

LINGERINGS OF LIGHT

IN A DARK LAND:

BEING RESEARCHES INTO THE PAST HISTORY AND PRESENT
CONDITION OF THE

SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR.

BY THE

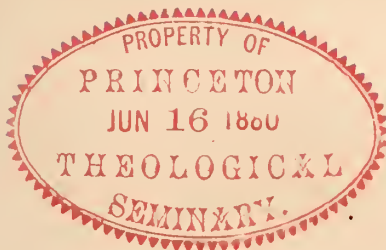
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CHAPLAIN OF THE LAWRENCE MILITARY ASYLUM, OOTACAMUND, SOUTH INDIA.

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P R E F A C E.

WE live in an age of bookmaking. Books on every imaginable subject are multiplying on all hands. If Solomon could say in his day, "of making many books there is no end," what would he not say were he now to arise from his tomb, and come among us? When any one ventures to add to the number, some apology seems due to the public, whose patience is hereby to be further taxed; and also some few reasons should be given shewing good cause why the step is taken.

The object of the writer is to throw some additional light on a most heart-stirring chapter in Church History. The attention of the Christian World is increasingly turned to the ancient churches of the East; and not one of them should excite deeper sympathies, or call for more earnest prayer and loving effort, than "the remnant which is left" in South India—the Syrian Church of Malabar; or, as the members often call themselves, the Christians of St. Thomas.

Michael Geddes, Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum, was one of the first to interest his fellow

countrymen in this subject by the publication, in 1694, of a "History of the Church of Malabar—done out of Portuguese into English." His residence at Lisbon, as British Chaplain, gave him access to the best possible Roman Catholic sources of information on matters of the kind.

La Croze, Librarian to the King of Prussia, followed in 1723 with his "History of Christianity in India"—the larger portion of which work is confined to the elucidation of the history of the Church of Malabar. We would specially observe, however, that in the last paragraph of the fifth book of his narrative, the following remark occurs:—"May what we have written on this subject stir up some ingenious and diligent traveller to inform himself more accurately concerning the state of a people who ought not to be neglected by those who love religion." La Croze was conscious of the incompleteness of his own researches, and acknowledged it.

The publication of that laborious and carefully compiled work, the "History of Christianity in India," by the Rev. James Hough, in 1839—two volumes of which are chiefly occupied with Syrian Church history—may be regarded by some as an answer to La Croze's appeal. But this excellent Chaplain, though he had a practical acquaintance with the spread of Christian truth in India, had only a slight personal acquaintance with the Syrian Christians and their Churches.

By the careful perusal of these three writers (and also of Professor Lee's "Brief History" of this community), it

will be seen that they all follow each other in precisely the same groove; not one of them enjoyed opportunities of frequent intercourse with the people about whom they wrote; and none, save Mr. Hough, had even set his feet upon the shores of India. You will look in vain for anything like close investigation of statements, or the comparison of testimony, or an attempt to support or illustrate any points, by local traditions treasured up by the present descendants of the people about whom they wrote. It has been the object of the writer to look a little closer into matters of this kind, and to utilize all the scraps of information which the Syrians themselves are able to supply.

After upwards of nine years of pastoral work at home, the good Providence of God directed the writer's steps, in 1852, to a sphere of labour on the Malabar Coast, at Cochin, an ancient European settlement, which from its central position, was most favorable for observation and intercourse with members of the Syrian Churches. Here he continued until 1860, when he was appointed to another charge; but as he did not leave India finally till 1868, he had opportunities of revisiting Malabar, and pursuing his inquiries into the history of its people. Every year he spent in India additions were made to his stock of information, it being his constant endeavour—to use La Croze's words—“to inform himself more accurately concerning the state” of the Syrian Christians of the country.

Since his return home he has felt a longing desire to turn to some account what has been thus accumulated. “These are times (wrote Dr. C. Buchanan sixty years ago)

when everything a man has, which may be in any way for the advantage of Christianity, ought to be given to the world. For we shall soon die, and then shall 'all our thoughts perish.' " This remark is equally applicable to the present times; and the writer has therefore felt in duty bound to put together, to the best of his ability, the gleanings of past years; trusting that, with his Master's blessing, they may, in some humble degree, advance the cause of truth. Circumstances, however, have never favoured him with what is sometimes called "learned leisure." Being one of the working clergy, he has only had it in his power to use such intervals of spare time as might have been given to recreative reading, or those occasional holidays which the hardest workers enjoy. This must be his apology for any apparent want of polish in the texture of the work.

He can state that his earnest and conscientious desire has been to furnish correct information, as to the past history, and the present condition of the people about whom he writes. In doing so he has been greatly aided by the writers who preceded him; and would duly acknowledge his debt. Some of his brother clergy, connected with the Church Missionary Society, have not unfrequently rendered valuable aid; and also two native brothers, who once were fellow labourers with him, but now have been for some years useful pastors in Cochin and Travancore. He desires to return them, each and all, most hearty thanks.

With reference to the operations of the Church Missionary Society in South India, he would simply say, that as a Minister of the Church of England unconnected

officially with it, he had the best possible opportunities of knowing what it was doing, and how its agents were carrying on their work ; and “ he cannot but speak the things which he has seen and heard.” Hence there will be frequent reference to Church Mission work in Travancore. The Missionaries—the best of them—he is well aware, are but men, and not angels ; and their work (like that of others of their kind) is not perfect ; yet he would say, God has been with them, and caused that which they have been engaged in to prosper. The testimony of the chapters which follow will abundantly show this, he confidently trusts ; and this will be the best proof of the efficiency of this Mission.

He has commenced this little work with an introductory chapter, which is intended to present to the reader, who is unacquainted with this Christian community, a sort of outline, which the succeeding chapters are designed to fill in. This must be borne in mind. In detailed accounts of various localities, he has further alluded to historical associations or traditions, stated perhaps more at length in other parts of the work. This, too, may savour of a repetition, which he has endeavoured otherwise to avoid as much as possible.

In the later chapters, about the Jesuit and Carmelite Missionaries, much interesting matter, new to most English readers, has been supplied from the writings of Gouvea, Raulini, Du Perron, Fre Paolini, or Paoli, and from the “ Lettres Edifiantes,” &c. Hereby certain important links, connecting the history—as given by other English writers—with the modern history of the Church of Malabar, have been recovered. In speaking of the

doctrinal errors, and usurping tyranny of Rome, his desire has been to speak the whole truth, and yet to do so in love.

The closing chapters, respecting modern Mission efforts to rekindle the light in this venerable Church, will doubtless be read with interest and thankfulness, by all who desire the growth of the Spiritual Kingdom of the Divine Redeemer, and earnestly pray, that the once glorious Churches of the East may be aroused to trim their lamps, and watch and wait for the coming of the Bridegroom.

The writer has been at considerable pains to identify the places mentioned in these historical sketches, and trusts that the carefully prepared map will be of service to all who peruse the volume.

NOTE.—*To assist the reader, where the acute accent is placed over d, it should be pronounced as in mást ; whilst ú must be sounded as oo in food.*

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH, CONTAINING SOME LEADING OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR.

The long-continued existence of an ancient branch of the Christian Church on the remote shores of Southern India, where it has for many centuries outstood all "the changes and chances" to which every human institution is subject, is one of the most remarkable and deeply-interesting facts in Church History. Isolated as this community is from the rest of Christendom, it is a marvel that it has not long ago perished. God's special providence must have watched over it; or, hemmed in as it has been all along by the grossest heathenism, and under subjection, in civil matters, to none but Pagan rulers, it never would have been preserved till the present century. Can it be that the Great Head of the Church has not removed this candlestick out of its place, through some merciful designs in store for India, not as yet revealed to us? May not its light be rekindled, and used most effectively in dispelling the darkness of the shadow of death in which the races of India are still sitting?

The history of the Syrian Church of Malabar (as it is now called) has occupied the attention of several excellent men. To the instructive volumes of the Rev. J. Hough all who would be well acquainted with its history must have recourse. But there are some points touched upon by him which require further elucidation, and others which nothing but a lengthened residence in Malabar, and close familiar intercourse with its races, can well make plain.

The tradition about the Apostle St. Thomas preaching in India is one that requires further investigation. It must not be summarily dismissed, because one or two great names doubt its truth; especially when these Indian Christians, go where you will, unanimously assert their firm belief therein.

Other traditions, firmly held by them, very probably have a foundation in historic fact. It may be said truly that, after all, you are dealing with mere traditionary fragments, yet amongst a simple people, who have little else to offer you which will throw any light upon their past history, if you reject such things altogether you

refuse them the position of witnesses, by not allowing them to tell their own story, in their own way. Amongst a people so essentially conservative, and in a land where we often find the past has been stereotyped for ages, as much truth may be left in their traditionary statements as in many which we receive from the monkish chronicles, and utilise as the very foundation stones of our own civil and ecclesiastical history.

At the commencement of the Christian era several considerable states in South India were governed by independent sovereigns. The kingdom of *Pandya* was such, covering the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely; and its sovereign was most probably Strabo's King *Pandion*, who sent ambassadors to Augustus Cæsar. Next came the kingdom of *Chola*, covering the rich delta of the Cávery, Colerún, and their tributaries, in later times governed by the Rajahs of Tanjore. *Chera*, a smaller inland state, corresponded with the modern collectorates of Coimbatore and Salem; whilst that of *Kerala* (about which we shall have most to say) extended all along the west coast from Chandragiri to Cape Comorin.

An ancient book, in the Malayalian language, called the *Kerala Oolputti*, contains fragmentary accounts of the last-named state, but so intermixed with the most absurd legends, and so defective in chronological data, that it is most difficult to disentangle the thread of truth from the confused web of fiction. We gather thence, however, that in the earliest times of which we have any authentic information, Kerala was under the rule of Brahminical chieftains, assisted by such leading men among the aborigines as submitted to their sway. This period is designated the *Arichawattam*, or State of Misrule, which is by no means complimentary to the priestly caste in their attempt at civil government.

A great political change is supposed by some to have taken place about the time of Christ, whilst others fix it two centuries later, for the exact chronology is uncertain. With this commenced the rule of the Perumál Princes, who were most probably Viceroys sent to govern the land by the particular sovereign, whether of Pandya, Chola, or Chera, to which it was tributary for the time being.¹ But from whatever country they came their rule was limited to the period of twelve years. It must have been under the Perumáls that Christianity gained a firm footing in Kerala.

The last of the Perumáls, popularly known as Cheram Perumál, is said to have fixed upon a place called Tirúwunjecolum (*the tank of the sacred boat*) as his favourite residence; and, convinced of the advantages to be derived from commerce, he encouraged foreign merchants to settle in this neighbourhood, which, in due course, made the ancient port, called by Portuguese writers Cranganore, a place of considerable importance. When the twelve years of his viceroyalty had expired, the Brahmins are said to have requested

¹ One of these potentates is called *Pandy*, another *Chola*, and a third *Chera Perumál*.

him to continue for another term ; but, whether this be true or not, he seems to have ruled as an independent prince all his remaining life, and at his death to have divided his dominions amongst the members of his own family, and his leading chieftains.

Though the last of the Perumáls must have ended his days a thousand years ago,¹ a celebrated Pagoda at Tiruwunjecolum, dedicated to Sheva, is still associated with his history. Within its sacred precincts, where none save Hindoos of good caste are allowed to enter, two stones, of great antiquity, are venerated as memorials of this hero, and of his wife Cheratti-amma, now regarded as demigods ; and, at an annual feast, called *Pattathánium*, the Cochin Rajah, as the most direct lineal descendant of the last Perumál, is required to make certain offerings to his departed spirit.

To a liberal policy the Perumáls added a tolerance which allowed and protected the free exercise of religious faith and worship among the foreigners who settled at Cranganore, or in other parts of their dominions. This was doubtless arranged by Him, who has the hearts of all the great ones of the earth under His control, in order to provide an *asylum* for the remnant of His ancient people who are said to have fled thither after the destruction of the second temple ; and, further, an *open door* for the messengers of the gospel of His grace to enter in, and make known to the sons and daughters of India His rich and free salvation through Christ Jesus. After them, in course of time, came Manicheans to corrupt the faith, and then the followers of the False Prophet Mahomet.

It was customary under these princes to grant certain much-coveted privileges to persons or classes of acknowledged position. These patents were inscribed on *leaves* or *plates of copper*, some of which are carefully preserved to the present day.²

The Jews of Cochin still possess a much-venerated document of

¹ Other dates, even as early as the fourth century have been fixed by some writers, as the era of Cheram Perumál. But since the *Kerala Oolputti* informs us that one of the Perumáls, and he not the last, but a prince named *Bána* Perumál, became a convert to Mahometanism, which cannot be supposed to have exercised much influence in Kerala before the eighth or ninth century—the more recent date, sanctioned by the best authorities, is more likely to be the correct one.

² For the early use of such metallic tables as documents see 1 Maccabees x. 7 and xiv. 18, 27. Two such copper instruments called *Shanums* or grants were produced in 1839-40 by a Brahmin in an action in the Sudder Adawlut of Bombay. One was supposed to be 562 years, and the other, which bore the marks of extreme antiquity, no less than 1742 years old.

In the Asiatic Researches other examples are given, in particular one which conveys a royal grant of land, and bears date corresponding with B.C. 23.

The use of such documents has prevailed within the last two centuries,

the kind, consisting of three time-worn strips of copper, bearing an inscription in ancient characters specifying details of privilege, granted by Eravy Verma, at Cranganore, to Joseph Rabban, the head of the Jewish community.

The Malabar Christians have two such documents, supposed to be a full thousand years old. The first of these is a long and broad copper sheet, written on both sides with old Tamil letters; and forms an instrument conveying a grant of land, with certain rights and privileges, from the Perumál Vira Rajáva, to a merchant named Iravi Corttan of Cranganore, who is supposed to have belonged to the Manichean sect. The other document consists of five copper leaves, of a much smaller size, but so covered with letters in Tamil-Malayalim as to supply a lengthy inscription, which shews it to be a deed drawn up under the Perumál Sthani Gupta, by which one Maruwan Sapir Iso transferred a piece of ground near the sea shore, with several low caste heathen families of different classes, to a community connected with a church called Tarisa-palli or Tarisa church, built by a certain Iso Data Vizai.

Though these documents do not apparently confer any special privileges on the Christians as a body, they serve to show that in these remote times they were a recognised community in the State, holding property and occupying a highly respectable social position. Thus, in the last named document, the *Palligar* or Church authorities of Tarisa had the right accorded to them of exercising magisterial power over the people resident on their estate, and were exempted from certain taxes; besides which, what are known as the *Jemmi* rights of the higher Hindoo castes were to be enjoyed by them, such as the use of elephants, state umbrellas, and other marks of social superiority.

In confirmation of all this an Arabian traveller who visited Malabar in the ninth century speaks of a Christian as well as a Jewish *Emir* living near Cranganore. It was during this same century that a wealthy merchant called Knaye Thoma, or Thomas Cana (of whom more hereafter) is supposed to have settled in Kerala. This man or one of his family may have been the Christian Emir to whom reference is made.

When the last of the Perumáls, about A.D. 825, died, and a division of his territories ensued, the Cochin and Samuri Rajahs occupied the position of *Maha Rajahs*, or independent chieftains of the highest rank. Under the Cochin Rajah were numerous inferior chieftains called *Kaimals*, whilst four otherwise independent States were bound to assist him in time of war, in return for which their rulers had a voice in the election of a Rajah and bore the honorary distinction of being the four pillars of the Kingdom of Cochin. These States were Parúr, Alungáda, Wadakencore, and

since Paoli tells us that the grant of land, made by the Cochin Rajah to the Carmelite Mission, was engraven on copper.

Porcáda; and it was in them and in the State of Cochin that most of the native Christians lived.

These native Christians seem from very early times to have been closely connected with the important commerce which directed the attention of foreign nations to Malabar. They were producers as well as merchants. In the districts in which they formed their settlements such valuable products as pepper and ginger grow most abundantly and have done so for many centuries, whilst the ports from which they were shipped were all largely in their hands, as Cranganore, Cochin, Porcáda, Kayenkúlam and Quilon.

So early as the sixth century Mále or Malabar is referred to by Cosmas Indopleustes as the country "where the pepper grows," in connection with the existence of Christians in that part of India. In the fourteenth century, long before European merchants found their way to India for trade, the Monk Oderic visited Malabar, and observed the great attention paid to the production of pepper. He correctly describes the plant as being trained up the trunks of trees, much as vines were in some parts of Italy. "It grows (says he) with numerous bright looking green leaves, and climbs up the trees; the pepper pods hanging down in clusters like grapes." He speaks of a pepper forest of eighteen days circuit; and then, to magnify the difficulties connected with its ingathering, adds:—"Crocodiles and huge serpents infest this forest; and in the season of getting the pepper the people are obliged to make large fires of straw and other dry fuel to drive away these noxious animals."

Marignolli, in 1347, describes Quilon as a noble city "where the whole world's pepper is produced. Now their pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like our vineyards. These are things which I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there. And there is no roasting of the pepper as authors have falsely asserted; nor does it grow in forests, but in regular gardens; nor are the Saracens the proprietors, but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steelyard, from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month 100 gold fan (*fanaons*) and 1000 when I left."

A greed for the profits resulting from the trade in this article particularly was one of the inducements which stimulated the Portuguese to find their way to India via the Cape of Good Hope. When they first set foot on shore at Calicut, in the dominions of the Samuri Rajah, in 1498, and a Mussulman, who understood their language, surprised at what he saw, in no very courteous strain inquired "What devil has brought *you* here." They replied, "Our King has sent us to get *pepper*; and we have heard that there are *Christians* in this place." How much this trade was in Christian hands further appears from a letter of King John of Portugal, written in 1546, in which an express order is given that all agreements with the *Christians of St. Thomas* concerning the weights, measures, and price of their commodities are to be invariably

observed; the King having heard that the contrary was practised, especially in the pepper trade.

One of the native States, in close alliance with Cochin, called Wadakencore, having a very considerable Christian population, was so famed for the growth of this spice as to be called by early Portuguese writers the *Pepper Kingdom*,¹ whilst its native ruler for the time being went by the designation of the King or Queen of Pimento or Pepper. Our own countryman, Sir Thomas Herbert, describes Cochin, in 1653, as "the chief place that the Portuguese have in the Indies, where is the greatest trade of spices, drugs, and all other merchandise;" adding, "and within land is the Kingdom of Pepper."

Old Dutch writers have much to the same purport, specially mentioning Wadakencore and the adjoining State of Thekkencore as sending large supplies of pepper to the factory of their East India Company at Porcáda.

We have every reason to believe that the Syrian Christians of Malabar have had a principal share in promoting even the material prosperity of this fair region of India. The habits and customs of the Hindoo races of Kerala are inimical to commerce, and the aboriginal races too depressed and degraded to entertain any idea of the kind on any extensive scale. The heathen castes of the interior are extremely isolated in their mode of life, each family preferring to dwell in its own little garden or farm, which supplies most of the necessaries of life required by their simple tastes. There may be advantages in such a system, but there are also serious disadvantages, which the presence of the superior civilization of Christianity in the country, with the energy and enterprise it ever fosters, has done much to remedy.²

These Christians ecclesiastically are under the jurisdiction of a Metran, or Metropolitan Bishop, who frequently has co-adjutor bishops to assist him. The country never seems to have been divided into dioceses, though not unfrequently two or more bishops, by mutual consent, have taken charge of particular churches.

The Metropolitan has the title of Bishop of Malankara, or the

¹ What particular State bore this designation has been a sore puzzle to many writers. It is easily settled when we note that Abp. Menezes is said to have visited Carturte, in the dominions of the Queen of Pimento. This place, known as Cadatúrúttá, stands within the confines of the ancient principality of Wadakencore.

² Francis Buchanan, writing in 1800, observes:—Everywhere in the interior of Malabar a prodigious inconvenience is felt from the want of bazaars or markets. A little encouragement given to the Nazareens (*Christians*) might induce that industrious class of men to settle in small villages of thirty or forty houses, at reasonable distances throughout the country, where they might keep shops, greatly to the advantage of the natives." (*Vide Journey through Mysore, Canara, &c.*, p. 460.) A considerable step has been made in this direction since 1800.

Hill Land, which he probably bore when the Portuguese first visited the country, since they designated the diocese as that of the *Sierra*—a literal translation of Malankara, though they also speak of the See of *Angamale*, because the Metrans often resided at the town in the interior bearing this name.

Malankara, which gives the title to this ancient See, is a small island in the Lagoon or Backwater in which Cranganore is situated. The tradition is that St. Thomas, the Apostle, when he visited Malabar first landed there; and in its immediate neighbourhood stands one of their most ancient churches, called North Parúr.

When they first came in contact with Western Christians they were Nestorian in doctrine, and had been so for a thousand years or more. It was not until 1665, when all communication with the Nestorian Patriarch had long been effectually prevented by the Romanists, that they came under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch who is a Monophysite in creed.

Comparatively little is known of the history of this church prior to the advent of the Portuguese; and the accounts given by their writers of their earliest interviews have a touchingly romantic interest, as will be seen from the two following notices.

Peter Alvares Cabral, when staying at Cranganore in 1500, opened friendly intercourse with some of them. Two Indian Christians, who were brothers, at their own request, accompanied him to Portugal. They said they wanted to go to Europe, and to Jerusalem; told him that they were Christians, and that Mar Thoma (meaning St. Thomas) had been in their country to preach. The elder of the brothers, named Matthias, died at Lisbon; whilst the younger, Joseph, was spared to return to his own land, after leaving behind him much interesting information about his people, which was collected into a small book, printed, and published at Venice under the title of *The Travels of Joseph the Indian*.

In 1502 Vasco de Gama, the great discoverer of the sea way to India, was sent out a second time by Emmanuel King of Portugal. When staying at Cochin, a deputation of native Christians came to him from Cranganore, bringing with them a present of fowls and plantains. They expressed their joy at the arrival of the Portuguese; and told De Gama that formerly they had a rajah of their own, to whom the Perumál Princes gave a staff of office, and a document conveying written authority, which they brought with them, and presented to the Portuguese Admiral. They moreover informed him that they numbered about 30,000; kept themselves apart from other people; and wished to be under the Portuguese King, having understood that he was a Christian Sovereign. They also spoke of St. Thomas's sepulchre, of the island of Ceylon, and their journeying to these places. They hinted that if the Portuguese built a fort near where they lived, they might, in time, subdue all India.

The staff, which has been by some very incorrectly styled a

regal sceptre, was of wood painted red, and ornamented with silver rings, on one of which were three silver bells. What became of it is not known. With regard to the document, Raulini says that the Syrian Metran, Mar Jacob, who was co-temporary with Xavier, deposited some copper leaves, on which the privileges granted to Thomas Cana were inscribed, in the office of the Portuguese Governor of Cochin, for greater security. These very probably formed the document in question, presented *pro formâ* to De Gama, but returned to those to whom its retention was a matter of great importance.

The Portuguese soon began to form permanent establishments in Malabar. In 1503 the Cochin Rajah, to whom a very large proportion of the Christians owed allegiance, gave the Portuguese a small piece of ground on which to build a fort to protect their commerce. This was at first called Manuelcotta, or Fort Emmanuel, after their King; but, in course of time, under the name of Cochin the settlement attained to the dignity of an episcopal see, and became a centre of commerce second only to Goa in wealth and importance. Similar forts were, by and by, built at Cranganore to the north, and at Quilon to the south of Cochin. In and around all these places they found large numbers of Christians, who proved to be exceedingly useful to them in the pepper trade.

Cochin soon became a stronghold of the religious orders of the Church of Rome. The Franciscans seem to have been the first in the field; the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits followed in due order; and each fraternity erected its pile of ecclesiastical buildings. Cranganore and Quilon had their corresponding establishments, whence cleverly-organized efforts were put forth to subjugate the old Christians of the country to the dominion of Rome. To the Jesuits belong the more than doubtful honour of having been most successful in this work of spiritual tyranny and oppression.

They would not, however, have carried their point, even for a short season, had they not secured the aid of the secular arm of the heathen princes of the land, over whom they exercised undue influence through the representatives of the Crown of Portugal.

In 1599 Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, armed with Papal authority, made a visitation of the Diocese of Malankara, with the avowed object of reducing all the churches into obedience to the Pope; and to attain his end left no artifice untried. In an account which one of their Metrans, Mar Gabriel, gave the Dutch chaplain Visscher, a century and a half ago, speaking of Menezes he observes:—"This bishop took a great deal of trouble to bring the Syrian Christians into subjection, and, seeing no chance of effecting his object, the Portuguese gave to the King of Cochin 30,000 ducats; and, with the help of his Highness, persecuted the Christians in his dominions for three whole years." The records of this bishop's proceedings, carefully preserved by his friend Gouvea and other Romish writers, fully support this statement.

The tyrannical treatment which these Christians experienced from the Portuguese and their ecclesiastical allies may be judged of from the fact that three, if not more, of their bishops came to an untimely or dishonoured end by their evil machinations. One of these, Mar Atalla, after imprisonment at Goa, was burnt as a heretic in 1654. So recently as 1700 another Metran, named Mar Simon, on his arrival in India fell into their snares, and was detained in irons till the day of his death at Pondicherry.

The cruel end of Atalla made a deep impression upon these oppressed people, and rendered them more than ever restless under the hard yoke of Rome. Within eight years after this event the power of Portugal was broken in that part of India. In 1662 Cranganore and Quilon, and in the year following the fort of Cochin fell into the hands of the Dutch.

The Dutch East India Company declared itself the Protector of the Cochin State, in token of which the Rajah wore in his crown the arms of the Company. They proved specially useful to this native state, in defending it from the incursions of the Samorin or Rajah of Calicut; and by 1763 succeeded in restoring to Cochin a considerable extent of territory, between Cranganore and Trichoor, which had been seized by the Samorin.

We fear, however, they did little or nothing for the moral or religious welfare of the Syrian Christians. Visscher informs us in his day—"All the native Christians in the *lowlands* are under the authority of the Company, and neither the Rajah of Cochin, nor any of his princes, have the power of putting them to death, or punishing them; if they did so, satisfaction would be demanded." But as the Syrian Christians, who still rejected the authority of Rome, now inhabited, for the most part, the higher districts in the interior, little advantage can have accrued to them by this beneficial regulation. The Rajah, co-temporary with Visscher, who died in 1732 after a reign of 20 years, could not have been an agreeable ruler to the Christians, since Visscher says, his "extortions were unrivalled," and he was "always devising fresh means of levying funds, so that from being the poorest he became the richest of the Cochin Rajahs."

There were doubtless individuals among the Dutch who felt an interest in them. Thus Adam vander Duyn, who was governor of Cochin in 1708, on his return to Europe, took with him a letter from the Syrian Metran Mar Thoma to the Patriarch of Antioch, describing the spiritual destitution of his church, and requesting that men skilled in the Sacred Scriptures might be sent to him. A duplicate copy of this letter having been translated from the Syriac, by the learned Charles Schaaf, Professor of Hebrew at Leyden, the latter opened communications with the Syrian Metran, who then resided at Candenâda. He moreover sent to India some copies of the Syriac New Testament, lately published by himself, desiring the Metran to compare them with his own copies; and to inform him more particularly about the state and circumstances of his

church, and whether they had any writings of the other Apostles, especially of St. Thomas. In return he further requested a copy of the Old Testament in Syriac; and sent him the chief heads of the Christian faith as received by Protestants. We fear, however, little resulted from those friendly interchanges.

Visscher went so far as to propose a scheme for the religious benefit of the Syrians, "should the East India Company (he says) at any time seriously undertake the conversion of these peoples." But they were too much occupied by the quarrels of the native Princes, and in scraping together the paltry profits of their pepper trade,¹ to carry out any plans for the real good of these people.

The Dutch authorities truly, at their earnest request, helped them in the "importation" of bishops from Antioch; but, with shame be it recorded, made it a profitable mercantile speculation if Du Perron is to be believed.²

It is a most lamentable fact that not the slightest trace of any *spiritual* good, resulting from the Dutch rule to the Syrian Church of Malabar, can be found in its records. They were their influential neighbours for 130 years, and the Syrians were ready to receive any kindly Christian offices. Visscher observes, "even now they show their favourable disposition by offering their children to be educated by us." Poor people, they craved help and should have had it! For a professedly Christian people, who have the Gospel, entirely to forget their mission is indeed deplorable!

Little was known about them in Europe, and such men as Ziegenbalg and Grundler, though labouring with apostolic zeal on the very shores of India, could furnish little correct information, as may be judged from the following statement: "These ancient Christians are still to be found in Cochin, in the southern coasts of Malabar; and if we believe the Portuguese, they are now *reconciled to the Roman Church*."³

At the close of last century the name and power of Great Britain began to be known on the Malabar coast. The surrender of Cochin to the British flag in October, 1795, brought our nation into close vicinity to this interesting people, and sympathy ere long began to be awakened.

In 1806, Dr. Kerr, the senior chaplain of the Madras Presidency,

¹ "Whatever advantage may be made of this article, it is reduced to nothing by the bloody wars it occasions." Golness, the Director-General of Batavia, observing the importance of Malabar, which he had long superintended—"I am so far from your opinion (said General Mossel) that I could wish the sea had swallowed it up about a century ago." (*Abbe Raynal's History*, vol. i. p. 225.)

² See a strange story in his Introduction to the *Zenda Vesta*, vol. i. p. clxii.

³ *Philipp's Thirty-Four Conferences*—Preface p. xvi., and p. 350.

was sent by Government to Malabar to inquire into the state of the Syrian and other Christian communities. The same year also the Rev. C. Buchanan commenced his Christian researches. The graphic and touching reports which came from his pen so impressed the friends of missions that they could not rest till something effectual was attempted to improve, with God's blessing, the religious condition more especially of the remnant which had survived the predatory incursions of Rome.

Before, however, any direct efforts were made by Protestant missionaries, a Christian layman, Colonel Macauley—appointed British Resident at the native Courts of Cochin and Travancore in 1808—began to seek their good. Colonel Munro, who succeeded him in 1810, right heartily pursued the same course for the nine years during which he held office. Accordingly, when the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived in 1816 they found a college already established at Cottayam by Colonel Munro; and moreover endowed by the Ránee (*queen*) of Travancore with munificent bequests in land and money.

It was this circumstance which led to Cottayam being constituted the headquarters of missionary operations. The Syrian Metran then resided there, which gave facilities of constant intercourse about all that related to the welfare of his people. The work thus happily inaugurated soon grew and prospered, for three other seminaries on the plan of Free Grammar Schools were shortly established as feeders to the College; and in a few years' time some thirty or forty parochial schools, connected with ancient Syrian Churches, were in active operation, and became feeders again to the seminaries.

The truly lamentable condition of the Syrian Christians, at this period of their history, may be gathered from the following statement made by Colonel Munro in an address to the Madras Government dated from Quilon in 1818:—"The real Syrian Christians, on their separation from the Roman Catholics, were exposed to powerful enemies and serious dangers. The Roman Catholics, regarding their secession as an act both of apostasy and rebellion, persecuted them with unrelenting animosity. The Princes of the country, seeing their defenceless state, considered them as fit subjects for plunder and insult: they were destitute of religious books, pastors, and instruction: they had lost, in their union with the Jesuits, the pure system of religion and morals, and the high spirit by which they were formerly distinguished; and the Dutch, whose policy was marked with perfidy and meanness, abandoned them to their fate. . . . The Syrians were exposed to still greater calamities in the conquest of their country by the Rajah of Travancore. The blighting influence of that despotic and merciless government was felt by them in the most aggravated degree; and they were reduced to the lowest state of poverty and depression. Notwithstanding the misfortunes which they have suffered and the disadvantages of their situation, they still retain,

however, some of the virtues by which they were formerly distinguished. They are remarkable for mildness and simplicity of character, honesty and industry; their pursuits are confined to agriculture and trade; and, although they have lost the high station and elevated sentiments which they once possessed, yet they are still respected on account of their integrity and rectitude of conduct."

CHAPTER II.

THE TRADITION THAT ST. THOMAS PREACHED THE GOSPEL AND DIED IN INDIA.

More than than two centuries ago the old Dutch writer Baldæus observed—"If you ask where St. Thomas suffered martyrdom, a native Christian will reply, *Maliapour Calurmina*."¹ With equal unanimity people of varying creeds, but especially the Syrian, and Romo Syrian Christians, still point to the rocky eminence at Mylapûr, near Madras, as the scene of his death.

The tradition is doubtless mixed up with absurd fables, but those who have lived amongst the people—know how tenaciously they still cling to it, how essentially conservative, and how little given they are to change—will be inclined to inquire whether there be not some foundation stones of truth buried beneath the accumulated rubbish of centuries.

Hough, in his valuable work on Christianity in India, thinks it extremely doubtful. But referring to the testimony of Origen, who lived in the third century, to the effect that this Apostle preached in Parthia, Media, Caramania, and Bactriana, leaves it open to conjecture whether he crossed the Indus himself, or sent others to preach the gospel in the north-west districts of India. He further considers the possibility of something of this kind having taken

¹ Baldæus derives *Calurmina* from *Calur*, a stone or rock, and *mina* upon. Though they told him that St. Thomas suffered on the rock at Mylapûr, they asserted that his body was transferred to Edessa. This must have been the *Syrian* and not the *Romish* version of the tradition.

place may account for his receiving the appellation of the "Apostle of India."

He further objects to the tradition that "until about the middle of the first century the voyage to India was long and tedious;" and that "it is not probable that any but traders would venture far eastward before the second century." But we reply—"Surely where *traders* ventured, zeal for Christ and love for souls were powerful enough to carry divinely-inspired *Apostles*." It was about the middle of the first century that the Apostolic teachers were the busiest as pioneers for the truth, and any new opening, by which readier access to a distant country presented itself to their minds, was regarded as a providential intimation that they should go thither and preach the gospel.

That the Romans were, at this time, carrying on trade with the Malabar coast, is confirmed by the discovery of the coins of their earliest Emperors.¹ If merchants could carry thither their silver and gold, it was not impossible, or improbable, that Apostles should carry better riches. St. Paul had then "fully preached the Gospel of Christ," "round about unto Illyricum," and was contemplating a more distant journey into Spain by way of Italy; other Apostles doubtless went equally far in opposite directions, wherever the way was opened.

But even supposing there were still great difficulties in the way of reaching India by the Roman line of traffic, viâ Alexandria and the Red Sea, the route viâ the Persian Gulf was open enough, and familiar enough to *Oriental*s, and had been so since the days of Solomon; and, what is further in its favour, was much shorter, and far less expensive. Du Perron, the learned author of the *Zenda-vesta*, truly observes, that those who know the east would find it by no means impossible, or even extraordinary, that St. Thomas should thus visit India. Caravans then, as now, travelled to Bus-sorah. The Arabs went to India every year, and landed at the places now called Calicut and Masulipatam.

India could not have been such a *Terra incognita* to St. Thomas as it was to natives of Western or Southern Europe. Eusebius assigns Parthia as the field of his mission; and Origen, at an earlier date, other countries, such as Bactriana, in addition. Supposing these authorities to be correct, he must have traversed the regions crossed by the *Ancient Overland Route*, where the inhabitants must have been as familiar with India, Indian commodities, and Indian

¹ In 1837 some 300 large gold coins, as fresh as if just from the mint, and bearing the "image and superscription" of Nero, were found in or near the bed of a river in the district of Trevor, about sixteen miles from Cannanore. In 1842, at the village of Vellalore, in the Coimbatore collectorate, 523 coins of Julius Cæsar and Augustus were discovered. Others of Augustus and Tiberius had been previously exhumed near Palachy, in the same district.

news, as the ordinary natives of Suez, Cairo, and Alexandria are in the present day.

Regions of the East, deemed almost inaccessible to Greeks and Romans, would not be so to an Oriental, especially to a *Jew*, who could then find his "kinsmen according to the flesh" in great numbers among the "Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia." (Acts ii., 9.) These would be familiar with the regions beyond; and we may naturally suppose that such of them as received the truth in the love of it would take pleasure in aiding any Apostolic teacher in his endeavours to go thither, forwarding him on his journey "after a godly sort." In the present day, from far less exciting causes, we find Jews penetrating countries closely shut against all Western nations. The members of the *scattered nation* find their way into the heart of Arabia, to the oases of the Sahara and the unknown wilds of Central Asia; and, what is more, settle down as citizens where Europeans can only go in disguise, or at the peril of their lives.

But there are other Christian writers whose testimony is worthy of consideration. Jerome in one of his letters, speaking of the Divine Word, in His fulness, being present everywhere, says He was "*with Thomas in India, with Peter at Rome, and with Paul in Illyricum.*" Hippolytus, a still earlier writer,¹ states that he perished at Calamine, an Indian city. Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, and co-temporary with Eusebius, says:—"It was handed down to them that Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians, but died at Calamina in India, and was buried there."

If we now turn to the native Christians in India we shall find their testimony clear and unhesitating. It was not suggested to their minds by early Portuguese writers. When they first came in contact with the Christians of Malabar, at Calicut, Cranganore, and other places, they found them chanting from their Syriac Service Books:—"By St. Thomas the errors of the idolatry of India were abolished." One of the earliest pieces of information they gleaned from them was to the effect that Mar Thoma (St. Thomas) had been in their country preaching the Gospel. In 1522 D. Duarte de Meneses, Governor of the Indies, instituted inquiries into such things as related to this Apostle, which led to the so-called discovery of his remains, and to the repairs of the ancient structure, dedicated to his memory at Mylapur, where Christianity had then become completely exterminated.

The Malabar Christians have a legendary history of the Apostle in their possession, which is much treasured by them. Most copies contain the story of an Indian Rajah sending to Syria "for a man who could build him a palace after the Roman fashion,"

¹ Jerome died A.D. 420. Hippolytus suffered martyrdom under Maximus A.D. 236. For other authorities see *Sharon Turner's Anglo Saxons*, vol. II. pp. 146-66.

which led to his going out to India. This story is of *Eastern* origin, and is found in the spurious history of Abdias, but to what precise age it is to be assigned is uncertain.¹ The writer, however, must have known something more of Indian history than the Western fathers and historians, since the King of India who sends to Syria is called *Gundopharus*—a name occurring on ancient coins, bearing Greek inscriptions, still found about Cabul.² Though wise in the selection of a royal name, known at that time in some parts of India, he was sadly out in his geography. Mylapúr, with its sea shore—along which the Apostle is said to have dragged an enormous log of timber single-handed—is not likely to have ever been within the dominions of any Bactrian King Gundopharus. He may, however, be excused for this, when the learned Neander suggests *Calcutta* as the ancient Calliana; and Cave calls Mylapúr “the metropolis of a kingdom not far from the influx of the Ganges into the Gulf of Bengala.”

When the Portuguese reached India, though Christianity was extinct at Mylapúr, the Malabar Christians still regarded it as a most sacred spot, and visited it on pilgrimage, as their fathers had done for very many centuries. Among the Arabs it went by the name of *Betúma* (*i.e.* Beth Thoma), or the house of Thomas, for ages, under which designation it is mentioned by Mahometan writers.

We can trace back the antiquity of the tradition by the testimony of mediæval travellers, and early Christian historians who speak of the place of St. Thomas's sepulchre in India.

Marco Polo, visiting this neighbourhood about 1259, describes the place of the saint's burial, in a small city, “not frequented by many merchants, because unsuited to the purposes of their commerce; but, from devout motives, a vast number of Christians resort thither.”

Our own King Alfred, in the ninth century, sent an embassy to this shrine, headed by Sighelm, Bishop of Shireburn, “who penetrated with great success to India, to the admiration of the age,” and brought thence “many foreign gems and aromatic liquors.”

¹ Abdias professed to be co-temporary with the Apostles, and first Bishop of Babylon. Bale says “he” deserves a place among the boldest legend writers. He is supposed to have flourished about the tenth century, and hence his traditions cannot have much weight. The Malabar Christians had been under the Patriarch of Babylon from the seventh century when the Portuguese first arrived in India, and they probably obtained their traditionary history from thence. Abdias's work, *Historia Certaminis Apostolici*, though used by some Romish controversialists in their disputes with our Reformers, was condemned by Pope Pius IV. as *spurious*.

² The writer is indebted for this last named fact to a gentleman whose

The King had a special regard for this Apostle, and is supposed to have sent out this embassy in fulfilment of a vow.¹

Gregory of Tours—who has been styled “the father of Frankish history,” and who died A.D. 595—relates (says Cave in his life of St. Thomas) “many miracles done upon the annual solemnities of his martyrdom, and one *standing* miracle, an account whereof, he tells us, he received from one Theodorus, who had himself been in that place, viz., that in the temple where the Apostle was buried there hung a lamp before his tomb, which burnt perpetually, without oil or any fuel to feed and nourish it, the light whereof was never diminished, nor by wind or any other accident could be extinguished.”

That there should not be that amount of satisfactory evidence which places the tradition in the position of an undoubted *certainty*, need surprise no one. We are certain that St. Paul visited Rome, and was long imprisoned there; that St. Peter lived and taught at Antioch; and that St. John lived the life of an exile in Patmos; but what local testimonies of a thoroughly satisfactory nature, bearing on these points, can be now produced? Our Lord seems purposely to have allowed such things to pass into comparative oblivion. He knew well the natural tendency of the human heart to superstition and idolatry; and has therefore, wisely and mercifully, kept from his people much that would have doubtless proved “an occasion of falling.”

Supposing it true that St. Thomas died a martyr's death at Mylapūr, and that his body rested there for a season in a tomb, guarded by devout men whom he had converted to Christ, that the moral and religious effects of his teaching should not have been more enduring, or that superstition should ere long there erect her superstructure of lies, is nothing more than has happened in other lands, blest with far more light and knowledge. *The Mystery of Iniquity* had begun its work even when the Apostles were still living and proclaiming in all lands the great *Mystery of Godliness*. The lamentable fact, therefore, that Mylapūr has been for so long a period a centre of corrupt superstition, must not tempt us hastily to set aside a tradition which may have its foundation in truth.

Miracles and signs and and lying wonders have alas been the order of things at Mylapūr for many centuries! The miraculous

researches into early eastern travel are deservedly well known. The inscription on the coin is “Basileós Basileón Gondopharou.”

¹ In an Anglo Saxon Life of St. Thomas, ascribed to Elfrio, the legend of King Gundopharus sending for the Apostle, and the particulars of the palace building, are given as they occur in the Malabar histories now in the hands of the native Christians. Possibly the legendary history of St. Thomas may have been among the curiosities brought from the east by Alfred's ambassadors?

lamp which Theodorus saw burning at St. Thomas's shrine in the 6th century was followed by other marvels invented for the purpose of attracting pilgrims. "The Christians" (says Marco Polo in the 13th century) "who perform this pilgrimage collect earth from the spot where the Apostle was slain, which is of a red colour, and reverentially carry it away with them; often employing it afterwards in the working of miracles, and giving it, when diluted with water, to the sick; by which means disorders are cured."¹

One of the lying wonders, narrated by an Oriental Bishop when at Rome in 1135, appeared incredible even to the reigning Pontiff, who forbade his sowing broadcast such falsehoods, upon pain of an anathema. It was to the effect that when the Indian bishops annually approached the Apostle's shrine to present their offerings, he opened his hand and graciously received such as were presented by orthodox believers, whilst he sternly withdrew his closed palm from all who were heretically disposed!

One cannot wonder that a Christian community, in the heart of a heathen land, with little besides such husks as these to sustain its corporate existence, should gradually waste away till little or nothing was left to tell that Christianity had once exercised any influence there, save the neglected ruins of the shrine of the saint, whose sacred memory they had prostituted to such evil purposes.

The opposition of the heathen authorities of the place may have had something to do with the dispersion of the nominal Christian population. Marco Polo tells us:—"In the year of our Lord 1288, a powerful prince of the country, who at the time of gathering the harvest had accumulated (as his proportion) a very great quantity of rice, and had not granaries sufficient wherein to deposit it all, thought proper to make use of the religious house belonging to the church of St. Thomas, for that purpose. This being against the will of those who had the guardianship of it, they beseeched him not to occupy in this manner a building appropriated to the accommodation of pilgrims, who came to visit the body of this glorious saint. He notwithstanding obstinately persisted. On the following night

¹ This custom is still kept up by the Syrians and Romo Syrians of Malabar, though the writer never heard of a miracle of healing being the result. One of the decrees of the Synod of Udiamparūr in 1599 touches on this subject. "Holy water which has hitherto been made use of in this Diocese has not been blessed by the priests, nor by any prayer of the church, the sextons only throwing a little clay into it, that is brought by pilgrims from the sepulchre of St. Thomas, or from some other holy place relating to him; and where such clay has been wanting, the said sextons have thrown some grains of incense into it." (Act. 8, Dec. 17.)

Marignolli, who was at Mailapur in the 14th century, tells us that by means of this earth he experienced a miracle twice in his own person! Earth removed from the grave one day was replaced the next spontaneously! (*Cathay and the way thither.*)

the holy Apostle appeared to him in a vision, holding in his hand a small lance, which he pointed to the throat of the King, saying to him: 'If thou dost not immediately evacuate my house, which thou hast occupied, I shall put thee to a miserable death. Awakening in a violent alarm, the prince instantly gave orders for doing what was required of him; declaring publicly that he had seen the Apostle in a vision.'¹

A century later the boldness and opposition of the heathen had revived and considerably increased. The monk Oderick, who visited his shrine about 1330, observes: "His church is now indeed full of idols; adjoining which church there are fifteen houses of the Nestorians, who are Christians, but the worst kind of heretics." This small remnant appears afterwards to have died out, and the once *holy places* seem to have been completely left in the hands of *Infidels*, as we shall presently hear.

In 1517 certain Portuguese adventurers are said to have visited the Coromandel coast, in company with an Armenian merchant who was well acquainted with India. They landed at Pulicat, to the north of modern Madras, and went thence to Mylapúr, where they saw, according to their account, many ruined buildings, and stones of divers colours, still retaining traces of ancient grandeur; whilst, in the midst of these ruins, was a chapel, entire, of mean appearance; on the inside and outside whereof many crosses of a peculiar form were carved.² A Moor, who resided there, perceiving these strangers examining the locality, came up and told them that the church (whereof only a small part was then standing) was the place where St. Thomas, and some of his first converts, were said to be buried. Not a single Christian, apparently, was then found in the place. The candlestick had been completely removed, and no wonder, after what we have heard!

To a grossly superstitious people like the Portuguese there was, however, quite enough capital left for them to trade with. As one might naturally expect, the remains of the saint are, in due course, discovered, and surely identified, being distinguished from those of his Hindoo converts by the superior *whiteness* of the bones. Some of his raiment, the head of the very lance from which he received his death wound, and to make assurance doubly sure, an inscription confirmatory of their conjecture, all come marvellously to hand.

¹ Marsden's edition of Marco Polo, p. 648. "The Christians who have the care of the church (adds the traveller) possess groves of those trees which produce the Indian nuts (*cocoa nuts*?), and from thence derive their means of subsistence; paying as a tax to one of the royal brothers a groat monthly for each tree."

² "Many crosses like the ancient ones of the Military Order of Alcantara; which is fleury fitched." "*Portuguese Asia*," by Manuel de Faria, p. 271.

Next follow the religious orders of Rome to take possession of so promising a field.

About 1551 the supposed scene of St. Thomas's death, now known as the *Little Mount*, was occupied by the Order of the Pelerins, "so they have inscribed upon a stone, which they have left in the rock at the top of the steps, on the north of the Mount. The Church of Notre Dame was built there, and they gave it to the Portuguese Jesuits. They built afterwards the little hermitage at the top of the rock, and the Church of the Resurrection, where exists the cross of stone in relief." (*Lettres Edifiantes, &c.*, vol. xii., p. 12.)

Whether any relic of the mediæval structures still exists at Mylapûr is very doubtful. If any it is most probably the cross in relief just mentioned, which is a special object of veneration, being rudely sculptured on the solid rock as you descend the narrow steps leading to the cave which the Apostle is said to have used. Crosses of this form re-appear in some of the oldest and most out-of-the-way churches on the Malabar coast.

The cave, said to have been used by the Apostle as a place of retirement for prayer, now forms a rude species of underground Oratory, as simple and unadorned as any den or cave in which a Covenanters' meeting of old took place in Scotland. It contains nothing but a plain altar, without any image, symbol, or inscription; and is lighted by means of a hole in the rock, which at the same time admits that very essential requisite fresh air.

This little Oratory is connected, traditionally, with the Apostle's death. Marco Polo was told that he was praying in this place, when a native shooting pea fowl, which abounded there, missing his aim, unintentionally inflicted a mortal wound. Another legend states that when sought for by his persecutors he escaped through the aperture of the cave, only to perish by their lances at the *Great Mount*, where he died beneath a similar cross to that at the entrance of this cave, which cross now stands out in relief on the solid rock, over the high altar of another church. As an instance, however, of the way in which traditions vary, and gather in the marvellous, as they go, Navarette, a Dominican friar, who visited Mylapûr about 1646, after describing the cave and the small window, gravely adds:—"They recount, for a certain truth, and received tradition, that when the infidels came to kill him, he would *transform himself into a peacock*, and get out that way."¹

¹ Mylapûr means in plain English *Peacock Town*. This may have something to do with the Syrians painting or sculpturing the saint's cross supported on each side by a peacock. Though in Didron's *Christian Iconography* there is an engraving of a Greek cross, and below it stand two peacocks, face to face. We are further told that the peacock was used as symbol of *pride*, and such representations were intended to teach that such passions must bow beneath the yoke of the cross; and that the peacock

In the porch of the church (or rather chapel) which leads to the cave, there is a very primitive-looking piece of sculpture representing the Apostle, as sometimes seen in Europe, holding in his hand a carpenter's square. As his original calling, most probably, was that of a fisherman (John xxi. 2, 3), this may have something to do with his traditional skill in building. Beneath is a very ancient-looking inscription, but it bears a *date*, and is in old Portuguese, and hence pleasing illusions, which might mislead, are at once dispelled. A Portuguese gentleman has kindly supplied the following translation of the five short lines in French:—

Ce fort St. Thome
a été fait par
Antonio Gonçalves
de Taide a ses fraix
l'an 1612.

In the Church of Notre Dame which crowns the summit of the Little Mount, there appears to be nothing of any special interest. It is not much frequented except during the festivals of the saint—the Church of Rome having dedicated July 3rd, and December 18th and 21st, to his honour.

The *Great Mount*, which gives name to the modern military cantonment of St. Thomas's Mount, is about a mile and a half further off from Fort St. George, Madras; and is three or four times higher and larger than the *Little Mount*. It is also crowned by a church, known in Jesuit Missionary reports as *Notre Dame du Mont*. The so-called orthodox Armenians, in alliance with Rome, have a special interest in this edifice. The fine stone structure, known as the Marmalong Bridge, by which you reach these venerated sites, was built some years back by a wealthy Armenian merchant, whilst tombstones, bearing inscriptions, mark the sites in the neighbourhood of the church where other members of the same community found their last resting place.¹

The cross, sculptured on the rock, beneath which one tradition says the Apostle died, is now covered from sight by a wooden screen at the back of the high altar, but upon opening a small door the sculpture is exposed to view.

The church is reached from the bazaar by a considerable flight of steps, which are approached by an arched gateway bearing date 1726. In the ascent two small oratories, or stations for devotion,

has been used as an emblem from the 4th century. If so, this may possibly have given rise to the tradition about the peacock in connection with St. Thomas's Mount.

¹ In the church porch a flagstone covers the grave of an Armenian lady, born at Ispahan, who died 1759. Another bears date 1764, and is to the memory of Anna Jacobyan, a native of Julpha, in Persia. A small *Maltese* cross repeatedly occurs outside the church, as a decoration.

are located, the crosses of which are smeared with oil in precisely the same way as the Hindoos serve their idols. The place is still much frequented by pilgrims at the saint's festivals.

The town of St. Thomé, where the old Portuguese Cathedral stands, and the Commissary of the diocese resides—the see being usually vacant—lies on the sea coast, close to Madras, though still in the civil district of Mylapúr. Here the Relics of St. Thomas—such as are left—are preserved and duly adored. The glory of Portugal has completely passed away, and her once proud ascendancy is no more. St. Thomé is now a pleasant, healthy, marine suburb of Madras, much esteemed by quiet European residents, who are, for the most part, Protestants, and attendants at the neat little English church of the place.

How far the Romish Orders did anything to improve the religious condition of Mylapúr may be inferred from the following records of revived and newly-invented superstitions.

First in order, one Gabriel de Ataíde, a Portuguese priest, whilst digging the foundations of a church in 1547, professed to find a stone cross, stained with the blood of the saint. This cross became a sort of new god, after which the deluded people ran. On the 8th of December, 1557, it was observed to perspire most profusely, and to have continued this habit for many years, upon the recurrence of the Feast of the Conception, until 1566. In consequence of this, in 1599, Abp. Meneses, at the Synod of Udiamparúr, with his Jesuit associates, helped forward the imposture by appointing December 18th to be observed by the faithful, in honour of the perspiring cross! Miraculous crosses soon became plentiful in India, and are said to have done wonders.

There is an early account of Mylapúr in "Purchas His Pilgrims" (edition 1613). We are told "the church doors, by the superstition of some, are almost cut in pieces, and carried away to set in gold and silver, and to wear about their necks as a holy relic; the Portugals being herein exceedingly vain, and attributing hereunto many miracles. . . . One sent Linschoten a whole bead roll, or pair (*set?*) of beads thereof, the bringer affirming that these beads had calmed a tempest miraculously by the way. The inhabitants in this respect have driven their church doors full of nails; but St. Thomas's bones are now removed to Goa. The doors are of such renowned holiness, because they were made of that wood which St. Thomas drew with his girdle out of the haven (which it choked), and could not before this miracle by any means be removed."

Father Tachard, S. J., describing Mylapúr, January, 1711, says that continual miracles were still wrought there. Some seven or eight years before his visit such a prodigy had taken place about the time of the Feast of the Conception—the like had not happened for several previous years. The priest was preaching in the church of the Great Mount, to a congregation of about 400, amongst whom were certain English heretics. Presently the natural grey or

blackish colour of the cross over the high altar, changed to red, then brown, afterwards to dazzling white. A cloud then overshadowed it, and when it passed away the cross perspired most profusely, and so bedewed the altar with moisture that the faithful came forward and dipped their handkerchiefs therein, and carefully preserved them for future use. Then came some of the English forward to examine the strange phenomenon—they could not account for it—were convinced of the fact but not converted. A Missionary was forthwith despatched to the Little Mount, to examine the corresponding cross; and it too was found perspiring with a pool of dew at its base. Tachard further informs us that the Portuguese always regarded this miracle as a presage of coming woe to their nation.

Sartorius, the Protestant Missionary, writing from this neighbourhood December 19th, 1732, describes the Festival of the Perspiring Cross as he had witnessed its observance on the previous day. The people, he tells us, carried in procession, round the Mount, wooden images of Simeon, Christ, and Mary, accompanied by heathen music, and pariah harlots, attired like the heathen dancing girls attached to the Pagodas. The Portuguese call it the Feast of our dear Lady of the Mount; the Malabar Christians call it the Mother Feast; and the Heathens the Feast of the *Hill God*. The Pariahs carried the banner of their caste; white, with an elephant depicted on it. Some other castes also wished to carry flags; upon which a quarrel ensued, which the bishop has in vain endeavoured to allay. The Pariahs actually armed themselves with weapons to murder the padres and Christians of other castes, rather than surrender their right and usage. Upon this the Moorish head man interfered. "Decent people among the Romanists begin to be ashamed (he adds) of such disorder and abomination, and would have the feast done away with; but its votaries said that they would sooner cease to be Christians than be deprived of their feast."

That Sartorius's account is not too highly coloured may be inferred from what the Abbe Dubois, S. J., says about similar native Romish festivities which came under his personal observation in other parts of India: "Their processions in the streets, always performed in the night time, have indeed been to me at all times a subject of shame. Accompanied with hundreds of tomtoms (*small drums*), trumpets, and all the discordant noisy music of the country, with numberless torches and fireworks, the statue of the saint placed in a car, which is charged with garlands of flowers and other gaudy ornaments, according to the taste of the country—the car slowly dragged by a multitude shouting all along the march—the congregation surrounding the car all in confusion; several among them dancing, or playing with small sticks, or with naked swords; some wrestling, some playing the fool; all shouting or conversing with each other, without anyone exhibiting the least sign of respect or devotion. Such is the mode in which the Hindoo Christians in the inland country celebrate their festivals."

Such, too, are some of the many evil results of the labours of the Religious Orders of the Church of Rome, during the long period of more than three centuries! Do not such facts as these show that there is a certain species of *identity* between the great corruption of our faith and modern Hindooism; and that what it produces is not the Christianity of the Apostolic Age, but rather a species of Christianized Paganism?

Their religious teaching has been as unlike "the truth, which was from the beginning," taught by St. Thomas, as the Tridentine Creed differs from the simple teaching of the New Testament. The tribes of India needed bread; Papal Rome has sent them stones!

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH INDIA.

The valuable discovery of Hippalus (A.D. 50) concerning the regularity of the trade winds of the Indian Ocean, induced Egyptian navigators to venture across by the most direct route to the west coast of India; and this rendered communication with Alexandria and other ports of Egypt much more easy and frequent than formerly. If there were then Christian Churches at Mylapûr and in Malabar, it is very natural that they should open communications with their brethren in Egypt.

About A.D. 200, when Demetrius was Bishop of Alexandria, a message came from certain Christians in India requesting him to send them a teacher to instruct them in the faith and doctrines of Christ.

Pantænus, who then presided over a college in Alexandria, when he heard of the spiritual necessities of this isolated community, is said to have given up his office and offered himself for the arduous mission. How many years he laboured in India, or in what particular part, is not known, since all his writings are lost; but he is reported to have lived to return to Egypt and resume his work in Alexandria.

In corroboration of the mission of Pantænus there is a noteworthy fact that his disciple, Clement of Alexandria, speaks more

distinctly and correctly about India than other Christian writers of his time, describing amongst other particulars the sects of the Hindoos, especially the Brahmins and their religious devotees. It has been suggested that he might have learned many of these things from his old preceptor.

At the Council of Nice (A.D. 325) a bishop named John was present who signed the decrees as "Metropolitan of Persia and of Great India." He might not have resided in the country, but his title implied ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Christian Churches in "Great India;" and from this time there seems to have been for several centuries a close connexion between the Christians of India and Persia.

Cosmas, a Christian merchant of Alexandria, who visited India about A.D. 529, in speaking of Ceylon, called by him Taprobane, says: "This island possesses a Church of Christians, strangers from Persia, with a presbyter ordained in Persia, a deacon also, and the Church liturgy complete." He adds that "in Male (Malabar) where the pepper grows, there are Christians; and in Calliana" (probably *Callianee*, 28 miles N.E. of Bombay) "there is a bishop, who comes from Persia, where he was consecrated."

Christian merchants from other eastern lands seem therefore to have nourished and cherished that exotic faith, brought possibly in earliest times from Palestine itself. They thus did for Primitive or, if you please, *Nicene* Christianity, what the Portuguese did for Romanism, and what we are doing for Protestant Christianity.

Settlers of this kind would in course of time intermarry with the daughters of the land, and hence their posterity would lose the fair skin of the natives of Persia and Mesopotamia. They would naturally associate and become amalgamated with the descendants of the first converts to Christianity and eventually become one people. This may explain what those most familiar with the old Christians of Malabar must have noticed, that whilst in colour they resemble Hindoos of good caste, in physiognomy they are *Syrian*, strongly approaching in some cases to the Jewish type of features.

The Malabar Syrians have various traditions of the arrivals of settlers in a body even. One party of this description is stated to have landed near the town of Cranganore and another at Quilon. In support of this, till within the last ninety or a hundred years in all legal documents it was the invariable practice to designate to which of these two parties a Syrian belonged.

A Brief History preserved among themselves, and given to our first English missionaries, tells us: "In the year 345, a Bishop, with some priests and others, arrived from Syria. The then Rajah of Malabar received them and granted them many privileges and a portion of ground, and issued a decree that no one should persecute or despise them. The influence of this decree was felt for a long course of years. In course of time the Nazarites (*Nazarenes* or *Christians*) who came from Jerusalem, began to interchange marriages with the Christians in Malabar according to their stations in

life.”¹ They are then said to have settled in large numbers at Cranganore.

Though Cranganore and Quilon are always mentioned amongst their earliest and most important settlements, five other places are named in conjunction with them, viz., *Palūr*, *North Parūr*, *South Pallipūram*, *Neranum*, and *Nellakkul*. The whole group are traditionally styled the Seven Churches founded by St. Thomas the Apostle. This inclines one to suppose that they were the earliest localities occupied by Christian communities, and have therefore a more than ordinary interest. In the early days of Christianity they may have been like cities set on a hill—centres of light in a land shrouded in Egyptian darkness. By looking at the map it will be seen that they are well placed for mission purposes.

It may be interesting to our readers to hear something more about these *Seven Churches of Malabar*; of their present state, and any historical records which may be associated with such ancient Christian settlements. Some of the details may be thought meagre, yet they will serve to illustrate the manners, customs, modes of thought and of action, prevailing amongst a long isolated section of the great Christian family.

1. *Cranganore* is the Portuguese style of spelling the Malayalim name *Kodungalūr*, which was one of the ports frequented by the first traders from Europe who found their way to the Malabar coast via the Cape of Good Hope. For many centuries before this, in due succession, settlements of Jews, Christians, Manicheans and Mahometans were formed in this town or its suburbs. It is within about two miles of *Malankara*, the island held sacred as the landing place of St. Thomas, and which gives a name to the Diocese.

Cranganore lies about twenty miles north of Cochin, near one of the openings of communications between the Great Travancore Backwater and the sea. The Backwater is here broad, and its shores very varied and broken. Climbing one of the little hills in the vicinity—such as that on which the Traveller’s Bungalow stands at *Karūputna*—a scene of surpassing loveliness is spread out at your feet, which enables one to understand what is said in the Kerala Ulputte, that one of the Perumāl Princes having surveyed the land, and in particular its harbours, selected this as the most desirable out of a choice of eighteen. If the tide be low, here and there sand banks are seen studding the lagoon, enlivened with flocks of sea birds and waders, or perhaps by one or two huge

¹ Their Syrian or Syro Chaldaic origin or connexion is maintained by the learned Carmelite Paoli, who grounds it on the fact of their observance of the Syro Chaldaic ritual and the use of phrases in the same language, when speaking of sacred subjects. Thus God is called *Alaha*; the Holy Spirit, *Ruah*; the grace of God, *Taibusa*; Baptism, *Marmodisa*; the Cross, *Sliva*; the Mass, *Curubana*; and Excommunication, *Maharon*.

For more of the *Brief History*, see Appendix D.

alligators basking in the declining sun, and reminding one of a terrible ordeal for which the place was noted in ancient days.¹

Here Cabral and Vasco de Gama had their first interviews with the native Christians; and as early as 1504 Suarez de Menezes took the place from the Samorin, who was then its master. Upon issuing orders for it to be burnt a deputation of native Christians came forward entreating him to desist from this purpose as it contained several churches dedicated to the Virgin and Saints. Although the conflagration had already commenced, in answer to their supplication prompt measures were at once used to stay the progress of the flames.

What churches were referred to cannot now be ascertained. They are no longer in existence and their memorial has perished with them; but speaking of Cranganore, at the end of the same century, Gouvea mentions one old Syrian Church then existing, which testified to the numbers, wealth and power of the native Christian community of earlier times. He also speaks of a little chapel open on one side and approached by steps, in the midst of which stood an ancient cross, much venerated by them, which was said to have been placed there by St. Thomas. But by this time, as miraculous crosses were all the fashion among the Portuguese, it was said to possess strange powers—Christians could not prostrate themselves before it without a new spirit of compunction for sin being awakened in their hearts; and the heathen there made their vows, brought their offerings of oil and wax to replenish the lamp that burnt before it, and went thence, recovering their lost health or property (as the case might be) but not becoming converts to the faith. There were times when this wondrous cross would become so elevated in the air that few could see it, or assume so bright and resplendent an appearance that those who gazed at it ran the risk of losing their sight!

For the first half century the intercourse between the Portuguese and the Syrian Christians of Malabar seems to have been of a friendly character; but matters were changed when direct efforts were made to bring these Eastern Christians into obedience to the Pope of Rome.

Friar Vincent of the Franciscan Order commenced a mission at Cranganore with this object in view in 1545, and continued preaching for some time without any molestation. He however professed disgust at the peculiar architecture of their churches, comparing them to Hindoo temples, and commenced others in a style more to

¹ Baldceus says that he found a kind of oath common in Malabar, and that the person who takes the oath is obliged to swim across the river between Cochin and Cranganore, which is full of crocodiles; and if he that has taken the oath escapes, he is supposed to have taken a just oath. Allusion is made to this ordeal in one of the Acts of the Synod of Udiam-parúr, and Christians are warned against submitting thereto.

his European tastes.¹ Failing to make proselytes, either from the priests or people, he next resolved upon building a college at Cranganore, in accomplishing which purpose he was materially aided by the Viceroy and Bishop of Goa. Here several Syrian youths were taught Latin and instructed in the Romish ritual, but, after their ordination, so opposed were their co-religionists to innovations that they declined accepting their ministrations and would not so much as recognize their orders.

The Jesuit missionaries who succeeded Vincent, attributing this failure to his neglect of the Syriac language, established in 1587 a *Syriac* College a few miles in the interior, at a place called Chennum, to which institution they gave the name of Vaipicotta. But as the Romish party increased in power, and developed more clearly an intolerant spirit, the Syrian Christians, who refused to submit, naturally withdrew from Cranganore and other great centres of Portuguese influence.

The Portuguese, however, were not left in undisturbed possession of Cranganore. In 1615 the Samorin was making desperate efforts to regain it; and when some of our English merchants called at Calicut they were invited to go down and see him at his camp. He was very anxious to secure the friendship of the English; offered them a house rent free, and many other privileges to induce them to settle in his state; and even promised them Cranganore if he succeeded in expelling the Portuguese. Matters went so far that formal articles were drawn up by the Samorin in March 1615, addressed to James, King of Great Britain, pledging to give the English his perpetual friendship and the Portuguese his perpetual enmity; and after the taking of Cranganore (supposing he was successful) it was proposed that a similar attempt should be made upon the town and fort of Cochin, with the aid of the English, who were to bear half the cost of the expedition.²

It did not fall to the lot of the English, but of another Protestant nation, then far more powerful in the East, to drive the Portuguese from this stronghold; and that not until January, 1662, when the Dutch became masters of it. Baldæus, the Dutch chaplain, was present at the capture, and preached a thanksgiving sermon in one of the parish churches from Deut. xxiii. 14. Two hundred Christians perished in the action, besides many Nairs, whose bodies were "all thrown into the river, and carried backwards and forwards several times by the tides, a most terrible spectacle to behold." The Portuguese Governor, Urbano Fereira, fell amongst others, in

¹ The facades introduced by the Portuguese have been very generally copied ever since by the Syrian and Romo Syrians in the erection of new or the restoration of old churches. Very few Syrian churches retain the old style apparently.

² See Second Voyage of Captains Peyton and Keeling. Also Memoirs of Mr. Roger Haves, resident of Calicut. *Harris's Collection*.

desperate sword in hand assault, during which the Dutch chased their opponents into the Jesuits' church. "We found there (adds Baldœus) a noble college of the Jesuits, with a stately library belonging to it; the structure itself being not inferior to many in Europe. Besides the church of the Franciscans, they had a stately Cathedral, adorned with the tombs of the Archbishops of this place." The city was given up to plunder, and then all its imposing structures were laid level with the ground save one stone tower, which was preserved entire and garrisoned by Dutch soldiers for the security of the river (or Backwater) which washed its walls. Amongst the churches then destroyed some of them might have been those which originally belonged to the Syrian Christians; but all were then, without exception, polluted with images, and image worship.

Though the Malabar Jews are said to have preserved a tradition of the site of the ancient synagogue in which their fathers worshipped, it is doubtful if any Syrian Christian, however strong his archeological taste, could point out the spot where any one of the Christian Churches stood, in the tangled thicket which now covers the ruins of Cranganore. The Mahometans have still a Mosque in the neighbourhood, and the Hindoos a celebrated Pagoda laying claims to great antiquity: but there is no Christian Church anywhere near.

At an annual Hindoo festival myriads of low caste heathen come from all the country round to offer a cock to Bhadra Kâli to mitigate her wrath, and to protect themselves from small pox, which they regard as her avenging sword.¹ How far otherwise might it have been, had the ancient Syrian Christians been faithful to the truth found in the copies of the sacred Scriptures still preserved to them; or had those Christians from the west, who first visited the shores of India, been more anxious to help them in that which is good than to force them into a nominal subjection to one who had no lawful claim to exercise authority over their churches.

2. *Quilon*, called Koulân and Coulan by Paoli, and Kollum by the native Christians—perhaps their next settlement in point of importance—lies on the sea coast in lat. 9°, and commands another of the most important entrances to the beautiful backwater of Travancore. Tradition states that St. Thomas preached here; and that, in later times, a party of Christian emigrants from Syria

¹ This was going on, much in the same way, 200 years ago. Baldœus states that the heathen considered Bhadra Kâli to have her chief residence in the great pagoda of Cranganore. It was in 1662 known as the Pagoda of Pilgrims, from the vast number of zealots that flocked thither, and brought a revenue of many thousand fanams (a small silver coin) to the Hindoo Rajah. Ixora, they say, gave to his daughter Kâli, the name of Basûri (or rather Wasûri), which, to this day, is the common name in Malabar for small-pox.

landed near modern Quilon, at a place now engulfed in the sea, just as a similar party did at Kodungalur. Whether they came for purposes of trade, or were driven to seek shelter from the sword of Mahomet, or were impelled by any other motive is not now known, nor can the time of their arrival be fixed with any degree of certainty. This we know that when the Portuguese found their way to India it possessed a flourishing settlement of native Christians whose forefathers had resided there for many centuries.¹

In 1503 the renowned Albuquerque sailed down the coast—shortly after the erection of their first fort at Cochin—to Quilon, where the native Rajah then in power sanctioned the erection of sundry factories for the stowage of pepper, supplied to them by the native Christian merchants. A friendly treaty was drawn up, and a man named Dasa at once employed to construct such buildings as they required. He found no Arab or Mahometan merchants there, as at Calicut, but 6,000 Christians, and a few heathen of the Chogan caste. The Christians complained to him of the oppressive conduct of the Nairs, and through his friendly offices obtained the privilege of having a chief magistrate or judge of their own body (as they formerly had) appointed over them;—in this and other ways their hardships were mitigated. They showed him a Church which tradition said had been built by St. Thomas the Apostle. Two saints had died there, hence it was considered a holy place. Thus, as at Cranganore, the Portuguese were, in these early days, on very friendly terms with the old Christians of the country.

Albuquerque left with Dasa twenty persons, also a Dominican Friar named Rodrique, who is said to have repaired the old Syrian Church. Several persons, of thirty or forty years of age, are stated to have come forward expressing doubts as to their baptism in infancy, since the place had not been, at all times, regularly supplied with Cattanars or Priests. These people received baptism and conformed to the Romish worship established by Rodrique,² who laboured here for some years, and is reported to have converted many Pagans and to have encouraged the Christians of St. Thomas to persevere in the faith. Doubtless the brethren of the various religious orders who followed in succession after Rodrique were more successful still at the work of proselytism; and probably their

¹ For earlier notices of Quilon by Marignolli vide p. 5, also chap. vi.

² This, it would appear, was not Rome's first effort at Quilon. "Friar Jordanus of Severac was there as a Missionary some time previous to 1328 (in which year he was at home), and was nominated Bishop of the See of Kaulam, Latinized as Columbum, or Columbus. Twenty years later John Marignolli visited 'the very noble city of Columbum, where the whole world's pepper is produced,' and found there a Latin Church of St. George, probably founded by Jordanus." From Colonel H. Yule's *Marco Polo* vol. ii., p. 314. None of the churches which existed prior to the 16th century in Quilon or its suburbs are any longer standing.

various churches were in a great measure filled by those who had once belonged to the large Syrian Christian community of the place. So far as temporal matters were concerned this settlement seems to have been in a flourishing condition. Maffœus, the early Jesuit chronicler of Indian mission effort, after specifying its situation to be 24 leagues south of Cochin, in somewhat inflated language designates it "the most ancient and opulent city in the whole of India."

When the Dutch took possession of Quilon in 1662 they found it a flourishing and populous place. It was then divided into two parts—*Upper* or Malabar Quilon and *Lower* Quilon. It had also "suburbs large and stately." Baldoeus calls it the "wholesomest" city on the coast, "by reason of its pure air and most excellent springs." The Portuguese had seven Churches there; the Jesuits and Franciscans each a monastery "adorned with stately chapels and steeples." There was also (Nieuhoff informs us) "the famous Church built many ages ago by the Christians of St. Thomas," which was left standing after the Dutch reduced the Fort into a narrower compass. In this old church was the tomb of a certain great Portuguese captain who was said to have been Governor of Quilon for sixty years.¹ When, some little time after, Articles of Agreement with the Rajah of Travancore were drawn up by Nieuhoff, as the representative of the Dutch East India Company, the meeting at which they were signed was held in this same church. Baldoeus ascertained from the traditions then current that the Syrians maintained that St. Thomas preached first at Cranganore and then came on to Quilon; and upon the rocks near the seashore he saw in 1662 a stone pillar which the Christians asserted had been erected by the Apostle.

When Dr. C. Buchanan visited Quilon in 1806 he does not seem to have met with any Syrians. A medical officer told him that their churches were all in the interior, where Europeans could not go without permission of the Rajah. Bishop Middleton, of Calcutta, followed in 1816, and here learned something about the deplorable state of the Syrian churches, arising from depression and disunion. He noted that the poor fishermen of the Syrian community had provided themselves with a church, whilst the British residents had none; but the bishop (unknowingly) made a grave mistake in calling these Romish converts from the fisher caste *Syrians*. Hence we have reason to believe that he did not come in contact with any of the old Syrian stock at this station. The fact is that the descendants of this venerable body had retired, as trade decayed, and the place became ill suited to them, into the interior,

¹ When Menezes visited Quilon in 1599 the Portuguese had possession of this church. They had taken it away from the Syrians, who would not conform to the Romish rites. The latter had withdrawn, and built a church for their own use, half a league from the town.

where they formed fresh congregations, leaving but few representatives behind, and these but little known.

The reduced fort erected by the Dutch has long been dismantled; and the ancient Syrian Church dedicated to St. Thomas, which stood within its walls, is now no more—the encroaching sea has covered even its site! The old pillar, or cross, has been removed, if not destroyed; and when at Quilon, in 1863, it was not without some difficulty the writer could find out anything about the Syrian Christians of the place; but at last his researches were rewarded by discovering a modern structure, embosomed in trees, around which several of the old Syrian families had pitched their habitations. Their curiosity was strongly excited by his presence, being so unaccustomed to have any visitors; and all who saw him were anxious to know who the white stranger was, and why he had come into their retired suburb to see their church and enquire after their welfare.

3. Of *Pálúr* little can be said having any special interest. It was the most northern of the seven ancient churches, as Quilon was the most southern. The village, at the present time an unimportant place, lies off any main road, about a mile or so S.E. of Chowghaut. The old church now standing is a small but neat edifice, dedicated to St. Macarius; and in its immediate vicinity only about a dozen houses are visible. Chowghaut itself is not far from another opening through which there is water communication between the Travancore Backwater and the sea; and it forms the port of the large Syrian town of Kúnunkúllam, where the descendants of the old Christians of the country are now in great force. *Pálúr* may have been once much such a trading colony as that at Quilon and Cranganore in ancient times; but its church is now in the hands of the Romanists; and this may in some measure account for the decay of the settlement, since the Syrians, who would not submit to Rome, would naturally go away and join their protesting brethren in other localities, when circumstances allowed them to do so.

How Rome got possession of the church, and by what means she has retained her hold, we know not; but one thing is certain, that there was a strong anti-Papal feeling at *Pálúr* in 1599. Gouvea narrates, in his account of the visitation of Archbishop Menezes, that, in order to bring the proceedings of the Portuguese Archbishop and his Synod at Udiamparúr into odium, three of the leading men of the place performed a farce or morality play in the church. One of the speakers personated St. Peter; another, St. Thomas; and the third, who acted as umpire, St. Cyriac, to whom the church was then dedicated. St. Thomas began with a complaint that St. Peter had corrupted the Christians of India, who were his lawful subjects, through the Romish Archbishop. St. Peter could give but feeble answers, contenting himself by maintaining, that his rule extended over the whole earth. The dispute at length becoming warm, St. Cyriac was called on for his decision,

who immediately gave it in favour of St. Thomas: "for," said he, "the Christians of this country do not depend on St. Peter, but on their Venerable Patriarch of Babylon; and the Portuguese prelate, who says the contrary, is a heretic, whom the Christians of St. Thomas should be cautious in trusting. As to the oaths which he has extorted at Diamper, they are manifestly null and void."

This performance was repeated in other places, and produced a far deeper impression upon the native mind than all the sermons of Menezes and his followers. The Archbishop took alarm—expressed it as his opinion that the devil spake through the mouths of the performers—and sent down a priest at once to exorcise them. The house of God was doubtless not the place for such acting, clever and well-intentioned as it might have been; but Rome could not complain of it as a desecration, since she tolerated the like in Europe at this time. It was therefore simply the anti-Papal *animus* it indicated which excited the indignation of her partisans.

The state of things at Pálúr has not improved under the rule of St. Peter's so-called successor and his agents. A dear and valued friend, who was there in 1861, writes: "If it is true, 'as the Parson, so the People,' then, I am afraid, that if St. Thomas should ever come to Malayála again, he would not stop long at Pálúr. We found there a dirty looking priest, who was so uncouth and impudent, that we left his room without delay. I have heard many a bile-stirring word from natives, and bore it, but this man's filth I could not."

4. *Párúr*. There are two Syrian parishes bearing this name, one called Thekkenpárúr, and the other Wadakkenpárúr; or in other words *South* and *North Párúr*. The latter is regarded as one of the earliest of the seven churches founded in Malayála. It is called by Paoli, in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, Puttona Parur. It is somewhat amusing when one visits such a place itself and becomes thoroughly acquainted with the history of the country past and present, to find it spoken of as it is by some of our European writers. Geddes (probably following Gouvea) tells us: "Paru is the *metropolis of a kingdom*, wherein the noblest body of all the Christians of St. Thomas lives." La Croze and Hough follow in much the same strain. The fact is that after the rule of the Perumáls ceased the country known as Kerala, stretching from Cape Comorin as far north as Gokurnum, was divided among a number of petty chieftains; and these again in time sub-divided their dominions to such an extent that it became a proverb in some parts that you could hardly take a few steps without passing out of one *kingdom* into another; for each of these potentates assumed the title of *Rajah* or *King*! The kingdom of Párúr was never anything in extent beyond that of a good sized English manor, and the lord of this manor exercised much the kind of rule that our Norman barons or Highland chieftains did over their tenants and retainers; and quarrelled and fought and plundered their neigh-

bours just in the same way. The Rajah of Párúr was a feudatory of the Cochin Rajah, and regarded as one of the four pillars of his State.

North Párúr lies about five miles south of Cranganore in a direct line, and about one mile or less inland from the shores of the Travancore Backwater. Being easy of access it has been frequently visited by travellers interested in the Syrian Church of Malabar. Buchanan was there in 1806, and in the second volume of his memoirs by Pearson there is an engraving of the old church which he found there. If it be at all a correct representation, it was very unlike all other Syrian Churches now existing in Malabar, especially in its having no raised chancel, but a *round tower* at the extreme end of the building—towers of any kind being very unusual in their churches. In his *Christian Researches* he speaks thus: "Not far from Cranganore is the town of Paroor, where there is an ancient Syrian Church, which bears the name of the Apostle Thomas. It is supposed to be the oldest in Malabar, and is still used for divine service. I took a drawing of it. The tradition among the Syrians is that the Apostle continued at this place for a time before he went to preach at Mylapoor, and St. Thomas's Mount, on the coast of Coromandel, where he was put to death. The fact is certainly of little consequence, but I am satisfied that we have as good authority for believing that the Apostle Thomas died in India as that the Apostle Peter died at Rome!" Bishop Middleton visited the place in 1816 and speaks of it in his journal.

Besides being in the vicinity of Cranganore, Párúr lies within two miles by land of Chennum, another ancient Syrian Church, near which stood the famous Jesuit College of Vaipicotta, so often mentioned in Hough's account of the Syrian Church. Chennum is now in the hands of the Romanists, and there has been for many generations a strong Romo-Syrian party also at Párúr. In the lists of churches furnished last century by Paoli and Raulini¹ two churches are mentioned: that belonging to the Syrians dedicated to St. Thomas, and that of the Romo-Syrians to S.S. Protasius and Gervasius. Bishop Middleton most probably only saw the latter, for he was informed that the church was built in 1712; and describes it as neat and clean, though decorated after the Romish manner. He moreover found the Padre, who was young, using a Popish catechism printed at Rome.

When Archbishop Menezes planned his visitation of the Syrian Churches, he named the College of Vaipicotta as the first place to be taken in his tour from Cranganore. Here he hoped to meet the Syrian Archdeacon George, but was disappointed. From the Jesuit College he proceeded, dressed in his pontificals, to the Parish Church of Chennum, attended by the students and governors of the institution. There he preached a discourse on St. John x. 1, and attempted to show that the Church of Rome was the door of the

¹ See Appendix A.

sheepfold, and that the Patriarchs of Babylon, whose jurisdiction the Syrians owned, were nothing better than thieves and robbers! After two days the Archdeacon arrived. He had delayed his coming that he might not by his presence seem to consent to the doings of Menezes. However he was soon drawn into his snares, and compelled to sign a sentence of excommunication against the Patriarch of Babylon, which was in due form affixed to the doors of Chennum Church. From Chennum the Archbishop went round to Párúr in his boat. The people of Párúr had arranged to receive him with the honours due to his rank; having however heard of what he had been doing at the neighbouring church, they gave him anything but a friendly reception, so that he was glad to get away the next day to Allungáda, another Syrian Church, about seven miles distant to the S.E.¹

The good people of Párúr had before this manifested a strong anti-papal feeling. Two of their youths, named George and John, had been sent by the Portuguese to Rome in the time of Gregory XIII. who had granted them, amongst other indulgences, permission to erect what is called a *privileged* altar in the churches they might be called to serve; but so unable were the Syrians to appreciate favours of this kind, or so strongly prejudiced against them, that though these young priests belonged to good families they were not allowed to officiate in their churches; and at last were forced to leave Párúr—their own immediate relatives taking the lead in their expulsion.

Francis Roz, Professor of the Jesuits' College at Chennum, was consecrated the first Romish Bishop of the Syrian Church in 1601; and four years later was dignified with the title of Archbishop of Cranganore. He lived, died, and was buried at Párúr. Paoli informs us that he lived in the Church of S.S. Gervasius and Protasius, and surrounded it with a strong wall;² since, on account of continual wars, he could neither live at Cranganore nor at Augamále, which was the see of the last Syrian Metropolitans. Paoli further tells us that on the 10th of September, 1785, he trans-

¹ This town was the chief place in the territory of the Mangáda Rajah, and hence it is often called by old writers Mangada, or they variously spell it Mangaad, Mangate, Mangatti, Mangatta, &c.

² Another name for North Párúr is Kottakaiyil, i.e., *the Fort Backwater*. May not this locality have been so called from its *fortified* church? When Archbishop Menezes visited the neighbouring Church of Allungáda in 1599, he found the church filled with household goods and women, by reason of the war then raging between the Mangáda Rajah and the Rajah of Párúr. Such a fact illustrates the unhappy state of society at that period, and the decided need of such precautions as F. Roz seems to have devised. Should not Bishop Middleton's informant have given 1612, rather than 1712, as the date of the erection of this church? The bishop did not receive at all times reliable information, as may be seen from the extraordinary position given to several of the places he visited when in Travancore, in the map which illustrates his tour.

cribed the following inscription, engraved on a blackish stone at the entrance of the church in the common Malayalim language, but in antique character :—"In A.D. 1624, on the 18th of February, in the beginning of the Lent of the Christians of St. Thomas, on Sunday, at ten o'clock at night, died Francis, Bishop of the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar, in the communion of the holy Catholic Church."

Gregory, the Jerusalem Metropolitan of the Syrians, called by them *Patriarchisa*,¹ who came to Malabar in 1665, and was their first Jacobite Metran or Bishop, was also buried at Párúr. His advent was hailed with great delight, for the Dutch had then destroyed the power of Portugal, and its Jesuit allies could no longer forge chains at will for this oppressed race; hence they felt again at liberty to speak and act for themselves. Many songs were composed in Mar Gregory's honour and to celebrate his acts. He died in 1672, but the anniversary of his death is still observed as a great day at Párúr; and oblations of fruit were in former times (if not still) offered at his tomb with other objectionable and superstitious ceremonies.

A century later Párúr was still a land of song. Kurvula, or George Cattamar, who wrote the life of Job in elegant verse, was born here. This poetical effusion is still a popular book among the Syrians. He also composed a piece on the coming of Mar Basilus, and two other Syrian Bishops to Malabar in 1751. It began with the word *Cindarârgum*, and was for generations a favourite boat song in Travancore.

The old church, sketched by Buchanan, no longer exists. Major Mackworth, visiting the place in 1821, calls it the oldest church in possession of the Syrians, and states that another was then building in its room.²

The church now occupied by them is a spacious building, and, singular to say, has a square bell tower of four stories on the left hand side of the front entrance. The idea of the tower has been borrowed from Romish structures as at Verapoli, Balarpart, and Ernaculum.

When the writer visited the place in 1857 a picture of the Patriarch Gregory adorned the church. The shrine-like structure of wood, which had long covered his last resting place, had been recently removed by the directions of another Syrian Bishop of

¹ The Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem ranks as the first prelate after their Patriarch. On account of his connexion with the holy city he is sometimes called the *Fifth Patriarch*. He seldom resides at Jerusalem, sending another prelate thither as his delegate. (See *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. cap. v. pp. 49-51; also, *The Syrian Christians of Malabar*, by Rev. E. Philipos, p. 16).

² This venerable structure was one of many burnt by Tippoo Saib's soldiers when they invaded Travancore in 1790. The injuries then received had probably led to another building being necessary.

Jerusalem, who had come on a begging expedition to India. This man had further ordered the removal of the simple wooden altars, and the erection of stone altars in their stead. A small wooden cross stood on the chief altar, and on it the priest who accompanied the bishop had affixed a small scroll, bearing the inscription in Syriac: "*By thee He will destroy our enemies.*"¹

The church in which the Jesuit Archbishop lived and died is now the old church of the place. It is still surrounded on three sides by lofty walls, pierced here and there with narrow loop holes. The Vicar's house stands within the enclosure on the north side of the church; but on the side facing the native village the high wall has been removed, now that under the fostering care of the British Government there is security of life and property in Malabar. Enquiries were made for old inscriptions, but though the Portuguese Vicar and his native assistant were friendly in their bearing, none could be discovered worthy of any note.

5. *South Pallipúram* or *Kokamungalun*, the next in order of the seven churches, lies about 20 miles S.E. of Cochin, on the western shore of the Backwater, on the way to the Church Missionary Society's stations of Cottayam and Aleppy. This church, like many others, cannot be seen from the water; but a short walk under the shade of the cocoa nut plantations soon takes you to it.

Archbishop Menezes officially visited it in 1599, and is said to have there effected the conversion of a wealthy Christian, who had before been strongly opposed to Rome. At the termination of an imposing procession, when the Archbishop was giving the usual benediction, this man is stated to have beheld the prelate's face lighted up with celestial glory, which so powerfully moved him that at once he declared himself a convert!

In 1859 the Romish priest in charge—for it is now entirely in the hands of the Romish party—told the writer that according to the tradition of their fathers the first Christian settlement was formed some two or three miles off, where they erected a cross; but the heathen compelling them to remove this they came away and settled where the church now stands. It is an ancient structure, and its massive walls, plain architecture, and large raised chancel bore decided marks of antiquity. The priest said it was built 1600 years ago. A church might have been there then, but not this identical structure we should imagine.

¹ The evil influence of these two ecclesiastics was seen in other ways. They brought with them a wax cast of that *pious fraud* known as the foot print of our Lord in the Church of the Ascension at Jerusalem. This was produced for the veneration of the poor native Christians of Malabar. The Mahometans at Delhi had similar stone models of the foot print of the False Prophet, which were used for the like superstitious purpose. One of these, discovered in their great mosque at the sacking of Delhi, fell into the hands of a friend of the writer. The Impostor's foot was very unlike that of other men, if this be a *vera eikon*!

This parish is now considered small and poor, and the interior of the church gave one that impression; though they were endeavouring to make up for its otherwise mean appearance by highly decorated altars and gaily painted images of saints. An image of St. Thomas, having a book in one hand and a carpenter's square in the other, was particularly pointed out by a young ecclesiastic. It was enclosed in a highly decorated tabernacle, in the upper compartment of which appeared a cross, which St. Thomas was said to have made, though it then appeared in a bright new livery of green and gold paint. The only inscription found anywhere was one cut in wood in front of the verandah, on the north side of the church, but no one could interpret its meaning. It was in Roman letters as follows:—COME COV NAER. A.D. 1705. CABU NAER. A.D. 1712.

The church still has a special dignity and sacredness in the estimation of the Romo-Syrians. The incumbent was honoured with the title of Malpan, or doctor in theology, and was authorized to receive and train candidates for the priesthood. He was a civil old man, surrounded by a class of pupils—simple country youths, wearing the tonsure. Two other Malpans are interred in the church before the great altar; one had died thirteen and the other (his preceptor) eighteen years before.

On the right side of the chancel is the grave of a church dignitary, interred at a much earlier period, but without inscription or date—an antique wooden railing, about two feet high, and five or six feet long, alone marking the spot. The priests knew little about it, except that a great while ago a Metran or Bishop was buried there, whom they called *Mar Gabriel*; but they should have called *Raphael*. Paoli says that Don Raphael, a country-born prelate—of whom more hereafter—was buried there in 1695. But he was not popular either with the Romo-Syrians or Carmelite missionaries; and thus there was an uncertainty even about his name. There is every reason to believe that he had anything but a bed of roses to lie upon during the 19 years of his episcopate; and there he lies forgotten in the grave—his memorial has perished with him.

The Romo-Syrians were in no very settled or satisfied condition in 1859. They professed great dislike to the rule of the Italian Vicar Apostolic, and sympathised with the party, who had recently sent to the Syrian Patriarch in alliance with Rome, to ask for a genuine *Syrian* bishop. Upon the observation being made that the mission would most probably be unsuccessful, as both this Patriarch and the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoli were under the Pope, the Malpan replied, *he* hoped the latter would give his consent, for they did not want a *Latin* but a *Syrian* Metran. The Malpan eventually got his wish; whether the Pope consented or not, a Syrian bishop came, and an ecclesiastical revolution was the result.

6. *Neranum*, another of the seven primitive settlements, lies some 30 miles to the south of Pallipúram, in the midst of a very maze of rivers, canals, and water-courses; in addition to which, at

certain seasons of the year, immense tracts of rice lands, which surround it, are all under water. Were it not for the magnificent tropical vegetation, with its tall, feathery palms, and grand old fruit and timber trees, the whole neighbourhood would then appear like some extensive inland lake, dotted with low islets, on which a species of amphibious peasantry had built their habitations. Neranum has a fine old church, surrounded by a substantial wall, with an imposing looking gatehouse. As in all the larger Syrian churches, what would otherwise be the north and south aisles are shut off from the nave, to form cloisters below, having a series of chambers over them, in which the Cattanars live when on duty, or "in residence."

Archbishop Menezes found his way here in 1519, as it could be easily reached by water. In later times it became celebrated as a favourite residence of some of the native bishops who refused submission to Rome. Hence the Archbishop and his Jesuit allies were not so successful at Neranum as in many other places. It is to this day a stronghold of Syrianism.

Thomas de Campo¹ IV., who died in 1686, used occasionally to reside here—Páráur, Eddapally, and Cottayam being his other favourite habitats.

A century later Paoli gives a graphic account of a visit he paid to another Mar Thomas at Neranum December 22nd, 1785. Entering the room, his eyes fell on an old man, seated in the midst of a group of Syrian priests. He had a long white beard, and held in his hand a silver pastoral staff curved at the upper end. On his head was a round mitre, with a cross affixed to it; whilst a white veil, thrown over the mitre, fell loosely on his shoulders. The Metran appeared to be a shrewd man, and ambitious that his nephew should succeed him to preserve the honour of the episcopal office in his family. Paoli, in no very complimentary strains, adds: "I knew the wild beast by his horns;" and after a short interview with the heretic prelate hurried back to Callurcáda, where he was sojourning.

When Buchanan was there in 1806, the people told him that the place had formerly been an episcopal residence, and showed the bishop's chair covered with faded red velvet, and decorated with copper studs, and also an antique pastoral staff. There were then six Cattanars at the church, and the people were considered wealthy; one of the laity, Jacob by name, had the honorary title of Taragen conferred on him by the Travancore Rajah. The church was reported to be about 900 years old.

When on a visit at Neranum in 1863, inquiry was made about these old relics of episcopal state—they had all disappeared—nothing was known of them. A bishop was then making the

¹ Native names in their Portuguese or Latin form can scarcely be recognised. De Campo is a literal translation of the common Malabar house or family name *Parambil*. A succession of native Metrans were so called by Paoli.

church his residence, and had been there some months. This was none other than the Syrian Metropolitan recognised by the British Government, Mar Athanasius. From a sincere desire to benefit his church, he had, some years previously, issued an order that the Cattanars should preach regularly to their flocks; but as most of them were much like the "*massing priests*" of our Reformation period, they did not know how to do it. Some of them used to beg the writer to give them books from which they could make sermons; but, as there was a great lack of anything suitable for the purpose, a small volume of simple sermons was prepared, and then translated, by two native brethren, into the Malayalam language; and one chief object in visiting the Metropolitan was to present a few copies to him, hoping they might meet his approval. They were short Homilies on the Apostles' Creed, the articles of which we all professed to believe. He manifested great cordiality, as on all former occasions; seemed glad to hear that the volume was ready; and said he would encourage its use. He shewed his sincerity at a later period by purchasing 30 or 40 copies.

The formal interview with the Metran being over, when about to take leave, he called for his outer robe, a large black silk gown with full sleeves, and putting it on, most politely shewed the writer over the church and its precincts. He pointed out the lower masonry of the chancel—which bore decided marks of antiquity—as possibly a portion of the original structure. An old granite font and an elaborately sculptured stone cross—similar to one at Changanûr—standing in the vicinity of the church, were specially worthy of notice as works of art. We noticed an inscription, in the old Malabar character—on one of the church steps—the like had been elsewhere observed in several places. Upon asking an explanation, the Metran said they were usually memorial stones to deceased parishioners.

The Metran, followed by a train of white-robed Cattanars, then accompanied his visitor, through the grand entrance, to an antique bridge—made of rough beam-like slabs of granite stone—which was reached by a kind of four-sided ladder of the same material. Here farewell salaams were given and received—the Metran at once returning to the church, and his early morning visitor to the neighbouring Church Missionary Society's Station of Thullawaddy, where he was then staying, living, like the Metran, in a *church*, on a small islet, amid a world of waters, for he could not communicate with the native pastor who lived close by, except by canoe or boat.

7. *Nellakkul*—called also *Chael*, or *Shail*—is the last in the list of the seven earliest churches. It lies about 36 miles due east of Ránný.—at present one of the easternmost Syrian settlements—on the road to the famous Hindoo temple of Chouramalla, in the depths of mountainous jungle, the favourite haunt of the elephant, tiger, leopard, and other beasts of prey. It was once a place of great importance, and probably carried on trade with Madura and Tinne-

vely through some of the mountain passes now little frequented. Hindoo tradition says it contained 1000 *Chetties* (heathen tradesmen) and 3000 *mootas*—literally *eggs*. A native friend suggests that this was a nickname for the Christians, because they would not wear their hair after the manner of the heathen, but shaved the head as bare and clean as an egg shell, and hence in contempt they were called egg-headed. From the large proportion mentioned above, it must have been regarded as a *Christian* town, in the heart of the forests.

Many generations back, the whole of the inhabitants left the place, but when, or for what reason, is not known with any certainty. Some say it was because the wild beasts increased so much upon them; others, because the richer soil of the low country was more productive, and they could live there with a greater degree of comfort. If they were dependent on trade, some change in their commercial relations with the Tamil country may have deprived them of their former sources of wealth, and compelled them to quit the home of their fathers.

This is not the only migration of the kind on record in their history. When in the neighbourhood of Maramana, on one occasion, from the top of a high hill, the sight of another old Syrian town was pointed out in the distance—Koompanáda by name. It used to be a populous Christian settlement, but then only two or three houses and the old church remained. The Syrian tradition is that the people were compelled to quit the place in consequence of the incursion of huge cockroaches—so gigantic that when they settled on a house, by sticking their long claws through the roof or thatch, they could sieze any inmates, and squeeze them to death! Upon the aged Cattamar Matthan of Iyrúr alluding to this, the writer asked him *when* this remarkable event was supposed to have occurred. He dryly replied: “I suppose about the time of the *Maha Bharata*”—the mythic age of the Hindoos.¹

One party from Nellakkul is said to have travelled N.W. and settled at Canyerapally, where there is still an old Syrian church, though now in the hands of the Romanists. Another party made their way S.W. and settled at Cadumbenáda, where their descendants have a church, and still adhere to the Syrian ritual. The character of the old church leads to the supposition that they became a prosperous community. When the Church Missionary Society's mis-

¹ When visiting Travancore in 1866 the writer was told that the Syrians were beginning to return to the place. The Brahmins and other Hindoos, however, were not returning.

A similar reason is given for the migration from Nellakkul. A Travancore friend, most intimately acquainted with the country and its people, thinks that the word translated *cockroach* is a corruption of *Warayen Pulli*, the Tamil and Eastern Travancore name for the Tiger. The *Perin bathu* is also said to have persecuted them. He considers this to be more properly the *Perin wathu* or cholera morbus.

sionaries incited the Syrian Christians to church building and restoration, this was one of their ancient structures which received attention. Colonel Newell, the British Resident, writing from Cottayam, March 13, 1822, speaks of "the large church of *Cadam-banat*, not unlike an English cathedral in its lofty roof and lengthened chancel, now undergoing complete repairs."

At Canyerapally there are now two churches, and the Romish party are strongly intrenched there. Paoli, a century back, describes it as "a town celebrated on account of its trade with the kingdom of Madura, and which transports its merchandise thither over the ghauts." There is an old line of road still running through the place, on to Mundakaiyum, and then over the mountains into the Pandy or Tamil country. The ascent of the ghaut is, in some places, very steep, and little else than flights of rough steps; but up and down these the writer has seen files of bullocks, burdened with produce, driven by Tamil men, so that the communication is still kept up, though the traffic is not what it once was. But the coffee and tea plantations, since then opened out on the table lands on the mountain top, may possibly be entirely altering the character of the neighbourhood from what it was fifteen years ago.

The old Syrian church in 1858 had a mean, neglected appearance, both externally and internally. The three *wooden* altars, common to the old churches, were still standing, but on the chief altar there was a small slab of stone, about 8 by 12 inches, sewn up in a flannel case; the ritual of Rome requiring that the host should be consecrated on *stone*.

The other church at Canyerapally is a modern structure; and, what is unusual in Malabar, cruciform in shape. In one of the transepts we observed a wooden tabernacle or shrine with folding doors, containing an image of St. Dominic; and in the same case with the lifeless figure, a numerous swarm of bees were busily occupied in forming a huge honey comb, which would be regarded by the superstitious as a good omen. A native artist was hard at work in the nave re-painting and re-gilding the various images which the people delighted to honour, as they were expecting a visit from the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoli. It was sad to see this remnant of the descendants of the Nellakkul people thus turned aside to fables!

Some of the foundation stones of Nellakkul church, which stood on high table land, and commanded an extensive view, are still discernible, and so are the ruins of a Hindoo temple, and the crumbling walls of houses and gardens. The old baptismal font is said to be still there in the depths of the sacred tank beside the temple site.

No one now goes near that wild and unpeopled spot save heathen devotees, who annually pass over the ruins of the old settlement in myriads, on their way to Chouramalla, to worship Iapen, the forest deity, or hunter's god. Bands of these pilgrims are often met with

at one season of the year, in the interior of Travancore, walking along the country paths, in single file, each one chanting plaintively, in his native tongue:—"Ayappa sharanum, sharanum yenday Ayappa!" *Iapen the refuge; my refuge, Iapen!*

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH PARTIES AND APOSTASIES FROM THE FAITH. THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE CHRISTIANITY OF MALABAR.

Those exciting controversies—sometimes, alas, little else than "strivings about words"—which ever and anon shook the very centres of Christian organisation in the early church, as with an earthquake's power, were felt, more or less, in the remotest regions of the world whither the Gospel had been carried.

Thus *the opinions of Nestorius* were speedily introduced into Malabar, and continued to be incorporated in the dogmatic teaching of the Indian Church, for ten or twelve hundred years.

Next in order, full-grown *medieval Popery*, with all its pomp and splendour, its abounding wealth and close alliance with worldly power, did its best to bring these Nestorian Christians under its own grievous yoke, from the time that the Portuguese, and their Jesuit fellow helpers, obtained a firm footing on the coast of India.

Since then, for the last two centuries, that portion of the Church of Malabar which so nobly regained, and maintained its independence of Rome, has come under the influence, and been in connection with, the party most opposed to Nestorianism—the Syrian *Jacobites*, who are in their creed *Monophysites*.

Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, was a *Syrian* by birth, and this may account for the Christians of his own race, and of the churches under their influence so readily siding with him. He was tried, and condemned by the Council of Ephesus A.D. 431 for certain peculiar opinions held by him: or rather, as it has been stated, not so much by a General Council, as by his adversary Cyril of Alexandria, who impatiently opened the assembly, without waiting for the arrival of the other Patriarchs, whose influence might have prevented the extreme course adopted by Cyril, and the rupture which followed.

Nestorius had, undoubtedly, in the heat of controversy, used expressions which did not well accord with the authorised standards of orthodoxy; but whilst he denied that he held the views attributed to him, he unhappily refused to retract any of those assertions which had led his opponents to their conclusions respecting his religious sentiments. There seems to have been a sad lack of love on the one side; and the unyielding obstinacy of a sorely wounded spirit on the other. Judging from some explanations of his views, and many expressions about the divine and human nature of our Lord used in the ritual of his followers, he was not so far wrong possibly as his antagonists tried to make him appear. Be this as it may, a very strong party in the Eastern Church sided with him, amongst others the Patriarch of Seleucia or Babylon, and his Suffragan the Metropolitan of Persia. The successors of these two influential bishops, with the bishops under their jurisdiction, have ever since adhered to the cause of Nestorius.

At the time of the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius, the Christians of Malabar were receiving their bishops from Persia, through whom the peculiar views of the party would be introduced to India, without any resistance on the part of the simple and uninformed natives of the country (A.D. 431).

About the middle of the seventh century there was some change in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the church of Malabar. The Persian Metropolitan had, from some unexplained cause, neglected the outlying Indian Church, which led Jesuyab, bishop of Mosul (who died A.D. 660), to write complainingly to the Metropolitan:—"In your region, since you have neglected the canons of the church, the succession of the priesthood is cut off from India; nor India alone, which extends from the sea coast of Persia to Colon (*Quilon*), but also your own region of Persia is deprived of the light of divine doctrine." This led, apparently, to the Indian Church applying to the Patriarch of Babylon himself for aid, and by this means it came under his more immediate direction; but as both prelates adhered to the same church party no change in dogma or ritual took place.

When the Romanists first came in contact with the Malabar Christians they were still Nestorians, praying in their Liturgy—to the great horror of the Jesuits—for the Patriarch of Babylon; and looking to the same quarter for a succession of bishops, so long as it was in any degree possible to introduce them into territories watched and guarded by the Argus-eyed and many-handed agents of the Inquisition.

After groaning for a long period under the forced yoke of Rome, and help from the Nestorian Patriarch having completely failed them, dismayed at the difficulties of their position, they were ready to welcome any Oriental bishop opposed to the Papacy, who would come to their assistance, and aid them in their efforts to regain their ancient religious freedom.

The Romanist Raulini tells us that, when Francis Garcia, S.J.,

was Archbishop of Cranganore, some disaffected Cattanars, or Syrian priests, clandestinely demanded from their own Patriarch, or, as Vincent Maria says, from the Patriarch of the Copts or Jacobites, another bishop: and he sent them a Syrian named Ahattala or Theodore. This man, on arriving at Mylapur, was seized by the Portuguese, and never allowed to set his foot in Malabar: but was sent on to Goa, where he was burnt as a heretic 1654. Asseman states that in 1663 the Malabar Christians were divided into two factions, and that the Jacobite Patriarch judged this to be a fitting occasion for disseminating his errors, and hence despatched Gregory, the Metropolitan of the Jerusalem Syrians, to India; and that he was the first who brought certain of the Malabars from the Nestorian to the Jacobite heresy.¹ The probability is that the Malabar Christians in their perplexity applied to two or three quarters, and that the responsive effort made by the Jacobite Patriarch proved the only successful one: and this led to their becoming quietly incorporated with the party most antagonistic, dogmatically, to that of Nestorius.

The opinions and customs introduced by Mar Gregory were as follows, according to the Carmelite Paoli:—1. Hatred to the Pope and Nestorius, whom he openly proclaimed to be heretics. 2. The ecclesiastical supremacy of the Church of Antioch. 3. The one nature in Christ. 4. The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father only. 5. A rejection of the doctrine of purgatory. 6. The use of fermented bread in the Lord's Supper. 7. The sufficiency of the pluvial without the casula as the dress of the officiating priest in holy rites. 8. The observance of Lent ten days later than the Church of Rome.

The next party of oriental ecclesiastics who arrived in Malabar in 1685 were all of them Jacobites. The leader was John, a Jacobite bishop from Mosul, commissioned by the Patriarch of Antioch. He had with him an associate bishop named Basilius, two Armenian and one Greek priest. They rejected the authority of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) which condemned the Monophysite tenets; and being opposed by a Romanist Professor of Syriac, named Bartholomew Hanna, they issued letters to spread their opinions.

They are said to have differed from Rome on the following points:—1. They did not approve of mass being said in Lent, except on Sundays which were not fasting days. 2. They denied that the soul enjoyed the beatific vision immediately after death. 3. Taught people to stand in prayer. 4. Allowed priests to marry. 5. Removed crucifixes and images from their churches. 6. Recommended abstinence from things strangled.

¹ Mar Gregory died in 1672 at North Páráur. For more particulars about him see Chapters III. and XII.

For Lists of the Bishops who have presided over the Malabar Church since the arrival of the Portuguese, and also of the Vicars Apostolic, see Appendices B. and C.

The Nestorians after a time made an effort or two to regain their ancient influence in Malabar, but without success. In 1700 the Nestorian Patriarch, styling himself the Catholic Patriarch of the East, sent a bishop called Mar Simon to India. He very unwisely "gave notice of his intended arrival by letter to the Syrian Christians, which happening to fall into the hands of the Carmelites and Jesuits, they accordingly placed sentinels everywhere, captured the bishop and led him prisoner to Pondicherry, where they kept him in irons."¹ In 1705 another Nestorian bishop, Mar Gabriel, arrived at Quilon in an English ship from Madras. He resided at Cottayam, where he died in 1730. Paoli says he was an implacable enemy of the Jacobites, and circumvented the Romish party by various means to gain them over to his side; whilst the Dutch chaplain, J. C. Visscher, who was acquainted with him, describes him as "a courteous and God-fearing man, and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp." His mission, however, does not seem to have been a very successful one, since forty-five of the churches still adhered to the Jacobite Metran, Thomas de Campo, who was a native of the country and lived in great state. Not long after the death of Gabriel another bishop was sent from Babylon to be his successor, but landing at Surat the Carmelites and Jesuits united their forces to prevent his going any further. What ultimately became of him is not known; but the probability is that meeting with such serious obstacles in his way he returned to his own land—doubtless glad enough to get safely out of the hands of the Romanists and the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, still in active operation at Goa, where Mar Ahattala or Atalla (as he is more commonly called) perished in the flames.

The Nestorians are not supposed to have made any efforts since to recover their lost footing, and they are wholly without sympathisers in the Syrian Church of Malabar in the present day. But though the Members of this church are all now connected with the Jacobite party, they do not as a general rule obtrude their peculiar sentiments, nor manifest that fondness for controversy on abstruse points of Divinity so commonly met with amongst most Oriental Sects: but join us in the profession of the Nicene Creed, though in its *original* form, as received by the Eastern Church generally.²

Mar Gabriel was buried in the little church at Cottayam; and though we have reason to say that scant respect has been shown to his memory, yet, from that superstitious veneration with which these people regard every one who comes from "the lands of the Bible," whence they first obtained the Christian faith, when our Church Missionaries first settled at Cottayam, the Syrians annually observed a day in his commemoration. The Rev. J. Fenn, visiting

¹ Letters from Malabar by Rev. J. C. Visscher p. 108. For farther particulars about this Mar Simon see Appendix E.

² The Athanasian Creed does not seem to have been known among them until its introduction in 1599 by Archbishop Menezes. See chapter VIII.

the little church on 20th February, 1821, found a large congregation assembled for this purpose, and three masses had already been said. On his asking why they thus honoured the memory of a Nestorian Bishop, the Jacobite Metran replied that it was the *custom*, though not quite correct, that when he came from Antioch (he should have said from the Patriarch of Seleucia or Babylon) the Syrians had no one to teach them, hence they commemorated him.

Since then his last resting place has not been preserved altogether inviolate—his tomb has been removed from the church, and its only remains—a piece of wooden plank bearing his epitaph—formed, a few years ago, part of the wood work of the staircase at the Cattanar's house which stands in the church compound—it is most probably still there. The inscription, cut in old Malayalam letters, was copied and translated for the writer by the senior priest of the church, Marcus Cattanar. It is as follows:—“*Mar Gabriel, the Metran, left this world for the other, on Sunday, the 8th of Kumbum (February) in the year of our Lord 1730.*”

Nor was this isolated body of Christians altogether free from the ravages of some of those “grievous wolves” who spared not “the flock”—erring, not merely through “vain jangling” and “strivings about words to no profit,” but by a complete apostasy from the truth of the gospel. The followers of Manes, and after them of Mahomet, found their way to Malabar or Kerala, and did their best to “draw away disciples after them.”

Manes (the historian Mosheim informs us) was by birth a Persian, and was educated among the Magi before he professed Christianity. He lived in the third century, and endeavoured to amalgamate the doctrines of the Magi with those of Christ. He asserted that Christ left His system incomplete, and that he himself was the promised comforter sent to lead Christians into all truth. He rejected almost all the inspired Scriptures, affirming that the Old Testament was not the word of *God* but of the *Prince of Darkness*, who was substituted by the Jews in the place of the true God; and that the New Testament was corrupted and interpolated by designing men. He supplied the place of the Scriptures by a gospel which he said was dictated to him by God himself. He divided his followers into the elect and hearers, the former of whom were to attain perfection by extravagant austerities. He is, moreover, said to have travelled in different parts of the Chinese empire, and in India Proper—called by his historians *Baratha*—where he associated himself with the Bhoodists. His disciples were called Manicheans.

The presence of some of the Manichean sect in Southern India is indubitably attested.¹ In one of the famous copper leaf docu-

¹ They had a colony in Ceylon—a stronghold of Bhoodism. Two Mahometan travellers of the Middle Ages speak of *Tanouis* or Manicheans being met with and tolerated in Ceylon, called by them *Serendib*, i.e.,

ments, still possessed by the Syrian Christians, there is most distinct reference to members of this body; there are many traditions respecting them preserved in the country, and, what is more, a small and feeble remnant of their descendants is still existing.

At the time that the legal instrument alluded to was executed, Iravi Corttan, a merchant residing at Kodungalûr, appears to have been the leading man of this sect in that neighbourhood, since he is dignified with the title of "Sovereign Merchant of Kerala." A plot of ground was granted to this man, and the settlement formed thereon was called *Mânigrâmam* or the village of Manes. Corttan was probably one of the Persians or Syrians who, for the sake of commerce, had settled on the coast of Malabar; and hence might either bring with him the heresy of Manes, or be specially open to the influence of teachers from Persia who would do so. History states Manes himself sent one of his disciples, named Thomas, to India, for the express purpose of making proselytes.

Passing on to the Syrian traditions we get some further particulars about this sect. They tell us that in the third century a certain sorcerer, called by them *Mânikâvachakar*, arrived in the Chola country (on the east coast of India), and having deceived and perverted many Christians by his wiles, and sown the seeds of heresy among them, found his way round by land to the Malayalim country. At that time there were many Christians settled in the southern part of Travancore, between Quilon and Kottar (which adjoins the London Missionary Society's station of Nâgercoil); and in this district he laboured, and by his pretended miracles obtained much the same influence over them as Simon Magus did over the people of Samaria. If any one was taken with serious illness, or there was disease among their cattle, the sorcerer was sent for to breathe over them or mutter his charms and apply his sacred ashes. He taught them to use *muntra* or cabalistic sentences in verse, and also assured them that if they partook of a mixture, composed of the five products of the cow (a heathen compound) they would find it a specific for all kinds of sickness, and secure long life to themselves. Eight families were perverted by him, and these so far increased as to form at length a community of ninety-six houses, whose members had renounced the worship of the true God. The reigning Rajah or Perumâl Prince, as before stated, having granted to their headman, Iravi Corttan, ground, whereupon a settlement was formed called *Mânigrâmam*, they were called *Mânigrâmakar* or (as we should say) the people of the village of Manes, and the remnant of their descendants still bear the same name among the Syrian Christians.

Kâyenkulum, or as more commonly called by old writers Kulli-

Seren or *Selen* (spelt by us Ceylon) and *dwipa* an island. William de Rubruquis, who started on his eastern travels in 1253, met with them in the heart of Tartary, and held a public disputation with their leader at the court of the Tartar chieftain, Mangu Khan.

Quilon, seems to be the headquarters of the largest section of the remnant still subsisting. Káyenkulum is a very ancient Syrian settlement about twenty miles north of Quilon; and like Quilon, Kodungalur, and Porcáda it is a trading port, situated on the shores of the Backwater. They say that its church, dedicated to the Virgin, was founded 1000 years ago, being one of those which owe their origin to the labours of Mar Sapoires and Mar Pheroz (called in old Malabar documents *Mar Chaboor* and *Mar Apprott*), who are stated to have come from the Patriarch of Babylon about A.D. 825, and to have preached in this neighbourhood after having obtained certain privileges from Chungra Irawa Shri, Rajah of the country. Káyenkulum was once the capital of a native state, which was bounded by that of Porcáda on the north and Quilon on the south, extending a considerable distance inland, and containing (in 1758) twelve ancient Syrian settlements, so far united among themselves as to decline re-union with Rome, whose yoke they had cast off.

Like the other old Syrian ports it was a great place for the pepper trade, which attracted foreign merchants. Its Rajah was the first native prince who admitted the Dutch East India Company into Malabar; though with commendable sagacity, whilst he gave them permission to build a factory for the reception and stowage of their merchandise, he would not on any account sanction the erection of a fort. This took place about the middle of the seventeenth century. A hundred years later it was still held in repute by the Dutch, since they annually purchased at this port 400,000 lbs. of pepper.

At this ancient Syrian settlement a family of the *Mánigrámakar* are stated to have located themselves more than five hundred years ago, and their descendants are still in Káyenkulum and its neighbourhood. Their connexion with the orthodox Syrians is a curious and well supported fact. When Knaye Thoma, the Syrian merchant, about A.D. 800, obtained some privileges which secured to them the services of certain of the low caste working class (as carpenters, goldsmiths, and blacksmiths) four families of the *Mánigrámakar*—who seem to have been connected with native law courts—were appointed to regulate and manage all that related to the social position and caste questions of these artisans. It was one of these four families which settled at Káyenkulum. It is further worthy of observation that in another copper document, already referred to, granting land to a parish community called Tarisa-palli, the *Mánigránum*—possibly the headman of the Manicheans—is appointed, amongst others, a protector of the land and church so endowed; or the *Mánigránum* may refer specially to the four families above named, or to their headman, since a trusteeship of this kind would quite accord with the other duties of their profession.

From close enquiries made in the neighbourhood of Káyenkulum, by an intelligent, well educated native friend, it appears that they

maintained some kind of connexion with the Syrian church till within the last thirty years. When the Mánigrámakar had a marriage, they paid a fee to the church, with a present of tobacco and betel leaves—the invariable dessert accompaniments of a native feast—hereby acknowledging old acquaintance, if not ancient fealty; and in return a piece of new cloth was given by the church for the bride to wear on her head. Similarly, when any of the Mánigrámakar died, a cloth was given by the church to invest the corpse. Their priests at this place used to go by the name of *Padattalawan*, or captain. The corpse of the last priest who died at Káyenkúlum was burned by his relatives, in imitation of the customs prevalent among high caste Hindoos, and contrary to the former customs of this people; and no successor has been appointed.

In the neighbourhood of Quilon, where they number about 30 houses, their priest was usually called Naimar, or Naimar-Achchen. The Naimar used to wear a loose garment reaching to the feet, and a long beard like the Syrian priests. The tuft of hair, worn on the crown of the head by the rest of his caste, was forbidden to him; nor was he allowed to dwell in the same house as other people. On the death of a Naimar his body was interred in a sitting posture, just in the same manner as the Syrian Metrans are buried. He had a subordinate called *Weerudayán*, who was sent to the houses of the low caste artisans on such errands as a constable would be employed about in a rural district in England; and on such occasions this official carried with him a sort of weapon of a peculiar shape called by the natives *Yamadháda*.

These people were long dissatisfied with their social position; but, in a country like India, where an unyielding system of caste predominates, to alter it was no easy matter. The feeling of their hearts had been for generations, "*We will be as the heathen*;" and to become *low caste* heathen, or *outcastes*, would have been no very difficult matter; but such a step was hurtful to their pride, for they wished to maintain as respectable a position in native society as their fathers had held. The Syrian Christians were generally considered to occupy much such a position as the Nair caste among the Hindoos of Travancore; and their ambition was to join the Nairs, and become incorporated with them. Hence they took means to disconnect themselves as much as possible from the Christians, and to associate with the heathen Nairs; in which they are said to have been very materially assisted by an influential Syrian of Káyenkúllúm, who released them and their descendants from all obligations to his church; and further expunged from the church records all statements bearing on their past history which might be prejudicial to their worldly interests.

The Syrian Metrans have more than once, even within the memory of people still living, claimed them as wandering sheep, who ought to be brought back to their fold. When Colonel Munro was President of Travancore, an effort was made to bring them

under the jurisdiction of the Syrian bishops; and it is stated that the present Metropolitan put in a claim for them some years ago, which filled the little community with dismay; and, in order to protect themselves and their descendants from similar attempts, at the Government Assessment in 1837 they did their best to get rid of the name of *Mánigrámakar*, and to be classed as one of the subdivisions of the Nair caste.

These unhappy people are not at their ease even among their new friends; they have not found all their carnal hearts wanted, and God grant they never may; so that, after feeding on husks, they may be brought to consider their ways, and turn unto Him whom their forefathers forsook! Though most of them occupy a respectable position—being very commonly employed about the local courts; and though they intermarry with Nair, and even Brahmin families, they are looked down upon by the people of their choice. Thus, if a Nair makes a feast, the *males* of the *Mánigrámakar* may be invited, but not the females; and if they make a feast in return, the Nair guests will not eat the food if cooked by any one of the same caste as their host. When the Nairs and they fall out, it is a very common thing for the former to upbraid them with their mongrel origin.

Some little of the ancient grandeur of their ancestry is still occasionally displayed by them, in particular at their weddings, the bridegroom being privileged, by royal patent, to ride on an elephant; and the bride to be carried in a palanquin; whilst the priest and visitors follow on horseback. They are said, however, to have very loose ideas about the marriage tie; and do, when they please, divorce their wives. Numerically they are a small body, and are supposed to be declining in numbers at the present time; and the like process has probably been going on for centuries. "*Who hath hardened his heart against Him, and hath prospered?*" (Job ix. 4.)

Mánikávachakar is said to have been most successful in his work of perversion in the southern part of Travancore; and tradition says that the heathen Rajah so far encouraged him as to make him a grant of 54 paras of rice land, which estate bears his name to the present day; but it belongs to a Hindoo Temple to which the sorcerer is said (not improbably) to have bequeathed it. There are some families of this people living as far south as Trevandrum, where the present Rajah of Travancore holds his court; and a few still linger at isolated places inland, as Kadamuttam, Ránný, and Mánaar—all Syrian stations except the last, which, however, is in the immediate vicinity of several, and has Syrians living in its Bazaar.

Speaking of Kadamuttam—which has a fine Syrian church with most imposing approaches in the way of broad stone terraces and flights of steps, and lies far inland up one of the beautiful rivers of Travancore—the Rev. B. Bailey, one of our first Church Missionary Society Missionaries, tells us how he met with four

families of the Mánigrámakar residing at this remote station in 1820. The Cattanars informed him they seldom came to Church, not more than once a year; but they chiefly attended Hindoo pagodas, and heathen festivals; and, in fact, lived as do the heathen, and got their living by sorcery, sword exercise, &c. Mr. Bailey sent for them, and had much conversation with them respecting the impropriety of their conduct. They did not attempt to deny the charges brought against them; and promised to visit the college at Cottayam, where they might have further intercourse; but he feared they would not take the trouble to fulfil this engagement.

Whether the presence of these four families in connexion with the Kadamuttam congregation has exercised any prejudicial influence over the Syrians of the place or not, it is a remarkable fact that this church had not, in times past, a very good name. Mr. Bailey speaks of some of its former Cattanars being notorious for the practice of sorcery, which has left an indelible stain on their character. One in particular is reported to have made dead bodies rise and walk, by his magical arts. When examining the interior of the church the writer noticed a singular-looking mural tablet in the south wall of the chancel, unlike anything he had ever seen, before or since, in any Syrian church. There was some kind of inscription, but it could not be deciphered; and hence, as it would not tell its own tale, the Cattanars of the Church were closely questioned. They knew nothing about it, and could not, or *would not*, throw any light upon it; which led a companion (one of the native clergy) to intimate that it *might* have something to do with the wicked priest alluded to; and that hence, through shame, they would say nothing about it. It certainly had a very cabalistic appearance; and the air of mystery thrown around it only deepened the impression.¹

Mánaar lies about half way between the ancient Syrian churches of Neranam and Chenganúr. There is an ancient Hindoo shrine here, known by the name of Panayennarkáwa, where till the middle of last century a human sacrifice, of a most horrible character, was

¹ That superstitious and wicked practices prevailed more commonly amongst some of these people in ancient times, there is every reason to fear. In Act III. Decree 14 of the Synod of Udiampárur, a book called "*Parisman, or the Persian Medicine*, which is full of sorceries," is condemned. It is said to contain "many superstitious exorcisms for the casting out of devils, mixing some godly words with others that are not intelligible." The Rev. G. P. Badger speaks of the Nestorians of Persia using "charms against the evil eye, the poison of reptiles and plants, the rot and other diseases in sheep, the tyranny of rulers, and the designs of wicked men;" in which certain passages of Holy Writ are profanely used. He gives some specimens, and tells us he has in his possession an entire volume of these charms. (*Nestorians and their Rituals*. Vol. i., pp. 238-40.) Parisman is probably a corruption of a Malayálim word *Prashnum*—astrology, or astrological calculations.

annually offered to Bhagawati; and so closely associated with heathenism is the Manichean remnant at this place, that their priest (who was styled, as at Káyenkúlm, *Captain*) used to frequent the Hindoo Pagoda.

But much further south than Quilon there are some families whose ancestral history associates them with Manichean propaganda, and to whose forefathers tradition assigns the noble position of *Confessors*. When Mánikávachakar was turning many from the truth, 64 Christian families are said to have stood firm; and, in consequence, to have endured derision and persecution. They would not receive the sacred ashes which the sorcerer and his followers offered them; and so they were called, in contempt, *Dhareyáygul*, or Nonconformists (*literally, those who would not put on, or wear*), in allusion to their refusal of the ashes.

The descendants of these Confessors, who still keep themselves distinct from others, are but few in number, and probably approaching corporate extinction with rapidity, through intermarriage with other native Christians, or gradual incorporation into the main body of the Syrian Church. About 50 years ago there were some thirty families of Dhareyáygul living in the ancient town of Travancore, from whence the Rajah of the country takes his title, and which was formerly the capital of his state. Travancore town lies about twelve miles north of Nagercoil, a good mile or so off the main road; and being shorn of its former glories, by the removal of the native court to Trevandrum, is decreasing in population; and this probably accounts for there being only five families in all left (containing 25 souls), when visited in 1866. But at Trevandrum (30 miles north) a small congregation of these people has been formed, which may be regarded as a sort of offshoot of the Travancore Church; and hence this marked decrease may be chiefly accounted for by migrations to the new capital for the sake of employment. Though they dress like the other Syrians, and have the reputation of being descended from ancient Confessors, strange to say, the men and boys among them wear the *Kudami*, or tuft of hair on their heads, which the other Syrian Christians of Malabar have universally rejected as a badge of heathenism.

The remoteness of the Church at Travancore from the rest of the Syrian body has doubtless acted, in some respects, prejudicially. One of the former Metrans ordered a Cattanar to reside amongst them continually; but this seemed to him so like penal banishment to a foreign land, that he soon grew tired of his charge, and returned northwards. In 1866 they were only receiving occasional visits from Cattanars who resided at Quilon, or Gundara. They had no Christian school for their children; and would probably have been without any copies of the Holy Scriptures, but for the kind offices of the London Missionaries, who have a station in their neighbourhood, and supply them with copies in the Malay-alim and Tamil languages.

The isolation of this congregation in former times was still greater, and its effects still more injurious. Three centuries back the nearest Syrian congregation was at Quilon, 70 miles to the north—some two or three days' journey—as poor natives commonly travel; and to the south, east, and west, everywhere, the darkest heathenism reigned, except where Xavier and his followers had baptised some of the low-caste fisher men, lime burners, and palmyra climbers, on the sea coast. In such a lamentable state of decay was the whole community, that their case was formally brought under consideration at the council of Udiamparúr. The Jesuit Missionaries had previously informed Archbishop Menezes on the subject; and to remedy, in some measure, the evil complained of, a decree, to the following effect, was drawn up, respecting the spiritual destitution of this outlying community:—

“Whereas the church of Travancore is at this time totally demolished, the greater part of its parishioners having above 40 years ago turned perfect heathens, all which has happened through the negligence of sending priests among them, by reason of their great distance from any other church, there being nevertheless several good Christians there still, therefore the Synod doth command, that a Vicar be forthwith collated to that place, who shall set immediately about rebuilding the church; there shall likewise be some preachers sent along with him to reduce the said people into the bosom of the Holy Mother Church, and to the Holy Catholic Faith of Christ, according to the orders given therein by the most reverend Metropolitan; and the Vicar shall continue there baptizing and receiving all, according to the necessity of the church, for which an Olla, or Licence, has been already obtained from the King of Travancore, and shall from henceforth continue in the church according to the necessity thereof.” Act VIII. Decree 6.

The church now standing in the decayed town of Travancore is possibly the structure eventually raised in consequence of the above injunction of the Synod of 1599. Though not very large, it is a substantial edifice, well built, and not without architectural features calculated to attract attention, when compared with the other ancient ecclesiastical edifices in Malabar. Over the church door, at the chief entrance, are two sculptured figures, in a kneeling posture, on each side of what may be intended by the Hindoo designer to represent an altar. The intention of the representation is doubtless to remind those who enter for what purpose the building was erected; but the like, it is thought, can be observed in no other Syrian church in India.

One cannot but look upon this “remnant which is left,” with more than common interest. Their story is a touching one. The community sprung originally from “Confessors;” they may not possibly have had much light, but enough to discern that the Manichean “lie” was not “of the truth,” and hence to reject it. Three centuries ago, left as sheep without a shepherd, they were

in danger of a lapse into heathenism, or something near to it. Rome next sent her emissaries to recover them in her way, and to bring them into obedience to the faith of the Pope; but they are now, and have long been, free from his yoke. Both Du Perron in 1758, and Paoli (some years later) have placed the church of St. Thomas at Tiruvancotta, or Travancore, among the list of Schismatic or Syrian churches.

Should not Protestant Christians make an extra effort to seek the good of this little flock in the wilderness? With God's Word in their possession, and the Spirit of God as their Teacher, these dry bones may again live. The candlestick is not quite removed out of its place. May its lamps then be speedily trimmed, and replenished with the holy oil; and its light be thus made to shine so brightly that the gross darkness of Hindooism, in this ancient Brahminical stronghold of idolatry, may be speedily dispelled through its instrumentality! Thus it will have been preserved for a great and glorious purpose.

Whilst the ancient Christian congregations in the south were disturbed by the propagation of Manicheism, which has been well described as "a mongrel system, a patchwork of Christian heresy, and Magian superstition;" those in the extreme north were probably disturbed by the growing influence of a later apostasy, which has proved more mischievous to mankind, because more wide in its influence, and more lasting in its duration.

Mahomet died A.D. 632, but it must have been some time before his disciples could have reached India, and made any impression upon its races. They came, however, there can be no doubt, whilst the Perumál Princes still governed Kerala. The traditions of the vulgar—who seem to attribute to *one* man what was really done by a succession of rulers bearing the title of Perumál—will tell you that their favourite hero, Cheram Perumál, became a convert to Mahometanism; but if one looks into the old Malayálim History of Kerala (as before observed), we find a distinct statement that it was Bána Perumál who turned Mussulman, and went to Mecca, and not the last of these princes, Cheram Perumál.

This proselyte prince doubtless protected and encouraged the propagation of his new creed, before he started on the pilgrimage, from which he is supposed never to have returned. After his death teachers are said to have come to Kodungalúr with letters from him to the reigning prince—they had been charged by the Perumál in a dying request (the Mahometans say) to take up the work of propagating Mahometanism. The *Parapa raya*, by his order, gave them Tiruvangadi (*the sacred market street*) for their residence; and they have never since wanted successors to teach their faith in this locality, where they still have an ancient Mosque. Until within recent times they were bound to present a nuzzar (*present*) of a certain fixed amount, on the accession of every new Rajah, as an acknowledgement of fealty and homage.¹ In Kodungalúr they

¹ M'Kenzie MSS. Madras Journal, Vol. ii. for 1838, p. 71.

at first probably lived in peace with the Hindoos, Jews, and Christians, whom they found settled there before them, availing themselves of the trading advantages of the place, where, in due time, they received patents of privilege similar to those granted to other foreign settlers.

Whatever may have been the ardour of their zeal in these early times, we have no reason to believe that they gained any accessions worthy of notice, from the native Christians of the west coast of India. They lorded it over Christians, in many other countries, where they were far more numerous; but these they first subdued by the power of the sword. In South-Western India it was very different; they could not be intolerant, to any alarming extent, since they themselves were, for a long time barely tolerated by Heathen Princes, who had power to put them down with a strong hand, if they became troublesome. But though they could not preach here, as elsewhere—"Conversion, or death to Infidels; Conversion, or tribute to Christian and Jew"—being a bold, pushing, essentially proud and overbearing sect, as they gained a firm footing in any state, they formed anything but an element of peace, wherever they felt themselves strong enough to maintain a quarrel.

Further north, in the provinces under the rule of the great Mogul and his Viceroys, Mahometanism was more powerful, and Christians seem to have been barely tolerated. In the early part of the 14th century Odorick, the Italian Minorite friar, and some companions of the same Order, visited Tanna, near modern Bombay, where they found fifteen families of Nestorians residing. Though regarding them as schismatics, Odorick accepted their kind hospitality for himself and brethren. Some of them were quartered in a house in which a quarrel arose between a man and his wife, who was so severely beaten that she complained of the treatment to the Mussulman Kadi or magistrate. Upon his asking her to produce witness, she said that four Frank monks were lodging in the house at the time. The four Minorite Friars were accordingly sent for, and after a time were drawn into controversy, in which they maintained the divinity of our Saviour; and upon being asked as to what they thought of Mahomet, they openly avowed that he was a son of perdition, and if they followed him they would perish. Upon this the four friars were condemned to death. They were made to stand in the sun from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m., and finding this torture did not result in death, they were finally beheaded. Under such rulers feeble communities of Nestorian Christians could have little comfort or security for life or property.

There is reason to believe the gradual increase of Mahometans in numbers and power led the native Christians to concentrate their forces, and to draw closer to one another. When the Portuguese first visited Calicut, in 1498, they found the Mahometans in strong force, prospering under the patronage of the Samorin; and very ready to oppose the settlement of any Christian merchants. It has

been supposed that Christian communities, at one time, might have been found at intervals, almost all down the coast from Bombay to Cape Comorin ; but now between the extreme northern *Syrian* parish of Paranyi (about 50 miles below Calicut) and the extreme outlying community in the old town of Travancore, the distance does not exceed 200 miles. Paoli distinctly tells us that they retired from Canara, and from various other provinces or districts under the sway of the Samorin, *because of the increase of the Mahometan influence* on the coast, and established themselves in the territories of the Hindoo Rajah of Cochin ; and that this event took place several years before the arrival of the Portuguese at Calicut.¹

That there had been some movement of this kind, so far as Calicut is concerned, not long before the discovery of Vasco de Gama, there is every reason to believe. "Purchas his Pilgrims" contains a statement to the effect that H. de Sancto Stephano, an old traveller, found a *thousand* families of Christians in Calicut, at the time of his being there.² Aloysius Cadamustus, a Venetian, who started on his travels to the East in 1493, and visited Calicut, says it was inhabited by Indian Christians, who had many churches and bells, but lacked priests and divine service. But Joseph the Indian, who was taken to Europe in 1500 (only seven years later), either did not know of the existence of these Christians, or they had, in the interval, retired south ; since, in the Narrative of his Travels (although he had visited the Greater Armenia), he is reported to have said that there were *no* Christians to be met with between Ormuz and Cranganore ;³ and yet, from what he elsewhere says, there must have been Christians (still under the rule of the Samorin) who had occasion to visit Calicut on matters of business in his time, for he informs us "that in the palace of Calicut, which resembled a theatre, there were four courts of justice, for the Hindoos, Mahometans, Jews, and *Christians* respectively, in which the causes of these different races were judicially investigated." The testimony of these three travellers, so far as it goes, certainly

¹ A Christian officer, engaged in the Government survey of the Western Coast, told the writer when resident at Cochin, that he had met with one or two isolated colonies of Nestorian Christians on the coast, to the north-west of Bombay. From his account they seemed to be feeble as to numbers, poor, and ignorant. Let us hope they will be looked up and visited by some of our Missionaries or Chaplains in Western India. At any rate, they should be well supplied with copies of the Holy Scriptures in their vernacular language.

² "This author affirmeth that there were a thousand families of Christians in Calicut at the time of his being there 120 years since." —*Purchas his Pilgrims*, edition 1613, vol. i. p. 492.

³ Either Joseph himself, or the compiler of his narrative, was not always exact in his statements, since Pálur, one of the oldest Christian settlements, is between 20 and 30 miles north of Cranganore ; and there were others probably to the north-east then in existence.

supports the idea that Christianity once extended further north in Kerala, but retreated southwards before the baneful influence of the Moslem.

There are no traces whatever, in the present day, of the existence of any church belonging to the ancient body of native Christians in Calicut or its neighbourhood; they are all now to be found within the confines of the two great southern states of Kerala-Cochin and Travancore; whilst in the two corresponding northern states, whose chief sea-ports respectively were Calicut and Cannanore, Mahometanism has certainly obtained a great hold, and still exercises an influence unknown in the south.

The Mussulman population of Kerala is made up of merchants, traders, and sea-faring people from neighbouring countries where this faith prevails; then of the offspring of such by native mothers; and lastly of proselytes (chiefly from the lowest castes), or people who have lost caste, and their respective offspring. Their creed has few attractions to the quiet Hindoo; and when low caste people join them, it is generally with the idea of getting a lift thereby in the social scale, and securing the alliance of a party whose name is often enough to inspire terror in the breast of their opponents.

The Samorin of Calicut was in ancient times the great patron of the Mussulman traders, whilst the Cochin Rajah encouraged the Christians. The former were chiefly instrumental in fomenting disagreements of a most serious character between the Samorin and the earliest Portuguese adventurers; and were so far successful in their object as to keep the Calicut trade, in a great measure, in their own hands, and to retain their influence in the place. The Dutch chaplain Visscher, writing in 1743, says:—"They are very influential at Calicut, and indeed are almost masters of the place. The *chief merchant* there is always attended by a large suite of his compatriots, who are armed with sword and shield, in imitation of the pomp and parade of native princes."¹

The high priest of the Mahometans has his chief residence at Ponány, another of the ancient ports of the Samorin, lying to the south of Calicut. He is called the *Tungul*, and exercises a kind of episcopal supervision over numerous mosques; and appoints to each the Imaum, or Múllah, who is supported by the contributions of his flock. The individual who enjoyed this dignity, when Dr. Francis Buchanan visited Ponány, claimed to be descended from Ali, and Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet. Being of Arabic extraction, he and his family looked upon themselves as more honourable than the Tartar Mussulmans of North India. In other families of repute the Arabic blood was kept pure. The dignity of *Tungul* was hereditary—according to the custom prevailing among

¹ This man must have occupied much the same position as Joseph Rabban did among the Jews; as Iravi Corttan (who was styled *Sovereign Merchant of Kerala*) did among the Manicheans; and as the so-called *King* Beliarde, of the Portuguese writers, did among the Christians of St. Thomas.

the Nairs of Malabar—through the sister's son. Tippoo Sahib, when he conquered Malabar, appointed another Tungul, who also resided at Ponány; but this innovation was not successful, for his followers were soon reduced to five or six families; and he moreover lost half the property which Tippoo bestowed upon him.

Of late years the Tunguls have exercised an evil influence over their fanatical adherents, which, for a long time, kept the Collectorate of Malabar in a state of chronic confusion, and at last, in 1855, issued in the assassination of its very able and excellent Collector, who had dared to make one of these so-called holy personages amenable to justice, and had further used stringent measures to disarm the fanatical and bloodthirsty Mussulman population.¹

But the most influential chieftain belonging to this sect had his head-quarters at Cannanore, in the territory of the Colaatri Rajah. He was dignified with the title of "Ali Rajah, King of the Islands," on account of his exercising sovereignty over the Laccadives, or group of "*Ten Thousand Isles*" (as their name signifies), which lie off the coast to the west. These poor islands were ceded to the head of this family by the Colaatri Rajah, of whom the first chieftain was a near relative, but had lost all claim upon his Royal Hindoo connexions, in consequence of turning Mahometan. The British Government, on account of the non-payment of the annual tribute required, has taken the management of the Islands into its own control; but, as the succession at Cannanore was also through the *sister's* son, a lady is now considered the principal person of distinction in the family, being styled, the *Bebee*, or Princess of Cannanore, where her palace forms a conspicuous object from the sea; and she herself is regarded as a very great personage by the Mahometans of the Malabar Coast.

Mahometanism, then, it would appear, made its chief conquests and obtained its strongest hold on the west coast, in the states of the Samuri and Colaatri Rajahs; and from what we know of the temper and habits of the people, when excited by mad fanatical zeal, even in a country where they form but a small minority, it is easy to understand how the native Christians—in times when they had no co-religionists from Europe, with armed frigates off the coast to look to for protection—would quietly migrate, as opportunity offered, from regions where the fierce and bigoted followers of the False Prophet were numerous and influential. We have,

¹ "At one period the Mahometans created great commotions in Travancore, and towards the end of the 17th century massacred the chief of Anjengo, and all the English gentlemen belonging to the settlement, when on a public visit to the Queen of Attinga. The sanguinary deed was committed near her palace; some were even murdered in her presence, whom she in vain attempted to rescue from their fury, although at the time sovereign of the country."—*James Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol I., p. 402.

happily, no reason to believe that they succeeded in perverting any body of natives who had made a profession of *Christianity*, whatever may have been their success among others.

It is truly remarked by Elphinstone, with reference to Mahometanism, that it is difficult to form an opinion as to the period when the conversions of the Hindoos were chiefly accomplished, or in what circumstances they were brought about. In Malabar, or Kerala—if we except Tippoo's sanguinary invasion in last century—the people have never felt the terror of the Moslem sword, as wielded by a conquering host, with its forced conversion or death to idolators; and hence in byegone days they never passed through the fiery trial, and its terrible temptation to apostasy. Taking all things into the account, Mahometan propagandism has not here been so great a *success* as some may suppose. And what applies to this part of India, it would seem, applies, in some sense, to the *whole*, for the writer above referred to observes again:—"The whole of the Mahometans of India, at the present moment, do not exceed one-eighth of the population; and after allowing for a long and continued immigration, and for the natural increase during eight centuries of a favoured class whose circumstances gave great facilities in rearing families, the number left for *converts* would not be very great. Even if the whole eighth part were converts, the proportion would be surprisingly small compared to other Mahometan countries."

Their successes in ancient times were chiefly in Northern India. Another learned writer observes: "The northern nations of India, although idolators (having scarce a religion, when compared to the multitude of superstitions and ceremonies which characterize the inhabitants of the southern countries), were easily induced to embrace Mahometanism, and are at this day the Affghans and Pitans, who figure so much in all the late revolutions of Delhi. Excepting these, few of the other Indians have been converted." He further adds: "It has been observed that all the Mahometans established in India acquire, in the third generation, the indolence and pusillanimity of the original inhabitants; and, at the same time, a cruelty of character to which the Indians are, at present, happily free."¹

They have in more recent times been on the increase in Bengal. Dr. M. Mitchell, of the Free Church Mission, Calcutta, states that religious fanaticism is increasing amongst them; and as they number no fewer than 20,000,000, or nearly a third of the population, this spread of fanaticism deserves the serious attention of Church and State.

¹ Vide "*A Dissertation on Mahometan Establishments in Indostan*," in "*The History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*." London 1780. Vol. I., pp. 24 & 29.

CHAPTER V.

KNAYE THOMA, OR THOMAS CANA, AND HIS TRADITIONAL
DESCENDANTS.

The traditions of the Christians of Malabar inform us that whilst the Perumál Princes were still ruling in Kerala, a certain wealthy merchant, called by them Knaye Thoma, came and settled on the coast, and showed himself a great benefactor to the native Christians. He is frequently described as an Armenian merchant; but Raulini supposes this to have arisen from the early Portuguese writers mistaking *Aramæus*, a *Syrian*, for *Armenus*. And in support of this we would simply add that the supposed descendants of this man universally claim *Syrian*, and not *Armenian* descent, and look upon *Syriac*, and not *Armenian*, as the language of their forefathers.

This *Syrian* merchant (as we shall call him) settled in the country, interested himself in his fellow religionists, and endeavoured to promote their welfare—obtaining for them special privileges, similar to those which the Viceroy of Malabar had granted to the Jews and Manicheans respectively. Tradition moreover tells us that he had two wives, one residing at Cranganore, and the other in the interior at Angamále, or in its neighbourhood. As polygamy was never allowed in the Christian church, we may charitably hope that he did not take a second wife until the first had been removed by death. His second wife is said to have been a Nair woman, whom he bought, and proselytized to the Christian faith. By each wife he had a numerous family, and from them many of the Syrian Christians claim to be descended.

It is somewhat amusing to observe that the zealous Romanist writer Asseman contends that this Thomas could not have been a merchant, but a Nestorian Bishop, despatched to India about A.D. 800, by the Nestorian Patriarch Timotheus; but then, finding himself in a difficulty about the matter of the two *wives*, which he could not imagine even a Nestorian bishop to have, either together or successively, he treats it as an *allegory*, and concludes that the two wives signified the two *churches* over which he presided, at Cranganore and Angamále; and that he was not the carnal, but spiritual progenitor of such as claim descent from him!

Malabar tradition further informs us that being a man of immense wealth when he died, his property was divided amongst his children; those by his first wife receiving his northern estates, and those of the Nair wife his property in the south; and hence there

are two great divisions in the present day amongst the Syrian Christians, one being that of the Waddaken Bāghars, or Northerners; and the other, the Thekken Bāghars, or Southerners. Though they profess to believe the same doctrines, to worship in the same forms, and to be under the rule of the same bishops, they are, to this day, perfectly distinct, and avoid all intermarriage with each other, as carefully as if they belonged to two separate Hindoo castes!

But it must not be supposed that all the Syrian Christians now living were descended from these two branches of the Syrian merchant's family; the probability is that the Southerners (who have ever been the most exclusive caste) are descended from the Nair wife; whilst the Northerners, in a more liberal spirit, claiming brotherhood with their co-religionists, whose ancestors were settled in the country centuries before the coming of Knaye Thoma, have intermarried with them, and become inseparably connected and amalgamated.

Hence, under the denomination of Northerners, in the present day, we see incorporated:—1. The descendants of the children of Knaye Thoma by his first wife. 2. Those of other colonists and settlers from Persia and Syria, arriving at various periods before as well as after the era of Thomas, A.D. 800.¹ 3. Those also of such as were Christianized inhabitants of Malabar before his arrival, and the offspring of more recent converts from heathenism. This will account for the Northerners being by far the more numerous party, having, if we reckon the Romo-Syrians, more than 200 churches, whilst the Southerners have not even a tenth of that number.

The Southerners, though so exclusive in their ideas and habits, are somewhat looked down upon by their brethren, when the question of pedigree comes under discussion, being stigmatised as the offspring of a *Hagar*, whilst the Northerners claim to spring from the *Sarah* of the family. But, to console themselves for this, the Southerners pride themselves in being the *real* descendants of the great Knaye Thoma—in never having broken caste, and in retaining the blood of ancient nobility still *pure* in their veins. All this incites them to persist in their exclusiveness, and observe Hindoo customs—especially in connexion with marriage rites and ceremonies—unknown among the Northerners. They never will, if they can help it, allow of intermarriage with members of the latter section (as already stated), or receive proselytes or converts from the heathen into their community; hence all *converts* are classed, to this day, among the Northerners. These circumstances

¹ Mar Gabriel, in the account of the Syrian Church given to Visscher, says:—"Several priests, students, and Christian women and children came hither from Bagdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, in company with the merchant Thomas; and having made acquaintance with the 64 families (*i.e.*, the Syrian Christians of Malabar), they became united, and lived in concord with one another."

will account for the Southerners being, in general, fairer in complexion, and more invariably Syrian in their features, since there is less intermixture of Indian blood. Caste feelings, in former times, ran so high among them that the Cattanars of one party were not even allowed to minister in the churches of the other !

The Jacobite Syrians have only *six* churches of the Southern party in communion with them, viz. :—One of the two Syrian churches at *Cottayam*, and the churches of *Kallúcherry*, *Ránný*, *Neelumparúr*, *Páruvum* or *Púrom* and *Chembil*. The Romo-Syrians possess *ten* of these churches, at the following places :—*Údiampárúr*, *Cadatúrúttá*, *Cottayam*, *Ellúr*, *Chungum*, *Púnathara*, *Paingalum*, *Kaipully*, *Kúmarakum*, and *Welianáda*.

Before touching upon the particular localities in which these people settled, it will be as well briefly to revert to the former political history of this part of South India. After the death of the last of the Perumál Princes, or Viceroy of Kerala, about A.D. 825, we observe their territory was broken up into numerous small principalities. Amongst the less powerful chieftains who succeeded, and occupied the extreme southern portion of the divided state, were the Rajahs of Tirúvancotta or Travancore, whose rule extended over a somewhat rocky and barren district which terminated at Tovala, on the eastern side of Cape Comorin. But in 1761 Vira Martanda, Rajah of Travancore, fired with ambition, and a passion for conquest, commenced an aggressive warfare against his neighbours to the north, which was continued by his immediate successor, Rama Wurmah, until all the smaller principalities were subdued between Cape Comorin and the Fort of Cranganore, which then belonged to the still powerful Samorin, or one of his feudatories. The dominions and regal rights of the Maha Rajah of Cochin were very seriously curtailed, and his princely dignity cast into the shade, by the rising majesty of these successful aggressors.

Among the petty Princes then subdued were the *Wadakencore* and *Thekkencore* Rajahs, whose states joined each other, running inland eastward from the shores of the Backwater, till they reached the domains of the Púnathara Rajah—a less-favoured, and somewhat inaccessible territory lying along the foot of the Western Ghauts. The Wadakencore Rajahs were regarded, with the Rajahs of Porcáda and two others, as the main pillars of the Cochin State ; and their subjugation by Travancore well nigh ruined the native sovereign of Cochin.

It was under the Wadakencore and Thekkencore Princes that most of these *Southerners* chiefly settled, which leads one naturally to suppose that the estates granted by Knaye Thoma to various members of his second family were in this particular region of Malabar, whilst those inherited by the children of the first family were to the *north* of Cochin, in the vicinity of Cranganore and Angamála, and hence probably the origin of the descriptive appellations of *Northerners* and *Southerners*.

In a “ *Brief History of the Syrians in Malabar, preserved among*

themselves as their genuine history"¹—to which we have occasion to refer from time to time—there is indeed another way of accounting for the origin of these distinctive names, which we think less likely to be correct; but, as *one* of the native traditions, bearing on the subject, it is well to record it. We are told that those who last came from Syria and settled in Malabar were called *Nazarites*. In course of time the *Nazarites* who came from Jerusalem began to intermarry with the Christians of Malabar, according to their various stations in life. The most respectable had 400 houses on the *north* side of Cranganore, and the inferior had 72 on the south side of the village. These two castes are at present the *Wadakanpaver* and the *Tekonpaver*. The Northern party (are further said to) walk after the way of their *father*; the Southern party after that of their *mother*.

Then follows an account of some of the customs distinguishing the two classes, which, to our European ideas, may appear trivial and childish, for instance:—The Northerners *stand* when they are married, use the *cross* on this occasion, *cover* the head and face of the bride with a cloth, and when an infant receives its first food from the hands of the priest, it sits on its *father's* lap, &c.; whereas the Southerners *kneel* in the marriage ceremony, use a *chalavin* (something like a cross, but not a cross), *uncover* the head and face of the bride; and the infant, on receiving its first food, sits on the *mother's* lap. Then we are further told:—"In this way were the rules of distinction settled by the *Nazarites*, the children of God who dwelt in the above village." The *Brief History* containing these particulars professes to have been compiled in 1770.

With the Northerners we have chiefly to do, since they are the far more numerous section, and more approachable than the others. The latter may have kept themselves more to themselves, by their exclusive habits; but the former have truly inherited Joseph's blessing so far as increase in numbers is concerned; and may be compared to "a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall," since they have extended their settlements in all directions, and now have numerous churches or chapels both amongst, and even far to the *south* of the original settlements of the Southerners.

Du Perron has most happily preserved a list of the churches in the Diocese of Verapoli, dated 1758, and therefore before the great political changes caused by the Travancore conquests. In the *Wadakencore* State we find the following six churches mentioned: Ellúr, Púrom, Chembil, Ramapúram, Chungum, and Cadatúrúttá; and in *Thekkencore*, two churches at Cottayam, the church of Kallúcherry, Púnathra, and Paingalum—five more. Of the other churches, some either have been erected since the list was made out, or were unintentionally omitted; but of these Kaipully and Kumarakum are also in *Thekkencore*; and the rest are not a

¹ Vide Appendix D.

great distance off, if not within, the ancient boundaries of this State.

Udiamparúr must be mentioned by itself, since it has a very peculiar history. It lies 10 or 12 miles S.E. of Cochin, and hence far to the south of either Cranganore or Angamále, where the other descendants of Knaye Thoma are supposed to have settled. In Du Perron's list it appears among the Syro-Roman churches, situated in the Cochin Rajah's dominions. An intelligent Cattamar at Kallúcherry—one of the churches of the Southerners—told the writer that according to their traditionary history their first settlement was at Cranganore, and their next at Udiamparúr, then the *Waliapully* or great church at Cottayam was established. Kallúcherry, he added, was an off-shoot from the Cottayam congregation, and an off-shoot from Kallucherry had since been planted at Ránný—the extreme S.E. church of the Syrians. This implies a gradual migration southward and eastward, in which directions, with respect to Cranganore, we find all their churches—without one single exception—now located

Udiamparúr (as one might naturally suppose), after Cranganore, was a place of considerable importance, according to Syrian tradition. Early Portuguese writers say that when the Syrians presented the sceptre of their last Christian Rajah, called by them King Baliarte, and solicited the protection of the King of Portugal in 1502, they informed Vasco de Gama that having died without issue, his estates had passed over to the “infidel Kings of Diamper.” Much more has been made by European writers of this so-called King Baliarte than the history of the country would in any measure justify. The Syrian Christians of the present day seem to have no memorials of the existence of such a *royal* personage among them; and if any amongst them ever bore the dignity, or was addressed as Rajah, it must have been little more than an honorary title without independent rule. A family bearing the name of Waliyedattu, or as the Portuguese would call it *Baliyedattu*, once had the ascendancy amongst them, and it has been suggested that one of its members, acting as a sort of *head man*, may have been referred to. Paoli—after telling us that the Christians of Malabar withdrew from the territories of the Samorin and other northern princes on account of the increase of Mahometan influence, and settled in the territories subject to the Rajah of Cochin—adds:—“They chose from among their own number a *King*, who was called Beluarte, and who was obliged to engage that he would defend them from the Mahomedans as well as the Pagans. He resided at Udiampárúr, a city *belonging to the King of Cochin*.”

Some arrangement of this kind exists among the Nestorians of Persia in the present day. They are under the civil jurisdiction of a Koordish chieftain, but in addition thereto have heads of their own, “who hold under him (we are told by Mr. Badger¹) a dignity

¹ *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. I., p. 259.

nearly allied to that of the old lairds of the highlands of Scotland, or the Sheiks of the Bedooeen Arabs;" and what is singular enough these head men are called *Meleks* or *Kings*. The office is hereditary, and gives the incumbents certain rights over their respective villages.

We have already alluded to the head man of the Manicheans, and intimated that the Christians had such a representative; and so had the Jews, within comparatively recent times; for when the Dutch took possession of Cochin in 1663, they met with the leading man amongst them named David Levi, who was honoured by the Rajah with the title of *Moodeliar*. He had an *official staff* given to him mounted with gold, having the motto of the Honourable East India Company of Holland engraven on it.

Baliarte may have been honoured with the like rank,¹ and the *red sceptre*, with its silver bells, may have been a similar badge of office. He further, probably, held estates at Udiamparūr under the Cochin Rajah, over which he exercised Zemindary rights, enjoyed by his family for some generations. This would further account for the estates lapsing to the "infidel King of Diamper," for lack of heirs male; for if they had been freehold property it is probable he would have left them to some of his Christian friends; or, at least, to the church, and not to a heathen prince.

That Udiamparūr was three centuries back a place of considerable importance we may gather from the fact that Menezes selected it as the place for assembling his famous Council in 1599. It is situated just within the present limited territory of the Rajahs of Cochin, who regard it as the residence of the Queen mother, and the *name* of the place, though the Rajah may not be there, is still kept up in old court forms—letters royal being said to come from Udiamparūr, just as our monarchs still speak of their palace at Westminster, or Court of St. James's, in official documents. The last named is a singular circumstance, very suggestive, and corroborative, as far as it goes, of native tradition; for there is nothing in the aspect of the present poor decayed village at Udiamparūr to lead one to suppose that it was ever, in any way, connected with royalty of any kind or degree.²

How the town itself went to decay can be easily surmised from what Du Perron tells us, that when he visited the place in 1758 the troops of the Rajah of Travancore had been in those parts not long before, burning the houses of the unhappy natives. The neighbouring town of Kandanáda had been burnt, but was then rebuilt, whilst Udiamparūr still lay desolate, with little else standing save

¹ That the wealthier Christians received such titles of dignity appears from Marignolli. He says—"When I was at Columbum (Quilon) with those Christian chiefs, who are called *Modilial*, and are owners of the pepper, &c." (A.D. 1347.)

² The Cochin Rajah has a modern country house at no great distance from the place.

the walls of its churches. The population very generally left for the newly-built town—only half a mile distant—which soon became a great place for merchandise, especially for pepper and tobacco. When, however, our Missionaries began to visit the place some 50 years ago, they found Kandanáda itself rapidly going to ruin, in consequence of these articles of commerce having been made Government monopolies; but the houses built of stone, and certain other marked peculiarities, existed as vestiges of its former importance.

When in its prosperity Kandanáda became a favourite residence of some of the Syrian Metrans; and this would, of course, further attract a Syrian population to the locality. Du Perron visited an Antiochian Metran residing there in 1758, named Mar Basilius, or as he calls him, Schokoreulla. Earlier still, in 1719, the native Metran, Mar Thomas V., corresponded with Professor Schaof, of Leyden, from Kandanáda; and when Dr. C. Buchanan paid his official visit to the Syrian Metran Dionysius in 1806, he was residing at the same place; and in its church the tombs of Mar Basilius and Mar Thoma may still be seen.

The old church at Udiamparúr still stands. It has been, however, in the hands of the Syro-Romanists ever since Archbishop Menezes and his Jesuit assistants—as the Syrian History says—“brought an axe to split the doors of the church” open, that he might hold his Council therein. In lonely solitude, as if lamenting its fate, the venerable pile appears in the midst of cocoa nut plantations; scarcely a house is to be seen in the vicinity, save that of the Cattanar, adjoining the sacred edifice. If its stones and timbers could speak, surely the wrong and robbery of the Church of Rome and her priests would be their theme?

It was at *Cadatúrúttá* in Wadakenore, or the *Pepper Kingdom* of the Portuguese, that Archbishop Menezes made his first decidedly successful impression on the native Christians, by gaining over to his interests, in the first place, two leading men, either by promises or bribes; and secondly, by exhibiting the meretricious ceremonial of Rome. There were then two Syrian Churches at the place—one belonging to the Northerners, and the other to the Southerners; but the former (being probably the larger and more influential community) received most of the prelate's attention. On Palm Sunday high mass was performed in their church with great pomp, by the aid of a full choir imported from Cochin for the occasion. Though the Raneé (Queen) used her best endeavours to frighten him out of her territory, the haughty churchman plainly told her messengers that he should not leave until he had finished the work that had called him thither.

On Easter Eve he held an Ordination; and when the Jesuit Professor of the College at Chennum arrived, he complimented the Archbishop upon his incredible success, adding:—“But a few months ago, on my wishing to perform mass in this church, the doors were shut against me, which I was obliged to force open by

the assistance of one of the Queen's officers; and when the host was elevated for the adoration of the people, they shut their eyes; and on exhibiting an image of the Blessed Virgin they cried out, "*Away with that filthiness! We are Christians, and therefore do not worship idols.*" What a clear proof of the anti-Popish sentiments of the people of the place before Rome had deluded them!

Cadatúrúttá, however, appears to have stood firm to Rome from that time to the present. Both Southerners and Northerners are staunch Romanists, and none of the Jacobite Syrians are found in the place. One thing which contributed to this more than anything else was, that the Jesuits made it one of their great educational centres. They appear originally to have been attracted to the place by the fact that at Nagapara, in its immediate neighbourhood, Jacob—the Vicar General of a Syrian Metran detained in Europe by Romish intrigue—had his residence,¹ and would need watching and circumventing, according to the approved principles of the party.

The seminary of priests which was established here was presided over by F. Roz, who became the first Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganore; Francis Garcia, who attained to the same dignity, and also P. Samaria—all belonging to the Order of Jesuits. Paoli says that from this college came forth in 1610 an excellent Syro-Chaldaic Dictionary, the MS. of which, in folio, was still preserved in 1779 in the chest of Máni Mattú, Cattanar of the church of St. Thomas. In 1620 Donatus, a Dominican friar, erected a church or chapel at his own cost, which he dedicated to St. Dominic. Being well versed in Syro-Chaldaic, he taught the language in this church, and very many Syrian priests flocked to him for instruction; amongst whom he became so popular that, upon a vacancy occurring in the see of Cranganore, they wished him to be consecrated Archbishop; "and probably (adds Paoli) through the subsequent election of Stephen de Britto a handle of schism was given them."

In Paoli's list of Syro-Roman churches, the Church of St. Thomas is mentioned, together with one called St. Mary's, and an Oratory of St. Dominic. From enquiries made in the neighbourhood in 1863, it was ascertained by the writer that two churches and a chapel still existed; and about 600 houses were said to be con-

¹ Raulini styles *Carturte*—as the old writers called the place—"one of the more celebrated cities of the Christians, under the rule of the Pepper Queen; and from which the mountain Bishops of the Malabars received their title for some time." Again he observes that when the Metropolitan See was removed from Mylapúr to the mountains of Malabar in the period of the *first persecution*, it was established at Angamale and *Carturte*. He gives us no authority for his statement about a *Metropolitan See at Mylapúr*; and without good support it is unworthy of credence. There is a Syrian tradition that they first settled at Cadatúrúttá after the destruction of Cranganore by some Mussulman outbreak—when this took place is not known.

nected with them. The church belonging to the Southerners went by the name of the *Waliyapally*, or Great Church—a designation commonly given to the *older* church (where there are two or more in the same place), without any reference to size—which leads to the supposition that the Southerners were the first comers into this particular neighbourhood, since their church (though they may be the less influential party) is regarded as the mother church of the town.¹

The church at *Púruwum*, or *Púrom*, also in the “Pepper Kingdom,” belongs to the Southerners; and is most pleasantly situated, occupying an elevated position on the banks of a river, which is the chief high way into the interior of this ancient principality. Rome also gained a footing here, and long and tenaciously did she hold it, even when most of the parishioners refused submission to her yoke. When, however, the healthy influence of British rule began to be felt in Travancore, some of the Syrian Christians made a formal complaint to the Native Court that the Romanists retained forcible possession of certain churches against the wishes of the people. Upon this the British Resident, Colonel Munro, issued an order that the church at *Púrom*, the *Waliapally* at Cottayam, and the church of Changanashery, should be given over to the Syrian party. Their friends, the Church Missionaries, assisted them as far as they could in this matter; but at one of the churches—the last-named—a great crowd of Romo-Syrians assembled to prevent access to the church door. One of the Missionaries, however, cleverly threw a handful of *chuckrams*—the small silver coin of the country—among the people, and this had the effect of clearing a way to the main entrance, which a native blacksmith soon forced open, whereupon a Cattamar, entering the building, read an official document, declaring it henceforth to be used as formerly, for Syrian worship. The Changanashery people, however, returned to Romanism after a while.²

The church at *Púrom*, dedicated to the *Three Kings*—a Romish appellation still retained—externally forms a pretty object as seen

¹ There is a tradition that a wealthy Syrian having taken vengeance on a native Rajah, named Veera Manikatachen, by cutting off his head, for his licentious attempts to destroy the honour and happiness of their households, the whole community migrated to Mulanturutta, where they built a church, and remained until, in the lapse of time, this tragical event being forgotten, they were allowed to return to the home of their fathers. Before doing so they handed over the key of their new church to some Northern Syrians, taking with them simply all their church documents.

² Changanashery has been off and on with Rome more than once. In 1704 the Vicar Apostolic sent F. Vincent to the churches of Changanashery, Callourcada, Porcada, and Alleppy, where he met with much opposition. The heretics, says Du Perron, opposed and tried to poison the Missionary. In 1758 the Syrian Metran often resided at Changanashery. In 1816, when the Church Missionaries came into the country, it was again in the hands of the Romanists, and they have it still.

across the river, crowning a rocky eminence, and embosomed in rich tropical verdure. In 1863 there were six Cattanars connected with it, and not quite 200 houses.

When the Romanists vacated the place, nearly half a century ago, there being a division of property, they took with them only half their images. Those left behind being likely to prove a snare to the Syrians, were very wisely removed, under the sanction of their Metran.

The late excellent senior Missionary has again and again narrated the story of their removal to the writer. These images had been made at Goa, were well executed, and of considerable value; and therefore it went sorely against the grain with some of the people to part with them. Like Laban, when he lost his gods, they were for rallying their forces and going after the Mission boat in which they had been stowed; but by an extra effort the boatmen escaped them, and conveyed them to Cottayam, where they were safely housed in a lumber room at the top of the old Syrian college. For years they rested there in peace, neglected and forgotten, till some repairs of the structure brought them to light. The Missionary recommended their destruction, since they might lead to evil; but the Metran then ruling, a man of vacillating character, was for compromise, and suggested that they should be sold to the Romanists! This, of course, on principle, was decidedly objected to. At last the Metran and his staff were induced to visit them; it being thought that the sight of them might alter his opinion, and bring him to the right decision. The Missionary presently called for a chopper, and with the tacit, but very reluctant consent of the Metran, began to hew them in pieces—the younger students looking on with a kind of horror, as if they expected divine judgment to paralyse the arm of the unsparing iconoclast. Had it not been for the decided action taken by the truest friends of the Syrian Church, it is to be feared the people of Púrom would, through their images, again have come under the power of Rome. This simple fact serves to show how thoroughly Romanised many of the image-hating Syrians were when our Mission was first established amongst them.

What the imagery of the church may have been, can be easily inferred from a very elaborate reredos still standing behind the chief altar, which is of wood, though two modern side altars are of stone. The lower part of the reredos is adorned with bold alto-relievo carving; the upper has three principal compartments, representing the Birth of Christ, the Visit of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple. In 1863 they had been fresh painted—about four years previously—and therefore presented a bright and showy aspect, which contrasted strangely with the otherwise dirty and poverty-stricken look of the edifice.

A heathen temple of considerable antiquity, called *Chairycum Umbalum*, stands near the church, but on lower ground. A local tradition accounts for this as follows:—When the Christians and

Heathen were contemplating building, each wanted the high site; upon which a trial of the power of their sacred images was proposed, and accordingly one of the Virgin, and another of some Hindoo swamy were thrown into the river; the latter sank, the former swam, and had the priority of choice! There is, however, this insuperable difficulty in the way—the Syrians abhorred images prior to the coming of the Romish Missionaries; and therefore we can regard this story as nothing else than a legendary mode of accounting for the singular fact that, in an essentially heathen state, the Christian Church occupies a better position than the Hindoo Pagoda. May it not indicate that, old as the Pagoda is, the Christians built their place of worship before the heathen did theirs?

Chembil, another church of the Southerners, in the same principality, lies near the mouth of the Púrom river, where it joins the Backwater. Until within the last ten or twelve years, it was one of the very few remaining cases in which Syrians and Romo-Syrians used the same church.

A strange story, and a stranger scene, came to the writer's notice when he visited the place, in company with a native clergyman, in 1863. The Chembil people had been erecting a substantial stone church, amply sufficient for the wants of a comparatively small community; but the two parties had fallen out when the walls had reached their destined elevation, and all was ready for the permanent roof. The curse of Babel seems to have, in a certain sense, befallen them; they could not be brought to understand one another, and so "they left off to build." But they must have some place for worship, and so each party erected for themselves temporary churches in the immediate vicinity—long and low thatched structures, without any pretence to ecclesiastical taste. A civil Romo-Syrian priest stated that the Bishop of Verapoli advised his party against re-union; which undoubtedly would be the best for the Syrians, as they were never likely to gain any good by a continued alliance of any kind with Rome.

The unfinished church had already become picturesque from various tropical plants having selected their habitats either within or upon its walls. The roofless chancel, and its rich ornamentation of luxuriant ferns, of exquisite forms, would have excited the envy of some modern English church decorators; for the stone cornices and every available ledge were thickly set with them; and so were the altar steps beneath. Moreover, no human hand, or footstep of man or beast, seem ever to have marred their order or symmetry, by crushing or breaking a single frond.

The native brother present regarded the place with special interest. Chembil was his father's parish—the home of his ancestors. As a little boy his Syrian sire had taken him from his residence near Cottayam, and had there dedicated him to the service of the sanctuary; probably hoping, that if spared, he would some day be one of the Cattanars attached to the old Church. But God, in

His good providence, had ordered it otherwise; and one could not help thinking how far more happily and usefully he was employed, as an ordained minister of our Reformed Church, in preaching an unadulterated gospel to his fellow countrymen, than he would have been in chanting Syriac masses, and praying for the souls of the departed.

Cottayam, in the ancient principality of Thekkencore, has evidently been, for many centuries, one of the strongholds of Syrianism. Here, as at *Cadatúrúttá*, both Northerners and Southerners reside, and the chief of the latter is also dignified with the title of *Waliapally*, or the Great Church, from its being the older foundation of the two. What *Cadatúrúttá* was to the Jesuits of old in these parts, that *Cottayam* is to the Church Missionary Society—their chief educational centre.

The church of the Southerners at *Cottayam* stands on a rocky eminence near the river, and is approached by a flight of steps, at the top of which is a quaint, picturesque-looking gatehouse. Within the church is an altar-piece of some pretensions, divided into compartments by gilt pillars and cornices, enclosing oil painting representations of various facts in our Lord's history. They are supposed to have been executed at Goa, and as mementos of Roman rule are little cared for by the people. Some good specimens of wood carving also occur, indicating that much money had been expended in the original construction and ornamentation of the edifice.

A *Cattannar* long connected with this church was a very shrewd, clever man, but addicted to biting sarcasm in word and deed. He wrote a tract against Romanism many years ago, but so did its contents exasperate the Romanists, that it became almost perilous to circulate it. On another occasion he tied a *Scapulary* round a dog's neck, and turned him loose in the bazaar; where the Romanists, seeing the beast, were horrified at what they deemed a profanation. Such weapons of warfare were carnal, and answered no good purpose.

This priest, however, was so confident in his powers of argumentation, that having come across one of the Irish Society's controversial handbills, offering £10,000 to any one who could show undoubted scriptural authority for the leading errors of the Church of Rome, he took up the gauntlet (on this occasion on the side of Popery) and wrote an answer in Malayalam; had it translated into English, and then sent it by post to Dublin, claiming the reward! It need hardly be added that his flimsy sophistry did not carry much weight with our well-read and clear-headed Irish controversialists; but the Syrian priest was somewhat chagrined by the result, and complained that his efforts were not duly appreciated.

The son of this *Cattannar*, who is now a strong opponent of the Metropolitan, and carries on a correspondence with certain clergymen of the Church of England, is the professed author of a little book called *The Syrian Christians of Malabar*, published in

England. He is supposed by the natives to be largely indebted to his father (now deceased) for the materials of which it is composed; and certainly some parts of the book painfully remind one of certain traits in the old priest's character, who, from being a professed friend, turned to be an unsparing and bitter adversary of the Metropolitan.

Some few miles to the south of Cottayam a beautiful river forms the high way to a deeply-interesting succession of Syrian churches amongst whom Rome never exerted much successful influence; but there our own Missionaries have found their truest and firmest friends. Two of these, Ránny and Kallucherry, belong to the Southerners.

Ránny is a kind of *Ultima Thule* with the Malabar Syrians, since they have no congregation beyond this to the east. Buchanan, who calls it *Ranniel* in his *Christian Researches*, spent a short time there, and gives a graphic account of his visit. To this day the old people talk about him, and had among them, till very recently, a book containing his autograph. A rock overhanging the river is still pointed out on which *Boochan-padre-sahib* (as they style him) stood entranced in contemplating the paradisaical scene spread out beneath his feet.

The present church at Ránny was built about a hundred years ago, by three or four wealthy families. It is a neat, substantial structure, close to the river side, but to reach it you have to climb an abrupt rocky declivity, at the top of which is a quaint gate-house having a projecting upper floor, from whence you obtain a bird's eye view of the stream beneath wending its way amid the richest groupings of tropical vegetation. In 1863 they had lately introduced stone altars; but the ecclesiastics who had enjoined this departure from primitive usage, straining as it were at the gnat, had ordered some very inoffensive alto-relievo figures in plaster to be effaced from the walls. A small wooden shrine, which had contained an image of St. George, was now tenantless—the good sense of the common people had brought about the destruction of the image. The latin letters I.N.R.I., inscribed over some small crosses in the church, were mysteries even to the priest, who asked for an explanation. In connexion with this remote congregation there are, as before mentioned, three or four families belonging to the Manichean remnant.

Through God's blessing on the labours of the Church Missionary Society a good work is being carried on in this most remote congregation, through the medium of the junior Cattanars. One of these men was introduced to the writer on the occasion of his visit. The following extract from the report of a more recent visit, paid by the Rev. R. Maddox, in May, 1868, speaks of further progress:—

"One young man lately appointed to this church, is well disposed towards reform, and received us most heartily and kindly.

"Several persons came during the day to see me. We sat in the church porch, and at the Cattanar's request preached, and sang

some lyrics. I spent the afternoon in the church room. When you looked out of the window, you saw no foundation to the place at all, the room being built out on each side on stone pillars, which are not visible from above. The view from this place is grand indeed.

"In the evening we had prayers in the church room. There were several Cattanars present, and I asked one of them to conduct prayers. He read a chapter, and gave a splendid exposition; and offered up a most earnest and suitable prayer. I never met with a Cattanar who could do so before. I have seldom heard such an exposition of scripture from any of our Mission Agents."¹

Kallúcherry is about a day's journey nearer the coast than *Ránný*, and therefore somewhat more in the world. An antique gatehouse (of which these Southerners seem very fond) standing on the river's bank denotes the place. The church is about a furlong inland from this, and quite unseen. It is said to be about 300 years old, and is a long structure with very fully developed fan-shaped ornamentation in the upper part of the main front. The interior presented a mean appearance in 1863, its chief embellishment being a miserable daub on wood depicting the Virgin and Child, left by the Romanists, who only vacated the church forty years previous to this. About 200 houses were said to be connected with the church, but only a few of them were in the immediate neighbourhood.

Itty Thomen, a former Cattanar of this Church, is worthy of honorable mention, as the confidential adviser and faithful friend of the Syrian Archdeacon Thomas in the last death struggle with the Portuguese. He was with the Archdeacon when he was besieged in Múlantúrúttá Church by the allied forces of Hindoos and Romanists in 1661; and was his companion in flight when he escaped from the hands of those who thirsted for his blood. He is said to have been a shrewd and able man, who boldly withstood the pretensions of Rome, and *may* have had much to do with the propagation of that anti-Roman sentiment for which the churches in this neighbourhood are marked. He assisted the Archdeacon in reorganizing his church, and wrote several books, amongst others the *Life of St. Paul*, in native verse. Tradition says he collected together a little library, which through some neglect was (as is not unfrequently the case in India) entirely destroyed by white ants. The Romanists are stated to have diligently sought his life, but he died peaceably in his own house, and was buried in Kallúcherry Church.

The Cattanar of Kallúcherry, who related how his ancestors the Southerners gradually spread themselves southwards and eastwards from Cranganore through Udiamparúr and other places till they reached Ránný, also observed that Neelumparúr, Kumarakum near

¹ From the *Madras Christian Missionary Record*, December, 1868, p. 338.

Cottayam, and Weliyanáda were comparatively modern offshoots from the older churches in their vicinity, and that the last named had been built within the three preceeding years.

When asked why the people at the old Syrian Church at Changanashery, one of the most important in that vicinity, (to which he had been alluding) had rejoined the Romish communion, he replied:—"They had grown so familiar with the superstitious innovations of Rome as to have no sincere love for the customs of their forefathers; and thus, notwithstanding the efforts made by the Church Missionary Society's missionaries to arouse them to a better state of mind, being left to themselves, they returned back again into bondage."

Of the rest of the churches belonging to the Southerners, if we except perhaps Kaipully (a few miles north of Cottayam), they lie far in the interior, remote from the beaten tract of ordinary travellers, in one of the most essentially Syro-Romish districts of Travancore—which stretches from Cottayam in a north-easterly direction towards the mountains, wherein two-thirds of the population are supposed to be Romo-Syrians. A little light it is hoped is now breaking in upon this region of gross darkness and superstition, as the Church missionaries and their assistants occasionally pass to and fro in the great and encouraging work of evangelisation carried on more especially among the Hill Arrians who inhabit the lower ranges and picturesque ravines of the Western Ghauts.

Ellur is placed on Paoli's map a little to the north of Parlai, which is on the banks of the Cottayam river. Of *Chungum* we shall hear more when the tour of Archbishop Menezes in these parts comes under special consideration. *Punathra*, described by Paoli as "in the mountains," lies in the hilly district about seven miles up the Cottayam river; and *Paingalaim* is a small church dedicated to St. Cross two miles north of Parlai. Thus it would appear that they all lie within a circumscribed space, and several of them are probably offshoots from the older and larger Thekkenbaghar settlements of the neighbourhood.

It is a singular fact that the powerful influence which Rome has so long exercised has been unable to do away with the caste feeling and distinctions between the Northerners and Southerners—they prevail as much among Romo-Syrians as the Syrians.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH OF MALABAR IN THE DARK AGES.

We have no very direct means of ascertaining what the exact condition of the ancient Syrian Church of Malabar was during the period commonly called the *Dark Ages*. We meet with one or two bare fragments of history, very meagre in character and giving us very little light; and here and there a traveller's story of what he saw or heard about these Christians when he was wandering in the far east. It is not until the Portuguese appear upon the scene that materials become in any sense abundant; and thus we shall be compelled largely to *infer*, from the written accounts of Romish ecclesiastics chiefly, what was then the probable condition of this interesting community.

If our King Alfred's messengers visited the shrine of St. Thomas in India it was probably only the colony of Christians at Malapúr with whom they came in contact, and hence we have no traditions from them respecting the churches on the Malabar coast.

But the Syrians themselves have preserved a fragment of history of the same century as that in which Alfred flourished. Their *Brief History* informs us—"In A.D. 825 a merchant named Sabareso and two Syrian bishops, Mar Chaboor and Mar Apprott, came to Malabar and dwelt at Quilon. At that time the Jews and Arabs in this country were at war. We and the Jews were allies. The Arabs commenced the war, destroyed a city, slew the two Rajahs Vilyanvattale, and burnt their bodies."

Quilon seems to have been the headquarters of this party from Syria, and *Sabar Eso* probably became to the Christians of Quilon much what Knáye Thoma was to those of Cranganore. The two bishops, called by European writers Mar *Sabro* and Mar *Prodh*, settled and laboured in the country, having obtained from the Hindoo Princes permission to build churches. They evidently made a deep impression on the people in the neighbourhood of Quilon, where they are said to have founded certain churches; and their memory was preserved by many others being called after their names. When the Romish missionaries, seven centuries later, became aware of this fact, they were so shocked that Nestorian bishops should enjoy an honour due only to such individuals as had been canonized by the Pope, that the subject was brought before the Synod of Udiampárúr, where it was formally decreed—"Since they came from Babylon there is just cause to suspect that they might be *heretics*; wherefore the Synod doth command that

all the churches which are dedicated to them be dedicated to All the Saints; and the festivities used to be kept to their honour, and the Nerchas (*Love Feasts*) that used to be given upon their days shall be given on All Saints' Day, being the first of November; and for the future there be no more churches dedicated to them." (Act VIII. Decree 25.)¹

They arrived in Malabar a few years after the founding of Quilon, about A.D. 825—an era from which the Syrians in the south were formerly accustomed to date all their important documents. It does not however follow that no place of the name of Quilon existed before the foundation alluded to—which after all may simply refer to the erection of fortifications, and its complete establishment as a privileged government seaport, having custom-house and store rooms for the reception of produce until purchased by merchants from foreign countries; for, as we have already seen, the Syrian traditions speak of Quilon as one of the places where St. Thomas himself, in the first century, formed a Christian Church.

The labours of these two Nestorian ecclesiastics were probably very local, and hence their memory would be chiefly preserved among the Syrian Christians of South Travancore; in confirmation of which we are told that when Archbishop Menezes was at the Syrian town of Thevalacára, in the neighbourhood of Quilon, the people of the place showed him a transcript of the privileges granted to them on their arrival in the country, engraven on copper plates, in Malabar, Tamil, and other characters, which they carefully preserved amongst the most precious treasures of their ancient archives.²

Upon the war between the Jews and the Arabs (Mahometans) referred to as happening about the same time, we can throw no further light. Such a thing was very likely to take place; and equally likely is it that the Syrians and Jews should stand together in joint defence, and also aid the native Princes to quell any *emeute* of the fanatical and bloodthirsty Mahometan population in their dominions.

Church historians in Europe have preserved one or two facts

¹ The Syrians say that the old churches of Quilon, Kaiyenkullum and Udiamparúr, were named after Mar Sabro and Mar Prodh. The old Syrian churches of Quilon have all been destroyed. Those at the other places were dedicated to S. S. Gervasius and Protasius, according to Paoli.

² Mar Gabriel's account given to Visscher runs thus:—"A separation took place among the Christians of Cranganore in the year of our Lord 823; and then Mar Saboor, Mar Botoe (*Prodh*) and Seboor Issa (*Sabar Eso*) came to Quilon as teachers. They went to visit the King Sjak Rawiosti with presents, and built churches and shops at Quilon. In these and similar ways the chief pastors came, teaching and instructing the people of Malabar."—*Visscher's Letters*, p. 107.

which show that the Christians of Malabar still kept up communications with the Nestorian Patriarchs of Babylon, who from time to time sent forth bishops and other ecclesiastics to superintend or teach various Christian communities not only in Malabar but also in the island of Socotara, and in a province in China called Masina.

The Church of Malabar—unfortunately for itself some will think—has ever been in leading strings. She has never had accorded to her that complete organisation, and asserted for herself that full measure of independence and self government which were her just right. To preserve anything approaching to a regular succession of duly authorized bishops she has always had to be under obligations to foreigners, which has kept her weak and low, and sometimes left her without any one having the power to ordain ministers for a very considerable period. We fear it has been all along part of the policy of the Eastern Church dignitaries to keep her thus dependent, in order to add to their own wealth or maintain their own dignity and influence. The Indian bishopric of Malankara has too often been used to augment the pecuniary resources of the Patriarchs, or to reward the services of some of their more immediate and always needy staff of church officials. And thus leaning on man rather than on God, in whom alone is “righteousness and strength,” this Church has, to her sorrow, found man but a bruised reed; and even within the last century her state of dependance on a foreign power—we fear venal and corrupt—has been a constant source of internal discord, weakness and decay.

We must not depend too much upon travellers’ stories, yet may oftentimes gather very interesting information from them, and even much valuable truth if we know how to separate facts from fictions.

The earliest records of any intercourse between the agents of the Pope and the Syrian Christians are found in the narratives of the travels of Jordanus and Marignolli in the fourteenth century. They both visited Quilon (called by them *Columbum*) and refer to their intercourse with the native Christians. Jordanus met with Nestorian Christians first of all at Tanna, near Bombay, but travelling further south he found them in large numbers.

Jordanus was a Dominican Friar, and was connected with a mission of his Order in Persia. On January, 1324, he left Tabriz to go to China, visiting Tanna, Baroche and Quilon on his way thither. The information he brought home to Europe led Pope John XXII. to issue a Bull, the date of which corresponds with April 5, 1330, addressed to the Christians of *Columbum*. The Pope signifies to the head man of the Christians and to all who were under him that he had appointed Jordanus bishop of their city, commends him and his brother missionaries to their good will, and ends by inviting them to adjure their schism and enter the unity of the Catholic Church.

This was evidently part of a plan to gain over the Nestorians of

the east to the Papacy. The centre of operations was Sultania, the seat of the Persian monarchy prior to its overthrow by Tamerlane. Here an Archbishop was appointed by the Pope having at least three bishops—namely, of Tabriz, Semiscat and Columbum—under him. Jordanus was to labour in the Indian branch of the Nestorian Church; and he, together with the bishop of Semiscat, was deputed to convey the *pallium* to the archbishop. After having discharged his commission at Sultania he is supposed to have gone to his see in Malabar, but we hear no more of him.

His previous visit of inquiry at Quilon is conjectured to have lasted only a year, from the following passages in his letters:—“And of the conversion of those nations of India I say this: that if there were 200 or 300 good friars, who would faithfully and fervently preach the Catholic faith, there is not a year which would not see more than 10,000 persons converted to the Christian faith.” Again he observes: “For while I was among those Schismatics and unbelievers I believe that more than 10,000 or thereabouts were converted to our faith; and because we being few in number could not occupy or even visit many parts of the land, many souls (woe is me!) have perished.”

John de Marignolli, or John of Florence as he is sometimes called, a Minorite, was sent out to China on an embassy from the Pope. Having completed his task he commenced his return voyage by way of India Dec. 26, 1346 or 1347, probably the latter. He reached Columbum in Malabar during the following Easter week, and here he remained upwards of a year. A few extracts will best show what he saw, heard and did there.

“We navigated the Indian sea until Palm Sunday, and then arrived at a very noble city of India called Columbum, where the whole world’s pepper is produced.”

“There is a Church of St. George there of the Latin communion at which I dwelt, and I adorned it with fine paintings and taught there the holy law. And after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great when he set up his column in India. For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial in the corner of the world over against Paradise and anointed it with oil! In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world’s end. And it had the Pope’s arms and my own engraved upon it, with inscriptions both in Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon’s.”

“So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren, and after accomplishing many glorious works I went to see the glorious queen of Saba. By her I was honorably treated, and after some harvest of souls—for there are a few Christians there—I proceeded by sea to Seyllan (*Ceylon*) a glorious mountain opposite to Paradise. And from Seyllan to Paradise, according to what the natives say, after the tradition of their fathers, is a distance of

fourteen Italian miles, so that 'tis said the sound of the waters falling from the fountains of Paradise is heard there."

The Church of the Latin communion mentioned by this writer is supposed to have been one founded by Jordanus. Marignolli, however, makes no mention of him, nor of any other Latin bishop, leading to the supposition that Jordanus's scheme for the speedy conversion of the "Schismatics and unbelievers" had not been successful, and had most probably terminated with his own death or removal from the country.

"The glorious Queen of Saba" was probably the native princess or Ranee who then ruled in those parts, for no mention is made of any sovereign of Quilon. Female rulers were not uncommon in Malabar. Archbishop Menezes, and most travellers since, have met with such, and recorded in some cases the particulars of visits paid to their courts. According to the taste and custom of the Hindoos a native potentate would not reside at a seaport like Quilon, where he would be frequently exposed to contact with *Mlechas* or unclean foreigners, but in the interior, if possible by the side of some river or sacred tank, here he could enjoy frequent ablutions and live an idle self-indulgent life.

Nienhoff in 1662 paid a formal visit to such a female sovereign, whom he calls Queen of Quilon. She did not live at Quilon but at Calliere, probably *Callida* or *Kallida*, an old Syrian station. After delivering presents and laying down the money for pepper, Nienhoff was introduced to the Queen. She had a guard of 700 soldiers "all clad after the Malabar fashion." Her ears were very long, her "neck and arms adorned with precious stones, gold rings and bracelets." She was "of a majestic mien, being a princess who showed a great deal of good conduct in the management of her affairs." At parting she took a golden bracelet from her arm and presented it, but being found too tight for Nienhoff she "ordered it to be fitted" for him. Such a native princess as this, if not one of her immediate predecessors was Marignolli's "glorious Queen of Saba."¹

¹ This mediæval monk's Saba, the writer thinks, need not be sought for elsewhere than in South Travancore. The existence of a few Christians, elephants, "very lofty and almost inaccessible mountains," temples having paintings on their walls, each and all of these particulars may apply to South Travancore. He describes her residence as on an *island*. If Kallida was the place he visited, it would probably appear so to him from the fact of his having to go thither in a boat across the broad lagoon of Quilon, studded with its numerous islets. Or he might have visited some Ranee of the Travancore royal house further south. Quitting Saba to return to Malabar, on his way towards Europe, he was driven towards Ceylon. Hence his Ceylon visit came immediately after his sojourn with the Queen; and he appears to have been nowhere else between, for he says that at Columbum he had been poisoned; and this brought on dysentery, from which he suffered for eleven months. He was cured by a female physician of the Queen, who had all along treated him with

Aloysius Cadamustus, the Venetian, who started from Europe on his eastern tour in 1493, tells us that he visited Calicut, which was inhabited by Indian Christians, and here he saw churches with bells. But when he further describes the town as a "very great city, surpassing Lisbon in size," those who know the general character of native towns on the western coast of India will receive such a statement with no slight degree of hesitation. He also states that the native Christians were without priests and religious services; which may have arisen from the unwillingness of the Syrian Cattanars to supply such outlying stations; a feeling since then manifested in their neglect of the extreme southern station at the ancient town of Travancore, and in some degree also of Quilon, though one of their most ancient settlements. The Moors brought large supplies of wheat for them in ships, he further says, and describes the process of bread making.¹ They had, moreover, in their churches—which were built of stone and lime after the Moorish fashion—nothing save a certain vessel filled with water mixed with balsam. "Every three years these people were baptised in a certain river which flowed by their city"—which sounds like a traveller's story, since nothing of the kind is known in the customs of the Syrian church at the present time. In conclusion he tells us: "The Christians ride on elephants, believe Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and never sinned; that He was crucified by the Jews, died, and was buried at Jerusalem. They know, indeed, that the Pope lives at Rome, but have no other knowledge of the Holy Roman Church—are somewhat educated, and can write their own tongue."

When the Portuguese began to frequent the Malabar coast with their ships, the native Christians perceiving their superior civilization, power, and wealth, at length summoned up courage enough to introduce themselves formally to their notice. When Peter Cabral was staying at Cranganore in 1500, two of them (who were brothers) came to ask him to convey them to Europe, since they wanted to go and visit Jerusalem. Amongst other things they told the Portuguese that they used no images, but only the simple cross in their churches; those in holy orders adopted the tonsure; they

marked kindness, and at parting gave him a golden girdle and 150 pieces of very delicate and costly stuff, probably country muslins. The girdle was subsequently stolen from him by the brigands of Ceylon.

For these very interesting particulars of Jordanus and Marignolli the writer is indebted to *The Wonders of the East*, and *Cathey and the way thither*, two works edited by Colonel H. Yule for the Hakluyt Society.

¹ "They make their bread with leaven, have no ovens, but bake it in the ashes, as we sometimes do cakes, and they do this daily." The notice of the use of wheaten bread is of some importance—rice being the chief article of consumption among the Hindoos. The Christian population required it for use in the Lord's Supper, and this may have had something to do with the constant supply being kept up.

baptised infants forty days after their birth; considered themselves ceremonially unclean for eight days after the death of a friend; had many fasts; possessed many copies of the Sacred Scriptures and Commentaries on them, from which their priests taught the people. They had been settled at Cranganore for a long period, where there were also Jews, Arabs, Egyptians, and other foreign settlers; their occupation, as a people, was traffic; and for this they paid custom dues to the Rajah of Cranganore.

Cabral took these two Indian Christians with him to Europe. The elder, named Matthias, died at Lisbon; whilst the younger, Joseph, visited Rome, and after that Venice; where the information obtained by conversation with him was incorporated in a small volume, entitled *The Travels of Joseph the Indian*, and duly published to the world.

From the pages of this little book we may glean further particulars about the Church of Malabar, but either Joseph himself wished his church to appear as much like that of Rome as he could, to please his new friends, or the compiler of the narrative has done so for him, in order that additional testimony might be given in support of Rome's innovations. Hence we have good reason to doubt some few of the statements made (as we shall see), though in the main they are probably trustworthy.

Joseph stated that his people had churches much like those in Europe, surmounted with crosses; but as they had no bells—which does not at all agree with what the Venetian traveller, already quoted, tells us of the churches at Calicut—they called the people to worship in the Greek manner—probably by striking a board. Inside their churches (he said) there were no images, but simply the symbol of the cross; they had priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; the priests did not wear the tonsure as the Romanists did, but shaved the whole of the upper part of the head; infants were not baptised till the fortieth day after their birth, unless they were in danger of death; they sprinkled themselves with holy water upon entering their churches; in the celebration of the Eucharist they consecrated unleavened bread, and where no wine could be obtained, after soaking raisins in water, they pressed out the juice and used it as a substitute; the people received the Lord's Supper three times a year; they knew nothing of extreme unction, but buried their dead with religious rites, on which occasions large numbers of people assembled, and ate together in company for the space of eight days, terminating their feast with solemn prayers; they made wills, but when any person died intestate his nearest relative became his heir; widows were usually sent home to their father's house, taking back their original dowry, with the understanding that they were not to marry during the first year of their widowhood.

On the subject of Festivals and Fasts, Joseph informed his friends that they observed Lent and Advent as fasts; kept the great Church Feasts observed in Western Christendom; and (in

addition to those retained by the Reformed Church of England) also feasts in honour of the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin; especially observed the octave of Easter, in remembrance of St. Thomas putting his hand in the side of our Lord; and the 1st of July, when the memory of this same Apostle was venerated by the Christians and *Heathens* of the country.

Their priests, he further stated, led very chaste lives; but if any were discovered to be guilty of incontinency he was at once prohibited from celebrating mass; divorces were very rare among them; and the marriage tie kept inviolate till cut asunder by death; they divided the year into twelve months, and had the intercalary day; but the days they divided into sixty hours, which, in the day time, they discerned by looking at the sun, and at night by observing the stars.

When at Rome Joseph was presented to Alexander VI., who questioned him as to the authority by which the Nestorian Patriarch governed the churches of the East. Joseph seems to have been quite a match for the Pope; and by the theory to which he then gave utterance, cleverly met a difficulty, and pacified his inquisitor. "Originally," he said, "the Apostle Peter presided over the church at Antioch; but when the church at Rome suffered from the atrocious schism caused by Simon Magus, St. Peter was called to Rome to confound Simon, and succour the distressed Christians. However, before leaving Antioch, he appointed a Vicar to act for him, whose successor the present Patriarch is; and hence he calls himself *the Catholic*, and executes the office of Peter over the Eastern parts of the world. He is appointed by twelve Cardinals, who reside in Armenia; and who declare that they act by the authority of the Roman Pontiff!"

Joseph is moreover made to state that they had the Sacraments of Penance and Confession just as the Romish Church; which cannot have been the case, for the Jesuit Missionaries, a century later, encountered the greatest difficulty in introducing them. Also, that they had "monasteries where black monks lived most continently, and, in addition, very many holy nuns"—*sanctimoniales quampures*. The Syrians of Malabar seem, indeed, to have had some few monasteries for men, when under the Nestorian Patriarch; for Paoli tells us they had formerly a monastery at Corolongáda, inhabited by Nestorians from Persia and Chaldea, who were the *spiritual guides* of the Christians of St. Thomas. There were monasteries also of the like kind at Eddapally, Angamále, and at Mylapúr (*St. Thomas's Mount*), on the coast of Coromandel; but they all fell into decline after the Portuguese had established themselves on the coast of Malabar; which leads one to suppose that conventualism was never popular among the native Christians, and that these so-called monks resembled rather the canons regular of the West, or, perhaps, Monastic Mission priests.

It is very much to be doubted whether anything answering to what we understand by *nunneries* ever existed amongst them.

Individual females may have made vows, and lived in a state of seclusion; but communities of women, living under rule, would not commend themselves at all to the modern Syrian ideas of propriety. Mr. Badger tells us that in Persia "there are no such establishments as nunneries among the Nestorians; those styled nuns take indeed the vow of celibacy, but remain in their own homes, and are expected, until loosed from their vow, to employ themselves in works of Christian benevolence, for the good of others, in the same way as the Sisters of Charity in France, or the Sisters of Mercy in England."

It is singularly coincident, that though in former times the Nestorians of Persia possessed many convents, in the present day, Mr. Badger says, they too have none; as if the system had not answered. But these convents differed very widely from those of the Church of Rome. "Such of the laity as well as the clergy, who desired to live a stricter and more devotional life than they deemed possible whilst engaged in the ordinary pursuits of the world, took upon them certain vows, of which celibacy formed a part. These generally dwelt in a church or convent (called *Deira*), at some distance from the towns and villages, and whilst the lay brethren devoted themselves to agricultural and other useful pursuits, the clergy amongst them (who were always subject to the bishop in whose diocese they resided) employed themselves in literary labours, in transcribing books, in the education of youth, and in ministering to the wants of such as applied to them for temporal or spiritual relief." "It is not uncommon" (we are further informed) "to meet with a church, at a short distance from a town or village, and called *Deira*, where a single priest, who has taken the vow of celibacy, resides, and acts in the capacity of rector or curate to the adjoining parish." But then "the celibate professed by the Nestorian clergy and laity is binding no longer than it is found to conduce to godliness, and on showing just cause the bishop is empowered to release them from their vow, and to permit them to marry, with this simple restriction, that their marriage shall be celebrated privately, as being the most proper under the circumstances."¹

Joseph's statements that "learning very much thrived amongst them," and that they had "many holy doctors who most judiciously explained the Old and New Testament," may at first appear like an exaggeration, and be hard of belief to those who know how very scarce good books were amongst them before the establishment of our Church Missions in Travancore. But we must not form our conclusions too hastily, for we know that the Romish Missionaries found a great many works, by various authors, when they first went amongst them,² which they busied themselves

¹ *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 178.

² In 1545 Mar Abraham, Nestorian Bishop, came to Cochin. "He

in collecting; and, after their Synodical condemnation at Udiampárúr, gave them without distinction to the flames. During the Dark Ages of Europe there was, perhaps, far more life and light, intellectual and spiritual, among the Nestorians of the East than amongst the ecclesiastics of the West; for Rome was repressing freedom of thought, and reducing all she could to her iron rule; whilst they were copying out the sacred books of Scripture, or writing expositions of Christian doctrine, and sending their Missionaries into the remotest parts of Asia to tell of Christ and His salvation. When the emissaries of Rome attempted the reduction of the Nestorians in Chaldea, they found very large collections of books, on a great variety of useful subjects besides divinity; but after they gained a footing amongst them, every possible artifice was used to destroy their books. "It is a common tradition among the people of the town" (says Mr. Badger) "that the extensive library of Mosul, consisting of many thousand volumes, was, at the instigation of the Latin monks, carried in baskets to the Tigris by the new proselytes, and by them thrown into that river."

The superior moral tone which prevailed amongst the native Christians of Malabar, together with their freedom from many of those gross corruptions in doctrine and practice, which were now prevailing in the Western Church, leads one to infer that they had something better amongst them than dead forms, and a lifeless creed which did not touch the heart. The old monasteries—with the Missionary clergy, living indeed a single life, but free from any vow of perpetual celibacy, employing their time in the education of youth, transcribing religious books, and acting as the spiritual guides of the Christians of St. Thomas—doubtless played a very important and beneficial part in the ancient church arrangements of Malabar, and preserved a better tone among the people than that which was prevalent when English Christians first began to seek their good. Mar Gabriel, the last Nestorian bishop, confirms all this in what he says of the Mission of Mar Saboor and Mar Prodh to Quilon; and, referring to still more remote times, he tells us:—"In this period, by order of the Catholic Patriarch of the East, many great teachers arrived in Malabar, from Bagdad, Nineveh, Jerusalem, and several other places, who assumed authority over the Christians of the country."

In Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* the state of this church is described in a letter written by four Nestorian ecclesiastics in 1504 to their Patriarch Elias, in the following words:—"There are here nearly 30,000 families of Christians of the same faith as ourselves, and they pray to the Lord that He may preserve you in safety. But now they have begun to erect other churches. They live in the midst of plenty, and are gentle and peaceable in their dispositions. Blessed be God!" They speak of the churches of St. Thomas

brought a great quantity of books with him.—(Vide *Brief History of the Syrians*," Appendix D).

at Mylapûr, at a distance of 25 days' journey, which are described as situated by the sea side, in the province of Silan (*Ceylon*)—which shows that their knowledge of Indian geography was not, at this time at least, very exact; and further state that in Malabar there are about twenty cities, of which the strongest and most celebrated were Carangol (*Cranganore*), Palor (*Pálûr*), and Colon (*Quilon*)—the others were in their vicinity, but all had churches built, and Christians dwelling in them.

Mar Gabriel thus speaks of the same Missionaries:—"In the year 1500, when the Portuguese first appeared in Malabar, where they afterwards obtained a footing, there came, by order of the Catholic Patriarch, four teachers, by name Mar Mardina, Mar Jacob, Mar Thoma, and Jene Allay,¹ who governed the Christians, and built many churches." From hence we learn that it was customary among the Nestorians, as among the Jacobites in later times, not to send a single bishop or missionary to the country, but an organised party, who were bound to act together under a common head, and support and encourage one another in the enterprise assigned to them.

We next turn to the testimony of the Romanist writer Osorius, and see what he says of the St. Thomas Christians in his history of the reign of Emmanuel, King of Portugal. He tells us the Cranganore Christians have churches, but they are deficient in beauty, on account of their slender means. On Sundays they assemble to join in the services, and hear sermons. The Eucharist is offered to all in both kinds, without discrimination. They have the Holy Bible in Syriac, and venerate it; and there are public places where the interpreters of Scripture display their skill before attentive hearers.² The priests marry; yet the first wife being dead they cannot marry again. The marriage bond of others is only loosened by the death of one of the parties.

Osorius does not say that they have the sacrament of Penance or Confession; yet he uses language which seems to intimate something of the kind, when he states, that "no one comes forward to receive the Eucharist unless by previous confession he has washed away the soul's defilements." He may, however, be merely describing a custom still prevalent amongst them of making a confession of a general character in the presence of the priest—very unlike the forced auricular confession of modern Romanism—before partaking of the Lord's Supper. He also more than reiterates what Joseph is made to say about conventual life:—"There are among them fraternities of monks and associations of holy virgins;

¹ The names given in Asseman, are Denha, Jacob, Thomas, and Jaballaha.

² His words are—"Loca etiam sunt publica, in quibus Interpretes Scripture, ipsorum intelligentiam, diligenter audientibus expediunt." Could these public places be the Nestorian monasteries of which so little is now known?

yet they are cloistered in separate buildings, and chastity is maintained with the greatest care."

Gouvea, an Austin Friar, and Reader of Divinity at Goa, has handed down to us a full account of the visitation of Archbishop Menezes in 1599. He composed his narrative at the command of the Principal of his Order in Portugal; and although he evidently writes with a mind strongly prejudiced against the Syrians—as when he says they retain *scarcely anything of Christian save the name*—which his own testimony abundantly contradicts—yet, his numerous statements throw considerable light upon their condition and opinions, after the Portuguese Romanists had had a century's intercourse with them. He condemns their adherence to Nestorianism, and their refusal to call Mary the *Mother of God*. He tells us they did not allow image worship; and only acknowledged three sacraments, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Holy Orders; that they knew nothing of confirmation and extreme unction, and *detested* the sacrament of Penance. They all received the Eucharist on the Thursday in Holy Week, and on other solemn days in the year; but with no other preparation than ordinary fasting. At mass they used cakes compounded with salt and oil, which were made and baked for the occasion, by deacons or other persons, in a gallery or room above the altar, just before consecration, and then let down through an aperture by a string in a little basket made of palm leaves; whilst the wine for this sacrament was made from raisins or dates. He who assisted the priest at the mass, although a layman, wore a stole, in the manner of deacons, over his ordinary clothes; made a very free use of incense, and sang many portions of the service alternately with the priest.

Gouvea tells us there was great eagerness among them for Holy Orders, so that there was scarcely a family which had not a clergyman in it. Such persons did not, however, altogether give up the habits of laics. They dressed in white tunics reaching to the ankles, with a white or black *pallium*, and wore ample tonsures as large as the Romish Monastic Orders. They received ordination to the office of presbyter as early as 17 or 20 years of age. *All* of them married, and most of them after taking orders—they married even widows, and more than once. Their wives had an honorable title (*Catanaræ*) given to them;¹ had precedence in rank among other women, and were distinguished by the ornament of a cross of

¹ In the present day, though living in a country where woman's rights are still little thought of, the wives of Cattanars have marked respect shown to them, and are individually spoken of, honorifically, as "the *Vascama*." This word is a corruption (a Syrian friend says) of *Buskiamma*, and is a compound of two Syriac words, *Bus*, daughter, and *kiamma*, covenant. The clergy usually marry after their ordination as deacons, and their position is then thought to correspond with that of the Levites, who served before the ark of the covenant. They are henceforth regarded as *sons of the covenant*, and their wives, as *daughters of the covenant*.

gold, or of some other metal, suspended from the neck. Other ordained persons were called *Chamazes*¹, from their first tonsure till they became priests.

As to their social habits generally, we are told that daughters did not inherit the property of their parents; *men* were accustomed to be the heirs, although they stood in no closer relation than that of adoption. At marriages a tenth part of the bride's dowry was given to the church; but they were not accustomed to pay tithe of anything else. Although they had fallen into the habit of wearing their hair long as *other Nairs* (*sic*), yet many of them tied it up on the top of their head, and adorned it with a gold or silver cross; but old people, widowers, and those who had renounced wedlock, or who had undertaken the pilgrimage to St. Thomas's Mount, shaved their hair as the Religious Orders do in Europe. The Christian women were virtuous, and conducted themselves most becomingly, wearing long veils (generally blue in colour) reaching to the ankles. How many soever there were in a church when the bishop came, approaching him, one by one, they knelt to kiss his hand; and then prostrating themselves on the ground they received his blessing.

On stated occasions the people met in the church porch, and had a feast in common, which was either paid for out of the fabric-money of the church, or by some rich man amongst themselves. The rich and poor ate together, and the feast was called a *Nercha*, in doing which they kept up the primitive custom of the Church. They held similar feasts at the funerals of their relatives, which were designated *Chátam*.

In many of the particulars above stated it will be seen that, notwithstanding their many and serious disadvantages, this isolated remnant of an ancient Christian community had retained *something more* of Christianity than the *name*—Gouvea himself being the witness. The little light they had did something for them, enabling them to attain to and preserve a high standard of morals, though surrounded by all the abominations of the most corrupting heathenism; and this evidently made a favourable impression on their Hindoo rulers, who could not but see in them quiet and peaceable subjects; and accordingly honoured and trusted them, as we shall see from what Gouvea says about their *civil status*.

He informs us that these Christians were subject to heathen sovereigns in all temporal matters; yet by most ancient compact

¹ "Chammaz aut Chammas (observes Raulini) est vox Syriaca, et sonat *Ministrum sacrum, seu Diaconum*, ex Syriaco enim Sciamesc, fit *Sciamaescin* vel *Sciammad* Diaconus."

Cattanar (or Cassanar, as some few writers have spelt the word) is undoubtedly a corruption of the Syriac *Cahana* or *Kahana*, a priest. Raulini gives a singular derivation from *Cassa*, presbyter, and *Nar*, or *Nair*, a noble; calling it a Syro-Malabaric word, signifying "*honestus vir quasi Nobilis Presbyter*."

and custom, although they were scattered about in different principalities, it came to be universally regarded that, as in spiritual so in temporal matters, they were ruled by their bishop alone; who, with his assistants, settled all their disputes, hearing most patiently contending parties, and allowing them to speak as much as they liked; so much so that it is recorded how a certain woman, on one occasion, spoke morning and evening for the space of three whole days in support of her cause! Their privileges were most religiously regarded by the native Rajahs; and if they were trampled on at any time, they were not appeased before that either the person who had insulted them, or the Rajah himself, presented the model of a silver arm, or some other valuable gift to their church, by way of satisfaction for the admitted offence. In one particular they followed the custom of the rest of the Malabars—if they touched any low-caste person they immediately bathed themselves—not that they thought (as the heathen do) that they were polluted by such contact, but because the Nairs (who are forbidden by the Brahmins to touch the lower castes, or even those whom they touch) would not have any communication with them except they purified themselves. Whence it was that these miserable outcasts were in danger of their lives if they touched a Nair. They avoided them with the greatest care; and the Nairs, when they saw low-caste people in the distance, would lustily cry out "*Po!*" which signifies "*get out of the way!*"

But whilst Gouvea bears unwilling testimony in favour of these Eastern Christians, whom, in his zeal for Rome, he would fain unchristianise, he further illustrates the truth of St. Paul's Greek adage, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," by showing us how intercourse with Romanists soon led to an imitation of some of their evil practices. We have been again and again told of their freedom from everything resembling the image or picture-worship of Romanism; but Gouvea—writing after they had been in communication with his co-religionists for about a century—tells us that though they did not approve of image worship, yet, in certain of the churches which were nearest to the Portuguese factories, by copying their example, they had then introduced pictures of the saints over their altars. And again he states that when they made processions all the clergy carried the crucifix in one hand, which they offered to be adored and kissed by others—a custom undoubtedly learned from Romish teachers. Furthermore, the symbol of the cross, which was only found inside or surmounting the old Syrian churches, was now not confined to the sacred edifice, but erected on the public roadside, both within and without towns; and burning tapers or lamps were placed before the cross after the Romish manner. A new feast day had also been added to their calendar, in commemoration of the lying wonder, said to have taken place at Mylapur in 1557—the 18th of December being observed in honour of the *perspiring cross* at St. Thomas's Mount. When Gouvea speaks of such things as these he doubtless regards them

as indications of improvement—steps in the right direction—but all who have a godly jealousy, for the simplicity of the truth as it is in Jesus, will judge of them far otherwise.

We have now seen what the Syrian Church of Malabar was, even according to the statements of those who regarded her with anything but friendly feelings; and can only wonder that at the close of the *Dark Ages*, when the northern and western nations of Europe were only just beginning to awake from the deep sleep and idle dreams of Mediævalism, this Church, cut off as she was from the rest of Christendom, retained *so much* of the Christianity of earlier and purer ages. Asleep she truly was, but she was not so completely “bound hand and foot with grave clothes,” or so oppressed with the incubus of gross superstition as some other western churches we could mention. And if we turn to the East we find her superior in many respects to such churches as that of Abyssinia, with her professedly Christian emperors and chieftains. In northern Africa, with the exception of Egypt, Christianity had become quite extinct; and if we turn to Asia, in northern India, in the island of Socotara, and the province of China, called by old travellers Masina, the like has since taken place, though for ages under the jurisdiction of the Nestorian Patriarch: but the candlestick has never been removed from Malabar. Now all this, amidst the grievous deficiency of church records, leads one to *hope* that there must have been at times some life and some light amongst these Christians of St. Thomas; occasional revivings after coldness and declensions, as in other churches of Christ; and the silent and unseen operations of the Spirit of God in leading the sinner to the Saviour, and thus gathering in a people to the praise of His great name from the shores of southern India, though the memorials thereof have perished for ever!

It has been observed by Gibbon, the historian, that “their separation from the western world had left them in ignorance of the improvements or corruptions of a thousand years; and their conformity to the faith and practice of the fifth century would equally disappoint the prejudices of a Papist or a Protestant.” We are willing to accept this statement of their case, saving that our prejudices as Protestants need not be disappointed, since (as he observes) it is a representation of fifth century Christianity and not that of apostolic times which we see depicted. Their testimony against Papal innovations, and in favour of the steps taken by our best Protestant Reformers to return to apostolic usage, is most decisive. The Romish theologians who first came in close contact with them felt this, and thus their rejection of Transubstantiation and other anti-Papal sentiments respecting the Lord’s Supper led Gouvea to remark that he was inclined to believe that the *heretics* of his time (meaning the Protestant Reformers) “the revivers of all forgotten errors and ignorances, might have obtained their doctrine about the Eucharist from them.” The restoration of the cup to the laity was not obtained in Europe without a hard struggle;

it had *never* been refused them in Malabar. They knew nothing of the Seven Sacraments of Rome—receiving as Sacraments what we do; but also calling Ordination by the same name, as a rite “ordained by Christ Himself.” They denied the fond invention of Purgatory, knew nothing of extreme unction, detested auricular confession, and condemned image worship as idolatrous; whilst their priests were allowed to marry, and no prohibition was put upon the reading, exposition and preaching of the pure Word of God to the common people. Hence we maintain that even the so called prejudices of Protestants need not be offended by the testimony so clearly borne by this venerable eastern community of Christians.

It must further be remembered that as in Europe, so in Asia, “the Word of God was precious in those days.” No admirable societies had then been formed to translate and multiply copies and then sell them at a mere nominal price so that every one might have it in his power to read or hear the messages of the Lord of Hosts in his own mother tongue; and hence neither laity nor clergy could have been so familiar with divine truth as Protestant Christians amongst us now are. We have, however, every reason to believe that these Oriental Christians were faithful keepers of the Sacred Oracles, and the Church to which they belong—to her honour be it recorded—has never prohibited the common people from free access thereto.

The Synod of Udiampārūr tried to raise an evil report against the Syrian Church of Malabar as a mutilator and falsifier of Holy Writ, but with no sufficient grounds to support the very serious charge, as we shall see. Complaints were made that certain texts had been intentionally corrupted by Nestorian copyists, giving as examples Luke vi. 34, Acts xx. 28, Heb. ii. 9, and two texts in the first epistle of St. John; but these after all may have been merely *variations* in reading, with which all students of the original are familiar; or incorrect transcriptions; if there had been any *malicious* intent to corrupt the Word of God a few isolated texts like these would not have been chosen, but the evil would have been more general throughout their copies. If the Jesuit defamers had then had it in their power to support their accusation with clearer proofs of guilt they would have done so.¹

¹ The charges are as follows: “Where our Lord Christ saith, *Lend, hoping for nothing again*; to favour and justify their usury they have made it, *Lend, and from thence hope for something*” (Luke vi. 34). “Where the Apostle saith, *We have seen Jesus for the passion of His death crowned with glory and honour, that He by the grace of God should taste death for all men*; the Syrian, the better to make a difference of persons in Christ, has impiously added, *that the grace of God might taste death for all*” (Heb. ii. 9). In Acts xx. 28 the name of *Christ* occurs where we read *God*. In 1 John iv. 3, *Qui solvit Jesum, non est ex Deo* is left out; whilst in chap. iii. 16 of the same epistle “the word *God* is maliciously left and that of *Christ* put in its stead.”—(ACT. III. Dec. 2.)

In the copies of the Syriac Old Testament Scriptures then commonly in use, the Book of Esther was said to be wanting, and also the Apocryphal Books of Tobit and Wisdom; whilst in the New Testament the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter, the 2nd and 3rd of St. John, Jude and Revelation were not found. They were thus imperfect and incomplete so far as the Canonical Books omitted are concerned. A few verses were also said to be wanting in the eighth chapter of St. John, and so was the disputed text about the three witnesses in 1 John v. 7; whilst the doxology was added to the Lord's Prayer in the sixth of St. Matthew. Such was the sum total of the charges brought before the Synod of 1599, by the learned Jesuit Missionaries.

The remedy proposed for the deficiencies of the Syriac Version, if we leave the restoration of the absent Canonical Books out of the question, was more than doubtful, viz., that the passages that were wanting "to be restored to their purity according to the Chaldee copies that are *emended*, and the *Vulgate Latin Edition* made use of by Holy Mother Church," which the Council of Trent had pronounced *authentic* for western Christendom. The state of the Latin Vulgate may be judged of by the following historical facts stated in *Rome and the Council*. "As there was no authentic edition, Pope Sixtus V. undertook to provide one, which in due time appeared, garnished with the stereotyped forms of anathema and penal enactments. His Bull declared that this edition, corrected by his own hand, must be received and used by everybody as the *only true and genuine one*, under pain of excommunication, every change, even of a single word being forbidden under anathema. But it soon appeared that it was *full of blunders, some 2,000 of them introduced by the Pope himself*." If the Syriac version was to be corrected by an emended edition of an ancient Latin translation it was not likely to be improved.

Most happily for the cause of truth, and as if to clear the Syrian Church of so grave a charge, when Dr. C. Buchanau was searching for ancient MSS. in Travancore he came upon some most ancient and valuable copies of the Inspired Scriptures. "Though written (he tells us) on a strong thick paper, like that of some MSS. in the British Museum, commonly called *eastern paper*, the ink has, in several places eaten through the material in the exact form of the letter. In other copies, where the ink had less of a corroding quality, it has fallen off, and left a dark vestige of the letter, faint indeed, but not in general illegible."

"In one of the remote churches near the mountains," believed to be one of the three churches at Angamále, he discovered a complete copy which is particularly described by him and deserves special attention. "It contains the Old and New Testaments engrossed on strong vellum in large folio, having three columns in a page, and is written with beautiful accuracy. The character is Estrangelo Syriac, and the *words* of every book are *numbered*. But the volume has suffered injury from time or neglect. In certain places the ink

has been totally obliterated from the page, and left the parchment in its state of natural whiteness; but the letters can in general be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen or from the partial corrosion of the ink."

Dr. Buchanan was allowed, to his great surprise, to bring this literary treasure away with him to Europe. "I scarcely expected (he adds) that the Syrian Church would have parted with this manuscript. But the Bishop was pleased to present it to me, saying, 'It will be safer in your hands than in our own; alluding to the revolutions of Hindostan. 'And yet,' said he, 'we have kept it, as some think, *for near a thousand years.*' 'I wish,' said I, 'that *England* may be able to keep it a thousand years.'" Mar Dionysius, the Metropolitan, being a native of Malabar and not a foreign prelate from Antioch, could more correctly speak of what his fathers had done and of their cherished traditions; and the old man, now in his seventy-eighth year, showed his good sense and full confidence in his English visitor in so readily entrusting him with this most precious relic of antiquity.

This ancient copy was brought to Cambridge, where it is still to be seen in the University Library, and Mr. Yates, the Hebraist, who collated this MSS., supposed it to have been written about the seventh century. "In looking over it (Buchanan further remarks) I find the very first proposed emendation of the Hebrew text by Dr. Kennicott (Gen. iv. 8) in this manuscript, and no doubt it is the right reading. The disputed passage (1 John v. 7) is not to be found in it, nor is this verse to be found in any copy of the Syrian Scriptures which I have yet seen." From this last observation it may be inferred that even in Malabar there were copies which never fell into the hands of the Jesuit Fathers to receive their *emendations*, according to the decrees of the Synod; and this further shows that some of the Syrians nobly declined surrendering their books to be thus dealt with, at the bidding of a foreign prelate; and Buchanan may well express his wonder and admiration that during the Dark Ages of Europe, whilst ignorance and superstition in a manner denied the Scriptures to the rest of the world, the Bible should have found an asylum in the mountains of Malayála, where it was freely used in its churches.

If, in God's providence, some enlightened adherents of the Reformed Faith, instead of Romish ecclesiastics, had been the first to establish an intimacy with this ancient Christian community, when it emerged from the obscurity in which it had been buried, how different would have been the results! In a certain sense they had kept Christ's word and had not denied His name, even though dwelling where Satan seemed to hold undisputed sway; "a little strength" too was left, and they were freer from the corruptions of the *Dark Ages* than the great churches of Europe which had been under the Papacy. It being so with them, simple gospel

teaching, a reformed liturgy in the vernacular, and a general circulation of the Scriptures in their mother tongue humanly speaking would have led to such a revival of living Christianity that modern missions to South India would have been rendered unnecessary!

CHAPTER VII.

ROME'S EARLIER EFFORTS TO SUBJUGATE THE SYRIAN CHURCH.

The first half century's intercourse between the Portuguese and the Church of Malabar was characterized more or less by a spirit of friendliness. The native Christians were serviceable to the Portuguese as allies, and they needed the support of the Portuguese. The Syrian bishops too, coming as they did from Mesopotamia, must have known something of the power and grandeur of old Papal Rome and of the superior civilisation and prowess of the European nations: and hence probably considered it greatly to their interest to keep on good terms with these foreign settlers.

In 1544 the Syrian Metropolitan Joseph ended his days in the Franciscan convent at Cochin; doubtless, in his hours of feebleness and decay, indebted to the kind offices of the brotherhood. His successor, Mar Jacob, acted under the auspices of the same community, who were evidently quietly leavening the Indian Church with papal error in doctrine and practice. Francis Xavier met with this man at Cochin, and was so prepossessed in his favour as to write to the King of Portugal to secure for him a higher salary than his friends the Franciscans were able to obtain from the local government. Xavier describes him as laborious in the discharge of his episcopal functions, but as receiving only "such wages as saints generally receive from men of this world."

In another letter to the King, dated January 26th, 1549, Xavier again speaks of this prelate, requesting the King to write to the Governor of Cochin on his behalf, and even to Mar Jacob himself. This letter supplies further particulars, which serve to throw light upon the relations then subsisting between the head of the Syrian Church and the Romish missionaries. He observes: "For forty-

five years,¹ a certain Armenian bishop, Jacob Abuna by name, has served God and your majesty. He is a man equally dear to God on account of his virtue and his sanctity, yet despised and neglected by your majesty, and by all who have any power in India. . . . The Fathers of the Order of St. Francis alone take care of him, and surround him with benevolent attentions which leave nothing wanting. Without such care the good old man would have been overwhelmed by his misfortunes and have lost his life. . . . This man is most worthy of the character I give him because he performs no labour in ministering to the Christians of St. Thomas, and now in his decrepid age he *most obediently accommodates himself to all the rites and customs of the Holy Mother Church of Rome*. I know that your Majesty is in the habit of writing to the Franciscan fathers. The letter (which he wished the king to write to Mar Jacob) to the Armenian bishop can be enclosed in their packet. Such a letter I entreat you to send, full of all expressions of favour, respect, and affection.”² From hence it appears that the plot to reduce the Syrian Church into obedience to Rome was already secretly in operation though under the guise of friendship; and doubtless Xavier thought that by helping it on he was doing God service.

That the Franciscans were specially used in this matter at first appears from another source. In 1545 Don Joan d’Albuquerque, the second bishop of Goa, directed one of this fraternity, Friar Vincent by name, to labour among the Syrians at Cranganore and in its neighbourhood. Dr. Geddes quaintly says, that his labours “are so strangely magnified by the Portuguesees that it looks as if it were done on purpose to excuse their not employing of more hands in a work which, here in Europe, they pretended was their chief business in the Indies. For he is said not only to have preached daily in their churches, which were built after the fashion of Pagod (*idol*) Temples, but also to have built several churches among them after the Latin way.”

Friar Vincent, with the assistance of the Viceroy and Bishop of Goa, at length founded a college at Cranganore, where Syrian youths were educated in the doctrine and ritual of Rome. Xavier wrote home to his royal patron urging him to endow this college, intimating that it would be the means of greatly increasing the number of adherents to his church.

The Cranganore College was, however, by no means a success; for the Syrians looked with suspicion even upon their own children who had been educated there, and refused to recognise the Romish orders they had received,—regarding their latinized habits and

¹ From this it would appear that Mar Jacob was the prelate of that name who came to Malabar in 1500, or according to the letter preserved by Asseman about 1504.

² Vide *Life of F. Xavier*, by Rev. H. Venn, p. 152, whence this extract has been borrowed.

customs as so many marks of apostasy from the faith of their forefathers. Vincent having intimated his intention of handing over the institution to the Jesuits, in the event of his own decease, Xavier wrote farther respecting it to the head of his own Order, Ignatius Loyala, and to his friend Simon Roderick, requesting them to procure indulgences from the Pope for the Syrian Church; and also to send out an active Jesuit missionary to itinerate in the sixty villages of the Syrian Christians. In this way under the immediate auspices of the pious and amiable F. Xavier, the Jesuits were introduced into Malabar to work their evil work amongst these ancient Christian congregations!

The keen sighted Jesuits thought the cause of Vincent's failure was to be found in the neglect of the study of the *Syriac* language, always regarded as most sacred by these people; being (as they maintained) the language spoken by their Apostle St. Thomas; and, further still, by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself when on earth. They resolved therefore to try an entirely new plan, believing in the end it would prove far more efficacious. The town of Cranganore with all its attractions,—its busy marts and perpetual contact with the world beyond the seas,—its crowds of foreigners of divers races, tongues and creeds,—was forsaken, and a quiet spot selected in the immediate vicinity of Chennum on the sacred isle of Malankara, some three or four miles in the interior, on the banks of a broad river fringed with the richest tropical vegetation. Here they erected the famous college of Vaipicotta, in which special attention was to be given to the study of the *Syriac* language and literature. The place was well chosen, since in addition to its having been on the island where according to tradition St. Thomas first landed, it was on one of the great *water ways* leading directly to several of the churches of the interior, and not many miles from Angamále, one of the most highly venerated strongholds of the native Christians.

But the Jesuits were at first not much more successful than Friar Vincent; for although their pupils were well grounded in the Romish faith and carefully instructed in *Syriac*, so strong was the antipathy of the mass of the people to Romanism that not one of them dare utter a word against the ancient dogmas and customs of the church of their fathers, or offer an apology for those of Rome, or alter anything in their church offices, even to the extent of omitting to pray for the Patriarch of Babylon, whom their new teachers taught them to regard as an arch-heretic.

The Jesuits thus foiled, according to their wonted habit, where circumstances permitted, called to their aid the strong arm of civil power, and began to use physical force where argument could not prevail. Their motto in dealing with the Syrian Church of Malabar after this, seems to have been—"If you will not bend you shall break." A long conflict with the Syrian Metrans followed, in which the most odious and tyrannical measures were adopted; till at last, after almost 50 years war, availing themselves of the opportunity offered by the death of Mar Abraham at Angamále in 1597,

the Jesuit faction gladly welcomed and heartily seconded all the plans of Don Alexius Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who had been commissioned by the Pope to completely subjugate the Church of Malabar to the Papal rule. The whole plan of the campaign had been arranged upon the appointment of Menezes, when Clement VIII. issued a Brief, bearing date January 27th, 1595, directing the new Archbishop "to make inquisition into the crimes and errors of Mar Abraham; and in case he found him guilty of such things as he had been accused of, to have him apprehended and secured in Goa; as also to appoint a Governor, or Vicar Apostolic of the Roman Communion over his bishopric; and upon Mar Abraham's death to take care that no bishop coming from Babylon should be suffered to enter the Serra¹ to succeed." These directions were placed in the hands of Menezes before he left Europe for India; and Mar Abraham's death alone prevented his deportation to the Inquisition of Goa, where his last resting-place would have been instead of in the church he had built at Angamále, and dedicated to the Nestorian Abbot Hormisdas.

On his arrival in India Menezes wrote to Mar Abraham, and also to Jacob, the Vicar-General of a rival Syrian Metran (then detained in Europe). Abraham resided (as already stated) among the Northern Syrians at Angamále, and Jacob among those of the South at Nágapara near Cadatúrúttá, in the Wadakencore state. But he did not succeed in winning over either of these ecclesiastics to his side; for Mar Abraham died in 1597, rejecting the proffered offices of the Jesuit fathers who came to visit him from Vaipicotta, "contemning the sacrament of penance," and committing the care of the Church of Malabar to his Archdeacon George. The Vicar-General, Jacob, soon followed him to the grave, also unreconciled to Rome.

Every effort was next made to induce George, the Syrian Archdeacon, to submit to Rome by subscribing to its creed, but without success; since, after much correspondence on this and kindred subjects, he plainly told the emissaries of Rome that he never would do it, for he considered the Church of Rome had no more to do with the Christians of St. Thomas than he had to do with the Church of Rome. He next called a Synod of the clergy and most influential laity to meet him at Angamále, where all present swore to stand beside the Archdeacon, in defence of their ancient faith, and ecclesiastical liberties; declaring themselves bound to submit to no bishop except one sent to them by the Patriarch of Babylon. These decisions of the Synod were forthwith published throughout all their churches.

So thoroughly was the community roused, and so strong was the feeling excited by this movement of the Archdeacon, that the

¹ *Malankara* meaning the hilly or mountainous country, the Romish writers designated the diocese by the simple Portuguese translation of *Serra*.

Syrians would no longer permit any Latin priests to officiate in their churches. One of the Jesuit fathers, who went to Angamále to preach, is said to have had a narrow escape of his life, and so had another priest of the same Order at Mûlantûrûtta; whilst an attempt is asserted to have been made upon the lives of two other priests at Cadatûrûtta, by the introduction of two cobras into the chamber where they were sleeping. But when the bold Archbishop heard of all these proceedings, he only regarded them as so many reasons why he should proceed in person southwards, to reduce these refractory Christians, by the strong arm of power, to the See of Rome.

The Viceroy of Goa, the Chapter of his Cathedral, the Bishop of Cochin, and the clergy and laity in general, tried their utmost to dissuade him from an undertaking so fraught with danger and difficulties. It was urged that the Syrians were an obstinate set of men, full of hatred to the Portuguese; their churches difficult of access, being situated for the most part far in the interior; and the localities occupied by their towns and villages were all under the jurisdiction of heathen princes. A further fact brought to his notice, that just then the Rajahs of the two states, to which Angamále, Pârûr, with other Syrian towns belonged, were at war with one another, led him to defer his visit for a season, but not to abandon it as impracticable.

At length Menezes arrived at Cochin, January 26th, 1599, where he was received with great pomp. A flight of steps was specially constructed to facilitate his landing; the Governor of the city, Don Antonio de Noronha, the Bishop, and the whole of the inhabitants assembled to receive and to do honour to the great man, who, like most other prelates of the age, was fond of display, and had decidedly military tastes, being equally skilled in directing "the cannons of Portugal and the bulls of Rome." He lost no time in informing his new acquaintances that the chief object of his visit was the reduction of the Syrian Church to the Roman faith; requesting, at the same time, their hearty assistance in the confessedly difficult undertaking. Even the Hindoo Rajah of Cochin, on the occasion of a visit of ceremony, was informed that his co-operation in the work—so far as the churches in his territory were concerned—was expected; which could not have been very pleasant to this native prince, since the Syrian Christians had proved themselves a loyal and powerful section of his subjects.

What the Syrian Archdeacon had so much dreaded had now happened—the great Archbishop of Goa had arrived in the very heart of this ancient diocese, now destitute of a bishop, armed with power from the Pope, and supported by the vast wealth and influence of Portugal! What was to be done? After holding consultation with the leading members of his own communion, it was agreed that the Archdeacon should at once seek an interview with Menezes, since he had it in his power, if any slight were put upon him, materially to injure their temporal interests, especially in the

matter of the *pepper* trade. They hoped also, that in two or three months' time, when the monsoon (*rainy season*) would be coming on, he would return to Goa, and leave them once more to themselves. They further agreed to allow him to say Mass and preach in their churches, as a matter of common civility; but to prevent him (as far as possible) from exercising any *episcopal functions*, trusting that a bishop of their own party would ere long arrive from their Patriarch.

The interview between the Archdeacon and Menezes, which took place at Cochin, with its attendant circumstances of a highly sensational character, is fully described by Gouvea and others; and so are the particulars of the Archbishop's tours of visitation, and need not here be repeated at any length. The Syrians, however, were quite under a mistake in supposing that the monsoon's approach would frighten him back again to Goa. He arrived in the month of January, and did not re-embark for Goa till the 16th of November following; and during this interval of time, so effectually did the plans he pursued cow the native Christians, that he flattered himself, ere he left, that he had completed the work of subjugation.

The old writers who have handed down particulars have played such strange freaks with the names of places, that it has been no small labour to identify some of them. Portuguese, Dutch, French, Italian, and English, have each in succession adopted their own peculiar modes of spelling, and it is often difficult to recognise an old friend in his new dress. But with the help of the map accompanying these chapters on Syrian Church History—in which most of the old Christian towns and villages are placed in their proper positions, and called by the names they still bear—some idea may be formed of the systematic order of Menezes' visitation; though in the end he did not do *all* that he purposed.

The Portuguese prelate began his tour the day after his state interview with the Syrian Church representatives. He and his suite left Cochin in ten large country boats, called by the old European writers *tones*, by the natives *dhonies*, a species of vessel suited to shallow water, being propelled by two long poles when the wind does not allow of the sail being used.

The miniature fleet proceeded northwards through the beautiful Backwater as far as Chennum, where the Jesuit's College of Vaipicotta was situated. From thence the Archbishop went to Párúr, about two miles distant by *land*; and to Allungáda, also in the same neighbourhood. He now took to his boats and penetrated further into the interior, visiting Chewurrah, just above Alwaye, the favourite watering place of the Dutch; and Kanhúra, on the northern bank of the same river, only some few miles further up the stream. At that time there were, most probably, no other Syrian churches near the river side in this direction; and so thus terminated his first northern tour, during which he passed through some lovely scenery; and—if he had any eye for the beauties of

nature—must have seen much to afford him quiet pleasure, supposing it possible that the nefarious character of his enterprise could admit of such refreshment to the mind.

All these five Syrian churches first visited were eventually reduced, and Rome retains her hold of them to the present day; and there are no churches, chapels, or congregations independent of Rome in any of these parishes except Párúr.

Chennum, or *Chenotta*, is remarkable as being one of the old Jewish settlements in the vicinity of Cranganore. Close to the venerable Syrian church there are houses inhabited by Jews, but the Vaipicotta College has wholly disappeared; and so have all the Jesuit fathers who once ruled therein. Dr. C. Buchanan was much struck with the commingling of the old races and creeds in this retired part of India when he visited it in 1807. "I was surprised," he says, "to meet with Jews and Christians in the same street. The Jews led me first to their synagogue, and allowed me to take away some MSS. for money. The Syrian Christians then conducted me to their ancient church. I afterwards sat down on an eminence above the town to contemplate this interesting spectacle; a Jewish synagogue and a Christian church standing over against each other; exhibiting, as it were, during many revolving ages, the Law and the Gospel to the view of the heathen people." In the church, which stands close to the bank of the river, and is dedicated to St. Cross, there are a few old inscriptions.

Allungáda is more frequently called Mangáte by old Portuguese writers, since it is situated in the territory of the Mangáda Rajah; and was then probably the most important town therein frequented by these foreigners. The Archbishop found the Christians at this place in deep distress; the church—which was fortified by being encompassed with a strong wall—full of women and children, in consequence of the feud still existing between the Mangáda Rajah and the Chieftain who owns Párúr. The sympathy he expressed for them in their forlorn condition, seems for a time to have won their hearts, and rendered them more willing to listen to his words than their friends had been either at Chennum or Párúr.

The Syrian church of *Allungáda* is now in the hands of the Romanists; but its historical associations manifest that it has been at times a strong centre of Syrian influence since the days of Menezes. Here, on the 22nd of May, 1653, the Syrians, driven to desperation—by the Portuguese intercepting their communications with the Nestorian Patriarch, and especially by the forced imprisonment in the Inquisition at Goa of a bishop named Theodore, whom they had long been expecting—assembled in this church under the leadership of Itti Thoma, and consecrated a certain priest named Parumbil Thoma, of Corolongáda, to be their Metran by the imposition of hands, and the episcopal mitre; and under this man they commenced the work of emancipation from the tyranny of Rome.

On the 20th February, 1700, this same church witnessed another consecration, which excited a great deal of ill-feeling amongst the

Romish party. D. Angelus Franciscus, a barefooted Carmelite, was then consecrated Bishop of Methelopolis by Mar Simon, a Syro-Catholic Bishop, but neither the Archbishop of Goa, nor the Bishop of Cochin would take any part in the solemnity, on account of the jealousy that existed between the Crown of Portugal and the Pope on the subject of Church patronage in the East.

This consecration of one of the Carmelite Missionaries by the hands of an Oriental Bishop probably pacified the minds of some of the Syrians in their neighbourhood, and served to reconcile them more to Rome; though others would much have preferred retaining Mar Simon himself, since the Syrians assert that Mar Simon himself was expected by them to hold this office, and that the Carmelites having forced him to consecrate one of their number, immediately after sent him off to Pondicherry, where he died miserably in prison. Verapoly, in the immediate neighbourhood of Allungáda, was at this time the head-quarters of the Carmelites; and as a seminary for priests had existed there ever since 1673, one cannot wonder that ultimately Allungáda was secured by the Romish party. Bishop Angelus, who was consecrated under such painful circumstances, died at Verapoli October 17th, 1712, and was buried in the church of St. Joseph—"in muro ad latus evangelii."

Du Perron tells us that the Carmelites established a Hospice at Allungáda, and mentions a priest named Renee who had been very successful in reducing the people, and had established among them a procession made on the evening of every Friday in Lent at eight p.m., when they carried about "the image of the crucified Jesus." The brethren of the Scapular were also established there; and Paoli tells us that previous to his time the Jesuits had a convent and seminary in the place; all which shows how completely the Romish party had occupied the ground; and one is not at all surprised that all freedom of thought or action has long since been entirely suppressed in this old Syrian parish.

Paoli speaks of Allungáda possessing "the largest church belonging to the Christians of St. Thomas on the coast;" and Du Perron calls it "one of the most beautiful and ornamental churches of Malabar." It was, however, burnt by Tippoo's troopers in 1790, and has not since been completely restored, though only three or four miles from Verapoli, the residence of the Vicars Apostolic. In 1856, though the massive walls of this church were still standing entire, the chancel only was covered with a roof. There were then only 120 families connected with the church, and but few houses in its immediate vicinity; though some of these were built of stone, and appeared to have seen better days. The architecture of the church is, in some particulars, unlike most other Syrian churches, especially as it regards the regular lines of well-developed windows, which must have supplied an amount of light and air far greater than the native Christians were accustomed to in other places; leading one to suppose they are of European design. They have been since repeated

elsewhere—the churches at Kothamungalum having the same shaped windows.

Chewurrah and *Kanhúra*, being also within an easy distance of Vaipicotta, Chennum and Verapoli have been similarly kept in bondage, and all aspirations after religious liberty have long since been silenced. Archdeacon George, who was Menezes' great opponent, had his favourite residence at Chewurrah, on account of the fertility of the soil, and the grateful shade of the thick groves¹ which overshadowed the banks of the Periar, one of the most picturesque rivers in this highly-favoured region of South India. The circumstance of Chewurrah being also within a few miles of Angamále, where the last Syrian Metran, Mar Abraham, lived and died, probably had something to do with the selection of this locality. When Archbishop Menezes was in this neighbourhood the Archdeacon proffered him hospitality, but the Portuguese prelate declined it resolutely.

Opposite the village of Chewurrah the Periar is a very wide stream, and, except in the rainy season, too shallow to allow of large boats being moored so close to the banks as to be protected by the shade of the trees. When the sun arose, Menezes, suffering from its intense heat, wished to go ashore and spend the most sultry hours of the day under the shelter of the massive walls and lofty roof of the Syrian church, which stands at the top of the steep village street, embosomed in trees; but intelligence was soon brought to him that the sacred edifice was locked up, and the village deserted of its inhabitants. The next morning, however, the Archdeacon visited Menezes, at his earnest request, in his boat, taking with him some of the more learned Cattanars, and a body of armed retainers. At this interview the Archdeacon protested that it would be a base act on his part to desert the Patriarch, who had been for so many centuries the ecclesiastical head of their body; he agreed, however, to the calling of a Synod, but urged that Menezes in his tour through the country as a foreign prelate, should abstain from all essentially episcopal acts, confining his ministrations to preaching and blessing the people.

Kanhúra, some four miles further up the river, was next visited by Menezes; and the Archdeacon, having taken a shorter road by land, met him there. According to the terms previously agreed upon, the Archbishop delivered a sermon to the people; but so far was he from being of St. Paul's mind, when he determined "to know nothing else save Jesus Christ and Him crucified," that his sermon was a long tirade against Nestorius, and the claims of the Patriarch of Babylon; which gave great offence to the hearers, and caused the Syrian Archdeacon sorely to lament that he had ever conceded to him even so much as the liberty to preach to his people.

¹ "Ibi domicilium fixerat; illectus soli ubertate, gratisque nemorum umbris." (*Raulini*, p. 25.)

Though the Archbishop had purposed to complete the visitation of the Northern churches in this tour, he was so little satisfied with the results after visiting these five churches, that he deemed it advisable to proceed southward at once, where the people would be less under the influence of the Archdeacon, trusting he would there meet with better success. He accordingly left Kanhûra on the 1st of March, and repaired to the Portuguese fort two leagues from Cochin (*Castella?*), where he met the Governor and Bishop of that city, and communicated to them his future plans of operation.

In his first tour of visitation southward he visited Porcâda, on the sea coast, a few miles below Alleppy, and thence went to Quilon—the most southern station visited by him. Here, however, alarming intelligence of certain disasters which had befallen the Portuguese troops at the siege of Cunahle, reached him, and he hastened back to hold a consultation with the Captain General of the Forces at Cochin, where political matters detained him for several days.

In his next journey Menezes visited Mûluntûrûtta, where he confirmed and exercised other episcopal acts, in defiance of the expressed wish of the Syrian Christians made through their Archdeacon; but in the midst of his labours he was again recalled by political business to Vaipén, near Cochin, to act in concert with the Governor and Bishop of Cochin in drawing up a treaty of peace with the Samorin.

When these affairs of State were concluded he recommenced his visitation southwards, stopping first at Udiampârûr, one of the very ancient Syrian settlements which had been the residence of several of their bishops in former times. Here he further bid defiance to the authorities of the Syrian Church, by giving notice of an Ordination which he purposed holding on the Saturday before the fifth Sunday in Lent; to which service he invited the Archdeacon by letter, and when the latter replied that such a proceeding would be contrary to their late agreement at Chewurrah, he in no wise changed his project, alleging that he was acting in accordance with the Pope's directions, to whom *all* churches were subject. He, however, met with some resistance at Udiampârûr itself; for, upon the mind of the Archdeacon being known, the oldest Cattamar of the church came forward requiring Menezes to leave the place and never to set his foot again therein. Notwithstanding all this he persisted in preaching in the neighbourhood; and when the appointed day came he ordained thirty-seven candidates who had been prepared by the Jesuit Missionaries, having first obliged them to subscribe to the creed of Pius IV., and to swear obedience to the Pope.

After this he visited several churches¹ in that part of Travancore.

¹ One of these, called by Asseman *Mangalam*, was most probably the place now called *Kothamungalam*, which is of easy access from Udiampârûr, either by land or (in the monsoon) by water.

core, and then journeyed some miles south-east to Cadatúrúttā, where he spent the season of Easter; thence visiting Nagpili (*Nagapara*), half a league distant, where the Vicar-General of one of the old Syrian Metrāns formerly resided, and had died within the last year or two. He returned northwards, by way of Múluntúrúttā and Udiampárúr to a place called by Gouvea *Narame*, also under the Cochin Rajah. This last-named place is identical with the Nharamel of Paoli, and the modern Nadamel—the name by which the Syrian suburb of Trepúntara is still known among the native Christians. Here he met with stern resistance, which must have been anything but satisfactory to a man of his dignity and temperament. The people of the place had bound themselves by an oath that they would never forsake their religion and their Archdeacon, but defend them with the last drop of their blood. The church was securely locked, and such of the people as had not hid themselves would have no communication with him, declining even to sell him fresh provisions for money, thereby compelling him and his suite to satiate their hunger with the rice and biscuits they had brought with them. And though Menezes sent for the Hindoo magistrate of the district and demanded his assistance, all was unavailing; so that he had to leave the place in chagrin, and to return to the fort of Cochin, about two hours' distance; and thus ended the somewhat circumscribed visitation held by him prior to the Synod of Udiampárúr.

With regard to the places just mentioned, Porcáda and Cadatúrúttā are altogether Romish; the Jesuits early formed establishments there, and completely annihilated every anti-Papal element; and they did much the same at Quilon, where however some few Syrians now reside, and have recently built themselves a small church. The church of Udiampárúr is still in the hands of the Romanists, though there is a strong Syrian colony within a mile of the old church at Kandanáda; whilst at Múluntúrúttā and Nadamel or Trepúntara there are, as in many other places, Syrian and Romo-Syrian churches within a short distance of each other.

Múluntúrúttā is now an unimportant place; but when our Church Missionaries first went there some traces of its former importance were still left.¹ Its church, situated on an elevation which com-

¹ The Syrians have a tradition that the first church at this place was built by the Thekkenbaghar Syrians from Cadaturutta, who fled thither to escape the vengeance of the family of a native Rajah whom they had killed in defending the honour of their families. A piece of land was granted them for erecting houses; the boundaries of which were marked by two crosses, one of which still stands, and is called Wettikkel Kurisha—the cross at the cuttings or boundary lines. The massacre of the Rajah was forgotten in course of time; until one day a descendant of this man, passing through the street, overheard a Syrian boy swear by Veera Manikatchen—the Rajah who had been their enemy—in an altercation with his playfellows at football. The prince was led to enquire into the past history of this people; and finding that they had formerly resided in his

mands a pleasing prospect to the east, was then considered one of the cleanest and best-constructed of the Syrian churches in the neighbourhood. It contained the tombs of two bishops—Mar Eyanus, or Yohanes (John), who came from Antioch in 1684, and Mar Gregory, a native of Aleppo, who arrived in Malabar in 1751, and died at Múluntúrúttá about 1772. Here also a Maphrian, who came from Antioch last century, is said to be interred, whose shrine used to be partially covered with silver. East of the church, about 500 or 600 yards off, stood a large stone cross, to which there was a fine broad walk; and on each side of this were the houses which formed the bazaar, whilst the ruins of other houses and the decaying walls of enclosures were memorials of a much larger population than the 500 souls who, scattered in various parts of the parish, are still connected with the church. The Church Missionary Society used to have schools here at one time—let us hope they will again, some day.

Trepúntara is now the favourite residence of the Rajahs of Cochin. It possesses a very ancient Hindoo temple, regarded by the Brahmins as having been consecrated in remote mythical antiquity, before the death of Krishna; and in connexion with it, there are wondrous tales of gods and demi-gods. In 1820, when the Rev. B. Bailey first visited this place, the same church was used by Syrians and Romo-Syrians; there were then about seventy Syrian families, and the same number of Romo-Syrians, who were regarded as the wealthier of the two parties. These poor Syrians, however, bought out the Romanizers after this; and, as the people told the writer, the Romish party took away their images, but left their pictures for the instruction of the Syrians. In 1853 there were about 100 Syrian families; so they had been increasing. When the Rev. S. Ridsdale was in charge of Cochin, the Church-Missionary Society had a flourishing school at this place of 72 boys, amongst whom were two sons of the Rajah's brother, who was heir apparent. At one time there was a great stir amongst the Romo-Syrians, when 40 families put themselves under the English Missionary, for whom they claimed the right of using the church they had built. In January, 1835, Mr. Ridsdale preached in this church to about 250 people—the Dewan having decided that both Protestants and Romanists might use it; but the former, for the sake of peace, soon withdrew, and erected a good-sized building to serve the double purpose of church and school. After a time ill-health compelled Mr. Ridsdale to return to Europe; and almost all this work came to nought, saving that one of the youths connected with the Rajah's family becoming a sincere convert to Christianity, was baptized by Mr. Ridsdale in Cochin Church, by the name of

domain, promised to receive them back, and to help them in every way in his power. The church (as before stated) was handed over to some Northern Syrians, whose descendants now possess it.—For more about Cadaturutta vide Chap. V.

Constantine. After a life of usefulness this good man died, deeply regretted, at Cannanore, where he had been labouring in connexion with the German Missionaries. It is to be hoped that evangelistic work will some day be recommenced, in right earnest, at this increasingly important place, and the lost ground be recovered.

But to return to our Archbishop. Arrived at Cochin, he engaged the Portuguese Governor to unite with him in putting pressure upon the Hindoo Rajah; and an opportunity of doing so soon occurred, upon this prince paying a visit of ceremony to the prelate, at which the Rajah was induced to renew a promise of *commanding all his Christian subjects to obey the Archbishop in all things!* Highly gratified with this promise, and relying upon this "arm of flesh," he proceeded northwards to Cranganore—where he would be in the vicinity of the Jesuit College at Chennum—to make arrangements necessary for the proposed Synod.

Cranganore now became for six or seven weeks the headquarters of the Archbishop. Whilst here he had a somewhat stormy interview with the Cochin Rajah, whom he deigned to meet at the landing place at the Castle, and to conduct to a hermitage in the vicinity where they could hold a strictly private conference. The Archbishop charged the Rajah with not affording him the protection and assistance which he expected; and stated that he should inform the King of Portugal of the omission. This led to an angry discussion, in which the Hindoo Prince seems to have preserved his temper far better than the haughty prelate. The visit, however, led to the Rajah being terrified into writing to the Syrian Archdeacon to come and submit to the Archbishop; and also to the Mangáda Rajah—in whose territory the Archdeacon then resided—to compel him to comply, in the event of his manifesting any unwillingness. Thus were these heathen potentates forcibly enlisted in the dire warfare against the religious liberty of the Syrians.

The civil arm at length effected what all the terrors of Papal anathema had failed to accomplish. The Archdeacon was forced into a *feigned* submission, which took place, by appointment, within the walls of the Jesuits' College at Chennum—the place best suited for such an act. Thus was one of Rome's dubious triumphs at length brought about.

Before leaving Chennum, the time and place for the Synod was determined. Angamále, which had of late been the metropolis of the Diocese, appeared to be at first sight, the most fitting place; but Menezes set it aside, because the Christians of that part were most strongly attached to their old customs—this town was not in the territory of the Cochin Rajah, the Prince most under obligation to the Crown of Portugal—and, lastly, it was too far removed from the garrison of Cochin, whose services he might possibly need, at least to overawe any refractory Syrians who might show some inclination to think and act for themselves. It was therefore determined to hold the Synod at Udiampárúr, within an

easy distance of Cochin ; the 20th of June, the third Sunday after Whitsuntide, being the day fixed for its opening.

To carry out this purpose, citations were issued in the name of Menezes and of the Archdeacon, dated May the 11th, commanding all priests, and four procurators of the people from each Syrian church, to assemble at the time appointed. Menezes then returned to Cranganore to prepare the decrees for the Synod, "which were all writ," says Geddes, "with his own hand, word for word, as they are published ; as soon as he had finished them he had them translated out of Portuguese into Malavar (*Malayálim*). He likewise consecrated there a stone altar for every church in the Serra, which was "what they all wanted"—nothing but wooden altars or tables being known in Malabar till Romanists or Romanizers introduced stone. In many churches they are still made of wood ; the Romanists using small stone slabs or portable altars for the Mass, such probably as Menezes now consecrated.

It must have taken a considerable portion of the six weeks intervening between the issue of the citations and the assembling of the Synod, to compose and translate these numerous and elaborate decrees. The intimate acquaintance they manifest with the ancient customs of the Syrians, and with their ecclesiastical, civil, and social condition at that time, indicates the presence and the hand of others far better acquainted with them than Menezes could have become by the personal intercourse of three or four months. Doubtless Francis Roz, and his brother Jesuits at Vaipicotta College, had far more to do with the compilation than the great church dignitary, under whose hand and seal they came forth to the world. But it follows, further, that if they were *passed* at Udiampárúr, exactly as written out, "word for word," by the prelate at Cranganore, there can have been no deliberation, and no *intention to allow* of any. The Synod itself was therefore little better than an ecclesiastical conspiracy, got up to enforce and carry out the pre-conceived and pre-determined ideas and plans of Menezes and his Jesuit allies ; to which these poor Syrian Christians of Malabar were compelled to affirm, with their lips at least, a very reluctant assent.

In order to make sure of a decided majority of the Synod, when Trinity Sunday arrived Menezes held another ordination, at which he laid hands on no fewer than fifty Cattanars, in the Syrian church at Parúr, near Vaipicotta College. These fifty, being added to the thirty-eight ordained by him at Udiampárúr, and others ordained at Cadatúrúttá, are supposed to have made up *two-thirds* of the native ecclesiastics at the Synod, who, in all, were one hundred and fifty-three.¹

Nor was he less active and subtle in his endeavours to secure

¹ "It was thus," says Gouvea, alluding to the first ordination, "that Menezes began to secure in this country a number of persons who remained faithful to him, and never abandoned his interests."

the votes of the leading men among the lay representatives; to one he gave a valuable cross set with diamonds, and the like gift he bestowed upon an aged Cattanar who had been the intimate friend of the last Syrian Metran, Mar Abraham. Others were won over by similar marks of his favour, or being dazzled by the pomp and display he exhibited during his progress through the land were brought to regard him with a kind of servile admiration, and feared to cross the purposes of so great a personage. :

Such tactics as those exhibited by Archbishop Menezes have met with condemnation from the thoughtful and reflective among even Roman Catholic writers. Father Simon, in his *Critical History of the Old Testament* (quoted by Geddes), commenting thereon, remarks :—" All that these methods have hitherto produced, serves only to let the world see by what means the Roman Religion has been established in the East, which he that knows will not wonder that all the re-unions which have been made with those people that we call *Schismaticks* in those parts, have been so short-lived." Though the professed union of the *whole* Syrian Church effected by Menezes may be classed among the short-lived re-unions spoken of by Father Simon, the Roman Missionaries have so far succeeded in Malabar, that to this day a very considerable proportion of this ancient community is still subject to Rome; and thus, so far as they are concerned, the more than questionable means used have proved triumphant. The ground won will doubtless be strenuously maintained, until He put forth His arm before whom every Dagon invented by man's corrupt imagination must fall, and be shattered to atoms.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SYNOD OF UDIAMPARUR, AND THE VISITATION OF THE CHURCHES WHICH FOLLOWED.

On Sunday, the 20th of June, being the third Sunday after Whitsuntide, the Synod was to meet at Udiampárúr. About ten days previous to this the Archbishop proceeded thither, accompanied by his confessor, F. Braz de Santa Maria (an Augustin friar), six Jesuit Missionaries, and several Cattanars who were under their influence. The copy of the Decrees which had been drawn up was

then laid before a Junto of eight of the most popular Cattanars; and when they came to such as laymen might be considered competent to express an opinion upon, four of the gravest lay representatives were called in for consultation. After some deliberation the Decrees were all agreed to by this Junto, and were eventually laid before the Synod as the expression of their sentiments.

The great day of assembly at length arrived. How the people reached Udiampárúr in the depth of the Malabar monsoon, when, to use the scripture metaphor, "the windows of heaven" seem at times to be opened; and how they were housed when there, it does not appear; either Udiampárúr must then have been a considerable native town, or there must have been buildings specially erected for the occasion, otherwise so large a gathering could not have taken place at such a season; for between eight and nine hundred assembled, 153 of whom were Ecclesiastics, 660 Lay Procurators, and the rest Portuguese officials and other visitors from Cochin.

The old church where the Synod was held is still standing, and, since it is not one of the largest dimensions, it must have been well filled from end to end when the whole number of delegates were assembled, with the Dean and Chapter of Cochin and their Choir, the Governor, the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Town Councillors, and other leading men among the Portuguese.

The first session began with a solemn mass for the removal of schism, and a sermon by the Archbishop on the same subject; after which, robed in full pontificals, and seated in his chair, he addressed the Synod on the business matters which required their attention, desiring that some faithful man, well versed in ecclesiastical affairs, should be chosen as interpreter; whereupon Jacob, Cattanar of Pallúrte, near Cochin, was selected by common consent, and took an oath that he would discharge his responsible duties with all fidelity; and lest he should at any time fail (either intentionally or unintentionally) to give the correct interpretation, two Jesuits, Francisco Roz and Antonio Toscano, were appointed his assistants, to observe what he said, and to correct him when faulty. Thus every means seem to have been taken in order that the whole assembly should fully comprehend the wording of the Decrees.

Sad to say, the next step was to compel all the clerical members of the Synod to take a solemn oath, in which they were made to profess their faith, not merely in the Nicene Creed, but in all those Romish additions which are contained in the Creed of Pope Pius IV.; and to swear to God that they would never receive into their church "any Bishop, Archbishop, Prelate, Pastor, or Governor," unless expressly appointed by the Bishop of Rome. Jacob Cattanar read the profession in Malayálim; and the clergy, having repeated it after him on their knees, were then individually questioned by the prelate as to their firm belief in the statements made, and directed to "swear and protest to God, by the Holy Gospel, and the Cross of Christ," in proof thereof. The simple

lay delegates were then made to do the same, "in their own name, and in the name of the people of the bishopric;" and thus, according to the idea of Menezes and his Jesuit assessors, the whole Church (clergy and laity) were, at a *stroke*, converted to orthodoxy, and made believers in the whole range of Tridentine dogma!

The Decrees relating to *Faith*¹ were the first that were passed; here we would remark that instead of doing anything effectively towards bringing the Syrian Church back to the simplicity of the truth as originally taught by our Lord and His Apostles, these European priests led the people further astray, introducing the worst corruptions of Romanism, teaching these simple Orientals that henceforth they were to adore the Cross with the worship of *Latria*—due only to God; and in like manner to adore the *images* of our Lord Jesus Christ, because they represent Him. They further inculcated their "fond inventions" respecting the Virgin, affirming that it was "pious to believe that Mary was conceived without original sin;" that she should be styled the *Mother of God*; and that when she departed this life she was immediately carried up into heaven, both in body and soul, without waiting for the general resurrection.

They had been taught to think very differently on such points as these by the Nestorian writers whose books they possessed; and therefore every one was commanded, on pain of excommunication, to deliver up all their Syriac books within two months to the tender mercies of the Jesuits at Vaipicotta College, to be "perused; and then corrected or destroyed," as should be thought most convenient. In order to keep them more steadfast in the faith of Rome, none of the Cattanars were henceforth to preach without license from the bishop in writing; a catechism in the Malayálim language was to be prepared, under the immediate direction of the Archbishop; and the whole diocese made "to submit itself to the Holy, Upright, Just and Necessary Court of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, in these parts established."

The next subject which came under consideration was the Sacrament of *Baptism*. These poor people were now taught that its administration was so absolutely essential, that in case of necessity "a lay man or woman, nay an Infidel, a Mahometan, or Jew," might

¹ With regard to the Nicene Creed as used in the Syrian Church, the Synod admitted that it contained "all the principal mysteries and articles of our Faith." But in order to bring it into exact conformity to the version used in the Church of Rome, the following words were to be inserted:—"God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God." The expression *Consubstantial* to the Father was to be substituted for the Syrian rendering—"Son of the Essence of the Father."—Act. V. Dec. 11.)

They did not find the *Athanasian Creed* in use. The Synod directed it to be translated into the Syriac, and to be put into all the Breviaries and Books of Prayer, and "to be read every Sunday in the church immediately after morning service." Francis Roz was requested to translate it—(Act VII. Decree 6.)

baptise. The use of consecrated oil in baptism had been apparently unknown among the Nestorians of Malabar; they were now enjoined, and taught how to apply it. The Romish doctrine of *Spiritual Affinity* was introduced, whereby it was held to be unlawful for godfathers and godmothers, and their godchildren, and the parents of the children to intermarry with one another, without a special dispensation from the Pope. As Old Testament names prevailed very much amongst all classes in this church, the Synod further commanded the priests to do all they could to have New Testament names given in baptism, as more conformable to "the Law of Grace!"

In the Decrees respecting the *Lord's Supper*, which immediately followed, we observe further corruptions of Christian doctrine. The Syrian Church of Malabar certainly did not hold the dogma of Transubstantiation, nor anything like it, at that time, since, in the Synodical exposé of heretical writers, a *Book of Homilies* is condemned, because therein it is stated—"That the Holy Eucharist is only the image of Christ, and is distinguished from Him, as an image is from a true man; and that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is not there, nor nowhere else but in heaven." Two other volumes, one entitled *An Exposition of the Gospels*, and the other *The Treasury of Prayers*, are also condemned, for having similar statements in their pages.

In the celebration of the Eucharist there were many other customs and practices which shocked the Jesuits. The native Christians had not stone, but wooden altars or tables in their churches; the vessels used, through the poverty of the people, were oftentimes of wood, or pottery; the bread, moreover, was sometimes made of rice,¹ for lack of wheat; and the wine of raisins or dates, for lack of grapes; many poor parishes had no vestments for the Cattanars; and where they had, the assistant deacon was simply distinguished by a stole worn over his ordinary clothes; and, in the administration, the laity received in *both* kinds, the bread being dipped into the cup of wine, and then placed in the mouth of the communicant.

To remedy these things after the Romish fashion, the doctrine of Transubstantiation and all its attendant departures from the simplicity of apostolic times were introduced. Every church was henceforth to be supplied with stone altars, and consecrated vestments; the cup was to be taken entirely from the laity; and all vessels that were not of gold, silver, copper, or tin were to be broken; and none other than metal cups were to be used. One enactment, however, was of a truly kind and helpful character:—

¹ Wheat had to be imported from foreign countries. Churches in the remote interior, when their stock was exhausted, or supplies ran short at the ports, not improbably used rice bread as a substitute.—Vide extract from *Cadamustus*, chap. vi., p. 80, about the importation of wheat to Calicut by Mahometan traders.

His Majesty the King of Portugal, "out of his great piety, and as the protector of the Indian Christians," was to be entreated to send annually, as an alms, a pipe and a half or two pipes of muscatel wine of Portugal, to be distributed among the churches of the bishopric of Angamâle, and of the whole Indies; and until such time as an answer could be returned to this petition, Menezes promised to give the required quantity.¹

In order to give support to the dogma of Transubstantiation, the Romish feast of Corpus Christi, in honour of the most holy sacrament—till then unknown in the Syrian Church—was commanded to be celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday; then a procession was to be made, "through the town, or in some convenient place, with all possible solemnity." The celebration of masses for the dead—that fruitful source of gain to the Romish priesthood—was also introduced. The Malabar Christians were then unacquainted with these masses, and also with the delusions of Purgatorial fires from which they spring, by the confession of their Papal adversaries, as appears from the following:—"Whereas there is nothing that is so great a help to the souls of the faithful that are in the fire of Purgatory as the holy sacrifice of the mass, *of which there is no memory remaining in this diocese*; that holy sacrifice having been instituted for the health and remedy of the living and the dead; wherefore the Synod doth exhort all the faithful of this bishopric to accustom themselves to procure masses to be said for the souls of their deceased friends, and to leave something by will that they may have masses said for their own souls."

¹ For the due preservation of the wine—a difficult matter in such a climate as that of Malabar—it was ordered:—"That in every church there shall be, in the Vicar's keeping, a sweet pipe, or small runlet of wood, or a frask, in which the wine for the *Masses* shall be kept; and that the Vicars be extremely careful that the wine do not decay, or turn to vinegar."—(Act V. Decree 8.)

Wine had long been a difficulty with these Christians in Malabar. Marignolli, who was in South India in 1347, says he did not see *grapes* there, "except at the fine Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, where he was bishop," meaning Mailapur. "They have there (he continues) a little vinery, which I saw, and which supplies a small quantity of wine." He was further told at Mailapur that when St. Thomas first went thither he used to carry about with him a little wine; when this was finished he was guided by an angel to Paradise (supposed to be in Ceylon), carried thence some grapes, and from the stones of these grapes the vinery at Mailapur had sprung! The old traveller had seen vines elsewhere in South India, but no grapes. The writer can affirm the same of modern Travancore—vines are occasionally to be found there, he never saw them bearing fruit, though they do at Palamcottah, and other places on the East coast. The old Syrian College at Cottayam, where the Metrans often reside, used to have a large vine trained on a trellis in the middle of its quadrangle. The writer regarded it with no small interest, in such a position.—(Vide *Cathay and the way thither*, vol. ii. p. 363.)

Thus did the Jesuits do their utmost to corrupt the faith and practice of these Indian Christians in matters relating to the Supper of the Lord!

The next subjects brought under consideration were the Romish doctrines concerning *Penunce* and *Extreme Unction*; both which were unknown to the Malabar Church. Compulsory Auricular Confession was altogether unknown, it would appear, from the following declaration:—"In this bishopric no Christian has ever confessed upon obligation, and a great many not at all." Similarly we are informed that "there has not been hitherto any use of the Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*, in which, for want of Catholic instruction, there has been no knowledge of the institution, effects, or efficacy thereof." Both these Roman innovations, upon the customs of the Church of God in its purest ages, were now forcibly enjoined, "upon pain of mortal sin."

When the subject of *Ordination* was introduced, the seven Orders of the Papacy were enjoined to supersede the simple arrangements of the Syrians; and after having decreed that the Lord's Supper was a sacrifice offered for the living and the dead, it followed, as a necessary consequence, that the Cattanars were henceforth to be regarded as consecrating priests, "for the sacrifice and priesthood are so joined that the one cannot be without the other."

One of the most difficult subjects which the Jesuits had to deal with was that of *Matrimony*, inasmuch as almost all the Cattanars were married men. It is somewhat curious to observe how this is deplored:—"Whereas in this diocese (which the Synod hath taken notice of with great sorrow) through their vile ignorance of the law, and the abounding iniquity of the times, and their having been governed by schismatical prelates, priests have married after they were in Orders, nay, have taken Orders on purpose that they might marry the better, and have frequently married widows, and some have married three or four times, &c." But this Christian liberty was now to be restrained by Antichristian legislation. Rome was to manifest to this ancient branch of the Church another mark of her apostasy, by "forbidding to marry."

The legislation on this subject was most execrable in its spirit, as will be seen from the following extract:—"Henceforth no clerk in Holy Orders shall presume to marry, nor shall any Cattanar marry any such, nor shall any presume to be present at any such marriage, nor give counsel, favour, or assistance thereunto. And whoever shall offend in any of these particulars, must know that they are excommunicate and cursed, and are to be declared as such by the Church; and as to those who are already married, the Synod suspends them all, whether married once or oftener, from the ministry of their orders, and all sacerdotal acts, until such time as they have put away their wives effectually."

Where such harsh measures as these were carried out it can hardly be conceived what disorder, confusion, and misery must

have ensued among a people who had always been taught to believe, according to the Apostolic statement, that "marriage is honorable in all." The wives of the Cattanars were even designated, as already stated, by a title of respect, and the best places in the church were assigned to them; and further, in the event of the husband dying, the widow was considered to have a life interest in the income of the church in which he had ministered, as real as that of the surviving priests; which truly wise and benevolent arrangement seemed to savour of those early times when widows were not "neglected in the daily ministrations." Many of the Cattanars' wives, moreover, had large families, and sons already in Holy Orders; but henceforth these virtuous women were to be ruthlessly put away, as if they had occupied an unlawful position; and they and their children were to have a brand of infamy stamped upon their names. Menezes and his advisers herein doubtless overstepped their mark; and such a Decree as the one under consideration must have sorely embittered the minds of both clergy and laity—more so, probably, than anything else—against Papal intolerance, inasmuch as it affected the honour and social interests of almost every family that had any claim to a respectable position in society.

The eighth Action of the Synod related to the *Reformation of Church Affairs*, which afforded Menezes an excellent opportunity of setting "in order things that were wanting;" and, to do him every possible justice, some of his injunctions were of a salutary character. The parochial system did not then exist in Malabar; its introduction was decreed. Certain Cattanars appear to have had two or three churches; and some churches too many Cattanars, whilst others had none at all; these questions were judiciously dealt with. The ruined church in the town of Travancore was ordered to be rebuilt and properly served; whilst the families of Christian descent supposed to be scattered in the mountain valleys of the Todamala (*Nilgiri Hills*), were to be sought out. The darkness and dirt, complained of in many churches, were to be at once remedied; and they were to be furnished with pulpits, alms boxes, and bells to call the people to worship, though until they could procure the latter license was given to make use of boards, as they had heretofore done in many villages; and their places of worship were not to be used for secular purposes, but to be held in great reverence by them.

The observance even of the Lord's day was not forgotten. Certain Christians, dwelling in "the heaths," or wilder parts of the country, were complained of as being "guilty of working and merchandizing on Sundays and Holydays, especially in the evening; and accordingly the Vicars were commanded "to be very vigilant in this matter, and to admonish and reprehend" all that they should find so doing. Some judicious and kindly directions were given about the interment of such as died of that much-dreaded and contagious malady, small pox. It was also enjoined that means should

be employed to evangelise the heathen slaves and *hill races*, "that so the meaner sort of people may not have the gate of Christianity and salvation shut against them, as it has been hitherto in this Church."

But whilst there are some things to commend, there are many others to deprecate as tending to gross superstition, in these so-called *reformatory* decrees. The 18th day of October was ordered to be kept as a Church Festival "whereon the Holy Cross of the Apostle St. Thomas did sweat." The priests were instructed how to make and consecrate ashes for Ash Wednesday; how to bless and use wax candles on Candlemas day, and holy water at all times; and how to teach and command all children and other people "to cross and bless themselves from the left to the right, according to the Latin custom," and not from right to left. But, worse than all, the hitherto simple churches of this ancient community were to be transformed into what many must have regarded as idolatrous shrines, as may be seen from the following extract:—"Whereas almost all the churches of this diocese are without pictures, which was the effect of their being governed by Nestorian heretics, who do not allow the healthful use of pictures; therefore the Synod doth command, that in all churches that be finished . . . shall be set up some images, according to the direction of the prelate, who shall always be consulted about every picture; and after that of the high altar is once set up, if the church has any side altars, they shall also have images set up in them." (Act. VIII., Decree 29.)

The concluding class of Decrees relate to the *Reformation of Manners*; and reformation was doubtless much needed, for—as may naturally be expected—"mingled" as these native Christians were "amongst the heathen," they had, in certain particulars, "learned their works." Some of the caste distinctions they had adopted were condemned; and especially the idea that low-caste heathen, by touching the cisterns and wells used by Christians, polluted them, and rendered the ceremony of purification necessary before they could again safely use the water. They were wisely forbidden to join their heathen neighbours in the sham fights which took place in the month of August, during the Hindoo feast of *Onam*; or to resort to witches and fortunetellers to consult them about such things as lucky and unlucky days;¹ or to submit, at the command of their heathen

¹ Amongst other books condemned were those known as *The Book of Lots* and *The Ring of Solomon*. The first named was a small manual, consulted by the Syrians of former days, before they entered on any important undertaking. Its Malayalim name was *Wāpusthakum*. It was opened at random; and, by the favourable or unfavourable character of the first passage that met the eye, future action was determined. It had certain superstitious figures drawn in it. *The Ring of Solomon* was a spurious and pretentious work called *Aseksa de Solomon*. It contained certain sententious sayings, some of which were of questionable morality; but had Solomon's name appended to give them currency.

rulers, to such ordeals as handling bars of hot iron, thrusting the hand into boiling oil, or swimming across a river infested with crocodiles. They were further forbidden to observe another class of ceremonies of evidently Jewish origin, as the separation of a mother for forty days after the birth of a boy, and for eighty days after that of a girl.

But some of the ceremonies, solemnly forbidden as heathenish vanities, were probably as harmless in their character as the English custom of throwing an old shoe after a bride. One practice condemned was "the making of circles with rice, into which they put the parties that are to be married, after having distributed rice among the children; another the taking out of a thread superstitiously when they cut a web of cloth; and another the returning to their baskets two grains of Nele (*rice in the husk*) after they had measured and sold any quantity to a customer. Men among the native Christians were forbidden to wear earrings, that they might be more easily distinguished from the heathen Nairs. It approaches the ludicrous to see priests who, in the way of superstition, swallowed camels themselves, straining at such gnats in solemn conclave.

But more wisdom was seen in the enactment of a Decree by which these Christians were prohibited from dealing in arrack—the spirituous liquor of the country; and another by which the rights of females in the matter of inheritance were enunciated and enforced. It was a step in the right direction, too, which recommended that Christians living in wild parts of the country should "do all they are able, either to come and live in some village, or to build new villages with churches, that so they may live more civilly, and be separated from the communication of infidels."

In conclusion it was ordered that the Original Copy of the Decrees of the Synod, signed by the Archbishop and all the other members, should be deposited at the Jesuits' College at Vaipicotta; and that a similarly authorised copy should be deposited "in the archives of the churches of Angamále, called the Archbishop's see;" and that all copies should be corrected according to these two authenticated documents.

It was further arranged that the diocese should henceforth be divided into seventy-five parishes. Vicars were forthwith nominated to each parish, and then brought in, one by one, to kiss the Metropolitan's hand, and receive their collation to the benefice from him.

After the Decrees had all passed the Synod, Menezes delivered his final Charge to the assembly. A procession was then made round the church, during which the *Te Deum* was sung by choir and people; and this ended, the Archbishop pronounced his benediction, to which the Archdeacon responded aloud, "Let us depart in peace," and the whole Synod broke up. Thus terminated the notorious Synod of Udiamparúr, after a session of six days, on the 26th of June, 1599,

From the written testimony of those who are most hostile to the ancient Church of Malabar, as we see in such documents as the Decrees of this Synod, it is plainly apparent that, with all its failings, it approached in matters of doctrine and discipline far closer to the purity and simplicity of the Primitive Church than did the Church of Rome who undertook her so-called reformation. Whatever may have been her low condition as to vital godliness, there is reason to believe that she was then far purer than the Mother Church now is, under the Nestorian Patriarch who resides in Persia. Romish Missionaries have been busily occupied for centuries in endeavouring to bring the whole body of these Oriental Christians into obedience to the Papacy; and where they have not succeeded in effecting a permanent alliance, they have left behind them the Romish leaven of false doctrine, which has been silently doing its work among an ignorant and oppressed community, strangely isolated from the rest of Christendom.

How busy Rome has been, both among the Nestorians and Jacobites, may be gathered from the testimony of the Rev. G. P. Badger, in his work on *The Nestorians and their Rituals*. Rome has stealthily infused her dogmas and practices even where her supremacy is still stoutly demed; and there has ensued a corresponding departure from the faith and customs of their forefathers. Thus while their "Rituals," according to Mr. Badger, "do not determine the number of the Church Sacraments, several of their best authors reckon them as seven." Oil is now used by them in baptism, which was not the custom in Malabar;¹ the Cross is often referred to in such an exaggerated style as to savour of idolatrous reverence, though it is sometimes difficult to understand whether the doctrine of the Atonement, or the material Cross, or its symbols, are in the writer's mind; the fable of the Assumption, and other foolish legends about the Virgin Mary, are widely taught and believed among them; and whilst both the bread and wine are still administered to the laity, some among them, especially females, after partaking of the former will go away, and the more ignorant and *Romanized* of the clergy allow this, "under the plea that Christ is wholly imparted, through the element of the bread, which error they have doubtless learned from the Romish Missionaries."

By such sapping and mining processes Rome is still attempting the overthrow of these ancient but ill-instructed Churches of the East; and it is undoubtedly the duty of those Churches of Western Christendom, which hold "the faith once delivered to the saints" in its purity, to use their best endeavours to aid them in repelling effectually these stealthy advances of our common enemy; and to strengthen among them any good "things which remain," but "are ready to die."

But to return to the energetic Archbishop, and his unwearied

¹ "The holy oils having hitherto not been used in this bishopric in any of the sacraments, &c."—(Synod of Diamper, Act IV., Decree 14.)

efforts in the task of subjugation. It was not enough for him to forge the chains of his captives, he must see them put on; yea, with his own hands make fast the rivets! Hence he planned a further and more complete visitation of this diocese, and began it immediately after the Synod had closed its sittings. The few courageous witnesses who had dared to utter a word against his proceedings, were either over-awed or forced into silence; and thus without any serious opposition, surrounded by flatterers who sang his praises in vernacular verse to native airs, he commenced his all but royal progress through the churches of Malabar, with all the prelatie pride and pomp of mediæval times.

The church of Udiamparúr, in which the Synod had been held, was the first he now visited as Metropolitan. Here he went so far as to call in question the validity of the Sacrament of Baptism as formerly administered in this ancient church, and even re-baptised the Cattanars.

Thence he went to Cottayam, the present head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society's operations; and there excommunicated a young Cattanar who had dared to marry a wife; and, as the victim of his abominable tyranny died shortly after, the superstitious attributed this to the potency of his archiepiscopal ban; and the fear of offending him was proportionably increased.

From Cottayam he visited Coramalúr, or *Codamalúr*, a short distance to the north of Cottayam; and here he excommunicated another Cattanar who refused to put away his wife. Whilst staying at this place the case of some heathen called Málleens (*hill people*)—inhabiting the hills to the north-east of Codamalúr—was brought before him; and he deputed two Cattanars to visit them, since they were said to be very docile, and likely to become converts; if the ancient privileges of the Christians of the country were secured to them. So well were these agents received, that he obtained the consent of the petty rajahs of the district to erect churches; and eventually many, after due instruction, were baptised into the Christian fold—about which more will be found in the next chapter. Thence he proceeded to visit, we are told, another village of the same name as that in which the Synod was held; and after this South Parúr and Múlantúrrúttá, whence—hearing of the death of the Portuguese Governor—he repaired at once to Cochin.

From Cochin, after the affairs of State which occupied his attention were completed, he hastened northwards to Angamále, and other Syrian churches in its neighbourhood. As Angamále had been of late years the residence of the Syrian Metropolitan, the Portuguese regarded it as the cathedral town of the diocese; but Menezes had not before this ventured to visit it, in consequence of the Archdeacon's influence being so strong in those parts. He must have approached it with more than ordinary interest, yet with a stout determination to assault and take this citadel of Indian Nestorianism. One of its three churches, dedicated to Hormisdas,

whom he regarded as a Nestorian heretic, he re-dedicated to an orthodox Persian martyr of the same name. Here he found much else to do, chiefly in separating the Cattanars from their lawful wives, and in *destroying the stores of Syriac manuscripts and books*, found there in abundance. Judging it to be of the first importance to garrison such a stronghold with troops on whose fidelity he could well rely, he obtained permission from the native Rajah to procure land at Angamále, and build a house for his faithful friends the Jesuits.

Thence he visited Akaparumba, a mile or two to the south-west; and so journeyed on to Allungáda and to Chennum, where the Jesuits' College of Vaipicotta was located—ground which he had gone over before—and finally to Cranganore. There he took measures to secure the sanction of the King of Portugal and the Pope to the removal of the see from Angamále to Cranganore; wisely considering that the Romish bishop, by fixing his residence there, would be less exposed to danger from any manifestation of insubordination on the part of the Syrians, and be able at once to avail himself of the strong arm of Portugal in enforcing his authority—a power more to be depended on, in all Romish questions, than the most tempting promises and confident assurances of the greatest Hindoo Princes.

After a brief sojourn at Cranganore, he again entered his boat for an excursion southwards. Passing the strong fortress of Cochin he visited Muttam, an ancient Syrian settlement about eighteen miles further south, situated on the narrow strip of low sandy territory lying between the Backwater and the ocean. Thence he proceeded to South Pallipúram—one of the seven most ancient churches of Malabar, five miles north-east of Muttam; and then, by Backwater and river, to Callúrcáda, in the territory of the Porcáda Rajah. Here he tarried awhile to hold a confirmation; and finding some of the candidates bearing the name of Yesu, or Ejoo (*Jesus*), he took occasion to give them new names, as the common use of this sacred name was wisely forbidden in the recent council.¹

The Syrians have a tradition that, when staying at Callúrcáda, he won the hearts of the people by the novel expedient of putting small gold coins into the cakes of bread with which he regaled their children. Though he may have caught them with guile at the first, his successors have continued to retain possession, since *all* the old Syrian Churches in the Porcáda State are still in the hands of the Romanists. Du Perron, when he visited Callúrcáda in 1758, appears to have been charmed with it, describing it as a lovely spot surrounded by water, having many Cattanars attached to the Church, in which they maintained a perpetual religious service. The church, with its group of collegiate buildings, has at the

¹ Notwithstanding all this, the name still prevails amongst Malabar Romanists, as does the kindred name Emanuel.

present day an imposing appearance from the broad stream which sweeps past it.¹

The church at Porcáda, which was next visited by Menezes, had been erected by a heathen Rajah, who attributed a victory he had gained (it was said) to the cross displayed on the banner of his Christian subjects who fought for him; and in commemoration thereof the church was dedicated to the Holy Cross. Circumstances of a very peculiar character seem to have favoured the first Romish emissaries who came to labour in this native state. Its Rajah was a spiritual prince tributary to the Cochin State, of which he is said to have been one of the four pillars. Formerly it had been governed by twelve Brahmins, one of whom, assisted by some Nair mercenaries (who had deserted the Samorin), put his associates, to death, and raised himself to the throne as sole ruler. Over this man and his successors the Romanists obtained considerable influence. Du Perron says that two centuries before his own visit to India, 12,000 Christians had helped the Rajah against his enemies; and on this account they were allowed to erect churches even close to the royal residence. As early as 1590 the fullest toleration was allowed the Romanists, and the Jesuits made it one of their mission centres, and obtained considerable privileges, "such as the building of churches (says Nienhoff) with crosses on the top of them, and the necessary bells; near unto which no Pagodas, Jewish Synagogues, or Mahometan Mosques were to be erected; they had liberty also to baptize as many as were willing to embrace the Christian religion."

Even at Kadamalúr, where the Porcáda Rajah had his country palace, the Christians of St. Thomas, who inhabited the village, are said to have enjoyed great privileges.² Under the workings of remorse for having killed his fellow Brahmins, the first sole ruler of the State is reported to have erected an altar in the Christian church of Kadamalúr. Nienhoff here visited the Rajah, somewhat more than half a century after Menezes was in these parts; and from the interesting particulars he gives us we can form some idea of a royal residence in those days. The Rajah was then rebuilding his palace, having already spent twenty years at it—"an odd, old-fashioned piece of structure, surrounded with walls of earth, and a dry ditch." In form it was a quadrangle, all the rooms were square, and their chief ornamentation "carving of leaf and other work in all sorts of fine wood." Large tanks, surrounded with

¹ Paoli describes Callûreáda as a "district abounding in water, which produces large quantities of rice. It may be called the granary of Malabar."

² Nienhoff calls this place *Kudda Malair*, or *Koramallur*, or *Koromallao*; Du Perron, *Kadamalour*, and says the church was dedicated to the Virgin, or according to Father Claude to the Invention of the Cross. Du Perron also speaks of the altar built by the Rajah when tormented with the thought of having killed twelve Brahmins.

stones about 20 feet broad, and a foot and a half thick, which had been brought "with incredible pains and charges a great way out of the country," formed another feature. The roofs were covered with tiles, and the windows were formed of twisted canes or shells, which transmit the light.

But to return to Archbishop Menezes—having completed his visitation in the state of a prince whose devotion to the interests of Portugal had won for him the proud title of *Brother in Arms* to the Portuguese King, he travelled southwards to another of the seaports occupied by Syrians—Calecoulan, or Káyenkúllam; whence, after settling various disorders, and obtaining from the Rajah a permission for his subjects to profess the Christian religion, he proceeded further southward to Quilon, where he had previously been, but beyond which the disturbed relations that existed between the Travancore Rajah and the Portuguese rendered it unsafe to travel.

His visit to Quilon on this occasion brought him into contact with some members of that remarkable remnant of the Dhareyáyal or Confessors, who lived at the ancient and royal city of Travancore, situated some seventy miles further to the south. Eight of the principal inhabitants of the place had come to Quilon on business matters. Hearing of this he sent for them, and after giving them some brief instruction in Romish doctrine, forthwith baptized them and their attendants—in all about thirty persons. When these simple people took leave of Menezes, he sent with them an intelligent Cattanar, whom he appointed vicar of their *parish*—for the church was then in ruins.

Gouvea asserts that these poor Christians had so far forgotten the Christian faith as to publicly worship the monstrous image of a serpent; but this should not be too readily received without some corroboration from other sources. That they were ignorant there can be no doubt; but their habit of coming to Quilon from time to time, attending the church of the place, and even receiving the Lord's Supper with other communicants, abundantly prove that they had retained some knowledge of Christianity; and possessed some commendable desire to keep up their Christian connexions. That they did all this merely "to entitle themselves to the honours and immunities enjoyed by all Christians in Travancore," is by no means probable, since there was no *Test Act* in this State, and their civil position would have remained the same whether they—attended Quilon Church, or not—kept up intercourse with their fellow Christians at a distance, or broke loose from them altogether. And again, supposing them to have become such degraded idolaters, how came it to pass that an Archbishop, who prided himself on his orthodoxy, regarded them, at the close of one short interview, as fit subjects to receive from his hands the Sacrament of Baptism?

Menezes now visited the churches in the more immediate neighbourhood of Quilon, called by Gouvea Tivellycare, Gundara, Calare, and Caramanate, or as they would be now spelt Thévalacára,

Kundara, Kallida, and Kadampanáda. Old writers seem to have had great difficulty about the orthography of the last-named place; Du Perron calling it Karamtanara; Paoli, Cadambara; whilst Raulini seems to have given it up in despair, since nothing approaching thereto appears in his list. Its church is described by some of our first Missionaries as being of a superior order, almost equalling a small English cathedral in the loftiness of its roof.

Nothing of any special interest occurred during Menezes' visit to any of these churches, except at Thevalacára. The church is described as one of the best built in the country; but the people as being "ferocious and intractable." Here he was permitted to see—after making a solemn promise that he would not remove them from their church—three large plates of copper, on which were engraven, in different characters, an account of certain privileges and revenues, granted by the Rajah who founded Quilon, to the church which Mar Sabro and Mar Prodh had erected at Thevalacára. They are said to have resembled those which formerly belonged to the church of Kodungalúr. The present church at this station, and also that at Kadampanada, are memorials of the well-to-do condition of the Syrians, enriched by the trade of Quilon, in these early times.

Certain affairs of State now led Menezes to return to the port of Káyenkúllam; and after he had settled these matters he proceeded to visit the Syrian churches in that vicinity, viz.:—Karticapally, Cheppáda, Wemmany, and Mavelicare.¹ At Cheppáda many ancient books were found, which, according to his wont, were ruthlessly committed to the flames.

He next visited certain churches in the Thekkencore State, of which Neranam—one of the seven most ancient and highly-venerated churches of the Syrians—was the first, but nothing of any particular interest occurred there.

Thence he went to Chenganúr, another church of great antiquity even in that age, possessed of a considerable collection of Syrian books; which, as tainted with Nestorian heresy, or supposed to be so infected, were thrown into the fire. A Cattamar connected with this church had been thrice married; he was a man of means and of good family, and declined to put away his wife at the bidding of a foreign prelate; which led Menezes to excommunicate him. The Cattamar opposed his proceedings and defied his authority, which so exasperated the prelate that he offered great rewards to any one

¹ These are called by Gouvea *Cartiapalay*, *Corigo Langare*, *Batimena*, and *Podiagabo*, or *Mavelicare*. *Corigo Langare* is a corruption of *Kuriyenkulungare*, the old name for Cheppáda. *Batimena* in old lists is called *Bemanil*, and *Bemmani*—B being used by Latin writers for W, which leads to the identification of this place with Wemmany. *Podiagabo* is a corruption of a name—*Puthiagavil*—by which Mavelicare is still known. These places, together with the group of churches nearer Quilon, are all included by Du Perron in the territory of the Rajah of Káyenkúllam.

who would secure his person ; and even implored the native heathen authorities to assist him herein, but without success.

From Chenganúr he made excursions to other churches in the neighbourhood, which in the present day has a large and very independent Syrian population, and abounds in old churches. At *Changanáshery*, *Maruquitol*, *Thombána*, and *Kallúpára* he held his visitation, administering oaths to such as were not present at the Synod, instituting incumbents, and transacting other matters of business.¹

Before he finally quitted Changanáshery he had an interview with its Hindoo Rajah, in the porch of the church, where a large number of his Christian subjects were also assembled. This prince, strange to say, is reported to have rated the Syrians for neglecting their supposed religious duties ; and the Archbishop seems to have hoped that he would be able easily to make a convert of one who was so zealous for the honour of the Christian religion ; but was grievously disappointed by the Hindoo's characteristic excuse :—“ If God had wished me to be a Christian, I should have been so from my birth.”

Somewhat discouraged by his want of success at Changanáshery, Menezes now directed his course northwards, and again entered the ancient state of Wadakencore, called by Gouvea Pimento, or the Pepper Kingdom, whose supreme ruler he had defied, and yet had met with some of his earliest successes amongst her subjects. Paligunde, Púrúwum, Corolongada, Cadatúrúttá, and Nágapare (called by Gouvea both Ignapeli and Nagpili) were visited in succession.

At Nágapare, about half a league from Cadatúrúttá, he received sad tidings from Portugal of the death of his own sister, and also of his sovereign, Philip II., King of Portugal. For political reasons it was judged most prudent to keep the last piece of intelligence, for a season at least, from the people ; but not content therewith, he so far dissimulated as to cause the bells to be rung, and *Te Deum* to be chanted in the church for *joyful* tidings received, reporting the good health of the king, and the arrival of ships with soldiers and large sums of money from Portugal!

Other churches still remained on his visitation list ; but, thinking they would detain him too long from head-quarters at this critical juncture, he felt constrained to bring his episcopal tour to a close more abruptly than he had intended.

¹ Hough, following La Croze, omits these four names as they stand. They are recovered from an old French edition of Gouvea's History, published in 1609. La Croze calls Changanáshery *Chenganare*, and in Hough it is *Chenganate* ! Maruquital may be a misprint for Manirgatil, an old way of spelling Manargáda, or more correctly Manyarukáda, which, in old lists of the churches, is placed immediately before Changanáshery and Chenganúr. This place, however, is more than a league from Changanáshery—the distance given by Gouvea.

In his journeyings northwards for the purpose of arranging for his final embarking for Goa, he however found time to visit a few other churches; and on his arrival at one of them, North Parúr, he assembled the Cattanars and principal laity of the neighbouring churches, and publicly nominated their Archdeacon to the administration of the affairs of the diocese with the Rector of the Jesuit College at Vaipicotta, and F. Roz, its Professor of Syriac, as his coadjutors, until such time as the Pope should appoint a Bishop.

Matters being thus settled he returned to Cochin, where he had another long interview with the Rajah, and earnestly exhorted him to embrace the Christian faith. Anxious to celebrate the obsequies of the late King with as little delay as possible, he soon after embarked for Goa, where he safely arrived November 16th, 1599, after eight months' absence from his see, during which he had undoubtedly laboured with untiring zeal and energy; but it is deeply to be regretted that he had not a better cause, and that such reprehensible means were often used to effect his ends and purposes.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MISSIONS TO THE MALLEENS (ARRIANS) AND TO THE TODAMALA (NILGIRI HILLS.)

Amongst other circumstances connected with this Visitation of the Archbishop, the Mission to the Malleens originated by him when at Codamalúr, in the neighbourhood of Cottayam, is specially worthy of more attentive enquiry.

These Malleens were undoubtedly of the same stock as the Hill Arrians¹ of Travancore, amongst whom a deeply interesting and very hopeful Mission has been established by the indefatigable

¹ The name by which these people are called by the Travancore officials is *Mulla Vellens*, hence old writers have called them *Maleas*, *Mallvans*, and *Malleens*. *Arrian*, according to Mr. Baker, was formerly the title of the head men among them; but as the Hill men became in time almost independent of their chieftains, they adopted this honourable title generally.—(*The Hill Arrians*, p. 7.)

labours of the present Senior Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in that country. Menezes patronised and supported the earliest recorded effort to convey some knowledge of Christianity to their mountain fastnesses; and nothing further, it would seem, has been done till recent times, when other Christian teaching, in a purer form—"the faith once delivered to the Saints"—was introduced.

In 1848 a deputation of five men, from as many different hills, appeared in the verandah of the Mission House at Pallam, intreating the Rev. H. Baker, junior, to establish schools among them. There were many difficulties in the way of his so doing; amongst others he tells us: "There was no road through 45 miles of jungle, fever was prevalent, and coolies difficult to procure." Other entreaties followed; but the way did not seem clear. At last the head men of several villages presented themselves before him, and remonstrated with him on account of this delay. "Five times," said they, "have we been to call you. You *must know* we know nothing right; will you teach us or not? We die like beasts, and are buried like dogs; ought you to neglect us?" "Cholera and fever," said one of the party, "carried off such and such members of my family; where are they now?" Such urgent persevering entreaties were not unheeded. God has blessed the efforts made, and a thriving modern Mission among the Malleens has been the result. A little further enquiry into Menezes' Mission in 1599 to some of these Hill men will not, therefore, be deemed out of place.

At Codamalúr the Archbishop made known his purpose of sending a Mission of enquiry, and sought for volunteers ready to engage therein. There were then, as of late years, many difficulties in the way. At last one, and then a second Cattanar came forward for the work; and both being considered fitting persons were in due course despatched.

They started on their journey July 16th, in the heart of the monsoon, when (Gouvea truly observes) it usually rains incessantly; but so providentially were they favoured that not a drop of rain fell by night or day, except when they were securely housed. For 48 miles they travelled thus, and are said to have been about eight days before they reached the foot of the Ghauts on which the Malleens lived.

Here they met with a colony of the old Christians of the country, so separated from the rest of their co-religionists as to be without any pastor or religious rite. They used the cross, and gloried in being Christians of St. Thomas; but were without any church to meet in for worship, and were all unbaptised. The two Cattanars were kindly received by them, and told them all about the Synod which had recently been held at Udiamparúr, of which they had not heard a word; and also of the Archbishop's visitation, and how he had sent them on this Mission to the interior.

The name given to this place by Gouvea is "Carathnarat, in the kingdom of Canarate—a territory little known in Malabar."

Here the Cattanars stayed for ten days, instructing the people in the faith, and then baptising them, with their wives, children, and other members of their families. And here, too, some time afterwards, by the command of the Archbishop, a church dedicated to St. Augustine was erected. Many other Christians who were living in secluded spots, here and there, in the woods, fields, and hamlets of the neighbourhood, and who had no knowledge of Christianity save the name, were sought out and incorporated as members of this same church; over which one of the two Cattanars eventually became vicar.

Carathnarat, or as Nienhoff calls the place, "*Karatkara*, bordering on the kingdom of Karanarata," is supposed to be identical with Karótakurra (*the higher land*), a name by which the hills in that part are occasionally called. The remnant of the Syrians here discovered are said to have belonged to the Thekkenbághar party, and to have been originally emigrants from Cranganore, having fled thence when a civil war prevailed in the country, which led to the destruction of their ancient dwelling places. They seem to have been engaged in commerce, like most of their fellows, carrying it into the wild interior of the country, since their place of settlement is called to this day Chungum (*the custom house*), being on the border land of the Pundalum Rajah. They probably carried on trade between Travancore and the once flourishing kingdom of Madura. Native tradition designates them further as having been famous potters. Their church still bears the name of St. Augustine. The Brahmin chieftain, to whom the *Higher Land* in the vicinity belonged, used to sell the Malleens for debts, &c., to the Syrian settlers at Chungum, where they were employed as servants, and thus some medium of communication was kept up between the higher and lower lands. Many of these servants were proselytised, but they were not incorporated with this exclusive party of the Romo-Syrians, and so a church (said to be Elanyil—now destroyed) was built for their special use; and their descendants to this day, are quite distinct and separate.

But we must now proceed with the account of the progress of the two Cattanars. After their ten days' sojourn with these isolated Christian settlers, they started off in search of the Malleens, of whom they had now some further and more exact information, taking one of the Christians as their guide to the summit of the mountain range, where they met with another Christian who was well acquainted with the Hill tribes, and took him as their guide, sending the former home again. Proceeding onwards they met with a Malleen who engaged to take them to an Arel (*Arrian, or Chief*), who had under his jurisdiction 5,000 Malleens.¹ This chieftain was described as an old man, one who could well be trusted, and without whom

¹ This apparently supports Mr. Baker's statement that *Arrian* was formerly the name of the head man or chief. Nienhoff has changed the title *Arel* into *Arley*, or printers may have done it for him,

his people would do nothing. On their way they unexpectedly met with this very chieftain, which their Christian guide construed into a token of providential leading.

The Cattanars accosted the Arrian, and after some friendly interchanges they got into conversation about the Christians of the country. The old man said that he had always heard them spoken of as the most noble people in all Malabar; that they were frank, sincere, guileless, truthful; that they did evil to no one; and those whom he had known personally were upright and honourable men.¹ As belonging to this party the old man requested the Cattanars to sit down on a large stone and tell him the object of their visit. They all sat down, and Simon, the elder of the two Cattanars, taking his hand, gave him the information he requested.

After this the Cattanars gave a brief explanation of the Christian religion, and preached before the family of the Arrian. But as no further steps towards Christianity could be taken without the consent of the Rajah of Turubulla (*Tiruwilla*), of whom a great number of them were vassals, and of the Rajah of Pūnhati, Perumāl, to whom the other division of the Malleens were subject, the Cattanars simply planted a cross, in token of their claiming this heathen territory (we trust) for Him whom we call Master and Lord; and then prepared to return and report results to the Archbishop.

The nearest church in the Serra, then existing, was said to be Corolongáda, and the old Arrian promised to repair thither when the Archbishop should visit the place and bring with him the consent of the Rajah to whom he was subject. Thus discoursing he accompanied the mission party to the foot of the Ghauts.

When they met the Archbishop, and reported to him all that had happened in the presence of Francis Roz, all were deeply affected by the narration. The Archbishop embracing them and holding them in his arms, exclaimed—“*Quam pulcri sunt pedes, evangelizantium bona, evangelizantium pacem, super montes!*”—(Is. lii. 7.)

The news having got abroad that there was a movement among the Malleens towards Christianity, a great commotion was excited and much opposition raised against it on the part of the Mahometans and Brahmins. The Archbishop, however, had taken the precaution of gaining over those who alone could effectually check the work. Immediately after the Cattanars had given in their report, he wrote to an influential Cattanar, who enjoyed the friendship of the Rajah of Tiruwilla, requesting him to intercede for the Malleens and obtain the Rajah's consent to their baptism. His letter was accompanied by a handsome present of precious stones

¹ Such statements as the above prove the unfairness of Romish writers, where they say that the Christians of Malabar until they came had nothing of Christianity save the name. There must have been a higher standard of morality, and some degree of *Christianised civilisation* among them, or they would never have been respected (as they evidently were) by the various heathen races amongst whom they dwelt,

for this Prince, and another similar present for the Perumál or Pūnhati Rajah.¹ Though he failed to get all he wished, he obtained hereby formal permission for their baptism and incorporation into the Christian caste of the country.

The way being now made clear arrangements followed for their reception into the Romish Church. In order to give due eclat to the occasion, the Archbishop deputed the Syrian Archdeacon George, and Stephen de Brito, Rector of the Vaipicotta College, and other Cattanars to administer the sacred initiatory rite. The first to receive baptism were eight principal chiefs with their families; three of the chiefs were called Pandares,² and were the heads of distinct clans. Of the last mentioned one called Collegeira Pandara was christened Don Alexis after the Archbishop; the second, Canaque Pandara, was named Don Stephen after the Rector of Vaipicotta; and the last, Don George, after the Archdeacon.

Permission having been obtained from the authorities a church was in due course erected and dedicated to God, under the patronage of St. Michael. These new Christians went about the work with great earnestness and zeal, carrying the wood, stones and lime required for the purpose up the mountain paths on their own shoulders with great labour and toil. This church is most probably that which is now called Ramapúram, and still has a Romo-Syrian congregation connected with it.

The identification of these Malleens with the race now called the Hill Arrians of Travancore will appear from the following extracts from *Purchas his Pilgrims* and *Nienhoff's Travels*.

"Stephanus de Brito"—the Rector of Vaipicotta College, who was present and took part in the baptism of their converts—"speaketh of the Maleas (says Purchas) which inhabit small valleys in the mountains which are hunters of elephants; amongst whom are no thefts or robberies, and therefore they leave their doors open when they go abroad. They are skilful in music and magic. They have no idol among them; only they observe their ancestors' sepulchres."

"On the tops of the high rocky mountains of Malabar (writes Nienhoff)—on the foot of which live the Christians of St. Thomas—dwells a certain nation called the Malleans, they have a pretty good tillage, about thirteen or fourteen leagues from Madura called

¹ At *Punhati*, *Pániatú* or *Poniatú*, whence this Rajah takes his title, there is a Romo-Syrian Church. The Rev. H. Baker speaks of taking up his lodgings therein Feb. 25th, 1853. "The priest (he says on this occasion) seemed particularly drowsy, but excused himself on account of its being a *fast*; he was really intoxicated. . . . The headman of the Rajah called requesting to furnish us with anything we required; we were glad to get milk and butter." (*Hill Arrians*, p. 38.)

² There is still a class known by the name of *Pandara* among the Hill Arrians—few in number. There are two or three little settlements of miserable people bearing the name to the south and east of Mundayayum,

Priata.¹ . . . Now-a-days they do not inhabit any cities, towns, or villages, but only certain enclosures in the valleys betwixt the rocks; their houses are built of canes very low, and plastered up with loom or clay. Some of them live in the woods; these make their houses of wood, which they remove from tree to tree to secure themselves against the elephants and tigers. The first they catch in holes covered with the branches of trees with some earth on the top. They also cultivate the ground, but in a very slender manner, though their valleys would be very fruitful if they were duly managed. They have but one wife at a time who goes abroad a hunting with them or wherever they go; whereas the pagan Malabars marry, generally, several women. They chiefly differ from the other Malabars in their complexion, are just and honest, good natured, charitable and without deceit; for the rest, courageous, ingenious and cunning; they pretend to converse with the devils only out of curiosity to know the event of things; the custom of the other Malabars and Indians, who hurt others by their sorceries being unknown to them. . . .

“Part of the Malabars (*Malleans?*) acknowledge the King of Turbula (*Tiruwilla*), part the King of Pugnati, Perimal, for their superiors unto whom they pay tribute, yet with the entire preservation of their liberty, they being governed by their own laws under captains or judges of their nation called by them *Arley*, each of them has commonly five or six thousand under his district; besides which each enclosure is governed by its own judge called *Pandera*—unto them they pay strict obedience.”

“Before 1599, when they first began to be instructed in the Romish religion by the assiduity of the then Archbishop of Goa, they were all pagans, but since that time a good number of them have embraced Christianity. Eight of their best men, among whom were three Pandares, with their whole families first received baptism, who being followed by many others, a church dedicated to St. Michael was built in the village of *Priata*. Before their conversion they had no temples erected in honour of their idols, neither did they sacrifice with feasting, dancing, and such like ceremonies, but each family had its domestic god unto whom they paid their devotions. They are much more esteemed among the Malabars than their common people, neither are they looked upon as unclean by them, no more than the Christians of St. Thomas if they happen to touch a *Nayros* (*Nair*).¹ They keep scarce any

¹ In Gouvea the place is called *Periate*. There is a Brahmin principality about ten miles north-east of Cottayam, opposite Keddungur, bearing the name of *Priatu*, but this seems too far removed from the western ghauts, where the Malleans live, to be the place alluded to.

² They “are considered to rank in *caste* above all the mechanics, and equal to Mahomedans and Jews,” (*Hill Arrians*, p. 7.) Hunters and Carpenters in Travancore are looked upon as antagonistic classes. The former, by an old custom, are allowed to beat the latter when they meet

commerce with the neighbouring nations, even not with the *Thomists* themselves who live at the foot of the same mountains. . . . At the foot of the mountain inhabited by the Malabars (*Malleans* ?) called *Karatkara*, bordering upon the kingdom of Karanarata, stands a church belonging to the Thomists or Christians of St. Thomas dedicated to St. Austin, because the inhabitants owe their conversion to certain Friars of that Order.”¹

The Arrian tribes of the present day are supposed to number from 14,000 to 18,000 souls. There are eighteen Arrian villages containing several thousand inhabitants in the territory of Púniatu Rajah, to whom they pay head money and feudal service, besides presents of fruit and vegetables. “Their villages (Mr Baker says) are often lovely spots, generally in a ravine not accessible to elephants, near to some gushing rivulet falling over rocks, and surrounded by gigantic trees and palms, rarely at a less elevation than 2000 or 3000 feet above the sea.” Their houses are commonly built of split canes or rather *bamboos*, with grass thatch for the roof. When in the jungle they build for themselves small thatched wooden huts in the massive boughs of the enormous trees found in their primeval forests. They are great hunters of the elephants and other wild animals; “dig the Rajah’s elephant pits, and help with bark ropes to conduct the animals, when entrapped, into the taming cages.” Their cultivation (to use Nienhoff’s term) is still often *slender*, their plan being to clear a spot by burning down the forest and then to use this cleared land for three or four years, growing just enough grain for their own immediate requirements; and when the ground is worn out, they set about making another clearance.

They are considered of respectable caste; and “are more truthful and generally moral in their habits than the people of the plains . . . free and intelligent in their manners.” They have but one wife, whose position in the family is more honourable than among the Hindoos; since at their feasts husbands and wives sit side by side and eat off the same plantain leaf. They do not receive the mythology of the Hindoos, but worship “the spirit of their ancestors or certain local demons supposed to reside in rocks or peaks, and having influence only over particular villages or families.” Their village priests profess to converse with these demons, when required to do so, calling upon the *mulla* or hill (meaning the spirit residing therein) and sometimes to receive the

them, as causing the forest trees to be felled and the game to diminish. At a carpenter’s wedding armed persons are usually present for the professed purpose of protecting the company from an attack of the hunters!

¹ The church was so called because *Menezes*, who sent the two Cattanars who discovered this little colony of neglected Syrians, was of the *Augustinian* Order. The Cattanars who first taught and baptized the people were natives.

afflatus, when the usual wild ceremonies follow, and inquiries are made of the demon on various points concerning which information is desired.

The above particulars gathered chiefly from Mr. Baker's account of the *Hill-Arrians*, identify them with the race which excited the interest of the Portuguese Archbishop in 1599, and led to his mission. We also see how correct upon the whole are the particulars furnished by Stephen de Brito and Nienhoff when describing these interesting people.

The writer looks back with much pleasure to the visit of a few days that he paid to some of the Rev. H. Baker's Arrian mission stations in 1858. The neat church at Mundakaiyum—built by funds supplied by a Christian officer who had on one or two occasions passed some time in the neighbourhood—was a most pleasing object, reminding one of the picturesque wooden churches described in works on the New Zealand missions. Not far off was a small thatched schoolhouse used as a chapel for slaves; and here on the Sunday, besides the congregation at the church, some fifty or sixty (chiefly adults) assembled for religious instruction and worship of a more simple character.

In the neighbouring village of Assapian there was also an early morning service, to which we walked through the thick forest. The service at this place was held in a thatched, airy building, which, together with all the houses in the village, had its walls made of split bamboo. Worshipping with these mountain rangers, in the midst of the "everlasting hills," covered with dense jungle, which hedged them in on all sides, one passage in the Psalms for the day seemed strikingly appropriate, as reminding them of what God *did not*, and then of what He *did* require of man: "I will take no bullock out of thine house, nor he goat out of thy folds. For all the beasts of the forest are mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills. I know all the fowls upon the mountains; and the wild beasts of the field are in my sight, &c." (See Ps. l., 9-15.) Words like these must come home to such denizens of the forest with a power that we, who live in such a land as Britain, can never experience. In the simple discourse which followed, as it was the first opportunity the Missionary had of addressing them in the new year, he, amongst other topics, took a cursory review of God's mercies, and not the least among the temporal benefits enumerated, was their preservation from jungle fever, and the attacks of savage beasts during the past year. We were forcibly reminded of their liability to the incursions of elephants, from the circumstance that the little chapel in which we worshipped stood on a lofty basement, specially constructed so as to prevent these creatures overturning it, or crushing in the low roof with their huge feet.

On the following day (Monday) we witnessed the baptism of the first fruits from another Arrian village (Yeddacúnna). The young man and woman then baptized were afterwards married.

Others in the same village were candidates for baptism, and had been through a preparatory course of instruction; but, as these young people were contemplating marriage, it was thought best that they should first be received into the Christian Church, and then united "according to God's ordinance." We afterwards went on to Yeddacúnna, where we spent the night, and were present at the early service at dawn next day, when the candidates met, and united with us in worship.

In 1862, Mr. Baker tells us, there were between 800 and 900 Arrians baptized, and many more coming under instruction. Since then the Mission has been attaining greater maturity, if not proportionately numerical strength. Could a sufficient number of efficient spiritual agents, however, be found to itinerate amongst them, there is little doubt that, with God's blessing, they would all be speedily brought into the pale of the Visible Church; and then heathenism and its abominations would all become things of the past on these beautiful mountains.

The more northern of the Church Missionary Society's stations among the Arrians, as Malkávoo and Eerúmápara, are no very great distance from the scene of the first attempt to introduce Christian teaching amongst them; and just as the Romish Mission party soon erected a church on the mountain plateau, so it has been Mr. Baker's ambition to erect a substantial stone church at Malkávoo, in a conspicuous position, 2,000 feet above the sea level; to be like a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid, and a witness to the simple truth of Apostolic times, before the faces of the numerous heathen and Romanized Syrians, in the neighbourhood. From this elevated position the friends of pure Christianity are gladdened by the sight of Cottayam Church and College, thirty-six miles to the south-west, which have been such sources of light and blessing to Travancore.

We have no reason to believe that after the days of Menezes any organised plans were adopted to proselytize the Malleans who remained heathen; but, since the English Missionaries and their native agents have been attempting their evangelisation, the Romo-Syrian priests have been interfering with the work, and trying to create schisms, and, by every available means, to hinder those who would from entering in. And as of old time, so now, the means used are not always truthful or honest. Thus in 1855 these poor people were informed (during the Crimean war) that the English were beaten by the Russians; London was partially captured; the English, who were their friends, would all have to leave the country; and further, that the Virgin Mary had appeared, and directed them to receive the Arrians into their Church!

It is observed in the little book on the Hill Arrians, to which we are indebted for many particulars about them: "Possibly a resident European at Malkávoo might have more influence than what the few visits I have been able to make can effect." They are but few visits that can still be paid by the Senior Missionary;

whose energies are overtaxed, in consequence of an inadequate supply of men and means. When will the Church of England so man her Mission enterprises that such important positions, though in the remote and somewhat wild interior, shall be strongly occupied? Looking at the matter from the lowest stand-point, it is surely a *false economy* to do otherwise? An insufficiently maintained Mission is generally a feeble one; and the prospect of its self-support in the very dim distance.

THE MISSIONS TO THE TODAMALA.

Among the Acts and Decrees, passed at the Synod of Udiamparūr, the following Decree of special interest occurs, which is worthy of some investigation.

"The Synod being informed that upon the borders of the territories belonging to the Samorin King of Calicut, at the distance of four leagues from any church in this bishopric, there is a country called Todamala, in which there are certain villages of Christians who were anciently of this Church, but at present have nothing of Christianity but the bare name, doth command that priests and preachers be sent thither immediately from this church, to reduce them to the Catholic faith and baptize them; in which matter, through the diligences that have been used by the most reverend Metropolitan, they will meet with no difficulties on the part of those who have lost their Christianity only for want of instruction, and the Synod doth recommend this people, as a member of their Church, to the spiritual care of the most reverend Metropolitan."—(Session VIII., Decree 7.)

Immediate action was enjoined; and, according to Gouvea, two Cattanars visited the place, which he describes as *fifty* leagues from the church of the Serra, or Malankāra, in a very remote place, off the highways of the country, on the extreme boundaries of the Samorin's kingdom. He also states that they had been there from the time of some great persecution of the Christians, which followed the martyrdom of St. Thomas at Mylapūr. The fugitives found a refuge amongst the mountains of Todamala, and had continued to exist without any intercourse with other churches, till at last they retained little beside the *name* of Christians among them.¹

The account they are reported to have given of themselves to the Cattanars is as follows:—Formerly they had Cattanars and books; the Cattanars had died, and their books had perished. The whole of their worship now consisted in the adoration of a picture on which was depicted an old man, a young man, and a bird.

¹ Raulini has incorporated this tradition in his History; and mentions, as the places where they were dispersed and found kinder treatment, the kingdoms of Cranganore, Quilon, Travancore, the States of Calicut and *Todamala*, and especially the mountains of Malabar.

When questioned as to the meaning of this, they replied that it represented their God *Bidi*, the Author of all things—the word *Bidi* being explained as signifying in their language *Destiny*.

The country here called Todamala is without doubt none other than that mountainous plateau, now so well known to all Europeans in South India as the Nilgiri Hills. To this day the district which lies to the west of Otacamund—the chief European station—is known by the name of *Todanāda* (*Toda country*), from the numerous small settlements of the Todas, the pastoral race by whom it is inhabited. Looking up from the plains to the mountain peaks—some of which attain the height of nearly 9,000 feet above the sea level—the people of the Low Country would, for similar reasons, familiarly call the whole group *Todamala*, or mountain range of the Todas.

And further we have good evidence to show that one or two missions of inquiry to these very mountains were undertaken in consequence of the Decree of the Synod before alluded to. There is reason to doubt, however, that the report here given by Gouvea ever came from the Todamala. It is quite possible that such a report as this was brought by Cattanars who visited some outlying congregation, such as that which once existed at Nellikul, in the wild mountainous confines of the ancient kingdom of Madura; and for want of care or of exact information it has been attributed to the people of the Todamala. The Cattanars who went in search of the Malleans *did* find such a neglected body of Christians at *Chungum*.

Thodamulla, or Todamala, is said to have been the name of one of the ancient settlements of the Manicheans in Southern India; and, as they kept up some connection with the Syrian Christians, it is just possible that Gouvea's account more properly belonged to them, and that he was misled by the similarity of the names. The Manicheans might have been connected with an ancient church in some outlying district; and in it such a picture as that described might have been all that remained to show that they were once connected with the Christians of the country. There is a place called *Thodawulla*,¹ at the foot of the mountains, in the remote interior of modern Travancore, far removed from most of the old churches of the country; can this have been the settlement whence the Cattanars brought their report? The present existence of any remnants of the Manicheans in this locality might serve to throw further light on the subject.

There is no reason whatever to believe that the Todas of the Nilgiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or Manichean settlers of the Low Country, or of the coast of Malabar; or had ever known anything of Christianity—even so

¹ *Chungum* is only about three miles from this place. After the church was built at Chungum, the Cattanar, Simon, who became Vicar, found other Christians scattered about in the neighbourhood, and united them to his congregation. He probably found such at Thodawulla.

much as its external forms. The excellent German Missionaries belonging to the Basle Society, who have laboured amongst the Nilgiri Tribes ever since 1846, state, that as yet, they have never discovered any traces of our religion, or any ruins of Christian edifices, though some of them have well explored hill and dale, craggy peak, and shady ravine, all over this alpine plateau.

There is a singular fact, however, which must be recorded from its possible bearing on the tradition current in Malabar in 1599, that in the remote dominions of the Samorin Rajah there had been Christian settlements in former times. One of the four districts into which the Todas divide the Nilgiris is called by them *Pirgor*, and by their neighbours the Badagas *Paranganâda*, which names, identical in meaning, signify the *country of the Feringees*, i.e., Franks or Christians; "for they have a tradition," says the Rev. F. Metz, "that ages ago a small colony of Roman Catholics resided near the Avalanche," which is situated in this district. It seems probable from this, that at some time or other a party of native Christians, either to escape persecution, or for purposes of colonization, found their way into these mountain fastnesses, and formed a settlement in one of its thinly-peopled localities; and for want of knowing better, they have been identified with the *Roman Catholic* Christians, with whom the Todas have been now for many generations accustomed to meet, in their migrations to the lower slopes of the mountains.

That Francis Roz, the Jesuit Professor of Vaipicotta College, who took so prominent a part in the Synod, had the mountain district now known as the Nilgiris in view, is quite certain. After being appointed Bishop of Angamâle, he despatched, in 1602, the Cattanars before alluded to, viz., a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas, to Todamala, with a good guide, to discover the country, and collect information about the people, who were reported to have "penetrated into the interior of Malabar by a ridge of mountains, probably about fifty leagues from Calicut," and were supposed to belong to the ancient church of the country.

The Syrian priest and deacon appear to have ascended the mountains, and had some slight intercourse with a few of the people; but their expedition was regarded as a partial failure, inasmuch as they did not bring so sure and complete an account as was desired. This led Bishop Roz to request the Vice Provincial of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own Order for this mission of inquiry; and the Rev. Jacome Ferreira, who had been long in Malabar, and was well acquainted with the language and people, was in due time selected for the purpose.

Ferreira started from Calicut, the place where he resided, whence the route to the Todamala was considered easier than from the Malankâra diocese. Under the direction of trustworthy guides, he at length reached the place he sought; and, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, was permitted to return in safety to Calicut, bringing with him a good deal of information about the

Hill Tribes and their customs, but *nothing about the Christian colony*, which probably had either become extinct, or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there.

At Calicut he wrote a formal Report for the information of the Vice Principal of his Order, dated April 1st, 1603, whence the following particulars are taken.¹

He begins by saying :—"I have arrived, God be thanked, safely from Todamala, though not without much trouble and some dissatisfaction, inasmuch as *I could not find there what I wanted, nor what I was told could be obtained*. Since it will depend upon my personal information whether the Mission shall be persevered in or abandoned, I have thought it necessary to give you a detailed account of all that I have found and suffered there."

He then proceeds to state particulars of his journey from Calicut :—He had intended to travel by way of Charti,² but was prevented by the unsettled state of the neighbourhood ; and hence resolved to proceed by Manarecate, which was reckoned to be about thirteen leagues inland from Tanúr, and was the route taken by the Syrian priest and deacon twelve months before. A native convert, whom he styles the Errary³ (a nephew of the Samorin), accompanied him amongst others, and was an important member of the party, since he understood the Canarese language, spoken by the Badagas, who were neighbours of the Todas. Before reaching Manarecate he went to see the Tahsildar, or native magistrate, residing two leagues off, to deliver the *olla*, or official government order written on a strip of palm leaf, by which this officer was commanded to supply the priest with whatever he might require, in the way of attendants or provision, for his journey to Todamala, and even, if necessary, to accompany the expedition himself.

The native officer received him well, but enlarged greatly upon the difficulties of the undertaking, which others about him were ready to confirm :—"the distance was very great ; the route would lead them over steep and rugged mountains infested with elephants and tigers ; and when they reached the elevated plateau they would find the climate so severe that they would run the risk of perishing from cold." An effort was then made to obtain the assistance of two Nairs, who were familiar with the road ; but none would volunteer their services, however well paid, for fear of falling sick.

¹ This Report is to be found in the Marsden Collection of Additional MSS. in the British Museum Library, No. 9855. The writer is indebted to a Portuguese gentleman of literary tastes, residing in India, for the translation here used.

² There is a *Chanturty* near Nellumbur ; if this be the place referred to, then his first intention was to ascend by the Careoor Pass, which goes through Goodalur. The Jesuit writers often shortened the native names of places, thus Cadaturutta is called Carturte by them.

³ The Samuri Rajahs of Calicut are said to have belonged to the Errary or *cowherd caste* of the Carnatic.

The Hill Tribes are called by Ferreira *Todares* and *Badegas*.

Realising all the difficulties which here presented themselves, the Jesuit father very considerably requested his companion the Errary, to return with his people to Calicut; purposing to go on by himself to Manarecate, and there procure such assistance as he might require for the rest of his journey. But the Errary would not listen to such a proposal for a moment, feeling bound in honour to proceed; and so did his Nair followers. A Varsur (*Vaishya* ?), a grade or so below a Brahmin, who accompanied the Errary, exclaimed: "Father, if I should die during the journey, bury me wherever you like, as I care little about the place." A Nair of the party manifested his readiness by saying: "I will accompany your reverence to my last breath." Thus somewhat more assured and encouraged, he took leave of the magistrate, and went on his way to Manarecate.

Arrived at Manarecate they had the good fortune to meet with the same *Chatim* (?), who had accompanied the Syrian Christian party; but the Errary thought it proper they should also take another young man, of well known fidelity, who had relations throughout the neighbourhood. They here ascertained that the distance between Manarecate and Todamala was six Canarese, or twelve Malabar leagues, and that it would take them two days and a half to reach their destination. Here too they provided themselves with extra clothing to protect them from the cold air of the mountains, with provisions for the journey and cooking vessels; which latter the Nairs (though they had *coolies* or porters) carried on their heads, lest they should be polluted by the touch of low-caste men. The Nairs wisely left their weapons behind them, lest the Hill people should take alarm, and suspect the Malabars were coming among them with hostile intentions. By this time, being well equipped, they commenced merrily the more serious portion of their journey.

Before proceeding with the narrative it would be well, if practicable, to identify their route. There is a Munaur or Manár, about thirteen leagues "inland from Tanúr," whence there is a direct track to the Nilgiris, via the Bowány Valley, and the now disused Sundaputty Ghaut; and from this Manár to the part of the Nilgiris they were wishing to visit, it must be about twelve leagues. Here then we have both the distances specified. Hence it appears that Manár answers to the situation described by the writer.

F. Buchanan, in his "Journey through Mysore, &c.," describing the tract of land occupying part of the mountains which separate Malabar from Coimbatore (whose inhabitants speak Canarese), says: "It is divided into two districts, Attapaddy and Ayrata Cadawa, each subject to a *Gauda*, or hereditary chieftain, and that the *pass leading up to the Attapaddy goes by Manarghat*;" thus calling this place by the same name as the Jesuit writer two centuries earlier.¹ He tells us, moreover, it "was subject to the

¹ The spelling of this name has the following variations in the MS.:

Samuri, as chief of a district called Nerunganada;" which further supports this view, since they carried with them *ollas* from one of the Samuri Rajah's officers to another, and both acknowledged themselves bound to attend to such orders. This route would be also the most direct one for travellers coming southwards from the ancient territories of the Rajah of Cochin. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Manâr of our maps, and the Manarghat of F. Buchanan, is the place referred to; and that they travelled along the banks of the Bowány till they made their ascent by the Sündaputty ghaut.

A very common cause of delay in Indian travel where natives are concerned—the cooking of the food for the day—prevented their leaving Manarecate till after eight a.m.; but, once fairly off, they travelled on till evening (as they thought very quickly) to avoid being benighted in a jungle infested with elephants. Their guide, to their surprise, when night came on, assured them that after all they had only travelled *two* out of the six Canarese leagues. In the forest they met with a party of fifteen men, all armed, who somewhat alarmed them with the intelligence that there were three elephants in their route. This led them to give up their intention of making an early start on the following morning, hoping by the delay to escape these formidable creatures.

The evening of the *second* day found them at the foot of a steep hill—most probably the Sündaputty Pass—up which their route lay; but as the place was uninhabited, and infested with elephants, they did not like the idea of halting there, so after eating their supper they went part of the way up the mountain, and there slept for some hours.

The *third* day found them all astir long before dawn, availing themselves of the light of the moon, for a long and weary ascent to, what they hoped would prove, the summit of the mountain range. They were astonished, however, to find that other elevations had to be surmounted; some of which were so steep that in descending the opposite side they had to slide down as best they could. The Errary seeing these heights exclaimed: "God has inflicted this punishment on me for my sins. In ascending and descending such places my life will be shortened ten years!" Their guide, the Chatim, eyeing the descent would cry out: "Oh my mother! the mere glance downwards darkens my eyes!" The Nairs uttered similar expressions when they came upon the like precipitous localities; whilst the Jesuit missionary, much amused at what he heard, went on singing some Malabar songs against idols, which diverted them by exciting their laughter and provoking them to join in the ditty.

About midday they drew near to the first Badaga settlement,

Manarecate, Manaracathe, Manarecathe, Manarachate, Manarechate. The *cáda* or *káda* (forest or jungle) of Malabar is often spelt *cáte* or *cháte* by Romish writers, as Amblacáte, Callureáte, &c.

but were too much exhausted to climb the mountain side by which it was to be reached. Here they met with deliciously cold water, but they had no fire for cooking purposes, much as they wanted food. In this difficulty, the Errary volunteered to ascend to the Badaga village, in company with a Brahmin, and send them down some live coals. But whilst objections were being urged, the Chatim guide released them from all anxiety by obtaining fire on the spot, through the rapid friction of two pieces of dry stick. Hereupon rice was soon cooked and eaten; and then, after taking a little further repose, they felt themselves sufficiently recruited to proceed.

The Bagada village, which they at length reached, was called Meleuntao, and contained between one and two hundred inhabitants.¹ The Romo-Syrian priest was said to have reached thus far. Here they were so fortunate as to meet with the chief of the Todas, who agreed to call his people together, so that the Missionary might have an opportunity of conversing with them. The people of the village had fowls, cows, and goats. Here, too, rice and other kinds of grain and pulse, mustard, coriander seed, and honey could be purchased. Some hill wheat was brought to them; the husk so closely adhered to the grain that it looked like barley. The Badagas were thought to resemble Malabar people—which they do perhaps in colour and build.

They were informed that two or three other similar races existed on the mountains, four or five leagues apart, but all had intercourse with the Todas,² to whom they sold rice in exchange for butter made of buffaloes' milk, which they took down to Manaracâte for sale.

On the following day the Jesuit Missionary tried to converse with these Badagas on the subject of Christianity. He shewed them the images of the Virgin Mary and St. Luke, telling them that the infant in the arms of the former was God, who had taken human flesh and form, in order to teach and save mankind. He also showed them a copy of the Bible³ richly bound, telling them that it was the book of the Christians' law. As the people crowded

¹ This is supposed to be the present Mélur, the head-quarters of the Mékanád Badagas, by the Rev. F. Metz, who is the best authority on such a point. Meleuntaô is a softer mode, adopted by the Romish Missionaries from the South of Europe, of spelling Meleuntur. This is within a few miles of Avalanche, where the tradition of the Todas locates an ancient *Feringhee* settlement.

² The races now found on the Nilgiri Hills are the Todas, Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas; though the last-named reside so low down the mountain sides that they can hardly be classed with the other four. There is an Irula village at the foot of the Sundaputty ghaut, which now goes by the name of Maanar.

³ In the MS. it is called *Biblia*. If really a Bible, it would be a copy of the Vulgate, since the Roman Catholic Missionaries have never to this day translated the Bible into any Indian language.

closely round him, he climbed to a little elevation, accompanied by the Errary, and thence addressed them in the Malabar language, which his companion translated into Canarese—the language of the place. One of the Badagas who understood Malayalim, however, came up to him, and entered into conversation. He spoke to them about the Ten Commandments as the sum of the moral law, which led to a conversation on polygamy. Upon the Commandments being explained to them, they were all ready to assent to the excellency of this law; but they objected that they could not venture to follow it, although the Missionary professed himself as ready to teach them as to teach the Todas; and further, that it would be impossible for him to live on such sterile mountains as theirs. Upon the whole, the interview with the Badagas was so far encouraging, that the Missionary felt convinced that, if a clergyman were appointed to labour among them, they would soon become converts to Christianity.

Whilst at Meleuntao the priest of the Todas came into the neighbourhood to see him. He remained outside the Badaga settlement for fear of pollution. The missionary went to him, and found him seated on the ground with seven or eight followers. He was a tall, stout, well-proportioned man, with a long beard, and “the locks of a Nazarite” falling down upon his shoulders, but so thrown back as to keep his forehead uncovered. He was dressed in coarse woollen cloth called *cambolim*, that is a native’s *cumley* or blanket, which only covered him from the waist to the knees; and in his hand he carried a scythe. His first inquiry was concerning the missionary’s health, to which he replied that he was well and all the better for seeing him, believing too that God’s providence had guided him in his long journey, and brought about this interview. Upon being asked “why he wanted to see the Todas?” he replied that he had been informed that they were of the same caste and religion as himself; and that in the year previous, one of his people had visited these mountains and returned with a good report of the inhabitants. To a further inquiry as to the origin of the Todas the curt answer of “No” was given; and the Toda priest was apparently about to leave. The missionary pressed him to stay awhile longer,—since he had come so great a distance on purpose to see him and his people; whereupon he consented and the conversation was resumed. Asking some of them, who the chief of their party was and what his occupation might be, he was informed that this man was called *Pallem*,¹ and

¹ Called *Pálál* (*milkman*) by Rev. F. Metz. He is usually attended by a *Kávilál* or *herdsman*, who acts as his servant and assists in looking after the sacred buffaloes. Prior to the period when Europeans began to resort to the Hills, the *Pálál*’s authority was very great. Of late there has been some relaxation of the rigorous austerities imposed on him. When any disputes arise the question has to be decided by him; he affects to be possessed and then pronounces an oracular judgment. When in this state

held a similar position to the person in charge of the idol among the heathen in Malabar. Sometimes he became possessed with the devil, would tremble, roll himself on the ground, and answer the questions put to him in the name of his idol.

The missionary then inquired whether they had idols? They replied that they had a living she-buffalo as their deity, who wore a collar with a small bell attached to it; that the Pallem gave her milk every day and then let her loose to graze with others; that about once a month, taking hold of her horns, the Pallem would tremble and say that she wished to change her pasture, and to this the people would assent. 'With the milk and butter of this she-buffalo, her daughters and grand-daughters—now amounting to about 120 in number—the Pallem maintained himself. Upon that part of the mountains there were a hundred Todas, and among them three Pallems, each of whom had his she-buffalo deity; and, when one of these creatures died, the Todas would assemble together, select another from the sacred herd, and after being adorned with the collar and bell, she would become their deity. Besidesthis she-buffalo there were 300 other gods (*pagodes*) to whom they offered milk.

The missionary then asked the Pallem why he had a scythe in his hand? He replied that God ordered him to use no other weapon or stick save the scythe; and upon this he scratched his head, which seemed to be in a foul condition. Upon the enquiry being made about marriage, he stated that he and his younger brother had one wife between them, but as she could not touch his house she lived with his brother; that he had no books, and that none of his people knew anything of reading or writing.

When the interview was drawing to a close, the missionary presented the Pallem with a looking-glass of Calicut manufacture, which greatly pleased him, and he said it should be presented to his wife. Information was further given about another personage called *Terral*,¹ who when water and salt are offered to the she-buffalo, also at times becomes possessed. The water and salt are

he rushes frantically about, beating himself violently with a stick and vociferating loudly, until the bystanders are fairly under the influence of terror.—*The Tribes of the Neilgherries*, by Rev. F. Metz, pp. 17-19, &c.

¹ The Todas "are divided into two branches or families, one called Perkins or *Terallis*, and who are competent to hold all sacred offices; the other Kútas who are competent only to minor ones within their own families, and who may be considered as the lay class." (*Thornton's Gazetteer*, word *Neilgherries*.) A kind of priest called the *Tarrvaly*, who attends to the sacred dairy, is still known among them, but according to Mr. Metz he is not so holy as the Pálál, who is considered a god. *Tirú-ál* or *Tarrval* signifies a holy man. Mr. Metz divides the Todas into five distinct classes "known by the names *Paiky*, *Pakkan*, *Kúttan*, *Kenna* and *Tody*, of which the first is regarded as the most aristocratic."—(*The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherries*. Mangalore, 1864. p. 15.)

given to make the buffaloes fat, when they supply a larger quantity of milk, butter, &c.

The third day of their sojourn on "the hills" was spent in a visitation of the Todas and their settlements, to accomplish which they had to ascend about half a league further up the mountains. The general aspect of the plateau surprised them; nothing could be seen but bare hills and valleys, destitute even of forest trees except here and there in moist localities. Not a single cocoa nut, jack, or other fruit tree could anywhere be found! As they wandered on a herd of buffaloes occasionally came in sight, tended by one or two Todas, and these were all the living creatures to be met with! In this way they came across four or five Todas, and through them sent for others; but as no women made their appearance, a looking-glass was promised to one of the Todas if he would induce some women to come out to them. He quickly ascended a hill, and ere long appeared again, bringing with him four women, who, through bashfulness, kept themselves at a distance from the party of strangers. The missionary then sent word to them that, if they wanted looking-glasses, they must come nearer, which they did to obtain the coveted gift.

A walk of another league and a half brought them to a Toda settlement which was at the foot of a hill. It consisted of two houses, in shape resembling a large hogshead, half buried in the ground, the hoops of which were made of thick sticks, like Bengal canes, with their extremities stuck into the earth; across these other sticks were laid, and covered with a thatching of grass. The ends of the houses were constructed of some posts, or pieces of wood firmly fixed in the ground, so as to stand up perpendicularly like the pipes of an organ. The missionary and his friend the Errary crawled into one of these huts by its narrow doorway; and there, continuing on their knees, carefully surveyed the strange interior, in which they noticed two sleeping places furnished with grass mattresses opposite each other, whilst in the centre there was a small pit for fire; one very small window and the low doorway being the only apertures.¹ Close to this house there was a buffalo shed and a hut used for dairy purposes. They were informed that the other Toda houses were similar, and were to be found scattered over the mountains, about a league and a half intervening between each settlement.

By this time the news of the visit of the strangers had spread over the neighbourhood, and as many as thirty or forty Todas came together, which enabled them to make further observations and to collect additional information. The close texture of the sheet-like garment they wore struck them; it seemed at once to be

¹ The writer having, in a similar manner, crawled into a Toda hut and surveyed its interior, can testify to the correctness of the Jesuit's description.

both water-proof and fire-proof! Their only defensive weapon was a very long staff freely anointed with butter. Their beards were long and so was the hair of their head, but not so much so as that of the Pallem. The missionary states that he had not shaved for two months prior to his visit to avoid giving offence, since they were displeased at the appearance of the native Christian priest who had visited them, because he had neither beard nor hair on his head. The Todas, it appeared, never shaved their heads except upon the death of relatives.

Reference, too, is made to that extraordinary custom of slaughtering buffaloes at funerals, which has prevailed amongst them until within the last few years, when it was stopped by the wholesome influence of British rule. Upon the decease of one of their number, they were in the habit of slaughtering half of his buffaloes, reserving the other half for his heirs; or, in the event of the deceased having no buffaloes of his own, his friends each contributed one; half of the number so contributed were killed and the residue reserved. The body of the deceased (they further learned) was burnt, having been previously wrapped up in a veil like that used for a turban called *toda-pata*, made of pure silk, valued at five or six fanams; which was considered so essential that, if one could not be obtained, they would wait as long as a year for the final ceremony; but in such case the corpse was disemboweled and dried by smoke.

Their diet and matters connected with preparing and eating food came under observation. They did not keep oxen, sheep, or fowls because they never ate the flesh of these creatures nor of the she-buffalo, but they had no objection to venison or wild boar. They never cultivated the soil, but occupied themselves by tending their herds of buffaloes, and lived chiefly on the milk and butter produced by them, and grain obtained in exchange. In taking a meal they held the rice in their left hand, and with the right took a lump of butter, and after mixing it with the rice ate the whole. After eating they cleaned their hands by rubbing them together and then wiping them on their thickly covered heads. The men seemed to manage most of the domestic affairs, for whilst the women beat the rice and sometimes even tended the cattle in the absence of their husbands, the men cooked the food, milked the buffaloes and made the butter. Upon the Pallem being asked whether he cooked his own rice, or whether his wife did it for him, he replied, that it was considered a great *dishonour* among them for *women* to cook the rice.

The missionary thought the Todas, as well as the Badagas, resembled the people of Malabar in colour; some of them, however, being lighter and some again a shade darker; whilst all were of a very fair stature. Their ears were perforated and some wore a silver ear-ring; others had round their neck a few black threads, to which was attached a large silver bead resembling a *Pater Noster*. Upon producing from one of his pockets a hank of black thread, it

was eagerly coveted by one of the Todas and asked for two or three times. This thread was afterwards divided into four parts and distributed with looking-glasses to four women present, who were greatly charmed with the gifts. The women dressed in "the same long white sheet, like the men," throwing the right corner of the garment over the left shoulder so as to keep the body properly covered; they wore their hair loose and had nothing else on their heads. Upon his telling them that the women on the lower hill wore bracelets, chains, and other ornaments, one of the party uncovered her arm, which was adorned with copper bracelets of very good workmanship.

It was high time now for the missionary to come to the chief matter which brought him to their mountain home. He seems to have made no enquiry about any particular Christian settlement, but to have taken it for granted, that the Todas who were before him, were the descendants of the community formerly connected with the Christians of St. Thomas.

He began his address by observing that, understanding they were of the same caste and law as himself, he had come to see them; and since he had heard that they had no padre or book, he being a padre had come to teach them: would they like him to be with them? To this they cheerfully assented. He then enquired whether they would leave off worshipping buffaloes and their 300 deities? They said they feared if they did so, that the buffaloes and the gods would annoy and hurt them. On being assured by the missionary that he would shield them from all such evil consequences, they said they were willing to renounce these practices. He further asked them whether they would give up the custom of two brothers marrying one wife? To this also they assented. They now asked the missionary to show them his images and books, and upon his so doing, bowed themselves down as a mark of veneration and rejoiced greatly. After having presented each one of the company with a looking-glass, he requested them to give up to him two of their young boys, that he might take them away and have them educated. They declined this request, cautiously observing, that just then this could not be conveniently allowed.

Upon enquiry being made as to their origin, the Todas stated that they had heard that their ancestors came from the east; that some had settled in these mountains and others descended to the plains.¹ They expressed great astonishment at the sight of a white

¹ "From their legends and some particular words contained in their language, I am led to think that prior to migrating to these Hills, they must, perhaps for centuries, have inhabited a range lying to the north-east in the direction of Hassanoor, beyond the Gazelhutty pass. Part of the tribe appears to have settled in a northerly direction, near Collegal; for I am frequently pressed to go and visit them, and bring back intelligence respecting their condition in life; prosperity with the Todas as in patriarchal times, consisting in the number and extent of their herds."—*Rev. F. Metz*, p. 14.

man, and requested the missionary to show them one of his arms uncovered. They were delighted with the gay clothing of the Errary; his gold buttons and velvet hat trimmed with gold lace particularly took their fancy. To enquiries about their religious tenets, the mission party could get no answer encouraging the supposition, that they had even any traditional ideas of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity,¹ or any correct idea of the one living and true God; for when asked why they wore hair loose, one of the Badagas replied, that in the time of *Cheram Perumalar* the parents of the Todas were killed; and upon enquiry being made as to who had killed them, and its being ascertained that God had done it, they let loose their hair, and vowed that they would not bind it up again until they had killed the god who killed their parents!

The number of the Todas was supposed not to exceed 1000 or 1200, scattered pretty equally over four mountain districts; two of which were in Malabar, in the dominion of the Samorin, another under the rule of a Naique, and the last under a Rajah who resided near Charti.² The Todas visited were subjects of the Samorin. The whole race were widely dispersed over a region measuring eight Canarese or sixteen Malabar leagues in extent, and were constantly moving from place to place.

The time came at length for the visitors to take their leave. The Jesuit missionary in doing so, promised to return within the year and pay them a longer visit. He did not think it advisable to stay longer at that time, nor to commence anything like systematic instruction, since he judged his company might not be able to attend to so distant a mission; missionaries too being then scarce, and their services required in greater and more important spheres nearer at hand.

The party from Malabar and the plains, fourteen in number, felt the climate exceedingly cold. They pronounced the water excellent, but found it difficult to drink on account of its icy temperature. They were all greatly fatigued with the laborious character of the ascent, and began to fear they might fall sick; and indeed the Errary was beginning to be somewhat indisposed.

¹ If there had been such a thing as the picture of the Trinity found anywhere amongst these people, and retained by them as an object of worship, the Jesuit Ferreira would not have preserved complete silence on so important a point. Gouvea's story can have had no connection whatever with the two missionary explorations instituted by Bishop Roz to the Nilgiris.

² The Toda population, including those who have settled in the Nellambúr country, are at this present time not supposed to exceed a thousand souls.—(*Tribes of Neilgherries*, p. 45.) The Nellambúr Rajah is the native prince described as residing near Charti. The vicious customs of polyandria and female infanticide (which latter prevailed till the influence of British rule was felt) have been fatal to increase of population amongst this pastoral race, though well supplied with the common necessities of life.

Happily for them the friendly Badagas put them into a better road—shorter and not so laborious, having much less ascending and descending, and by this they made their way back to the low country. On the first day of the return journey they descended a lofty hill, at the foot of which they came upon some Badagas, who, fearing hostile intentions, took fright and fled into the nearest jungle. Upon the guides assuring them that they were peaceable travellers returning from a visit to the Todas, they came out of their hiding places; but a little further on they passed four or five houses where the like scene occurred.

The night of the second day of the homeward march found them two leagues short of Manarecate, where they were compelled to sleep in a jungle infested with tigers and elephants; but the Jesuit father adds, in the concluding words of his report—"God protected us and we arrived safely at Calicut, praised be our Lord! Since then some of our party have been unwell, one of whom is Variel. May God grant him a speedy recovery, because he has promised me to become a Christian."

We have no reason to believe that Ferreira fulfilled his promise to revisit the Todas, or that any other Romish missionary visited these mountains, until they began to be frequented by Europeans about forty years or so ago; and to the devoted German missionaries before alluded to, connected with the Bâsle Evangelical Missionary Society, belongs the honour of being the first to proclaim to the Todas and Badagas the gospel of grace in their own mother tongue. They began their mission (as already stated) in 1846, and though they cannot record a single instance in which a Toda has been convinced of sin and brought to Christ,¹ God has so far owned their faithful and self-denying labours, that a small company of the Badagas have become "obedient to the faith."

It is deserving, however, of observation that the description given by the Jesuit missionary is most faithful as it respects the country, its tribes, and their manners and customs in all important points. The fact that idolatry does not prevail amongst the Todas in the grosser forms common amongst the Hindoos of the plains, may have had something to do with the report that they were of the same law or religion as the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar.

It is now believed upon closer enquiry that it is not the sacred she-buffalo, but the *bell* worn on her neck, that is the object of worship, being considered the representation of a deity called by them Hiria-deva or the chief god; and it is to this bell that libations of

¹ That *something* is being done in bringing this unimpressible race to a better state of feeling there can be no doubt; for instance, in speaking of *polyandria*, Mr. Metz observes in a note: "I am glad to say that during the last few years, many of the Todas have thought it more honourable that each one should have his own wife."—(*The Tribes of the Neilgherries*, Edition 1864, p. 16.)

milk are offered. They make a distinction between this deity and the God about whom the Christian missionary speaks to them; giving to the latter the appropriate title of Usuru Swamy or the Lord of Life. All their religious duties are performed by proxy, the Pálál in his lonely retreat, or the Pálikarpal (who is the dairymen of the settlement) acting for them. The only sign of adoration ever witnessed by the venerable German missionary, who has mixed most freely with them, has been the lifting the right hand to the forehead, and covering the nose with the thumb when entering the dairy in which their deity is supposed to preside; and the words "*may all be well*" are the only words akin to prayer they have been heard to utter on such occasions. In some of these sacred places ancient bells, supposed to be those possessed by their forefathers, are preserved and superstitiously venerated; but no idols or images representing the form of man, or any other living creature, have been found amongst them as objects of worship.

Whilst one cannot but commend the feeling which animated the mind or heart of any who could cheerfully undertake a long and wearisome journey in search of those who were supposed to be of Christian origin, but had relapsed into heathenism through lack of the means of grace, a deep sense of regret will naturally arise that images of the Virgin and St. Luke should have been used in such a mission; and that the poor Todas should have been encouraged to regard such things as legitimate objects of veneration under the "law" of Christ. If the volume called the Bible, instead of having its gilt exterior paraded before the eyes of these simple mountaineers, had been opened, and the story of the cross proclaimed in all its simplicity, there would have been a nearer approach to the fulfilment of our Lord's commission to His messengers, and a closer approximation to apostolic practice. We have cause to thank God that these Hills Tribes are, in our days, sought after by godly men, who hold a purer faith, and are animated by zeal, not for "the Church," but for Christ and souls; who go, with an open Bible in their hands, and make known to each tribe, in the dialect which they best understand, the love of that God, "who would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth;" that God who "is a Spirit," and who, to be served acceptably, must be worshipped "in spirit and in truth."

CHAPTER X.

THE JESUITS IN MALABAR.

“It must be confessed on all hands,” writes Baldœus more than two centuries ago, “that had not the active spirit of the Jesuits awakened the Franciscans, and other religious Orders from their drowsiness, the Roman Church had before this time been buried in its ruins.” India was one of their earliest and most successful fields of operation, so far as the cause of the *Papacy* was concerned; but their counsel and work being of men, and not of God, has, in a very large degree, come to nought; and the cause of genuine Christianity, instead of being forwarded, has undoubtedly been retarded by their indefatigable mission efforts, carried on through the greater portion of three long centuries.

The Jesuits had undertaken—as already shewn—the work of subjugating the ancient Syrian Church of Malabar to the yoke of the Papacy, long before Archbishop Menezes was sent out to India; but in him they found a powerful friend, ready to listen to their suggestions, and to carry out with fearless determination, their well-considered plans of operation. Through his assistance, the whole diocese of Malankâra having been completely prostrated and paralysed, they were at last left masters of the field, to gather the spoil, and take the prey, as it seemed to them best. Francis Roz, the Jesuit Professor at the college at Chennum, had in accordance with the wish of Menezes, been appointed first Romish Bishop of this diocese in 1600, under the title of Bishop of Angamâle—the place where the last Syrian Metropolitan had resided, and ended his days. Nine years after the Pope changed the Bishopric into an Archbishopric, and transferred its seat to the Portuguese settlement of Cranganore.¹ Archbishop Roz’s three immediate successors, Jerome Xavier, Stephen de Britto, and Francis Garcia, were all Jesuits; and thus this Society held undisputed sway, in this part of India, for more than half a century, until the great rupture with Rome, which took place in 1653, under the episcopate of Garcia.

¹ Paoli says that D. Andreas a S. Maria, who was then Bishop of Cochin, was ill pleased at Cranganore being erected into an Archiepiscopal see. The congratulatory letter of this prelate to the Synod of Udiamparur, and the Synod’s reply, are found at the end of Geddes’ translation of the Acts and Decrees of the Synod. He then little contemplated that this movement would issue in the appointment of an *Archbishop* in Malabar, who would have necessarily precedence of himself.

If these Missionaries to the East had all been men of the like spirit with Francis Xavier, their great pioneer, matters would not doubtless have been carried on with so high a hand, and with so little regard to the opinions and feelings of other men; but Xavier's successors were a degenerate race, who in the name of our Master Christ, grasped at worldly power, and scrupled not to avail themselves of the arm of the tyrant and oppressor (not unfrequently some *heathen* prince) to accomplish their ambitious projects; and though, according to their motto, what they professed to do was "*for the greater glory of God*," the verdict of history, according to the testimony of Romanist authorities, makes it too plain that, after all, *self-glorification*, or the exaltation of their Order, was their chief object.

No religious fraternity in the Romish communion has been gifted with so large a share of worldly wisdom. Some Orders chose the deserts, others the valleys or mountain heights, as their dwelling place, whilst the Franciscans are said to have been in force in the smaller towns. The Jesuits were more prudent in their selection. Thus, a famous Romish preacher, delivering an oration in a Jesuit church on their Founder's day—imagining the Almighty saying to Ignatius when demanding a place, "I know not *where* to put you"—the wily Jesuit is made to reply, "Oh! only put us where there is a *place to be taken*, in the *great cities*, for instance, and *leave us to do the rest*." They have, agreeably to this sentiment, invariably chosen the chief centres of influence, wherever they could do so; and this receives ample illustration in the Indian operations.

Goa, the seat of the Portuguese Viceroy of the East, was their earliest settlement. John III., King of Portugal, disappointed at the slow progress of the Romish faith in India, had sent out an ecclesiastic to inquire into the cause; and was, in due course, informed that the monks already in the field manifested little charity towards their proselytes, though forsaken by their heathen relatives; and neglected the numerous orphans in their settlements, who were suffered to grow up uncared for and untaught, to the scandal of the Christian community; and further, that the Portuguese settlers were, with but few exceptions, utterly corrupt in morals. To remedy the evils complained of, the King had recourse to the newly-constituted Society of Jesus, with its little band of zealots, ready to do or suffer great things as soon as opportunity offered.

When Francis Xavier arrived at Goa in 1542, preparations were being made for him and his brethren. In the previous year the foundations of the Seminary of Santa Fè were laid at Goa by the exertions of two secular priests, Michael Vaz and James Borba; and Xavier found the latter had already collected together some sixty native lads. Xavier describes the college as being erected on a grand scale, capable of holding 500 students, endowed with ample revenues, and having a church connected with it beautifully

designed, and twice as large as the chapel of the Sorbonne at Paris. This college was given over to the Jesuits, and was afterwards known by the name of the College of St. Paul—a picture of the conversion of St. Paul being placed over the altar of the church attached to the institution. It was destined to give a new name to their body in India, who became more commonly known as *Paulistæ*, or *Fathers of St. Paul*; and sometimes simply *Apostles*, from their claiming to be the first preachers of the gospel to the Gentiles of India—at least in later times.

Even in Xavier's lifetime the proud, overbearing spirit of Jesuitism began to manifest itself. Xavier left India to preach in Japan, A.D. 1549, having first appointed Paul Camerti, Rector of the college at Goa; but taking advantage of his absence, Antonio Gomez, Master of the Novices, usurped supreme power; and in defiance of the Rector, expelled the native students, and introduced certain Portuguese youths in their place—an act of presumption which led to his dismissal from the Society on Xavier's return to India.

Whether St. Paul's College ever mustered at any one time so many students as Xavier's sanguine spirit imagined it capable of receiving, we cannot say; but one thing is quite plain, that the Jesuits rapidly increased in numbers, wealth, and influence at Goa; and never wanted means, when one locality was deemed unhealthy, or inconvenient, to erect more spacious structures, in more desirable positions. Thus the old College of St. Paul was after a time superseded by one called St. Roc, on Mount Rosary, whilst the former became their noviciate. In 1584 their chief or professed house was founded, and to it was attached the church of *Bom-Jesus*, in which Xavier's body was interred; whilst churches and colleges in due course followed at Chorao and Salsette, in the immediate vicinity of Goa. Dellon, writing about Goa nearly 200 years ago, says: "The Jesuits have here three fine churches, in one of which the corpse of St. Francis Xavier is deposited; besides which they have three most magnificent houses, each of them being fit for the reception of a king, with abundance of the best lands round the city, from whence they draw a vast yearly revenue. All their churches are very finely built, but the Hospital exceeds the rest."

Cochin ranked next to Goa in importance during the Portuguese ascendancy on the coast of India; and the Jesuits soon effected a firm footing there also. Xavier himself had been there as much as two months at a time on his way to the mission field near Cape Camorin, "employing himself without ceasing in the instruction of little children, administering to the sick, and regulating the manners of the town;" and the preaching of Alphonso de Castro, another Jesuit destined for a mission to the Moluccas, so charmed the people that they wished to keep him there in 1549, to establish a Jesuit College; but, as the Moluccas needed him much more, Xavier refused his consent.

Whilst Xavier was in Japan, the townsmen of Cochin having reiterated their request for a college, Antonio Gomez came down from Goa about the matter, when the church of the *Mother of God*, against the will of the Vicar, and in despite of a certain brotherhood connected with the building, was handed over to the Jesuits by the commandant of the fort. Gomez behaved in a most imperious way, and most unhappy disputes followed, which were not settled until Xavier visited the place in 1552. Feeling sensible that Gomez had done wrong, falling on his knees in the choir of the cathedral, Xavier desired the pardon of all present for what had passed, returned the keys of the church to the brotherhood whose rights had been ignored, and yielded all to them. Thus he conquered by submission, the keys were generously restored to him; and of their own free will, the original possessors made all over to the Society of Jesus. Xavier then proceeded to Goa, whence he sent down Gonsalvez Rodriguez to strengthen the mission already commenced by Antonio Heredid, who had collected together nearly 150 Portuguese and Indian boys for secular and religious instruction. Such was the beginning of their work in Malabar.

Here it was Xavier came in contact with the Syrian Christians, struck up a warm friendship with one of their Metrans, whom he found living in the Franciscan convent in 1549, and calls Jacob Abúna. Thence also he wrote to Ignatius Loyola, "to send a powerful Jesuit preacher to perambulate the sixty villages of the Syrian churches." According to Paoli, Bernardine Ferrari, and a native priest named Peter Luiz, were the first Jesuit preachers thus employed. In due course the college at Cranganore, founded by the Franciscan Vincent in 1546, was handed over to the care of the Jesuit fathers.

At both Cochin and Cranganore they formed permanent establishments on a large scale, with handsome churches and libraries attached to them. Baldoeus—who visited them immediately after they came into the hands of the Dutch—speaking of Cochin, says, "The Jesuits' church and college, facing the sea shore, had a lofty steeple, and a most excellent set of bells. The college, which was then three stories high, and contained about twenty or thirty apartments, was surrounded with a strong wall."¹ "On our

¹ "Among other steeples (writes Nienhoff) that of St. Paul (the Jesuits' Church), being magnificently built of square stones, exceeded all the rest as well in height as beauty." "The Austin Fryers, Franciscans and Jesuits, had likewise their several convents magnificently built, with very pleasant gardens and walks." Another traveller of the same period speaks of twenty-three churches built by the Portuguese in Cochin and its suburbs; and, as if these had not been sufficient, the Dutch discovered the foundations of one designed to be much bigger than any of the others. (Sieur de Rennefort.) The Jesuit, Pierre Martin, in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c., tells us (in a tone of lamentation) that, when under the dominion of Portugal, "one saw in Cochin, on every hand, a great number

arrival at Cranganore (Baldæus observes elsewhere) we found a noble college of the Jesuits, with a stately library belonging to it, the structure itself being not inferior to many in Europe;" besides which there were seven parish churches and various other religious houses.

The presence of the Jesuit fathers in Malabar soon excited a strong spirit of opposition from various classes; the names of two who incurred the displeasure of others, Gonsalvez Silveri and Melchior Carnerio, are specially mentioned by Sacchinus. Silveri was apparently a popular preacher in the town; but in 1557 certain anonymous papers were discovered in the alms-box of the cathedral, containing reflections upon his character and proceedings, and also blasphemous expressions against our Saviour. Certain Jews, who resorted to the place for mercantile purposes, were supposed to be the authors of these writings; and the Jesuits took up the matter so warmly as to urge the introduction of the Inquisition into Portuguese India; which was effected in 1560. Carnerio was busily employed in making proselytes of the Syrian Christians in the interior, and had done his best to induce the Rajah of Cochin to apprehend the Nestorian Metran as a "sower of heresy, and a disturber of the peace;" but in 1560 he was recalled to Goa to receive consecration, under the title of Bishop of Nicœa, to act as coadjutor to the Jesuit Patriarch of Ethiopia. Returning to Cochin for a short season, he had a narrow escape from an arrow which was shot from behind him, and was so skilfully aimed as to pierce his hat, and knock it off his head. Carnerio then escaped, but only to meet with a violent death from the hands of the Mahometans at Manomotapa, in Africa, not long after.

The Jesuits soon showed their activity in building churches and founding colleges and schools, in various parts of the country besides at Cochin. In 1587 their Syriac College, for the education of priests to minister among the Christians of St. Thomas, was founded at Chennum, three miles south east of Cranganore; and after this a similar institution was established at Cadatûrûtta, in Wadakkencore, as a training school for *Romanisers*, for the southern churches of this body—Francis Roz, Francis Garcia, and P. Samaria, all of them Jesuits, were at various times its presidents. In 1590 we find them established at Porcâda, enjoying the favour of the heathen Rajah, who allowed them to build churches, and make converts. The neighbouring Rajah of Kurnagapully, in 1581, not only gave them liberty to build a church, but also to cut wood in the adjacent forests dedicated to his idols, granting the Jesuits full power to exercise the church censure upon such of his subjects as submitted to baptism. Their first church was dedicated to St. Andrew, because finished on the festival of that Apostle.

of apostolic men, who went to carry the light of the faith amongst the idolatrous nations." Vol xiii., p. 94.

They soon obtained a footing at Quilon; three Roman Catholic congregations in that city were formed by them; and Dutch writers describe their monastery as adorned with a "stately chapel and steeple;" whilst along the sea shore they had built a great village for their converts of the fisher caste, "a mile in circuit, surrounded with an earthen wall well mounted with cannon." From thence down to Cape Camorin their sway was undisputed, and they thoroughly occupied the coast—sacred ground to them, from its having been the scene of F. Xavier's labours.¹

Their first churches were of the humblest description, being designated by the Portuguese as *Ramadas*, because constructed simply from the branches and leaves of palm trees—a simple cross, erected in their immediate vicinity, alone indicating the religious character of the building. These, however, were gradually superseded by those stone churches, whose whited walls are so conspicuous to all who visit the south-western coast of India. "You see the shore (writes Baldeus) all along, as far as Comyrn, and even beyond it to Tuticoryn, full of little churches, some of wood, others of stone." A century after this, Paoli tells us that "between Quilon and Cape Comorin there were altogether seventy-five congregations; some large, some small; some poor, some rich."

From their colleges and seminaries large numbers must, in the course of a few years, have been sent out to work for the Papacy. When Archbishop Menezes came to Malabar, he found Jesuit-trained candidates for the priesthood in such numbers that, in the course of a few weeks, by his ordinations at Cadatúrúttá and Udiamparúr, the Syrian clerical body was so increased, as to insure his having a majority in the contemplated Synod, should any adverse questions be mooted.

Besides this increase of indigenous clergy, there were large annual importations from Europe, to an extent little imagined by those who are uninformed as to the magnitude of Rome's efforts to gain power and influence in heathen lands. The Portuguese fleets were always well manned with chaplains and missionaries, when they came out to India; and very few of these men returned to their native land. Visscher, writing a hundred and thirty years ago, when they had passed their zenith, says: "Half the population of Goa consists of clergy, who are much more numerous than soldiers, and are not only sent from Europe in ships, each containing forty or fifty of various Orders, but are also ordained at Goa itself in great numbers; and as it is impossible for them all to obtain a livelihood there, they spread themselves throughout the whole country." When shall we see the Reformed Churches sending out their Missionaries in anything like similar numbers, to preach "the faith once delivered to the saints, in all simplicity and godly sincerity?"

¹ Mampully, to the south of Quilon, was where Xavier built his first chapel. When this had gone to decay a more substantial edifice was erected in 1568.

Many of the Franciscans and other Missionaries who first came to India could have been but little qualified to be teachers of others; for when Xavier wrote home for further assistance from Goa in 1542 he says: "The Governor (Martin de Souza) hopes that among those whose arrival we look for, there will be a preacher who may give some instruction to the priests in the Holy Scriptures, and explain the Sacraments to them; for the priests who come here are for the most part not overstocked with learning." The Jesuit fathers, being better taught, introduced a superior system of instruction: "In their way of teaching both the old and young ones," says Baldæus, "they did far exceed the Franciscans and all other Orders among the Romanists. And I am very free to confess that I have frequently followed their footsteps in reforming the churches and schools in Manaar and Jafnapatam, as far as they were consistent with our religion, and consonant to the genius of these nations."

What Xavier's plan of proceeding was we may gather from his own letters. He frequently preached in a settled station to the Portuguese residents at the morning mass; in the afternoon he instructed their children and slaves, together with converts from heathenism, expounding the principal points of Christian doctrine in order. On one week day he assembled their wives in the church and catechised them on the articles of faith, the practice of confession, and the Eucharist. Writing to Francis Mansilla from Manapar, in April, 1544, alluding to their mission work amongst the native fishermen, he says: "The following is the mode of procedure I should wish you to adopt during the progress through the villages in which you are now engaged. Whenever you come to any place, order all the men of the place to assemble on one day, and all the women on another. Teach both sexes those things which they are ignorant of to their great loss, and do not think it sufficient for them to repeat from memory in the congregation those prayers which, according to the use of the Church, all Christians have by heart, but take care that they repeat the same in their own house, especially in the morning and evening, and earnestly charge them accordingly. Baptize those who have not yet undergone that *saving ablution*, both adults and children." He seems to have made considerable use of two small manuals; one called *An Exposition of Christian Doctrine*; and the other *Christian Practice*—"to teach Christians how to pass the day." He ordered the former to be read to the women on Saturdays, and to the men on Sundays, at the assemblies just referred to in his letter to Mansilla. These books were translated into the Vernacular, and he directed them to be "written out in a fair hand, and exposed in some public place, where all might take copies."

From the first the Jesuits at Cochin gave attention to literature. Xavier ordered Francis Henriques to compose an exact Tamil Grammar, according to the method of the Greek and Latin Grammars. John Gonsalvez, a Spanish lay Jesuit, was the first to form

Malayalim type, which he accomplished at this place in 1577; and the first book published was on the Rudiments of the Catholic Faith—very probably the *Exposition of Christian Doctrine* used by Xavier. Similar books soon followed from the same press. The Protestant Missionary Sartorius in 1732 speaks of a catechist at Pulicat showing him the transcript of a Tamil book entitled *Christiano Wanakkam*, or Christian Worship, printed in 1597 at Cochin, in “the College of the Mother of God,” for the use of the Christians on the Pearl Fishery Coast; and adds that he had also seen at Tranquebar another book called *Doctrina Christam*, printed at the same college, and bearing the same date; the author being a Jesuit named Marcos Jorge; and the translater into Tamil another Jesuit, named Anrique Anriquez.

The first Tamil type is said to have been formed at Púnicaill in 1578, and the first work printed with it a book entitled *Flos Sanctorum*. Ignatius Aichamoni, a native Malabar, cut other Tamil characters in wood at Ambalakáda, not far from Angamále, where the Jesuits afterwards had a seminary; and with his wooden type printed a Portuguese and Tamil Vocabulary, composed by a Jesuit named Anthem de Proença.

Syriac works printed at Rome¹ were also introduced; Baldoens mentions a Syriac Dictionary published in 1622 by John Baptist Ferrarius; and a Syriac Grammar by George Ameira; whilst in 1628 Abraham Ecchelenensis “obliged the world” with his *Introduction to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith*. “I have seen (he adds) divers books, printed with the Portuguese characters, in the Malabar language, for the instruction of the Paruas (*Lime Burners and Fishermen*), one whereof I keep by me to this day; though at the same time I must confess, that in case we should follow the same method, in printing with our characters, though in their language, it would not have the same effect, they being much bigoted to the Roman clergy and the Portuguese language, so that I have met with some of the Paruas who spoke as good Portuguese as they do at Lisbon.”

But amidst their earnest and often praiseworthy labours in sending forth books into the world, we look in vain for the *Book of all books*! Bearing the name of Jesus, and professing to be in an especial manner preachers of the gospel to the heathen, they never so much as translated a *single complete portion* of Holy Scripture, for the spiritual sustenance and comfort of their numerous Christian congregations! What they failed to do in Malabar could also be charged upon them throughout their Indian Missions: “I never heard,” says Hough, addressing the Jesuit Dubois, “of a transla-

¹ Some of them were probably composed in Travancore. Paoli tells us that from the Jesuit Seminary at Cadaturutta, in 1610, an excellent Syro-Chaldaic Dictionary came forth; and adds that the MS. in folio was still preserved in 1779 in the chest of Máni Máttu (Emanuel Matthew), Cattanan of the Church of St. Thomas at Cadaturutta.

tion of the Scriptures into *any* of the Indian languages ; nor have I ever seen a New Testament in the possession even of one of their catechists, unless it were one that he had received privately from some Protestant Missionary, and which he kept carefully concealed from the priest."

This criminal neglect of the Word—this turning away from what God has said, to confine their attention to the mere products of man's intellectual powers—had the natural and merited result, *religious declension*, ending in formality and spiritual death, with all its evils. One of their earlier Generals, Borgia, observing how many of his Order were so taken up with literary pursuits as to leave little time to think of the spirit of their vocation, uttered words which events have shown to be almost prophetic: "If we look only to literature, and care only for the circumstances and endowments of the body, the time will come when the Company will see itself extensively occupied with literature, but utterly bereft of any desire of virtue. Then *ambition will flourish in the Company; pride will rise unbridled; and there will be no one to restrain and keep it down.*"

Whatever degree of spiritual life there may have been in Francis Xavier and some of the earnest-minded, self-denying men who first entered the field, the character of their teaching would not at all make up for the absence of printed copies of the life-giving Word. The natural result of their system was to lead people to trust in the outward and visible signs, rather than in the inward and spiritual grace signified thereby.

Many superficial writers and speakers among Protestants, who are fond of extolling Xavier—probably the most enlightened, and, in every way, the most excellent of the whole party—will be surprised, perhaps, to hear how he clung to the worst errors of the Papacy. Speaking of their voyage to India, Xavier says: "We kept well throughout, and occupied ourselves with attending to the sick. Paul and Mansilla looked after their bodies, while *I cared for their souls by absolving their sins, and constantly imparting the body of Christ to them.*" In another letter he backs the request of the Governor that the Pope would grant a "privileged altar" to the new Mission College at Goa, "so that a soul may be released from Purgatory whenever Mass is performed for the dead on it." "The Portuguese nation, I think," he adds, "surpasses all others that I have seen in the value it sets on *indulgences from Rome.* . . . I trust, therefore, that the Pope will be liberal in granting the requests of such obedient sons as these." In the concluding paragraph of a third letter are these words: "Let us employ, as *intercessors, the souls of the infants and children* who were baptized by my hand, and whom God called from this world to a celestial habitation before they lost their robe of innocence."

When we see the grossest corruptions of Popery thus countenanced, by their *model Missionary*, one can easily understand the character of the teaching in the Jesuit churches, colleges, and schools

in Malabar; and how that, when the plot was ripe for the subjugation of the ancient Syrian Church, nothing short of a complete assent to each and every error taught in the creed of Pius IV., and the Tridentine Catechism, was required of its clergy and laity. Hence it will appear that they had good reasons for withholding the Sacred Scriptures from the hands of the common people; and that their object was, not so much the spiritual conversion of the heart from the love of sin to the love of God, as the training of numerous proselytes in blind compliance with the ritual and discipline of Romanism.

The prime object of their ambition in Malabar was to put their feet upon the necks of those sturdy and determined heretics, the Christians of St. Thomas; and having accomplished this—though not without the aid of the greatest European Power in the East on the one side, and that of Native Heathen Princes on the other—their pride (according to Borgia's premonition) rose unbridled; and the Court of Rome, even, found it a very difficult matter to restrain them. It has often been illustrated, in the pages of history, that men who had conducted themselves with some degree of credit in a subordinate sphere, could not bear irresponsible power; and this appears in the history of the Jesuit Episcopacy in Malabar. Their rule of half a century was so imperious, overbearing, and eventually unsuccessful in its results, that their own writers have evidently felt that the less that was said about it would be the better for their Order.

What they did is therefore, to a considerable extent, involved in obscurity; for they have not so much as handed down to us any authorised chronological list of the Latin bishops who succeeded F. Roz in the Archiepiscopal See of Cranganore; as if they had felt it the safest and wisest plan to bury in complete oblivion their misconduct and gross mismanagement. We are indebted to other writers for any particulars that have survived—even for the fact that they were Jesuit bishops; and they seem to have come at them not without some difficulty, which is shown in a want of accuracy as to dates.

Raulini and others, for instance, assign too early a date to the death of the first prelate, F. Roz—stating that he died in 1617; but Paoli, who spent a long time in India, gives the exact copy of his epitaph, in North Parúr Church, from which it appears that he died on the 18th February, 1624. Jerome Xavier, his immediate successor, died within the year of his appointment at Goa, and never came into residence at Cranganore. Stephen de Britto, the next in order, is said to have held office for seventeen years; and F. Garzia, by some to have succeeded him in 1636, and by others in 1641, or 1644; but the first-named cannot be the true date, if what is said of De Britto be correct. Allowing, therefore, for the intervals between the death of one prelate and the appointment of another—during which there would be communications with the

Courts of Rome and Portugal—one of the latter is probably the right date, taking Paoli's statement as our starting point.¹

After all, however, these questions of chronology are not of any very great importance it being determined, without any contradictory statements worthy of notice, that the Jesuit episcopal rule began in 1600 with F. Roz, and ended (for a time at least) in 1659, when F. Garzia died at Cochin.

F. Roz, a Catalan by birth, is said to have been an accomplished Syriac scholar, and the leading part he took in the Synod of Udiamparúr evidently marked him out, in the judgment of Menezes, as the fittest person to enforce the decrees then made binding on the Syrian Church. That he did his best to compel conformity thereto, we have undoubted evidence; and also that he did not find the Syrians so compliant as he could have wished. Romish writers say that he governed well, notwithstanding the *persecutions* of the Syrian Archdeacon and his party, which is a manifest proof that a large body in the Syrian Church were never really reconciled to Rome; and this may have had something to do with his enclosing the church at Parúr, where he usually resided, with a lofty stone wall, thereby converting it into a small fortress. The college at Chennum, where he had been Professor of Syriac, being only about a mile or so by land from Parúr, he still had it in his power very materially to influence the course of studies pursued therein.

Jerome Xavier, a Spaniard of Navarre, who succeeded him, died, as already stated, within the year of his appointment, after reaching Goa. He was learned in Oriental tongues, having composed a Life of Christ, and also of St. Peter, in Persian, which La Cruz says were corrupted with apocryphal fables and fabrications of the scripture narratives, which prove him to have been a very degenerate successor of those Apostolic men, who provided for their weak converts from among the Gentiles, "the sincere milk of the Word," that they "might grow thereby." J. Xavier was a nephew of the famous Francis Xavier; and had been sent (about 1590) on a mission to Lahore, to the Court of the Emperor Akbar, who was supposed to have some leanings towards Christianity. Here he continued for several years after the death of Akbar in 1605. The two Persian works referred to are said to have been written for the Emperor's benefit, who, though an

¹ Raulini, however, professes to have found the date 1636 (given by himself for Garzia's appointment) supported by the registers at Rome. "Ex registis autem Urbis constat, quod Franciscus Garcia Mendez, Presbyter, Soc. Jesu, Episcopus Ascalonensis, et futurus successor Archiepiscopi Cranganorensis, confirmatus fuit a Sede Apostolica die 23 Junii anni 1636." As Garcia was De Britto's *coadjutor* before he became his successor, may not the 1636 refer to the confirmation of the ecclesiastical arrangements; and one of the more recent dates to his actually becoming Archbishop of Cranganore, after De Britto's decease?

admirer of the gospel narratives, was disgusted with the legends mixed up with Christian truth. As he did not live to reach Cranganore, no records of his episcopate survive.

Stephen de Britto, who came next in order, had been the inseparable companion of J. Xavier in the mission field. F. Barreto,¹ the Portuguese Jesuit, states that he governed the Syrian Church for seventeen years. The uneasiness of the Syrians now became increasingly apparent, and was particularly noticed by Philip de la Trinité, the General of the Carmelites, who visited India during 1636 and 1637. The enforced celibacy of the clergy, the introduction of images into their churches, and the attempts to supersede the Syriac language by the Latin in their religious services, were specially offensive to them; as also the pride, arrogance, and intolerance of the Jesuits towards all who would not conform to their injunctions. The Carmelite wrote of these things afterwards, and complains that the Jesuits exerted their power to prevent him from making known his impression of the state of affairs to the world.

An Italian traveller, who also visited India, after his return, prepared an account of his travels—in which he gave full details of the proceedings of the Jesuits in Malabar—with the intention of publishing his work at Venice, but the Jesuits, by their intrigues, succeeded in procuring its suppression. Conduct of this kind serves to illustrate that most true and solemn statement of our Lord: “Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprovèd.”

Francis Garzia, the fourth Archbishop of Cranganore, had been coadjutor with De Britto, under the title of Bishop of Ascalon. Raulini states that “he governed his diocese without any particular disturbance for nineteen years, when, at the instigation of the Enemy of peace, or because the Malabars were thoroughly weary of the Latin Bishops, and of the long duration of Garzia’s rule, wishing to shake off his uneasy yoke, they conspired against him, and declared Archdeacon Thomas bishop of their church.” This ecclesiastic was a native Syrian Christian, and also a near relation and successor of Archdeacon George, who took so prominent a part in the Synod of Udiamparúr. He generally resided at Eddapully (called by old writers Rapolino), six miles north-east of Cochin.

The news of this defection at length reaching Rome, Alexander VII., who was then Pope, convinced that the misrule of the Jesuits

¹ F. Barreto was afterwards Bishop of Cochin, from about 1657 to 1663. A work published by him at Rome in 1645—*Relatio Status Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ*—the writer has never been able to meet with in any library. Can it have met with the same fate as other books which throw light upon the Jesuit Missions of Malabar? Any information as to the existence of the book in England would be most acceptable. La Croze says it was published in Italian—did any Latin edition appear?

had brought it about, called to his assistance four barefooted Carmelites, who had had some experience in Eastern Missions, and despatched them to India. They reached Surat towards the close of 1636, but though armed with Papal Briefs, the Jesuits so strenuously opposed their entrance, that they would never have been able to find their way into Malabar, had it not been for the friendly aid of the Protestant Dutch, to whom they applied for assistance.

With these Carmelites a new element of discord was introduced; and though they came as peace-makers, in the interests of the Papacy, through the pride and self-will of the Jesuits, their efforts were, in various ways, frustrated; and from that time to the present day the Church of Rome in Malabar has been a house divided against itself, whatever its advocates may say about so-called "Catholic Unity."

What evidently brought matters to a crisis was one of the darkest deeds which can be laid to the charge of the Church of Rome in the history of its Missions in the East. The Syrians complain in one of their old synodical documents, that the Paulists (Jesuits) prevented them from having any communication with their Patriarch in Chaldea, and brought them into complete subjection to their own rule. At length the arrival of a Syrian Metropolitan was announced; and shortly after, to their great dismay, he was said to have been *drowned at sea*! Upon this their forefathers assembled at Muttancherry, and there took a solemn oath that neither they, nor their descendants, would have anything more to do with the Paulists; and afterwards met together at Allungáda Church, and duly nominated Archdeacon Thomas as their Metran.

In the "Brief History," furnished by the Syrians themselves, they tell us that this Metran (therein called *Mar Ignatius, a Patriarch*) came from Antioch, and landed at Mylapúr (or St. Thomé, near Madras) in 1633. Here he fell into the trap of the Portuguese, who detained him in captivity; and he might have remained there, altogether unknown to the Syrians of Malabar, had it not happened that two students, who visited St. Thomas's Mount on pilgrimage, got to hear of him, found means to see him, and to open communications with Malabar. It is also stated that he gave them letters patent to Archdeacon Thomas, authorising him to assume the title of Metran; and this is one of the reasons given for the proceedings at Allungáda above referred to. The Archdeacon receiving this intelligence roused his people, and they applied to the native Rajah of Cochin—having heard that Mar Ignatius had been brought round from Mylapúr, and was then held captive in a Portuguese vessel, anchored in the Cochin roads. The Rajah sent to the Portuguese Governor, saying: "You have taken and confined the Patriarch of our Christians; and nothing will satisfy me but your delivering him up to them, without any delay." The Portuguese, however, gave to the heathen prince a large sum

of money, in consideration of which he winked at the retention of their prisoner. "The same night they tied a great stone to the Patriarch's neck, and threw him into the sea!" "After this all the Syrians assembled in the church at Muttancherry, and thus resolved:—*These Portuguese having murdered Mar Ignatius, we will no longer join them. We renounce them, and do not want either their love or their favour. The present Francis (Garcia), Bishop, shall not be our Governor. We are not his children or followers. We will not again acknowledge Portuguese bishops.*" They all wrote an agreement, and took an oath to this effect.

The spot in Muttancherry where this took place is still pointed out by the Syrians; and one of their Metrans told the writer that the oath then taken was drawn up in the most impressive form, the word *satyam*, or truth, being thrice repeated by all who took it, at the foot of the cross, outside the church. The numbers being so great that all could not touch the cross, when they took the oath, long ropes were tied to the cross itself, and those at a distance held some part of the ropes as the medium of connection with one another, and the sacred symbol, in the sight of which they pledged themselves to united action in defence of their religious rights and liberties.

The Syrians certainly believed the report that he was *drowned* in the Cochin roads; and many probably believe so to the present day; in support of which, on a shrine erected to his memory in the Syrian church at Mavelicare, there was an ancient piece of wood carving depicting the scene. When the writer first visited that church in 1853, the present Metropolitan had recently had the shrine removed, on account of the superstitious practice of praying before it, which prevailed in the neighbourhood; but the Cattanars had preserved the picture-carving alluded to, by using it as the ornamental front of one of the church lecterns; and, though no longer used superstitiously, it served to keep the tradition ever fresh in the minds of the people, and led them to retain their faith therein.

The truth seems to be that Mar Ignatius (otherwise called *Theodorus*, or the corresponding Syriac name *Atalla*) arrived at Mylapúr, August 3rd, 1652, where he was taken prisoner by the Portuguese; and after some detention sent round by sea to Goa; the ship in which he sailed only touching at Cochin on its way. At Goa he was thrown into the Inquisition, where he was condemned as a heretic, and *committed to the flames* in 1654. The story of the drowning at sea, is supposed to have been an invention of the Jesuits to put such as were enquiring after the fate of the bishop, off the scent; and to transfer the odium from themselves to the Portuguese authorities; yet, in so secret a manner were all these transactions carried on, that, in what precise degree the Jesuits in Malabar were implicated in this deed of blood, the Great Day alone will declare.

On Friday, the 3rd of January, 1654, those who had bound

themselves by the solemn oath at Muttancherry Cross, assembled at Allungada Church, as already stated; and then and there appointed Archdeacon Thomas their Bishop, giving him the title of Mar Thomas. Four leading Cattanars were appointed to assist him in the Government of the diocese, viz.: Cadavil Alexander, of Kadamattam, Itti (or *Abraham*) Thomas of Kallúcherry, Vengúr George of Angamále, and Palavetie Alexander of Corolongáda; they were to hold the office of episcopal advisers for three years, when another set was to be chosen; and such continued to be the "*provisional government*" (if we may say so) of the protesting Syrians, until the Jesuits and Carmelites having fought their ecclesiastical battle, and the Dutch having destroyed the power of Portugal in Malabar, the Syrian Church was free to open communications with some of the chief bishops of Eastern Christendom, and obtain, through them, the usual episcopal succession for the orderly government of their church.

The various meetings at Eddapully, Allungáda, Muttan, and other places, together with the dissimulation and craft of the Jesuits to impede the Carmelites—described at full length by other writers—evidently proved that the Jesuits preferred that the Syrians should remain as they were, rather than that another religious Order should effect what they could not, and thus acquire what they had lost. These excited consultations resulted in the election of a Carmelite bishop, by the churches of the Syrians which had been won over by the efforts of the Carmelite Missionaries. The man of their choice, Joseph de Santa Maria by name, was consecrated at Rome, December 15th, 1659; and on his arrival in Malabar found Garzia, the Jesuit bishop, no more—he having died at Cochin some time before in the same year. Thus ended the undisputed rule of the Jesuit prelates over the Syrian Church of Malabar. It began in usurpation, and ended in strife and ignominy.

Though we are not allowed to take a view of the interior arrangements and mode of life which prevailed in their houses and colleges in Malabar, we can form some idea from the accounts given us by travellers who visited their establishments at Goa during this century. John Albert de Mendelslo was there in January, 1639; and he has left us a graphic account of his friendly intercourse with the Jesuit Fathers. On the 16th he visited their *Professed House* by invitation, in company with some others. This establishment then consisted of one hundred and fifty fathers, and as many students, who resided in a spacious building four stories high, and capable of holding more than the three hundred then in residence. In the hall, tables were set all along the walls, and furnished with trenchers, drinking cups, and earthen pots; whilst in the centre stood a square table, intended for such as were undergoing penance for some fault. They passed thence to another room, "a noble apartment richly furnished and adorned with

tapestry." Here they were entertained by the father Provincial, the meat being "served up in porcelain vessels, as well as the *disert* of tarts, florentines, marchpanes (*almond cakes*), and preserves." After dinner they were conducted into separate chambers to take their repose, "according to the custom of the country."

The *siesta* completed, amusements of various kinds followed; for they were shown into a spacious hall to be diverted with the dancing of "certain Indian children, bought, and brought up in the Roman Catholic religion." First, a band of fifteen entered and danced, during which they constructed a pillar festooned with flowers; presently, the upper part of this pillar opened, and forth came a tulip which expanded its petals till at last an image of the Virgin and child was exposed to view. The second entry consisted of "twelve young lads, each playing upon a peculiar instrument, and some Morris dancers." The closing scene of the performance was of a more sensational character still, exhibiting a party of boys, "dressed like apes, who imitated those creatures in their leapings and gestures to the life." They were told by these Missionary fathers, "that they used these enticements to *bring over the Pagans and Mahometans to the Church*, and to divert their disciples after their studies."¹

Two days after this, Mendelslo was invited to dine at the College of *Bom Jesus*, with its Jesuit inmates. He describes the halls of this building as adorned with the portraits of many Princes and Persons of quality connected with their Society; whilst other pictures illustrated the history of their Martyrs, amongst whom were found those of their fraternity who had been concerned in the Gunpowder Plot in England of 1605. The church connected with this College, "for its greatness and sumptuousness, might challenge the preference before any other of their churches in Asia."

¹ Even the most sacred ordinances were nothing more than *divertissements* at times, as administered by some of the Religious Orders, in India, judging from Dellon's account of an Easter Sunday Sermon which he heard at Trapour, ten leagues from Damaun. "The priest having come into the pulpit, and having made the sign of the cross: 'Gentlemen (said he), you cannot be ignorant that for three particular reasons we always have a sermon on Easter Sunday. The first is to wish a merry feast to the congregation; the second, to put you in mind of my Easter eggs; and the third, to tell you a merry tale to make you laugh. Not to recede from my former custom and to give you all due satisfaction, as to the first, I wish you all merry Easter holidays. As to the second, I can assure you, that if you will be pleased to send me some Easter eggs I will not refuse them. And as to what concerns the third, I will only tell you that I met yesterday our corpulent Gregory, and what do you think I said to him? I asked him whether he would always act the person of Pilate in the Passion of our Saviour.' With this he left the pulpit, without as much as imparting the benediction to his auditors, who laughed out aloud that you might have heard them at a considerable distance."—Extracts from *Dellon's Voyage*, London 1698, p. 189.

The high altar was most magnificent, whilst that dedicated to Francis Xavier exceeded it in grandeur. The body of Xavier was to be seen preserved in this church, "as entire as it was the first minute after his death." In walking from the church to the Refectory, the Jesuit guides entertained their guests with an account of Xavier's miracles—how he raised the dead, commanded the sea and winds, as well as the sun, which he brought back an hour after sunset! The Dining Hall had tables set for 200 persons. The Canary was excellent; and the reverend fathers were not backward in making the cup go round, when they found it was approved. He also visited the great Hospital at Goa, which the Jesuits had under their management. Mendelslo speaks of it as a very large and noble structure, capable of accommodating 1000 patients. Each bed he observed was marked with a particular number. The kitchen and the room for dispensing medicines were well worthy of a visit. The principal diseases which brought people there were dysentery and small-pox. When a patient was considered past recovery, he was placed in a separate room, with none to attend him but a Jesuit priest, in order that others might not be disturbed by his dying groans.

About 1661, when Lewis Mendoza de Albuquerque was Governor of Goa, another traveller, Dr. John Fryer, visited the place, and has left us an account of what he saw and heard, in this "*Rome in India*, both for absoluteness and fabricks; the chiefest consisting of churches, and convents, and Religious Houses." He speaks of the Jesuits being unwilling to bend to the authority of the Archbishop, "having a Provost of their own, going in as great state as the Archbishop; he appears abroad in a sedan, and has eight clericos on foot, bareheaded, walking on each side, beside other attendance." "The Paulistines (*Jesuits*) enjoy the biggest of all the monasteries at St. Roch; in it is a library, an hospital, and an apothecary's shop well furnished with medicines, where Gaspar Antonio, a Florentine, a lay brother of the Order, the author of the Goa Stones, brings them in 50,000 *Seraphins* by that invention annually; he is an old man, and almost blind, being of great esteem for his long practice in physic." He describes the Monastery as "built like a cross," and shewing "like a Seraglio on the water." The Jesuits, he adds, are "clad in black gowns with a collar and rings, with high round caps flat at top, shoes, but no stockings, as few indeed, either clergy or laity, have here." On paying a visit to the Governor, he observed "men in gowns like our Aldermen," "going to attend the Viceroy to his devotion at the Church of Misericord, where was to be presented a *pious comedy*;" but Fryer, disgusted with what he witnessed in the church, was glad to leave before it was concluded, and return to his lodgings.

Towards the close of this century the Jesuits were less numerous in Goa, as well as in Malabar; but they had still great wealth and influence; and, if not sincerely respected, they

were so far feared from their great influence as to command the polite attentions even of those in high position. Dr. J. F. G. Careri was there in 1695, and the spacious College of St. Paul was then all but deserted, he informs us; they had left it, "on account of the ill air, and because it was out of the city;" and only two fathers then resided there, though the magnificent dormitories" were still standing. In the garden two Jack, and some Mango trees, caused to be planted by F. Xavier, were pointed out to him; and also a chapel built to the memory of an ecstasy which the saint had in that place.¹ The College of *Bom Jesus* was then the Professed House, whilst their Novitiate was on the island of Choras, which is at the mouth of the harbour, and enjoys the fresh sea air in perfection. Eight Jesuits bound for China had taken their passage on board Careri's ship, "the Holy Rosary," and ten were leaving Goa in another vessel; and he adds: "the fathers of the Society are in such esteem and reputation in India, that at night the Vicéroy came to visit those that were aboard the two ships, and stayed till midnight in these two visits."

Though the College of St. Paul was all but deserted from its "ill air," and after that, from a similar cause, St. Roc, on Mount Rosary—which shewed "like a Seraglio on the water"—the Jesuits still kept up their establishments in more healthy localities, and lacked not anything, so far as temporalities were concerned. Dellon, the Frenchman who was confined in the Inquisition at Goa—speaking of their condition, about the same time as Careri—says: "They have three fine churches, in one of which the corpse of St. Francis Xavier is deposited; besides which they have three most magnificent houses, each of them being fit for the reception of a King, with abundance of the best lands round the city, from whence they draw a vast yearly revenue. All their churches are very finely built, but the Hospital exceeds the rest."

Where the Jesuits got their money from to support such vast establishments may well be a wonder to many readers. There can be little doubt, however, that in India, as in many other countries, these so-called Missionary communities soon became, to a large extent, *Ecclesiastical Trading Companies*. The Jesuit compilers of the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Udiamparúr had forbidden "persons that are particularly dedicated to Almighty God, and the divine worship, . . . to entangle themselves in secular affairs" (Act VII. Decree 13); but their own practice, in course of time, differed widely from the spirit of this precept enjoined on the Syrian

¹ Bohours, in his life of Xavier, tells us that he used to walk for meditation in the Garden of St. Paul's College, often retiring into a little hermitage, where he used to be overheard crying out: "'Tis enough, O Lord! 'tis enough!"—opening his cassock to give vent to the flames that burnt within his breast. Those who have lived long in such a climate as that of Goa, will feel that there were natural causes at work sufficiently powerful to induce the opening of the cassock, without bringing the *super-natural* into the story.

priests.¹ "The policy as well as the *trade* of Goa is mostly devolved from private persons on the Paulistines," says Fryer. "It is reported for a certain truth (Careri tells us) that they have more *revenues* in India than the King of Portugal." A century later, Visscher writes home about Goa and its neighbourhood : "It would be considered a disgrace by the Portuguese Fidalgos to follow any trade, but the Jesuits look on such employments as honourable, and they are, in fact, the *chief traders* of these parts."

What they did in Goa they did, to some extent, in Malabar since the Dutch Cochin records of 1743 show that the Jesuits had the monopoly of the trade in pepper, cardamums, and wax throughout the little native state stretching from Cranganore harbour to the Western Ghauts, in which their Archbishop resided. Even then, in their very reduced circumstances, with their liberty of action so seriously curtailed by the Dutch, they were considered more than a match for other Religious Orders ; since, speaking of the Carmelite Missionaries at Verapoli, Visscher observes : "There is no likelihood of their making many adherents, for their poverty causes them to be held in small esteem by the native princes ; whilst the Jesuits, on the contrary, are rich, and astute in all their proceedings, and have consequently acquired great influence over that venal race."

We have seen one of Borgia's predictions fulfilled, and that in consequence of the forgetting the avowed *spirit of their vocation* ; we have seen *ambition flourishing, pride rising unbridled, and none to restrain and keep it down*. On another occasion the same eminent Jesuit is said to have exclaimed : "We have entered as *lambs* ; we shall reign like *wolves* ; *we shall be driven out like dogs* ; we shall be renewed as eagles." In the history of their proceedings in Malabar we have seen them act the part, first of the *lamb*, and then of the *wolf*, in their bearing towards the Syrian Church. It remains that we should see them driven out like *dogs*, in the chapter that follows.

¹ Geddes, in a note on this Decree, observes : "There are several custom-houses, where you shall seldom fail to find Jesuits dispatching sugar, tobacco, and other goods : the Archbishop (Menezes), who within five years was made the supreme Governor of the Indies, could not but execute this decree with a very good grace."—(p. 303.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE DECLINE OF THE JESUITS.

The Portuguese had introduced the Jesuits into India, had liberally supported them in their various undertakings, and not unfrequently been the allies who turned the scale when, in a long contest, victory seemed to be somewhat uncertain; and now, with that stroke upon stroke which brought down the power of Portugal the Jesuit rule also received its death wound in Malabar.

In December, 1661, the Dutch succeeded in taking Quilon from the Portuguese. The place was greatly reduced in size, so that only the ancient Church of St. Thomas, and such buildings as came within the narrow limits of the Dutch Fort escaped demolition. Their troops, to strike terror into the inhabitants, desolated the country round, "whole woods being in flames, the bamboo canes making a most terrific noise, and burning like brimstone." Scarcely were they masters of this settlement, when a terrible storm arose, which caused great anxiety to the conquerors, for some of their ships, having broken their cables, got amongst the rocks. It passed off, at last, without any serious losses; and, in acknowledgment of God's good providence, a thanksgiving service was held in one of the churches, when a sermon was preached by Baldœus, their chief military chaplain, on Ps. lvi.12.

From Quilon the Dutch squadron sailed northwards for Cranganore, passing Cochin at dawn on New Years' Day, 1662, so near the shore (Nieuhoff tells us) that they could hear the sentinels speak, and take a good survey of the fine ships lying in the roads, the foremost of which had English colours. The Dutch made their grand attack on January 15th, very early in the morning, their forces advancing without detection amid the dense smoke caused by their great guns, till they scaled the ramparts, sword in hand, driving the Portuguese into the great church or cathedral which belonged to the Jesuits. The Dutch soon took measures to reduce this place likewise; for "after the city was plundered," says Nieuhoff, "it was laid level with the ground, except one stone tower, which, standing upon the river, was preserved entire, and a garrison put into it for the security of the river." Thus the seat of the Jesuit's archiepiscopal power was brought to utter desolation.

Exactly twelve months afterwards, in January, 1663, Cochin also was taken by the Dutch. The Portuguese Governor, Ignatio Sermento, refused the proposal of the Dutch—that they should be left in possession of all their churches except one, provided they

received a Dutch garrison. The Dutch, therefore, felt bound to use the most stringent measures as soon as the place fell into their hands. By the conditions of surrender, however, ultimately agreed to, the Franciscans were to be allowed to enjoy the free exercise of their religion under Dutch protection; the clergy in general were to have full liberty to carry away all their images, church ornaments, relics, and whatever else belonged to them; and the Governor and his family, together with all the officers, were to be civilly received by the victors. The keys of the city being delivered to the Dutch General in command, he entered the gates on horseback in great pomp, and ordered a thanksgiving to be offered to God in the great church belonging to the Jesuits. This church the Dutch continued to use for some little time; but, when the Fort was reduced in size, the spacious edifice with its lofty steeple was demolished, as were all the other ecclesiastical buildings which were outside the ramparts erected by the Dutch; whilst the church of the Franciscans—which stood in the centre of their new fort—was spared, ultimately became the Dutch Protestant Church, and is now used by the English as the Government Church of the place.¹

An edict of banishment was soon published, by which no European ecclesiastic of the Romish faith was allowed to remain in any of the Dutch possessions in Malabar. The Jesuits removed northwards, and crossed the boundary line of the territory of the Cochin Rajah, who was a close ally to the Dutch, and entered the adjoining dominions of the Samorin, who by conquest and annexation had then extended his rule to the immediate precincts of Cranganore. Vaipicotta College was necessarily deserted, and they made Ambalakada the headquarters of their educational efforts, which they continued to carry on till 1773. The Dutch East India Company had found it necessary, in self-defence, and for the maintenance of their own power, to use severe measures, since they had not unfrequently sustained considerable losses from the intrigues of Romish ecclesiastics, who, in their blind zeal, as a matter of religious duty, sought the subversion of the Dutch influence in the East.

¹ The Franciscan friars, notwithstanding the leniency of the Dutch, seem to have taken flight very soon. Their convent was designed for forty brethren; but Baldæus, writing after the Dutch had reduced the size of the Fort, says this monastery was the only one left, and only *two* brothers resided in it. Sieur de Rennefort, visiting Cochin in the early part of the Dutch rule, says but *one* was left, and the rest had gone to Goa.

The writer ministered in this self-same church for upwards of eight years and a-half. Its floor is thickly set with old Portuguese and Dutch tombstones bearing inscriptions, and not unfrequently elaborate coats of arms. Some of the Portuguese date as far back as 1546. One bearing this date, marking the sepulchre of Dioguo Dias, is in black letters. Vasco de Gama's remains rested in this church till removed to Portugal.

The Jesuits had been most active in destroying the books and other literary treasures of the Syrians, in the fires at Udiamparúr, Angamále, and other ancient churches; and now, *as* they had done, so it was done unto them. Van Goens, the Dutch commandant, imitated the Vandal or the Goth when he came to deal with the Monastery of St. Paul at Cochin. "You must know," writes Tavernier, "that at the taking of Cochin the Jesuits had in that city one of the fairest libraries in all Asia, as well as for the great quantity of books sent them out of Europe, as for several rare manuscripts in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Persian, Indian, Chinese, and other oriental languages. For in all the conquests of the *Portugals*, their first care was to summon all the learned people of the several nations, and to get all their books into their hands. During the little time the Jesuits were in Ethiopia, they had copied out all the good books that came to their knowledge, and sent all those books to Cochin. . . . But to tell ye what became of this library: General Von Goens made no conscience to expose it to the ignorance of his soldiers, so that I have seen the soldiers and seamen tear several of those beautiful volumes to light their tobacco." The "stately library"—described by Baldœus as connected with their college at Cranganore—was also utterly destroyed, when the whole "city was plundered," and "laid level with the ground;" and thus the literary accumulations of more than a century were given over to wasting and destruction!

It is a painful fact, but we are certified thereof by the highest Romish authorities, that at this time even the Mission Colleges of the Church of Rome had most seriously deteriorated in their character. Urban Cerri, Secretary of the College for the Propagation of the Faith at Rome, in his published account of the state of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the world—which he drew up for the information of Pope Innocent XI. about 1676—makes sad disclosures as to the corruption and inefficiency prevalent in these institutions. After giving a long list of such colleges, he adds: "I shall only say in general, that the Holy See is at prodigious charges for the education of novices in many of them; and if the end, for which they were founded by the Popes, was but partially obtained, it would certainly be the best way to instruct missionaries, and to settle missions all over the world. But the Superiors neglect to put in execution the will of the founders; the administrators alienate legacies to their own use; and such is the respect of persons, that those abuses, instead of being redressed, increase every day. There is no hope of preventing them; and these colleges, *especially those that are governed by Jesuits, will never afford any person well qualified to be a missionary.*" After this statement of the Propaganda Secretary, as to the condition of the Jesuit Colleges, one is not surprised to find Baldœus lamenting over the spiritual state of the flock in Malabar which looked up to them as their chief shepherds. "I cannot sufficiently commiserate," he says, "the condition of the

inhabitants of the countries about Cranganore and Cochin, who, being guided by the ignorant Romish Priests, are in great danger of falling by degrees into Paganism again.

A strange fatality seems also to have attended their educational establishments in these parts. We have just spoken of the utter desolation which befel Cranganore. In walking over its site now-a-days you cannot trace where a single church, or any other large conventual or collegiate building could have stood; heaps of masonry hidden by thorny shrubs and creepers, and here and there traces of foundations cropping out of the sandy soil, together with some fragments of the old Dutch Fort, are all that remain to tell you it was once a large European settlement! You may find some few trees and shrubs, which are usually cultivated in gardens still growing amid the tangled thicket, such as the guava and custard apple trees; whilst the Barbadoes Flowerfence (*Poinciana pulcherrima*), known in Malabar as the Peacock Flower, brightens up the wilderness with its elegant bunches of crimson and yellow blossoms. These lingerers seem to say: "Civilised man, who had a taste for the useful and the beautiful, once dwelt here; but none are any longer found to dress and keep the garden grounds in which he once took so much delight."

The College of Vaipicotta at Chennum, about three miles south-east of Cranganore, has similarly passed away. The old Syrian Church alone stands, which, like many others, was set on fire by Tippoo's invading force in 1790; but has since been restored.

Though the Jesuits are said to have retreated to Ambalakada, another of their stations, their college and church was about a quarter of a league from this place, and became known by the name of Sumpálur¹ among the natives. The buildings at this place survived the suppression of their Order in 1773 only to be destroyed during the invasion of Tippoo's troops, and not a vestige of the Jesuits' house, it is said, any longer exists. Paoli says they also had a convent and seminary at Puttencherry, then a populous town, but in his time all was falling into ruins.

When at Kalparumba in 1860, the writer was making enquiries into the history of the different Syrian settlements in this neigh-

¹ *Sumpálur* is the equivalent of *St. Paul's town*, so called because *Paulists* or Jesuits resided there. It seems to have been a city of refuge to them at a subsequent period. Their brethren fled thither, Du Perron says, when the Mahrattas captured Bacin (*Bassein*), bringing with them such valuables as they still possessed. This must have been about 1765. From this Institution they sent Missionaries (we are further told) to Madura, Mysore, and the Carnatic. Previous to this accession, in the time of Bi ho Limira, this College only contained a few infirm Missionaries.

The Jesuits had an establishment at Bassein; and Careri describes the interior of their church as richly gilt, their dormitory and cloister as the best in the city, whilst in their gardens he was specially attracted by the sight of some European fruits, amongst which he names figs and grapes, which came to maturity twice a year, viz., in December and March.

bourhood, he asked for another Jesuit seminary, named Pokotta. The senior priest of the place, a Romo-Syrian Malpan—who behaved with great courtesy—informed him that the extreme end of their village was known by the name of Pokotta, but no vestige of the Jesuit house or chapel existed; and all he could glean from the Malpan, by way of throwing light upon the subject, was that formerly a Metran lived there, whose name he *thought* was Salvador. He spoke of the Sumpálúr Seminary being an offshoot of Vaipicotta, and Pokotta an offshoot of Sumpálúr.

In the immediate vicinity of Cranganore there seems to be at this time a great dearth of Christian population, judging from the absence of churches; for after passing the site of this former centre of ecclesiastical influence, in travelling northwards by Backwater, you have to sail some five or six miles before you reach a Romish church, which is at a place called Muddalukum: and here a few poor descendants of the Portuguese, who still linger amongst the natives, point out to you the sites of houses, and churches or chapels, which once adorned the neighbourhood when their forefathers were supreme in Malabar.

But though what cannot but be regarded as an *ominous fatality* has attended their numerous and costly institutions in this part of India—a fatality which prompts the questions of Holy Writ, “Why hath the Lord done thus unto this land, and to *this house*?” or “Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto *this great city*?” (1 Kings, xi. 8; Jeremiah, xxii. 8) we should fall into a grievous mistake were we to infer from hence that they laboured in vain, and have left behind them no mementos of their work. A complete failure, undoubtedly, these Jesuit Missions have proved when we contemplate the great end of Christian Missions¹—“to open men’s eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.” But when, on the other hand, we bear in mind that one of the chief objects of Jesuitism was to come to the rescue of the tottering power of the *Papacy*, to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of *Rome’s* tabernacle, and thus to make up, in some degree, for the losses sustained in consequence of the Reformation movement in Europe, by *ecclesiastical* conquests in distant parts of the world—we cannot say that their work has been, by any means, a complete failure in India—at least it has not been so in Malabar.

If we confine our attention to the sphere of their operations specially under consideration, we shall find that where the Jesuits laboured most and longest, there also, to this day, the most bigoted adherents of the Romish system are to be found; and consequently the most impenetrable barriers against the admission of the pure Word of God, and the simple preaching of “the faith once delivered to the saints.” The long line of churches dotting the Malabar

¹ Such too is Bishop Cotton’s testimony, judging from the moral and spiritual fruits of Romish mission efforts. See his *Life*.

coast from Porcáda to Cape Comorin, and the numerous Romo-Syrian churches in the regions round about Cochin and Cadatúrúttá; and, last of all, the Romo-Syrian churches in that part of the Samorin's territory where they last held sway, testify to the fact that the Jesuits "compassed sea and land" to make their proselytes, and left them more opposed to the simple Gospel of Christ than the very heathen among whom they dwell!

With reference to the last-mentioned group of churches, we find fourteen are given in Du Perron's List of 1758, of which five are said to be of the Latin rite, which does not, necessarily, put them out of the category of Syrian communities, since one of the charges against the Jesuits was that they endeavoured to force the Latin Ritual upon the Christians of St. Thomas; and hence in some of the last named churches there was probably a considerable Syrian element, though—as at their own church at Ambalakáda—they had succeeded in establishing and maintaining a Latin service. In only one of these churches was any remnant of the old independent Syrian community left, and that was Kúnnankúllam; and here, too, they had acquired a hold, since the Church is said, in 1758, to be a *Mixed Church*, or one in which the Syrians and Syro-Romans both worshipped. This small remnant has largely increased since then, but in the whole of this district—if you except Kúnnankúllam and its daughter churches of more recent origin—you will not meet with a single Syrian church or chapel which is not still subject to the Romish bishops.

Of these fourteen old churches, the only one known to have been in existence prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498 is that of Pálúr—regarded by the Syrians as one of the seven churches established by St. Thomas himself. Hence we must look upon Pálúr with the once existing churches at Cranganore as the mother church of this district of country. The ancient Syrian Churches of North Parúr, Chennum, Allungáda, and Angamále lie on its confines, and doubtless contributed their quota to the various Syrian communities afterwards formed. The increase of Mahometan influence at Calicut had caused the native Christians to leave that place and migrate southwards, where they reinforced many of these older Syrian settlements, if they did not, in some cases, form new ones. Mission Chapels or Churches, Schools or Colleges, founded by the Jesuits and other Romish ecclesiastics, would necessarily become other centres round which a Syro-Roman population would settle, to which additions would be made by occasional accessions from the more respectable Hindoo castes. Thus may we account for the foundation of these fourteen churches, and many others since erected in this district, which now belongs chiefly to the Rajah of Cochin.

If we except Kúnnankúllam and Trichúr—which will call for separate notice—most of these churches lie off the beaten track of ordinary travellers, and have seldom been visited even by those who have gone to Travancore with the avowed object of seeing

something of the Syrian Christians. They are not, however, less interesting or worthy of research and inquiry than others.

The work at Ambalakáda must have been begun by the Jesuits; and therefore, in Du Perron's List of 1758, the churches are said to belong to the Roman or Latin rite, and to consist of the parish church dedicated to St. Thomas—the church belonging to the Jesuits (probably connected with the Seminary)—and an Oratory dedicated to St. Mary *des Neiges* at Perperamgadil. Raulini, after mentioning Ambalakáda as a Syrian Church belonging to the Jesuits, specifies two others—*Corulligia* and *Quejecca*, as being in the immediate neighbourhood, and they may have been names by which the other Ambalakáda churches were sometimes called. The last Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganore, Antonio Pimentel, of Spanish descent, appointed by the Pope in 1721, resided at this place.

Among such a busy plotting fraternity as the Jesuits, Ambalakáda must have been originally regarded as one of their country houses, where they could find rest and recreation, when not directly employed in the instruction of the Romo-Syrian candidates for the priesthood. Such a place would afford to men living much on the sea coast, at most seasons a healthy and invigorating change.

At Korúttee, and Shálakúdee, old Syrian Churches at no great distance from Ambalakáda, there are considerable Romish congregations. In Shalakúdee Church, amongst many other pictures and symbols, there is a representation of the Trinity in Unity under the figure of a triangle, in the centre of which is an eye surrounded by a halo. The idea is *said* to have originated in a Jewish legend that Moses, when on Mount Sinai, was only favoured with the vision of one of the eyes of the Invisible Jehovah.

Puttencherry, which lies to the west, is not so important a town as it once was; but Romanism there reigns without a rival; and its adherents have still a large church—built probably by the Jesuits, though their Seminary no longer exists. The native guide told the writer that a Metran formerly lived there—because some Jesuit Archbishops had made it their residence.¹ The Church was, in 1860, served by six priests. One priest and fifteen families were then in disgrace, and lying under the anathema of the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoli, in consequence of some alleged defaults in the church accounts.

Waliyanáda, another old Syrian Church in the same neighbourhood, though now having but a poor and scattered population connected with it, still has the appearance of having seen better days. It stands on a broad terrace formed with much labour on the side of a hill, and to reach it one has to descend a considerable flight of stone steps. From the platform on which it stands a further succession of similar steps takes you into the valley covered with rice fields over which it hangs. The young priest in charge

¹ Antoine Pimental, who died 1750, occasionally lived there, and so did his successor, John Luis, who died 1755.

at this place was barely civil. In his countenance and manner could be seen a combination of pride, arrogance, and ignorance, very seldom displayed by genuine Syrian Cattanars, in their intercourse with European strangers; but too frequently found in the Romo-Syrian, and other Roman Catholic rural clergy fresh from the Seminaries. A visitor priest, who had just arrived from a journey, was busily employed in washing the dust from his feet by pouring water on them from the spout of an *English* tea kettle; but when the writer and his companion entered the church he followed and with an affectation of devotion was soon on his knees, apparently absorbed in prayer, at one of the altars. One corner of his eye, however, seems to have been occupied in watching the movements of the strangers, for, upon their somewhat suddenly quitting the church, as the evening was rapidly closing in, he was out after them in an instant, craving for *news*—news especially that affected the Romish Church and its interests in Malabar—whether a new Archbishop had been appointed to Goa in particular, through whose means he evidently hoped to see the office of Vicar Apostolic, in due time, superseded by a restoration of the Archbishopric of Cranganore.

At Kalparamba, no great distance from Waliyanáda, a Romo-Syrian priest was met with of a very different character, and the fact is gladly recorded. He was the senior Cattanar of the Church, and being a Malpan had some learning of a certain kind; but what was more to be appreciated he manifested a Christian courtesy of manner, giving much interesting information about the Romo-Syrians of his neighbourhood, offering the writer a chair, which was brought out of his house, and causing the best of his stores then ready at hand (*viz.*, cocoa-nut-milk, and brown sugar) to be brought out for his refreshment. When busily occupied in taking a sketch of his church—which had the most singular buttresses ever devised by architect to add strength to the west front—the old man employed his time by catechizing an attendant, as to his master's history and belongings; and, having formed a somewhat favorable estimate, further asked him if the *Sahib* required *brandy*, or any thing of *that* kind, having an impression that Englishmen in India could not get on without such powerful stimulants. He had been in charge of a Seminary, but the young men who had been under his instruction had, within the last few months, removed to Oellúr, in the vicinity of Trichúr, where there is now a much larger Seminary.

At Mapranum, a few miles further north, there is another Seminary, and from these two establishments most of the churches in the district are now supplied. The church at Mapranum, dedicated to St. John of the Cross, was, however, built by one of the Carmelite bishops—John Baptist of St. Theresa, titular bishop of Limirensis (sometimes called Bishop Limira), who was created Vicar Apostolic of Malabar in 1714, and died at Verapoli in 1750, after an unusually long tenure of office. The Jesuit party seem to

have been very jealous of his influence, the Bishop of Cochin writing to the Propaganda Fidei College accused him as a Violator of Laws ; but Paoli, whose sympathies were by no means with the Jesuits, tells us that he endured with a brave spirit all the annoyances and persecutions with which D. Pimentel (Archbishop of Cranganore) and D. Francis de Vasconcellos (Bishop of Cochin) tormented him ; leading to the supposition that the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic was, after all, the aggrieved party.

Oellúr, about three miles south of Trichúr, has a very large church, and Mortuary Chapel, enclosed within massive walls, which would formerly have stood a siege. The entrance into this ecclesiastical *close* is through an imposing gateway approached by a broad flight of steps. When there with a friend, one evening in November, 1863, the writer observed what he had read in old authors of the complete external order into which the old Jesuit Missionaries drilled their flocks in heathen lands. The sun had just sunk beneath the western horizon, and one of the priests had already commenced the vesper service in the chapel ; and you could see, through a grated door, a small congregation reverently joining with him on their knees. But what made a deeper impression was the appearance of devotion assumed by the whole village at the same time ; for, as you walked through the wide and neatly kept main street, the place seemed almost deserted—scarcely a single man, woman, or child was to be found abroad, though it was the pleasantest time of the day. Each household, it was soon discovered, was engaged in their evening prayers ; some with their doors open, so that by the aid of the fresh lighted lamp you could discern their kneeling forms ; others with the doors shut, but their voices could be heard engaged in the like occupation. They seemed to be a family of obedient children—in this matter at least ; and it was greatly to be deplored that their spiritual guides had not taught them the word of truth, and directed them to the exercise of faith in the One Mediator, instead of in Mary and the Saints. The presence of white strangers in their village—of which their dogs were fully conscious, and gave due notice—did not, apparently, lead any one of their number to cut short his devotions, at the prompting of that inquisitive spirit which has such strong hold of the ordinary natives of Malabar when an Englishman appears in their neighbourhood.

There is now a large Syro-Roman congregation at Trichúr itself—a renowned seat of Brahminical learning ; and also, since 1841, a station of the Church Missionary Society. The Vicar of the church, and some of the old people of the place, stated that their community originally came from a place called Parúr, a few miles to the south ; but that the church at Aranátakáre, in the western suburbs of Trichúr, on the shore of the Backwater, was far more ancient. The Trichúr Church is well built, and of larger dimensions than the older structure, which speaks for the well-to-do condition of the people ; since ample funds must have been expended on its massive walls which are so constructed, that even in such a

climate as that of Western India they may last for many centuries.

As the interior decorations of this church at Trichúr were among the most respectable to be seen among the Syro-Romans, it will be well to enter a little into details, in order to show how the Romanists in a heathen land endeavour to make their sanctuaries attractive to their proselytes. The three altars of the interior were the chief centres of attraction. These were very large, and had a succession of super-altars, like a flight of steps, in their rear; the front of each super-altar being covered with bright crimson tinsel, over which were laid broad scrolls of gold or silver paper, in the form of a handsome open work pattern, through which the crimson ground brightly glistened. The higher steps or ledges were crowded with candlesticks bearing long wax tapers, and on festive occasions the glare and glitter they create must prove quite as attractive to the simple country people of India, as the best got-up Christmas trees are to our children in Europe. Pictures, and images in gaudy colours, were the other chief ornaments of the building; one of the latter, a showy looking French china image of the Virgin and Child, resplendent with gilding—which could have cost a very few francs in Paris—was exhibited as a specially admired object; it had been recently presented to the congregation by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Pondicherry. The Vicar, who was very civil and friendly, after inviting his visitors to his private room, showed them a rudely executed picture, representing the corpse of Francis Xavier, as seen in its last “exposition” of 1860, in the Church of Bom Jesus at Goa.

Chetwye and Enemaika, placed by Du Perron among the *Latin* churches, are both in the neighbourhood of Chowghát; whilst Cottapaddy and Mattatil, designated as *Syro-Roman*, are a little further north, but all within an easy distance of Palúr, which must be regarded as the ancient mother church of this neighbourhood, though now eclipsed by her more wealthy daughters. There is a numerous and opulent Roman and Syro-Roman population in all these parts, growing in numbers and wealth under the protection of British influence, or of British *rule*, for some of them are under the jurisdiction of the Collector of Malabar.

The *one Syrian centre*, in the northern part of the old diocese of Malankára, where the Jesuits last exercised episcopal sway, remains to be noticed. In the north-west corner of this district, a few miles north of Chowghát, there is, at this present time, an interesting group of Syrian churches, at or within an easy distance of the large Christian town of Kúnnankúllam. They are all united closely together, as they need be, for they are isolated, by many long intervening miles, from the other churches of their party.

The mother church of this group is Arth, or, as more commonly called, Arthátta Church, which, standing on a hill with its priests' houses and other ecclesiastical buildings about it, presents a picturesque appearance in the beautiful landscape which surrounds

it on all sides. This edifice was one of the few Syrian churches which suffered in Tippoo's invasion of Malabar—his troopers having set fire to it, so that its roof and all the woodwork was destroyed. When first visited, in 1853, it had been very nicely restored in all its parts, and was cleaner, and in every respect better ordered than most Syrian churches. Everything about it seemed good of its kind, and yet chaste and simple, whilst the walls were not disfigured by a single superstitious painting or fresco—the usual small wooden crosses and simple wooden candlesticks being the sole ornaments of the chancel or altars.

The ecclesiastical arrangements at Artháttá approach nearer to that of a cathedral in early times; or perhaps they may rather be thought to resemble those which prevailed amongst the priests and Levites at Jerusalem. A corporate body of twelve or more Cattanars divide the religious services amongst themselves—two only being “in residence” at a time, and that for the limited period of one month; the remaining ten being distributed amongst the affiliated churches, where regular services were performed for their respective parishioners.

These arrangements were then under the direction and control of a rich and influential *layman* named Eapen, subject, however, to the approval of the Metropolitan; whilst ten other laymen of good repute were appointed to co-operate with the clergy in church work, especially in caring for the poor. Under the west wall of the churchyard there was a long cloister, and in it usually stood a small wooden canoe, which was filled with boiled rice every Sunday, to supply the poor who came to church with a wholesome meal, provided by their wealthier brethren—one rich man sometimes giving as much as a Sunday's supply at a time, whilst, in other cases, two or three less wealthy families would club together to make up the requisite quantum.

Artháttá Church now stands very much by itself, not having so much as a village or hamlet around it. The Syrians, however, say that it once formed the centre of a large and busy population, but in consequence of an extensive fire which consumed all their habitations, the people migrated *en masse*, and built their new town in a more sheltered situation on the side of a steep hill, about a mile to the north-east, in the vicinity of a large tank, and gave it the name of Kúnnankúllamgerry, or *Hill tank town*.

The people still show a strong affection for the old spot where their forefathers lived, died, and at last were buried; and therefore the large graveyard at Artháttá Church is the principal burial place of the community. It was stated that they had as many as 500 interments, per annum, in this place; and that when cholera prevailed as an epidemic sometimes no fewer than 1000! The fees for interment—one gold fanam from the poorest, whilst rich people buried *within* the building paid fifty fanams—and the profits or perquisites connected with *Chattums*,¹ or feasts commemorative of

¹ *Chattum* is a word in common use among the Heathen as well as Syrians, in describing their *funeral rites*.

the departed, formed the chief income of the resident clergy. The prominent use made of this church and its precincts has doubtless led to its being called, as it is in Du Perron's List, *Schatta Kolangouri*, and in a map by Paoli *Cshatukulangare*, or the *Kunnankullamgerry Church*, at which the Syrians celebrated their *Chattums*, or chief funeral ceremonies—a name still met with, especially upon the lips of heathen natives of the neighbourhood.

At Artháttá Church other feasts are celebrated, which cause a great confluence of Syrians from all the towns and villages round. Such a gathering in September, 1856, is remembered with no small interest by the writer: the feast was commemorative of the Nativity of the Virgin, and the groups of well made and well clad respectable looking native Christians, who passed along the roads to the church in the early morning, brought forcibly to one's mind the tribes going up "to the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord." A very large proportion consisted of women and children of good features, dressed in spotless raiment of the purest white, whilst the mothers and maidens carried across their arms large muslin veils—having tastefully designed borders of brown and gold thread—which were to be worn in church during service; and many of the children wore gold coins, or jewelled crosses suspended from their necks, whilst other ornaments made of the precious metals adorned their wrists or ankles. Some of them carried *pálás*—a primitive style of vessel extemporised from the spathe of a species of palm—filled with a sauce made of butter milk, turmeric, and green chillies; whilst their servants, or, if without servants, some male members of their family carried on their shoulders huge bunches of ripe plantains or jack fruit, as contributions to the feast, which was to be held, after service, in the church cloisters and porches.

Here too they hold, as at other Syrian Churches, their *Nerchas*¹ or Love Feasts—marred by a mixture of superstition, and the like evils which we so much deplore in connexion with our wakes and village feasts in England, yet having an *external appearance* of religiousness. There are too undoubted links—connecting them with the purer ordinances of the Early Church—still discernible in these gatherings; and casual observers, who look no deeper are apt to be fascinated by what they see. They attracted the attention of the Carmelite Paoli more than a century ago, and he has left us a very graphic description of a Nercha in those times. "On such occasions (he observes) they collect and store up a great quantity of sugar canes, rice, bananas, honey, and rice flour, of which they bake a certain kind of small cake called *Appam*. These Appam, or rice cakes, are prepared publicly in an apartment adjoining to

¹ *Nercha*, as well as *Chattum*, is a Malayalam word, derived from *Nerunnu*, to vow. Raulini rightly says "*Nercha* vox Malabarica est, et significat sponsonem, seu votum parandi fidelibus in Ecclesia convivium, vel etiam convivium ipsum."

the church. On the day of the solemnity all the people assemble in the churchyard; and the priest, placing himself in the door, distributes to them his blessing. They then arrange themselves in rows, and each spreads before him a banana leaf, to supply the place of a trencher. When this is done the priest commands silence, and the overseers of the church, walking through, between the rows, give to each his portion of *Appam*, and a few slices of banana. No Christian departs without having had a share. What is left is given to the Pagans that they also may participate in this love feast, and be incited to embrace the doctrines of the Christian religion. It is certainly an affecting scene, and capable of elevating the heart, to behold 6,000 or 7,000 persons of both sexes and all ages, assembled and receiving together, with the utmost reverence and devotion, their *Appam*—the pledge of mutual union and love.”

The excellent Church Missionary Society's Missionary, whose bungalow was but about a mile from Arthàtta Church, endeavoured to make good use of occasions of this kind, by conversing with, or otherwise addressing the people, as they flocked to the church, on the great truths which relate to the soul's salvation; and at length he adopted the plan of stationing one or two of his agents on the highway side, in charge of a table laden with copies of the Holy Scriptures, and other useful Christian books and tracts, which were offered for sale at a cheap rate. The scheme answered admirably, and thus many returned home to their distant hamlets or solitary plantations, carrying with them wholesome food for mind and heart.

The town of Kúnnankúllam is large and populous—the largest native Christian town in Malabar—containing about 8,000 inhabitants. When Dr. C. Buchanan describes his visit thereto in 1808¹ he calls it *Nazarini Bazar*, and says that Hyder Ali designated it *Nazarani Ghúr*, or the city of the Christians. This was the last Syrian town C. Buchanan visited; and on this account (considering also the importance of the place) he presented to the Church in the Bazaar a valuable gold medal, three times as large as those

¹ A namesake of the excellent chaplain, Francis Buchanan, in his *Journey through Mysore, Canara, &c.*, speaks of being there in 1800. He calls it *Cunning-Colung-Curry Angady (Bazaar)*. It will be well to give his description of the place, being the earliest met with. He says: “In the afternoon we went to the Nazarany village, which contains many houses regularly disposed, and full of people. For an Indian town it is well built, and comparatively clean. It has a new church of considerable size. An old church is situated at some distance (*meaning Arthàtta*) on a beautiful rising ground. It is now unroofed; but the walls, although built of indurated clay only, continue very fresh and strong. The altar is arched over with the same materials, and possesses some degree of elegance. The burying ground is at the west end of the church, where the principal door is placed.”—Arthàtta Church was then as Tippoo's soldiers had left it; and others were still in much the same state to the south.

given at Colleges in Europe, on one side of which was portrayed our Lord's baptism in Jordan, and on the reverse the baptism of a little child. This handsome gift was placed with due solemnity on the altar, and beside it a gift to the poor, in the presence of the British Resident, Colonel Macaulay, and a great concourse of Syrian Christians assembled for the occasion.

The writer, and dear friends then with him, will never forget their visit to this place in 1853, and the excitement caused by European ladies and gentlemen (the former for the first time perhaps) walking through their streets and climbing the successive flights of steps—of which one of the main thoroughfares mainly consists—on their way to the chief church. A noisy chattering crowd soon gathered around, and followed them wherever they went, which set the whole place in commotion, for the numerous dogs began to bark, the pigs grunted and squeaked in their attempts to take refuge in the styes curiously constructed under the foundation of the houses, whilst the domestic poultry flew over head in wild dismay. When at length they reached the church, one of the senior Cattanars was so disconcerted by the tumultuous crowding of the people, and the noise and confusion they created, that he took up a cane and began to thrash some of those nearest to him—apparently without any fear of being dragged before some magisterial bench “for assault with violence.”

The church, which is a good sized building, contained nothing of any special interest. There was very little superstitious ornamentation about it, and no paintings, pictures, or images are now admitted; though some of the former—introduced many years ago—were suffered to remain. The principal altar was not connected with the main wall of the chancel—a space being left between, so that you could go round it, which was a peculiar arrangement. Over the stone font, which was slightly ornamented, there was a rude fresco painting of our Lord's baptism. Not far from the church is a small Oratory of pure Hindoo architecture, called by the natives a *Cross House*, where people could at all times, by night or day, retire for prayer—the door being always ajar.

The Metropolitan, Mar Athanasius, had recently ordered the removal of some shrine which had been superstitiously used by the people; and this had led to a division among the Cattanars; and three of their number to shew their displeasure at the Metran's proceedings started a sort of *Free Church*. At this last named place we attended a Sunday afternoon service, not knowing at the time what had led to the opening of the building, or we certainly should not have patronised it. It was their evening service, celebrated at an earlier hour for the convenience of visitors. The long, low, narrow building was crowded with natives, and the atmosphere necessarily became very close and oppressive. The Cattanars, Job, Jacob, and Joseph, assisted by a deacon, conducted the service in their ordinary daily dress, without any official robe or badge. Service began with the officiating Cattanar speaking to the people,

upon which they repeated a prayer in an undertone; and the priests turning towards the altar did the like, with repeated prostrations and crossings. Then followed the chanting of several Psalms, the people at intervals responding with Hallelujahs; after which a short portion of scripture was read in Syriac, and translated into the vernacular with such facility that it seemed as if it were read from a Malayálim book. The remainder of the service consisted of prayers, chiefly in the form of versicles, some of which were thrice repeated by the priests, and then similarly repeated by the people, in the vulgar tongue. The chant, to which portions of the liturgy was sung, was plaintive, and far more pleasing than we expected to find it. A Cattanar, from a neighbouring church, afterwards told us that he knew six or seven such chants, which they were accustomed to use—they are probably amongst the oldest sacred tunes in existence.

Somewhat more than a year after this we learned, on enquiring about our friend Job and his companions, that the Metran had again been at the place to promote reforms, and had succeeded in healing the schism which had been caused by his previous measures. The seceders were brought to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and were again received into the bosom of the Church; but as a punishment for their misbehaviour they were locked up, for one whole day, in their own little church; and then had to be present at service, on the following Sunday, without being allowed to take any part therein.

There is a third church at the eastern end of the town called Cheralayam, separated from the principal church by two or three intervening streets. Both these town churches are built after the plan of the mother church at Artháttá, for in each case the chancel roof is arched internally, and divided into compartments, whilst the east walls are adorned with tiers of pilasters. The great altar at Cheralayam was of wood; and on it stood a tabernacle of wood, having on each door panel the portrait of a saint. The whole aspect of this article of ecclesiastical furniture proclaimed it to be of Romish origin, but we could not find out how it came into the church originally; in fact so little was known of it that, when asked who the two saints wearing mustachios were intended to represent, we were told that they were the *Virgin Mary* and *Lazarus*—the church being dedicated to the latter. Close to this church, on the opposite corner of the street, a Roman Catholic Church had recently been erected; and we noticed the same “dodge” in the immediate vicinity of Artháttá Church. Though there are very few Romanists in the town, and these places of worship are not at all wanted, the agents of Rome are busy at the work of perversion as in many of our own English parishes.

About two miles across the field to the north-west of these churches, there is another Syrian Church called Anyúra, which has been for a long series of years the residence of a succession of Metrans who have lived in comparative retirement and obscurity,

though occasionally helping the Metropolitan in the capacity of Suffragans. They have doubtless been of some use in watching over the interests of the Syrians in this northern extremity of the diocese, in keeping them together, and thus enabling them the better to stand against the insidious assaults of Rome, during the last hundred and twenty or more years.

Mar Basilius—who came from Antioch in 1751, with two other bishops, and died a year after his arrival, at Muttancherry, in the suburbs of Cochin—the day before his death consecrated a native priest named Cattumangáden, who then received the episcopal designation of Mar Kurillos (*Cyril*); but as another held the office of Metropolitan he retired into privacy at Anyúra. During the long contention of eighteen years which followed, between the Antiochean bishops who remained and the native Metran Mar Dionysius, Kurillos adhered to the foreigners; and, as a reward, he is said to have had the title of Metropolitan given to him, though he never seems to have exercised the functions of chief bishop. Kurillos is said to have lived to an old age, and to have consecrated before his death, in 1805, a successor by the name of Philoxenus; who again in 1812 consecrated another bishop of the same name. When the Church Missionaries began their labours in Travancore this last named Philoxenus was residing in retirement at Anyúra; and proved a faithful friend to them, and a very useful guardian of the interests of the Syrian Church, on one or two somewhat trying occasions, as we shall see hereafter.

Mar Philoxenus II. was an amiable man, and characterised among his people as “a man of much prayer;” and hence, when the Metropolitan Joseph died, November 24th, 1816, he was appointed to succeed him in this important office; but being a man of weak health, and free from ambition, he only accepted the appointment for a limited period, with the understanding that the British Resident, and the Church Missionary Society’s Missionaries would assist him as they had his predecessor. After seeing his Archdeacon George consecrated Metran, in the following year, he retired to Anyúra; but when this Metran, who was called Mar Dionysius, died suddenly of cholera in May, 1825, Philoxenus was again called to the head of affairs; and maintained his post during a very troublous season until another Metropolitan was elected, when he once more retired to Anyúra, where he died, greatly respected by all who knew him, in February, 1830. Three months before his death he nominated a Cattanar, who had been with him from childhood, as candidate for the episcopate; and this man was afterwards consecrated by the Metropolitan Dionysius, under the name of Mar Kurillos; and settled at Anyúra, taking no other oversight of the churches than that which Mar Dionysius from time to time desired.

When at Anyúra, in 1853, this Mar Kurillos was living very unostentatiously in a house connected with the church. He was then in very feeble health, and took no active part in public affairs. He

seemed to be a man of a meek spirit, welcomed us heartily, and offered us the best hospitality in his power. His episcopal residence formed one side of a quadrangle—the church, cloisters, and other buildings completing the square. The whole group put together formed a small primitive-looking collegiate building. Two or three Cattanars were engaged, by themselves, at some service in the little church; but soon left off when made conscious of our arrival, and hastened to join our party. Mar Kurillos told us that the present church had been in existence about a century, having succeeded a former structure of much smaller dimensions. The Syrian community connected with it was small; but the Metran had considerable reputation, even amongst his Mahometan and Heathen neighbours, who—we afterwards learned—regarded him as a great dreamer and worker of miracles, and told such tales of him as would, in another communion, perhaps, have led, in the course of a few generations, to his ultimate canonization. He gave us the impression of being amiable, yet weak, and by no means free from the superstitions of his people.

It was quite dark when we left Anyúra, and the Metran kindly lent us a quaint brass lamp, which his servant carried for some little distance; but as we had a guide from the Bazaar we requested him to return home, and the guide took the lamp. When we got out of the fields into the town, and knew where we were, we gave the guide a small present, at which he seemed pleased; but added, with oriental politeness (though only a common labourer) that his greatest pleasure was in *being honoured by serving Sahibs once in his life*. The difficulty then occurred how to return the lamp? Whilst hesitating about the matter, and feeling doubtful whether we should entrust it to the care of a man of whom we knew next to nothing, he indignantly replied: “Did I not receive it from the hands of the Metran’s servant? and will I not return it to them again?”

A Metran who had come from Antioch, of a very different temper and spirit, was also then living but a few miles off, at Chálasherry, just across the borders of the native state of Cochin, in the British territory. He was known as Mar Kurillos Joyakin, and had been sent by the Jacobite Patriarch to check the reforming tendencies of Mar Athanasius, and the enquiry after truth consequent upon the labours of the English Missionaries in Travancore. This Metran’s episcopal residence was of a very humble character, and the spot he had chosen reminded one of the Poet Laureate’s words:—

“An isle of marsh wherein to build,
 “And there he built, with wattles from the marsh,
 “A little lonely church;”

for we had to cross a long extent of swampy rice fields to reach his thatched cottage. The little white chapel adjoining was also thatched, though built of the common laterite of the country. In form it was unlike any of the churches of Malabar, having an *apse*

at the end of the chancel—the design he had most probably brought with him from the land of his fathers. The few scattered Syrian families in his neighbourhood worshipped therein—some doubtless flattering themselves, that though the building was mean, yet now they would prosper (as Micah thought) seeing that they had a real Antiochean bishop “to be their priest.” Though, as a rule, civil and polite to some of us, he was known to be hostile to the excellent Missionaries who were seeking the spiritual good of the Syrian Christians; and report said he was equally so to the British authorities who wisely ordered him to quit the Native States, in consequence of the tumult and disorder occasioned by his presence among the Syrian Christians. During the Crimean War the people used to say that he prayed for the success of the Czar; and felt so confident of India being taken from us and given to his friends, as to talk about what he would do, and where he would live, when the English were driven out of the country. His place of residence was called Chálasherry; and, with one exception, was then the only Syrian Church north of the Cochin State.

The most northern of the Syrian Churches within the Cochin territory is Paranye, about three miles and a half north of Kun-nankúllam. This church has very peculiar features of its own, from the fact that the official residence of the Cattanars is built so as to abut the great west front, and hide its ornamentation. When there one morning in September, 1856, we found the people busy making cakes in the church for a *Nercha* or Love feast, about to be held at the mother church of Artháttá, since all the Syrian congregations of the neighbourhood were expected to send in their respective contributions. The church itself internally was dirty; and so was the old Cattanar in residence, and very ignorant withal. There were three altars in the chancel, the walls of which were adorned with rude fresco paintings of New Testament subjects. We observed a miserable old daub of a painting, placed on a moveable stand, intended as a portrait of Mar Basilius, who died and was buried at Kothamungalum nearly two centuries ago; and upon enquiring why there should be a picture of this particular Metran in their church, we were told a somewhat sad story.

Some people from this place, years ago, went to Kothamungalum to attend the annual Chattum in commemoration of Basilius's death, and brought away with them some earth from the vicinity of his grave, which was held in peculiar reverence. Among the few handfuls of earth thus collected, a small *bone* was discovered, which led to the erection of a shrine for its reception! From that time an annual feast has been held in the church in honour of Mar Basilius, and then this picture is placed outside the church, beside a coffer to receive offerings. As much as one hundred rupees is sometimes collected by this means, from Christians and *Heathens*—the latter regarding Basilius as the church swami, or presiding deity.

After this we were not surprised at what we further learnt

when reconnoitring. Close to the churchyard, in a field on the south side, a deserted well was pointed out to us. "There," said our informant, "last year one of the Cattanars of the place, in a fit of drunkenness, fell into that well and was drowned." We went a little further, and were shown the ruins of an old school-house once supported by the Church Missionary Society. "Why was there no longer a school?" The last schoolmaster proved so unsatisfactory a man that the Missionary had been compelled to close the school. We presently saw the man, and were told, amongst other things to his discredit, he was charged with practising *sorcery*. He was, alas! still the village schoolmaster, although the Missionaries had withdrawn their patronage. Thus this distant parish, containing about 150 Syrian families, was given over to gross superstition, ignorance, and moral degradation!

CHAPTER XII.

THE BAREFOOTED CARMELITE MISSION.

The Carmelites lay claim to being the oldest Religious Order in Christendom, asserting that their first founder was none other than Elijah the prophet, and that their first establishment was on Mount Carmel in Palestine; and thence they take their name. Some members of their Order who were converted at Pentecost, by the preaching of St. Peter at Jerusalem, put themselves under the special protection of the Virgin Mary, and returned to Mount Carmel, where they converted the rest of their brotherhood to the Christian faith.

Setting unreliable traditions aside, which savour too much of the superstition and systematic frauds of the Dark Ages, one thing is certain, that when the first Crusaders entered Palestine they found Mount Carmel tenanted by numerous solitary hermits, who called themselves Carmelites; and about 1160 Haymericus or Almericus—supposed by Fuller (in his History of the Crusades) to be one of the Patriarchs of Antioch—gathered them all together into one house, and instituted what is known as the Order of the Carmelites. "In the next age," the same writer, with his wonted quaintness, observes: "These bees, which first bred in the ground,

and hollow trees, got them hives in gardens; and leaving the deserts, gained them princely houses in pleasant places." But, with increased wealth and worldly honour came luxury, indolence, neglect of rule, and the various corruptions which infested other communities of monks and nuns.

The Barefooted Carmelites are a reformed branch of this ancient Order, which dates from the sixteenth century only, and owe their constitution to St. Theresa, and St. John D'Cruz; and though first established in Spain, soon spread into most parts of Romish Christendom. They differ from the unreformed by a more strict observance of rules, and by wearing simple sandals in the place of shoes and stockings. Being originally of Eastern origin, they naturally enough soon turned their attention to the promotion of the cause of the Papacy among the Oriental Christians and other races in Asia, and established missions at Bagdad and some of the towns of Persia; and in 1607 found their way to India, established themselves at Goa, and thence branched out to labour in Surat and other places within the territories of the Great Mogul.

The way in which these bees were, by and by, hived at Goa, we learn from an old traveller, Careri, who when there in 1695 writes:—"Friday, April 8th. I went to see the Church of the Italian Carmelites on a pleasant hill. Though small, it is very beautiful, and arched, as are all the churches in India; with six chapels, and a high altar well gilt. The monastery is handsome and well contrived, with excellent cloisters and cells, and a delicious garden, in which there are Chinese palm trees, which yield a pleasant shade with their low and thick leaves."

When the Jesuit bishops had, by their pride and tyranny, provoked the desperate resistance of the Syrian Church of Malabar, Pope Alexander VI., as previously stated, despatched a commission of inquiry, composed of four Barefooted Carmelites, who were already familiar with Romish mission work in the East. Two of these men, Joseph de St. Maria, and Vincent Maria, who came overland by way of Bagdad, were the first to arrive at Surat towards the close of 1656; and proceeded thence to Malabar.

This intrusion of another Order was excessively galling to the Jesuits, and they did their best to impede progress, and frustrate their plans for recovering the Syrians; hereby making it quite plain they preferred that the latter should be entirely lost to Rome, if another set of Missionaries were to have the honour of their recovery. Not to enter into all particulars of this kind—which are so fully gone into by La Croze, Professor Lee, and Hough—we would just observe that after the death of the Jesuit Archbishop in 1659, the Carmelites were left masters of the field, in most parts of Malabar inhabited by the old Christians of the country.

Though these Carmelites may have been an improvement upon the Jesuits, as the commissioned agents of a corrupt ecclesiastical tyranny, when they discovered that mild measures would not effect their purpose, they also scrupled not to call to their aid the secular

arm of the Portuguese, and the native Heathen Princes, to compel these protesting Syrians to submit to Rome. They soon found preaching and argumentation utterly vain. The *songs* of the people, which enlarged upon the tyrannous rule they had shaken off, and the chanting of an elegy in native verse—commemorating the martyrdom of their last bishop—took far more effect upon both clergy and laity than anything the Carmelites could say or do.

Joseph de St. Maria, the first Carmelite bishop,¹ a strong-minded, but withal a haughty prelate, compelled the Jesuits—now without a bishop of their own—to submit to his authority. He moreover sent two Carmelites to Cranganore to take possession of the Cathedral in his name, and to demand the Pontifical ornaments belonging to the See. He gained his object, though the Jesuits yielded with extreme reluctance, hoping ere long to recover all the power they had lost, and to need these things themselves.

He could not, however, so easily coerce the Syrian Archdeacon and his friends; nor even so much as gain possession of the mere fabrics of their churches until the Heathen Rajahs, at his instigation, began to confiscate their revenues, and impose threats and punishments upon the leading clergy and laymen. Though professedly a barefooted monk, when he commenced his first visitation he affected all the worldly pomp and display of Archbishop Menezes, hoping thereby to overawe the remonstrants.

The Syrian Archdeacon was at last completely hunted down; and, to strike terror into the minds of the community at large, one of the Cochin Princes, Codormo by name, was induced by the bishop to pillage the town of Kandanáda and Múlantúrúttá, and then station a guard of one hundred Nairs around the church of the latter place, in which the Archdeacon had taken refuge. But when both friends and foes began to think it was all over with the cruelly persecuted head of the Syrian Church, the snare of the fowler was broken, and his prey managed to escape under the cover of night, accompanied by his faithful friend and adviser, Itti Thomas, Cattanar.

“God knows,” writes the Carmelite bishop, “in what a condition I felt myself on hearing this intelligence! At first we were extremely afflicted to find that we had let two prizes of such importance slip through our hands; for *we had already destined them for the Inquisition at Goa.*”

After this, to heal, in some degree, his wounded spirit, Prince Codormo, accompanied by the bishop's secretary, proceeded to secure the Syrian ruler's effects; but the Christians of the place refused to surrender them unless the bishop came in person; which at length he did, under the protection of three companies of Portuguese soldiers, and many other friends. One portion of the spoil was given to the Prince, as a reward for his services; whilst the rest was conveyed to Udiamparúr, where, on the following day,

¹ For a List of the Carmelite Vicars Apostolic *Vide Appendix C.*

after mass, and a procession of the host, they were committed to the flames amid the discharge of cannon—books, sacred oils, and a state palanquin all burning together. The Romish historian himself avows, that this was some *consolation* to the bishop for his grief and disappointment, at not having it in his power to *consume the Archdeacon's body* in the like manner.

This barbarous raid over, the Carmelite bishop, armed with the authority of the Cochin Prince, proceeded to visit and reduce other churches. He took possession of Allungáda church by force, and deposed the rector for favouring the Archdeacon's party. He met with strong opposition when he first visited Angamále, but, by the free use of bribes, he at length gained his point there also. Mar Gabriel says he wrote secretly to the Cattanars and Christians in different places, and "sent messengers with presents consisting of fine silk stuffs, gold ornaments, and jewels."

The success of the Dutch arms, and especially the capture of Cochin in 1663, happily stopped all proceedings of this kind; and none had more cause to rejoice, in the advent of the Dutch, than the Malabar Syrians who had stood out against Romish usurpation and oppression.

The Dutch, once in possession, lost no time in issuing a proclamation directing all European ecclesiastics of the Romish faith to quit the places they had conquered—a measure which filled the Carmelite bishop with dismay. He sent to the Dutch Governor of Cochin, requesting a relaxation in his special favour; but a respite of ten days was all that could be obtained; for, from the taste for plotting so rife amongst the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, the Dutch in self defence found it necessary to adhere strictly to the stern edict. Finding he must quit the diocese, in which he had been so busily attempting to secure a place of rest for himself, he selected a Cattanar to supply his place as Vicar Apostolic; and to prevent, if possible, the churches he had subdued by fire, sword, or other means, from re-union with the Archdeacon's party. His choice fell on Alexander de Campo, as he is called by European writers; or, as the natives would say, *Parambil Chandy Cattanar*; and this man was consecrated by him at Cadatúrúttá, assisted by two presbyters merely, for lack of bishops; so that, after all, the consecration of the first Indian bishop in the Roman Catholic communion was somewhat informal, according to the canons of the early Christian Church. The consecration service concluded, sentence of excommunication was read against the Syrian Archdeacon and all who adhered to him.

Bishop Joseph now repaired to Cochin with extreme reluctance, for the Dutch authorities were beginning to grow impatient. Here he renewed his entreaties, asking at least to be allowed to remain on the coast; but the only favour he could extort from them was a promise that they would acknowledge and respect the native bishop whom he left in charge of his diocese.

The Portuguese Romanists did what they could to prejudice the

mind of the Dutch Governor against the Syrian party, representing their ecclesiastical head as an *arrant rogue*, and as one who should be treated as an *Arch-devil*, rather than as an *Archdeacon*; and thus when he came to Cochin to pay his respects to the new authorities, an audience was very unceremoniously refused him, though he bore a letter of introduction from the Rajah of Tekken-core; whilst, on the other hand, the native Romish bishop was received with flattering attentions.¹

Bishop Joseph de St. Maria retired to Goa, and, after further vain efforts to induce the Dutch to relax their rules, eventually proceeded to Rome, where he arrived May 1665, and received from the Pope and his Cardinals an express approval of the measures he had taken for the reduction of his diocese.

Mar Thomas, the Syrian Archdeacon, and Bishop Alexander, came from the same neighbourhood—the interior of Travancore, lying to the east of Cadatúrúttá, still a stronghold of Syro-Romanism—and also sprung from the same stock. Thomas was a native of Corolongáda; and Alexander, if not of the same place, was probably born in the immediate neighbourhood. Paoli tells us that there were four families called Parambil, or De Campo, from which the Syrians usually chose their native ecclesiastical rulers, viz., *Palamattam*, *Ciangurikel*, *Palli*, and *Kaliavanguare*. The Syrian Archdeacons of Angamále were usually chosen from the first-named family, who, according to tradition, claim for themselves the most remote antiquity.² In the *Brief History of the Syrians* we are told that before St. Thomas the Apostle left Malabar he ordained two of his converts priests, to take charge of the churches he had founded; and that, when Thomas Cana visited the country, particular enquiry was made after the descendants of

¹ “In the year 1664 (writes Baldoëus) being at Cochin, I addressed myself to Mr. Jacob Hustart, our General, to grant leave to the Archdeacon, or chief of the Christians of St. Thomas in ecclesiastical affairs, to come thither, in order to have a free conference with him; which being freely granted, he sent his letter to the Archdeacon for that purpose; but he excused himself, alleging (and not without reason) that we having given so extraordinary a reception to the Romish Bishop, Joseph de Sancta Maria, he could not appear in person among us, without his prejudice—to my great dissatisfaction, being extremely sorry it was not in my power to perform my promise made in my letters to the States General, 1662.”

² A native friend gives me the names as now known among the Syrians, thus:—*Palamattam*, *Changupiri*, *Káli*, and *Káliyanka*. At Corolongáda the Nestorians had a monastery in ancient times. This may account for the large Christian population in its neighbourhood, and the learning and position of some of the Cattanars connected with the place.

Raulini, while admitting that Mar Thoma sprung from the ancient archidiaconal family, denies the honour to Mar Alexander's family, though styled De Campo—“*ab istaque (stirpe) longa diversa.*” He being in the Jesuit interest, depreciates Alexander, whilst the Carmelite Paoli says the four families of De Campo all sprung from the same stock.

these two priests; and from among them one was appointed Arch-deacon, whilst others were entrusted with authority to look after the interests of all the Christians of Malabar, and to punish and protect them according to justice.

The fact that the ecclesiastical heads of the Syrian and Syro-Roman party were of the same traditionally venerated stock was used as a telling argument by the Romish party; for when Bishop Joseph consecrated Alexander to the episcopal office he used various means to persuade all Mar Thomas's relations to acknowledge Alexander as their bishop, alleging that Thomas had not been properly consecrated; whilst Alexander—who was *also of their family*—had been. With an ill-informed and superstitious people, who held the episcopal office in reverent esteem, such words would have great weight, and influence many minds, especially when they saw the foreigners quit the country, and the oversight of the Church entrusted to one who was “bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh.” No wonder, after this, that we find Alexander writing to Bishop Joseph, in an exultant and boastful strain, informing him that matters had succeeded beyond his expectations; he was steadily gaining ground, whilst his rival had fallen into the greatest disrepute; and that all he now wanted was *money* to cause the very name and memory of the *pretender* to be totally forgotten in the diocese.

Notwithstanding the solemn, and apparently unanimous oath taken at Muttancherry Cross in 1653, and the consequent nomination of Mar Thoma at Allungáda as their head in the following year, there appears to have been a strong leaning towards Romanism amongst many of the Syrians; and no wonder when the whole community had been now for *generations* leavened with Romish error. The arrival of Bishop Joseph in 1660 evidently brought on a crisis, and some went over to him who were least expected to do so; for being at a loss to know where he should take up his residence, Cadavil Alexander, who had been one of Mar Thoma's original assessors, and the Syrians of Kadamattam came forward and offered him an asylum in their church. Here, far in the interior of the country, he probably first met with the man whom he appointed to be his successor, and around whom such as wished to be free from Jesuit tyranny, and yet retain all Romish dogma, naturally rallied. That Cadavil Alexander was a man of this class we may infer from what Paoli tells us, when he describes him as a native of Corolongáda, who composed twenty-two Syro-Chaldaic hymns, “in praise of the *august Sacrament of the Eucharist*.”

The Dutch manifested very little sympathy with the Syrians. They were, as a general rule, too much occupied—at first, in securing their conquests, and promoting their trading speculations—to trouble themselves much about the ecclesiastical affairs of the obscure native Christians, against whom their minds had been strongly prejudiced by their predecessors in power. And lest the Dutch chaplain should be disposed to endeavour to do what civil

and military authorities left undone, the Romish Bishop Joseph, just before quitting Cochin, had striven to impress upon his mind, in a personal interview, the absolute futility of any scheme he might have in contemplation of bringing them over to the Reformed Faith; for the Romish Missionaries had so far succeeded in their work of engrafting *essential Popery* upon this ancient branch of the Christian Church, as to give some colour of truth to the bishop's strong statement then made to this minister, that the Syrians were "persuaded that the *very essence* of Christianity consists in three particulars, diametrically opposed to the Articles of Luther and Calvin, viz., the adoration of images, and the crucifix; fasting and prayers; and masses for the souls in purgatory." From the testimony of Romish writers themselves, image worship and purgatory were unknown among these people till *they* introduced them; and now they had become devotedly attached to them; and the chief subsistence of the Cattanars was derived from private masses for the departed! Nothing could more clearly prove the immense mischief to souls that Rome's mission efforts in this land had effected.

There can be little doubt, too, that the Dutch feared the large and influential Romanist population; and whilst they kept them in strict subjection, they did not wish to do anything to cause them offence—at least, so we judge from the proceedings of some of the earlier governors. So fearful were they of Romish intrigues, that even all the native Christians residing in Dutch territory were compelled to take an oath that they would carry arms to defend their new masters; and that they renounced all allegiance to the King of Portugal, and all Portuguese bishops. The form of oath was long preserved in the secretary's office at Cochin; and possibly is still there amongst numerous other Dutch records of more or less interest.

The severe measures with which the Dutch initiated their rule had had a somewhat unlooked for and disastrous result—many thousands of native Christians, seized with panic, migrated from their territory, and Cochin itself at length became almost deserted. To induce them to return, the Franciscan church was given back until such time as they could build for themselves another church outside the fort walls, on the northern bank of the river. Thither they allowed them to carry the reredos, pictures, images, and other articles of church furniture not required by the simple worship of the Dutch Reformed Church. Some of these things are still to be seen adorning the Church of "the Mother of Holy Hope," at Wypeen, which, till within the last few years, was the parish church of the Romanists of Cochin Fort.

Whilst the Dutch, from motives of worldly policy, were thus doing their best to keep their Romanist subjects in good temper, they were not likely to lavish any favours upon those whom they regarded as hateful schismatics; and we are not surprised at the very scant courtesy shown to the poor struggling Syrians.

However, help at length came from another quarter; for whilst the Jesuits were doing their best to hold their own at Ambalakáda and in other churches in the Samorin's dominions, and the Carmelites were using every means in their power, from the villages of the interior—whither they had retreated after Bishop Joseph had been sent away—to strengthen the hands of the native Bishop Alexander, both parties were thrown into a state of alarm and consternation by the safe arrival, in 1665, of a bishop, sent by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, to be Metropolitan of Malabar. This man is known amongst them as Mar Gregorius, and they give him the title of *Patriarchisa*. They had received no bishop from the Nestorian Patriarch since the latter part of the sixteenth century—the Jesuits and Portuguese, at their instigation, having prevented all intercourse of the kind. To have an Oriental bishop amongst them, as really opposed to Rome as any one of themselves, was a great cause of joy; and Gregory was everywhere hailed by the anti-Romish party as a liberator from spiritual tyranny.

The sudden conversion of this community from Nestorian to Jacobite views of doctrine may be at first perplexing; but, as observed in a previous chapter, it appears that not knowing what to do at this crisis of their church's history, and in their simplicity being probably ignorant of the theological differences which prevailed, they made their wants known in two or three quarters at the same time, hoping that relief would come from one of them at least. The Jacobite Patriarch, thinking this a fitting opportunity of extending his influence, was the first to move; and hence a Jacobite rather than a Nestorian prelate came upon the scene.

In the *Brief History* we are told: "By the laying on of his hands, Mar Thomas the Great"—the Archdeacon who had headed the revolt from Rome—"was lawfully consecrated;" but there is no direct allusion to any theological changes, saving that at that time we used *unleavened* bread in the Sacrament, which was not for some time laid aside." The custom of using unleavened bread had been introduced by the Romanists; and Paoli tells us that Mar Gregorius taught the people to use *leavened* bread in the Lord's Supper, which alteration impressed the people at the time, and is therefore mentioned; but as the writer of this history was probably a Jacobite priest, he wisely abstains from making any statements on more abstruse theological differences.

One can well understand how songs were composed to keep the advent of Gregory in mind, and sung for generations; and that his name should be specially held in veneration at North Parúr—where he died and was buried in 1672—to this very day. The native Metran whom he consecrated, Mar Thomas the Great, died in the year following; and his brother, Mar Thomas II., was nominated as his successor by the Syrians at Angamále.

The Carmelites grew in favour with the Dutch under Hendrick Van Rheede, who was appointed Governor of Cochin in 1669. He was a man of literary tastes, and had a special fancy for botany,

which led him to project a work on the subject, known as the *Hortus Malabaricus*. This was eventually published, in twelve large folio volumes, at Amsterdam; and is so well executed as to merit the eulogy bestowed on it by the learned and amiable John Evelyn in 1681, where he observes to a correspondent, that it "presents us with the most stupendous and unheard-of plants . . . the cuts being in copper, and certainly of any published the most accurately done; nor are they in their shape and description less surprising."

Van Rheede needed help in the compilation of this immense work; and in one of the Romo-Syrian villages, in the heart of Travancore, a man was found every way fitted for his purpose. This was none other than one of the Carmelite monks—whose presence in the country had been barely winked at by the Dutch—Matthew de St. Joseph, who held the important post of responsible adviser to the native Romo-Syrian bishop. This man had not climbed the mountains and paced the valleys, penetrated the jungles or paddled his canoe across the lagoons and up the rivers of that beautiful country, with his eyes shut; and he knew well the botanical treasures it contained, and where to find them.

Friar Matthew called to his assistance three Brahmins, and an intelligent native of the Chogan caste, who gave him information relative to the supposed medicinal properties of the plants, whilst he himself undertook their description, accomplishing his task so successfully that any one having but a superficial acquaintance with the flora of the country would find no difficulty in identifying each plant. In return for such services he obtained from Van Rheede a favourable recognition of the other Carmelite Missionaries, and also permission for Mar Alexander to come out of his hiding place at Corolongáda, and to move freely amongst the churches subject to his rule.

In 1672 the first regular Carmelite establishment was founded at Chetiata, within three or four miles of Cochin to the north-east. Matthew having secured the grant of a small cocoa nut plantation from a native Rajah named Irivari Ramen, and authority from Van Rheede to occupy it, here he built a house at his own cost, and a church—dedicated to "our Lady of Mount Carmel"—soon followed, on the verge of a small bay in the Backwater. The Dutch Governor's authority for all he did, we are told, was recorded on plates or leaves of copper, according to the ancient custom of the country—a fact worthy of notice as a comparatively modern use of this kind of document. Mar Alexander, moreover, gratified his friend and adviser by favouring him with an exemption of his establishment from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, by a letter from Cúdayvechúr, dated March 3rd, 1674, in which he styles himself, after the manner of his Syrian predecessors, *Metropolitan of all India*.

About the same time as this favour was obtained for Chetiata, the Carmelites proceeded to erect another church and village, a few

miles further north, in a cocoa nut plantation called Tataraceri, about three leagues from Cochin, the ground having been given by the Rajah of Cochin. This second establishment was afterwards known as Verapoli, and became the usual residence of the Romish Vicars Apostolic. Having thus constructed his "*hives*,"—to use Fuller's simile—Matthew next took steps to procure his "*bees*," confiding in the protection of his Dutch friends; and ere long an active little band of Carmelites were seen working in Malabar, with such success that as many as eighty men, women, and children were annually added to their list as converts from heathenism at Verapoli alone.

Friar Matthew at length represented in his letters to Rome that Mar Alexander was growing infirm, and needed a coadjutor bishop.¹ One of the four Carmelites originally sent out, whose name was Angelus Franciscus, was hereupon constituted Vicar Apostolic to select a successor to Alexander. Before doing this he waited with his companions on Governor Van Rheede, and explained the wants of the diocese. Here, however, they encountered a serious difficulty, which placed them in a dilemma; Alexander was anxious that his *nephew*, Matthew de Campo, should be his successor, and Van Rheede strongly supported his views; but the Carmelites felt in duty bound to set their faces against the idea—common among the Nestorians—of preserving the episcopate as an hereditary dignity in a particular family. Fearing, however, the power of the Dutch, they proceeded to elect, in secret conclave held at Allungáda, an East Indian Portuguese (*Mestice*) named Raphael, who had been canon of the Cathedral of Cochin.

This step greatly exasperated Van Rheede; and the more so because Raphael was thought to be attached to the Portuguese interests. The appointment of Raphael, from his mixed origin, was further unpopular among the Romo-Syrians, who wished to have a bishop of their *own caste*, if they could not obtain one from Babylon or Antioch; and thus it was some time before even Alexander would acknowledge the unfortunate Raphael as his coadjutor.² He did so, however, at Chevra in 1682; and in the following year, the Brief of Confirmation having arrived from Rome, Raphael was admitted publicly to that capacity, in an assembly held at Eddapully; whereat Alexander declared, that on account of his great age, he relieved himself of a *portion* of his functions. Raphael, seeing him thus humbled, most ungenerously endeavoured to usurp the whole authority, and soon refused to acknowledge Alexander,

¹ Raulini says that Mar Alexander himself requested the Pope to designate a coadjutor and successor. A.D. 1676.

² Raulini styles him "*Indus*," and "*Nobilis Indigena*;" but in a MS. kindly furnished by Marcus, Cattamar of Cottayam (see Appendix E.), the Syrians complain that a *Topas* (*i.e.*, one of mixed race) was consecrated; and insisted that they would not submit to a bishop from the Topases or "half-castes."

in any manner, on the affirmed plea of incompetency. Meanwhile Friar Matthew had been recalled to Goa to undertake the office of Visitor,¹ leaving on the coast—to supply in some measure his lack of service—three newly arrived Missionaries, Peter Paul of St. Francis, Armand of St. Elias, and Bartholomew Hanna, a native of Aleppo, who was Professor of Syriac.

In the discord and divisions which ensued upon Raphael's proving himself refractory, a man to his mind was found (Du Perron says) in one of these new comers—Bartholomew Hanna. This man had been originally stationed at Verapoli, where he had charge of the instruction of the Catechumens, but through immoral conduct was obliged to quit his post, and, not knowing where to hide his head, went to Bishop Raphael, who gave him all his confidence. The scandals caused by Raphael's proceedings at length obliged the Carmelites, in 1687, to send to Rome to ask for another coadjutor bishop—one of their own body, Laurence Maria, being charged with the mission. He carried letters to the Propaganda from two Carmelites, Armand and Francis Innocent, who supported by their testimony his verbal report of the sad state of ecclesiastical affairs; representing that if measures were not speedily taken, the Dutch (who were very suspicious of all who sympathised with the Portuguese) would be provoked to acknowledge the Syrian bishop, Thomas de Campo, to the prejudice of the bishop appointed by the Pope; and as Van Rheede, who had all along been opposed to the appointment of Raphael, was about to return to the coast as Commissary-General, the sooner steps were taken the better.

The most serious charges were moreover brought against Raphael by Laurence Maria, viz., that he refused to acknowledge the superiority of Alexander de Campo, and took to himself the title of Vicar Apostolic of the Sierra and Cochin; sold ordination; allowed priests to have concubines; traded with the wine of the Propaganda; retained the funds sent from Goa for masses; calumniated the Carmelites; refused their properly-qualified candidates for orders; and excommunicated the Vicar-General, F. George de St. John, Vicar of Muttancherry, which led to great factions.²

The Jesuits took part in this strife, and rallied their forces on the side of Raphael, representing him at head-quarters as a man of excellent character; their object being to frustrate the plans of the Carmelites, and hereby to pave the way towards the resumption of their lost power. After long delays, the issue of all this painful business was, that Raphael was to be set aside;—he died in 1695,

¹ Friar Matthew returned to Malabar after a time. He died at Cochin in 1691, at the great age of 90 years, and was buried in the church he had founded at Verapoli.

² "He is said to have presided over the Roman division of the diocese in a manner that gave general satisfaction," says Hough. *Christianity in India*, vol ii., p. 383. He must have learned this from some writer opposed to the Carmelites.

before the sentence could be put in force, and was buried in the church of South Pallipúram. After the death of Raphael, Bartholomew, through remorse of conscience, was led to seek pardon of his offences from his brother Missionaries, and was appointed Vicar of Pallipuram; but when he felt his end approaching, he was removed at his own desire to Verapoli, where he died with deep expressions of penitence.

That the utmost confusion prevailed at this time we have further testimony from the native Christians themselves, who, in alluding especially to this period of their history, and to what their forefathers suffered from both Jesuits and Carmelites, observe: "The above-mentioned two Orders trouble our Church, and bring dishonour upon her; they seize our priests, and by confining them closely cause their death; their servants also maim them in their bodies. If our Metran deposes a priest from his office, then their Metran immediately reinstates him; if our Metran pronounces the Maharon (*curse of excommunication*), then theirs absolves. Certain of their priests, when visiting some of our churches, openly and privately transgressed the seventh commandment, and committed sundry other crimes. On this account the heathen look upon us with scorn and contempt."

To remedy these evils and restore peace, if possible, to Malabar, Angelus Franciscus was appointed successor to Raphael, and was consecrated in 1701, in the church of Allungáda. The Syrians' compendium of their history thus speaks of him: "After this came another Carmelite, sent by the Pope, who had a long beard. On his arrival he said he was not of the Roman Catholics, and wished to join himself to us. He used much flattering language, and offered bribes, and endeavoured to deceive us. This Bishop was afterwards called the Bishop of Verapoly. He governed the followers of Bishop Alexander, and from that time the Pope has sent regularly bishops to Verapoly." If this account be true—and we have no reason to doubt its truth—it would appear that this new bishop took a leaf out of the book of the Jesuits, who, when going among the high-caste Hindoos, represented themselves as Brahmins from the West, hoping to catch the simple folk with guile; his *long beard*, and the fact of his *extorting* (as we shall see) consecration from an *Oriental* bishop, may have had something to do with these new tactics.

There is a mystery about this man's consecration which needs some inquiry. Paoli tells us that the Archbishop of Goa and the Bishop of Cochin would have nothing to do with it, being zealous supporters of the claims of the Crown of Portugal to the patronage of all the episcopal sees in India; but he does not tell us *who* officiated at his consecration, which he says took place at Allungáda in 1701. However, in a Syrian document¹ before quoted, after mention is made of the consecration of Raphael, we read that the

Syrian Christians "insisted that they would not submit to a Portuguese Metran. About this time Mar Simon, a Syrian, was on his way to be our Metran. But the Paulists (*Jesuits*) detained him at Tanúr. Some Carmelite priests went there, and took charge of him, promising to banish him from the country. They took him first to the church of Allungáda, and after they had *brought about the consecration of Padre Angelos*, they put Mar Simon on board a ship, and took him to Pondicherry, where he was imprisoned, and died a most miserable death."

To this same Oriental bishop Mar Gabriel alludes: "In the beginning of the year 1700, the Bishop Mar Symons, sent by the Catholic Patriarch of the East, arrived in India, being appointed to Malabar.¹ This man gave notice of his intended arrival by letters to the Syrian Christians, which happening to fall into the hands of the Carmelites and Jesuits, they accordingly placed sentinels everywhere, captured the bishop, and led him prisoner to Pondicherry, where they kept him in irons." Gabriel makes no mention of any consecration, and hence he does not confirm this part of the story; but the native Cattanars at Angamále and other churches in the vicinity of Allungáda were in a better position to know the whole truth.

Paoli is not likely to mention anything which casts a shadow upon the proceedings of men of his own Order—this may account for his silence; and especially when he tells us that Bishop Angelus was a man much esteemed for his piety and zeal, and that in 1709, on account of the continued absence of the proper bishops, he was confirmed as Vicar Apostolic of the dioceses of Cranganore and Cochin, in addition to that of Verapoli. He died October 17th, 1712, and was buried in the church of St. Joseph at Verapoli, under the wall, on the gospel side of the altar; to which spot the Malabars afterwards resorted for the purpose of venerating the deceased.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Carmelite Missionaries obtained from the Dutch a recognized legal status in the country. There had been frequent misunderstandings between some of the Dutch Commandants and the fathers; but they were brought to a better agreement in 1698, by the aid of the Emperor Leopold, and an Archbishop of Ancyra, who was nephew of Pope Innocent XII. Permission was obtained, from the Dutch East

¹ Bishop Angelus's consecration would not surely have been valid unless the consecrating bishop had acknowledged the Pope and used the service appointed by him? The history of Rome's missions to the Oriental Churches abounds with stories of supposed *reconciliations*, which continue as long as convenient, and cease when inconvenient. The head of the Nestorian party who resided at Bagdad, and afterwards at Mosul was usually called "*the Catholic*." If the Patriarch himself were not in union with Rome, Mar Simon possibly assented to the Romish creed and was induced to use the Ordinal of Rome on this occasion.

India Company, for the Carmelites to reside in their territories, with the understanding that they must be either Belgians, Germans, or Italians, and well affected to the Dutch Government. This resolution of the Senate of the Dutch East India Company was dated April 1st, 1698; and the Lord Administrator, to whom the matter was remitted, confirmed it on the 8th of the same month, and added that twelve Carmelite monks and one bishop might reside; but that all other European Missionaries should be excluded, whatever their nation or Order; and they further exhorted the Archbishop of Ancyra to obtain from the Emperor Leopold religious liberty for the persecuted and oppressed Protestants of Hungary, which was afterwards granted.

The existence of this *Concordat* with the Romanists led the Dutch authorities at Cochin to pay marked respect to a Carmelite Vicar Apostolic, especially when he came to pay his first visit of ceremony to a newly-arrived Governor. On such occasions he was escorted with great pomp, and carried in the Governor's carriage, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, the guns firing as he went to and returned from his official residence. The Vicars Apostolic were also, at such times accompanied by a guard of honour, consisting of 5,000 native Christians bearing swords and shields. It is true all this attention paid to a Papal emissary, was sorely offensive to many of the Protestant Hollanders; but most of their Governors sanctioned it, as a matter of worldly expediency. "We cannot but wonder (exclaims Visscher) at the manner in which our former Commandants received these priests; they saluted them with a display of arms, and firing of cannon, showing to them the same honour as to kings; thereby grieving all true Protestants, whilst the Romanists were extremely delighted to see their bishops so much more honoured than our chaplains. Any one can see with what purpose this was done, who remembers how selfishness and love of money prevail throughout the world." However, the Commandant co-temporary with Visscher, John Hertenberg, described by him as a man of noble character, was "extremely averse (he tells us) to such proceedings," and had done away with them.

It has been already stated that Mar Alexander's wish was that his *nephew* should be consecrated as his successor. Hereby he was attempting to carry out a custom sanctioned by the example of the heads of the Nestorian Church, since Mar Shimoon, Patriarch of Persia in 1450, enacted a law that his successors should be chosen from his nearest relatives; and in accordance with this, not only the Patriarchate, but also many of the bishoprics have been pre-

¹ That all Governors neither thought nor acted alike appears from Paoli; Abraham Vink (he records) granted this honour to D. Angelus Franciscus Hertenberg *refused* it to the Bishop of Limirensis; D. Senf granted it to D. Florentius, and Adrian Moëus to D. Carolus a St. Conrad, and to D. Aloysius in 1787. (*India Orientalis Christiana.*)

served through many generations in the same family in that country. Although this systematic nepotism was strongly opposed by the Carmelites—on the lowest grounds as an unwise and inconvenient plan—one can comprehend how the native Christians themselves, with such precedents before them, supported it with strong feelings, somewhat akin to that loyalty which holds with tenacity the law of succession to some hereditary monarchy.

We are therefore not surprised to find that this nepotism prevailed amongst the Syrians who were independent of Rome. Mar Thomas the Great was succeeded by his *brother*, called Mar Thomas II., who was killed by a thunderbolt—as stated in a letter written by Matthew the Carmelite to Van Rheede—not long after his appointment. He, again, was succeeded by a nephew, Mar Thomas III., who received the mitre at Kothamungalum; but, from whom is not stated. A Mar Thomas IV., of the same family, came next, whom Paoli stigmatises as “a lay intruder;” but whilst he presided over the interests of the community in 1685, a fresh party of Jacobite ecclesiastics arrived from the Patriarch of Antioch to manage the affairs of the Church, to the discomfiture of the native prelate or president.

Paoli speaks of Thomas II. as well as Thomas IV. being laymen; and it is not improbable that their consecration or appointment to the office of Overseer in the church was informal; yet we must not too easily be misled by expressions of this kind from a writer whose object was to depreciate all ecclesiastical organizations independent of Rome. Enough remains to prove that these poor down-trodden Syrians were most anxious (and ever have been so) to maintain a regular succession of episcopal rulers; and their superstitious veneration for anciently prescribed order would induce them to avoid all unnecessary irregularities. We remember well how slanderous stories have been invented by the agents of Rome (such as that about the *Nag's Head Tavern*) to throw discredit upon the ordination of Archbishop Parker; and thus to make it appear that episcopal succession in the Church of England is vitiated. That similar attempts were also made in the same century to damage the Syrian episcopate in Malabar appears plain from the following extract from the letter addressed by the Bishop of Cochin to the Synod of Udiamparúr, wherein, speaking of the Nestorian bishops he scornfully describes them as prelates “who gave orders, and dispensations, and did everything that belongs to a bishop without being bishops themselves, or so much as priests or clerks, but were *pure laicks*. . . . Brethren, this is the fruit that they send you from Babylon, hereticks, and *pure laicks*, and barbarians for bishops.”

It is quite possible that there also were times when the succession was broken, and the chief ruler of the Church was little more than a Vicar General, taking charge of the Government of the Church until a properly authorised Governor should arrive; and further possible, that they have been imposed upon by the arrival of a mere

pretender to the episcopal office; but experience teaches us that stories of this kind, from a purely Romish quarter, should be received with extreme caution.

When Mar Thomas IV. presided over the Syrian party a man of this last mentioned description is said to have arrived, Andrew by name, who styled himself a Patriarch, and professed to be the bearer of a Brief from the Pope; but the Carmelite Missionaries reported him to be nothing more than a renegade Jacobite priest. Paoli says he was much given to wine, on which account he was not very acceptable to the Syrians who adhered to Mar Thoma. He came to Malabar in 1676, and lived first at Callurcáda, and afterwards at Kallida, where eventually he fell into the river in a drunken fit, and was drowned. When at Vaypur in 1782, Paoli ascertained, he observes, that "these uncivilized southern Schismatics called him the Kallida *Múppen*, or *elder* of their Church; and offered cocks and hens at his tomb, on the anniversary of his decease. Traditions still current among the Syrians themselves partially corroborate Paoli's account, confirming his statements as to the drinking habits of the man, and (sad to say) as to the heathenish manner in which his name was had in remembrance. How gross the darkness and superstition which enshrouded the churches about Quilon at this time; and how great was their need of Christian Missionaries who would teach them some "more excellent way!"

It was in 1685—the last year of the life of Mar Thomas IV.—that the party of ecclesiastics recently referred to arrived from Antioch. They were headed by John, a Jacobite bishop from Mosul, who was styled Maphrian (literally *fruit-bearer*) and Catholic. Basilius, a bishop of inferior rank,¹ two Armenian priests, and a Greek made up the company. To spread their religious tenets in Travancore, they issued letters which were answered by Bartholomew Hanna, the Roman Catholic Professor of Syriac. Mar Thomas IV., from some unstated causes, is said to have been opposed to them—probably from an endeavour on their part to set him aside, and ignore his claims to govern the Church; and from seeing himself largely deserted by his own people who would be fascinated by these Antiochean bishops.

John removed crucifixes and images from the churches, but allowed pictures to be venerated. He settled at Pálaya; and the Syrians speak of him as the founder of their church at Rákáda in the Cochin State; but he did not live long. At Múlantúrúttá a wooden shrine, still standing in the church, marks his last resting place. Another Antiochean Metran, Mar Gregory, who died in 1772, lies buried beside him.

In confirmation of Mar John's aversion to images when our own

¹ Asseman and Raulini both call Basilius the Maphrian, and state that John succeeded him as Metropolitan. Paoli, as likely to have been best informed about such matters, from his long residence among the Syrian Christians is here followed.

Bishop Middleton, of Calcutta, was visiting this church in 1816, he observed that the heads were broken off the figures of the Apostles in a piece of carved work over the main altar, representing the Last Supper; and on enquiry was told they had been mutilated by the Metrans who came from Antioch, two of whom were interred in the church. There can be little doubt that the mission of these men did some good to the Syrians who were independent of Rome—correcting some, at least, of their false doctrines, and superstitious and vicious practices—leading them to retrace their steps, in certain particulars, wherein they had departed from the opinions of their forefathers—encouraging them to preserve their independence, and to maintain a bold front against Rome's encroachments.

Mar Thomas IV. died in April, 1686, and was succeeded by his nephew, Thomas V., whom Paoli—influenced we fear by his Papal prejudices—persists in calling a *layman*, though he professed to have received consecration from Mar Basilus who came with Mar John, and resided at Kothamungalum. Paoli further states that all his study was to get himself appointed Bishop of Malabar, either by the Pope or the Patriarch of Antioch, hoping that he would then be enabled to drive out either the Romanists, or the foreign Jacobite ecclesiastics; and that to effect this object he wrote to the Pope from Eddapully, where he sometimes resided.

Raulini supplies us with further particulars on this point. It appears from his account that in 1704, when all the Christians took alarm at the See of Cranganore being again filled by a Jesuit Archbishop, the Syrians associated with Mar Thomas V. assembled in the Church of St. George the Martyr at Eddapilly, and drew up a petition to the *Pope*. This fact indicates how strong the bias towards Romish teaching must still have been; and can one wonder when for several generations the Cattanars had been trained either in Romish Seminaries, or under men who were to a great extent Romanizers?

The petition begins with a reference to the vexations they had experienced in bye gone days from the Jesuits under Archbishop Garzia, on account of which they seceded from Rome; next they congratulate the Pope on the greater success which had attended the Carmelite Mission; then they beg that his Holiness would command the Syrian rites and customs to be observed throughout the whole of Malabar; and finally declare that their Church could not be better managed than by *dividing* the administration of affairs between Bishop Angelus, and Mar Thomas their President! The petition bears the episcopal subscription as follows: "*Thomas Episcopus pauper et humilis: Porta totius Indie.*"

Bishop Angelus forwarded this Document to Rome, by a father Augustine, who was to lay it before the Pope, and at the same time request that the priests of his diocese might use indiscriminately leavened or unleavened bread in the celebration of the Mass. He hoped the Schismatics would hereby be the more readily brought back to the Roman Church; since, those who were priests amongst them had had their orders invalidated by the use of leavened bread

on the occasion of their ordination. Neither Mar Thomas's petition, nor Bishop Angelus's *Eirenicon* seem to have met with any favour from Rome.

It was with this Mar Thomas V. that Charles Schaaf, Professor of Oriental languages at Leyden, entered into correspondence of a friendly nature about 1709, on the return of the Dutch Governor Van der Duyn to Holland.¹ Thomas V. died in 1717, in the hour of his departure placing the mitre on his own nephew, and giving into his hands his pastoral staff and ring.

A letter written by his successor, Thomas VI., to the Patriarch of Antioch in 1720, is preserved by Asseman. After the customary laudations of the majesty of the successor of St. Peter at Antioch, and professions of his own unworthiness to write to one so great and holy, he states that the necessity of the orthodox Syrians of India urged him thereto. He speaks of the mission of Mar Gregorius (the first Jacobite Metran), of his successor Andrew, of Basilius the Catholic, and John the Metropolitan who accompanied him, together with Rabban Matthew. They were now all dead, and their church was left—(*in reference to the navigation of the native craft on the Backwater of his country*)—like a vessel without a propelling pole; and he urgently asks his "lord" Ignatius to send them a Patriarch, a Metropolitan, and two priests learned in the Holy Scriptures. He further informs the Patriarch of the arrival in Malabar of the Nestorian bishop, Mar Gabriel, a Ninevite; but, as he taught the people that there were two natures and persons in Christ, none believed him except a certain presbyter named Beticutel Matthew, and a few others connected with the Romish party. From his own lack of wisdom he felt himself incompetent to answer these men, and hence applied to Antioch for assistance. He refers also to the correspondence with the learned Dutch Doctor Charles (*Schaaf*), and speaks of him with great affection. He moreover requests the Patriarch to write to the Governor of Cochin, and also to himself, that the Governor may be induced at all times to assist him against his enemies the heathen Rajahs; and he especially desires to be commended to the favour of a King *Comphocius*, who had great respect for the Dutch, was very illustrious among the native princes, governed his people well, and together with the Dutch honoured Antioch and despised Rome.

This long and interesting letter was dated from the Church of St. Thomas, North Parúr, 25th day of the month Elul (*September*) 1720; but the Antiochian Patriarch does not appear to have sent the help required; and the Syrians had to struggle on, as best they could, for more than a quarter of a century before any aid of the kind requested came to them from without.

Some light is thrown on Syrian Church History in Malabar at this particular period by the valuable letters of Jacob Canter Visscher, who was Dutch Chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1720,

¹ See Chapter I., p. 9.

and a painstaking observer of all he saw and heard in the country. He maintained, as already seen, friendly relations with some of the Syrian Christians; and in one of his letters sketches out a scheme by which his Protestant fellow-countrymen might confer lasting benefits of the highest value, upon this community; but he passed off the scene in due course, and nothing was done. In one of his letters he gives a graphic description of the two Syrian bishops co-temporary with himself.

Mar Gabriel the Nestorian was then living at Cottayam, and Visscher went thither to see him. We quote his words :—"Mar Gabriel, a white man, and sent hither from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance, and dresses nearly in the same fashion as the Jewish priests of old, wearing a cap fashioned like a turban, and a long white beard. He is courteous and God-fearing, and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp. Round his neck he wears a golden crucifix (*cross* ?). He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from all animal food. His house, rather a large one for the habits of the Malabar people, is situated on a hill in the kingdom of Tekkenkoer. He holds the Nestorian doctrines respecting the union of the two natures in our Saviour's person." Speaking of the last named native State in another letter he says :—"The Bishop, Mar Gabriel, resides in it, his church and dwelling being situated on a hill along the foot of which runs the river. The Rajah lives on the other side of the river in the plain,¹ having a neat palace, according to the native fashion. He is very courteous; and as soon as he heard from the bishop of my arrival, he came with all haste from his country house, at five miles distance, to visit me, and presented me with two golden bracelets."

Visscher's impressions of Mar Gabriel's Jacobite rival were not so pleasing :—"Mar Thomas, the other Bishop, is a native of Malabar. He is a black man, dull, and slow of understanding. He lives in great state; and when he came into the city to visit the Commandant, he was attended by a number of soldiers bearing swords and shields, in imitation of the princes of Malabar. He wears on his head a silken cowl, embroidered with crosses, in form much resembling that of the Carmelites. He is a weak-minded rhodomontader, and boasted greatly to us of being an Eutychian in his creed, accusing the rival Bishop of heresy. According to his own account, he has 45 churches under his own authority; the remainder adhering to Bishop Gabriel. And thus we see that these St. Thomas' Christians are divided into two parties; a circumstance of which the Romish priests do not fail to take advantage."

Mar Gabriel the Nestorian is charged by Raulini with attempting to play a double part in order to gain his purpose, and establish himself among the Malabar Christians. Before going out to India,

¹ The descendants of the Thekkencore Rajahs reside at a place called Nattacherry, a few miles north-east of Cottayam, where the old native palace still exists.

he is stated to have sent a profession of his faith from Mesopotamia to the College of the Propaganda at Rome, in order to facilitate his reception in Malabar; trusting that he would be received by the Syrians, because he was devoted to the Patriarchate of Babylon; and by the Romish party, because his creed was approved at Rome! But in the same year, 1704, the Congregation of the Propaganda replied to Gabriel, commending his inclination toward Rome, but not his profession of faith, which was adjudged to be both unsound and insincere; and further forwarding to him another formal profession, drawn up by Pope Urban VIII., to which he was to affix his signature. He does not appear to have taken this advice; but, when he ultimately left for India, he took thither his correspondence with the Propaganda, hoping it would be of some service there.

He arrived in Malabar (Paoli says) in December, 1708, in an English ship from Madras, and landed at Quilon; by which means he completely avoided the snares which were not improbably set for him on the Western Coast, and escaped the Inquisition of Goa. Paoli adds, that he was an implacable enemy of the Jacobites and their Metran Thomas de Campo; and further, that he circumvented the Romanists by various deceitful contrivances, that he might draw them over to his side.

That he had some intercourse with the latter appears from Raulini's statement that Bishop Angelus, perceiving that he did not sincerely maintain the orthodox faith, endeavoured to drive him out of his diocese, which he would have done but that Gabriel subscribed to a new profession of faith, and was allowed to continue; however, in 1715, he threw off his mask, and showed plainly that he was, and had all along been, a Nestorian.

It is to these recorded accusations against Gabriel that Paoli doubtless alludes; and if true, this coquetting with Rome—which has been, and is no uncommon thing with Oriental Bishops where Romish ecclesiastics have their missions amongst them—is a most painful circumstance, and one that reflects great discredit upon the character of Mar Gabriel, notwithstanding the good opinion the Dutch Chaplain, some few years later, was induced to form of him.

There is no doubt that the Syrians and Romo-Syrians were very much mixed up together at this time, and approached one another far nearer in sentiment and practice than they do now-a-days, for no fewer than eighteen of their churches were regarded as the common property of both parties; and even the Church at Cottayam, adjoining which Mar Gabriel lived, was not exempt. Visscher, alluding to this state of things, says: "In some the service is performed by Syrians and Papists indifferently, not a little to the grief of the former, who are scandalized at the multiplicity of images introduced by their rivals. Of this feeling I was myself a witness at Tekkenkoer (*meaning Cottayam*), where, on my entrance into the sacred edifice, the Bishop then in residence gave vent to his abhorrence of them."

Yet the Syrian party maintained many of their old opinions and customs handed down from their forefathers, as we learn from the following words of Visscher : “ I have witnessed their celebration of the Lord’s Supper. The consecration was performed in the native language, by a priest before the altar, with a number of ceremonies, in this respect resembling the Romish Mass; but, in essentials, they are orthodox, as they do not allow that the bread is changed into the body of the Lord, and affirm that it is broken only in remembrance of His death. They likewise give the cup to the laity; though their method of distributing the elements differs slightly from ours, the priest taking the bread and dipping it into the wine, and then placing the pieces in the mouths of the Communicants, one after the other. They receive kneeling, with napkins round their necks.”

The sketch given us by the same writer of the costume of the Cattanars is worthy of notice, and would answer in many respects for the present day, although the mention of the *rosary*—never worn by modern Cattanars—is a further indication of the existence of Romanizing customs among the Syrians. “ The priests or teachers mostly wear white linen (*cotton?*) trowsers hanging wide over the knee, and over them an ample robe of white linen (*cotton?*) or some other material, descending to the knees. On their heads they generally wear a black cap shaped like a sugar loaf. The neck is adorned with a *rosary* of white coral, and in the hand they carry a painted cane, much longer than our walking sticks. Like the heathen they generally go barefoot, knowing nothing of shoes and stockings.”

Again he observes :—“ When I had discussed the principal doctrines of our faith with the Bishop of whom I spoke before, he was so much pleased that he wished to entrust me, on the spot, with two youths to be brought up in accordance with those doctrines. Some of these Christians when they visit Cochin, offer me their customary salutations with every appearance of esteem. Perhaps, too, the Company’s interests might readily be furthered by the course suggested ;”—alluding to an educational scheme he had in his mind—“ seeing that these people, besides being numerous, are, generally speaking, of a martial turn; not to mention that the principal pepper merchants who supply the Company are to be found among them.”

We have already noted the extreme reluctance with which the Jesuit fathers at Cranganore resigned the episcopal ornaments, and other things belonging to the See, to the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic, since they hoped some day again to have a prelate of their own Order, and to see the Archbishopric of Cranganore revived under him, in all its pristine glory. They knew well that they had good interest at the Court of Rome, and though one Pope might, from various causes, look coolly upon them, they felt themselves to be so essential to the maintenance of the Papal power, that, even though “ driven out like dogs,” (to use Borgia’s words) they would again “ be renewed as eagles.”

We shall see a partial revival of their power.

After the death of the unfortunate Raphael Figueredo, whom they evidently managed in some way to get under their influence, a certain Didacus was appointed Archbishop of Cranganore. He was not a Jesuit, but all his sympathies must have been with the old Portuguese party of the country, for he belonged to a Society of St. John the Evangelist, which flourished in Portugal. Whether he took up his appointment, and actually went out to India and governed his diocese, does not appear, and did not necessarily follow. After holding the dignity for seven years, he resigned, and made way for one who was ready for action.

In 1701 the Jesuits were gladdened by seeing John Ribeiro, an old Indian Missionary of their Order, appointed by the King of Portugal to the See. Syrians, Romo-Syrians, and Romanists, lay and clerical, secular and regular, were soon in arms. The appointment of a *Jesuit* to such a post in Malabar was distasteful to all. We have observed the Syrians in 1704 calling their convention at Eddapally, and under the direction of Mar Thomas addressing the Pope—hatred to the Jesuit rule, and a fear lest it should be again imposed on them, doubtless inspiring them. In the same year the Romo-Syrians held a similar conference at which they drew up an address to Rome.

The Romo-Syrians assembled in the lesser church at Cada-túrúttu on the 20th of June, 1704, and the document they drew up, which is signed by six priests, is headed “An Agreement and Oath drawn up by the Christians of St. Thomas on account of the coming of the Archbishop (*Ribeiro*). They describe themselves as being the representatives of the churches situated in Malabar from Púttotta¹ southwards, meeting under the presidency of the Lord Archdeacon. They complain of the delays at Rome, whither they had forwarded their suits for the hearing of the Pope; and wished him to come to some decision, and show them some favour; for *like as*, in former times even to the present, the Carmelite bishops and the fathers of that Order had not comforted them in their troubles, and distresses, nor promoted their advancement, so they, one after the other, continued to act.

From this document it would appear that the Romo-Syrians were by no means satisfied with the rule of the Carmelites, under whom the churches from North Parúr southwards were placed; and though they do not state as much, their wish evidently was to have a bishop of the *Eastern Church* from Antioch or Babylou, whence their ancestors obtained bishops; or, failing this, to have a bishop appointed from among themselves—Jesuits and Carmelites were alike obnoxious to them. Thus the children they had so judiciously

¹ Púttotta must be put for North Parúr, which is sometimes called *Púttotta* Parúr. Púttotta is another case of the noun meaning *at Putton*, or Puttona. In a similar way Cottayam is called by the Romish Missionaries Cotette and Coittotta; Chenun, Chenotta, &c.

—as they thought—nourished and brought up rebelled against their rule.

The Dutch authorities also took cognizance, about the same time, of Ribeiro's advent. The fact of his being a Jesuit, the nominee, moreover, of the King of Portugal, and his own pretensions were all against him; and the tumult and commotion caused hereby among all classes of the Native Christians, in their own territories and in the adjoining independent states, led to the publication of an Edict, dated July 9th, 1704, against "a certain Romish priest, a native of Portugal, of the Order of the Paulists, John Ribeiro by name, because that he undertakes to usurp the office and rule of a bishop, over *all* the churches of the Christians of St. Thomas, &c." The edict then proceeds to show how that the Dutch Government only recognized the Carmelite Bishop and his companions; and that, on this account, they interdict the aforesaid Ribeiro from the exercise of any authority or jurisdiction in the Roman Churches, situated in the Cochin State, or in the territories of any other of the Malabar princes; and finally that no one should acknowledge him as bishop, or render obedience to him, upon pain of their displeasure.

Ribeiro coolly retired to Ambalakáda, in the dominions of the Samorin, between whom and the Dutch there were frequent feuds; and under his wing governed the churches to the north and north-east of Cranganore, or "from Püttotta (*North Parúr*) northwards;" and continued to do so without molestation to the date of his decease in 1720. He is said to have been well skilled in the languages of the country; and to have had a perfect acquaintance with Syriac—the sacred language of the Christians of St. Thomas.

But though the Jesuits were thus excluded from the settlements of the Dutch, and from the States more especially in alliance with them, or under their protection, they continued their labours in South Travancore, as well as in the territories of the Samorin; and they, ere long, through their influence with the King of Portugal, saw even the See of Cochin again filled by a bishop of their Order, in spite of the edicts and ordinances of the Dutch Government, in 1721.

Pierre Martin, S.J., in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c., gives us a description of South Travancore in 1700. He was delighted, he tells us, to see the cross planted along the coast, on all sides: and a great number of churches in which the Christian faith was taught as Manipoulain, Reytoura, Poudoutourey, Culechy, Cabripatam, Le Topo, and Cuválam; besides which there were several others, which were like Chapels of Ease to these. At Culechy he met with P. Andre Gomez, Provincial of Malabar, who took Martin and his companions to Le Topo, where their college was then established. This building, from his account of it, was very unlike the stately piles, "fit for the reception of a King," which, only half a century before this, housed their predecessors, being nothing more than a low structure of mud walls, thatched with *cajans*—the leaves of

the cocoa-nut tree. The church adjoining, dedicated to the Virgin, was equally as simple as the college, whilst the mode of life led by the fathers is said to have corresponded with the poverty of both; since, whatever their inclination might be, they were kept poor by their heathen enemies on land, and by pirates on the ocean, who had more than once pillaged their establishment.

Martin did not continue to reside at Le Topo, for it was on the sea coast, where the Tamil spoken was of an impure nature; and as he was appointed to the too notorious Jesuit Mission in Madura, founded by Robert de Nobilis, and still carried on in the manner devised by him, it was important that he should acquire correct language and accent, before he entered the field; lest the discovery that he was a Foringhee (*Frank or European*), and not one of the "Brahmins from the North," should lead to the overthrow of the work of many generations, which had been built on this deception and imposture. He therefore was sent inland to Cotáto (*Kottar*, near Nagercoil) to perfect himself in the vernacular of his future charge.

The Church at Kottar is said to have occupied the very spot where Francis Xavier's humble cabin stood, and hence was regarded as peculiarly sacred; for, according to the *legendary* life of this saint, the heathen once set fire to his dwelling and reduced it to ashes, but whilst they stood by watching the process, they observed the holy man on his knees in prayer, untouched in the midst of the scorching flames. A cross also used to stand there, having miraculous virtues; but now a lamp in the church, kept perpetually burning, had in every respect most conveniently taken its place; for the heathen and others were in the habit of taking its oil for religious purposes, and more was thought to be consumed in this way than by the burning wick. The Roman Catholic Christians, inhabiting the Pearl Fishery Coast, had become so reduced in their circumstances, since the power of Portugal had been destroyed in those parts, that they were no longer able to ornament the image of the Saint, as formerly, with gems from the deep; and the diadem on his brow had been for many years of lead, though it had more recently been replaced by one of silver.

The *spiritual* condition of this their oldest mission may be judged of by further particulars, given us by the same Jesuit writer. Whilst he was at Kottar the feast of Xavier took place; and people came to it from 20 to 30 leagues round, so that it seemed as if the Fishery Coast and all Travancore were gathered together for the occasion.

The Jesuit fathers who had charge of the churches on the Coast were occupied from dawn, all through the day of the Feast. Whilst they were employed in various ways, Martin administered the communion to 800 Christians. At high Mass, having ejected the heathen from the church, one of the fathers mounted a pulpit placed at the church door, where he could be best heard by the multitudes within and without; and there pronounced the panegyric

of the Saint, enlarging in particular upon the miracles he had done and *still did* among them. He related one that had happened only an hour previously :—A heathen having a child afflicted in his eyes, and fearing he would become blind, applied to Xavier's image, and vowed eight fanams (40 *sous*) to the Church if he should recover. The child was soon healed, and the father, coming forward to perform his vow, presented the child to the Saint, yet, grudging so high a fee for so speedy a cure, he only paid down *five* of the fanams promised, and was going his way, but had hardly reached the door, when by its clearer light, he perceived to his utter dismay that the child's eyes were worse than ever again! Feeling that the Saint was herein punishing him for his unfaithfulness to his vow, he returned, confessed his sin, again anointed the eyes of the child with the miraculous oil, and all was well once more! The Jesuit preacher directed the Christians present to learn hence, that God's arm was not shortened, and these miracles were wrought to confirm them in their faith; and he then exhorted the heathen who heard him to submit to that God, who thus manifested His Almighty power. Martin, in his simplicity, thought the effect of this miracle would be remarkable upon the heathen—at least upon the father of the child and his family but none of the looked for effects followed.

The heathen (Martin tells us) merely regarded Xavier as one of the greatest men who had appeared in modern times, calling him the *Peria Padre*, or Great Father; and fearing him, in some sense, placed him in the ranks of their false divinities, notwithstanding the care the fathers took in instructing them as to the *particular kind of worship which was due to him*. When they urged the heathen to embrace the Christian faith, they commonly replied they could not forsake their own religion, especially for a faith so low and despicable as that of the Pranguis (*Franks*).

Lotteries seemed to have flourished in this neighbourhood, and to have been a source of profit to the Church at Kottar—as they are to Romish Churches now-a-days in Europe. Some of the heathen (Martin tells us) were accustomed to unite in a body to the number of 500 or even 600 persons, in a kind of lottery, putting in one fanam (8 *sous*) per mensem, and when the lottery was complete, the lots were drawn by a child from the urn in which they were deposited. In this way some, who before were very poor, are all at once placed in affluent circumstances. A heathen who had put into two lotteries came to Kottar, and vowed 5 fanams to the Saint, if successful in the first lottery. He published his vow to his companions, who were presently surprised to find him successful. He then returned to the Church, and vowed 10 fanams, if the Saint granted him success in the second lottery. He had such strong confidence in what he had done, that he told his friends that it was no use their hoping for the prize—the Saint would certainly help him. The excitement hereupon greatly increased, and they began to lay wagers on the issue. Presently, to the wonder of all, he was again the winner. The Jesuit priests took occasion upon this to persuade the man who had won the

prizes, to change his religion, and to believe in the God through whom he had been so greatly favoured; but he declined giving his consent thereto.

Multitudes of men, women, and children still annually flock to Kottar Church, to worship the Saint and his image; but one does not frequently hear of miracles being wrought, most probably owing to the fact that in its immediate neighbourhood the London Missionary Society has a most flourishing mission; and, such as have an unhealthy hankering after the Romish mode of carrying on missions to the heathen, cannot do better than visit Nagercoil and its vicinity, spend a whole month among the people, and note well and compare the social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual results of Rome's mission of three centuries, and this unpretending Protestant Society's mission of fifty or sixty years; and then, if he be an honest minded man, and a believer in the pure gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and the purpose of His coming into this world, there can be no doubt as to his ultimate decision.¹

Between the Jesuit College of Le Topo in the south and that at Ambalakáda in the north, there was doubtless frequent communication, and Jesuits passed to and fro through the countries under Dutch influence, assuming various disguises, as they have been often known to do in Europe. A German from the Western Coast of India, mentioned to Sartorius in 1732, that when at Cochin he met a man in the dress of a Brahmin, and called out to his companion to notice how much he resembled a European: "I am a European"—the man exclaimed to their surprise—"I am a Padre. We are obliged to appear so among the heathens, lest they should know us."

The Jesuit Father Francis de Vasconcellos, who became Bishop of Cochin in 1721, never resided in the place, because of the stern edict of the Dutch; but in South Travancore, at a place called Mampulli—where F. Xavier built his first chapel, and on its decay a church of a more substantial nature was erected in 1568. This

¹ Bishop Cotton speaks thus of some of the incidents of his visit to Nagercoil, January 22nd, 1864: "In the afternoon I proceeded—I record it with all due terror of 'The Guardian'—to the Mission Church. A row of chairs was placed for the visitors, and two large bible classes—one of catechists and schoolmasters, the other of women—sat on the floor. I gave them a tolerably searching examination in the rudiments of Christian theology, chiefly following the order of the Apostles' Creed, and the answers generally were remarkably good, especially those given by the women—a striking contrast to the condition of the female sex before Christianity spread its influence over the land. One woman showed herself capable of meeting Colenso in argument, for when the text 'Jesus increased in wisdom and stature' was mentioned as a proof of His perfect humanity, I asked if that threw any doubt over the infallibility of His teaching? She replied by saying, that the Spirit was given to Him without measure when He began His ministry. Finally I addressed to them a few words of exhortation."

bishop could not get on with the Carmelite Vicars Apostolic, writing specially against Bishop Limira to the Propaganda as a "violater of laws."

Another Jesuit Bishop D. Clement Joseph Collaco Leitao succeeded him in 1745, and he also lived in the far south, chiefly at Anjengo, the oldest British Factory on the Malabar coast. Paoli speaks of certain letters from him being in existence in MS., in which he commends the Christians of Travancore in 1755 to the Rajah of the State, and implores his assistance against the foreign Schismatic Bishops—the party of Jacobite ecclesiastics whom we shall presently speak of as arriving in 1751—"who were tearing the Catholic flock to pieces." This bishop died at Quilon in the Church called Mudiakra, where he lies buried.

As an illustration of the way in which she, who proclaims herself to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, manifests her parental affection, we would here note, that by a careful examination of the list of twenty-one bishops of Cochin, given by Paoli, it appears that some were translated very soon after their appointment, others were chosen but declined the honour, and others were consecrated but *never resided in their diocese*; and hence, to use the words of this Roman Catholic writer, "few of them arrived in their diocese, and thus *the greater part of its existence the See has been vacant.*"

To return to the native Syrian bishops and their doings—Mar Thomas VI. was succeeded by Mar Thomas VII.—apparently in 1728, in which year the older Metran wrote to the Tranquebar Missionaries deploring the divisions amongst the Malabar Syrians.

This leads us to touch upon the first opening of a correspondence between this people and some influential members of the Church of England. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge kept up stated intercourse with the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar, whom they liberally aided with funds for mission purposes. Some of its managers, about 1725, called their attention to the Syrian Christians, hoping that they might be able to form some kind of union with them, and receive assistance from the Cattanars in their efforts to spread the Gospel in India. The Danes upon this wrote to the Rev. Valerius Nicolai, Dutch Chaplain of Cochin, who, in reply, gave them little encouragement from the ignorance that prevailed amongst the clergy. In 1727 they wrote to the aged Metran Thomas VI.; and he answered them in the following year—that of his decease.

The Tanjore Missionaries, Kolhoff and Horst, drew up a memorandum, embodying the conclusions to which they were compelled to come as the result of this enquiry, which shows "how unfit"—they observe—the Syrian Clergy are to be Protestant Missionaries. 1. They were then "split into two sects directly opposite to each other, yet equally receding from the orthodox doctrine of the Christian Church—Nestorians and Eutychians." They had further become *Romanized* in many particulars, which militated against the

39 Articles and the Nicene Creed. 2. They were so ignorant that they could not be employed as sub-assistants to the native Catechists; and yet so wedded to their opinions as to demand from others conformity to their persuasion and ritual. 3. Their proper language was Malayálim, not Syriac, and they only knew enough of the latter to go through their liturgical services. 4. Through caste pride, the Cattanars had hardly any intercourse with those of inferior caste, whereby they incapacitated themselves for the propagation of Christianity. The two Missionaries conclude their memorandum with these remarks:—"We hope the above reasons will justify our request, that we may be excused from admitting those Christians to a union of faith with ourselves, and to the office of teachers in our orthodox congregations, in violation of our ordination oath."

The very year after his appointment Mar Thomas VII. wrote to the Dutch Commandant at Cochin, inveighing against the doctrines and practices of Nestorians and Romanists alike, concluding his letter with these words:—"We, on the contrary, acknowledge the Church of Antioch as 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 the same day. Also in fasting there is a difference between us and them. Mar Gabriel with the Christians in the south, keep the fasts and holy days according to the rule of Antioch; but the Mass or the Lord's Supper with wafers he causes to be administered after the Romish way."

The Chaplain Nicolai was directed to answer this letter, which he did on the 11th of the following month, July, 1729, addressing epistles to both the Syrian bishops, telling Mar Thomas that he was a Eutychian, and Mar Gabriel that he was a Nestorian; and offering to mediate between them in order to unite them in the orthodox faith. Mar Thomas replied that he could not answer Nicolai until he had received permission from his superior, the Patriarch of Antioch, dating his letter from Kandanáda, February 11th, 1730. Mar Gabriel in reply, wrote several letters "in a *papistical* strain."

Mar Gabriel died in 1731, after a residence of twenty-two years in India; and Paoli tells a curious story about Mar Thomas—related to him by the Senior Cattanar of South Pallipúram, who afterwards served in the church at Callurcáda, and had been ordained by Gabriel—viz.: that when he heard that his rival was in a dying state (not being satisfied with the consecration he had received from his own uncle), he hastened to Cottayam, with the utmost speed, to be reconciled to Gabriel, and receive from him re-consecration; but the dying bishop had breathed his last before he reached the place.

In 1737 Mar Thomas, on the occasion of an official visit to Cochin, requested "the Dutch Company's protection against the Romanists for the churches of his diocese." This being assured to him, he then preceeded to demand the aid of the Commandant in

reducing the Romo-Syrians to obedience, and in expelling the Jesuits and Carmelites. To the adoption of the last-named course the Commandant naturally demurred; advising the bishop to use the force of argument; and should any become convinced, and the Romish priests put obstacles in the way of their return, it would then be time enough for him to interfere.

The Syrians, at this time, are said to have been not fully satisfied with their Metran's consecration; and had often urged the Dutch to bring them some Bishop from Mosul or Persia, to give him a valid commission. Paoli adds, that at last Ezechiel, the most influential Jewish merchant at Cochin, proffered them assistance; and in 1747 imported in a Dutch ship from Bussorah, a foreigner named John, who was really a *Jewish impostor*; and that David, the son of Ezechiel, often candidly confessed this to him. This man burnt the images and the crosses in the churches of Kandanáda, Múlanthúrúttá, Púruwum, Málícolum, and other places; and in August, 1748, stole the silver furniture of one of the churches. He moreover was given to much wine, and when intoxicated excited quarrels; till at last his misconduct led to his being placed on board a ship, and sent back to Bussorah. Happily he did not go through the form of consecrating Mar Thomas. If this story be true, it reflects an indelible stain upon the name of the Jewish merchant Ezechiel, and all concerned in so abominable a transaction.¹

The Missionaries who laboured at Madras in connexion with the Christian Knowledge Society, used frequently to meet with Syrian and Romo-Syrian priests, who were accustomed to come on pilgrimage to St. Thomas's Mount, to attend the feasts held there. They were usually found to be very ignorant and superstitious, understanding little more of the Syriac than was required to read their Church Services, as Mr. Schultz (who was a first-rate Syriac scholar himself) took the pains to ascertain. Their funds were usually exhausted by the time they reached Madras, and one object in waiting on the Missionaries was to solicit alms. They speak of two Romo-Syrians paying them a visit in December, 1732. The younger of the two could speak Syriac as well as read his Missal in quarto, which was written with red and black ink; but he was unable to read a Syriac New Testament placed before him, because the *character* was of a different kind; he pronounced it also differently from the manner in which the Missionaries had been taught at Halle by a Syrian teacher from Aleppo. Their dress was a long cassock of blue linen (*cotton?*), and a black linen (*cotton?*) cap, made almost in the shape of a hat. They were both simple and

¹ Stavorinus writing in 1776 about the Cochin Jews, tells us that one of them, called Ezechiel, who had died some years previously, had drawn most of the trade of the port into his own hands. He left three sons, who were then living, and were amongst the most opulent merchants of the place.

unlearned men, and could not therefore give any very interesting account of their fellow Christians.

Just twelve months after this a Cattanar, who had been consecrated by Mar Gabriel, paid a visit to the Tranquebar Missionaries. He said that the principal difference between Mar Gabriel and Mar Thomas (the black Jacobite bishop) was that the former celebrated the Mass in *unleavened*, the latter in *leavened* bread. He was able to read the Syriac New Testament, though the characters differed from those to which he had been used; and he further stated, that when they read to the people in the church, they explained it to them in the Malayálim language; in which the young people were taught the Creed and Lord's Prayer. This man was so strenuous an observer of caste distinctions, that he would not eat either with the Tamil Christians, or the European Missionaries; and took his Syrian cook with him wherever he travelled. Before leaving he told the Tamil schoolmaster, who had shown him hospitality, that he had been well pleased with all he had seen, and that the Missionaries were no doubt good men; but that he found three things deficient in the Protestant religion: 1. That we had not the *Poojah*, or sacrifice of the Mass. 2. Nor the *Madáhá Vanackam*, or adoration of the Mother of God. 3. Nor *Orushandi*, or fasting days.

The Danish Missionaries had a correspondent residing at Porcáda, a German, who had been educated at Halle, and he sent them scraps of information from time to time; and also a copy of the Lord's Prayer and Creed in the Malayálim language. Writing in July, 1736, he speaks of Mar Thomas residing at Cottáru (*Cottayam* ?), in the Thekkencore district; and says all that country, towards the north-east from Anjenjo, in the mountains, was full of them; but he found it difficult to converse with their Cattanars, even through an interpreter, since they interlarded their answers with many Syriac words which he was unable to make out or explain.

We need feel no surprise at the decision arrived at by these excellent men—who were among the earliest to preach an unadulterated gospel in India in recent times—that anything like union or co-operation with the Syrian Church of Malabar, for the purpose of evangelizing the heathen, was then altogether impracticable.

CHAPTER XIII.

INSIGHT INTO THE WORKING OF THE CARMELITE MISSION, CHIEFLY
FROM THE TESTIMONY OF A MEMBER OF THEIR ORDER.

Towards the middle of the last century we obtain a still further insight into the history of the Carmelite Mission from the writings of Paoli, whose name we have so often quoted, and to whose industry and careful observation we are so greatly indebted. Paoli, or as he is otherwise called, Bartolomeo, or in full, Paulini de St. Bartholomei, a native of Lower Austria, belonged to the Barefooted Carmelites; and was sent out to Malabar in 1744, where he laboured as a simple missionary for fourteen years, when he was dignified with the title of Vicar Apostolic, and afterwards of Apostolic Visitor. In or about 1790 he was recalled to Europe, to give an account of the Indian Missions; and to correct the elementary works in course of publication at Rome for the use of the Missionaries. When the French invaded Italy in 1798 he removed to Vienna—being Secretary of the College of the Propaganda at its dispersion. He returned to Rome in 1800, where he held other offices of trust, and died in 1806. His writings throw considerable light on the state of the Christian communities in Malabar; and he was undoubtedly instrumental in rendering very essential services to the Roman Catholic congregations during a very critical period of their history.

On Paoli's arrival in Travancore, John Baptist of St. Theresa (otherwise called Bishop Limira) was still living. He died, however, at Verapoli, in 1750; and was succeeded by another Carmelite named Florentius, who governed the diocese until his death in 1773. Florentius erected the Seminary at Verapoli, and a house for boarding Catechumens whilst under religious instruction; he also enlarged the hospice and oratory of the Carmelites at Muttancherry, in the suburbs of Cochin.

The Rajah of Travancore, by conquest and annexation, had then extended his dominions even further north than Verapoli, and the Carmelites were favoured with his patronage and assistance; instances of which are recorded by Paoli. When he arrived in Malabar, in 1744, a stream flowed so near the convent at Verapoli, that the water touched the steps of the door of their garden; but in the course of eight years it washed up so much earth that they acquired an entirely new garden. When it was 300 paces in length he waited on the Rajah—then staying at Parúr—and obtained a grant of this newly-formed ground, which the sub-

prior lost no time in planting with cocoa-nut and plantain trees. The Travancore Rajah and his generals, Martandapilla and M. de Lanoy, not unfrequently visited Verapoli in those days, and as a favour freed their convent and lands from taxation.

The aggressive policy of Travancore at this period, so fraught with ruin and misery to thousands and tens of thousands, is considered by Paoli to have resulted on the whole in the welfare of the community at large. "Thus ended (he observes) the dominion of the petty Malabar sovereigns and princes: then was humanity avenged; and thus were the crimes punished and the licentiousness suppressed by which this country had been disturbed ever since the tenth century."

But how superstitious, cruel, and barbarous the instrument used in effecting this change for the better must have been, may be imagined from what he tells us about Rajah Martanda Vurmah in 1746. When some unexpected obstacle prevented his advance he asked counsel of his Brahmins, and these holy men—who held as most sacred the life of a cow, and would have considered themselves defiled by any low caste man coming within a few feet of them—nevertheless directed that fifteen infants, belonging partly to the Christians of the fisher caste and partly to the heathen caste of Chogans and Shanars, should be seized—under the cover of a stormy night, when no one dreamed of any such deed of violence being in process—and conveyed into the Fort of Trevandrum, where after many ceremonies conducted by the Brahmins, they were buried alive (having various superstitious inscriptions engraved on leaves of copper attached to them) in the four quarters of the royal city! This event struck such terror—as it well might do—in the minds of the low caste people living on the sea shore, that very many families, to save their little ones, fled from the neighbourhood. These dark places of India were indeed then "full of the habitations of cruelty."

Although Paoli and the Carmelites managed to keep up friendly relations with the Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore, all Missionary operations were watched with suspicion, and means employed to check the work of proselytism among their heathen subjects. The Rajah of Cochin was accustomed to send an annual letter to the Vicar Apostolic, expressly forbidding him to receive any of his people into the Catechumen house at Verapoli; and the Rajah of Travancore threatened every high caste man about his court with imprisonment and death should they dare to turn Christians.

In consequence of these repressive statutes the Carmelite Missionaries were at times put to great straits, and did not always act in that open and candid manner which the wisdom that is from above would dictate. Such a case occurred in 1787, when certain Syrians accused them to the Travancore Rajah of making numerous converts; which rendered it necessary for Paoli to repair to the Court of Trevandrum to plead the cause of his Order. Here they wished to compel him to sign an instrument promising that the

Carmelite Bishop and his brethren would never henceforth make converts of the heathen in Travancore. About this matter much disputation arose, but at length the Prime Minister, Patmanāba Cembaga Ramapulla, took up the matter, and argued in favour of the Carmelites, that the difference between the religion of the Romanists and the Hindoos was but *trifling*, since they both *venerated images*, and carried them about in their religious processions; adding that frequently some of the Christian converts soon returned again to their former faith. Paoli adds, that then and there it was neither the time nor the place to enlarge upon the difference between Christians and Heathen; and so the argument was allowed to stand, as it told in the favour of his Church on this occasion.

A Carmelite Missionary under such circumstances, he tells us in another place, usually baptized converts from heathenism during the night, and only in the presence of some trusty persons, to avoid giving occasion to the native officials to bring complaints against him. "If he be afraid that the circumstance will not be concealed, he sends his Catechumen to Verapoli, or some other congregation under the Dutch Government, where he will be exposed to no danger. There he is fully instructed by the clergyman, or some other Christian, and then baptized."

The house for Catechumens founded at Verapoli by Bishop Florentius, consisted of two divisions, one for males and the other for females; the former was in Paoli's time under the charge of Toma Mapulla, once a Brahmin; and the latter under Vittanda Uma, a matron of three-score. As many as three hundred have been sent out thence in one year, and distributed among various congregations of Roman Catholic converts, who were called by the heathen *Marggacarer*, or people who have a law; and these Christians were estimated by Paoli at one hundred thousand, without including those who resided in the immediate neighbourhood of Cochin.

The Christian population suffered in other ways from their heathen neighbours, who in some places went so far as to endeavour to enforce their attendance at the abominable orgies celebrated in honour of their gods; which was forbidden by the Carmelites on account of their demoralising effects. At Ambalapoly there was a rich temple dedicated to Sheva, where an infamous festival called *Padeni* was annually celebrated, during which the statue of the god was carried round in the night time. It was required that Christians residing in the territories dedicated to this idol should all be present on this occasion, when the heathen performed their lewd dances; and some Christian women who refused to be present were dragged to the spectacle with violence. Paoli earnestly entreated the authorities of the State that means might be taken to prevent the overseers of the temple from thus abusing their power; but in reply, ancient usage was pleaded as a sufficient excuse for their conduct. However, at length, when Paoli was himself

invested with magisterial powers, he caused some Christian fishermen from Cattur and Tumboli, who had taken part in these festivities, to be severely beaten before the church doors, as a warning to other Christians not to participate in such abominations in future.

Then, that strange restriction that forbids the killing of a cow—regarding such act as a capital offence, peculiar to these ancient Hindoo States—was no dead letter. Paoli tells us he had often known men to be condemned to death on this account; and that on one occasion sentence of death by hanging was executed on five unhappy men concerned in the slaughter of a single cow in a little wood near Callurcáda, where he sometimes resided. So needful did they feel it to be, for the preservation of their community from persecution, if not from complete subversion, to prevent Christians from offending against this law of the State, that under Bishop Limira, for nearly twenty years, the killing of a cow for food was placed amongst those *reserved offences* for which the bishop alone could grant absolution. Beef, however, was obtainable in the Dutch territories, and here Christians were allowed to kill and eat to their hearts' content.

The case of a young man named Paillo (*Paul*) of the village of the Miraculous Cross, or Kurishingel, is stated as illustrative of the occasional scruples of their proselytes. When told after his baptism that he might now eat beef, he replied that he regarded the killing of a cow and eating its flesh in the same light as murdering his own mother and partaking of her flesh! Yet, lest he should even *appear* to despise the precepts of his spiritual guides, he pulled away a tiny fibre from a piece of beef placed before him, and ate it in the presence of his new friends.

The mixed motives which induced many to seek for Christian baptism are honestly avowed by Paoli; and this proves how much more trustworthy he is than the Jesuit writers, who would have us believe that their Missions in India enjoyed more than Pentecostal blessings, which made their converts, by the angelic purity of their lives, to surpass even those of the Apostolic age. All who are acquainted with the practical difficulties which attend Mission work among the natives of India will feel that Paoli writes like an honest man when he says—speaking of the candidates who found their way to Verapoli—"their view on these occasions generally is to marry some Christian; to shun the persecution of some despotic ruler, to avoid a law suit, or to live in a happier manner under the Dutch Government. Such motives are indeed not pure and disinterested; but it often happens that they are sanctified by the blessing of God. Even if these people are not sincere in their conversion, their posterity at least abandon the Pagan vices, and strive to be real followers of Jesus Christ." How much more natural and truthlike than the statement of the Jesuit Martin, that after the people in the Madura Mission once became Christians they lived like angels, and that he has sometimes listened to the

confessions of several villages without finding among them a single individual guilty of a mortal sin !

The Carmelite Missionaries were at times subject to annoyance from Hindoo officials on other accounts, an instance of which occurred in 1774, when the *Pravaticarer* (*district officer*) took possession of their rice fields and gardens, on the plea that they neglected to pay the usual taxes to the government. The Carmelites insisted on their immunity—the Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister Martanda, under a former Rajah having declared them free from all burdens of the kind. However, fifty Moplays were sent to blockade the seminary and church at Verapoli, so that Bishop Carolus became half dead with fright. Paoli, who was there at the time, tried to compose his mind, and lost no time in proceeding to Trevandrum to lay the whole matter before the Travancore Rajah in person ; availing himself of this opportunity also to convey letters from Pope Clement XIV., in which the Christians of the country were specially commended to his favour and protection. According to Eastern custom in visiting a great person, Paoli took with him a present consisting of two European paintings, a large mirror, 15lbs. of red sandal wood, and 12 bottles of Persian rose water.

In 1780 he was the bearer of a similar letter from the same Pontiff ; and then he and his companion, Clement a Jesu, were saluted as they entered the city with eleven guns, in honour of the Papal Brief, which was read in public durbar. It was considered most important to secure if possible the favour of the Rajah towards his Christian subjects, so that they might have one to whom they could appeal in cases of injustice and oppression.

Four years after this another grievance compelled Paoli to visit the capital. In April, 1784, the overseers of the temple of Sheva in Muttancherry would not permit the Missionaries to sow the rice fields which they held on lease from them. These fields being situated in Travancore territory, the Governor of Cochin, Van Angelbec, furnished Paoli with letters to the Rajah, who on this occasion also received him most graciously, giving him a golden bracelet and style, rescript authority to cultivate the fields, and a letter to the native civil officer at Parúr, stating that the Carmelite Missionary was appointed one of the gentlemen of his Court.

Correspondence was not then carried on between the East and Europe with the rapidity of the present day, as we may gather from the fact that the Pope's letters were not replied to till 1790, when Paoli returned to Europe with the Rajah's assurances that he would take due care of his Christian subjects. This reply was duly laid before the reigning Pope, Pius VI.

Paoli resided for two years at Anjengo—the old English settlement 19 miles north of Trevandrum ; and as often as the Rajah, Rama Vurmah, passed by the parsonage house, two officers were invariably sent to enquire after the padre's health. From his personal intercourse with this prince he formed the conclusion that

he had a great leaning towards Christianity. The Rajah often sent for him, and had long conversations, which excited the suspicions of the Brahmins, who accordingly did their best to render his "mind evil affected" to the creed of the foreigner; and what made them all the more suspicious was that they usually, on such occasions, conversed in *English*, then an unknown tongue to the Trevandrum Brahmins. At the request of this prince, Paoli composed at Chetiâte a triglot grammar in Malayálim, Portuguese, and English, to assist the officers of his Court in acquiring some knowledge of English, which was then beginning to become an acquisition of some importance to them.

The see of Verapoli being vacant in 1785, Paoli, for some little time, held the office of Vicar General. Bishop Carolus having been taken seriously ill when on a visit to Bombay, died there in January of the same year. In his new office he had opportunities of increased acquaintance with the state of the diocese, and wider intercourse with priests and people. But even during the lifetime of the bishop, though only a presbyter, he had been authorized by Clement XII. to aid the bishop (who appears to have been an invalid), in the administration of the rite of confirmation, which is reserved amongst ourselves to bishops only. In 1780 and 1781 he tells us he confirmed 20,000 persons, visiting Angamále, Malliatúr, Kothamungalum, Múlicolum, Puthenpalli, Manapra, and other distant stations in the wild and unfrequented parts of the country. The people were so eager for this rite, that the sick were even brought on their couches to the churches where it was administered.

The Carmelites seem to have made a more favourable impression on the native congregations than the Jesuits, and the clergy trained in Jesuit colleges. In 1783 some of the latter having imposed fines on the churches of the fishermen in South Travancore, complaints were made to the Rajah, and a request made that he would interfere and expel these ecclesiastics; upon which the Rajah wrote to Verapoli, desiring the Vicar Apostolic to receive seventy-five congregations which had resolved to separate themselves from the bishopric of Cochin; and to come at once, and inquire into the proceedings of the Portuguese clergy. The bishop being unwell, Paoli repaired to Padmanápuram to have an interview with the Rajah, whom he met September 23rd, 1783, at the house of his secretary, "for on that day he could not give him an audience in his own palace, lest it should be defiled."

Sitting in an arm chair of European construction, the Rajah commenced his speech: "I have sent for you, father, that you may settle the disputes between my Christian subjects and your clergy. It is my will that the clergy have a sufficient maintenance, and a proper income for their support; but I will not suffer them to oppress my subjects by the imposition of fines. Look (added he), here stands my minister, and there my secretary; devise with them what is best to be done, and then let me know the result." Paoli had no great inclination to undertake the very difficult and

burdensome administration of seventy-five congregations, in addition to those already under the rule of the Carmelites; and therefore recommended that the Archbishop of Goa should be applied to, and the matter settled amicably. Some of the clergy were eventually fined by their superiors, and a new table of fees was drawn up and published.

The kind attentions he received from this same Rajah led Paoli, however, to fall into the serious mistake of soliciting the aid of the secular arm of a heathen potentate, in enforcing Church discipline; and, in securing this assistance, he was tempted to use a line of argument by no means to his credit as a Christian teacher, however much it might influence the mind of a Hindoo. Chandy, a cattanar at Callurcáda, had written to inform him that some native Christian women in his neighbourhood were living in concubinage with certain Nairs. On one of his visits to Court, Paoli prevailed upon the dewan (*prime minister*) to give him a letter to the chief native official at Ambalapalay, from which it appears that the dewan was incited to action by the argument that if this evil were tolerated the *distinction between the castes would be destroyed*, and that nothing but confusion would prevail among the different classes of Travancore, which gave him *great uneasiness*. The native officer was directed to render prompt assistance; and those found guilty of the crime were to be sent to Trevandrum under a military guard, that they might be banished; whilst the females were to have all their property confiscated. On Paoli's arrival at Callurcáda, bearing this letter, many of the dissolute women absconded; but others were caught and duly punished, though the order for the confiscation of property was kept in abeyance.

About this time—but whether it had any supposed connection with this or any similar affair, appears uncertain—an attempt was made by a priest to poison Paoli, by putting some deleterious matter into a potion of which he partook. Perceiving what had taken place, he singularly enough, sought immediate refuge in the factory of the *Protestant* Danes at Colechy; where, after a few days illness, through God's blessing on the careful nursing received, he was perfectly restored.

Sensible and intelligent as Paoli was, he appears to have been sadly blinded by the prejudices of his education, and the errors of the system under which he worked, to the importance of the *Word of God* as the ground of faith, and the spiritual food of the flock of Christ; therefore no effort was made by him, with all his learning and professed desire to benefit the people, to put a single portion of the sacred scriptures—not so much as one of the gospel narratives—within reach of the Christian laity, much less of the heathen who might be feeling after God, “if haply they might find Him.” Indeed he tells us that the inspired writings were *designedly* withheld, as less likely to further the cause of Christianity than certain plans of man's own devising. Thus he composed a learned book on the Brahminical system—considering an exposure of this

kind more likely to overthrow heathenism than any distribution of the scriptures, following the plan (as he alleges) of Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius. But a large and costly book published at Rome, in the Latin language, was not likely to do much in influencing the minds of the dense masses of heathenism in South India. He also wrote a poem on the Six Attributes of God; and converted into verse the Life of St. Theresa—miserable substitutes for that Divine Word which has power to break the hardest heart, and to make “wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus.”

Nor was the mode of administering discipline adopted by the Carmelites, likely to be followed by any moral or spiritual benefit to their penitents. He tells us, that if a man is too poor to be fined, “a large wooden cross is placed on his shoulders, while he is kneeling at the church door; a human skull is put into his hand, and in that manner he is made to creep round the church; or he is sent to Malleatúr, where he must do penance at the foot of the Holy Cross, which is said to have been erected there by St. Thomas himself. Women must bear a death’s head, or a wax candle. When the penance is over, the bishop, missionary, or priest, gives the offender absolution in the presence of the whole congregation, by means of a whip or rod, that the scandal which he brought on his Christian brethren may thereby be removed.”

One cannot be surprised that the country clergy, trained under such a system, should be very unsatisfactory. Speaking of them he makes such bitter complaints as the following:—“Had these native priests sufficient learning, were they in any degree acquainted with their duty, and did they know how to procure from the pagans the least respect, they might certainly be fit to be entrusted with the care of Christian congregations: but, unfortunately, they are strangers to these qualities, live like the irrational animals, and by these means are the cause that their parishes are converted into dens of thieves.”¹

The fact is, that it was *Tridentine Romanism*, and not Christianity as taught in the early Christian Church, that these religious orders propagated; and its natural fruits were corrupt practice and superstitions of the grossest kind. Accordingly, in South Travancore, under the rule of the Jesuits, the proselytes looked to Xavier as a kind of demi-god, and trusted to the wonder-working oil in the perpetual lamp at Kottar Church; whilst in the North, under the rule of the Carmelites, St. Sebastian occupied a similar position, and multitudes of Christians and heathen assembled on the 20th of January at St. Andre, near Cochin, to implore his pro-

¹ The compulsory celibacy had transformed a body of native clergy, once well spoken of for the *chastity* of their lives, into immoral men who became a proverb and a bye-word among the laity. So much for Rome’s reforming the *morals* of a people by the introduction of an *unmarried clergy* and the *confessional*.

tection against that much-dreaded epidemic so frequent in Malabar, the small-pox; or, they took to their canoes, in Easter-week, ascended the beautiful Periar river, bathed in its delicious waters, and enjoyed their pic-nics on its shady banks, till on Low Sunday, having arrived at Malleatūr, they climbed the steep sides of its woody mountain to worship the Miraculous Cross. After such vanities the great mass of the people went (*and still go*), and the priests were the eager patrons of such superstitions; and no gospel ever sounded in their ears, calling on them to turn "to God from idols, to serve the living and the true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven." (1 Thess. i. 9.)

Nor were the Topasses, or East Indian Romanists, much better, though in many cases under the religious teaching of priests from Europe. According to Visscher's account, when chaplain of Cochin, they were sunk in the most debased superstition; and *so they are still*, except where they come in contact with Protestant teaching, or are trained in our schools, as large numbers of them have been within the last fifty years. "Their superstition (he says) exceeds even that of the Portuguese and Spaniards, otherwise the most bigotted of Papists. In accordance with the general custom of their Church, they have several brotherhoods as those of the Rosary, the Conception, &c. On Good Friday they repair in crowds to their churches, and flagellate themselves with scourges made of rope, until the blood runs down. The ends of these scourges are knotted with lumps of wax, and bits of broken glass stuck in, to make the strokes more painful. Before applying them they raise their courage by swallowing huge draughts of arrack, till they get intoxicated, and in a very unfit state for entering on Divine service. On Good Friday they appoint some one to represent Our Lord, and lead him outside the church carrying the cross in a sort of dramatic show. When ill, as a means for recovering their health, they make vows to the Holy Cross, dressing it with flowers, and burning lamps before it all night. These crosses are set up in the public roads as well as in the churches. Some of them are held to possess miraculous powers, though since the arrival of the Dutch heretics, it is granted that their efficacy has very much diminished. At the beginning of the rainy season in June, a priest goes round to every house, sprinkling it with holy water to keep off evil spirits. They have a hundred other superstitions not worth mentioning."

From the following incident, also given by Visscher, it will moreover be seen that the missionaries themselves were, sometimes at least, not gifted with overmuch learning:—"One of the Dominican parish priests, a white European, being advanced in years was waited on by some of our visitors of the sick, who, knowing no other language, began to converse with him in *Dutch*. The priest remarked, 'I understand the *Latin* you are speaking very well, but I do not know it quite well enough to make answer in it.'"

May we not hope, in the exercise of a broad Christian charity, that notwithstanding all the wood, hay, and stubble heaped to-

gether by these builders, or by those who acted under their direction, there were some, here and there, who searching after truth, found the *One Foundation*, so far as to repose their trust thereon? If they were to be discovered anywhere, surely amongst those who proved themselves willing to suffer even unto death for the faith they had embraced? Let us notice some cases of this kind.

In 1759, in the reign of Veera Martanda, a soldier named Nilampulla, an officer of noble family, who held an appointment in the Rajah's palace, was put to death because he refused to renounce the religion of Jesus Christ. One account states that he was shot; another that he was thrown from a precipitous rock at Aramalli, half a league beyond Tovala. He was brought to the knowledge of Christianity at Kottar Church, and his baptismal name was Lazarus, though he is usually called by the natives, in the present day, Dévasahâyampulla. He is said to have been confined in prison for eighteen months, during which time his friends tried every means to make him apostatize from his new faith, but he stood firm to the last. His body was buried in Kottar Church, and a history of his life and death was composed by F. C. Fernandez, a native Malabar priest.

Again, in 1780, the Dewan of Travancore, whose name was Nagumpulla, commenced a persecution against certain converts of the Shánar caste, endeavouring to induce them to worship Vishnú; to avoid which 20,000 are said to have left their homes and fled to the mountains. About 300, however, were caught, and every means tried to induce them to perform heathen rites. Some complied through fear, but others stood firm and refused. Of the latter, ten were hung up to the branches of trees and so beaten, that two of them, named Velendren and Arúlan, died the same day. A lad named Arúlappen, aged ten, who was present at the martyrdom of his father, said to the judge, "Sir, if the Catholic faith is my father's crime, on account of which you kill him, command me also to be killed, for my belief is the same as my father's." Upon this the judge ordered him to retract, and as he refused to do so, to be severely beaten. At each stroke the heroic lad cried out, "*Jesu Náther Swámi*"—"Jesu Lord God!" A Jesuit Missionary named Falcao, who lived in the ancient town of Travancore, was the only priest left in those parts to console the sufferers—the native priests, like hirelings, having all run away.

When Paoli was at Trevandrum in 1787, he saw four Nairs in prison, because they would not apostatize. They were tortured with hunger and thirst, and at last scourged thrice a day, when arguments and other inducements failed to shake them in their purpose. Though they were thus brought to the verge of the grave, and made to endure a kind of lingering death, the native Rajah, with a professed leaning to mercy, declined to kill them outright, because his Roman Catholic tutor had taught him that he would never prosper if he put Christians to death. These poor sufferers were at length transported from their native land—a

very sore punishment to any one born and brought up in Travancore.

Leaving Paoli for a time, we get a further insight into ecclesiastical affairs in Malabar under the Carmelite rule from Anquetil Du Perron, the learned author of the *Zendavesta*, who visited Cochin in 1757, and made a stay of several months, collecting all the information he could on various subjects. Being a French Romanist, he would naturally have no leaning either towards the Protestant Dutch or the down-trodden Syrians, who were denounced as schismatics; but he speaks of having various opportunities of intercourse with them, as well as with the Romish party.

Finding the cost of living at the Dutch hotel in the fort of Cochin far beyond his limited means, he soon made the acquaintance of Father Anastase, the Carmelite Missionary, who resided in its suburbs at Muttancherry, and arranged to share with him the very primitive thatched domicile of two rooms in which he resided, and also his simple fare of eggs, vegetables, and rice, which were eaten with more relish than the rich savoury dishes of "mine host" of the government hotel. He speaks of the Romish Missionaries, and also the Syrian Christians, all living in the enjoyment of peace and security under the protection of the Dutch; their priests being allowed full liberty in the discharge of their religious functions.

Whilst living in this retreat he arranged for a visit to Verapoli to see the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Florentius, who appears to have been a Pole by birth. The bishop, who tried his best to preserve friendly relations with the Dutch authorities, was somewhat vexed when he discovered that Du Perron had found his way to Verapoli without naming his wish to the Commandant and obtaining permission from him to visit the interior. However, the bishop received him with courtesy, and gave him much information about the country, besides various particulars about natural curiosities which had come under his personal observation. Bishop Florentius told him that during the seventeen years he had resided in the country he had paid much attention to the manners and customs of its different races, its natural history, and many valuable products; and that among the mountains of the remote interior he would find an unexplored region full of interest; but that in pursuing investigations beyond those met with in the *Hortus Malabaricus*, it would be necessary for Du Perron to make a long sojourn in the country.

Conversation turned on the Syrian Christians, and he informed Du Perron that they used copies of the Gospel translated into Syro-Chaldaic, which were in use throughout all Chaldea; but that their priests had not an idea by whom or from what language they were originally translated. He reckoned the Syro-Romans at 100,000, the independent Syrians at 50,000, and the Latin Romanists at 50,000. Du Perron made enquiries about the privileges stated by Gouvea to have been conferred on Mar Xabro and Mar Prod by a

native Rajah, inscribed on copper leaves, which were shewn to Archbishop Menezes when at Kayenkullam, but the bishop could throw no more light on the subject.

At Cochin the Dutch Secretary Van Vechten introduced him to a Syrian priest and chorepiscopus¹ then staying in the town, who (he thought) would be able to satisfy his curiosity about the Christians of St. Thomas, and give him a translation in Dutch of the document given at Diarbeker, July 23rd, 1749, by which Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, appointed Basilius Schokoreulla Archbishop or Metropolitan of Malabar. This man was a native of Aleppo in Syria, George Nameteulla by name; a close acquaintance seems to have sprung up between them, and George, though a "*schismatic*," proved very useful to the French "*savant*."

But before we proceed to enlarge further upon Du Perron's intercourse with the Syrians, it becomes us to take up the thread of their Church History from where we left off. We spoke of Mar Thomas VI. writing in great trouble to the Patriarch, complaining that since the death of the last Antiochean prelate their church had been like a vessel at sea, without any means of steering it aright, and imploring that effectual assistance should be sent them. He had to wait many years, in vain looking for aid from Antioch, and was at last compelled to solicit the help of the Dutch Governor of Cochin, promising to pay 4,000 rupees—"the offerings of the faithful"—if he would find the means of importing a party of ecclesiastics from Syria. The Dutch at Cochin undertook the task, and on the 23rd April, 1751, three Jacobite bishops, named respectively Basilius, Gregory, and John, and two Syrian priests, of whom George Nameteulla was one, arrived safely on the coast. Basilius, who was the head of the party, took up his usual residence near Cochin, either at Kandanáda, or Muttancherry. Gregory went northwards to Parúr, and John southwards to Káiyenkúllam, taking with him George Nameteulla.

These churchmen from Syria were received with great pomp, and had large expectations; but when, by and by, the question of payment was mooted, the native bishop then living, Mar Thomas VII., refused to incur the cost of their expedition, because they after all declined to consecrate him, though this was the chief inducement in sending for them, and had virtually set him aside, though the acknowledged head of the Syrian community in Malabar. A long and wearisome series of disputes and contentions ensued, which lasted many years. The Rajah of Travancore, Du Perron tells us, at last sent for Mar Thomas, and because he could not pay the 4,000 rupees at once, the Rajah pledged his word

¹ "*Chor-Episcopa* is a priest who has married, and whose business it is to report to the Metropolitan after having investigated serious matters in the Church, to examine the priests, and to appoint whatever is deficient in the church government, and reprove those who are in error."—(*The Syrian Christians of Malabar*, by the Rev. E. Philipos, p. 15.)

for the money, and that Mar Thomas should furnish 2,000 rupees in addition, after a time, as a compensation for delay. The Travancore Dewan further brought him to Cochin, when the Commandant threatened to transport him to Batavia if the money were not forthcoming. Mar Thomas pleaded that the foreign bishops had not done what he expected, and as they had reserved the honour and dignity of the episcopate to themselves, it was nothing but right that they should pay the costs. The three bishops were then summoned to Cochin, and such disagreement prevailed amongst the whole party that they were at last all put under arrest.

The Syrian narrative frequently referred to, in speaking of the three bishops who came to Malabar in 1751, tells us that for the space of nineteen years after their arrival there were disputes about different things between them and the Syrians." During this time the debt so far increased that at the period of its settlement in the Travancore Rajah's court, the Dutch demanded no less than 12,000 rupees—an enormous sum to be wrung from a comparatively poor community. It was decided, however, that Gregory (Basilius probably being dead at this time) was to furnish one half and the native bishop the other; and when paid, Du Perron intimates that whilst the original debt of 4,000 rupees was recovered and duly credited to the Dutch East India Company's account, the Commandant pocketed the 8,000 rupees as his own private perquisite, to compensate him for his trouble.

He further tells us that this was not a solitary instance in which the Dutch authorities made capital out of the unhappy disputes of these poor native Christians; for in 1756, when the Syrians, who were then for the most part favoured by the Dutch, offered 12,000 rupees for the possession of one of their ancient churches, then kept from them by the Romanist party, the affair was so craftily managed that the latter were allowed to keep it, on condition that *they* paid the like sum to the Dutch authorities! The story, if true, serves to show to what base acts men of this world, who make haste to be rich, will sometimes lend themselves; and certainly justifies the very severe remark of one who had the best opportunities of coming at the truth, that the policy of the Dutch in their dealings with the Syrians, was "marked with perfidy and meanness."

Du Perron's Syrian acquaintance, George, took him over to Kandanáda, and introduced him to Basilius, who was then residing there; and as the account of his visit to this bishop in 1758 is most graphic, and full of details which throw light upon Syrian manners and customs at this time, we shall be excused for dwelling a little longer upon it.

The town of Kandanáda, destroyed during the aggressive wars of the Rajah of Travancore, had been recently rebuilt. The Syrian Metropolitan, though supported entirely by the people, this Roman Catholic witness tells us, was greatly preferred to the

Romanist or Latin bishops, who cost them nothing; proving how tenaciously the Malabar Syrians still clung to the traditionary connexion of their forefathers with the ancient Oriental Sees.

Mar Basilius, on meeting Du Perron, politely embraced him; giving his hand or ring to be kissed by the Christians who were with him. He had on his head a white cap, and over this a kind of black cowl embroidered with crosses; and wore no cross round his neck; but, in going to or from his house or church, he gave the benediction with a little cross of gilt copper, about four or five inches long. The house in which he lived was on the right of the church, where, ascending a narrow staircase they entered a dilapidated gallery, at the end of which was a dark chamber, where two cattanars slept; while to the right of this chamber was the archiepiscopal apartment, lighted by two low windows, and furnished with little besides an almira or wardrobe, a rickety cot covered with a thin mattress, and a few seats. The Metran's undergarments, handkerchiefs, &c., were hanging to dry on cords which crossed the middle of the room; his books (few in number and very dusty) were piled on a wooden plank, which partially screened his cot, beside which stood a box, in which the ornaments of the church were deposited.

The Metran showed his visitors a parchment, twenty-five feet long and six inches wide, on which his credentials were engrossed in Syriac, and signed by the Patriarch of Antioch, and five bishops; it was further ornamented with flowers, and had cost him twenty rupees, they were informed.

Du Perron conversed with the Metran on religious subjects till supper-time; but the Frenchman was by no means favourably impressed, since he informs us that his friend and companion, who acted as interpreter, had to enlarge upon the Metran's answers, which led him to the conclusion that he was an ignorant fellow, whom poverty had compelled to quit his native land. The Metran lived chiefly on milk diet, and a special dish was served for him, whilst George supped off salt fish and eggs. The Metran practised a kind of abstinence at all times; but in their most rigorous fasts he allowed the people to drink water, and to eat something of an evening, if their failing strength seemed to require it.

The next day the Metran went to church, and Du Perron accompanied him to witness the service of the mass. The Metran's pastoral staff resembled a shepherd's crook; and the cattanars who accompanied him wore white drawers, wooden sandals, white coats made like long shirts, and large cotton caps. The church, then partly ruined, was lighted by two high windows two feet broad, and had several altars ornamented with a simple cross, without either candlesticks or figures of saints. The high altar occupied the centre of the chancel, and behind it were four framed compartments destitute of pictures. The acolytes were dressed in yellow tunics with a red stole on the left shoulder; and held in their

hands wax tapers. A party of lay people were standing about the church; others sat on mats, whilst a group, consisting of priests and people, surrounded a reading desk, having their backs to the altar, and there sang the office from memory, in cadence; not knowing, it would seem, what it was about, though the tunes seemed to Du Perron more melodious than the psalmody of the Romanists, and reminded him of the airs of Provence. The words of the consecration he noticed were pronounced with a loud voice.

Before leaving Kandanáda George showed his foreign acquaintance the Liturgy of St. James, which the three bishops had brought with them from Syria, in 1751; and a volume containing other liturgies. Du Perron wished much to see a copy of the Nestorian liturgy, in which the body and blood of Christ are said to be only *figuratively* in the sacrament; but they could not produce any that had been used in the church prior to the time of Archbishop Menezes. George read his Jacobite confession concerning the one nature of Christ, and Du Perron tried to convince him of his error; after which the conversation turned to different topics. Du Perron left Kandanáda January 13th, 1758.

Mar Basilius had the shortest term of office of the three bishops to whom we have alluded. Paoli says he died the year after his arrival in the country; but he must have been misinformed on this point, since Du Perron visited him at Kandanáda in 1758. His decease took place at Muttancherry, where he had erected a small Syrian church; and the day before his death he consecrated Kurillos, the first of the line of metrans, who resided at Anyúra, north of Kúnnankúllam. Basilius's remains, however, were interred in the church at Kandanáda, where a shrine still marks his grave, the end of which was covered with silver when our earliest Church missionaries used to visit the place.

When Bishop Middleton was at Kandanáda in 1816, the priests showed him a copy of MS. hymns brought by Basilius and his party to Travancore. The dilapidated clergy-house in which Basilius used to reside has, for some few years, been superseded by a very superior structure of two stories, approaching the Moorish style in some of its details, but with the deep roof, and screened verandahs of Indian architecture. A Syrian inscription greets you as you enter the lower portion, whilst upstairs there is a succession of neat rooms for the cattanars in residence.

Mar Gregory died in 1772 at Múlantúrúttá, which, with its spacious and well-kept church, was a much more important place a century ago than it is now. Before his death he consecrated Auseppa (Joseph), of the family of Palli, as bishop, in the church of Neranum, Mar John, who usually lived at Kaiyenkúllam, being also present on the occasion. This new metran is called by Paoli Mar Thomas, and also Mar Dionysius—his more exact episcopal name. In "The Abstract of Brief History," composed in the time of this very bishop, we are told:—"Letters patent were sent by Mar Ignatius, of Antioch, for Mar Thomas who was consecrated

Metropolitan by one of the above bishops, and called Mar Dionysius. From Antioch were also sent for Mar Dionysius a staff, hood, a cross, unction, and all things necessary for the office of High Priest."

If Paoli's date be correct, it would seem that it was not until twenty-one years after the arrival of the three bishops in the country that the Syrian Christians obtained what they earnestly sought for from Antioch, viz., the restoration of the native episcopate; and not then, until (after ruinous expenditure) a direct order from the Patriarch obliged the two bishops who survived to act. Angry feelings were excited, and serious divisions multiplied during this period; but Paoli tells us that after the consecration of Mar Thomas (alias Dionysius), and the acknowledgement of his authority by the Syrian Church, and also the assignment of a sufficient maintenance to the surviving Antiochean bishop, Mar John, "those terrible tumults which had long agitated the schismatics were appeased."

We know little more of Mar John, or Evaniús (as he is called by the Syrians), except that one of his disciples, who was known as Ramban¹ Philippos, was a man of some mark among the Syrians when Dr. C. Buchanan visited Malabar; and was employed by him as one of the Malayálim translators of the Four Gospels, which were supplied to this community, through the kind efforts of Buchanan. This Ramban died at Kannankoda, a chapel of ease to Kadambonáda Church; and an annual feast is held in commemoration of him, at the place of his sepulture. The senior Metran of the Syrians in 1830 had been instructed by this same Ramban.

It would appear from Paoli's statements that during his sojourn in Malabar, and, in fact, ever since the expulsion of the Jesuits by the Dutch, the *Romo-Syrians* were agitated by "terrible tumults," as well as their brethren whom he stigmatises as schismatics; and although, at times, soft things were said by some about the Carmelites, the mass would gladly have thrown off their rule also. He complains bitterly of the Cattanars, regarding them as the fomenters of these disturbances. He observes they "were the cause also of the schism which took place in 1653. In the year 1709 they had an intention of uniting themselves with the schismatic bishop. In 1773 they declared themselves under the jurisdiction of the bishops of the Latin or Western Church; but in 1777 they sent a request to Rome that they might be allowed to have bishops of their own nation. In the year 1787 they made themselves independent of the Apostolic Vicar; but as I went to the court of the King of Travancore, as well as to Cochin, in favour of the bishops and missionaries, the *rebels were punished and again brought under subjection.*"

¹ This title was borne by priests who lived in monasteries, and practised celibacy. From the monastic class the bishops were usually taken, since custom required them to be celibates.

It would appear that over the bier of Bishop Florentius, who died and was buried at Verapoly, July 26th, 1773, a contention arose between the Romo-Syrian and Latin priests, which became the fountain and source of much evil in Malabar; and though the former may have professed themselves, at times, as attached to the Carmelite bishops rather than to the Jesuit Archbishop, yet the fact that the old Syrian party had a bishop of their own nation, must have made these Romo-Syrians, at other times, anxious to secure the like honour for themselves; and such an occasion as a vacancy by death at Verapoli may have led to the revival and renewed agitation of this question.

Francis Salesius, a German Carmelite, became the successor of Florentius. He was consecrated in Europe, and arrived in Malabar October 13th, 1775. He and the Carmelite missionaries could not agree; and the contentions became so strong, that at last he quitted the diocese, and retired to Mount Carmel, where he died in 1787, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his episcopate.

In the second year of his rule, in 1777, the Romo-Syrians despatched a deputation to Rome, consisting of Cariatil Malpan and Paremakel Thoma, who were commissioned to request the Pope to allow them to have bishops of their own nation. According to the testimony of an existing Maláyalim document (*vide appendix E.*), they so far succeeded in Europe that the Pope and the Portuguese Sovereign consented to the consecration of Cariatil Malpan as Metropolitan of Malankára, but when he reached Goa, on his return home, he became a victim to treachery, and never arrived in the diocese he was to govern.

A bishop named Aloysius, or Louis, succeeded Salesius, also of the Carmelite Order. He was consecrated Vicar Apostolic at Pondicherry, September 25th, 1785, but did not arrive at Verapoli, from some cause or other, until February 10th, 1787, to find ecclesiastical affairs in strange confusion, for on the First of this month (old style) a gathering of the Romo-Syrians, of more than ordinary importance, took place.

To use the words of Paoli: "The Syrians assembled in the Church of St. George at Angamále, D. Thoma Paremakel, a native of Malabar, being president (having been appointed Vicar-General by the Archbishop of Goa), and then and there seceded from the Latin Vicars-Apostolic, binding themselves by an oath that in future they would not receive as pastors any but their own nation. They drew up certain reasons for this secession to lay before the Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore, accusing the Jesuits and Carmelites of destroying their Archbishop D. Cariatil with poison, of expelling Mar Simon, a Syro-Chaldean from Malabar, of imprisoning priests of their own nation, &c."

From the above statement we obtain a glimpse of the unsatisfactory relations then subsisting in India between the ecclesiastics nominated by the Crown of Portugal, and those appointed as

Vicars-Apostolic by the Pope. There is no doubt that the negligence of the former, and the long periods during which either the dioceses were vacant or their rulers non-resident, led to the institution of the latter, and that sore jealousy existed between them. We have remarked that in 1709 Bishop Angelus of Verapoli was confirmed as Vicar-Apostolic of Cranganore and Cochin "on account of the continued absence of the proper bishops;" and now, when a Vicar-Apostolic delays coming to his see, we find the Archbishop of Goa (in the exercise of his power as Primate of the East) appointing a Romo-Syrian his Vicar-General. Though the Archbishop of Goa at this time was an Augustinian, it is not improbable that the remnant of the Jesuit faction at Ambalakāda encouraged the procedure, as one likely to damage the interests of the Carmelites.

At this meeting at Angamāle the representatives of eighty-four churches are stated to have been present, and to have agreed to the decision of shaking off the yoke of the Latin bishops;¹ and the awful charge made against them of having caused the death of the native Metropolitan sanctioned by the Pope, must, we fear, be added to the sad list of similar crimes with which the oppressors of the Syrian Christians are too justly charged; since the man who had been the companion of Careatil Malpan was there on the spot acting as president of the Assembly; and what they stated was not a hearsay report, but the testimony of one of their number, who publicly recorded what he had seen and heard. The decision they arrived at was to receive no man as bishop but a man of their own nation; and then and there they elected their president to be their future Metropolitan; and in the event of the Queen of Portugal (no reference being made to the Pope) not consenting to his appointment, they resolved to transfer their allegiance to the Chaldean Patriarch, Mar Joseph (who was in union with Rome), and thus obtain bishops from the same regions whence their forefathers obtained their ecclesiastical rulers.

This formidable schism of the Romo-Syrians, as we may well imagine, greatly alarmed the Carmelites, and led Paoli, who was then in the country, to proceed to Trevandrum, accompanied by a Dutch official, John Van Truyns by name, that the whole affair might be investigated before Paoli's patron, Rama Vurmah, whom he styles (in his *Liturgia Braminica*) "meus olim singularis Macœnas." We need not be surprised that at the court of this heathen prince, with such a powerful representative as Paoli to

¹ The Romo-Syrians must have acted on this occasion with singular unanimity; for at this time the diocese of Verapoli is said to have numbered 116 churches, of which 30 were designated *parochiæ schismaticæ*, being under Mar Thomas. If we deduct these from the 116, there can have been but a small minority in favour of the Vicars-Apostolic when the representatives of 84 churches denounced their rule, even supposing all the Cattanares in the churches were not of the same mind.

plead the cause of Rome, these Romo-Syrians were worsted, and fined 12,000 Roman scuta for daring to exercise the right of private judgment with regard to the ecclesiastical arrangements of their community.

That a perpetual memorial of the Rajah's decision might be preserved, he wrote a letter to the Governor of Cochin, Van Angelbeck, which (together with other documents relating to this matter) was deposited in the record chests at Verapoli, and in the office of the Dutch Secretary at Cochin. This Governor, a Westphalian by birth, Paoli says, was ever a friend to the Carmelites; and the Verapoli Mission owed much to him, since it always enjoyed his marked favour and patronage in times even of great calamity.

There can be little doubt that though the Jesuits do not appear in this strenuous effort to get free from the Carmelites, they were nevertheless very busy behind the scenes encouraging the discontent of the Romo-Syrians—for Ambalakáda and Puthenshery, where the Jesuit bishop usually resided, were only a few miles from Angamále. The interests of the Jesuits still left in the country were identified at this time with those of the Crown of Portugal; and the daring act of the Archbishop of Goa, in nominating a Romo-Syrian Vicar-General, must have been regarded at least with complacency, as the introduction of the thin end of the wedge which was to dislodge the Carmelite rule, and make room for the restoration of their own.

It appears from Du Perron, that although it had been admitted by former Popes that the Jesuits had marred the plot in Malabar, yet they still had many friends at court, so that even at Rome little regard was paid to the representations of the Carmelites, who were to be content with the abundant work and small pay of a Vicar Apostolic, whilst other episcopal offices were freely conferred on their opponents, since most of the successors of Mar Raphael—the unpopular East Indian Metran, who fomented the earliest antipathies to the Vicars-Apostolic of Verapoli—were Jesuits. Antonio Pimental, the last Archbishop of Cranganore of whom Raulini says anything, was a Jesuit; and he was succeeded by another Jesuit, John Louis, who resided at Púthenshery, and died in 1755. In 1757 they received on the coast information of the nomination of Salvador dos Roys, also a Jesuit, who it appears did not wish for the office; but his refusal not being accepted, it was currently reported in 1758 that he would soon be consecrated. The Bishop of Cochin, then residing at Anjengo, was another Jesuit. The suppression of this Order at a later period was the sole cause of the cessation of such appointments; for, with all their shortcomings, the Jesuits were too valuable to the Papacy ever to sink into neglect.

But whilst such "wars and fightings" were in progress amongst these communities of professing Christians, God was preparing a severe scourge without, which ere long fell heavily upon

them. As He punished the ancient churches of Africa and the East for their image worship and other vain superstitions, by the invasion of Saracen and Turk; so He permitted the atrocious tyrant Tippoo Saib, who professed the like creed, to invade with his merciless troops some of the fairest tracts of North Travancore and Cochin, and devastate them with fire and sword; so that it could be said "the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."

The Western Coast of India began to suffer from the usurping dynasty of Mysore in the person of Hyder Ali, Tippoo's father; but, as he cared more for money than anything else, he left the people unmolested in the exercise of their religion.¹ The Missionary Swartz (who knew Hyder well) writes: "What religion people profess, or whether they profess any at all, that is perfectly indifferent to him. He has none himself, and leaves every one to his choice." And when he died in 1782 it was thought that the great idol of the Hindoos, Runga Swami, had received from him as much respect as Mahomet—if not more. With his son and successor Tippoo it was far different. He was an intense bigot, and steadfastly resolved to make Islamism the religion of Malabar, in which he was ardently seconded by that fanatical section of the population known commonly in Malabar as Moplays. Thus, wherever he marched, the Hindoos were persecuted and plundered, and their wealth distributed amongst the Mahometans; and to such an extent was this carried, that the population was soon reduced to one half what it was when Hyder first invaded the country.

The persecution of the professing Christian population began in Canara, where thirty thousand are said to have been forcibly subjected to the initiatory rite of Mahometanism; and were afterwards banished, in battalions of five hundred each, into the table lands of Mysore, where one-third of them did not survive the first year of their terrible captivity.

After performing the first ceremonies of a marriage between the daughter of the Dowager Bebee of Cannanore and one of his sons in 1789, Tippoo descended the coast as far south as Chowghât, to reconnoitre and arrange his plans for an intended invasion of the Hindoo States of Cochin and Travancore. Much of that which followed, though full of painful interest, belongs more particularly to secular history, and must therefore be omitted. However, he came at length, burning with rage, in 1790, and the most harrowing scenes were speedily enacted. The wretched inhabitants were hunted out of their secret hiding places, and if not put to a cruel death were sent into hard captivity, little better to them than death. Of this number eighty young Christian women of the country were specially selected for the service of the royal kitchens, to grind

¹ For many of the particulars about the doings of Hyder and Tippoo the writer is indebted to *Wilks' History of South India*, and the writings of Paoli.

corn and perform similar menial offices; but of these only one survived to reach Seringapatam—all the rest fell victims to small pox on their way thither.

Hindoo temples and Christian churches were alike plundered and set in flames, and the worshippers connected with both were barbarously dealt with whenever caught. Paoli tells us that in 1789 Tippoo was specially exasperated against the subjects of the late Samorin, because they joined with the Hindoo Princes of the southern states; and Calicut and its vicinity were devastated with fire and sword—sixty thousand barbarians being his chosen and commissioned agents of destruction. A considerable portion of the people, male and female, were caught by these ruffians, who hanged them on branches of trees by the wayside, or wherever else they could; and in the case of nursing mothers, with a fiendish refinement of cruelty, the little ones were hanged to their necks till life was extinct; some of the men, both Christian and Heathen, were stripped naked, tied to the feet of elephants, and dragged about till limb was torn from limb. If not put to death, the women were compelled to marry Mahometans, the men were forcibly circumcised, and the Hindoos, in addition, deprived of their *Kūdūmi*—a tuft of hair on the top of the head indicative of their caste. Paoli was then living at Verapoli, and he and his friends used to help fugitives who were making their way southwards, by providing them with the free use of a boat to cross the broad stream which flows in front of the Seminary.

In the following year, 1790, when Tippoo forced the lines of the Rajah of Travancore, these bloody scenes were renewed; and though Verapoli itself was only visited by a small band of marauders, some of the houses in the bazaar were set on fire, and the church, convent, and seminary converted into dens of thieves, who plundered and destroyed whatever they could lay their hands upon. About 10,000 Malabar Christians are estimated to have lost their lives in these invasions of Tippoo; but still (adds Paoli) there remained 90,000 Syro-Romans, having 64 churches, and 50,000 Jacobite Syrians, who had 32 churches.

When Dr. C. Buchanan was at Kúnnankúllam in 1808, the people of the place pointed out to him the grove of trees on which the Christians were hanged. It is commonly reported among them to this day, that their Northern Metran was forcibly dishonoured by the initiatory rite of a creed that his inmost soul abhorred; whilst high caste Brahmins (both here and at Trichúr) who regarded the cow with sacred reverence, and never touched flesh of any kind, were compelled to swallow beef broth. Some of their sacred edifices were moreover turned into slaughter-houses; and the tank in which the Cochin Rajah bathed was polluted by the carcasses of the dead animals being thrown into its waters. The traditions of these terrible events—"what their fathers had told them"—doubtless had their wholesome influence in keeping this part of India thoroughly loyal to the British Government during the Mutiny in

1857; for to this day the mere narration of these atrocities seems to cause a thrill of horror to vibrate through the nervous system of both Christians and Hindoos.

On the front walls of the large gatehouse by which you enter the precincts of one of the old Romo-Syrian churches, which suffered in Tippoo's invasions, but is now perfectly restored—Kanhúra by name—the writer years ago observed some very elaborate and highly-coloured frescoes, evidently intended to be instructive memorials of this reign of terror. They were chiefly battle scenes between European and Mahometan troops, the latter being represented as sallying from the gates of a city on the one side, whilst from an opposite direction Hindoo Nair troops were issuing from a city or fortress to support the attacking columns of Europeans. They had either been newly painted or renovated some short time before, and were then beautifully fresh, but exposure to the damp tropical climate of Travancore may have since materially altered their appearance.

In Paoli's list of the churches and oratories burnt by Tippoo's troops, we observe twenty-six were Roman or Romo-Syrian; whilst of the Syrian churches he specifies only three, viz., Angamále, Akaparumba, and Kúrúppampády. When the destroyer had got thus far on the banks of the Períár, in the vicinity of Alwaye and Kanhúra, the news reached him that Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a powerful British force, was rapidly marching on his capital, Seringapatam, which led to the immediate suspension of hostilities and the withdrawal of his troops. He heard a rumour, returned to his own land—to fall eventually by the sword in his own land! (See 2 Kings, xix. 7.)

Are we not to see and acknowledge God's hand in all this? Twenty-six places of worship, polluted by image worship, were destroyed by Tippoo; whilst at most only three or four of the old Syrian churches, wherein idols of the kind were abhorred, thus suffered. It may be said that these old protesting congregations did not thus suffer because the tyrant invader did not march far enough south; but *who* hindered his so doing? *Who* further prevented the execution of one of his earlier plans of entering Travancore by way of Dindigul,¹ through one of the mountain passes further south, which would have brought him into those districts where these image-hating Christians were chiefly to be found? It is surely worthy of distinct and emphatic record, that when the men, so often used as the Scourge of the Almighty against the

¹ Wilks, in describing some of Tippoo's earlier movements, tells us that from Coimbatore he proceeded to Dindigul, a jageer conferred on his relative Seyed Sahib. The Travancore Rajah hereupon took his first serious alarm (which he communicated to the Madras Government), from the *minute investigation Tippoo made concerning routes into his dominions, which led the Rajah to fear invasion by the Goodalir pass from the east, as well as from the north.*—*Wilks' South India*, vol. iii., p. 12.

idolatries of corrupt Christianity, visited this part of India, those who kept themselves from idols were for the most part spared !

The Syrian town of Angamále, which lies a few miles north of Kanhúra, was visited by a detachment of 2,000 Mysorean troops, who expected to find great wealth, from its ancient reputation, but were doomed to sore disappointment; and hence wreaked their vengeance by burning the bazaar, stabling their horses in the great church, and attempting to destroy the two others by springing a mine made under the chancel walls. The terrified inhabitants, who had taken timely refuge in the thickly wooded mountains to the east, in sadness watched the smoke of the fires, which consumed all the carved work and ponderous beams of wood connected with the roof of the sanctuaries, in which their fathers had for ages worshipped. These churches, though for many years desolate, were at last well restored, partly through the kind offices of the British Resident, Colonel Munro, who obtained from the native government a free grant of timber for the purpose.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSION WORK AMONG THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

Tippoo Saib, as his father Hyder had done before him, set covetous eyes upon Travancore, and went so far as to intrigue with the Dutch, whose power was then on the decline in Western India. In 1789 he sent an envoy to the Rajah of Cochin to solicit his aid in purchasing from the Dutch the ancient town and fort of Cochin; but though the Dutch authorities had shown some inclination to part with the more northern forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta, they were not disposed to allow even one of them to fall into the hands of a bloodthirsty tyrant, who might be very unpleasant as a near neighbour.

Cochin was destined to fall into better hands, and in a very peculiar and unlooked-for manner. In the beginning of 1795 the revolutionary party, then so busy in Europe, had acquired such strength in Holland that the Stadtholder, with the hereditary Prince of Orange, had been compelled to flee for their lives, and

put themselves under the protection of the King of England. In order to prevent the Dutch Colonies falling into the hands of the Revolutionists and their French allies, the English Government issued orders to the naval and military authorities to reduce and occupy all the Dutch settlements in foreign parts. This led to the taking of Cochin in October, 1795—four years before the blood-stained career of the tyrant of Mysore was cut short by violent death at the capture of Seringapatam.

If the English had not acted thus promptly, the French would in all probability have soon gained a footing in Travancore; and when the revolutionary storm had spent itself, the hands of the Romanists would have been strengthened, Protestant Missionaries excluded, and the old Christians of the country, in due time, given over as a prey to the teeth of their ancient enemies. We must therefore thankfully own God's hand in this matter. He had purposes of love; and thus the course of events was so ordered as to secure the introduction of light and liberty into this fair but long misruled region of the earth.

By the capture and occupation of Dutch Cochin, the English nation was brought into closer relations than had hitherto existed with the native Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore. To the English they were, in fact, indebted for their independent existence; since our troops, under God, had been instrumental in preserving them from coming under the crushing sceptre of Tippoo. A sense of gratitude, therefore, should have united them strongly to us; and if this were in any measure wanting, it was undoubtedly their wisdom to keep on good terms, and to avail themselves of the friendly protection of a Power, now beginning to predominate in all parts of the vast Empire of India.

Whilst these Hindoo Princes had their civil independence guaranteed to them, they accepted the offices of a British Resident, who should reside in their territories to advise and assist in all matters that related to a wise and just administration of state affairs. This arrangement so fraught with good to their states, came into operation at the beginning of the present century; and, through the exertions of several excellent men who have filled the post of Resident, they have risen to the high honour of being amongst the best ordered of the native States of India, in spite even of the Brahminical influence which has opposed the social, intellectual, and moral elevation of the masses at every turn.

Colonel C. Macaulay, the first British Resident, received the Rev. C. Buchanan with a right hearty welcome when he first visited Travancore in 1806, at the request of Lord Wellesley, to inquire into the state of the Christian population of Malabar; especially with reference to the introduction of the Holy Scriptures in their vernacular languages. He aided Buchanan in his researches, manifested a deep interest in the Syrian Christian community in particular, and furthered the work of introducing the Word of God among them.

The publication of Buchanan's "Christian Researches," with his graphic—at times, perhaps, too highly coloured—accounts of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, and his friendly intercourse with them, did much to direct the attention, and arouse the sympathies of Christians in England; whilst Colonel John Munro, who became Resident in 1810, prepared the Syrian Christians to respond to these brotherly sentiments, as we shall presently learn.

Mar Dionysius,¹ the metropolitan of the Syrians when C. Buchanan was in the country, was then an aged man of seventy-eight years, and in declining health; but he entered heartily into Buchanan's plans for the improvement of his people; and Buchanan, after his second visit in 1808, left him hard at work at Kandanáda, then his usual residence, superintending and furthering, as he could, the translation of the New Testament into the Malayálim language; in which three or four learned natives (Syrians and Malabars) were constantly employed, being paid by funds raised by Buchanan's efforts.

After the almost unbroken Heathenism and Mahometanism of Bengal, one cannot be surprised that a man of Buchanan's enthusiastic temperament was, at times, carried away, when he came amongst these native Christians, who claimed nothing short of an Apostolic origin for their Church, which had survived the revolutions of well nigh two thousand years, and the violent persecutions of Heathenism and Romanism. To have been, in any way, useful in helping to raise and revivify such an interesting Christian community was an honour that could fall to the lot of few men; and to be the *first* in so noble an undertaking, might well tempt a flowing pen to run occasionally in a somewhat romantic strain; so we must make due allowances in any critical examination of this good man's descriptions, and sanguine expectations.

Buchanan's visit is still remembered by a few of the old people among the Syrians. The writer has conversed with such among both clergy and laity who hold his name in grateful remembrance; though it is said that for some two or three years after he quitted Malabar, carrying with him to England one of their most ancient copies of the Syriac Scriptures, because they did not hear of him, they execrated his memory, looking upon him as very like certain other European ecclesiastics who had, in former times, come among them, only to deceive and spoil; but when at last the

¹ It would appear that he was identical with Joseph, of the family of Palli, mentioned by Paoli, who was consecrated by Mar Gregorius about the year 1772, in the church of Neranum; John, the Chorepiscopus, who resided at Káiyenkúllum, being also present. After his consecration he assumed the name of Dionysius. From strict and accurate inquiries, made in 1826, Bishop Heber was led to regard him as the last bishop who had received the title of *Metropolitan* from an Antiochean prelate. This Mar Dionysius had been dead more than twelve years when Heber instituted his inquiries. (*Vide a Letter of Archdeacon Robinson to the Patriarch of Antioch, in the Appendix to Bishop Heber's Journal*).

printed Syriac Scriptures arrived amongst them; and, after comparing them with the fragments left behind, they found them faithful transcripts, their joy knew no bounds.

Colonel Munro, about 1813, made a particular inquiry into the state of the Syrian Church, and began to devise plans for its improvement, by establishing a college for the education of clergy and laity, inducing the Hindoo Princess who then governed Travancore to endow it with money and lands. He even addressed the Government of Madras, to solicit their aid for the poorly paid clergy, suggesting that a monthly allowance for this purpose (of twenty rupees) should be made to each church.

He applied elsewhere, however, for assistance, and succeeded better than he did at Madras. He needed some well-educated, earnest Protestant clergymen to superintend the college he had been the means of founding, and to help him in carrying out his plans for the welfare of the Syrian Church; and he asked aid of the Church Missionary Society, which nobly responded to his appeal, and a band of three or four zealous, faithful clergymen were ere long in the field.¹

Messrs. Norton and Bailey proceeded to Travancore in 1816. The old bishop who had welcomed Buchanan was then dead, but had been succeeded by Ramban Joseph, who was well disposed towards Colonel Munro's proposed schemes. "Mr. Norton on his first arrival was received in the most friendly manner by Bishop Joseph. Some apprehensions, however, existed in the mind of the bishop and in those of the clergy and people—arising from the conduct of the Roman Catholics towards their church—that the English meant to innovate, and to bring them *under English Ecclesiastical authority*. These apprehensions were soon removed, and the proffered assistance of the Society, to aid in restoring their church to its primitive truth, purity, and vigour, most gratefully accepted. The Missionaries were in fact hailed—when their object was fully understood—as Protectors and Deliverers; and the bishop expressed his anxiety for the arrival of the day "when their knowledge of the language would enable them to preach in all the Syrian churches." (Church Missionary Society's Report, 1817-18.)

The great object to be kept in view by those who were earnestly seeking the good of this ancient Church, is clearly pointed out in the following extract from a letter, dated September 23rd, 1817,

¹ Colonel Munro "conceived and executed the design" of the Syrian College at Cottayam. He also requested that Missionaries might be sent out to aid in the work. Mr. Thompson, the Madras Corresponding Secretary, wrote to him upon hearing that Mr. Norton was destined to go out to India, to know whether he still wished for an English clergyman in Travancore. He replied August 7th, 1815: "I am *more anxious than ever* to attach a respectable clergyman of the Church of England to the Syrians of Travancore."—Vide *Missionary Register* for 1816, pp. 37 and 387.

addressed by the British Resident to the Church Missionary Society Committee:—"With regard to the Syrians, our general views will be to pursue the use and promote the study of the Syriac language, and to extend the ancient simplicity and purity of the Syrian Church. It is now deformed by many Popish superstitions and ceremonies, which should be banished without delay. When purged from these dregs of Popery, it will, I trust, present such a spectacle of pure Christian doctrine and conduct as will accelerate the return into its bosom of the Syrian churches that are still united to the Roman Catholic communion. *The Syrians are themselves willing to follow any plan of reform that may bring them back to their primitive principles.*"

In this year Mr. Bailey began his mission at Cottayam, and when, two years later, Messrs. Fenn and Baker joined him, the Mission staff was regarded as sufficiently complete to settle their future plan of operation, and to assign to each his peculiar sphere of labour. Mr. Bailey devoted himself to the instruction of the Cattanars and the work of translation; Mr. Fenn took charge of the college; and Mr. Baker of the numerous parochial schools, which were to be established in every Syrian parish, if possible, and of the three grammar schools at Cottayam, Mavelicâre, and Alleppy, which were to serve as feeders to the college.

Those early days of the Cottayam Mission were indeed happy days—which the brethren in later years loved to recall and descant upon—when, with one heart and one mind, they sought to serve the Lord in all simplicity, and provoked one another to love and to good works. The refreshing seasons of Christian communion which they enjoyed were much valued. The pure Word then read, the fervent, believing prayer offered, and the joyous Christian hymn, formed a striking contrast to the dead forms and discordant utterances of the heathen temples, and hardly less lifeless services of the professing Christian churches around them. They "had light in their dwellings," and their hearts were full of gratitude and praise to Him whose grace alone had made them to differ.

A closer and more intimate acquaintance with the Syrian community led to the discovery of many moral and social evils—the inevitable results, partly of the dark and cruel tyranny under which they had long groaned; and partly of their close contact with heathenism: the Sabbath was totally disregarded, the name of God profaned, and drunkenness and adultery (even among the Cattanars) were most prevalent. But there was one hopeful sign amid this degradation—they acknowledged these things to be crimes, and did not, as the heathen, in any measure seek to excuse or justify them.

"Mingled among the heathen, they had learned their works," for many superstitious customs and caste prejudices were also rife amongst them, and needed exposure and rebuke. The writer has seen a small heathen altar in the Bazaar at Mavelicâre, half way between the Hindoo Pagoda and the Syrian Church, at which, in

those days, many of the Syrians used to make such offerings as their Hindoo neighbours did, to propitiate the goddess Bhagawati; and strange stories are still current about the singular relations which at times subsisted between the church and pagoda. On one occasion the Travancore Rajah took possession of a bell belonging to the Syrian church at Mavelicâre; but it was restored under very peculiar circumstances—the Hindoo functionary at the neighbouring temple, who was supposed to speak the mind of Bhagawati, complained that the goddess could get no peace, since the Saint of the Syrian Church was continually tormenting her on account of this act of sacrilege!

At Cottayam the same goddess is said to have been so annoyed by the sound of the great bell of the Syrian church that at last she vowed vengeance, which was supposed to have taken effect when this bell was shortly afterwards cracked; and the Saint of the Church is said in return to have retaliated upon the idol. At the feast held in honour of St. George, the patron saint at Púthúpalay Church, the heathen congregated in great force, with their vows and offerings of fowls, as to an idol; and so gross were the recreations encouraged by the Cattanars for the entertainment of those who came, that the Malpan Abraham of Marámanúr, when light broke in upon his soul, used to suspend any of his people who attended this demoralising festival.

To induce the Syrians, if possible, to take active measures in the work of reformation, at the suggestion of the Missionaries, the Metran called a public assembly of the clergy and laity, which met at Mavelicâre, December 3rd, 1818. From the address which Mr. Fenn then delivered, to about 40 Cattanars and upwards of 700 laymen, we learn that the principal topics insisted on were: Unity amongst themselves; Revision of their Ritual; the duty of worshipping in a language understood by the people; the evils of forced celibacy of the clergy; and the respective duties of Cattanars, Elders, and Headmen among them. He strongly lamented their lack of enterprise, their loss of the martial spirit of their ancestors, and that indolence which prevented them making the best of what they had in the good land given them. In conclusion, it was resolved at this meeting that six of the most able Cattanars, in conjunction with the Metran, Malpan, and Missionaries, should hold further consultation on all matters connected with the rites and ceremonies of the Church, as it was the avowed purpose of the Missionaries to "*alter as little as possible, that the character and individuality of the Church may be preserved.*"

Little was done in the way of revision, but the Metran saw no objection to some of the prayers, in which the people were expected to join with the clergy, being translated into the Vernacular; and the gospels and epistles were either read in Malayálim, or translated from the Syriac into the tongue of the people, at their public services; and more decided measures still were taken to do away with forced celibacy.

Whilst the Metran and Chief Malpan, in their partial enlightenment, attached greater sanctity to the single life, they felt convinced that marriage would be the most effectual check to those dissolute habits which then prevailed. The clergy in many cases urged that their small incomes would not allow of the maintenance of a wife and family; and, being slow to make any movement in this direction, Colonel Munro at last offered to give 400 rupees to the first priest that should marry; and promised so to arrange matters in time, that the clergy should have a sufficient stipend to support themselves and their households.

The Metran, moreover, issued a circular, in which he stated that the habit of clerical celibacy came from Rome, and not from Antioch; since it was a well known fact that the bishops from Antioch generally encouraged the marriage of the clergy; and, only forty years before this, four of their leading Cattanars were married men. To encourage the movement more decidedly still, the Metran expressed himself ready to perform the nuptial ceremonial, in the case of any about him who were willing to marry. Before the close of 1820, about 40 Cattanars out of 150 had become married men; of the rest, some were too poor, and others too old or infirm; but those who objected on principle to matrimony were a very small minority.

There were other serious matters which needed prompt attention—the adequate support of the clergy, so as to remove the temptation to encourage such superstitious observances as the *Chattum*, or funeral service for the departed, which was a chief source of income to the clergy; the repairs of 55 old churches; the rebuilding of others which had gone to ruin; and the construction of new ones where they might be required. The Syrians were very anxious to regain possession of four of those venerable structures (still in the hands of the Romanists), in which their forefathers for centuries had met for worship, and an effort was made to this end; but so strongly was their resumption opposed by the Romish party, that the affair ended in a compromise, by which it was agreed that the Romanists should be allowed to retain two of them, on condition of their peaceably resigning the other two, viz., the *Waliapally*, or Great Church at Cottayam, and that at Púrúwum, to the Syrian party, under stipulations that applied equally to both communions. It was further agreed that a small monthly allowance of 70 rupees should be made to the Metran in lieu of ordination fees, in order that he might maintain an independent position with respect to his people, and be under no temptation to increase the number of Cattanars—as many of his predecessors had done—to please the more wealthy families, and increase the very narrow episcopal income.

Mar Joseph—who met the first two Missionaries, Messrs. Norton and Bailey, with such evident goodwill—had but a short tenure of office after this meeting. He died in the very same year, on the 24th November, 1816, testifying to the satisfaction he felt

in the improvement already effected, through the assistance and co-operation of his English friends. He was succeeded by a devout man, Mar Philoxenus, a retired bishop of excellent character, who (as already stated) resided at Anyúra, to the north of Kúnnankúlam. Philoxenus accepted the office of Metropolitan on condition that the Resident and the English Missionaries would render to him such aid as his predecessor had enjoyed. He had been much debilitated by an attack of small pox; and his weak state of health, coupled with his very abstemious mode of living, incapacitated him to such a degree, that he could not long bear the burden of office, which led to his retiring again into seclusion, after having consecrated his Archdeacon George, whose appointment was duly confirmed by the civil authority of the State. Several important steps in the way of progress had been taken prior to this retirement of Philoxenus, and with his full approval. George assumed the episcopal name of Mar Dionysius.

The cordiality with which this new Metran co-operated with the Missionaries, and the way in which he esteemed their services, are shown in a letter which he addressed to Lord Gambier in 1821, as the president of the Church Missionary Society in London. After speaking of "*the Franks*" hourly laying the trap of the Pope for them, and the dangers they were in from living under "the power of a kingdom filled with idols," he enlarges on their recent deliverance, comparing Colonel Macaulay (the first British Resident) to Moses, and his successor, Colonel Munro, to Joshua; speaks of "Mar Buchanan, the illustrious priest," and the services he rendered; of the priest Benjamin (Mr. Bailey), the priest Joseph (Mr. Fenn), and the priest Henry (Mr. Baker), as his "spiritual and temporal friends, brothers, and assistants." Whilst "Samuel, the priest," (Professor Lee), who had sent them a letter in Syriac, which they understood; and "James (Mr. Hough), the honoured priest," who had just been visiting them, were not forgotten. The concluding words are worthy of special note—"Remain firm in the power of Jesus"—incorporating as they do a truly apostolic sentiment—the real secret of success in working for the kingdom of God on earth.

Some two years later Major Mackworth, a cavalry officer, describing Mar Dionysius, with whom he had some friendly intercourse at Cottayam, says that his appearance was pleasing and dignified, and his address good; he was then about 40 or 42 years of age, and had a fine countenance expressive of mildness and good sense, yet with a meek subdued look, which secured sympathy. Such was the man destined, in the providence of God, to preside over the Syrian church during eight of the earlier years of the Church Missionary Society's operations in Travancore.

The Missionaries occupied a most delicate and most difficult position. They needed much of the wisdom of the serpent, and no less a portion of the harmlessness of the dove; and only by remaining "firm in the power of Jesus" could they have held on

their course as they did, accomplishing a great work, and yet giving none occasion for the adversary to speak reproachfully. All their movements were narrowly watched, and every act minutely examined and criticised; and one visitor after another (some more and others less friendly) came to visit the scene of their labours, and then went away to record their impressions, which were eventually published to the world. These good men—to their praise be it spoken—must all along have acted, through God's good hand upon them, with singular prudence and discretion.

Bishop Middleton visited them in 1816, and though very precise in all his ideas of ecclesiastical order, and though in his private conversations with the Syrian bishops he afforded them every opportunity of stating their grievance, if they had one, he left Travancore, having nothing to say against the work, then in its earliest stages.

In 1820 the Rev. J. Hough paid a similar visit, and bears his testimony to the effect that the Missionaries had not interfered with the observances of the Syrian Church, and were highly esteemed by the Metran and his clergy generally; he saw they were too prudent to act with precipitation, but were expending their time and strength in preparing the people's minds for the reception of the truth. Attending the Syrian service on the morning of the Sunday which he spent at Cottayam, it struck him as very much like the Romish Mass, with one important exception; for in one part of the service a gleam of light darted through the gloom which overhung the rest; it was a portion of St. Matthew's gospel, read in the vulgar tongue of the people. "It seemed (he observes) like the lamp of God still enlightening the temple, and elicited the involuntary prayer that ere long it might burn with a brighter and more steady flame." In the evening he attended a service in which the English Liturgy was used in the Malayálim language, by the Metran's permission, in one of the Syrian churches. Several Cattanars and about 150 laymen were present, who appeared particularly attentive to the sermon; and the Head Malpan of the College, who had officiated at the Mass in the morning, acted as clerk to Mr. Bailey.

Two years later, Dr. Mill of Calcutta, the Principal of Bishop's College, visited the Travancore Mission; and, in referring to the work of the missionaries, he observes:—"Singular as such superintendence may appear, and almost unprecedented, there is nothing in it, as exercised by these clergymen, which opposes the order either of that episcopal church which they visit; or, as far as I am capable of judging, of that to which they themselves belong. . . . They do nothing but by the express sanction of the Metropolitan consulting and employing them: their use of the Anglican Service, for themselves and families, at one of his chapels, is agreeable to the practice of these Christians, who allowed the same 250 years ago to the Portuguese priests, as to persons rightly and canonically ordained—even while they were resisting their usurpations—and is

totally unconnected with any purpose of obtruding even that Liturgy upon the Syrian Church: while their conduct with respect to those parts of the Syriac ritual and practice, which all Protestants must condemn, is that of silence; which, without the appearance of approval, leaves it to the gradual influence of the knowledge now disseminating itself to undermine, and, at length, by regular authority, to remove them."

When Major Mackworth visited the Mission 1823, he had much friendly conversation with Mar Dionysius, and one of the most influential Malpans. The Metran allowed, unreservedly, the state of wretched ignorance in which the Syrians were plunged prior to the coming of the English missionaries; and since then, by converse with them, he had made the discovery that he himself had everything to learn—all was new to him.

The Malpan, whose residence (when not at work at the college) was at Mámaláshery, was polite, friendly, and communicative, but showed that he did not heartily fall in with the work of reformation. He met Major Mackworth at Púrúwum, with all the state his limited means would admit; two or three most ancient matchlocks were fired off on the occasion, and the Church dignitary was escorted by a small troop of boys armed with swords and shields, who preceded him with measured step; and, on their arrival at the church, half-a-dozen iron pots—filled with gunpowder, and giving a report like small cannon—were discharged. The Malpan refused an unqualified assent to the marriage of the Cattanars, though he did not openly oppose it, and could not deny that the last Metran who visited them from Antioch, some sixty years before, insisted on it, and actually *compelled* the four Malpans of his time to take wives. He was, moreover, an advocate for frequent fasting, and supported, with the usual sophistries of Rome, the worship of the Virgin. His very obstinacy, however, was made useful to the missionaries—they did nothing without consulting him, and hence they never erred in doing too much.

The Metran then usually lived in the college at Cottayam; and here he gave a state reception to the Major. He wore on this occasion a mitre; whilst a pastoral staff of polished blackwood, mounted with gold, and ornamented with a strip of silver descending spirally from the top to the bottom, was carried before him by an attendant. After a short time he took off his outer robes, and kept on only the usual one of crimson silk. His suite of apartments, and the furniture which adorned them, were of the most primitive order; he had a little bedroom containing a cot, three chairs, a very small table, a wooden chest, and a brass lamp; from the canopy of his cot some dresses of ceremony were hanging, and a very few books lay on the chest opposite the very small window. He had one other room, not much larger and nearly empty.

That great friend, and influential patron of the mission, Colonel J. Munro, resigned the office of Resident in January, 1819, and

was succeeded by Colonel S. Mac Douall, who did not enjoy his appointment much more than a year and a-half; and was succeeded, in due course, in 1821, by Colonel D. Newall, to whom the missionaries, conjointly, addressed an interesting letter on the condition of the Syrian Church—dated from Cottayam, March 13th, 1822—clearly setting forth the relation in which they stood to the Metran, and what plans they were pursuing for the welfare of the whole community.

The very material help, which they were then rendering to this down-trodden and impoverished Church, may be gathered from what is said about their places of worship: “Many of the churches are much fallen into decay: among these may be reckoned the very ancient churches of Neranum, which tradition refers to apostolic times; the church of Omallúr, lately destroyed by fire; the large church of Kadampanáda, not unlike an English cathedral, in its lofty roof, and lengthened chancel, now undergoing complete repairs; the large church of Párúr, capable of containing 1,500 persons, destroyed by Tippoo, and but lately begun to be re-built; the churches of Angamále, Akaparumba, the large church of Kothamungalum, Perúmattam, Múlaculum, Kúndara, Kallida, and some others. In consequence of the extensiveness of several parishes, some chapels of ease, as we should term them, are building . . . as those of Tirúwilla and Yeddatotte, for the extensive parish of Neranum; and Anmenum, for the parish of Cottayam.” It was in contemplation to build churches also in the parishes of Kotalacere, Mámálashery, Kúrúppámpády, and in some other places. The estimated cost of an ordinary church, as built by the Syrians, was then about 5,000 rupees (£500); and the funds were usually raised by the united efforts of the Residents, Missionaries, and the Syrians themselves.

In those days the Syrian Christians, in their work of church extension, had to encounter such opposition from the heathen around them as Protestant missionaries have since experienced in that part of India. At Chenganúr the Syrians had some difficulty in reaching their church from the river side, in consequence of having to pass a Hindoo temple; and to obviate this a direct road was opened by authority, but a heathen party, headed by the petty Rajah of the place, tried, in every possible way, to prevent the Syrians using the road when made; and it required the strong hand of the British Resident to put them down.

In Mámálashery parish, at a place called Pámpácúda, a new church, erected in 1823, met with the most determined opposition from the Brahmins and Nairs of the place, who made many false statements to prevent the completion of the work; these, however, were duly examined and inquired into, and eventually pronounced unreasonable objections.

At Tirúwilla the Syrian community, who were connected with the old parish of Neranum, first of all erected a temporary church of bamboos and mats; but the Brahmins and Nairs, to show their

indignation, set fire to the edifice, which was speedily reduced to ashes. Colonel Munro, to put an effectual check to proceedings of this kind, fined the caste Hindoos of the neighbourhood 67,000 fanams; which led to the stone structure eventually built in its place, being called "The church which the Brahmins built." This was a sore matter to the heathen, who, for many years after, when they wished specially to annoy the Syrians would tauntingly say: "Your *fathers* (meaning the English) are now about to evacuate the country."

But whilst actively employed in promoting the best interests of the Syrian Church, the English missionaries sustained a serious shock in the sudden and unexpected removal of Mar Dionysius. He was apparently as well as usual on Sunday, May the 15th, 1825, and attended the funeral of a Cattanar; but was attacked at night with cholera, and died on the evening of the following day. Consecrated in 1817, he, at all times, manifested the most friendly feelings towards the missionaries, and was, to the last, anxious to see his Church raised from the dust and restored to primitive purity; nothing could exceed his desire to have the Scriptures printed and circulated; and until this was done, he said he did not expect to see any radical improvement among his people. The devout Mar Philoxenus was sent for, from his quiet retreat at Anyúra; but only arrived in time for the funeral of his friend.

Immediately after Mar Dionysius had breathed his last, the bells of the Cottayam churches tolled, and shouts of lamentation and wailing were heard throughout the place. The priests wiped the body with a moist cloth, dressed it in full pontificals, and placed it sitting in a chair, and in this state it was removed into the church (which belonged to the Northern party of the Syrians), and located at the foot of the chancel steps, with the face looking westward. During the whole day dirges were chanted by the priests, and at four p.m. they carried the corpse round the church, followed by the deceased Metran's state and private palanquins. The body, on being brought back into the church, was carried to the central altar, and there raised nine successive times towards the north, and three towards the south; and when it was returned to its place men, women, and children were allowed to come forward and kiss the hand of the deceased.

When Mar Philoxenus at length arrived and saw the corpse of his friend, he burst into exclamations of grief, approached, took away his ring, pastoral staff, and cross, and then seated himself in the chancel. The body was placed in a large wooden chair, nearly six feet high, a wooden cross was hung round his neck, another placed in his right hand, and the pastoral staff at the left; and in this position he was interred in a grave, excavated on the north side of the chancel, opposite that of Mar Gabriel, the last Nestorian Metran. After the corpse had been lowered, Mar Philoxenus, supported by two or three friends, came forward and poured a small bottle of olive oil upon the head; but on returning to his

seat he swooned away, and remained in this state for nearly twenty minutes.

For forty days after the funeral, Masses—a Romish innovation—were performed by some of the priests. On the twentieth day from the decease, a *Chattum*, or funeral feast was given, at which deputies, lay and clerical, attended from all the churches. Food was provided for 10,000 persons, and between 6,000 and 7,000 are supposed to have partaken of the abundant stores. The greater part of the churchyard was covered with large temporary sheds, thatched with the leaves of the cocoa nut tree, capable of seating 1,000 or 1,200 people at a time; whilst others found accommodation in the lower part of the Metran's house and its adjoining verandahs. After one set had dined they turned out, and another succeeded them; and in this way there were four or five changes of guests. No meat or fish was allowed to be eaten; but rice in abundance was provided, as also were ghee (*clarified butter*), curds, oil, pulse, pickled mangoes, sweet-meats and preserves, milk, cakes, and pancakes fried in ghee and sugar.

The day after this feast the clergy and more wealthy laymen met for the purpose of electing another Metran. Besides the two Malpans (Abraham of Mámálashery, and Philippus of Chepáda), the late Metran had recommended Joseph of Cullapa, and just before his death he had also mentioned two Cottayam deacons, Marcus and Matthew. With regard to the two last-named, it was felt that the deceased prelate's expressed wishes should be so far respected that they should be regarded as proper candidates for the appointment at some future time, should their lives be spared; but that *then* their youth and inexperience would not admit of their holding such an office. The other three only were put in nomination, and the plan of election was after the apostolic manner, by *lot*, with an appeal to God that He would show which of three should be appointed.

For each candidate two papers were written in the following forms:—"If it be the will of God that — should be chosen, let this paper come up;" and "If it be the will of God that — should *not* be chosen, let this come up." After the papers had been placed on the altar, Mar Philoxenus requested the people to implore divine guidance; and he and the priests then chanted some prayers. These ended, a Deacon was directed to approach the altar, making three prostrations at different intervals, and take one of the papers. The first drawn was the negative paper of Abraham Malpan; upon which the affirmation paper bearing his name was carefully sought for and removed from the rest. The papers having been folded up and deposited as before, prayers were resumed; after which another paper was drawn by the same Deacon. This paper was an affirmative one, bearing the name of Philippus Malpan, who was accordingly appointed Metran; and a day having been fixed for his consecration, the assembly dispersed. It was hoped at the time that he would walk in the steps of his predecessor.

The name assumed by him after his consecration was also Mar Dionysius.

But greater trials awaited the Travancore Mission than any they had yet seen. Their experience was that of every other faithful preacher of the gospel, since the Lord commissioned His servants to go into all the world and proclaim it to every creature; of those who heard, "some believed, and some believed not." The light they introduced did not approve itself alike to all; some loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil; and, sad to say, this was especially the case amongst those who should have kindled their lamps, and have been in an especial manner light-bearers to others.

The late Metran had written a Pastoral Letter, and 600 copies had been circulated far and wide, and had excited quite a stir among the churches; in consequence of which there was a better observance of the Lord's Day, and a discontinuance of certain heathenish customs observed at their feasts; which, together with the abolition of forced celibacy, and the dissemination of Scripture portions and other religious works, gave grounds for hope that the leaven was working in the meal.

But though here and there they could point out Cattanars of whom they hoped well, the great mass were too wedded to their superstitions, and especially to such as brought them worldly gain. We find this painful record in the Report for 1825:—"There appears to be but *little improvement among the Syrian clergy*, whose minds seem to be still wholly absorbed in things which cannot profit them, instead of being occupied in promoting the spiritual welfare of their flocks." There was further an increasing hankering after Antioch, and a desire to open out communications once more with the Patriarch, for whom they had a profound, yet blind, veneration.

The wishes of the reactionary party were soon to be gratified in the mission of a Syrian bishop, called Mar Athanasius, who was on his way to Malabar when the late Metropolitan was dying at Cottayam; for Bishop Heber met with him at Bombay during his visit there, which lasted from the 19th of April, 1825, until the month of August. This good English bishop showed him the most marked attentions; when he stayed to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at St. Thomas's Church, Heber seated him in his own chair within the communion rails; and when he wished to leave, and lacked funds for the purpose, Heber gave him £30 for his travelling expenses to Travancore.

On his arrival at Cochin, the venerable senior Metran, Philoxenus, and an aged and highly respected Cattanar from Cottayam, came to meet him, and so did Mr. Bailey; for though the Missionaries were not without painful apprehensions of the effects of this visit, they tried to hope for the best, and did not wish to give any offence by any apparent want of courtesy.

Athanasius at once sought an interview with the Resident,

Colonel Newall, demanding at the same time his immediate recognition by the British Government, and the suspension of the local Metrans. These demands Colonel Newall politely declined, and merely gave him passports to visit the interior, warning him of the consequences of interfering in the concerns of the Syrian Church, and thereby creating disturbances; since the existing Metrans were acknowledged and supported by the local Government.

On reaching Cottayam, the Metran's room at the college, which contained many valuables, was locked up and sealed—for the junior Metran was absent on duty—and this gave the proud churchman serious offence. When Dionysius returned, he forthwith went to pay his respects; but neither Athanasius nor his companion, the Ramban Isaac, returned the call, or showed him the slightest civilities.

Notwithstanding this, the common people and most of the Cattanars were so overjoyed at obtaining once more a Metran from Antioch, and were so loud in their demonstrations, that Mar Athanasius felt himself encouraged to preserve the haughty bearing he had assumed. He proceeded to deny Mar Dionysius's title—suspended Cattanars for acts done by order of the deceased Metran—demolished the tomb erected in the church to his memory—and gave orders to omit the names of the present native bishops from the liturgical services.

In order to effect some kind of settlement, Mar Philoxenus called a Synod of the whole church; and a Cattanar and one or two influential laymen from every parish for this purpose assembled at Cottayam, on December 29th, 1825. Before this Synod, Athanasius's credentials were first read and acknowledged; after which the Antiochean bishop asked the clergy if they would acknowledge him as their Metropolitan. Upon their replying in the affirmative, he then proceeded to say that he would never consent to there being *two* Metropolitans; and hence if he was to be Metropolitan, the other two Metrans must be stripped of their robes, resign their cross and pastoral staff, and return to the office of priest; and every deacon and priest ordained by the last four Metrans must be re-ordained; and thus all the acts done for the last 19 years, since the consecration of Mar Philoxenus in 1805, were to be annulled. Hearing this the assembly were all thrown into great consternation, not knowing what to say to such extravagant demands; and matters were not improved by his coming forward at last and threatening the meek Philoxenus that he would in person strip him, and take his staff and cross by force, and break them to pieces!

Some short time after this Synod, intelligence was brought to the Missionaries one morning that the Ramban Isaac was going to the college for the express purpose of insulting Mar Philoxenus. Upon hearing this, Messrs. Fenn and Bailey hastened thither, and found Isaac at the door, which the bishop had ordered to be shut;

and here a long dispute was carried on by him, in which he abused the people who sided with their old Metrans, styling the latter the Devil's partisans. Having been frustrated in this purpose, the two ecclesiastics from Antioch, in company with some Cattanars, met together and cursed the two native Metrans over the New Testament. The Ramban being in Púthupúllý Church after this, and hearing a lad recite their names in the liturgy, knocked him down on the spot for doing so.

The foolish Cattanars, carried away with the idea of his having come from Antioch, were for a time completely fascinated with their new Metropolitan; but they soon began to repent of their choice, and their ardour cooled as the animus of the man became more apparent. Nine of them, however, went so far as to submit to re-ordination; after which he changed their dress from white to black—by no means an improvement; shaved off all their hair, and placed little caps upon their bald heads. The suspension of the native Metrans soon began to be felt as a deep dishonour put upon them; especially upon Mar Philoxenus, who had held this office for 19 years. But further—which opened their eyes more than anything else—Athanasius began to exact money in every way he could; amongst other measures taxing marriages with heavy fees, and making bargains with rich Syrians for their daughters to be married to Cattanars.

He finally tried hard to get possession of the college, but was resisted by the Missionaries, under the express authority of Colonel Newall, who having borne long enough with his violent proceedings, and neglect of the terms upon which his passport to visit the interior of Travancore was originally granted him, was moved to acquiesce in the act of the Dewan by which he was ordered to quit the country and return to his native land. He did so by a Turkish vessel, in the month of April, 1826, from the port of Cochin.

The justly lamented Bishop Heber was on his way to Travancore to assist in settling the grievous discords which the advent of Athanasius had occasioned in the Syrian Church, when he was removed from this world, in so sudden and unexpected a manner, at Trichinopoly, on the 3rd of April, 1826. Athanasius was then awaiting the time for his embarkation at Cochin, and a letter from Bishop Heber acquainting Athanasius of his intentions had reached Cottayam; but through some mistake was never delivered to him. Bishop Heber's intentions were truly most commendable, but whether his efforts to restore peace, and his scheme for the retention of Athanasius as Metropolitan, would have been ultimately beneficial to the Syrian Church, may be justly open to question.¹

¹ Other attempts have been since made at displacing the *native* bishops by importations from Antioch, and this has been a fruitful source of grievous divisions and animosity. The Rev. G. P. Badger most truly writes after the appointment of the present native Metropolitan in 1842: "There are therefore more than three Jacobite bishops on the Malabar

In reviewing these very painful events, Mr. Bailey observes: "It may be a general impression that we were in a great measure instrumental in Athanasius's being sent out of the country; I can positively state that we had nothing whatever to do in it; the Travancore Government acted in entire independence of us, and for the preservation of its own authority."

A year after this, in April, 1827, the disturbances caused by Athanasius and his Ramban Isaac had in a great measure subsided. Mar Philoxenus, though in feeble health, again assumed the authority of Metropolitan; refractory Cattanars who had given trouble were fined by the Travancore Government for disobedience to its orders, and again submitted to the recognised authorities of the Church.

The last eighteen months had been a season of severe trial to the Missionaries. The weakly constitution of Philoxenus had been severely shaken, whilst his confidence in the Missionaries, who so faithfully stood by him was greatly increased. The excellent Principal of the College, the Rev. J. Fenn, was also compelled by impaired health to quit his post, and return to England, after an absence of more than nine years, leaving Mr. Doran—who was accompanying Bishop Heber when he died to Travancore—as his successor at Cottayam.

In reviewing the first decade of the labours of the Church Missionary Society Missionaries in Travancore, though from the extreme caution with which they had acted in their exceedingly delicate position, they might have little to show to those who looked for sensational results, they nevertheless had been making sure and steady progress. It was the time for laying the foundation stones of a great work; and they laid them well: it was but the seed time in which they went forth bearing good seed, sowing it beside all waters, and not until after many days were the hearts of men cheered by gathering in the first harvest sheaves.

When Mr. Doran had got into his work, and formed some opinion concerning it from personal acquaintance with the students at the college, he writes in good spirits of the five boys composing his first class:—"A is very clever, and with grace in his heart might effect a reformation in his Church;" B and C, he believes, to be pious youths, D thoughtful, E a convinced heathen, and F possessed of moderate talents, but persevering. The college then

Coast, and each countenanced and supported by different parties in the diocese. Confusion and discord must be the natural consequences of such misrule, for which the *Patriarchs* are chiefly to be blamed. *Their principal aim is to obtain pecuniary aid, and if this is not forthcoming, the bishop is judged as being unfaithful in the discharge of his office, and another is sent out to succeed him.* And when we add to this the general incapacity of the Syrian prelates, we cannot wonder if the state of the Jacobites in India is deplorable in the extreme."—*The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i., chap. vii., p. 71.

contained fifty students, and the Cottayam Grammar School 50 or 60 boys.

With regard to the parochial schools, Mr. Baker had met with some disappointments. He could not obtain competent *Christian* masters for all of them; but, strange as it may seem, the Heathen masters had taught the simple Christian Catechisms in use, and other religious books with diligence. At one period he had some 50 schools at work; but in the course of time many of them were found to be so thinly attended, or so difficult of access, as to prevent regular superintendence, that it was thought advisable to reduce the numbers to about 30. Moreover, the Syrian churches had not come forward so readily to supply funds for their maintenance as it was hoped they would have done. This had been the more apparent since the death of the late Metran, Dionysius, who had used his great influence in enforcing attendance and securing contributions.

The Missionary Register for 1829 refers to the visit of a deputation of the London Missionary Society to Cottayam, with which place they were much interested. Our Nonconformist friends, in speaking of the 55 Syrian churches, use rather severe terms, as others have since done who take but a superficial view, and form judgments which appear to savour of uncharitableness, designating them "so many limbs of *Popery*, from which, as to doctrinal sentiments, they do not materially differ." Yet they add: "We were greatly interested in this Mission, which we trust will be instrumental in great good, though we fear that its operations will be slow, and the hopes of good are distant. Persons more suited to the undertaking could scarcely have been found by the Church Missionary Society."

How well the Missionaries understood their position is made clear from the following observations of Mr. Baker in the same year:—"The business of the Society's Missionaries here is not to pull down the ancient Syrian Church, and to build another on some plan of their own with the materials; our object is to remove the rubbish, and to repair the decayed places of the existing Church. This being the case, the Missionaries must ever have in view the general good of the whole rather than the welfare of individuals. We do not stand in the relation of pastors to the several flocks for whose good we are labouring, as other Missionaries do: we are but advisers and helpers, and instructors of such as are willing to hear. . . . Under such circumstances, we think our Christian friends will agree with us that we have gained much, when, by the grace of God, we have brought some to see and lament their ignorance, and the departure of themselves and their people from the spiritual worship of God; and to pray in the sincerity of their hearts for further light and knowledge."

Mar Philoxenus, after holding the office of Metran for 25 years, entered into rest on the 6th of February, 1830. Mr. Bailey, who had known him well for 14 years, writes thus of him: "The Syrian

Church has sustained a great loss, and the Missionaries have been deprived of a true friend. His memory will ever be dear to us. I have every reason to believe that he fully appreciated the advantages enjoyed by the Syrian Church from our residence at Cottayam. . . His death will be deeply felt and sincerely regretted by the Syrian community at large, by whom he was universally esteemed. It is but doing justice to the memory of this deservedly lamented individual to add that the members of our Mission have, from their first arrival in Travancore, enjoyed his full confidence; and mutual attachment and esteem have ever existed between him and the Missionaries."

Early in the same year the Archdeacon of Madras (*Robinson*) visited Travancore, and inspected the Cottayam Mission. He had visited it in 1818, and felt much cheered by the progress made during the twelve intervening years. He examined the college, and from a brief abstract of his Report, some idea may be gathered of the nature of the education then carried on. The first class construed *Selectæ e Profanis*; the second, the same; the third, *Virgil*; the fourth, *Cicero's Orations*; the fifth, *Horace's Epistles*; and the sixth, *Demosthenes*. He examined also a considerable class in Arithmetic, Algebra, and the first six books of Euclid; and three boys in Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. In Syriac they construed both the Old and New Testament fluently, giving the meaning both in English and Malayálim, and rendering an accurate account of the grammatical construction. "My principal object, however (he adds), was to ascertain their progress in religious knowledge, and I therefore catechised them very carefully in 1 Cor., x. . . The result was highly satisfactory . . in the higher classes there is a knowledge of the doctrines, history, and scheme of Divine Revelation, which shews that the main object of the college, their preparation for the Church, is sedulously kept in view." Mr. Doran had then 103 youths under his charge.

The parochial schools were again increasing in number; there were now 42 in different places, containing an average attendance of about 1,200 children. The Nair schoolmasters were felt to be a serious objection, but Christian teachers with proper qualifications could not be generally met with.

The Missionaries made known to the Archdeacon a wish they had for sometime entertained of building a Mission Chapel for their own use, so that they might not be under obligations to the Syrians for their places of worship, which were not constructed to suit the habits of Europeans, or the requirements of the Order of the Church of England. As an ecclesiastical question it stood thus: "How far was it right to build an Episcopal Church of our own Communion in the midst of another Episcopal Diocese, for whose benefit the Mission was established, and by whose permission the Missionaries continued to reside there?"

The Missionaries assured the Archdeacon that the Syrian Metran and Cattanars had not the slightest objection; on the

contrary, they rather wondered that no church had been attached to a Mission where three clergymen resided. Besides, the room they then used for worship, independent of the Syrian churches, was not large enough for the congregation that worshipped with them; and hence no heathen could be admitted to hear the Word, and see how they worshipped the One Living and True God."

Furthermore, they were not in a position to receive any converts from heathenism. Hitherto such as had been baptized were received into the Old Syrian community; now people came to them who wished for baptism, but desired to enter the communion of the English Church in preference to the Syrian; and in the degraded state of the latter, whilst false doctrine was taught, and superstition encouraged by most of the priests, they could not find it in their hearts to refuse their request. Such inquirers, however, could not well join them until they had a building set apart expressly for divine service. The extreme caution and thoughtful consideration with which the Missionaries acted, prove that they were actuated in all their movements by the truest wisdom and love.

Worn out with his work, in a climate which had told severely upon his constitution, Mr. Bailey left Travancore for a voyage to England in 1831, and Mr. Doran accompanied him. By these departures the Mission was left in a most crippled state; and some things—as might have been expected—fell into confusion. Mr. Baker, however, one of the senior Missionaries, was still on the spot, and did his utmost to preserve order and sustain the scheme of operations. In the beginning of July, 1831, the greater part of the youths quitted the college in consequence of alleged dissatisfaction with a newly-arrived Missionary, who had been put in charge of it; he having thought it right to administer corporal punishment to one or two boy deacons for some grave offence. Upon Mr Baker taking charge of the institution, the confidence of the Syrians in their old friends was amply proved by the college being re-filled; so that at the end of the year there were 100 students in residence, half of whom were deacons. Two years later ill health compelled Mr. Baker and family to return to England, where they arrived July, 1833.

The Travancore Mission then began to suffer—as it has often done since—from being inadequately supplied with efficient and experienced labourers. Death or disease, which has entailed a return home to England, has continually checked (as we judge) the progress of the Lord's work; for either there has been no one at hand to fill up the gap, or two, and sometimes three Mission districts have been committed to the care of one man, already overburdened with work; and when at last this overtaxed labourer has been relieved, some younger brother—possibly lacking in that judgment and tact which experience supplies—could alone be found to help him. When will the Church at home be so roused to a sense of its duties that every Mission station shall be *well and*

efficiently manned; and that the enemy of souls be not permitted to re-occupy territory which had been, in some sense, won for Christ?

In drawing this sketch of the earlier operations of the English Missionaries in Travancore to a conclusion, we trust it will be patent to every unprejudiced reader that they came among the Syrian Christians in a very different spirit from that manifested by the emissaries of Rome who preceded them. They did not enter the land proclaiming that there is no salvation except in their own Church; and hence that all who would be saved must join them forthwith; but rather, in their dealings with the Syrian Church, they acted in the spirit of the Good Samaritan, regarding her as one who, after having been for a long time weak and sickly, had had the sad misfortune to fall among thieves, who had stripped, robbed, and wounded her—leaving her half dead! They approached lovingly, offering their services, and at the same time were *invited* to render them; dealing gently with her infirmities; doing their best to heal her sicknesses; binding up her wounds; administering that which alone could alleviate her sufferings and revive her fainting spirit—the oil and wine of pure evangelical truth—the same light of the glorious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which first dispelled the darkness of India's sons and daughters.

At this critical period of the Travancore Mission, the post of Corresponding Secretary of the Church Missionary Society for the Madras Presidency was most ably filled by one whose name will never be forgotten in connexion with Mission work in South India, and whose faithful ministry made a deeper and more abiding impression upon the English speaking section of the Christian community than that of any individual labourer before or since. Loyal in his attachment to the Church of England, because he was convinced that her doctrinal teaching, as enunciated by her Reformers, was that of Christ and His Apostles—a ripe scholar, being fellow of a college at Oxford then famed for its great men; gifted with sound judgment and no ordinary powers of discerning character, the Rev. John Tucker¹ was, of all others, the right man in the right place. Speaking of Travancore he says: "This Mission appears to be fast approaching to that crisis which was naturally to be expected from the constant introduction of the light of Divine Truth. Amidst all the gloom which pervades the Syrian

¹ This most excellent clergyman died at his vicarage, West Hendred, Berkshire, in the opening of this present year (1873), only a few days after his much loved friend and fellow labourer in the Mission cause—the Rev. H. Venn. Mr. Tucker took his B.A. degree at Oxford in 1813, and became fellow of Corpus, where he was the colleague and intimate friend of Arnold (who owed much to him), Keble of *The Christian Year*, and others who attained to distinction and eminence. One more earnest, single-minded, and unflinching in the advocacy of Gospel truth the writer never had the privilege of knowing or co-operating with in pastoral work.

community, it is easy to trace bright beams of light. The fact that young men educated in the Grammar School have established independent schools, is a sign that knowledge is an article in demand; and there never was a time when there was such a demand for Scripture, and Tracts, and for the preaching of God's Word."

It was soon evident to all that light and darkness could not have communion with each other. By the death of Mar Philoxenus, the junior native Metran, Mar Dionysius, was left supreme in the Syrian Church. Unhappily he was not so cordial as his predecessors in his intercourse with the Missionaries, and there were reasons for this.¹ Being naturally a weak man, he came under the influence of certain Cattanars, wedded to old superstitions, many of which had been introduced by the Romanists; and these men organized a re-actionary party, of whom the Metran was constituted the head, and nothing but mischief ensued.

One of the College Malpans—of whom we have already spoken—regarded as a sort of oracle by an ignorant people,² belonged to this clique, if he were not its inspiring genius. Whilst retaining office, and professing friendship for the Missionaries, he was at length discovered secretly undermining their work. An earnest devoted Missionary, who though young in the field was no ordinary man—as his after labours evidenced—found out to his surprise that secret conclaves were called under the presidency of this

"His character was more than doubtful in many respects; but there was no proof forthcoming, no suitable tribunal, and consequently no remedy. . . . The charges brought against the Metran, and which touched upon *morality and honesty*, seemed but too true."—*Life of Bishop Wilson*, vol. II., p. 48.

² The kind of learning for which this man was held in reputation may be judged of from the following, extracted from the Missionary Register, 1835, p. 460 :—Mr. Peet had been lecturing on Old Testament History. The Malpan could not receive one statement of his, with reference to Mount Ararat, viz., that some persons had recently visited the spot. He maintained that this mount was designedly hidden by God from the knowledge of men. His opinion was the same also concerning Paradise. He affirmed that it still existed *upon earth*, but no living man can enter it; that it was the intermediate abode of the souls of men; and that it was to this place Christ referred when he said: "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." The Syrians moreover think that Paradise is near *Antioch*. This Malpan was the Cattanar who received Major Mackworth at Mámalahery; and even then showed himself to be the advocate of priestly celibacy, the worship of the Virgin, &c.

Marignolli, who was in Ceylon in 1347, professes to have visited Paradise—Adam's Peak, and the Mahometan traditions about it, being the foundation for the fable. Ceylon is accounted so sacred a place by Hindoos, that there are high caste people in Travancore who maintain that, though the English are such clever people, and sail about the world in their voyages of discovery, they have never yet found out Ceylon! They suppose it still to be inhabited by gods, demi-gods, and apes!

Malpan, in which any theological lecture he had delivered was discussed, and its scriptural statements oftentimes condemned. This necessarily led to distrust, suspicion, and alienation, resulting in grievous confusion and unprofitable controversies; for the discrepancies between the teaching of the Missionaries and the Syrian Cattanars who held to this man, became the topic of common conversation. "The *people* begin to inquire (writes the Rev. W. J. Woodcock) of their priests whether what *Sahib* says is true. 'If it is not (say they), why is he allowed thus to preach in our church? But if what *Sahib* says be true, why do not our priests tell us the same thing?' I am inclined to believe that if ever there is a reformation here, it will begin among the laity, and not among the priests."

About this time the Rev. B. Bailey returned to his work in India, reaching Cottayam October 23rd, 1834; and it was hoped that the Rev. H. Baker, senior, would soon be able to follow him, and that, through their joint efforts, order and good feeling might be speedily restored. Their return was hailed with pleasure by such of the Syrians as had received benefit from their evangelistic labours in past time; but the tares which the enemy had been sowing during their absence had made such head, that a most difficult and trying task was before them. To make matters worse, the Metran—tempted in his poverty by the ordination fee of twenty or thirty rupees from each candidate—in defiance of the understanding which had long existed between the Metran and Missionaries, that none but *well-instructed men* should be received by him—was ordaining ignorant lads of 12 and 14 years of age to the diaconate, and crowding the churches with illiterate clergy, whilst there was no increase in the ecclesiastical revenues; which in turn tempted them to persist in the lucrative, though unscriptural, practice of prayers for the dead. The work of twenty years was thus becoming undone by the perverse and wicked policy adopted in high quarters.

Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, at length resolved to proceed to Travancore, in the course of his primary visitation, to try what he could do to promote good feeling, and to further the cause of godly reformation, which had begun, and was slowly but surely progressing, until the recent hindrances had occurred. He arrived at Cottayam in November, 1835, fully realizing the gravity of the crisis, and the need there was of "the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind," to act wisely and well.

The difficulties that required adjustment were of no ordinary character; and the prospect of meeting such an ecclesiastic as Mar Dionysius can have been anything but pleasant to such a man as Bishop Wilson. That there might not be the slightest occasion given for reasonable objection or offence, "it was resolved to pay all respect to existing authorities, to remove stumbling blocks gently out of the way, and to persuade, if possible, to a voluntary correction of the abuses which had crept in."

In the interviews which followed, every possible courtesy was paid to the Syrian Metran; and when the time came for the bishop to suggest certain points for the serious consideration of the Metran and his priests, he did not do so before he had had a private interview, and informed the Metran of all his intentions, which the latter appeared to value at the time. "The bishop addressed him with much earnestness (says his biographer, who was present on the occasion), and urged how important his assent and consent would be for the good of the Church which he represented; but he wavered, shuffled, looked round, seemed to feel the want of support, and expressed pleasure when it was proposed to adjourn to the other room where the Cattanars were waiting."

Carefully written notes were taken of the conversation which ensued, and from them we learn that the topics discussed were:— 1. The original agreement between Colonel Munro and the former Metrans, by which none were to be ordained but such as had passed through the college course, and received certificates of its completion. 2. The desirableness of an enquiry into, and due registration of, all the lands, funds, and other properties belonging to their Church, in order to prevent alienation or loss. 3. The competent maintenance of the clergy to prevent the temptation to continue the Romish practice of praying for the dead. 4. The establishment and support of good Christian schools in all their parishes. 5. The duty of expounding or preaching the Word of God to the people. 6. The revision of their Liturgy, and its use in the language best understood by the worshippers.

The spirit which animated Bishop Wilson may be best understood from those glowing words, uttered from the depths of his warm heart, in the midst of the discussion:—" *We wish that the Syrian Church should shine as a bright star in the right hand of the Son of Man; holding fast the faithful word.*"

Before the meeting closed, the Senior Missionary took the opportunity of reminding the Metran and Cattanars then present of another point in Colonel Munro's compact, viz., that all official letters on Church matters should receive the joint signatures of the Metran and himself—this had fallen into disuse, and evils had resulted therefrom.

Next day, being Sunday, the bishop preached at one of the Syrian churches—that in which Mar Gabriel lies buried; and returning home called at the house of Marcus Cattanar, who had been a pupil of Mr. Fenn's, and was one of the two junior clergy mentioned by the former Mar Dionysius just before his death, as candidates for the episcopal office.¹ The bishop seemed pleased by this interview with one of the better disposed married Cattanars, living happily with his wife and family, in a quiet and comfortable Christian home.

¹ Marcus Cattanar told the writer that this Mar Dionysius was his uncle.

Referring to the service at the church in his journal-letter, the bishop writes :—"I have witnessed the most affecting scene which I ever could have conceived—two thousand of the ancient Syrian Christians crowding to hear the word of the Gospel in the principal church at Cottayam—the Metropolitan, and about forty priests and deacons being present. After their own service, performed in their usual manner, I preached from Rev. iii., 7,8, for more than an hour, the Rev. Mr. Bailey interpreting. I dwelt on what the spirit saith unto the Church of Philadelphia: first, as it respects Christ, who addressed the Church; secondly, as it respects the Church itself; thirdly, as to the promise made to it. On this last head I showed them that Christ had set before them an open door, by the protection and friendship of the English church and people. In application I called on each one present to keep Christ's word, and not deny His name, as to their own salvation."

"Never again shall I behold such a sight! How can I bless God enough for bringing me here at this critical time? for under the present Metran all has been going back."

With his wonted generosity, Bishop Wilson left behind him 1,000 rupees, "as a mark of his love to the Church of Malabar, to be administered by the Resident, the Metran, and the Church Missionaries." And in the charge which he delivered at Bombay a few weeks later, he dwelt at some length upon the state of this Church, expressing his views and hopes respecting it, tracing strong lines of superiority to that of Rome, and trusting everything would be done to lead her to reform herself.

But, after all, the reactionary party carried the day. Superstition and abuses of various kinds, because ancient, received by tradition from their fathers, were to be held fast; and the breach was necessarily widened between the Missionaries and the ecclesiastical authorities of the Syrian Church, till at last it brought about a complete rupture in 1837.

Our Missionaries went to Malabar to preach the gospel, and though one of the primary objects to be kept in view was the rekindling of the light of evangelic truth among the Syrian Christians, they could not, because some evil men arose and would not allow them to do this, immediately strike their tents and quit the country. This would indeed have been "turning themselves back in the day of battle."

Their position, in many respects, resembled that of the Apostolic Missionaries who offered the gospel to the Jews first, but when they put it from them, turned to the Gentiles. They did not adopt such an alternative, however, until after well nigh *twenty years* of patient, self-denying labour; carried on in a spirit of marked forbearance and brotherly kindness. During this time gospel light had broken in upon the darkness of surrounding heathenism to some extent; and when enquirers came to them, dare they say—"we cannot help you;" or refer them to those who, having rejected the gospel themselves, could only offer them stones for bread? Circumstances

fully justified each Missionary in adopting St. Paul's words as his own—"Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel." (1 Cor., ix., 6.)

The college became a difficulty when the Metran broke faith with the Missionaries, for he even went so far as to forbid the Syrian deacons from resorting thither any longer. When it was fully ascertained that it was impossible to act together any longer, the property belonging to the college was divided by arbitration, the old buildings were left to the Syrians, and a new college was erected in 1838, on an elevated site a full mile off, in another part of Cottayam, for the use of the Missionaries, from funds supplied by their friends.

From that time to the present, in order that the intention of the original founders should be carried out, the new college at Cottayam has had its doors open to a certain specified number of Syrian youths, who receive an excellent education, with free board, clothing, and lodging. Nor have the Syrians been slow to avail themselves of these great advantages; and whilst in the institution they have ever cheerfully conformed to the rules which require attendance at morning and evening chapel service, and have never been taught to consider that thereby they, in any sense, became proselytes to the Church of England.

The Rev. J. Chapman, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who arrived in Travancore in August, 1840, is regarded as the first Principal of this new college. Under his wise, faithful and judicious training many young men received the greatest intellectual and spiritual benefits; and from amongst these nine or ten valuable men have been since ordained by English bishops for Mission work. If he left the land after years of patient labour somewhat disheartened for lack of *visible* results, he was spared at home to hear that the seed he had sown, oftentimes in tears, others were reaping in joy.¹

On the 6th of July, 1842, the large church at Cottayam, erected by the untiring exertions of Mr. Bailey, was opened for public worship by the Missionaries with great joy and gladness of heart. The services on this occasion were all in Malayálim, and so was the sermon, which Mr. Chapman preached from John vi., 66-69, to about 800 people. Two days later a feast was given to the workmen and to the native Protestants generally, of which some 2,000 partook.

The Senior Missionary could now specify amongst his accomplished works—1. The translation and printing of the whole Bible.

¹ The Rev. J. Chapman died December 27th, 1862, after a short illness. To a friend who visited him on the third day after his attack he said: "There are only two verses which rest upon my mind—they are quite as much as I can bear to think upon now—but they are *enough*. 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee, &c.' and 'Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.'"

2. Also of the Book of Common Prayer. 3. The erection of a large gothic church, *then* one of the finest in India. Any one of these undertakings would have been a cause of congratulation. He then had frequent warnings that his work might soon be over; but was spared to return to England in 1850; and not until after twenty years of further usefulness at home was he called to rest, full of days and full of honour, being a rural dean, and rector of a quiet village in Shropshire.

His able brother Missionary and coadjutor, the Rev. H. Baker, senior, had preceded him by a few years, having died in 1866. He remained at his post to the last, doing, and delighting to do, all that his advanced age and increasing infirmities admitted. Mr. Baker was spared to labour in a trying, debilitating tropical climate for nearly half a century, during which time his own eyes had seen "the little one" "become a thousand," "the small one a strong city;" and the writer records, as amongst his happiest recollections, many pleasant conversations at Cottayam with this Veteran of the Cross, in which he was wont to speak of things as they once were, and then of the great things God had done in the country, through the feeble efforts of His servants. The Syrians could all say of him, "he loveth our nation;" for they had received many proofs of his affection, and were not slow in acknowledging it in their simple ways.¹

Amongst what we may perhaps call the second generation of Missionaries, who were spared to labour long, and have been now called to rest, none have left a deeper impression behind them than the Revs. Joseph Peet and John Hawksworth. The latter, though he did not enter the field so soon as the former, was first called by His master. He was one whose heart was full of love to Christ, and the souls for whom He died; and no one could be long in his company without knowing this full well. "When he went home to England for his health a few years ago" (observes the present Bishop of Madras in his primary charge of 1863) "I was there struck with his fervent but yet humble spirit, and greatly interested with his narratives relating to missionary labours in Travancore. And last November, when I visited him in the midst of his work

¹ The following is the testimony of a local secular newspaper, the *Western Star*:—"He never failed to exercise a kindly influence over all with whom his office brought him in connexion; and hundreds still survive him only to speak of him with pleasure and affection. Metropolitan and priests, who from their boyhood knew him in the old Cottayam College, or had entertained him in their rooms, and students who learnt from him the first elements of literature and science, all called him friend: and yet he made no effort to conceal their failings, or the errors of their theology." "Almost the very day before his death he managed the important details of the Mission Press at Cottayam."

The writer will never forget a sermon he preached before the Missionary Conference in his church at Cochin, from Ps. lvi. 3, as descriptive of his own *heart-exercise* as a Missionary.

in his own Mission Bungalow at Cottayam, I found him the same true and loving servant of Christ. Oh for ten more Missionaries like him to come and help those who are doing their Heavenly Master's work in Travancore!"¹

Joseph Peet died, too, as he had loved to live, amongst those whom he regarded as his "own people," after 33 years of missionary life, August 11th, 1865. When expecting his departure, he called some of them to his bed side, kissed them, and bade them farewell, adding that he was *going to sleep for the last time*. He too held fast to Christ (says the Bishop of Madras in his charge of 1866) to the last, delighting when death approached, as he had delighted when he was able to work, in that self-abasing, Christ-exalting hymn:—

"Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me;"

and affectionately bidding those who attended him in his sickness to follow and meet him in heaven. In the language of two of his native pupils and fellow helpers in the ministry,² who were with him on his death bed—"He lived for Christ, he died in Christ, and now reigns with Christ."

In these good soldiers of the Cross, whose memory Christian love delights to hold most sacred, and in others unnamed, who trod in their steps, the cause of Christian truth in Travancore had zealous and successful advocates; and God gave them grace so to act as not to add bitterness to the strife engendered by some contentious spirits, or to make the breach between themselves and the Syrian Christians needlessly wide. How difficult a part they had to perform may be supposed from the fact that when Bishop Wilson again visited Cottayam as Metropolitan, in 1843, he learned to his sorrow that *all the measures he had suggested for the improvement of the Syrian Church had been absolutely rejected*, and the donation left by the bishop, as the first-fruits of an endowment, treated as a bribe, and refused!

"What sinister influence had been at work (adds Bishop Wilson's biographer) did not appear. One unworthy clergyman, a chaplain of the Company, had travelled through the country telling

¹ In the delirium which preceded his death (by dysentery); January 23rd, 1863, his thoughts were about His Master's work. Very characteristic of the man is the following incident, narrated by the Missionary brother who watched his dying couch:—"He startled me once during the day by suddenly turning to me and saying, 'Have you heard what report I found was being spread as I came along?' With his well-remembered, earnest smile, he said, 'I heard that all the slaves in Travancore were on the point of becoming Christians; and more than that, that they, and all the Mahometans in India, and Africa, and Arabia, were about to join together and shout, *Jesus is King!*'"

² Rev. J. Tharien and Rev. K. Kuruwilla.

the people that crucifixes, and prayers for the dead, and all the superstitions learnt from Rome, were *right*, and that the Missionaries and their doctrines were all wrong: but his visit has been short, and he has been forbidden to repeat it." This alas! has not been the only case of the kind in which clergymen of the Church of England have endeavoured to shake the confidence of the Syrian Christians in their best, truest, and long-tried friends.

CHAPTER XV.

SYRIAN CHURCHES NOT YET PARTICULARLY NOTICED. MISSION OPERATIONS IN THEIR VICINITY, AND PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

It may now be interesting to English readers if we take them to some of those groupings of Syrian churches which have hitherto been but partially, if at all, noticed in the earlier chapters; and in so doing, where any little matters of interest are associated with particular places, we shall be forgiven if we stay awhile and speak of them, as serving to illustrate the history, manners and customs of our Syrian brethren in India.

The native States of Cochin and Travancore have this striking peculiarity, that communication between one locality and another is carried on chiefly by boat. The chain of Backwaters, now connected by artificial canals, stretching from Calicut to Trevandrum, and the numerous streams which rise in the mountains of the interior, and flow into them, are the great highways of the country. If we except an excellent road running between Trevandrum and Cape Comorin, and one or two minor pieces of road in the Cochin State, there are no roads worth mentioning on which any carriage with springs could travel with safety. By means of these great *water ways* most of the Syrian churches are accessible—at least in the rainy season.

Omitting the churches which were under the Jesuit Archbishops who lived at Ambalakáda, already noticed at some length, we come to North Parúr, and thence pass up a river to Chennum, whence we can easily go on to Allungáda, Chewurrah, Kunhúra, Akaparrumba, Angamále, and Kúrúppampády, all of which either lie on

the banks of streams, or at most are two or three miles inland. The whole of these churches are within easy distance of Verapoli; and, the Romish influence being very strong in the neighbourhood, Romo-Syrians form the great majority of the Christian population.

Some of the Syrians at Akaparamba and Angamále complained to the writer that they had hard work to keep their own, since the Romish priests were in the habit of projecting marriages between Romo-Syrian youths and the daughters of the wealthier Syrian families; and such tactics were reducing their numbers, where direct proselytism failed. They earnestly implored the revival of the old Church Missionary Society Schools amongst them; and undoubtedly a step of this kind, accompanied by a revival of frequent friendly intercourse with the Protestant Missionaries, and their native clerical helpers and catechists would do much to prevent the *slow process of absorption*, now going on where small and feeble remnants of Syrians are hemmed in on all sides, by numerous and powerful Romish propagandists. The Itinerating Mission lately established, with Alwaye as its centre, will, with the divine blessing, prove of immense service to these ancient outlying Syrian, and also, we trust, to the Romo-Syrian communities.

From the old fort of Cochin the Romo-Syrian churches of Ernakulum and Balarparte may be pointed out among others which add to the picturesque appearance of the wooded banks of its broad lake-like Backwater. The old Romo-Syrian Church of Eddapally, and the earliest Carmelite Church of Chetiáte are within easy access by boat. By means of a canal, too, after crossing the Backwater, the royal town of Trepúntara is reached, in the suburbs of which, called Naramel, you meet with both a Syrian and Romo-Syrian Church. Here *water* communication ceases if travelling into the interior to the east; but you can still journey on by a very primitive highway, and pass through a district of country reaching as far as Kothamungalum, containing a fair proportion of Syrian Christians, with a church every few miles. About one or two of these we must speak more particularly.

Karingachery, not much more than a mile to the north-east of Trepúntara was honoured with visits from Bishops Middleton and Wilson. The Church is said to be about 400 years old, and until 1790 the Romo-Syrians claimed a share in it, which then being valued at 380 rupees, the Syrians paid down the sum demanded, sent them away, and have ever since had it all to themselves. The people are mostly agriculturists, and as such, a simple folk, and not over burdened with wealth.

When Bishop Middleton was there in 1816, he observed still lying amongst a heap of lumber and rubbish near the altar-table a discarded crucifix, formerly used by the Romo-Syrians. The writer was there with a friend in 1853; the church was then in excellent repair, a good clergy-house had been erected in the church compound, and the staff consisted of four priests and one

deacon. Some of the old paintings still remained on the walls; in one, placed over a side altar, St. John the Baptist was depicted in the costume of a Mussulman gentleman, wearing a red dress, very capacious turban, and slippers turned up at the toes!

We had some conversation with the Cattanars who were kindly disposed men, but withal idle and inquisitive. They talked of our English Metropolitan "*Bee-shop Dá-ne-yel*" (Daniel Wilson) with great interest, and described his visit to them. They asked about the Scotch Church, and were puzzled to know how their ministers could be ordained without bishops. They were very anxious we should establish schools amongst them; but upon being told that as they were five in number, and had not much to do, *they* should start a school among themselves, and teach the young and ignorant of their flock; earnest clergymen in England would do so, rather than suffer them to grow up untaught. This was met by various idle excuses—one of them archly observing—"Syriac is our mother tongue, how then can we be expected to teach Malayálim"?

Pallikara, Peringala, Wengola, Kúnnakúrrúde and other places of minor importance are in this neighbourhood, whilst Udiamparúr and Kandanáda are at no great distance from Trepúntara. A Bible Colporteur used to itinerate periodically among these parishes, and supply all who were willing to purchase, with copies of different portions of the Word of Life. The Colporteur usually met with a friendly reception, but the written reports always bore sad testimony to the darkness and superstition which prevailed amongst these Syrians, and to their great inferiority to those in the south, who had been privileged with close and continued intercourse with the missionaries and their assistants.

Kothamungalum¹—the easternmost of all the Syrian churches in this district—is one of the strongholds of Syrianism, and also of debasing superstition. It is difficult of access, except for a few weeks during the monsoon, when the smallest rivers are quite full of water; but even then it is a long and tedious journey. The writer made one or two fruitless attempts to visit this place without incurring the risk of serious exposure and fatigue; but at last, finding there was no remedy, he reached it in company with a native brother, from Vullum on the Alwaye river, after a whole day's walk under a broiling sun—the pathway selected by the guide lying through rice fields steaming with oppressive moisture, and in some places, flooded with water.

¹ This place is most probably identical with the place called *Mangalam* or *Mungalum* by Govea, and Asseman. Menezes visited it in the tour he took after the ordination at Udiamparúr, and before he proceeded to Cadaturutta to celebrate Easter. At Mangalam he is said to have been in great danger from the Nairs, who surrounded his boat with their guns on their shoulders, and matches lighted ready to discharge their *matchlocks*. This was probably done to intimidate and check his further progress in the Cochin State, wherein Kothamungalum is situated.

On the way thither we halted for a short time at Kúrúmpády, some five or six miles from the river's bank; and as we heard Mar Kurillos Joyakim, the Antiochean Bishop, was then residing at the church, we felt bound to pay our compliments to him. He politely showed us the church, which was a large and spacious structure then undergoing repair; the western front having fallen down, a new one was being erected of very strong masonry. This church is supposed to have been founded more than 500 years ago, and has a considerable number of Syrian families attached to it. The Romo-Syrians used the church till about a hundred years ago, when their claims were purchased for 40,000 chuckrams—under £150. Mar Kurillos was, as usual, anxious for *news*, especially about "*Rooshia*" and "*Room*"—Russia and Constantinople, or New Rome. He kindly ordered an attendant to bring sugar and water for our refreshment, and when we left—after doing his best to detain us for the day—he put on a silken outer robe, and accompanied us on our way the distance of one field. The old wooden altars in this church had been displaced for stone structures; but, strange to say, two wooden shrines commemorative of Mar Attila, and Mar Basilius, having been destroyed, by order of this Metran, the people had erected two memorial tombs of more durable masonry in their place!

Kothamungalum contains two Syrian churches, embosomed in forest trees standing on the confines of the dense elephant jungles of the interior. The more ancient of the two—as in similar cases—though smaller in size, is called the *Waliyapally*, or *Great Church*. This is supposed to be at least 600 years old; and being one of the most remote of the ancient churches of the country, some of its main architectural features deserve special attention. There can be little doubt that most of the churches have been modernised under the Portuguese and other Romish missionaries, who professed to be shocked at their resemblance to Hindoo temples. The most marked characteristic is the western front, which does not terminate in the usual highly ornamented gable, with its curved outlines and numerous pinnacles,¹ but in a very prominent projection of the massive roof, which completely protects the walls from the heavy rains of the country, and herein it resembles their most southern ecclesiastical structure—the church in the town of Travancore, and the very ancient church at Changanúr. Very probably this was the more ancient mode of construction, as it is certainly better adapted to the moist climate of the country than the style which now prevails. Under the protection of the deep eaves were niches filled with images and saints, introduced doubt-

¹ The ornamented gable now so usually found in Syrian and Romo-Syrian churches in Malabar is most probably a Romish introduction. The style prevails in some Spanish and Portuguese churches in Europe. It is seen in the old Franciscan church at Cochin—one of the oldest churches in India built by Europeans.

less by the Romanists when in possession; and also figures of two mermaids, which had a very singular appearance. Within, we observed that the south wall of the chancel was disfigured by a fresco daub, intended to represent either purgatory or hell, in which Satan is pourtrayed as seated on a throne, surrounded by human forms, enduring various torments.

The *Cheriahpally*, or Lesser Church, at Kothamungalum is a much more spacious and imposing structure, and is said to have had its origin, no great while after the other, in one of those parochial disputes not uncommon among this people, in which eighteen families separated from the mother church, and erected one for themselves. The architecture resembles that of most other Syrian churches, if we except a very imposing north doorway, and some long windows of the same pattern as those observed in Allungáda Church and in the neighbouring Great Church. As recently as 1830 the Romo-Syrians also worshipped in this building; but the Syrians then purchased their rights, and the former have since built for themselves another church within a very short distance.

The Lesser Syrian Church is venerated as the burial place of Mar Basilius, who came to Malabar in 1685, and settled at Kothamungalum. A painted wooden shrine, of the ordinary type, marks the place where his remains are interred, on the right as you enter the chancel. We noticed several candlesticks placed in front of this, whilst on the wall behind was a very rough life-sized picture of the deceased Metran, by no means flattering.

The native tradition is that this Metran was an old man of seventy-four, and he did not probably long enjoy his newly adopted country. His interment in this church has become a fruitful source of superstition, to the utter demoralisation of priests and people; for on the anniversary of his decease, in the month of September, a *Chattum*, or commemoration of the dead, is held, to which many thousands flock from all parts—Syrians, Romanists, and Heathen, for many of the last-named even bring their offerings, hoping therewith to gain the favour of the Christian *Swami*. A Colporteur, present at one of these annual gatherings, related that, among other observances, some of the pilgrims placed themselves blindfolded lengthwise on the ground, and rolled over and over till they had made the circuit of the church. On enquiring why they acted thus, he was told: “A Metran’s body is buried in the church, and they hereby hoped to be healed of their bodily infirmities.” But they were mad upon follies of this kind; so, when he attempted to reprove them, he got nothing save abuse for his pains.

There is a very good clergy-house connected with the *Cheriahpally*; the Cattanars received us with much kindness and hospitality; we left them some books which we hoped might benefit them. There were then eight priests and two or three deacons attached to this remote country church. The native brother

clergyman, who formed one of our party, had much conversation with such of the Cattanaars as came to see us, but he was by no means favourably impressed. They "mind earthly things," he observed, as most descriptive of their spiritual condition. The bread of deceit by which they were chiefly maintained kept their eyes blinded, their hearts alienated from the truth, and their souls lean.

The spot was pointed out to us where Mr. Baker, senior, in gone-bye years, had his school. Oh! that the school and those valuable periodical visits had been continued; matters would not then have been so dark and discouraging as they appeared to be at Kothāmungalum.

The venerable missionary alluded to, used to tell one or two interesting anecdotes connected with this place. When staying in the town on one occasion, some little time before daybreak, he heard an unusual noise and commotion in the neighbourhood. On getting about in the early morning, he ascertained that there had been an incursion of wild elephants, who, amongst other depredations, had thrown down one or two native houses!

On another occasion, a Cattanar was performing an early service before daylight in the Great Church outside the town, leaving (as usual) the door open. A wild elephant, attracted possibly by the novelty of the scene, had the curiosity to enter the building to the intense dismay of the poor solitary Cattanar, who hid himself, as best he could, in one of the angles formed by a shaft of the chancel arch. The elephant advanced steadily, knocked down one or two articles of church furniture standing in his way, and then, after satisfying himself with a survey of the interior, turned round at the foot of the chancel steps, to go out. The terrified priest was made aware of this by the beast's swinging his tail into the chancel, and could hereupon once more breathe freely, as he watched from his hiding-place the formidable creature slowly pacing down the nave. So soon as the intruder had made his exit, the priest hastened to fasten the doors, lest he should return; and then patiently awaited the daylight, to tell his neighbours of this unique adventure at matins.

Soon after starting at early dawn for our long walk back to Vullum, where our boat was moored, we casually met with a Romo-Syrian on his way to Verapoli to purchase for the Mass, from the episcopal stores, a bottle of "the Propaganda wine," which is there sold to the native church authorities at the trifling cost of about a shilling a bottle. Where the vine does not grow, and there is little communication with other countries, poor Christian communities may be placed in great difficulties, if some such arrangement be not made. As it was, our native friend, the *cappiar* or sexton, had to undergo a long and wearisome journey, and it must have taken him two full days to procure the necessary supply.

If there be water enough in the small stream which runs near

Kothamungalum, you may launch your boat, and descend the Múwattapúra river, in its devious windings, till it reaches the broad Backwater; and in doing so meet with Syrian and Romo-Syrian churches on both its banks. The traveller will pass Karakúnna (*the hill of thorns*), six miles from Kothamungalum; and after this Rakáda Church, founded by Mar John, who accompanied Basilius to India in 1685. A few miles further on he will reach Kadamattam, where a small remnant of the Manicheans has long survived; then Rahmamungalum, a comparatively modern Syrian church; and afterwards, in due succession, Mámalashery, Naychúr, Púrwum, Múlacúlam—which was a mixed church till very recent times—and Wadiar, or Wadiáta—now in the hands of the Romo-Syrians. He can from this point enter the Backwater either by the northern mouth of the river which terminates near Chembil—till late years another mixed church—or by the southern, which empties itself into a broader part of the Backwater, on the shores of which the Romo-Syrian Church of Cuday Vaychúr presents an imposing and picturesque front.

When up this river in 1863, Rakáda Church was the residence of Mar Kurillos Joyakim, before mentioned, it having been his wont to live a few months, first at one and then at another church, where the Cattanars and people were willing to receive him. This church had been honoured some time before by a visit from one of those itinerating Oriental Bishops who occasionally appear upon the scene. This ecclesiastic, Mar George, a very ignorant and superstitious man, professed to be begging for the Jacobite Church at Jerusalem. He, however, took the opportunity when in India of helping Kurillos in his reactionary policy; and at his instigation the *wooden* altar tables, which even the Romish Missionaries had spared, were ejected from many of the old churches, and massive *stone* altars erected in their stead. At the same time his zeal against images was so indiscriminating that, in some cases, he even defaced the alto-relievo stucco figures, with which the simple folk had ornamented the external walls of their church.

His visit to Rakáda was considered so remarkable an event in its history as to call for a record on the chancel walls. The Rev. J. M. Speechley, when there in 1866, obtained the following translation from the Syriac original:—"The holy man George, fifth Patriarch of Jerusalem, came into the jurisdiction of Malabar, to see the children of his Church. In the administration of Mar Ignatius Jacob (*the Patriarch of Antioch*), he came and joined in the middle of the great fast, on the 11th of the month Mirium. He came into this church, under the jurisdiction of Mar Kurillos (who rules on Mar Thoma's throne), and prayed with us. Vows were imposed from the holy and believing, as servants of God, to build our church in Jerusalem, and were sent by the hands of his disciple Paul."

The church at Wadiáta—called Bareate by Raulini, Du Perron, &c.—is one of those Romo-Syrian churches little known from its

being out of the ordinary route taken by most itinerants. We came upon it somewhat unexpectedly when in search of Cadatúrúttá in November, 1863. The priest was absent, having gone on business to Quilon, and the people about the church very civil and communicative—they even went so far as to purchase some scripture portions of the Colporteur who accompanied our party. We could not get into the church, but its exterior presented a pleasing appearance, and must have been planned by some *European* priest, from the evident attempts at Moorish or Saracenic architecture. The people were then divided in ecclesiastical politics, some being for Verapoli, and others for the new Syro-Roman Metran. They told us that the church formerly stood close to a pagoda, which we saw in the neighbourhood; but that the Rajah who owned the country round, removed it thence some three hundred years ago. They informed us that Cadatúrúttá was eight miles from them; but they appeared to be well acquainted with the place and its inhabitants.

Little or nothing has been done of late years amongst this last-named group of churches. Were Kandanáda (as has been often suggested), or some other healthy spot in its vicinity, made a mission centre, from which an active itinerating mission could be organized, most happy results would in due course, with God's blessing, ensue; but want of men and want of funds have hitherto prevented, and so the people go on perishing, year after year, "for lack of knowledge." When will our Mission fields be so supplied that the harvest is not suffered to rot on the ground for want of labourers to gather it in?

After Cúday Vaychúr you pass near Kúmarakum—a modern Thekken Bághar settlement; and then presently ascend the Cottayam river, through an intricate opening in the reedy shallows of the Backwater. A couple of miles or so before reaching the Church Missionary Society Station, Kallungáthra is passed, close to the bank on the right—another Syrian church built since our Missionaries began their work. At Cottayam itself there are two Syrian churches, as already described in a former chapter, and a Romo-Syrian church. The other principal Syrian churches in the neighbourhood are Manyarúkáda, Pámpády, and Púthupally. The Cattanars in these churches have not, as a rule, manifested much sympathy with modern reforming movements; and if we leave out of the question the partial measure of light which some of the laity cannot but have received, in spite of their innate prejudices, the general mass, we fear, are still wedded to their old customs, though palpably unscriptural; and there are reasons for this not very difficult of discovery.

Manyarúkáda, a few miles east of Cottayam, is the mother church of a parish said to contain about 1,000 Syrian houses. But, though Syrian by profession, the Romish leaven is still very strong among them, as may be inferred from the fact that the church possesses a so-called *miraculous* image—the only case of the

kind, probably, among the Syrians of Travancore. It has not unfrequently been put out of the church by one party, and brought in again, after a time, by another; the Cattanars oscillating between duty and interest; whilst the ignorant and untaught laity, in their blind devotion, the rather incline to give it all honour. In 1858, when in that neighbourhood, it was in the church. An eight days' fast is held here, which is considered, by those best acquainted with native habits, to give rise to gross scandals.¹

Pámpady, a chapel of ease to Manyarúkáda, stands on elevated ground, some miles to the south-east, in the midst of low, scrubby jungle, having neither village nor bazaar in its immediate neighbourhood. When visited in 1858, the priest in charge lived in the church, there being no Cattanar's house, or even walled compound, connected with the edifice. He received our party most hospitably, and we all slept at night in the church, for there was no other adequate accommodation to be obtained. He was a fine handsome man, with a long flowing black beard; very inquisitive, for, after having a little conversation with the gentlemen of our party, he retreated to the west end of the church and squatted down amongst the servants to glean all the particulars he could about us individually; examined carefully our travelling baggage, and even took off the lids of the tin cannisters and looked into them, like some over-curious child. In the morning he was astir long before daylight, and aroused our party by the repetition of his Syriac prayers within the veil of the sanctuary. He then quietly left the building, as we afterwards found, to procure for us a supply of fresh milk from one of his parishioners who had a cow; and of this we gladly partook ere we sallied forth at early dawn to pursue our journey.

The Missionary brother who headed our party told us a strange story of a Cattanar connected with this church, serving to show that ecclesiastics, of the same order and habits as Friar Tuck of English romance, are still to be met with even in these Eastern lands. A gang of robbers broke into the house of a wealthy Nair; and whilst some of them were searching for treasures, one of their number was commissioned to act as guard over the female members of the family. It was perfectly dark, and so they could not see who the depredators were; but one of the women hit upon the clever expedient of *feeling the head* of her custodian, and to her astonishment, instead of the expected tuft of hair worn by some low-caste heathen, her hands came across the tonsure of a Syrian priest!

¹ Many of those who come from a distance to observe this fast, both men and women, sleep in the church.

The churches were formerly put to strange uses. Some years ago an insane person, who had been poisoned by a Nair (as was supposed), lived in the church of Mārāmanūr, with his aged mother, in expectation that the prayers offered up specially for him might be blessed to his restoration. This was in 1830.

Suspicion fell on the Pámpady Cattanar; he was apprehended, tried, and condemned to imprisonment as an accomplice in this robbery.

Púthúpally, ten miles south-east of Cottayam, used to be another Syrian church of which little good could be said. Bishop Wilson was there in November, 1835, just before the great rupture with the Missionaries; and to show him all honour, when he was to preach in broad daylight, he found the church, to his great dismay, lit up with hundreds of small lamps, which with a crowded audience made the atmosphere so painfully oppressive that he requested they might be extinguished; upon this "hands everywhere were lifted up, and in a moment all the lights were out."

The church externally presents an imposing appearance, being approached by a grand flight of broad steps. There are usually some eight or ten Cattanars there, who used to be supporters of a lucrative but demoralizing annual festival held in honour of St. George. The heathen flocked to this feast as to that at Kothamungalum, bringing with them offerings of fowls as to some Hindoo temple; and the pilgrims were entertained with plays and heathenish exhibitions, which, because they attracted people to the place, received the patronage of the Cattanars. This annual assemblage had so bad a name that (as we have observed before) the excellent Maramanúr Malpan used to suspend any of his flock who frequented it. It still maintained its evil character in 1863. Miraculous cures were said to be effected here; and, as in Romish churches and Hindoo temples, those who supposed themselves benefited (or hoped to be so), presented small silver models of the arm, leg, or other member of the body which was the seat of disease.

Not far from this place, situated on a hill at the back of the village, is the little Mission church of Ericatta—a neat, early English structure; and not far from it a Christian school, whence some will come forth, we trust, to be wiser and better men than their fathers. The scenery from the hill is most lovely—a very "garden of the Lord" lies at its base.

Returning to Cottayam and ascending its river, none save Romo-Syrian congregations are met with—the whole neighbourhood having been thoroughly saturated with the bitter waters proceeding from Cadatúrúttá in the first place, and afterwards from other fountain heads of Jesuit teaching.

One of the most conspicuous objects for many miles round is the conventual church of Mánnátt, situated near the summit of a wooded height. It was founded as recently as 1835, by two Romo-Syrian priests, and consists of a Prior, eight priests, and upwards of thirty youths in minor orders, who are being trained for future service in the churches of the neighbourhood. The priests dress in black cassocks, with leathern girdles round their loins, whilst the more common dress of the native clergy of the country is white—in every sense more becoming to them.

Further up the river is Lálum, a Romo-Syrian church which

dates from 1653, and has about 500 people connected with it; whilst at Pálaiya, in its immediate vicinity, is a *Waliyapally*, or Great Church, having precedence on account of age. There are several other churches of less importance by the river side. Pálaiya was formerly famed for its seminary, and there is still a large community of priests connected with it, as also with the churches of Corolongáda and Púruwungánun, in the same district. This indicates the well-to-do condition of the people, since every respectable family who can afford it is accustomed to set apart some one of its members for the priesthood; and in this way the land becomes overstocked with indolent ecclesiastics who have nothing to do, and just vegetate like the plants of the earth on which they lounge about.

Besides the church at Ericatta there are several other neat little stone churches connected with our Mission, chiefly erected by the Rev. H. Baker, senior, and the other older Missionaries; as those of Pallum and Colatta—built in the Syrian style—and Olesha and Arpocára, more like our English country churches. In some few of these the majority of the congregation are Syro-Protestants; in others, chiefly converts from heathenism. There are also numerous smaller chapels, and still humbler prayer houses, in which the thriving congregations, brought to the knowledge of the truth from the degraded slave castes of Travancore, meet for divine worship.

Returning into the open Backwater between Cottayam and Alleppy—now a broad lake nine miles across—and entering the mouth of one of the many streams which flow into it, the traveller will pass Kávalum, another little Protestant church, connected formerly with the Pallum Mission; and if there be abundance of water, as in the monsoon season, he may cross the country, by some of the numerous water channels, to the old Syrian town of Changanáshery—busy, bustling, money-loving; and if it be market day he will be surprised at the little fleet of canoes moored at its landing place.

In the middle of last century Changanáshery Church was independent of Rome; but when the Church Missionary Society Mission was established it was represented to them and to the British Resident as one of the churches which the Romish party had seized, and which the Syrians wished to recover for themselves. Accordingly efforts were made (as before stated) to restore the church to the jurisdiction of the Syrian Metran, but these proved abortive—so romanized had the majority of the people become. There is an interesting work going on in the lowlands about this whole neighbourhood, among the so-called slave population; and one is again and again cheered by the sight of some humble thatched structure standing on the river side, “where prayer is wont to be made;” and if travelling in a well-known Mission boat, or by costume or appearance you are recognised as English *padre Sahibs*, hearty greetings meet you from the smiling peasantry, who know that you

regard them with Christian sympathy. The main stream of this fertile rice-growing district passes close to an old Romo-Syrian church called Yeddatowa; and then about two miles further on the little Protestant church of Tullawaddy—long under the loving and judicious pastoral care of the second native clergyman ordained in our church, the Rev. Jacob Chandy, lately gone to his rest.

After this, taking a water-way to the left by almost interminable windings, Tiruwilla is reached, where there is a Syrian congregation, an offshoot from the ancient church of Neranum. This place was for many years the head-quarters of a district in which the Rev. J. Hawksworth laboured with marked tokens of the divine blessing; and here he erected a substantial stone church for the congregation he had been instrumental in collecting together. Seed sown years ago is still coming up, though the hand of him who sowed it is motionless in death; and a quiet work of grace seems to be here and there going on amongst both Syrians and heathens.

If the stream be full, it is possible to ascend further up to the out-station of Kaviúr, with its neat little chapel, and then pass on, in succession, to the Syrian churches of Kallúpara, Wenny-colum, and Mallapally.

At the last-named place there is an important and interesting congregation which has a history of its own, of which we must give some outlines, as serving to show the sure consequences which result, under God's blessing, from the diffusion of the light of His Word among the old Christians of the country.

The people of Mallapally were formerly connected for the most part with the Syrian Church of Kallúpara. Those who belong to the Protestant Church of the place now amount to about 300 families, dispersed through eight little hamlets, situated on either side of the mountain stream which flows past it.

Some forty years or so back a respectable Syrian of the place, named Eapen, suffered from a grievous ulcer in his breast, which his friends ascribed to the anger of the Kavidor god, for withholding a sum of money which he had vowed to pay annually for the protection of himself and family. This shows into what deep degradation these poor Syrians of the interior had sunk! Three friends called on him; one, a respectable Nair, requested that he might be allowed to furnish the funds needed to pay off the arrears due for four years; whilst Pothén, a Syrian, urged upon him that not only this sickness, but also the sudden death of his brother and wife, were to be traced to the same source; and such was Pothén's confidence in the power of this idol that he had presented to it a buffalo when his own son was ill. But Eapen turned a deaf ear to all they said, for he had got a glimpse of the truth from a distant Syrian relative; and, according to the light he had, vowed to build a church instead, if he should recover. He did recover, and then, with the assistance of his partners in trade, named Ittack and Jaco, bought a piece of land for this purpose;

and eventually, notwithstanding great opposition from the heathen, erected a temporary place of worship in 1834; and under the ministry of an enlightened Cattanar, named Mâmen, the people who met there made rapid progress in the knowledge of the gospel of salvation.

Next year the great rupture took place, and to put a stop to this work the misled Mar Dionysius removed Mâmen, and put an ignorant "massing priest" in his place. This led to division; and Eapen, with the inquiring portion of the flock, sought help from the Church Missionary Society Missionaries. An excellent man, the Malpan Luke, who had been a Romish priest and Secretary to the Bishop of Verapoli, was appointed their pastor. This little flock left the original church in the hands of the Kallûpara priest, and nothing disheartened by the loss of several hundred rupees, which this entailed, they began to collect funds for building a neat little stone edifice, in the Syrian style of architecture.

The new church at Mallapally was opened in September, 1842, and the Malpan Luke continued in charge of the congregation till 1847, when, after ten years of faithful service in the Lord's work, he was taken to his rest, and was succeeded by the Rev. G. Matthan, the first ordained native minister in the Travancore Mission. Matthan was spared to labour there for sixteen years, till called to take charge of an institution at Cottayam for training native agents.¹

Mallapally has the honour of being the first place where Christian efforts were put forth, at the suggestion of the Rev. T. G. Ragland, on behalf of the poor slaves. Pothen—before mentioned as urging upon his sick friend idolatrous compliances—after his conversion to God, was so full of love to the Saviour, as to speak of Him to all with whom he met, and is regarded as being the first to attempt to sow the good seed in the supposed unpromising soil of the slave's heart. Among those who heard him speak of the Saviour, one slave, named Abel, received the word with joy, and became an earnest Christian man. Alluding to his master's pious efforts, he was wont to relate some words which showed at once Pothen's humility, and the medium through which light had broken in upon his own soul: "*Alas! I went wrong*" (he would tell them), "*till a Sahib at Cottayam gave me a book which discovered to me the right way.*"

¹ When on a visit at Mallapally in 1854, the Rev. G. Matthan told the writer that the Christian and Heathen population of his district were about equal, in consequence of which the latter were in the habit of using expressions which one would only expect from Christians. In describing a bad man they will say—"He is a very *Iscariot*." "How did you like the Tamil country?"—a Nair was asked who had just returned from a journey. "Not at all," he replied, "they are such *Caviar*"—meaning *Caffres*, or Heathen. If a Nair meets with a poisonoussnake, which he must not kill according to his creed, he will very probably run and apprise a Christian neighbour of it, well knowing what will follow.

There are now about 600 Syro-Protestants connected with Mallapally, and its present excellent native pastor has the comfort of seeing his church crammed full on Sundays. Two or three congregations of converted slaves also exist in the district; and in 1869 as many as 90 souls were called out of heathenism.¹

Were it possible to surmount the numerous rapids, and escape the chaotic heaps of rocks and boulders with which the channel is crowded, a traveller might go up the Mallapally river to the station of Mundakáiyam, which the Rev. H. Baker, junior, has made the centre of his deeply interesting and successful Mission efforts on behalf of the Hill Arrians of Travancore—another immensely important branch of the Church Missionary Society's operations already referred to.

On a more southern branch of this river there are several other Syrian churches, less injured by contact with Tridentine Romanism, and therefore more ready to receive the kindly offices of the Church of England.

Chengánur, the first Syrian village on the right in ascending this branch, possesses a church of great archeological interest. When C. Buchanan visited the place in 1806, he was told by the people that no European or even Romish priest had penetrated further than this place; that Bartolomeo (*Paoli*) had not been even so far; and that there was not a single Roman Catholic church in their neighbourhood. These good folks cannot, however, have been quite right in their history, for Archbishop Menezes was there, and visited in these parts several Syrian churches specified by name, which were, like the rest, in all probability brought under forced subjection to Rome; but, according to Du Perron, none of these churches, which were under the rule of the Rajah of Kaiyenkúlam, were willing to re-unite themselves to Rome when the Carmelites succeeded the Jesuits. Some of the churches on the opposite side of the river, as Kallúchery and Maramanúr, are included by him under the rule of the Tekkenore Rajah.

The nave of Chenganúr Church bears evident indications of great antiquity—the walls of the older portion being constructed of layers of oblong pieces of granite stone; and, as no pointing is any longer visible, externally they appear to be piled together without the aid of cement. But though this most ancient part of the edifice is so primitive in its character, large sums of money must have been expended in later times on the ornamentation of the church and its precincts, for there is within the Madhabha (*chancel railings*) a finely sculptured font executed in the same hard stone. There are some very elaborate and well-executed specimens of stone work about the door ways, gate-house, village cross,

¹ Vide an interesting account of this Mission—from the pen of the present minister, the Rev. O. Mámém—to which we are indebted for most of these particulars about the work at Mallapally—in the *Madras Church Missionary Record* for June, 1869.

and church well. At the basement of the well there is a representation of the crucifixion, in sharp, well-preserved alto-relievo. Upon some surprise being expressed to an aged and very friendly Cattannar, at finding such *sculptures*, since their Church had been so much opposed to them in ancient times, he acknowledged that there was a departure from primitive usage, and added: "Our church was once *full* of images, and the walls covered over with superstitious pictures; but the friendly visits of the *Sahibs* from Cottayam led us to eject the former, and efface the latter."¹ The interior of the church was then certainly free from such things, save that near the Calendar of Feasts and Fasts (commonly painted on the walls), there was a rude picture of two devils tormenting a woman, and of another whipping a man.

At a second visit paid to this place in 1863, one of the friendly Cattannars furnished the writer with a copy of a few very brief historical notes which relate to their church, supplied originally from the archives of the diocese, whence it appears—supposing they reckoned from the founding of Quilon, A.D. 825—that the church was finished about A.D. 1245, when Henry III. was King of England.²

Loosing from Chenganúr, Mission tourists have not any very great distance to row before their attention is taken by the quaint-looking gate-house, with its flight of steps descending into the river, connected with Kallúchery, one of the Thekkenbaghar churches described in Chapter V.

Some few miles further on is Púthencáwa, on the right hand

¹ The Rev. H. Baker, senior, once told the writer that he especially remembered a large figure of St. George on horseback, left by the Romanists, which was a snare to the ignorant and superstitious. He much wished the people to remove it, but none liked to do so, through fear; so, with their consent, he told his boatmen to carry it up into a lumber-room. He saw it there, years after, being gradually devoured by white ants. Chenganúr is now privileged with a pious and enlightened Cattannar, who has printed and published a reformed Liturgy in his mother tongue for the use of his flock, to whom he preaches the gospel in all simplicity and godly sincerity.

² The following is a literal translation of the notes referred to:—"A plot of ground, which belonged to Ellamen Pottee (Brahmin), and bounded on the north by the pagoda premises, east by the public road, south by a footpath, and west by Parácha Grove, was purchased by four Syrians named Kullara, Kankali, Kudanthoden, and Pinoomooden, for 25,010 chuckrams. Ten chuckrams were to be paid on account of this garden. In the year 390 the family of Ellamen Pottee became extinct. In 420 the building of the church was finished. In 421 four Syrians, by name Pithoraptoray, Poowatore, Kankali, and Pinoomooden, got another document written by Wunjepooray Rajah, and paid 5,000 rashies for it; besides which 1,525 rashies were paid for converting the church ground into a burial ground also. In 921 the Rajah appropriated the ground to himself by force. *These are abstracts taken from the records of Mar Thomas, Metran.*"

side of the stream, a church built at the close of last century for the accommodation of some of the outlying parishioners of Chenganúr, by the Mar Dionysius who was then Metropolitan. The church is a large and substantial building, with a good approach from the river, which flows within half a furlong from its walls. In 1863 the house in which the founder lived was still standing in the churchyard—a wooden structure of fair dimensions, much ornamented with carving in the native style of art, but becoming very dilapidated. As an indication of progress we noticed on the chancel walls a *printed* notice, sealed with the seal of the present Metropolitan, announcing the establishment of a printing press, and calling on the people to furnish subscriptions for the publication of vernacular school books. This remote Syrian village has the honour of having been the birthplace of the first Syro-Protestant minister, the Rev. G. Matthan, a learned and godly man, lately mentioned, whose first pastoral charge was Mallapally; and also of two other useful and excellent men ordained by Bishop Dealtry in the old Franciscan church at Cochin, in 1855; whilst the village of Maramanúr, on the other side of the river, has furnished two other valued and much honoured brethren in the ministry of the gospel.

Maramanúr, the next Syrian church, has been a little centre of light to the Malabar Syrians of the south ever since the time of Abraham Malpan, who was its senior Cattanar. In the Church Missionary Society's Report for 1821, occurs the following notice of him from an Indian officer, who had been making a tour in Travancore, and visiting Maramanúr: "One of the Cattanars, named Abraham, is one of the principal Malpans of the Syrian Church. We had a very interesting conversation with him on religious subjects, the propagation of Christianity, and the duty of ministers; he is a young man of talents, and anxious to improve himself; and should it please God to work on his mind by the power of His Spirit, there is reason to hope that he would be a useful character: he has an uncle who is one of the Cattanars of this church, whom the Syrians consider a good man, and highly respect; he is now far advanced in years, and very infirm," &c.

It did please God to give this young man the enlightening and sanctifying grace of the Spirit, so that his life became eminently useful to his people. He was one of those who came forward and exposed the double-facedness of the Mamalashery Malpan at the old college; and stood firmly by the side of the Missionaries when the rupture took place. That his people might worship God, with the spirit and the understanding also, he compiled a Reformed Liturgy, and translated it into the vernacular;¹ and through all

¹ This was the first attempt of the kind. Others have followed—not the work of Missionaries, but of Cattanars, who have had their eyes opened to see how their ancient Liturgy has been Romanized, on three points, more especially Transubstantiation, Prayers for the Dead, and

the trying times which have since followed, his old parishioners have retained firm hold of this book in their church. He was an earnest, indefatigable preacher, with ascetic habits which led him to care little about his own personal comfort, and hence a friend, who knew him well, told the writer that he *killed himself with preaching and fasting*. His dying bed was for a season overclouded with doubts about his personal acceptance "in the Beloved;" but by conversations with this same friend his doubts were at length dispersed, and he died in peace, full of the hope of immortality; and with him, though a Syrian Malpan, it was—"No Mary; all Christ."

Many years after this the copy of the Malayálim New Testament, which this good man had been accustomed to use, was seen at Kaviúr by the writer, in the house of a wealthy Syrian layman, who preserved it as a sacred relic, from the deep respect he entertained for his memory. After the Malpan's death two of his sons were sent to Madras for education, and one of them is the enlightened and highly esteemed co-adjutor bishop of the present Metropolitan.

There is a good work still going on among the Syrians of Maramanúr. For many years they have supported a pious reader to instruct the people, and visit them from house to house. "The Syrians here (writes one of the Missionaries in February, 1866) are very enlightened. Their Cattanars are good men, and try to lead their people aright. The people to whom I spoke showed a wonderful acquaintance with Scripture. When I began a text from any part of the Bible they could always go on with it; nearly in every case telling me the book and chapter from which they quoted. I was very much pleased with them. . . . The church was as clean and bright as one could wish to see. Many useless ornaments have been removed altogether; and the church is reforming both as it regards its buildings, its priests, and its people. I called upon the Cattanar Thoma, son of the late celebrated Malpan, under whom the church underwent much change for the better. This young man received me with great friendliness, and chatted and conversed very freely with me for some time." It is this same Cattanar who is now co-adjutor bishop. How apt an illustration is all this of the truth of the Psalmist's words: "The entrance of *Thy Words* giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple." (Ps. cxix. 130.)

A few miles further up the river on the right is Koranchery, a church said to be between two and three centuries old. It is a good-sized, well-built edifice, exhibiting the ornamentation on the west front in better proportions, and more correct taste, than in many other Syrian churches. Internally the navé has a sombre and oppressive aspect, from the fact that a heavy gallery, supported by strong beams, stretches itself over three-fourths of the space

Mariolatry—grievous errors unknown among them in earlier times.—Vide Appendix i.

between the west entrance and the steps to the chancel. It is said to have owed its foundation to four wealthy Syrian families; and since then a considerable Syrian population has settled in its vicinity. Though the Chenganúr people told Buchanan that the Romanists had not penetrated further than their church, we found undoubted indications of their having once been in possession here, for the chancel contained fresco paintings of St. Sebastian and St. Francis, and surmounting these a blasphemous representation of the coronation of the Blessed Virgin. On the front of the central altar was a representation, in relief, of St. Thomas's Cross, as sculptured on the rock at Mailapúr. The Cattanares showed us some old Syriac Service Books, left behind by the Romanists, who had then vacated the church about sixty years, after having had a footing in it for a little more than half a century.

The chancel of Koranchery church had lately been cleaned and ceremonially purified, in consequence of a very sad event which had happened therein. A party in the parish, under the influence of Mar Kurillos Joyakim, the rival Metran, one Sunday manifested their opposition to certain measures by the use of physical force; and so fierce a contention ensued, that one poor man was knocked down and trampled to death.¹ The native Government instituted inquiries, the ringleaders were apprehended, and sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years. After this the chancel remained closed, until re-opened by order of the Metran.

On the northern bank of the stream, not far distant, there is the church of Ayrúr—an offshoot from Koranchery—the chief Cattanares of which, in 1863, was brother-in-law to the Metropolitan, and had always been more or less friendly to the Missionaries. He was in weak health, and has since died; but his lack of active service was then well supplied by his truly excellent and energetic son, P——, who had besides a class of young deacons under instruction.

Here at Ayrúr, in the remote interior of Travancore, was a thoroughly native Christian clerical household, showing what the parsonages of Malabar may become should it please God to pour out His Spirit upon the ancient Syrian Church, and cause the work of reformation and renovation to prosper. The senior *Vascama*, mistress of the household, a sister of the Metropolitan, was a true “mother in Israel,” and a very superior and remarkable woman. Her four daughters had been “Christianly brought up,” and left the parental home each one to “find rest in the house of her husband,” with a mother's prayers and blessing, and a copy of God's Word, in four volumes, as part of the bridal dowry.

Of her sons, one, a pious and most promising youth, beloved of his instructors, died when in the first class of the college, to the

¹ This dispute arose on the occasion of some Sunday weddings, which are not unfrequently followed by disorder and riot. Mar Athanasius has set his face against them, and used his best endeavours to have marriages celebrated on a working day.

grief of Mr. Chapman. Another son, Cattanar P—— (as already stated) was his father's assistant in the parish; and a younger son was in his deacon's class, preparing for future usefulness among his people. P—— had a good knowledge of Syriac, and a sufficient acquaintance with English to profit from Barnes's Notes, and some other books in our language which filled his modest book shelves. We learned that he made a thorough acquaintance with the Sacred Scriptures, in the vulgar tongue, a *sine quâ non* in the course of instruction through which his pupils passed.

This good man was moreover considered a diligent and acceptable preacher. His text, on the Sunday previous to the day on which we met with him, and were received as guests under his roof, had been—"If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema." He had had to encounter opposition in his evangelistic efforts from the rival Metran's party; an influential parishioner had not very long before stood up in Ayrûr Church, when he was preaching, and forbidden his doing so, regarding it as an innovation condemned by the *Bawa*, or Antiochean Metran. This unhappy "hinderer of God's Word" joined in the subsequent affray at Koranchery, just alluded to, and had taken so prominent a part therein as to be one of the three condemned by the native officials. He died, sad to say, before his term of imprisonment had expired.¹

There is but one other Syrian church up this beautiful and deeply interesting river of the south, and that is Ránný, which has already been fully noticed under the account of the churches belonging to the Thekkenbághars. At the present time there are some Cattanars at Ránný of the like spirit as P—— one of whom, residing there in 1863, was an old member of the Ayrûr class of deacons.

¹ Another man of this party died in jail at Alleppy as recently as last August. The Church Missionary Society Missionary of the station finding him "sick and in prison," kindly visited and comforted him. He was then in the ninth year of his imprisonment, whilst his two companions had died after four years' detention at Trevandrum. "As his strength (says the Rev. W. Johnson) was fast giving way, I was enabled to get the chains removed from his feet, and a month ago he felt his end near. Frequently have my readers visited him, and all the Syrians who might happen to be in jail have joined with us in the Sunday services and week-day meetings. These prayers have been heard. He thanked God for having brought him there. He said he knew he had lost his earthly liberty, but was sure of eternal freedom. His cries for pardon and acceptance were frequent and earnest. The recollection of his former sins made him afraid; but his end was peace. The last time I saw him I bade him farewell, and said I hoped to see him in heaven. At his request I wrote to his wife, and she arrived a few days before his death, and a brother Missionary and I went to see him; and at her request I sent the body to his parish churchyard."—*Madras Church Missionary Record* for November, 1872.

By way of contrast, it is well here to speak of the career of Abraham of Mamalashery, one of the chief leaders of the *reactionary party*; and as our Divine Master has said, "By their fruits ye shall know them," every one who receives and respects His words should consider whether the line of conduct he pursued has proved him to be a man taught of God or not. This man, commonly known as the *Konatta Malpan*, though of correct moral habits, and, so far as asceticism went, considered by his people devout, was constitutionally narrow-minded, and inclined to credulity. After the Travancore Government had acknowledged Mar Athanasius as Metropolitan, Abraham, together with certain others of the *reactionary party*, submitted to him as their ecclesiastical superior; and so friendly did the Malpan become that he entered into a scheme with the Metropolitan for building a college at Pámpacúda (*the snake's nest*), near Mámalashery, after the model of that at Cottayam; but, when the foundations began to appear above the surface, some misunderstanding arose, and Abraham went over to Mar Kurillos Joyakim. This Metran was about that time a good deal at Cochin, considering it a better post of observation than his little church in the Company's territory in the north; and in fact had built a small chapel as his residence no great distance from the writer's house; and on one occasion, when the *Konatta Malpan* came to see Kurillos, he honoured him also with a visit. He was then a feeble old man, but followed by a train of ignorant Cattanars and deacons, who evidently entertained great respect for him. When at Mámalashery in 1863, Abraham was still alive, but living at some distance from the place. Enough, however, was seen and heard to convince any one of the Romeward tendency of his principles.

Mámalashery was then a "holy place" among the benighted. Abraham's uncle, Vergise (*George*) by name, also a Malpan of some repute, had died there; his remains were interred in the church, and he had attained the honours of "*beatification*." On the anniversary of his death, under the direction of Abraham, a superstitious commemoration service was held within the church, and, from the large numbers that attended on this occasion, a country fair, with its follies and vices, had grown up outside.

There were ten Cattanars connected with the church—all *unmarried men*. Some with whom we conversed made it their boast that the Romanists had never gained possession of their church; but, if *they* had not been there for the last two centuries, the Syrians had learned *their evil ways*, most decidedly. The reredos of the main altar was ornamented with the blasphemous representation of the Holy Trinity crowning the Virgin Mary. There were also paintings of the Apostles, with the usual symbolical accompaniments by which they are distinguished by old artists in Europe; and, what had never been observed anywhere else in a Syrian church, the Greek approximation to a crucifix, viz., a cross with the figure of our Lord's body painted on it. When we first entered

the church a Cattamar was celebrating a private mass—no one being present save three little dirty boys, one of whom appeared to be the son of the cappar, or sexton, doing duty for his father, judging from his familiarity with the responses, which he shouted out with no approach to reverence or devotion. The priest who officiated was dressed in red and yellow furniture damask; his attendants wore only the ordinary country cloth of peasant children. The ceremonies in the church being completed, the priest proceeded to a grave in the churchyard, carrying a lighted candle and a cross, and there muttered other Syriac prayers. The Konatta Malpan has since died, and lies buried in the church he built in the hamlet of Pámpácúda. A tomb now marks the site of his interment, before which stands a brass lamp, and on each side a candlestick; and ere long, if matters should not improve, the like superstitious reverence will be paid to his relics as are now shown to his uncle's. In this church of his own erection there are those anti-scriptural representations of "the father of an infinite majesty;" and also another of the Divine Son undergoing His sufferings, having an angel depicted with a chalice in hand to receive the blood as it flows from His side.

The contrast between this Malpan Abraham and the Malpan of Máramanúr, of the same name, is deeply instructive.

Rome has not been idle during the half century or more that the Church Missionary Society has been permitted to send its agents to Travancore. When C. Buchanan had his interview with the Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Prendergast, Rome had then been so humbled, by the adversities of the great Revolutionary period, during which she had suffered so grievously, that even a Vicar-Apostolic could be found ready to entertain the *idea* at least of circulating copies of the Holy Scriptures amongst the native Christians. But with returning prosperity the wonted enmity to that which is ordained of God to enlighten the eyes and convert the heart has been abundantly manifested. The greatest opponents to the spread of primitive Christianity in the country have been the agents of this corrupt Church. They have said in effect: "Receive what we offer you, or remain what you are." The words of our Lord to the Jewish teachers have been often forcibly brought to mind by their proceedings: "Ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered."—(Luke xi., 52.)

During the writer's residence in the country, though the Vicar-Apostolic at Verapoli appeared to be personally an amiable man, and so probably were some of the Carmelite Missionaries associated with him, yet, in their opposition to all truly evangelistic efforts for the good of the country, they displayed all the ignorant prejudice and narrow bigotry of Italians of the old school. Edicts would be issued from time to time, forbidding the attendance of children at Protestant schools; and then again prohibiting the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and even the little monthly *newspaper* issued by the Cottayam Press, threatening to "fulminate the great curse"

upon all who transgressed.¹ Hence during the season of Lent, some Romish children were commonly withdrawn from our schools, and a seizure of Protestant books was made, through information elicited in the Confessional, which would culminate in an *auto da fe*, or bonfire of Bibles, on Easter Sunday afternoon, in the church at the back of the English parsonage.

Their people of all classes were kept in grievous ignorance. The little education the East Indian and Portuguese Romanist population obtained, even at such a place as Cochin, they owed almost entirely to the charity of English Protestants; and though there was an individual who gloried in the title of "school-master of the Catholic school at Cochin," the school usually was non-existent, and the titular dignitary resided at Verapoli, enjoying a sinecure. What was done for the education of the people may be judged of from the following account of the bishop's school at Verapoli, extracted from the School Returns called for by the Madras Government somewhere about 1856.

Particulars of the vernacular school at Verapoli. Its founder, the bishop. The schoolhouse—built by the master himself, and at his own cost, of Bambo mats, its dimensions being 12 by 8 feet. The studies—"Religious subjects, tending to improve children in the knowledge of the Malayálim language alone." The scholars—about forty in number, but not divided into classes. Their books—*none* but *cadjans* (palm leaf writings). Fees—"some boys pay their master weekly a pice." The master himself—"one Barido, a caste native, who received 50 fanams (a little more than five shillings) per mensem, paid by the bishop." His qualifications, "*not reprehensible*." This school, moreover, is stated to be "generally held by the people in great estimation."

A certain class in England, writing oftentimes on subjects of which they have no correct information, depreciating Protestant Mission efforts, whilst extolling those which emanate from Rome, should compare this school, under the direct patronage of a Romish bishop, with the numerous Protestant schools then and now maintained by our mission agents. If they are seeking the truth on such subjects, they will have no difficulty in determining who are the truest friends of the people, and the most successful in their endeavours to promote their best interests.

The paucity of vernacular books, even such as teach pure Romanism, was something astonishing, when it is remembered that Rome has been in this field for three centuries and a half! The writer could never obtain even a single copy of the catechism which all their *native* Catechumens commit to memory.² When on one occa-

¹ See in Appendix F. an edict of this kind.

² With some little difficulty he obtained a copy, through a friend, of the Catechism, put into the hands of the *English* speaking people. It was Butler's "Small Catechism, or Rudiments of Christian Doctrine," printed at Madras.

sion at Verapoli, he saw a Catechist engaged in hearing a class of women repeat this Catechism, but the man was without a copy, and would not so much as give the information where one could be obtained. He was on this occasion standing at the church door, in an idle attitude, chewing his betel, and defiling the pavement and walls with his saliva, whilst the women gabbled over the words with irreverent rapidity. If it was the truth they were teaching, why were they so fearful of their books getting into the hands of Protestant Christians?

It is sad to be compelled to add that whilst their poor ignorant proselytes from heathenism have the gospel kept from them, the most shameful lies are propagated amongst all classes concerning Protestants and their religious principles. Luther especially has a large share of foul abuse heaped on his memory; and the most outrageous untruths—told about him and the other Reformers by such infamous slanderers as Parsons the Jesuit—pass current as undeniable facts. The Bishop of Verapoli would go so far as to pronounce marriage by an English clergyman null and void.¹

Their slave proselytes even were taught to look down upon Protestant converts with contempt; and if any of these outcasts were known to be seeking the truth from the lips of Protestant teachers, untruths would be told to deter them from doing so. Thus, as an illustration:—A poor enquirer in the Government Hospital at Cochin was told that if he joined the Protestants when he died he would only be buried in the sea beach; whereas if he joined them he would be honourably interred in a churchyard, where he would have the consolation of hearing every day the church bell tolling for Mass!

Within the last few years there has been a successful revolt against the rule of the Vicars Apostolic, and most of the Romo-Syrians have broken loose from his control. The spirit of these Italian Carmelites does not appear suited to the genius of the age, even among the native Romanists in Malabar. The Rev. J. Hawksworth in 1861—describing some visits paid in the vicinity of Angamâle—alludes to this, observing “At one church it sounded strange to hear a Romish priest say, in the presence of a large number of his people, and before other priests, that they had heard of the Roman Catholics of Italy beginning to declare that the Pope was *Antichrist*! The priest betrayed neither anger nor sorrow, and the people evidently wished for full and exact particulars of what was occurring in Italy. We endeavoured to fix their attention on the happy effects of Bible reading, and the grace and immutability of the one only Saviour, the sinner’s friend. The approach of a burly priest in black habiliments (all the rest were clothed in white, according to local usage) threw reserve over all. He was a representative of the anti-native or Italian party.” At another place (Chembil) he records: “One old man said, ‘Sir, the Latin

¹ See Appendix G,

bishop has been ordering us *not to see with our eyes*. Ah! why even little children towards the south read the Bible, and know about Messiah, whereas we know nothing. Please, sir, give me a gospel and some little books for my children.' A priest in my presence said to his people, 'You may read the Bible; nobody objects but the Bishop of Verapoli.'"

The arbitrary rules issued by this Vicar-Apostolic, wherever he met with any opposition, had excited priests and people against him. Where they manifested any resistance to his will he hesitated not at once to shut up their churches; and if they dared to do such a thing as go to a Goanese priest for advice and counsel, he would excommunicate them and theirs. He aimed, moreover, at obtaining entire control over church property, which the laity strongly resisted.

A crisis, long foreseen by some, at last came, and serious changes to Verapoli have subsequently resulted therefrom. When travelling in the interior, in January, 1858, it was reported that a deputation had been sent to Mosul from the numerous and influential Romo-Syrian churches north and north-east of Cottayam. The party consisted of five Cattanars, and several deacons and other youths in minor orders. About two years after this, being in the neighbourhood of some of these churches, a Romo-Syrian Malpan informed the writer that the leader had died by the way, but that the rest of the party had gone on to Mosul; and they trusted that the Pope and the Chaldean Patriarch would yield to their wishes, by releasing them from the yoke of the Latin bishop, and giving them what they so longed for—a genuine *Oriental* Metran. They did succeed, and after encountering many dangers and difficulties, returned triumphantly in 1861, with the man they wanted. When his arrival was speedily expected, the Bishop of Verapoli petitioned the Madras and Travancore Governments that they would use means to prevent his landing; as the Vicar-Apostolic alone, by the Pope's mandate, had the supervision of the Romo-Syrian churches. But to his great vexation he was informed that so long as the public peace was not broken they could not interfere in matters of this kind. On the arrival of the Chaldean Metran, almost the whole of the Romo-Syrian party received him as their bishop.

Since then the Pope and the Crown of Portugal have come to some better understanding on the subject of patronage to episcopal sees, and the Archbishopric of Cranganore has been revived, though, as is often the case with Roman Catholic bishoprics in the East, it is still without a bishop—a very reverend archiepiscopal governor, residing at Alwy, being all that it can boast of at present. Some 62 old churches, specified by name in the Trevandrum Almanac for 1871, formerly under the Vicars-Apostolic, are now in the jurisdiction of Cranganore. The Bishop of Verapoli is stated to have 87 churches and numerous chapels still left to him.

There was a great deal of talk about the Romo-Syrians under

these new arrangements having free access to the Holy Scriptures, and it was hoped by some sanguine friends that "a great door and effectual" was being opened among them; but nothing has come of it worth naming. It being not so much the Vicars-Apostolic personally (as the simple natives supposed), but the Romish system itself, which is hostile to Bible reading. The common people are never likely to enjoy this privilege, so long as Rome is Rome.

A thoughtful review of all that has been brought forward about Romish doings in India—in no uncharitable spirit, the writer trusts—will surely be felt to justify the condemnatory words of the late excellent Metropolitan of India, in a letter to Dean Stanley, where speaking of Francis Xavier he observes: "I confess, however, that while he deserves the title of the Apostle of India for his energy, self-sacrifice, and piety, I consider his whole method thoroughly wrong, its results in India and Ceylon most deplorable, and that the aspect of the native Christians at Goa and elsewhere shows that Romanism has had a fair trial at the conversion of India, and has entirely failed."

The effect of the Church Missionary Society's operations in Travancore on the Syrian Church generally, has been without doubt of a highly beneficial character. Its Missionaries, as a rule, have been this Church's truest and best friends, and have usually been so regarded and spoken of by the Syrians, where their minds have not become "evil affected" through the misrepresentations of reactionists. Since they have sojourned in the land the Syrians have not only largely increased numerically, but they have been progressing in education, wealth, energy, and enterprise; many of them have improved socially and morally, and have further been provoked "unto love and good works" by the active Christian zeal which has emanated from the Mission stations.

When the Missionaries first arrived there were only 54 churches under the Syrian Metrans, and several of these were known as *mixed* churches, in which the Romo-Syrians also had a right of worship. In a list furnished the writer when living at Cochin there were upwards of 90, specified by name. Since then numerous small churches and chapels have been built, so that their places of worship are now said to number 147.¹ This does not look as if the Missionaries had forgotten the end for which the Mission originated, or taken undue advantage of their position, and used it to effect any wholesale proselytism.

They have further done much—very gradually and very quietly—in freeing some portion of the people from the incubus of Romanism; and they are hereby far better able to distinguish between things which differ than formerly. In Du Perron's list, of 1758, the *mixed* churches still numbered 20; a few years since they were only two or three; at present there are *none*; and thus this

¹ For remarks on the statistics of the Syrian Christians of Malabar vide Appendix H,

unhealthy contact with Romish superstitions, in their ancient sanctuaries, is completely done away—we trust for ever.

When we take into account the early period of life at which marriages are contracted in Travancore, there must now be two or three generations of people, numbering many thousands of males and females, who have received at least a plain Christian education in the Mission schools; and without leading them to leave their church and become Protestants, it has had a most beneficial effect on the social habits and family life of the Syrians—*priests and people*. Hereby, in not a few cases, has been implanted a love for God's word, a knowledge of the gospel plan of salvation, and a practice, at once marked by piety and charity, has followed.

Had more labourers been supplied to this Mission field, and the work commenced so efficiently been maintained, without any of those sad vacancies caused generally by sickness or death; and, further, had the admirable plans of the first Missionaries for promoting Christian education in *every* Syrian church been persevered in, the whole of this community would have been ripe and ready for that movement towards *reformation from within*, so long looked for, and so devoutly desired, by their truest friends; and the little band of enlightened men, now aiming at this, would not have to encounter those difficulties, arising from misrepresentation, which at times make their hearts sad and their hands grow weary.

What the state of things still is, where these people refuse the light, may be gathered from the case of a respectable Syrian, whose mother had formerly requested one of the Mission Readers not to enter the house with the Bible, since she feared some temporal calamity would befall them, if it were in the house, and they did not according to its precepts. This, however, did not keep out calamity. Her son sickened and died. And what was to supply the place of that which only can give comfort in trouble? "Cattanars were hired (writes the Rev. I. Eapen) to perform extreme unction for him during his illness, and also to offer the Mass on three different thrones (*altars*) for several consecutive days after his death, in order to procure for him an admittance into heaven through these means. Feasts also were held for several days till the fortieth day. These were things essential to a man's salvation, as they thought." Can it be possible that any professing to belong to the Church of England would wish their fellow Christians to be left in such lamentable ignorance concerning those things which belong unto their peace?

That there are indications of an arousing from the sleep of centuries, especially in the south, we have ample testimony from the native clergy and Missionaries.

"There are hopeful signs of an awakening (writes the Rev. K. Kuruwilla in 1866) among the Syrians in this part of the country. *Our church serves as a pattern to them in many things.* At one place the people maintain a Scripture Reader, who goes to preach in the neighbouring churches in turn. They hold meetings on Sunday

afternoon for instruction in the Word of God and prayers. I was present at these meetings on two occasions, when I each time delivered a discourse, and concluded the meeting with an extempore prayer. They now seem to pay a greater attention to the observance of the Sabbath. The marriage ceremony, with all its attendant festivities and excitement, has hitherto been celebrated everywhere on Sundays; but now, in one or two of their churches, a beginning is made to do this during the week days. They have in two places adopted also a practice of ours, in raising a voluntary subscription for useful and good objects. *Our church, with its agency, institutions, and religious publications, may be said to be the centre whence light is diffused around to enlighten those who grope in the darkness of ignorance and unbelief."*

Even at such a place as Mallapally, where the chief congregation is made up of Syro-Protestants, there is now, generally speaking, a kindly feeling between Christians of the two Churches: "After service (writes Rev. I. Eapen in 1866) the Syrian priest and a few of his parishioners came to my house, to whom I read a portion of the Bible, and made a few remarks thereon." Writing of the same place in 1869, the Rev. O. Mâmen says: "The Syrian Christians, who are twice as many as our own people, are improving in their spiritual concerns *by the example of our people.*"

"Wherever I travel in my district (says the Rev. R. Maddox in 1868) I always experience the greatest kindness and hospitality from the Syrians. Their houses are always open, and all they have is placed at my service. There might of course be exceptions, but I can only say I have not found them out, nor do I much think I shall. I must not forget one more circumstance, which shows a decidedly friendly spirit among the Cattanars, and that is my being so warmly welcomed by them wherever I went on my tour, and being so pressed to preach in their church on the Sunday."

"A few weeks since (he again observes), upon the occasion of my visit to one of my southern stations, a Syrian came to see me, bringing with him a donation of 28 rupees, to be spent as I thought good, in behalf of the *Protestant Church* of that place. . . . Many of the Syrians about here are removing their sons from the *Sircar* (Government) English Schools, and placing them in the Mission School, in order that they may receive a *Christian* education, and be instructed in the Word of God. Some who send their children from a distance pay me for their board, and all expense."

"The Syrian Church is now really awakening"—writes the Senior Missionary in 1870; and in his deeply interesting report, published in the June number of the *Madras Church Missionary Record*, tells us of active measures being taken by the British Resident and other friends to support the policy of the present Metropolitan. In a Synod held at Cottayam, where upwards of 700 clerical and lay representatives of the churches were assembled, rules were drawn up, to resuscitate the old Syrian college, whose funds were now to be used, after lying long dormant in the Govern-

ment Treasury ; a council of twelve, composed of clergy and laity, was appointed to assist in the management of church matters ; all deacons were directed to be sent to the college to complete their education, without which they were not to be ordained priests ; vicars were ordered to preach in the vernacular ; schools to be established in connection with every church ; meetings for mutual instruction to be formed in every division of a parish ; and priests allowed to take work in other churches than those to which they were originally ordained ; these were among the admirable rules then adopted. Clergy and laity present remarked in no unfriendly spirit upon what the Church Missionary Society had accomplished, after a few years of labour ; and an old man present, with commendable energy and determination, remarked : “ *And why should not we, too, the children of Christ’s disciples, do better ?* ”

This is no time, therefore, to look coldly on this interesting community, much less to help those who would retard progress towards a “ goodly reformation.” Shall we refer them to Antioch, and tell them to do nothing without the Patriarch ? You might with just as much reason write to the authorities of the Episcopal Church in America, and tell them to do nothing without the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The connexion with Antioch does not date much further back than two centuries ; and then it was brought about for the purpose of recovering for themselves an episcopal succession, independent of the usurping Papacy. From Antioch little else has come that is good for a long time. Ignorance, superstition, and bigotry have come ; and factions and confusions, tending sorely to weaken the body, have been engendered. The truest wisdom of the Syrian Church of Malabar will be to assert and maintain her *rightful independence*. When the Jacobite bishops are for the most part illiterate and little versed in Scripture, and have adopted well nigh all the erroneous and corrupt doctrines and practices of Rome, what can be expected from Antioch ?¹

Bishop Cotton, with his usual sound judgment, well understood the case, when he noted in his journal at Cottayam in 1864 : “ Nor is there much help to be hoped for from Antioch, where the Church is sunk in superstitious bigotry, and whence a prelate named Curilos has lately been sent to check and watch the reforming tendencies of Athanasius.”

God grant that the last-named prelate, and those who are associated with him, may keep well before them the words of friendly counsel which Bishop Cotton, though dead, yet speaks to them, through his published memoir—those brotherly words from the Metropolitan of the English Church in India to the Metropolitan of the ancient Syrian Church of Malabar :—“ I may perhaps

¹ Such was the testimony of the Rev. G. P. Badger when he made his careful researches some years ago. We fear matters have not improved much since then.—(See *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i., ch. vi., pp. 59-65)

be allowed to mention some of the practical agencies by which, through the grace of God's Holy Spirit, the Church of England has flourished and acquired much influence among the people, and by which doubtless the Syrian Church, through the same all powerful guidance, will recover its primitive importance and purity. The *first* is the example of high principle, blameless living, unselfish devotion to Christ's flocks, and laborious activity on the part of all who exercise spiritual authority; the *next* is the circulation of the Holy Bible among the people, and their intelligent acquaintance with its contents; the *third* is the diffusion of education, both theological and secular, among the clergy, including, of course, the careful preparation of candidates for holy orders; the *fourth* is preaching; and the *last* which I will mention is the celebration of Divine service in the vernacular language of the people."

THE END.

APPENDIX^{II}A.LISTS OF SYRIAN, MIXED, AND ROMO-SYRIAN CHURCHES
COMPARED.

THE *Mixed* churches are those in which both Syrian and Romo-Syrian services were conducted in 1758—the date of Du Perron's List; by the aid of which we are enabled to classify them under the head of the Native States to which they belonged—the names given to these being also Du Perron's.

The various modes of spelling may be, in some measure, accounted for by the various nationalities (*Portuguese, Italian, French, and Austrian*), to which the writers respectively belonged; but, in some instances, the name of the place is given in the dative instead of the nominative case, thus Cenotto or Chenotta for Chenum, Parotta for Parôm or Pûrûwum, and Cottate for Cotium or Cottayam. B, again, stands substitute (very commonly) for W, and the liquids L and R are often interchanged; C is used for Ch, and R and D are sometimes interchanged, whilst other differences are caused, probably, by the mistakes of copyists or printers.

The words SYRIAN, MIXED, ROMO-SYRIAN, ROMAN or LATIN, shew the designation of the Church in 1758.

KINGDOM OF COCHIN.

SYRIAN.

Menezes, 1599.	Raulini, 1745.	Du Perron, 1758.	Paoli, 1760.	Modern name.
Molundurte	Molandurte	Molandurte <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Molunturuti <i>S. Mary.</i>	Málantúrúttá
	Caromattan	Caramattam <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Cadamattam <i>S. George.</i>	Kadamattam
	Racati	Raakate <i>Holy Virgin.</i>		Rákáda
	Meliatur	Maleatour <i>Holy Virgin</i>	Maleatur <i>S. Thomas.</i> <i>do. Oratory in</i> <i>the Mountain.</i>	Malleatúr

MIXED.

Little Paru	Paru	Tekeparroure <i>S. John Bapt.</i>	Tekemparur	South Parúr
Narame	Trepuntare	Naramel <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Nharamel	Trepúntara
		Caringoschera <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Caringacera	Karingachery
	Momuacheri	Mamlascheri <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Mamalaceri <i>S. Michael.</i>	Mamalashery
	Pallicare	Pallikare <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Pallicare <i>S. Mary.</i>	Pallikara
	Cantanate	Candanate <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Candanata <i>S. Mary.</i>	Kandanáda

COCHIN—continued.		MIXED.			Modern name.
Menezes, 1599.	Raulini, 1745.	Du Perron, 1758.	Paoli, 1760.		
	Carpumpiali	Kourripouali <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Curupeupadi <i>S. Mary.</i>		Kúrúppam-pády
		Parumattam. <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Perumettam <i>S. Mary.</i>		Peyrumattam
		Kadamungalum. <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Codamangalam <i>S. Mary.</i>		Kothamungalum
		Ditto <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Ditto <i>S. Mary.</i>		
		ROMO-SYRIAN.			
Palliporam	Palliport	Palliporam <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Pallipuram <i>S. Mary.</i>		South Palliport or Pallipuram
Muttan.	Mutton	Mouttam <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Muttam <i>S. Mary.</i>		Muttam
Diamper	Diamper	Odiamper <i>S.S. Gervasius and Protasius.</i>	Odiamper <i>S.S. Gervasius and Protasius.</i>		Udiampárúr
	Colongeri	Cajoukambalam Kolangouri <i>S.S. Peter and Paul.</i>			
	Pudupalli	Pouttenpali <i>S. Theresia.</i>	Puttenpalli <i>S. Theresia.</i>		Púthenpally
Mangalam		Kadamungalum	Codamangalum <i>S. Mary.</i>		Kothamungalum
Canhur	Canchur	Cagnour <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Canhur <i>S. Mary.</i>		Kánhúra
Cheguree	Covere	Schouvere <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Ciovare <i>S. Mary.</i>		Chewurrah
Vaipicotta	Canotta	Schenotte <i>Exaltation of Cross.</i>	Cenotta <i>S. Crucis.</i>		Chennum
	Gnarica	Gnarika <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Nharica <i>S. Mary.</i>		Nárikal
	Baleport	Balarparte <i>Holy Virgin.</i>			Balarpart
	Angicaimal	Ernagolta <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Erana culata, or Angicaimal <i>S. Mary.</i>		Ernaculum
Matanger	Matingeri	Matencheri	Matincera		Muttancherry

KINGDOM OF THE SAMORIN.

MIXED.			
Cottacolon-gate	Schatta Kolangouri <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Cshatukulan-gare	Kúnnankulam
	<i>Oratory.</i> <i>S. Cross.</i>		

SAMORIN—*continued*.

ROMO-SYRIAN.

Menezes, 1599.	Raulini, 1745.	Du Perron, 1758.	Paoli, 1760.	Modern name.
	Potincera	Puttenschera	Puttenceri	Púthenshery
		<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Mary.</i>	
		Coroutti	Coretti	Korúttee
		<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Mary.</i>	
		Schalakouri	Cialacudi	Shalakudy
		<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Mary.</i>	
	Balianat	Balenate	Baleanate	Waliyanáda
		<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Mary.</i>	
Palur	Pallur	Pallour	Palur	Pálúr
		<i>S. Macaire.</i>	<i>S. Macharius.</i>	
	Cottapili	Cottapari	Cottapadi	Cottapaddy
		<i>S. Lazarus.</i>	<i>S. Lazarus.</i>	
	Mattatil	Mattatile	Mattatil	
		<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Mary.</i>	
		Veschour		
		<i>S. Cross.</i>		

ROMAN OR LATIN.

Amblakate	Ambalakáda
<i>S. Thomas.</i>	
Mapranaté	Mapránam
<i>S. John.</i>	
Pajour	
<i>S. Anthony.</i>	
Enemaka	Enamaikal
<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	
Schetoua	Chetwye
<i>Nativity of Virgin.</i>	

KINGDOM OF PARU, N.E. OF COCHIN.

SYRIAN.

Paru	Paru	Paru	Parur	Parúr
		<i>S. Thomas.</i>	<i>S. Thomas.</i>	

ROMO-SYRIAN.

	Paru	Parur	Parúr
	<i>SS. Gervais and Protas.</i>	<i>SS. Gervasius and Protasius.</i>	
Muricolor	Mourikolam	Mushicollam	
	<i>Holy Virgin.</i>		
Manhapara	Mangnapara	Manhapra	Mapranum
	<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Cross.</i>	
	Kottamil	Cottamattil	
		<i>Little St. Mary.</i>	
	<i>Oratory of St. Joseph.</i>		

KINGDOM OF BELLOUTA TAVAGI. (*ANGAMALI*.)

SYRIAN.

Menezes, 1599.	Raulini, 1745.	Du Perron, 1758.	Paoli, 1760.	Modern name.
Angamale	Angamale	Angamale	Angamali	Angamále
		<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Mary.</i>	

MIXED.

	Angamale	Angamali	Angamále
	<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. George.</i>	
	Ditto	Ditto	
	<i>S. Ormisdas</i>	<i>S. Hormisdas.</i>	
	(<i>Latin rite.</i>)		
Agaparambin	Aparam	Agamparam-	Akaparumba
	<i>S. Gervais.</i>	bil	
		<i>SS. Gervasius</i>	
		<i>and Protasius.</i>	

KINGDOM OF MANGATE, OR KARTA TAVAGI.

ROMO-SYRIAN.

Mangate	Mangate	Mangate	Alangatta, or	Allangáda
		<i>S. Mary the</i>	Mangatta	
		<i>Great.</i>	<i>Blessed Virgin.</i>	
		Oratory	Two Oratories	
		<i>Exaltation of</i>	<i>One belonging</i>	
		<i>the Cross.</i>	<i>to the</i>	
			<i>Carmelites.</i>	

KLANGANOUR SOROUSAN, N.W. OF COCHIN.

SYRIAN.

Calupare	Calloupar	Kallúpára
	<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	

ROMO-SYRIAN.

Rapolin	Edapali, or	Edapuli, or	Eddapally
	Rapolin	Rapolin	
	<i>SS. Peter and</i>	<i>S. George, also</i>	
	<i>Paul.</i>	<i>SS. Peter and</i>	
		<i>Paul.</i>	
	Baipor	Vaypur	Wiyapúr
	<i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>S. Mary.</i>	

BAREKANGOUR (*WADAKKENCORE*) S.E. & S.S.E. OF COCHIN.

SYRIAN.

Coramalur	Caramalur	Codamalour	Codamalur	Codamalúr
		<i>SS. Gervais</i>	<i>SS. Gervasius</i>	
		<i>and Protas.</i>	<i>and Protasius.</i>	
		Ellour	Elur	Ellúr
		<i>SS. Gervais</i>	<i>S. Stephen.</i>	
		<i>and Protas.</i>		
	Baragarou	Badagare	Wadacara	
		<i>S. John Bapt.</i>		

BAREKANGOUR— <i>continued</i> .		MIXED.		
Menezes, 1599.	Raulini, 1745.	Du Perron, 1758.	Paoli, 1760.	Modern name.
	Mulicolor	Moulecoulan <i>S. Alexis.</i>		Múlacúlum
Prouto	Farete	Paratto 3 <i>Kings.</i>	Parotta 3 <i>Kings.</i>	Púrúwum
	Cembil	Schembi <i>S. Mary.</i>	Cembi <i>S. Mary.</i>	Chembil
ROMO-SYRIAN.				
Corolongate	Corolongati	Karlongate <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Corolongatta <i>S. Mary the Great.</i>	Corolongáda
	Elognil	Elagni <i>SS. Peter and Paul.</i>	Elangnil <i>SS. Peter and Paul.</i>	Elanhil
		Adirampaje <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Adirampushe <i>S. Mary.</i>	Adirampally
	Romram	Ramrat <i>S. Augustine.</i>	Ramaratta <i>S. Augustine.</i>	Ramapúram
	Bariate	Bariate <i>S. Saviour.</i>	Badeate <i>S. Saviour.</i>	Wuddiar
	Bechur	Beschour <i>S. Mary.</i>	Veciur, or Co- daveciur <i>S. Mary.</i>	Cuday Vay- chúr
Paligunde	Puligune	Poulingounel <i>S. Mary.</i>	Pullingune <i>S. Mary.</i>	Pulingunna
	Giuncotti	Jongom <i>S. Michael.</i>	Ciungatta <i>S. Michael.</i>	Chungum
	Modelacort	Modelakorte	Modelacodum <i>S. George.</i>	Mudalacoddao
	Maila Cambil	Mailacomba <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Mailacomba <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Milacúmbu
		Arakoja <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Aaragoshe <i>S. Mary.</i>	
		Battatattel <i>Holy Virgin.</i>		Wattathatil
		Neriani <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Nediale <i>S. Mary.</i>	Nediala
Nagpili and Ignapeli	Negapare	Nagapoje <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Nagapushe (falling.)	Nágapare
Carturte	Carturti	Carturte <i>S. Paul.</i>	Cadaturutte <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Cadatúrútta
		Ditto <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Ditto <i>S. Mary.</i>	

TEKENGOUR (*THEKKENCORE*) S.W. OF COCHIN.

		SYRIAN.		
<i>Maruquitil?</i>	Manirgat	Manargate	Manargada <i>S. Mary.</i>	Manyarúkáda
Changanagere	Chonganari	Schanganas- cheri	Cianganaceri <i>S. Mary.</i>	Changana- shery.

TEKENGOUR—continued.		SYRIAN.		
Menezes, 1599.	Rauliui, 1745.	Du Perron, 1758.	Paoli, 1760.	Modern name.
Changanore	Cenganur	Schenganour <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Cenganur <i>S. Mary.</i>	Chenganúr
Naranam	Neonaor	Nernate <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Neranatta	Ner anum
	Calurceri	Kattouscheri <i>Kallousecheri ?</i>	Callucera <i>S. Mary.</i>	Kallúchery
	Moramanor	Maramanil <i>Holy Virgin.</i>		Márámanúr
		Cojjeri <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Coshancere <i>S. Mary.</i>	Koranchery
MIXED.				
Cotette	Cottete Ceria	Cotatte	Coittotta <i>S. Mary.</i>	Cottayam
	Pudupalli	Poudonpouli <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Pudupulla	Púthúpally
	Porcitanate	Penoutara <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Punutra	Púnathara
ROMO-SYRIAN.				
Cottette	Cottete	Cotatte— <i>Another church.</i>		Cottayam
	Cerpungel	Scherpengue <i>S. Cross.</i>	Cerpunghal <i>S. Cross.</i>	Cherpungnel
	Pulala	Palala <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Palaya <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Pálai
		Larat. <i>Our</i> <i>Lady of Mount</i> <i>Carmel.</i>	<i>Seminary.</i> (Larat in <i>Map.</i>)	Lalao or Lálum
	Canhara Palli	Cangnhara- palli <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Cangnarapalli <i>S. Mary.</i>	Kányerapally
		Paingolt <i>S. Cross.</i>	Paincollata <i>S. Cross.</i>	Paingalum
	Anacalungel	Anagalenguel <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Aanacallun- ghel <i>S. Mary.</i>	Anacalunguell
	Idatur	Iratour <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	<i>Iratúshe ?</i> <i>S. Mary.</i>	Yeddatúwa
	Pugnatil	Pungnhate <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Punhada <i>S. Mary.</i>	Púnyáda
	Caromattan	Kadappela- mattan Kangnhara <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Cadamattam <i>S. George.</i>	Kadamattam
PORCA SHEMBANASHERI SOUROUVAM. (PORCADA.)				
ROMO-SYRIAN.				
Calucate	Calaorati	Kalourcate <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Callurecata <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Kalurcáda

PORCA SHEMBANASHERI SOROUVAM—*continued.*

Menezes, 1599.	Raulini, 1745.	ROMO-SYRIAN. Du Perron, 1758.	Paoli, 1760.	Modern name.
Porca	Porca	Porca <i>S. Cross.</i>	Porocada <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Porcáda
	Allapare	Alapaje <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Aalapushe <i>S. Mary.</i>	Alleppy
	Codamalur	Kadamalour <i>Holy Virgin.</i> <i>Latin rite?</i>		Kadamálúr

KALIKOULAM SCHERRAVI, AND OTHER TAVAGIS AND NAMBOURIS.

SYRIAN.

Calecoulan	Color Superior	Kalicoulan <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Cayamcollam <i>SS. Gervasius and Protasius.</i>	Kaiyenkullam
Podiagabo	Pudicabo	Poudiagavil <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Mavalicare	Mávelicáre
Batimena ?	Bemmani	Bemanil <i>Holy Virgin.</i>	Bemanil <i>S. Mary.</i>	Wemmany
Catiapalay	Catiapali	Kartiapalli <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Cartyapalli <i>S. Mary.</i>	Kartigapally
Corigo Lan- gare	Curiem Colon- gare	Kojienkolan- gare, or Kolangouri	Teken Collan- gare	Cheppáda
Tuumpone	Tembucur	Tombonour	Tumbanum <i>S. Mary.</i>	Thombána
	Omalor	Omolour	Omelur <i>S. Mary.</i>	Omallúr
Tevellycare	Tevalecare	Teulekare	Tevelacare <i>S. Mary.</i>	Thevalacára
Calare	Calera	Kallere	Catare (<i>Calare?</i>) <i>S. Mary.</i>	Kallida
Caramanate ?	Caramanate ?	Karamtanara?	Cadambara <i>S. Mary.</i>	Kadumbenáda
Gundara	Gundare	Kondoura	Condur <i>S. Mary.</i>	Kúndara
		Kottagare- kare		Kottarakerry

KOULAN (*QUILON.*)

SYRIAN.

Quilon	Koulan <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Quilon.
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There are many other churches under the Jesuits and Cordeliers in this State and Kalicoulan, dependent on the Diocese of Serra. (*Du Perron.*)

ANCIENT TRAVANCORE.

Travancore	Travancotta <i>S. Thomas.</i>	Travancore
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A Cattanar mentioned five or six not in the List of the Bishop of Areopolis, nor in the MSS. of P. Claude. (*Du Perron.*)

Latin churches either built by the Franciscans, or after their time by the Jesuits or Barefooted Carmelites :—

Cranganore, *S. Francis, and Oratory of S. Thomas*. Palliport, *S. Mary*. Verapoly, *S. Joseph*. Cettiatt, *S. Mary of Mount Carmel*. Waypin. Angicaimal. Bendurte, *S. Mary*. Matincera, *S. Mary de Vita*. Castella, S. Luis. Saude, *S. Mary a Salute*. Artunkel, or S. Andre. Tanghi. Tamboli. Cattur. Aalapusha, *Oratory*. Manacadum. Porcada. The last named with Verapoly and Angicaimal used Chaldaic rites as well as Latin.—(*From Paoli's India Orientalis Christiana.*)

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF BISHOPS WHO HAVE PRESIDED OVER THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF MALABAR SINCE THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE.

JOHN, sent by the Patriarch of the Nestorians named Simeon in 1490 as Bishop to India, is supposed to have been their Metropolitan when Vasco de Gama landed on the Malabar Coast in 1498.

JABALLAHA and three other bishops named Thomas, Denha, and Jacobus, arrived in 1503 to govern the church.

JOSEPH I. who presided in 1540, died in the Franciscan convent at Cochin in 1544.

JOSEPH II. was appointed Metropolitan about 1555.

JOSEPH III., ABRAHAM, and SIMEON filled up the space during the hard struggle with Rome, which lasted from 1556 to 1599, when Abraham died, committing the care of his diocese to his Archdeacon *George*,¹ who was a native of the country.

MENEZES, Archbishop of Goa, now took charge, and when he had completed the subjugation of the church he appointed F. Roz, a Jesuit Professor as Bishop.

FRANCIS ROZ, S.J., appointed 1600.

JEROME XAVIER, S.J., succeeded in 1617, but did not live to enter his Diocese.

STEPHEN DE BRITTO, S.J. followed in 1618.

FRANCIS GARZIA, S.J., 1636. Under this prelate the Syrians broke loose from the rule of the Jesuits. Garzia died at Cochin, 1659.

IGNATIUS, otherwise called Atalla or Theodore, a Nestorian Bishop, attempted to reach Malabar, but was waylaid by the Jesuits, and perished in the flames of the Inquisition at Goa in 1654.

Thomas, the Syrian Archdeacon, a relative and successor of Archdeacon *George*, was the chosen leader of the party who renounced the Romish tyranny. On account of the services rendered, and also being the first native Bishop in modern times, he is called *Mar Thomas the Great*.

GREGORY, styled Patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in Malabar, 1665. He introduced the Jacobite creed, and died 1672.

Thomas II., "a layman," says Paoli, brother to Thomas I., is said to have been killed by a thunderbolt not long after his appointment.

Thomas III., nephew of the last named—received the mitre at Kothamungalum.

¹ The names of the *Native Prelates* are also printed in *italics* in the List.

Thomas IV., called by Paoli a "*lay intruder*," next governed the church, dying April, 1686.

ANDREW, said to be a renegade Jacobite priest, arrived from Syria in 1676.

He was drowned at Kallida.

JOHN, a Jacobite Bishop, arrived 1685 from Mosul; and with him another Bishop named Basilius, who settled at Kothamungalum.

Thomas V., called a *laic*, succeeded Thomas IV. in 1686. He professed to have received consecration from Mar Basilius, and died in 1717.

GABRIEL, a Nestorian Bishop arrived 1708. He died at Cottayam, 1731.

Thomas VI. succeeded his uncle Thomas V., 1717. The Danish Missionaries corresponded with him in 1727. He died 1728.

Thomas VII. succeeded his uncle Thomas VI. He is said to have been anxious to obtain consecration from Mar Gabriel on his death bed in 1731, but failed.

JOHN, who professed to be a Bishop, was brought in 1747 from Mosul, or some town of Persia, by means of Ezekiel, a Jewish merchant at Cochin, to consecrate Thomas VII. He was sent back to Bussorah in 1751.

BASILIUS, GREGORY, and JOHN, three Jacobite Bishops, arrived in 1751.

Two native Bishops were consecrated by them, and the regular succession restored.

Dionysius I., whose original name was Ausep (Joseph), of the same family (Palli), presided as Thomas VIII. After eighteen years' contention between the Syrians and the Antiochean Bishops' party he was consecrated in 1772 by Mar Gregory, who died the same year. With this Native Metran Paoli had intercourse in 1785 at Neranum. When Dr. C. Buchanan visited Malabar in 1806 he was still Metran, and told Buchanan he was 78 years old. He died about 1814.

Joseph succeeded. He had been styled *Ramban*, being a celibate. He was advanced in life when appointed Bishop—favoured the reformation proposed by Colonel Munro, and died November 24th, 1816.

Philoxenus of Anyura, consecrated in 1805 by his uncle *Kurillos*, who had received consecration in 1756 from Mar Basilius.

Dionysius II. He was previously called *Archdeacon George*. *Philoxenus* being in weak health, consecrated him in 1817. He died May 16, 1825.

Philoxenus again took charge, and soon after consecrated—

Dionysius III., on Sunday, June 26th, 1825. He had been previously known as *Malpan Philip*. Under this Bishop the friendly relations with the Church Missionary Society were suspended.

ATHANASIUS, appointed by the Patriarch Metropolitan of Malabar, arrived about the middle of 1825. The Travancore Government compelled him to quit the country in April, 1826, in consequence of the disturbances he created.

Philoxenus again acted as Senior Bishop until February 6th, 1830, when he died, after an episcopate of 25 years.

Athanasius, the present Metropolitan, was consecrated at the Convent near Mardin, by the Patriarch of Antioch in 1842. His suffragans are Mar *Joseph Kurillos* who usually resides at Anyura in the North; and Mar *Thomas* who resides in the South.

NOTE.—Mar Kurillos Joyakim who came from Antioch to oppose the Reformation movement, is tolerated in the country but not acknowledged

by the State. He is in weak health, and now is assisted by a Mar *Dionysius* who heads the reactionary party, and receives all who become disaffected towards the Metropolitan.

The circumstances which led to Mar *Dionysius's* consecration are narrated as follows by the Rev. O. Mamen, one of our native clergymen, intimately acquainted with the Syrian Christians and their movements. Writing of Kunnan-Kullam, he says :—"The leading Syrian family, being incensed against Mar *Athanasius*, and also defeated in a law-suit (in the High Court of Madras) to establish the claims of Kurillos over the Syrian Churches, sent the very Cattanar, who was employed in prosecuting the suit, to Mardin to be consecrated as their bishop in spite of Mar *Athanasius*; and the arrival of this new Metran has caused much excitement among the Syrians in general, and has given encouragement to the superstitious party. I may mention one fact to illustrate his principles. He has brought with him a piece of a saint's bone, and professes thereby to effect certain cures by giving to drink the water in which it is put."—*Madras Church Missionary Record*, June 1866, p. 184.

Bishop Cotton speaks of Mar Kurillos Joyakim as a prelate lately sent from Antioch "to check and watch the reforming tendencies of Athanasius."—(Vide *Life of Bishop Cotton*, p. 364.) This bishop and his coadjutor are opposed to everything like true Scriptural reformation.

From the above list it will appear that the Syrian Church of Malabar was Nestorian when the Portuguese first arrived in India, and not a single Jacobite prelate appeared upon the scene for 174 years after, viz., until 1672. The testimony of Church history, and of the travellers of the Middle Ages, supports the view—that it was Nestorian from the days of Nestorius's condemnation when the Patriarch of Babylon and the Bishops of Persia sided with him. The testimony of any imperfectly educated Jacobite Cattanars—with nothing to show to the contrary except one or two unreliable traditions and a few historic fragments manipulated by modern Jacobite writers—cannot stand for a moment where the question is carefully investigated.

STATISTICS¹ OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN MALABAR IN 1871.

Churches 147. Priests in each church 8 or 9. Christians 300,000. Syriac Schools 24. Vernacular Schools 123. Boys in Schools 20,000. Girls about 5,000. Students in College 47. Printing Press 1.

¹The writer, from what he knows of the country and its inhabitants, is far from satisfied with the statistics as to the numerical strength of both Syrians and Romo-Syrians. In order to obtain as correct information as possible on the point, he wrote last summer to the British Resident, but from some cause or other has not been favoured with his assistance. The above statistics are taken from the *Trevandrum Almanac*, 1871.

At the Allahabad Conference in December last the Rev. R. Kuruwilla read a paper on the Syrian Christians, in which he gives 340,000 as their numerical strength. From the above statistics it will appear that the native Christians of the land have greatly increased in every way since the Church Missionary Society commenced its work amongst them. It has in no sense injured the Ancient Church of Malabar. In how many senses has it not improved it?

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF THE VICARS APOSTOLIC OF MALABAR.

- Fre Joseph a S. Maria de Sebastiani, Carmelite. Appointed 1659, and died 1689, as "*Episcopus civitatis Castelli*."
- Alexander de Campo*, a native bishop, consecrated 1663, when the Dutch expelled all European ecclesiastics from their territories. He died 1676.
- Thomas de Castro, a native of Goa, appointed 1675. His rule extended over Travancore, Tanjore, and other provinces "*intra Gangem*."
- Raphael de Figueredo Salgado, an *Eurasian*, consecrated coadjutor to Thomas de Campo 1676. He died 1695.
- Fre Angelus Franciscus a S. Theresa, Carmelite. Consecrated 1701. Died 1712.
- Fre John Baptist a S. Theresa, Carmelite. Appointed V.A. 1714. His title being "*Episcopus Limirensis*," he is called by Du Perron, Bishop Limira. He died 1750.
- Fre Florentius a Jesu Nazareno, a Polish Carmelite. Appointed 1746. He erected the Seminary at Verapoly, and died 1773.
- Fre Franciscus Salesius a Matre Dolorosa. A German Carmelite, consecrated in Europe, arrived in Malabar 1775. He did not get on well with the missionaries, and so resigned, and retired to Mount Carmel, where he died, aged 56, in 1787.
- Fre John Mary of St. Thomas, Carmelite. Elected V.A., but died before consecration in the Capuchin Convent at Madras.
- Fre Aloysius Maria a Jesu, Carmelite. Consecrated September 25th, 1785. Arrived in his Diocese February 10th, 1787.
- Fre Raymond.
- Fre Miles Prendergast—an Irishman, with whom Dr. C. Buchanan had interviews.
- Fre Francis Xavier Pescetto of St. Ann.
- Fre Ludovico Martini of St. Theresa.
- Fre Bernardino Baccinelli of St. Theresa, Italian Carmelite.
- Fre Leonard of St. Louis, Archbishop of Nicomedia. The present V.A. arrived in Travancore, 1851.

STATISTICS OF THE MALABAR VICARIATE.

European Missionaries 7. Churches (*no returns*.) Schools 289, averaging 30 in a school. Seminary students 133. Convents—for *males* 5, containing 94 inmates; for *females* 2, having 24 nuns. Printing Presses 3.

The Christian population in the *whole* Vicariate amounts to 211,230, of which 136,230 are of the Syrian and 75,000 of the Latin rite.

The *Archbishopric of Cranganore*, recently restored by an agreement between the King of Portugal and the Pope, has no Bishop as yet, though one is said to be coming. The ecclesiastical governor is the Very Rev. Benedict de Rozario Gomez, who arrived in Travancore April 29th, 1866. Churches 62. Students in Syriac School 30, Latin 12, Theology 16—total 58.

APPENDIX D.

Reprinted from the "Church Missionary Society Report for 1818-19,"
p. 317.

ABSTRACT OF A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SYRIANS IN MALABAR,
PRESERVED AMONG THEMSELVES AS THEIR GENUINE HISTORY.

THE Syrians have this history among themselves as their Genuine History. Mr. Bailey has translated it from the original Malayálim. It begins with a declaration that St. Thomas preached the gospel to the Parthians, Medes, and Indians; and then enters into details, which are manifestly legendary, however, they may be grounded on actual occurrences.

The facts as stated, stripped of apparent fable, are as follows :—

St. Thomas arrived in the year 52. His success was great in various quarters. In Malabar there was then no Rajah or King, but the country was governed by thirty-two chief Brahmins. To those, and to the Natives at large, St. Thomas preached the gospel. Many believing, were baptized. Two were ordained priests. After living thirty years in Malabar he went to Mailapore, and was there murdered by a heathen priest. After his death the two priests had charge of the Christians in Malabar. On their decease there were no other priests for many years, the elders among the Christians performing the services of baptism and marriage. Many relapsed in consequence into idolatry. In the year 345 a bishop with some priests and others arrived from Syria. The then Rajah of Malabar received them, and granted them many privileges, and a portion of ground, and issued a decree that no one should persecute or despise them. The influence of this decree was felt for a long course of years.

The narrative then proceeds and speaks thus of the settling of these Syrian Christians, or Nazarites, as it calls them, in Malabar :—

In a course of time the Nazarites who came from Jerusalem, began to interchange marriages with the Christians in Malabar, according to their stations in life. The most respectable had 400 houses on the north side of the village Cranganore, and the inferior had 72 on the south side of the village. These two castes are at present called Wadakanpaver or North party, and Tekonpaver or South party. This was done for a perpetual distinction between them. The North party walk after the way of their father; the South party after the way of their mother.

Among the North party it is customary for the bride and bridegroom to stand while the priest is marrying them, but among the South party to kneel. The North party use the cross when they perform the marriage ceremony and put it on the neck; the South party use a chalavim or something almost like a cross. The North party when they join hands in marriage cover the head and face of the bride with a cloth, but the South party uncover them. The North party have the chief barber to shave the bridegroom the night before the marriage, he having never till then been shaved, while the South party employ an under-barber. The North party have the chief washerman to wash their clothes at marriages and feasts, the South party an under-washerman. Among the North party when they give food to a young child, which is done by a priest, the child sits on the father's lap, among the South party the child sits on the mother's

lap. The merchandise of the north party consists chiefly in gold, silver and silk; that of the South party in other articles.

In this way were the rules of distinction settled by the Nazarites, the children of God who dwelt in the above village.

After this, having made inquiry into the descendants of the two priests ordained by St. Thomas the Apostle, to watch over all the Christians in Malabar, Jerusalem Thomas, with the bishops and teachers, appointed one of them to the office of archdeacon, and others, chief persons, to look after the concerns of all the Christians in Malabar, and to punish and protect them according to justice. From that time bishops came regularly from Antioch to Malabar, but the archdeacon and chief persons were appointed from the Christians in Malabar.

In A.D. 825 a merchant named Sabareso and two Syrian bishops, Mar Chaboor and Mar Apprott came to Malabar and dwelt at Quilon.

At that time the Jews and Arabs in this country were at war. We and the Jews were allies. The Arabs commenced the war—destroyed a city—slew the two Rajahs Vilyanvattale, and burnt their bodies.

Until 1545 we walked according to the law of the Syrians. On the arrival of the Portuguese in Cochin, the coming of the fathers was prohibited. In the above year Mar Abraham, Nestorian bishop, by the direction of St. Alca, came to Cochin. He brought a great quantity of books with him. Not having a bishop, we applied to him for ordination, and said that if his belief was the same as ours we would acknowledge him as our bishop. The Portuguese understanding this, made the Rajah of Cochin their friend, and having sent for the bishop they threatened to persecute him and put him in prison. In consequence of this he was greatly afraid and embraced the Roman tenets. He immediately embarked from Cochin and went to Rome to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. He afterwards returned to Malabar with decrees from the Pope. Having heard this, and also what was his belief, we refused to acknowledge him. Geverges, the archdeacon, was at that time the head of our church in Malabar.

In 1598, Alexis, a Portuguese bishop, arrived. He bribed the Rajah of Cochin with 30,000 pieces of money to assist in compelling the archdeacon and Christians to embrace the Roman tenets. The power of the archdeacon was diminished for the space of one year.

In 1599 the Portuguese and the Cochin Rajah assembled all the Christians in Malabar at Uttriampoor. They brought an axe to split the doors of the church in that place; and having entered the church they held a synod, when it was decreed that all the Syrians should lay aside their own religion and embrace the Roman Catholic religion. The archdeacon and Christians, however, not being willing to comply, were severally persecuted, and their churches much spoiled. Knowing that there was no one besides the archdeacon to look after our affairs, to punish crimes and protect us, the bishop offered to give a certain sum of money annually, if he would embrace the Roman tenets, and they, at length, compelled us to embrace them. The priests were also compelled, unwillingly, to abstain from marriage.

In 1653, Mar Ignatius, a patriarch came from Antioch, and landed at Mailapore. Two students having gone thither from Malabar to worship, saw the patriarch and told him all that the Portuguese had done. He was exceedingly sorry at what he heard, and both he and the two students wept. The Portuguese of Mailapore, seeing what had taken place

between the patriarch and students, and knowing that we had no bishop, and that the Portuguese had the government of our church, lest the students should communicate more fully to our father (the patriarch from Antioch), locked them up in a room, and placed a guard at the door, that no one might be suffered to speak to them. The patriarch knowing all that the Portuguese had done, sent a person and called the students privately. He then gave them letters patent to Archdeacon Thomas, to authorize him to assume the title of Metran, and sent them to Malabar. They immediately departed, and, on their arrival in Malabar, gave the letter to Archdeacon Thomas.

The archdeacon addressed letters to all the Syrian churches; and when he had assembled all the priests, students, and Christians, they heard that the Portuguese had brought Mar Ignatius, the patriarch, to Cochin. They all immediately arose and went to the Cochin Rajah, declared to him their grievances, and entreated him to deliver their patriarch out of the hands of the Portuguese. The Rajah replied that he would certainly deliver him to them the following morning. He immediately sent for the Portuguese governor of Cochin fort, and said to him "You have taken and confined the patriarch of our Christians, and nothing will satisfy me but your delivering him up to them without any delay." The Portuguese, however, gave the Rajah a great sum of money, by the consideration of which he allowed them to retain their prisoner. The same night they tied a great stone to the patriarch's neck, and threw him into the sea. In the hour that this was done the Rajah died.

After this, all the Syrians assembled in the church at Muttoncherry, and thus resolved—"These Portuguese having murdered Mar Ignatius, we will no longer join them. We renounce them, and do not want either their love or their favour. The present Francis, bishop, shall not be our governor. We are not his children or followers. We will not again acknowledge Portuguese bishops." They all wrote an agreement and took an oath to this effect.

On Friday the 3rd of January, 1654, having departed from thence, they all assembled in Alengate church; and, according to the request of our father Mar Ignatius, Archdeacon Thomas was appointed bishop, and called Mar Thomas. Some others were appointed to assist him, viz. Cadavil Alexandrius, Catanar of Cadamatta; Abraham Thomas, Catanar of Calloncherry; Vengoor George, Catanar of Angamalee and Pallavetie Alexandrius, Catanar of Korawalingate. These four Catanars were in office for three years, and afterward four others were chosen in their stead.

In 1660, by command of the pope, Joseph, a Carmelite bishop came to Malabar; but the Dutch Company would not permit him to land. Contrary, however, to the oath taken in Muttoncherry church, Cadavil Alexandrius Catanar, and the Syrians of Cadamatta large church went to Wada-Kum Kuttee Rajah, and promised to give him a large sum of money, if he would interfere in the behalf of the above bishop. The Rajah sent some persons to the Cochin fort, and prevailed on the company to suffer the Roman bishop to land. The Roman bishop went to reside in Cadamiatta large church, but we did not acknowledge him.

The Portuguese then inquired after the relations of Mar Thomas, and having privately called one of them, Panankary Alexandrius, Catanar, they offered to give him money if he would join them. He complied with their request. In 1663 bishop Joseph consecrated this Alexandrius to the office of bishop, and by favours and bribes endeavoured to persuade

all Mar Thomas's relations to acknowledge Alexandrius as their bishop, telling them that he was properly ordained but Mar Thomas was not, and was also of their family.

At that time two parties were formed; one acknowledged the bishop Alexandrius, and are called Old Christians (Roman Catholics), and the other, who separated from the Portuguese, are called New Christians (Syrians).

Bishop Alexandrius, however, did not live long. After his death, all who acknowledged him joined the Portuguese, because the Portuguese shewed them many favors and persecuted the Syrians.

After these things came another Carmelite bishop, sent by the pope, who had a long beard. On his arrival he said that he was not of the Roman Catholics, and wished to join himself to us. He used much flattering language, and offered bribes, and endeavoured to deceive us. This bishop was afterwards called the Bishop of Verapoly. He governed the followers of bishop Alexandrius; and from that time the pope has regularly sent bishops to Verapoly.

After the death of Mar Thomas the Great, our bishops have been regularly appointed from his descendants.

In 1665, by the direction of St. Ignatius of Antioch, Mar Gregorius, the fifth patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in Malabar. By the laying on of his hands, Mar Thomas the Great, was lawfully consecrated; having been only nominated before, and not consecrated. At that time, we used unleavened bread in the sacrament, which was not for some time laid aside.

In 1678, Mar Basilius, patriarch, and Mar Evanius, bishop, arrived. Mar Basilius died in thirteen days after his arrival, and was buried in Cothumungalum church. Mar Evanius afterwards governed our church. He consecrated a bishop, re-established our former church services, and taught that Christ has one nature and that the Holy Ghost is equal with the Father and the Son. Thus he laid aside some of the Roman tenets, and caused us to walk according to the Church of Antioch. He died at Molandmatta, and was buried in the church of that place.

In 1708, by the direction of Mar Alea, Gabriel, a Nestorian bishop, arrived. He taught the people that the Messiah has two natures and two substances, on which account much dispute arose. Some Syrians and also Roman Catholics joined him. He used both leavened and unleavened bread in the sacrament, and kept the Syrian fasts. After he died, no such bishop came into Malabar. Those who joined him returned to their former parties after his death.

1751, Mar Basilius, patriarch of the city of Bercea, in the county of Aleppo, Mar Gregorius, Metropolitan of Jerusalem, and Mar Evanius, bishop, and with them some Catanars and students, arrived. For the space of nineteen years after their arrival there were disputes about different things between them and the Syrians. Letters patent were sent by Mar Ignatius, of Antioch, for Mar Thomas, who was consecrated Metropolitan by one of the above bishops, and called Mar Dionysius. From Antioch were also sent for Mar Dionysius, a staff, hood, a cross, unction, and all things necessary for the office of High Priest.

All the bishops sent to Malabar, by the direction of the patriarch of Antioch, regularly appointed bishops from the family of Pagalamattum. From the time Mar Ignatius arrived at Mailapore to the present, bishops have not been appointed from any other family. From the time that Bishop Joseph came, in A.D. 345, archdeacons began to be appointed and

continued to be appointed until Mar Ignatius arrived in 1653. At that time Archdeacon Thomas was appointed bishop, and the office of bishop has been confined to his descendants to the present time. Five bishops have been appointed from that family.

A.D. 1770. Mar Dionysius is now our Metropolitan.

APPENDIX E.

THE DOCUMENT signed by all the Church people of Malankara (*beginning with Angamde*) who were assembled in the Large Church of Angamde, on the first of February (old reckoning) in the year of our Lord, 1787, in reference to the increase of the true faith, and with regard to the bringing about a real union in our Church, and a walk according to the manners and customs of our forefathers.

Our forefathers received the true faith of Jesus Christ at the hands of the Apostle Thomas. Upon this Chaldaic Syrian Bishops ruled over us up to the time of the death of the Metropolitan Mar Abraham,¹ which took place in the East Church of Angamde in the year 1596.

Then the Paulists (*Jesuits*) stopped the arrival of other Syrians, and oppressed our people, and ruled over them with an iron rule. However, another Syrian Metran arrived at Cochin with the view of coming to us; but soon the news reached us that *he had come to an untimely death by being drowned in the sea*. Upon this our forefathers assembled at Muttancherry, and took an oath that neither they themselves, nor their descendants, should ever have anything to do with the Paulists. They subsequently assembled at Allungada Church, where they duly nominated Archdeacon Thoma as their Metran.

Not long after, the Carmelites, who were then established at Goa, were brought into the country, and they asserted that the Metran who was elected by this Assembly could not bless the anointing oil. They proposed, however, that some one should be sent to Rome to be consecrated there, and he might, on his return, complete the consecration of Mar Thoma. This proposal, which was sent through Padre Joseph (*Joseph a S. Maria*), was agreed to; and upon this Joseph himself went to Rome and received consecration. On his return to Malabar he refused to acknowledge the ordination and the blessings of the anointing oil performed by the Metran Mar Thoma, and consecrated the Cattannar Alexander as Metran over us.

Towards the end of Alexander's life the Carmelites formed a plan to extinguish the rank and honour of our Church altogether; they consecrated a half-caste Portuguese, Raphael by name, over the Malabar Churches. Our people, however, insisted that they would not submit to a half-caste Bishop.²

¹ The Chaldaic Syrian bishops were of the Nestorian branch, and not Jacobite Syrians.

² He is called in the Portuguese translation *Bispo Mesticio*, in the Malayálin *Kuppayakaren*, literally a *coat-wearer*—a name given to the East Indians because they dress like Europeans and not in native clothes.. The word *half-caste* is an offensive epithet, to be avoided in speaking of the East Indians, but no other word conveys the full meaning of the Syrians in describing Raphael.

About this time Mar Simon, a Syrian, was on his way to be our Metran. But the Paulists detained him at Tanúr. Some Carmelite priests went thither and took charge of him, promising to banish him from the country. They took him first to the church of Allungáda, and after they had brought about the consecration of Padre Angelus¹ they put Mar Simon on board a ship and took him to Pondicherry, where *he was imprisoned, and died a most miserable death.* Thus have these two religious orders oppressed our forefathers in various ways.

The Metran, Mar Thoma, offered on different occasions not only to give in his submission to the Holy Church, but also to cause others to submit, but up to this time his offer has not been accepted. On the contrary, the above-mentioned two orders trouble our Church and bring dishonour upon her; they seize our priests, and, by confining them closely, cause their death; their servants also maim them in their bodies. If our Metran deposes a priest from his office, then their Metran immediately re-instates him; if our Metran pronounces the Maharon (*sentence of excommunication*), then theirs absolves!

Certain of their priests, when visiting some of our churches, openly and privately transgressed the Seventh Commandment, and committed sundry other crimes. On this account the Heathen look upon us with scorn and contempt.

In order to lay all these our grievances before his Holiness the Pope, and the most faithful Queen of Portugal, we unanimously requested our honoured Cariátíl, Malpan, and Paramákel Thoma, Cattanar, to visit Rome and Portugal. When they reached those places, they found that our enemies, through letters and by word of mouth, had raised many objections, and a long delay was the consequence.

However, through the goodness of Almighty God, his Holiness the Pope and the faithful Queen were moved to grant the petition. The honoured Cariátíl Malpan was consecrated as Metropolitan of the Diocese of Malankara. They set out from Rome for Goa; but there the Metropolitan *lost his life through treachery.*

As nothing but strife and grievance must continue to arise if we have our Metrans from a race which oppresses us, we have sent information to Rome and Portugal, to the effect that our Church should have Metrans from among its own body, just as other countries and nations have from among themselves; and that our mind is made up that in future we will have no Bishop but from among ourselves; and until we obtain such an one, we will only receive ordination and holy oil according to the command of our honourable Governor.

We have chosen Paramákel Thoma, Cattanar, our present Governor, to be our Metropolitan. Should this application to the faithful Queen of Portugal meet with a refusal, we will transfer our allegiance to the Chaldean Patriarch, Mar Joseph (who himself is subject to the Holy Church), as our forefathers rendered their allegiance before the Portuguese had power over us; and we will procure Metrans thence who will consecrate our honourable Governors.

If any obstacle should arise before this plan is carried out, we will not submit to it. All who act contrary to this agreement we shall treat as excommunicated from Church and community. If any churches should act contrary, we will have no intercourse with them.

¹ Angelus Franciscus a S. Theresa consecrated 1701.

We, the representatives of eighty-four churches in the diocese of Malankara, have honestly signed this document, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and before St. George in the Large Church at Angamāle.

APPENDIX F.

THE VICAR APOSTOLIC'S EDICT AGAINST PROTESTANT LITERATURE.

"We, Fre Bernardino of St. Theresa, Bishop of Heraclea, and coadjutor of the Vicar Apostolic of all Malabar, wish blessing and prosperity to the honourable Vicars, Priests, and Laymen of all the Churches under our jurisdiction.

"Now, as a mother who is full of love earnestly takes pains lest the least danger should befall her children, even so the greatly beloved mother, the Catholic Church, has always taken care of her children, the true Catholic members, lest they should perish for ever.

"But Satan, the most cruel enemy of mankind, tries by every means to destroy the true Catholics through his servants the heathen and the heretics, the devil being assured that if they have weapons or poisonous victuals in their hands they will destroy themselves either by stabbing one another, or by eating these poisonous victuals; and it is evident that inexpressible pains are taken to give them those evil weapons and poisonous victuals—that is, injurious books. The beloved mother, the Holy Catholic Church, however, endeavours with all vigilance to save her sons by snatching away those Satanic books from their hands. Such usage and exercise of authority have been customary from the commencement of the Holy Church unto this day. A proof of this may be seen in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. In that book the following words are written: "Many of those who used witchcraft and other vicious practices, brought together their books and burnt them before all men, having committed them to the flames." Besides this, numberless instances are to be found similar to the above in the books of the Divine Doctors, of Synods, and of Ecclesiastical Anecdotes. Nay, even Luther himself, that wicked heretic, the inveterate enemy of the Holy Catholic Church, bears witness to the practice and truth of the above holy usage, for he speaks thus in his Epistle to Spalatio:—"To burn vicious and immoral books was the ancient practice and usage."

"Hence because the true members of the Catholic Church, whom the Holy Roman Catholic Church has committed to our care and government, would die without remedy if they ate anything from the poisonous pastures, and because we are bound, as much as in us lies, to preserve them by keeping them from the above places, lest such a misfortune should happen to them, therefore all books of the heretics upon religion, and all books which contain heresies, though not upon religion, are entirely forbidden. As numerous falsehoods and slanders, which tend to deceive the people, abound in the publications and newspapers issued from the press at Cottayam, and other places of Protestant religion, and also heresies against the true religion, it has become necessary to forbid them in particular.

"Hence let every one know that we herewith fulminate the great curse mentioned in that instrument of His Holiness the Pope, entitled *Bulla Cœna* (and from which he alone is able to release), against all those who buy, gratuitously receive, keep, or read these books or newspapers now printed in this country or hereafter to be printed.

"Hence, if any one fall under this dreadful curse, he is to be released from it only by confessing to the priest who is especially allowed by us; and he is only to be pardoned upon submitting the books, &c. to the confessor, who is to forthwith deliver them to the vicar, who is forthwith to commit them to the flames.

"Therefore let the confessors and vicars know that they also will incur the curse if they act contrary to our command.

"This our command is to be distinctly read and published on three solemn feast days.

"Verapoli, March 28th, 1856."

APPENDIX G.

TRANSLATION of an Order issued by the same acting Vicar Apostolic directing a native Romish priest to marry a pervert to Romanism to another woman when his lawful wife was living, on the ground that his marriage with her was null and void, because performed in the communion of the Church of England.

"Copy of an Order of the Right Rev. Bishop of Verapoli.

"If the man be an English convert, you may admit him to the Catholic Religion, as is expressed in my letter. If the man has been baptized after the English Religion you should baptize him agreeably to the Ritual and receive his confession; and if he is not baptized in it you should baptize him as usual and then also receive his confession. Since his marriage in the English Religion is *null*, he is in reason bound to live with his *Chegoty* (i.e. the heathen mistress to whom he had returned), who has now embraced the Catholic Faith.

"(Signed) FRE BERNARDENOS, Bishop.

"Verapoli, January 29th, 1855."

The Rev. E. Johnson, then in charge of the Pallam Mission, remonstrated with the priest who had united this man to another woman when his lawful Christian wife was still living. Hereupon the priest, by way of self-justification, sent him the above copy of the Bishop's Order, and with it the accompanying characteristic explanatory note.

"The letter which Sahib forwarded was brought here, read, and understood. Since Joseph came to me and informed me that he wanted to join the Catholic Religion, I informed my Bishop at Verapoli about the matter, and received an order to do for the man everything as was requested by the letter, and so I have acted, for I cannot but obey the order of my Bishop. If Sahib has any suspicion about the matter I herewith send the copy of the order to remove the doubt.

"This statement was written by the Vicar of T—— Church, May 12th, 1857."¹

¹ As an illustration of the evil effects of this authoritative nullification of

APPENDIX H.

Some strangely exaggerated statements as to the numerical strength of the Syrians in former times having found their way into print, and being repeated by one writer after another, some remarks on the subject of *statistics* are called for.

La Croze, the librarian of the King of Prussia, who published his *History of Christianity in India* in 1723, says there are "more than one thousand four hundred churches in the diocese of the Syrian bishop, and as many towns and villages." (*Vide French Edition, 1724, p. 68.*) Gibbon, the historian, speaking of the Syrian bishop ruling in Malabar when the Portuguese arrived, observes: "He still asserted his ancient title of Metropolitan of India. but his real jurisdiction was exercised in *one thousand four hundred churches*, and he was entrusted with the care of *two hundred thousand souls*." The Syrian Christians of the present day know nothing of such large numbers of churches.

The earliest well authenticated statement about their numerical strength appears in a letter of four Nestorian bishops, addressed to their Patriarch Elias in 1504, soon after the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar, and they observe: "There are here about *thirty thousand Christian families*, holding the same faith as ourselves, and they pray to the Lord that we may be preserved unhurt."

At the Synod of Udiampárur in 1599, in order that the clergy might not be without cures, nor the cures without clergy, the whole diocese was divided into *seventy-five parishes*, but some few of these may possibly have been connected with churches erected by Romish Missionaries.

Raulini gives a list of what he calls churches of the Christians of St. Thomas. If we take from his full number (128) the churches designated *Latin*, we have 113 left; but of these he calls 30 schismatic (*i.e.*, Syrian) churches. (*Historia Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ Romæ, 1745, p. 428.*)

Du Perron, in 1758, gives a list, with names, of 31 Syrian, 57 Romo-Syrian, and 20 Mixed churches (*i.e.*, those used by both parties)—in all 108 churches in the diocese of Verapoli.

Paoli, the Carmelite, in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, furnishes a list of 83 churches (of which two were *Latin*) and nine oratories; also of 35 churches independent of Rome, of which five were mixed churches—in all 118 churches and nine oratories. In another of his works he tells us, that according to Bishop Florentius, who died in 1773, the Christians of St. Thomas numbered 94,000; and that in 1783, when a poll tax was in contemplation, they were numbered at 100,000.

The testimony of the Syrians themselves, so far as it goes, tends to support the more reasonable statistics of Romish writers.

Mar Gabriel informed Visscher, the Dutch Chaplain, that of the original 64 churches of the diocese, the Syrians had 44, and the Carmelites 20. He doubtless under-rated the strength of the Romo-Syrian party, but probably had in his mind only the old churches over which his

marriage in the Church of England, the Rev. Andrew Johnson mentions the case of a man connected with the Mohamet congregation under his charge in 1866, relapsing into Romanism to get rid of a Protestant wife who did not suit his humour at the time.—*Vide Madras Church Missionary Record*, June, 1867, p. 152.

Nestorian predecessors has exercised jurisdiction, leaving out of the account the Romo-Syrian churches and chapels which had been erected since the Papal aggression.

Mar Dionysius, the Metran, with whom C. Buchanan had such friendly intercourse in 1806, called himself "the father of 54 churches in a heathen land."

Since this time the Syrians have considerably increased under British protection, and the moral check given to Romish intrusion, so that in a list supplied me by native friends, intimately acquainted with the Syrian community (to which they belong), upwards of 90 churches are mentioned by name of which several are recent erections. Whilst in the *Trevandrum Almanac* for 1871 (published by order of the Travancore Rajah), the Syrians independent of Rome are stated to possess 147 places of worship (many of which are probably recently erected temporary chapels), and to number 300,000 souls.

APPENDIX I.

A revised Malayálim version of the Syrian Liturgy of St. James has been recently prepared by an intelligent Cattamar, and published with the sanction and approval of the present Metropolitan, Mar Athanasius. The Cattamar availed himself of the Church Missionary Society Press at Cotta-yam in printing the book.

All who love the simple truth as taught by the inspired Apostles will rejoice to learn that nearly every passage bearing upon the Romish errors of Transubstantiation, Prayers for the Dead, and Mariolatry, has been omitted from this revision.

The Rev. R. H. Maddox speaks of eight churches—known to himself—in which this Liturgy is used. As the first *authorised* step towards conducting the public worship of God in the "vulgar tongue," its importance demands for it special notice.

An English *translation* of this revised Liturgy has lately appeared in the *Madras Church Missionary Record* for April and May, 1873; but as the general reading public may not have access to this valuable Indian periodical, the writer has sought and obtained kind permission to re-print it.

THE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES, AS NOW IN USE IN THE REFORMED SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR.

N.B.—The rubrical directions of the Syriac original are printed in italics; the others are taken from the Rev. J. Peet's Translation.

At the commencement of the service, the veil or curtain being drawn, the Priest puts on the sandals, and standing before the steps of the throne (or altar), repeats the following prayer in a low voice.

First. The Priest praising.—Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

*People.*¹—Upon us, who are weak and sinful, may mercy and grace be poured forth in both worlds, for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ An important feature of the revised Liturgy is the part assigned to

The Prayer of the beginning.—O Lord God, merciful and loving towards man, make us worthy, with knowledge and reverence and beauty of spiritual order, to stand before Thee purely and holily, and to minister unto Thee as the Lord and Maker; to whom is due adoration from all: Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

The Priest now puts on the black gown, and repeats the 51st Psalm.

When he goes up to the altar.—I will come unto the altar of God, and unto God who maketh my youth joyful.

And he kneels down and says:—To Thy house, O God, have I come up, and I kneel before Thy throne, O heavenly King. Pardon me all that I have sinned against Thee.

And he bows down¹ at the altar and says:—Bind, O Lord, our feasts in chains even to the horns of Thy altar.

In Thy light² do we see light, O Jesus full of light. For Thou art the true light that enlighteneth all creatures. Enlighten us with Thy glorious light, O Beam of the Heavenly Father.

O Holy and Just One,³ who dwellest in the abodes of light, keep away from us evil passions and hateful thoughts. Grant us with purity of heart to work the works of righteousness.

*Proœmium of Penitence.*⁴—Let us pray all of us: let us ask mercy and grace from the Lord.

People.—O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us, and help us.

Priest.—May we be made worthy to send up glory and thanksgiving and honour and praise and exaltation good, that does not cease, continually, in all moments and times.⁵

Glory to the one merciful Father who answereth the sinners who cry unto Him; to the one merciful Son who receiveth the penitents that knock at His door; to the one living and Holy Spirit who justifieth the guilty who pray unto Him. To whom belongeth glory, honour, and adoration

the *People*. The idea of *Responses* is not altogether foreign to the original Syriac Liturgies, but in practice the custom had become almost obsolete. Peet, writing in 1835, remarks as follows on this point:—"In compliance with the Rubric I have noted the places where the people are directed to respond, but in point of fact this is not done. Some few indeed have parts of the answers written in Malayálim, and others have learned to repeat some few of the Syriac responses; but to the great majority of the people, and to many, I fear, of the priests also, the whole service is totally unintelligible. The common expression in use among the Syrians for attending divine worship is 'going to hear mass.'"

¹ *Kisses the horn of the altar.*—(Howard.)

² The original rubric adds here: *When he lights the wax taper on the south side.*

[This taper is lighted by the attendant deacon. During the operation the Priest usually ascends the steps, and repeats the words which follow.]

³ The original rubric has, "*And lighting that of the north, he says, &c.*"

⁴ In Howard's version this Proœmium, or "Order of repentance," immediately follows the "Prayer of the beginning."

⁵ Howard's version adds here:—[To Him who hath magnified the memory of His mother and of all His saints in His goodness, and pardoneth the faithful dead in His grace; to whom belongeth glory, honour, and adoration in this time of this divine perfect eucharist, &c.]

in this time, and in all feasts and times and hours and moments, and all the days of our life now, and in all moments, for ever and ever.

People.—Amen.

The Sedra.—O God, who art gentle and gracious and kind and loving to men; who takest pleasure in mercies and not in sacrifices, and lovest a contrite heart more than whole burnt offerings, and receivest a humble spirit rather than the blood and fat of bulls and fat lambs; receive our spiritual sacrifice at this time on Thy reasonable altar, and make us meet to present ourselves unto Thee a living and acceptable sacrifice, that in reasonable service may be pleasing to Thy will; and to offer unto Thee reasonable and spiritual sacrifices, with contrite heart and humble spirit, upon Thy altar that is on high; and may we be unto Thee a flock bright and without stain; so that being changed the new change, and renewed, we may be sent to the new world, with reasonable and wise souls, with the bright torches of the faith: and may we be made worthy all of us to sing in Thy temple, Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

The Psalm ended, the Priest according to the Rubric should ascend the step of the throne, but the present custom is only to stand before it while he repeats the following *Voice*, or chaunt.

Voice.—At thy gate, O our Lord, do I knock. I make supplication for mercies from Thy treasury. I a sinner of years have declined from Thy way. Grant me to confess my sins and to forsake them, and to live by Thy goodness. At what gate shall we go and knock but at Thy gate, O our gracious Lord? and what have we that shall plead with Thee,¹ O King whose glory kings adore?

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

People.—From everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Priest.—Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, be thou to us a lofty wall and house of refuge, both from the Evil one, and from the powers of him that fighteth against us. Hide us under the wings of Thy mercies when the good are separated from the evil.

Let the voice of our ministry be a key that openeth the gate of heaven; and may the archangels in their orders say, How sweet is the voice of the inhabitants of the earth! may the Lord quickly answer their prayers.

The following is called in the Rubric the “smoke” or prayer of Incense, though it is not the practice to offer incense at the time.

May the fragrance of our prayers be sweet unto Thee, O my Lord, at all times; and may the smoke of our incense be for Thy reconciliation; and be Thou reconciled thereby to Thy creatures for Thy mercies' sake.

Examination.—I have sinned against Thee, O Thou that pitiest sinners: receive my prayer, and forgive me all my offences, and have mercy upon me; O Lord, who art the owner of all, have mercy upon me.

Another prayer.—O Christ, who didst receive the offering of the pure priest Melchizedek, receive the prayer of Thy servant, and forgive the sins of Thy flock.

The Seal.—May we be made worthy to offer unto Thee, O Lord, sacrifices of praise for a sweet perfume, all our thoughts, and words, and works, and whole burnt-offerings; and to appear before Thee without

¹ The original adds here :—[For our offences, if Thy mercies do not plead with Thee.]

fault and well pleasing to Thy Godhead, all the days of our life. Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, now, and at all times for ever.

Here the Trisagium¹ should be sung by the Priest, and the People should say after him three times.—Thou art holy, O God; Thou art holy, O Mighty; Thou art holy, O Immortal; have mercy upon us, O Thou who didst hang for us. Have mercy upon us, O our Lord. Spare, O our Lord, and have mercy upon us. O our Lord, receive our service and our prayers, and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee, O God: Glory to Thee, O Creator; Glory to Thee, O King Messiah, who hast pity on Thy sinful servants.²

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

The First Service is finished.

Next follows the SEDRA (OR ORDER) OF PENITENCE, repeated in a low voice.

Again. And putting off his private³ garments, he says :—Put off from me, O Lord God, the filthy garments wherewith Satan hath clothed me, by the loosing of my wicked works; and clothe me with choice garments that are fit for the service of Thy Majesty, and for the praise of Thy holy name, O our Lord and our God, for ever.

¹ Howard draws attention to the fact that this Trisagium is sung no less than three times in the course of the service; first by the priest and deacon, or lay assistants alone, as here; secondly by the whole congregation before the reading of the Epistle (p. 322), and lastly after the *Sursum corda* in the *Anaphora*.

² Both Peet and Hough add here an invocation to the Virgin, as follows :—[Hail Mary, full of peace; blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners now, and at the hour of death.]

³ These “private garments” refer to the black gown in which the previous part of the service has been performed. The ordinary costume of the Syrian priests of the Mother Church of Antioch appears to have been, Mr. Peet remarks, a black gown with a small cap of the same colour, over which a turban was worn; but the common dress of the Malabar Syrian priest being white, they put on the black gown in imitation of their spiritual progenitors.

Howard gives the following account of the various vestments worn by the officiating priest when celebrating Mass.

(1.) The *Sandals*, or shoes put on at the commencement of the service. The use of these is contrary to the ordinary custom of the East, where respect is shown by taking off the shoes. (Comp. Exod. iii.) Their adoption here therefore is remarkable, and “seems to refer to the *preparation of the gospel of peace*, wherewith to tread down the power of the enemy, and all carnal affections, and every high thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of God.”

(2.) The robe of black serge or coarse calico, which has been explained above, is not strictly speaking one of the eucharistic vestments, but only assumed in order to be put off at the proper time.

(3.) The *Cuthino*, the *Chitonion* of the Greek Church, a long white linen robe corresponding to our surplice, but with narrower sleeves.

(4.) The *Orro* or stole, the Greek *Orarion* made in one piece, with a hole for the head to pass through.

*And he begins the service of the Corban [or Mass], and washes his hands saying:—*Make us worthy, O Lord God, that having our hearts sprinkled and pure from all evil conscience, we may be made meet to ascend to Thy high and lofty Holy of Holies, and may stand purely and holily before Thy holy altar, and offer unto Thee reasonable and spiritual sacrifices in belief of the truth: Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, for ever.

*Having put on the Cuthino¹ he says:—*Put upon me, O Lord, a robe of incorruption by the power of the Holy Spirit; and grant us that we may be led in pure and right conversation all the days of our life, in the belief of the truth: Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, now and at all times for ever.

*And he puts the Orro on his neck and says:—*Thou shalt gird me with power in the battle, and shall subdue under me them that rise up against me.

*And he ties the Zunro and says:—*Gird the sword upon Thy thigh O mighty One. Thy honour and Thy glory triumph.

*And he takes the Zando and says:—*Make my members instruments of righteousness, O Lord, and meet for all good and right-handed works; manifesting us pure temples and chosen vessels, that are fit for Thy glorious service, and for the praise of Thy Holy Name: Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

*And he vests the left arm and says:—*Teach my hands to war, and strengthen my arms as a bow of brass.

*And he makes one cross on the other and says:—*Make my members instruments of righteousness, &c.

*And he vests the right arm and says:—*Thy right hand shall help me; and Thy discipline shall make me great.

*Then he puts on the Phaino and says:—*Let Thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and Thy righteous with glory. For Thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of Thine anointed.

*And he takes in his two hands the bread and says:—*He was led as a lamb to the slaughter; as a sheep before the shearers he was silent; and

(5.) The *Zunro*, a girdle or cord, the object of which is to signify that at the time of ministering at the Corbano all worldly thoughts must be bound down.

(6.) The *Zando*, sleeves, or maniples. These are made to fit pretty close to the arm, and extend a little beyond the elbow.

(7.) The *Phaino*, or chasuble, as I suppose we should call it, though some think it corresponds rather to our cope. It is made sometimes of handsome silk damask, sometimes of velvet, and of different colours, according perhaps to the taste or means of its owner. In shape it is nearly square, the corners being rounded off, and it is fastened over the shoulders by a loop and buttoned in front like a cloak.

¹ There is a good deal more ritual prescribed here in the original rubric. The *Cuthino*, before being put on, is marked thrice with the sign of the cross; similarly with the *Orro*, which, according to Howard, is "let down in front in the figure of a cross." The two sleeves of the *Zando* are similarly honoured, the left-hand one with two crosses, the right-hand with one only, and finally the *Phaino*. It does not appear from the rubric of the revised Liturgy whether all these ceremonies are continued or not.

in his humillty he opened not His mouth. O Lord, Thou hast made Thy sanctuary ready for Thy seat. Establish it, O Lord, by Thy hands. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

And when he places the bread in the paten:—O First-begotten of the heavenly Father, receive this first-begotten¹ from the hands of Thy weak and sinful servant.

And he pours a libation of the wine² into the cup and says:—Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified between two thieves on the wood in Jerusalem. He was pierced in His side by the spear, and there flowed therefrom blood and water, the propitiation for every creature: and he that saw it bare testimony, and we know that his testimony is true. What shall I render unto the Lord for all that he has rendered unto me? I will receive the cup of salvation, and will call on the name of the Lord. My vows also will I render unto the Lord in the presence of all His people.

And when he mixes the water, he also says:—Make one, O Lord God, this water with this wine, as Thy Divinity was made one with our humanity.

And having covered the mysteries with their veils, he kneels before the altar and says this prayer for himself:—O Lord God Almighty, who pardonest guilty men, who delightest not in the death of a sinner, to Thee, O Lord, do I stretch out the hand of my heart; and I implore from Thee forgiveness of all my unlawful deeds, though I be unworthy; but I entreat Thee, keep my mind from the operations of the adversary; my eyes, that they look not incontinently; my ears, that they hear not vanities; my hands from the service of odious things; and my feet, that they may be moved in Thee; so that I may be entirely for Thee; and from Thee may be granted unto me the gift of Thy divine mysteries: now, and at all times for ever.

Then he ascends the step and removing the covering of the mysteries, he places that of the paten on the south, and that of the cup on the north, and says:—The Lord reigneth, and hath clothed Himself with majesty; the Lord hath clothed Himself with strength, and is strong. He hath also established the world, that it may not move: firmly prepared is Thy Throne from the beginning; and Thou art from everlasting. The floods have been raised up, O Lord: the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods have been lifted up with the noise of breaking. The Lord that is on high is more glorious than the voice of many waters, than the mighty storms of the sea. Thy testimonies also are very faithful: and holiness, O Lord, becometh Thine house for length of days.

O pure and spotless Lamb, who didst offer Thyself to Thy Father, an acceptable offering for the expiation and redemption of the whole world, make us meet to offer ourselves to Thee, a living sacrifice that may be pleasing unto Thee, and like Thy sacrifice which was for our sake, O Christ our God.

THE COMMEMORATION OR GENERAL PRAYER.

Finding the paten placed on the north, and the cup on the south, he stretcheth forth his hands in the figure of a cross, his right hand over his left hand, and takes the paten in his right hand and the cup in his left hand, and

¹ The bread or wafer is so designated in the Syriac original in allusion apparently to Heb. i. 6.

² The Syriac word means literally "mingled" i.e., *Wine and Water*.

says :—The remembrance of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of all His salutary dispensation on our behalf—that is, the message of the angel, and His glorious conception, and His birth in the flesh, and His baptism in the Jordan, and His fast of forty days, and His salutary passion, and His being lifted up upon the cross, and His life-making death, and His honourable burial, and His glorious resurrection, and His ascension into heaven, and His sitting on the right hand of God the Father; according to His own command to us, we are celebrating at this time upon the Eucharist that is set before us.¹

Here he puts down the Mysteries, and places the cup on the east, and the

¹ The Syriac original adds here :—[Again we especially call to remembrance our father Adam, and our mother Eve, and the holy mother of God, Mary; and the Prophets and Apostles; Preachers and Evangelists; Martyrs and Confessors; righteous persons; Priests and holy Fathers; true Shepherds and orthodox Doctors; monks and coenobites, and those who are standing and praying with us, with all those who from of old have pleased Thee; from Adam even unto this day. Again we commemorate our fathers and our brethren, and our masters who have taught us the word of truth; and our dead; and all the faithful dead; especially and by name those who are of our blood, and those who joined in the building of this church, and those who have joined and are joining again in the support of this place; and all that associate with us, whether in word or in deed, in little or in much: and especially him for whom this *corban* is offered. [*Here he mentions him for whom.*] O God, make good remembrance to [*such an one*], and pardon their offences and their sins in Thy loving-kindness. *And if for a Saint:* and Saint Mar [*such an one*] whose remembrance we are fulfilling to-day. *And if for the mother of God:* especially for the holy mother of God, Mary, in whose honour, and for whom this *corban* is offered. peculiarly and distinctly; that she may be a suppliant unto Thee, O my Lord, in behalf of all those who take refuge in the aid of her prayers. O good and merciful God, by her heard and acceptable prayers that are before Thee, answer in Thy goodness the petitions of him who separates and honours her remembrance. Cause to pass from him temptations, and punishments, and rods of wrath, and in Thy mercy forgive his offences and his sins, by the prayers of Thy mother and of all Thy saints. Amen.

Again. O God, Thou wast the offering: and to Thee is offered the offering. Receive this offering from my weak and sinful hands for the soul of [*such an one*]. *And he repeats it three times.*

Again. O God, in Thy mercy, make rest and good remembrance to my father, and to my mother, and to my brothers, and to my sisters; and to the sons of the race of my family, and to my teachers. *And if for the sick:* O merciful God, have pity on [*such an one*] and grant him healing of soul and body.

And if for the dead: O God, make to [*such an one*] rest and good fruition of felicity in Thy mansions of light, with all that have done Thy will, and make rest and good remembrance to my father, and to my mother, and to my teachers, and to all my companions, and to every one that has asked of our weakness that we should remember him in this *corban*, which is offered unto Thee by our sinfulness, whose names are known to Thee. KYRIE ELEISON.

*paten on the west, upon the table, and he extends the veil and covers the Mysteries, saying:—*The heavens are covered with the splendour of the Glorious One, and His glory filleth all creation.¹

THE GENERAL SEDRA.

Proœmium.—Let us pray all of us. Let us ask mercy and grace from the Lord. O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us and help us. May we be made worthy to send up glory, and thanksgiving, and honour, and praise, and exaltation good, that doth not cease, continually, in all moments and times. Glory to the beautiful fruit which sprung from the Virgin's womb.² To Him who liveth and giveth life, who by His sweet voice raiseth the dead, and maketh them joyful with Himself in blissful glory. To whom belongeth glory.

The Sedra.—We adore, and confess, and glorify Thee, the Creator of the worlds, and Disposer of created things, the blessed Root that buddeth forth and ascended from Mary,³ and all the earth was filled with the perfume of its glorious sweetness; and it drove away the putrid odour of heathenism from all regions by its glorious doctrine. We offer before Thee this incense, after the example of Aaron the priest, who offered pure incense unto Thee in the temporary tabernacle, and thereby averted the plague from the people of Israel. So we beseech Thee, O Lord, receive this smoke of spices which our lowliness offers unto Thee because of our sins and offences.⁴ And we will raise glory, and honour, and adoration to Thee, O my Lord, and to Thy Father, and to Thy Holy Spirit.

THE INCENSE.

*He places spices and says:—*To the glory and honour of the holy and glorious Trinity, I place spices with my weak and sinful hands.

*And he adores in the midst of the Table saying:—*Adoration to the gracious Father! Adoration to the gracious Father! Adoration to the gracious Father!

*And at the north horn saying:—*Adoration to the merciful Son! Adoration to the merciful Son! Adoration to the merciful Son!

*And at the south horn saying:—*Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit! Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit! Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit!

*And he ascends⁵ the steps saying:—*Praise the Lord, O ye righteous.

¹ Add :—[*Here he places perfumes, and says, To the glory and honour of the holy and glorious Trinity we place perfumes.*]

² Add :—[And magnified and exalted the memory of her that bare it; to that adorable Lord whom the festival of His Saints and the chorus of their companies in creation glorifies.]

³ The original reads "the thirsty earth, Mary."

⁴ Add :—[In behalf of our father Adam and our mother Eve; in behalf of the prophets and apostles, &c.] nearly as in note (1) on preceding page.

⁵ In the original Syriac rubric the priest after incensing the "Table of life" in the middle, and at each end, three times in each place, to symbolize the three Persons in the Trinity, is directed to incense the Mysteries themselves from all four sides of the compass, as follows :—*

* The parts left out in the revised Liturgy are enclosed in brackets, to show more clearly the difference between the two.

Praise him all ye people. Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

And he descends from the step saying,—Receive, O my Lord, in Thy mercy, the incense of Thy servants, and be reconciled by the smoke of Thy priests, and be appeased by the service of Thy worshippers, O Christ the Son, who with His Father and His Holy Spirit is worshipped and glorified, now, and in all times for ever. O our Lord and our God, may wrath cease from Thy people, and have mercy upon the flock of Thy pasture, and cause Thy tranquillity and Thy peace to dwell in the four quarters of the world.

THE NICENE CREED.

He says the Nicene Creed.—We believe in One God, &c.

*The Priests with the Deacons and people should say as follows*¹—My Lord the King, I will extol Thee. Thou art the only Son and Word of the heavenly Father. Thou art immortal in Thy nature, but dost pity us, and in pity camest down from heaven for the life and salvation of all mankind. Thou didst take a body from a holy, blessed, and pure virgin, even from Mary, who brought forth God, and didst become very man. Thou wast hanged on the cross for us; by Thy death Thou didst trample under foot and destroy our death. Thou art one of the holy Trinity. Our

And he ascends the step, [and raises the incense over the Mysteries on the east side] and says this Voice; Praise the Lord, O ye righteous. [With the smoke of spices let there be a remembrance: to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God.]

[*And coming to the west side he says*]—Praise him all ye people. [With the smoke of spices let there be a remembrance: to the holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs.]

[*And to the north side, saying*]—Glory be to the Father, &c. [With the smoke of spices, &c.... to the doctors, and the priests, and the just, and the righteous.]

[*And to the south side*]—From everlasting to everlasting. [With the smoke of spices, &c. . . to the Holy Church, and all her children.]

And he [blesses the incense in a circle over the Mysteries three times, and] descends from the step, saying this Atro (i.e., smoke)—Receive, O my Lord, in Thy mercy, the incense of Thy servants; and be reconciled by the smoke of Thy priests; and be appeased by the service of Thy worshippers; [and magnify thereby the remembrance of Thy mother and Thy saints, and of all the faithful dead:] O Christ the Son, who with His Father, &c.

[*The Seal*. May the just and the righteous, the prophets and Apostles, and martyrs and confessors, and Mary the holy mother of God, and all the saints who in all generations have pleased Thee, O God, be intercessors and suppliants unto Thee in behalf of the souls of all of us; that by their prayers and supplications] wrath may cease from Thy people. And have mercy, &c.... world [and to the dead grant pardon in Thy goodness, O our Lord and our God, for ever.]

¹ This prayer is ascribed in the original to Mar Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, and is preceded by the following:—

[*And he says this examination*:—Let Mary who brought Thee forth, and John who baptised Thee, be suppliants unto Thee in our behalf, and have mercy upon us.]

Lord Jesus Christ, who art equally worshipped and praised with Thy Father, and with Thy living and Holy Ghost, have mercy upon us all.

*Here the Priest says,—Thou art holy, O God; and the people should say after him three times—*Have mercy upon us, O our Lord, spare O our Lord, and have mercy upon us. O our Lord receive our service and our prayers, and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee, O God! Glory to Thee, O Creator! Glory to Thee, O King Messiah, who hast pity on Thy sinful servants.

*The Prayer before the Epistle,—*Receive, O Lord God, our prayers and our supplications, which are at this time before Thee; and vouchsafe unto us that with purity and holiness we may keep thy Commandments and those of Thy Divine Apostles, and of Paul the architect and builder of Thy holy Church, O our Lord and our God for ever.

*The Deacon.—*Paul the blessed apostle says: But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. But behold! diverse teaching having arisen from all parts, blessed is he that beginneth in the teaching of God and continueth therein.

*And the Deacon reads the Epistle as selected.—*From the first Epistle to the Corinthians. My brethren (for) I received from the Lord that which I delivered unto you; that our Lord Jesus in that night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and blessed, and brake, and said, Take, eat of it, this (is) My body which is broken for you. This do ye in remembrance of me. In like manner, after they had supped, he took also the cup and said, this cup is the New Testament in My blood. So do ye yourselves, as often as ye drink [it], in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye make remembrance of the death of our Lord until his coming.

*The Prayers before the Gospel.—*Grant unto us, O Lord God, the knowledge of Thy divine words, and fill us with the understanding of Thy holy Gospel; and vouchsafe unto us that with joy we may keep Thy commandments, and may accomplish and fulfil Thy will, and may be made meet for the blessings and the mercies that are from Thee; now and in all times.

*The Deacon.—*Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Sacrifice to him the sacrifices of thanksgiving. Bring your offerings into the court of the Lord, and worship Him in his Holy temple.

*Priest.—*Peace be to you all.

*People.—*May the Lord God make us worthy with Thy Spirit.

*Priest.—*The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the life-giving preaching of the Apostle Matthew,¹ who proclaimed life and salvation for ever.

*People.—*Blessed is he that cometh and that is to come. Glory to Him that sent Him. May his blessings be upon us all for ever.

*Priest.—*In the time therefore of the dispensation of our Lord and our

¹ *Matthew* seems to be a slip of the pen here for *John*, as the passage which follows is taken from the Gospel of the latter. The original rubric runs thus:—"The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the living declaration of the evangelist Matthew or John. If it be the Gospel of Mark or Luke the Priest shall say:—The living declaration of Mark or Luke, who preached eternal life."

God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, the word of the living God, who¹ was incarnate of the holy Virgin Mary, these things thus were done.

The Gospel of John.—Verily, verily I say unto you, that whosoever heareth My word, and believeth on Him that sent Me, hath eternal life, and cometh not to judgment, but passeth from death unto life. Verily, verily I say unto you, that the hour is coming and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given also to the Son to have life in Himself, and hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, since He is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this, that the hour is coming, when all that are in the grave shall hear His voice and shall come forth : they that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of judgment. And peace be to you all.

The prayer after the Gospel.—Our glory and our thanksgiving and our blessing to our Lord Jesus Christ for His life-giving words to us, and to His Father who sent Him for our salvation, and to His living and Holy Spirit who giveth us life.

Proemium.—Let us pray all of us, let us ask mercy and grace from the Lord.

People.—O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us, and help us.

Priest.—May we be made worthy to send up glory, and thanksgiving, and honour, and praise, and exaltation good that ceaseth not, continually, at all times, and in all moments, to Him who pardoneth and giveth remission of sins, to him who is the sanctifier of the filthy and the receiver of penitents, and delighteth in the conversion of sinners, and desireth the the salvation of the wicked. To Him that saith, Call and I answer; and, Knock and I open; and I give my hand to you, and your sins and iniquities I remit; to whom is due glory, and praise, and adoration, in this time of this divine and perfect Eucharist, and in all feasts, and years, and hours, and moments, and all the days of our life.² Therefore, O Thou propitiator, purifier, and absolver; Thou that blottest out and doest away, not remembering our evil days, blot Thou out, O Lord God, in the pitifulness of Thy love, O my Lord, my sins many and great and unnumbered, and the sins of all Thy believing people; spare, O God, and have mercy upon us. Remember us, O Lord God, in the mercies that are from Thee.³ Give rest, O Lord God, to our souls and our spirits and our bodies, and sprinkle the dew of love and mercy on our bones. And be Thou the propitiation and the propitiator for us, O Christ our King, O Lord our Lord, Lord of Glory; and answer us, O my Lord, and come to our aid, and come to our protection and deliver us. Receive our prayers and our supplications, O God; and cause severe chastisements to pass away and to cease: and rods of wrath do Thou, in Thy loving kindness, O Lord, turn from us, and cause to pass away: and make us all meet for the good end which is for

¹ The original adds here a response by the Deacons—"We believe and confess."

² Add:—[On this smoke (or perfume) of spices, now and at all times for ever.

³ The original adds:—And remember therein, O my Lord, the souls of our fathers, and of our brethren, and of our masters, and of our teachers, and of our dead, and of all the faithful dead, the children of Thy holy and glorious Church; and proceeds—give rest, O Lord God, to *their* souls, &c.—not *our* as in the text.

men of peace: and vouchsafe to us a Christian close that is loved and honoured by Thee, and that pleaseth Thy divinity, and make us all meet for a good end; and to Thee we offer praise and thanksgiving now, and at all times, for ever.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—O Lord God, strong and warlike, and powerful, and glorious, arise, help us, and deliver us from the Evil One and his powers by Thy might and by Thy uplifted arm. Thou, O my Lord, in Thy grace, and in Thy abundant mercies, wast incarnate of the holy Virgin Mary, and for our sake didst clothe Thyself with a body, in Thy love towards man. O Lord, our Lord, by that throne which is in heaven, which beareth Thy majesty; and by the four-faced beasts which serve below Thy throne; by the multitude of angels and archangels that glorify Thy deity; by the orders of Cherubim that bless, and celebrate, and magnify Thy might; by the six-winged Seraphim that call out and cry, and say, Holy, Holy, Holy art Thou, O Lord, in Thy holiness; by all the powers and orders and bands which stand and serve Thy reverence, with the substance of Him that begat Thee;¹ cast us not away from Thy presence, but show unto us the way of life and of salvation, that we may go in thereby to the house of the Kingdom; and grant us to give thanks for Thy grace, and to pray and make supplication unto Thy sweetness, O my Lord.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon us.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, help us.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, look upon us with the eye of Thy loving kindness.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from our enemies.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, hide us under the wings of Thy cross.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from all the wiles of the devil.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, raise us from the ruin of sin.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, bring us up from the pit and lake of afflictions.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from all evil thoughts.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from impurity and blasphemy.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, wash us from the filth and pollution of hateful things.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, cleanse us from wickedness and defilement.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, satiate us with good things and blessings.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us rich from Thy treasure-house, which is full of mercy and pity.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us joyful in Thy chamber full of gladness.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us joyful with the companions and guests, the children of Thy kingdom.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, invite us together with the upright and righteous who have pleased Thee.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, set us with the sheep, the children of Thy right hand.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, shine upon us, together with the elect and the saints in the day of the rising of Thy majesty.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, cause us to sit on Thy right-hand side at that spiritual feast.

¹ The original adds :—by the womb which bare Thee.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, be Thou friendly with us in Thy mercy.¹

And we will send up glory and thanksgiving to Thee, O my Lord, and to Thy Father, and to Thy Holy Spirit, now, and at all times, for ever.

*And adds—Peace to you all.*²

People.—And with thy spirit. May the Lord receive your offering, and help us according to thy prayer.

Priest.—May we receive from God pardon of offences and remission of sins in both worlds, for ever and ever.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Let us, who are weak and sinful, respond and say, Holy is the Holy Father.³

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Holy is the Holy Son.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Holy is the Living and Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth the children of the holy Church, sparing and having mercy upon them in both worlds, for ever and ever.

People.—Amen.

Deacon.—Wisdom crieth out.⁴ Let us all stand up in proper order, and respond to the prayers of the honourable priest.

¹ Several more versicles are added here in Howard's version, which appear to be omitted in the revised Liturgy more for brevity sake than because of any doctrinal errors.

² Add:—[May the pardon of the Son of God be vouchsafed on our souls, and on the souls of our fathers, and of our brethren, and of our masters, and of our teachers, and of our dead, and of all the faithful dead, children of the Holy Church, in both worlds, for ever and ever.] This is said privately.

³ Howard gives the following description of this ceremony, which he calls "the preparation of the censer." The Priest standing at the south horn of the altar, and looking south, has the censer presented to him by the Deacon, holding it up on high. The Priest touching some part of it with his left hand, puts in incense, lights it, and marking the censer three times with the sign of the cross, says, "Let us respond" Then holding one of the suspending chains with his left hand, with his right he touches first the top of the hook, and secondly some part of the censer, and crosses himself, saying, "Holy is the Holy Father." Again, taking hold of the second chain, he repeats the former ceremony, saying, "Holy is the Holy Son;" and so again a third time, holding the third suspending chain, he says, "Holy is the living and Holy Spirit." He then takes the censer from the hands of the Deacon, and perfuming the front of the altar, says the following prayer:—"To the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth the incense of his sinful servants, and who doth pity and bless our souls; the souls of our fathers, and of our brethren, and of our masters, and of our teachers, and of our dead, and of all the faithful dead, children of the holy Church in both worlds, for ever and ever."

⁴ The form—*Wisdom; let us attend!* with the accompanying ceremonial, Howard remarks, appears to be connected with different portions of the service in different Liturgies. In that of St. Chrysostom, it forms part of the little Entrance (that of the Gospel), and is thus alluded to in the commentary of Symeon of Thessalonica:—"And when the torches

THE NICENE CREED.

Priest.—I believe.

People.—In God the Father Almighty, &c.

The Priest repeats the first words only of the Nicene Creed (having already repeated it privately for himself); theremaider is assigned in the Syriac original to the Deacon; here to the people. While the Creed is being repeated the Priest washes the tips of his fingers in water, and offers in silence the prayer which follows:

And he washes the tips of his fingers in water, and says:—Wash away, O Lord God, the filthy pollution of my soul, and cleanse me with Thy dew of life, so that I may be made meet to ascend to Thy holy and sanctifying Holy of Holies in purity and holiness, and may handle Thy adorable and divine mysteries without defilement, so that with pure conscience I may offer unto Thee a living sacrifice, that may be pleasing unto Thy divinity, and like unto Thy glorious sacrifice, O our Lord and our God for ever.¹

And he kneels before the table of life, and prays this prayer in silence.—O holy and glorious Trinity, have mercy upon me. O holy and glorious Trinity, forgive me my sins. O holy and glorious Trinity, receive this offering from my weak and sinful hands.² O God, pardon and remit in this hour the sins of Thy sinful servants, and help my weakness, which crieth unto Thee at all times;³ and pardon and remit, O God, in Thy loving kindness, the sins of those for whom we pray.⁴

Here ends the *Ordo Communis*, or preparatory portion of the Eucharistic Office, so called because it is always used whatever be the Anaphora that is to follow.

THE ANAPHORA.⁵

And he ascends the steps and begins the Corban.—First, the prayer before

are borne forth....and the Holy Gospel is carried in procession....and the Deacon, after the prayer of entrance, while he holds the Gospel in his hands, exclaims, *Wisdom; stand up*, the Resurrection and Ascension of the Saviour is shadowed forth!"

¹ Add:—[Again he asks for forgiveness, and says, My brethren and my masters, pray for me that my offering might be accepted.]

² Add:—[O God, in Thy mercy, make rest and good remembrance in Thy holy and heavenly altar to Thy mother, and to Thy saints, and to all the faithful dead.]

³ Add:—[And by the prayers of Thy mother and of all Thy saints.]

⁴ The original has "the sins of those [who are of our blood, our fathers, and our brethren, and our masters; and of him for whom and because of whom this sacrifice is offered.] *Here he commemorates whomsoever he will.*

⁵ The *Anaphora*, or *Corban*, as it is called in the Syriac Liturgies, is the Eucharistic service proper, corresponding to the *Oblatio* or *Actio* of the ancient Latin Liturgies, and the *Mass* of the modern Roman Church. Howard, in his work already referred to, gives translations of five other *Anaphoræ* founded upon the same model as that of St. James (the one given in the text), viz., those of St. Peter, the Twelve Apostles, Mar Dionysius (or Jacob Barsalibi), Mar Xystus, and Mar Evanius. Peet states that as many as 24, or according to some 96 (!) different forms of mass were recognized by the Syrian Church of Malabar in his day, any one of which they were at liberty to use, with certain exceptions in the case of special days. In Howard's translation the Anaphora of St. James

*the Peace.*¹—O God of all, and our Lord, make these our unworthy selves meet for this salvation, so that without guile, and united by the bonds of love, we may salute one another with a holy and divine kiss, and may send up unto Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy and good and adorable and life-making and consubstantial Spirit; now and at all times, for ever.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Peace be to you all.

People.—And with Thy spirit.

Deacon.—Let us give peace one to another, with a holy and divine kiss, to those who are united by the love of our Lord God.

People.—Before Thee, who art our Lord God, we bow our heads after this peace which we have obtained, O gracious Lord.

Priest.—O Thou only merciful Lord who dwellest on high, and hast respect unto the lowly, send down blessings on those who bow their necks before Thee, and bless them by the grace of Thy Only-begotten Son, with whom to Thee belongeth glory, and honour, and power, with Thy all-holy and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit; now.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—O God the Father, who in Thy great love towards mankind didst send Thy Son into the world to bring back the sheep that had wandered; do not reject, O my Lord, the service of this unbloody sacrifice; for we put our trust in Thy mercies, and not in our righteousness. Let not this mystery, which was appointed for our salvation, be to our condemnation, but to the blotting out of our sins, and the rendering of thanks unto Thee, and Thy Only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Deacon.—Let us stand with decency, fear, reverence, holiness, purity, true faith in knowledge, and godly fear, and behold these holy and solemn mysteries that are placed before us. A living sacrifice and sacrifice of

is prefaced by the following rubric:—" *The Anaphora of Mar James, the brother of our Lord. And this is the first Corban which he said he heard and learned from the mouth of the Lord. And he did not add, or omit in it a single word. And it is proper to offer this on the day of the laying on of hands, that is the giving of the degree. The new Priest also should offer this Corban first. On the Lord's day moreover it is proper to offer this.*"

¹ Howard gives the following account of the ceremony of the "Peace" (properly *kiss of peace*). "The Deacon takes the censer to the Priest, and having received a fresh supply of incense, he waves it towards each horn of the altar as before, and then towards the Priest officiating, who takes a handful from the cloud of smoke and puts it to his nose in sign of salutation. The Deacon then waves it in like manner to all who are in the chancel, bowing to each as he waved the censer, and they in turn bow and cross themselves, taking a handful of the smoke as it rises towards them. The Deacon then descends from the chancel, and in a similar manner transfers the sign of peace to all the congregation, as he passes quickly round." This custom, Peet remarks, has taken the place of the former kiss of peace; but if more than one Metran be present, it is customary for them to kiss one another on the cheek.

grace, peace, and thanksgiving, is offered to God the Father of all by the honourable priest for us all, in peace and tranquillity.

The Priest lifting the veil.—Thou art the hard rock which sent forth the twelve rivers of water for the twelve tribes of Israel. Thou art the tried and precious stone which was set at naught by the builders.¹

The Priest turning to the west blesses the people, saying :—The love of God the Father, and the grace of the Only-begotten Son, and the communion and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

People.—And with Thy spirit.

The Priest stretches his hands equally towards heaven, and says :—Up where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, be the thoughts and minds and hearts of all of us in this hour.

People.—They are.

*Priest (Depression).*²—Let us praise, and adore, and glorify the Maker of all creation.

People.—Truly, it is meet and right.

The Priest raises his voice.—Whom the powers of heaven, corporeal and incorporeal, glorify; the sun and the moon and all the stars; the earth and the seas; the first-born graven in the heavenly Jerusalem; Angels and Archangels; and primacies, principalities, thrones, dominions, powers; the many-eyed Cherubim; and the six-winged Seraphim, which with veiled faces and feet, fly one to another and sing the Sanctus, and cry and say—Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts.

People.—Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty, whose glory filleth the heaven and the earth; Glory in the highest. Blessed is he that has come, and that is to come, in the name of the Lord: Glory in the highest.

Priest (Depression).—Assuredly Thou art holy, and Thou makest holy, O everlasting King; and holy is Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ: holy too is Thy Holy Spirit also, who searcheth hidden things. Out of the ground Thou didst create the son of man, and didst place him in paradise; and when he had transgressed Thy commandments, Thou didst not leave him wandering, but didst guide him by the hand of the prophets, and at length didst send Thy Only-begotten Son into the world, who when he had received a body by the Holy Ghost and from the Virgin Mary, renewed Thy image that was worn away :—(*raising his voice*)—and when He was prepared to undergo voluntary death for us sinners, Himself without sin, He took bread in His holy hands.

[*People.*—Bless, O Lord.]

Priest.—And when He had given thanks, He blessed, and sanctified, and brake, and gave to His disciples, and said, Take eat of it, this is my body which for you and for many is broken, and given for the remission of sins and for eternal life.

¹ In place of this second clause, Howard and Peet's versions both read, "Thou art the hard rock which was set against the tomb of our Redeemer," the words being addressed to the veil or covering, which has just been removed. The substituted words would seem to refer rather to the symbols themselves.

² *Depression.*—This direction in the Rubric always means that the words which are to follow are to be uttered in a low tone of voice, as 'Elevation' denotes the contrary.

[*People*.—Amen.]

Priest.—In like manner also He took the cup, and when he had given thanks, He blessed and sanctified, and gave to His holy Apostles, and said, Take, drink ye all of it: this is my blood which for you and for many is shed and given for the remission of sins and for eternal life. Amen.

Priest.—This do ye for My memorial; when ye communicate in this mystery, commemorate My death and My resurrection until I come.

People.—Thy death, O Lord, do we commemorate; Thy resurrection do we acknowledge; and for Thy second coming do we look forward; may Thy blessing be upon us all.

Priest.—Commemorating Thy death and burial, O Lord, and Thy resurrection in three days, and Thy ascension into heaven, and Thy sitting on the right hand of God the Father, and further Thy second coming, wherein Thou wilt judge the world in righteousness, and wilt reward every one according to his works; we therefore offer unto Thee this unbloody sacrifice, so that Thou mayest not make us guilty, nor reward us according to our sins. But according to Thy abundant mercies blot out the sins of us Thy servants; for Thy people, and Thy inheritance make supplication unto Thee, and by Thy hands and with Thee to Thy Father also, saying:—

People.—Have mercy upon us, O Almighty God; we praise Thee, O Lord God; we adore Thee, we glorify Thee, we beseech Thee, O God, to have mercy upon us.

Priest (*Depression*).—And we also, O my Lord, Thy weak and sinful servants, render thanks unto Thee, and confess Thy benignity unto all and for all.

THE INVOCATION OF THE HOLY GHOST.¹

Deacon.—My friends, how solemn is this moment, and how terrible this hour, in which the Holy Ghost descends in majesty from the highest heavens and abideth upon the holy mystery placed before us; and sanctifieth it. Let us all stand with fear and reverence, and pray that peace may be with us and good-will towards us all.

Priest.—Have mercy upon us, O God the Father, and send down upon these offerings Thy Holy Spirit, the Lord equal to Thee and to Thy Son in the throne and kingdom and essence eternal, who spake in Thy Old and New Testament, and descended like a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and like tongues of fire upon the Apostles in the upper room. (*Elevating his voice*.) Hear me, O Lord! Hear me, O Lord! Hear me, O Lord, and spare and have mercy upon us!

People.—Kyreleison, Kyreleison, Kyreleison.

Priest.—So that he may come down and make this bread the life-giving body² of Christ our God.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—And may thoroughly make this cup, the blood of the New Testament, the saving blood of Christ our God.

¹ During the repetition of the prayer that follows, the Priest, according to Peet, spreads forth his hands, and waves them over the mysteries with a gentle quivering motion, like that of the wings of a bird hovering in the air, intended to represent the Holy Spirit descending "like a dove."

² The original reads: [make this bread the life-making Bo+dy, the saving Bo+dy, the Bo+dy of Christ our God] and so also in the next sentence: [the saving Blo+od, the Blo+od of Christ our God.]

People.—Amen.

Priest.—So that they may sanctify the souls, and spirits, and bodies that partake of them; for the burthen of the fruit of good works; for the confirmation of the holy Church which is made strong upon the rock of the faith, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. And deliver her from heretical offences, even to the end; that she may raise to Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit; now, and at all times, for ever.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION.

People.—Amen.

Priest (Depression).—We offer unto Thee this prayer, O Lord, in behalf of the Holy Church which is in all this world, that Thou mayest vouchsafe to her the gift of Thy Holy Spirit. Remember, O Lord, our Fathers that rightly impart the word of truth to us, our Patriarch, Mar Ignatius, our Bishop, Mar——, and the presbyters and the deacons, and all the orders ecclesiastical, together with my humble self. Remember not against me the sins of my youth; but according to Thy mercies do Thou make me to live. Remember also our brethren in bonds, the sick, the infirm, the afflicted, those who are vexed by evil spirits; and bless the air, and the crown of the year; fulfilling Thy good pleasure unto all that liveth.

Deacon.—Let us pray unto the Lord.

People.—Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation).—And deliver us, O Lord God, from every evil insurrection of the wicked sons of men, and assault and oppression of devils; and from every stroke which has been brought upon us because of our sins; and keep us in the observance of Thy holy commandments; for Thou art a merciful God, and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest (Depression).—Remember, O Lord, the fathers and brethren who are standing and praying with us,¹ and those who willed to come and were not able; and grant to each one his proper petitions.

Deacon.—Let us pray unto the Lord.

People.—Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation).—Remember, O Lord, all those whom we have remembered,² and receive their sacrifices in Thy broad heaven. Satisfy them with the joy of Thy salvation, and make them worthy of the aid that comes from Thee; make them strong in Thy might; arm them with Thy strength; for Thou art a merciful God, and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest (Depression).—Remember, O Lord, kings and queens of honourable reverence; and aid them with the weapons of the Spirit, and make subject unto them all that hate them, that we may lead quiet lives.

¹ The original adds: [And those who have journeyed from us.]

² The original adds: [And those whom we have not remembered.]

Deacon.—Let us pray to the Lord.

Priest (Elevation).—Thou art a Saviour and Defender, and givest victory to all them that trust in Thee, O Lord; and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest (Depression).—Forasmuch as Thou hast authority over life and death, may we remember, O Lord,¹ the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, with all the righteous, so that we may follow their footsteps.

Deacon.—Let us pray unto the Lord.

People.—Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation).—We implore of Thee, O mighty Lord, who prevailest over that which is impossible, unite us to the multitude of the first-born that are written in heaven;² by the grace and by the mercies of Thy only Son, and of Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest (Depression).—Remember, O Lord, the fathers that rightly impart to us the word of truth.

Deacon.—Let us pray to the Lord.

People.—Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation).—The doctrine of illustrious men and doctors who bore Thy holy name before peoples, and kings, and the sons of Israel, do Thou confirm in our souls; and bring to naught the heresies that are injurious; and make us meet to stand unaccused before Thy dreadful judgment-seat; for Thou art holy, and sanctifier of the saints; and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest (Depression).—Remember, O Lord, all faithful churches³ which are named in the orthodox faith.

People.—Kyreleison, Kyreleison, Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation).—O Lord, Lord God of spirits and of all flesh, deliver us⁴ from the condemnation that never endeth, make us joyful in that

¹ In the original this is a prayer for the dead. "Remember, O Lord, our holy fathers, the prophets, &c.," the concluding prayer, "that we may follow their footsteps," having been added by the revisers.

² The original adds :—[We remember them so that they also may remember us before Thee, and may communicate with us in this spiritual sacrifice, for the preservation of those that live, and for the consolation of us that are in trouble; and for the rest of the faithful dead, our fathers, and brethren and masters.]

³ In the original this sentence runs thus : "remember, O Lord, all the orders ecclesiastical which in the orthodox faith have gone before, and sleep, and are at rest; and all for whom they offered, and those who now are named;" to which the copyist has added in a marginal note, "Remember, O priests, the sinner who writes, and his fathers, and his dead."

⁴ In the original this also is a prayer for the dead : "Remember all those who in the right faith have gone from us, and give rest to their

place which the light of Thy countenance visiteth ; blotting out our misdeeds, and not entering into judgment with us, for there is none innocent before Thee save only Thine Only-begotten Son, by whose hands we trust to find for ourselves mercy and remission of sins.

People.—Put away, O God, pardon all our misdeeds which we have committed before Thee wilfully and not wilfully, and with and without knowledge.

Priest (Depression).—Put away, O God, pardon our misdeeds which have been in thought and word, and deed : secret and open are open unto Thee.

Priest (Elevation).—And keep our end without sin, O Lord : and gather us under the feet of Thine elect, when and where and as Thou wilt, only without the confusion of our sins, so that herein, as in all things, Thy all-glorious and blessed name may be praised and glorified, with that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Thy Holy Spirit.

Deacon.—As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Peace be to you all.

People.—And with Thy Spirit.

The Priest turning to the West blesses the people and says.—The mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

People.—And with Thy Spirit.

O thou merciful, the voice of our supplication knocketh at Thy gate ; withhold not from those that worship Thee their needful petitions.

THE CATHOLICON.¹

Deacon.—Let us pray to the Lord.

People.—Kyreleison.

Deacon.—Bless, O Lord. Let us at all times entreat the Lord, my brethren, for the spirit of peace and tranquillity, and for mercies and grace.

People.—Grant us, O Lord, according to Thy grace.

Deacon.—Bless, O Lord. Let us pray at all times for all the churches and for all the Episcopate, that peace may be granted to them, and for all the diaconate and ministry of the entire complement of the Church, that they all may be kept and preserved, and that they may be blessed with plentiful years.

People.—May we be reconciled, O Lord, according to Thy mercy.

Deacon.—Let us pray at all times to the Lord, that we may be true Christians, pleasing the Lord with good works, and with a holy and upright conversation.

People.—May we be made worthy according to Thy goodness.

bodies, and souls, and spirits and deliver *them* from the condemnation, &c.”

¹ The *Catholicon* is a prayer uttered in a loud voice by the Deacon, while the Priest is engaged in the ceremony of the breaking. As soon as the blessing has been invoked, the curtain is drawn across the chancel, hiding the altar from the sight of the people, and the *Catholicon* is said in order to occupy their attention.

Deacon.—Let us pray at all times to the Lord, that the whole of our race may be saved from the fire that quencheth not, from the worm that dieth not, and from the bitter weeping and gnashing of teeth.

People.—Save us, O Lord, by Thy cross. Bless, O Lord. By Thy grace and mercy, and in Thy goodness and abundant blessings strengthen the sick, heal the infirm, release those that are in bonds, restore those that are far, watch those that are near, make those that are divided united and friendly; gather together those that wander; may they that are lost be found; console the mourning; help the weak; make the empty rich; comfort and succour the widows; satisfy the hungry; and grant full pardon to the sinners. O Lord, make Thy priests illustrious and the deacons holy; cause Thy peace to reign in the kingdoms of the earth; make wars to cease, and grant us remission of sins and offences.

Deacon.—Let us glorify God the Father of all, and His only Son, and worship His Holy Ghost.

People.—O gracious Lord, we commit our lives into Thine hands, and entreat Thy mercy; spare us: and have mercy upon us.

THE BREAKING, OR PRAYER OF CONSECRATION.

The Priest breaks. Thus truly did the word of God suffer in the flesh, and was sacrificed and broken on the cross; (*here he divides the bread into two pieces, but holds the pieces together,*) and His soul was separated (*here he separates the pieces from each other*) from his body, though His divinity was in no wise separated from His soul or body. (*At the word 'separated' he again joins the pieces, after which separating them, with the piece in his right hand, he marks the wine with the sign of the cross, saying—*And he was pierced with a spear in his side, (*here he withdraws the bread from the wine, and wetting the broken parts of the other piece with the part that had been dipped in the wine, says*) from which flowed blood and water, a propitiation for the whole world, (*again marking the top of the wine with the wet piece*), with which His body was covered, (*marking the bread as before*). And for the sins of the universe (*here uniting the pieces in the form of a circle and turning them round*), the Son died upon the cross; (*wetting the bread as before*) and His soul came, and was united to His body; and He turned us from a left-hand conversation (*here he again joins the pieces in the form of a circle, turning them as before*) to that of the right-hand; and by His own blood He reconciled, and united, and associated heavenly things with the things of the earth, and people with peoples, and the soul with the body; and the third day he rose (*elevates the bread*) from the tomb; and is one Emmanuel, which after the indivisible union cannot be divided into two natures. (*Here he again separates the pieces, and holding one part between the thumb and finger, and the other between the middle finger of the left hand.*) So we believe; (*here he touches the bread with his right hand, and puts it to his forehead*), so we confess; (*repeats the last form*) so we declare; that this flesh is that which belongeth to this blood, (*here putting one part of the bread into the wine*) this blood is that which belongs to this flesh, (*here breaking one of the small pieces from the second piece and laying them both in the plate, he repeats the prayer of the Doctor St. James:—*)

O Father of truth, behold Thy Son, the sacrifice which propitiates Thee; receive this One who died for me, and may I be pardoned through Him. Accept this offering from my hands, and be Thou reconciled unto me, and remember not against me the sins which I have committed before Thy Majesty.

During the repetition of these words he divides the two larger pieces into four parts, places them in the plate, then elevating it and dipping one of the small parts into the wine, and touching the other parts with it in ten different places twice over, he says:—

Behold the blood shed upon Golgotha by wicked men, and pleading for me; for its sake receive my petitions. As great as are my offences, so great are Thy mercies. If Thou shouldest weigh them, Thy mercies would weigh more than the mountains that are weighed by Thee. Look upon the sins, and look upon the offering for them; for the offering and the sacrifice is much greater than the sins; because I sinned, Thy beloved bore the nails and the spear; His sufferings are sufficient to reconcile Thee; and by them may I live! Glory to the Father who delivered His Son for our salvation; and adoration to the Son who died on the cross and restored us all to life; and thanksgiving to the Spirit who began and completed the mystery of our salvation. O Trinity, exalted above all, have mercy upon us!

Another prayer of the breaking.—Thou art Christ the God who wast pierced in His side on the height of Golgotha for us. Thou art the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world. Do Thou pardon our offences and remit our sins, and set us on Thy right hand.

And he raises his voice.—O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who art blessed by the Cherubim and hallowed by the Seraphim, and extolled by thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of reasonable hosts, who sanctifiest and makest perfect the offerings and ripe fruits which are offered unto Thee for a sweet odour; sanctify also our bodies and souls and spirits, so that with a clean heart and face that is not ashamed we may call upon Thee, O God, heavenly Father, and may pray and say:—

Our Father which art in the heavens:—

People.—Hallowed be Thy name, &c.

Priest.—Yea, O Lord our God, lead us not into temptation that cannot be endured, but deliver us from evil, making a way to escape to follow the temptation; and we will send up unto Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Peace be to you all.

People.—And with Thy spirit.

Deacon.—Before receiving these holy mysteries that have been offered let us bow our heads unto the merciful Lord.

People.—We will bow our heads unto the Lord.

Priest.—Unto Thee do Thy poor servants bow their heads, because Thy mercies are rich. Send forth blessings, O Lord, and sanctify our bodies, and souls, and spirits; and make us meet to partake of the life-giving mysteries of Christ our Saviour, and we will raise to Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Peace be to you all.

People.—And with Thy spirit.

Priest turning to the West, blesses the people and says,—And may the grace and mercy of the holy, and glorious, and uncreated, and essential,

and eternal, and consubstantial Trinity be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

People.—And with Thy spirit.

Deacon.—Let us behold with reverence and awe.

People.—Spare, O Lord, and have mercy upon us!

And the Priest takes the Paten and elevates it, saying,—Holy things are given for the holy and pure.

People.—The one Father is holy, the one Son is holy, the one Spirit is holy.

He takes the cup also and elevates it, saying,—Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

People.—One they are from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Priest.—May the one Holy Father, who formed the world in His mercy, be with us.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—May the Holy Son, who redeemed it by His own glorious sufferings, be with us.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—May the one living and Holy Spirit, who is the perfecter and completer of every thing that is and has been, be with us. Blessed be the name of the Lord, from everlasting to everlasting.¹

People.—Amen.

Here the Priest descends from the steps and says as follows, the people repeating after him.—Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison. O our Lord, have mercy upon us. O our Lord, spare and have mercy upon us. O our Lord, hear us and have mercy upon us. O merciful Lord hear us. O Lord full of mercy hear us, O Lord hear us and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee, O our Lord; Glory to thee, O our Lord; Glory to Thee, O our refuge for ever.

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

The Priest turning to the West bows himself before the people and says.—My brethren and sirs, pray for me that my services may be accepted

Deacon.—Like as a father pitieth his children, the Lord loveth them that trust in him.

People.—As for man, his days are as grass, as a flower of the field so he flourisheth.

Priest.—Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

People.—From everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

O Thou Son of God, who hast abolished our death by Thy death, raise us from the ground that we may call out and sing praises unto Thee. We will raise our voice and say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is glorious and adorable God. Glory to Thee from generation to generation.

The Priest kneeling before the altar prays these prayers.—Make us worthy O Lord God,² that our bodies may be made holy by Thy holy body, and

¹ Howard adds here a prayer to the Virgin Mary, which does not appear, however, to be found in all the manuscripts.

² The original adds another sentence here which the authors of the revised Liturgy have very wisely omitted. [*And he ascends the step, and taking the "Coal" from the cup in the spoon, he says*—I am holding THEE, I am holding the uttermost bounds and limits; I grasp THEE, who orderest the heights and the depths; THEE, O God, do I place in my

our souls made bright by Thy propitiatory blood; and may it be for the pardon of our offences and for the remission of our sins; O our Lord and our God for ever.

And when he partakes he says,—A propitiatory coal¹ of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to a sinful servant for the pardon of offences, and for the remission of sins, in both worlds, for ever and ever. Amen.

And when he drinks from the cup he says—By Thy living and life-giving blood, which was poured forth on the cross, may my offences be pardoned and my sins be remitted, O Jesus, Word of God, who camest for our salvation for ever and ever. Amen.

And when he communicates a Priest, he says,—A propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to you for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins. Amen.

And the Priest takes the paten in his right hand and the cup in his left hand, and as he turns to the West, says:—From Thy propitiatory altar let there come down pardon for Thy servants, O Son of God, who camest for our salvation, and wilt come for our resurrection and the renovation of our race for ever.

People.—Amen.

Priest (continues).—Stretch forth Thy invisible right hand, O Lord God, and bless this multitude which worships Thee; which receives Thy glorious body and blood for the pardon of offences and remission of sins, and for confidence before Thee, O our Lord and our God for ever.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—May the love of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be upon those who bear these holy things; and upon those who give them; and upon those who receive them; and upon those who have laboured, and have participated, and are participating in them; the love of God be upon them in both worlds for ever.

People.—Amen.

O our Lord, have mercy upon us; O our Lord, spare and have mercy upon us; O our Lord, hear us and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee our Lord, glory to Thee our Lord, glory to Thee our refuge for ever.

And when he communicates the people, he gives the bread and says:—The holy body of Jesus Christ is given to you for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins.

And the recipient says:—Amen.

He gives out of the cup² and says:—The holy blood of Jesus Christ is given to you for the pardon of offences and remission of sins.

mouth; by THEE may I be delivered from the fire that is not quenched, and be made meet for the remission of sins, like the sinful woman and like the thief, O our Lord and our God for ever. Amen.] Mr. Howard contends (p. 176) that a belief in the Real Presence does not necessarily involve a belief in Transubstantiation; allowing this, we think even he must admit that a Church must have fallen far from the simplicity that is in Christ to have ever allowed such expressions to have place in its service-book.

¹ The term "coal," to denote the bread, is apparently based upon a fanciful interpretation of Isaiah vi. 6.

² In the Syriac rubric the bread and wine are not given separately as in the above, but the bread is dipped in the wine.

The recipient.—Amen.

Priest.—Glory to Thee, glory to Thee, glory to Thee, O our Lord and our God for ever. O our Lord Jesus Christ, let not Thy holy body which we have eaten, and Thy pardoning blood which we have drunken, be unto us for judgment and for vengeance; but for the life and salvation of us all. And have mercy upon us.

*People.*¹—The world will kneel down and worship Thee; all the tongues will sing praises unto Thy holy name, for Thou raisest the dead, and art a strong refuge to them that are buried. We adore Thee for Thy grace that all we have received.

Priest: the Thanksgiving.—We thank Thee, O Lord, for the abundance of Thy mercies, whereby we have been made worthy to partake of Thy heavenly table. O our Lord, let us not be condemned in the reception of Thy holy mysteries; but, being worthy, may we be partakers of Thy Holy Spirit; may we find a portion and inheritance with all the righteous who have been from the beginning; and we shall raise unto Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People.—Amen.

Priest.—Peace be to you all.

People.—And with thy spirit.

Deacon.—Having received these holy mysteries, we should bow our heads in the presence of the merciful God.

People.—Before Thee, O our Lord God, we bow our heads.

Priest.—O great and wonderful God, who for the salvation of our human race didst bow the heavens and come down, pity us and have mercy upon us, so that we may continually glorify Thee, and God the Father who begat Thee, and Thy Holy Spirit, now and at all times for ever.

People.—Amen.

Deacon.—Sir, give the blessing.

Priest.—Bless us all, O our God; keep us all, O our Creator; shew unto us the way of life, Helper and Lord of us all.

*People.*²—O Lord, receive the prayers and supplications of Thy servants that ministered in Thy presence, and remit the sins of Thy flock. May we be made worthy, O Lord, for the blessings and graces that are from Thee, and send us in peace.

The Address.—Depart in peace, brethren and beloved, seeing we commend you to the grace and mercy of the holy and glorious Trinity, with the viaticum and the blessing which ye have received from the propitiatory altar of the Lord,³ saved by the victorious cross of the Lord, sealed with the sign of holy baptism, that it may obtain the pardon of your offences and the remission of your sins, and may give rest to your⁴ spirits; and may I, a weak and sinful servant, obtain mercy and help through your prayers. And depart in peace, joyful and glad. Pray for me.

¹ This is also an addition.

² This sentence has been added by the revisors, in place of a long prayer called the "Seal of Mar James."

³ The original adds:—[those far off with those that are near, the living with the dead.]

⁴ The original reads:—[The spirits of your dead.]

People.—May the Lord accept Thy offering and help us by Thy prayers.¹

*The Priest when he eateth and drinketh of what remaineth of the holy mysteries,*² *says the following Psalms, viz., xxiii., xxxvi. from verse 8; also xxvi. and xxix.*

Prayer.—O Son of God, who by Thy immolation didst save the guilty by Thy living sacrifice, dispel my passions and heal my infirmities. Good (is He) that came, and they pierced His side at Golgotha. By the blood and water that flowed therefrom, quench Thou my thirst.

¹ This response by the people has been added by the revisors.

² A great many more directions of the most elaborate kind follow here in the original, regarding the disposal of what remains of the consecrated bread and wine, after which follows a *Sedra* for the dead.