

QNAY-THOMA AND KALDAYA QURBANA: CRITICAL EVALUATION

By Rev.Fr. George Appassery VC

Introduction	1-3
Historical Sources of Qnay-Thoma (345/825).	3-24
Critical Evaluation	24-26
Historical Identity of the Syrian Colony (345/825)	26-31
History or Fiction - Chaldean Liturgy in 345?	31-33
Chronological Order of Documents on Qnay-Thoma	36
Abbreviated Bibliography .	37

Qnay-Thoma means merchant Thomas (*Tangara* Thoma of Jerusalem). He is called Quinai/ Knai/ Chinai/ Canai - Thoma(e), Thome Cananeo, Thome de Canane, Thome Cana, Thomas Kinan/ Kinay/ Knay/ Knayi, or Thomas of Kynai. He is coming either from Armenia or Babylon or Orslem, either to Mailapur or Kodungallur or Mahodar/Parur-patanam, either in AD 825 or 811 or 753 or 745 or 730 or 345. The **Syrian** Knaithoman brought Mar Joseph of Edessa (Uraha), clergy and laity from Orslem, Bagdad and Nineve to Kodungallur in AD 345 and formed a Syrian Colony and spread the Chaldean Rite in Malabar¹. Fr. P.J. Podipara says, "We know nothing of the early priests or prelates of Malabar"².

INTRODUCTION

"The Southists, later known also as Knanaya, are descendants of a group of Jewish Christians who immigrated into Kerala from the Middle East (Southern Mesopotamia) in AD 345. Those immigrants were led by an enterprising merchant called Thomas of Kyanai (70 km south of Bagdad). A Bishop named URAHA Mar Yausef, four priests and several deacons were with them (72 Jewish Christian families) to look after their spiritual needs. They settled in Kodungallur (Cranganore) enjoying many esteemed privileges granted by Cheraman Perumal, the then ruling emperor of Kerala. ... In the caste-ridden social system of India... (they) "comfortably remained an endogamous community (marrying from within the same ethnic community or caste). Residing on the southern portion of Cranganore, they came to be known as the Southists in distinction from Northists, who were descendants of the native Indians, converted by Apostle St Thomas, and were living in the northern portion of the town"³. **Did Knaithoman come to Kerala? When? In AD 345 or 825?**

Contribution of Knanites to the Syro-Malabar Church is remarkable! Mar Chandy Parambil was consecrated on 31-1-1663 at Kaduthuruthy Valiyapally! A Knanite from Neendoor contributed 30,000 chakram for the journey of Kariattil and Paremmakkal (VP, Athirampuzha: 1936, p.64). "Kynai Thoma with a bishop, priests and deacons and a group of people

¹ Veticutel Mathai Ka. wrote in 1720/30 in Syriac the History of the Syrians in Malabar (MS 1213 of the Leyden Academy Library). J.P.N. Land published it in *Anecdota Syriaca*, Tom.1, Lugduni:1862 (=Land, AS). J.Vellian cites it in *Symbosium of Knanites*, Kottayam: 1986 (=SK), p.59. Cf. "Some Memorable Dates" in *Liturgical Calendar of SMC*, 2002, p.99. VD-LM 106.

² *The Thomas Christians*, Bombay: 1967, p.30; hereafter cited as P-TC.

³ J.Vellian, *Knanite Community, History and Culture*, Kottayam: 2001 (=V-KC), p.1-2, 10 & 58. J.Kollaparambil, *The Babylonian Origin of the Southists among the St Thomas Christians*, Rome: 1992 (OCA 241): Kynai is the latest native place of Knay-Thoma (pp.1-21). Uraha Mar Yausef came in 345 (p.134).

migrated to Kerala in AD 345. It was proper that they brought along with them the developed East Syrian Liturgy, and they became the cause for the smooth preservation and propagation of that liturgy in Malabar. In fact we do not have any remnant of any liturgy used prior to the 4th century"⁴. **Did Mar Joseph of Edessa come to Kerala with Qurbana in 345?**

Did Knaithoman come in AD 345 to Kerala? Search the documents! They say, he had either two children or children from two women (wife and concubine), foreign and native, or free and slave, or noble and servant, or Nair and Mainatto⁵. They lived in two places, or in two parts/sides of Kodungallur. He gave to both of them equal share of his property; but the two groups still fight for legitimacy and nobility. The division into Northists and Southists⁶ may be topographical namely one group lived in northern and the other in southern side/part of Kodungallur⁷; it is connected with the arrival of Knaithoman (merchant Thomas); but the controversy is about their origin, caste, nobility and privileges in the *ollas*⁸. Southists claim to have Arabic names for their *Illam*. They could be Arabic Christian traders. There are many stories about Knaithoman's person, place and date, family and work, which are recorded in various sources.

Rev.Dr. Jacob Vellian edited in chronological order the main (21) **documents on Knaithoman** in 1986: *Symbosium on Knanites* (SK). Rev. Dr. Jacob Kollaparambil explains the Historical Sources on the Knanites. "The living traditions of the (Syrian) community and its social customs in practice, however, were rich sources, from which the officials and

⁴ V-KC 36. St Thomas is the source of East Syriac liturgy, developed in Edessa. "India and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas who was guide and ruler in the Church which he built there and ministered there". (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, London: 1864, p.32, M-IAT 35-36). It is the *Qudasa-Qurbana* of the Apostles, used from 1774 to 1962.

⁵ King Sakara Vittia gave Mainatto-woman to Canai Thoma as interpreter and cook (SK 54). Mainattos are washermen of kings, Brahmins and Nairs. Manens are washermen of ordinary people (M-TC 15). Cf J.Kurmankan, *Southists and Northists* (Mal.), Alapuzha: 1944 (=K-TV), pp.454-465; 521-527.

"When a Knanaya marries a non-Knanaya, he or she (does not lose his or her Knanaitiy but is forced to) joins a non-Knanaya parish only on pastoral reason, i.e. to safeguard the unity of that new family, enabling it to fulfill the spiritual duties together and to celebrate its unity" (V-KC 27). Endogamy is not against missionary work! "The essential thing is not to baptize" (p.28) even children of such marriages?! *Knanayar* beget children for Northists to baptize! Is it their mission work? Are they Christians? CCEO can.29, 31, 33.

⁶ P-TC 63, 75, note 4. The Southists remained aloof and isolated from the Northists, united with the ancient Christians of St Thomas the Apostle. The Southists supported the Latin bishops of Goa, Cochin and Cranganore in 16th-17th centuries. Pius X erected the diocese of Kottayam for the Southists in 1911. Today they call themselves Knanites and cast out their own members who marry non-Knanites, to keep the "Knanaya blood pure". They want an Archbishop of "pure Syrian blood" with suffragan dioceses! Catholic Congress supports it!

⁷ Bernard Thoma, *Marthoma Christians* (Mal.), Pala 1916, Bk.1/2:308; 2nd ed.1992, p.420; hereafter cited as B-TC.

⁸ Copper Plates of St Thomas' Christians of Quilon over the land of Cranganore were kept with Mar Jacob who pawned them for 20 Cruzados; he asked help of Pero de Sequeira to redeem them for his beloved Christians. Damiao de Goes describes it in *Cronica do fel. Rei D. Manuel* (1566), ed.Coimbra: 1949, p.238-240; SK 20-21). Knaithoma has no part in getting this Chepped (SK 18).

missionaries of the Portuguese India, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, carefully drew while writing their reports to the governmental and ecclesiastical authorities in Europe. The contents of these documents can be conveniently divided into four themes: a) The existence of the St. Thomas Christians (=TC) in Malabar prior to the arrival of Thomas Cana; b) The arrival of Thomas Cana, the copper-plates grant by Cheraman Perumal, and their impact on the Malabar Church; c) The formation of the endogamous community of Knanites and the basis for it; d) The position taken by the Knanaya Community on critical issues pertaining to the Malabar Church in the course of history" ⁹. We shall search for historical data in the documents.

1. Historical Sources on Qnay-Thoma¹⁰ in Summary Form¹¹.

Year	Author	Name	Place	Arrival	Year	Ref.
1516	Penteado ¹²	Merchant	Armenia	Cranganor		SK 17.
1533	Abuna ¹³	Tome de Canane	Canane	Miliapur		SK 19
1578	Dionysio ¹⁴	Quinai Thome	Babylon	Cranganor	825	SK 23
1579	Monserate ¹⁵	Quinay-Thoma	"Suriano"	Paru/Cranganor		SK 24-25
1604	Campori ¹⁶	Quinai Thome	Armenia	Cranganor	344	SK 37
1604	Roz SJ ¹⁷	Thome Cananeo	Babylon	Cranganor	346	SK 30
1606	Gouvea ¹⁸	Thome Cana	Armenia	Cranganor		SK 27
1611	Couto ¹⁹	Thome Cananeo	Armenia	Cranganor	811	SK 38, 41

⁹ SK, 11-12. Qnanaya means Canaanite or merchant (K-TV 69 & 90-95). He is an **Armenian** merchant: Penteado, SK 17. Gouvea, SK 27. Campori, SK 37.

¹⁰ Knaithoman is an elusive and ubiquitous man, due to various opinions recorded in the sources, and later changes in the early data. Qnan is Canaan; Qnanaya means Canaanite or merchant. Cana of Galialee is Kathne in Syriac.

¹¹ Further sources are given at the end in the Bibliography and Sources.

¹² SK 17f. Fr Alvaro Penteado left for India in 1510. He wrote in 1516 to the Portuguese King about St Thomas Christians in Cranganore. It is kept in Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (=ANTT), Lisbon: CVR No.164. It was published in SR-D, Vol.3, Lisbon: 1950, pp.543-553.

¹³ SK, 19. Abuna's testimony in 1533 about the tomb of Mailapur is kept in ARSJ= *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*, Goa 31, ff.18-19.

¹⁴ SK 22-23. Fr Francisco Dionysio SJ wrote his report on TC in 1578: ARSJ, Goa 12, II f.439-41 & 442-43. ANTT, Armario Jesuitico, cod.28, f.34-38.

¹⁵ SK 24-26. Fr Antonio Monserrate SJ wrote in 1579 a report about TC: ARSJ, Goa 12, II, f.521-24 & f.525-26.

¹⁶ Fr John Campori SJ, Secretary to Bp Roz, wrote in 1604: ARSJ, Goa 15 f.196-200 & Goa 48, f.92-96 (Portuguese); f.86-91 (Latin); f.97-103 (Italian).

¹⁷ Fr Francis Roz SJ, working among TC since 1585, wrote in 1604 a report about them; it is not very accurate. MS Add.9853 f.85-93, in British Library.

¹⁸ Antonio da Gouvea OSA wrote the famous *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Aleixo de Menezes* in 1603 and published it in 1606 from Coimbra, with *Synodo Diocesano* (of Diamper) and *Missa* (Mass). *Jornada...* f.4r-v.

¹⁹ Diego do Couto continued the work of Joao de Barros and wrote the *Decadas da Asia*. It was published in 15 tomi, Lisbon: 1778-88. Dec.12, Bk.3, ch.5 deals with Thome Cana and copper plates (Tom.8, pp.282-286). SK 41.

1636	Trindade ²⁰	Thome Cana	Armenia	Cranganor		SK 42
1657	Sebastiani ²¹	Thome Cana	Armenia	Cranganor		SK 49
1676	Fr.Matheo ²²	Chinai Thome	Canaan	Serra		SK 53-54
1709	Mar Gabriel ²³	Merchant Thomas	Orslem	Malabar	745	p.106
1720/30	Mathai ²⁴	Tangara Thoma	Orslem	Milibar	345	SK 59
1782	Cariatti ²⁵	Knai-Thoma	Babilon	Malabar	753	SK 56
1869	Ittoop Reitor ²⁶	Knai-Thoma	Orslem	Malayalam	345	K-TV 253f.
1872	Kurien Padri ²⁷	Thoma of Canan	Syria	Kodungallur	345	K-TV 242f.
1887	W.Logan ²⁸	Merchant Thomas	Baghdad	Malabar	745	p.203/239.
1891	G.M.Rae ²⁹	Merchant Thomas	Baghdad	Malabar	745	p.162.

Qnay-Thoma has various names and different years of arrival in Cranganor or Malabar, and different native places! Merchant Thomas may be a pilgrim, king, monk-bishop, saint (SK 19, 40, 36, 38). Why did he come to Malabar? For trade (SK 23, 35), pilgrimage (SK 19), immigration (SK 38, 59), or sightseeing (SK 33). "A company of Christians from Bagdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem ... from Urhai arrived in company with a merchant Thomas in 745 A.D." (Logan 1:203/239; K-TV 226). Mathai Kathanar in 1720 says: "Thomas of Jerusalem, the merchant, went forth again, and with him the Bishop... presbyters and deacons, and also men and women... entered a ship and left for Malabar where they landed at Moljomkare in the year 345 of the Lord" (SK 59). Mar Gabriel who wrote in 1709 and Fr Mathai were co-workers in Kottayam. Why did Fr Mathai change 745 into 345 for the coming of Knaithoma and his Colony to Malyamkara? Tomb of Knaithoma in Kodungallur? Mailapur? (K-TV 341).

²⁰ Frei Paulo da Trindade OFM (1570-1650) was in India over 55 years. He held responsible offices and visited the missions and wrote *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, in 1630-36: Vat.Cod.Lat.7746. Fr Felix Lopes OFM published it in 3 vols. Lisbon: 1962-64-67.

²¹ Fr Joseph Mary Sebastiani OCD, Apostolic Commissary, wrote in 1657 a report (APF, SOCG 232, f.455-73 or f.111-139). *Prima Spedizione alle Indie Orientali*, Rome 1666, 109f. SOCG 233:197; *Seconda Spedizine...* 1672, p.146f.

²² MS Sloane 2748A in British Library: It is attributed to Fr Matheo of St Joseph OCD who was in Malabar in 1657-63 & 1668-78. SK 52-55.

²³ Mar Gabriel's Syriac report of 1709, in Letter-16 of J.C. Visscher, Dutch Chaplain in Cochin: *Malabarese Briefen*, Leeuwarden 1743; *Letters from Malabar*, tr. H.Drury, Madras: 1862, p.100-117. It supports D.Couto, SK 41. K.P.P.Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol.2 (Ekm: 1927) 40-53. Cf SR-D 12:851 & 869.

²⁴ Mathai Ka., a partisan of Mar Gabriel, wrote in Syriac "*History of Malabar Church*" in 1720/30. **Leyden MS.1213** was published by J.P.N.Land in *Anecdota Syriaca*, Tom.1, Lugduni 1862, p.24-40 (Syriac text); p.123-27 (Latin tr.); p.179-84 (notes). S.Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes...*, p.552-64. SK 57-60. He changed 745 into 345 for the arrival of Knaithoma! It has no reliable data. It is an account written in the style of *Keralolpati* (SK 57).

²⁵ J.Cariatti (+9-9-1786) wrote in 1782: Cod.536 is "Noticias do Reyno do Malavar" in SR-D = A.da Silva Rego, *Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente, India*, Vol.12, Lisbon: 1958, 851-875. SK 56.

²⁶ *Church History of Syrian Christians* (Mala.). K-TV 253-259.

²⁷ *History of Syrian Christians* (Mala.). K-TV 242-253.

²⁸ W.Logan, *Malabar*, Madras:1887; Vol.1, TVM: 1981. VD-LM 106. K-TV 226.

²⁹ *Syrian Church in India*, London: 1891, p.162. Logan 1:239. K-TV 226.

Native Christians of St Thomas (64 families) and the Syrian Christians who came to Kodungallur in AD 745/ 345 became united and lived in concord. They had 472 shops or houses (SK 60). MS of 1770 says, 472 houses: 400 on north and 72 on south, on grade of nobility. Ittoop and Kurien specify the difference in nobility. P.U.Luke says, the natives lived in 400 houses on the north *angadi*-market and the colony in 72 houses on the south *angadi*-market of the city; those on the south were called Southists/ Sudists and others, Northists/ Nordists. After the arrival of the Paranki, all the Sudists migrated to Kaduthuruty³⁰. Sudists are of 7 *Illam*, namely Baji, Belkuth, Hadayi, Kujalik, Koja, Majamuth, and Tejamuth. They marry from another *Illam*, and pay *Illapanam* (dowery) for the bride³¹. They sing "Bar-Maryam" (a *Denaha* song) after marriage. Let us go through their sources.

- 1) **Fr Alvaro Penteado**³² who arrived in Cochin and visited the Christians of Cranganore in 1516, wrote a letter³³ in 1518 about them. There came an Armenian merchant advanced in age and settled with his two sons; the elder son inherited the income from the land, bequeathed to the church (of St Thomas); the other was made a judge over the slaves, bought and converted by his father merchant. There arose disputes between these sons and they made two factions (Northists and Southists).
- 2) **Mar Jacob**³⁴ wrote in 1525 to the Portuguese King about the rights and privileges of his Christians. "It is already a long time, since these Quilon Christians bought with their money a big piece of land in Cranganore with power to pronounce sentence of death and all the rights, which the then ruling king had in it, of which we have **copper plates** sealed with his seal. Now many lords have usurped this land... Only I ask thee, order that this land be restored to us..."³⁵.

Abuna in 1533: After narrating the ministry and martyrdom of St Thomas the Apostle in Mailapur, **Abuna**, Chaldean Bishop (Mar Jacob) said: "In course of time this place (Mailapur) was ruined and the Christians migrated to India. A Christian merchant from the land of Canane came to the city of Miliapur where (the body of) the holy Apostle lay buried. He found everything in ruins and could do nothing there; he went to Cranganor and bought from the local king land and built a church, which is still standing. He called himself "Tome de Canane"; he died of an illness and lay buried there"³⁶.

³⁰ "Marriage Rites of Southist Syrian Christians", p.1, in P-AS.

³¹ "Marriage Rites..." p.20, note, in P-AS. Cf K-TV 447, 458-66.

³² A.M. Mundadan, *The Arrival of the Portuguese in India and the Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob (1498-1552)*, Bangalore 1967, p.90-95; hereafter cited as M-TC.

³³ It was published in SR-D, 3:543-553.

³⁴ A.M. Mundadan, *The Sixteenth Century Traditions of the St Thomas Christians*, Bangalore 1970, 92-93. Hereafter cited as M-TTC.

³⁵ G.Schurhammar in *Gregorianum* 14 (1933) 71-78; SR-D 2:352-56; SK 18f & 20f. Copper-plate document for the land and royal privileges there. D. Goes, *Cronica do fel.Rei D.Manuel* (1556), Coimbra:1949, pp.238-240. SK 20-21.

³⁶ Abuna's testimony is preserved in Roman archives of Jesuits (ARSJ), Goa 31, ff.18-19. It is cited in SK 19.

3) **Damiao de Goes in 1566 about the Chepped of Mar Jacob.** Fr

H.Hosten SJ translated what D.Goes said about the two copper-plates of Mar Jacob, kept with Pero de Sequeira³⁷. An old Chaldean Bishop of Cranganor (Mar Jacob), who lodged in the monastery of St Anthony of the Order of St. Francis, when he was sick, asked Pero for alms and charity to redeem the two copper plates pawned for 20 Cruzados. The "privileges which the lords (kings) of that city (Cranganore) had given to the blessed Apostle St. Thomas, for the Christians whom he already converted then and for those who would be converted thereafter, were engraved on them. Mar Jacob had pawned these plates for 20 Cruzados some years ago, and his poverty had not enabled him to redeem them"³⁸. These plates they brought to him, before the Bishop died, whereat he felt much consolation. Pero de Sequeira showed these plates to the Governor of India. He says nothing about the Chepped of Knaithoman.

The Copper Plates were written in a very ancient style of three languages: Chaldean, Malabar and Arabic. A Jew translated the Malayalam text into Portuguese tongue. The content is that the king who was then reigning gave of his free will to the Apostle St Thomas, who was then residing in Cranganore, to build a temple in that city so many elephant cubits (244/264 *anakkol*) of land in circuit... The Apostle built a house there; our fortress now is on that site. King "declared that all the Christians, who would build houses in that circuit, would not pay any tribute (tax) to the King of that kingdom. Moreover, for the upkeep of the temple, he granted 1/5 of the articles of all merchandise, which the Christians bring to the city, by the bay of its port. They keep this privilege until now"³⁹. These Copper plates of St. Thomas' Christians are known as Mar Jacob's Copper Plates; but at times also as "Thomas Cana Plates" due to confusion⁴⁰. The church of St Thomas was still there, when Abuna gave his testimony⁴¹ in 1533.

4) **Francisco Dionysio SJ**, Rector of College of Cochim for 5 years, gives on 4-1-1578 a report⁴² that is **"the most re-presentative of the oral tradition of the 16th century"**⁴³. It puts the arrival of Thomas of Cana after that of Sapor and Prot in Quilon (823): **"It is now 753 years since this Quinai Thome came from Babylon [in**

³⁷ Kerala Society Papers (=KSP) 4 (1930), pp.183-185. Cited in SK 20-21.

³⁸ Damiao de Goes, *Cronica do fel.Rei D. Manuel*, p.238-240; SK 20-21.

³⁹ SK 21. M-TTC 132-135. G.Schurhammer, *Orientalia*, ed.Lazzlo Szilas, Lisboa 1963, p.347, fn.69. Mundadan, TTC, 132-135. F.Roz, *Relacao...* f.87v.

⁴⁰ Dionysio, in M-TT 94, n.24; p.100 & 132. SK 90.

⁴¹ Testimony of the Chaldean Abuna in 1533 - Inquiry about the Tomb of St Thomas in Mylapore = ARSJ, Goa 31, ff.18-19; M-TTC, p.93. SK 19-21, 27.

⁴² Report of 4-1-1578 in Lisbon, SR-D 12:394-403. J.Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Vol.11 (Rome 1970), 131-143; hereafter cited as DI. M-TTC 94 & 100.

⁴³ A.M. Mundadan, SK 90. M-TTC 41. "There is a **confusion of chronology** in this version. Contrary to the **general tradition Dionysio puts the arrival of Thomas Cana after that of Sapor and Prot in Quilon**" (SK 90). **Who has confusion of chronology? Dionysio who wrote in 1578, or A.M.Mundan or J.Vellian in 1986? Who created the general tradition? Dionysio is the first to give the year 825. Mar Gabriel in 1709 gives 745; Mathai Kathanar in 1720 gives 345! What source?**

A.D.825]. All this is according to an inscription, written on the ollas of iron [copper plates], which the Portuguese found in the possession of these Christians"⁴⁴. He is a native of Babylon and a merchant. He embarked at Cranganore and began to trade. King gave him a plot of land (500 sq. yards) to erect a church for St Thomas. **The merchant Thomas married a woman of that place** and became the peer of the Nairs. The Christians were the equals of the Nairs in status. It would be 752/3 years since this Thomas came from Babylon. After his arrival (in A.D.826/825), this Christianity lovingly followed the bishops who came from Babylon(ia) and Syria; they say, their Christianity had origin from there⁴⁵. This can be interpreted as the origin of the 'Chaldean Liturgy' from Babylon. Fr Dionysio is more reliable than Bp Roz who is confusing.

- 5) **Fr. Antonio Monserrate⁴⁶ writes on 12-1-1579** to his Jesuit General about the origin of St Thomas Christians in Sierra (Mala-bar). There are two opinions: One group say, they are descendants of the disciples of St Thomas the Apostle. Others say, they are descended only from one Mar Thome, the Syrian. "Mar", a sign of honour, means don or san in Spanish. This Syrian and merchant Thomas came by way of Ormuz to Paru[r] and found Christians of St Thomas who wore wooden crosses suspended from their neck. He settled in Curangaluru (Cranganore); he had two wives, one free, and the other, a slave; both were of noble birth. Christians were equal to Nayres in social status; there was no pollution between them for friendship or marriage. Monserrate thinks the Christian community of 70,000 people in Mallavar originated from both the groups and from many Nairs who are daily converted. All Christians are reduced to two tribes, because of the descent from two wives, and also due to the site of the land: some live on the south side, and some on the north side (of Cranganore). So the division into Northists and Southists was topographical (SK 25). He made Christians a united community, kept up the superiority of their caste, and became their chief in Cranganore. All these Mar Thoma the Syrian arranged that Syrian bishops come here and perform the rites and ceremonies of Syrian Church, because Christ spoke Syriac (Aramaic)⁴⁷. **"Thus tradition is unanimous in assigning the beginning of the division to the arrival of Thomas of Cana"** ⁴⁸. It is also related to the geneology.
- 6) **Fr John Campori SJ writes on 9-1-1604** to his General about a quarrel in 1603 between the descendants of Quinai Thome and the other Christians of St Thomas in a place between Diamper and Candanad. Campori says that Quinai Thome had a Babylonian wife and an Indian concubine, and descendants from both; they had no marriage alliances with the other Christians of St Thomas. These two castes had separate churches. It is evident in their ancient history that more than 1260 years ago (AD 344) there was in

⁴⁴ cited in SK 23. SR-D 12:395. M-TC 94. DI 11:136-137. K-TV 213-216.

⁴⁵ Dionysio in SR-D 12:397-398. DI 11:137. M-TC 94, 103. V-KC 36.

⁴⁶ Letter to E.Mercuriano on 12-1-1579 from Cochin, in DI 11:512-527; Goa 12 II f.525v-528r. Cf "Informacion de los Christianos de S.Thome" (1577), in DI 10:967-974. Ant.da Gouvea, *Jornada...* in 1606, f.4v. SK 17 and 28. M-TTC 96.

⁴⁷ Monserrate in ARSJ Goa 12 II f.526v; DI 11:516-517; DI 10:969-970.

⁴⁸ M-TTC 100; DI 12:512-513; DI 10:967-974.

Malavar an Emperor called Jacorabirti [Chakravarti] Perumal. He received into his country a rich Armenian by name Quinai Thome and made to him a donation of land in Cranganore where now stands the fortress of the king of Portugal. Knaithoma colonised Kodungallur. This Armenian, some say, brought his wife from Babylon with him, and took a (native washer) woman as his mistress (concubine-wife) from the country. Or, as others say, first he married a woman from the Christians of St. Thomas, and made a slave (washer) woman his mistress. So from this foreigner proceed two lineages (clans) of the Christians in Sierra. ... Each of these two castes claims to proceed from the true wife, considering the others as children of the slave woman. So one caste does not enter into marriage with the others, and they have separate churches in the bazars. Yet **there is always among them differences and quarrels**⁴⁹ (on the question of legitimacy and nobility of caste).

Fr. John Campori says: "The greater and better part of these Christians of the Serra however are the descendants of those whom St Thomas the Apostle baptised in Mailapur, and who later due to forces and wars passed over to Malabar, with whom as belonging to the same law this Quinai Thome united himself, and as he was rich and powerful with the King obtained many privileges and thus they established a capital or metropole in Cranganor"⁵⁰.

- 7) **Francis Ros SJ** who came to Malabar in 1585 and taught in the Seminary of Vaipicotta, became bishop in 1600 and wrote a long report in 1604 about the Christians of St Thomas⁵¹. He holds that **before the arrival of Thomas Cana there were Christians of St Thomas the Apostle in Malabar.** (f.86v) These Christians have no books of ancient histories but only traditions of the ancients to which they cling tenaciously. So we must help ourselves with the chronicles and chronology existing among the Malavares people and with reliable conjectures which we find in different places of these kingdoms. Accordingly, the last Emperor of Malavar, called Xeram (Cheraman) Perumal, was the one who at Cranganore gave land for a church and a settlement **to the Christians of St Thomas**, and great privileges, as is seen from their *ollas*: the copper original of which was taken to Portugal by the Religious of St. Francis (Assisi) but a copy of them remains here. This Perumal died on 1st of March, 1258 years ago (in 346)... Hence it follows that the dedication of the church of Cranganore took place more than 1200 years ago (404); (f.87r) it was founded in April of the said year, and presently 72 houses were built on the said land...⁵². Perumal called for a very rich Armenian who came from Babylon-ia and was called Thome Cananeo, and who gave to the king a good sum of money, bought from him the whole of the thicket and founded on it a bazaar and a church of St Thomas. The land he bought was of 264 cubits of elephant⁵³. *Controversia* f.9 says, the Christians of St Thomas with the help of Thomas Cana built the town of Cranganore

⁴⁹ Campori's Letter, cited in SK 37. K-TV 217f. 234f.

⁵⁰ ARSJ, Goa 48:92r, cited in SK 37. K-TV 214f.

⁵¹ Relacao... MS Add.9853, ff.85-99, in British Library, London.

⁵² Roz, *Relacao*... f. 86v, cited in SK 30. Knaithoma claimed them. Cf Mar Jacob's letter of 1525 (SK 20-21) and letter of Campori (SK 37).

⁵³ Roz, *Relacao*... f.87r., cited in SK 30; C-SK 231. 244 in K-TV 255.

and the prelates lived there ordinarily; f.9v says, **it was 700 years afterwards, that an Armenian merchant** by name Thomas Cananeo together with the Christians of St Thomas built the town of Cranganore⁵⁴.

Report includes the copy of the olla (copper-plate of Mar Jacob?) which the said Xeram Perumal gave to Thome Cananeo in granting the ground of Cranganore... (SK 30) there arrived in a ship Thome Cananeo, a chief man who had resolved to see the uttermost part of Orient. Some men informed the king about his arrival; he came before the king who called him "Coquarangon Cananeo"⁵⁵ (f.87v) and the King gave him the city of Magoderpatanam for ever... The King laid the first brick (tijolo) for the church and for the house of Thome Cananeo, and made there a city for all, and entered the church and there made prayer on the same day. After these things, Thome went to the steps (passos) of the King and offered him presents; then he asked the king to give that land to him and to his descendants. He measured 264 steps (covados) of elephant and gave to Thome and to his descendants for ever. 62 (72?) houses were immediately erected there...(SK 33).

This is the writing (*escritura*) of the ground of Cranganor, which the Emperor of all Malavar gave to the Armenian Thome Cananeo and to **the more Christians of St Thomas**... At that time they reckoned from 12 to 12 years... This manner of reckoning is quite forgotten because for the last 779 years they count in the whole of Malavar in the era of Coulao... (825+779 =1604). So long before the coming of the said Thome Cananeo, there were Christians of St Thomas who had come from Mailapur, the town of St. Thomas. And the chief families among them are four: Cotour, Catalan, Onamturte, Narimattan. They are known today among these Christians, who became multiplied and extended through the whole of this Malavar, together with the converts from the gentiles (SK 34).

However, **the descendants of Thome Cananeo always remained above them**, without wishing to marry or mix with these other Christians, so that now there are among them two lineages (geracoes): One is descended from Thome Cananeo from the father's side, the mother being a gentile woman who was later baptised. The other lineage is of those who on both the father's and mother's side were originally descended from the Christians of St Thomas. **The latter took greater care than the others to increase the Church** (SK 34), and so they received many gentile people and baptised them... Sons of Thome Cananeo who were rich and honourable, wished to subject the others, saying they were their blacks...⁵⁶ As a result **there arose great discord between the Christians** of St Thomas and the descendants of Thome Cananeo; they had great disputes. It is strange to see the aversion, based on antiquities and fables, among these two "castes". Wherefore it was necessary to make different churches at Carturte (Kaduthuruthy) and Cotete (Kottayam)... The descendants of Thome Cananeo are few; they are at Udiamper, Carturte, Cotete and Turigure (Thodupuzha)... (SK 35).

⁵⁴ M-TTC 96, fn 33. *Controversia* is a report of the process between the dioceses of Angamali and Cochin in 1607, found in ARSJ, Goa 65, f.9.

⁵⁵ M-TTC 95, f.n.31. T.K.Joseph says, Coquarangon is probably a corruption of *Cocherakon*, the Chera king (KSP 1:194).

⁵⁶ Anglo-Indians can call Indians "black", because they think, they are superior due to their white colour, blue eyes, etc.

Wrong information was given to the author... who attributed to Thome Cananeo the beginning of the Christians of St Thomas in Malavar⁵⁷. It is clear from very ancient traditions and reliable surmises, that there were St Thomas' Christians in Malavar already before the said Cananeo. The Olla of Xeram Perumal says that on the said ground of Cranganore 72 houses were built for Christians with a church. Thome had not so many people with him, since he came to trade... Record of the land of Cranganore says, it is for the Armenian Thome Cananeo and for his descendants. So they were for St Thomas' Christians (SK 30, 33, 35).

Thome Cananeo, these Christians say, had a wife and a concubine, from whom are descended the two kinds (Southerns and Northerns) of Christians living in this Malavar (SK 36). "Thus according to Roz only the latter group (obviously the **Northerns**) are to be called the Christians of St. Thomas. The latter Christians were more careful than the others to increase the membership of the Church and hence received into their community many pagans whom they baptised"⁵⁸.

- 8) **Ant.de Gouvea wrote *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Aleixo de Menezes*** in 1603 and published it in 1606 from Coimbra, with the *Synod of Diamper* and *Missa* (Mass). He says, St Thomas preached and baptised people in Cranganor, Quilon, Mailapur and China; he suffered martyrdom at Mailapur. Christians of Mailapur due to persecution fled to Travancore, Quilon, Cranganor and Todamala. The Christians of Cranganor were highly privileged by Xarao Perumal. He narrates the story of Thome Cana or Marthoma (from the part of Southists). He was a noble and rich Armenian who carried on a great trade; he got much favour and hospitality, and received many privileges and honours from the King of Cranganor, the most powerful in Malavar, for the Christians among whom he lived. He got a spacious ground to found a big church; he caused to write all (things) on ollas of copper (copper plates). One Mar Jacob, Bishop of these Christians, fearing they might be lost, entrusted them to the Factor of Cochim when the Portuguese made the factory there... The Christians alone when marrying were allowed to wear their hair tied up with a golden flower, to go on elephants, to sit on carpets, and other honours... With these privileges, together with those (privileges) which Xarao (Cheraman) Perumal had given them, the Christians of Malavar became greatly accredited, and they were held in such esteem that they are called until today both in Serra and in Pande "the sons of kings" (SK 28).

"This Marthoma who received the last privileges, lived among these Christians and being powerful carried out trade and business in different parts of Malavar; so **he had two houses and two families**, one on the southern side of Cranganor, and the other on the northern side. He had his wife and children on the southern side, on the northern side he had a slave, a Nair woman made Christian, from whom also he had children. At his death he divided his possessions among all (his children from both women). He gave to the legitimate children all his possessions on the south, and to the bastards his possessions on the north. Having their inheritance they married and multiplied. The descendants of the

⁵⁷ Ros' Relacao... f.87v-88v, cited in SK 34-35.

⁵⁸ M-TTC 99; Roz, Informacao... f.88; SK 34-35.

legitimate children (Southists) settled in Cranganor, Caturte Cotete, Diamper and other places. The bastards too multiplied and spread to other parts (of Malavar). Thus Christianity began to grow with the descendance and family of Thome Cana. But with this growth, **there developed a discord between the descendants of the legitimate children and those who had marriage alliance with them, and the descendants of the bastards (servants and blacks), which continues until today**⁵⁹. Since the legitimate (descendants) are considered more honourable than the others, there is no inter-marriage between these two "castes", nor a common church or priest.

"The Archbishop (Menezes) tried very much to remove these differences when he visited them, and in the Synod (of Diamper) which he celebrated among them, and thus **he suppressed some of those churches where division existed**, reducing all (Christians) to one (church), where the number of people did not require two, and where they were necessary, dividing the people by streets, and not by castes, placing priests of the ones in the churches of the others, which helped much in undoing among them this contention, which although had not reached to arms, nevertheless always in matters pertaining to honour used to exhibit itself"⁶⁰. **But Rome created the diocese of Kottayam in 1911** for the "Sudists" who claim to have "pure Syrian blood" - of Thome Cana? **Was it a historical mistake?**⁶¹

- 9) **Diogo de Couto (+1616) spent over 50 years in India.** He was the official historian and keeper of the archives of Portuguese India. He completed *Decadas da Asia*, started by Joao da Barros. In Decada 12, book 3, chapter 5 (**written in 1611**), he speaks about Thome Cananeo and the Copy of the donation which the King of Malavar made to Thome Cananeo. He follows Records. St Thomas the Apostle preached in Malavar and in Mailapur. Due to persecution the Christians of Mailapur fled to Malavar. After many years, there arrived at the port of Patana a ship, from which landed **an Armenian Christian**, called Thome Cananeo. Being a very rich man, he met the King and got a place of Patanam for him to **settle with his own (people) who brought their wives**. Afterwards the king gave him the ground of Cranganor where now our fortress stands, where Thome Cananeo ordered to make a church at the place where it now stands with the invocation of the same Apostle. Then he made two others (churches): patron of one is Our Lady, and that of another is St Cyriac the Martyr. As the grant (*donacao*) of these grounds which the King ordered to pass is remarkable and declares many things worth knowing. So I copy them as they were found in certain copper-plates (pastas de cobre) to which I refer in my 7th Decada [book 1, chap.2]. They disappeared from the factory of Cochim. I conclude from them that this king was a Christian, and was called Cocurangon⁶².

⁵⁹ Jornada, f.4r-v, cited in SK 27-29. SK 34-35. Both have the "pure blood" of Thome.

⁶⁰ A.de Gouvea, Jornada, f.4v, cited in SK 29. Southists' "Syrian" blood!

⁶¹ Cf K-TV 520-529. Fr M.Makil played the cards conveniently to be a Bp.

⁶² Da Asia Decada 12, published in 15 tomi, Lisbon 1778-88. Tom.8, p.283, cited in SK 38-39. Cf SK 30-34.

"The arrival of this man (Thome Cananeo) was in about A.D. 811, as it is found in the Chaldean books of these Christians. From many conjectures, it seems to me that he is the king of whom St Antoninus writes in his history that he sent every year a present of pepper to the Sovereign Pontiff... Thome Cananeo was sending the present. The first church the Holy Apostle (Thomas) built was in (Parur) Patanam (city), which having been destroyed in many great wars, was rebuilt by Thome Cananeo and later was transferred to Parur, as we have said⁶³.

From the people who had come with him proceed the Christians of Diamper, Cottete, and Cartute, who without doubt are of the caste of the **Armenians**, and their children too are of the same, because they had brought their wives. Afterwards their descendants married in the land and **in course of time all became Malavares**... All these Christians, after the Catholic prelates who came to them from the city of Edessa had died, **lived for many hundreds of years** in the faith which their fathers and grandfathers had taught them **until about A.D.730, before Thome Cananeo arrived there**. And a few years after the foundation of the city of Coulao (Quilon) ... two Chaldeans came from Babylon-ia, called Mar Xabio and Mar Prod"⁶⁴. From the foundation of the city of Coulao the Malavares count their era: this year of 1611 in which I write this is the year 722 [786] from its foundation; according to our count that city began to be in 889 [825]. Couto gives A.D.811 and 730 for Thome.

- 10) **Fr. Paulo da Trindade OFM (1570-1650)** was in India over 55 years. After holding responsible offices, he wrote the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*⁶⁵ **in 1630-36**. Fr.Paulo says that when the Bishop of Mailapur, who used to provide priests for the Malabar Church died, the Christians of Malabar were devoid of ecclesial ministries, and they even forced a deacon (Archdeacon?) to celebrate the Holy Eucharist for them. Then Thomas Cana sent for a Bishop from Armenia (Vol.2, p.324) for the Christians of Cranganor. He had a wife and a concubine, and his descendants (Christians of Malabar) were divided into two groups on the basis of their mother, wife or concubine.

These Christians, called **Christians of St Thomas**, are many in the kingdom of Cranganor and in other kingdoms of Malabar. They are very **much esteemed and well-treated by the pagan kings** because of the many and great privileges granted to them by Cherum Perumal, the great Emperor of Malabar... Because of these privileges, the Christians [of St Thomas] are esteemed and considered as the best and most ancient nobles (*nobreza*) of Malabar, and are held as more honoured than the Nairs, who are the nobles and lords of these kingdoms. Hence, these Christians are called as "Sons of Kings" (*Filhos de Reis*) even today in the kingdoms of Serra and Pande⁶⁶.

⁶³ *Da Asia*, Tom.8:285, as cited in SK 40. M-TTC 95, fn.29.

⁶⁴ *Da Asia*, Tom.8:285, as cited in SK 41. Quilon era began in AD 825.

⁶⁵ A MS copy of the book (cod.lat.7746) in the Vatican Library was published in 3 vols. (1962-64-67) by Fr Felix Lopes OFM from Lisbon. The Thomas Cana episode, based on *Jornada* of Gouvea, is given in Vol.2 (p.322-324).

⁶⁶ *Conquista*... Vol.2:322, cited in SK 42. Cf SK 30. Serra is hill for Mala-bar.

Mar Jacob wrote in 1525 about rights and privileges of the Christians of St Thomas in Cranganor (SK 18).

All those who live in this kingdom of Cranganor are the **descendants of an Armenian Christian** called Tome Cana or Mar Tome (Mr Thomas). He was a native of Armenia, very noble, rich and powerful; he came with other merchants (of Armenia). King of Cranganor received him well and gave him a noble gentile woman of the country as wife, and for dowry to her and to their descendants the city of Cranganor with many other places; Tome accepted the marriage on condition that she is made a Christian. He got privileges and honours for the Christians who were living there, and a spacious ground for a big church... He carried on trade and business in many parts of Malabar. He had two houses and two families [as some of the Portuguese traders had]: on the southern side of Cranganor he had his wife and children; and on the northern side, he had a slave woman (Nair), converted as Christian, from whom also he had children. At his death he divided his possessions among these and the others... All of them marrying multiplied... the descendants of the legitimate children (sons) settled in Cranganor, Caturta, Cottete, Diamper and other places; and the bastards spread to other parts. Thus Christianity continued growing further with the descendants and family of Tome Cana. However... there is no mixing among them (by marriage), on the contrary **great discord, considering the descendants of the legitimate sons and those related to them by marriage as more honourable than the descendants of the bastards.** ...by no means do the ones mix with the others by marriage; neither do they tolerate or consent the others in one's churches, or to have in one's churches priests belonging to the caste of the others" ⁶⁷.

Who are "those related to them by marriage as more honourable"? **Even the "legitimate" Sudists, may not have "pure Syrian blood",** since they had marriage with others. "In course of time they multiplied very much so that all the Christians of Malabar became the descendants of the one (group-caste) or of the other, and thus this Christianity is divided into these two sides (parties). ...Out of 60 settlements of this people **scarcely 10 only belong to the noble sons of the lady,** while all others belong to the descendants from the slave woman"⁶⁸. Who is this lady? Christian or Nair? Wife or Concubine? Is the merchant Thomas a saint - holy man? This report, like that of Gouvea and Sebastiani, favours the Southists against the Northists.

Who are the noble sons? Those who buy the Nairs and give them as husbands to their daughters? Or those who call others blacks and make them servants or slaves? (SK 35). Children of the Armenian Tome Cana have "pure blood" from their father! Mother's blood is noble! So all his descendants were noble sons with "pure blood"; both equally got the inheritance from their father Thome Cananeo, in south or north of the city of Cranganor. **"Armenian pure blood" of the Sudists** is lacking in the Christians of St Thomas who got many privileges from the King of Kodungallur before the arrival of Knaithoman! Mixed marriages produce bastards! So they are cast out of the diocese of Kottayam (V-KC 27) to keep the purity of blood of the Sudists! (CCEO 29, 31, 33).

⁶⁷ *Conquista...* Vol.2:322, cited in SK 42-43. Cf *Jornada* in SK 28.

⁶⁸ *Conquista...* Vol.2:323, cited in SK 43. Cf *Jornada* in SK 28. SK 49.

"The Knanites have **a constant history of loyalty** to their bishops" and they "continued their steadfast loyalty to the rightful ecclesial head even against the rebellious tendency of the Archdeacon's faction" except Cassanar Ittithomman Anjilimoottil (of Kallicherry) and a small faction with him"⁶⁹ who might be the Knanites of Chingavanam. While the Archdeacon was still refusing to recognise Dom Menezes, the Southists of Kaduthuruthy and Diamper accepted him and got ordination from him. **Sudists were supporting Latin bishops against Archdeacon**, as Abp Stephen Brito writes: "Only the Christians of five or six churches who belong to the caste different from that of the Archdeacon (obviously the Knanites) have not concurred with him in the agitation. They remained ready to receive us to their places with the same benevolence and obedience they always had for us..."⁷⁰. When Adn.Thomas began collecting signatures for a memorandum against Abp Garcia in 1645, two Knanaya priests Corede Nalur of Kottayam and Audepo of Kaduthuruthy, informed the Archbishop about it. They testified at two judicial enquiries against the Archdeacon and against their competitors, Paulose of Kottayam and Mathai of Kaduthuruthy, who were siding with the Archdeacon⁷¹. **Dom Garcia rewarded the two priests** by appointing them vicars... So Ittithoman Anjilimoottil of Kallicherry **broke with Abp Garcia and sided with Adn.Thomas**. He was one of the four councillors of Adn.Thomas, proclaimed as the governor of the archdiocese of Cranganore in 1653. He forged a letter⁷² in the name of Mar Attallah, that allows Adn.Thomas to be ordained bishop by 12 priests (on 22-5-1653). The churches of Thurugure (Chunkom), Udiamper and Cottete came to visit the Abp Garcia. They never entered in the revolt, nor recognised the Adn.Thomas. "The Christians of St Thomas who are called of Tecumpar (Thekum-bhagar) in distinction to the other Christians called of Badecumpar (Vadakum-bhagar) in testimony to the truth on our own (free) will..."⁷³. Fr Hyacinth de Magistris, Secretary to Abp Garcia, says: "The Christians of Teccumpagam who still remain faithful, request an Apostolic blessing, for having a false opinion, that they were in ancient times excommunicated..."⁷⁴.

- 11) **Fr Joseph Mary Sebastiani's Report in 1657** (SOCG 233:455-473). Informed of the rebellion in the Malabar Church, Roman See sent two Carmelites, Fr Joseph of St Mary (Sebastian) and Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent to Malabar as Apostolic Commissaries. By a land route Sebastiani reached Malabar in Feb.1657 and met priests and delegates of parish-churches. They would not obey the Jesuit Abp Garcia. They want Mar Thoma himself to be ordained Bishop, or else a non-Jesuit bishop. He left for Rome in Jan.1658 and gave

⁶⁹ SK 44-45. K-TV 519-529. Memory of 345, 1911, 1914, kept in 1939.

⁷⁰ Letter of 16-12-1634, in ARSJ, Goa 18:143v; cited in SK 44.

⁷¹ Goa 50, ff. 57-61, 115-17: 142-46 & 106. SK 45.

⁷² HCI 2:94, fn 11. J.Thekkedath, The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia SJ, Rome 1972, p.61, fn.35.

⁷³ A sworn statement of 4 priests in 23-B, f.422v, cited in SK 46.

⁷⁴ Fr Hyacinth de Magistris SJ requested 9 Ap.letters of Pope; one of them was for the Sudists. Cited in SK 48. Cf Goa 68:152. SK 49.

the report (APF, SOCG 233:455-473 or 111-139). This report was elaborated and published as *Prima Spedizione...* in 1666. The Christians of Malabar has **85 churches** and under each of them there are more villages dispersed and difficult to reach. Besides they are divided into **two contrary factions** of Thegumpagam (Sudists) and Badegumpagam (Nordists). Sudist group is very small, at the most 5000 persons (in 4 or 5 places). These factions make it difficult to assemble them⁷⁵.

Bp Sebastiani in his *Prima Spedizione...* in 1666 (p.108-110) says: After the Christians of Coromandel Coast passed on to be united with those of the kingdoms of Malabar, **a very rich Armenian came there**, married and obtained from the King of Cranganore many privileges, given only to sons of king, and the Christians were called sons of king. Now, this Armenian, called **Thome Cana, had a house with wife on south** (mezzo giorno), and another on north (tramontana) with a concubine of Nair blood, but Christian, from whom too he had children. At his death he divided the inheritance equally among all. **In course of time they related themselves with the whole Christianity.** Hence all Christians were divided into two factions: Baregumpagam or Northern which is numerous from the illegitimate group, and Teckumpagam or Southern, who are found only in Diamper, Cottette, Turgoli and Carturte. Nordists say the contrary and defend, they are the true legitimate (children). The opposition (*antipatia*) of these two factions is so great that they **have no intermarriage, no common churches or priests**, although Meneses the Great tried to remedy it. They are so tenacious in their aversion, and so divided in their resolution albeit perverse, that even if they get out at times, they fall into it again and many times⁷⁶.

Fr Hyacinth OCD, was not given a solemn welcome on 17-10-1658 at Kaduthuruthy; the promulgation of the Apostolic Brief was done only on 3-7-1660, ten months after the death of Dom Garcia (SK 50). Since the Dutch defeated the Portuguese at Cochim on 7-1-1663 and ordered all the foreigners to quit Malabar, Msgr Sebastiani called an assembly at Kaduthuruthy and chose Fr Chandy Parambil, Vicar of Kuravilangad, as Ap.Vicar of Angamaly and Bishop of Megara, and consecrated him on 1-2-1663. Knanaya Community offered full cooperation and support to the new Bishop (SK 51). Pachikkara Tharakan from Chungam, Thodupuzha, acted as the spokesman of the Southists and offered the total obedience of the community to the Bishop who was not of Tecumpagam-Sudist⁷⁷.

- 12) **Fr Matheo of St Joseph OCD** was in Malabar from Feb.1657 to 1663 and from 1668 to 1678, as adviser and close associate of Bp. Alex. Parambil. A report on the Malabar Church which seems to be written by him (1676), is kept in the British Library as *MS Sloane 2748-A*. After the glorious Apostle St Thomas passing to different parts of India, converted and baptised many people, new labourers (of the vineyard) came... As God is the Supreme Pastor..., he provided this Serra with an apostolic person of the Christian religion, called Chinai Thome. He is said to be a native of Canaan and a disciple of St Thomas, descendant of the ancient disciples. This

⁷⁵ APF, SOCG 232:457v, cited in SK 49.

⁷⁶ Sebastiani, *Prima Spedizione...* Rome 1666, p.108, cited in SK 49.

⁷⁷ Report of Sebastiani in APF, SOCG 233:197r. *Seconda Spedizione all'Indie Orientale*, Rome 1672, p.146-47; Venice: 1683, p.83; SK 51-52.

holy launcher (hero) found that this Serra and Christianity did not have the true and perfect rite of our holy faith but only some apostolic traditions, e.g. the observance of Sundays, baptism of the new born babies, adoration and veneration of the holy Cross. This apostolic hero built and founded the first church of St Thomas in Cranganor. He had such authority and esteem with the kings of Malavar, that they for love of him granted the following privileges to this Christianity: ... All these and other privileges were granted by the kings in those times... There is no doubt about the said privileges written on *ollas* of copper (Copper plates) and the witnesses were the sun and the moon...⁷⁸. So they are lasting.

Cherigon Perimale, converted by St Thomas, divided his kingdom to the kings of Malavar; their chief was called **Sakara Vittia**. He who gave many privileges to the Christians at the request of Canai Thome, had given him a native of the country as an interpreter of languages and cook. This person was **a woman of mainatto** who had the duty of washing clothes (with ashes); so she was of a servile and low caste. Canai **Thome instructed her sons in the faith** of our Lord Jesus Christ. They were the authors and founders of the Christians of St Thomas, who are called **of the South**⁷⁹; it means people of low dwelling place and abode. This way of saying is (customary) in Mallavar. Important and noble persons, they say, live in upper and excellent places, which they call North or East, as we say on the right or on the left...⁸⁰. Nalukettu has Vadakini (for cooking) and Tekkini (for sleeping). **Tekkini** is a small building for servants on the south of the main building.

- 13) **Mar Gabriel (1705-31) the Chaldean Metropolitan** at Valiyapalli, Kottayam, wrote a *Short History of the Syrian Church in Malabar* in Syriac in 1709⁸¹. K.P. Padmanabha Menon reproduces it and comments on it in his *History of Kerala*⁸². J.T.Visscher tries to give **"a veracious account of the St Thomas' Christians"** or **"old Christians"**, called sometimes **"Syrian Christians"**. **"Besides their priests, the St. Thomas' Christians have Bishops who exercise supreme jurisdiction over their churches. At present there are two, Mar Gabriel and Mar Thomas, who do not agree well together... Mar Gabriel, a white man, and sent hither from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance... He is courteous and God-fearing... He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from all animal food... Mar Thomas, the other Bishop, is a native of Malabar"**⁸³. **"...I include in this letter a somewhat remarkable account of the origin and spread of Christianity in Malabar, which**

⁷⁸ Fr Mathew, MS Sloane 2748-A, ff.6v-7v, cited in SK 52-54.

⁷⁹ Names of the seven Illams are given variously. P-AS 20; K-TV 458-462.

⁸⁰ Fr Mathew, MS Sloane 2748-A, f.8v; SK 54. **This narration is not to every one's taste, nor is pleasing to some people** (f.9v; SK 55).

⁸¹ It is found in the 16th Letter of Jacobus Cantler Visscher, the Dutch Chaplain at Cochin (1717-23) in *Malabarese Briefen*, Leeuwarden 1743. Herber Drury published it in English: *Letters from Malabar*, Madras: 1862 (pp.100-117).

⁸² *A History of Kerala, written in the Form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar*, in 4 vols. Ernakulam 1924-37. Vol.2:40-53; 466, 492-503.

⁸³ H.Drury, *Letters from Malabar*, Madras: 1862 (=VD-LM), p.103.

has been sent me by Mar Gabriel, written in the Syriac language. The title runs as follows: *The antiquity of the Syrian Christians, and Historical events relating to them.* "Fifty-two years after the birth of the Messiah, the holy Apostle Thomas arrived at Mailapure... Passing from thence to Malabar the holy man landed on the island of Maliankarre... ordained two priests..."⁸⁴.

Mar Gabriel refers to **Manickavashar** who seduced Christians in Mailapur who had no priests for many years. "In those days certain persons came from Hindowy or Hindoostan, who were not disposed to abandon the people of Malabar, and who allied with themselves with the believers, that is, the Christians who had remained constant, in number about 160 families or tribes. These men taught for many years in Malabar... because they were destitute of pastors... most of them ended in becoming heathens... This caused a second apostasy, so that out of 160 families, 96 adopted the heathen superstitions, **64 only adhering to the true faith.** Now in those days there appeared a vision to an Arch-priest at Oerghai [Edesa], in consequence whereof **certain merchants were sent from Jerusalem** by command of the Catholic(a) authorities in the East, to see whether there were here any Nazarenes or Christians. These persons arrived here with ships, joined all the Christians from Maliankara, as far as Tierowangotta, treated them as brothers and strengthened them in the faith; and having taken leave of the 64 families, set sail and returned to Jerusalem, and related to the Catholics(a) in that place their adventures in Malabar. After this, **several priests, students, Christian women and children came** hither from Bagdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem by order of the Catholic Archpriest at Oerghai, **arriving in the year of the Messiah 745, in company with the merchant Thomas.** Having made acquaintance with the 64 families, **they became united and lived in concord one with another.** At this time the famous Emperor Cheram Peroumal was reigning over the whole of Malabar. ...King was well pleased and gave them pieces of ground in the territory of Cranganore to build churches and shops upon, that they might pursue their trades... The Christians possess, in the territory of Cranganore East, West, North and South, several churches, **besides 472 shops,** and dwelling houses, built around them; and they lived in peace and unity for several years. **...until a separation took place** among the Christians of Cranganore **in the year of our Lord 823,** and then Mar Saboor, Mar Bote, and Seboor Isso, came to Quilon as teachers"⁸⁵.

Mar Gabriel knows the history of Malabar, as he refers to the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar in 1500, and of four Syrian Bishops, by order of the Catholic Patriarch, and of Mar Abraham about 1550. Mar Matti (*sic*) came to Mailapure, sent by the Catholic Patriarch. The Portuguese apprehended him... and cast him into the water. In 1700 the Bishop Mar Symons, sent by the Catholic Patriarch of the East, arrived in India, being appointed to Malabar. Carmelites and Jesuits captured the Bishop and led him prisoner to Pondecherry. After him in 1705 the chief teacher, Mar Gabriel, came to this land. Out of **64 churches** 20 have remained with the Carmelites, and 44 with the Syrians.

⁸⁴ VD-LM 105. Colony was united with 64 families. **No endogamous group!**

⁸⁵ VD-LM, 106-107. K-TV 230-233. Have they "pure Syrian blood"?

- 14) **Mathai Kathanar's History of Malabar Church, in 1720/30,** is kept in Leyden. It may be a modified version of the "history" written by Mar Gabriel. Fr Mathai Veticutel was a Jacobite priest, and a close associate of the Chaldean Metropolitan, Mar Gabriel. Fr Mathew is mentioned as a partisan of Mar Gabriel in the letters (1709 & 1720) of Mar Thomas IV to the Antiochean Patriarch⁸⁶. But, in the style of *Keralolpathi*, he adds details (figures) to the history of Mar Gabriel to project Knaithoman who came to Malabar in 345! Fr Mathai⁸⁷ says, **after 92 years**, India and Malabar was made a widow, deprived of priests and presbyters and there were only the faithful of both sexes⁸⁸. After the magical arts of Manikbasar, 160 families remained constant in faith, even without presbyters and leaders; **a dissension arouse among them**, and 96 families renounced orthodox faith, while only 64 families kept it. A vision appeared to the metropolitan of Edessa, who went to the Catholicus of the East and told him of the vision. Catholicus sent messengers to all churches, monasteries and cities of the diocese and called the people together. A merchant called Thomas of Jerusalem heard a report about Malabar and India! He sets out for Malabar! Coming to Malyamkara, he saw the Thomas' Christians who told him about their affairs! [What affairs?] Back in his country, he went to the Catholica and gave report. With the help of the adorable God and by order of the Catholica of the East, Merchant Thoma of Jerusalem went forth again, taking with him the Bishop who had seen the vision, presbyters and deacons, men and women, young men and maiden, from Jerusalem, Bagdad and Nineve. They entered a ship and left for Malabar where they landed at Malyamkara in the year 345 of the Lord (SK 58-59). Here **Fr Mathai changed the year 745 into 345. They built 472 houses in Malyamkara.** Syrian Fathers used to come by order of the Catholica of the East, and they took care of the district of Hendo and Milibar. In 823 the Syrian Fathers, Mar Sabor (Sapores) and Mar Prot (Pherozes), and Sabar-Iso (Sebarjesu), a famous man, came to Kollam⁸⁹ (Kulam). **No division of 472 houses into southern and northern in 1720.**
- 15) Ancient **Malayalam MS of 1770, KTM:** published in **CMS Report of 1818-1819**, p.317: "In course of time the Nazraiters who came from Jerusalem began to interchange marriages with the Christians of Malabar according to their stations in life. **The most respectable had 400 houses on the northern side of the village of Cranganore, and the inferior had 72 (houses) on the south side of the same.** These **two castes** are called *Vadaken Paver* or North party and *Theken Paver* or South party. This was done **for perpetual distinction** between them. The North party walk after the way of their father; the South party after the way of their mother. Among

⁸⁶ Letter of 1709 was published by Carolus Schaff, Lugduni: 1714. Letter of 1720 is published by Asseman, BO 4:464-68. Letter of 1709 in BO 4:443.

⁸⁷ MS 1213 of Leyden: J.P.N.Land (ed.& tr.) Latin from Karson and published in his *Anecdota Syriaca*, Tomus I, Lugduni: 1862, pp.24-30 (Syriac) and pp.123-27 (Latin). S.Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes...* Rome 1902, p.552-564. It is in the style of *Keralolpathi*, like Mala.MS 1214 of Leyden: *What happened to the Syrians in Malayalam. Ola-MS* of Karuthedathu family in Mavelikara: State of Marga-vazhi in Kerala: KSP, Series 5 of 1930, pp.24-255. SK 57.

⁸⁸ S.Giamil, p.552-53. SK 58. Families 160-96 = 64 faithful remnant.

⁸⁹ S.Giamil, p.554-557. SK 59-60. K-TV 230-233. 472 houses live together.

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 Thaluvam, something like a cross. The North party, when they join hands in marriage, cover the head and face of the bride with a cloth (mantrakodi), but the South party uncover them. The North party have the chief barber to shave the bridegroom the night before marriage, he having never till then been shaved; while the South party employ an under-barber. The North party having the chief washerman to wash their clothes at marriage and feasts, the South party an under-washerman. Among the North party when they give food for the first time to a young child, which is done by a priest, the child sits on the father's lap; among the Southern party the child sits on the mother's lap. The merchandise of the North party consists chiefly in gold and silver and silk; that of the South party in other articles. In this way the **rules of distinction** were settled by the Nazarites, the children of God who dwelt in the above village. In this way, 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..."⁹⁰. This is **an impartial report** of a 3rd party, that explains the peaceful settlement of families in due positions.

- 16) **Rev.Dr.Joseph Cariatti wrote a short history of the Malabar Church in Portuguese in Lisbon in 1782**⁹¹. Those known as the Christians of St Thomas in Malabar had persevered from the year 52 of the common era **for 7 entire centuries**. Later on the succession of bishops failed and religion began to decline and decay. But this defect was remedied by **Knai-Thoma**, a rich and liberal merchant (and a zealous catholic), who returning to his native country, Babilonia, **brought a bishop and two priests of good behaviour and great learning** in the languages, Syriac and Chaldean, of the Rite of the people of Malabar. They worked with great zeal and restored the ancient virtues and fervour of the Christian religion. They helped the nation in all the ecclesiastical discipline and sciences. So **this nation treated the Babylonians as benefactors** and, due to want (in the absence) of native bishops, the Babylonian bishops governed the churches of

⁹⁰ *Church Missionary Society Report of 1818-1819*, p.317: in K-TV 231. Appendix D in Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, pp.304-308. This MS of 1770 divides 472 houses into the noble 400 on north and the inferior 72 on south. Sudists began to claim superiority of "pure blood", that wife and children lived on south; 2nd wife or concubine on north. Root of the custom may be: father is known for Nordists, while the mother is known for Sudists; Nairs used to go to sleep in the "achi-veedu"; mother shows father!

Uraha-vadam means, a colony from Edessa came to Malabar in AD 345 (Mathai Kathanar in 17720/30: J.P.N.Land, *Anecdota SYriaca*, Leiden 1862

⁹¹ Two copies are extant in the National Library of Lisbon as *cod.33* and *cod.536*. Dr Cariatti was made Abp of Cranganor but he died in Goa on 9-9-1786 before reaching Malabar. The title of *cod.33* is *Historia Verdadeira da Christiandade de S.Thome Apostolo no Malabar*. It seems to be in his handwriting. *Cod.336* has a different title: *Noticias do Reyno do Malabar* is in a prefixed passage of 9ff. F.9v to f.29r is identical with *cod.33*. It has the title: *Breve e Verdadeira Relacao da Christiandade de Santo Andre (sic) Apostolo in Malabar*. SK 55. SR-D 12:851 & 869.

Malabar without vested interests, since they were of the same Rite⁹².

"Among the said Christians of St Thomas, a small portion, 25 or 30 thousand men, called *Tequempaver*, though Christians of the same Rite and antiquity, nevertheless **retain their heathen family names and do many ceremonies**, not seen in their rubrics, nor in the Roman, particularly in their weddings etc⁹³. The other numerous portion is called *Batequenpaver*. Both of them are of the same honour and esteem with the kings and other people; but the nobles among them do not marry the other, because one group or caste claimed to be nobler than the other. It is an invention of the devil to weaken this people more⁹⁴.

The devil instigates selfish people to create divisions among the Christians of St Thomas for various reasons and motives. *Veppattivadam* (concubine of the Armenian or Syrian Thome Cana) was changed into *Urahavadam* (Bishop of Edessa) in 18th century by Veticutel Mathai Kathanar, and his followers, Ittoop Reitor in 1869, Kurien Padri in 1872, and Edavazhickal Philipos in 1890. In the *Mangalapatram* given to Pulikotttil Mar Joseph Dionysius on 8-1-1890 at Veliyanattu, Edavazhickal Philipos started the claim of the title "**Knanayar**", that the origin of Sudists was from Knaithoma, who came in AD 345⁹⁵ (not 745 or 825). *Ancient Songs* of P.U.Luke in 1910 describe the journey of Thomman Kinan and his people to Malabar in 345; thus a "general traditon" was created. They added more details for prestige, which show the cultural situation of the later centuries (Cannons, Conta-Rosary, Chembakassery, Vettathu-king, Cochin harbour, etc. in 16th century).

- 17) **Ittoop Reitor's Syrian Church History in 1869:** After the preaching of St Thomas, Malayali Christian Community had no Supervisor and Pastor for 300 years. Dream of Bp (Episcopa) of Urahay was told to **Catholica of Jerusalem**. He met Malpans and decided to send the Christian merchant Qnay-thoma to Malayalam. He landed at Kodungallur, met the Christians, who wore cross on their necks, and returned to Jerusalem with pepper and spices. He reported to Catholica, who with **consent of Justedius, Patriarch of Antioch**, sent Bp Joseph of Urha, some priests and deacons, many men, women and children (400) under the merchant Qnay-thoma to Malayalam. They safely reached Kodungallur in 345; 64 families of **Dhariyakal** and people of Kottakayal-parisha welcomed them and obeyed Mar Josep as their Metropolitan. Qnay-Thoma and party

⁹² J.Cariatti, cod.33, f.2r, cited in SK 56. SR-D 12:851ff. 869. Sebastiani puts Southists as 5000 in 1657; Cariatti, 25-30,000 in 1782.

⁹³ K-TV 445. Mainatto-woman's (7) sons, converted by Knaithoma (SK 54). Names of 7 Illam as Avi, Thura, Kallu, Kadavu, Puncha, Vatti, Pinchadacka (K-TV 458-462). Kurian Pathiri gives their names as Puncha, Vatti, Motta, Nelli, Pechura, Vellukkudam (K-TV 461). Arabic names of 7 Illam are given by P.U.Luke in P-AS (p.20) for Illa-panam (K-TV 460). Ola of Gothuruthu (*Sathyanadam*, 5-4-1924) says: "Woman married to Sangeethapalaka (musician) begot Thekkumbhagam" (K-TV 260). Tharavadu (noble family) for Brahmins and Illam for Nairs.

⁹⁴ J.Cariatti, cod.536, f.7r, cited in SK 55. Cf SK 23; M-TC 94.

⁹⁵ K-TV 249; Knanayotbhavam in 1890 (K-TV 453).

arranged Church affairs. He met Cheraman Perumal and got honorary privileges in chepped and land of 244 *anakkol* (elephant cubit) within the ground for sowing paddy of a *para* (K-TV 254-55).

18) **Kurien Padri's Syrian Church History in 1872** (K-TV 243-253). The Aramayan or Syrian Thoma of Canaan was a rich man. He came to Kodungallur for trade and **by chance met Christians there**. Hearing their problems, he wished to help them and informed the Catholica about them. **Catholica sent Mar Joseph of Uraha, priests, 400 persons from 72 families of 7 Illam in 3 ships to Malabar with Thoma Mutalali**. When they reached Kodungallur, **Lord-King Chembakassery**⁹⁶ also came with **Venki**, the lord of the fort of Kodungallur, to welcome Thoma Mutalali (K-TV 247f). There are two groups, Vadakkum-bhagar and Thekkum-bhagar, among the Syrian Christians of Malayalam. They have the same faith but **different customs** (*achara & maryada*), and no inter-marriage, as each group claim to be superior to the other. They say many stories about their origin. What is relevant about it is the following: *Tharavattukar* (noble) of the Colony married the *Illakkar* of Kodungallur, and the slaves of the Colony married the *pariyar* (untouchables). K-TV 249.

Nordists say: Noble families had 400 houses on north, and the slaves had 72 on south; hence the name of Northists and Southists. Northists consider the Southists as inferior to them, and claim to be true Syrians, since they have bishops and copper plates of privileges. **Sudists say:** Noble families had 400 shops on south, and their slaves had 72 on north. Later they became mingled with native Christians. So Nordists are numerous. They have bishops and cheppedes. But Sudists are true Syrians, as they have foreign names of *Illams*, colour and *chemban misha* (brown mouschtache), and songs for their arrival in Malabar (K-TV 250).

A reasonable guess: Historian has to decide true 'parts' from both versions: Native Christians lived on northern side of Kodungallur and the Colony lived on southern side. Servants of Sudists married servants of Nordists and joined them for progress. Sudists do not allow them to come up as it is even today. When both "*jati*" migrated from Kodungallur, the name of Nordists was given to all natives, though not all of them lived in Kodungallur (K-TV 250f). Nordists need not fear of inferiority. They are Christians of St Thomas who converted Brahmins *Vaisyar* and *Sudrar*. How did the blacks arise among the Sudists? May be due to course of time, difference in climate and food, lack of contact with foreigners (*paradesi*) and infidelity in marriage (KTV 251).

Nasrani Mappila got the name of **Suriani**, Kurien Padri says, because of the arrival of the Syrian Thoma to Kodungallur. Both *jati* benefited from the arrival of Colony for their worldly and religious status. Foreigners took away freedom of the native Christians. Archdeacon was from Pakalomattam family, but he was not made Bp. If he had episcopal power, native Christians could have control over their own affairs and progress in various fields. **The priests who came were Chaldeans, and they imposed on these ancient Christians the Chaldean Rite:** way of living the

⁹⁶ In 300 of Kollam Era (1125 AD) Kozhikod Samutiri sent away a group of Nayars from the army. They went to Chembakassery Nambutiri at Kumaranallur for help. When they served the King of Thekkumkur, they requested him to grant the Kudamalur (Koduvalur) area to Chembakassery Nambutiri; then he was made the king of Ambalapuzha (Chembakassery, in A.R.P.Bhasha-Nighandu). It is not on the other side of Kodungallur. **Anachronism** is acknowledged (V-KC 68f).

faith and discipline. But they were not Nestorians, since that heresy was not existant (K-TV 250-51). There is **no proof** that Nasrani were called *Suriani* due to the colony of the Syrian Thoma, and that St Thomas did not appoint bishops in Malabar. Thus Sudists go on creating **new history** for themselves and for others!

- 19) **Ancient Songs**, faithful to oral tradition, are a helpful source of the history of Thomas' Christians. Many of the ancient songs published by P.U.Luke in 1910 from Kottayam are based on the innovative details added by Mathai Kathanar and others to the existing tradition in Malabar, recorded by Mar Gabriel in 1709 and Mar Cariatti in 1782 and in the *Malayalam Ms* of 1770. Christians of Parur made a pilgrimage to Palliport on 21-11-1563 on boats with Bishop George Temudo of Cochin; on the way women and children sang praises of St Thomas and the history of the day to the great delight and contentment of the Bishop and his entourage⁹⁷. "In 1578 Francis Dionysio SJ wrote in his report (on Christianity in India) expressly that the songs, which the Christians of St Thomas had, were reliable sources of tradition and history". At Angamaly Christians organised a dance in honour of Dom Meneses; "all the songs were about ancient histories of their ancestors, or about the churches or Saints"⁹⁸. Thus St Thomas Christians⁹⁹ preserved their ancient histories of ancestors, churches or saints in ancient Songs. Southists changed them for their convenient use, and published them in the *Ancient Songs*, with revisions.

- a) Thome Cana, the noble lord in the city of Jerusalem, wants to go and rule Malanad; he started by the order of Bava (Father-Patriarch); he gave several "catholic" privileges; he went to Uraha and obtained permission; in his wish he was in Kochi, is it better in Rome? They embarked in a ship, set sail to Malanad and landed at Kodungallur (Cranganore). After firing 18 salutes at the sight of Kochi harbour, they ascended the tower (entered the gate). Raja Varma sat in the royal palaquin; Chempakassery and Vettathu Mannan (king) are with him. Mar Joseph of Uraha goes with 4 priests, many deacons and Sepoys. Thoman Kinan is with him¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ SK 61. Fr Amador Correia SJ wrote on 20-1-1564 a description of this pilgrimage to his friends in Europe. This letter was published by Fr J.Wicki SJ in the *Documenta Indica* (Vol.4, Rome 1961, p.179). A.de Gouvea, *Jornada*, f.87v.

⁹⁸ SK 61. Fr A.M.Mundadan CMI says, our earliest records of Indian Christian tradition are the Portuguese letters and reports, and insists that Fr F.Dionysio who though refers to some inscribed plates, "seems to give us a more genuine version of the oral tradition" (SK 90). "Dionysio puts the arrival of Thomas Cana after that of Sapor and Prot in Quilon". "Roz's version is definitely **coloured by the interpretation** given by some "experts". These interpretations of "experts" were far from being the results of an objective and accurate deciphering of the inscription. They read much that was known from oral tradition into the half-understood or misunderstood meaning of the inscription" (SK 90). Xeram Perumal died in 346 (1258 years ago (SK 30). More than 1260 years ago (in 344) there was in Malabar an emperor called Jacorabirti Perumal who receieved a rich Armenian merchant by name Quinai Thome (SK 37). Will the Knanites change 345 for 344 as the year of the arrival of Knaithoman, or for 825 (Quilon Era)? (W.Logan, *Malabar*, 1:268f).

⁹⁹ *Jornada* f.87v.; A.Correa's letter on 20-1-1564 = DI 6:179.

¹⁰⁰ *Nallororsalem*, in P-AS, p.5. SK 66-69. T-KV 248-250.

- b) When Thoman Kinan dared to immigrate to Malankara, 400 good citizens, children of the king, belonging to 72 families, by the word of the Catholicos, embarked the ship. These foreigners entered Kodungallur and visited Cherakon, presented gold, coral and pearls and obtained the country (land). He gave him marks of honour (*Padavikal*); Thoman Kinan accepted them, and also *chepped* (copper-plate)¹⁰¹. "The seventy-two families of seven clans went together with jacket, veil, rosary, cloth for the head, chain, wristlet, and beautiful cross" to embark (three) ships¹⁰².
- c) By the will of the Triune (God), St Thomas is in Mylapore. Without mishaps we arrived at Kodungallur, the land of Cherakon Perumal. There were the remnants (heirs) of St Thomas to enlighten the way. I found you today without transgressing the commandments. They offered presents of coins and good gems for writing a document in the presence of witnesses. By giving us enough religious privileges, Cheraman Perumal wrote the *cheped*. The king went, saw the land and donated it. In the year *shovala* after the birth of our Lord, the honoured Kinayi-Thoman received the *cheped*. Carpenters came and erected church and town (SK 64-65).
- d) After some time there came two ships in the outer sea. Why are you here? We are *margavasi* (followers of the way) of Shemeon Keppa (Christians) going to Goa. During their fight against Nairs both the church and city (of Cranganore) were burnt. We went to a good village and erected a church; thus we migrated to Kaduthuruthy¹⁰³. **How ancient is this song, describing Paranki ships going to Goa?** When the descendants of Thomas Cana wanted to subject the Christians of the Apostle Thomas "there arose discord and dispute leading to aversion and quarrels" and in Kaduthuruthy and Kottayam they built separate churches¹⁰⁴.

2. CRITICAL EVALUATION:

¹⁰¹ *Munnam Malankara*, in P-AS, p.6. SK 62-63. K-TV 256-259.

¹⁰² *Innu ni njangale*, "Ezhillamezhupathu-randu kudiyaarum ... Chattayum muttakum conta-talamundu, changala-kaivala chantamam taluvavum" in P-AS, p.7. SK 62-63. Conta is rosary; taluvam is sliva, cross. Vasco da Gama came to Calcut with 3 ships in search of Christians and spices (Diario 59).

¹⁰³ *Innu ni njangale*, in P-AS, p.8; SK 64-65. *Shovala* means jaundice (K-TV 342-44) or 345 in Malayalam: sha - 5, va - 4, la - 3 = 543, inverted 345; but 336 in Syriac: shin - 300, wau - 6, lamad - 30 = 336. If Knaithoma is a Syrian of 4thc., 336 should be accepted as meaning of *Shovala*! AD 345 is given by a Jacobite priest Mathai Veticutel (+1731) about AD 1720/30 (SK 57/90) in a short history of the Malabar Church in Syriac. A similar account in Syriac (Letter 16 of J.C. Visscher), sent by Mar Gabriel (1709), gives AD 745 for the arrival of a colony in company with the merchant Thomas. They made 472 shops/houses; hence there were 472 families. Mar Gabriel and Fr Mathai were at Kottayam together. **Why did Fr Mathai change 745 into 345?** Not *shovala* but ***Shimihe*** is 345.

¹⁰⁴ SK 29. St Thomas' Christians in Cranganore got privileges engraved on copper plates from the King/ Emperor of Malavar, called Xeram Perumal (SK 30, 20-21). Marthoma is used vaguely (SK 20, 25, 17, 30, 35, 42. Roz, SK 34-35). Mar Sabor and Mar John tried to have christian union among them at Kaduthuruthy; but some of them made a separate church (K-TV 466-67; B-TC 2:308-9); these two groups came to be known as Vadakkar (Nordists) and Thekkar (Sudists), as from North and South Kingdoms of Israel! (C-SK 149-54).

Shovala (345) came in 18thc. There was no Malayalam in 4thc. In Syriac 345 would be **Shimihe**. Drop the additions to avoid anachronism! (V-KC 68f). *Veppattivadam* and *Urahavadam* failed. **Kynayavadam** is upheld in 1992: Thomen and colonly came from Kynai 70 km south of Bagdad. So they are Southists and Syrians. It is good in 8th -9th c. But 4th c. will not fit in the context of caste: "In the caste-ridden social system of India, these Jewish Christian immigrants from Southern Mesopotamia comfortably remained an endogamous community" (V-KC 2). All writers upto 20thc. say the immigrants mingled with the natives and lived in peace. Intermarriage was avoided between the descendants of two wives of Thome Cananeo, as they dispute on nobility and purity of blood in children.

Cheraman Perumal could not go to Mecca in 345 but in 825. It was during the 2nd Chera-Rule (800-1100 A.D.), that caste system became prevalent in Kerala and foreign trade with the Arabs flourished. We have some inscriptions, made during or after this period: TARISAPPALLI Copper Plate in 849 A.D., confers several important rights and privileges on the Christians of Quilon; THAZHAKAD Church Inscription of Rajasimha (1028-43), confers certain privileges to two christian merchants of Manigramam; MAHODAYAPURAM Copper Plate (1225), issued by Vira Rghava Chakra-varti to Iravi Kortanan, a christian merchant, confers on him the office of Manigramam, with several rights and privileges. It shows the prominent position of Christians in trade and commerce¹⁰⁵. Knaithoman might be one of those who settled here in 9th century! Cheraman Perumal Mosque in Kodungallur is the first mosque there (Kareem, Kerala, p.60).

Karson Copy of the Copper Plates¹⁰⁶ (1615?) is inserted in a Chaldean *Taksa* of Bp.Roz of Angamaly in the National Library of Paris. This *Chepped* is described as "the *Ollas* which the King Cheraman Perumal gave... to Christians". This is the 5th reignal year of King Stanu Ravi... In this year Ayyanodikal Tiruvadi, Ruler of Venad, in consultation with his officers, ministers, the representatives of the Anjuvanam and Manigramam and the Chief of Punnathala, granted this Viduperu to the Tarisapally built by Eso da Tapir at Kurakkeni Kollam"¹⁰⁷ in Travancore, distinct and distant from Pantalayani Kollam in Malabar¹⁰⁸. **Was this chepped given to Knaithoma?** When? What is the **date** of the *Inscriptions*?

What about the **privileges in the Chepped**? "There are the **Kottayam Syrian Christian copper plates** granting various highly prized privileges to the Christian community of Malabar. Various dates have been assigned to these. Burnell and Kielhorn assign to the grant given by the Perumal to IraviCorten of Cranganur the year 774 A.D. The grant by Stanu Ravi Gupta is said to have been given in 824 A.D. to a colony of Christians who landed at Quilon under the leadership of Mar Sapor and Mar Peroz"¹⁰⁹. **Knaithoma came during the rule of Cheraman Perumal in 9th c. when there was caste system,** necessary for endogamy.

¹⁰⁵ A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Madras 1984, p. 85.

¹⁰⁶ BNP, MS.Syr.186, ff.127-130. SK 70-82.

¹⁰⁷ Cited in SK 81. *Tarisa* (from *Dariaygal*) church was built by Isodata Virai or Maruwan Sapir Iso of the church (HKLM =*History of Kerala*, 2:497). Logan, Malabar 1:296,306.

¹⁰⁸ Logan, Malabar, 1:94-95, 189-190, 268.

¹⁰⁹ K.P.Padmanabha Menon-T.K.Krishna Menon, *History of Kerala...* (=HKLM) Vol.2, Ekm 1927, p.466. W.Logan, *Malabar* in 2 vols., Vol.1, TVM 1981, p.306.

Mallan Perumal built the fort of Nallurumallan in the Mushika province (South Malabar, Cochin and North Travancore). Kulashekara Perumal from the Pandyan country built his king's house, introduced Kshatriya families, and organised the country into small chieftains to protect it against the Mappillas; he introduced sciences into the Malayali country with the help of the *chetti* (foreign merchant) Udhayatungan who endowed the teacher of science, Prabhakara Gurukkal, with land. Kulashekara Perumal reigned for 18 years and went to heaven with body - in AD 333. These Perumals are said to have (been) succeeded to (by) the Muhammadan **Pallibana Perumal**. An inscription on a Muhammadan granite tombstone still standing at Pantalayani-Kollam recites, after the usual prayer, that "Ali-ibn-Udthorman was obliged to leave this world for ever to the one which is everlasting, and which receives the spirits of all, in the year 166 of Hejira".

The tomb of Cheraman Perumal still exists at Zaphar on the Arabian Coast, with the tomb inscription: "Arrived at Zaphar, A.H., 212. Died there A.H., 216". These dates correspond with the years **A.D. 827-832**. The Kollam era may have begun on the day on which Cheraman Perumal, the last King of Malabar set sail for Arabia in the manner described¹¹⁰. Hindus and Muhammadans alike regard him as the last of the kings of Kerala, who embraced Mohammadanism, went to Arabia and died at Zaphar, where his tomb is still to be seen. Onam festival was on 25-8-825 when a vassal could proclaim independence from his suzerain. Thus the Southern and also the Northern Kolattiris might have broken their allegiance with the Cheraman (Pallibana) Perumal who accepted Islam. This is further shown by the deeds, given to the Jews and Syrians. *Keralolpati* refers to Pallibana Perumal going to Mecca (in 345?), Brahmans of 64 gramams and the Perumal, 72 chiefs of one of the 4 selected villages. Kerala is the land 160 Katams (leagues) long. Mushika and Tulunad are the two sons of a Surya Kshatriya woman (wife of Cheraman Perumal?). He took also the two Sudra women. All these numbers occur in the new story of Knaithoma! Sudists demand an Abp and cause division in the Syro-Malabar Church, due to intolerance or inferiority! Kottayam Diocese seems to be an historical mistake! (K-TV 520-30).

Sudists wish to get superiority over Nordists, and insist on "pure Syrian blood". Sudists claim marks of honour and a list of privileges (V-KC 65-69). The title of "Knanayar" was first mentioned in the *Mangalapatram* given to Pulikottil Mar Joseph Dionysius on 8-1-1890 at Veliyanattu¹¹¹; it was probably written by Edavazhickal Philipose, who started the claim of lineage from Knaithoma for nobility of blood in 1890. The Sudists like Cassanar Ittithomman Anjilimoottil were **clever in forging documents**. Mathai Kathanar who took back Thome to 4thc. does not mention the name (Mar Joseph) of the Metropolitan of Edessa, nor the names of the Kings, Chempakasserri and Vettathu who welcomed Thome, nor the dress of people who came with Knaithoma - "With jacket, veil, rosary and cloth for the head, chain, writstlet, and beautiful cross"¹¹². "Conta" in Portuguese means "count" (rosary). Such details

¹¹⁰ Logan, *Malabar*, 1:230 & 268; cf 269-283. The Travancore Maharaja on receiving the sword at their coronations have still to declare: "I will keep this sword until the uncle who has gone to Mecca returns" (Mateer's *Native Life in Travancore*, London 1883, p.121, cited by Logan, p.269).

¹¹¹ K-TV 453. Veluthedathu-Nair in Rahudhwamsi, cited in K-TV 458-462.

¹¹² *Innu Ni Njangale...* SK 62-63. Blue eyes and golden hair may be from the Paranki, who invited some "Syrian" girls to stay with them in Cochin for

about the Colony of Knaithoma show the historical and sociological set up of 16thc. Portuguese Priests brought devotion to rosary.

"The Cheraman legend itself has now been proved to be a fiction"; it "is not corroborated by any contemporary record or evidence. None of the early or medieval travellers who visited Kerala has referred to it in their records"; "the evidence of language and literature also makes it abundantly clear that there could have been no foreign Perumal in Kerala from the 3rd to the 5th century A.D. Such terms as Perumal and Taliatri became current in Kerala only after the 8th century A.D. Further, the organisation of Kerala into (64) Brahmin villages was also a development of the 11th century..."¹¹³. **Chepped of 345 is a fiction.**

3. HISTORICAL IDENTITY OF THE SYRIAN COLONY

Only Dionysio and Monserrate, also Cariatti say, Qnay-Thoma came from Babylon. Mathai Kathanar calls him the merchant Thoma of Orslem. Quinai Thome married in the country and related himself with Naires (Dionysio, SK 23). Roz says, "it is clear that the said Thome had not so many (72) people with him, since he came to trade" (SK 35). "Hence the fact is clear and strongly established that there were already St Thomas Christians in Malavar" (Roz, SK 35) before Thome Cananeo came to Cranganor for trade. Before and after it, they were sometimes visited by some **Armenian pilgrims** who were going on a visit to the sepulchre of the Apostle St Thomas and some would remain in Mailapur, and others in Malavar (Roz, SK 36). Mar Jacob and others were called "Armenian" bishops. Armenians once followed East Syrian Liturgy. **They do not have "Syrian" blood.** Abuna said, Thome de Canane came first to Mailapur (as pilgrim) and then to Cranganor (SK 19) for trade. An **Armenian** Christian, called **Thome Cananeo**, arrived by ship at Patanam in AD 811 (SK 40), and king of Cranganor gave him place to settle with his people who brought their wives in Parur. From the people who had come with him proceed the **Christians of Diamper, Kottayam and Kaduthuruthy. These Armenians by caste** began to marry in the land and in course of time all became Malavares¹¹⁴. **Their blood was Armenian, not Syrian.** There is an Armenian bridge over Adayar river near Periamala, and Armenian tombs in the chapel where St Thomas' Cross (*Croce di San Thome*) is venerated.

Campori says, **this Armenian brought his wife** from Babylon with him, and afterwards in Cranganor took a concubine from the women of the country (SK 37). Monserrate in 1579 says, this Mar Thoma the Syrian was a merchant... made his seat at Curanguluru (Cranganor). He had two wives, one free, the other a slave, but both of noble birth (SK 24). Gouvea wrote in 1603, **an Armenian named Thome Cana** or Marthoma carried on a great trade... for this purpose he had two houses and families, his own wife and children on south, and on north a Nair woman converted Christian as slave and bastards; he gave them the properties around their houses (SK 27-28). This shows the Paranki "culture" in 16thc. Roz rejects the story of concubine as fable; Thome married a Nair woman, converted Christian. But the descendants of Thomas Cana had no marriage with the descendants of the St Thomas' converts (SK 29, 34). Why? There was **no "Syrian blood" to be kept pure!** An Armenian merchant has no

marriage proposal (K-TV 473-74). Southists's purity of blood (K-TV 370f. 452). Southists' marriage rites (K-TV 445-47).

¹¹³ A.Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, KTM 1967, 117 133 & 132. Hereafter cited as AS-SKH. Kareem, *Kerala*, Tvm:1971, p.10.

¹¹⁴ D.Couto in 1611, SK 38-41.

Syrian blood. Now, **where is the "Syrian endogamy" or "Knanaity"?** (V-KC 26-27). It started only in 1770 (K-TV 231) or 1890.

Who are the *Thekum-Vadakum bagar*? (SK 46). St Thomas Christians are not the children of Qnaithoma, neither legitimate nor illegitimate, as the Portuguese writers say (SK 28,43,49; K-TV 449). Southists (*Thekkar* from *Thekkini*) are children of his 2nd wife or concubine or maid on the south (SK 54; K-TV 226, 260). *Vadakkar* may be the descendants of legitimate sons of Thome, who married the Christians of St Thomas "with whom as belonging to the same law this Quinai Thome united himself" (Campori, SK 37}. Nordist priests assert this point in a petition to Pope Leo XIII on 19-3-1896: "...we the undersigned, descendants of the Syrians, converted in Malabar by St Thomas, the Chaldaic Syrians who settled in Malabar in 345 from Conon and have from that time been professing the Holy Catholic Faith and adhering to the ordinances of the Eastern Rite and finally those who from that period till A.D.1599 had been governed by the Patriarch of Babylon and now subject to the jurisdiction of the Vicariate (Apostolic) of Cottayam, beg leave to approach Your Holiness to lay at Your Holiness' venerable feet the following grievances for Your Holiness' paternal and gracious consideration and for such redress as may be found necessary for the promotion of our spiritual and temporal welfare"¹¹⁵. Frs. Emmanuel Nidiri, Jacob Thelly, Joseph Peedieckal, Emmanuel Maramattam, Jacob Melvattom, Emmanuel Parankulangara and John Chooranolickal signed it. They agree that Knaithoma came in 345 and the Syrians by intermarriage became one with the Christians of St Thomas. Nasrani were tolerant of the immigrants whom they accepted as brethren. 3 Vicariates were formed only on 11-8-1896.

Thekkar are the descendants of the Mainatto-woman, married to a musician¹¹⁶. In order to calumniate the St Thomas Christians (*Vadakkar*) *Thekini-wala* informed the Paranki that they are the children of the wife of the Syrian Thome and others are his bastards! So they accused their benefactor Thome of adultery and concubinage! To remedy it, *Urahavadam* was introduced by Mar Gabriel (1709), Mathai Kathanar (1720/30) and others in 1869, 1872. Fr Mathai changed AD 825 or 745 into 345 for the arrival of the Colony from Orslem, Bagdad (762) and Nineve to Malyamkara (SK 57). They arrived **in 745 AD**, in company with merchant Thomas. They became **united with the 64 families** and lived in peace. Christians possess in Cranganore several churches, **besides 472 shops and houses** built around them; they lived in peace and unity for several years until a **separation** took place among the Christians of Cranganore and in 823 Mar Saboor, Mar Botoe, and Seboor Isso came to Quilon as teachers (VD-LM, 107). Since the immigrants were united with 64 families, there was **no endogamous community of the Colony**. Fr Mathai too says, "they erected a town of 472 houses from east to west on both sides, and they duly inhabited it" (SK 60). Mar Cariatti says, *Tequempaver* "retain the family names of the heathen and do many ceremonies" (SK 55; K-TV 445). Asseman in 1728 gives 855 for Thoma Cana (BO, 4:442), while Raulin in 1745 gives 800 for Thomas Cana (p.434), and Mar Cariatti in 1782 gives 753 for Knaithoma (SK 56). But Fr Mathai in 1720/30 gave AD 345 for *Tangara* Thoma of Orslem, and it was spread far and wide in Kerala, by Ittoop Reitor and Kurien Padri, and it was accepted in the petition of 1896 (K-TV 381). Historically, there is no

¹¹⁵ Mar Louis Pareparambil, *The Syrians in Malabar*, Ekm 1917 (pp.230); Vol.2, *Documents*, Puthenpally: 1920 (pp.266). p.196f; cited in K-TV 381.

¹¹⁶ SK 54; K-TV 226, 250-53, 256-57, 260, 445, 454-464.

"Syrian blood" in them. It is not birth but actions that determined a person's status (Amma, in HT, Delhi, 9-3-03, p.4) and worth.

Malayalam MS of 1770, CMS Report in 1818-19 says, Nazraiters from Jerusalem began to interchange marriages with the Christians in Malabar according to their stations in life. The respectable had 400 houses on north, and the inferior had 72 in south of Cranganor (p.371, K-TV 231).

To claim "noble birth" or "pure blood" the Southists invented *Veppattivadam* in 16th century and defamed their benefactor, QnayThome. Accepting the name of Southists, they claimed to be the legitimate/noble children of the lady-wife of Thome, and accused others to be bastards, and called them blacks! They even tried to dominate the Thomas Christians (Roz, SK 35). Hence there arose discord among them. So *Urahavadam* became strong among the Southists.

Ittoop Reitor, *Church History of Syrian Christians* in Malayalam, 1869, says: Malayala Christian community had no bishop or priest for 300 years. Catholica of Orslem sent about 400 persons including Bp Joseph of Uraha, some priests and deacons, many men, women and children under the merchant Knai-Thomachan to Malabar. They came in 345 to Kodungallur. 64 families and people of Kottakayal welcomed them and accepted Mar Joseph as their Metropolita. Intermarriage took place according to social status, and 400 "periya" (noble) families lived on north, and 72 "cheriya" (low) families on south of Mahadevar Pattanam. (p.88-92, cited in K-TV 253-259, 445). Have they "pure Syrian blood"?

Kurien Padri, *Syrian Church History*, 1872, says: Aramean or Syrian Thoma of Canaan, a rich Christian, came to Kodungallur for trade and met Christians there. Knowing their problems, he returned and met the Catholica of Bagdad. He sent Mar Joseph of Uraha (Edessa), some priests and deacons, and about 400 people from 72 families of 7 Illam from Jerusalem, Persia and Chaldea, in 3 ships, with Thoma, and they reached Kodungallur in AD 345. Venki of the Fort and King of Chembakassery welcomed Thoma Mutalali into *Tandu* (Palaquin) to meet Cheraman Perumal¹¹⁷.

Vadakum-Thekum bagar have the same faith but different customs and rites; they do not intermingle or intermarry, but claim more nobility; both tell whimsical stories about its origin, and foreign writers recorded things, as they got from people, that elevate one or humiliate the other¹¹⁸. Both seem to be ignorant of facts; both claim to be true Syrians. 400 noble houses on north/south; 72 low houses on south /north for people who remained or came. This shows the caste mentality/superiority, which started in 9thc.

Sudists are white with golden hair, but some are balck; they claim foreign names of Illam¹¹⁹. Sudists are fairer of complexion than their brethren of the party of the North, and they boast of this as a proof of their more direct descent from the parent Church, and of their having genuine Syrian blood in their veins"¹²⁰. *Knanayavadam* arose in 1890, they descend from Qnaitoma! (K-TV 453). Others questioned it in *Manorama*. They belong to 7 Illam; *Illa-per* is Arabic! Dispute goes on! (K-TV 453-465). The **mainatto-woman** had not 7 boys (SK 54; K-TV 260) but 7 girls, married with rich dowry to 7 boys of the 72 low families. But

¹¹⁷ Kurien, p.12-19, cited by C-SK 230f. K-TV 242-249.

¹¹⁸ Kurien, p.14, cited in K-TV 249-51.

¹¹⁹ Arabic names are given: P-AS, *Marriage Rites*, p.20. K-TV 460-65.

¹²⁰ Milne Rae in 1892, p.162, cited in K-TV 226.

they were ostracized as “paryar” even by the 65 families. So 7 girls formed the **7 Illam** of Thekkar (K-TV 458). Nordists had a Sudist to hold *Vettukuda* and carry *Ayini* (K-TV 304f). The distinction between Nordists and Sudists is neither religious nor regional, but only **racial and social**¹²¹. **Marriage rites** of the Sudists betray their origin (K-TV 439-47). *Bar Mariam* was sung on the feast of Denaha (Epiphany) at the procession around the Cross, at Kuravilangad (K-TV 447). Some of the rites at marriage are pagan, prohibited by Ap. Vicar of Verapoly in 1842: Mar Francis Xavier de Sant’Anna to the Vicars and Priests of the churches of Kottayam, Kaduthuruthy, Kaipuzha, Udiamperur, Chembu, Punnathura, Paingalam, Piravam and Athirampuzha (K-TV 416-18).

Edavazhickal M.Philipose started the claim of the title “Knanayar” in the *Mangalapatram* given to Pulikottil Mar Joseph Dionysius on 8-1-1890 at Veliyanattu, since the Sudists’ origin is from Knaithoma, who came in 345 AD (K-TV 453, 465-67). “**Knanaya**” is not found in *Ancient Songs* of 1910. A Copy of *Cheppedu* with Pachukkare Tarakan calls **Knaithoma ‘Nazrani’, not Syrian** (C-SK 106f). Why? Paranki Latins called Thomas Christians “Suriano” due to their liturgical language, Syriac, as Latins are those who use Latin liturgy. There is no Latin or Syriac blood. The Portuguese Governor Alfonso de Albuquerque (1509-15) encouraged mixed marriages, and soldiers often accepted Indian woman as second wife (concubine for cook); their children were hybrid (*mestici*) with blue eyes or golden hair. In 1535 Parankiwished to marry Syrian girls; Thekkar yielded¹²². Sudists tried to please the Portuguese and got blue eyes and golden hair. The Goan Abp ordained them at Kaduthuruthy and Diamper in 1599¹²³. They testified against the Archdeacon (SK 46f). Anjilimoottil Ittithoman Cassanar deceived the Archdeacon Thomas and party by the forged letters (K-TV 482-85). They caused division, after Rebellion at Coonan Cross Oath on 3-1-1653.

Mar Sabor in 9thc. ordained two boys of Thekumbagam priests at Kaduthuruthy; Nordists protested. When Bp allowed the Thekkar to stand with the Nazrani in the church, they went out and made a new church with the help of a rich lady, Aley Malana. So too in 16thc. Mar Abraham ordained 3 boys of Thekumbagam at Kottayam; Nordists protested, and made a new church (K-TV 466-67). Fr Monserrate SJ says: Among these Christians there are many petty quarrels about caste. There is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayars. This Mar Thoma the Syrian assembled them and, filling them with **notions of caste** which prevails much in this country, caused to baptize and himself baptized a great number of all those who by their marriages had affinity or kindred with them or descent from them. He was like a head in what concerned religion (SK 24-25). So there was **no issue of “pure blood”** of Knaithoma who came in 825. Caste (*jati*)¹²⁴ seems to be the main reason

¹²¹ Fr Placid & Mr Job, *The Syrian Church of Malabar*, 1938, p.4.

¹²² B-TC, 1992, p.298; K-TV 466f.

¹²³ K-TV 142-46, 474-78.

¹²⁴ Caste from *casta* in Portuguese stands for *Jati* in Sanskrit. It comes from *Jan* (birth) and refers to customs (*acharam, maryada, margam*) connected with birth. Custom shows *peru-mattam*. *Peru* in Tamil means birth. The idea/concept of *jati* is not Dravidian but Aryan and foreign to Malayalis. Aryan immigrants from the north brought it to Kerala together with their system of civil administration, on the model of a well-regulated household. Each member has to perform certain clear and distinct functions. So Aryan ideas of method and order in civil government became the law of the land (Logan, Malabar,

for dissention and separation (SK 28f, 34f, 37f) among Christian merchants and the native Christians who married them.

"The **final organization of castes in Malabar** probably took place about the eighth century A.D., simultaneously with the rise of the Nambutiri Brahmans to power and influence. The Aryan Jains, who had preceded the latter, had probably already organized the community in the Aryan fashion into corporate guilds, and it only needed the idea of *caste as a religious institution*, to be imported into the country by the Vedic Brahmans to bring about the crytallization (so to speak) of the various caste elements"¹²⁵. Special umbrella was a privilege and right to be vindicated. A Latin rite Christian family was prosecuted for using silk umbrella in a wedding procession and for spreading clothes on the path¹²⁶. "The operation of the caste system is to isolate completely the members of each caste or subcaste; and whatever a native may know of his own peculiar branch, he is, as a rule, grossly ignorant of the habits and customs, or the origin, of those outside the pale of his own section of the community"¹²⁷. This is relevant today for the Sudist Bishop of Kottayam, who claims to have "Syrian blood"¹²⁸.

About the beginning of **Syrian influence in the Church of Malabar**, William Logan says: "And indeed the tradition of the existing Church is that a company of Christians from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, under orders from the Catholic Archpriest at Urahai (Edessa), arrived in company with the merchant Thomas in A.D.745. But whether this date is correct or not, it is certain that in A.D.774 there is no trace of Syrian influence in the pseudo-Syrian copper-plate deed still extant, and the later Pseudo-Syrian copper-plate deed (also extant) contains (as the late Dr. Burnell has shown) **no trace of Syriac** either; but... "Maruvan Sapir Iso" the grantee of this latter deed can be no other than the "Mar Sappoor" who with "Mar Parges" or "Peroz" proceeded from Babylon to "Coulan" (Quilon) about A.D.822..."¹²⁹. Dionysio is right.

"It is **now 753 years** since this Quinai Thome came from Babylon. All this is according to an inscription, written on the *ollas* of iron [copper plates], which the Portuguese found in the possession of these Christians"¹³⁰, says **F.Dionysio in 1578**. He clearly asserts that a Christian, Quinai Thoma, native of Babylon, a merchant, disembarked at Cranganore (in A.D.825), after the two holy men (Sabor and Prot) came from Babylon to Quilon in AD 823. Hence D.Couto (811), Mar Joseph Cariatti (753) and Mar Gabriel (745) follow him: **Knaithoma came in 9th century**. Only Fr Mathai in 1720/30 and his followers hold on to AD 345.

p.136-139), during the century-war. Archdedacon is *Jatikku Karthavyan* - protector of rights and privileges of the Christians of St Thomas (SK 18, 30).

¹²⁵ Logan, *Malabar*, 1982, 1:143.

¹²⁶ KSP, TVM 1931, ser.8. cited in P-TC p.91, note 36. Cf chapter 21 of Ittiera Apothecari, *Parishkarapati*, Kollam 1945.

¹²⁷ Cornish, cited by Logan, *Malabar*, 1982, 1:135. V-KC 27, n.6.

¹²⁸ Bp Makkil allowed the grandfather of Uthup to marry a Latin Christian, and his children and grandchildren were married in the Sudist Church. But Uthup's grandson Biju Uthup was denied marriage celebration in Sudist church. Why? What is justification? Court order is opposed! Sr Abhaya case is known to all!

¹²⁹ W.Logan, *Malabar* in 2 vols. 1887, reprint 1981, p.239. K-TV 226.

¹³⁰ SK 23. SR-D 12:395. M-TC 94. DI 11:136-137. *Shovala*, K-TV 342.

CONCLUSION: **Urahavadam has no basis.** Edessa had no 'Joseph' in the list of its bishops upto 8th century¹³¹. The story of Mar Joseph of Uraha-Edessa coming in AD 345 is a fiction. Who was the Catholoca of the East? Baghdad was built only in AD 762. Catholicos Hananisho II in 776 or Patriarch Timothy I changed his residence (See) to Baghdad. It is a "story" created in Malabar. "There does not appear to be an independent tradition of a bishop of Edessa who left his see to go to India; all about Thomas the merchant or Thomas Cananeo, comes from Malabar"¹³². AD 345 must be **Shimihe** in Syriac, since Qnaythoma was a Syrian, and there was no Malayalam in 4thc. **Shovala** in 4thc. is anachronism! and a forgery. Fr Mathai added it in 1720/30. This "tradition" has to give way to truth of facts. Historically, Knaithoma came in 825, there is no "Syrian blood" in the Southists, recently called Knanites. **Drop the year 345!** (V-KC 69). instead of changing the name of the Bishop: "A Bishop named URAHA Mar Yausef, four priests and several deacons were with them to look after their spiritual needs" (V-KC 1). **Accept 825 from the general tradition,** given by Fr Dionysio SJ in 1578, **for the arrival of Qnaythoma.** All the available records of tradition and literature show that caste-system created the division of Syrians into Sudists and Nordists, after the **arrival of Qnay-Thoma, most probably in AD 825 (SK 23).**

4. HISTORY OR FICTION OF QNAY-THOMA WITH CHALDEAN LITURGY?

Today Knanites insist on their contribution to the progress of the Syro-Malabar Church and cry for a *Knanaya* Archbishop of Kottayam with suffragan dioceses in Kannur and Chicago! "Syrian liturgy used in Malabar had its origin and early development in and around Mesopotamia by the end of the 3rd century. Kynai Thoma with a bishop, priests and deacons and a group of people migrated into Kerala in AD 345. It was proper that they brought along with them the developed East Syrian Liturgy, and they became the cause for the smooth preservation and propagation of that liturgy in Malabar. In fact we do not have any remnant of any liturgy used prior to the 4th century. Hence this assumption is a very strong probability, and in the absence of other reasonable choices, a reality"¹³³. They often contributed to division!

What was the liturgy, established by St Thomas in India? Was it Syriac liturgy, or Dravidian liturgy? If one can show (1) that the Apostles decided to have Syriac liturgy everywhere and (2) that people in India knew Syriac well, then it would be Syriac liturgy. But these can't be proved. Yet, it is possible that Syriac liturgy came to Kerala in 4th century through the Seleucian (Chaldean) preachers. F.C.J. says¹³⁴ that Indian Christians for over a century had **Dravidian liturgy** and native priests in their churches. Then Persian Christians, who came for trade, added their Syriac liturgy to the Dravidian liturgy, and asserted that St Thomas had established their liturgy in Syriac language, spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ. So the churches of Madras soon accepted it, but

¹³¹ Chediath, *Sabha-Charitra-Padanangal*, Kottayam 1982, p.136f. So Mar Joseph of Uraha becomes "A bishop named Uraha Mar joseph" in V-KC p.1; cf 69.

¹³² A.Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p.358, cited in K-TV 98f. Colony of Uraha came in 745 (not 345): W.Logan, *Malabar* 1:203 in ed.of 1887; p.239 in ed.of 1981. Milne Rae, 1891, p.162. *Shovala* - 345 only for Sudists.

¹³³ J.Vellian, *Knanaite Community*, 2001, p.36; read pp.33-38. =V-KC.

¹³⁴ *A Short Life of St Thomas the Apostle of India*, Madras 1906, p.52-53.

those of Malabar did not immediately accept it. The Persian priests came to rule the churches. Thus, by AD 500, the Dravidian liturgy **became extinct in both the regions**. The Malayala-Palli, founded by St Thomas, was ruled by the Chaldean-Syrian bishops from the East until the end of 16th century. Then in AD 1600 the Portuguese removed this Church from the jurisdiction of the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch of Babel and thence it was ruled by the Latin bishops under the Roman See¹³⁵.

This may be **the basis for the categorical assertion** of Cardinal Parecattil: "Nobody can deny the fact that the Chaldean Rite happened to be rooted in Kerala, due to the efforts of the bishops and priests who accompanied the colonisers in the 4th century"¹³⁶. He remarks **about the liturgical source and reform**: "If we want to inquire into our sound tradition in liturgy, we have to go back not only to the 4th century, when the Chaldean age/period started, but also to the first century, when the Church in Kerala began, and to the Indian culture that coloured its liturgy. Chaldean liturgy has become the basic element of the Syro-Malabar Rite. I argue only that it is to be renewed..."¹³⁷. Yet, Chaldean liturgy is "foreign"! **Is our Qurbana of the Apostles alien?**

Urahavadam now aims at the **origin of Syriac Liturgy in Malabar**¹³⁸. Mar Thoma *Shliha* in India performed Liturgy in Aramaic-Syriac. All terms of liturgy are in Syriac even today. East Syriac/ Chaldean liturgy was from St Thomas, Nasrani believed in 16th century, and wrote it to Pope Gregory XIII in 1578¹³⁹. Greek was the principal language of NT and Liturgy even in Rome; Latin was first used in North Africa. Aramaic-Syriac was used in Syria, Persia and India. Acts of Judas Thomas was written in Syriac. Cosmas refers to the Bp and priests ordained in Persia in 6th c. Mar Abdisho Patriarch of Babel published a leaflet on 5-2-1896 to show that **Chaldean "Rite" was used in India-Malabar from ancient times**, when the "Malabar-Rite" (created by Latin Bps who imposed Roman Calendar and Sacraments) did not and could not exist there. The present Malabar-Rite is the same as the Chaldean Rite both in origin and in substance (K-TV 428).

China also had Chaldean Liturgy in 7th c. "The **inscription of Si-ngan-Fou** has then furnished us with authentic information on the propagation of the Christian Faith in Upper Asia from the year 636 till 781. We found, however, in the tradition of the Syrian Church, traces of evangelical preaching in China previous to that period"¹⁴⁰. Patriarch Mar Yabalaha III (1281-1317) chose Sauma Rabban from Pekin to be an Ambassador of the Mongolian Emperor Argan Khan to the Pope and Western Emperor. Sauma reached Rome just after the death of Pope Honorius IV, and met Roman Cardinals. They asked him, who is the founder of your Church? He replied we follow the Rite (Liturgy) of Mar Thoma, Mar Addai, Mar Mari¹⁴¹. Mar Thoma Sliha is specially commemorated daily only in the Qurbana of the Apostles in India.

¹³⁵ *Ancient Songs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar*, published by P.U.Luke, Kottayam 1910, p.250-53; hereafter cited as P-AS. SK 26 K-TV 436-38.

¹³⁶ *Liturgy in My View*, published by Fr Abel CMI, Ernakulam 1987, p.17.

¹³⁷ Parecattil, *Liturgy...* p.18. J.Kollaparambil, *Babylonian Origin...* 134.

¹³⁸ V-KC 36. P-AS 253-55. Cf K-TV 424-436; 436-438. B-TC 195-207.

¹³⁹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes...* p.85.

¹⁴⁰ M.L'Abbe Huc, *Christianity in China, Tartary and Tibet*, Vol.1, ch.3. p.44-46; K-TV 434. Giamil, p.570f; K-TV 430-33.

There is no vestige of a Dravidian or Tamil Liturgy in India. Because it did not exist. Qnai-Thoma who came in 825 did not bring Chaldean liturgy. Persian/Syrian liturgy was existing here in 6th c. Testimony of the Indian Priest Daniel¹⁴² and Ma'na of Siraz¹⁴³ shows the existence of Syriac liturgy in India in 5th c. Theophilus the Indian¹⁴⁴ who came in 354 made some liturgical reforms according to Greek tradition (eg. To stand at the reading of Gospel; people were sitting). It is the Indian way of meditating on the Word of God. Greek tradition is to hear the word and go out to preach it; hence standing ready-position.

The East Syriac liturgical tradition has three different expressions today in the liturgy: a) of the Chaldeans, b) Nestorians, c) Indians (SMC). It originated from St Thomas in Indo-Persian Church, mainly in Edessa, in spite of the hellenism, spread by the Seleucid kings. Mar Isaac of Seleucia-Ctesiphon decided in the Synod of 410 for jurisdiction and centralisation of liturgy (uniformity in celebration)¹⁴⁵. The Indian expression/ tradition of the East Syrian Liturgy is more ancient and authentic than the Chaldean or Nestorian expressions/ texts. *Qudasa* or *Qurbana* of the Apostles, as given in the Taksa of 1774, agrees with the most ancient MS (10th c.) found in Mar Esaya church in Mosul. It has no words of institution; but they can be conveniently added after the signing of the altar, just before *anamnesis* and *epiclesis* (Raza 77). *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, written in Syriac in Edessa (3rdc.) has five descriptions of **baptismal celebrations in India** (chs.25-27, 49, 121, 132 & 157)¹⁴⁶. Old Syriac Liturgy was in India without the title of Addai & Mari, added later by the Nestorian/ Chaldean Church.

Marthoma Nasrani Margam is shown in the **Doctrine of the Apostles**:

"After the death of the Apostles there were Guides and Rulers in the Churches, and whatsoever the Apostles had committed to them, and they had received from them, they taught to the multitudes all the times of their lives... also what James had written from Jerusalem, and Simon from the city of Rome... and Judas Thomas from India... India and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farther sea, received the Apostle's Hand of Priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was Guide and Ruler in the Church which he built and ministered there¹⁴⁷. Persia, Seleucia and Babylonia were evangelized by Addai and Mari, the disciples of Ap.Thomas, though Persians of Rew-Ardashir claimed to be the disciples of Thomas. "The whole of Persia of the Assyrians and Medes, and of the countries round about Babylon, the Huzzites and the Gelae, even to the border of the Indians, and even to the country of Gog and Magog, and again all the countries from all sides, received the

¹⁴¹ A.Fortesque, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p.97ff. K-TV 435.

¹⁴² M.D.Gibson, *Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, Vol.5/2 (Cambridge: 1916) 22

¹⁴³ PO 7?2:117; Vooubus, *History of School of Nisibis*, p.18.

¹⁴⁴ PG 65:481-89; cited in M-IAT 195.

¹⁴⁵ J.B.Chabbot, *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris: 1902, p.266; cited as SO.

¹⁴⁶ AFJ Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, Leiden: 1962: cited by J.Vellian, "Pre-Diamper Sourcess of the Syro-Malabar Liturgy" in B.Puthur (ed.), *The Life and Nature of the St Thomas Christian Church in the Pre-Diamper Period*, Kochi-21: 2000, p.62. Cureton, ASD, p.32. Medlycot, IAT, p.33-37.

¹⁴⁷ Add. MS.14644 (fol.10) of British Museum, London, edited by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents*, London: 1864, p.32. M-IAT 35-36.

Apostle's Hand of Priesthood from Aggaeus, maker of golden chains, the disciple of Addaeus the Apostle"¹⁴⁸.

CONCLUSION

The Doctrine of the Apostles pinpoints the apostolate of St Thomas in India, distinct from that of Aggai (Mari) the disciple of Addai, in Persia. East Syrian Liturgy was prevalent in India in 5thc.-6thc., as we know from sources like *Christian Topography*¹⁴⁹. Indian tradition of Qurbana¹⁵⁰ is far better than the other traditions of the East Syrian Liturgy, as it agrees with the oldest MS of First Qudasa (10th c.). **If Knaithoma did not come in 4thc. to Kerala, he did not bring "Chaldean Liturgy" in 4thc and Kaldaya Qurbana is not foreign, but Indian. It existed in India from St Thomas' time.as Qurbana of the Blessed Apostles** (Raza p.10). P.U.Luke discussing the Liturgy, which St Thomas established in India, cites the book of F.C.J. in 1906 and hints that Indian Christians had Dravidian Liturgy and native clergy when Persian Bishops came, and they introduced the Chaldean Liturgy in Malabar¹⁵¹ ca 500. He holds, Qnaythoma came with Chaldean Liturgy (Qurbana) to Malabar in 345. Then Luke gives the names of Chaldean Bishops who ruled the Malankara Church: 1) Mar John, Bishop of India and Persia, who signed the Creed in Nicaea in 325. 2) Mar Joseph, Bishop of Uraha (Edessa), sent by the Catholica of the East with the Syrian Christians like Knaithoma, who colonised Kodungallur in AD 345¹⁵². "Mar Joseph" was added to "Bp of Uraha-Edessa" in history of Fr Mathai (SK 59). **Memorable Dates in Liturgical Calendar** must be accurate for historical facts. Tradition cannot create facts or truth. Is history a conspiracy against truth? Rome made the terms "Chaldean"¹⁵³ and "Syro-Malabar". **Honesty is the best policy in history, and in Liturgical Reform.**

The Syro-Malabar Synodal Commission for Liturgy accepted AD 345, for Qnaythoma's arrival in Kodungallur, in the *Memorable Dates* of the *Liturgical Calendar* of 2002 *ad experimentum* (p.99). It ignored the historical data on Knaithoman and Pantaenus (M-IAT 171-82). Hope the Liturgical **Research Centre** will make a **serious study** of it and make necessary corrections in the historical data in **Memorable Dates**.

End

Fr George Appassery VC , 9-3-2003.

Note: I am greatly indebted to J.Vellian, *Symbosium on Knanites* (SK), Kottayam: 1986; J.Kurmankan, *Thekumbagarum Vadakumbagarum* (K-TV),

¹⁴⁸ Cureton, ASD 34; M-IAT 36.

¹⁴⁹ Cosmas Indicopleustes: ed. & tr. L.W.McCrindle, London: 1897; ed. E.O.Windstedt, Cambridge: 1909. A.Mingana, 29-30; in BJRL 10 (1926) 435-95.

¹⁵⁰ Raza: *Qurbana of Nazrani*, Prepared by G.Appassery, Delhi:2000, p.11.

¹⁵¹ *Ancient Songs*, Ktm 1910 = P-AS, p.253. F.C.J. wrote: *A Short Life of St Thomas the Apostle of India*, Madras, 1906, p.52-53. Monserate, SK 26. This claim disturbed the liturgical reform in Syro-Malabar Church. Card.Parecatil, *Liturgy in My View* (Mala.), p.16-18, 215. V-KC 36.

¹⁵² P-AS 256. *Shovala* means **jaundice** in Tamil. *Shovalan* is yellow man.

¹⁵³ *The National Encyclopedia*, Vol.11 (sic), cited in K-TV 384f.

Alapuzha: 1944, and to NAZRANI's booklet: *History of Knaiithoma and Pantaenus* (HKP), by the Syro-Malabar Catholic Association, Delhi: 1999.

My intention to write this article is to save the **Qudasa daShlihe**, given by St Thomas the Apostle of Indian and Persian countries of Asia, from alienation - 'foreign': imported by Qnaythoma in 4th c. or imposed by Persian Patriarchs. *Raza, Qurbana of Nzrani* is to be preserved.

Note: CHALDAEA in ancient geography is the southern part of Babylonia, or in a wider sense Babylonia itself. "The name Chaldeans was especially applied laterly to a portion of the Babylonian Magi, who were devoted to the persuit of astronomy and magical sciences" (K-TV 385). Dan.2:2, 4-5 refers to the magicians and the Chaldedans - the astrologers that pretended to divine by stars. As West Syrian was called Jacobite, so East Syrian was called Nestorian (both people and language). **Chaldaeo-Syrian** is a recent term (Giamil, p.566). When Mar Timotheos I, the Metropolitan of Cyprus, was united with Rome in 1445, Pope Eugene IV allowed them to use "Chaldean" for their "Nestorian" Church. It was used also for the East Syrian Church under Mar Simeon Sulaqa in 1553. So "Chaldean" meant Catholic "Nestorian" Church, *Qurbana*, etc. as in *Taksa Kaldaya* of 1774 for Malankara Syrian-Chaldeans, distinct from Syrian-Jacobites. **Syro-Chaldean** was acceptable, and when it was changed into Syro-Malabarists in *Missiones Catholique*, it was objected by the Catholic Syrians, who claimed "Chaldean" was their traditional name, in the petition of 19-3-1896/9 to Leo XIII from the Malayala Kaldaya Suriani Vicars and priests of parishes of the Vicariates of Trichur, Ernakulam and Changanacherry in Malankara: They requested the Pope to put their churches under the control of the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon and to appoint their national Bishops over them (Para.2 & 3, cited in K-TV 383). When Rozian *Taksa* was printed in Rome in 1774, they called it **Chaldean** and added "*juxta morem/ritum Ecclesiae Malabaricae*". This custom or rite became in 1923 **Rite of Syro-Malabar Hierarchy**; hence Syro-Malabar Rite, was created by Rome. *Kaldayavadam* of Nordists seems meaningless today.

Note: **Anchara-pallikkar** (5.5 churches of the Sudists) in Kottayam Eparchy are Udayamperur, Kaduthuruthy, Kottayam, Chunkom (Thodupuzha) and Kallissery; half share in some churches of Northists (K-TV 470). In 1887 Ap.Vicars of Trichur and Kottayam. Msgr Charles Lavinge had two pontifically privileged General Vicars: Mani Nidhiri, and Mathai Makil for Sudists, who succeeded as Ap.Vicar of Changanacherry in 1896. Knanaya Jacobite diocese of Chingavanam was erected in 1910. Pius X erected Kottayam in 1911 to transfer Mar Mathai Makil (Manjoor), when Mar Thoma Kurialachery was appointed to Changanacherry. Fr. Alex. Choolaparambil (Kumarakam) became Ap.Vicar of KTM in 1914. Syro-Malabar Hierarchy was erected on 21-12-1923. Fr T.Tharayl (Palathuruth) became Co-adjutor in 1945, and Bp of KTM in 1951. KTM got personal jurisdiction of all Southists in the whole area of the SMC on 29-4-1955. Fr K.Kunnassery (Kaduthuruthy) became co-adjutor in 1967, and Bp in 1974 when Mar Tharayil retired (+1975). Fr M.Moolakkat OSB (Uzhavoor) took final vows on 5-12-1998, being nominated Auxiliary Bp on 28-12-98, received episcopal order on 6-1-99 in Rome (V-KC 2-10). The Apostolic Vicariate of Kottayam for the Sudists is not a diocese (territory); so it cannot be divided to make it Archdiocese; its head is Vicar of Pope. He may be Episcopa, Metropolitana or Patriarcha without "proper" territory. Here is the Knanaya Catholic Community at a glance: 169,338 in 28,459 families in 140 "parishes" - scattered in various dioceses (V-KC 39f).

Jati (caste) is so strong that a non-Knanite has no entry into a Knanite family. It has no unity and is unable to fulfill the spiritual

duties; hence a Knanite is sent out with the non-Knanite Christian after their marriage outside the Knanite Church (V-KC 27, n.6). Such is the missionary zeal and pastoral care for the Knanites of Kottayam. The emigration of Knanites to North Malabar after the Second World War was a planned enterprise of Prof. V.J. Joseph Kandoth with the blessing of Mar Alex. Choolaparambil. In 1942 Kottayam Diocese bought 1800 acres of land at Echikkol (Rajapuram) in Kazargod. The first colony of 72 families started from Kottayam on 1-2-1943, and each family was given 11.5 acres of land. The Diocese bought 2000 acres of land at Madampam and 100 families migrated there on 3-5-1943. The Diocese bought land at Madathumala (Ranipuram) in 1969 and 45 families settled there on 2-2-1970 (V-KC 10-12). This is missionary work to keep up their endogamy.

A. Balakrishnapilla in *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, 29-6-1941, wrote: *Kurishumudi athava Marthoma Slihayude Shavakudiram* (K-TV 340-41). It is against the known history. Bearing the message of Christ St Thomas came to India in AD 52 and died in 68. His bones were transferred in AD 222 from Mt. Puthickal near Marayur in Devikulam to Kurishumudi (Mount Malayattur); so it became famous. The present concept is wrong, that Apostle St Thomas' tomb is in Mailapur. In fact it is the tomb of Knaithoma who came in 633 to Kerala with a Syrian colony. Both are called Marthoma, and are venerated by the Syrian Christians.

Knaithoma came in "shovala" (345); Cheraman lived in "bhuvibhaga" (345). Yonaka tradition in Malabar holds that the last Perumal is Palli-bana Perumal, who accepted Islam, built the first moque in Kodungallur and went to Mecca¹⁵⁴. D. Couto says, Cheraman Perumal ruled in 347 (Brahmins of Calicut) or in 588 (Brahmins of Cochi). Kerala had two kinds of Kali-varsha: Ordinary one started in BC 3101, and the other in BC 3390; difference of 288 years (K-TV 341f). Hence Knaithoma came in 633 (345+288), as held by A. Balakrishnapilla in *Mathrubhujmi Weekly* of 26-6-1941. It is referred in the ancient Song of "Thiruvarankan" which describes a war (of Omar who ruled in 632-644). Mahodaya-city-year started in 633.

"Shovalan" (yellow-man) was the name given by ancient Tamils to the people of West-Asia (Armenia). *Chilappathikaram* says that Knaithoma came at the time of Pallibana Perumal who went to Mecca, and he brought Arabians (*Chatukka*-(4)-*Puthar*). Arabia comes from "arb" (4 in Arabic)-hence the name of *Chathukkaputhar* for Arabians (K-TV 342f).

Chronological Order of Documents on Qnay-Thoma.

Year	Author	Name	Place	Arrival	Year	Ref.
1517	Penteado	Armenian merchant	-advanced in age, had 2 sons-		SK	17
1525	Mar Jacob ¹⁵⁵	Quilon Xtians	bought land in Cranganor, got chepped.			
1533	Abuna	Tome de Canane	Miliapur & Cranganor		SK	19
1566	D. Goes ¹⁵⁶	Mar Jacob	pawned 2 copper plates-privileges		SK	20-21

¹⁵⁴ C.K. Kareem, *Kerala and Her Culture: An Introduction*, Tvm: 1971, 60.

¹⁵⁵ Mar Jacob who came in 1503 wrote to the Portuguese King about the losses of the Christians and the help needed to restore their rights. Quilon Christians bought land in Cranganor, got chepped of rights and privileges. It is CVR No.99 in ANTT, published by Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentacao... India*, (=SR-D) Vol.2 (Lisbon: 1949) 352-35; SK 18-19.

¹⁵⁶ Damiao de Goes, *Cronica do fel.Rei D.Manuel*, Coimbra:1566: SK, 20-21.

1578	Dionysio	Quinai Thome	Babylon	Cranganor	825	SK 23
1579	Monserrate	Quinay/Mar-Thoma		Paru/Cranganor,		SK 24-25
1604	Campori	Quinai Thome	Armenia	Cranganor	344	SK 37
1604	Roz SJ	Thome Cananeo	Babylonia	Cranganor	346	SK 30
1606	Gouvea	Thome Cana -	Armenia	Cranganor		SK 27
1611	Couto	Thome Cananeo	Armenia	Cranganor	811	SK 38, 41
1636	Trindade	Thome Cana -	Armenia	Cranganor		SK 42
1657	Sebastiani	Thome Cana	Armenia	Cranganor		SK 49
1676	Fr.Matheo	Chinai Thome	Canaan	Serra		SK 53-54
1709	MarGabriel	Visscher's <i>Letters from Malabar</i> (16)			745	p.106
1720/30	Mathai	Tangara Toma	Orslamaya	Milibar uHendo	345	SK 59
1728	Asseman JS	Thoma Cana	Aramean	India	855	BO 4:442.
1745	Raulin	Thomas Cana	Armenian	Malabar	800	p.8, 434.
1770	Malayalam MS ¹⁵⁷	in KTM on Malabar Church, tr.English				K-TV 231.
1782	Cariatti	Knai-Thoma	Babilonia	Malabar	753	SK 56
1869	Ittoop Reitor	Knayil Thoma	Orusalem	Malayalam	345	K-TV 254
1870	Edavazhickal	Philipos	Canaan	Knanayar		K-TV 68f.
1872	Kurien Padri	Thoma of Cana	Bagdad	Kodungallur	345	K-TV 242f
1890	<i>Knanayolbhavam</i> by Rahudhwamsi, Cochin: 1890. Cf K-TV 455-67. 68f.					
1891	G.Milne Rae, <i>The Syrian Church in India</i> , Edinburg: 1892, p.162.					
1910	P.U.Luke, <i>Ancient Songs of Syrian Christians</i> , KTM: 1910.					
1911	Pius X erected diocese of Ktm. for Sudists under Mar M. Makil.					
1916	Bernard Thoma, <i>Marthoma Christianikal</i> , 2 Bks, Pala: 1916, 1921.					

ABBREVIATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

AS-SKH A.Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam:1967.

B-TC Bernard Thoma, *Mar-Thoma-Christianikal*, 2nd ed. Kottayam: 1992.

C-SK Chazhikadan J., *Surianikarude KeralaPravesham...* Kottayam: 1940.

DI *Documenta Indica*, ed. J.Wicki, 17 vols., Rome: 1948-88.

HCI *History of Christianity in India*. Vol.1 by A.M. Mundadan;
Vol.2, by J.Thekkedathu; Vol.3, by E.R. Mambye.

HKLM *History of Kerala ... Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar*, by
K.P.Padmanabha Menon, ed. T.K. Krishna Menon, 4 vols. Ernakulam:
1924-37. Vol.2, Ekm: 1927.

K-TV Kurmankan J., *Thekumbagarum Vadakumbagarum*, Alapuzha: 1944.

M-IAT Medlycot, A.E. *India and Apostle Thomas...* London: 1905.

M-TC Mundadan, A.M. *...Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob*, Bangalore 1967.

M-TTC *Traditions of Thomas Christians*, Bangalore: 1970.

P-AS P.U.Luke, *Ancient Songs of Syrian Christians...*, Kottayam: 1910.

P-TC Podipara, P.J., *St Thomas Christians*, Bombay: 1970.

SK *Symbosium on Knanites*, ed. J.Vellian, Kottayam: 1986.

SR-D Silva Rego, *Documentacao... India*, 12 vols. Lisbon: 1948-58.

V-KC Vellian, J. *Knanite Community: History and Culture*, Kottayam: 2001.

VD-LM, Visscher-Drury, *Letters from Malabar*, Madras 1862.

Barros-Couto, *Da Asia Decada 12*, published in 15 tomi, Lisbon 1778-88.

Brown, L.W., *Indian Christians of St Thomas*, Cambridge 1957.

Chediath, G., *Sabha Charitra Padanangal* (Mala.), Kottayam: 1982.

Cureton-ASD = *Ancient Syriac Documents*, London: 1864.

Drury, H. (tr.), *Letters from Malabar* (of C.T.Visscher), Madras 1862.

Giamil, S., *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Assyrorum seu
Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam*, Rome:1902.

Gouvea, Ant.de, *Journada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes*,

¹⁵⁷ *Church Missionary Society Report of 1818-19*, p.317. Appendix D in Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, pp.304-308. Cf Kurmankan, J., *Southists and Northists* (Mal.), Alapuzha 1944, p.231; hereater cited as K-TV.

- (*Synodo Diocesano.. (Diamper); Missa..*), Coimbra: 1606.
History of Knaithoma & Pantaenus, by SMCA (NAZRANI), Delhi: 1999.
 Ittoop Reitor, *Church History of Syrian Christians in Malayalam*, 1869.
- Jeffrey, R., The Decline of Nayar Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, Sussex 1973; Nayar Medavittattinte Padanam, KTM 1979.*
 Kadavil Chandy, *Syriac MS. History of the Southists: K-TV 459.*
Karson Copy of the Copper Plates: BNP MS.Syr.186, ff.127-130. SK 70-82.
Keralathile MargaVazhiyude Avasta: Karthedam-MS. KSP 5 (1930) 224-255.
 Klijn, F.J., ed. *The Acts of Thomas*, Leiden: 1962.
Knayanolbhavam by Rahudhwamsi, Cochin: 1890. Cf K-TV 455-67. 68-69.
 Kollaparampil, J. *The Babylonian Origin of the Southists... Rome:1992.*
 Kurien Padri, *History of Syrian Christians (Mal.)*, 1872. K-TV 247-53.
 Land-AS = J.P.N.Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, Tom.1, Lugduni 1862.
 Logan, W., *Malabar*, 2 vols., Madras: 1887. Reprint Vol.1, TVM 1981.
Malayalam MS of 1770 in C.M.S. Report of 1818-1819, p.317. K-TV 231.
 Malayalathilulla Surianikarku bhavicha Bhavitangal: Leyden MS.1214
 Mathai Kathanar, *Al Gadshe Dagash lSuryane... Leyden MS 1213: Land-AS*
 Mundadan, A.M., *The Arrival of the Portuguese in India and the Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob (1498-1552), Bangalore: 1967. = M-TC.*
- Mundadan, A.M., The Sixteenth Century Traditions of the St Thomas Christians, Bangalore:1970. =M-TTC.*
 Palliveetil Kurian, *Marthoma Nazranikalude Sathya-Vishwasam*, 1908.
Raza: Qurbana of Nazrani, Prepared by Fr George Appassery, Delhi: 2000.
 Schurhammer, G., *Orientalia*, ed. Lazzlo Szilas, Lisbon: 1963. = S-Ori.
 Silva Rego, Ant.da, *Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes Portugues do Oriente, India*, 12 vols. Lisbon:1948-58.
 Thekkedathu, J., *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia SJ*, Rome: 1972.
Veeradian-pattu, Ola-MS Konathu, Sathayanadam, 5-4-1924, K-TV 260.
 Visscher, C.T., *Malabarese Briefen...*, Leeuwarden 1743; Briefe-16.

Summary Content of Sources on Qnay-Thoma (SK). 6-3-03.

- 1 Name: Variations, meaning, changes
- 2 Nation: native place, country, city: Jerusalem, Cana, Armenia.
- 3 Arrival- Place of landing in India.
- 4 Arrival- Year of coming to India.
- 5 Person-Profession: Merchant, King, Apostle, monk, bishop, saint.
- 6 Wives: Syrian or Native, first or second, Children.
- 7 Colony: Persons, wife, families, clerics, priests, bishop.
- 8 Origin of two Groups: theories and derogatory stories.
- 9 Critical Evaluation: documents and details of the story.
- 1 **Name:** Merchant Thomas of Cana+an; variant- M-TTC 92f, n.19.
 - 1.1 **Canai Thome** Matheo SK 54; K-TV 65; C-SK 51.
 - 1.1a Chinai Thome Matheo SK 53
 - 1.1b Knai-Thoma Cariatti SK 56
 - 1.1c Quinai Thome Dionysio SK 23; Campori, SK 37.
 - 1.1d Quinay Thoma Monserrate SK 26
- 1.2 **Thome Cananeo** = merchant Thomas; Qnan= Canaan - traders.
 - 1.2a Thome Cananeo Roz SK 30; Couto-SK 38;
 - 1.2b Thome Cananeo Armenio Roz SK 34
 - 1.2c Thome de Canane Abuna SK 19
 - 1.2d Cocurangon /Coquarangon Cananeo (Couto, SK 39; Roz, SK 33).
- 1.3 T(h)ome Cana or Mart(h)oma(e) = Senhor Thome: Confusion/doubt
 - 1.3a Thome Cana/Armenio Gouvea- SK 27; Sebastiani-SK 49; Correa?
 - 1.3b Tome Cana /Armenio Trindade- SK 42; Mar Tome = Senhor Tome.

- 1.4 **Mar Thoma: Suriano or Armenio** is added to him; merchant:
- 1.4a Mar Thoma /suriano (Monserrate, SK 24, 25; Gouvea, SK 27).
- 1.4b Mar Thome/Suriano (Monserrate, SK 25 i.e. S.Thome/Don Thome).
- 1.4c Mar Tome /Armenio (Paulo da Trindade, SK 42).
- 1.5 **Meaning:** merchant¹⁵⁸. Qnan - Qanan, Qinan, Qinai/y etc.
- 1.5a Qnan-Qnanaya =Canaanite is merchant. Qnan=Canaan =South Syria.
- 1.5b Thome de Canane =Thomas of Canaan; Cananeo =Canaanite, merchant.
2. **Nation:** Armenia, Babylonia, Syria, Canaan, Cana, Jerusalem.
- 2.1 **Armenia:** an Armenian man, merchant (Penteado, in SK 17).
- 2.1a an Armenian, called Thome Cana or Marthoma (Gouvea, SK 27).
- 2.1b a very rich Armenian from Babylonia, Thome Cananeo (Roz, SK 30).
- 2.1c a rich Armenian, called Quinai Thome (Campori, SK 37).
- 2.1d an Armenian Christian, called Thome Cananeo (Couto, SK 38).
- 2.1e an Armenian merchant: Paulo da Trindade, SK 42; Sebastiani, SK 49.
People who came with him were of the Armenian caste (Couto, SK 41).
- 2.2 **Babylonia:** Dionysio (SK 23); Roz (SK 30); Cariati (SK 56).
- 2.3 **Syria:** = Mar Thome suriano and mercader (Monserrate, SK 24).
- 2.4 **Canaan:** Tome de Canane from Canane to Miliapur: Abuna, SK 19;
Thome Cananeo: Roz, SK 30; Couto, SK 38. Chinai Thome, a native of
Canaan: Matheo, SK 53; K-TV 90f. Qnai-Thoma means Canaanite or
merchant Thomas.
- 2.5 **Cana:** An Armenian, named Thome Cana, merchant: Gouvea, SK
27; Paulo da Trindade, SK 42. He is Knaye Thomas or Thomas of
Cana¹⁵⁹. J. Chazhikadan makes Merchant Thomas a native of Cana of
Galilee: Thomas of Cana (C-SK 53) means Thomas of Canaan (C-SK
104f). Qnan-Quinai-Canai Thoma =Cana Thoma or Thome Cana = Thomas
of Cana. Thomas was born in Cana (of Galilee), near Nazareth (C-SK
51 59 85); he is a relative of Thoma-Sliha (C-SK 2 & 77). Is Qnai-
thoma Armenian or Syrian? Cana of Galilee (Jn 2:1; 4:21; 21:2) is
Kathne in Syriac.
- 2.6 **Jerusalem**¹⁶⁰: Mar Gabriel and Mathai, SK 59.
- 2.7 Qana near Eden (E.R.Hambye SJ)¹⁶¹
- 2.8 Qana near Bagdad (Kollaparambil's Paper in Rome 1991?)
3. **Arrival- Place:** Mailapur, Maliamkara, Pattanam, Cranganor.
- 3.1 Miliapur: Abuna, SK 19.
- 3.2 Cranganor: Penteado, SK 17; Dionysio, SK 23; Trindade, SK
42.
- 3.3 Paru and Curangularu: Monserrate, SK 24.

¹⁵⁸ Gen 12:5; 16:3; 17:8; 37:1. R.de Reiss, *Atlas Scripturae S.*, p.12.
(K-TV 69 & 90). Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*: mercator= merchant: "Chanaan,
statera dolosa in manu ejus! Tirini: Mercatorem avarum, lucriosum, dolosum,
noli, O Juda, imitari" (Hos 12:7). Qnan= merchant: *Laqnanaye* means, to traders
(K-TV 91); "Chananaeo i.e. institori vel vendendas tradebat (Prov.31:24). Quia
enim gens Chananaea mercaturae erat opprime dedita, hinc nomine chananaei
saepe pro 'mercator' utebantur". Is.23:8 refers to merchants of Tyre/ Sor;
Zach.14:21 points to a trader in the house of the Lord of hosts.
Tangara Thoma Orsalmaya, means Merchant Thomas of Jerusalem (Land, *Anecdota
Syriaca*, Tom.1:123; Giamil 555; *Nallororsalom*, P-AS 5; K-TV 93, 106 & 217).

¹⁵⁹ G.M.Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, London 1892, p.162; K-TV 216-
18).

¹⁶⁰ Mar Gabriel in 1709; "Some merchants were sent from Jerusalem ... and
returned to Jerusalem..." (Visscher-Drury, *Letters from Malabar*, Madras 1862,
p.106); P-AS 5. Mathai Kathanar, SK 59. HCI 1:94.

¹⁶¹ *Clergy Monthly* 16 (1952), 362-375; 377-389.

- 3.4 Parur-patanam: Roz, SK 30; Mahoder-patanam: Roz, SK 33.
 3.5 Patana: Couto, SK 38.
 3.6 Serra: Matheo, SK 53.
 3.7 Malabar: Cariati, SK 56.
4. **Arrival- YEAR:** A.D.345? 344/346? 730? 745? 752? 811? 825?
 4.1 825 AD: Dionysio, SK 23. Quinai Thoma came 753 years ago.
 4.2 811 AD: Couto, SK 40. He came after 730 AD Couto, SK 41.
 4.3 752 AD: Cariati, SK 56.
 4.4 745 AD: Mar Gabriel: Visscher's Letters, ed.Drury, p.106.
 4.5 730 AD: Couto, SK 41.
 4.6 346 AD: Roz, SK 30. Perumal died 1258 years ago¹⁶².
 4.7 345 AD: Mathai¹⁶³, SK 59. Perumal abdicated throne in 'Sovala'.
 4.8 344 AD: Campori, SK 37; Perumal received him 1260 years ago¹⁶⁴.
5. Person-Profession: merchant, pilgrim, king, monk-Bishop, & saint!
 5.1 Armenian merchant of advanced age: Penteado, SK 17.
 5.2 A christian merchant on a pilgrimage to Miliapur: Abuna, SK 19.
 5.3 (Syrian) merchant of Babylonia to Kodungallur: Dionysio, SK 23.
 5.4 A king: Couto, SK 40 (from many conjectures)¹⁶⁵.
 5.5 Apostle and Father of TC in Kodungallur¹⁶⁶: Trindade, SK 42.
 5.6 Bishop - monk, missionary: Mar Sabor and Prot came with Sabarisho; Mar Timothy sent Mar Thoma Cana¹⁶⁷! M.Rae, cited in K-TV 226.
 5.7 Saint: Roz says: I found the name of Thome Cananeo among the names of the saints which the deacon names in the Mass (diptychs), attributing that he gave a large amount of money to the king of

¹⁶² The church of Kodungalur was dedicated in 404 (1200 years ago in 1604, Roz, SK 30). Was it built by Knaithoma?

¹⁶³ Gabriel and Mathai give the same story, different years: 745, 345! Gabriel is closer to Cariatti (752), Couto (811) and Dionysio (825). Now, Dionysio gives a more genuine version of the oral tradition (Mundadan, SK 90). Hence AD 825 is preferable to AD 745 and 345.

¹⁶⁴ Jacora-Birti Perumal was in Malabar in 344. Cf Letter of 9-1-1604 to Jesuit General, cited in SK, 37; Cf. K-TV 216-18.

¹⁶⁵ SK 42&35; H-ATM 458; P-TC 108. Couto-SK 39: From the Copper plates I conclude that this king (of Cochin) was a Christian, and was called Cocurangon. TC had a great honour granted only to the sons of kings (SK 42). TC were called *Tarijanal* meaning 'kings or first kings' (M-TTC 126). People of Pandian kingdom called TC "sons of kings" (Gouvea f.4v= SK 28; Trindade-SK 42; Roz f.90; H-ATM 562, n.3; M-TTC 126 & 137).

¹⁶⁶ Roz refers to "wrong information" given to the author of a book on the foundations of Franciscan monasteries in Cranganor, who "attributed to Thomas Cananeo the beginning of TC in Malavar". There were TC in Malavar already before the said Cananeo; Xeram Perumal's 'olla' bears clear witness to this; it speaks of 72 houses of Christians in Cranganor (SK 35 & 18). Thome who came to trade, had not so many people with him. There was no colony.

¹⁶⁷ Asseman, BO 3/2:443; Raulin, Hist.Eccl.Malabaricae, Rome 1745, p.8.a). Asseman says, two wives of Thome are two cities he ruled: Cranganor and Angamale! He is mistaken (K-TV 206f & 209f). Privileges for TC (K-TV 214f)

Malavar to buy the land in Cranganor¹⁶⁸. Do Couto says that Thomas Cana himself built 3 churches in Cranganor, and he was commemorated, as a Saint, by the Christians of Cranganor (SK 38). The second church in Malavar, which this Cananeo built was in Cranganor; "and for this deed these Christians had placed him in the catalogue of their saints and were praying to him¹⁶⁹ or 'reading from it' (dyptichs). Confusion of Mar Thoma with Mr Thome is evident in these documents!

6. **Family:** Wife/ concubine and children (SK 28 & 37; K-TV 217f). This Armenian brought his wife from Babylon with him (SK 37).
- 6.1 An Armenian merchant advanced in age had 2 sons: He made the first patron and inheritor of incomes bequeathed to the church of St Thomas in Cranganor, and the second son administrator of justice; they had faction-fight over some disputes (Penteado, SK 17).
- 6.2 Quinai Thome married and related with Naires (Dionysio, SK 23).
- 6.3 Mar Thome suriano had **two wives: free/slave** (Monserrate, SK 24). Southists and Northists are children of Thome, legitimate or not. Northists were married to St Thomas' Christians, while Southists were rejected by Nazrani Mappila, like Nayars (Monserrate, SK 25). Malabar Christians were descended from the disciples of St Thomas, the children (including bastards) of the Syrian Marthome, and from many Nayars who are daily converted; they form a people of 70,000 souls (SK 25).
- 6.4 Armenian Thome Cana or Martoma had **two houses and families** in Cranganore (SK 28): Wife and children lived in southern house and in the northern a Nair woman, converted Christian as slave, from whom also he had children. Thome divided his possession among all, where they lived. A discord arouse among the two sides about legitamacy and nobility; so intermarriage is not tolerated; priests of the same caste minister in the churches. So the whole Christianity is divided into two sides (*bandos*)¹⁷⁰. *Veppatti-vadam* was prevalent among the Southists in the 16th century (SK 35, 43, 49), who wished to get more status.
- 6.5 Who are the *Vadakkar*? St Thomas Christians are not the children of of Qnaithomen, neither legitimate nor illegitimate, as the Portuguese writers say; some of them put *Thekkar* as children of the concubine (2nd wife) on the south! *Vadakkar* may be the legitimate sons of Thome who married the Christians of St Thomas. In order to save the merchant Thome from adultery and concubinage, they introduced the *Urhavadam* in the 18th century, as it is found in Mar Gabriel, Mathai Kathanar and others. They changed 825 or 745 into 345 AD for the arrival of the colony with Qnai-thome, to claim "pazhama" (antiquity)!
- 6.6 "Hence the fact is clear and strongly established that there were already St Thomas Christians in Malavar" (Roz, SK 35) before Thome Cananeo came. Before and after it, they were sometimes

¹⁶⁸ Roz, SK 36: Hence I consider as a fable what these Christians narrate; they say that the said Thome had a wife and a concubine, from whom the two kinds of Christians in Malavar descended. [Charity covers a multitude of sins!] The old MS book of prayer of a church of Mangatte was written in 1507 (97 years ago).

¹⁶⁹ Couto, SK 38 & 40. Decada 12, Bk.3, ch.5 (1611) on Thomas Cana and Copper Plates grant. Tom.8 (1788) p.282-86.

¹⁷⁰ Gouvea, SK 28; K-TV 235.

visited by some Armenian pilgrims who were going on a visit to the sepulchre of the Apostle St Thomas and some would remain in Mailapur, and others in Malavar (Roz, SK 36). Abuna said, Thome de Canane came first to Mailapur (as pilgrim) and then to Cranganor (SK 19) for trade.

7. **Colony:** Place and number of families: $160-96=64$; $472= 400+72-7!$

7.1a Diogo de Couto wrote in 1611: "**The arival of this man** (Thome Cananeo) **was in about AD 811**, as it is found in the Chaldean books of these Christians" (SK 40). He got from the king a ground in Patana for him **to lodge with his men** who brought their wives (SK 38). From the people who had come with him proceed the Christians of Diamper, Cottate and Cartute, who are Armenians by caste; they had Armenian wives and children. But in course of time they married in the land, and **all became Malavares** (SK 41) or Tamils? Do they have "pure Syrian blood" of Thome today? There is an Armenian bridge near Periamala, and Armenian tombs in the chapel where St Thomas' Cross (*Croce di San Thome*) is venerated. Mar Jacob and others were called "Armenian" bishops.

7.1b All these Christians (of St Thomas), after the Catholic Prelates who came to them from the city of Edessa had died, lived many hundreds of years (700?) in the same faith ... **until about AD 730 before Thome Cananeo arrived there**. And a few years after the foundation of the city of Coulaio (1611-722 =889 AD), came two Chaldeans from Babylonia, called Mar Xabio and Mar Prod (Couto, SK 41) in AD 823? Thome had no colony from Jerusalem, Persia (Parsia) or Nineve (Bagdad?) in AD 345.

7.2 **Mar Gabriel's Report**¹⁷¹ of 1709 was published in Leyden in 1714.

About 160 families or tribes remained constant (in faith). During the 2nd apostacy 96 families adopted the heathen superstitions, and only 64 (families) were adhering to the true faith (VD-LM, p.106). After the merchants returned to Jerusalem, several priests, students, and christian women and children came hither from Bagdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem, by order of the Catholic Archpriest at Oerghai. They arrived **in 745 AD**, in company with merchant Thomas. They became **united with the 64 families** and lived in peace (mixed marriage). Christians possess in Cranganore several churches, **besides 472 shops and houses** built round them; they lived in peace and unity for several years until a **separation** took place among the Christians of Cranganore and in 823 Mar Saboor, Mar Botoe, and Seboor Isso came to Quilon as teachers (VD-LM, 107). Since the immigrants were united with 64 families, there was **no endogamous community of colonialists** (Southist rites, K-TV 445).

7.3 **Mathai Kathanar**¹⁷² in 1720/30: Martoma came in 52 to India and landed at Mailapo; he went to Mailibar, arrived at Malyakara, preached and added two priests to serve the altar; he went to Kottakayal, at Irapeli, Gokamangalam, Neranam, and Tirubankot; at last to Mailapo, where he was pierced with a lance. After his death, India and Malabar had no preacher and leader, no priest and presbyter. There were only the faithful of both sexes; **after 92**

¹⁷¹ BO 4:464; 16th Letter of Visscher; H.Drury, Letters from Malabar, p.106f; K.P.P.-T.K.K., *History of Kerala*, 2:40-53; K-TV 225.

¹⁷² J.P.N.Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, 1:24-30; Giamil 562-64; K-TV 228-30; SK 57-60. H.Drury, Letters from Malabar, Madras 1862, p.106-107.

years, Manikabasar, a magician, came to Mailopur; by his magical arts he performed miracles, scandalised the leaders and chief men of the faithful and drew them away from the true faith; the rest of the faithful fled and found asylum in Malabar. Afterwards, when 160 truly Christian families had no presbyters and leaders, a dissension arose among them, and 96 of them renounced faith; 64 families retained orthodox faith (SK 58).

7.3a *Bp of Edessa had a vision*. Catholica of the East gathers people from all churches and monasteries and cities of the diocese. The **merchant Thomas** of Jerusalem, says, "I have heard a report about Milibar and Hendo from foreign countries and men". Catholica urges him to go to Malabar, to visit the people and report the situation. Thomas set out for Milibar, come to Malyamkara and saw Thomaite Christians. He returned and told the Catholica what the Milibar brethren desired. By the help of adorable God and by the order of Catholica of the East, the merchant Thomas of Jerusalem, started **with the Bp** who had seen the vision, presbyters and deacons, also men, women and children from Jerusalem, Bagdad and Nineve. They entered a ship and left for Malabar where they landed at Malyamkara **in AD 345** (SK 59).

7.3b Cherakon-king of the whole Malabar granted them spacious ground and all royal honour, written on **copper plates**; these plates are preserved among us to this day! They built in Korumkalur a church and a town of 472 houses from east to west on both sides. Now, Syrian Fathers used to come by order of the Catholica and took care of the district of Hendo and Milibar. Again, in 823 came the Syrian Fathers: Mar Sabor and Mar Prot, and with them the famous Sabar-Iso, to Kollam (SK 60). 472= 400+72 houses/families =7 clans/ 72 families/ 400 people.

7.4 Malayalam MS of 1770, *CMS Report* in 1818-19 (K-TV 231). Nazraitess from Jerusalem began to interchange marriages with the Christians in Malabar according to their stations in life. The respectable had 400 houses on north, and the inferior had 72 in south of Cranganor.

7.5 Ittoop Reitor, *Church History of Syrian Christians* in Malayalam, 1869 (K-TV 253-259). Malayala Christian community had no bishop or priest for 300 years. About 400 persons including Bp Joseph of Uraha, some priests and deacons, many men, women and children, were sent under the merchant Knai-thomachan to Malabar by Catholica of Jerusalem with consent of Justedius, the Patriarch of Antioch. They all reached safe in AD 345. People of Kottakkayal and 64 Christian families, known as Dhariyakal, welcomed them and acknowledged Mar Joseph as their Metropolitan. Cheraman Perumal gave honours and land of 244 *anakkol* in Mahadevar-pattanam to Knaithomachan. (Rites, P.92, in K-TV 445).

7.6 Kurien Padri, *Syrian Church History*, 1872 (K-TV 242-253). It is a version of Ittoop Reitor; note the differences (K-TV 247). Christian Mutalali, called Thoma of Cana (C-SK 230, for Canan), went to Kodungallur for trade met people with cross hung from their necks, and spoke about worldly and spiritual difficulties. He reported it to Catholica of Bagdad who sent Bp Joseph of Uraha (Edessa), some priests and deacons, and about 400 people from 72 families of 7 Illam from Jerusalem, Parsia and Chaldea, in 3 ships, with Thoma, and in AD 345 they reached Kodungallur. Venki, the Lord of the Fort, and Chembakassery King welcomed Thoma Mutalali into *Tandu* (Palack). Cheraman Perumal gave the 72 privileges, enjoyed only by the Lords of Mazhuvancherry and high castes, and land of 264 (C-SK 231, for 244) *anakkol*, recorded in

Chepped. Church was erected on Saturday, 29-3-345 (Savol - for Sovala), in Mahadevarpatanam. Nasrani-Mappilamar got the name of "Syrians" due to the arrival of the Syrian Thoma and colony. This colonisation was beneficial to worldly and religious status of both parties (K-TV 242-43).

Acts of the Syrian Church and Community in Malayalam of Kurian Padri says: Nazranikal had lived by themselves for 290 years. Then the Aramayan (Syrian) Thoma of Canan, a Christian Mutalali, came to Kodungallur for trade... land of 244 anakkol... 29-3-345 (sovala). Kottakkavu parshakal and Tarisaykal of 64 families came to meet the Bp and united with him (K-TV 244-45).

- 7.7 Milne Rae, *Syrian Church in India*, 1891, p.162 (Logan, *Malabar* 1: 239. K-TV 226). This Qnaye Thomas or Thomas of Cana and his following evidently made a deep impression on the popular imagination in Malabar... Little light on the history of Knaye Thomas can be got from the stories that are still believed by the Malabar Christians. It is said that he had two wives (whether successively or simultaneously is affirmed) and be each wife he had a numerous offspring, among them his property was at last divided, those by his first wife getting his northern estates, and those by the second wife the southern. Hence there are two comprehensive divisions in the present day among the Christians of the Coast, usually described as the Northists and Southists respectively. Though they profess to believe the same doctrines and obey the same Bishops, they keep themselves perfectly distinct, and avoid inter-marriage with each other as carefully as if they were Hindoos of different castes. The Southists are fairer of complexion than their brethren of the party of the North, and they boast of this as a proof of their more direct descent from the parent Church, and of their having genuine Syrian blood in their veins" (cited in K-TV 226).

- 7.8 P.U.Luke, *Ancient Songs*¹⁷³, KTM 1910 (P-AS), cited in SK 62-69:

7.8a Thomman Kinan, immigrating to Malabar by the order of the Catholicos, took 400 princes of 72 families and embarked ship; he entered Cranganore, visited Cherakon and got all privileges. Thomman Kinan accepted also the copper-plate deed fittingly engraved (in 345). The 72 families of 7 clans had jacket, veil, rosary and cloth for the head, chain, wristlet, and beautiful cross with them! (SK 62-65).

7.8b And Kinayi Thoman made up his mind to go; 72 families go on board the ship. There is **Abunan** (Bishop), priests and deacons, and there are 400 persons, including men and women. On their sighting the Cochin harbour, 18 salutes were fired. In the royal palaquin sat Raja Varma, Chembakasseri also is with him, and the king of Vettatunad too. Mar Joseph of Urha (Edessa) goes. 4 priests are near him. There are many deacons too. Sepoys are close to him. And Thomman Kinan is with him (SK 66-69). Mar Jacob was called **Abuna** in 1533 (SK 19).

V-KC p.6-8: Charles Lavigne 1840-1913. Ap.Vic. 1887-96.

¹⁷³ *Urahavadam* spread fast: Kurian Padri, *History of Syrian Christians*, in 1872, and Ittoop Reitor's work in 1869. Report of Fr Matheo, Vicar of Ernakulam, in 1676, is given in KSP 2/9, 1932. *Veeradian Pattu*: Record from Ousep Appachayathu-Konathu of Gothurt, Published in *SathyaNadam*, 5-4-1924; K-TV 260. Southist rites of marriage remind their past (K-TV 445).

Mathai Makil 1851-1914. Ap.Vic. 1896-11, 1911-14.
 Alex. Choolaparambil 1877-1951. Ap.Vic. 1914-23-51.
 Thomas Tharayil 1899-1975. Coadjutor 1945; Bp.1951-74.
 Kuriakose Kunnassery 1928-20--. Coadj.1967. Bp.1974.
 Mathew Moolekkat OSB 1953-20--. Auxiliary Bp. 1999.
 Abraham Viruthukulangara (Kallara) 1953-20--. Bp of Khandwa 13-7-1977
 Abp of Nagpur 19-2-1998.

8. **Origin of Southists is** related to Knaithoma, an ubiquitous man!

- 1) VEPPATTIvadam began in 16thc.: SK 24, 28, 34, 37, 43, 49.
- 2) URAHAVadam began in 18thc.: VD-LM 106, SK 59, K-TV 231, 254, 242f.
- 3) KNANAYOTBHVAvadam since 1890, from Jacobites to Catholics: K-TV 453.

8.1 Edavazhickal Pilipose started the claim of the title 'Knanayar" since the Southists' origin is from Knaithoma, who came in 345 AD, in the *Mangalapatram* given to Pulikottil Mar Joseph Dionysius on 8-1-1890 at Veliyanattu (K-TV 453). A Copy of Cheppedu with Pachukkare Tarakan calls Knaithoma 'Nazrani', not Syrian (C-SK 106f). Why? Paranki Latins called Thomas Christians "Suriano" due to their liturgical language, Syriac, as Latins are those who use Latin liturgy. There is no Latin or Syriac/n blood. The Portuguese Governor Alfonso de Albuquerque (1509-15) encouraged mixed marriages, and soldiers often accepted Indian woman as second wife (concubine for cook); their children were hybrid (*mestici*) with blue eyes or golden hair. They were proud of it.

8.2 Monserrate SJ says: Among these Christians there are many petty quarrels about caste. There is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayars... This people was reduced to two tribes... not only by the site of the land (south and north) but also by the descendance from them (two wives, free/slave). This Mar Thoma assembled them and, filling them with **notions of caste** which prevails much in this country, caused to baptize and himself baptized a great number of all those who by their marriages had affinity or kindred with them or descent from them. He was like a head in what concerned religion...(SK 24-25). So there is no question of "pure blood"! Caste (*jati*)¹⁷⁴ seems to be the main reason for dissention and separation (SK 28f, 34f, 37f).

8.3 "The **final organization of castes in Malabar** probably took place about the eighth century A.D., simultaneously with the rise of the Nambutiri Brahmans to power and influence. The Aryan Jains, who had preceded the latter, had probably already organized the community in the Aryan fashion into corporate guilds, and it only needed the idea of *caste as a religious institution* to be imported into the country by the Vedic Brahmans to bring about the crytallization (so to speak) of the

¹⁷⁴ Czste from *casta* in Portuguese stands for *Jati* in Sanskrit. It comes from *Jan* (birth) and refers to customs (*acharam, maryada, margam*) connected with birth. Custom shows *peru-mattam*. *Peru* in Tamil means birth. The idea/concept of *jati* is not Dravidian but Aryan and foreign to Malayalis. Aryan immigrants from the north brought it to Kerala together with their system of civil administration, on the model of a well-regulated household. Each member has to perform certain clear and distinct functions. So Aryan ideas of method and order in civil government became the law of the land (Logan, Malabar, p.136-139), during the century-war. Archdeacon is *Jatikku Karthavyan* - protector of rights and privileges of the Christians of St Thomas (SK 18, 30).

various caste elements"¹⁷⁵, as seen in mainatho (SK 54. K-TV 260).

- 8.4 Thome's servant woman was married to a musician (K-TV 260); her sons are the progenitors of Thekkumbagam (Fr Matheo, SK 54). Her 7 daughters were married to 7 boys of the 72 inferior families, who got rich dowry from Thome (K-TV 458). But they were ostracized as "paryar". Nordists had a Suddist to hold *Vettukuda* and carry *Ayini*. Mar Sabor ordained the first priests of Southists at Kaduthurthy (K-TV 304). Special umbrella was a privilege and right to be vindicated, e.g. A Latin rite Christian family was prosecuted for using silk umbrella in a wedding procession and for spreading clothes on the path¹⁷⁶.
- 8.5 To claim "noble birth" or "pure blood" the Southists invented *Veppattivadam* in 16th century and defamed their benefactor, QnayThome. Accepting the name of Southists, they claimed to be the legitimate/ noble children of the lady-wife of Thome, and accused others to be bastards, and called them blacks! They even tried to dominate the Thomas Christians (Roz, SK 35). Hence there arose discord among them.
- 8.6 Southists tried to please the Portuguese and got blue eyes and golden hair. The Goan Abp ordained them at Kaduthurthy and Diamper in 1599 (K-TV 142-46, 474-78). They testified against the Archdeacon (SK 46f). Anjilimoottil Ittithoman Cassanar deceived the Archdeacon Thomas and party by the forged letters (K-TV 482-85). They cause division.
- 8.7 "The operation of the caste system is to isolate completely the members of each caste or subcaste; and whatever a native may know of his own peculiar branch, he is, as a rule, grossly ignorant of the habits and customs, or the origin, of those outside the pale of his own section of the community"¹⁷⁷. This is done today by the Southist Bishop.

9. CRITICAL EVALUATION OF KANAYYA LEGEND OF QUINAI THOME:

Qnay-Thome came from Qana near Eden or Bagdad! He brought to Malabar a colony of 7 Illam, 72 families, 400 persons from Jerusalem, Bagdad and Nineve to Kodungallur in AD 345, known as *sovala*: Suriani or Malayalam? "Shovala" in Syriac means 336: shin=300, wau=6, lamad=30 = total 336. But in Malayalam, sha=5, va=4, la=3 =543, introverted 345, according to "paralperum" (P-AS, p.8, note). AD 345 is between two known years, 344 and 346, related to Thome: Perumal received Quinai Thome in 344, 1200 years ago (Campori, SK 37). Perumal died on 1-3-346, 1258 years ago (Roz, SK 30). If 344 and 346 are not reliable, how can the year 345 be reliable and acceptable? If Qnaithoma is a Syrian, *shovala* should be interpreted in the Syriac - 336. Malayalam began to develop only after 9th century. Who has made *shovala*? When? Why? In Syriac 345 would be: *Shimiva* =shin=300, mim=40, wav=5. Will the Southists accept it? Please try to answer the following questions.

- 1) Did Knai-Thome come in 345 (SK 59)? What proof against records?

¹⁷⁵ Logan, *Malabar*, 1982, 1:143.

¹⁷⁶ KSP, TVM 1931, ser.8. cited in P-TC p.91, note 36. Cf chapter 21 of Ittiera Apothecari, *Parishkarapati*, Kollam 1945.

¹⁷⁷ Cornish, cited by Logan, *Malabar*, 1982, 1:135.

- 2) Did he come with a colony (VD-LM 106; SK 59)? Of laity, clergy, Bp?
- 3) Did he come with his wife from Babylon (SK 37)? And take another?
- 4) Did some merchants with their wives go to Kodungallur (SK 38).
- 5) Why is Mar Gabriel silent about Mar Joseph of Edessa (VD-LM 106)?
- 6) Why is Mathai adding Mar Joseph of Edessa (SK 59; K-TV 254; 242)?
- 7) How many houses were built? Where - north or south? VD-LM 107 SK 60
400 + 72 (K-TV 231)? 400- north & 72- south (K-TV 231; 226, 230)?
72 houses on north and 400 houses on south (K-TV 250)?
- 8) Probable date of Qnay-Thoma's arrival: AD 825, 745, 345?
- 9) What is the historical value of details added later?

- 9.1 "The Cheraman legend itself has now been proved to be a fiction"; it "is not corroborated by any contemporary record or evidence. None of the early or medieval travellers who visited Kerala has referred to it in their records"; "the evidence of language and literature also makes it abundantly clear that there could have been no foreign Perumal in Kerala from the 3rd to the 5th century A.D. Such terms as Perumal and Taliatri became current in Kerala only after the 8th century A.D. Further, the organisation of Kerala into (64) Brahmin villages was also a development of the 11th century..."¹⁷⁸.
- 9.2 "There does not appear to be an independent tradition of a bishop of Edessa who left his see to go to India; all about Thomas the merchant or Thomas Cannaneo, comes from Malabar"¹⁷⁹.
- 9.3 Edessa had no Mar Joseph in the list of bishops upto 8th century¹⁸⁰.
- 9.4 Record of the land of Cranganor, which the Emperor of Malavar gave to the Armenian Thome Cananeo and to the other Christian of St Thomas. Coulaou era started in 825 AD (1604-779: Roz, SK 34; 1578-753; SK 23). Long before the coming of Thome Cananeo, there were Thomas Christians in Malavar who came from Mailapur, the city of St Thomas; 4 important families are: Cotour, Catanal, Onamturte, Narimattan (Roz, SK 34). Xeram Perumal's olla says: 72 houses and church built at Cranganor were for Christians, but Thome had not so many people with him, since he came to trade; so they were for St Thomas' Christians (Roz, SK 35).
- 9.5 Compare the "historical events" related to the Syrian Christians, recorded by Mar Gabriel in 1709 (VD-LM 106f) with that of Veticutel Mathai Kathanar in 1720/30 (SK 58-60), and the history of Ittoop Reitor (1869) with that of Kurien Padri (1872). CMS Report of 1818-19 (MS of 1770) is more reliable. In course of time, the Nazraites who came from Jerusalem began to interchange marriages with the Christians of 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 houses on the south-side of the same. These two castes are called Vadaken-Paver (North party) and Theken-Paver (South party), and their social customs differ". Number of families/persons is not given. 472 houses are divided into 400 and 72,

¹⁷⁸ A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam: 1967, p.117 133 & 132. Hereafter cited as AS-SKH.

¹⁷⁹ A. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p.358; K-TV 98f.

¹⁸⁰ Chediath, *Sabha-Charitra-Padanangal*, Kottayam: 1982, p.136f.

- from 7 Illam? In 1891 M.Rae records the story of two wives, even after *Knanayotbhavam!*
- 9.5 Mathai Kathanar¹⁸¹ adds some details to the historical events in the recorded history of Mar Gabriel:
- a) After some (700) years - after 92 years, all priests died.
 - b) Certain merchants of Jerusalem visited Malabar - Merchant Thomas of Jerusalem visited Malabar, and reported to the Catholica.
 - c) Priests, students, women and children went with merchant Thomas, and reached Malabar in 745 - Bp of Edessa also went with merchant Thomas, and reached Malabar in 345. 400 years are reduced! *Sovala!*
 - d) They became united with the 64 families and lived in peace... The Christians possess several churches, besides 472 shops and houses in Cranganore. They lived in peace and unity for several years... until a separation took place among the Christians of Cranganore in 823, and Mar Sabor and Mar Prot came with a famous man Sabor-Iso to Kollam as teachers (VD-LM 106-107). Fr Mathai is silent about this separation. The Nation always considered Babylonians as their benefactors... the Bishops from Babylonia, being of the same Rite, governed the churches with no vested interest-indifferently (Cariatti, SK 56).
- 9.6 The greater and better part of the christians of Serra (Malabar) are those descended from the Thomas Christians migrated from Mailapur; Quinai Thome united himself with them and obtained many privileges from the king; they built a capital in Cranganor (Campori, SK 37; K-TV 256).
- 9.7 Origin of Southists and Northists seemed to begin in 9th century when Arab Christians came to Kollam and Kodungallur for trade and settled there (2 houses and 2 families). Later families of Quilon migrated to Kodungallur; hence north/south difference. Caste-mentality caused quarrels among them; but equal share to children of both wives (SK 24; K-TV 256-57) shows social custom. Caste system later made children of second wife (marriage) bastards; blacks were denied equality -superiority of white skin, based on purity of blood. The children of 'mainatho' woman were "the progenitors and founders of the Christians of St Thomas who are called of the South... I mean of Christians of St Thomas of low blood"¹⁸². New Christian-converts? Hence there is no intermarriage between the Southists and Northists (SK 54-55). As Dalit Christians, they still try to claim superiority!

End

¹⁸¹ Land-AS 1, Leiden 1862; Giamil, 552-64; K-TV 231. M.Rae in K-TV 226.

¹⁸² Sloane ms.2743A, dated 1676, KSP 2 (1932), no.9, cited in K-TV 250.