per ciò nel 1738 dimando al commandatori di Cochino udienza per esser in qualchemodo ammesso da quello colle sue insegne vescovili e così fosse anche riconosciuto dalli suoi; ebbe l’audienza nel mese di febraio del sudetto anno e resto tre giorni dentro la città, in questo tempo e prego la Compagnia per fargli venire un vescovo Giacobita al che il commandator gli dicendo che procurasse dalli suoi un consenso commune di essere tutti li schismatici confederati colla Compagnia, e così la Compagnia gli avrebbe dato tutto l’aiuto e favore di cui necessitasse....” *APF*, SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750), vol. 109, f. 95.
41. See the letters of the Syrian Catholics to the Pope, to the Queen of Portugal: *APF*, SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750), vol. 109, ff. 15-18. All of these letters were written in Malayalam; translations in Latin and Portuguese were attached to the same. In the Italian translation of the letter to the Pope we read: “..... E venuto ultimamente per vescovo in questa nostra diocesi un Antiocheno il quale contro la nostra legge e costume rompe e incendia la sagra immagini della nostra chiesa, insegnando che non si possono venerare ed obbligando a molte altre ceremonie e riti....” *ibid.* f. 15.V.

42. The original letter is in Chaldean Syriac and is found in APF., SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750), vol. 109, f. 114. Its translation in Italian is given on ff. 19-21. We quoted from f. 20v.
43. Just as the efforts of Mar Thomas IV, so those of Mar Thomas V were also foiled, of which we will speak in the second part of this book. Cf. Chapter II.
44. "....Anno 1751 die 23 April in Malabariam appulerunt Mar Basilius; Mar Gregorius et Mar Joannes Jacobites, et cum his due clerici syri, unus ex Diarbecker oriundus nomine Shekeralla, alter nomine Aday, qui in Mattancera uxorem duxit, et quocum ego saepe locutus sum. Basilius Shekerallah Arciepiscopus misit Ignatius Georgius Patriarcha Antiochenus, et litterae ejus expeditionis fuerunt datae in Diarbecker anno 1749 die 23 Juli..." Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. III. Other historians too give the same report. As we see that Paulinus claimed to have spoken with them often, we need not add them to his.
45. "...Ueberraschend nach so langjahrigen Streitigkeiten kommt die Nachricht, daS die beiden uberlebenden fremden Pralaten...." Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 576, E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176, 180. Cf. also *the letter of the Vicar Apostolic* in 1672, quoted in note 47 of this article.
46. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Whitehouse T: *Lingerings of light in a Dark land*. London, 1873, p. 228; we gather the detailed news of the journey of the Antiochene Prelates, the consecration of Mar Ivanios, the discussions with Mar Thomas etc., from a Syriac manuscript that has been kept by E.M. Philip. He reproduced the Malayalam translation of a letter from this manuscript in his *op. cit.*, pp. 176-182.
47. APF., SOCP. (dal 4 Sept. al 22 Dec. 1764) vol. 54, f. 77: the letter of the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, on 15 Oct. 1762. From this it is concluded that Mar Thomas VI, was appointed Metropolitan in 1761 (29 Janio). But some other historians give a different date of the same: Cf. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 208, and Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 178: both of them dated it to 1757.
48. Cf. the letter of Fr. Bonifacius to the Cardinals in 1748, in APF., SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750), vol. 109, f. 95. Germann reports the testimony of "Mattai Mattai von Anjikaimal (Ernakulam) who narrated the story of the invalid consecration of Mar Thomas V: Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 576.
49. This letter is reproduced in the Travancore Royal Court Judgement, *RCJ*, n. 99. The translation is ours. In the lawsuit between the Patriarch's party and the Metropolitan's party, the former had presented it to the Court. The latter did not question the authenticity of it though argued that the claim was groundless, as the Patriarch had not been conceded any power-jurisdictional-over the Malankara Church. Cf. also Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
50. Cf. The first chapter in the second part of this book.
51. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, page 208; E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 181. Germann gives it one year later, quoting Swanston: "Fur Basilius Shekerallah gibt Swanston bestimmt 1765 als Todesjahr an, und dieser Angabe steht auch nichts entgegen. Sein mit Silber geschmucktes Grabmal wird in der Kirche zu Kandanada gezeigt in welcher auch die Ruhestatte von Mar Thomas V, zu sehen ist". *op. cit.*, p. 576. Bernard *op. cit.*, p. 178, also indicate 1765 as the year of the death of Mar Thomas V. But Paulinus says: "Hic Basilius mortuus est in Mattancheri sepulatus autem in Candanad post unum a suo adventu annum..." (i.e. 1752!), *op. cit.*, p. 112. He might be confusing this name with that of the prelate who came in 1685 and died soon after his arrival in Malabar.
52. Cf. Germann *op. cit.*, p. 577; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 208; Bernard, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 179, 194, 201: all of them dated it 1772. But E. M. Philip gives it 1770. *op. cit.*, p. 183, Tisserant-Hambye, seems to agree with his opinion: Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145; *RCJ*, also

gives the same: Cf. n. 104. However we date it to 1772. for Mar Dionysius I himself gives the same in his letter to the Pope in 1778. Cf. *APF*, SCIOC (Congressi, Indie Orientali e Cina) Vol. 39, ff. 14-20, the original in Syriac, The Latin version is in ff. 10-13. We shall speak more about his letter in the first chapter of the second part of this book.

1. See the instruction given to the Bishop of Cochin from Rome in *APF*, Lettere (a. 1780) vol. 236, ff 737-738.
2. "....Ego autem ad eandem evectus dignitatem, cum a quibusdam orthodoxae fidei sacerdotibus necnon ab aliquibus Jacobitarum asseclis audivissem, me episcopali carere caractere meamque ordinationem prorsus nullam fuisse; ea propter anno 1772 prima Dominica mensis Januarii a clericali Tonsura ad Episcopatum usque inclusive a Jacobita Archiepiscopo Gregorio Neranae in ecclesia S. Mariae denuae promoveri curavi et obtinui...." The letter of Mar Dionysius I to the Pope. 12 May 1778, Cf. *APF*, SOC (IOC), vol. 39, f. 11r. The English translation is ours. See the reasons and circumstances of this petition to the Pope, in the first article of the second part of this book.
3. Cf. The first article in the second part of this book.
4. ".... ne serva d'ostacolo alla secondo nostra preghiera l'artificiosa circumvenzione, con cui l'umana debolezza d'alcuni missionarii da quelle parti pretese mettere in dubbio l'ordinazione dell'Archivescovo Mar Thomas valida in vero ed innegabile.... nell'atto d'espore l'ingenua sua professione di Fede si protesta d'esser stato realmente ordinato com' anche da chi, quando e dove, e noi l'abbiamo sentito confermare da molti soggetti reguardevoli quali furono presenti alla di lui promozione dalla prima tonsura sino all'Ordine episcopale, e questi ancora viventi...." Cf. The petition of Cariattil in *APF*, SOC (IOC), vol. 39, f. 9r. The original is to be found fully in ff. 6-9; another copy in *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 145-147; his further arguments can be seen in ff. 149-150v.
5. "Nulla di meno io dico, che egli sia stato consagrato, e lo tengo per cosa certa, attribuendo tutte queste confusioni al Vicario Apostolico ed alli propagandisti, li quali a motivo de' proprii interessi pretendono oscurare le ragioni del prefato Mar Thoma...." Cf. the report of Fr. Soledado, in *APF*, *SOCG.*, (17 May 1784) vol. 867, f. 135 v.
6. "Quanto alla di lui consagrazione egli crede veramente, che Mar Thoma sia stato consagrato vescovo dall'Arcivescovo Jacobita Gregorio, e s'induce a crederlo non solo affidato alle asserzioni di molti sacerdoti, e secolari de' piu accreditati...." Cf. The "Ristretto del Card. Ghilini" in *APF*, *SOCG.*, (17 May 1784), vol. 867, f. 110 r. The original letter of Bishop Carlo is to be found in ff. 177 sq. He defends it with equal certainty also in his letters of 10th and 14th May of the year 1781: Cf. *ibid.*, ff. 167, 171.

But some Carmelite missionaries in Malabar seemed to have obscured the point, even though they did not bring any solid argument against it, as it was already referred to by Dr. Cariattil and Fr. Soledado (Cf. Footnotes 4 and 5 above). For the reports of the Carmelites, especially of Bishop Aloysius Maria, see his letter on 20th Sept. 1785, in *APF*, *SOCG.*, (11 Sept. 1786) vol. 874, f. 96. Cf. also Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114, who tried to cast a doubt on the matter. The reasons for such an attitude are left unexplained here. We can get an idea of the situation from the writings of the Syrians referred to in the first article of the first chapter in the second part.

7. Cf. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 184, RCJ, n. 105; Bernard; *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 180-181.
8. "..... In 1784 Mar Ivanios ordained Fr. Philip from Kayamkulam and Fr. Mathai, the nephew of the Metropolitan, as Rambans. Shortly afterwards he died at Chengannoor...." RCJ, n. 108. He died in 1794. Cf. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 188; L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 180.

9. See the Royal Decree in his favour, quoted by Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 181.
10. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 184; *RCJ*, n. 106; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II; p. 180; L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S. J.; *op. cit.*, p. 144.
11. For the details of this meeting, Cf. the following chapter of this book. Note that Mar Ivanios died only in 1794. Cf. Note 4 of this article.
12. Cf., *RCJ*, n. 108; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 368.
13. Cf. Chapter I in the second part of this book.
14. "....Notetur quod postquam Mar Dionysius I, accepit consecrationem nullus ex ejus successoribus vel a Patriarcha Jacobita vel a Catholico Jacobita vel ab eorumdem delegato est consecratus. Practice isti nihil cogitabant de Patriarcha..." Fonti, II-VIII, p. 62, n. 119.
15. As this topic is to be treated later in the second part we shall not discuss it here. Regarding the efforts of reunion made by Mar Dionysius I, see an excellent article by Kollaparambil Jacob, "Mar Dionysius the Great of Malabar for the true Fold" in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, vol. XXX; fasc. I, 1964, pp. 148-192.
16. After the capture of the fort of Cochin from the Dutch, on 19 Oct. 1795, the British Power began to spread in South India. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 585; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 368.
17. The work of the Protestant missionaries among the Syrians of the Malankara Church and its consequences are indeed significant. But we shall not enter into a discussion on these matters. But we would like to point out while the presence of the Protestants in the Malankara Church in the early years made her more conscious of herself, later it forced her to seek the protection of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, who for her was the symbol of power and orthodoxy. Cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 368; On the activities of the Protestant missionaries in the Malankara Church, Cf. P. Cherian, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society* (1816-1840), Kottayam 1935.
18. Claudius Buchanan, then Vice-Principal of Fort William College, Calcutta, came to Trivandrum in 1806, while Wellesly was Governor General and Macaulay the Resident. Buchanan first visited Mar Dionysius I, on 23 Nov. 1806 and a second time in 1808. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 610-614; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 369; *RCJ*, n. 113; Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192; Adrian Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 366. A year before the visit of Buchanan, i.e., in 1805, the English Chaplain in Madras, Dr. Kerr also visited Malabar to gather information about the Syrian Church of Malankara. Cf. Bernard; *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 369; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 211.
19. The Metropolitan confided to Buchanan: "....I am ready to undergo any sacrifice to realise such a union (he is referring to the proposal that a union be made between the Protestant and Syrian Churches) provided I am not asked to do anything that would tarnish the purity or the dignity of our Church...." Cf. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131.
20. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 144; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
21. Cf. *ibid.* From 1800 on an English Officer with the title "British Resident" was residing in Malabar as an adviser to the Governments of Cochin and Travancore. Cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370.
22. See the letter of the Antiochene Patriarch, quoted in Note 49 of the previous article.
23. Here again historians differ in giving the date of the death of Mar Dionysius I. Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 196; *RCJ*, n. 115 L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p.

127; all of them date it was in 1808. But Germann reports that he died in 1810, Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 617, 620.

24. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 115; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370; But Germann reports that Mar Thomas VII being an old and weak man, did not have the courage to consecrate his nephew, as he was opposed by another party. But he adds that after the death of Mar Thoma VII his followers tried to get their candidate "consecrated" by placing the hands of the dead on the head of the candidate: *op. cit.*, pp. 620-621. We have still another contemporary report. Writing on 15th Dec. 1815 from Mysore, Abbe Dubois explained: "Labouring under a mental infirmity, he could not on that account, consecrate his successor before his death, which happened about five years ago; so that, to the past year, they were yet without a Bishop...." Missionary Register, 1816, p. 443, quoted by Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 621, Footnote. I. Cf. also Adrian Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 365, Note 1.
 25. This is evident from the fact that Macaulay gave the interest of the money deposited by Mar Dionysius I to Mar Thomas VIII. The letter of the British Resident is reproduced in Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 37.
 26. Cf. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 37. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 190; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 372; *RCJ*, nn. 126-129. Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 372; *RCJ*, nn. 126-129.
 27. For information about the immigration, Cf. D.T.C., vol. XIV, Vol. 3032. See some observations on this point in Tisserant Cardinal Eugene & E. R. Hambye, S. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. Cf. also K. E. Job, *Christianity in Kerala*, (2nd ed.) Mannanam 1945, p. 18. J. S. Assemani admits the event but ascribes it to the year A.D. 825. Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 441. Giamil concedes the probability of such an immigration in 345, but argues that it was of "Thomas of Jerusalem and of a certain Joseph, Metropolitan of Edessa". Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 578-582; Mignana agrees with him, Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 476, n. 1; According to them the immigration of Thomas Cana was in the year 800, Cf. *ibid.*, J. P. N. Land explains the tradition as due to a document written by a Jacobite Priest, Mathai by name in 1770. Cf. Land, J.P.N., *Anecdota Syriaca*, Leyden 1862, pp. 7, 24-30, 123-127; this document of 1770 is fully reproduced in Giamil, *op. cit.*, pp. 552-564.
- In Malabar the immigration of Thomas Cnanai is unquestionably admitted as a historical fact basing its truth both on written documents and on traditional and sociological realities: Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-64; Fonti, II-VIII, p. 15.
28. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 202; L. W. Brown says that it had been given in 1814. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 128. He quotes Pukadiyil Ittoop, *Church history of the Syrian Christians* (2nd ed.), Kottayam, 1906, pp. 185-187.
 29. Many historians say that he died in 1816, v.g. Cf. L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 129. But Bernard and Germann say he died in 1815, which seems to be more accurate. For it was in 1815 that Mar Dionysius was consecrated and already in January, 1816 he was declared by the Government to be the Metropolitan. On the other hand it is reported by the former historians that it was from Mar Thomas IX that Mar Dionysius II took over the office, which would be difficult to understand if Mar Thomas VIII still lived in 1816. The confusion would be on account of the difficulty of converting the Christian Era into the Malayalam Era (i.e. Kolla Varsham), which was mainly followed by the local historians, as they always joined the Malayalam names of the months to the year of the Christian Era Cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 327; Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 622; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 205; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 214.
 30. In taking over the office from Mar Thomas IX, and getting his consecration from Mar Philexinos, Mar Dionysius II had the support of the British Resident through the English Missionaries. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 622-623. For Mar Dionysius II was favouring the

ideas of the Protestant Missionaries. Here again we have a clue to the understanding of the attitude of Mar Thomas VIII who preferred to stress their ancient relationship with the Syrian churches as a defence against a powerful opposing party, imbued with a spirit of Protestant reformation. This is evident from the fact that Mar Thomas IX, was forced to resign and to live the rest of his life as a monk in Kadamattam. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 135; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 272.

31. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 205; *RCJ*, n. 135.
32. Mar Dionysius II himself was sorry for having contracted this new relationship. He said: "I am sorry for having requested help for our seminary from the European Protestants. Right from the time of Buchanan, the Europeans were swooping down on our Church as an eagle swoops down on its prey. Only God knows how this will end. By the grace of God I will protect this poor Church as long as I live. May God almighty keep it forever". This is taken from the diary of Korepiscopa Edavazhikal Philopos, to whom as a priest, these words were spoken by Mar Dionysius himself. This is reproduced by E. M. Philip, in his *op. cit.*, p. 212.
33. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 213; *RCJ*, n. 136. Mackenzie; *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 214.
34. Mar Phelixios II, of Thozhiur was from the descendant line of Mar Cyril who was consecrated by Mar Gregorios in 1772, as a rival to Mar Dionysius I, the Malankara Metropolitan. Mar Cyril appointed his brother as his successor in the name of Mar Cyril II, who was followed by Mar Philexinos I. It was he who consecrated and appointed Mar Philexinos II, referred to above. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
35. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 213; *RCJ*, n. 139.
36. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 659; *RCJ*, n. 143; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
37. Note that Mar Gregorios, the Antiochene prelate who consecrated Mar Dionysius I, was not in good terms in his old age with him. However the nomination and consecration done by Mar Dionysius I, was accepted by the people, without any questioning in spite of the fact that Mar Gregorios had already consecrated Mar Cyril as a rival to Mar Dionysius I. It must also be remembered that the Antiochene prelate, Mar Dioscoros, who came to Malabar in 1807 was expelled from Malabar by order of Mar Dionysius I. If the authority of the Antiochene prelates or of the Patriarch was decisive in matters pertaining to the Malankara Church, the authority of Mar Gregorios and Mar Dioscoros would have been maintained against that of Mar Dionysius I.
38. We can not, however, forget that the civil Government under the instigation of the English Missionaries, had considerably contributed to the development of such an attitude on the part of the Malankara Church. For the Protestant Missionaries desired nothing else but such a situation to introduce themselves to the local Church and to sow the seeds of the "Reformation" freely and undisturbed by any other foreigner, who had already gained much influence in the field of liturgy.
39. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 655; Hough *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 302, Footnote 9; he quotes the Missionary Register for 1822, pp. 431-432.
40. These words were noted in a manuscript diary of one of his priests, who was an intimate collaborator with him. E. M. Philip has published it in his *op. cit.*, p. 218; The English translation is ours.
41. This letter was sent through the English Missionary, Rev. James Hough. Cf. Hough, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 389.

42. These are the very words of the Jacobite historian E. M. Philip himself. Cf. *op. cit.*, p.217. But later he explained it by saying that the invitation was to consecrate validly the Malankara Bishop Mar Dionysius III.
43. See the details of this mission in G. B. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.
44. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
45. Cf. See his own words referred to in Note 42 of this article.
46. E. M. Philip said: "Although Mar Cyril was consecrated by Mar Gregorios in 1772 and he had testified to this fact before the Dutch Government in his Will, there were no credentials with Mar Philexinos to prove this...." *op. cit.*, p. 221. Howard noted: "As these facts (the validity of the consecration of Mar Philexinos) were incontestably proved, the Synod (Balgahatty) admitted the legality of his consecration, and order being thus restored, Philexinos appointed one George to be his colleague and having consecrated him (under the name of Mar Dionysius). committed the charge of the diocese into his hands, feeling himself too infirm to discharge efficiently the onerous duties of his office" *op. cit.*, p. 65.
47. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
48. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
49. Cf. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-83; Cf. the letter of Rev. Thomas Robinson, Ramban to Mar Reginald, Bishop of the English churches in India, 1826: "....He also wrote a letter of friendship and brotherly love to Mar Philexinos as Bishop to another exhorting him to receive Mar Athanasius sent by Your Eminence to rule them...." *ibid*,
50. "....when the priest Joannes Doran, had gone from Calcutta to Madras on his way to the country of Malabar he heard for the first time there were dissensions between the Indian Bishops and the Metropolitan from Antioch and being a stranger he was advised by some persons that he should avoid taking any part in such controversies.... he (Bishop Reginald) also sent answers to letters he had received from that land, in which he exhorted all who were subject to his authority to reverence the ancient canons and the usages of the Syrian Church and to know him as rightful head and Metropolitan of the faithful Indians in Malabar, who had been received as such, agreeably to Your Eminency's letter, in a general convocation of the church, summoned at Cotyam, on december 29, 1825, by the Bishop Mar Philexinos...." From the letter of Presbyter Thomas Robinson, Ramban to Bl. Mar Reginald, Bishop of the English Churches in India, 1825. Cf. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-83. "And for, as much as people are divided, and this man is Philexinos and that followed after Athanasius, my counsel is that the multitude must needs come together.... and acknowledge him if difference must be made whom your people shall freely choose to rule over them...." Cf. *Letter of Mar Reginald*, Bishop of Calcutta to Mar Philexinos, Anjur, March 27th; 1827 Cf. Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
51. ".....But the Proceedings of the Syrian Archbishop (Mar Athanasius) became more and more violent. He pronounced all ordinations void which had been held since the decease of Mar Dionysius I in 1810; conferred fresh orders on those already possessing them, priests as well as deacons, threatened all recusants with Excommunication; he annulled marriages, altered the interior of churches, and listened to no advice but that of his Archdeacon (who is said to have been his chief instigator to this Proceedings)...." Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 70 ".... (Mar Athanasius) demanding the immediate deposition of the native Metropolitan and his coadjutor, forbidding the Cattanars to make mention of their names in the public liturgy of the church, under pain of his severe displeasure and suspending all who continued to acknowledge their authority.... They presently received a summons

from Mar Athanasius to appear before him in the neighbouring church without delay. He fulminated a sentence of excommunication against them in the presence of the astonished congregation.... An attempt was then made to obtain the signatures of the principal men to a declaration acknowledging Athanasius and rejecting the native Metropolitan and his coadjutor, but it was resisted with indignation... A compromise was eventually agreed upon, and a document drawn up and subscribed, in which Athanasius was acknowledged as having been deputed by the Patriarch of Antioch to assist the native Metropolitans, and obedience promised accordingly...." Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 69. ".... But my counsel is that all the Malpans and Cattanars of the church, also thou thyself and the brethren Philexinos and Dionysius should come together to meet me in one place, even at Cotayam and testify unto me concerning the customs of the Church and all things belonging to the same.... And in the meantime my brother for as much as it has been said of thee "he is a violent man and seeketh to change times and hours": let me pray thee to be patient...." Letter of Mar Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta to the honoured among bishops, Mar Athanasius, 22nd March, 1826; quoted by Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

52. The original letter is in Arabic and is found in a liturgical book extant in Valiapally, Kottayam, India. Photo-copies of it are preserved in the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome.
53. "....the first letter (to Mar Athanasius), which, as I have mentioned, was sent on the 4th of March, must have arrived in Travancore either on the same day Mar Athanasius was arrested by the Divan and banished from the country, or at least the day after....": From the letter of Presbyter Tomas Robinson, Ramban to the Bl. Mar Reginald, Bishop of English churches in India, 1826; quoted by Howard, *op. cit.*, 78. *RCJ*, n. 151.
54. See the report of Germann on the Synod of Mavelikara in 1818. Dec: 3, *op. cit.*, p. 647, Note also the observations of E. M. Philip on their attempts to anglicanise the Syrian Church: *op. cit.*, pp. 227-232; Cf. also Howard. *op. cit.*, pp. 70-87; Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 655.
55. Cf. *RCJ*, nn. 149-150. Mackenzie dates it 1837: Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.
56. It is reported that eleven letters were sent to the Patriarch for none of which there was a reply from him until 1840: *RCJ*, n. 151. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 234; Milne, *op. cit.*, p. 305.
57. See an example of this double dealing of Mar Dionysius III, which we have explained in the preceding pages, Cf. Note 42 of this article.
58. Mar Athanasius was also called Mar Abd-al-Messih: Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 667-668: he also mentions that once he was a Catholic.
59. Philexinos died on 6th Feb. 1830; Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 688. Mar Cyril III was appointed his successor in 1829, Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 675; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 216.
60. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 151. The English translation is ours. This was evidently not the thought of the entire Church, but only of the anglicanised Syrians. This is confirmed by the letter of Mar Dionysius himself to the British Resident, on 30th Jan. 1846, in which it is declared that this was sent only by the rebellious group. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 165. Besides, later when there was a Bishop directly consecrated and appointed by the Patriarch the majority of the people preferred to follow Mar Dionysius as subsequent events show. It is also interesting to note that this letter was written on 22nd Dec. 1840, after 15 years of Mar Dionysius' consecration and appointment as Metropolitan, by the native bishop and the people. Similarly it is to be remembered that they wrote this letter only after Mar Dionysius IV's disagreement with the Protestants. If it is argued that they had written other letters earlier, it is difficult to understand why the Antiochene Patriarch who was looking for an

opportunity to establish his authority over the Malankara Church waited till 1840 to write a letter to them. (Cf. the letter referred to in Note 69 of this article). The letter seems to be the first he sent in answer to their request. This, however, does not imply that they had not written other letters for the same purpose about this time. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 154.

61. This Rev. Mathew was the nephew of the famous Malpan (Doctor) Abraham who was the leader of the reformation of the Syrian Church. Rev. Mathews himself was a student in the Protestant college run by the Missionaries; Cf. for the other details: Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 728-732; also the proceedings of the South India Conference, held at Ottacamond, 1858, p. 68; Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 304; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Adrian Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 370; W. J. Richards: *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, London, 1908, pp. 30-39.
62. He was ordained in Diar Zabfran by the Patriarch. See the testimonial letter quoted later in this article. Mar Athanasius is reported to have been met by Badger in 1842 at Mosul: Cf. Rev. George Percy Badger: *Nestorians and their rituals*, London, Masters, 1862, vol. I, p. 71; See also Badger's letter in the "Colonial Church Chronicles", December, 1871, p. 479; Germann, *op. cit.*, 671.
63. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 727-728.
64. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, 227, 229. Germann gives the exact date as it is given above; then he proceeds to quote their resolution; Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 696.
65. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 162. Mar Athanasius sent a copy of the letter from the Patriarch to the British Resident, claiming that the original letter of the people which was sent to the Patriarch, together with its reply from the same, was with himself. He added that they were given back by the Patriarch himself to be used as a proof of his appointment. Besides, he said that the news of the excommunication of Mar Dionysius IV had been published among the people. Cf. his letter to the Resident on 21st Sept. 1843. *RCJ*, n. 158.
66. Cf. *ibid.*
67. ".....Der Patriarch beantwortet ein Schreiben, des Mar Dionysius, dessen Autoritat er anerkennt an ihn gerichtet, und ein andres des von ihm herausgeschickten neuen Metrans von Indien, des Mar Koorillos Joachim; Mit groSer freude habe er vernommen wie freundlich Dionysius seinen geliebten Sohn Cyril Joachim ausgenommen habe und wie sie zusammenhalten und den versuchen und anathematizierten Mathaus, wenn moiglich, aus Malabar vertreiben". Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 733.
68. See in the above quotation how the Patriarch wrote about Mathews Mar Athanasius., cf. also Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 371; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 217.
69. This letter is reproduced in *RCJ*, n. 151. The English translation is ours.
70. This letter was presented to the Court by the Patriarch's party in the lawsuit between them and the Metran's party. The authenticity seems to be attested by the fact that the other party did not question it at any time, cf. *RCJ*, n. 154. The copy of this letter is reproduced partly by Milne Rae in his *op. cit.*, p. 305-306.
71. The consecration of the holy chrism according to the Antiochene discipline is reserved to the Patriarch. The Maphrian (Catholicos) can, however, consecrate the same for the churches under his jurisdiction. Similarly the Metropolitan too can consecrate Chrism for the churches under his jurisdiction: "Norma: Ex his patet quod Patriarchae Catholico et Metropolitae Catholico et Metropolitae tantummodo licitum est consacrare chrisma" Bar Hebraeus: *Nomocanon*, III, I, of. *Fonti*, I-IX, p. 137, n. 416. From the letter quoted above we can see that the Patriarch wanted to restrict the power of the Metropolitan by reserving

to himself the consecration of the holy chrism. E. M. Philip observed that in the Malankara Church there had always been the persuasion that only the Patriarch consecrated the H. Chrism. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 353.

72. This and the following letters were reproduced in the *RCJ*, in Malayalam. The English translation is given by us. *RCJ*, n. 158.
73. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 160 Mar Athanasius wrote similar letters also on 7th May 1844 and on 12th July 1845, etc. Cf. *RCJ*, nn. 162-163-164.
74. The letter of Mathews Mar Athanasius, 15th Jan. 1844. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 162.
75. We quote this letter translated into English by us from *RCJ*, n. 165.
76. Cf. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 307; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol II. 217.
77. See his letter referred to in Note 75 of this article. Cf. also E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
78. Mathews Mar Athanasius wrote on 10th Jan. 1847, a long letter to the British Resident describing the whole story. It is reproduced in *RCJ*, n. 167.
79. Cf. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 217; Cf. the Proceedings of the Quilon Committee and their conclusion drawn from their discussions in *RCJ*, n. 170-171. They claimed that they had examined all the documents available and pertinent to this question. Cf. *ibid.*
80. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 735; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 217.
81. We give here in English only a portion of the letter reproduced in *RCJ*, n. 178.
82. The "Puthenkor Syrians" are those who separated themselves from their Catholic Bishop in 1653, and who cherished later a communion with the Jacobite Church of Antioch. They are called "Puthenkor" (i.e. who accepted a new Communion) in contradistinction to "Pazhiakoor" (i. e. who retained the Old Communion with Rome). Cf. Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.
83. This is quoted in *RCJ*, n. 173. Mackenzie makes mention of it, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 217. Cf. also Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
84. It seems that Mar Athanasius Stephen did not stay long in Malankara. For, the British Resident forbade him to do so. Mar Cyril till his death in 1874 remained in Malankara. During his retired life Whitehouse and Howard met him in 1861. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 748, 89.
85. Cf. The letter of Mar Dionysius referred to in Note 75 of this article.
86. Cf. The letter of Mathews Mar Athanasius reproduced in *RCJ*, n. 167.
87. Mar Athanasius too argued along the same lines in his letter to the Resident on 10 June 1847: ".....According to the traditions of the Malankara Church, it is an inviolable principle that they should have their own Bishops and it is a novelty that now a foreigner be appointed and when formerly twice or thrice an appointment of a foreigner was made, it was violently resisted by the people....." Cf. *RCJ*, n. 167. The English Translation is ours.
88. When Mar Dionysius V, was consecrated and appointed Metropolitan of Malankara, Mathews Mar Athanasius was deposed. This we gather from the "Memorandum" submitted to the King of Travancore to obtain recognition for Mar Dionysius V's new office: Cf. *RCJ*, n. 201.

89. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp 745-746; Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 312; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 218. E. M. Philip reports that Mar Dionysius V reached Malankara in 1865; Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 243.
1. Cf. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
2. In England the Patriarch was accorded a warm welcome, though some had disagreed with him in his interfering with the government of the Malankara church. Cf. The speech addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in "The Guardian" 16th Sept. 1874; and the reply given by the Patriarch, *ibid.*, 23rd Sept. 1874: quoted by Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
3. Historians agree that the Synod of Mulanthurthy was in 1876; but with regard to the month in which it was held, they differ: Milne Rae gives it as June, *op. cit.*, p. 318; E. M. Philip, dates it July, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 249; and RCJ, as 15th November. Cf. n. 249. The former reporters might be giving the date of the preparatory procedures.
4. Cf. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 313; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 250; Bernard, *op. cit.*, vol. p. 385.
5. Mar Dionysius IV died in 1853, one year after Mathews Mar Athanasius had been recognised the legal Metropolitan by the Government in 1852. Cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p.385.
6. These statistics are gathered from the *RCJ*, n. 283.
7. See the declarations of Thomas Mar Athanasius, the successor of Mathews Mar Athanasius, quoted in *RCJ*, n. 305.
8. All these facts are evident from the documents we have produced in the previous article of this chapter.
9. This does not mean that all that the Patriarch did in the Malankara Church was canonically valid. The validity or invalidity of a particular juridical act depends on the observance or non-observance of the canons of their Church. To have authority is one thing and to exercise it validly is quite another. What is observed here is that the Malankara Church admitted the authority of the Patriarch. The nature and extent of this authority are discussed later in this article.
10. In fact the Royal Court of Travancore in deciding the case between Mar Dionysius V and Thomas Mar Athanasius, took this view in their final judgement and consequently the group of Thomas Mar Athanasius obtained nothing of the temporalities that pertained to the Malankara Church.
11. The speech of the Patriarch reproduced in the *RCJ*, n. 248. The English translation is ours.
12. He did not want to appear in a secular court without making sure that his authority would not be repudiated later on by the very ones whose cause he was championing.
13. He said: "....A people without leaders and authority will perish. Ignorance will be reigning among them and any one who comes against them would capture and subject them..." Cf. *RCJ*, n. 248. The English translation is ours. The admonition was significant especially when the Protestant Missionaries were making attempts to sow among them seeds of "reformation".
14. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 267.
15. "....ut nunquam oppositio contra obedientiam erga sedem Antiochena et contra fidem orthodoxam jacobiticam, paroeciani singularum ecclesiarum documentum promissionis scribant, quod civiliter recomendatum asservetur in arca ecclesiarum et exempla

singularum (documentorum) cum subscriptione et sigillo cancellarii civilis transmittantur ad Patrem (Patriarcham)" Cf. *Fonti, II-IX*, - 28-29, n. 33.

16. "...jubetur ut numerus paroecianarum statuitur qui numerus inserviet etiam ad colligendum Cathedriticum. Statuit synodus valde bonum esse ad stabilitatem fidei orthodoxae si liber canonum et legum ad illam requisitorum cum auctoritate et sigillo Patriarchae imprimatur et singulis distribuatur ecclesiis et exigatur ne quidquam fiat nisi secundum illum librum...." Cf. *ibid.*, n.33.
17. Cf. *Fonti, II-IX*, pp. 29-30, n. 35. It is the English translation of the original document.
18. The newly consecrated bishops were: Paulos Mar Athanasius, Geevarghese Mar Julios, Geevarghese Mar Koorilose, Geevarghese Mar Gregorios, Mar Ivanios and Simon Mar Dionysius. Cf. *Fonti, II-VIII*, p. 65, footnote 1; L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
19. (It is resolved) that an Association of the whole race should be formed and called "Syrian Christian Association" of which the present Holy Father and his successors should be patrons and the ruling Metran, the President; that whereas it would be difficult for all of them (that is the whole race of the Syrians) jointly to carry on the affairs, a chief Committee composed of 6 priests and 18 laymen and the ruling Metran as President, should be formed, with a paid Secretary and a cash-keeper; that they should be made responsible as managers and responsibility-bearers to manage and control all the religious and social concerns of the whole of the people in general; and that in particular they should be responsible for the collecting and remitting "Rasisa" to His Holiness the Patriarch, and for collecting the monies due to the ruling Metran by the churches, that as it would be difficult for all of them (i. e. the chief committee of 24) jointly to conduct and carry on all the litigations arising generally as to religious or social matters, the President Mar Dionysius Joseph, Metropolitan shall be the person who should have power to carry on all such and to collect monies necessary for the purpose, and that the members of the Committee should be auxiliaries to him therein". Cf. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-320; Cf. also, *RCJ*; n. 285.
20. Cf. *Fonti, II-IX*, p. 28, n. 32. This was the Bull given to Mar Gregorios, one of the six newly consecrated Bishops. Cf. also, Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
1. The Bishops were appointed thus: Paulos Mar Athanasius for Kottayam, Geevarghese Mar Julios for Thumpamon, G. Mar Kurilose for Ankamali, G. Mar Gregorios for Niranam, Mar Ivanios for Kozhencheri and Simon Mar Dionysius for Cochin. Cf. L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, 147, Foot note 2.

It is to be noted here that after the Synod of Mulanthurthy those who had not acknowledged the supremacy of the Patriarch, under the leadership of Mathews Mar Athanasius separated themselves from the Malankara Orthodox Church. In a subsequent lawsuit that was discussed in many instances in the Travancore Civil Courts, they lost all the temporalities they possessed as members of the Malankara Orthodox Church. Consequently they formed a separate group under the name "Reformers", later known as "Mar Thonites". After the death of Mathews Mar Athanasius, the government of this community rested with Thomas Mar Athanasius. Cf. *RCJ*; n. 318.

2. Cf. L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
3. Already before the death of Mar Dionysius V, a meeting of the church representatives was held at Kottayam in 1908 to elect a successor to Mar Dionysius V. Accordingly Malpan Vattasheril Geevarghese was elected and together with Malapan Paulos was sent to Jerusalem and both were to be consecrated Bishops. Patriarch Abdalla II, who happened to be at that time at Jerusalem, consecrated them bishops on 31st May 1908. Malpan Vattasheril took the name of Mar Dionysius VI, while the other was called Mar Koorilos;

- Cf. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 426.
4. Cf. L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
 5. Cf. E.M. Philip. *op. cit.*, P. 428; After the consecration of Mar Dionysius VI and Mar Koorilos, the Patriarch appointed also a Delegate to represent the Patriarch in Malankara. The first of these delegates was Mar Ostaios, who came along with the newly consecrated bishops to Malankara in 1908 and died in Arthat in 1927. *ibid.*, pp. 426, 527.
 6. Cf. *Fonti II-VIII*, p. 75, n. 143; Mar Ivanios, *Girideepam*, Thiruvalla, 1929, vol., 1, pp. 6-7.
 7. Cf. *Fonti II-VIII*, p. 76, n. 146.
 8. Cf. *RCJ*, n. 347, n. 217.
 9. Cf. *Fonti, II-IX*, p. 30 n. 36.
 10. They continued: "They, Patriarch or his delegates when they were staying here in Malabar, intervened only in the spiritual affairs of the Church, leaving the administration of the temporalities to the local Metropolitan and to the trustees. The former has never intervened in the Government of the temporalities. When they tried twice or thrice to intervene therein or to assume some powers, the Metropolitan and the community successfully resisted them"; *RCJ*, n. 212; The English translation is ours.
 11. Cf. *RCJ*, N. 347; *Fonti, II-IX*, 31, n. 36.
 12. Cf. E. M. Philip. *op. cit.*, p. 430.
 13. Mar Ivanios, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Cf. also, the letter of the Patriarch sent to the Malankara churches on 27th June (Mithunam) 1912, in the "Syrian church case judgement of the Travancore High Court" Kottayam, 1946, (henceforth quoted as HCJ), Exhibit, n. 166.
 14. Cf. "*Malayala Manorama*", then a semi-official organ of the Metropolitan's Party, Editorial, on 17th June 1911.
 15. See the Editorial in *Malayala Manorama*, on 14th June 1911.
 16. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 431.
 17. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
 18. "...Ego perfecte accipiam et custodiam fidem, consuetudinem et mores Ecclesiae Syriacae Malabaricae cujus Dominatio Vestra (i.e. Patriarcha) supremam gerit potestatem, et canones Sanctorum Patrum trium conciliorum oecumenicorum et omnes leges institutas a Dominatione Vestra et a successoribus vestris tanquam utiles ad administrationem ecclesiasticam... Ego accipiam a manibus sanctis (Patriarcha)-chrisma... a solo Patriarcha sancto Antiocheno concecratum et transmittam idem necessitate ecclesiarum mihi concreditarum et quando istud defecerit iterum ab ipsa Sede (Antiochena) istud accipiam et (pro usu) adhibeam. Ego nihil faciam praeter potestatem quam Dominatio Vestram mihi concedit. Dominatio Vestra et Successors ejusdem protestatem habent excommunicandi ex officio me si ego faciam quidquam contra Dominationem Vestra vel contra successores ejusdem aut praeter potestatem mihi concessam..." Cf. *Fontes II-IX*, p. 34-35, n. 42; Cf. also, Protector of the Syrian church of Malabar (*Malayala Manorama* special number) Kottayam, 1911, pp. 64-65.

19. "....Hic coetus unanimiter sentit semper perdurare debere potestatem quae ab antiquo competat Sedi Antiochenae quaeque stat in examinando de rectitudine actionum Praelatorum, Sacerdotum ac aliorum gubernatorum et in auctoritative rectificando eas si non sint rectae: nec non (potestatem istam esse valide necessariam ad stabilitatem et progressum Ecclesiae Malabaricae...." Cf. *Decreta Synodorum*, Kottayam, 1935: quoted in *Fontes*, II-IX pp. 35-36, n. 43.
20. We quote Ricciotti's explanation about this ancient "Catholicate": "....Bisogna inoltre ricordare un'altra autorità ufficialmente costituita fra i Giacobiti, la quale tuttavia ostacolava per se stessa la compattezza dell'organizzazione interna: quella del Maphrian....il Catholicos di Selucia-Ctesifonte, che nel secolo V era passato al nestorianismo dichiarandosi indipendente: così anche i Giacobiti de Persia vollero un loro capo autonomo o quasi, in parallelo al "Catholicos" nestoriano, e questo fu il "Maphrian". Questa dignità fu istituita forse già nel secolo VI; certo nel secolo VII la troviamo in funzione e residente a Tagrit (sul medio Tigri), donde poi emigrò altrove per la vicende politiche. Il Maphrian era come un secondo Patriarcha Giacobita: un certo numero di diocesi (da 15 a 30 circa), a seconda dei tempi dependeva esclusivamente da lui: egli aveva anche diritto di confermare o no il Patriarcha...." Cf. *Fonti*, Fasc. VIII, *Studi Storici*, pp. 122-123.
21. Cf. L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 154; "It was pointed out in the High Court appeal of 1928 that the Patriarch would have had no practical place in the Malankara Church at all as a result of this action. The attitude of the Catholicos' party was shown in two editions of the Church catechism: in 1909 edition the head of the Church was said to be the Patriarch, in the 1914 edition the Catholicos. It was contended that thus a new Church had been created..." Judgement, (he is referring to the HCJ) p. 73, *ibid*, Footnote. 2.
22. Abdal Messih was enthroned as Patriarch of Antioch in July 1895, but was deposed by the Sultan of Turkey in 1905. In his stead Abdalla was installed as Patriarch by the Government. However, Abdal Messih continued to claim that he was the legal Patriarch. In virtue of this claim the Syrians of Malabar argued that even if the exercise of his Patriarchal powers was impeded in Turkey his power over the Malankara Church was not abolished. Therefore he could, it was argued, institute the Catholicate in Malankara and thus make it autonomous. Cf. L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 151. It is reported by Adrian Fortescue that Abdal Messih, before his death, repented and reunited with the Catholic Church on 13th May 1913, making his profession of faith before the Syrian Catholic Patriarch Efreem Rahamani. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 371, Footnote, 1.
23. Patriarch Abdal Messih, on hearing of the excommunication of the Malankara Metropolitan by Abdalla, sent to Mar Dionysius VI, the following Telegram: "Abdalla's excommunication vain, you, your followers blessed": Published in "*Malayala Manorama*" 19th Aug. 1911.
24. The original of this letter is in Syriac; we give the English translation of its Malayalam version reproduced in Thomas Inchakalody, *Archbishop Mar Ivanios*, Trivandrum 1957, p. 120. It was also published with the authorisation of the bishops of the Metropolitan's party in *Malayala Manorama*, 17th May 1913.
25. Cf. Mar Ivanios, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-30.
26. We have seen already in what consists, according to the Metropolitan's party, this spiritual supremacy. Cf. n. 10, of this article. Limiting further the powers of the Patriarch, the Metropolitan's party claimed later that the Malankara Church was fully independent in its internal government, as we shall soon explain. Cf. Mar Ivanios, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Already the Civil Court, after examining the history of the Malankara Church, affirmed in the

“Cochin Royal Court Judgement” that the entire government of the Church depended on the local Metropolitan, notwithstanding the spiritual power of the Patriarch: “.... in genere nobis videtur Patriarcham Antiochenum esse caput spirituale sedis Malabaricae.... ecclesias et bona temporalia de quibus lis movetur esse subiecta jurisdictioni spirituali, temporali et ecclesiasticae actoris (Mar Dionysius V) ut Metropolitanae Malabaricae in officio....” Cf. *Fontes, II-IX*, p. 31, n. 37.

27. The proposal that the Malankara Church would accept the Patriarch of Antioch as the spiritual head of the same meant that the latter deserved the honours due to the bishop of the ancient Apostolic See of Antioch from the ancient Catholicate of the East. After the constitution of the Malankara Church as a Catholicate, it involved no jurisdictional dependence, following the example of the ancient Catholicos of East who had the same power as that of the Patriarch. For the Catholicate was an independent church. Cf. Recciotti, *Fonti, VIII*, pp. 122-123.
28. Repeated efforts were made for reconciling the two parties, by many people in the subsequent years; both from inside and outside their Church. For a detailed discussion on them, Cf. E.M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-445; Thomas Inchackalody; *The Christian churches in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1954, pp. 141-144; Thomas Vadasherry: *My Sermon at Thengeli Kottayam*, 1955, pp. 437-465.
29. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 438.
30. See the conditions proposed by the two parties: E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 546, Appendix II.
31. There were 127 articles in the constitution. This constitution was approved in a Synod at Kottaym in 1934, after the death of Mar Dionysius VI, the particular implications of which we leave unexplained. “It was held in the High Court that this act in fact erected a new church, holding forms inconsistent with the Jacobite church of Antioch. It was pointed out that in all the 127 articles of the constitution there was no reference at all to the Patriarch, though four articles contemplate recognising him if he will accept the Catholicate as a “fait accompli”. Cf. L. W. Brown *op. cit.*, p. 156. But correctly speaking this was not a constitution of a new Church. Neither did the Catholicos’ party ever admit it. They argued that they only restored the Malankara Church to its pristine state of independence as an autonomous Church. In fact the name “Orthodox Syrian Church” had been used already by Mar Thomas IV in his letter to the Antiochene Patriarch written in 1709. “Thoma, the inheritor, bishop of the ancient and orthodox Syrian Christians of Hindoo....” Cf. Germann. *op. cit.*, p. 535.
32. After a series of painful and tiresome lawsuits which lasted till 1954 between the two parties of the Malankara Church, in which the identity of each with the original Malankara Church and consequently the ownership of the Church properties, were the object of bitter discussion, the Catholicos of the Malankara Church and the Patriarch of Antioch made a compromise on 16 Dec. 1958. After the demise of the third Catholicos Mar Basilios Geevarghese II on 3, Jan. 1964, Augen Mar Timotheos, who was elected Malankara Metropolitan and successor to the Catholicos, on 17th May 1962, by the episcopal Synod of the Malankara Church; took charge as the Catholicos elect of the Malankara Church. He was enthroned as the Catholicos of the Malankara Church and of all the East by the Antiochene Jacobite Patriarch Jacob Mar Severios on 22nd May 1964 at Kottayam in Kerala, India. According to the previous claims of the Catholicos and his party, the Malankara Church was to be recognised autonomous and nothing more than the honours attached to the spiritual supremacy was to be attributed to the Patriarch of Antioch.

The Introduction of the Antiochene Rite into the Malankara Church

We have discussed in the previous chapter the relationship which the Malankara Church entertained with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. In this chapter we shall discuss how the Antiochene rite has been introduced in the Malankara Church.

In this chapter the term 'Antiochene rite' is used in its restricted sense, meaning the Antiochene liturgy and discipline. We shall try to find out when and to what extent these were introduced into the Malankara Church.

While the introduction and adoption of the Antiochene rite gave the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch an opportunity to keep up his jurisdictional relationship with the Malankara Church, it helped the Malankara Church to retain its original features in its historical evolution. It was again the introduction and adoption of the Antiochene rite that kept the Malankara community distinct from the Catholic community that remained under the Latin rule. Hence in the juridical formation of the Malankara Church as a particular oriental church, the introduction and adoption of the Antiochene rite played an important role.

Art. I. Restoration of the Syrian Traditions and the New Introductions

The whole of the Antiochene rite was evidently not introduced into the Malankara Church at once. It took a sufficiently long period to substitute it for the Chaldean rite. As both Chaldean and Antiochene rites were ramifications of the tree of the Syrian Church, though each had a particular liturgy, the influence of the Antiochene disciplinary system in the formation of the Chaldean was considerably great and

there was a striking similarity between the two.¹ This material identity of the two disciplinary systems, in fact, played an important role in bringing the separated group of Malabar Syrians closer to the Antiochene liturgy and Jacobite faith, though these were quite new to them. For, the Antiochene prelates turned their attention first to restoring the neglected early Syrian traditions— thanks to their identity with the Antiochene—and thus prepared the ground. It was, therefore, through a restoration that they paved the way for new introductions.

Initial Restorations

When Mar Gregorios of Jerusalem arrived in Malabar in 1665, the Archdeacon and party were still using the Chaldean rite which as Catholics they had followed and accepted after the innovations made in the Synod of Diamper. Mar Gregorios, therefore, did not succeed in introducing the Antiochene rite, at once, especially the liturgy². On the other hand he had to accommodate himself in certain things to the local customs³.

In this situation it is highly improbable that Mar Gregorios openly propagated the doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism. The Malankara community was never preoccupied with the subtle distinctions in Christology, contained in the faith of the new prelate. However, he successfully created a general antipathy against Catholics and tried to extol the See of Antioch⁴. He showed himself particularly anxious to restore the Syrian discipline that was long in disuse. The Jacobite historians even consider him as a restorer— not an introducer—of Jacobitism and Antiochene rite which, according to them, died out under the latinization imposed by the Synod of Diamper. This is because they presuppose the existence of Jacobitism in Malabar from the beginning, a supposition that is groundless. They argue that if it were not so, it would have been impossible to introduce so quickly a new rite among such a vast number of people⁵. But this is not so surprising as it seems.

The readiness of the people to listen to Mar Gregorios and his successors can be given a more satisfying explanation— an explanation which seems to be the only historically correct one.

In point of fact Mar Gregorios did not do anything new except that he said Holy Mass in the Antiochene liturgy. Neither the doctrine of Jacobitism nor the Antiochene liturgy were openly propagated by him. Nor were the people disposed to accept them. But he persuaded them to restore and maintain the Syrian traditions that had suffered through latinization. He cautiously abstained from speaking of anything in particular except a few things commonly acceptable to the Syrians. The disciplinary institutes or the oriental traditions of which Mar Gregorios spoke were not so exclusively Antiochene as to make them entirely new to the people of the Malankara Church. Furthermore, a people that was discontented with the Latin rule and offended by the imposition of the Latin rite would naturally welcome what was more oriental and closer to their traditional notions. A Syrian bishop who would protect their oriental customs and consecrate their Archdeacon as bishop was just what they wanted. It was this circumstance that persuaded Mar Gregorios to propose only what was more common and general. This is clear from his letter to the parish priests of Mulanthuruthy, Kandanad and Parur. ⁶

Speaking of the changes made in the Synod of Diamper, he declared in his letter: " We are aware of the tribulations you suffer from those who, having left the true and orthodox canons of the Syrian Church, and joined the idolatrous Romans. They were once true Syrians who zealously kept our faith; now they were made heretics by the undue influence of the wicked Kings and Queens of Portugal. They convoked an illegitimate synod and changed our Apostolic faith; upset the canons of the Holy Synod of Nicea; mutilated the valuable and ancient traditions and rituals, while placing in their stead unworthy rubrics ...".⁷

It is to be noted here that Mar Gregorios refers only to the 'Syrian rite', changed in the Synod of Diamper, giving the people an impression that it was this Syrian rite that he proposed to revive, exploiting the ill-feeling of the Syrians against the latinizers. Such enthusiasm was enough to create among them a spontaneous aversion to the Catholics. We have still another example of his cunning method by which he induced the people to believe that he followed the same

rite, when he focused their attention more on the common elements of both the Syrian rites than on their differences. He wrote: ".... Again our usual fast of Ninvie, the Romans do not have. They do not have the fifteen days' fast in August nor the fast for Advent in December, as we have them. Even in Lent they eat fish and drink alcohol, which the Syrians never do. There is a lot of difference between us and the Romans...."⁸ Manifestly he was making a contrast between the Latins and the Syrians, disposing the Syrians to get rid of the Latin innovations and to accept the things which he proposed and taught. Of things that are exclusively Jacobite he had very little to say. It would, therefore, be more correct to say that the people followed him not so much for his 'new' teachings, as for his being a Syrian bishop who seemed to be anxious to protect their own traditions and customs against all change and mutilation.

Mar Gregorios then pointed out a particular instance: " till this day the priests were allowed to marry according to the canons. But the Romans have prohibited marriages of priests and deacons to the effect that may fall into the sin of adultery ... These impious people condemn holy marriage and love adultery, on account of which God's chastisement is at hand. Know that marriage is holy and God punishes the adulterous and debauchees"⁹.

Mar Gregorios was trying to create a general impression that the regulations given in the Synod of Diamper could be disregarded one after another and thus slowly glide into the Syrian customs. We must note that he makes no distinction in his letter between the Chaldean and Antiochene rites; but he speaks always of Syrian as against Roman¹⁰. He does not ask people to make any change but he insists on their sticking to the Syrian customs and recovering what was lost in latinization. It was by this restoration that he succeeded in labelling the earlier customs 'Antiochene' and his successors in introducing the Antiochene liturgy and discipline proper under the pretext of their being Syrian and oriental.

Thus the attention of the Malankara people was focussed rather on their traditions than on the sect by which this was effected. Besides, the Apostolic See of Antioch and all that was associated with that

name, were not unknown to the people of the Malankara Church. Even the Chaldean Church was held in esteem by them on account of its connection with Antioch¹¹. A communion with the Antiochene prelates was thought necessary not only because the Arch-deacon and party hoped to regain valid episcopate for their Church but also because they appeared to be enthusiastic watchmen of the Syrian traditions. The Antiochenes could easily play their game as the Catholic Syrians had lost much of their genuine oriental tradition. This made the separated community adhere closer to what the new Syrian bishops taught and practised. In other words, while the Latin bishops in their zeal to eradicate the so-called Nestorian practices and to unify the rites, damaged the old Syro-Chaldean rite by imposing the Latin rite, the Jacobites consoled them by restoring to them their oriental traditions and exploited the situation to bring them close to the Antiochene Jacobite Church. Hence it is not surprising that the people of Malankara listened to the voice of Mar Gregorios.

According to the testimony of Paulinus, Mar Gregorios restored the use of fermented host in the celebration of Holy Mass, the traditional vestments of liturgical functions and the old calendar¹².

Further Restorations and Introductions

With the arrival of Maphrian Mar Basilios and Bishop Mar John in 1685 the restoration of the early traditions known as "Antiochene" was considerably fostered, though their further introduction did not have a wider acceptance. Mar Basilios did not live long in Malabar but Mar John stayed for eight years,¹³ hence he had the opportunity to revive more Syrian practices. It is reported that they did not say Mass in Lent except on Sundays, which were not fast-days, nor did they wish others to do so. They taught that prayers should be said standing and not kneeling and added that people should abstain from flesh of strangled animals. They encouraged the marriage of priests, and deemed it necessary for statues and crucifixes to be removed from churches, keeping only the pictures therein¹⁴.

Mar John did not enjoy full freedom in the Malankara Church as the Archdeacon (Mar Thomas IV) opposed him, fearing that the

Archdeacon's authority over the people would be diminished or lost on account of the increasing influence of the foreigner¹⁵. The Archdeacon also opposed the introduction of the doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism and we are told that the Antiochene prelate provoked the Malankara people to disputation¹⁶.

F. Nau is of the opinion that a complete switch-over to the Antiochene rite was effected through the efforts of these prelates¹⁷. By the time of the death of Mar John in 1693, the Malankara bishops appear to have taken definite steps towards accepting the doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism. For we find Mar Thomas IV at the beginning of the 18th Century clearly adhering to the teachings of the Antiochene Church and rejecting the doctrinal tenets of Mar Gabriel who arrived in Malabar in 1705 to claim jurisdiction over the people of Malabar. Mar Thomas IV wrote to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch in 1709: "...Then came one who said, that he was Metropolitan of Ninive and that Mar Elias the Catholicos had sent him. His name was Gabriel and his faith in Christ was this, there are two natures and two persons: scandal. He speaks much against Mary, the Mother of God, wherefore we believe him not"¹⁸. Again in 1720 he wrote to the Jacobite Patriarch in the same way ¹⁹.

It was indeed because of the claims of Mar Gabriel that such a hasty step was taken. We must not forget that in these letters Mar Thomas IV repeatedly asked for bishops and books as he found it necessary to adhere more closely to the Antiochene Church in order to prevent the people from following Mar Gabriel. Thus the difference between the Chaldean and Antiochene Churches was accentuated sharply.

Though such an adhesion to the doctrines of Jacobitism was visible by this time, the view of Nau that a complete transition to the Antiochene rite took place at this period seems untenable, for we find the Malankara community later still keeping many practices of the Chaldean rite.

Mar Thomas V explaining the differences between his group and that of Mar Gabriel wrote a letter to the Dutch Governor on 8

June 1729. He declared: " we acknowledge the Church of Antioch for our head, that the Messias has but one nature and one person and that the holy Ghost goes out only from the Father: and in the Holy Sacrament, we distribute fresh bread which is baked that same day. Also in fasting there is difference between us and them. "Mar Gabriel with the Christians in the south, kept the fasts and holy days according to the rule of Antioch", but the Mass and the Lord's Supper with wafers he causes to be administered after the Romish way"²⁰.

Indeed Mar Thomas V clearly professes here the Jacobite faith. But it is to be noted how he considers the nature of the host used in celebrating Holy Mass and the way of fasting of the separated community. If they had already adopted the Antiochene liturgy, he would have mentioned it as a considerable difference from the Catholic group who used the reformed Chaldean Liturgy of Bishop Roz.

His statement that Mar Gabriel too followed the Antiochene custom of keeping fasts and holy days is of some interest. As we have already noted, they were the early Syrian traditions, that they possessed at this time, restored at the instigation of the Antiochene Jacobite prelates. The statement of Mar Thomas V is a confirmation of our explanation that the Malankara people recognised these restored practices as Antiochene and held to them on account of the influence of the Antiochene Jacobite prelates who restored them. For we find Mar Thomas V identifying the custom of observing fasts and holy days, which Mar Gabriel followed, with that of his people which he took for Antiochene. But Mar Gabriel was a Chaldean bishop and a Catholic,²¹ who followed the Chaldean rite. Even in the celebration of Mass Mar Thomas V finds fault with him only because Mar Gabriel celebrated it with wafers according to the Roman style. We may, therefore, conclude that the Malankara community still continued to celebrate Mass according to the Chaldean Liturgy but used fermented bread for it.

Chaldean Rite still kept

The gradual return to the early Syrian traditions which were understood as "Antiochene" could be gathered also from a manuscript extant in Malabar²². It is narrated there in: "... in the year 740 (Malayalam era, i.e. A.D. 1563) Mar Abraham, the Metropolitan, came. After his death the Portuguese heretics changed the traditions of the Syrians, the fast, Mass and the feasts. After these in the year 861 (i.e., A.D. 1686) during the time of the Metropolitan Mar Ivanios (Mar John) the traditions of the Orthodox Syrians were resumed as they were before: Mass, Fasts and Feasts ..." ²³.

A close examination of this testimony would corroborate the explanation given above on the attitude of the Malankara people towards the "Jacobite introductions". Mar Abraham was the last Syrian bishop who ruled the Malabar Church. He was a Chaldean bishop and according to many historians, especially Portuguese, even a Nestorian! In his time, therefore, the Malabar Christians were naturally following the Chaldean rite. It was this Chaldean rite that was changed by the Portuguese. Mar Ivanios (Mar John) was a Jacobite bishop, who, according to his testimony, came to Malabar in 1686 and restored the traditions of the Syrians which were changed by the Portuguese. The author of the manuscript, therefore, acknowledges that the customs restored by Mar Ivanios and practised by the Malankara community in his time are those that were in use at the time of Mar Abraham. We may conclude then, that Mar John was not introducing anything new but only restoring those neglected practices, of course, under the pretext of their being Antiochene. The author of the manuscript too might have held them as Antiochene, thanks to their Antiochene nature and to the influence they received from the Antiochene, Jacobite prelates. As he declares that the Mass, Fasts and Feasts are the same as those of the time of the Chaldean bishop Mar Abraham, we understand that they were following the Chaldean rite.

But here arises another question: could the resumption of the old practices be understood as a complete return to the pure Chaldean rite of the pre-Diamper period? I would answer it negatively. For, the

author of the manuscript states that it was Mar Ivanios (John), the Antiochene Jacobite prelate who arrived in Malabar in 1686, who restored to them "the Mass, Fasts and Feasts". But how could a Jacobite prelate restore "the Mass, Fasts and Feasts". that were in use at the time of Mar Abraham, and, therefore, of the Chaldean rite? As for many disciplinary elements such a restoration could be deemed possible, on account of their material identity with the Antiochene. And in fact there is clear evidence to prove that it did really happen, as we have noted above. But it is unlikely that Mar Ivanios (John) would have restored the pure Chaldean Liturgy of the Mass of the pre-Diamper period or introduced the Antiochene. Nor do we have any evidence to prove that he did it. On the other hand we find the Malankara community clearly having the same Chaldean Liturgy as that of the Catholic community as late as 1750, as we shall see soon. Similarly we are told that it was Mar Basilius, and Mar John arriving in 1751 in Malabar who introduced the Antiochene Liturgy of St. James, the more commonly used one, into the Malankara Church. Therefore it is clear that the Malankara community was having the same Chaldean Liturgy as that of the Catholic group, i.e. the reformed Liturgy of Bishop Roz ²⁴.

What then are we to think of the report in the manuscript that Mar Ivanios did restore the "Mass"? The answer seems to be simple; The author is speaking of the restorations of the practice of using leavened bread in celebrating Mass. In fact the use of unleavened bread was the most intolerable change that was effected in the council of Diamper and the change from this would have definitely meant to them the restoration of the early Mass. This restoration was already suggested by Mar Gregorios, the Antiochene prelate who arrived first in Malankara, and now Mar Ivanios (John) might have completed it.

This is still clearer if we further examine the testimony. In the manuscript itself referred to above, even though the author spoke of a return to the old customs already in 1686, the ecclesiastical calendar found therein was the same as that which was latinized by the Portuguese except for ten feasts restored or newly introduced, of which only three were properly Jacobite²⁵. Therefore the author might have

taken the restoration of a few most significant customs, for example the celebration of Mass with leavened bread and on a wooden Altar, ways of keeping fasts and abstinence, restoration of a few important Syrian feasts etc. for a complete return to the old system without giving much importance to the minor practices. In fact the customs referred to above were those to which the Syrians were most attached and it was on them that the Antiochene prelates focussed their attention. The author, therefore, seems to be interested chiefly in the restoration of the most significant Syrian practices in their oriental form. As for the rest both the Catholic and the Malankara communities possessed the same traditions without notable differences.

That the restoration of the early Syrian customs and still less the introduction of the Antiochene Jacobite practices was not complete at this stage is well testified by the Dutch Chaplain Jacob Canter Visscher. Writing from Malabar about the year 1723, he reported that the Liturgy and other practices of the Malankara community were a complex of different elements of Latin, Chaldean and Antiochene rites²⁶.

This is testified also by Fr. Bonifacius a Bambino Gesu, O.C.D., a Carmelite missionary in Malabar, who, having studied the state of affairs of the Syrian Churches in Malabar, both Catholic and Jacobite, sent his report to the S. C. Propaganda Fide to be studied by the Cardinals in the Particular Congregation of 16 Aug. 1750, when they discussed the possibility of the reunion of Mar Thoma V with the Catholic Church²⁷. Detailed information on the rites of both the communities could be gathered from it.

More Evidence

We must not forget that even in 1750, the schismatics were called "heretics of the Chaldean rite" by the secretary of the S.C. Propaganda Fide, – a clear indication that the Malankara Church was not characteristically "Antiochene" though many a Syrian tradition was restored to it²⁸. In the "Relatio" of the Cardinal Secretary in the Particular Congregation of 16th Aug. 1750, he exposed first the points that are common to both Catholic and schismatic groups and then

also the differences. The common points were five in number and almost all of them pertained to the administration and government of the diocese²⁹. On the other hand the differentiating elements all concerned the rite, " The heretics differ from the Catholics in the following points: (1) The heretics follow the old calendar, (2) they abstain from eating meat on Wednesdays and Fridays, (3) For the ecclesiastical fasting they count the (natural) day from the sunset to the evening of the following day; but for the fasting, in preparation for the celebration of the holy Mass and communion they begin from midnight onwards as do the Catholics; (4) the heretics retain the breviary, the Missal and the ritual reformed by Bishop Francis Roz, but mention the name of the heretic Patriarch and of the then ruling Archdeacon, in the dyptics; (5) the Catholics of the Chaldean rite celebrate Mass with the unleavened bread and the heretics after having fallen into schism and heresy have resumed the use of leavened bread. They, however, celebrate the Mass on the altar made of wood not on one of stone "³⁰.

If we examine these points of difference, we see that none of these was a new introduction. As we remarked earlier they only restored what they had lost by the latinization. However, these Syrian traditions might have been forgotten later by the people especially when they were following the latinised rite for more than 50 years ³¹. But a close examination of them shows that they were already followed by the people as Chaldeans until they were removed in the synod of Diamper³².

The doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism were really innovations both formally and materially. In fact the report of Fr. Bonifacius gave them as errors then held by the Jacobites. He was careful to specify that the errors of Jacobites were newly added to those of Nestorians. He said " in ancient days they had the Nestorian bishops and professed the heresy of Nestorians and to these the Jacobite bishops were joined and thus they followed the tenets of monophysitism "³³.

It is, however, strange to note that many points which were said to have been introduced by the Antiochene prelates were not mentioned in the report of Fr. Bonifacius either as erroneous or as

differentiating elements³⁴; for example, abstaining from celebrating Mass on week-days during Lent, standing during public prayers, allowing marriage for priests, etc.³⁵. Would it be because the report of Fr. Bonifacius was not exhaustive or because these customs were not followed at his time in the Malankara Church?

We find from the report referred to above that the traditions encouraged by the Antiochene bishops and immediately resumed by the people were those that were changed in the Synod of Diamper. However, as we have noted, all that were changed were not restored even at the instigation of the Jacobite prelates. For example, the marriage of priests was not looked upon at all favourably, and it was only late during the time of the Protestant missions that such a practice was, at least to some extent, followed³⁶. Similarly the custom of standing during public prayers, even if it was encouraged by the Antiochene prelates seems not to have been restored immediately. For, Canter Visscher wrote, about 1723, that the Jacobites were receiving communion kneeling³⁷. Similarly, as late as 1816, Middleton reported that the Syrians of the Malankara Church were kneeling during the holy Mass on certain occasions³⁸.

On the other hand the customs which Paulinus reported to have been restored or introduced by the Antiochene prelates should have existed among the Malankara people as he, who was himself on the spot a little later, could not have mentioned them if they were not existing among them at least in his time.

It may, therefore, be concluded that these innovations were not universally practised. Only a few of them had universal acceptance, the others being introduced in certain localities alone. In the case of the teachings of Mar John there was still another reason why they were not widely spread. We saw that he was not on good terms with the local head Mar Thoma IV, who was to take the lead in spreading them³⁹. Thus his counsels were perhaps confined to certain places where Paulinus and others who reported other customs might have gathered their information. Hence they were not the universal practices of the Malankara Church⁴⁰. It is also important to remember that the report made by Fr. Bonifacius was prepared with the

knowledge of Mar Thomas V, whose case was to be discussed by the S. C. Propaganda Fide with a view to reunion with the Catholic Church⁴¹. Therefore the report as it was, should have been official and based on the universal practices of the reuniting group. At any rate the report gives an adequate description of the state of this group with regard to its liturgy and discipline.

Concluding, therefore, the observations on this period we may say, regarding the ecclesiastical practices and traditions, that it was rather a period of restoration of the traditions that were lost and neglected by the latinization than a period of new introductions. However, as it was the work of Antiochene Jacobite prelates and they were formally held as Antiochene disciplinary institutes, the process could be thought of also as an introduction. The doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism which were new to the people of the Malankara Church were both formally and materially an introduction. Similarly the Antiochene liturgy had been a novelty to them. This too was soon to be propagated among the people of the Malankara Church.

Art. II. The Stabilization and Adoption of the Antiochene Rite

We shall now discuss how the Malankara Church became more and more familiar with the Antiochene rite and how this was adopted by the Malankara Church as its own rite.

The coming to the Malankara Church of Mar Basilius, Mar John and their companion in 1751 was the beginning of a significant period in the history of the Malankara Church, both historically and juridically. Their influence in the liturgical and disciplinary system of the Malankara Church too was not insignificant. For it was they who brought to the Malankara Church the different "Anaphoras" of the Antiochene liturgy including that of St. James and propagated them among its people⁴². From this time, therefore, the Antiochene liturgy began to be widely used, even though not exclusively. At any rate we find Fr. Thomas Paremmakel, who was a companion of Dr. Joseph Cariattil, a native of Malabar and later appointed

Archbishop of Cranganoor in his journey to Rome to advance the reunion efforts of Mar Thoma VI, testifying in 1778 that the Jacobites of the Malankara Church used the same liturgy as that of the Catholic Syrians in Antioche⁴³.

But some other contemporaneous reports seem to complicate the situation. Fr. Jos Soledado, O.C.D., then ecclesiastical Governor of Cochin and Cranganoor in his report sent on 16 Jan. 1782 to the S.C. Propaganda Fide in connection with the proposed reunion of Mar Dionysius I made a distinction between "Soriani Latini" and "Soriani Chaldei" among the Syrians of Malabar, adding to them also "Christiani Latini"⁴⁴. He also pointed out that unless the "Soriani chaldei" change their rite into "Soriani Latini" in case of a reunion, the whole project would be meaningless⁴⁵.

A Few years later Bishop Aloysius, the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, writing to the S.C. Propaganda Fide on 24 March, 1786, asked for directions concerning the course of action to be adopted with regard to the schismatics' claim to retain the Syro-Chaldean rite in preference to the reformed Syrian rite of the Catholic group⁴⁶.

From these it would seem that these missionaries reported that the Malankara community held the Chaldean rite of the pre-Diamper period while the Catholic group kept the reformed one. We have to remember here also the report of Fr. Bonifacius a Bambino Gesu, O.C.D., in 1748, in which he had stated that the schismatics were retaining the reformed liturgy of Bishop Roz. Would it be possible then to have a return to the pure Chaldean rite after the year 1748, just at the time when the Antiochenes had introduced the Antiochene liturgy of St. James? If the Malankara group did return to the Chaldean rite of the pre-Diamper period, what are we to make of the report of Fr. Paremmakel who finds a similarity between the liturgies of Syrian Catholics of Antioche and that of the Jacobites of Malankara?

From the conflicting reports we have, we have to draw a picture of the situation and answer these questions. No report denies that the newly arrived Antiochene bishops brought with them the liturgy of St. James to the Malankara Church. Du Perron, Paulinus etc. are all

witnesses to it. And Fr. Paremmakel, a native Syrian, speaks of it as the liturgy of the Malankara Jacobites. All the reporters agree that the Jacobites were using fermented bread in celebrating Holy Mass. Thus Fr. Bonifacius' report that up to 1748 the schismatics retained the reformed liturgy should make us believe that they used fermented bread in the reformed liturgy. The reports of Fr. Soledado and Bishop Aloysius seem to have made the distinction in between "Soriani Chaldei" and "Soriani Latini" on the basis of their use of fermented hosts in Holy Mass. What they disapprove of is the use of fermented host in Holy Mass for fear of recurrence to schism, as it was this factor, according to the spirit of the time, that decided one's adhesion to a particular rite. Thus they could reasonably call the schismatics "Soriani Chaldei" who used a fermented host in the Holy Mass retaining however, the reformed missal of Bishop Roz, in spite of its other minor changes, in contradistinction to "Soriani Latini" who used unleavened bread in the holy Mass⁴⁷. It is interesting to note the phrase used by Fr. Soledado "proprio rito chaldaico del fermentato" in the report referred to above.

We may conclude that the Jacobites of the Malankara Church, at least up to 1748, were celebrating the holy mass with leavened bread according to the liturgy reformed by Bishop Roz S. J. After the arrival of the Antiochene bishops in 1751 they began to use the Antiochene liturgy which had a considerable following at the time of Fr. Paremmakal as to be called by him the "Jacobite liturgy". This, however, did not completely displace the Chaldean liturgy which they had been using up to that time. If we follow the subsequent events we shall see that they did not want to change it away soon as they still cherished the hope of reunion with Rome. We must here remember the enquiry made by the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly to decide what policy he should adopt in discussing with the schismatics on their claim to retain their rite in case of an eventual reunion. This liturgy, of which all of them spoke, was the reformed Chaldean liturgy in which they used leavened bread⁴⁸. Thus the missionaries could consider them still having "Soriano Chaldeo" rite as against "Soriano Latino". The existence of some manuscripts of the Syro-Chaldean Missal of the pre-Diamper period, of which Du Perron speaks⁴⁹, can

in no way argue for a practice of celebrating Holy Mass using such a Missal as a custom of their Church.

Mar Dionysius I's Role

From the letters of the Catholic missionaries in Malabar at that time we learn that Mar Dionysius I convoked two meetings or synods to discuss the affairs of their church especially in view of a reform. The activities of Mar Dionysius with regard to these things during this period shed much light on the situation, and the state of his church justified his proceedings.

In a letter of Carlo di S. Conrado, Bishop of Calamina (Mylapore) on 20th Feb, 1782, it is stated: "... on 18th Dec. of the past year 1781 Mar Dionysius I convoked a gathering of the leaders and priests of his party and after having given orders to extirpate the vices among them tried to introduce the customs of fasting according to the Synod of Diamper.... Furthermore it was proposed to that assembly to elect a successor to him. But a decision on this and on fasting is deferred to the coming March or April, and it is believed that this delay is made in view of the return of the two Malabar priests from Rome of whom it was reported that they had started long ago for Lisbon from Rome " 50.

We shall see now what the purpose of this gathering of 1781 was as pointed out earlier both the reformed liturgy of Roz and the newly introduced Jacobite liturgy were in use among the Jacobites at this time. It was in this situation that Mar Dionysius I made his efforts for Reunion, which took a definite form as Dr. Joseph Cariattil came on the scene. A deputation was sent to Rome under the leadership of Dr. Cariattil, to present this matter to the Holy See in 1778. But one of the difficult problems that puzzled the Catholic theologians of that time was the reluctance of the schismatic group to accept the Synod of Diamper with its reforms. This was sure to stand in the way of a proposed reunion. Bishop Carlo writing to the S.C. Propaganda on 14 May 1781 wondered why the Catholic deputation before leaving for Rome to discuss the matter of reunion failed to induce Mar Dionysius I to accept the Synod of Diamper. He

wrote: "The two priests from Malabar, who are now in Rome, cannot ignore this difficulty, and hence I do not know why they had not persuaded Mar Thoma, before starting for Rome, to accept the council of Diamper"⁵¹.

It was necessary for their church, in Mar Dionysius' view that they be disposed to make such a sacrifice. Hence he proposed to the assembly that a few of the ancient customs as determined by the Synod of Diamper be followed. The postponement of a final decision till the arrival of the deputation is significant, for it indicates the attitude they took towards such a proposal. Bishop Carlo wrote on 8th April, 1782 to S.C. Propaganda Fide: "The very same meeting was asked by Mar Thoma to observe the fast and feasts prescribed by the Council of Diamper; but this was neither approved nor disapproved for the decision of it was deferred till the coming April"⁵².

From this it is clear that they were waiting to hear the final decisions of the Holy See with regard to their reunion. In case it was unfavourable there was no use, they thought, of making a change in their ancient customs. And in fact they did not change them even in the proposed meeting since Bishop Cariattil's commission had not as yet reached them⁵³.

During this period of indeterminacy the spread of the Antiochene rite was naturally arrested. But when the reunion attempts failed, Mar Dionysius and his people seem to have devoted themselves again to the spreading of the Antiochene rite, perhaps after discussing it at a meeting of the church leaders. Here we have a clue to the report of the four missionaries who wrote to the S. C. Propaganda Fide on 25th April 1788 dismissing the possibility of a reunion of the schismatic group. They wrote: " not only does he not convert, but he has reformed his Jacobite rite and is still more obstinate in his schismatic attitude " ⁵⁴

Anti-Protestantism Helps the Stabilisation of the Antiochene Rite

This in fact was the condition of the Antiochene rite in the Malankara Church and their attitude towards it until the end of the

18th century. The following period is marked by a paradoxical feature. On the one hand it was at this time that the Antiochene influence was strongly discouraged by the growing influence of the British and the Protestant missionaries. On the other hand it was at this time that the Malankara Church took a definite attitude of adhesion to the Antiochene rite.

We get a glimpse into this relationship from a statement of Mar Thomas VIII, who had explained in 1812 the situation of his Church to the Madras Government in answer to a questionnaire sent to him⁵⁵. To the question, what modes of worship did the Syrians of Malankara follow, he answered that they were following the directions contained in the books sent to them by the Antiochene Patriarch⁵⁶. Nothing was mentioned specifically about the other ecclesiastical laws or customs even though their subjection to the Patriarch was clearly stated⁵⁷. However, he explained in the same reply that there were 55 Churches, 167 priests and 30,000 Christians under his jurisdiction; that the obligations of the priests were to celebrate Holy Mass on Sundays and feast days, to administer the sacraments of Baptism, Penance, Marriage and Extreme Unction, to lead the morning and evening prayers in the church, etc.; that the priests got a "stipendium" for these priestly works especially for saying Holy Mass for the dead; that the pastors were chosen from among the more learned clergy.⁵⁸

From this reply it is clear that the church administration was more or less organised. We may enquire with what laws and customs this administration was regulated. With regard to the liturgical functions we are told that the Antiochene books were followed. As for the other things they seem to have followed the existing customs of the Malankara Church, that is to say, the customs they were following right from the beginning of their separation from the Catholic group. These in fact were taken by this time definitely for "Antiochene" discipline despite their existence as Chaldean in the early Malabar Church, though restored by the Antiochene prelates after the latinization. Hence many of the disciplinary customs were the same as those of the Catholic group excepting a few which they cared to restore and to preserve from the pre-Diamper period. This

similarity of the church government was noted down in 1748 by Fr. Bonifacius in his report to the S.C. Propaganda Fide mentioned above⁵⁹. It is confirmed by the letter of the Antiochene Patriarch 1751 in which he reported that the Malankara Metropolitan kept many customs alien to their Church⁶⁰. On the other hand we see that no attempt for changing these customs had taken place later. The reformation programme of Mar Dionysius I in 1781— which was never realised— was evidently in the opposite direction while the confirmation process of 1788 was nothing but an abandonment of the reformation proposals. Nor do we have any documentary evidence to affirm that the Antiochene bishops brought about much change in the existing discipline or administration of the Malankara Church except for the stabilization of the Antiochene liturgy. We may, therefore, conclude that in matters of discipline and government the Malankara Church continued to be in the same state in which it was before⁶¹.

At this time it seems that the Antiochene liturgy was not universally practised. We have evidence that the Chaldean liturgy was also in use among the Jacobites.

In 1820 the English Chaplain, Rev. Hough, had visited the Metropolitan of Malankara and it is reported that he was displeased with the "Catholic form" of the liturgy which the Jacobites were using. Besides, he took great pains to convince the Metropolitan of the advantages of having it in the form of an "English liturgy"⁶²

From this it would seem that the Jacobites were still having at least partially the Chaldean liturgy which the Catholics were following. This however, is not as certain as it looks, since Hough could have meant the sacrificial character of the Mass which the Jacobites held as a matter of faith, as the "Catholic form". His comparison was between the English liturgy and the actual liturgy used by the Jacobites. Our former conclusion seems to be more probable since in his conversation with the Metropolitan he was stressing the necessity of celebrating the liturgy in the vernacular and in a form more intelligible to the people in contrast to the Mass of the Catholics rather than the need to change the actual faith of the people.

At any rate, the struggle against the anglicanization policy of the English missionaries during the time of Mar Dionysius IV helped considerably the stabilization of the Syrian customs and the Antiochene liturgy. In fact the Antiochene bishop Mar Athanasius was sent at the request of Mar Dionysius IV in 1825 by the Antiochene Patriarch chiefly to strengthen the Syrian traditions in the Malankara Church, although he took it as an opportunity to stabilise the Antiochene authority over the Malankara Church. On the other hand there was a strong under-current created by the Protestant missionaries among the Syrians to adopt the Protestant ways of worship. This is not, however, of special importance to us except in that it explains how a group of Syrian Jacobites turned out to be Protestants or Protestant-sympathisers, while others, as a reaction towards this, were more thoroughly confirmed in the Syrian traditions and the Jacobite faith⁶³.

The Orthodox Syrians had proclaimed their allegiance to the Antiochene rite officially and publicly in the Synod of Mavelikara in 1836 in which it was decided that the Syrian traditions and liturgy were not at all to be changed or modified⁶⁴. In the "Padiola" (a public document) enacted therein they declared: ".... We the Syrian Jacobites, who are subject to the supreme power of the Antiochene Patriarch and who use the liturgy and rites instituted by the prelates sent by his authority, cannot deviate from such liturgies and rites and adopt a discipline contrary to them" ⁶⁵.

We may take this as the official declaration by which the Antiochene liturgy and discipline were formally accepted by the Malankara Church. This, however, does not mean that the other liturgies which were till then in use among them, were rejected outright. We have reason to believe that they continued to keep them, though with little attachment. Germann, commenting on the liturgy of St. James, remarked that it was only "almost universally" used among the Jacobites of the Malankara Church, leaving therefore the possibility of other liturgies existing among them⁶⁶. Describing the different current of reformation in their liturgy, Germann spoke also of a translation of the Chaldean Missal by Neale, which, he said, was

used—though without official recognition—at least in eight churches under Mathews Mar Athanasius. The original from which the translation was made is reported to have been the Chaldean Missal of the pre-Diamper period⁶⁷.

We may, however, infer that by that period the Antiochene was taken to be the official liturgy of the Malankara Church. This is confirmed by the reports of Howard, who having visited Malabar in 1862, wrote a description of his visit among the Syrians. He had the opportunity to visit many Syrian churches and to assist at the celebration of the liturgy. From his narrative it is clear that it was at the Antiochene liturgy that he had assisted⁶⁸.

We get some interesting information from him concerning the "Trisagion" which he heard sung by two Jacobite deacons, who accompanied him on his visits in Malabar in 1862. From the report we know that the formula of the "Trisagion" was that of the Jacobite church. But from the same report it can be seen that it was sung by the deacons and written by Howard in Chaldean Syriac⁶⁹. As the Antiochene liturgy was in Western Syriac the use of Chaldean Syriac to sing the hymn of Trisagion looks strange. The probable explanation would be that the clergy of the Malankara Church were more familiar with the Chaldean Syriac—which was the ancient liturgical language they had—than with the Antiochene. It is corroborated by the fact that both the Catholic Syrians and the Jacobites had in common many of the ecclesiastical usages in Chaldean Syriac⁷⁰.

But even this last trait of the Chaldean liturgy was removed by Cyril who came to Malankara in 1847 and stayed on till 1874⁷¹. He replaced the Chaldean script by the Antiochene in their ecclesiastical literature. His presence among them considerably helped the Malankara Jacobites in this new effort⁷².

Thus even though we cannot point out the exact date on which the complete transition to the Antiochene liturgy was made, we may consider this period as the final stage of the introduction of the Antiochene liturgy and discipline among the Jacobites of the Malankara Church. From now on the Antiochene liturgy seems to have been entirely accepted as the liturgy of the Malankara Church.

Thus with the declaration of 1836 the Antiochene liturgy was adopted as the liturgy of the Malankara Church and its ecclesiastical discipline too became officially and formally Antiochene, although for the most part a material transition was not needed. This adoption was facilitated by a complete separation between the Catholic Syrians and the Jacobites by the division of the churches which they had commonly owned⁷³. The separation became still more marked as the two communities were better organised under their own hierarchies. The Catholics were granted the Vicariates of Trichur and Kottayam on 20 May 1886, while the Antiochene Patriarch Peter III, having convoked the Synod of Mulanthuruthy in 1876 established the Malankara Jacobite Church on firm grounds of legal administration under his supervision and supremacy.

Patriarch Peter III also introduced some elements of the Antiochene discipline. He strictly forbade the veneration of statues, though the Malankara people had kept the practice until his time, in spite of the opposition of the Protestant missionaries⁷⁴. Similarly the law of clerical celibacy was removed by him. He made marriage compulsory for the clerics in charge of the parishes and abolished tonsure. He introduced the custom of having the clerical habit in the black colour and ordered that the clerics should wear it always. Similarly it was he who allowed eating fish during the time of Advent and during abstinence days before the Assumption and the Ninivite fast days⁷⁵.

By this time the Malankara Church had evolved into a stable ecclesiastical community with a settled liturgy and disciplinary system⁷⁶.

A Code of Canon Law Introduced

It may be noted here that in spite of all their declarations of adherence to the Antiochene rite, up to the Synod of Mulanthuruthy in 1876 there was no mention of a particular code of canon law according to which the Malankara Church was to be governed. This fact is confirmed by the decree of the same synod: " It is ordered to state the numbers of parishes, which shall serve also to collect the

'Cathedraticum'. The Synod stated that it was very good for the stability of Orthodox faith to print the book of Canons and laws and all that pertain to them, with the authority and seal of the Patriarch and to distribute them to each church informing them not to do anything but according to the directions contained in the book ..."⁷⁷. It was, therefore, deemed necessary "to safe-guard the Orthodox faith" that a book of canons be printed and used by the churches and full freedom was given to them to codify such canons but under the supervision of the Patriarch. The reference, however, seems to have been to the "Nomo- canon of Bar Hebreus"— the code accepted by the Jacobite Church of Antioch— though it was not explicitly stated in the decree of the synod mentioned above⁷⁸. Furthermore it was decided by the synod that only those laws or regulations that were accepted by the "Council" of the Malankara Church, would bind them, though a certain supremacy of the Antiochene Apostolic See – not of the diocese of Antioch – was acknowledged, at least implicitly, in the decision⁷⁹. We should also remember that there is no evidence that the Antiochene Patriarch had ever spoken of the necessity of governing the Malankara Church in conformity with the laws contained in a code except for occasional references to the canons of the general councils.

But after the Synod of Mulanthuruthy, the "Nomo-Canon" (Hoodaya Canon) of Bar Hebreus was to assume a special importance in the Malankara Church. The reasons for it were particular and accidental.

After Mathews Mar Athanasius, the rival Metropolitan of Mar Dionysius V, was excommunicated and deposed by the Patriarch of Antioch, Mar Dionysius V tried to recover the churches and the church properties from the possession of the deposed Metropolitan. As the matter had to be decided by the civil courts, the legitimacy of the juridical act of the Antiochene Patriarch in deposing the Malankara Metropolitan had to be contested as a preliminary question. Thus the power of the Patriarch over the Malankara Metropolitan was also to be defined. Mathews Mar Athanasius and his party argued that the Malankara Church depended on the Antiochene See only for receiving

ordinations and that in all other respects it was independent, leaving no power for the Antiochene Patriarch over the Malankara Metropolitan. Further, they questioned the validity of his particular act of excommunicating Mathews Mar Athanasius, referring to the code of canon law of the Antiochene Church which he, as the Patriarch of the said Church, was bound to observe and according to which only a synod can excommunicate a Metropolitan. From the context it is clear that the Nomo-Canon was used to demonstrate the illegality and invalidity of the act of the Patriarch, and not upheld as a code of canon law that had been accepted and followed by the Malankara Church.

Mar Dionysius V and his party, who were opponents of Mathews Mar Athanasius, and anxious to see him deposed by the Patriarch, producing a different recension of the same code before the court, in which extraordinary powers were attributed to the Patriarch over the Metropolitan. They argued that the Patriarch alone without the intervention of a synod, could excommunicate a Metropolitan and therefore the excommunication and deposition made by the Patriarch were valid⁸⁰. Before this event there had been no instance in which either the Antiochene prelates or the Malankara Metropolitan had ever made a reference to this code in the government of the Malankara Church⁸¹.

However, as both the parties in the Malankara Church repeatedly had recourse to this code of law, without making any further investigation on its nature of questioning its binding force over them, it seems that they had implicitly accepted the legal force of the code over them, even though they disputed the genuineness of a particular recension of it⁸². It was the acceptance of the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioche and the adhesion to the Antiochene liturgy and rituals that made them spontaneously believe that their code of canon law was the same as that of the Antiochene Church, even though they did not expressly declare it. It is interesting also to note that none who remained under the jurisdiction of the Antiochene Patriarch had ever afterwards questioned its binding force over them. This is significant when we find that the Marthomites, who denied obedience

to the Antiochene Patriarch do not have the "Nomo-Canon" of Bar Hebraeus or any other Antiochene disciplinary code for their church Government, even though they retain a reformed Antiochene liturgy.

It may be said that by accepting the Antiochene Patriarch as its supreme spiritual head and declaring itself a particular church in communion with the Jacobite Church of Antioch, the Malankara Church was driven to accept least implicitly the "Nomo-Canon" of Bar Hebraeus, appropriated by the Jacobite Church.

In practice this code of laws had no practical bearing on the Jacobite Church of Malankara in the internal Government. Nor can we point out any particular period when the Malankara Church was ruled according to these laws. This is confirmed by the fact that right from the beginning of its appearance in Malankara there had always been two recensions of it, considerably different from each other⁸³. That it served chiefly as a legal instrument before the civil courts to prove to disprove the power of the Patriarch over the Malankara Metropolitan, is clear from the history of the law-suit between the two parties of the Malankara Church. On the other hand we see that the Government of the Malankara Church was always in accordance with the traditions and regulations that had taken shape all through its history.

In conclusion we may say that the introduction of the Antiochene rite into the Malankara Church was a gradual process. Examining this process closely we see that the Antiochene liturgy with its rituals was fully adopted, though gradually, and declared officially in 1836 to be the liturgy of the Malankara Church. Later the Antiochene prelate Mar Cyril completed the evolution, leaving no room for other liturgical elements to exist in it. As for the disciplinary system, very few innovations were made, though a few elements that were properly Antiochene and intimately connected with liturgy and rituals were introduced at various stages. However, the discipline of the Malankara Church was declared formally and "de jure" Antiochene and the transition was complete as it had adopted the "Nomo-Canon" of Bar Hebraeus as the code of laws for it, although the church-government was left to be regulated, for the most part, by the traditions and customs

of the Malankara Church, drawn from different sources and developed through the various stages of its history.

1. Cf. *Fonti*, II-VIII, p. 27, n. 51
2. Cf. Raulin J. F., *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo apud Indos Nestorianos....* Romae 1745, p. 444; Paulinus A. S. Bartolomeo. O.C.D., *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae 1794, pp. 98-99.
3. Fr. Bras de Azvedo, S. J. writing from Ambalacatta to Fr. Antoni Baradas, Jesuit provincial of Portugal, on 28 July 1666, explained the reaction of the Malankara people to the 'novelties' they found in the newly arrived bishop. It is reported that the people did not like the new form of the Mass and were scandalised at the brevity of the whole ceremony. It was also different from what they used to see among their own clergy. Thus they were confirmed in their suspicion that the new bishop was not sent by the Pope-the people were still under impression that they were getting bishops of their own rite through the efforts of their leaders. Therefore the new bishop had to adopt certain local customs at the instigation of the Arch-deacon to make them believe that his rite was the same as theirs. However, he did not comply to their wish that the Holy Mass be said with the unleavened bread. Cf. the letter partially reproduced by Fr. Heras, S. J. "The Syrian Christians of Malabar" in *The Examiner*, Bombay 14 May 1938, p. 294. The full report of Fr. Azvedo written in Portuguese is to be found in ARSJ, Goa 49 ff. 178-209.
4. Cf. Tisserant Cardinal Eugene, *Eastern Christianity in India* (authorised adaptation from the French by E.R Hambye, S. J.) Calcutta 1957, p. 142.
5. See the observations of the Jacobite historian E. M. Philip on the restoration of the Antiochene rite in his book. *The Indian Church of St. Thomas* (2nd ed.) Kottayam 1951, pp. 165-166. In fact some Catholic historians too show their surprise at the sudden transition of the separated group from one rite to the other. Cf. Tisserant-Hambye, *op.cit.*, p. 141.
6. He wrote this letter in Syriac. It is reported that this has been preserved by E. M. Philip. The latter has reproduced its Malayalam translation in his *op.cit.* pp 160-164. The English translation which we give here is ours. The Arabic translation of the same letter is given by Mar Severios Jacob Thomas, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch in his book, *History of the Syrian Church in India*, Mosul 1951, p. 81
7. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
8. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
9. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
10. Cf. Notes 7 and 8 referred to above.
11. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
12. "..... the Mass shall be celebrated with the leavened bread; 'pluviali' not 'casula' shall be used for celebration; Lent, according to the old custom, shall be begun 10 days after the Catholics begin" Paulinus, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100: Paulinus enumerated a few doctrinal tenets also which were supposed to have been introduced by Mar Gregorios "hatred towards the Roman Pontiff and Nestorins, whom he (Gregorios) publicly proclaimed to have been heretics; (he taught) : ".... the Antiochene Church is the head and mother of all churches; there is only one nature in Christ; the Hl. Spirit proceeds from the Father and not from the Son; the souls are purified by a peculiar fire after death .." Cf. *ibid.* pp.99-100. Paulinus seems to have narrated the main doctrinal tenets held by the Jacobites in general. It is

highly improbable that they were introduced by Mar Gregorios; For even at the time of Mar John in 1685, the introduction of the doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism was at a slow pace and was a source of dispute among them. (Cf. note 16 of this article). They might have been existing in Malabar during the time of Paulinus.

13. Cf. L.W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Whitehouse. T. *Lingerings of light in a dark land*, London 1873, p. 307.
14. "... in Lent till the Easter, they were not celebrating Mass nor they were allowing others to celebrate, except on Sundays on which there was no fasting; they denied beatific vision immediately after death; they taught that one should pray standing and not kneeling; priests were encouraged to marry, hence many of the Malabar priests got married. They were celibate before. One should abstain from 'suffocated' etc. Which were all reported by Fr. Bartholomew Hanna of Aleppo in his letter mentioned earlier, John took away all the statues and crucifixes from the churches but allowed pictures to be venerated" Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 106. The English translation is ours. Cf. also Germann W., *op. cit.*, pp. 528-529; Bernard of St. Thomas T.O.C.D. *op. cit.*, pp. 171-172; Whitehouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.
15. Paulinus says: "... This Thomas de campo 'a lay-intruder', who lived till the year 1686, opposed the newly arrived Jacobites Basilios and John lest he may fall off from his dignity ..." *op. cit.*, p. 104. He seems to have gathered his information from a letter of the same year: "... as it is reported by Fr. Bartholomew Hanna, a Syrian from Aleppo, in his letter written to Rome on Dec, 2nd in this year" Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 528.
16. "... John was a true Jacobite bishop, who provoked the schismatics for disputation and thus was spreading his erroneous teachings. He was opposed by Fr. Hanna and Thomas de campo, the 'intruder' on account of which, he started towards 'Borea'; John died a little later in Mulanthuruthy ..." Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
17. Cf. Nau, F., "*Deux notices relatives au Malabar*" in *Orient Chretien*, 17 (1912) 77-81.
18. *The letter of Mar Thomas IV to the Antiochene Patriarch in 1709*, was published by Charles Schaaf in 1714; Cf. *Relatio historica* Leiden 1714; it has been translated into English by Thomas Yeats, in his book, *Indian Church History*. London 1818, pp. 152-154: "... Thomas, the infirm, bishop of the ancient and orthodox Syrian Christians of Hindoo to the Primate of the royal Syrian priest-hood Mar Ignatius Patriarch triumphing with the triumph of Apostles... president of the illustrious throne of Antioch, the fourth patriarchate by the decree of 618 Fathers assembled in the city of Nice My Lord, I implore thy benediction with thy right hand full of cordial love; professing obedience and submission to your high authority; wherefore God bless Thee on thy throne I am utterly unworthy to write this letter becoming your eminency but I wrote solely on account of the great distress of the Syrian believers, well worthy of praise now dwelling in Hindoo; and that you would be pleased to send unto us a patriarch and a metropolitan and two elders, such as are learned and qualified in the reading of the holy Scriptures ..." Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 534-536.
19. Cf. Assemani, J. S., *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, Vol. 4, Romae 1728, pp. 466-467. The English translation of it is given by Mackenise, G. T. *Christianity in Travancore*. Trivandrum 1901 (reproduced in the *Travancore State Manual*) (ed. Nagam Ayia V.) vol. II; Trivandrum 1906) p. 86-87. Cf. the observations of Germann on this matter in his *op. cit.*, p. 545: "Schaaf, the son, on 12 Dec. 1720 replied in his father's name that five letters had already been sent and that he was ready still for further mediation in correspondence with Antioch. Thus he must have further received letters and sent them to

the Patriarch. But it seems that the letters sent from Holland did not reach their destination, but were taken away by the Catholics. Otherwise it is inexplicable that while the original of that letter is not found in Holland till to-day, Assemani has found it in the Archives of Propaganda in Rome and having translated it from Syriac into Latin he could publish it ..." Paulinus too speaks of Mar Thoma's letter: "This Thomas in 1720 Sept. 25th, wrote a letter to Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, from the town of Parur..." *op. cit.*, p. 109. These and other letters were sent through the Dutch Authorities from Malabar.

20. Cf. Hough J., *History of Christianity in India*, London 1839, vol.2, pp. 393-396; Brown *op. cit.*, p. 118; Germann *op. cit.*, p. 558.
21. "... after the year 1704 Gabriel introduced himself into Malabar converting those people and sowing among them venomous doctrines and segregating them from the obedience of the Vicar Apostolic..." APF, *Acta anni* 1728, vol. 98, f. 97: relatio Card. Dellia, on 23 Feb. 1728. "... In the year 1705 came Dom. Gabriel a Syrian Metropolitan by the order of the Catholicos of the Orient..." J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, Leiden 1862, I. p. 27. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 534. footnote, 1. Mar Gabriel professed Catholic faith at least in 1704. His profession of faith, written both in Syriac and in Arabic together with their translations, is found in APFSO, anno 1706, vol. 549, ff. 325-340.
22. This is a manuscript written partly in Chaldean Syriac and partly in Malayalam transliterated in Syriac. It is now kept in the Scholasticate-library of the Carmelites (C.M.I.) in Bangalore. Fr. Placid of St. Joseph, TOCD *Our Rite*, Mannanam 1951, pp. 201-208. It is found in the manuscript itself that it was written by 'Deacon Abraham from the Church of Mulanthuruthy in the year 1734 after the birth of Christ, i.e. in 2045 of the Greek year in the month of Hasiran."
23. Cf. The manuscript referred to above, pp. 813-815. It is reproduced in Malayalam in Placid, *op. cit.*, p. 206. The English translation is ours.
24. It was Fr. Francis Roz S. J., who became later Archbishop of Cranganor for the Syrian Christians of Malabar, who was entrusted with the preparatory work of the reformation of the Chaldean rite in the Synod of Diamper, on account of his knowledge of Syriac and Malayalam. During his episcopate too he had made considerable changes in the Chaldean rite.
25. Cf. Placid, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.
26. ".... These days nobody can give a correct report on the belief (of the Thomas Christians), for their liturgical service (Mass) is a confusion; partly it is from the pagans among whom they live and from whom they stem; partly it is from the 'papists' to whom many of them were gone and with whom they share many churches; and partly it is from the Syrian Christians, by whose bishops they are governed and whose opinions they adopt": from the letter of Canter Visscher, quoted in Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 551. The English translation is ours.
27. Cf. Report of the Card. secretary Nicolaus Zucarius presented in the particular meeting of the S. Congregation of Propaganda Fide on 16 Aug. 1750. This is a paper based on the letter of Fr. Bonifacius, Cf, APF, SOCP, (1750) vol. 109, ff. 3-14; the original letter of Fr. Bonifacius a Bambino Jesu, OCD., is to be found, *ibid* ff. 90-92.
28. "... after the death of the Nestorian bishop Gabriel in the year 1730, the Christians of his party were divided into three groups, being from the Malabar heretics of the Chaldean rite, they returned to the obedience of the Archdeacon, their leader Thomas de campo ..." APF., SOCP. (1750) vol. 109, f.3.

29. Cf. APF., SOCP., (1750) vol. 109. ff. 3-8.
30. Cf. APF., SOCP., (1750) vol. 109, f. 9r. The English translation is ours.
31. The Syond of Diamper which effected the latinization was in 1599, and the whole Syrian community accepted it until they refused obedience to the Latin bishop in 1653. Only later in 1665 they came in contact with the Jacobite bishop who encouraged them to follow again the Syrian traditions.
32. Cf. Fonti, II, VII, p. 68, nn. 130-133. Fonti II, IX, nn. 433-435; 742-745.
33. Cf. APF., SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750) vol. 109. f. 9v.
34. Cf. notes 14, 30, 33 of this article.
35. Cf. our discussion earlier in this article on the restoration or introduction of the customs by the Antiochene prelates.
36. Cf. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 286: " ... on the question of celibacy of the clergy however a more positive action seemed practicable. The metran and his malpans were secretly of opinion that the single life was the highest and the holiest; nevertheless they admitted that matrimony was lawful to the clergy according to the ancient rule and practice of the church and moreover that it seemed to them the only cure for the dissolute habits of many of their order. To encourage the movement of restoring to the Syrian clergy the right to marry, the metran published that he himself would gladly perform the nuptial ceremonial in the case of any Cassanar willing to enter the 'holy state'; and Col. Munro offered a reward of four hundred rupees to the first Cassanar who should come forward to be married, so that by the year of 1820, 40 Cassanars out of 150, have become married men ...".
37. Cf German, *op. cit.*, p. 551.
38. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.* p. 632.
39. Cf. n. 15 of this article.
40. However all those that were reported by Paulinus even if not commonly spread then, had universally been accepted, after the establishment of the juridical power of the Antiochene Patriarch.
41. Cf. APF., SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750) vol. 109. f. 10r.
42. " ... The liturgy which he (Basilius) brought to Malabar was of St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, written at Mardin where the Antiochene Patriarch was residing who sent Basil and friends to Malabar " Paulinus, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Paulinus speaks also of his personal visits to them. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 111. Anquetil du Peron, a French traveller, also visited Mar Basilius on 12 Jan. 1758 and assisted at the liturgy celebrated by him. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, pp. 570, 573, 574.
43. Cf. Thomas Paremmakel, *Varthamanapusthakam* (1875), ed. by Luke Mathai Athirumpuzha 1936 p. 239. The spreading of this liturgy should have taken place at least by 1778. We point out 1778 because the journey of the deputation to Rome started from Malabar in June 1778. Thus making a statement from abroad on the conditions of the Malankara Jacobites, Fr. Paremmakel must have witnessed it before his departure from Malabar.
44. Cf. The report of Fr. Soledado OCD, in APF, SOCG., (17 May 1784) vol. 867, ff. 140 v, 139v. The full report is to be found, *ibid.*, ff. 133-143.
45. Cf. The report of Fr. Soledado OCD, in APF, SOCG., (17 May 1784) vol. 867, f. 139r.

46. Cf. The letter of Bishop Aloysius APF., in SOCG., (1786) vol. 868, f. 106 v.
47. This is confirmed by the letter of Mar Thomas V who wrote in 1748 to Rome that the use of fermented bread be conceded to them. This seems to have been the main thing they loved to retain. Cf. Fonti, II, VIII, p. 60. n. 113.
48. From the folksongs of the time it is found that Mar Dionysius I when returned to the Catholic Church in 1799 had to accept only unleavened bread as a change of rite. Cf. Fonti, II, VIII, p. 61, footnote 3. See also the petition of the Malankara bishops submitted to Rome during their efforts for reunion, in which they asked for the 'favour' of using leavened bread in holy Mass, as though that was the main difference in their liturgy from that of their Catholic brethren.
49. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 574.
50. Cf. *The letter of D. Carlo* on 20 Feb. 1782, in APF., SOCG., (17 May 1784) vol. 867, f. 174v. The same news was given in his letter on 8th April 1782. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 163rv.
51. Cf. APF., SOCG.; (17 May 1784) vol. 867, f. 171v; Cf. also Fr. Soledado's report of 16th Jan. 1782, in which he expressed his conviction that the whole success of reunion depended on their decision to accept or not to accept the Synod of Diamper. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 867, f. 138 v.
52. Cf. APF., SOCG (17 May 1784) vol. 867, f. 163v.
53. Bishop Carlo again writing to the S. Congregation of Propaganda on 8th Sept. 1782 expressed: "... As I have written at other times, Mar Thomas or Dionysius was to gather a second time the leaders of his clergy and people last April to determine the two other points which were left undecided in the first meeting, that is to say, the observance of fast and feasts prescribed in the council of Diamper and the election of his successor. This meeting of the clergy and people is not to be held now, and as far as I know, it is postponed until the arrival of the two Malabar priests" *ibid.*, f. 182.
54. Cf. APF., SOCG., (11 Sept. 1789) vol. 884, f. 122r.
55. Cf. Fonti, II, VIII, p. 61, n. 118; E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, p. 119. Here we discuss only those points that pertain to rite.
56. Cf. Travancore Royal Court Judgement (translated and edited by E.M. Philip) Kottayam 1890 (henceforth quoted as RCJ), p. 126.
57. The circumstance of this declaration has to be studied in its historical context.
58. Cf. E. M. Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.
59. "..... The Chaldeans, both Catholics and the heretics continue to discuss their ecclesiastical matters in 'giunta' composed of clerics and people; and this not only for the building and reparation of churches, but also for promoting someone to minor and major Orders, or for absolving someone from censure; the 'giunta' being consulted, the petitioner presents the request to the prelate. As for more important matters they invite also the people of the neighbouring parishes and for affairs still graver they seek the counsel of all the chiefs of the people of that diocese" Cf. APF.; SOCG., (16 Aug. 1750), vol. 109, f. 7v.
60. Cf. *The letter of the Antiochen Patriarch* on 25th Jan. 1751 to Mar Thoma V, in RCJ., n.99.
61. Cf. Howard G. B., *Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*. London 1864, pp. 104-105; Germann has quoted the description of Paulinus on the customs and tradition of the Syrians of Malabar, both Catholics and Jacobites. *op cit.*, pp. 602-607.

62. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 654.
63. This attitude of the Malankara people was explained by Howard: "... They (the Protestant missionaries) believed them sunk in ignorance and superstition and directed their efforts, not so much to restore that which might be wanting, as to persuade them to abolish, 'en masse' all that was offensive to their own prejudices and this comprehended apparently the entire Syrain ritual.... The Syrians on the other hand, with few exceptions, were strongly attached to the forms of worship and the customs which they had received from their ancestors and complained that "what the missionaries said about the Bible was partly good, but that they wished to overturn Mass-service altogether ... is highly improper, and therefore the people ought not to listen...." *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95. It is also interesting to note the words of Mar Dionysius IV in 1835 to Bishop Wilson: "our liturgies", he said, "have been formed by great persons; we are weak ones, what we can do?" Cf. *ibid.*, p. 102.
64. Cf. Milne Rae, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-303; Tisserant-Hambye, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
65. Cf. P. Cherian; *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society* (1816-1840) Kottayam 1935, p. 390; Fonti, II, IX, p. 26, n. 28.
66. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 755.
67. Cf. Germann, *op. cit.*, p. 755
68. See the explanation of the Hl. Mass he has given; after having assisted at the Malankara Church. Cf. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp.119-122.
69. Cf. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.
70. Cf. Bernard. *op cit*, p. 370, where he enumerates many Chaldean words which are used by the Jacobites even to-day in their liturgy. Cf. also Germann, *op cit.*, p. 606, where he tries to prove his thesis that a good part of the Thomas Christians are originally from Chaldean, from the fact that they-both Catholics and Jacobites- use many Chaldeo-Syriac forms in their liturgical language. Even to day this same usage is kept by the Jacobites of Malankara.
71. Cf. Germann, *op cit*. 750; Whitehouse *op. cit.*, p. 100; Fr. Bernard gives the date of the arrival of Mar Cyril in 1846. Cf *op cit.*, p. 383.
72. That the substitution of the Chaldean rite especially of the liturgy, with the Antiochene was effected during the time of Mar Cyril, is proved from testimonies both local and other., Cf. Germann, *op. cit*, p. 741; Bernard, *op cit.*, p. 385; Fonti, II, VIII, n, 122.
73. "... relying on the report of Du perron, Whitehouse (*op cit.*, p. 288) affirmed that there were 20 churches in the middle of the 18th C. common to both of the Syrian Communities. But after 100 years, i.e. in the middle of the 19th C. there was not even one church possessed in common. Being separated one from the other, each group obtained its own churches. Most of the churches possessed in common, fell to the lot of the 'Puthenkootukar' (Malankara community). Cf. Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 392. He gives also a list of names of the churches till then possessed in common by both parties. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 391.
74. Cf. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98 where he describes several instances of violent conflicts between the two.
75. Cf. Fonti, II, IX, pp. 91-92, ns, 195-196.
76. We leave out a discussion on the reformation of the Antiochene liturgy under the influence of Protestantism during the time of Mathews Mar Athanasius.

77. Cf. *Fonti*, II, IX, p. 29. n. 33.
78. The Nomo canon (Hoodaya Canon) of Bar Hebreus is the official code of canon law in the Jacobite Church.
79. Cf. *Fonti*, II, IX, p. 29, n. 34.
80. The story behind these two recensions of the 'Nomo canon' in the Malankara Church is sadly complicated. Cf. *Fonti*, II, VIII, pp. 67-72.
81. We acknowledge that in the manuscript, of which we have made mention in note 22 of the previous article, a little portion of this code is found transliterated, among many other insignificant notes. At any rate it is certain that these laws had absolutely no significance to the Malankara Church at that time. Cf. Placid, *op cit.*, p. 207.
82. Long discussions did take place to find out which of the two recensions represented the code of the Malankara Church. This was a preliminary question discussed in the court. Cf. *Fonti*, II, VIII, n. 127-128.
83. Cf. *Fonti*, II, VIII, pp. 66-67, nn. 127-128. It is also to be noted that when the 'catholicos party' completely withdrew itself from the jurisdictional power of the Patriarch of Antioch in 1934, in the attempt of liberating the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, they declared officially that only their recension of the 'Nomo-Canon' was acceptable to the Malankara Church, leaving the other unbinding, while the other party declared otherwise.

PART II

THE REUNION AND THE JURIDICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE SYRO-MALANKARA CHURCH BY THE HOLY SEE

The Syro-Malankara Church as a Particular Church in the Universal Church

The Syro-Malankara Church as a Particular Church in the Universal Church

In this part of our book our discussions are centred around the Syro-Malankara Church or that section of the Malankara Church which entered into communion with the Apostolic See of Rome. The autonomous nature of the Syro-Malankara Catholic Community as a particular Church is the subject of our discussions in the first chapter. The juridical acknowledgement of the Syro-Malankara rite by the Holy See includes a recognition not only of the ecclesial character of the Malankara Church, but also of its liturgy and discipline. Of these we shall speak in the following chapter. By indicating that the Syro-Malankara Community that has accepted communion with Rome retains its autonomy, we do not isolate it from the Malankara Orthodox Church nor do we forget their basic ecclesial identity. On the contrary we find that it is on the basis of the autonomy and independence of the Malankara Orthodox Church that the Malankara Catholic Community defends its autonomy in the Universal Church. To put it in other words, the autonomy and independence of the Malankara Catholic Community is an expression of the autonomy and independence which the whole Malankara Church has been enjoying throughout centuries and will continue to enjoy even when it enters into communion with the Apostolic See of Rome.

Hence a discussion on the juridical status of the Syro-Malankara Church, while clarifying the autonomous nature of it as a particular Church, has also deep ecumenical implications for the whole Malankara Church.

A Preliminary Note: The Concept of Rite

In the following pages very often we use the term "Syro-Malankara Rite" to indicate the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church. This is in accordance with the general ecclesiastical usage. But since the term 'rite' has a variety of meanings we find it necessary to explain its usage so as to indicate a particular Church, beyond and besides its meaning of a particular liturgy or discipline. Such a clarification will enable us not to identify a particular rite or Church with its liturgy or discipline. This is the purpose of our preliminary note in this chapter.

Without attempting a detailed discussion on the various meanings with which the term 'rite' was associated in the past, we shall try to define it as a juridical concept, especially in relation with the Oriental Churches.¹

Among the Romans the word 'rite' denoted customs and approved traditions employed especially in administering sacred functions². In the beginning in the ecclesiastical circles, too, it had the same acceptance.³

But later, we find that in the place of the word 'rite', many ecclesiastical documents using the words 'mos' 'consuetudo' 'paterna traditio' etc. indiscriminately, and frequently in reference to liturgy and things intimately connected with it⁴. On the other hand the word 'rite' assumed a broader meaning as it came to be used to indicate a particular system of ecclesiastical traditions and customs even non-liturgical⁵. Thus the word no longer has a univocal meaning.

During the time of the first Vatican Council, attempts were made to restrict the meaning of the word 'rite' to liturgy and liturgical traditions. This was, so to say, the result of an opinion that a uniform disciplinary system be adopted common to both orientals and occidentals. For it was intended to leave the Oriental Rites intact, while unifying the disciplinary system. Hence the disciplinary system was not to be included in the concept of 'rite', and therefore a clear distinction between discipline and liturgy was adopted reserving the word 'rite' for the latter.⁶

This attempt to restrict the meaning of 'rite' was not successful as the scheme could not be presented to the Council for discussion and approval. Therefore, many canonists continued to use the word 'rite' to mean not only liturgy and things intimately connected with it, but also the particular disciplines in the hierarchical constitution and church-government⁷. In the code of Canon law for the Latin Church the word 'rite' is used with a variety of significations⁸. Having the signification of a juridical entity the term obtained even a still wider acceptance. In this aspect, therefore, canonists like Hermann defined 'rite' in this way- " ... A group of faithful which is governed by its own laws and traditional customs in matters liturgical and canonical discipline and which is acknowledged by the Holy See as autonomous and distinct from other groups...."⁹.

Presupposing the existence of different rites in the Church and without trying to give a definition of rite, the 'Motu Proprio: Postquam Apostolicis Litteris' indicated that a rite should be 'sui juris' and acknowledged as such by the Holy See. Thus the 'Motu proprio' confirms the signification contained in the definitions quoted above¹⁰.

In the Second Vatican Council, 'rite' was understood as a synonym of 'Particular Church' which is said to be constituted by the faithful forming a community in communion with the Hierarchy: "That Church, Holy and Catholic, which is the Mystical body of Christ, is made up of the faithful who are organically united in the Holy Spirit through the same faith, the same sacraments, and the same government and who, combining into various groups held together by a hierarchy, form separate Churches or rites"¹¹. This declaration of the Council on the concept of rite is most helpful to understand the juridical status of the Malankara Catholic Community.

We may note here that with the promulgation of the 'Code of Canons for the Oriental Churches' (CCEO) in 1983, the use of the

term 'Rite' has been restricted to indicate the patrimony of a particular Church, resolving once and for all the problem of different usages of the term 'Rite' (cf. Can 28 of CCEO). Henceforth the particular Church that has an autonomy of its own will be known as an 'Ecclesia Sui Juris' (cf. Can 27) and its patrimony as 'Rite' (cf. Can 28 CCEO).

Can 28 of CCEO is a landmark in the process of understanding the meaning of it with precision.

We shall discuss the meaning of the term "Rite" received in Can. 28:1, of the CCEO.

The Canon Reads:

1. "A rite is the liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary patrimony, distinct by the culture and circumstances of history of a people, by which its own manner of living the faith is manifested in each church Sui Juris:
2. The rites treated in this code, unless otherwise stated, are those which raise from the Alexandrian, Antiochene, Armenian, Chaldean and Constantinopolitan traditions"

From the description of the Can 28: 1,2 we are given to understand the following

1. Rite is a patrimony of a Sui Juris Church
2. Rite is a complex whole, comprising the liturgical, spiritual and disciplinary patrimony distinct by the culture and the vicissitudes of the history of the people.
3. Rite is the means by which a Sui Juris Church expresses its own manner of living the faith. Hence it is no more to be treated as a juridical person, but a patrimony of a Sui Juris Church, means by which it manifests its ecclesial life.
4. The notion of "Rite" is distinct from that of a Sui Juris Church.
5. From Can 28 : 2, it follows that the CCEO acknowledges the origin of a rite only from any of the traditions which are taxatively enumerated and indicated as Alexandrian, Antiochene, Armenian, Chaldean and Constantinopolitan.

6. From the time of the publication of CCEO onwards and within the purview of CCEO, the term "Rite" should be used and understood only in the meaning given to it by Can. Can 28 & 1, 2, (with the only exception in Can. 828, where "Sacred Rite" is used in a special meaning).
7. Hence a Sui Juris Church should not be called any more "a Rite as we used to do hitherto, since the notion of "Rite" is not identical with that of a Sui Juris Church. This correction would help us to understand better the nature and mission of the Sui Juris Churches of the Orient and spare us from a lot of confusions and controversies.

But it has to be immediately stated that the precision and the determination of the meaning of the term "Rite" given in Canon 28, 1, 2 of CCEO may not by itself avoid the terminological problem. The confusion of meanings is likely to be continued since the term "Rite" is still found in the Canons of the CIC with all its varied meanings. If they are not interpreted in the light of the Canon 28: 1, 2 of the CCEO (which is a later canonical legislation), the difficulties will still be there. Similarly the uncritical and indiscriminate use of the term in the Latin Church to mean an autonomous-Sui Juris Eastern Church, as was hitherto used, if not checked, would perpetuate the confusion prevailing in the past, and consequently the understanding of the nature of the Eastern Churches as Sui Juris (autonomous) Churches in their ecclesial identity and juridical status in the Catholic communion would be blurred.

The Notion of a Sui Juris Church (Ecclesia Sui Juris)

The new CCEO has introduced the term "Sui Juris" Church (Ecclesia Sui Juris) in the Can 27, to describe the juridical nature of the Oriental Churches. It is literally the Latin translation of the Greek term "autonomous" meaning autonomous. The CCEO preferred the Latin term "Sui Juris" to the original "autonomous", to avoid the danger of confusing its meaning with the meaning it obtains in the Orthodox Canonical literature under the terms autocephaley which is different from that of the Catholic usage.

The description "Sui Juris" given to the Catholic Eastern Churches would solve a good many problems, even though it has its own limitations and difficulties. The term "Sui Juris" is indicative of the God-given right of the Eastern Churches to be of their own right, with their inviolable rights to govern themselves and to fulfil their God-given duties. In fact, refers to their status as juridical persons.

The autonomy of the Catholic Eastern Churches referred to in the Canon is a relative autonomy, as all the Churches in the Catholic communion, whether of the East or West, are subject to the jurisdictional primacy of the Pope, the Supreme Pastor of the Church, the successor of Peter, the Head of the College of the Apostles. Hence the "Sui Juris" nature of the Eastern Catholic Churches, while safeguarding the autonomy of the Universal Church, does not contradict the sovereignty and autonomy of the Universal Church. It is to be noted that the CCEO has not all of a sudden introduced the new concept of "Sui Juris", but it has the background of the *Motu Proprio Postquam Apostolicis Litteris* of Pope Pius XII, in its Canon 303 : 1, which in turn was the result of the canonical deliberation of the time.

We shall now briefly explain the main points contained in the Canon 27 of CCEO (cf. A recent good study on this question: *The Notion of a Sui Juris Church*, Antony Valiyavilayil OIC, Rome-Doctoral Thesis to be published). Can 27, reads thus: "A group of law which the supreme authority of the church expressly or tacitly recognizes as Sui Juris is called in the Code a church Sui Juris".

This canon is the canonical formulation of the ecclesiological perspective of the Vatican II explained in its document on the Eastern Catholic Churches, (OC 2) and proposes to describe the juridical nature of a Sui Juris Church. In the light of the Second Vatican Council's Ecclesiology that gave shape to it, we shall sum up the following salient points contained in Can. 27 of the CCEO:

1. The Sui Juris Church consists of a group of Christian faithful.
2. It must be held together in Communion by a Hierarchy;
3. This communion-unification-should be established according to the norms of law;

4. The supreme authority of the Church shall have acknowledged or recognized it as "Sui Juris";
5. The recognition can be either expressed or tacit; and
6. This recognition refers to the Sui Juris character of:
 - (a) the group of Christian faithful
 - (b) the hierarchy
 - (c) the level of communion.
7. It is to be noted that Can. 27, proposes not so much the Rite of a Church – Patrimony of a Church – as the hierarchial constitution specific to it, as the basis of the Sui Juris character of a Church.

The norms of law referred to it in the Can. 27 are the norms given in CC, 55, 151, 155, 174 (more fully CC. 55 to 176). Thus CCEO recognize four forums of Sui Juris Hierarchy corresponding to the four kinds of grouping of the Christian faithful in their ecclesiastical Communion, and, therefore, 4 kinds of Sui Juris Churches.

1. Patriarchal Churches
2. Major Archiepiscopal Churches
3. Metropolitan Churches
4. Other Sui Juris Churches (headed by a Hierarchy of lesser grade).

Hence we see that the Sui Juris charter itself is graded in accordance to the hierarchical level organised or established by the norms of law. Thus, for example, the level of autonomy of the Patriarchal Churches, in terms of their self-sufficiency and powers of self-government, is higher than that of the other Sui Juris Churches.

This preliminary note on the concept of 'Rite' as distinct from that of a particular Church (Ecclesia Sui Juris) is helpful to understand the juridical nature of the Syro-Malankara Church, as a particular Church in the Catholic communion. For its status as an Ecclesia Sui Juris is based on its autonomy and the recognition of it by the Holy See. Both the points will be discussed in detail in the following articles.

Art. I The Jurisprudence of the Holy See in the Early Attempts at Reunion

The Malankara Church began its attempts at Reunion with the Catholic Church from the very moment of its separation from the latter. The successful reunion in 1930, under the leadership of Mar Ivanios, the Late Archbishop Metropolitan of Trivandrum, was nothing but a crowning reward of its efforts for almost three hundred years.

In making its efforts for regaining communion with Rome, the Malankara Church had never lost sight of its autonomy as a particular Church and the necessity of retaining its spiritual patrimony. The Holy see was only gradually led to recognise the ecclesial character and the autonomy of the Malankara Church. An examination of this gradual process especially at its early stages is the object our study in this article.

The dilemma which the Syrian Christians of Malabar had to face during the Latin rule was this: either they had to accept the Latin rule and the imposition of the Latin rite in the place of their oriental rite, or they had to deny obedience to their immediate ecclesiastical superiors. Almost all the Syrian parishes chose the second alternative and separated themselves from the Latin bishop. Hence any attempt for a reconciliation that implied a denial of their right of having a hierarchy of their own or keeping the oriental rite intact, was naturally doomed to fail.¹

Initial Answers to the Demands of the Syrians

The first attempt for a reconciliation was made with the Apostolic Commissary Giuseppe a S. Maria O.C.D., soon after his arrival in Malabar in 1657². At that time the main interest of the Syrians was getting their Archdeacon validly consecrated³. They might have been considering that a return to their oriental rite would be easy once they had a bishop of their own. However, the Apostolic Commissary felt that he could not comply with their suggestion to

grant episcopal consecration to the Archdeacon who in his judgement was an intruder and usurper of that ecclesiastical dignity.

Bishop Garzia, who was the Latin bishop of the Syrians insisted that the Syrians leaving the Archdeacon should come back to Bishop Garzia's obedience and accept him as their legitimate pastor, which the Syrians unconditionally refused⁴. Anxious to defend his rights against the possible interventions of the Apostolic Commissary. Bishop Garzia even tried to accuse the Apostolic Commissary of intruding into his jurisdiction. This is clear from his letter to the Pope on June 3, 1659⁵.

On the other hand, the Apostolic Commissary and the missionaries sent by the Roman Congregation not agreeing to place the Syrians under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese bishop Garzia, led the discussions to their own lines of interest⁶.

On account of this difference in approach to the issue, the problem was left unresolved⁷, with the dissidents still firm on their demands that their Archdeacon be consecrated bishop and placed over them instead of Bishop Garzia.

At this phase therefore, the Syrians were more insistent on the establishment of a native ecclesiastical head than the restoration of their rite. The attitude of Rome towards the retention of the Syrian rite was unfavourable. For the Apostolic Commissary seems to have been instructed by the Congregation to initiate a gradual replacement of the Syrian rite with Latin rite beginning with a change of the language to be studied by the young clerics⁸.

The Holy See did not meet the demands of the people to ratify the position of the Archdeacon as a bishop. On the contrary, it was thought necessary to send the Apostolic Commissioner Guisepppe a S. Maria O.C.D. as Vicar Apostolic to Malabar having him consecrated bishop, in spite of Bishop Garzia's opposition⁹. But the Vicar Apostolic could not continue in his office as he was forced by the civil authorities to leave Malabar. He, then, consecrated Alexander De Campo bishop in 1665 to succeed him in his office. With the consecration of Bishop Alexander De Campo, the first Syrian bishop after the Latin rule, a

large section of the dissident Syrians returned to the legitimate authority¹⁰. However, the remaining Christians who professed allegiance to the Archdeacon persisted in their demand of having the Archdeacon validly consecrated bishop.

The reunion Attempts of Mar Thomas IV

The second phase of the attempts for a reunion with Rome was opened by the Malankara bishop Mar Thomas IV. He wrote a letter on December 7, 1704 to the Pope requesting again the ratification of his assumed dignity as a bishop¹¹. In this petition Mar Thomas IV and his followers stated that they were sending the Carmelite priest Augustine to present their cause to His Holiness. They requested that the Pope should mercifully consider their petition and treat them as he used to do with their ancestors, who were ruled uniformly in Malabar by their own customs and laws. For this they even suggested that they would be satisfied even if the Archdeacon Thomas be made only a co-bishop with the Carmelite bishop Dom Angelo¹². In this petition they asked for the nomination of the Archdeacon as their bishop so that they be governed according to their own Syrian customs. The suggestion that the local bishop be a co-ruler with the Apostolic Vicar, seems to have come from the Carmelite Missionaries, who were anxious to perpetuate the office of the Vicar Apostolic in Malabar¹³. The suggestion from them was evidently directed to achieve this goal. In the "Sommario" of the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide presented to the Cardinals, one can very well see the reflection of it. He mentioned of the conflicts between the Padroadists and the missionaries sent by the Roman Congregation¹⁴. It had been suggested in the report that in case His Holiness deemed it opportune to confer episcopal dignity on the Archdeacon, necessary faculties should be given to the Vicar Apostolic to consecrate the Archdeacon and even afterwards the Vicar Apostolic should himself be the principal bishop of Malabar¹⁵.

Together with the petition of the dissident group, the Catholics also sent petitions to the Pope requesting him to consider the cause of reunion favourably¹⁶. They too had expressed their desire of having a bishop from their own to preserve their rite more scrupulously.

However, at this period Rome-perhaps not encouraged by the reports of its own missionaries-did not take any step in the line of bringing these reunion efforts to a successful conclusion. On 5th Nov. 1706, Fr. Arzenius wrote to the Congregation: "It has been two years since these Christians have appealed to Rome; the Schismatic and his followers have again written without getting any reply so far. We are assisting these people that your Eminence may give a decision, and we request that this be done as soon as possible so that these Christians may not be lost a second time"¹⁷.

From Fr. Arzenius' letter it is clear that until 1706 Rome had not given any reply to the petitions made by the separated group of the Malabar Syrians. Discouraged by the attitude of Rome in 1709 Mar Thoma IV asked the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch for bishops from Antioch, showing readiness to cherish communion with the See of Antioch¹⁸.

Mar Thoma V's Reunion Attempts

Even though great disappointment was created among the Syrians by the continued silence of the Holy See towards their proposals, later, during the time of Mar Thomas V, another attempt for reunion with Rome was made, and again with the same claims they had put forward in their earlier efforts.

In 1748 Mar Thomas V sent an application to Pope Benedict XIV in which he repeated the requests of his predecessors¹⁹. He made it clear that he and his followers had been Syrians using the Syrian rite and traditions; and these, when changed by force, resulted in confusion and trials: "Again I bring to Your notice that in the year of Our Lord 52, St. Thomas, the Apostle, came to India, preached and gave us baptism, and my ancestors received the sacred Orders from the Apostle who delegated them to govern this church. Then came Syrian Archbishops and bishops of happy memory who preached and taught us the rites and customs, and from them we have learned them. From those times on we have not changed our rites and customs, and in the year of Our Lord 1598, not having our own bishops, we followed the Latin rite after which a lot of tribulations and suffering

occurred to us"²⁰. Mildly expressing his desire to be consecrated bishop and be placed over his community he suggested that the Carmelite missionaries could be appointed his helpers in the government of his church: "command the Carmelites to assist us with the Grace of God, and call back the Portuguese bishop from this diocese; with sympathy and mercy upon us kindly do this favour to us"²¹. Summing up all of their reasons for the use of leavened bread in the celebration of the Holy Mass, he said: "For this I request you in the name of St. Peter, the Apostle, Head of the Apostles of Christ, as it is written in the mass of St. Peter to grant us the 'Leavened bread' as you have conceded it to the Greeks. We also request you to grant us the freedom to keep the customs of all our churches in our diocese, and Your Holiness granting us this favour we shall praise God in one voice shall obediently remain under Your Venerable Throne" ²².

Thus he repeated all the requests which were made from the very beginning of the reunion attempts with the Catholic Church. The Roman Congregation could not yet give a favourable answer to them, as many spoke of the efforts unfavourably. Fr. Bonifacius himself, who presented their letter to the Pope expressed his doubt as to the realisation of the project; "The project of reunion is certainly plausible and worthy of attention, but I strongly fear of its solidity...."²³. Besides, the Vicar Apostolic had written that the proposals and Promises made by the separated group were all fraudulent and incorrect²⁴. The claim to have their own bishops was interpreted as uncontrolled ambition and vanity²⁵.

On the face of unfavourable decision on the proposals of Mar Thoma V, on Sept. 19, 1750, the Congregation wrote to him referring to a letter written to the Vicar Apostolic, in which he was to find the attitude of Rome towards his proposals²⁶. In that letter the Vicar Apostolic was given detailed instructions as to the policy he had to adopt in handling the problem²⁷. With regard to the conferring of holy Orders on Mar Thoma, Rome had its own difficulties: The Roman Congregation feared (1) that the bishop, being old, would be weak and be seduced to leave his office and appoint his successor from his own family, (2) that it would be a dangerous precedent and

a bad example for the future Archdeacons to consecrate an intruder and allow him to remain in his office; (3) that the Archdeacon while remaining interiorly a schismatic could pretend externally to be a catholic and consecrate heretics bishops; (4) that since the Malabarians were black and vassals of the King, it would be a disgrace to confer episcopal dignity on them²⁸. Explaining the problems connected with the consecration of any one from Malabar to the episcopate, the Congregation had also expressed the special difficulties in the case of Mar Thomas V. He was supposed to have been an intruder without any priestly character at all and also a heretic who usurped ecclesiastical powers²⁹.

Episcopal Dignity Granted

In spite of all these difficulties, the Congregation finally decided to confer holy Orders on Mar Thomas V, at some opportune time, provided he showed true repentance³⁰. To prove his genuine repentance he was asked to abjure all errors he taught and to abdicate all episcopal rights and powers³¹. He was also told that he would not be given any episcopal jurisdiction, but had to be content with the episcopal character and title. The Roman Congregation thought episcopal jurisdiction granted to the Archdeacon would be a threat to the authority of the Vicar Apostolic who had jurisdiction over the Catholic Syrians³².

Regarding the use of leavened bread in the Holy Mass, the Congregation had both theological and practical objections. It observed that Jesus Christ had used unleavened bread in the institution of the Holy Eucharist and that the permission to use unleavened bread would help the Archdeacon retain his heresy and make his conversion doubtful³³.

Practically, therefore, the preservation of the Syrian rite or a claim for it was suspected of heresy. It was too early for Rome to think of a local hierarchy or to recognise a different rite as legitimate. It was these conditions that the separated group loved to see fulfilled in their reunion with the Catholic Church, the denial of which meant a tragic frustration of all their efforts for reunion³⁴.

Efforts of Mar Thoma VI

Even though the expectations of Mar Thomas V were not realized, his successor did not hesitate to make further negotiations in the same line. Thus Mar Thomas VI (Alias Mar Dionysius I) tried for reunion soon after he was elected as the leader of the separated group³⁵.

Like his predecessors, Mar Thomas VI too claimed recognition of the Syrians' right to preserve their rite and to have bishops of their own in making a reunion with the Catholic Church.

Mar Thomas VI first approached Bishop Florence a Jesu, Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, to discuss the possibility of reunion with the Catholic Church, making the usual proposals of retaining the rite and hierarchy. And on Nov. 3, 1768, the Vicar Apostolic wrote to Rome "The mitred layman" called Mar Thoma, bishop of a large section of the schismatic Syrians advanced some proposals to me to abjure his errors and to become Catholic and obedient to the Holy See with the same pretensions of his uncle who himself was a schismatic bishop. In case he persists in these feelings I have already with me the instructions sent to me at the time of his uncle's efforts, from the Sacred Congregation to guide me..."³⁶.

Having made some enquiries, the Holy See appointed Fr. Ildephonsus a Presentatione O.C.D. and Lawrence Justiniani O.C.D., as Apostolic Vicars of Malabar³⁷. On the question of the reunion of Mar Thomas VI and his followers instruction was given to them on August 31, 1771, that they should be very cautious in the matter³⁸. The instruction was moulded according to the suggestions of Fr. Ildephonsus and it seems that Rome was unwilling to grant any jurisdictional power to the reuniting bishop. Besides, the Congregation was reluctant to cherish any further relations with the Chaldean Syrians. For, to the suggestion of Fr. Ildephonsus that a Chaldean bishop with some of his priests should be sent to Malabar with him, the Congregation answered negatively expressing its fear that it would help the Syrians to fall into heresy³⁹.

At any rate, the answers from the Congregation did not satisfy Mar Thomas VI, who was by then already a validly consecrated bishop having full jurisdictional power over his people⁴⁰. The Catholics who belonged to the Syrian community presented the case to the Apostolic Visitor Lawrence Justiniani and insisted on granting jurisdiction to Mar Thomas VI over the churches that depended on him⁴¹. However, since the Apostolic Visitor had no special faculties to handle the case, he sent the petition and the profession of Faith of Mar Thomas to the Holy See.⁴²

Rome took up the matter again and at this time the reports of Bishop Francis Sales O.C.D., who was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Malabar after the death of Bishop Florence, considerably influenced its decision. The new Vicar Apostolic, while in Rome, had suggested that Mar Thomas preferred an annual subsidy to the honorary title of "Apostolic Protonotary", without making it clear that he was already a validly consecrated bishop⁴³.

The Roman Congregation, therefore, issued an instruction to Bishop Francis Sales with regard to the reunion of Mar Thomas, suggesting that Mar Thomas should be encouraged by some sort of an offer along the lines of temporal gains. It was clearly stated that the Syrians should not be given the idea that they would have their own bishop with jurisdictional powers, since it would weaken the authority of the Vicar Apostolic⁴⁴.

Thus the idea of receiving the Malankara bishop into the Catholic Church with jurisdiction over his people was unacceptable to Rome at this stage. This attitude of Rome was clearly reflected in Bishop Francis' refusal to grant jurisdiction to Mar Thomas at least over a minimum number of three or four churches that would be reunited with him. Bishop Sales considered this "neither advisable nor feasible"⁴⁵.

In order to safeguard against the interference of local Catholic dignitaries, Syrians decided to bring the matter directly to the Holy See. Accordingly, a deputation headed by Dr. Joseph Cariattil,⁴⁶ an influential Syrian Catholic priest, was sent to Rome with petitions⁴⁷.

They submitted to the Sovereign Pontiff Mar Thomas VI's petition and profession of faith and added to them their own explanations and petitions⁴⁸. In his petition after narrating the history of the Syrian Church in Malabar, Mar Thomas VI made it clear that he was a validly consecrated bishop: "Since I heard from some orthodox priests and from some of the followers of Jacobites that I lacked in episcopal character and that my ordination had been null, I have been promoted to that dignity; hence on the first Sunday of the month of January in the year 1772, I took care to be promoted to the Orders and received them from clerical Tonsure to Episcopate inclusively from the Jacobite Archbishop Gregorios at St. Mary's Church, Niranam" ⁴⁹

Then he explained how his long cherished desire to be received into the Catholic Church with his people was not encouraged by the local Catholic bishops⁵⁰. And finally after making his profession of faith, he repeated his desire to be admitted into the Catholic Church "Finally I earnestly request Your Holiness to graciously receive me into the Catholic Church, even though I am not worthy to be numbered among her sons, but among the sheep that have gone astray from the House of Israel, and strengthen me in this faith for which I am ready to shed blood. God help me. Given at Niranam, in the year 1778 on the 12th day of May. Mar Dionysius, Archbishop of Indians" ⁵¹.

It is interesting to note that in his petition Mar Dionysius did not explicitly mention the retention of the Syrian rite, nor acquiring jurisdiction over his people. Instead he spoke of his valid consecration and of his state of being the leader of his people. We may wonder why he did not make those claims.

Although he had not explicitly put the retention of his jurisdiction as a condition, the very petition implicitly affirmed the necessity of such a procedure for the good of his community: "that I, with my people, may be incorporated into the Holy Mother Church" ⁵². Besides he might have thought it wise to present his demands viva voce, especially because such claims were too much suspected of heresy and bad faith to be put in writing ⁵³. This surmise is corroborated by the fact that Dr. Cariattil, in his own explanatory petition to the Holy

Father, did mention these demands very clearly. He reported that his deputation was from 72 Syrian Catholic Churches of Malabar and that the reunion of Mar Thoma and his numerous followers would be a great triumph for the Orthodox Church of Malabar. Besides, he recommended that Mar Thoma, who was a true son of the Church in his early years and was validly consecrated later, should be given jurisdiction over his flock⁵⁴.

Episcopal Jurisdiction Possible

The Sacred Congregation had many difficulties to resolve, before it could take any definite decision on the matter. Thus information was sought from every side both privately and publicly⁵⁵. Finally Mgr. Emmanuel, Bishop of Cochin, was delegated to receive Mar Thomas VI into the Catholic Church, after absolving him from all ecclesiastical censures and irregularities. But since the final judgement on the validity of his episcopal consecration was reserved to the Holy See, Mar Thomas VI was not to officiate for the time being at any function proper to episcopate⁵⁶.

It seems that at this stage Rome was willing to grant episcopal jurisdiction to Mar Thomas VI if the validity of his consecration could incontestably be proved, and to confer episcopal consecration in case he was not validly consecrated, provided the local Catholic authorities were not against it. "The Sacred Congregation enquires whether it is for the good of the Catholic Religion to entrust freely to Mar Thoma the government of the church of Niranam, after verifying the truth of his conversion and consecration, or rather to appoint him Coadjutor of the same Archbishopric according to the opinion of Rev. Joseph a Solitudo, bishop of Cochin"⁵⁷. Reports were sent to the Congregation both by the Propagandist and Padroadist missionaries and none favoured the idea of granting independent jurisdiction to Mar Thoma VI over his people⁵⁸. But as Dr. Cariattil was, by this time, nominated Arch-bishop of Cranganor⁵⁹ the Congregation thought it expedient to entrust the whole affair to him. Accordingly he was delegated to handle the case with the same powers once given to Bishop Emmanuel⁶⁰. However, in the instruction given to him on 10th July

1784, he was reminded that the granting of episcopal jurisdiction to Mar Thoma VI was reserved to the Holy See as it had previously been decided: "Hence the said Archbishop of Cranganoor shall take care in every way that Mar Thoma subscribe and profess Pope Urban VIII's formula of the profession of faith, the copy of which has been sent; Thus by virtue of the faculties graciously granted by our Holy Father, let him admit the said Mar Thoma into the Catholic communion after absolving from censures and, as he is priest, from irregularities, and reinstate him to undertake the priestly duties; however, let the Archbishop forbid him to administer any episcopal functions whatsoever until the validity of his consecration is proved certain in the judgement of His Holiness"⁶¹.

But before he could do anything according to this instruction, Bishop Cariattil died at Goa on his way back to Malabar⁶².

After the death of Bishop Cariattil, though the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar and his priests tried to direct the course of the attempts of the reunion of the separated group of Syrians along the line of their own suggestions and proposals,⁶³ the Congregation seems to have taken a different view on the issue. Thus in the General Congregation of 18th Feb. 1788, a remarkable step was taken by the Congregation to satisfy the demands of the reuniting people of the Malankara Church; All that Rome insisted was that the reuniting party make their profession of Faith according to the formula of Pope Urban VIII. The Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda de Fide decided that the matter should be handled directly by the Holy See and not by the Catholic dignitaries in Malabar. Rome asked detailed informations on Mar Thoma from Vicar Apostolic and declared that the Syrians would be allowed to retain their episcopacy and their rite and rituals under the vigilance of Rome⁶⁴.

Integrity of Faith Alone Demanded

The Congregation seems to have concerned now only with the integrity of Faith⁶⁵. The granting of episcopal jurisdiction to Mar Thomas VI over his own people was no longer a problem. Rome was even ready to reconsecrate Mar Thomas VI if necessary⁶⁶.

At this stage, therefore, an extremely significant attitude was adopted by the Holy See towards the reunion of the Malankara Church. The Holy See was ready to meet all their demands including the privilege of electing their own bishops. Even during the following years of confusion and misrepresentations the attitude of Rome remained the same. For example, to the repeated attempts of Fr. Paulinos to change the attitude of the Congregation, it had replied "instructions given earlier are to be followed"⁶⁷. On the other hand, leaving completely in the hands of the Holy See the final decision on the retention of the Syrian rite, the Malabar Syrian Community at this stage expressed its desire to remain as one fold under the same Metropolitan as it had ever been. Thus in April, 1791, Mar Thomas VI made arrangements with Bishop Soledado of Cochin, for a united Catholic Community. He and his community were even prepared to make reforms in their rite that they could easily be incorporated into the community of their Catholic brethren⁶⁸.

But the negotiations with the bishop of Cochin were suspended on account of the interventions of the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar⁶⁹. Rome had to discuss the case once again. Thus on July 28, 1794, the Congregation had once again commissioned Mgr. Emmanuel, the Archbishop of Goa, to handle the case and granted him all the faculties which were once given to Archbishop Cariattil⁷⁰.

Finally, according to the instructions and decisions hitherto given by Rome a meeting was held at Quilon in 1796 to finalize the terms of reunion that were in discussions. But more than twenty years of tiresome efforts for such a noble cause, were deplorably frustrated by the self interests of a few Church-dignitaries and everything ended in a profound confusion⁷¹.

We leave to historians the close examination of the factors which distorted this noble cause. On our part, we see clearly how during all these efforts the Malankara people tried to move on as an ecclesiastical body and insisted on a reunion without losing any of its ecclesial character. For, the retention of their rite, and episcopal jurisdiction of Mar Dionysius I over his people remained for ever the significant claims on the part of the Syrian Community. And later these demands

turned out to be the foundation on which the unity of the Syrians was to be built up as one community under the leadership of one Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius I, and thus restoring the Syrian community to its original state of unity. Similarly, it is most interesting to note how the Holy See was led gradually to recognise the claims of the Syrians and to grant their requests, and finally even to defend them against all kinds of opposition.

Further Developments

After the time of Mar Dionysius I, only late in the reigning period of Mar Dionysius V, we find a serious attempt for reunion made by the Malankara Church.

With the intention of reuniting himself and his people with the Catholic Church, the Malankara Metropolitan Mar Dionysius V approached the Apostolic Delegate of India, Mgr. Ajuti⁷². The Delegate Apostolic writing to Fr. Mani Nidhyirickal, one of the illustrious Syrian Catholic priests of that time, who took the initiative of the whole enterprise, on 14th Jan. 1888 informed: "... It is better if you could remind him (Mar Dionysius V) that I have been granted by the Holy See all the necessary faculties for handling the case ..." ⁷³.

After discussing the matter with the Apostolic Delegate, proposing the usual claims, Mar Dionysius V enquired if their hierarchy would be preserved leaving respectively the Sees to himself and to the other bishops, and if the married priests would be allowed to continue their family life, and if they would be allowed to retain their Catholic Maronite Rite⁷⁴.

It is interesting to note that Mar Dionysius V proceeded along the same line of his predecessors insisting on the retention of the hierarchy and the rite⁷⁵.

Similarly, on the part of the Holy See, the same lenient attitude was continued to be shown. Thus the Congregation decided that the reuniting clergy could be received in their dignity and office provided the validity of their baptism and holy orders were ascertained⁷⁶. With

regard to the retention of their rite, following the principles already stated by Benedict XIV, the Holy See gave an affirmative answer with the understanding that deviations would be corrected and books and rituals would be examined ⁷⁷.

The question on the use of leavened bread in the Holy Mass was also discussed. But unlike in former times it did not cause any difficulty. For by this time the use of leavened or unleavened bread was viewed as a matter of mere ecclesiastical tradition and custom without giving much importance to its role in the past in deciding one's pertinence to a particular rite. Thus the Holy See unhesitatingly allowed the continuation of the practice of celebrating Holy Mass with leavened bread⁷⁸.

Since, by this time, among the Jacobites marriage of clerics was considered to be the normal rule and clerical celibacy its exception, special provision was made to allow the married clergy to continue in their married state while making clerical celibacy obligatory for those who wanted to enter the priest-hood⁷⁹.

It is quite clear, therefore, that the Holy See was completely lenient to all the demands of the reuniting group, provided those were helpful and conducive to the final goal of unity. However, as in the previous cases, this time too the long cherished hope of reunion was not realised.

These attempts of reunion made by the leaders of the Malankara Church and the attitude of the Holy See in handling them, throw much light upon the successful reunion later effected. For we see clearly from their history that from the beginning of their efforts for reunion with the Catholic Church the leaders of the Malankara Church proposed that they were to be received and recognised as a particular ecclesiastical community with the retention of their own hierarchy, liturgy and discipline. The Holy See gradually being informed of the true nature of their claims, graciously recognised them as a genuine expression of human values in the life of the Church. Thus we see that the recognition of the Malankara rite by Rome is a crowning success of prolonged efforts of many years. On the other hand, with

this recognition from Rome the Malankara Church could once again establish its identity as a particular Oriental Church in the Universal Church.

Art.II The Final Disposition of the Holy see for the Reunion of the Malankara Church

We saw in the previous article how a smooth way for reunion was prepared by the efforts of many Malankara Prelates. In this article we shall explain the final step the Holy See took to acknowledge the Malankara rite in the Universal Church.

By the beginning of the 20th C. the relationship of the Malankara Church with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch was strained. The Malankara Metropolitan Mar Dionysius VI tried every means possible to free the Malankara Church from the interventions of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. This idea of ecclesiastical autonomy became very strong and emotionally charged when the Patriarch of Antioch excommunicated Mar Dionysius VI in 1911¹.

And with the establishment of a "Catholicate" in Malankara in 1912, the Malankara Church, with the exception of a small section of people who preferred to be under the Patriarchal jurisdiction took the definite form of an independent Church, and styled itself as the Malankara Orthodox Church².

Final Efforts for Reunion with the Catholic Church

In this state of independence, therefore, the Malankara Orthodox Church was more free to make an effort for reunion with the Catholic Church. Accordingly, Mar Ivanios, the Metropolitan of Bethany³ was deputed to make enquiries to effect a communion with Rome⁴.

Thus to get the view of the Holy See on the matter an un-official memorandum was prepared by Mar Ivanios, and in 1926 it was sent to Rome⁵. We shall reproduce here the significant parts of this memorandum:

"WHAT IS WANTED

The entry of the Jacobite Church into the unity of the Catholic Church,

- (1) preserving their ancient rites and rituals, and
- (2) conserving the jurisdiction of the uniting Bishops over their own flock.

STATEMENT

Since the year 1665 some of the Syrians in South India have been members of the Jacobite Church, and recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, living at Mardin in Turkey. And the Jacobite Church in India enjoyed autonomy regarding the internal affairs of the Church.

Since 1910, the Jacobite Church in South India has been split into two sections. One section owes allegiance to Elias III, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch living in Mardin. The other section owes allegiance to the Catholicos of the East living at Vakathanam, near Kottayam, Travancore. The Catholicate was established in India by the Jacobite Patriarch Abdul Messiah II who visited Travancore in 1912. The Catholicate is the revival of the early Catholicate of the East which had its See at Tigris in Mesopotamia. The Catholicate is independent of the Patriarch of Antioch. And within the Catholicate, Patriarchal powers are exercised by the Holy Synod which is composed of the Catholicos and his con-provincial Bishops.

It is the Bishops of the Catholicate that seek re-union with the Holy See. The Holy Synod of the Catholicate consecrates Bishops and Metropolitans and performs all the Patriarchal functions and exercises Patriarchal powers within the Archdiocese of the Catholicate. The Holy Synod claims to itself legislative, administrative and disciplinary powers in all matters spiritual and ecclesiastical within the Archdiocese.

The Holy Synod of the Catholicate prays that they be admitted into the unity of the Catholic Church, themselves,

1. preserving the ancient rites and rituals
2. retaining for the Holy Synod and for the individual Bishops their jurisdiction over all the Jacobite Syrians that come into reunion and
3. accepting the supremacy of the Holy See, the Pope being the successor of St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles of Our Lord.

The Holy Synod do not want to be placed under the Jurisdiction of the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Beyrout. For the Holy Synod itself exercises Patriarchal jurisdiction within the Archdiocese of the Catholicate in South India ..."⁶.

From this it is clear that as their predecessors the Prelates of the Malankara Orthodox Church put forward the same claims and requests to the Holy See for its consideration⁷. An unofficial reply was sent from Rome in 1928 to this memorandum which explained the general policy and attitude of the Holy See towards the reuniting Oriental Churches⁸. Besides this reply which clarified the general policy of the Catholic Church towards the separated Churches, a questionnaire on the Malankara Orthodox Church was sent to them through the Apostolic Delegate in India. There were six questions in all and many of them were meant to know the past and actual state of the Malankara Church⁹.

Mar Ivanios answered these questions by giving the full history of the Malankara Orthodox Church¹⁰. After explaining when and who began to make this move towards Rome he made it clear: "... one cannot at this state say with any certainty how many churches and people will come into reunion at the very beginning. As soon as assurance is given that the request made in memorandum I is granted by the Holy See, definite steps will, it is hoped, be taken to bring into reunion as many churches and people as possible. This may take some time. For we shall have to fight against inherited prejudice, ignorance and intense conservatism, as well as, in some cases, vested interests. But there is no need to doubt that the faith shown in doing the needful to facilitate reunion will be amply justified by the results ..." ¹¹

While discussions were going on in Rome on the possibility of granting the requests of the reuniting people of the Malankara Church, Mar Ivanios wrote letters to the Apostolic Delegate in India, giving him detailed informations on the ground and nature of their claims. The Holy See answered their memorandum on 5th Aug. 1929. As this reply is significant to learn the fundamental attitude of the Holy See towards the reunion of the Malankara Orthodox Church we shall reproduce it in full: "Reply of the Holy See on the points raised in the memorandum presented by the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios, Metropolitan of Bethany. I. As regards rites: In conformity with the declaration already made in January, 1929, the principle on which the Holy See deals with the adherents of a historic rite sanctions the retention of that rite on their return to Catholic unity. This principle will be applied to returning Jacobites in so far, of course, as their rites and ritual books contain nothing that is contrary to Catholic faith and morals or inconsonant with ecclesiastical decorum. This principle is naturally subject to exception where particular circumstance of person or place render the retention of a certain rite practically impossible.

II. In reference to the desired assurance that Bishops returning to the unity of the Church together with a notable part of their priests and people shall be confirmed in their government of their flock, this again is the ordinary rule on which the Holy See proceeds, given, of course, the required guarantees regarding orthodoxy of Faith, validity of Orders and personal repute in those concerned, and this is the rule which the Holy See proposes to follow in regard to the reunion of Jacobites in Malabar.

III. On the question of hierarchical organization, it is to be considered as settled that Jacobites of Malabar returning to the unity of the Church either individually or in groups, are to be in no way dependent on the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch. With this promise, the Holy See will make provision as seems best in the circumstances. Thus for instance, if, as above, one Bishop returns with a considerable part of his clergy and flock, the Holy See will be inclined to retain him under its own immediate jurisdiction. In further eventual organisation of a hierarchy along Catholic lines, there can,

of course, be no question of a synodal form of episcopal government, nor can any hopes be entertained for the retention of a position or title like that of "Catholicos" which is not supported by a long-standing ecclesiastical tradition in Malabar.

IV. In the matter of clerical discipline, finally, the Holy See, out of a feeling of particular esteem for the clergy of Malabar, would not want to see those who return to Catholic unity from Jacobitism lag behind their Syro-Malabar and Latin countrymen in a matter of such prime importance as clerical celibacy, and would therefore desire to see them adopt this disciplinary measure for their future priesthood, but this, of course, without any prejudice to the ecclesiastical stand of those convert priests who are now married" ¹².

This was evidently an answer at the first state of the correspondence, when the Holy See was not yet sure how this movement would take shape in the future. Thus clarifying once again the points referred to in the memorandum Mar Ivanios wrote to the Apostolic Delegate in India on 17th Sept, 1929¹³. Among other things Mar Ivanios wrote! " We are grateful for the assurance that we shall be allowed to continue the use of our rites and ritual books. If there is anything in them, "contrary to Catholic faith and morals, or inconsistent with ecclesiastical decorum", we should certainly be prepared to alter them We are grateful for the assurance that the reuniting Bishops will be confirmed in the government of this flock ..."¹⁴.

After explaining the reasons for reconsidering the decision on the dignity of "Catholicos" in favour of continuing it even after the reunion with the Catholic Church, Mar Ivanios suggested: ".... May I venture therefore humbly to submit a suggestion for the most kind consideration of the Holy See: The position and title of the Catholicos be allowed to continue, his function being defined as corresponding more or less to that of the Primate of the National churches in Europe and America, and consisting only of the authority to convene conferences of all the ordinaries of our rite in this country and presiding over these conferences"¹⁵.

In this letter Mar Ivanios made it clear that the position of the Metropolitan of Bethany was particularly significant, as he obtained jurisdiction in all the seven dioceses of the Orthodox Syrian Church¹⁶ in Malabar: " This arrangement will not be out of order at present, for the Metropolitan of Bethany has not taken the oath of obedience to the Catholicos:

The Metropolitan of Bethany

The Orthodox Syrian Church in Malabar is territorially divided into seven episcopal dioceses. At his consecration the Bishop of Bethany was authorised to establish churches under his jurisdiction in any or all of these seven dioceses, and incorporate into his diocese the subjects of the other Ordinaries. The necessity for this arrangement arose from the desire on the part of the synod to have churches established in Malabar that would be free from the control of the laity. Subsequently, the Bishop of Bethany was installed as the Metropolitan of Bethany. The Metropolitan of Bethany has organised churches under his jurisdiction in five out of the seven episcopal dioceses in Malabar and is hoping to do the same in the remaining two dioceses also "¹⁷.

The Final Decision

After taking into account these and other clarifications¹⁸, the Holy See communicated its final decision on the matter taken in the Plenary Session of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches on 4th July 1930, to the Apostolic Delegate who forwarded it to Mar Ivanios¹⁹. Leaving the detailed explanation on some of the points contained in the disposition to be treated in the following articles, here we shall reproduce the significant points in the letter: " In the Plenary Session" on the 4th July last Their Eminences the Cardinals of the Congregation for the Oriental Church have duly examined the question of "The Desiderata" exposed by the Jacobite Bishops of Malabar, belonging to the Metran Party, and especially of the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios, Metropolitan of Bethany and Mar Theophilos, his suffragan, about their reunion with the Catholic Church".

It is therefore convenient to meet the desiderata of the afore-said two Bishops, as it has already been done in greater part.

1. Assuring that the pure Syrian Rite of Antioch will be maintained and that therefore they will not be confounded with the Syro-Malabars whose Rite is of Syro-Chaldean origin.

2. Moreover assuring them that, having verified the validity of the Baptism and of the S. Ordination and consecration of the above said two Bishops, they will be kept in their respective office and jurisdiction i.e. Mar Ivanios will remain Bishop of Bethany with the personal title (ad Personam) of Archbishop Metropolitan and Mar Theophilos Bishop of Thiruvalla.

3. As for the title of the Catholicate or Catholicos it is not advisable to touch this question, in view also that, as the present Catholicos is not going to be converted, it is premature to decide now what should be done in case of his conversion. The Archbishop of Bethany and the Bishop of Thiruvalla (in presentibus rerum adjunctis) will at present depend directly on the Holy See, without any dependence on the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch.

4. Regarding the liturgical books (Missal, Ritual, Pontifical) which are those coming from Propaganda, the same will be kept, correcting, however, the expressions not proper and erroneous, which eventually have been introduced.

5. Regarding the name, these new Catholics may be called "Syro-Malabar Catholics of the Antiochene Rite" or "Malabar Catholics of the Syro Antiochene Rite" or "Malabar Antiochene Church" or "Syro Malabar Church". In this way they will be distinguished from the Malabar Catholics of the Chaldean Rite...." ²⁰.

We must not forget that the Holy See, though it gave its answer to particular and specific questions, did not overlook the fundamental issue, namely "the entry of the Jacobite Church into the unity of the Catholic Church". Therefore the particular provisions were nothing but a preparation to the great goal of unity. It is in this light that we have to examine these answers.

Since we shall deal with the liturgy and discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church later, we now leave aside a discussion on the provision for retaining the rite.

As for the retention of the episcopal jurisdiction of the uniting bishops the Holy See had assured them that they would be confirmed in the government of their flock, provided the validity of their sacred ordinations was ascertained. Though in the beginning the Holy See was rather hesitant to receive the "Catholicos" in his dignity and jurisdictional office, later a favourable attitude seems to have been adopted by it towards the problem. However, since the Catholicos had already gone back on his decision of uniting with the Catholic Church, this particular question was no longer dealt with. Thus in the final decision the Holy See informed that it would be expedient not to touch that question especially because the actual Catholicos was not coming into the Catholic Church²¹.

We are not sure what policy the Holy See would have adopted in case the Catholicos were reuniting with the Catholic Church.

A Particular hierarchical arrangement on the absence of a Catholicos

At any rate, the general policy that the reuniting bishops would be received in their office and be recognized as the ecclesiastical heads of their community was maintained, safeguarding, of course, the supremacy of the Holy see. Besides, it was thought expedient not to determine at this stage the territorial jurisdiction of the newly received bishops. Hence it was decided that "the Archbishop of Bethany and the bishop of Thiruvalla will at present depend directly on the Holy See, without any dependence on the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch" ²².

Such a clarification was necessary. For the prelates of the Catholicate were asking for a reunion with the Catholic Church, preserving of course the Catholicate and the Patriarchal powers of the Holy Synod of the Catholicos²³.

Meanwhile there came a proposal that the reuniting community since its rites are Antiochene, could effect a reunion with the Catholic Church by uniting with the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch²⁴.

However, the prelates of the Catholicate decided to remain as a particular Church directly under the Holy See. And already in its first answer to their appeal, the Holy See abided by their decision: " On the question of hierarchical organisation it is to be considered as settled that Jacobites of Malabar returning to the unity of the Church either individually or in groups are to be in no way dependent on the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch. With this premise, the Holy See will make provision as seems best in the circumstances....."²⁵. Their claim therefore was unhesitatingly granted. But, in fact, only Mar Ivanios and Mar Theophilos were disposed at the moment to reunite with the Catholic Church. The hope that others would follow their example was still entertained²⁶. Hence as to the immediate hierarchical organisation, the Holy See hesitated to offer a definite plan, as it was not sure that the Catholicos and the other bishops would come over to the Catholic Church.

However, later it was informed that the Catholicos declined from his decision to reunite with the Catholic Church, while Mar Ivanios and Mar Theophilos were still preserving. It was in this situation that the Holy See granted to the reuniting bishops jurisdiction over the reuniting people. They were not to depend on the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch, the suggestion of which was already ruled out²⁷; neither was there a Catholicos, reunited and approved as such by the Holy See, that he be the highest local ecclesiastical head to whom the reuniting bishops and the people would be immediately subject. In the supposition that at a later stage the Catholicos might reunite with the Catholic Church, the Holy See was not ready to provide at the moment for something else either. Hence after having spoken of the Catholicate and Catholicos, but without giving any definite answer to the issue—the context is significant—the Holy See declared that the Archbishop of Bethany and the bishop of Thiruvalla would for the time being—having taken into account all the circumstances we have described above—depend directly on the Holy See; and assuring the

reuniting people that they be received into the Catholic Church as a particular Church, Rome made it clear that they would not have any dependence on the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch, of which a suggestion was made earlier.

Having given these assurances, some provisions were added to them with regard to some particular points for the betterment of the new community. We shall quote the pertinent ones: "... Hence as regards the S. Ordination, the Delegate Apostolic will not omit to carefully enquire himself or through some others, and case for case, about the validity of the S. Ordination of the would be converts His excellency the Delegate Apostolic by himself or Mons. Benziger or others will absolve the two Bishops from the irregularity; will take care that the priests and laity who wish to convert make profession of Faith, in the best way possible.²⁸ As regards the celibacy, in future no candidate will be admitted to the S. Orders unless he promises to remain unmarried. For the present, however, married priests who convert will be accepted and tolerated and the married Deacons may receive priesthood²⁹. With regard to these provisions some further explanations were given from the Apostolic Delegate. On clerical celibacy it was added: "..... In regard to celibacy the instructions are clear enough about deacons and priests; as for other married clerics, each case may be proposed (and the permission will be given)³⁰.

As for the retention of books and rituals it was noted: " In obedience to the orders of Rome and at the request of His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate, I am also asking Your Lordship to come in contact with Mons. Kallacherry (to whom I shall also write) for the examination of the liturgical books of the Jacobites and, before that, for the investigation of the validity of the Orders of the two reuniting Bishops and their clergy. For this purpose the Apostolic Delegate is giving the following instructions: Mons. Benziger and Mons. Kallacherry need not refer the data either to me or the Congregation, but if they are personally satisfied that the Baptism, Ordination and Consecration of the Bishops are valid, they can go ahead. Even the absence of doubt on the part of Mar Ivanios and Mar Theophilose can be taken into account ..."³¹.

The explanations given for the better understanding and execution of these instructions clearly indicate that in all these arrangements the Holy See had taken only the initial steps necessary for the start and that after having watched the progress of the movement it would provide for the rest of the needs in the new community. Explaining the provision on the division of the territories of jurisdiction between the two bishops it was declared: " it will be best, the Cardinal thinks, to let them go on together for a while and when the opportune time comes to make the division, after we see what the movement amounts to "32.

To know, therefore, what this movement amounted to and how it developed, we have to continue to examine the historical events immediately followed and the juridical structure the Holy See has given to the reunited community.

Art. III The Reunion and the Establishment of the Hierarchy

Everyone who examines the dispositions of the Holy See to accomplish the great project of the reunion of the Malankara Orthodox Church with the Catholic Church understands they were quite opportune and conducive to the final end. Mar Ivanios, Metropolitan of Bethany and his suffragan Mar Theophilos, bishop of Thiruvalla, accepted the decision of the Holy See and thus on 20 Sept. 1930, together with representatives of their followers, were received into the Catholic Church after having made their profession of Faith before Msgr. Benziger O.C.D., bishop of Quilon¹.

The Reunited Bishops Retain Jurisdiction

According to the provision already made before the reunion, the reunited bishops were received into the Catholic Church in their episcopal dignity and jurisdiction. Before reunion Mar Ivanios was Metropolitan of Bethany and exercised jurisdiction in all the seven dioceses of the Catholicate². It was in the same office that he was received into the Catholic Church. The Holy See assured: " the two

Bishops, they will be kept in their respective office and jurisdiction i.e. Mar Ivanios will remain Bishop of Bethany with the personal title (ad personam) of Archbishop Metropolitan and Mar Theophilos, Bishop of Thiruvalla ..."³. Though the title 'Archbishop Metropolitan' was conferred on him only "ad personam" the jurisdiction he was exercising before was not restricted. Hence he could exercise his jurisdiction over the whole reunited community. Such an arrangement—in the line of a personal jurisdiction—was needed. For it was expedient not to restrict his jurisdiction with territorial limits because the reunion of many Jacobites from all parts of Malabar was expected and hoped for.

Before the reunion Mar Theophilos was auxiliary to the Metropolitan of Bethany. But after the reunion no juridical precision was given on the relationship between the two bishops. We have only a general suggestion from the Apostolic Delegation: "..... It will be best, the Cardinal thinks, to let them go on together for a while and when the opportune time comes to make the division, after we see what the Movement amounts to"⁴. Hence it is difficult to give this arrangement a juridical figure of hierarchical system. It may be noted here that though a juridical precision was lacking, that arrangement was quite appropriate.

Later through the Apostolic Constitution "Magnum Nobis" issued on 13 Feb. 1932, a special provision was made for the new community assigning to Mar Ivanios the title See of "Phasiensis" with residence in Trivandrum and to Bishop Mar Theophilos the title See of "Aradenis" with residence in Thiruvalla⁵. In fact such an arrangement was not satisfactory to the reunited community as their most significant demand was that they should be received into the Catholic Church as a particular Church. This provision, therefore, did not last for long and the Holy See decided to give a stable form of hierarchy to the new community.

Hierarchy with Territorial Jurisdiction

Through the Apostolic Constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi" Pope Pius XI constituted a special hierarchy, on 11 June 1932, with

an ecclesiastical province for the reunited Syro-Malankara group⁶. This formation of a hierarchically organised province should be considered a landmark in the history of the Syro-Malankara group, for it affirmed its juridical existence in the Catholic Church. Besides, on the part of the Holy See it was a definite step, though not the final, towards receiving the Malankara Church into the unity of the Catholic Church. For, this establishment of the ecclesiastical province for the Syro-Malankara faithful⁷ was a concrete expression of the fulfilment of the promises, assurances and provisions made by the Holy See.

The Ecclesiastical Province

Explaining the reasons for establishing a hierarchy the Holy See declared that the Syro-Malankara community should have a firm juridical structure⁸. Hence a special ecclesiastical province with an Archdiocese and diocese was erected for the Syro-Malankara Church⁹. Territorial limits of the new Sees were also indicated in the Apostolic constitution¹⁰. Thus the Holy See thought it expedient to acknowledge the Syro-Malankara rite and to assign a special province for it. And this was mainly on account of the special esteem which the Holy See has towards the Oriental Churches. And it was this favour that was constantly requested by the prelates of the Malankara Orthodox Church in their attempts at reunion with the Catholic Church. Hence this disposition of the Holy See was, and still remains so, in view of the whole of the Malankara Orthodox Church.

The Hierarchy

The hierarchy was to consist of a Metropolitan and an auxiliary bishop, i.e. the Archbishop-Metropolitan of Trivandrum and the Bishop of Thiruvalla¹¹. The bishop of Trivandrum was made the Metropolitan of the new Province¹². The ruling hierarchs of the newly erected dioceses were granted all the rights and privileges attached to their respective offices according to the common law and the legitimate customs of the Syro-Antiochene Church: "Hence we grant to it (the Metropolitan See) and to its reigning Archbishop all the rights and privileges, honours and prerogatives, which are due to

them according to the common laws and the legitimate customs of the Syro-Antiochene Church; (we grant) above all to the Archbishop the faculty to use 'pallium' according to liturgical laws within the ecclesiastical province, after having requested it in the Sacred consistory and obtained it from the Holy See"¹³. The episcopal rights were therefore to be determined according to the common laws of the Church¹⁴. These common laws could be understood as those that are super-ritual or that which pertain to the common disciplinary system of all the Oriental Churches in contrast to the particular laws of one rite¹⁵. In addition, the legitimate customs of the Syro-Antiochene Church¹⁶ were also indicated. For, the Malankara Church had long ago adopted the Antiochene rite. It was again this rite that the reuniting bishops wanted to retain while making their submission to Rome. In determining, therefore, the rights and privileges of the reunited bishops, the customs of the Syro-Antiochene discipline were also to be followed.

It was also enjoined that the bishop of Thiruvalla was subject to the Metropolitan powers of the Archbishop of Trivandrum. Similarly, the constitution, having determined the rights and privileges of the Cathedral churches, assigned them to the prelates in both dioceses; besides, it was prescribed that the administration of the dioceses was to be done according to the "sacred canons"¹⁷. Finally Rome reserved to it the right to change or determine further the territorial limits of the province while entrusting the Apostolic constitution to the Apostolic Delegate to be put into execution¹⁸.

Thus by the constitution of an ecclesiastical province for the Syro-Malankara community, the repeated requests of the Malankara Church that it be received into the Catholic Church retaining its own rites¹⁹ and hierarchy were granted and fulfilled.

The establishment of an hierarchical province for the reunited community assumes special importance. For, the juridical constitution of the Syro-Malankara community and its communion with Rome is to be seen in its relationship to the whole Malankara Church. The reunion of a section of the Malankara Orthodox Church with Rome is the partial fulfilment of the communion which the Malankara

Church could or should enter into with the Apostolic See of Rome. On the part of Rome the willingness to enter into a communion with the whole Malankara Church seems to be very clear. For the acceptance of the Syro-Malankara Catholic community with its own rite and hierarchy involves an implicit recognition of the Malankara Orthodox Church as a particular Oriental Church.

Art. IV The Syro-Malankara Church Explicitly Recognised as a Distinct Church

The desire of the Malankara people to remain an autonomous Church took a definite form in the establishment of an independent Catholicate. It was this autonomy that the reuniting people of Malankara wanted to preserve in making their reunion with Rome. In this article we shall explain how the Holy See explicitly acknowledged the juridical status of the Syro-Malankara Church as a distinct rite in the Universal Church. Since every rite as a juridical entity in the Church needs recognition from the competent authority of the Church, such an explicit acknowledgement is of great importance to determine the juridical status of the Syro-Malankara Church in the Universal Church¹.

Submitting the first "memorandum" to Rome in 1926 in behalf of the bishop of the Catholicate in India, Mar Ivanios explained: "The Catholicate is independent of the Patriarch of Antioch. And within the Catholicate Patriarchal powers are exercised by the Holy Synod which is composed of the Catholicos and his con-provincial Bishops"². In the memorandum the Malankara prelates quoted the canons of Bar Hebreus in support of the argument, that the powers of the Catholicos were equal to that of the Patriarchs³.

Similarly they argued that the Antiochen Patriarch did not have the right to interfere in the government of the Malankara Church⁴. Constituting, therefore, a Catholicate for themselves, the Metropolitan and his party claimed independence for the Malankara Church. It was from this Church as a Church that the first memorandum for reunion was sent. It was entitled: "The entry of the Jacobite Church

into the unity of the Catholic Church"⁵. The Holy See answered it thus: " The recent expression of a desire on the part of the Synod of the Catholicate for reunion with the Catholic Church ..."⁶.

The Holy See had, therefore, considered the petition coming from the Catholicate in India and later carried out the negotiations as though between two independent Churches⁷. Thus in the final decision, the Holy See Acknowledged the reuniting group as a distinct community of faithful⁸. It is, however, interesting to find that the Holy See indicated different possibilities of naming the new community. The reason seems to have been that the Holy See itself was not quite sure what the movement would amount to. In other words, Rome might have considered it premature to designate the new community with a particular appellation. What was definitely intended was to recognise the reunited people as a new community and to keep this community distinct from other Catholic communities in India. Hence it was explicitly mentioned that the reunited group should not be confused with the Syro-Malabar community whose rites are of Chaldaic origin⁹. We must not forget that even at this early stage the Holy See could recognize its special characteristics as a "Church" : "Chiesa Antiochena-Malabarica of Siro-Malabarica".

It is also to be noted that this provision of a special name for the new community was an answer to the request of Mar Ivanios who loved to see the reuniting group called "Catholic Orthodox Syrians" as the counter-part of the "Orthodox Syrian Church"¹⁰.

The Apostolic Constitution which was issued at the establishment of a special hierarchy for the reunited faithful, designated them as "Syro-Malankarenses ritus Antiocheni"¹¹ which appellation was begun to be used thenceforth. This is both meaningful and expressive of the attitude of the Holy See towards the new community. For, by this denomination the Holy See recognising the ecclesial character of the Malankara Church acknowledged it as a particular community in the Church which, however, had derived many of its special features of an Oriental Church from the liturgical and canonical rites of the ancient Antiochene Church.

If we look into the history of the Oriental rites we shall find that often they are named after the nation or community of the Faithful¹². Hence the appellation used by the Holy See in this case is quite in conformity with the oriental tradition.

Thus "Fideles Syro-Malankarenses ritus Antiocheni" meant the Syro-Malankara community of the faithful who as a community practise the Antiochene rite with the approbation from the Holy See; that is to say, the particular Church of Malankara which according to its liturgy and discipline belongs to the family of "Ritus Antiochenus"¹³.

Having thus recognised the juridical existence of the Syro-Malankara Community of the Antiochene Rite, the Holy See in later years designated it clearly as "Syro-Malankara Church" or "Syro-Malankara rite". In the Apostolic Brief issued on nominating the late Archbishop Mar Joseph Severios as the bishop of Thiruvalla we read: "Pius Bishop servant of the servants of God. To Venerable Brother Severios Joseph Valakuzhiel hitherto titular bishop of Ingelin and the Apostolic administrator-ad nutum S. Sedis—of the diocese of Thiruvalla of the Syro-Malankara Rite, elected bishop in the same diocese .."¹⁴.

Entrusting him the government of the Diocese he was granted also all the rights and duties according to the laws of the Malankara Church: "... and to this diocese appoint bishop and shepherd and fully entrust to you this Church's care government and administration both in spiritual and in temporal things with all rights and privileges, duties and obligation inherent in this pastoral office according to the Sacred Canons and the particular laws and esteemed customs of the Malankara Church"¹⁵.

Thus the Holy See has explicitly acknowledged the ecclesial character of the Malankara community. That this particular Church has its own particular discipline is implicitly contained in the declaration that the appointed bishop should enjoy all the rights and duties "according to the Sacred canons and the particular laws and esteemed customs of the Malankara Church". The same was repeated

in 1955, when the Holy See nominated His Excel. Mar Athanasius as the Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese "Thiruvallensis Syrorum Malankarensium"¹⁶.

Similarly, when appointing His Grace Mar Gregorios as Archbishop of Trivandrum it was declared in the Apostolic letter: ".... with our Apostolic power we appoint you Archbishop and shepherd of the Metropolitan See of Trivandrum of the Syro-Malankarese, giving you its care, government and administration of both spiritual and temporal things and faculties attached to it; having received that high dignity, you will have similarly all the rights and duties which are rightly attached to it according to the laws and accepted customs of the Syro-Malankara Church"¹⁷. Sending an instruction on preserving the liturgy and rites of Syro-Malankara Church, the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church noted: ".... from the very first year of the return to the Catholic faith of conspicuous groups of faithful of the Syro-Malankara Rite under the leadership of some Bishops, the Holy See, in its solicitude, has given detailed instructions for the observance of the rite in its genuine form, some few modifications only having been made in the light of Catholic doctrine. During these twenty-five years of union with the Apostolic See the Syro-Malankara Church, due to a variety of circumstances, has, however, felt the impact of certain influences which are alien to its own rite. Hence it has become necessary to give directives calculated to restore the rite to its original purity"¹⁸.

Here again, therefore, it is affirmed that the Syro-Malankara Rite is a particular Church which has its own liturgy and rites that are to be preserved intact¹⁹. Again in a letter of the same Congregation sent to the Archbishop-Metropolitan on 28th May 1958, giving further details on the above mentioned instruction it was said: " above all, if, on a mere hypothesis, these innovations alien to the proper rite are allowed to be introduced into the Malankara Church, the rite would become hybrid after a short time which would be despised by the dissidents and would be obviously contradictory to the doctrines of the Church about the Oriental rites"²⁰. We find that the Holy See in approving the resolutions of the Plenary Council of India, held in

1950, specifies and makes special provision for the particular discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church, thereby acknowledging its status as a particular Church; "... The Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara fathers, who were present at the first Plenary Council of India held in the year 1950, prostrating at the feet of Your Holiness, humbly request: (1) Indult to have the feasts of Christmas, Ascension, Corpus Christi, Assumption of Our Lady and the feast of St. Thomas as obligatory, respecting the particular discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church..."²¹.

From these ecclesiastical documents therefore, it is clear that the Syro- Malankara Church is explicitly acknowledged and recognised by the Holy See as distinct Particular Church in the Universal Church.

Art. V. The Hierarchical Structure of the Syro-Malankara Church

Even though the juridical status of Church is distinct from that of its hierarchy, the impact of the latter on the former is not insignificant. This relationship is all the more noticeable after the publication of the "Motu Proprio Cleri Sanctitati" a part of the code of canon law for the oriental churches¹. For therein the different grades of super-episcopal jurisdiction are determined and described with regard to their respective function in the Church. Hence we shall see if the hierarchical set up of the Syro-Malankara Church is in keeping with the nature of it as a particular Church.

Our discussion on the hierarchical set up of the Syro-Malankara Church is in reference to its juridical status as a particular Church. Hence our main intention is to find out what juridical powers the hierarchical head of the Syro-Malankara Church has in the light of the "Motu Proprio Cleri Sanctitati".

Super-Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Motu Proprio

The "Motu Proprio" explains that Patriarch² Catholicos³ Archbishop⁴ Maphrian⁵ and Metropolitan⁶ receive super-episcopal jurisdiction in a particular Oriental Church. Since only the concepts

of Archbishop and Metropolitan are now related with the hierarchical head of the Syro-Malankara Church, we shall explain them only. Though in the Latin discipline the Archiepiscopal dignity is only a title attached to the Metropolitan dignity⁷, it does receive jurisdictional powers in the Oriental discipline and the Motu Proprio "Cleri Sanctitati" has clearly defined them. Already in the Motu Proprio "Sollicitudinem Nostram" published in 1950, there is a reference to the Archiepiscopal office⁸ which had found its further descriptions in the Motu Proprio "Cleri Sanctitati".

In the said "Motu Proprio" the Metropolitan and Archiepiscopal offices are considerably different. The Metropolitan is described as one who heads an ecclesiastical province and it is further determined that this dignity is united with an episcopal See by decree or recognition of the Roman Pontiff or an ecumenical council⁹. From the descriptions of the Archiepiscopal dignity we learn that: 1) The Archiepiscopal dignity is attached to a Metropolitan See (i.e. it should not be mere title "ad personam"); 2) This union of the Archiepiscopal dignity with the Metropolitan See is determined or acknowledged by the Roman Pontiff or by an ecumenical Council; 3) One is appointed or confirmed in his election by the Roman Pontiff to a Metropolitan See constituted in the manner mentioned above, to preside over a particular Church (i.e. not only as the hierarchical head of an ecclesiastical province)¹⁰. Since there are Metropolitans who have the title of "Archbishop" without the specific powers attached to the Archiepiscopal dignity, some authors make a distinction between "Major" and "Minor" Archbishops¹¹. However, it is to be noted that the Motu Proprio does not make such a distinction, but speaks only of Archbishops who have specific jurisdictional powers. But the Second Vatican Council has made such a distinction in its decree on the Catholic Oriental Churches in contrast to the Motu Proprio "Cleri Sanctitati"¹². According to the prescriptions of the "Motu Proprio" jurisdictional powers of "Catholicos" are equal to that of Archbishop¹³. A Metropolitan who has the dignity of "Maphrian" also receives the same powers as Archbishop, but the former is subject to a Patriarch¹⁴. The Archiepiscopal and the Metropolitan offices, however, are sharply distinguished from one another¹⁵. For while in the Motu Proprio the

Archiepiscopal rights are closer to that of the Patriarchal dignity, the Metropolitan dignity is similar to that in the Latin discipline¹⁶. Hence we see that the concepts of Archbishop and Metropolitan cannot in the light of the *Motu Proprio*, be used indiscriminately.

The Juridical Figure of the Hierarchical Head of the Syro-Malankara Church

We have already seen that the question of retaining the jurisdictional office of the Catholicos of the Malankara Church, who exercised Patriarchal powers in the Malankara Church¹⁷, was no longer treated within the final disposition of the Holy See on account of the reasons explained there itself.

After the reunion, since Mar Ivanios was allowed to have the same office and jurisdiction which he had before, he exercised jurisdiction over the whole reunited group. However, in 1932 when an ecclesiastical province was established, he was appointed Archbishop-Metropolitan to the Metropolitan See of Trivandrum and thus his jurisdiction assumed the juridical figure of that of an Archbishop-Metropolitan and was limited by territorial limits¹⁸. The bishop of Thiruvalla was subject only to his Metropolitan Powers¹⁹.

No change has ever been effected in this hierarchical constitution, except that in 1958, by a Decree of the Congregation for the Oriental Church, the territorial jurisdiction of the bishop of Thiruvalla was extended to a wider area, which thereby became coextensive with the jurisdiction of the Syro-Malabar hierarchy²⁰.

Mar Ivanios was succeeded by the Benedict Mar Gregorios in 1955²¹. In his nomination letter we read "To Venerable Brother Gregorios Benedict Varghese, Titular Bishop of Antara and Apostolic Administrator of the See of Trivandrum of the Syro-Malankarese Metropolitan-Archbishop elected to the same See, greetings We thought to promote you as the Archbishop of the same See and therefore with our Apostolic power We appoint you Archbishop and Shepherd of the Metropolitan See of Trivandrum of the Syro-Malankara....."²².

The use of the term 'Archiepiscopus' is apt to create doubt in this case. For on the one hand the head of the Syro-Malankara hierarchy does not seem to have enjoyed or claimed any super-episcopal jurisdiction as an Archbishop in the canonical sense. On the other hand, we find that already in 1950 in the *Motu Proprio* "Sollicitudinem nostram" the term receives its juridical implication of a higher jurisdictional office²³. The doubt is still stronger as the nomination in question is to a Metropolitan See of an ecclesiastical province which is *de facto* the only province of a particular Church. Strictly speaking an authentic clarification of the meaning of the term is desirable.

Examining closely the juridical status of the See and the office to which the nomination has been done, we shall try to clarify the term in its context.

Even though the concept of Archbishop in the Oriental discipline did receive a jurisdictional implication, in the Apostolic constitution issued at the establishment of the ecclesiastical province for the Syro-Malankara community, it did not possibly obtain such a meaning, as we find that the term "Archbishop" and "Metropolitan" being used indiscriminately to indicate the same office. The following are the main reasons for assuming such an interpretation:

1. Since there was no Oriental legislation at that time, presumably the Latin discipline seems to have been applied where the term Archbishop does not indicate any jurisdictional office;

2. In similar Apostolic constitutions referring to the Orientals themselves such indiscriminate usage is found. For example in erecting an ecclesiastical province for the Syro-Malabar Church, the Apostolic constitution "Romani Pontifices" employed the same usage²⁴;

3. Even in the Apostolic constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi" the same indiscriminate use is found;

4. Conferring the rights and privileges to the newly appointed Arch-bishop it was prescribed that it should be in accordance to the

Syro-Antiochene discipline. But in examining the Syro-Antiochene discipline we find that there does not exist a jurisdictional Archiepiscopal dignity different from that of a Metropolitan²⁵. It is therefore to be inferred that the Apostolic Constitution refers only to the Metropolitan dignity;

5. In the Apostolic Constitution the suffragan bishop is enjoined to be subject only to the Metropolitan powers of the "Archbishop", which is an indication that no other powers are involved therein.

From the Apostolic constitution, therefore, we find that the first hierarchy of the Metropolitan See of Trivandrum, though called both "Archbishop and Metropolitan" did not receive any higher powers or status than that of a Metropolitan. It was in this sense that he was granted jurisdiction. When his successor was appointed to the same office in the same See, the term "Archbishop" though it could have had different juridical implications, especially in the light of the new oriental legislation-seems to have remained in the same signification in which it had been used before. In this sense, therefore, the term "Archbishop" remains only a title attached to the Metropolitan dignity.

In other words, among the different grades of super-episcopal jurisdictional powers described in the Motu Proprio the present hierarchical head of the Syro-Malankara Church seems to possess only that of the Metropolitan.

The Incomplete Hierarchical Structure

If we take into account the nature of the Syro-Malankara Church as a particular Church, the inadequacy of the present hierarchical structure is clearly noticeable, especially because in the new canonical legislation the Metropolitan powers are insufficient to guide a particular Church.

Therefore the fullness of the hierarchical structure of the Syro-Malankara Church is to be found in the hierarchical system of the Malankara Church itself in which we find a Catholicos with his synod exercising Patriarchal powers.

1. For a detailed discussion on the complexity of the concept of rite, we direct our readers to two learned studies among many others: Fr. Hermann S J: "De Ritu in jure canonico" in *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. XXXII, num. 89, Oct-Dec. 1933, p. 96-159; (Further development of his thought on this issue is explained by Fr. Hermann in his article "De conceptu Ritus" in *The Jurist*, vol. II (1942) num. 4, pp. 333-345. Antoine Jubeir: "La notion Canonique de Rite" ed. 3, Romae, 1961.
2. "..... ceterum "ritus" est mos et approbata consuetudo et praecipue in sacris administrandis": Forcellini, *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, sub verbo "Ritus": quoted by Hermann, *art. cit.*, p. 96.
3. Cf. *Encyclopedia Cattolica*, Citta del vaticano, 1953, vol. X under the word: "Rito", col. 1055. sq.
4. Pope Leo IX writing to Michael Cerullarius said: " nullum eorum adhuc perturbatur vel prohibetur a paterna traditione sive consuetudine": Cf. *Mansi, tom.*, 19; col. 653-59, Similarly Pope Celestine III declared: "Quum secundum regulas ecclesiasticas et sanctorum instituta Pontificum, sacri sunt ordines in certis temporibus conferendi, quidam Graeci episcopi ritus sui et consuetudinis observantiam in Latinos clericos exercentes, eos ad sacros ordines passim provehunt, qui non sunt praeterquam in IV temporibus conferendi nolumus autem commixiones et consuetudines rituum in ordinibus observari" Cf. Jubeir, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
5. For example, in the Profession of Faith of Michael Paleologus, in the Council of Lyons II it was said: "... Confiteentes vero haec rogamus Magnitudinem Vestram, ut Ecclesia nostra dicat sanctum Symbolum, prout dicebat hoc ante schisma, usque in hodiernum diem, et quod permaneamus in ritibus nostris, quibus utebamur antea schisma; qui scilicet ritus non sunt contra supradictam fidem, nec contra divina praecepta nec contra doctrinam sanctorum generalium Conciliorum" Cf. *Fontes CIC*, vol. I, num 35, p. 34: quoted by Jubeir, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Similarly at the Council of Trent also we find the same signification given to the word "rite" Cf. *Fontes CIC*, vol I, p. 345. It is interesting to note how many authors defined "rite", after this time: "Ritus nomine intelligimus disciplinam Ecclesiae auctoritate stabilitam vel usu et consuetudine comprobata": Cf. Hermann, *art.cit.*, p. 98, where he quotes these authors.
6. *Mansi, tom.*, 50, col. 28, 31, 41, 44.
7. For example Fr. A. Wuyts remarks: " Notions d'abord que le terme "rite" est employe non seulement dans le sens liturgique, mais egalement dans sa signification juridique. Avec l' unification du droit pour les Orientaux, l' importance de ce dernier aspect peut avoir diminue quelque peu, mais cette diminution est realment materielle; formallment, la distinction grade sa valcur entiere; elle etablit la dependance d'une hierarchie determinee avec toutes ses consequences," Cf. "Le droit des personnes dans l' Eglise orientals" in "Nouvelle Revue Theologique", Louvain, Tome 80 (1958), n. 4, p. 360. And Chelodi explains: "Dum ritus latini (romanus, ambrosianus, Mozarabicus, bracarenstesis) nonnisi variae formae celebrandi cultum divinum sunt, et proinde potius liturgiae dicerneur, ritus orientales (quatuor principales armenus, coptus, garecus, syrus cum pluribus subdivisionibus) secumferunt peculiarem constitutionem hierarchicam, regimen, disciplinam...." Cf. *Jus de Personis, Tridenti*, 1922, p. 159.
8. Hermann; quoting R. Kostler, (Worterbuch zum Kodex I.C., Munchen 1927, p. 314) enumerates six different meanings in which the word "rite" is used and brings example for many of them from the C.I.C. itself. V.G. (1) Actus liturgici: cc. 1169, 2, 2, 1002, 2378; (2) Ordo et systema actuum liturgicorum, cc. 325, 576, 1. (3) Complexus omnium legum et consuetudinum liturgicarum, cc. 1004, 257; (4) Persona moralis seu corpus

quod tali universitate legum et consuetudinum regitur: c. 98; (5) Vinculum quo fideles cum tali persona morali conjunguntur, c. 98, 2.

9. ".... Coetus fidelium qui propriis regitur legibus et usibus antiqua traditione innixis non solam quoad res liturgicas sed etiam ad canonicam disciplinam attinet et qui tanquam autonomus et a ceteris distinctus a S. Sede agnoscitur" Cf. Hermann, "De Conceptu ritus" in *The Jurist*, 21 (1642) p. 338-9. P. G. Michiels too defines "rite" more or less in the same way: "Ecclesia determinata, quatenus peculiaribus regitur legibus et usibus, non solummodo ad universam liturgiae formam quod attinet, sed etiamvero quod spectat ad hierarchicam constitutionem, regimen atque disciplinam" Cf. *Principia Generalia de personis in Ecclesia*, Lublin, 1932, p. 260.
10. "... Ritus orientales de quibus canones decernunt sunt alexandrinus, antiochenus, constantinopolitanus, chaldeus et armenus, aliique ritus quos uti sui juris expresse vel active agnoscit Ecclesia" Cf. Motu Proprio "Postquam Apostolicis Litteris" Pii XII, II Feb. 1952, Typis Polyglotis Vaticanis; 1958, can. 303 I/1.
11. ".... Sancta et Catholica Ecclesia, quae est corpus Christi Mysticum, constat ex fidelibus, qui eadem fide, iisdem sacramentis et eodem regimine in Spiritu Sancto organice uniuntur, quique in varios coetus hierarchia junctos coalescentes, particulares Ecclesiae seu ritus constituunt" Cf. Decretum de Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis. A.A.S. LVII (1965) 76. Note also the phrase "De ecclesiis particularibus seu ritibus in the headline.
1. Many of their grievances were described in the petition of the Archdeacon Mar Thomas I sent to the Pope. The petition of Mar Thomas is dated 14 th Sept 1656, and is to be found in APF, SOCG vol. 232, ff.12-15. See also the profession of Faith dated 15th Dec. 1657, and written originally in Syriac. cf. APF, SOCG, vol. 232, f. 101; the Italian translation of the same in f. 103. The Syrians had explained their condition also in a letter to the Apostolic Commissary sent on 18th Dec. 1657. cf. APF, SO.CG, vol. 232 ff. 105-109.
2. Cf. ch. I of this book
3. Cf. Giuseppe a S. Maria, *Prima Specizione all' Indie Orientali*, p. 125.
4. ".... gli padri gli presentarono un'altra mia con questi punti, cavati da 'Brevi, quali furono letti pubblicamente: 1. che l'Arcidiacono, e tutti dessero obediencia a Sua Santità, come a vero Pastore universale di tutta la Chiesa; 2. chi mi ricevessero per commissario Apostolico, mandato loro dall'istesso Pastore; 3. che si soggettassero di nuovo a D.F. Garzia, vero prelado dato loro dalla chiesa Romana; 4. che lasciassero di piu riconoscere per vescovo l' Arcidiacono, non essendo validamente consecrato, ne dato dalla chiesa Romana. La Giunta response al primo the non v'haveva difficoltà; al secondo, che lo farebbe con ogni prontezza; al terzo, che non poteva farlo per le ragioni piu volte apportate; a quarto, che lo farebbe nel modo proposto da essa ne' suoi punti" Cf. Giuseppe a S. Marias *Prima Spedizone all' Indie Oeientali*, pp. 125-126.
5. ".... neque in publicis conventionibus aliquando dixit, quod ego sum harum ovium pastor, quod nullo modo intelligi potest illos obedire Summo Pontifici quando mihi immediate obedientiam negant" APF, SOCG, vol. 232, f. 299. Again writing to the Cardinals of the S. C. Propaganda Fide, on 25th July 1659, he said: ".....et quidem ipse SS. Pontifex rei totius veritate perspecta in litteris ad me datis dicebat: relatum nobis est Thomam Arcidiaconum a tua obedientia recessisse. In aliis hortabatur Rev. P. Commissarius ut conaretur reducere oves meas ad obedientiam mihi praestandam" *ibid.* f. 324.
6. Cf. the letter of the Apostolic Commissary Giacinto di S Vincentio, to the S.C. Propaganda Fide, on 28th Aug. 1659: "..... che le missioni in quella parte e impedita da alcuni spargendo dottrine ch'obediendo i' Papa, e non l'Arcivescovo pur sono Schismatici" APF, SOCF, vol. 232, f. 339.

7. We do not explain here the reasons why the different groups of Missionaries adopted different views on the question. We get an idea of the situation from the correspondence between Bishop Garzia and the Apostolic Commissaries during that period. cf. ARSJ, Goa 68, I, ff. 133-138-139-142-148.
- 8 " benché non piacerà alla Sacra Congregazione divertire i popoli da propri riti, come siano lodevoli, et approvati dalla chiesa: perchè non dimeno l'ignoranza di quei della Serra li rende molto esposti al pericolo d'imbeversì dell' errori de' libri Soriani, che si osserva, e quest'intesso da edito (come si è veduto) vescovi Schismatici di Babylonia d'insinuarsi per farli recadere nel Nestorianismo; perciò valendosi dell'istanza che fanno esto medesimi maestri che insegnano la lingua latina procuri onninamente, o come vescovo o come Commissario Apostolico: d' introdurla e stabilirla, e con questa divertirli insensibilmente da quel rito et indurli al latini" APF, SOCG vol. 232, f. 29. The same is reproduced also in Tisserant Cardinal Eugene E. R. Hambye, S. J., *op. cit.*, p. 84.
9. Cf. the Ap. letter testifying the consecration of Bishop Giuseppe a S. Maria: APF, SOCG, vol. 232, f. 420. See the resolution of the S. C. Prop. Fide on sending him to Malabar: *Ibid.* vol. 233, ff. 19, 29-36, 80. Bishop Garzia objected: " alcune ragioni per le quali non pare conveniente mandare vescovo all' Indie il predetto Giuseppe a S. Maria" APF, SOC (10), vol. 23, f. 19.
10. The whole mission of Bishop Giuseppe is explained in "Breve racconto di tutto l'operato d Mgr. Giuseppe": cf. APF SOCG, vol. 233, ff. 182-207. See the Ap. Bull of Pope Alexander VII, on 22 Dec. 1659, giving Bp. Giuseppe the faculty for consecrating a bishop for the Syrians in Malabar: in APF.; SOC (10C), vol. 23, ff. 111-112.
11. This letter has been signed by Mar Thomas and 12 of his priests together with the representatives from 29 parishes. cf. AOCD (Archivum Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum, curia, Rome), Plut. 226, ff. 122rv. This is the Italian translation of the original; its concordance to the original is testified by the Vicar Apostolic himself with the following note attached to the translation: "Hoc transumptum ex Malabarico originali supplicii libelli Schismaticorum Serrae Malabarum in Italicam linguam fideliter translatum esse fidem facio: datum Verapoly, die 19 December 1704, Fr. Angelus Ep. Metalopolitanus". Raulin, *op cit* p. 447, quotes this letter; it is reproduced by Assemani too, cf. *l op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 300. Paulinus speaks of this letter; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 107.
12. " Quando già ci era venuta la buona occasione d'averci terminare la passata divisione per causa di essere di nuovo venuti detti padri nel Malavare, noi cristiani di San Thome ci troviamo in procinto di totalmente essere dissipati e disfatti; e perchè tal cosa non succeda essendosi noi tutti aggiuntati per trattare del remedio, havendo pregato la religione Carmelitana perchè faccia sapere a Vostra Santità ciò che passa, viene costà il P.F. Agostino della medesima religione per esporre a Vostra Santità tutte le nostre necessita e di tutto informato lo mandiamo, e supplichiamo Vostra Santità a volerci con benignità e misericordia trattare e governare noi sue pecorelle, come furono da Vostra Santità trattati li nostri antecessori veri soriani, e governati conforme li loro costumi e ordinationi, e che ci compaccia di volerci ancora far guardare le medesima ordinationi e costumi e jarli conservare" As it has been said in the petition itself it was sent through Fr. Augustino, O.C.D., to be submitted to the S. Congregation in Rome. But the said missionary died on his way to Rome, even though the letter somehow reached its destination: "... scrisse una lettera a Nostro Signore, con supplicarlo di far consacrare per loro vescovo il detto prelado schismatico, havendo a questo effetto inviato a Roma uno di detti PP. Missionarii, che fu detto esser morto per strada" cf. APF, SOCG (anno 1708) vol. 562, f. 685.
13. It seems that the Carmelite Missionaries were under the impression that their presence among the Syrians was inevitable to avoid schism among them. on the other hand the

Padroadists thought the presence of a Vicar Apostolic side by side with the Archbishop, in Malabar was superfluous. Both parties had their own followers from among the Syrians. On 25th Oct. 1706, Bishop Joannes Rebeiro wrote to the S.C. Propaganda: " et persecutionem quam non infideles, aut schismatici, sed ipsi catholici, immo, et viri religiosi ex Ordine Carmelitarum contra me excitantur sincere aperiebam " cf APF, SOCG, (anno 1708, vol. 652, ff. 690-691. The same complaints are found also in the letter of Fr. Joseph Bremer, on 28th Sep. 1705; cf *ibid.* ff 693-697; some of the Syrians also sided with this: cf. *ibid.* ff. 704-780. As against these accusations the Carmelites retorted the same blame on the Padroadists: Cf. for example the letter of Fr. Arzenius to the S.C. Propaganda Fide. on 15th Nov. 1706, in APF, SOCG (anno 1708) vol. 562, f. 301; cf. also *ibid.* f. 92; and the "Sommario" given by the Card. Secretary: cf. *ibid.* ff. 681-688. The story of the early conflict is too long to be referred to here. cf. v. g. ARSJ, Goa, 68, 1-11. The major part of these two volumes contains the story of this conflict.

14. ".... havere intanto quel vescovo schismatico introdotto con i PP. Carmelitani Missionarii un trattato di unione colla S. Chiesa Romana, et essere tanto lui, quanto i suoi schismatici dispositi a prestare obbedienza al S. Pontifice, ogni volta che da Sua Santità venisse egli confermato Vescovo della Serra. Qual trattato piacendo molto a' quella Cristianità per l'odio che porta a PP. della Compagna essendosi congregata coll' Arcidiacono, scrisse una lettera a Nostro Signore" Cf. APF., SOCG, (anno 1708) vol. 562, f. 685 rv.
15. "..... che quando Sua Santità avesse stimato bene di condescendere all'istanza di detto vescovo, o de' medessimi cattolici, sarebbe stato espediente che la Santità Sua nel dar facoltà al detto vescovo Vicari Apostolico ivi dimorante di consagrarne il detto vescovo schismatico avesse costituito unitamente lo stesso Vicario Apostolico al governo principale della Serra" *ibid.*
16. The petition of the Catholic group is dated as 20 Nov. 1704. The original is in Syriac and is to be found in APF., SOC (IOC), vol. 23, f. 182. Its Italian translation is on f. 183r. Together with this petition we find also a letter from the Syrians praising the Carmelite Missionaries and asking for their continued presence among them: Cf. the original letter in Syriac, *ibid.*, f. 187v. and its Italian translation f. 183r.
17. "... sono due anni che la questa Christianità appello a Roma, e che lo schismatico con li suoi ancora scrisse senza haver fin'ora nessuna risposta; noi assistiamo alli medessimi sino alla disposizione delle Eminenze loro, le quale supplichiamo che sia piu presto che sia possibile per non perdere un'altra volta questa Christianità" Cf. APF., SOCG., (a. 1708), vol. 562, f. 301 v.
18. Cf. The letter of Mar Thomas IV to the Antiochene Patriarch, quoted in art. I, ch. II. of this book.
19. This application was sent through Fr. Bonifacius a Bambino Gesu, O.C.D., who was in fact deputed by the Apostolic Vicar and the Catholic group to give information to the Propaganda Fide on affairs of the Church in Malabar and to persuade the Austrian Emperor to plead before the Dutch authorities in favour of the Catholic Syrians in Malabar. The petition of Mar Thomas V is written in Chaldean Syriac and is to be found in APF, SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750), vol. 109, f. 114. The Italian translation of the same is in f. 87; An English translation of it is given by Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 206-207.
20. "..... Vi notifico ancora che l'anno di N. Signore 52, venne, S. Tomaso apostolo all'india, predico e ei diede l'Battesimo ed i miei Padri riceverono gl'ordini sagri dal S. Apostolo il quale li deuto al governo di questa chiesa. Vennero poi Archivescovi e Vescovi soriani di degna memoria i quali ci predicarono, ed insegnarono li riti e le consuetudini e da essi noi le abbiamo imperato. Da quei tempi in noi abbiamo mutato i nostri riti e consuetudini

e nell'anno del Signore 1598 non avendo noi Vescovo proprio, sequitammo i latini; di che ci sono accadute molte tribolazioni ed amari patimenti” Cf. APF., SOCP., (16 Aug. 1750); vol. 109, f.19.

21. "..... commendarete ai Carmelitani che ci ajutino con la grazia di Dio, e richiamerete il vescovo Portuguese di questa Diocesi. perche potete farci questa grazia e discendano sopra di noi la misericordia. la clemenza” *Ibid.* f. 21.
22. ".... per lo che Vi supplico nome di San Pietro Apostolo Capo degl' Apostoli di Cristo. come e scritto nella messa di S. Pietro, e di concederci il fermentato, come avete concesso alli Greci. Noi supplichiamo accio concediate noi di fare secondo l'uso di tutte le chiese della nostra diocesi, e facendoci Vostra Santita questa grazia lodaremo Iddio in un'anima e staremo ubbidiente sotto il Vostro Trono venerando” Cf. APF., LOCP., (16 Aug. 1750); vol. 109, f. 20v.
23. "..... il progetto della reunion e certamente plausibile e degno di attenzione, ma fortemente temo della lui solidita” Cf. APF., SOC (IOC), vol. 26. f. 725v. It was Fr. Bonifacius who presented the letter to the Pope: "..... giunto in Roma ha esposto alla Santita di N. Signore.. il progetto di reunion alla S. Romana Chiesa l'odierno Archidiacono Thomaso del Campo con tutti i caldei Malabari suoi aderenti. che si fanno ascendere sin al numero di trentamila circa” APF., Letter (a. 1750) vol. 175; f. 154.
24. di lui sentimenti espressi nella lettera del medesimo a Nostro Signore sono tutti fraudulenti enulla hanno di vero” Cf. APF., SOC (IOC). vol. 26, ff. 718 v-719, in his letter of 19th Aug. 1753, the same Vicar Apostolic of Malabar added; "..... licet verbis alienus a nobis se esse non demonstrat, operibus nihil et sinceri comprobatur” *Ibid.*; f. 721.
25. ".... non puo piu dissimularsi che spirito da cui deriva il progetto altro sia che l'ambizione dell' Arcidiacono.... resta dunque da vedersi cosa debba farsi. Il rigettar l'unione, non sembra cosa buona. Ammeterla com'e e cosa cattiva" Cf. *Ibid.*, ff. 725v, 730v.
26. Cf. APF., Letter (a. 1750) vol. 175, ff. 164v-165. The letter speaks only in general terms, though tries to encourage them in their pursuit for unity "..... L'esorta per tanto con tutta la efficacia dell'apostolico suo zelo a perseverare costante nella concepita Santa deliberazione ed a posporre quasi sia secondario intento all'unico fine di assicurare la sua eterna salute, quale e vano sperare fuori del grembo della santa Chiesa cattolica. Quindi ad oggetto di spianare tanto a Vostra Signoria come a tutti i suoi aderenti la via al sollecito conseguimento di un si gran bene, si transmettono per mezzo del medesimo P. Bonifacio le necessarie intruzioni a Mgr. Vicario Apostolico della Serra” *ibid.* f. 165.
27. Cf. The letter to the Vic. Ap. on 5th Sept. 1750 *ibid.* ff 154v- 160.
28. "..... E in primo luogo, per quel che concerne la di lui elezione al grado, e dignita Vescovile, se e riscontrato dalle passate memorie di questa S. Congregazione; che una simile proposizione fu qui altra volta discussa, allorché dopo la morte del Vescovo Megareense fu posto in trattato di far Vescovo l'Arcidiacono di quel tempo, e che consultato sul proposto affare di far Mgr. Giuseppe Sebastiani come practichissimo della natura, stato e circostanze di code gente, e regione fu secondo il parere del medesimo giudicato espediente di non farlo e cio per le infra scritte considerazioni: 1. perche potevesi ragionevolmente temere che tal vescovo, allorché forse divenute gia vecchio, avrebbe potuto lasciarsi sedurre dall'affetto al suo sangue, o dall'ambizione di render successiva nella sua propria casa e famiglia la dignita del Vescovado, e percio elegersi un successore a suo piacere e consecrarlo senza facolta, e indipendentemente da Roma; dalche ne sarebbero derivati moltissimi scandali, confusioni e sacrilegi. 2: Perche sarebbesi dato un perniciosissimi esempio ai futuri Arcidiaconi di machinare ed'intrudersi nullamente per giungere ad esser

fatti un giorno Vescovi veri; 3: Perché quando un tal soggetto avesse saputo ben simulare nell'esterno la Cattolica Fede e poi inseguito del carattere e dignità vescovile si fosse scoperto internamente schismatico o eretico, inesplicabile sarebbe divenuto il male, che esso avrebbe potuto fare singolarmente col creare e consecrare altri vescovi scismatici, o acattolici, o almeno sospetti d'eresia; 4: finalmente perché non sembrava secondo il già detto parere di Mgr. Sebestiani che fosse conveniente di elevare al grado di Vescovo alcun Malabare, per essere quasi tutti negri vassalli di Regili idolatri onde tanto per la loro nascita come per la parentela, chi di essi fosse stato promosso alla praecennata dignità non sarebbe mai stato stimato, né avrebbe potuto mantenersi nel posto senza una continua intollerabile contribuzione al suo principe e senza una vilissima soggezione al medesimo, conforme asserivasi essere accaduto al mentovato vescovo di Megara" Cf. *ibid.* ff. 157-158.

29. "... In secondo luogo, rispetto all' Arcidiacono nullamente ordinato e da osservarsi che il costume della S. Sede si è di abitare all'esercizio dell'Episcopato lo che milita similmente in rapporto ai preti per l'esercizio dell'ordine sacerdotale coloro solamente che hanno validamente ricevuto il rispettivo carattere da vescovi eretici ma che la cosa nel presente caso possa assai diversamente, poiché in tratta di un preteso, anzi del tutto falso vescovo come è l'Arcidiacono, il quale non ha altro carattere che quello solamente del Battesimo mentre, conforme e ben noto il di lui zio che nemmeno esso era vescovo lo dichiarò in punto di morte suo successore con la sola formalità di porgli la mitra sul capo, onde i che tanto l'ordinazione sua propria quanto quella dell'asseriti suoi preti, sono affatto nulle, così per la parte degli ordinati, come per la parte degli ordinati" Cf. *ibid.* f. 158 rv.
30. "..... nulla di meno però, siccome, S. Santità con la solita sua apostolica clemenza e paterna benignità non ricusa di concedere in tempo più opportuno al mentovato Arcidiacono le grazie che egli domanda tanto per la propria sua persona quanto per quella dei detti suoi asseriti preti, ma vuole prima accettarsi del rispettivo loro sincero ravvedimento ed averne le convenienti e chiare riprove. Così per ordine della medesima Santità Sua viene incaricato il zelo e la vigilanza di V.S di adoperarsi intorno a ciò tanto esattamente quanto merita l'importanza dell'affare, e d'informare susseguentemente con la possibile chiarezza e con lettere replicate per più vie questa S. Congregazione sopra tutti gli accennati punti e riflessi, - singolarmente quali prove i detti finte preti, e molto più l'Arcidiacono diano della loro reale scienza e rispettivamente delle loro intenzioni. Fra tanto però V. S. ancorché venisse a costarle manifestamente l'integrità dell'animo loro, non dovrà in conto veruno avanzarsi a promuovere né l'uno né gli altri agli ordini sacri senza nuova istruzione e senza nuovo commandamento Pontificio" Cf. *ibid.*, f. 158v-159.
31. "... Una poi delle menzionate prove rispetto all'Arcidiacono esser dovrebbe, che egli deponesse le diritte vescovili; né dovrebbe aver horrore di dimetterle dopo averne fatta mostra sin'ora, superandolo col motive che se egli non si vergogna di far vedere di aver fin adesso errato nelle fede, e che perciò dimostrarsi risoluto di abjurare i professati errori e di abbracciare la fede Cattolica molto meno deve arrossirsi di confessare altresì apertamente che anche nel punto del discovando si è ingannato" Cf. *ibid.*, f. 159.
32. " più precisamente però desiderano Sua Beatitudine e la S. Congregazione d'essa da lei cercorate se condescendendo in progresso di tempo la S. Sede a far vescovo il detto Arcidiacono, questo se contenterà del solo titolo a carattere vescovile o sia temessi che possa pretendere di esercitare la giurisdizione ordinaria sopra codesti Caldei cattolici, e sottrarli da quella che viene esercitata dai Vicarii Apostolici pro tempore...." Cf. *ibid.*, f. 159.
33. "... passando poscia lo stesso Arcidiacono a supplicare la Santità Sua che voglia concedere a tutti quei del suo seguito l'uso del fermentato come l'hanno i Greci la di lui richiesta non

manea di comparire sospetta. Imperocchè, quantumque dalla Chiesa Romana venga tollerato nei Greci l'uso del fermentato, cio non ostante e certo che del sacramento dell'Eucharistia dal N.S. Gesù Christo fu istituto nell' Azimo. E quindi e che allor quando tutto codo-popolo di rito caldeo fu per opera di Mgr. Alessio Menezes Arcivescovo di Goa covertito alla fede cattolica abbandono fermentato e prese l'azimo l'uso del quale da codi-caldei cattolici tuttavia mantiene. In occasione poi che molti di pretti covertiti rinovavano la schisma e ricaddero nell'eresia ripigliarono il fermentato, quale fu di nuovo introdotto per insinuazione d'un certo Mar Giovanni vescovo caldeo eretico giacobita, Patriarca di Ninive, e presente allora i codesti parti. Quindi e che l'uso del fermentato, come riassunto dopo l'apostasia debba nel caso punte considerarsi per un atto protestativo di fasla setta, e che pero una tal circostanza venga a render dubbiosa la conversione dell' Arcidiacono" Cf. *ibid.*, f. 156rv.

34. We do not explain here how the Roman Congregation was led to lose its confidence in the Christians of Malabar. At any rate, the sincerity of the appeals made by them was questioned and even interpreted as attempts to lead the whole community into heresy: cf. Paulinus *op.cit.*, p. 107; it is also interesting to note just but one example of the informations that the Congregation was receiving from its own missionaries. Fr. Ignatius of Hypolitus, O.C.D., superior of the Mahi Mission, on his arrival in Rome reported " ... fuit esse inventas ac falsas e jus (Mar Thomas) intentiones uniendi se Ecclesiae Romanae, immo illum nihil aliud praetendere nisi ut decoretur an ipso summo Pontifice titulo episcopi postquam jam a multis annis, quamvis simplex laicus, per nefas sibi arrogavit insigne pontificaria ac functiones pontificales exercuit, nee non laico ad Ordines sacros promovit....." Cf. APF, CG acta a. 1757, vol. 127, f. 291ss. As the Congregation had no other source of information to reply upon in forming its opinion it was only natural that it hesitated to take a serious step forward. However, these sad events had their own bearing upon the reunion efforts made afterwards, and it was this continuity of events that helps us most to see clearly the nature of the reunion later effected.
35. Strenuous efforts had been made by Mar Thomas VI (Mar Dionysius I) to reunite himself and his people with the Catholic Church. As our main interest here is to show that the people of the Malankara Church were keen to move into the Catholic Church as a body having stabilised their right to continue to practise their own rite and to have their own bishops, we may not concentrate on the historical circumstances that brought about a tragic end to those hopeful efforts. For the details of history, therefore, we direct our readers to the article "Mar Dionysius the Great of Malabar for the one True Fold" in "Orientalia Christiana Periodica", vol. XXX, fase. I (1964) 139-192, by Jacob Kollaparambil.
36. ".... Il laico mitrato chiamato Mar Thomas, prelato vescovo di bona parte dei Soriani scismatici mi fecece avvanzare qualche proposizioni di voler abjurare ii suoi errori e rendersi cattolico, ed obbediente alla S. Sede colle medessime pretenzioni del suo zio pure vescovo scismatico: quando in lui perseverino tali sentimenti gia tengo presso di me le istruzioni con cui regolarli inviarmi dalla S. Congregazione quando lo zio di questo pure propose di farlo stesso, ma non effetuolo" Cf. APF., SOCG., (a. 1770/1771), vol. 60, f. 333v.
37. It was Fr. Ildephons a Presentatione, "procurator extraordinarius tam Vicarii Apostolici Serrae Malabarium quam Vicarii Apostolici Mogolis nec non cleri populique christiani et Missionariourin" who presented the report of Bishop Florence, together with his own suggestions, to the Congregation" Essendo venuto a Roma dalle missioni del Malabar il Padre Ildefonso della Presentazione, ed avendo recato conse una relatione di Mgr. Florenzo....." cf. the "Ristretto" prepared for the Particular Congregation on 30 July 1771: APF., CP (SI), Acta, (a. 1771), vo XXX, f. 140. He suggested plans for satisfying the

claims of Mar Thomas VI, while taking into consideration the difficulties proposed by his fellow missionaries: "..... item si Vestrae Eminentiae lucrari desiderant laicum Thomam intrusum, ac omnes eorundem populos, et ecclesias reducere ad unum ovile Christi, ut ipsimet quaerunt, mihi negotia omnia confidant. et commitant in nomine Domini: attamen primum et principale remedium est: mittere mecum ad Malabar unum Episcopus bonum Catholicum Syro-chaldeicum cun tribus presbyteris ejusdem ritus. Secundo Thomae laico intruso aliquem honoratum titulum concedere vel protonotarii Apostolici, vel aliquid simile, de quibus oratenus notificabo. Insuper ille Episcopus Syro-chaldeicus, qui mittetur and Malabar, gaudebit simul titulo Arcidiaconi Christianorum Syro-chaldeorum"; Cf. APF., SOCP, (a 1770/1771) vol. 60, ff. 428v-429r. The whole of his report, entitled "Relatio veredica et genuina" is found, *ibid.*, ff. 355-474. In his opinion the proposal for reunion forwarded by the Jacobites was to be handled seriously and not be disregarded as in former times. He even accused his fellow-missionaries of having adopted an easy attitude that frustrated their efforts: cf. *ibid.* f. 441v; "..... Thomae laici infulati petitio non est spernenda aut contemnenda ex toto, sed alliciendus est cum debitis et vigilantibus illustriis, et paulatim et successive inducetur et persuadebitur ad omne bonum, dummodo maneat sub nostra protectione.." Cf. Compendium notitiarum, n. 85, *ibid.*, f. 494v.

38. Cf. APF., Lettere (a. 1771), vol. 218, ff. 381v-382; The resolution of the S. Congregation can be found in APF., CPSI, Acta (30 July 1771) vol. XII, f. 170. "..... Grande sarebbe l'utilita della Religione e il bene, che ne verrebbe alle anime se potesse tirarsi all'unione il laico mitrato Mar Thoma, giache essendo esso seguitato da bona parte dei Caldei eretici del Malabar, che lo riconoscono pro loro vescovo, facilmente si riunibbero alla Chiesa Cattolica tutti i di lui seguaci. Una qualche proposizione da lui fatta nuovamente di abjurare gli errori e di riconciliarsi colla chiesa che ora mettere in maggior premura i superiori della missione di procurare la di lui conversione, i quali percio in vista del gran bene che produrrebbe, dovranno adoperare tutti i mezzi proprii per ottenerla, quando sia possibile, E perche potrebbe, agevolarsi l'affare qualora venisse decorato cou qualche titolo onorifico, la S. Congregazione gli ha procurato per alletterarlo un Breve di Protonotario Apostolico qualora voglia farsi ecclesiastico, e un Vavagliero della Speron d'oro qualora voglia rimettersi nello stato diu secolare, l'uno e l'altro de'quali si manda a Mgr. Vicario Apostolico per il caso, che col favore del Signore Dio riescono bene i tentativi, e permette ancora, che si lasci al medesimo qualche ingerenza temporale; non mai per altro spirituale, sopra i Caldei da lui dipendenti....".
39. ".... che se mai si destinasse un tal vescovo, avrebbe il seguito di tutta di sua nazione, sulla quale perderebbe ogni autorita il Vicario latino, e ne verrebbe il pericolo, che potesse tutto in colpo pervertirsi se mai un tal vescovo cadesse nell'eresia o nello schisma, come sono facili gli Orientali" Cf. APF., SOCG, (22 July 1774), vol. 839, f. 200. The S. Congregation decided: "..... quoad deputationem episcopi ritus Chaldei nullum detur responsum....". Cf. APF., CG., Acta (a. 1774) vol. 144, f. 242.
40. Eventhough Mar Thomas had not received any valid Orders at the time of his negotiation with the Vicar Apostolic Florence, by the time the Apostolic Visitor Justiniani reached Malabar with the new instruction from Rome, he was already a validly consecrated bishop. Hence it was extremely difficult for him to remain with a mere honorary title.
41. Cf. APF., SOCG, (22 July 1774) vol. 839, f. 253v.
42. Cf. *ibid.*
43. Bishop Francis Sales O.C.D., starting from Malabar on 29th April 1772, reached Rome on 4th Nov. 1773. he presented to the Congregation a "Synopsis brevis" of the missions and "suggerimenti" for its better administration and a note on the Decree of the S. Congregation, on 31st July, 1771. Cf J. Kollaparambil, *art. cit.*, p. 155. He suggested: "

.... circa illud punctum sub numero 2 assignatum scilicet de reductione illius laici Mitrati Mar Tomae: notandum illum plus pingue aliquod subsidium annuale, quam titulos honorificos desiderare. Et ideo si S. Congregatio judicaret expediens, deberet illi praeter Protonotarium assignare certam summam saltem ad dies vitae" Cf. APF, SOCG, (22 July 1774) vol. 839, f. 218.

44. ".... e circa il primo, la di lui conversione sarebbe piu importante, oltre il primo e piu proprio mezzo della esortazione, ed istruzione; potra far uso di qualche alletivo per disporlo piu facilmente e conoscere la verita per essemplio col lasciargli qualche soprintendenza sopra i suoi soggetti nella direzione delle cose temporali, non mai pero delle spirituali, e per soccorrere alle sue indigenze non sara lontana la S. Congregazione di fargli un annuo assegnamento di scudi 10, o meno all arbitrio di Vicario Apostolico, il quale dovra ben avvertire di non ammettere discorso che ha la Nazione di avere un Vescovo o capo del loro rito, poiche se si concedesse loro, potrebbe un evidente pericolo di vedere separarsi o tutto in uno colpo, o al meno a poco a poco tutta la stessa Nazione dal dependenra del Vicario Apostolico, la quale si ravissa necessaria per mantener nella fede, e nell'unione della Chiesa cattolica quella gregia si raguardevole, e numerosa" Cf. APF, SOCG, (22 July 1774), vol. 839, f. 222; it is also reproduced in Ambrosius A.S. Theresia, O. C.D. *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, Fasc. IV, Ecclesia Verapolitana, Roma, 1939, pp. 276-277.
45. Cf. J. Kollparambil *art. cit.*, p. 156, fn. 1; His letter dated 31st March 1777 to the Congregation is expressive of his attitude, "Ipsemet eorum Laicus Mitratus varios nuntios hisce mensibus ultimis mihi misit notificans mini seriam ipsius conversionis voluntatem. Attamen. .. semper addidit dummodo possim permanere 3 aut 4 ecclesiarum episcopus verus et consecratus, quod utique est nec suasibile nec factibile" Cf. APF, SOC (IOC), vol. 35, f. 311. quoted by J. Kollamparambil, *ibid.* It is interesting to note also his suggestion to Mar Thomas to choose between accepting the proposed honorary title of 'Apostolic Protonotary' and going to Rome with a recommendation-letter from himself to spend the rest of his life in case he loved to retain the episcopal dignity: cf. APF, SOCG, vol. 867, ff. 149-151; the 'Promemoria' given in the General Congregation of 17th May 1784, referred to this suggestion.
46. Dr. Joseph Cariattil was a student of the Propaganda College Rome, between the years 1755-1766. cf. *"Registro e memorie degli alunni del Collegio Urbano"*, vol. I, dal 1633-1753: "Guiseppe Cariati (Cat. del 1756 de Mangatte nel Malabar d'eta 13 di rito Soriano dell' alunnato di S. Onofrio entro nel collegio li 7 Aprile dell a. 1755 studi Grammatica...." : f. 379. He was ordained on March 25th 1766: cf. *Liber Ordinationum*, a. 1706-1884, vol. II, I, f. 51. A Doctor in Theology he was appointed professor in the Seminary at Allengad where his reputation as one of the most influential Syrian priest both among the Catholics and Jacobites was increased.
47. We leave aside the discussion on the historical details of this great event. Nor do we speak of all the motives behind this deputation. We are here concerned with the reunion of the Malankara Church, claiming their rights as a Church, namely the retention of jurisdiction for the reuniting bishops and of their rite and existing traditions. We shall bring to light how these claims stood in the way of reunion with the Catholic Church and under what influences. For the historical details, Cf. Thomas Paremmakel, *op. cit.*, which he had written just to describe his journey and all what it involved; cf. also J. Kollamparambil, *art. cit.*, pp. 157-173.
48. The original of the petition of Mar Thomas VI is in Chaldean Syriac; Cf. APF, (IOC), vol. 39, ff. 14-20; the latin translation of the same is found, *ibid* f. 10-13, other copies of this translation can be found in SOC (IOC), vol. 35, ff. 633- 636; SOCG, vol. 337, ff. 129-132.

49. ".... Ego autem ad eamdem evectus dignitatem, cum a quibusdam orthodoxae fidei sacerdotibus, nec non ab aliquibus jacobitarum ascecliis audivissem, me episcopali carere characterem meamque ordinationem prorsus nullam fuisse; eapropter anno 1772 prima vero Domenica mensis Januarii a clericali Tonsurae ad episcopatum usque inclusive a Jacobita Archiepiscopo Gregorio Neranae in ecclesia S. Mariae denuo promoveri curavi et obtinui...." Cf. APF, SOC (IOC) vol. 39, f. II.
50. ".... Deinde ex persuasione doctorum hominum et ex sacrarum Scripturarum lectione me a via salutis adhuc errare suasus rogavi R. P. Salvatorem de Regibus, Archiepiscopus Grangannorensum et Florentium a Jesu, Episcopus Areopolitanum tunc Vicarium Apostolicum Malabariae, per viros quidem probitate notos, ut me cum populo meo sanctae Matri Ecclesiae incorporarent, impertita prius omnium censurarum per nos incursarum absolutione, aut saltem Romanam Sedeni de supplicationibus meis certiore redderent. Ipsi tamen has floccifecerunt" Cf. *ibid.* f. II.
51. ".... Denique Sanctitatem tuam enixe rogo, ut intra Catholicani Ecclesiam me benigne recipias, quamvis non sim dignus inter filios ejus connumerari, sed inter oves quae ex Domo Israel erraverunt, meque in hac fide conforteris, pro qua et sanguinem fundere sum paratus. Ita me Deus adjuget. Datum Neranae, anno 1778 die vero 12 Maii. Mar Dionysius Archiepiscopus Indorum". Cf. *ibid.* ff. 12-13.
52. Cf. APF, SOC (IOC), vol. 39, f. II.
53. It is significant to note how the former negotiations were foiled on account of such claims. However, from the local versions of the petition of Mar Thomas VI, we learn that they were explicitly narrated: "Therefore I the humble Metropolitan Mar Dionysius request your Holiness to hear graciously the petitions of our deputies and to receive me having pardoned me all my sins and defects and my people under my jurisdiction into the Communion of the Catholic Church. More especially we request Your Holiness to send us four Doctors who are well versed in Syriac to teach us well, having corrected our faults; besides an Ecclesiastical head be appointed to protect the orthodox and obedient faithful. The rest of our requests and desires will be submitted to Your Holiness by our own deputies'. Thus it is quite clear that they preferred to present their requests that were likely to be misunderstood, in person. These local versions might be a draft of the actual one presented, from which after due consideration they might have taken away the suspected clauses. This is corroborated by the fact that this version is dated 19th March 1778, a little earlier than that of the actual one dated 12th May 1778. Cf. the local version in Meckenzie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 209; Placid, *art. cit.*, in "Unitas", 5 (1953) pp. 14-15. We quote from T. Inchakalody: *Archbishop Mar Ivanios*, Trivandrum, 1957, pp 220-222, having it translated into English.
54. "..... Noi per tanto figli divoti del N.S. commun Padre, ed operari tutto che indegni del campo evangelico come deputati che siano da 72 Communita e chiese de' fedeli del Malabaro di rito Chaldaico, umilmente prostrati a sagri piedi di V. Beatitudine colli i piu ardenti voti e proprii e di tutti li sudetti nostri nazionali La preghiamo che per un solenne triunfo di nostra santa Ortodoxa religione voglia degnarsi qual Padre amoroso ricevere tra le sue braccia un figlio, ehe alla fine si ravvide e cerca con vera brame di entrare a parte della communione Cattolica, cioe, il convinto e persuaso Mar Thoma gia figlio obediante alla chiesa nella sua prima adolescenza, caduto poi nello Schisma, quindi fattosi eretico Nestoriano e Jacobita, e finalmente professore non finto, ma sincero di quella fede che e il distintivo di giusti, e giogo sovave d'ogni vero credente, con conservarlo in oltre nella medesima episcopale dignita della chiesa, e diocesi di Neranam in virtue del carattere che nell'anno 1772 gli fu conferito dall' -Arcivescovo Gregorio, parimente eretico Jacobita, tanto piu che una tal economia porterebbe seco la generale conversione d'una infinita di

- sudetti che lo riconoscono per loro Capo, e sono pronti a seguire li di lui esempio..." This is the original petition and is found in APF, SOC (IOC) vol. 39, f. 9: (fully, ff. 6-9). Another copy of its is found in APF, SOCG, (17 May and 27 July 1784), vol. 867, ff. 145-147
55. See the letter of Card. Castelli to Bishop Carlo a S. Conrado, O.C.D., the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay and Apostolic Administrator of Malabar after the resignation of the former Vicar Apostolic Fracis Sales O.C.D., on 11th March 1780: cf. APF, Letter, vol. 236, ff. 189 v. -191.
 56. See the letter to Bishop Emmanuel, on 28 Sept. 1780: " SSmus. D. Noster hujus rei iudicium sibi reservans, interim disricte prohibet ne is ullam ominino Episcopalem functionem, sive Ordinis. sive jurisdictionis exerceat. Hoc tantum Amplitudini Vestrae committit ut necessarias sumat informationes pro hoc puncto declarando, quas deinde post diligentem inquisitionem eidem Sanctitati Suae exacte referendas curabit, distincte expones quidquid sive pro nulliae...." Cf. APF, Lettere, vol. 236, f. 729-740.
 57. "..... Expostulat etiam S. Congregatio an postquam compertam fuerit de vera Mar Thomae conversione et consecratione, bono religionis Catholicae utile sit futurum eidem Niranameniis Ecclesiae regimen libere committere, seu potius ejusdem suae Archiepiscopalis Ecclesiae Coadjutorem designare juxta votum Patris Josephi a Solitudine Episcopi Cochinchensis". Cf. APF, SOCG, (17 May 1784) Vol. 867, ff. 125v-126
 58. Among the reports that influenced most the decision of the Congregation was that of Fr. Joseph Soledado, O.C.D. a Padroadist, who was in fact delegated by Bishop Emmanuel to do the same. Bishop Emmanuel sent the same report with a note of his own to the Congregation on 16th Jan. 1782, cf. APF, SOCG, Vol. 867, ff. 154-181. From the Propagandist side Bishop Carlo sent many reports defending the need of their presence among the Syrians and of not allowing Mar Thomas VI a free exercise of Episcopal jurisdiction over the reuniting churches: cf. SOCG, (17 May 1784) vol. 867, ff. 163-172; 173-175; 177-178; 179-182.
 59. The Portuguese Queen nominated Dr. Cariattil as the Archbishop of Cranganor and the nomination was confirmed by Pope Pius VI. The new bishop was consecrated in Lisbon on 17th Feb. 1783. Cf. Parammakel, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-378, 451, 517.
 60. " scribatur Josepho Cariati Archiepiscopo Grangannorensi juxta instructionem nec non eidem transmittatur formula professionis Fidei Urbani VIII. Et ad D. Secretarium cum Sanctissimo ut dignetur Sanctitas Sua facultates jam Episcopo Cochinchensi largitas pro absolvendo asserto Archiepiscopo Niranamensi ad eundem effectum impertiri Archiepiscopo Grangannorensi...." Cf. APF, SOCG, (17 May 1784) vol. 867, f. 125 v.
 61. " Hinc dictus Grangannoorensis Archiepiscopus omnimode et arte omnia curabit, ut Mar Thoma formulam Fidei professionis S. M. Urbano VIII indictam, cujus transmissum exemplar, subscribat ac profiteatur; quo pacto vigore facultatum a SSmo. D. N. benigniter concessarum, dictum Mar Thomas previa absolutione a censuris, ad Catholicam communionem admittat, quatenus vero sit sacerdos ab irregularitate absolvat, et ad sacerdotalia obeunda munera rehabilitet; functiones tamen omnes episcopales omnimode ipsi prohibeat usquequo de vera validaque illius consecratione ex iudicio SSmi. D. N. non constiterit...." Cf. APF, SOCG, (17 May 1784), vol. 867, f. 126.
 62. Mar Cariattil and Fr. Paremmakel starting from Lisbon on 20th April 1785, reached Goa on the first of May 1786. There on 9th Sept. 1786 Mar Cariattil died unexpectedly. cf. J. Kollaparambil, *art. cit.*, p. 173.
 63. For example, the reports of Fr. Paulinus 14 Jan. 1784; on 12th Feb. 1785, and on cf. APF,

SOC (IOC) vol. 38, ff 80-81; similarly the letters of Bishop Aloysius, cf. APF, SOCG, vol. 874, ff. 91r, 96; vol. 878, ff. 151-158, 163-164.

64. "..... Nemini pro nunc negotium esse committendum sed scribendum Vicario Apostolico, ut S. Congregationem quam diligentissime instructam reddat de ratione vitae, morum ac fidei Mar Thomas seu Mar Dionysii, ac praeterea studeat conciliare sibi animum ejusdem, ut ejurato heresi Catholicam religionem amplectatur, emissa professione Fidei, juxta formulam ab Urbano VIII praescriptam. Quodsi praestiterit, injiciat etiam spem Apostolicam Sedem minime repugnaturum, quia Episcopatum Syrorum Populorum suorum retineat, non ita tamen ut in suos affines jure successionis transmittere queat, sed a clero nationis eligendus ab Apostolica Sede confirmabitur. Si res feliciter cesserit, tunc de ritibus liturgiae, ac caeremoniae Syrorum ab Apostolica Sede providebitur. Interim nihil innovetur, et alatur liturgia, ac officio edito a S. Congregatione....." This resolution was communicated to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar on 12th April 1788: cf. APF, Lettere, (a 1788), vol. 252, ff. 145v. 146 v.
65. In fact it had entertained some doubts on this point "... la prima (referring to the true Faith) a noi pare dubbiosa, incerta ma sulla secuda (referring to the validity of the consecration) dai riscontri finora ricevuti ci pare che sia validamente consagrato.... Cf. APF, Lettere, (a. 1789), vol. 255, f. 616.
66. "..... dal ultima di lei (referring to the letter of the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar) lettera di 14 Ottobre 1788, mi risorgono molti dubbi intorno alla validita della sua consagrazione in Arcivescovo. Ma a questa ancora potrebbe darsi rimedio, con farlo di nuovo ordinare e sacerdote e vescovo....." *Ibid.*
67. See the resolution taken by the Congregation on 19th July 1790: Cf. APF, CG, Acta, (a. 1790) f. 360r; cf. also, *ibid.* Letter, vol. 258, ff. 688-9.
68. We gather information on these arrangements from the letter of Bishop Aloysius on 12th April 1791: "..... Mar Thoma riconosce il primato del Papa, l'unita della Chiesa, al cui seno ritorna abjurando lo Scisma. Si lascia della pretensione di celebrare il Divin Sacrificio in fermentato, ed aver successore della sua famiglia; consente nella riforma della liturgia e di quanto si oppone al Dogma, Morale e Disciplina della Chiesa Romana, vuole essere solo riconosciuto per vescovo ordinario di tutte le chiese Soriane di Malabar cosi schismatiche, che cattoliche, e cio sino alla morte, protestando di essere contento; ce morto lui, Sua Santita mandi chi vuole. A tutto consente Monsignore Vescovo di Cochino, colla conditione che il Governatore presente dell' Archivescovado resti Vicario Generale" Cf. APF, SO (IOC), vol. 39, ff. 298-299. In the light of this information Mar Dionysius I (Mar Thomas VI) seems to have claimed jurisdiction on all the Syrian churches. This is not improbable. For it could be the result of an agreement between the Catholic and the Jacobite groups that they be formed one Catholic community under the sole leadership of Mar Dionysius. The willingness shown by the jacobite group to change some of their rituals seems to confirm this conclusion. However, we are not sure if it as Mgr. Emmanuel writing on 28th April 1792, informed that the bishop of Cochinchina permitted Mar Dionysius to have jurisdiction only on the reunited ones. Cf. APF, SOCG, vol. 899, ff. 234-237.
69. When the Syrians were making arrangements with the bishop of Cochinchina for reunion with the Catholic Church, Bishop Aloysius hastened to inform them that neither Bishop Soledado nor Bishop Emmanuel of Goa had the special faculties needed to settle such an important case. Cf. APF, SOC (IOC). vol. 39, ff. 299, 319. Thus they lost courage and waited for fresh orders from Rome. It is to be noted that on 7th feb. 1792, the S. Congregation, had in its instruction to the Vicar Apostolic, made it clear that there was no need of waiting for any further permission to receive Mar Dionysius and his people provided they made the profession of Faith according to the formula prescribed by Urban

VIII, though the conferring of episcopal jurisdiction to Mar Dionysius over the reuniting churches was reserved to the Holy See. Cf. APF, Lettere (a. 1792), vol. 262, f.79. At any rate, at the instigation of Bishop Soledado, Bishop Emmanuel of Goa asked the Apostolic Nuncio in Portugal to intercede for him and to get him the necessary faculties for settling the case. Cf. His letter on 28th April 1792; APF, SOCG, vol. 899, ff. 239-240; written in Portuguese; the Italian translation of the same is found, *ibid.* ff. 234-237.

70. "..... largiter praestare poterit ut eum excitet atque corroboret, fiduciam certam injiciens quod derelictus ab hac S. Sede non erit, imo quidquid fieri poterit, quod cum tranquillitate et salute animarum congruere valeat, in favorem et amplificationem ejusdem plene ex toto corde perficietur" See the instruction in APF, Lettere (a. 1794) vol.266 ff.113-115.
71. The Syrians lamented the indifferent attitude of the Catholic dignitaries, who were dissatisfied with the Governor of Cranganoor. He refused to hand over a few churches to their jurisdiction: cf. the letter of Bishop Aloysius on 15th April 1795: APF., CP (S1), Acta, vol.XVIII, ff. 138-139. On the other hand the Catholic bishops accused Mar Dionysius of ambition and insincerity in proposing that all the Syrians were to be brought under his jurisdiction. Bishop Emmanuel wrote to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar on 17th March 1798: "...No more am I interested in the conversion of Mar Thomas. I am convinced that it was all a profound intrigue to leave the Archbishopric in undiluted Schism.....": cf. Makenzie, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 211: quoted also by J. Kollaparambil, *art.cit.*, p. 184, fn. 3.
72. Much of these correspondence between the Apostolic Delegate and Mar Dionysius is reproduced in Thomas Inchackalody *op.cit.*, pp. 238-240.
73. Cf. T. Inchackalody, *op. cit.*, p. 239. The English translation is ours.
74. "conservera la loro gerarchia, lasciera lui stesso e altri Vescovi nelle rispettive Sedi, permettera ai preti che si trovassero ammogliati al tempo della conversione di continuare a vivere colla loro moglie, boligando..... al celibato quei che si convertono senza averla, permettera al clero ed al popolo di conservare il rito Maronito Cattolico, e fara a mezzo di uno o piu istituti religiosi APF, Acta (a. 1888) n. 14 Ponenza dell'Emo. Signor Cardinale Isidoro Verga sull'eventuale conversione dei Siri-Giacobiti del Malabar: p. 33. Quoted by Thomas Panickar: *Jacobites in Malabar and their Reunion efforts*, (Pontificia Universitas Propaganda Fide, Rome 1958; thesis unedited). We got the document from the author himself. In the petition we see the request for granting them the use of "Rito Maronitico". By the time of Mar Dionysius V, the Chalden liturgy was completely substituted with the Antiochene. And it was this Antiochene liturgy that was taken for "Rito Maronitico" as opposed to the East Syrian or Chaldean rite.
75. A particular circumstance at the time of this application is to be noted. Mar Dionysius and his followers had by this time entered into a communion with the Jacobite Church of Antioch. There was also a reunited Catholic Syrian Church in Antioch which used the Antiochene rite. But none of these facts seem to have been taken into consideration by Mar Dionysius and his group in their attempt at reunion. On the other hand unhesitatingly they asked for the entry of their Church as a particular, individual, Church in the Catholic Church.
76. Cf. Ponenza, *cit.* p. 13.
77. The Apostolic Constitution of Benedict XV: "Ex pastorali munere" (25 th March 1755) is referred to: cf. ponenza *cit.* p. 18. "exceptis mutationibus, si quae in ritum ipsum irreperint. Et mens est che siano esaminati i libri e gli usi rituali dei giacobiti"
78. The Holy See answered to this question: "affirmative, dummodo profiteantur tam in azymi, quam in fermentato Corpus Christi veraciter confici.....exclusa tamen mixtione salis et olei.....". cf Ponenza, *cit.* p. 48-49. The Congregation showed the reason why the use of oil

and salt in preparing the bread is to be avoided: "...perche fu una arbitraria innovazione nella medesima Giacobita setta, introdotta verso la meta del secolo undicesimo, contro la quale anche nel seno del Gracobitismo si suscitavano fiere opposizioni...." cf. *Ponenza, cit.* pp. 5, 21.

It is surprising how plainly this answer had been given by the Holy See. Both during the time of Mar Thomas IV and V, it was considered to have been a thorny question. Cf. APF, SOC (IOC), (a. 1742-50), vol. 26, ff. 786rc 786v. Fr. Soledado in his report even asserted that the whole project of reunion would be a failure if they were not asked to do away with this custom.

79 Cf. Conenza, *cit.* pp. 5, 38.

1 For the details of this conflict, cf. Part I, ch. II, art.4, of this book.

2 Cf. *ibid.*

3 Mar Ivanios was one of the illustrious Church-men in the Malankara Church. As professor in the University of Serampore, he got opportunity of meeting many Protestant and Catholic Missionaries. It was again when he was there, he thought of founding a religious Congregation for the evangelization of India and for the spiritual renovation of his own Church. He founded religious Congregations both for men and women under the title of "The Order of the Imitation of Christ " popularly known as "Bethany. Later he was consecrated bishop and then installed as the Metropolitan of Bethany. But in the heat of jurisdictional conflict with the Patriarch of Antioch, Bethany was considered to be an instrument for gaining freedom from the latter. Thus Bethany was founded and governed independently of the Patriarch. Founding therefore churches for Bethany everywhere, it was to incorporate the whole of the Jacobite Community into it gradually and thus making it absolutely free from all Patriarchal interventions. This could have produced neither juridical nor civil problems, in case a civil case had to be fought with the Patriarch.

4 "At a meeting of the Bishops' Synod held at Parumalai, Thiruvalla, on November 1, 1926, at which (1) His Holiness Moran Mar Baselius , Catholicos, (2) The most Rev. Mar Gregorios (titular) Metropolitan, Kundara and (3) The Right Rev. Mar Ivanios, Bishop of Bethany, were present, it was decided that the Bishop of Bethany be authorised to make enquiries with the Authorities of the Roman Church with a view to Reunion....." cf. the second Memorandum sent by Mar Ivanios to Rome on 22nd Jan. 1927: in *the Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum* (AAT), A, 2/1927.

5 This memorandum was sent to Rome through Fr. Rebeira from Mavelikara; Cf. T. Inchackalody, *op. cit.*, p. 295-301.

6 Cf. AAT, 10/1926: The copy of the first memorandum sent to Rome.

7 These and other pertinent documents are gathered from the Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum, India. As we have to explain these documents in the following articles with regard to various points treated therein, here we reproduce them only to show the development of the reunion efforts and the final constitution of the Malankara rite.

8 This reply consists mainly of quotations from the Encyclicals of the Roman Pontiffs who were deeply concerned with the preservation of the traditions and rites of the Oriental Churches. And they invited the attention of the bishops of the Jacobite Church to those promises: From these words the Bishops of the Malabar Catholicate may clearly see how their expressed desire to retain their liturgical books will be treated by the Holy See. In readmitting separated Christians to unity the Roman Pontiffs with vigilant care have always followed the policy of approving or permitting the retention of their rites, if and in so far

as, these rites contained nothing contrary to Catholic Faith, nothing that might constitute a danger for souls or bring the Church into disrepute....": Cf. The reply in full, AAT, A, 11/1928.

- 9 These six questions are reproduced in his work by T. Inchackalody *op. cit.*, p. 305.
- 10 Cf. The second memorandum sent to Rome: AAT, A, 2/1927.
- 11 Cf. The second memorandum sent to Rome: n. 10: AAT, A, 2/1927.
- 12 Cf. The letter from the Apostolic Delegation, on 5 Aug. 1929, prot. n. 1309/29; AAT, A, 8/1929.
- 13 Cf. AAT, A, 13/1929: the copy of the letter sent to the Apostolic Delegate in India, on 17th Sept. 1929.
- 14 *Ibid.*, nn. 1, a; 11.
- 15 *Ibid.*, n, 111, a, 1-7.
- 16 After the separation from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, the Metropolitan's Party styled themselves "The Orthodox Church". "The word "Jacobite" nowhere occurs in our formularies and our church is officially styled the "Orthodox Syrian Church". Cf. the letter of Mar Ivanios to the Apostolic Delegate, on 17th Sept. 1929: in AAT; A, 13/1929.
- 17 Cf. The letter of Mar Ivanios to the Apostolic Delegate on 17th Sept. 1929, in AAT, A, 13/1929. As we have already noted the original plan was to incorporate the whole Jacobite community gradually into Bethany churches which were to be established everywhere among the people: Cf. n. 3 of this article. In this way therefore "Bethany" was to represent the whole community. This is most significant to the reunion movement, as we see that later after all the necessary arrangements, it is the Metropolitan of Bethany who in fact took the decisive step in leading the Jacobite community into the Catholic Church. Thus even after the reunion with the Catholic Church the Metropolitan of Bethany obtained jurisdiction on all the Jacobites as he did exercise it on the whole of the Jacobite community.
- 18 Cf. The letters of the Apostolic Delegate to Mar Ivanios and his replies to them: AAT, A, 14/1929; A, 15/1929; A. 4/1930.
- 19 Cf. The Instruction of 20th Aug. 1930, communicated from the Apostolic Delegation, Prot, n. 2035/30; copy in English; in AAT, A, 18/1930.
- 20 This instruction in English was forwarded to Mar Ivanios from the Apostolic Delegation: Cf. Apostolic Delegation of East Indies, Prot. n. 2035/30. We gather it from, AAT, A, 18/1930. The original in Italian is reproduced in *Fonti, II-VIII*, pp. 83-85: "....Assicurando che verra conservato il rito siro-puro antiocheno e che non si confonderanno quindi coi siro-malabaresi, il cui rito e di origine siro-caldaica; 2. assicurando inoltre che, cerziorata la validita del battesimo e della sacra ordinazione e consecrazione dei suddetti due vescovi essi verranno mantenuti nel rispettivo ufficio e giurisdizione, e cioe che Mar Ivanios restera vescovo di Betania col titolo ad personam de Arcivescovo, Metropolita; e Mar Theophilos Vescovo di Thiruvalla. Quanto al titolo del Cattolico e del Catholicos non se ne deve parlare anche perche, non convertendosi l'attuale Catholicos, e prematuro stabilire ora cosa si farebbe qualora questi si convertisse. L'Arcivescovo di Betania e il Vescovo di Thiruvalla "in presentibus rerum adjunctis" dipenderanno immediatamente dalla Santa Sede, senza alcuna dipendenza dal Patriarca siro di Antiochia. Quanto ai libri liturgici (Missale, Rituale, Pontificale) che sono quelli provenienti dalla Propaganda, essi verranno conservati, espungendone pero le espressioni non proprie ed errate che eventualmente vi fossero state introdotte....Quanto al nome: questi nuovi cattolici potrebbero bene chiamarsi "Cattolici Siro-Malabaresi di rito Antiocheno, cattolici

Malabaresi di rito Siro-Antiocheno, oppure "Chiesa Antiochena Malabarese" o "Siro-Malabarica". Così bene si distinguerebbero dai Cattolici Malabaresi di rito caldeo...".

- 21 Cf. The final disposition of the Holy See given on 20th Aug. 1930, AAT, A 18/1930, n. 2.
- 22 Cf. *Ibid.*, n. 3.
- 23 Cf. The first memorandum of the bishops of the Catholicate: AAT, A, 10/1926, already quoted.
- 24 See the letter of Mar Ivanios to the Apostolic Delegate, on 21st July 1928, describing the correspondence between themselves and the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch: Cf. AAT, A, 7/1928. The Patriarch of Antioch wrote to Mar Ivanios on 15th Jan. 1928, of his great joy over the reunion efforts: Cf. AAT, B, 1/1928. Mar Ivanios wrote a reply for the same on 21st July 1928. Cf. AAT, B, 7/1928. Again the Patriarch on 25th Sept. 1928, wrote to Mar Ivanios assuring him of his co-operation for this noble cause: Cf. AAT, B, 9/1928. See the replies of Mar Ivanios for the same on 25th Nov. 1928, and on 21st Jan. 1929. Cf. AAT, B, II, 1928, 12/1929.
- 25 Cf. The reply of the Holy See, on 5th Aug. 1929: Cf. AAT, A, 8/1929, n. III.
- 26 See the letter of Mar Ivanios on 24th May 1930, to the Apostolic Delegate, in which he expressed his hope: "...I do hope that at a later stage his Beatitude and the remaining Bishops will see the light and seek reunion....": Cf. AAT, A, 5/1930.
- 27 A passing suggestion that the Jacobites of the Malankara Church be united with the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch, had for its foundation nothing but their use of Antiochene rites, which the reuniting Church loved to preserve in making its submission to the Holy See. As a Church they already severed their jurisdictional dependence on the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and by the institution of a Catholicate they were turned out to be an independent Church. It was in this situation that they proposed their claim to remain a particular Church even after the reunion, which the Holy See granted at the first instance.
- 28 It was Mons. Benziger who received the reuniting Bishops into the Catholic Church. "...Sacra Congregatio Orientalis die 4 Julii anni 1930 decrevit eos in catholicam communionem esse recipiendos per Delegatum Apostolicum Rev. D. Eduardum Mooney. Rev. D. A. Benziger O.C.D., episcopus Quilonensis, subdelegatus ab ipso Delegato Apostolico, professionem fidei ab eis accepit eosque a censuris absolvit die 20 Septembris 1930" Cf. *Fonti, II-VIII*, p. 83, n. 161.
- 29 "...Non ometta il Delegato Apostolico di investigare, per se, o per altri, e caso, per caso, circa la validità della Sacra Ordinazione dei Convertendi....Mons. Delegato Apostolico per se, o per mezzo di Mons. Benziger o di altri, assolvere i due Vescovi dalle irregolarità, curi che i sacerdoti e laici che vogliano convertirsi emettano la professione di fede, in quel modo che sembrerà migliore....quanto al celibato, non si ammette in futuro alcun candidato ai S. Ordini se non dia promessa di restare celibe. Per presente però i sacerdoti che si convertano uxoriati vengono accettati e tollerati ed i diaconi uxoriati possono ricevere il sacerdozio.....I due Vescovi vigilino sui loro diritti, nel rivendicare le Chiese. La S. Sede vorrebbe inoltre che anche fra i prelati due Vescovi venienti ora all'unione, si stabilisse una chiara e precisa delimitazione di giurisdizione con termini territoriali.....(29). Cf. AAT, A, 18/1930, the instruction from the Ap. Delegation, pot. Cf. *Fonti, II-VIII*, p. 85, n. 163.
- 30 Cf. The instruction from the Apostolic Delegation on 20th Aug. 1930 Prot. n. 2035/30, in AATA 18/1930, provisions, n. 4.
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 Cf. The instruction from the Apostolic Delegation, Prot. n. 2035/30 in AAT, A, 18/1930.

- 1 "....Mgr. Benziger, the Bishop of Quilon sent me his letter informing me that His Holiness the Pope had approved the resolution of the S. C. of the Cardinals which declared that the reuniting Bishops would be received in their office and dignity and that the Antiochene Rite of the Malankara Church would be preserved....Then I visited Mgr. Benziger who informed me that he had received all the faculties from His Holiness the Pope, and his Delegate to receive me and my people....Afterwards at 7.30, Saturday 20 Sept. 1930, all those who came with me and I were received into the Catholic Church as its members....". Cf. Mar Ivanios, *Memoirs*, quoted by T. Inchackalody, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-443. The English translation is ours.
- 2 See the letter of Mar Ivanios to the Ap. Delegate sent on 17 Sept. 1929, quoted in the previous article.
- 3 See the final decision of the Holy See quoted in the previous article.
- 4 Cf. The instruction from the Apostolic Delegation, prot. n. 2035-30, in AAT, A, 18/1930.
- 5 Cf. Fonti, II-VIII, Introduction, n. 3. The Apostolic Constitution "Magnum Nobis" was not published in Malabar as it was felt that the assignment of titular Sees to bishops who were residential earlier, would be unpleasant to the reunited group and confusing to the Jacobites. But it was mentioned in the Apostolic Constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi" of Pius XI, on 11 June 1932: cf. A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 289-292.
- 6 Cf. A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 289-292.
- 7 See our explanation of this appellation in the following article.
- 8 "Christo Pastorum Principi humillimas ferventesque persolvimus gratias cum duo praeclarissimi antiocheni ritus Syro-Malankaranses Antistites Mar Ivanios nempe Archiepiscopus et Mar Theophilus episcopus, plures sacerdotes ac ingens de eorum grege incolarum numerus, suorum Pastorum, divina operante gratia, vestigia secuti, in Sanctae Matris Catholicae Ecclesiae gremium feliciter ingressi sunt; cum vero istorum fidelium Syro-Malankarensium antiocheni ritus numerus fauste feliciterque magis in dies auctus sit ac breve tempore, auctore Domino, ac nonnulla millia jam prevenerit, opportunum et salutare visum est res ecclesiasticas aptiore ac furniore ratione disponere et ordinare, novam erigenda in regione illa Malabarica ecclesiasticam ritus antiocheni provinciam. Quapropter Nos, praefatorum Praesulum faventes votis ac novum erga nobilissimae orientales Ecclesiae Nostrae dilectionis testimonium praebere volente....ea quae sequuntur, Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, decernimus ac statuimus..." Ap. Constitution Christo Pastorum Principi, A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 289-290.
- 9 "Quapropter Nos praefatorum Praesulum faventes votis ac novum erga nobilissimas orientales Ecclesias Nostrae dilectionis testimonium praebere volentesSuppressis duobus quos supra diximus ordinariatibus in regione Malabarica ad Pampae fluminis septentrionem et meridiem (the provision in the Apostolic Constitution "Magnum Nobis" of 13th Feb. 1932 is referred to), ex eorum territorio novam ae distinctam ecclesiasticam provinciam pro fidelibus Syro-Malankarensibus antiocheni ritus erigimus, quae duabus constabit sedibus, arciepiscopali nempe Trivandrensi et episcopali Tiruvallensi....*ibid.* 290.
10. "Trivandrensis arcidiocesis, cujus fines iidem erunt ac diocesum Quilonensis, de Kottar et diocesis Coccinensis partis meridionalis fines, districtus Trivandrum, Kottarakara, Adoor, Pathanamthitta, Mavelikara, Kayamkulam et Chengannoor complectetur....Arciepiscopi Trivandrensis sedem in urbe Trivandrum. a quo arcidiocesis ipsa nomen mutuatur, constituimus....Diocesis Tiruvallensis, cujus limites iidem erunt ac diocesum Verapolitanae et de Vijayapuram, nec non diocesis Coccinensis partis septentrionalis fines, districtus Tiruvalla, Niranam, Kottayam, Moovattupuzha, et Kunnamkulam constabit....Episcopi

Tiruvallensis sedem in oppido Tiruvalla statuimus, a quo diocesis ipsa nuncupatur..." Cf. The Ap. Constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi" A.A.S. XXIV (1932) p. 293. The civil districts that are referred to in the Constitution should be taken for those at the time of erection. Realising the progress of the movement, on 14th Feb. 1958, the Holy See has extended the jurisdiction of the Syro-Malankara hierarchy making it co-extensive with that of the Syro-Malabar hierarchy. Cf. the Decree of the S.C. pro Ecclesia Orientali, Prot. n. 534/43.

- 11 "...Archiepiscopi Trivandrensis sedem in urbe "Trivandrum", a quo Archidiocesis ipsa nomen mutuatur, constituimus....Episcopi Tiruvallensis sedem in oppido Tiruvalla statuimus , a quo diocesis ipsa nuncupatur...." Cf. The Apostolic Constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi" A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 290.
- 12 "...Archiepiscopalem Ecclesiam Trivandrensem novae hujus ecclesiasticae provinciae Metropolitanam constituimus...." *Ibid.*
- 13 "...illi propterea ejusque pro tempore Archiepiscopis omnia concedimus jura et privilegia, honores et prerogativas quae jure communi et Ecclesiae Syro-Antiochenae legitimis consuetudinibus eisdem competunt; facultatem in primis pro Archiepiscopis pallio ecclesiasticae provinciae fines juxta liturgicas leges utendi, postquam tamen ipsum ab Apostolica Sede in sacro Consistorio postulatum ac obtentum fuerit...." *Ibid.*
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 "...Jus universale totius Ecclesiae seu jus superrituale, cui omnes ritus sine distinctione subjunguntur. Hoc jus statuitur ab suprema auctoritate Ecclesiae pro totali Ecclesia ideoque Catholicos ligat ut Catholicos. Jus commune totius Ecclesiae Orientalis: Monuimus sane haberi jus commune in Ecclesia Orientali eo sensuquo jus commune habetur in Ecclesia Latina. Non enim una Ecclesia Orientalis habetur, sed multae Ecclesiae, quae ab invicem independentes sunt et tantum uniuntur sub supremo capite Ecclesiae universalis. Cum vero certus numerus fontium apud omnes Ecclesias Orientales receptus sit, isti sensu nomine juris Orientalis communis comprehendi possunt....." Hermann, *art. cit.*, pp. 107-108. It is to be noted that after the publication of the Oriental legislations there exists now a "Jus commune" for all the Oriental Churches.
- 16 We must remember that the reference is to the Syro-Antiochene disciplinary system as such. Hence the Archbishop of Trivandrum, as he was the Hierarchy of a Metropolitan See of an Oriental Rite, in which the Antiochene disciplinary system is followed and preserved, was to have all the rights and privileges according to the Antiochene disciplinary system. The reference to the customs alone, and not to the laws, is significant, since the customs of the Antiochene discipline could have been evolved also in the Malankara Church, which were to have their legal force in virtue of their approbation by the Holy See under the condition prescribed in the instruction given on the occasion of reunion. As a "norma directiva" of course, the customs existing in the Syrian Catholic Church of Antioch could be consulted. According to the prescriptions of the Synod of Sciarfe the following are the prerogatives of the Metropolitan: "Metropolita pluribus praerogativis et juribus gaudebat. Quorum haec praecipua: 1) quod in synodo Episcoporum eligebat suos suffraganeos episcopos ac ordinabat; 2) quod synodum provincialem ex suis episcopis habebat; 3) pastorem visitationem peragebat in diocesibus suffraganeis; 4) denique quod appellationem recipiebat a judiciis episcoporum suffraganeorum...." Cf. *Acta Synodi Nationalis Syrorum, habitae in seninario Sciarfensi anno 1888*, Romae, ex Typographia polyglotta S. C. Propaganda Fide, 1896, pp. 215-216
- 17 See our explanation in note 22 of the following chapter.

- 18 Cf. The Apostolic Constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi", A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 290-291.
- 19 Cf. The meaning of "rites" as understood by the Second Vatican Council: ".....Hujus-modi particulares Ecclesiae tum Orientis tum Occidentis, licet ritibus, ut aiunt, nempe liturgia, ecclesiastica disciplina et patrimonio spirituali partim inter se differant, aequali tamen modo concreduntur pastorali gubernio Romani Pontifices..." Decretum de Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis, De Ecclesiis Particularibus seu Ritibus, A.A.S. LVII (1965) 76.
- 1 Hermann thinks that such explicit recognition on the part of the Holy See is the surest criteria to determine the juridical existence of a particular rite in the Church: ".....Ritus tamquam ordo juris ecclesiastici, cum natura sua sit ens juridicum, originem ducit ex actu competentis auctoritatis, i.e. Apostolicae Sedis. Si igitur semper actus expressus recognitionis ritus ut ritus haberetur facile, constaret de numero et de existentia rituum. Sed cum plerumque implicita quaedam et aequivalens tatum recognitio detur, propterea ad indica et conjecturas recurrendum est.....Inter criteria vero quae formalem existentiam ritus respiciunt, imprimis id adducendum quod in documentis officialibus nomen ritus explicite....." *art. cit.*, p. 112.
- 2 Cf. The first memorandum sent to Rome in AAT, A, 10/1926.
- 3 "Metropolitae magno Orientis data est potestas nunc et deinceps, ut, tanquam Patriarcha' Metropolis constituat in Oriente et "Catholicus" proclametur. Et quam sit presens Synodo occidentalium, supra omnes Metropolis, simul cum Patriarcha Jerusalem disponatur thronus ejus...." Cf. Bar Hebraeus, Nomo-Canon, VIII, 1: *Fonti, I-III*, p. 213.
- 4 "....Patriarcha Antiochiae non intret in provincias Tagrits ratione gubernationis, nisi quum vocetur: neque "Maphrianus" in illas Patriarchae": Bar Hebraeus, Nomo-Canon, VIII, 1: *Fonti' I-III*, p. 115. "Maphrianus" quando simul fuerit cum Patriarcha Antiochiae primus ad dexteram ejus sedeat, et post eum annuntietur, oblationemque (Eucharisticam) accipita....." Bar Hebraeus, Nomo-Canon, VII 1: *Fonti, I-III*, p. 110. See the arguments of the Metropolitan's party construed on these canons, in *Malayala Manorama*, 14th Sept. 1912.
- 5 Cf. AAT, A 10/1926.
- 6 Cf. The answer of the Holy See to the Memorandum sent by Mar Ivanios AAT, A/11/1928.
- 7 Cf. The letter of Mar Ivanios to the Ap. Delegate, on 17th Sept. 1929, AAT, A, 13/1929; also the decision of the Holy See on 5th Aug. 1929, m. 2. AAT, A, 8/1929.
- 8 "Quanto al nome questi nuovi cattolici potrebbero bene chiamarsi: Cattolici Syro-Malabaresi di rito siro Antiocheno, o Cattolici Malabaresi di rito siro Antiocheno, oppure: chiesa Antiochena-Malabarica o Siro-Malabarica...." Cf. The instruction from the Apostolic Delegation, prot.n. 2035/30. AAT, A, 18; also *Fonti, II-VIII*, n. 5.
- 9 "....Cosi bene si distinguerebbero dai Cattolici Malabaresi di rito caldeo....." Cf. The instruction from the Apostolic Delegation, prot. n. 2035/30: AAT, A, 18/1930.
- 10 "....The word "Jacobite" nowhere occurs in our formularies and our Church is officially styled the "Orthodox Syrian Church". May the re-uniting Jacobites style themselves as "Catholic Orthodox Syrians"? This designation will help to differentiate them from the "Catholic Syrians" in Malabar, the subjects of the Archbishop of Ernakulam.....": Cf. The letter to Mar Ivanios sent to the Ap. Delegate, on 17th Sept. 1929: AAT, A, 13/1929.
- 11 Cf. The Ap. Constitution "Christo Pastoerum Principi" of Pius XI, 11th June 1932, A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 290.

- 12 "usus enim viget tam in Oriente, quam in occidente, haereticos fidei Catholicae reconciliatos, si occidentales sint, uti Lutherani et Calvinistae, vocari Catholicos: sin vero Orientales, si Jacobitae fuerint, Syros, si vero Nestoriani, Chaldeos, seu Assyrios nuncupari et quamvis omnes esse Catholici subintelligantur, hanc tamen Syrorum, et Chaldeorum seu Assyriorum denominationem sortiuntur, tum propter eorum rituum diversitatem tum quia sub diversis sint constituti Patriarchis, ut demonstrat F. Naironus (loc. cit.). Maronitae itaque quum modo hoc nomen gerant et a Summis Pontificibus a tempore Innocentii III eorum Patriarcha in Bullis Apost. appellatur Patriarcha Antiochenus Maronitarum, necessario sequitur hoc nomen Maronita semper Virum Catholicum indicasse...." J.S. Assemani, *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp. 523-524.

It is interesting to note the words of Jugie: ".....Quamque gens seu natio politica autonoma jus etiam habet ad plenam independentiam in ordine Ecclesiastico, Ei licet Ecclesiam localem ad normam perfectae autocephaliae ordinare sub quodam primatu, qui eam una cum episcopis regionis omnino independenter regat atque gubernet....Ecclesia vero in hoc regno existens jus habet se ipsum independenter regendi ad normam canonis Apostolici aliis verbis ipso facto autocephala evadit...." M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica dissidentium*, vol. IV, Paris 1931, p. 245.

Similarly Isidore I. Patrylo observes: ".....omnes canonistae in doctrinae de autocephaliae expositione ad normam can. 34 Apostolorum, can. 9 Concilii Antiocheni et can. 28 Concilii Chalcedonensis recurrunt. In can. 34 Apostolorum, legimus: "Episcopus cujusque gentis (ethnos) agnoscere debet illum, qui inter eos primas obtinet, et eum habere uti caput" (Jugie, *op.cit.*, vol. IV, p. 244)...." Patrylo, OSBM, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

- 13 It was in this way how Mar Ivanios understood his community. In his petition which he submitted to Pope Pius XI for obtaining "Pallium" he requested: "I beg to Your Holiness to confer upon me the "Pallium" granting me the plenitude of powers for the new "Branch" that God in his mercy has brought into the Church through my submission to Holy See...." Cf. AAT, A, 4/1932. Canonists, grouping the different rites in the Church, also count the Malankara rite as pertaining to the Family of Antiochene Rite. For example Hermann gave the following classification: ".....Si nunc jam ad determinandos ritus qui in Catholica Ecclesia inveniuntur transeamus inveniemus illos fere qui ab canonistis generatim enumerantur:

Ritus Byzantinus vel Graecus: ritus Graecus, Melchitus, Bulgarus;

Rumaenus; Ruthenus, Georgiganus, Byzantinoslavus (rusicus?)

Ritus Armenus.

Ritus Antiochenus vel Syrus: Ritus Syrus, Maronitus, Malankarensis.

Ritus Alexandrinus: Ritus Coptus, aethiopicus.

Ritus Chaldaeus: Ritus Chaldeus, Malabarensis." Cf. *art.cit.*, p. 114.

- 14 "Pius Episcopus servus servorum Dei Venerabili Fratri Severios Joseph Valakuzhiel huctenus Episcopus titulari Ingelino et Dioceseos Tiruvallensis, Ritus Syro-Malankarensis, ad ministratori Apostolico ad nutum S. Sedis, in ejusdem Diocesis Episcopum electo....." Cf. The Apostolic Bull, 5th Aug. 1950 AATh, A, 5/1950.
- 15 ".....et illi Episcopum praeficimas et pastorem nec non ejusdem Ecclesiae curam, regimen et administrationem tum in spiritualibus tum in temporalibus tibi plenarie committimus una cum omnibus juribus et privilegiis, oneribus et obligationibus pastoralis huic officio, juxta sacros canones et peculiares Ecclesiae Malankarensis leges et laudabiles consuetudines inhaerentibus..." Cf. Apostolic Bull, 5th Aug. 1950, in AATh, A, 5/1950.
- 16 Cf. Apostolic Bull, on 27th Jan. 1955, AATh, A, 5/1955.

- 17 ".....De Apostolica igitur Nostra potestate TE.....metropolitanæ Sedi Trivandrensi Syrorum Malankarensium præficimus Archiepiscopum et pastorem, datis idcirco tibi ipsius cura, regimine et administratione sive religiosarum rerum sive bonorum atque facultatum ad eam pertinentium; qua tibi tradita excelsa dignitate, habebis pariter et jura et onera, quæ eam recte et jure comitantur, juxta Ecclesiæ Syrorum Malankarensium leges et probatas consuetudines...." Cf. Apostolic Bull, on 27th Jan. 1957, AAT, A, 1/1957.
- 18 Cf. The instruction of the S.C. for the Oriental Church, on 25th Feb. 1957, Prot No. 380/51: AAT, A 2/1957.
- 19 In the said instruction a good many particular items were referred to as pertaining to the Syro-Malankara rite. It is also to be noted that in the same instruction "Syro-Malankara rite" is used also to indicate the liturgy and rituals of the Syro-Malankara Church.
- 20 ".....Insuper, si, e mera hypothesi, has innovationes a proprio ritu alienas introducere Ecclesiæ Syro-Malankarensi permetteretur, ritus, hybridus post breve tempus fieret, qui a dissidentibus contemneretur doctrinisque Ecclesiæ circa ritos orientales evidenter contradiceret...." Cf. The letter to the Archbishop-Metropolitan: Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali, Prot. No. 380/52, AAT, A, 5/1958.
- 21 "Patres Syro-Malabarici et Syro-Malankarici, qui Primo Concilio Plenario Indiae, anno 1950 habito in interfuerunt ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provoluti, humiliter petunt: 1. indultum quo festa de præcepto habeantur Nativitas Domini, Ascensio Domini, Sollemnitatis Corporis Christi, Assumptio B. M. V. ac festum S. Thomæ Ap., salvo jure particulari Ecclesiæ Syro-Malankaricæ...." Cf. Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali, N. 595/49: in *Acta et Decreta primi concilii plenarii Indiae*, (2nd ed.) Ranchi, 1959, p. 125.
- 1 Cf. Motu proprio "Cleri Sanctitati" Pii XII, A.A.S. XLIX. (1957) 433-603; (henceforth quoted as MP IV).
- 2 Cf. MP IV, cc. 216-305.
- 3 Cf. MP IV, c. 335/1.
- 4 Cf. MP IV, cc. 324-339
- 5 Cf. MP IV, c. 335/2.
- 6 Cf. MP IV, 315-323.
- 7 ".....In occidente titulus Archiepiscopi multo serius quam in oriente in usum venit. In synodo Hyponæ a. 393 prohibitum est uti hoc nomine. Admissus erat solum titulus Primæ sedis Episcopus. Ineunte vero sæc. IX, ubique omnibus Metropolitanis adjungitur et fere idem denotat. Praxis hæc, ut patet, hucusque viget; omnes enim Metropolitanae titulo Archiepiscoporum ornantur, non tamen vice versa, quia admittuntur Archiepiscopi, qui Metropolitanae non sunt, utentes titulo hoc ex privilegio Sedi aut personæ concesso, sicut in Synodo Romana 1725 statutum est....." Isidorus I. Patrylo, OSBM, *Figura juridica Archiepiscopi-Metropolitani Kievo-Halicensis attentis præscriptis MP. "Cleri Sanctitati"*, Romæ; p. 5; Cf. also A. Amanieu, *Dictionnaire Droit Canonique*, vol. 1, Paris VI 1935, "Archeveque", cols. 931-932; See the full article in cols. 927-934.
- 8 Cf. Motu Proprio "Sollicitudinem Nostram" Pii XII, A.A.S. XLII (1950) 5-10, can. 20/3.
- 9 Cf. MP IV, can. 315,
- 10 Cf. MP IV, cc. 324-325.
- 11 Cf. Acacius Coussa, *Epitome praelectionum de jure ecclesiastico orientali* vol. I, Typis Monasterii Exarchici Cryptoferratensis. Romæ, 1948. pp. 212, 215. "Archiepiscopus

(major) praeest particulari Ecclesiae, et ordinario unum vel plures habet sibi subjectos Metropolitans eorumque comprovinciales Episcopos". "Archiepiscopus (minor) reapse est Metropolitans autocephalus, ordine tamen hierarchico inferior...." *ibid.*

- 12 "....Quae de Patriarchis sunt dicta, valent etiam, ad normam juris, de Archiepiscopis majoribus, qui universae cuidam Ecclesiae particulari seu ritui praesunt". *Decretum de Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis*, de Patriarchis Orientalibus, n. 10, A.A.S. LVII (1965) 80.
- 13 Cf. MP IV, c. 335/1.
- 14 Cf. *ibid.*, c. 335/2.
- 15 See the rights and privileges of the Archbishop that are explicitly different from that of the Metropolitan in MP IV, cc. 306, 320, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 334, 336. A synthesis of the same could be found in Isidore I. Patrylo, OSBM, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
- 16 Compare for example MP IV, c. 318-CIC, c. 273; c. 319-CIC, c. 274; c. 320 - CIC, 274/3/4; c. 321-CIC, cc. 275-277; c. 323-CIC, c. 285.
- 17 "The Holy synod of the Catholicate consecrates Bishops and Metropolitans and performs all the Patriarchal functions and exercises Patriarchal powers within the Archdiocese of the Catholicate. The Holy synod claims to itself legislative, administrative and disciplinary powers in all matters spiritual and ecclesiastical within the Archdiocese. The Holy synod of the Catholicate prays that they be admitted into the unity of the Catholic Church, themselves.....retaining for the Holy synod and for individual Bishops their jurisdiction over all the Jacobite Syrians that come into reunion....." Cf. the first memorandum sent to the Holy See: AAT, A. 10/1926.
- 18 Cf. The Ap. Constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi", A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 290.
- 19 Cf. *ibid.*
- 20 Cf. The Decree of the S.C. for the Oriental Church, Prot. N. 534/43, on 14th Feb. 1958: AAT, A, 2/1958.
- 21 Cf. The Ap. Bull nominating Mar Gregorios as Archbishop-Metropolitan of Trivandrum, AAT, A, 1/1955. Mar Gregorios was appointed on 21st July 1953 as apostolic Administrator "ad nutum S. Sedis" to the Archdiocese of Trivandrum: Cf. S. C. Pro Ecclesia Orientali, Prot. N. 455/52, 19 Aug. 1953, in AAT, A. 7/1953; Later on 31st Dec. 1953 he was appointed "Administrator Apostolic permanentiter constitutus" to the same See. Cf. S.C. Pro Eccl. Orientali, prot. N. 455/52 in AAT, A, 12/1953.
- 22 Cf. The Apostolic Bull nominating Mar Gregorios Archbishop, AAT, A, 1955.
- 23 Cf. Motu Proprio Sollicitudinem Nostram, c. 20/3, A.A.S. XLII (1950) 5-120.
- 24 Cf. The Ap. Constitution "Romani Pontifices" of Pius XI, A.A.S. XVI (1924) 257-262.
- 25 In the regulations passed by the National Synod of the Syrian Catholic Church of Antioch we find that the two terms are identified: "Metropolitans seu Archiepiscopus est episcopus urbis quae est caput ecclesiasticae provinciae..." Cf. Acta Synodi Nationali Syrorum (already quoted), Roma 1888, Art. IV, De Metropolitans, I. p. 215. In the Nomo-canon of Bar Hebraeus, however, we find the term used once for the Metropolitan of Cyprus, Cf. Nomo-canon, VII. I, A. Mai, *op. cit.*, p. 39, quoted in *Fonti, I-III*, p. 9. However, since this canon is taken from the Nicene Synod, it is not exclusively Syro-Antiochene. In the Malankara Church too we do not find a jurisdictional office between the Catholicos and the Metropolitan.

Liturgy and Discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church

Having examined the special characteristics of the Malankara Church a particular Church, in this chapter we shall deal with its liturgy and the disciplinary system. Here again we make it clear that we do not intend to enumerate and explain each of the particular laws or customs canonical or liturgical of the Syro-Malankara Church¹. But we shall discuss the nature of the liturgy and the juridical systems that exists in this particular Church. To put it briefly, the liturgy and the canonical system of the Syro-Malankara Church in their formal aspect constitute the subject of our study in this chapter.

Liturgy of the Syro-Malankara Church

It was explained in the first part of this book that the Malankara Church had by the second half of the 19th Century adopted officially the Syro-Antiochene liturgy and rituals in the place of Chaldean liturgy, which was at least partially in use. Thenceforth the people of the Malankara Church kept on using the Antiochene liturgy as a general practice.

It was this liturgy and rituals that the prelates of the Malankara Church loved to retain while making their submission to Rome. We have seen already that this request was granted by the Holy See in its final disposition for the reunion². According to this disposition the Malankara people returning to the Catholic Church were allowed to retain the "pure Syro-Antiochene rite". The qualification "pure" was necessary. For as we showed in the first part, it was the Jacobite

prelates of Antioch that brought the Antiochene liturgy and rituals to Malabar. The Syro-antiochene liturgy which occupied an important place among the ancient liturgies of the Catholic Church had been in use mainly among the Monophysites in Antioch and elsewhere and therefore could have been corrupted, at least to some extent by heretical additions or mutilations. Hence the liturgy and rituals that were introduced into the Malankara Church could have been also, to some extent, corrupted.

Furthermore, since the people of Malankara had entertained for a long time an ecclesiastical communion with the Protestants, a spirit of reformation both in the field of Dogma and liturgy was inculcated among them. In this way therefore, the traditional faith and liturgical practices of the Malankara Church were defiled and disfigured. Even though the orthodox Jacobites resisted to this reformation movement, the Marthomites patronised it and led it to its climax. Thus the Syro-Antiochene liturgy could be suspected of some undue reformation especially since the time of Mathews Mar Athanasius, the leader of the reformation movement in the Malankara Church, who was for a long time the Metropolitan of Malankara³.

Thus at the time of Mar Ivanios, reunion, a twofold corruption in the Antiochene rite of the Malankara Church could have been suspected of. And consequently a twofold purification was also deemed necessary⁴.

By "pure Syro-Antiochene rite", therefore, the "Antiochene rite" existing and used among the Jacobites of the Malankara Church, but free from all errors and arbitrary innovations that may have been introduced into it was meant⁵.

This explanation is corroborated from the fact that it was the books which were used in the Malankara Church that were to be presented to and examined by the Delegates of the Holy See, in order to correct and make them suitable for the new community⁶.

Thus we may conclude that the Syro-Malankara Church according to the instruction of the Holy See at the time of reunion with the Catholic Church, was allowed to retain the "pure Syro-

Antiochene rite" which was practised by them in the Malankara Church, after having it purified from all errors and improper reformation made in it.

As to the subsequent development and modifications, of course, according to the spirit of the Antiochene liturgy, nothing was then provided for. On 25th Feb. 1957, an instruction was sent by the Congregation for the Oriental Church to the Hierarchs of the Syro-Malankara rite on safeguarding the integrity of the Syro-Malankara rite and "bringing it up-to-date and complete, in the light of the new conditions and exigencies of the Syro-Malankara Church"⁷. In the same instruction, among other points we read: ".....The Episcopacy has been entrusted with the task of preparing the liturgical text of the Missal, the Sh'himto, and the Ritual, which will be submitted to the Examination of the Holy See together with a detailed account of the criteria followed in the revision of the text...."⁸.

The subsequent restoration, reformation or development of the liturgy of the Syro-Malankara Church, of course according to the spirit of the Antiochene liturgy, are not discussed in detail here in our study.

Canonical Discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church

As the Syro-Malankara Church is one among the Oriental Churches, the common disciplinary system-Jus Commune-of the Oriental Churches is valid for it. This common discipline is not the subject of our discussion in this chapter. Our intention, as we have noted at the beginning of this chapter, is to explain the juridical condition and nature of the particular discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church.

That there exists a particular disciplinary system for the Syro-Malankara Church is a fact. The Holy See has acknowledged it too. For instance, in codifying the laws of the Oriental Churches, the juridical "Fontes" of the discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church were also collected, acknowledging therefore that there exists a particular discipline for it⁹. Similarly, the Holy See, when nominating

bishops of the Malankara Church, indicated that their rights and duties are to be specified according to the particular laws and customs of the Malankara Church ¹⁰. On other occasions too similar declarations were made ¹¹.

What is important for us, therefore, is the examination of the juridical nature and condition of this disciplinary system. We have shown in the first part of this book that the process of the adoption of the Antiochene liturgy by the Malankara Church was different from that of the Antiochene disciplinary elements ¹².

Native Traditions Retained

Until the split in 1653, the Syrian Christians of Malabar formed one community and followed one canonical discipline. Even after the split the people that formed the Malankara Church retained, to a great extent, this original discipline. This disciplinary system was in fact a complex of many particular laws and customs of different origin.

Apart from the ethnical and social customs which the Syrian Christian community had in common with the non-Christians in Malabar, it had received ecclesiastical laws and customs from the Syro-Chaldean disciplinary system, which in its turn had received great influence from the Antiochene ¹³.

But after their submission to the Latin rule drastic changes were introduced into their liturgy and discipline so that a mixture of two disciplinary systems was to give them actual norms of ecclesiastical life ¹⁴. The decrees of the Council of Florence and those of the Council of Trent were prescribed and enforced for the Syrians in Malabar by the Synods of Angamali (1599). The provincial Synods of Goa too made legislations for the Syrian Church in Malabar. Later, Latin Ordinaries too convoked Synods and promulgated statutes for them along the line of Latin discipline ¹⁵. In spite of all these innovations the Syrian and Malabar customs that existed among the Syrians were not wholly abolished, though to a great extent, neglected.

After the breach among the Syrians of Malabar in 1653, when the Jacobite bishops came to Malabar, the Syrian discipline which

was neglected and suppressed, was revived and a few of the particularly Jacobite disciplinary elements had been gradually introduced in the Malankara Church. We already discussed in the first part of this book this gradual introduction of the Antiochene rite in the Malankara Church ¹⁶. As it was explained there, after the Synod of Mulanthuruthy, convoked in 1876 by the Antiochene Patriarch Peter III, the people of the Malankara Church generally considered that the canonical discipline of the Malankara Church was Antiochene and they accepted the 'Nomo-canon' of Bar Hebreus as a codex ¹⁷. Thus the discipline of the Malankara Church turned out to be formally Antiochene. As the Chaldean disciplinary elements which were already existing in the early Malabar Church were to a great extent materially identical with that of the Antiochene, the transition from one to the other was not to create any practical difficulty. Neither did the acceptance of the Antiochene rite take away the traditions and customs that were already in existence among the Syrians of Malabar.

It was the complex of this disciplinary system which the reuniting prelates wanted to retain while making their submission to Rome. That is to say, the Antiochene discipline as accepted and existed among them with the Nomo-canon of Bar-Hebreus as a codex, and their own ecclesiastical traditions and customs developed and kept as a Christian community of Malabar, remained the source of the canonical discipline of the Malankara Church, at the time of their reunion-attempts with the Catholic Church ¹⁸.

It is important to note that it was this ecclesiastical heritage of the reuniting group that was allowed to be kept after having it purified from every thing that was objectionable. This was to remain as a source of canonical discipline for them.

Further Developments

Preserving the existing disciplinary system of the new community the Holy See gave some further clarifications and regulations. Among these comes first the final instruction of the Holy See given to the reuniting bishops. The general provision was that

the reuniting group could retain their rites provided there was nothing contrary to Catholic faith and morals or ecclesiastical decorum.

But the question of clerical celibacy was specially treated, as it was in itself not to be excluded according to the instruction mentioned above ¹⁹. Besides this explicit mention of a particular point in clerical discipline nothing was specially mentioned, leaving, therefore, the rest to the particular discipline of the Malankara Church, that is, to the existing traditions and regulations in its disciplinary system, subject to the condition prescribed by the Holy See and according to the interpretation of the competent authorities.

Later constituting an ecclesiastical province for the new community the Holy See declared that the Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum was to have all the rights, duties and privileges according to the Common laws and the particular customs of the Syro-Antiochene Church ²⁰. Similar provision was made also for the bishop of Thiruvalla.

But as to the administration and government of the two dioceses no particular prescriptions were given, leaving it to be regulated by 'sacred canons'-*quae sacri canones statuunt*' ²¹.

Which were these sacred canons? Evidently the Latin legislation was not to be applied to the new community. And there was no common legislation at this time for the Oriental Churches either. It is therefore to be understood as the actual regulations, those that were to be found in its existing disciplinary system and in the new enactments of the competent Authorities concerned ²².

The Syro-Malankara bishops who took part in the 'Plenary Council of India' held in 1950, issued certain regulations in conformity with the decision of the Council on celebrating Holy Mass more than once a day for the spiritual good of the Faithful, on determining the holy days of obligation etc. with the special approbation from the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches²³.

An instruction of the Congregation of the Oriental Churches sent on 25th Feb. 1957 to the bishops of the Syro-Malankara Church

"to bring up-to-date and complete, in the light of the new conditions and exigencies of the Syro-Malankara Church, the liturgical norms previously issued"²⁴ includes both general norms to preserve their rite and particular regulations on liturgy and discipline ²⁵.

Again according to an instruction of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches which was carried out by the Metropolitan of Trivandrum on 19th Jan. 1961, new provisions on fast and abstinence, making some mitigations in the actual practice, were given ²⁶.

In the evolution and development of the particular discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church the Hierarchs had and still have an important role. The ordinary power of a Hierarch in making laws and regulations in his diocese is not the object of our discussion here. This is regulated by the common laws and special regulations from the Holy See.

But we speak on a special circumstance in the case of the bishops of the Syro-Malankara Church who were instrumental in shaping their disciplinary system. For, the reuniting group was allowed to keep their rites and customs that existed among them, provided there was nothing contrary to Catholic faith and morals. But who was to judge if something was a legitimate custom that does not contradict Catholic faith or morals?

Apart from the special Commission appointed at the time of reunion by the Holy See to examine and correct the liturgical and ritual books, the disciplinary system was to be adopted and developed by the Hierarchs of the new community themselves with corrections, if needed. We must not, on the other hand, forget the preservation of the rites of the new community was for them not only a right but also an obligation towards the Universal Church. The Hierarchs of the Malankara Catholic community could also make regulations to preserve existing discipline and introduce new customs if they were not prejudicial or contrary to Catholic faith. In other words, if the disciplinary enactments of the Hierarchs were not against the Syro-Antiochene discipline, but only specifications and developments of

the same, they were to be considered legitimate and even necessary, especially for a new community like the Syro-Malankara Church ²⁷.

It is, therefore, in the light of these principles and circumstances that we have to examine the evolution of the discipline advanced by the Hierarchs of the Syro-Malankara Church. Evidently we do not intend to examine every particular prescription that the bishops gave to the community ²⁸. However, we shall enumerate each enactment with its general content to show that the existing disciplinary system had to be adopted and evolved into a Catholic tradition in the Syro-Malankara Church.

In the Archdiocese of Trivandrum a table of fixed fees and voluntary donations, giving the necessary explanations, was published in 1933 by the Archbishop-Metropolitan ²⁹. Twenty two items had been specified, for 9 of which fees had been fixed, while the rest was left to the generosity of the people. Later in 1944, the Archbishop abrogated this prescription and published a new one which was to come in force from the 10th May 1944 ³⁰.

As this was meant only for the Archdiocese of Trivandrum, another statute for the Diocese of Thiruvalla was published in 1933 by the bishop of Thiruvalla. In this, however, 33 regulations were given on the government of the churches and properties, 22 on ecclesiastical fees and 18 on Matrimony³¹. This statute is still in force as there is no other further provision on the matter except a few occasional instructions and exhortations.

A similar codification containing regulations on the government of churches and other institutes, was issued in the Archdiocese of Trivandrum in 1936³². When this was promulgated it was declared that all laws, regulations, traditions and customs that were contrary to it were abrogated³³. Thus thenceforth for the administration of the churches, church-properties and ecclesiastical institutes in the Archdiocese, those regulations were to be followed. By the circular letter of 1st June 1946, some modifications were made in it ³⁴.

Another set of regulations on disciplinary matters was issued in the Archdiocese of Trivandrum in 1936 ³⁵. In this we find a list of

the sins and censures reserved both to Holy See and to the Ordinary. It also included the special faculties of the confessors, provisions on clerical discipline prescribing the clerical habit, spiritual exercises, obligation of residence, celebration of Mass, pastoral duties and church-government. The norms and practice of fasting and abstinence were also explained ³⁶.

In 1941 the Archbishop-Metropolitan of Trivandrum gave some instructions on the recitation of Divine Office both by clerics and laymen ³⁷ through a circular letter in 1942 ³⁸. He specified the order of the prayers to be said at each "Hour" mentioning also the special rubrics to be followed during community-prayers.

So far we have enumerated the enactments of the hierarchs of the Syro-Malankara Church given separately for each diocese. Besides these particular provisions, there were other ordinances given to the entire Syro-Malankara Church.

In 1941 the hierarchs of the Syro-Malankara Church together codified a book of rubrics for the celebration of the Holy Mass ³⁹. Besides the rubrics of the low Mass, rubrics for "Concelebration" are also to be found in it. Furthermore, the kind of Altar to be used, cross on the Altar, Mass vestments and other sacred utensils for the celebration of the Holy Mass, were prescribed.

To ensure accurate administration of Sacraments, a small "ritual" was published in 1942 specifying the 'matter' and 'form' of each sacrament and instructing that the 'form' of the Sacrament be always applied in Syriac ⁴⁰.

Later in 1943 an elaborate 'ritual' for administering Sacraments and Sacramentals was published for the whole of the Syro-Malankara Church to ensure uniformity ⁴¹.

In enumerating these enactments and codifications of regulations made by the hierarchs of the Syro-Malankara Church, we were trying to make it clear that they had to make regulations in almost all the disciplinary institutes to regulate the ecclesiastical life of the new community. To find out the legal force of each of these new enactments

we have to examine their contents and the legal competency of the hierarchs who made them.

We state here only the principle in the light of which such a process may be made. That the ordinary power of a local hierarch in making regulations for his diocese is limited and what is therefore effected 'ultra vires' is null, needs no comment here. But the right and duty of the Syro-Malankara hierarchs to preserve their rites gave them special powers that are attached to their commission, that is to say, to do what is necessary to preserve their rite with out prejudice to Catholic faith and morals. If, therefore, what is enacted is something alien to their rite, or not in conformity with the spirit of their rite it is a mere arbitrary innovation and as such the ordinary power of the hierarch is not sufficient to do it. It has to be judged as an enactment done without required legal authority. If, on the contrary, it was only a specification and a clarification in the light of Catholic principles to preserve the existing discipline it was to have actual legal force, even if the content of the legislation was beyond the ordinary competency of a local hierarch.

From the discussion we made on the formal aspect of the particular discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church, we understand that both the Holy See and the Syro-Malankara hierarchs had clearly defined norms and regulations for the Catholic Malankara Church, keeping the existing rites of the Malankara Church. Thus the Antiochene rites of the Malankara Church began to have a Catholic tradition in the Malankara Catholic Church.

We may thus conclude our discussion on the disciplinary system of the Syro-Malankara Church. The Syro-Malankara Church as any other particular Church is bound by the common laws of the Oriental Churches enacted or recognised by the Holy See. Its particular discipline is derived from the disposition of the Holy See specially given to it and from those of the hierarchs both as local Ordinaries of the dioceses and as official interpreters and custodians of their legitimate customs and laws. In cases of 'lacuna legis' besides the normal provisions for supplying it, norms shall be sought from the Antiochene discipline. In particular, the legitimate customs and laws

of the Syrian Catholic Church of Antioch may be helpful to supply it.

The identification and explanation of the nature of the liturgy and the particular discipline of the Syro-Malankara Church is, therefore, on the one hand an incentive and a guidepost in the evolution of them, and on the other a further clarification of the juridical status of the Malankara Church as a particular Oriental Church. What is, therefore, important, is to lead it to its perfection in all its ecclesial dimensions lest the Church of Christ be hindered in its way to God.

- 1 For an enumeration of these particular laws and customs, Cf. *Fonti*, II-IX, Passim.
- 2 Cf. The final disposition of the Holy See for the reunion of the Jacobites of the Malankara Church: *Fonti* II, VIII, p. 83, n. 162.
- 3 Cf. Ch. II, art. 3; and Ch. III, of the first part of this book, for further details on this reformation-period.
- 4 In fact very few errors were found, on examination, in the liturgical books of the Orthodox Jacobites. As we do not intend to deal in detail with the liturgy, we leave aside a discussion on the individual modifications that were effected in it by the reformers of the Malankara Church.
- 5 Under instructions from the Holy See, the Delegate Apostolic asked Mar Ivanios, Archbishop of Trivandrum, and Mar James Kalachery, Bishop of Changanachery and Mar Severios, Administrator Apostolic of Thiruvalla, and the Rev. Fr. Placid, C.M.I. (Secretary) to propose answers to a questionnaire forwarded by the Holy See. The answers were prepared at a meeting of the above-mentioned persons held at the Bishop's House, Changanachery, on the 3rd and 4th Feb. 1941, Mar Ivanios presiding. To the question: "Which liturgical and ritual books are to be followed in Malabar, those of the Jacobites of Malabar with corrections or those of the Catholic Syrians of Antioch?", they answered "The liturgical and ritual books to be followed in Malabar are those of the Jacobites of Malabar with corrections....". Again to the question "Are all such books printed by the Jacobites of Malabar?", it was answered: "Jacobites have printed all such books except the Pontificals, parts of the Breviary and some Annaphoras". We have taken this document from Fr. Placid, C.M.I., Secretary of the said meeting, who forwarded the answers to the Apostolic Delegation. This answer is based on the assurances and instructions of the Holy See given at the time of the reunion of the Jacobites of the Malankara Church. For, on 5th Aug. 1929, the Holy See answered the Memorandum of the reuniting Bishops: "the principle on which the Holy See deals with the adherents of a historic rite sanctions the retention of that rite on their return to Catholic unity. This principle will be applied to returning Jacobites in so far, of course, as their rites and ritual books contain nothing that is contrary to Catholic Faith and morals or inconsonant with ecclesiastical decorum": Cf. AAT, A, 8/1929. Again in the final instruction it was informed: ".....Quanto ai libri liturgici (Messa'e, Rituale: Pontificale) che sono quelli provenienti dalla Propaganda, essi verranno conservati, espungendone pero le espressioni non proprie ed errate che eventualmente vi fossero state introdotte....": Cf. *Fonti*, II, VIII, p. 84, n. 163. The qualification "those are coming from the Propaganda" needs explanation: Such an answer at the time of reunion was based on a presupposition that the Jacobites in Malabar were using the "Books" edited by the Propaganda. This is admitted by the Holy See: ".....The instruction given to

those Bishops by the S. Oriental Congregation through the Ap. Delegate of India July 7, 1930 (n. 4-7) was based on the presupposition that they used, as seemed to appear from their letters, the liturgical books of the Antiochene rite, edited by Propaganda, in which the "Filioque" is found. However since this presupposition is unfounded, as appears from the letter of the two Malankara Bishops, the Em. Cardinals think that the "Filioque" should not be imposed, much more so since the two Bishops declare that they added it only in obedience to the Holy See and thus imply that they would willingly omit it...." Cf. The letter sent to His Lordship Mar James Kallachery from the Ap. Delegate of India, on 16th June 1934: AArch. A, 6/1934.

- 6 The books that were examined were that of the Jacobites of the Malankara Church: "....As to whether or not the insertion of the "Filioque" be imposed, the Em. Cardinals observe that this expression is not found in the liturgical books of the Jacobites of Malabar, while it is found in those of the Syrian Catholics of Antioch..." Cf. The letter to Mar Kallachery quoted above in n. 5: AArch, A, 6/1934. Similarly the expression "espungendone pero le espressioni non proprie ed errate che eventualmente vi fossero state introdotte" presupposes that the books were long used by the Jacobites.
- 7 Cf. AArch, A, 2/1957: The instruction of the S. C. for the Oriental Church, on 25th Feb. 1957, Prot. n. 380/51.
- 8 Cf. *Ibid.*, n. 19.
- 9 Cf. *Fonti*, II, VIII, IX.
- 10 Cf. AArch, A, 5/1950: The Apostolic Bull of Pius XII, on 5th Aug, 1950. Cf. AArch, A, 5/1955: The Apostolic Bull of Pius XII, on 27th Jan. 1955.
- 11 Cf. part II. ch. I, art. 4 of this book.
- 12 Cf. Chapter III, of the first part of this book *passim*.
- 13 "....Ex his patet fontes juris canonici Malabarensis ante saeculum XVI, dupliciter dividi posse. Primus fons est ipse Syro-orientalis nempe Antiochenus-Seleuciensis-Persicus. Alter complectitur consuetudines et mores Malabaricae peculiares. Valde difficile est, et in quibusdam casibus impossibile, scernere quatenus sint Antiochena, quatenus Seleuciensis et quatenus Persica...." Cf. *Fonti*, II, VIII, p.41, n.86. "....Ex his non immerito concludi posse videtur jus canonicum Ecclesiae Antiochena receptum fuisse statim theoretice in Ecclesia tum Seleuciensi tum Persica...." Cf. *Fonti*, II, VIII, p.27, n. 517.
- 14 "....Ante annum 1597 canonibus Syro-Orientalibus et consuetudinibus Malabaricis (de quibus supra diximus, quaedam subtracta et quaedam addita sunt ad normam juris canonici latini. Anno 1599 hujusmodi latinizatio perfectionem attingit in Synodo Diamperitana, quae paucas laudavit consuetudines malabaricas et caeteras proscripsit...." *Fonti*, II, VIII, p. 48, n. 96. To find the individual changes made in their discipline we direct our readers to two works on the Synod of Diamper: Michael Geddes: *The History of the Church in Malabar*, London 1694; Raulin J. F. *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo*, Romae, 1745,
- 15 Bishop Francis Roz, the first Latin bishop of the Syrians in Malabar convoked a second Synod in Angamali in 1603. "On the feast of St. Ambrose (7 Dec. 1603) after having sung the High Mass according to the Syrian rite, he opened the diocesan Synod, observing all the formalities prescribed by St. Charles Borromeo": cf. Ferrolli, S. J. *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 300. Besides, Bishop Roz had promulgated a statute for the Syrians under him: The manuscript containing these regulations, is to be found in the Vatican Mss. Codex Borgiano Indiano, n. 18. Two excellent studies were done on this manuscript, one on the liturgical

laws and the other on the disciplinary laws contained in it, by Rev. John Matheikan and Rev. Joseph Mattam respectively: Cf. *The Malabar Liturgy in the light of Rozian Statutes*, (Thesis unedited) Oriental Institute, Roma. 1959; *The disciplinary legislation of Bishop Roz for the Thomite Fold of Malabar* (Thesis unedited) Lateran University, Rome, 1964.

- 16 Cf. chapter III, in the first part of this book.
- 17 We have already given a description of the 'Nomo-canon' and the circumstances in which it appeared in the Malankara Church as a codex of that Church, Even though there was dispute as to the authenticity and acceptability of one or the other of the two recensions appeared in Malabar, the code as such was considered to be of that Church. However, as we have remarked there the code had very little practical bearing on the government of that Church.
- 18 After describing the historical evolution of this juridical system, Fr. Placid concludes: "...Omnia quae huc usque ab initio diximus explicant originem, naturam et progressum hujusmodi legum ac consuetudinum. Sunt enim Pagano-Judaeo-Persico-Chaldaico-Antiocheno-Latino-Lusitano-Anglicano-Jacobite, variae indigenas praeseferentes peculiaritates...." *Fonti, II, VIII*, p. 94, n.180. Evidently we cannot here in our study enter into a discussion on each of the laws or traditions existing in the Malankara Church. For a narration of some of the customs and regulations existing in the Malankara Jacobite Church, cf. *Fonti, II, VIII*, pp. 67-73; 94 sq; cf. also *Fonti, II, IX*, passim.
- 19 Cf. Art. 3, ch. 1, part II, of this book, where the instruction is quoted and commented upon.
- 20 Cf. The Apostolic Constitution 'Christo Pastorum Principi' A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 290. See our explanation of this point in n. 16 in art. 3 of the previous chapter.
- 21 Cf. The Apostolic Constitution 'Christo Pastorum Principi' A.A.S. XXIV (1932) 291.
- 22 Now as there is a common legislation, at least in part, for all the Oriental Churches, the norms are to be found therein, except in cases where an application of the particular laws is provided for or where a common law is not given.
- 23 Cf. Responsa S. C. pro Ecclesia Orientali, Prot. N. 595/49 on 12th May 1951, Acta et Decreta Primi Concilii Plenarii Indiae, 1950, 'Ranchi, 1959, pp. 125-126: 'Patres Syro-Malabarici et Syro-Malankarici, qui Primo Concilio Plenario Indiae, anno 1950 habito interfeurunt, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provoluti, humiliter petunt: indultum quo festa de praecepto habeantur Nativitatis Domini, Ascensio Domini, Sollemnitatis Corporis Christi, Assumptio B.M.V. ac festum S. Thomae Ap., salvo jure particulari Ecclesiae Syro-Malankaricae.....facultatem permittendi sacerdotibus ut diebus dominicis et festis de praecepto, necnon in festis Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae Domini et Omnium Sanctorum, quae non sunt de praecepto, ter Missam celebrare possint...permittendi sacerdotibus ut primis feriis sextis mensium bis Missam celebrari possint....indultum quo jejunium et abstinencia vigiliae Nativitatis Domini anticipetur feria VI quattuor temporum Adventus...." Cf. *ibid.* p. 125.
- 24 Cf. The instruction of the S. C. for the Oriental Church on 25th Feb. 1957, Prot. No. 380/51: AAT, A, 2/1957.
- 25 Cf. n.24, above. The instruction was mainly on liturgical matters, and included a few general norms that were meant to urge the preservation of the rite: 'Their Lordships the Bishops should take every care to ensure that their rite is faithfully preserved and duly observed: nor should they permit or tolerate the introduction of any change in the rite.....The Holy See alone can establish new sacred rites. The approval of liturgical texts is reserved

in the first instance to the Holy See. Prayers and pious practices that have not been approved are not allowed in churches and oratories, unless the local Hierarchy has sanctioned them and given his express permission in writing. The local hierarchy should not grant such permission if the prayers and pious practices are not in keeping with the character of his own rite or alien to the spirit of liturgy.....As regards fast and abstinence, as also the feasts to be observed apart from Sundays, the prevailing practice is to be maintained for the present, pending the publication of the Oriental Canonical Codification which will consider the various questions....." Cf. The instruction of the S.C. pro Ecclesia Orientali, Prot. No. 380/51, nn. 1, 2, 3, 18.

- 26 Cf. The instruction of the Archbishop-Metropolitan, on 19th Jan. 1961 Prot. No. M.G. P. 35/61, in the Ecclesiastical Calendar, Trivandrum, 1964, pp. 4-5.
- 27 See the observation made in the meeting held to answer the questionnaire sent from the Ap. Delegation, of which we have already mentioned, (cf. n. 5, in this article): ".....It is therefore proposed to have a Provincial synod of the Malankara Church to settle once for all the things pertaining to the Malankara Antiochene rite and also to define it.....It is proposed that this synod should be held within two years at most. In the mean time, the liturgical and ritual books as corrected can be printed. Till the synod, considering the nature of the present transition period, some freedom for the Malankara Prelates seems necessary in matters pertaining to the rite. But this freedom need concern only things of a practical nature to be settled here and now per modum actus". Cf. The answer to question IV. From the true copy preserved by Rev.Fr.Placid, who took part in the meeting in the quality of Secretary, appointed by the Ap. Delegate.
- 28 The examination of each prescription given by the Ordinaries to find out its true juridical nature is beyond the scope of our study, as it is in itself a different topic. Neither is it very useful as many of them were to be corrected by the 'Motu proprio' legislation for the Oriental Churches in general.
- 29 Cf. *Table of taxes*.; Archdiocese of Trivandrum, Trivandrum, 1933.
- 30 Cf. The Circular letter of Archbishop Mar Ivanios, Prot. No. 4/44, in "Sattya Sabha Kahlalam" (SSK), May-June 1944. pp. 41-42.
- 31 Cf. *Diocesan Statutes*, Diocese of Thiruvalla, Thiruvalla, 1933.
- 32 Cf. "*Administrative laws in the Archdiocese of Trivandrum*", Trivandrum. 1936. This was to come in force from the 1st Jan. 1936. It has 15 chapters which contain 102 rules with their subdivisions. In the last chapter the signification of the words used therein has also been given.
- 33 Cf. "*Administrative laws in the Archdiocese of Trivandrum*", Trivandrum, 1936, chapter 14, rule 100.
- 34 Cf. The Circular letters of Mar Ivanios, 1st June 1946, Prot. No. 7/46, 8/46, in SSK, June 1946, pp. 1-8.
- 35 Cf. "*Kumpasara Shalitha*" : The Archdiocese of Trivandrum, Trivandrum, 1936: It was promulgated on 1st Jan. 1936, Prot. No. 2/36.
- 36 Cf. "*Kumpasara Shalitha*" : Archdiocese of Trivandrum, Trivandrum, 1936, pp. 1-19.
- 37 Cf. The circular letter of Archbishop Mar Ivanios, on 3rd July 1941, Prot. No. 10/41, in SSK, July 1941.
- 38 Cf. The circular letter of Archbishop Mar Ivanios, Prot. No. 3/42, in SSK, Feb. 1942, pp.34-37.

- 39 Cf. Mar Ivanios, The Archbishop of Trivandrum: *"The 'Thukasa' of the Holy Mass"*, Thiruvalla, 1941. This was published on 1st Jan. 1941, Prot. No. 1/41.
- 40 Cf. Mar Ivanios: 'Koodashavachanangal' (Formae Sacramentorum), Trivandrum, 1942.
- 41 Cf. Mar Ivanios: *"Thukasa' for the administration of Sacraments"*, Trivandrum, 1943. This was promulgated on 1st Nov. 1943, by the Archbishop-Metropolitan and his suffragan Bishop, Prot. No. 3/43.

CONCLUSION

We have seen how the ancient Christian community of Malabar was divided into two denominations, the Malabar and the Malankara Churches, and how the Malankara Church, in spite of its communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, tried to remain an autonomous Church. During the early years, when the Malankara Church found itself bereft of a valid episcopate, the relationship with the Antiochene Church was nothing but a mutual spiritual communion. However, later owing to various circumstances, this was to bring about a dependence on the part of the Malankara Church though in its innermost heart it was bitter about it. This ill-feeling necessitated the affirmation of its autonomy more and more clearly which found its full expression in the creation of the independent Catholicate of Malankara.

The insistence, therefore, of the Malankara Church on having its status recognised by the Holy See as a particular Church was just and reasonable, and the Holy See did recognize it.

The Syro-Malankara Church is, therefore, nothing else than the Malankara Church in communion with the Holy See and recognised as such by the Holy See. It is this status of the Syro-Malankara Church that we tried to clarify by explaining the juridical basis of it.

The fact that the Syro-Malankara Church uses the Antiochene liturgical rite brought it closer to the ancient 'Antiochene Churches' especially to the Maronites and the Syrians of Antioch, who too use the Antiochene rite. We have seen, however, that the Antiochene liturgy and discipline were formally accepted by the Malankara Church only late in the 18th C. According to the instruction of the Holy See at the time of reunion they were to be purified and corrected and to be kept in the Syro-Malankara Church. The Syro-Malankara Church thus continues to use the Antiochene rite as it was practised

in the Malankara Church but purifying it from errors and arbitrary innovations. It is also clear that it can be developed according to the needs and exigencies of the growing Church. The Church which has developed liturgies and disciplines for the Christians of the early centuries can do the same for the faithful of today and tomorrow.

The ambivalent use of 'rite' was and still is a source of confusion and there is always the danger of identifying a particular Church with its 'rites' understood in the sense of liturgy and discipline. But we must remember that the concept of 'rite' includes not only a determined liturgy and discipline but comprehends the whole institutional and cultural complex which is characteristic of each Church. Besides and beyond this, it has the meaning of a particular Church. It is in this sense that Pope Pius XII defends a certain freedom for all the rites in the Church: "....It is likewise important to hold in due esteem all that constitutes for the Oriental peoples their own special patrimony, as it is handed down to them by their forefathers; and this whether it regards the sacred liturgy and the hierarchical orders, or the other elements of the Christian life, provided only that all is in full conformity with genuine religious faith and with the right rules of moral conduct. For a lawful freedom must be allowed to each and every people of oriental rite in all that depends on the history, genius and temperament of each single people so long as it is not in contrast with true and integral doctrine of Jesus Christ". (*Orientalis Ecclesia*).

But in the development and growth of the particular Churches each of them should be aware of its own character, special features and singular role it receives in the Universal Church. Then and only then the Universal Church could be young and relevant to the world in every age. It is only then that men of every age and from every part of the world will realise that they constitute the Church of Christ, and continue to live the life of Christ in their own way.

To this effect, therefore, every Church should be aware of its own nature and status in the Universal Church and we believe that our study is an initial effort to help at least one community to reach that goal. For we have clarified, we presume, the juridical position of the Syro-Malankara Church and the nature of its liturgy and discipline.

We have tried our best, within our possibilities, to gather and expose all that was necessary and useful for our study. At any rate, we claim that our study is basic to make any further discussion on matters pertaining to the disciplinary institutes of the Malankara Church. It is, therefore, left to subsequent studies to complete the picture of the Syro-Malankara Church embellishing the juridical figure we have drawn of it.

Our study is also helpful, we believe, to bring home to the Malankara Orthodox Church its singular position as a particular Oriental Church and of its possibility of entering into a full communion with the Catholic Church. For the Syro-Malankara Church itself is the beginning of such a communion and its juridical status acknowledged by Rome is the anticipated position of the whole Malankara Church in the Universal Church. Besides, recognition of the Malankara Church by Rome as a particular Church is already maintained in principle and it could be found expressed in the very existence of the Syro-Malankara Church. What is lacking, therefore, is the willingness to accept this recognition on the part of the Malankara Orthodox Church and to enter into a communion with Rome. Nay, this communion with Rome would be the realisation of the ever cherished hopes and expectations of the Malankara Church through out its history and would considerably contribute to bring about the unity of all those who call upon the name of Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX I

Metropolitan Arch bishops of the Syro-Malankara Church

Geevarghese Mar Ivanios	(1930 (consecrated in 1925)-1953)
Benedict Mar Gregorios	(1953 - 1994)
Cyril Mar Baselios	(1995 (consecrated in 1978) -)

Bishops of the Syro-Malankara Church

Jacob Mar Theophilos	(1930 (consecrated in 1929)-1955)
Joseph Mar Severios	(1937 (consecrated in 1932)-1955)
Thomas Mar Dioscoros	(1939 (consecrated in 1926)-1943)
Zacharias Mar Athanasios	(1954 -1977)
Paulose Mar Philexinos	(1977 (consecrated in 1967) -)
Isaac Mar Yoohanon	(1978 - 1987)
Lawrence Mar Ephraem	(1980 - 1997)
Geevarghese Mar Timotheos	(1988-)
Geevarghese Mar Divannasios	(1997-)
Thomas Mar Koorilos	(1997-)

APPENDIX II

Malankara Metropolitans

Mar Thomas I	(1653-1670)
Mar Thomas II	(1670-1686)
Mar Thomas III	(1686-1688)
Mar Thomas IV	(1688-1728)
Mar Thomas V	(1728-1764)
Mar Thomas VI	
(Mar Dionysius I)	(1761-1808)
Mar Thomas VII	(1808-1809)
Mar Thomas VIII	(1809-1815)
Mar Thomas IX	(1815-1815)
Mar Dionysius II	(1815-1816)
Mar Philexinos II	(1816-1818)
(from Thozhiur)	
Mar Dionysius III	(1818-1825)
Mar Dionysius IV	(1825-1846)+ Mathews Mar Athanasius
	+1853) (1843-1866+1877)
	+Thomas Mar Athanasius
	(1867-1893)
Mar Cyril Joachim	(1846-1866)
(from Antioch)	
Mar Dionysius V	(1866-1909)
Mar Dionysius VI	(1909-1934) + Koorilos Mar Athanasius
	(1911-1917)
	+Paulos Mar Athanasius
	(1817-1935)-(1953)
Baselios Mar Geevarghese II	(1934-1964)
Augen Mar Timotheos	(1964- 1975)
Baselios Mar Thoma Mathews I	(1975 - 1991) + 1996
Baselios Mar Thoma Mathews II	(1991-

APPENDIX III

Catholicos of the Malankara Church

Mar Ivanios	(1912-1913)
Mar Philexinos	(1925-1928)
Baselios Mar Geevarghese	(1928-1964)
Augen Mar Timotheos	(1964-1975)
Baselios Mar Thoma Mathews I	(1975-1991)
Baselios Mar Thoma Mathews II	(1991-

Antiochene Prelates in Malankara

Mar Gregorios	(1665-1670)
Mar Andreos	(1678-1678)
Mar Baselios	(1685-1685)
Mar Ivanios (John)	(1685-1693)
Mar Ivanios (John)	(1747-1751)
Mar Baselios	(1751-1764)
Mar Gregorios	(1751-1773)
Mar Ivanios	(1751-1794)
Mar Dioscoros	(1807-1808)
Mar Athanasius	(1825-1825)
Mar Athanasius Stephen	(1849-1849)
Mar Cyril Joachim	(1846-1866)
Mar Osthathios	(1908-1930)
Mar Julios Elias	(1927-1962)

Antiochene Patriarchs in Malankara

Mar Peter III	(1875-1877)	Mar Abdalmessih	(1912-1912)
Mar Abdalla	(1910-1911)	Mar Elia	(1931-1933)
Mar Yacoub III	(1964)	Mar Ignatios Zachaivas I	(1982)

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MALANKARA
LIBRARY



Archbishop Cyril Mar Baselios was born in Kerala, India in 1935. He entered the Religious Congregation of the Order of the Imitation of Christ (OIC) in 1951. His priestly formation was in the Pontifical Athenaeum, Pune, where he was ordained priest by His Eminence the late Cardinal Peter Agagianian in 1960. He received the Degree of Licentiate both in Philosophy and in Theology from the Pontifical Athenaeum, Pune. He took a Doctor's Degree in Canon Law

from the University of Gregorian, Rome, and a Diploma in Practical Canon Law for Religious from the Law School under the Sacred Congregation for Religious, Rome. On his return from Rome in 1966, he was appointed Professor of Dogmatic Theology in St. Thomas Apostolic Seminary, Kottayam. In 1970 he went to the United States of America for further studies and took a Master's Degree in Psychology from St. John's University, New York. Having returned from the United States he continued teaching Theology both in St. Thomas Apostolic Seminary, Kottayam and in the Pontifical Institute of Theology and Philosophy, Alwaye. At the same time he was consultor to the Pontifical commission for the revision of the code of Canon Law for the Oriental Churches. While Fr. Cyril was the Superior General of the Bethany Religious Congregation, he was appointed Bishop of the newly erected Diocese of Bathery in 1978. In 1988 he was appointed member of the Pontifical Commission for the dialogue with the Orthodox Churches and in 1989 as the member of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. On the demise of Archbishop Benedict Mar Gregorios, Bishop Cyril Mar Baselios succeeded him as the Metropolitan Archbishop of Trivandrum and Head of the Malankara Catholic Church in 1995 and assumed charge of the Metropolitan Eparchy of Trivandrum on the 14th December 1995. In 1996 Archbishop Mar Baselios is elected the Chairman of the Kerala Catholic Bishops' Council. He is engaged in inter-religious and Ecumenical Dialogue and in serving as consultor and referent for many offices and theological commissions in the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India and in the Universal Church.