HOMAGE TO MAR CARIATTIL

Pioneer Malabar Ecumenist

Edited by
Charles Payngot, cmi

MAR THOMA YOGAM

(THE ST THOMAS CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP - ROME)

Rome 1987

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Published by
MAR THOMA YOGAM
(St Thomas Christian Fellowship)
Rome
26 - 4 - 1987

Tipografica "LEBERIT"
Via Aurelia, 308 - Roma
Tel. 62.20.695

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DEDICATED
TO
THE MEMORY OF
MAR JOSEPH CARIATTIL
ON THE OCCASION OF THE
200th ANNIVERSARY OF
HIS DEATH

AND

TO
PAREMMAKKAL THOMA CATHANAR
ON HIS 250th BIRTHDAY

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CONTENTS

Introduction 9

Cariattil and Paremmakkal: Two heroic Lovers of the Church
His Eminence D. Simon Cardinal Lourdusamy (Presidential Address) 11

Cariattil-Paremmakkal – Representation to Rome and Lisbon towards Restoring Ecclesial Unity among India's St Thomas Christians, 1778-1786
B. Vadakkekara, ofm cap. 15

Mar Joseph Cariattil: Life and Activities *C. Payngot, cmi* 27

Mar Joseph Cariattil: Between Propaganda and Padroado *E. R. Hambye, sj* 51

The Two Poles of Syriac Tradition *Sebastian Brock* 58

Some Aspects of Syrian Spirituality *T. Špidlik, sj* 63

The Apostle Thomas in the witness of Saint Ephrem of Nisibis
Fr Patros Yousif 72

Particular Law in the Future Oriental Code of Canon Law
Marco Brogi, ofm 89

The Union of Religious Institutes *Clemente Pujol, sj* 100

Oriental Catholics in Roman Catholic Dioceses: Inter-ritual norms according to the new Codex Juris Canonici *J. Madey* 111

The Syro-Malankara Catholic Church and Pan-Malankara Unity
Stephen Thottathil 123

The Syro-Malabar and the Syro-Malankara Churches – Facts and Figures:

a) The Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara Hierarchies
M. Manakatt & A. Pulikottil 137

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b) Religious Institutes, Societies, Secular Institutes and Pious Unions
S. Vadakel & J. Thalachelloor 142

c) Higher Studies of Priests *J. Perumthottam & S. Vadakel* 158

d) The Syro-Malabar Church: hundred years' growth at a glance
J. Thalachelloor 164

APPENDIX:

Document 1. The Letter of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith empowering Mar Cariattil to receive Mar Thoma into the Catholic Communion and the conditions thereto 167

Document 2. The last known Letter of Mar Cariattil 171

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INTRODUCTION

Two centuries ago, on September 9, 1786, there occurred in the residence of the Archbishop of Goa a death of far-reaching consequences for the ancient Church of St. Thomas in India. In that night Mar Joseph Cariattil, the Archbishop of Cranganore, died before taking possession of his see and worse, without realizing the much desired unity among the St. Thomas Christians. September of 1986 was, besides being the 200th anniversary of Cariattil's death, also the 250th birth anniversary of Father Thomas Paremmakkal, the revered colleague of, and apparently the continued source of inspiration and indefatigable strength to, Cariattil. After the death of Cariattil, Paremmakkal became administrator of Cranganore.

Both these men thus far have remained little known to the world at large. Now we are happy to publish this modest homage to honour the memory of these pioneer ecumenists.

To understand the background of disunity among the St. Thomas Christians, which Cariattil and his companion wanted to heal, a word must be said about the history of this Church. The Christians of St. Thomas in India remained a single community until the middle of the seventeenth century. The local tradition always forcefully held and still holds the Apostle Thomas as the founder of this Church. Little is known about the earliest stage of this ecclesial community. Owing to some difficult circumstances they had procured Bishops from the Chaldean Patriarchs for several centuries. They had their Metropolitan See at Angamaly. In matters of worship they followed the Chaldean rite with relevant elements taken from the culture of their land. Their Archdeacon was the administrative head of this Church.

Once the Portuguese colonizers had a hold in South India, they began to interfere with the ecclesiastical affairs. They wanted jurisdiction over the Oriental Christians by virtue of their Padroado rights. As a result, on December 20, 1599 the Metropolitan See of Angamaly was lowered to the rank of a mere see suffragan to Goa. However, on December 22, 1608 the archiepiscopal title was restored to Angamaly. Later, on December 3 1609 this see was shifted to Cranganore, where the Portuguese exercised considerable power. Latin bishops of Padroado jurisdiction were appointed over these Oriental Catholics. Thus three Jesuits, Roz, Brito and Garcia ruled over them in succession. The Christians had serious grievances particularly during the reign of the last one and this led to a revolt in 1653.

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Almost all the Thomas Christians rebelled against Garcia and they publically took an oath not to obey the Jesuits. To heal the wound Rome sent a Carmelite mission. The eclipse of the Portuguese and the rise of the Dutch led to the establishment of the Propaganda jurisdiction. This fell into the hands of the Carmelites.

Though a considerable section of the St. Thomas Christians kept communion with Rome the Archdeacon Thomas with a section of the people formed a separate ecclesial community. He was "ordained" bishop by twelve priests. He and his successors - all known as Mar Thoma serially - had often made vain attempts for communion with Rome. These attempts were successfully foiled by missionaries. Finally Mar Thoma VI got himself consecrated bishop by a Jacobite bishop in 1772. This Mar Thoma also wanted union with Rome. It is for this cause that Cariattil and his companion undertook the arduous journey to Europe.

Sadly, Cariattil's dream remains unfulfilled to this day. Cranganore remains but a titular see and this title is attached to the Archbishop of Goa. Let us pray that the the giver of all graces will enlighten us and give us the strength to remove these inappropriate man-made barriers that limit what the Lord had left open.

Our sincere thanks go first to His Eminence Simon Cardinal Lourdusamy, the Prefect of the Congregation for Oriental Churches for his good will and the kind contribution to this volume.

All the contributors as well as the translators of some of the articles deserve our hearty thanks. We appreciate their good will and the sacrifice they rendered in preparing these pages in due time.

We are also particularly grateful to Dr Charles H. Brown and to Kenneth Nowakowski, who spent their valuable time to read the English text and make the necessary corrections.

Thanks are also due to "Leberit" for the excellent printing.

Finally we thank the Rev. Protoierej Dr. Franz Jockwig, national secretary of the Catholica Unio of West Germany for the financial help that made this publication possible.

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CARIATTIL AND PAREMMAKKAL
Two heroic Lovers of the Church

(Presidential Address by His Eminence D. Simon Cardinal Lourdusamy, Prefect of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, on the occasion of the Commemorative Celebrations organized by Mar Thoma Yogam: 200th Death Anniversary of Mar Joseph Cariattil and 250th Birth Anniversary of Paremmakkal Thoma Cathanar, Auditorium, Urban University, Rome 26th October 1986).

My dear Monsignori, Fathers, Brothers, Sisters and Friends,

As one called upon to preside over this Symposium, it is my pleasure to associate myself with the organizers and to say a word of very cordial welcome to each and everyone of you.

I am delighted to be in your midst and to take part in the celebrations. The Mass was so beautiful. Contrary to my expectations, it ended in one hour and 35 minutes. I thought the Mass would be longer because of its singing....

Another thing I should like to point out at the beginning: our gathering should be still larger. I have a list of priests and sisters residing in Rome, studying in Rome. And most of them belong to the Syro-Malabar and the Syro-Malankara Churches. This occasion should have brought in more persons. But they had today some other commitments... We should think of some other occasion when we can bring together all the members of the Syro-Malabar and the Syro-Malankara Churches. We can discuss problems of common interest... Every year there should be an occasion to our meeting and to share our experiences. It is left to you...

In the name of all present here I would like, already at the outset, to express our warm appreciation and deep gratitude to the "Mar Thoma Yogam" (St. Thomas Christian Fellowship) for the healthy initiative taken to think of these functions, and for the earnest efforts made to organize them.

A word of special appreciation and thanks goes to the President of the Yogam, Fr. Joseph Perumthottam and to the Secretary, Fr. Stephen Thottathil. Many of us know, by experience, what a lot of time, energy and trouble is involved in planning and conducting functions of this kind...

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I used to preside over various meetings in this modern, functional, beautiful and well-equipped auditorium, but in a different capacity, as know, as a *host;* but today I am here as a *guest!* It is very kind of Fr. Saraiva, Rettore Magnifico of the Urban University, and Fr. Lazzarotto, Rector of Collegio Urbano, to have allowed us to use this Auditorium and the College Chapel.

The programme has it that I should now deliver *the Presidential Address.* To preside, 'presiedere', means to occupy the first place; to sit before all others; it does not say that I must speak first and speak more than others. The experts who are going to speak after me will do full justice to the subject matter. Besides I am new to the job and vice versa. All the same, with your kind indulgence and patient hearing, I shall try to say something.

Today we celebrate the memory of two heroic lovers of the Church of St. Thomas Christians in India: Mar Joseph Cariattil and Cathanar Thomas Paremmakkal. The memory of these two great men is ever living (especially among the St. Thomas Christians), because they lived, suffered and died for their Church. Their historic journey to Rome and Lisbon (1778-86) for the cause of unity and for the rights and progress of their Church was a striking testimony of their dedicated service to the Church.

Joseph Cariattil, born in 1742, was sent to Rome for studies at the age of 13. Eleven years study in the Pont. Urbanian University gained him a double doctorate in philosophy and theology, and thus he became the first Indian to acquire a doctorate degree from a European university. Cariattil was ordained priest at the age of 24 and he was appointed 'Malpan' of the seminary at Alangat. He was well versed in various European languages, namely, Italian, French, Portuguese, Latin, and proficient in some Indian Languages; he was also the author of a few books in Malayalam (eg: Vedetharka).

Thomas Paremmakkal was born in 1736 at Kadanad near Palai. He grew in age, knowledge and love of the Church. At the age of 25 he was ordained priest. The zeal and love for the mother church made Cariattil and Paremmakkal intimately united for the rest of their life.

The VARTHAMANAPPUSTHAKAM written by Paremmakkal is the first travel account in any of the Indian Languages and is a masterpiece in the Indian literature. Even after two centuries the book remains unparallelled in many of its qualities. The antagonism he and Cariattil had to face and the mental agonies they had to undergo during the journey are vividly depicted in this book.

These two great sons of the Indian Church could feel and share the pulse and aspirations of the mother Church. Their disinterested love for the Church gained them the confidence of the whole Thomas Christian Community, and they were unanimously delegated by the General Assembly of the 72 Thomas Christian units to present the cause of their Church before the Holy See and the Padroado authorities in Lisbon.

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Mar Joseph Cariattil was a champion and martyr of the re-union movement in India. There is ample evidence to prove this fact. Having failed in all the efforts to be re-united to the Catholic Church, Mar Dionysius (Mar Thoma VI, the then head of about 80,000 Thomas Christians who had drifted away from the main trunk of the Thomas Christian Church after the 'Coonan Cross Oath' in 1653) approached Cariattil for support. Cariattil replied: "I will do all I can to gain this end, even if I have to go to Rome once again for you, sacrificing my life to God" (cfr. Varthamanappusthakam, p. 69).

The rest of Cariattil's life was dedicated to the realization of this promise made to Mar Thoma and for other noble causes pertaining to the good of the Church. Undergoing unimaginable mental agonies, and facing a lot of opposition of the enemies, Cariattil, accompanied by Paremmakkal, persevered. They were constantly troubled and wavering between hope and despair; but their disinterested love for the Church did not allow them to give up their determination and dishonour their promise. Constant Prayer and deep faith in the providence of God, which never fails in its designs, encouraged them to move ahead in the midst of miseries and deceptions. Passing through cyclones, suffering from diseases and undergoing hardships, they travelled for more than 20 months to reach Rome. On the way they had to walk for about 4 months altogether (Varthamanappusthakam p. 143-144).

A single instance will prove the greatness and trustfullness of these two heroes. They carried with them letters of the Carmelites of Malabar, which they knew, contained reports against them, to be submitted to Rome, according to what we read in Varthamanappusthakam p. 87.

The petition that Cariattil submitted to the Pope reveals how sincere and dedicated they were for the cause of the unity of the Church. To quote a sentence: "I have come not to see the glories of the city of Rome, but to submit at the feet of Your Holiness the profession of faith of the said Metropolitan".

Another instance described in the Varthamanappusthakam draws light into the personality and character of Cariattil. When their cause (for the reunion of Mar Thoma) was discredited in Rome (Propaganda), Cariattil and Paremmakkal went to Cardinal Marefoschi, who had been secretary of the Propaganda Congregation when Cariattil was an alumnus of the Propaganda College, and narrated to him all their sorrowful tales and experiences in the Propaganda. The Cardinal then turning to a bishop and to some religious of Rome said pointing to the Malpan: "No one of you knows this man; I am fully convinced of his diligence, knowledge, obedience, good conduct and sincerity; who then can believe that he and his companion have come here for something untrue from such a distant country undergoing much fatigue and inconvenience?"

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In spite of all the forces that worked against the realization of the goal of this delegation of the Malabar Church, Cariattil was nominated Archbishop of Cranganore by the Queen of Portugal, and Rome confirmed it, granting him also the necessary faculties to receive Mar Thoma in to the Church.

Still calumnies against Mar Cariattil continued with added vigour. Fate also seemed to have fallen against him. On his way back to Malabar, Cariattil met with an untimely death in Goa on the 10th of September 1786, leaving behind the Thomas Christians in deep disappointment. The destiny of the Malabar Church was entrusted to Cathanar Thomas Paremmakkal who efficiently ruled the Church as Administrator residing at Angamaly until his death in 1799.

I need not say more, to show how much these our forefathers loved the Church and suffered to safeguard her unity and to work for her growth. We are justified to celebrate their memory not only to honour them, but also to feel with them, sharing their ecclesial conviction and imitating their heroic lives for the love and unity of the Mother Church. With love, determination, perseverance and optimism let us go ahead in our pilgrimage of life and also for the common cause of the Church we belong to.

THANKS!

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CARIATTIL-PAREMMAKKAL REPRESENTATION TO ROME AND LISBON TOWARDS RESTORING ECCLESIAL UNITY AMONG INDIA'S ST THOMAS CHRISTIANS (1778-1786)

1. Historical Background

The year 1653 bore witness to a series of events that decidedly determined the course of the history of Christianity in India. The histories of the Syro-Malabar Church, the Syro-Malankara Church, the Independent Church of Malankara, the Syrian Orthodox/Jacobite Church, the Marthomite Church, the Anglican Church and the Church of the East, still carry with them the imprint cast by those events, the culmination of which was the mass revolt of 1653 or the Coonan Cross Oath. Following this revolt, the community of India's St Thomas Christians that had for centuries remained one and united, came to be divided and sub-divided in the course of time into different factious entities.

The Coonan Cross Oath is one of those subjects that have been studied in depth and quite extensively in the historiography of Indian Christianity. These studies[1] enable us today to appraise and assess the Coonan Cross Oath, its causes and consequences in an objective manner.

The era of jurisdiction of the Portuguese Padroado over the St Thomas Christians had begun with the Synod of Diamper (1599). This jurisdiction which also represented the Latin ecclesial traditions, was effectively exercised by the Jesuits. Thus one finds a sequence of Jesuit bishops who administered the Church of the St Thomas Christians just like any one of the dioceses of the Padroado jurisdiction. In governing and administering the diocese they followed the usages and practices of the Latin Church, which in some respects went directly counter to the age-old customs and frequentations of the St Thomas Christians.

In the ultimate analysis this was nothing but the direct outcome of the meeting together of two ecclesial traditions that had evolved and matured wide apart from each other. The Jesuit missionaries had the advantages arising from the might and prestige of the colonial power attached to them. It is from this advantageous position that they governed their faithful; prevailing over the resistence of the St Thomas Christians, they forcibly introduced

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substitutions and reforms both in their ecclesial and social existence. Such impositions generated much ill-feeling and bitter animosity towards the Jesuits. The resentment that had been penned up finally burst out in fury and took the shape of a mass revolt, when, according to the information that had then filtered down to them, Mar Aithalaha the bishop whom the Pope had sent to them, was caused to be drowned by the Jesuits and their colonial allies[2]. This revolt has been known in historiography as the Coonan Cross Oath.

The Coonan Cross Oath was not a schism but a revolt. The revolt had as its target the Jesuits just because they then happened to be the agents who were irreverently tampering with the sacred practices and usages of the community. Earlier they had unyieldingly resisted analogous moves contrived by the Franciscans. Precisely for the very same reason they were later to fight with all their might against the Carmelites.

The revolt of 1653 was so thorough that an estimate of only a few hundred out of the approximate total strength of 200.000 Christians remained on the side of Archbishop Garcia and his Jesuit confreres. As days passed the gap between the two sides widened. Four months after the revolt the archdeacon, whose office signified the traditional, acknowledged symbol of leadership in the community, assumed the title "Mar Thoma", on "being ordained bishop" by twelve priests. Ten years later, that is in 1663, Mar Thoma was excommunicated. In 1665 Mar Gregorios of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch arrived in India, and Mar Thoma welcomed him into his group as its spiritual head.

On being informed of the revolt, the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome despatched to India two teams of Carmelites in order to effect a reconciliation between Archbishop Garcia and his faithful[3]. But the mission of the Carmelites failed to achieve its intended goal. A group from the rebel body submitted itself to the archbishop; a second group was formed around the Carmelites; and a third group remained loyal to Mar Thoma.

Mar Thoma and his group after a time came to be labelled as the Puthenkuttukār or the New Party. The others got the contrary appellation Parayakuttukār or the Old Party, which consisted of two ecclesiastical entities. Those who preferred to be in obedience to the archbishop continued to remain under the jurisdiction of the Padroado. And the others who had accepted the lead of the Carmelites were grouped together as an apostolic vicariate, and were directly under the Propaganda Fide Congregation.

Several moves were initiated for a merging of the two factions, but they never materialized on a large scale. As years passed, the conviction waxed strong in the rank and file of the St Thomas Christians that the Carmelite missionaries who had arrived in India in 1656 on the mission of reconciling the two groups, were now tactfully but stubbornly trying to prevent the pro-

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ject of reunion from actualizing.

Mar Thoma,[4] the head of the New Party, who had received episcopal ordination in 1772 from Mar Gregorios of the Syrian Orthodox Church, describes in his petition to Pope Pius VI how his requests for reunion were turned down by the authorities of the Catholic Church.

> "Several times I earnestly requested and prayed with sighs through the presbyters of the Orthodox faith [Catholic bishops], Msgr Salvador dos Reis, the Metropolitan of Cranganore, and Florence of Jesus, the Bishop of Aeropolis and Vicar Apostolic of Malabar and Cochin, to aggregate me with all my people to the unity of the body of the Catholic Church by giving absolution from the excommunication that has fallen on us since the time of our forefathers, and if they were unable to do this, to send my petition to the apostolic see of Rome. But they refused and kept away"[5].

Under these circumstances the Old Party unanimously decided in their assemblies to circumvent their immediate Carmelite superiors in India and directly approach Rome and Lisbon. This direct approach to Rome and Lisbon is the Cariattil-Paremmakkal Representation by India's St Thomas Christians. The story of the unfolding of this mission is narrated in the first person by Paremmakkal, one of the two delegates, in the *Varthamanappusthakam*.

2. Competency and Legitimacy of Representative Mission

It needs to be recognized that the representation did not at any stage of its mission enjoy the sanction or the endorsement of the ecclesiastical authorities in India. The authorities, on the other hand, opposed it, and when it was realized that the mission could not be obstructed, no effort was spared in disparaging and defaming the mission and its spokesmen. The many letters and reports that reached Lisbon and Rome from the missionaries in India, bear witness to this[6]. Fr Cariattil was described as fugitive and fomenter of conspiracy. The general assembly of the community was qualified as an unruly congress.

Paremmakkal is most explicit in affirming that he and Cariattil represented the entire Old Party in Malabar. They had the letters of authorization duly signed by the legates of the seventy-two church assemblies of the community[7]. The ultimate decision-making authority had always been the general assembly of the community. These church assemblies themselves had raised the money needed for the mission of the representation. Again, it was in compliance with the decision of these assemblies that the delegates had taken with them the two clerics to Rome in order to enrol them in the Propaganda College.

Accordingly, there was nothing irregular or aberrant in the way the rep-

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resentation had been sent. It was perfectly in keeping with the ancient customs of the community. The delegates went all out in their attempts to put forward the petitions because of the commission they had received from their community. Certain passages in the *Varthamanappusthakam* were composed precisely by way of fulfilling the duty of accountability that the delegates felt towards the community.

However in Rome this official delegation was viewed as the unannounced arrival of two priests from Malabar[8]. It was made clear to the delegates that they lacked the authorization from a bishop. And they were denied even a note of acknowledgement for the petitions they had submitted to the Pope on behalf of their Church. They were told, the Propaganda College was not obliged to accept the two clerics for the very same reason. Also the delegates were not qualified to represent the cause of Mar Thoma and his 80.000-strong Church.

Hence from the very start the representation had been destined to pass through troubled waters because of the nature of its competency. For the Malabar Church, Cariattil and Paremmakkal were its only spokesmen and they were equipped with all the requisites for such a mission. But for Rome, the delegates had no official status for want of an authorization from a bishop. It is, again, the difference between the two ecclesial traditions that is seen expressed here.

3. Scope of Mission

The earliest recorded reference to a representative mission to Rome was made by Cariattil himself. He had promised Mar Thoma that he would personally go to Rome even at the risk of his own life and present the petition of Mar Thoma for reunion, if the ecclesiastical authorities in India stood in the way of such a reunion.[9] It soon turned out that Cariattil had no other choice but to plan for a voyage to Rome.

Meanwhile a number of incidents ignited the feelings of hurt and degradation that the community as a whole had been undergoing at the hands of the Carmelite missionaries. They felt deeply humiliated when the missionaries denied them what they believed was the right of the community to conduct the burial of their deceased ecclesiastical authority, the vicar apostolic of Malabar. Fr Chacko, the vicar of Edapally, was taken into custody by the Carmelites, tortured, and then subjected to death by starvation, on the mere suspicion that he had stolen a monstrance[10]. Another priest was bound in chains and brought to the Carmelite monastery and beaten up. His crime was that he had borne the reliquary during the procession at Malayattur. These and other crimes of lesser gravity described in *The Varthamanappus-*

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thakam, actually induced the entire community to appeal to Rome and Lisbon against their superiors in India[11]. The delegation was to treat everything that would lead to the good of the community, and to present to the Pope Mar Thoma's petition for reunion. The momentousness of the situation made the community take recourse to sending the representation, in spite of the perils and the costs it would involve.

4. Mental Disposition of Delegates

Many narratives in *The Varthamanappusthakam* reflect the anguish, fear, apprehension and the utter helplessness that the delegates experienced. In order to avoid a possible physical obstruction in Goa or Bombay, as it did occur in the case of an earlier five-member delegation, three of whom had died on the way, and the remaining two forcibly sent back[12], the delegates took a land-route to the East Coast of India. They were on the move for four months and finally were able to board a ship for Lisbon from Chinnapatanam, a place near Madras.

The strength of the delegation had to be reduced to a bare two due to the shortage of funds. On many an occasion the delegates had to take recourse to continued prayers, making of vows and novenas to saints, and pilgrimages to shrines. Appeal to divine intervention was made when they found themselves facing insurmountable difficulties.[13] They likened their lot to that of the biblical characters in whose favour the Lord intervened in their helpless situation.

5. Mission in Course

The reunion of Mar Thoma and his group with the Catholic Church was not a simple case of practical ecumenism. It was a complex case with much political undertone. Such a reunion would have had far-reaching repurcussions in the delicate balance of ecclesiastical jurisdictional powers that prevailed in eighteenth century India. Neither the Propaganda nor the Padroado wished to give up its foothold. The reunion of Mar Thoma could have been permitted only at the expense of these powers. With an ecclesiastical head of its own the entire Church of the St Thomas Christians would have again come together under his leadership.

It is in this context that one is able to understand the obvious indisposition to accept Mar Thoma into the Catholic Church in the capacity of a bishop with jurisdictional power. He was always welcome to become a

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Catholic layman with the title of knight, or he could live as an ordinary priest, or even continue being bishop but in Europe and without any power of jurisdiction.

This explains the reason why both the Prefect and the Secretary of the Propaganda Congregation adopted a hostile attitude towards the delegates. The Prefect rudely rebuked Cariattil and accused him of trying to do away with the Propaganda jurisdiction in Malabar[14].

The audience with the Pope was to cast the delegates into yet a deeper abyss of despair. Paremmakkal writes:

> "We endured afflictions and sorrows along a long journey and reached Rome and gave into the very hands of the Pope the petitions meant for procuring unity and other benefits for the Malabar Church; we gave to the Pope also the profession of faith of Bishop Mar Thomas - all clearly written down and splendidly bound together in a book. We were able by the grace of God to implore the Pope to read them himself and give a reply. But as the result of a quarter-of-an-hour's suggestions, the Pope did not read them nor even open them, but gave them to Msgr Borgia our enemy"[15]

Thus the delegates left Rome in disappointment. They had expected a personal involvement of the Pope in the most just cause they thought they were representing. The disappointment was aggravated by the fact that their petitions were entrusted for consideration to Msgr Borgia, the Secretary of the Propaganda Congregation, in whom they had no confidence.

6. Mission towards Successful Termination

The Padroado archdiocese of Cranganore, which also comprised of many parishes of the St Thomas Christians, had been a vacant see since 1776. In their petition to Queen Maria Francesca of Portugal the representatives had prayed for the nomination of an upright and God-fearing Portuguese who was not a member of any religious order, to the see of Cranganore[16].

But the Portuguese Crown had other plans. The queen nominated Cariattil, one of the delegates, archbishop of Cranganore. This was a strategic move. The Portuguese authorities were foreseeing the eventual merging of all the St Thomas Christians of both the Propaganda and Padroado jurisdictions under Archbishop Cariattil. Such a merging would have signified the total victory of the padroado over the propaganda. And that would have led to the consequential winding up of the propaganda jurisdiction in Malabar.

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7. The Missed Goal

The delegates were stranded for over two years in Lisbon before they were permitted to embark for India. In Lisbon it came to be believed that the return of Cariattil as archbishop would be fatal to the interests of the padroado jurisdiction. Paremmakkal evaluates the situation in the following words:

> "It is publicly known to all that all the Portuguese, especially Martin de Mel, the minister for India, venomously hate those missionaries who try to uproot their power in India [Propaganda missionaries]. Again, it was precisely to uproot the missionaries from Malabar that our archbishop was consecrated. But after this, the minister mentioned above and many among the important persons in Lisbon understood that by this one act that they had done to uproot the missionaries from Malabar, all the Europeans would be uprooted from there. They were led to this conclusion by the words of many Europeans in Lisbon who had ruled over India, and by the letters written against us with one mind by the missionaries from India and by the Portuguese padres. So the minister mentioned above and many of the important persons in Lisbon repented of what they had done. But they also realized that it would be a disgrace and a dishonour for them if they detained the archbishop in Lisbon without sending him to Malabar. They, therefore, by general consent, decided that he was to be sent to Malabar by all means"[17].

After the Padroado had nominated Cariattil archbishop of Cranganore, Rome empowered him to inquire into the case of Mar Thoma and to recognize him as priest, if Cariattil was convinced of the validity of his ordination. As regards to the exercise of episcopal functions, it was reserved to Rome to issue the formal judgment on both the validity of the ordination and the jurisdictional nature of the office.

However the course of events suddenly took an unforeseen turn. On 9th September 1786 Mar Cariattil died in Goa, as he was on his way to take charge of his see. With his death the authorization he had received from the Holy See concerning the reunion of Mar Thoma became ineffectual and void. Paremmakkal was appointed administrator of the see, and the St Thomas Christians of both the Padroado and the Propaganda jurisdictions accepted him as their ecclesiastical head. In 1787 in their assembly convoked at Angamale they decided to request Rome to make Paremmakkal their bishop. But it was of no avail. This time the missionaries did succeed to impede such an appointment[18].

Mar Thoma pursued his goal undaunted. On the 21st June 1799 with the representatives of the different parishes of his Church, he made the profession of the Catholic Church. Earlier he had signed a contractual document. The document speaks about the revolt of 1653 and of the split that was thereafter created in the community. And it continues:

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"And now we of both the parties unitedly agree on oath to join together as our forefathers did, submitting ourselves to the Holy Father the Pope, performing the Mass, reciting the breviary, observing fasts and other rites as they were prescribed by the Synod of Diamper and to report accordingly to Holy Father the Pope with the view of obtaining his permission to conduct all ceremonies according to the Syro-Chaldean rite of those who are submissive to the Holy Roman rite. Moreover we agree that those who observe at present the Jacobite creed and rites shall abjure them and make the profession of faith prescribed by Pope Urban VIII, for the orientals and submit to the orders of His Holiness the Pope"[19].

This contract and the profession of faith did not lead to the fruition of the aspirations that Mar Thoma and his faithful had been cherishing. There was no one empowered to regularize the entry of Mar Thoma and his faithful into the Catholic Church and to carry out the canonical processes connected therewith. Hence he returned to the Jacobite faith. This attempted reunion may be considered as the epilogue to the Cariattil-Paremmakkal Representation to Rome and Lisbon towards restoring ecclesial unity among India's St Thomas Christians.

8. Evaluation

The history of India's St Thomas Christians since the middle of the seventeenth century has in fact been an interrupted narration of the confrontations that took place on various levels between the jurisdictional powers of Padroado and Propaganda. One was trying to undercut the other in monopolizing for oneself the power of jurisdiction[20]. The occasional interpositions of the Chaldean patriarch to reclaim his lost rights over the Indian Christians further muddled the situation.

As a result of this three-dimensional rivalry for jurisdictional powers the cause of restoring unity among the St Thomas Christians failed to command the due attention. The whole question of reunion could gradually gain momentum only with the arrival of the Cariattil-Paremmakkel representation in Europe. But with the sudden passing away of Cariattil, the project of reunion was again sidelined and was eclipsed by the events connected with the struggle for jurisdictional power. The question of the reunion of Mar Thoma is, therefore, to be seen in its historical context and not in isolation. The occasional expressions of goodwill shown by Rome towards the cause of reunion and the manifest demonstration of hesitancy and reluctance to translate such goodwill into action, become intelligible only when seen in their historical framework.

The reunion of Mar Thoma with episcopal jurisdiction in the Catholic Church or the raising of a St Thomas Christian to the episcopal office, would

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have had the same effects as far as the Padroado-Propaganda jurisdictions in Malabar were concerned. In other words, the attempts at perpetuating these jurisdictions could have been carried out only at the expense of a reunited Mar Thoma or that of the establishment of a hierarchy for the St Thomas Christians[21].

The Cariattil-Paremmakkal representation did not meet with success in altering the course of the events. After the representation had taken place, the condition of the St Thomas Christians remained the same for very long. In the history of Christianity in India the Cariattil-Paremmakkal representation is one of those rare moments when the St Thomas Christians, discarding their usual role of on-lookers, boldly ascended the stage to assume the leading parts in the drama which the European missionaries in their multi-coloured costumes acted out in India for nearly four centuries.

Benedict Vadakkekara, ofm. Cap.

NOTES

[1] Among these many studies the following monographs deserve to be singled out. They deal with the one and the same event but from different historical perspectives, each, thus, helping the reader to have a more complete picture of the mass revolt of 1653.
Cfr Karl WERTH, *Das Schisma der Thomaschristen unter Erzbischof Franciscus Garzia. Dargestellt nach den Akten des Archivs der Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,* Limburg 1937; Noviglio Sante BUFALINI (= Faustino BUFALINI), *"L'opera Pacificatrice" di Mons. Giuseppe Sebastiani, vescovo missionario, O.C.D. nello scisma dei cristiani di S. Tommaso, Malabar, 1653-1663,* Roma 1959 (University of Rome Dissertation, as yet unpublished).
Joseph THEKEDATHU, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J. Archbishop of Cranganore (1641-59) (= Analecta Gregoriana* 187), Roma 1972; Jacob KOLLAPARAMBIL, *The St. Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653,* Kottayam 1981.

[2] Edard R. HAMBYE, *An Eastern Prelate in India, Mar Aithalaha,* 1652-53, in *Indian Church History Review* 2 (1968) 4-5, describes what really happened to Mar Aithalaha. "At any rate, it is not only false to believe that he died drowned in Cochin harbour, as the local tradition of Kerala used to hold until recently, but also that, as Le Quien himself maintained, he died at the stake in Goa, after having been condemned by the Inquisition... We know for sure that the unfortunate Aithalaha reached Lisbon... For the rest, we know only one thing - that Aithalaha died in Paris".

[3] Two teams were sent instead of one in order to make extra sure that at least one reached its destination. Rome promptly and resolutely reacted to the situation, even though the ecclesiastical authorities in India had been strongly opposed to the intervention of an outside agency in their affairs in India. The swiftness and resoluteness of Rome's reaction stands out in marked contrast with the clumsy and lethargic ways in which Rome was later to act in similar situations in India.

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[4] At his episcopal ordination in 1772 Mar Thoma had received the name Mar Dionysius. But he also continued to be called Mar Thoma. In many of the documents both names are given. For example, *Archivium de Propaganda Fide* (= *APF*), *Acta Sacrae Congregationis* (= *Acta*) vol 154, 346r, "Versio professionis fidei Mar Thomae, seu Mar Dionysii ordinati in Archiepiscopum Ecclesiae Nernanae in Malabaria Domino Nostro Pontefici Maximo Pio VI". This is the superscription of the profession of faith of Mar Thoma.

[5] For the English translation of the text of the petition that Mar Thoma had addressed to Pope Pius VI, cfr Thominan PAREMMAKKAL, *The Varthamanappusthakam*, tr and ed Placid J. Podipara (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 190), Roma 1971, 139-141

[6] Cfr *APF, Scritture riferite nei congressi* (= *SC*), *Indie Orientali e Cina* vol. 36, 71, *Ibid.* vol 38, 39-40; *APF, Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali* (=*SOCG*) vol 867, 163-164, 177-178.

[7] PAREMMAKKAL, *Varthamanappusthakam*, 146-148, quotes the text of a petition that he and Cariattil presented to the Pope, which begins with the self-introduction, "The two priests sent to Your Holiness by the 72 churches of the Chaldean Syrian rite of Malabar, East India". *Ibid.*,153, reveals further the mind of the representatives. "The Malabar churches, though poor, had with great difficulty and loss of money sent us here giving us money for our journey expenses by selling and mortgaging even the movables of the churches. They did so thinking that they could get a just and impartial judgement for obtaining peace and concord regarding matters pertaining to their churches and the christian life, if they submitted their petitions to the Pope, the visible head of the Church of God".

[8] The contemporary documents invariably present Cariattil and Paremmakkal as the two priests from Malabar who claim to be representing the seventy-two communities of Malabar. For example, *APF, Acta* vol. 154, 312r, "Giunsero in Roma l'anno 1780 due sacerdoti Malabari, D. Giuseppe Cariati stato alunno di questo collegio Urbano, e D. Tommaso Pareamakel paroco di Callate nella diocesi di Granganor, spedì come dicevano - dall'Arcivescovo Giacobita di Neranam Mar Thoma, o sia Mar Dionisio, e da settantadue communità cattoliche di rito caldeo a fine di rappresentare".

[9] Cfr PAREMMAKKAL, *op. cit.*, 60.

[10] The letter of the Vicar Apostolic and the missionaries of 7th May 1787 from Verapoly, says that the royal court of Travancore had cleared them from all the charges that the St Thomas Christians had levelled against them, except that of having caused the death of Fr Chacko. "Quoad Sacerdotem Syrum, qui ob plura furta sacrilega accusatus, cubiculo inclusus, temporibus retroactis objit, culpa Episcopo et Patribus, atque etiam ipsismet Christianis ["the new converts," according to *The Varthamanappusthakam*] attributa fuit". For the text of the letter cfr AMBROSIUS A S. TERESIA, *Hierarchia Carmelitana seu series illustrium praesulum ecclesiasticorum ex Ordine Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, Fasc. IV, *Ecclesia Verapolitana*, Romae 1939, 287-295.

[11] Cfr PAREMMAKKAL, *op. cit.*, 31-65.

[12] Cfr *APF, SOCG* vol. 867, 149r-150v.

[13] PAREMMAKKEL, *The Varthamanppusthakam*, 205, serves as a typical example. "Several times a day we prayed God to save us from the words and plans of Padre Cajatan as David once prayed and said: "Save me O Lord from the words of Ahithopel. By reason of the fear and the mental worry I felt during these days, I recited every day a complete rosary (=the 15 decades of the Rosary) and prayed to the Virgin Mother in a special way to save us from this danger and bring our cause to a conclusion".

[14] The arrival of the delegates in Lisbon had upset the authorities of the Propaganda Congregation in Rome. The nunzio in Lisbon was, therefore, asked to direct the delegates to put forward no proposals to the Padroado authorities in Lisbon, and instead, to proceed straight to Rome. *APF, Lettere* vol 234, 560v, "Non lascio pure di rinnovarle l'ordine da darsi al medesimo, che non avvanzi per ora veruna istanza"

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[15] *The Varthamanappusthakam,* 153.

[16] The intention of the representation was wildly interpreted by the missionaries in India. PAOLINO DA BARTOLOMEO, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali,* Roma 1976, 139, "Questi preti nativi... non volendo essi più la reggenza de vescovi latini, mandarono a chiedere nel 1777 un vescovo nazionale a Roma".

[17] *The Varthamanappusthakam,* 281.

[18] It was given to understand that the nomination of Paremmakkel as bishop would be foreboding of much ill fortune for the Church in India. PAULINUS A S. BARTHOLOMAEO, *Notitia topographica, civilis, politica, religiosa missionis malabariae ad finem saeculi XVIII,* ed Ambrosius a S. Teresia (=*Monumenta Missionaria Carmelitana* II), Romae 1938, 16, boldly wrote, "Nam si Thomas Pareamakel in Archiepiscopum nominetur, a Latinis sese separabit, sibi ipse successorem diliget, et consecrabit, quemadmodum Mar Thomas Episcopus schismaticus indigena jam a centum et triginta annis facere consuevit. An Proprietarii postea ipsum ad unionem catholicam reducturi sunt? An ipsi, qui schisma anno 1653 occasionaliter induxerant, Schismaticos, ut hodie sunt, ad Comunionem catholicam reduxerunt? Certe reductio haec Propagandistas centum et amplius annorum labores,sudores, maximamque virorum apostolicorum copiam, et pecuniae summam constitit. Errare facile est, errorem emendare non idem".

[19] This is a citation from the English translation of a Malayalam MS in the archives of the CMI Monastery of Mannanam, as given in *The Catholicity of the St Thomas Christians. Containing some Correspondence and Reviews concerning the Syrian Church in Malabar,* ed C. J. George, Trivandrum 1904, 19-21.

[20] Rome was caught unawares by the surprise move of Lisbon in nominating Cariattil archbishop, and it rightly feared for its interests in India. This is amply clear from the summary of Cardinal Ghilini. *APF, Acta* vol. 154, 333r-334v, "Ora è da avvertire, che tra questo Marzo sono succedute diverse mutazioni, le quali possono grandemente far variare le primiere circostanze, e sono, che Mons. Emmanuele già vescovo di Coccino è stato promosso all'Arcivescovado di Goa; la chiesa di Coccino è stata conferita a questo Padre Giuseppe della Solitudine, e ciò che è passo più sorprendente uno dei due inviati di Mar Thoma cioè D. Giuseppe Cariati alunno di questo collegio Urbano, e nativo Malabarese nel ritorno, che fece a Lisbona per prendere imbarco per la sua patria, è stato con nuovo esempio nominato da Sua Maestà Fedelissima per l'Arcivescovo di Granganor vacante già da alcuni anni, confermato poi dalla Santità di nostro Signore sino dalli 16. Novembre 1782. È da temersi, che la promozione di questi soggetti si poco favorevoli al vicario apostolico, ed a missionari di Propaganda abbia a cagionare non pochi disturbi a quella missione. Ma qualora il nuovo arcivescovo di Granganor come nativo del Malabar, ne suddito di Portogallo, e perciò non inconfidente di que' Governatore Ollandesi, e Anglesi potesse liberamente esercitare in tutta la diocesi la sua giurisdizione, in tal caso diverrebbe forse superflua la dimora del vicario apostolico". Yet Rome had hopes in Cariattil. *APF, Lettere* vol. 240, 631r-632v, "Se egli [Cariattil] sarà in effetti come si protesta grato a questa S. Congregazione, dovrà rispettare i suoi missionari, e lasciar loro libero l'esercizio delle loro funzioni e specialmente del Vicario Apostolico del Malabar".

[21] Varkey J. VITHAYATHIL, *The origin and Progress of the Syro-Malabar Hierarchy* (= *Oriental Institute of Religious Studies* 36) Kottayam 1980, 29, "The delay in the actual granting of such a Hierarchy must be attributed to a complexus of causes rather than to a single cause. It seems to us that three factors are mainly responsible for the delay: the Portuguese Padroado, the attitude of the Carmelite missionaries who ruled the St Thomas Christians and the very position of the Holy See resulting mainly from the above two factors".
Placid J. PODIPARA, *The Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church,* Alleppey 1976, 149, speaks of the efforts of Mar Thomas for reunion. "But the Latin Prelates who were governing the Syro-Malabarians were against receiving him as a bishop. The S. Propaganda Congregation too was of this mind". *Ibid.,* 151, refers to the desire of the St Thomas Christians to have

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Paremmakkel as their bishop. "The Syro-Malabarians wanted to have Paremmakkal himself as their archbishop of Cranganor; if Portugal was against, they resolved to approach the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch. Rome and also Portugal were against".
Jacob KALLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius [Mar Thoma] the Great of Malabar: for the One True Fold,* in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30 (1964) 148-192, holds that "in the ultimate analysis we must conclude that these missionaries were largely responsible for the failure of all the endeavours of Mar Dionysius [Mar Thoma] and his supporters". At the same time Mar Thoma is also blamed for not being "heroic enough". "Otherwise he would have preferred to live his faith, even though the circumstances did not permit him to keep the episcopal jurisdiction". About the role of the Propaganda it is said, that "an examination of its many decisions will prove that the Congregation had proceeded with due precautions against every kind of falsification from any side".

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MAR JOSEPH CARIATTIL
ARCHBISHOP OF CRANGANORE

Life and Activities

Joseph Cariattil[1] is a name that holds a unique place in the history of the St. Thomas Christians. He was the first Syro-Malabarese student in the Urban College at Rome, and on returning he spent his time as a Malpan, i.e. Professor in the seminary. It was the time when the Malabar Church was divided between the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Padroado and of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide.[2] The latter exercised jurisdiction through the Discalced Carmelites, mostly of Italian origin. In those unhappy days without Prelates from their own rite, amidst continued conflicts with the Carmelites, the 72 Churches or local communities selected him and Father Thomas Paremmakkal[3] to go to Rome and Lisbon to plead for their Church and in particular to bring about the reunion of Mar Thoma. Mar Thoma, known also as Mar Dionysius, was leading a section of the original St. Thomas Christian Community which had withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Western missionaries. As the leader of this mission, Cariattil has an important place in the history of the St. Thomas Christians between 1778 and 1786.

The main published source of information about him is the book known as Varthamānappusthakam, meaning newsbook, written in Malayalam by his colleague Paremmakkal. This book gives details of the events that led to his journey as well as those during his stay in Lisbon and Rome. Unfortunately, however, the last part of this book is missing and so nothing is known to the public about the last few months of his life and particularly about his death. This book, being highly critical of the missionaries, met with vehement opposition from them. The conference of the three Carmelite Vicars Apostolic and their respective Vicars General, held in Verapoly on September 12, 1862 condemned it for carrying statements, "erroneous, scandalous and defamatory "both about Religious Orders and about the Roman Congregations, particularly to the Propaganda Fide."[4] The late Placid Podipara translated it into English and enriched it with his own notes.[5]

What follows is based largely on documentation which has hitherto not received attention from research scholars.

Joseph Cariattil was born at Alangat, known also as Mangat, on May

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5,1742. His parents were Pylee (=Paul) and Maryam (=Mary).[6] By this time the St. Thomas Christians had no personnel to teach Syriac, and they made frequent petition to the Vicar Apostolic, Florence of Jesus, to send two or three boys to the Chaldean Seminary *(sic)* in Rome. Joseph Cariattil was chosen for this purpose. By letter dated August 18,1753 Florence informed the Cardinal Prefect of the P.F. that with the latter's presumed permission he was sending to Rome a boy from a poor but very good family. The boy was the nephew of a popular deacon who had worked hard to bring the entire parish back to full Catholic communion. Florence entrusted the boy to the paternal care of the Cardinal since it was, as he put it, for the good of Christianity in Malabar, and in particular of the priests who had but a meagre knowledge of Syriac. He concluded the letter stating clearly that nothing in particular was desired and required from him other than the perfect knowledge of the Syriac language.[7] Ignatius of St. Hyppolitus, who was sent to Rome as a special delegate of the Vicar Apostolic, took the boy with him and both reached Rome at the end of 1754 or in early 1755. The General Congregation of the P.F. held on April 7,1755, accepted the boy into the Urban College.[8] Another General Congregation of September 22 allocated him one of the two vacancies among places in the college reserved for "Brahmin students" as it put it.[9] The Congregation also expressed its satisfaction about the conduct and ability of the young student.[10]

At Rome he underwent the usual ecclesiastical formation. He must certainly have given special attention to the study of Syriac. On November 12, 1762 Florence wrote that he was making some interim arrangements to teach Syriac in the seminary until Joseph Cariattil finished his studies.[11]

Joseph was ordained priest on March 15,1766[12] and soon acquired a doctorate in theology. Eventually he started his return journey sometime in April 1766 and passing through Parma and Groningen, he reached Brussels on the 19th August[13]. On September 15 he embarked from Port of Lorient for India[14] and reached the Cape of Good Hope on January 23, 1767.[15] Continuing the tedious journey, finally he reached Pondicherry on May 15,1767. From there on October 6 he wrote a confidential letter to Msgr Marefoschi, the Secretary of the P.F., for whom he had a particular respect and confidence. In this letter under the title "Scarico della coscienza" the young priest informed the Secretary of many less than edifying things he encountered.[16] At Pondicherry he spent the winter months and then resumed the journey, apparently on October 25. He reached Mattancherry or Cochin on November 10 and went to Verapoly on the following day.[17] On seeing him the Vicar Apostolic opened the letter he had already closed for posting to Rome and in a postscript thanked the P.F. for having given him a worthy man for apostolic work. He did not forget to ask for additional help to pay

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this newcomer since his relatives, though noble, were poor (persone nobili e gravi al uso del paese ma poverissimi).[18] At Verapoly he had plenty of visits from his own people. The clergy of his native parish sent a delegation to compliment him and soon all the clergy and people went there to take him home solemnly.[19] Soon, on the 15th November, he wrote to the Secretary of the P.F. giving details of his family situation. His mother, by now a widow, lived in a poor hut built on a piece of family property, which fortunately the king had not confiscated after a devastating war. In his simplicity and filial love towards his correspondent, he even disclosed that his sister, though in a well-to-do position according to the standard of the country, was unable to take care of the mother because of her husband's objections.[20] His letters reflect his love and attachment to the Urban College which was his home for about 12 years. In January he took charge as Malpan, or Professor, in the seminary of the Syro-Chaldeans[21] at Alangat and taught Syriac and Moral Theology.

The beginning of his teaching career was also the beginning of sorrows and worries. He was caught up in the debts his late father had incurred and the excessive taxes the king imposed. Added to this, his relatives were in the same situation and they did not give him any peace of mind.[22] On August 9,1769 he wrote to the P.F. that he did not know on what to live and so asked for help.[23] The P.F. answered him on August 31, 1771 that due to the lack of resources it was unable to help him at least for the moment.[24] To make things worse, under the pretext that Cariattil was unable to teach Syriac, Anastasius of St. Jerome, the Superior of the mission, appointed another man for that purpose giving to him 10 of the 30 Scudi that Cariattil was receiving as salary.[25] The Vicar Apostolic also wrote to the P.F. on an earlier date, November 3,1768 that Cariattil did not know Syriac. However, considering his family situation he recommended a higher salary for him.[26]

It is difficult to believe that he did not know Syriac. The well-known orientalist Joseph Aloysius Assemani was professor of Syriac in the Urban College where Cariattil studied. Later, Assemani refers to him as competent to procure a reliable text of the Syro-Chaldean Missal of that time for printing in Rome.[27] Another point of interest is that the additional professor appointed to teach Syriac at Alangat was a certain Malpan Ittira (Abraham) Mundadan[28] who seems to have been a mouthpiece of the missionaries. It was this man who, in the general assembly at Angamaly in 1773, thanked the Visitor Lawrence Justiniani "in order to gain the good will of the Padres".[29] Cariattil, on the other hand, had the view that Justiniani was the cause of all the confusion.[30]

Even the meagre salary was paid to him as charity rather than as something he deserved. Anastasius was particularly unfriendly towards him. In his long letter of March 27, 1775 Cariattil wrote to the Secretary of the P.F. explaining the real reason for the antipathy of the missionaries: At his return

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from Rome he was received with solemnity into his parish to the sound of musical instruments and the pealing of church bells. After 3 days he was accompanied back to the residence of the Vicar Apostolic in the same way. This caused grief and jealousy among the missionaries since this kind of honour was never accorded to them[31].

In his letter, already indicated above, of August 9,1769 to Mons. Morefoschi, the Secretary of the P.F., he wrote that he had to sell some of the things that he brought from Rome, to keep himself alive. He contrasted himself with the missionaries saying that he was dying of hunger while the servants in the Father's house enjoy abundance.[32] On February 10, 1772 he wrote to the Prefect of P.F. about the heart-breaking events that took place in his house during his absence in Rome. During that period his father and all his bothers died leaving behind the mother and his sister. As to the number of his brothers his words are not clear; but it seems that they were at least five.[33] The poor widow and her daughter, being of noble status according to the custom of the place, could not go out for work. The family had a farm, enough for 4 or 5 persons. Even this was appropriated by some of the relatives who bribed the victorious king of Travancore at the end of the war. In such circumstances, his only income was the 60 Rupees annually which Anastasius gave him. One can only imagine the amount of strain upon this man. According to a letter of Florence, dated March 9, 1772, he was of feeble health (sanitate debilis).[34]

His miserable state drew the sympathy of the community and in the assembly at Angamaly in 1773 each church made a contribution to help him "who was doing much spiritual good to the Malabar Church."[35] In spite of all this his condition remained basically unchanged.

On January 5,1774 he wrote again to the Secretary of the P.F.[36] describing his misery. This time, however, he notified that he was getting 100 panams, i.e. $4^{1}/_{3}$ wRupees a month. Anastasius claimed that the Mission had spent much money to send him to Rome although Ignatius, who took him to Rome, recovered the money from the P.F. A few days later, on the 16th of the same month, Cariattil wrote a personal letter to Cardinal Marefoschi expressing his surprise and shock that more than ten of his letters did not reach their destination, although the bearers, mostly Carmelites, reached Rome safely. He also complained that the missionaries did not give him anything in the first two years after his arrival.[37]

At the insistence of the P.F. the Syro-Chaldean Seminary was shifted from Alangat to Verapoly on the feast of St.Anne in the year 1774 and Cariattil had to move to the new home with his 12 students.[38] This implied greater inconvenience and further expenses for him. He had to keep a servant for himself in the seminary and another one at home for his sick mother. Explaining this new situation to the P.F. through his letter of March 27,1775

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he requested a substantial help of 300 Scudi, which, he wrote, would spare him the shame of repeating again the same unpleasant story.[39] Lawrence Justiniani, the Ap.Visitor, also noticed the silent suffering of this man for being forced to leave his old mother and to bear additional expenses. In the Visitor's view Cariattil was suffering also a kind of discrimination and perhaps insult because he was assigned in Verapoly a room far below, as he put it, "the dignity of a noble race".[40] But he never complained of any such discrimination.

The P.F. sent to him on December 2,1773 an extraordinary subsidy of 30 Scudi.[41] The same amount was granted again on September 12,1774.[42] Finally considering his repeated requests the Congregation on August 3,1778 raised his subsidy to 45 Scudi.[43] However this last gesture did not help him in anyway since, as we shall see later, by that time he was already on his way to Europe on a special mission.

It is true that he had plenty of difficulties from the Superior of the Missions, Anastasius. There was also unfortunate rivalry among the missionaries themselves.[44] Still Cariattil had as Superior a good man, Lawrence of St. Rosina, himself a victim of intrigues who was the only missionary liked by the Malabarians. Another equally good colleague was a local Latin Alexius Gonsalvez, who was the professor of Latin. Association with another's suffering is certainly a relief to human suffering.

While teaching in the seminary, Cariattil was engaged also in pastoral activities such as hearing confession and preaching. In fact, the missionary Ildefonse of Presentation used to send seminarians with him on Sundays to observe and learn from him the art of preaching.[45]

The Vicar Apostolic Francis Sales expressed on March 3, 1777 a very high opinion about him to the Prefect of the P.F.[46]. The P.F. also through its letter of April 27, 1776 praised him and affectionately conveyed its appreciation for the zeal he displayed in his priestly duties.[47]

The years after 1773 were eventful in the Malabar Church owing to the rebellion against the missionaries. The new Vicar Apostolic, Francis Sales, though unacceptable to the Malabarians, made peace with them when he, a German, was rejected by the Italian majority of the missionaries. In a strictly confidential letter dated March 18, 1771 Cariattil informed the Secretary of the P.F. that they swore before a Crucifix and Gospel that none of them would let the new Vicar Apostolic to live within the walls of Verapoly even if they had to die and be cut into pieces.[48] As a result Sales had to flee from Verapoly to Alangat under the protection of the Malabarians. During this exile he received several messengers from Mar Thoma expressing desire for reconciliation and communion with Rome.[49] Mar Thoma had also been in contact with Cariattil for the same purpose insistently asking him to present his case before the P. F., even undertaking a journey to Rome for that purpose if

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necessary.[50] Sales deputed Cariattil to visit Mar Thoma with the specific instruction not to show any signs of respect to him.[51] Accordingly, he went to the residence of Mar Thoma on March 18, 1777 and behaved there not as Sales told him to do but as he had learnt from his parents. Knowing very well that the missionaries would by any means try to obstruct this reunion of Mar Thoma, Cariattil encouraged him not to be disheartened at any possible coolness and indifference on the part of the local ecclesiastical authority. Then he announced to him the firm and sincere decision: "I will do all I can to gain this end even if I have to go to Rome once again for you, sacrificing my life to God".[52] As suggested by Cariattil, Mar Thoma sent another letter through his nephew to Sales reaffirming his desire for union. The young bearer of this letter, however, did not get a polite reception at the house of the Vicar Apostolic.[53] Soon Sales and the missionaries came to terms and there was a total lack of interest if not opposition to Mar Thoma's proposal. Later in a pro memoria submitted to the P.F. Cariattil and his companion Paremmakkal exposed the sad experiences Mar Thoma had undergone in his attempts for reunion.[54] In the General Congregation of the P.F. held on May 17, 1784, Cardinal Ghilini gave a clear summary of this.[55]

Such an attitude on the part of the Vicar Apostolic and missionaries greatly embittered the Malabarians, and the 72 churches decided to send to Rome a deputation under Cariattil to plead the case of Mar Thoma. The churches authorized them also to do whatever they felt necessary for the good of the Community. They collected 48280 Chakrams, i.e. 1700 Rupees for the necessary expenses.[56] Leaving behind his aged mother, and accompanied by a group of 22 persons, of whom 2 were boys to join the Urban College, Cariattil walked all the way to Mylapore and there prayed at the tomb of the Apostle Thomas. From there he proceeded to Chinnapatnam for sailing to Rome. He had with him the Profession of Faith of Mar Thoma. The long and difficult route as well as the large entourage were chosen for security reasons. After encountering innumerable difficulties Cariattil, Paremmakkal and the two boys embarked on November 14, 1778. Rounding the Cape of Good Hope they reached Bahia in Brazil on April 3, 1779. They resumed their voyage on May 1 and reached Lisbon on July 18.

At Lisbon they met a certain Cajetano Vittorino Faria, who under the guise of friendship caused them great troubles. This faria had previously lived in Goa as a married man but later became a priest with the consent of his wife. His aim was, apparently, to become the Archbishop of Goa and to have a Goan, a certain Peter Vigeretu, elected to the vacant See of Cranganore.[57] In August Cariattil and Paremmakkal submitted a 6-point petition to the Queen of Portugal. One of these was a request for help to receive Mar Thoma back into Catholic communion together with his 80,000 followers.[58] The Nuncio in Lisbon sent a copy of this petition to the P.F. on October

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12.[59] In the estimation of Carlo di S. Corrado, however, the followers of Mar Thoma numbered only about 20,000.[60]

While the deputation was on the way the Carmelite missionaries informed the P.F. about the developments. On February 27, 1779 Carlo di S. Corrado, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, wrote that Cariattil, under the pretext of a visit to St. Thomas, i.e. Mylapore, had left Malabar and was bound for Lisbon.[61] Francis Sales, who, as we have seen above, had given a very good opinion of Cariattil earlier, changed his stand now and wrote to Carlo di S. Corrado that Cariattil with his companions had spread many lies and had fled with a great sum of money collected as alms. He requested Carlo to inform Rome of this so that nothing might be done in their favour. "Whatever step", Sales wrote, "the S.C. would take in their favour would mean the ruin of this Christianity."[62] The truth is that the Carmelite missionaries saw a genuine threat to the ecclesiastical colony they had been building up. They realized that Cariattil had gone with a project which, if put into execution, would result in the end of their domination. This sentiment is very obvious in what Carlo di S. Corrado (whom the P.F. made administrator of Verapoly after dismissing Francis Sales) wrote to the Cardinals of P.F. on October 4, 1780 about the mission of Cariattil and Paremmakkal: "They were sent to Rome to put this Christianity under the "Proprietario" (=Archbishop of Cranganore) and to submit before Your Eminences the profession of faith of the mitred layman (= Mar Thoma) on condition, however, that he be made Bishop. On this Your Eminences will have clear informations and so I do not write more. But I have one request: give me precautionary notice so that we may not be thrown out like dogs after so many fatigues".[63]

This fear of the Carmelites was based on the juridical status of the Vicariate of Verapoly. By right of the royal patronage, although with insult and injury to the St. Thomas Christians, Cranganore fell under Portuguese jurisdiction. When the Dutch and the local kings began to displace the Portuguese, this Vicariate was instituted with a Bishop as Vicar Apostolic to look after the spiritual needs of the faithful where and when the Portuguese had no access. The power of the Vicar Ap. was limited within these conditions.[64] Now if Cranganore were to have an Archbishop who could delegate power to Mar Thoma, that would mean the total disappearance of Verapoly.

Simultaneously there were communications between the P.F. and the Nuncio in Lisbon about the mission of Cariattil. On August 26, 1779 the P.F. asked the Nuncio to persuade Cariattil to suspend any arrangement with the queen until he received necessary instructions from Rome.[65] On September 4, 1779 another letter was sent to the Nuncio to obtain a written statement from Cariattil specifying what the people of Malabar were looking for and what mandate he had received from them for this purpose. It also for-

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bade Cariattil a second time to take any further step in the negotiations with that royal court.[66] By this time he had already submitted the petition to the queen. On receiving a copy of this petition from the Nuncio, the P.F. realized that the Malabarians were aiming at freeing themselves from the grip of the European missionaries sent by the same Congregation.[67] On November 20, the Nuncio was asked to induce Cariattil to come to Rome.[68]

Setting sail from Lisbon on November 4, 1779 Cariattil and others reached Genoa after a voyage of 33 days. Later they took a boat to Livorno and from there went to Pisa. Here the Vicar General of that place expressed his doubts about the success of their mission in Rome because of Stephen Borgia, the Secretary of the P.F. From Pisa, passing through Florence and Siena, they reached Rome in the afternoon of January 3,1780.[69] Soon they went to Stephen Borgia and gave him some letters the Carmelite missionaries had entrusted to them. Cariattil told the Secretary that though the letters were against himself and his mission, he was handing them to him for the sake of honesty.[70] Borgia was polite and told them that he had instructions from the Cardinal to receive the boys only. Then Cariattil and his companion went to Cardinal Castelli, the Prefect. Castelli was rude, to say the least, and at first sight rebuked Cariattil. Paremmakkel recorded some of his utterances: "You are the one who creates confusion among the ignorant people of Malabar. You are trying to do away with our authority by means of the authority of the king. With whose permission have you brought these boys here for their studies? You will be sent away like a dog"[71]. Cariattil defended himself citing the Lord's words to give to Caesar what belonged to Caesar and to God what belonged to God (Mt 22,22). Castelli bluntly affirmed, on what information God knows, that Mar Thoma did not accept the Catholic faith. The Cardinal thereby displayed his ignorance of the Church of the St. Thomas Christians. This ignorance was compounded by the misinformation emanated from the missionaries.

Sad and deeply shocked, the two messengers of Christian unity left Castelli and searched for a home in Rome. The Portuguese institute S. Antonio offered them hospitality. From here they wrote to Lisbon emphasizing the need for royal intervention to bring about the much desired reunion of Mar Thoma. Eleven days later Castelli gave them permission to live in the P.F..

During their stay in Rome Cariattil and his companion had several meetings with Castelli and Borgia. Both these men, however, showed a pharaonic obstinacy in their unfriendly attitude towards the Malabarians. This hostility sprung from the fear that admitting Mar Thoma into Catholic communion would bring an end to the Apostolic Vicariate of Malabar and in that way the P.F. might lose a part of its ecclesiastical empire. For this reason Castelli was trying to subdue the deputation by threats and insults.

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Nevertheless Cariattil and his colleague remained firm. They gave a petition to the Pope explaining the needs of the Malabar Church and of the necessity to admit Mar Thoma into Catholic communion.

At Rome Cariattil and his colleague got more unpleasant news. The Pope had already nominated John of Margaret Mary, as the Coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic.[72] John, an unpopular missionary in Malabar, was at that time in Italy. Through the Portuguese Ambassador Cariattil and Paremmakkal informed the Pope of the harm done to their Church by this appointment. The Pope revoked the nomination and asked the P.F. to get back the document that had been sent to John. The P.F. got it ingeniously through Archbishop Lercani of Genoa.[73] This was the only thing that the two Malabarians could achieve in Rome.

Cardinal Castelli died in April 1780 and Antonelli succeeded him. He also was not particularly friendly. The P.F. was suspicious about the genuineness of the profession of faith that Mar Thoma submitted. Grieved by this attitude of the Congregation Cariattil and Paremmakkal left Rome for Lisbon. They had undertaken the long and difficult journey sincerely hoping to move Rome to take the necessary steps to bring about the reconciliation of Mar Thoma and thus re-establish unity in their particular Church. But their hope was shattered. Sincerity when suspected provokes bitterness.

Nothing can justify crudeness, especially in ecclesiastical superiors. Still it is beyond doubt that the P.F. had to act with caution in matters of such importance. Moreover by order of the Pope it had, to its own disgrace, to revoke the nomination of John of Mary Margaret and send him back to his province in Italy, causing embarassment to the missionaries. In such a situation it did not want to deliver another shock to them at least for the sake of ceremonial nicety and administrative diplomacy. Besides, there were letters presenting Mar Thoma and Cariattil as blacksheep. Anyhow, on March 12, 1780 the P.F. asked Carlo di S. Corrado, at that time Administrator at Verapoly, about the trustworthiness of Cariattil and his colleague, the sincerity of Mar Thoma and the number of the latter's followers.[74] A similar letter was despatched on September 28, 1780 to Emmanuel of S. Catharine, Bishop of Cochin under the Padroado jurisdiction.[75] From this bishop the P.F. wanted to know if Cariattil had exaggerated the good disposition of Mar Thoma towards Catholic communion just to credit himself with the latter's conversion. Emmanuel was asked to examine the matter personally or through a learned and prudent ecclesiastic. From the other side Mar Thoma was not supposed to exercise jurisdiction or perform any episcopal function until the Pope decided the difficult question about the validity of his ordination. In the end to make the work easier for Emmanuel the P.F. put 3 questions to him. I. Was there danger that Mar Thoma, after reunion, might fall back to

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schism causing great damage to the Catholic Church by consecrating as Bishops men suspected of heresy? II. Was it proper to elevate any Malabarian to Episcopacy, since black people of low origin as they were, they might not command respect? III. Was it conducive to the good of the Catholic religion to put the Malabarians under a Bishop of their own rite and nation since they could possibly be independent of the Latin Bishops and return to heresy?

Knowing nothing about what happened in Rome the Malabarians were anxiously waiting for the return of Cariattil. According to an information given by Carlo di S. Corrado, many people had the belief that Cariattil was staying in Lisbon to procure the nomination of Mar Thoma as the Archbishop of Cranganore.[76] Mar Thoma himself convoked an assembly of his followers on December 18, 1781 and this assembly put off for another date the decision on a successor to him. The reason for this postponement was believed to be the hope that Cariattil would soon return with a definite answer about the reunion of Mar Thoma.[77]

Having reached Lisbon for the second time Cariattil and Paremmakkal avoided the patronage of Cajetan Faria though the latter showed himself well-disposed towards them. Besides, the Nuncio in Lisbon warned them that dependence on Cajetan would only do harm to their mission.[78] It became also clear to them that this man was trying to become the Archbishop of Goa. Hence Cariattil contacted some good friends and the minister who had to present to the queen the names for the nomination of Bishops. Cajetan was displeased at this. In fact, Cariattil and his colleague asked for a prudent Portuguese as the Archbishop of Cranganore, who, they believed, could bring about unity among the St. Thomas Christians. They were also worried about the delay for the nomination. Then on July 16, 1782 they received the news - something they never expected - that the queen had nominated Joseph Cariattil as the new Archbishop of Cranganore. Though with reluctance, he accepted it for the good of his Church. This was sad news for Cajetan and his partisans.

On July 21 Cariattil informed the Prefect and the Secretary of the P.F. of his election.[79] In the letter to the Secretary, which is longer, he wrote that he could not even dream of such a dignity. He also regretted the few days' delay to inform the P.F. In fact as the Archbishop-elect he had to visit several high-ranking people. In his opinion the education he received at the Urban College and the extreme necessity of the Malabar Church were the sole factors that served as ground for his nomination.

Almost simultaneously, on July 23, Gaudenzio Antonini, then auditor of the nunciature in Lisbon, notified the Prefect of the P.F. and made some remarks about the Archbishop-elect. According to this, Cariattil was not happy with the Carmelite missionaries under the P.F. and also with Stephen

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Borgia, the Secretary. Nevertheless he was extremely attached to the same Congregation. Cariattil had told Antonini that he never wanted to disturb the Vicar Apostolic as long as the latter kept himself true to the norms laid down by the P.F..[80] On November 5, Antonini wrote again to the P.F. that unless otherwise proved, the words of Cariattil could be trusted.[81]

Both the Prefect and the Secretary of the P.F. sent letters of congratulation to Cariattil on 7 and 19 September.[82] However, they were not very happy about this election. In the letters dated September 28, 1782 to Carlo di S. Corrado and to John Mary of St. Thomas, the Vicar Apostolic-elect, the P.F. announced the election of Cariattil as a surprise. At the same time it assured them that Cariattil was seeking a peaceful co-existence with the Vicar-Apostolic.[83] One month earlier, the same Congregation had clearly expressed to Antonini what it had in mind. In a letter to him on August 28, it wrote that Cariattil had to show his openly professed gratitude to the P.F. by respecting its missionaries and leaving them free to exercise their functions. About the mission of Cariattil the Congregation was most categorical: "Frankly speaking his legation in Rome in the name of the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar and the hope about the conversion of Mar Thoma are known as sheer fancy, prompted solely by competition and rivalry against the Vicar Apostolic".[84] Here regrettably, the P.F. seems to have forgotten the juridical position of the Vicar Apostolic. However, though unwittingly, it implicitly admitted jurisdictional pluralism.

It is not clear on what basis the P.F. arrived at such a negative and insulting judgement on the truthfulness of Cariattil and the sincerity of Mar Thoma. Did it rely on the reports of Carlo di S. Corrado and of the (then) Bishop of Cochin? In any case, later, in its letter of July 10, 1784 to Archbishop Cariattil the same P.F. said that it could not have a clear vision about the sincerity and perseverance of Mar Thoma.[85] Today reading these letters of the P.F., one may legitimately doubt whether this Congregation itself had acted with the requisite sincerity and objectivity in handling the case of Cariattil and Mar Thoma! The missionaries on their part did not react very enthusiastically about the election of Cariattil. On March 18, 1783 Carlo di S. Corrado wrote from Bombay reporting on the various reactions of different categories of people on this.[86] Again, 4 missionaries of Verapoly wrote on January 13, 1784 to the Cardinals of the P.F. that this election had caused no universal satisfaction in Malabar. They also expressed their concern that under the new Archbishop, who is himself a subject of the pagan king, conversion of the pagans - which they claimed was increasing every year - would be difficult if not impossible.[87] One of these missionaries, Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo, was particularly hostile and wrote a letter to the Nuncio in Lisbon against Cariattil.[88]

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On August 24, 1782 Cariattil wrote to the Prefect of the P.F. asking him for a copy of the instructions Rome had sent to the missionaries and to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar.[89] To this letter the P.F. sent a reply on September 21, 1782 which carried praise of the missionaries and other affirmations, some of which were and are, at least historically speaking, questionable. These points can be summarized as follows: The missionaries are aiming only at the spiritual good of the people. This Congregation spent much money on the Verapoly mission. The Vicariate in question exists for more than a century and was financed by this Congregation which spent much money to maintain the missionaries, to erect seminaries, to print Syro-Chaldean and Malabarean books etc. No one can deny the merit of the missionaries who worked hard among the Syro-Chaldeans to keep them free from the errors of Nestorianism. The archives of this Congregation has papers praising the other Archbishops of Cranganore who did not disturb but rather helped the missionaries. Let us stand within the borders our ancestors had set. The salvation of souls, not ambition to dominate, should be the rule of evangelical ministers.[90] In this letter the P.F. regrettably shows a spirit precisely opposite to the one it enjoined upon Cariattil. The emphasis on the financial cost of spreading the kingdom of God is particularly embarassing.

Cariattil felt offended at the contents and tone of the reply the P.F. gave him. He wrote again to the P.F. on October 21, 1782, declaring that he harboured no hatred or aversion to anyone. Besides he found nothing wrong in the P.F. revealing to him the norms it laid down to the missionaries-norms that could not but be just.[91] The answer from the P.F., dated December 5, 1782 was more or less of the same tenor as the previous one.[92] The real reason for this was that the P.F. saw Cariattil as a danger to the ecclesiastical empire it was building up at the expense of the Oriental Christians.

While Lisbon was preparing for the episcopal ordination of Cariattil, Francis Cajetan Couto, the Vicar General of Cochin, who was in Lisbon at that time, raised objections against the title of Archbishop of Cranganore. He said that in the Portuguese territory of India Goa was the Primatial See and that Cranganore had only an honorary title of archbishopric. The matter was refered to Rome and according to Varthamānappusthakam, the Pope decided at first against this view. However, to satisfy the obstinate Portuguese ambassador he reversed the ruling.[93] In any case the decision of the Pope on this question was not transmitted to Cariattil and apparently never made effective. The P.F. itself was referring to him as Archbishop Cariattil.

Cajetano Vittorino Faria and his colleagues made a vain last attempt to prevent the episcopal ordination of Cariattil. Their argument was that the Goans were neglected and the Malabarians elevated, although the former were subjects of the Portuguese queen. The Malabarians, on the other hand, belonged to another kingdom and had never done any military service for

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Portugal.[94]

Cariattil had to embrace the Latin rite and he was granted the necessary Papal indult for this along with the Bull from the Pope.
This indult carried also a prohibition against returning to his native rite.[95] He received episcopal consecration on Sunday, February 17, 1783 in the church of St. Benedict in Lisbon. On March 17, he received the Pallium. All this took place without any difficulty because the foreign minister extended a helping hand to Cariattil.

The friendship Cariattil enjoyed with the foreign minister provoked jealousy in Martin de Mello, the minister in charge of Indian affairs. This minister put obstacles to the return journey of Cariattil to India. Naturally, Cajetan and his allies were at work against Cariattil. The missionaries also had in Lisbon a confrere and one-time missionary in Malabar, Bonaventura a S. Catharina. This man could have served as an agent of the missionaries to create opposition to Cariattil in Lisbon. What they wrote to Rome they could write also to Lisbon. In fact, Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo the greatest of the adversaries of the Malabarians at that time, wrote from Cochin on January 14, 1784 to the Nuncio in Lisbon making several points against Cariattil. He defended the need for a Vicar Apostolic to work side by side with Cariattil for the conversion of gentiles.[96] The same ideas are exposed to the Cardinals of P.F. in a letter of 4 missionaries, dated January 13, 1784.[97] According to the Varthamānappusthakam, there was suspicion in Lisbon that Cariattil, if sent to India, would consecrate his own men as bishops against the will of the Pope and of the queen and free the Malabar Church from the control of the Portuguese.[98]

Sometime in 1783, apparently towards the end, Paremmakkal fell ill with smallpox and when he was cured Cariattil became victim of a more severe type of the same disease. On recovering he made another vain attempt with Martin de Mello to make arrangements for the return voyage to India. Seeing that he had to wait still further for a chance, he asked his colleague to write to Malabar. Accordingly, Paremmakkal wrote to the Malabar churches on April 10 explaining the situation. The churches were told that the Carmelite missionaries were putting obstacles to the reunion of Mar Thoma.[99]

By this time reports from Carlo di S. Corrado and Emmanuel di S. Catharina about Mar Thoma came in and the General Congregation of P.F. discussed the matter on May 17, 1784. (Emmanuel had by that time become archbishop of Goa and so he entrusted the work to his successor in Cochin Joseph Solidade. Later Emmanuel sent to Rome the report of Joseph). Even now the P.F. could not come to a definite conclusion and so the question remained unresolved. But somehow the question was viewed from another angle and a decision was finally made. The Pope decided that the case of Mar Thoma should be left to Cariattil. This decision was communicated to him

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on July 10, 1784.[100]

At this point Martin de Mello and his colleague Castro, the minister for overseas affairs, made a last attempt to give a role to the Archbishop of Goa in deciding the case of Mar Thoma. They wished that the case should not be left to Cariattil alone. For this purpose they sent as messanger, a canon of the Basilica in Lisbon, to the Nuncio. Seeing this, Antonini, the auditor in the nunciature, counselled the Nuncio to tell him that the Pope had already made the decision and that it was not possible to reopen this case. Immediately Antonini wrote a letter to the Prefect of P.F. on November 20, 1784 and despatched it through a diplomatic messenger of France who was returning. In the letter he warned the Cardinal that de Mello would approach the Pope through Noronha, the Portuguese Plenipotentiary in Rome. Antonini hoped that though De Mello was not content with the reply, he would desist from such demands that come from his aversion to Cariattil.[101] Eventually de Mello agreed with the canon that the Archbishop of Goa needed only to send a representative to take part in the reception of Mar Thoma into Catholic communion.[102]

On receiving the letter of delegation to receive Mar Thoma Cariattil was overwhelmed with joy and wrote a long letter to Stephen Borgia on August 16, 1784. He thanked the Pope and the P.F. for the trust put in him. He also informed the P.F. that he might be returning to India in October or November. The plan of the ministers concerned was to send him to Goa first so that he might consult with the Archbishop of that place about the revival of the seminary at Chenote.[103]

For unknown reasons the return voyage was still delayed. On March 23, 1785 Cariattil wrote his last letter to Stephen Borgia. In this letter he informed the P.F. Secretary that he had got permission from the queen and the ministers and that they were about to send him to Goa in a ship called Prince of Brazil. He also frankly requested help and protection from the P.F. since he had many enemies, clearly hinting at the Carmelites. In a postscript he made his last request to the P.F., i.e. to send to him 2 or 3 copies of the Chaldean-Latin dictionary and a few books. In the second prostscript he made a promise that he would, when he had time, translate into Italian and send to Rome some letters sent from India against him and his poor country. This, he hoped, would help the P.F. to see the spirit of the enemies.[104]

The return voyage began on April 23, 1785. Two priests, Francis Cajetan Couto of Cochin and Joseph Anthony Gonsalvez of Goa, were also travelling with Cariattil and his colleague. However, the main passengers of that ship were criminals, about 300 in number, who were sent to Goa. On March 18, 1786 they sighted Ceylon (today's Sri Lanka). The Varthamānappusthakam ends abruptly at this point. From other sources we know that the ship anchored at Galle[105] and finally reached Goa on May 1, 1786.[106]

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While Cariattil was in the ship, rumour spread in Malabar that he would not be coming back and that instead another Archbishop would be coming in October. Giving this news to the Cardinal Prefect of the P.F. on March 10, 1786, the usually hostile Paulinus warned the Cardinal that such a step would be feeding the fire of disquiet among the Malabarians with more oil.[107]

From the ship on April 2 Paremmakkal wrote a letter to all the churches. It contained the following points: they had had to encounter many difficulties; nevertheless, the problems had been solved satisfactorily. Since the ship had only a short stay at Cochin they were proceeding to Goa. Besides, they had orders to go there. Their adversaries would use every stratagem against them in Goa. They would have to stay there until September. In case they should not return after September, the churches ought to send letter or some representatives. Two copies of this letter in Malāyalam are still preserved in the collections of Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo.[108]

Here one may question the authenticity of this letter on the ground that it was impossible for a Portuguese ship to anchor at Cochin which was under Dutch control. Paremmakkal could have confused Mahe with Cochin. Mahe was a port under the French and so Portuguese ships had access to it.

The ship did certainly touch the Malabar coast, for otherwise Aloysius Mary, the new Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, would not have known that Cariattil passed along the Malabar coast. In a letter to the Prefect of the P.F., dated June 22, 1786 Aloysius Mary told the Cardinal that he had received reliable information on April 16 that Cariattil and his companion passed along the Malabar coast to Goa in a Portuguese ship.[109] In that long letter Aloysius Mary wrote also that a few days after the news had come in, there arrived several letters of Paremmakkal. One of these was the circular to all the churches. Aloysius Mary inserted into this letter an Italian translation of this circular. The other letters, apparently, contained many other things. On receiving these communications the leaders of the Christians assembled and drafted two letters, one to the Archbishop of Goa and the other to the Goan Governor (Capitano Generale) asking them to send their pastor immediately. These letters were passed through the different churches to collect signatures. It is not clear whether these were in fact sent to the respective addressees. No copies of these letters or of the private letters from Paremmakkal have so far come to light. Mathu Tharakan, who was influential with the king of Travancore at that time, was the leader of the Christians.

In a postscript of a letter of May 10, 1786, the Archbishop of Goa informed Aloysius Maria, that Cariattil had arrived in Goa and that he was in good health.[110] The Malabarians spent the winter in anxiety.

The next news that we have about Cariattil is that he died on September 9, 1786. He passed away in the Archbishop's house and was buried in the Cathedral on the following day. In Malabar it is commonly believed that his

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was not a death by natural causes.[112]

News about the death of Cariattil spread in Malabar like wildfire and the nation rose in revolt against the missionaries. The people had already in earlier times laid complaints against them on similar matters.[113] Besides they knew that the same missionaries had sent unfavourable reports about Cariattil to Lisbon.

Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo was the first to report the news of the death of Cariattil to Rome. In a letter to the Secretary of the P.F. dated November 25, 1786 he gave the news in a postcript. In the main text of this letter he wrote that he was expecting disturbances at the coming of Cariattil because of attempts on the part of Mathu Tharakan to bring all the christians under the new Archbis hop by bribing the king. For this reason Paulinus postponed his return to Europe - he had already completed his stipulated period as a missionary. In the postscript he wrote that a messenger from Goa brought the news of Cariattil's death. Paulinus, wrote also that most (plerique) Malabarians charged the Portuguese with killing Cariattil deceitfully and that out of fear the Vicar General of Cranganore, Nicolas of St. Rita, had fled to Goa.[114] All these events could not take place in a day or two and so it is difficult to understand how Paulinus put them as a late news.

Aloysius Mary informed the P.F. on March 20, 1787 that towards the 26th of October 1786 he knew for certain that Cariattil was dead.[115] Again, on May 7 the Vicar Apostolic and 4 missionaries wrote to the Cardinal giving practically the same details.[116] The main points of these letters can be summarized as follows: The Vicar Apostolic received news from the Archbishop of Goa and the Bishop of Cochin that Cariattil died on September 9.[117] Severe fever and inflammation were said to be the cause of his death. On hearing this news there resulted a general unrest and hostility towards the Europeans even among the non-Christians. Aloysius Mary tried to pacify the people and advised them to wait until Paremmakkal came and gave first-hand information. In fact, he was the only man who was with Cariattil throughout the stay at Goa and so he could tell them what had happened. The people of the north agreed to this suggestion; those however, of the south and east approached the king of Travancore with their own version of Cariattil's death. Paremmakkal reached Cochin on December 27, 1786. He told the Malabarians that Cariattil was killed by a fraudulent physician (ex dolo medici). To the Portuguese, however, he said that he died a natural death. The 84 churches met in Angamaly on 11th February and in this assembly Paremmakkal read out a letter that the missionaries had sent to the Nuncio in Lisbon against Cariattil. The exasperated assembly drew up a formal statement known in Malayalam as Padiyola. The parish priests and two representatives of all the churches signed this document. This text made pronouncement about certain allegations from the past, now proved untrue, and then

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explicitly affirmed that Cariattil was killed in Goa. This document was prepared in the "big church of Angamaly before George the Martyr, in the name of the Father, Son and of the Holy Spirit".[118]

In both the letters, referred to above, i.e. of Paulinus and of Aloysius Mary, Paremmakkal was accused of being equivocal about Cariattil's death. Paremmakkal is said to have used the term "natural death" (morte naturali) while speaking to the Portuguese.[119] In fact the expression was apparently the obsolete Malayālam word' Kālam ceytu[120] meaning 'died', used only in the case of kings and Bishops. Paremmakkal was admittedly shrewd in using this word. Nevertheless, it is to be doubted if it carried with it any allusion to a natural death.

The Carmelite missionaries, seeing that things were getting out of hand, approached the Dutch governor Angelbeck, called also Edeler, and asked for help. This man, though a Lutheran, was a friend of the missionaries and Paulinus in particular. Edeler wrote letters to the kings of Tranvacore and Cochin defending the Carmelites. Bęsides, under threat of heavy penalty he forced the catholics under his power to give allegiance to no one other than the Vicar Apostolic.[121] Under pressure from this Dutch Governor, the king of Travancore ruled that there was no proof for any involvement on the part of the missionaries in the death of Cariattil.[122] Copies of Edeler's letter are seen in Paulinus' collection[123] in French and Portuguese and so one may conclude that the authorship of this letter should be attributed to this missionary. The main argument of Edeler was that Cariattil died far away in the territory of another king and so the missionaries working in Travancore could not be held responsible for his death. Paulinus himself was a friend of the king, Rama Varma of Travancore. The king even appointed him as one of the gentlemen of his court.[124]

On the part of the Malabarians there was a general revolt against the missionaries. A certain Kunju Mathen gave vent to his anger by composing verses in praise of Cariattil as a virtuous man. Some of these lines represented him as a victim of a conspiracy by his enemies, including a minister, to poison him.[125]

Rome received the Malabar version of Cariattil's death only at a later date. It came not directly from Malabar, but from Baghdad. From that city John d'Haruthium. a classmate of Cariattil at Rome and Administrator of the Eparchy of Ispahan in Persia wrote on November 25, 1796 to the P.F. about the grievances of the Malabar Christians, that he had heard from Catholics and other Christians. Then John gave details of a 24 page letter that the Malabar priests and laity sent to Mar John Hormez, the Administrator of the Patriarchal See. Hormez received also a letter from "Ram Raggia", the king of Travancore. The content of the main letter was: When Cariattil reached Cochin, from Lisbon, the captain did not let him disembark but

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took him by force to Goa. At Goa, Cariattil was invited for a dinner and there poisoned. Worse still, for many years the Malabarians had been sending letters to Rome without, however, receiving any reply. One day while the Vicar Apostolic was in a state of drunkenness a young Malabarian saw in the former's room in a box many letters they had intended for Rome. Taking advantage of the weak moment of the Prelate he took away all the letters and gave them to the Malabar priests.[126] Hormez himself wrote to the Cardinal on October 30, 1799 that the missionaries had intercepted the letters the Malabarians had sent to Rome and to Portugal.[127]

Coming to some other documents which have so far escaped the attention of most researchers and are still to be properly studied one gets some precious informations about the death of Cariattil. These include the private diary of Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo, written in Portuguese, and the correspondence between him and his colleagues and friends. The greater part of the diary is lost, but the few pages that have come down to us, are of great value since they cover the months after Cariattil's death. They are exclusively concerned with Cariattil. One can easily notice that Paulinus was very much concerned about Cariattil's death which was *the* problem he had to handle at that time. As regards the contents, it must be admitted that the diary, being notes taken for the personal use of the author, is often unclear to the reader. Nevertheless it remains full of interest.

The most interesting informations, so far not known to the public are about the illness and death of Cariattil. Here is a summary of what Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo collected from Giuseppe Milanese, an Italian, who was the steward and waiter of Cariattil (Milanese gave these details to Paulinus, John and Francis Mary, all Carmelite missionaries, on January 8,1787. Paulinus presents these details, without any chronological consideration. To the reader of the diary (of Paulinus) it appears that the Italian was at least in part answering the questions of Paulinus).

At Goa Cariattil became ill with fever in the beginning of August. From his arrival there he had bowel difficulty. His eyes showed signs of scurvy. The air of the place where he lived was not very good for him. A Goan Physician, Luis Correa, gave him Kina Kina for 10 days without apparently asking about details of the illness. This checked the fever. On August 15 he celebrated his last Qurbana (Eucharistic Liturgy). Another physician said that in case the fever returned, there would not be much hope. Correa administered purgative which the patient vomited. After a second dose Cariattil began to feel discomfort in the chest and had a cough. At the height of the strong fever he was delirious. Father Manoel Nazare informed him of his dangerous state. He therefore made his confession and received Communion. After that, within closed doors, he asked Milanese if he was really in a grave condition. Three physicians expressed the opinion that from the beginning the treat-

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ment had been ill-advised (cura foy mal principiada). Luis Correa did not heed the advice and applied caustic treatment twice but in vain. Cariattil murmured about all who were at his service and blamed the last medicine administered to him. Of the Goan priest Joseph Anthony he said that he had deceived him. The fate of the Church he entrusted to Paremmakkal and was praying to Our Lady. Cariattil died on September 9 at 9.30 in the night. By his bed were the Canon Cantor and some others including Monoel Nazare. During Cariattil's illness his physician made several visits to the Vice Roy.[128]

It is also known that Paremmakkal was deeply shaken at this terrible death and so did not take part in the funeral services.[129] It is difficult to determine the exact cause of Cariattil's death. At any rate one thing is certain: The Portuguese themselves gave conflicting reports about Cariattil's illness. In the letter of the Archbishop of Goa to the Vicar Apostolic on October 6, 1786 he wrote that the cause of the death was presumed to be strong fever.[130] The Bishop of Cochin wrote to the same Vicar Apostolic that Cariattil died of inflammation of lungs (Inflamaçao do bofe). A certain Father John, presumably the Visitor over the Portuguese Carmelites, however, wrote that the version of the Bishop of Cochin was false. Informing Paulinus of this contradiction by Fr. John, the Superior of Verapoly, Francesco di S. Eliseo, said that the Carmelites were in a difficult situation. He expressed also his eagerness to save the good name of the Bishop of Cochin, who was also a Carmelite.[131]

There are also other letters that give strong indications of a combined effort on the part of the missionaries, both of the P.F. and of the Padroado, to defend themselves against a common threat. They realized that they could not emerge with honour without the help of political power and shrewd planning. In this attempt they appear to have used worldly techniques to achieve their end. Did they reveal the whole truth? The answer may be left to further research.

There are also grounds for believing that the messengers of the Good News, including people in high and responsible position, used their title and ecclesiastical immunity to ensure and enhance their reputation by spreading unfair and untrue reports about this dead man. He was depicted as one of the conspirators who wanted to snatch power from the Padroado and P.F. jurisdiction and establish themselves at the helm.[132] Worst of all, even supposedly enlightened men affirmed that God punished Cariattil for having rebelled against his masters.[133]

The P.F. itself forgot what it wrote to him while he was alive and returned to the opinion it had long cherished about him. On November 14, 1789 it accused him of having been "one of the principal fomenters of discord and leaders of the war declared against the Apostolic Vicariate".[134]

Cariattil died in his struggle for the noble cause of Christian unity. His

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death prevented this unity and led to the perpetuation of the Apostolic Vicariate of Verapoly. In fact, it seems to confirm that what is seen in nature, both in the vegetable and animal kingdom, is equally true about the Kingdom of God upon earth: One should die in order that the other live.

Charles Payngot c.m.i.

NOTES

(Unless otherwise mentioned all the manuscripts referred to are from the P.F. - archives)

[1] In translations this name appears in different forms such as Cariati, Cariatti, Kariatti. Even he himself uses it as Cariati. But "Cariattil" seems to be the Malabar name. The last syllable "il" which is a semi-consonant in Malayālam is omitted usually in spoken language, especially in those areas belonging to the former kingdom of Cochin. In the Malayālam document, however, of February 1, 1787 it is used as Cariattil (Archives of P.F., S.O.C.G. 878. Fol. 209^{R}).

[2] The Portuguese Patronage exercised jurisdiction in the Archdiocese of Cranganore and the P.F. through the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly.

[3] In some cases this name appears as Pareamakel.

[4] S.C. Ind. Orient. 1. Fol. 326^{R}.

[5] Placid Podipara, Varthamānappusthakam (Orient. Christ. Analecta 190).

[6] Joseph, M.O., Mathu Tharakan (in Malayālam) 170.

[7] "...nihil aliud in hoc puero velle nisi cum bona educatione, Syro-Chaldeae et non alterius linguae integram possessionem "S.O.C.G. 763. Fol. 126^{R}. In those days parents were extremely reluctant to send their children to distant lands and the missionaries found it difficult to get their permission.

[8] Acta 125 (1755) Fol.94^{R}.

[9] Cardinal Onofrio Barberini founded this scholarship for 7 Ethiopeans and 6 Brahmins from India. cfr. Acta 127 (1757) Fol. 297^{R}.

[10] "questo è stato già ammesso in collegio, ove dà buon saggio di se, non meno quanto alla capacità, che circa i costumi", Acta 125 Fol. 323^{V}.

[11] Acta C.P. Ind-Cina 10, 275^{V}.

[12] P. Podipara, Varthamānappusthakam 231 note.

[13] S.C. Ind-Cina 31 Fol. 315^{R}.

[14] Idem, Fol. 319^{R}.

[15] Idem, Fol. 362^{R}.

[16] Idem, Fol. 488^{R} - 489^{V}.

[17] Idem, Fol. 521^{V}.

[18] Idem, Fol. 524^{V}.

[19] Idem, Fol. 526^{R}.

[20] Idem, Fol. 527^{R-V}.

[21] The name Syro-Malabar is a relatively new one. Cfr. Payngot, C. in: La Celebrazione cristiana del matrimonio (Studia Anselmiana 93) 261-262.

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[22] S.O.C.P. 56, Fol. 333^{R}.

[23] Acta Cong. Part. Ind-Cina, XII, Fol. 144^{R}.

[24] Lettere 218, Fol. 369^{V} - 370^{R}.

[25] This was the information Ildephonse of the Presentation gave to the P.F. on July 23, 1770; S.O.C.P. 56, Fol. 344^{R}.

[26] Idem, Fol. 333^{R}.

[27] C.L.O. 10, Fol. 39^{R}.

[28] Miscell. Var. 1, Fol. 349^{R}.

[29] Podipara, l.c. 46.

[30] S.C. Ind-Cina 34, Fol. 494^{V}.

[31] Idem, 494^{R}.

[32] "io moro di fame et operarii in domo patris mei saturantur pane" (cfr. Lk 15,18), S.O.C.P. 56, Fol. 515^{R-V}.

[33] "Mi son morti mio padre, fratelli maggiori e tre minori", S.C. Ind-Cina 33, Fol. 78^{R}.

[34] Idem, Fol. 140^{V}.

[35] Placid, l.c. 45.

[36] S.C. Ind-Cina 34, Fol. 25^{R-V}.

[37] Idem, Fol. 26^{R-V}.

[38] Idem, Fol. 208^{V}.

[39] Idem, Fol. 493^{R}.

[40] Idem, Fol. 407^{R}.

[41] Lettere 222, Fol. 547^{V} - 548^{R}.

[42] Acta 144, Fol. 274^{V}.

[43] Acta 148, Fol. 244^{V}.

[44] Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Hierarchia Carmelitana, 264.

[45] S.O.C.P. 56, Fol. 352^{R}.

[46] S.C. Ind-Cina 35, Fol. 311^{V}.

[47] Lettere 228, Fol. 210^{V}.

[48] S.O.C.G. 849, Fol. 272^{R}.

[49] S.C. Ind-Cina 35, Fol. 311^{R}.

[50] "In molte maniere significò all'Ill.^{mo} nostro Vescovo ed a me che presentasse le sue suppliche, o che se possibile fosse a Roma medesima per significare all S. Congregazione", S.O.C.G. 849, Fol. 272^{V}.

[51] Podipara, l.c. 59.

[52] Idem, 60.

[53] Idem, 63.

[54] S.O.C.G. 867, Fol. 149^{R} - 151^{V}. Placid (l.c. 149, note) gives a summary of this.

[55] Acta 154, Fol. 312^{V}.

[56] Joseph, M.O., l.c. 190.

[57] Podipara, l.c. 104, 105.

[58] Idem, 106.

[59] S.C. Ind-Cina 36, Fol. 186^{R} - 187^{R}.

[60] S.O.C.G. 867, Fol. 170^{R}.

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[61] S.C. Ind-Cina 36, Fol. 32^{R}.

[62] "cosi prego, che V.S. Ill.^{ma} faccia avanzare tal notizia a Roma per prevenir qualunque attentato dal detto Cariatti; qualunque passo che facesse la S.C. in loro favor e del loro progetto sarebbe la rovina di questa cristianità", Idem, Fol 71^{R}.

[63] Idem, Fol. 656^{R}.

[64] "... donec et quousque Archiepiscopus et Episcopus praedicti ‹= Cranganor. et Cochinens.› ad suas respective ecclesias personaliter acceserent". Cfr. S.C.P.F. Memoria Rerum I, 1. 416, note 183.

[65] Lettere 234, Fol. 528^{R}.

[66] Idem, Fol. 560^{V}.

[67] Idem, Fol. 709^{R}.

[68] Idem, Fol. 675^{R}.

[69] Podipara, l.c. 131.

[70] Idem, 132.

[71] Ibidem.

[72] This nomination took place on February 15, 1778. Cfr. Bulle et Breve I, p. 96.

[73] Lettere 236, Fol. 270^{R} - 271^{R}.

[74] Idem, Fol. 189^{V} - 191^{V}.

[75] Idem, 729^{R} - 740^{R}.

[76] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 122^{V}.

[77] Idem, Fol. 16^{V}.

[78] Podipara, l.c. 198.

[79] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 424^{R}; 422^{R}. In these letters Mar Cariattil, while giving the date, gives the year as 1783. It is certainly a mistake.

[80] Idem, Fol. 177^{R-V}.

[81] "Dio solo è scrutatore di cuori, ma se le parole dell'Arcivescovo nominato di Granganore ‹sic› non sono smentite dai fatti, sembra che nessun tempo voglia egli per questo capo di lagnanza" (Idem, Fol. 210^{V}).

[82] Lettere 240, Fol. 676^{R-V}; 689^{R-V}.

[83] Idem, Fol. 737^{R}; 739^{R} - 740^{R}.

[84] Idem, Fol. 632^{R-V}.

[85] Lettere 244, Fol. 570^{R}.

[86] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 353^{R}.

[87] Idem, Fol. 519^{R}.

[88] S.C. Ind-Cina 38, Fol. 39^{R} - 40^{R}.

[89] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 432^{R}.

[90] Lettere 240, Fol. 695^{V} - 698^{R}.

[91] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 254^{R-V}.

[92] Lettere 240, Fol. 824^{R} - 826^{V}.

[93] Podipara, l.c. 225. In the P.F. archives, S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 405^{R-V} is the relevant document. Pius was informed on 23 June 1783 that there was an error in the Bull of election of Cariattil since it referred to him as Archbishop. On the other hand Goa was the only Archbishopric in Portuguese India according to the Bull of Paul IV in 1557 (1558?). The Pope ordered that the error be corrected.

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The Pope, however acted on inadequate information. On December 22, 1609 Paul V restored to Cranganore its archbishoprical status. Pius VI was not aware of this when he made the above-indicated decision.

[94] Podipara, l.c. 229.

[95] "... cum Indulto, quod Latinum ritum amplecti, in eodem licite remanere et in ipso munus consecrationis in Indiis ab uno Episcopo assistentibus sibi duobus Dignitatibus, suscipere possit, et valeat, non obstantibus quacumque ejus obligatione, aliisque contrariis quibuscumque, vetito tamen ad ejus nativum Syro-Chaldaicum Ritum quocumque regressu...", S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 396^{R}.

[96] S.C. Ind-Cina 38, Fol. 39^{R} - 40^{R}.

[97] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 519^{R-V}.

[98] Placid l.c. 273.

[99] A Malayālam copy and a Latin translation are seen in: S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 579^{R} and 578^{R}.

[100] Lettere 244, Fol. 570^{R} - 573^{V}.

[101] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 689^{R} - 690^{V}.

[102] Podipara, l.c. 279.

[103] S.C. Ind-Cina 37, Fol. 641^{R} - 641^{V}. In this letter Cariattil refers to 3 prophecies a certain P. Angelo of Ara Coeli in Rome made about him. With the deputation he got from Rome to receive Mar Thoma into Catholic communion, he says, 2 of these prophecies were fulfilled. The third he leaves to God.

[104] S.C. Ind-Cina 38, Fol. 104^{R-V}.

[105] Cunha Rivara, A Conjuracao do 1787 em Goa ...59. Quoted by Podipara, l.c. 295 note.

[106] S.C. Ind-Cina 38, Fol. 583^{R}.

[107] Idem, Fol. 363^{R-V}.

[108] Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma. Santa Maria della Scala 22, Fol. 172^{V} and 39 Fasc. 44, Fol. 33^{R-V}.

[109] S.C. Ind-Cina 38, 384^{R} - 385^{V}.

[110] S.O.C.G. 878, Fol. 173^{V}.

[111] Acta 164, Fol. 520^{V}.

[112] M.O. Joseph, l.c. 194.

[113] Cfr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Hierarchia Carmelitana 277.

[114] S.O.C.G. 878, Fol. 204^{R} - 205^{R}.

[115] Idem, Fol. 211^{R} - 212^{V}.

[116] S.C. Ind-Cina 38, Fol. 583^{R} - 584^{R}.

[117] From another source we know that the Archbishop of Goa wrote to the Vicar Apostolic on October 6, 1786; B.N.R. S. Maria della Scala 39, Fas. 8.4, Fol. 13^{R}.

[118] For a Malayālam text sent by the missionaries, cfr. S.O.C.G. 878, Fol. 208^{R} - 209^{V}.

[119] S.C. Ind-Cina 38, Fol. 583^{R}.

[120] B.N.R. S. Maria della Scala 39, Fas. 20, Sheet 1.

[121] S.O.C.G. 878, Fol. 212^{R}.

[122] Acta 158, Fol. 80^{R}.

[123] B.N.R. S. Maria della Scala 37. 3. 2; 37. 31.

[124] Menon Shungoonny, History of Travancore, 275.

[125] Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo prepared a Portuguese translation of some of these verses. B.N.R. S. Maria della Scala 39, Fas. 9.

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[126] S O C G 907, Fol. 359[R-V].
[127] Idem, 373[V].
[128] B.N.R. S. Maria della Scala 32, Diary P. 8 ff.
[129] Idem, p. 2.
[130] B.N.R. S. Maria della Scala 38. 8. 4. Fol. 13[R].
[131] B.N.R. S. Maria della Scala 37. 21. 1.
[132] Arch. P. F. fond. Vien. 29, Fol. 334[R] ff.
[133] Idem, 337[R].
[134] Lettere 255, Fol. 612[R].

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MAR JOSEPH CARIATTIL
between Propaganda and Padroado

Introduction

It happened rather rarely that Indian Christian leaders could be caught, so to speak, between the two missionary systems, the Roman Congregation of Propaganda and the Portuguese patronage known as Padroado. Such an awkward position could have happened particularly during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Truly enough from about the middle of the 17th century tensions mounted between those systems. The Padroado authorities deeply and perseveringly resented the inroads made in India by the vicariates apostolic and their clergy generally drawn from religious orders, mostly the Discalced Carmelites and the Capuchins. Yet at the practical and pastoral level more often than once some kind of *modus vivendi* was worked out. Often it lasted for quite a long time.

This is more or less the case of the Catholic Thomas Christians since about 1663. It remains, however, that their community was kept divided[1], even when it was possible to become one, and that only the social relations among them had resisted such a division.

This is how the story of Joseph Cariattil should be seen. When reviewing it we must keep that background in mind. This remark applies also to his ever faithful companion, Thomas Paremmakkal. Moreover it is difficult to study them separately, as far as the way to Cariattil's nomination as archbishop is concerned. They both followed that way amidst the tensions which beguiled the relations between those two systems. Only further studies based on archival material could explain them more fully. Only such studies could bring about the long-awaited biography of that great man, who was Joseph Cariattil.

A Son of Propaganda

On several occasions Cariattil described himself as a devoted son of Propaganda, both of its Congregation and its College.

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But already through his own family and his parish, Alangat, which boasted then to have the largest church among the Thomas Christians, he found himself under the vicar apostolic, therefore under Propaganda. Why did the former parishners of Alangat choose to leave Cranganore and to adhere to the vicariate? Was it because Alangat was situated fairly close to Verapoly?

At any rate it explains why the Carmelites sent the little Joseph to study in Rome. He was not the first Indian to become a student of the Propaganda College[2], but he was certainly the first Thomas Christian to join it and to stay on until the doctorate in theology-philosophy was obtained[3].

After two years spent probably at the minor seminary, called alumnate, of St Onufrio, he joined the College proper on 7 April 1755.[4] I surmise that he began his theology in 1762. Having passed some 12 years in Rome, Cariattil would naturally have become a faithful, perhaps even enthusiastic, devotee of Propaganda, both in spirit and in practice.

This is shown, for instance, in what probably was his first letter addressed to Rome from India after landing at Pondicherry. It is dated from that town October 6, 1767[5]. That Cariattil came back to India via France and Pondicherry, reveals much already. It was certainly to escape from Lisbon and the Padroado authorities, and also to be received in that French establishment by the missionaries of the Foreign Missions of Paris, the representatives of Propaganda there and then. Cariattil could also be helped financially by them.

That letter is a very good testimony of Cariattil's mentality. This is particularly the case of the second part of his letter, the longest also, entitled "Scarico della mia coscienza", i.e. "to free my conscience". In ten points he expresses his mind and opinion in a candid manner on the missionary situation on the Coromandel coast:

He speaks in a rather positive way of the Lutherans of Tranquebar, especially as far as the Tamil language was concerned. Above all he is critical of the negative attitude of the European missionaries at large towards the training of the Indian clergy. They opposed, he wrote, sending seminarians for their clerical studies to Rome, out of fear that eventually they become superior to themselves. Cariattil says that "all" were against such a sending. It means that he included those working in Kerala as well[6].

The letter is addressed to Cardinal G.M. Castelli, the then prefect of the Propaganda Congregation. The way Cariattil addresses him and the freedom with which he writes indicate a kind of intimacy, a trust, a straight-forwardness, which Cariattil must have already enjoyed during his studies in Rome. It is regrettable that we know almost nothing about those years of formation, the contacts he had with the people there, the friendships he struck, particularly with other students, etc.

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As regards the object of this paper it is interesting to notice that Cariattil does not hesitate to describe how well received he was by the bishop of Mylapore, a Portuguese Augustinian friar. The prelate tried even to entice him to join the Padroado, to go to Goa, and to be promoted to some dignity there, e.g. a canonry. Already Cariattil found himself between the two systems!

Cariattil in Kerala

The young Malayalee priest had come back home to work under the vicar apostolic. He was then a Polish Carmelite, Florence of Jesus Nazarene (1750-73), who had worked for six years in the small French colony called Mahé. Cariattil, as expected, came to teach in the newly erected (Dec. 1767) seminary of Alangat, his own parish. In 1774 it was transferred to Verapoly to be combined with the Latin section, though kept separate from it. This transfer from Alangat to Verapoly was strongly opposed by the Syrians[7]. How did Cariattil react to this situation? Did he join the chorus of opponents? In the same year Bishop Florence died and there was trouble about those who had to carry the bier. This trouble led to the boycotting of the funeral by the Syrian clergy. Did Cariattil also refuse to attend?

Then comes the general *yōgam* of Angamaly on 20 August 1773. It was attended by the representatives of all the Syro-Malabar churches. Hence it can be surmised that there and then Cariattil met Thomas Paremmakkal. Was it for the first time? Did they become friends already?

When the next vicar apostolic, the Bavarian Francis of Sales of the Mother of Sorrows arrived at Verapoly on 13 October 1775 it could be readily forseen his tenure of office would be a difficult one. Quarrels and disputes between him and the Carmelite missionaries soon made life almost impossible for the vicar apostolic. Then Cariattil took the initiative and was responsible for bringing the prelate to Alangat as a saving device.

Meanwhile Cariattil had gone to Niranam and met Mar Dionysios I there at the request of Bishop Francis of Sales. It appears that Cariattil had made a favourable impression on the bishop of the independent Thomas Christians. It explains among other things why the Syro-Malabarians gathered into another general yōgam and decided to send Cariattil and Paremmakal to Rome not only to present the grievances of the Catholic Thomas Christians but also to arrange for the final re-union to the Church of Mar Thomas VI, also known as Mar Dionysios I.

As regards Thomas Paremmakkal, he could have been still trained by the Jesuits at their Ambazhakatt seminary, since he was ordained in 1761, at the age of 25. He was almost certainly ordained by the last Jesuit archbishop

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of Cranganore, Salvador dos Reis (d. 1777) and worked under him for 16 years. He belonged therefore to the Padroado organization. I gather the impression that Paremmakkal was less attached to that establishment than Cariattil was to Propaganda.

European realities

Already during the first stay in Lisbon, both those priests expressed criticisms of the Carmelites working in Kerala and indirectly of Propaganda.[8] Did they already foresee their difficulties in Rome, or did they want to "please" the Padroado authorities?

At any rate a careful reading of the *Varthamānappusthakam*,[9] describing their relations with the Propaganda officials and other people in Rome, leads to the conclusion that at least in their eyes their stay there was no success. As Fr Placid remarks,[10] they could perhaps not understand the deeper aspects of certain Roman attitudes. It remains true, however, that the two Syrian priests felt deeply that the Propaganda leaders had failed them. Moreover they thought sincerely that it was due to prejudices provoked by Carmelite influence.

It is quite true that those Carmelites then active in Kerala never understood why the Thomas Christians wanted both to keep their autonomy and therefore to have their own bishops, whether from Kerala or from the Chaldaean patriarchate.[11] Though Paulinus of St Bartholomew had become one of the best Indologists of his times, he was deeply, persistently and vocally anti-Syrian.

Be as it may, the two priests from Kerala thought that there was perhaps more chance to obtain a favourable hearing in Lisbon. They could not, however, dream for a moment that one of them might be made archbishop. Possibly Paremmakkal influenced Cariattil in favour of definite recourse to Lisbon, since he belonged to the Padroado jurisdiction.

The rest of the story need not be repeated. Two points should be made. In the first place the nomination of Cariattil as archbishop of Cranganore was certainly motivated by the desire from the Portuguese side to get rid of the Propaganda missionaries in Kerala.[12] In the second place, it can be hardly doubted that Cariattil's intentions were different from those of the Lisbon officials. His attachment to Propaganda continued sincere and unwavering, as shown for instance by his letter of 15 March 1785.[13]

At any rate the fact is that the second Malayalee and Oriental bishop of Kerala was chosen by the queen of Portugal, and not by the cardinal prefect of Propaganda. Furthermore the new prelate was not a vicar apostolic as was Bishop Chandi, but a residential archbishop (metropolitan in the oriental

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sense).

That Cariattil might have succeeded in gathering all the St Thomas Christians under him, as the Carmelites feared, is shown by the fact that Thomas Paremmakkal as administrator did precisely that.[14]

It is less well known that about 1788 a petition to obtain "...a new bishop of their rite and nation..." was sent not to Lisbon but to Pope Pius VI. This undated document was signed in the name of the people and clergy of the Church of Malabar by Thomas Paremmakkal, administrator of the eparchy of Cranganore, and by eighty-one priests. Probably Paremmakkal submitted the petition directly to Rome at least in part to avoid Portugese opposition which would certainly have been markedly intensified by the uncovering in August 1787 of a plot to get rid of the Portuguese establishment in Goa. The opposition of the Padroado authorities to another Indian archbishop in Kerala would have been strengthened particularly because at least fourteen priests were involved in the plot. In this petition, Paremakkel argued that the papacy had traditionally favoured bishops of their own for the Eastern Churches.[15]

One of the last documents we have on Cariattil is the inventory of his belongings. It was drawn in Goa on 12 September 1786 and endorsed officially at Ribandar on the following 20 October. It is now kept in the State Archives at Panaji.[16] Thomas Paremmakkal, acknowledged as chief witness and heir of the archbishop, obtained the release of those belongings from sequestration. It seems probable that most if not all of them were taken by him to Kerala.

Thanks to that inventory which contains detailed descriptions much can be learned about the personality of Cariattil.

It is now certain that Cariattil was allowed to convoke a synod and to reconcile Mar Dionysios I, also known as Mar Thomas VI. He had with him the necessary documents, which are listed in the inventory. Among his personal effects was found a portrait of Mar Thomas. I personally think that this was the portrait taken in solemn procession from Alangatt to Angamaly under Paremmakkal's leadership.

The list of books is particularly interesting. The booklet containing his doctoral diploma in theology-philosophy is mentioned. It is now kept in Mannanam. This perhaps indicates that all the books brought by Cariattil were also taken to Kerala by Paremmakkal. There is also a Syriac Pontifical in four volumes, and a Latin one in the same. While the latter was no doubt a printed copy, the former was a manuscript. It was probably the translation from the Latin text, first made by Mar Joseph,[17] and redone in Lisbon by Paremmakkal in 1782.[18] Among the books brought likely for the seminary intended by Cariattil one finds the following: New Testament in Syriac, St.

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Ephrem, a polyglotta, which could well be that of London in 6 vols (1657), several copies of the Syro-Malabar Missal and lectionary. The Ecclesiastical History of the Dominican Noel Alexander (d. 1724) of 1699 in 8 vols in-fo, the same of C. Fleury in 20 vols with its continuation by J.C. Fabre, which makes the 36 vols mentioned in the inventory, the French commentaries on the Bible in 23 vols by the Benedictine A. Calmet, all these were in those days the normal equipment of a seminary library. The mention of works by Van Espen (d. 1728), a strong adherent of Jansenism, and by Von Hontheim (Febronius), a strong advocate of a more democratic Church, are rather unexpected. Was Cariattil in any way influenced by the Jansenistic and Erastian ideas of the 18th century? At any rate there were many other books in Latin and Portuguese, and also some for Hebrew.

To find French books in the list is not unexpected, for Cariattil knew French. Indeed, he spoke French to the governor of Cuddalore on his way to Madras where he embarked for Portugal.[19]

The collection of books of the archbishop is one more indication that he found himself even between Padroado and Propaganda. For some were bought with money given by Queen Mary of Portugal; and others with Propaganda funds and some were donated by the Propaganda.

E. R. Hambye S. J.

NOTES

1 Th. Pallipurathukunnel, *A Double Regime in the Malabar Church, (1663 - 1766),* Alwaye, 1982.

2 The first Indian student admitted in the 18th century was Alexis Fernandes from Bombay-Bassein, who joined the College on 18 March 1703, *Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide,* Registro dei Nomi, Cognomi, Ingresso e Partita, che faranno gl'Alunni del Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide, VII/1, p.222.

3 I looked carefully through the above-quoted register and also through that of the oaths. There is no doubt that Cariattil was the first Thomas Christian to be a full-fledged student at the College. If there had been any other, they either died or left before entering that institution.

4 Same register as quoted on note 2, p. 379.

5 *APF* SC (IOC) 31, f. 488r - 9v.

6 Both the Carmelites and the Jesuits should have been included Cariattil's mind.

7 Abrosius a S. Teresa, *Hierarchia Carmelitana,* Rome, s.d., p. 245.

8 *The Varthamanappusthakam,* by Cathanar Thomas Paremmakkal, Ed. P.J. Podipara, Rome, 1971, p. 108.

9 *Ibid.,* pp. 131 -76.

10 *Ibid.,* p. 150. n. l, p. 167 n. 1.

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[11] Cf. letter of 13 January 1784 addressed to Propaganda by the four Carmelite missionaries then working in Kerala, among whom there was Paulinus of St Bartholomew, and in which they wrote that "the St Thomas Christians were absolutely incapable to govern themselves", APF SC (IOC) 37, f. 519.

[12] Varthamanappusthakam, p. 281.

[13] Letter addressed to Stefano Borgia, the secretary of Propaganda, AFP SC (IOC) 38, f. 104r; the same feeling was expressed in a letter, written ten days later, this time to Cardinal Antonelli, the prefect of Propaganda, ibid., f. 108r.

[14] Hierarchia, p. 292.

[15] *APF* SC (IOC) 39, f. lr-4v.

[16] *HAG* MR 166 ff 32r - 69r.

[17] It is now the Vat. Syr. 89 from f. 138v onwards, G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche su la formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana,* Città del Vaticano, 1939, pp. 73 - 74.

[18] There is one manuscript at the Vatican Library, *Vat. Syr. 600,* which may well be the original work of Paremmakkal. It is dated from Lisbon, 1782, and has a preface by him dedicated to Mar Joseph Cariattil, metropolitan of Cranganore and Angamaly. On f. 3r there is a note in the margin written by Mar Elias Milus, dated 1875, and which states that the manuscript was found kept hidden by a priest belonging to the vicariate apostolic of Verapoli, A. Van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des Manuscrits Syriaques des Fonds Vatican (490 - 631) Barberini Oriental et Neofiti,* Città del Vaticano, 1965, pp. 133. According to the catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts of Mardin (A. Scherr, *Notice sur les manuscrits Syriaques et Arabes conservés dans la bibliotèques de lévêhé chaldéen de Mardin* (Extrait de la Revue des Bibliothèques Janvier-Mars 1908), Paris, 1908, p. 17 Cod. 39, there was there a Syriac translation of the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* made by Thomas Paremmakal, also in 1782 and in Lisbon. Does such a manuscript still exist?

[19] *Varthamanappusthakam,* p. 78.

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THE TWO POLES OF SYRIAC TRADITION

When Eusebius set out to write the first History of the Christian Church, what he produced was in fact a history of the Church within the Roman Empire. This was to a large extent the outcome of his perception of the Roman Empire, with its new Christian emperor, Constantine, as an *eikon* of the Kingdom of God; with such a perception it was naturally difficult to accommodate within his framework the history of Christianity outside the Roman Empire, in the Persian, or Sasanid, Empire. It has been partly thanks to the legacy of this model left by the 'Father of Church History' that we commonly find in the West today a bipartite view of Christian tradition, dividing it into Greek East and Latin West[1] – totally ignoring the existence of a third element, which we may designate here the 'Syriac Orient', since the Churches of Syriac tradition are historically its most important constituents.[2]

This tripartite view of Christian tradition allows for a much more adequate picture of the richness and diversity of the Christian tradition as a whole. It is also of great significance in the context of Asian Christianity[3] in the post-colonial modern world, where it is of vital importance to distinguish between the core of the Christian message, often (but not of course exclusively) brought by European missionaries, and the European cultural clothing in which that message was often dressed. It is here that a proper understanding of this third element of Christian tradition, the Syriac Orient, can be of great assistance, for here is a Christian tradition which is authentically Asian and which is independent of the European cultural tradition. It is thus a task of some urgency to recapture a proper understanding and appreciation of this distinctive tradition. Moreover, just as in the past Syriac Christianity bridged both the Roman and the Persian Empires, so today it has the potential to provide an important link between Western and Asian Christianity. This is made possible by the fact that Syriac Christianity itself has two poles, which we may designate the Semitic and the Hellenic poles.

What are these poles, and where and how are they to be identified within Syriac Christianity? The two poles can most readily be isolated by studying the early history of the Syriac Churches, from the first to the seventh centuries, up to the time of the Arab conquests and the end of Byzantine rule in the Near East. The Syriac literature of these centuries can

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be divided up into three main periods, literature before c. AD 400, literature of the fifth and early sixth centuries, and literature of the later sixth and the seventh centuries.

Writers of the first period are (with a few exceptions) largely untouched by Greek ways of thinking and Greek modes of theological expression; they are true heirs of the Semitic world into which Christianity itself was born. It is in the writings of this period, in the Odes of Solomon, the Acts of Thomas, in the works of Aphrahat and – above all – in the hymns of the great theologian-poet Ephrem, that we have the best representatives of the Semitic pole of Syriac Christianity.[4]

The second period is one of transition, as Greek became more and more prestigious in the eyes of most Syriac writers. The reasons for this development are multiple and complex, and are not directly relevant here. In some writers, notably Philoxenus of Mabbug, one encounters a truly creative fusion of Greek and native Syriac elements; in others, above all in the poets such as Narsai and (especially) Jacob of Serugh, we find the Semitic pole still very prominent in this period.

In writers of the third period the philhellenic trend predominates,[5] and their works are barely distinguishable, in their feel and in their whole approach, from contemporary Greek writers, many of whom were translated into Syriac at this time. It is this third period where the Hellenic pole of Syriac tradition can *par excellence* be identified. For both European and for Middle Eastern intellectual history this third period happens to be of great historical importance, for it was as a result of the interest which Syriac scholars showed in Greek philosophy that many Greek Philosophical texts were translated into Syriac. Indeed it is instructive to reflect that Porphyry's *Eisagoge*, the standard introduction in late antiquity to Aristotle's logical works (the *Organon*), was translated into Syriac at about the same time that Boethius translated it into Latin. This interest in Greek philosophy on the part of Syriac theologians and scholars had an important consequence in the late eighth and ninth centuries: when Muslim scholars also became interested in this subject it was scholars of the Syriac Churches who first translated these Greek texts into Arabic, thus providing the stimulus for the great flowering of Arabic and Islamic philosophy in the Middle Ages – some of whose products were in turn translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, above all in Spain, thus contributing to the rediscovery of Aristotle in the medieval West and the development of scholastic theology.

Between the two poles of Syriac Christianity, the Semitic and the Hellenic, there lies a continuum, which happens to be neatly reflected in the history of the Syriac translations of the Bible.[6] The earliest surviving New Testament translation in Syriac is that of the 'Old Syriac' Gospels, perhaps belonging to the second half of the second century AD. Although this is a

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translation from Greek, it remains fairly free and the translator clearly regarded the Syriac, and not the Greek, Old Testament as having the prime authority, for he often adapts the wording of Old Testament quotations to make them fit that of the Syriac Old Testament, even when this goes against the precise wording of the Greek New Testament.

In the second period we have two revisions of the Syriac New Testament, each in turn bringing the Syriac closer into line with the current Greek text – a clear indication of the ever increasing prestige of things Greek in the eyes of Syriac writers. At the very beginning of the period there is the revision of the Old Syriac known as the Peshitta, which rapidly became the standard biblical text of all the Syriac Churches; then, towards the end of this period, a further revision of the New Testament was inaugurated by Philoxenus of Mabbug and undertaken by his Chorepiscopus Polycarp in 507/8. It is significant that the motivation behind this second revision lay in Philoxenus's desire to have a more literal rendering of certain key passages whose interpretation was hotly disputed in the christological controversies of the time.

As the prestige of Greek continued to grow in the Syriac Churches, so translation from Greek into Syriac had as its ideal an ever more literal rendering of the source text; in this process highly sophisticated techniques were devised in order to ensure that Syriac translation mirrored the original Greek in every detail. As far as biblical translations are concerned this procedure is manifested to the full in the Harklean New Testament and the Syrohexaplar Old Testament, both produced in Alexandria in the second decade of the seventh century.

It was an irony of history that the Arab conquests should have effectively cut off the Syriac Churches from the Greek-speaking world precisely during the period when Syriac culture was at its most philhellenic. This historical accident, however, had the important consequence, as we have seen, of making Syriac culture serve for a short but key period as the bridge between Greek and Arab civilization.

The ninth to thirteenth centuries could be described as a time of consolidation for Syriac tradition, culminating in the production of the great theological compendia of the thirteenth century, notably those of Barhebraeus in the West Syrian tradition and of Abdisho in the East. These compendia, whose authoritative character continues to be acknowledged to this day, can be said to belong essentially to the Hellenic pole of Syriac tradition. In their general approach they have much in common with the contemporary compendia in both Greek East and Latin West. The theological *summae* of the Middle Ages, whether in the Latin West, the Greek East or Syriac Orient, are all expressed in basically the same kind of theological language: the reason for this is straightforward, for the writers in all three traditions were

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common heirs to the predominantly Aristotelian philosophical tradition of late antiquity.

Clearly, at different points in their history the Churches belonging to the Syriac tradition have often found a need to emphasize one pole more than the other. It has never, however, been the case that one pole has been emphasized to the complete exclusion of the other, and during the very long period during which the Hellenic pole may be said to have been predominant in most theological writing, the Semitic pole has nevertheless continuously been represented in the liturgical tradition, above all in liturgical poetry.[7]

There are perhaps indications, especially in the context of Asian and Indian Christianity, that now is the time for the Churches of Syriac tradition to pay particular attention once again to the Semitic pole of their tradition. There are several good reasons why this should be so.

Firstly, it is at the Semitic pole of Syriac tradition that those elements are to be found which are most distinctive within that tradition as a whole. Secondly, these distinctive elements have the advantage of belonging to what is specifically Asian within Syriac tradition, pointing dramatically to the fact that Christianity is not an export from Europe, but is a religion whose historical origins lie in Asia rather than in Europe. Thirdly, by building upon the Semitic pole of their tradition the Syriac Churches can contribute to the enrichment of the other Christian Churches whose roots lie instead in the Latin West or the Greek East, and not in the Syriac Orient, for this Semitic pole, while being unique to Syriac tradition,[8] is clearly something very precious for *all* Christian traditions in view of all that it represents in common with the Semitic environment out of which Christianity sprang.

This is not, of course, to say that the Syriac Churches should turn their backs on the Hellenic pole of their tradition, for this pole remains of very great importance, not least because it provides the common meeting point between Syriac Orient and both Greek East and Latin West. However, in view of the predominance which the Hellenic pole has come to have over the centuries, it is perhaps necessary today to give a particular emphasis to the Semitic pole once more. In practical terms this means creating a proper awareness of, and disseminating knowledge about, writings from the earlier period of Syriac Christianity; it means making available in translations, both into English and into Malayalam, the main representative texts which reflect this Semitic pole;[9] it means, above all, the attempt to a recapture something of the creative theological vission of men like St Ephrem – a vision which is as relevant today as it was in the fourth century.[10]

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NOTES

[1] There are two other important factors: (1) the bipartite view fits reasonably well of the non-Chalcedonian Churches are ignored; (2) for historical reasons theological education has concentrated on Latin West and Greek East; Syriac Orient only began to become known to the West in the sixteenth century, and in modern times the Christian Oriental languages tend to be studied only in oriental faculties and departments, and not in theological ones.

[2] Others are the Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian and Georgian traditions. The Christian Arabic tradition emerged later in time and draws on the Greek, Syriac and Coptic traditions.

[3] Likewise African and, mutatis mutandis, South American Christianity.

[4] For this period see especially R. Murray, 'The Characteristics of the earliest Syriac Christianity', in N.G. Garsoian, T.F. Mathews and R.W. Thomson (edd.), East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period (Washington DC, 1982), pp. 3-16, and his Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition (Cambridge, 1955).

[5] For this process see my 'From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac attitudes to Greek learning', in East of Byzantium, pp. 17-34, reprinted in Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity (London, 1984), Chapter V.

[6] And of Syriac translation technique in general: on this see my 'Towards a history of Syriac translation technique' in R. Lavenant (ed.), IIIe Symposium Syriacum (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221, 1983), pp. 1-14.

[7] See for example my *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (Syrian Churches Series 9, 1979). See also note 9.

[8] This is *not* to say that the Semitic element is absent from the Latin and Greek traditions; it is in fact often quite prominent in some early writers.

[9] Particularly welcome in this context are the translations of the *Fenqitho* published by the Kurisumala Ashram under the title *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit: The Prayer of Asian Churches* (Vol. I, 1983; Vol. II, 1982; Vol. III, 1985; Vol. IV, forthcoming). It is also important that there should be good biblical translations into English and Malayalam specifically of the Syriac Bible (i.e. Peshitta), since most of the imagery in the liturgical poetry is based on its text and so often does not fit the wording of English translations made from the Hebrew and Greek.

[10] I have tried to describe something of this in my Podipara Lecutures, *The Luminous Eye: the Spiritual World Vision of St Ephrem* (C.I.I.S., Rome, 1985).

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SOME ASPECTS OF SYRIAN SPIRITUALITY

The contributions of Syrian authors to the literature of Christian Spirituality have always been held in high esteem. According to Hausherr the reason is that Afraat, Ephrem, the Liber Graduum and other Syrian authors have – in contrast to Greek philosophical speculation – preserved for us the authentic, "primitive" spirituality of Apostolic times.[1] This is certainly true but might be wrongly understood to say that the Syrians only "preserved" past teaching and were incapable of developing the faith handed down to them. This negative judgement gains some support from the observation that during the great councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, the Syrian peoples seemed unable to understand and to accept the Greek terminology for the Christological dogmas defined at those councils; and from the consequent split of the Syrian church in two opposite directions: monophysite and nestorian. Modern historical studies have shown that the situation was much more complicated. The Syrians refused the "Greek" formulations of faith for many reasons, including political and national considerations. Nevertheless, a very different consideration is much more important and is in fact the primary reason for their refusal. By the fifth and sixth centuries, the Syrians were already deeply convinced of the validity of their own tradition, mentality and manner of interpreting the Christian faith. This fact should not surprise us. After all it was in the Syrian city of Antioch that Christians were first called "Christians" (Acts 11:26). Their church was founded by St. Peter himself and was the first sister of the church of Jerusalem. As people of semitic origin, the Syrians were able to accept divine revelation in the original biblical terms without the many difficult adaptions which the Greeks needed to make. On the other hand, it was precisely the search for independence of this "eldest sister" which manifested for the very first time the perennial problem of inculturation. The Christians of Antioch refused to follow Jewish traditions and the first council at Jerusalem (Acts 15) confirmed their rights. In Antioch we also find the origins of Christian liturgy. Can we wonder then that this church would develop its own distinctive spirituality? Let us outline just a few important aspects of this spirituality.

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Docility to the Spirit

The Acts of the Apostles is rightly called the Gospel of the Holy Spirit. It is through the grace of the Spirit that man becomes a disciple of Christ. Yet one of the earliest heresies, gnosticism, endangered precisely this essential truth. The Greeks, representative of ancient philosophical tradition, considered every immaterial reality "spiritual", i.e. the entire universe of ideas and thoughts is "spiritual". The result of this "idolatry of ideas" is the negation of the biblical vision of God transcendent! Therefore, the task of the Orthodox Fathers was to defend the essential distinction between the activity of the human soul (mind, intelligence) and the presence of the Divine Guest, the Holy Spirit, in the heart of man. The definition of "spiritual man" given by Irenaeus expresses this clearly: The Christian is composed of three elements, viz. body, soul and Holy Spirit[2]. This famous "trichotomy" became traditional in the Christian East. St. Basil in his classical work *On the Holy Spirit* explained the consequences of this truth for our Christian faith. From the dogmatic point of view this treatise is perfect. In the Syrian world, however, the question was proposed in a different way. There, the tradition of prophets and prophecy was still alive. Nobody doubted that a "man of God" was inspired and guided by a Spirit higher than himself, a Spirit coming from God. For the Syrians the problematic seemed to be the situation of the great multitude of Christians who are "just" but not "perfect". This distinction we find in the famous *Liber Graduum*[3] and in nearly every Syrian writer. The simple faithful, the "just", observe the commandments of the Lord but find themselves in a strange, contrtadictory situation. They are not prophets, thus they seldom feel the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Instead they feel many temptations and the inclination to evil. How to explain this strange state?

One heretical explanation[4], the messalian, supposes that in the soul, in the very heart of the Christian who is not "perfect" there are two guests, Satan and the Holy Spirit, fighting for supremacy over the believer. The believer himself – is he spiritual or satanical? The messalian answer is quite naive. Man is what he feels! If he is feeling the Holy Spirit, he has the Spirit; and not feeling the Spirit is a sign that the Spirit is absent!

Obviously the Orthodox Fathers could not accept these conclusions. The Syrians as much as the Greeks acknowledged the mysterious character of grace. They agreed for instance that in baptism the Holy Spirit is given even when his presence is NOT felt. But for the Syrians this lack of feeling, sensing the Spirit's presence is far from normal and must be overcome. A Christian who is merely "just" is called or even commanded to become "perfect". In modern terms, every Christian is subject to the universal call to perfection. But there is more. The perfect life is that of a prophet, a monk. Thus

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the call to the monastic life is universal and monasticism is the genuine manner of becoming a true Christian. The history of the Syrian church proves that such a view was always alive. But we must not exaggerate the difference between Greeks and Syrians. For many Greek writers also, including St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, it is primarily the monk who is seen as taking the Gospel seriously.[5] But for Basil perfection means observing all the commandments of the Lord given in Holy Scripture and thus for monastic life the only true rule is the Bible itself, written through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[6]

The Syrians certainly do not object to this general assertion but they are also deeply convinced that the same Spirit did not speak only once for all time. To hear his voice in the Scripture prepares us to hear the Spirit directly and to be guided by his inspirations in the heart. Docility to the voice of the Spirit is a frequent theme of Syrian spiritual literature.[7]

But if perfection means this docility, this continual attention to the intimate directives of the Spirit, then it becomes very difficult to establish any firm or stable external form of monastic asceticism. The idea of St. Pachomius and of St. Basil was very different. These founders of cenobitic life imagined a perfect society. In this perfect society – stable and regulated by unchanging rule – the brothers are equal and treated as such by superiors. Thus the external order which would ideally prevail in a monastery would reflect the cosmic harmony created by God. History teaches that it was not easy to maintain this vision of ideal monasticism and even in the Greek world there were always some "hesychasts" who preferred a solitary, open way. The Byzantine canonists, of course, did not favour such exceptions and this so called *idiorhythmia* was tolerated but not recommended.[8]

To the contrary, for the Syrian mentality perfection means following the intimate voice of the Spirit whose inspirations are special for every man. Thus the perfect monastic life is solitary; it can in no way be regulated forever by an unchanging rule but must have its own dynamic evolution. The cenobitic discipline serves only as preparation for attaining higher degrees of perfection.

This perspective is clearly set out by the seventh century "Nestorian" bishop, Martyrius Sahdona in his *Book of Perfection.*[9] In this book he tries to prove from the lives of saints "...how great and magnificent is the rule of the perfect life in solitude...".[10] This is no easy task, but we must bear the burden of the Lord and not that of the world. On the other hand, "...for those who begin, it is very useful to remain in the community where one exercises another in the practice of the commandments...[11].

The dynamic, progressive aspect of the spiritual life is developed in a masterly fashion by the greatest mystic of the Syrian church, Isaac of Niniveh. He is deeply convinced that no external way of life can be approved

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as good if it does not correspond to the interior degree of spiritual evolution. He acknowledges that traditional teaching recommends first community life and afterwards solitude but insists that even this rule must not be taken as absolute.[12]

A believer whose spiritual life is at the level of the "bodily degree" (*dûborô pagronô*) exercises the virtues perhaps with others and is encouraged by their example; but still he is divided in his heart. Many memories of his past life excite the passions.[13]

Thus the best way to make progress is to forget everything in solitude.[14] In the desert one loses the hope of meeting friends, having an abundant table and financial gain. Progressively, as the desire for these things is abandoned, they are readily forgotten. Because of this mind-emptying, the pilgrim seeks new ideas reading Holy Scripture and chanting psalms. His heart becomes more and more pure. But one is not yet able to hear directly the voice of the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, it is the devil who begins to suggest many evil thoughts. The second degree of spiritual life is thus called "psychological" or "mental" (*napšono*). The battle is transferred to the psyche, to the soul, to the realm of thought. The crucial task now is to distinguish between thoughts coming from the "left side", that is from the devil abetted by the body; and those coming from the "right side", from the Spirit. Only after one has learned to distinguish perfectly between these two types of thoughts, has one attained to the third degree of spiritual life, truly "spiritual" (*rûhonûtô*). At this level one is ruled by the Holy Spirit alone and consequently is totally free. One can return to the community of monks or even to the world because he is impervious to any voice except that of the Spirit. Guided by God, he has been transformed in his interior life just like the eucharistic bread and wine during the liturgy. Certainly, Isaac knows that it is dangerous to think oneself "perfect" before the right time. The "perfect" are few indeed; nevertheless there are some who do attain this level and it is the ideal to be pursued by all Christians.

A Rude Asceticism

Syrian asceticism was often so severe that many have judged it excessive and sometimes even heretical. A first reading of the *Historia religiosa*[15] might easily produce such an impression. Theodoret of Cyr chooses sixty-five examples from the lives of recluses, stylites, monks wandering in the desert etc. of mortification pushed beyond the limits of human nature. Some attribute these mortifications to the dualistic tendency of the East, i.e. the body as a material reality is considered essentially evil. Others suggest the Syrians were generally extremist in the application of principles.[16] Both these reasons

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may have some limited validity in particular cases but they are in no way adequate to explain the great emphasis on mortification in Syrian spirituality.

The true reason for the severe asceticism is really opposite to dualism; it is rather the belief that not only the soul but also the body is destined to participate in the elevation of man to God which the Holy Spirit is bringing to fruition. In contrast, the typical Greek definition of prayer makes it the elevation of the mind to God.[17] and following the norms of platonic philosophy to elevate the mind one needs to be liberated from the body. The monks practising asceticism had the contrary opinion, viz. the soul as it is lifted up attracts even the body. Stylitism, living at the top of a column, is a symbolic expression of this idea: soul and body together living at a height, contemplating God.

Theological justification of this opinion is found in many homilies and liturgical texts which compare the cross to a ladder to heaven. Aphraat sees in the ladder of Jacob (Gen 28:12-13) "...the mystery of Christ which allows the just to elevate themselves to the heights; the cross as a ladder, at the top is the Lord..."[18] In a beautiful homily jacob of Sarug (521) explains the ladder of the vision of Jacob as a type of the cross and the road of all Christians: "The cross is erected as a marvellous ladder, through it men are guided to heaven... Through it the heaven and earth are united... The cross is a ladder between heavenly and earthly beings".[19] In the seventh century Joseph Hassayâ writes: "Give us the Lord that we can always go on this road, ascend this ladder in order to become inheritors of the city of heaven".[20]

Syrian asceticism is also much concerned with fasting. In the biblical tradition and conforming to old semitic insights, fasting is seen as preparation for a new life. Thus, a bride about to leave the house of her parents and follow her bridegroom into a new manner of living is directed to fast. The fasting of monks is analogous. They must prepare themselves for a new life in the fullness of the Spirit through fasting.[21]

But fasting is a very broad term in Syrian spiritual literature. It means not only renunciation of eating but also a general "fasting from the world". Fasting includes renunciation of possessions, marriage, a fixed dwelling, and a concern to secure the necessities of this life; it means embracing their counterparts: poverty, chastity, wandering in the desert without even a stone to put under one's head (Mt 8:20) and *amerimnia*.[22] Only living this way is the ascetic able to pray for the whole world and to reconcile people living in the world with one another, showing them that nothing is important except to be free with the Lord.

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Reading of the Holy Scripture

The reading of the holy texts was a universal practice in the synagogues of the Jews and it was also one of the salient pious practices of monks throughout the world. The Syrians strove to attain yet a higher degree in which they would hear the Spirit directly without the mediation of books. This was the case for instance of St. Symeon Salos who because of the purity of his soul did not need to read the Gospel.[23] However to arrive at this extraordinarily high degree of the spiritual life an intensive preparatory reading of the Bible is indispensable. St. John Chrysostom has recorded how diligently the monks around Antioch read Scripture.[24]

But how to read? From the beginning this was a burning question. It is often said that Syrian exegesis is more literal whilst that of the Alexandrian Fathers is more allegorical. Like every general assertion, this one too needs nuancing. The exegesis of the spiritual authors was not a historical nor literary study. Their reading and commentary was always intended as a search for the spiritual sense of Scripture, as an effort to understand what the Holy Spirit is saying to us at the very moment we have the Book in our hands. This attitude is common to both Alexandrians and Syrians. The question is how to discover this spiritual meaning.

The text we read must be connected in some way to our own life. But how can we build a bridge between what we are experiencing today and what happened so long ago and so far away? In the way of typology, the events of the Old Testament are type and image of the life of Christ, of the New Testament; and further, the events of the New Testament are images of the life of the Church and of the second coming of Christ. This typology is common to all the churches and has roots in the New Testament. But Greek exegesis, whose great master is Origen, goes further still. Each and every Christian in his heart is the Church writ small. Therefore all the external events in salvation history are also symbols of what happens in our spiritual development. The events of salvation history can be interpreted allegorically, e.g. the two wives of Isaac, Leah and Rachel, are symbols of praxis and contemplation; the kiss of the bride in the Song of Songs is a symbol of the spiritual union of the soul and the divine Logos, etc.[25] While it would be wrong to say that the allegorical interpretation does not exist in Syrian spiritual literature, it is certainly neither so systematically developed nor so prominent as in the Greek literature. What is the explanation for this? We might say the Syrians have a stronger sense of *anamnesis*. Reading the sacred texts they had an awareness of the liturgical presence of what is read: when Christ speaks, we listen to his words. Is Christ suffering? We are with him! For the Greeks this awareness was so profoundly conscious that they experienced a need to overcome the distance of time and place *per pontem analogiae*. This bridgemaking is a kind

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of confession: I am very far from what is being read but in the same situation; even I suffer and even I will be poor, etc. This sort of exegesis becomes more and more moralistic. On the contrary the Syrian *lectio divina* is more liturgical, it has – if we may use the expression – more of a "eucharistic character".[26]

The Sense of the Church

A strange conradiction in the Syrian literature is the absence of a systematic treatise on the Church. On the other hand this theme occurs often in the liturgy and in many spiritual works. Especially well developed is the theme of the Church as the spouse of Christ. The many oriental customs of engagement and marriage are played upon. These lend themselves easily to a symbolic interpretation: e.g. the bride is paid for by Christ with a great price, the precious blood of the Saviour. The bride is adorned with many ornaments, virtues; precious gifts are given, the Holy Spirit, etc.[27]

Very frequent also are exhortations to safeguard the unity of the Church. Suffering from many divisions and schisms, the Syrian authors feel acutely that these divisions are unnatural and against the will of the Saviour. Philoxen de Mabbug[28] and many others deduce the necessity of unity from the essential fact that the Church is the Body of Christ. These same authors could not ignore the multiple divisions and thus insisted that the Church could not be united only by visible, external means. They insisted much on the essential interior dispositions which prepare and achieve the unity of the people of God. In this respect the Syrian literature produced many marvellous reflections. Above all, it is the liturgy which preaches the universality of the Church. While praying and communicating we must have the sense that we are participating in the mystery of a Church spread throughout the entire world and therefore, our charity must ignore divisions and frontiers. If we join with the Lord, we must believe that His body is the one only Church. This faith is professed for instance by the "Nestorian" patriarch Išoyahb III (647-658) who refuses to exclude from the unity of Christ the "chalcedonians". For Išoyahb the best means to overcome schism is penance and mutual love.[29]

The Descent into Shéol

It is often said that the western church emphasizes the cross and loves to meditate on the passion of the Lord. For the Byzantines the typical sign is the resurrection and the restoration of the universe, the new earth and the new heaven.[30] These oppositions though somewhat artificial do express a modicum of truth and can help us to understand the various attitudes and ap-

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proaches to the same mystery of faith. We will hazard a third generalization, viz. the Syrian church may be characterized as loving the descent into śhéol.[31]

The descent into shéol is a typical semitic expression, not easy to translate aptly for other peoples of a markedly different mentality. Shéol is not a determinate "place" but more a "state", the dwelling place of the dead[32]. Man, created immortal by God, descends into shéol through his sin. He finds himself in a very peculiar situation; though immortal he is under the power of death. Death sums up all the consequences of sin. Jesus took upon himself all these consequences and by his death descends into shéol. But since Jesus is immortal God, his arrival in shéol radically changes the situation: eternal Life arrives in the reign of the darkness of sin. The resurrection of man is achieved but not yet revealed. The revelation of Christ's victory will come on the third day, on Resurrection Sunday after the Passion of Friday. The sojourn in shéol is the mystery of Great Saturday. The dead know they are alive in the Redeemer but this reality will not be apparent till the future age[33].

The Syrian literature, especially the Maronte literature, is deeply convinced that such is also the situation of the Church here on earth. Christians are continually descending into shéol, they feel all the consequences of sin, the world continually condemns them to death. But they know perfectly that this death is no more death because the darkness is illuminated by eternal Light. This is the Light that is seen only with spiritual eyes. The more one grows in faith the more he is "seeing" light; meanwhile the world remains in darkness. But on the Day of the Lord the Light will be manifestly revealed. This faith inspires in the Syrian liturgies some of the most beautiful texts of Christian echatological expectation. The theme of light is very frequent. For instance we read in the Maronite daily office of Lauds: "The Light is revealed to the just; joy for those who are of right heart."

Let us finish with an eschatological prayer of Lilyo found in the Monday office: "Glory to the Father, through whose command the dead will arise. Adoration to the Son who at the sound of the trumpet will raise those who are lying in the tomb. Thanks to the Holy Spirit who will pour out on them the dew of mercy and will dress them with the mantle of glory in the day of resurrection."

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NOTES

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THE APOSTLE THOMAS
In The Witness of Saint Ephrem of Nisibis

The aim of this article is to present a comprehensive study on the thought of Saint Ephrem, the greatest theological authority in our tradition, regarding the Apostle Thomas our Evangelizer. It is based on the available elements in the works of the Harp of the Spirit published in a critical edition during this century. The following books give some useful information: His *Commentary on the Diatessaron* extant partly in Syriac (Diat),[1], his *Prose Refutations against Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan* (PrRef),[2] and the following collections of hymns: *Hymni de Fide (hymns on Faith,* HdF),[3] *Hymni contra Haereses (Hymns against Heresies,* CH),[4] *Hymni de Nativitate (Hymns on the Nativity,* Nat)[5], *Hymnes Arméniennes (Armenian Hymns,* lost in Syriac and extant in Armenian, H.A.),[6] and *Carmina Nisibena (Nisibene Hymns,* CNis).[7]

A.G. Medlycott published an article on *The Witness of St. Ephrem and Others* (On Saint Thomas in India), reproduced in *The Saint Thomas Christian Encyclopedia of India.*[8] On page 19 b, the author extends his acknowledgements to Mgr Lamy for having sent to him in advance sheets of the fourth volume of his Hymni et Sermones, edition and Latin translation of hymns and sermons of Ephrem.[9] The article dates about 1902, since it refers to the fourth volume of Lamy's edition. In this article, Medlycott focuses on the coming of Saint Thomas to India in Ephrem's works. From the authentic works of Ephrem he quotes only hymn 42 of the *Carmina Nisibena.* Then he uses the hymns on the Apostle Thomas published by Lamy,[10] which, however, seem not to be authentic. About these hymns as well as about the sermon for the *New Sunday,*[11] not discussed by Medlycott, we shall speak in the *Appendix* of this study.

Our main sources regarding the Apostle Thomas are the gospel and the Acts. But it is the Gospel of John which gives us specific information on his personality and his testimony. The *Synoptics* and the *Acts* indicate only that he is one of the Twelve. Here are the references: Mt 10,3; Mc 3,18; Lc 6,15 and Ac 1,13; John 11,16 (Let us go and die..), 14,5 (Show us the way..) 20, 24-29 (Apparition to Thomas, 'My Lord and my God'), 21, 2 ff (Last meal with the disciples). It is known that John presents Thomas intervening on important moments of the life of Jesus: going to awaken Lazarus (Jn 11), giving His

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last will to the Twelve (Jn 14) and especially encountering Thomas who recognizes Him as his Lord and God, a confession considered by exegetes as the climax of the Gospel of John emphasizing the divinity of Christ, being the same person as the Word presented in the prologue of the fourth Gospel.

The most important part of the thought of Ephrem regarding Thomas is given in his comments and reflexions on the facts and affirmations of the holy Gospel. But we do not find in his works a homogeneous and complete commentary on these facts and texts, neither in his *Commentary on the Diatessaron*[12] nor in his *Hymns* and *Sermons*. The situation is the same for other pericopes of the Gospels; some of them are commented upon in detail, others briefly, others just mentioned, others omitted. That is why regarding the references given above we find dispersed informations and personal comments of Ephrem not always with explicit connexion with the Apostle; but the reader will see that as a whole we have precious elements regarding our subject. We can add, by the way, that as much as we can identify the Gospel text used by Ephrem, that is the *Diatessaron* text or may be in his hymns and sermons the *Vetus Syra,* we do not find important textual variants.[13]

1. The way of martyrdom (Jn 11, 16) and Christ the way (Jn 14, 5):

Commenting upon these two verses, Ephrem takes them in themselves and does not mention their relation to Thomas. John 11, 16 is indeed a generous answer or initiative of Thomas inviting his fellow disciples to share the destiny of Jesus on His way to Jerusalem, that is to His martyrdom. And Ephrem comments on this pericope in this very sense. Christ and the disciples are going together and they will have the same destiny but at different times: first Christ and then the disciples. Both will be glorified; but in all this Christ is the centre. The Apostles will suffer for Him and be crowned with Him. Ephrem writes in *Diat* XVII, 2, commenting on Jn 11,9 and 16:

"(...) *Are there not twelve hours in a day?* ... (Jn 11, 9). That is, you are afraid of persecution. While I am with you, no one of you will suffer with and for me. The darkness full of sorrow will reach you when I am elevated from you and I allow you to receive crowns as I have been crowned and then elevated. *Let us go (and) die with Him* (Jn 11, 6). It was decided that if they went with Him they would be stoned. That is why He consoled and encouraged them and took away from them the fear"[14].

That Christ is the way, the truth and the life (Jn 14,6) is an assessment of our Lord, provoked by Thomas who asks Him to show the Apostles the way. Ephrem in his *Commentary on the Diatessaron* mentions this verse very briefly while commenting on the promise of the Bread of life (*Diat* XII, 10 - 11). Speaking of Jesus stimulating the crowds by the means of material

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bread, to ask for the heavenly bread, Ephrem says also: "Did He not tell them: *I am the way* and *the gate of the sheep?*".[15] In this quotation Ephrem unites Jn 14,6 and 10,7.

Christ is the way. This is for Ephrem a truth expressed by the Lord in human language. Speaking of the different "Names" attributed to the Lord, he says that some of them are proper and others metaphorical. Christ "the way" means Christ the mediator of men to the Father; the term should be understood in a metaphorical way. Ephrem writes in *HdF* 62, 3:

> Our Lord is compared to the way which led us to His Father (cf. Jn 14, 6..) and He is also compared to the gate which allowed us to enter His Kingdom (Jn 10, 7)[16].

It is interesting to notice about this text that it joins Jn 14, 6 and Jn 10, 7, as we have seen in the short quotation above (=*Diat* XII, 11), and especially that it deals with the mediation of Jesus as an accomplished fact, expressed with verbs of perfect tense. This means that we are already in the Father's Kingdom.

Elsewhere Ephrem speaks of Christ "the way" but in a different context. The history of humanity is a journey (Urha) which leads to the Lord[17] who at the same time is its base. All history tends to the Lord and He is its foundation. He is the way which leads all - past, present and future - to His Father and everyone who truly desires to reach the Kingdom, is invited to walk in this Way. Speaking of this journey of humanity Ephrem writes in *CH* 26, 4:

> Because of the Fruit (of Eden), He (the Lord) marked out the way
> from the Tree to the Cross;
> and from Wood to Wood it extended:
> From Eden to Sion,
> From Sion to the Holy Church.
> Let us ascend a little on the way,
> and behold, it rebukes the apostate (Kaporē).
> How and whence did they deviate (staw)?[18]
> Through Satan (satana[18]) they deviated and went astray,
> they put on his name through (their) acts.
> Our Lord compared Himself to the way (Jn 14, 6);
> Come, let us walk on it towards His Begetter (Yaloda).[19]

Then Ephrem speaks of the way of the precepts ('Urha d-Puqdanē) divided in three parts on the present history of humanity, the prepuce (Urluta), the circumcision (Gzurta) and the Holy Eucharist, as three distinctive and constitutive signs of the three respective periods. And he concludes in *CH* 26, 5:

> One is the beginning and the end, and all was limited by (sed) the Lord of all.[20]

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In this sense, Christ is the Way of the Divine Economy and also the goal and conclusion (Rom 10, 4).

2. The experience of Thomas (Jn 20, 24 - 29)

For Saint Ephrem the experience of the Apostle Thomas encountering the Risen Lord is not limited to the perception of His new life and state which preserved the signs of His passion, but included also touching the wounds and the side of the Lord. Ephrem speaks of this as self-evident in the Gospel of John. In his *Commentary on the Diatessaron* XXI, 13 he writes:

"The day when the wound was made, the wound was healed (htam). The Friday which drove the nails drew out His nails in sheol. Since among the living his side was opened, among the dead He healed (or sealed) His side. But how was the wound by the lance that was healed opened again after ten days and the fingers [of Thomas] put into it? (cfr Jn 20, 24 - 29)".[21]

Thomas is not mentioned in the text, but no doubt Ephrem is speaking of his fingers. One detail here should be noticed: Ephrem supposes that the side of the Lord, once healed, is open again because Thomas' finger entered into it. And he asks: how?. Evidently the problem does not exist if we do not admit that Thomas touched the Lord. But this experience is abundantly confirmed in the other texts we shall examine now. The most explicit statement is seen in *Diat* XXI, 27. There Ephrem comments on John 20, 17, when Jesus says to Mary "Do not touch me". This Mary is, for Ephrem and for some other Church Fathers, not the Magdalene but the very mother of Jesus and so Jesus first appears to His mother.[22] The problem is this: Both Mary, His mother, and Thomas doubted the Resurrection of Jesus. Mary, because she asked the gardener where he had put the body of Jesus; (Jn 20, 15. Diat XXI, 27, beg.) and Thomas, because he refused to believe the Apostles (Jn 20, 24..). Why then, did Jesus allow Thomas to touch Him and forbid Mary to do so?. Ephrem indeed writes (*Diat* XXI, 27):

> "(...) Since she doubted His Resurrection, He forbade her to touch Him; but behold, Thomas who doubted Him yet touched Him".

The reason for forbidding Mary to touch Him is that she should go quickly and bring the message to the Apostles, that He was ascending to His Father. Then, according to a rabbinic way of interpreting the Scripture, Ephrem gives other possible reasons. In this instance, because she was entrusted to John and so no longer dependent on Jesus in earthly things. At any rate, Mary has the first fruit of the revelation of the resurrection, though she did not touch Him. She is first in the Divine Economy of the Incarnation. Here is the full text of Ephrem. Thomas is mentioned as an example of doubt resolved later by touching. something which Mary did not need. (*Diat* XXI, 27):

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"(...) But we may say this: As he prophesied of His passion before His passion and of His resurrection before His resurrection, so now He wants to prophesy on His ascension. Saying 'Do not touch me', He filled her (Mary) with the new preaching of His ascension. 'Go and tell my brothers' (...)" Then Ephrem speaks of the apparitions of Jesus to the disciples and to Mary, who, though she doubted, received the best. (Ib):

"Behold, (risen) He blessed the house of Cleophas (Lc 24, 30). He had a meal with His disciples before He ascended (Lc 24, 41-43; Jn 21, 12-15) and to Thomas His showed He side. Why then had He forbidden Mary to touch Him? May be because He entrusted her to John (saying) 'Woman, behold thy son' (Jn 19, 26). But neither without her did He perform the first sign (Jn 1, 1-11) nor was without her the first fruit of the resurrection from sheol. So even if she did not touch Him she was strengthened by Him".

How does Ephrem understand the attitude of Thomas? For some authors Thomas is the prototype of the person who doubts before believing. In the *Diat* also Thomas doubts (see above). But this does not seem to correspond to the words Thomas uses answering his fellow disciples: "If I do not see... if I do not touch" (Jn 20, 25). Indeed Jesus showed His disciples His wounds (Jn 20, 20) "in order to make them sure of His resurrection" (*H.A.* 40, line 15). The initiative comes from Jesus. The disciples believe. Thomas puts as an absolute condition for his belief, to touch and to see. In Ephrem's terms this means 'scrutinizing' before believing. And that is what Thomas wanted. It was not because he doubted, but simply because he did not believe those who saw the risen Christ. This is what we understand from the hymns of Ephrem. He wanted to test, to scrutinize or to experience physically the presence of the risen Lord by means of the signs of His past death. Ephrem writes in *HdF* 7, 11:

Weigh (*i.e. compare*) both:
the centurion who believed (Mc 15, 39)
and Judas Thomas
who wanted to touch and scrutinize (bsa) (Jn 20, 25).
The first one, his Lord praised him;
the second one, his master has blamed (Jn 20, 27 - 29).
If this one is blamed because (naively) he dared
to scrutinize and then to believe,
to what scorn will be exposed
he who first wanted (sba)
to scrutinize and then to believe?[23]

Here Ephrem has in mind three categories or attitudes of believing. The normal one, represented by the centurion, which deserves praise; that of Thomas who in some naive resistence agreed to believe by proper experience

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and so deserves some blame; and that of the scrutinizers, that is the Arians, scrutatores, who volontarily professed a general attitude towards the object of faith: no faith without preliminary experience or test. Against these Ephrem wrote his *Hymni de Fide.* The difference between the scrutinizer and Thomas consists in this, as Dom. E. Beck points out,[24] that the scrutinizers always want to scrutinize and so have a systematical position, while Thomas dared to scrutinize in a determined case. He deserved blame. They, however, deserve scorn, according to a rabbinic way of proof, that is by 'a fortiori.'

Trouble and scorn to those who scrutinize, but bliss to those who believe without having seen, according to the very words of Jesus (Jn 20, 29). Ephrem actualizes the lesson given by the experience of Thomas. Among the contemporaries of the Lord some saw His birth and His day, the day of His nativity, and their bliss is double;[25] others doubted Him and deserved no bliss, since though they saw Him they did not believe. The Christian Community of Ephrem deserves a special congratulation and bliss. In fact, though they are the *last* in time, they are not the *least* in their happiness, since they celebrate in faith the nativity of the Lord, and so they see not Him but His day.[26] It is true that this happiness is less than that of those who saw the Lord in flesh. So Ephrem appreciates this experience; but he appreciates also the joy of faith, a great joy. He writes in the *Hymni de Nativitate* which celebrate Christmas, comparing the different joys bestowed by the birth of the Messiah (*Nat* 23,9):

> That generation Your birth gladdened,
> and our generation Your day gladdened.
> Double was the bliss of that generation
> since they saw Your birth and Your day.
> Lesser was the bliss of the last (Ehrāyē)
> since they saw only the day of Your birth.
> Because the nearest (qarribe) doubted,
> abounded the bliss of the last,
> who, "without seeing You, believed" (Jn 20, 29).
> Blessed be Your bliss which has grown for us.![27]

3. Apologetic application of Thomas experience: the variety of the body of Christ Incarnate.

Though Ephrem denies that the object of faith may be submitted to sense experience, he highly appreciates the realism of Christian knowledge in the things that belong to the material world. One may say that to see the risen Lord is not an indispensable element for him to believe. Nevertheless the fact that Christ appeared in His body and was touched by Thomas and seen by

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others is a clear proof that His is a real body as He Himself told the disciples (Lc 24, 39). This fact is the decisive answer to docetism or to any other heresy denying that Jesus had or kept His human body. This was indeed one of the points of contention between Ephrem and the heretics.

The Bardesanites of the time of Ephrem denied the reality of the body of the Lord at least after His resurrection. To prove it, however, Ephrem recalls the apparition to Thomas. He bases the value of Thomas' experience regarding the verity of the body of Jesus on the use of the senses. The human senses are witnesses of truth in their own field, that is, in the knowledge of material things. Touching a body they testify that it is real, and this is what happened with Thomas.

Prose refutations; Against Bardaisan xiv:

When He (the Lord) confessed His mystery to Thomas
who by touch wished to examine (da-nbaqqiwhe),
He gave His Body to the touch of the hand
that the sense of touch also should be a test
(*lit.* furnace) to Him;
There came to him the word of truth
that will cast out all contention (heryana):
"For a spirit hath no bones" (Lc 24, 29);
in truth He put on His bodily organs.[28]

Thomas' experience is also an occasion not only to prove the reality of the body of Christ in general, but to show its impact in the work of redemption. Through the experience of Thomas we know that after Resurrection the body of Christ was alive again; by this new life it grants life to the dead body of Adam, that is of all humanity. Ephrem writes in *Against Bardaisan* LXXVII:

But he (i.e Bardaisan) does not know that that body
which died in Adam, the Messiah made alive.
The nails bear witness to His dying,
the watchers bear witness to His Resurrection.
And the nails that came out of the furnace
have become furnaces (i.e. tests) for our Truth;
the fixing of them admonished Thomas
that He was not raised with (?) His soul by Himself.[29].

Elsewhere Ephrem proves the verity of the body of Christ starting from the experience of Thomas but in a sacramentary context. Influenced by manicheism or being manicheans themselves, some heretics deny the body of Christ because matter is a bad thing and Christ could not have put it on. Ephrem proves the verity of the body of Christ starting from their liturgical practice.

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They use bread, wine and other elements in their rites; all these are matter and less in dignity than the living human body. The heretics contradict themselves: if matter is bad they should not use it in their liturgy; if it is good, Christ could really assume it, as indeed we see in His apparition to Thomas or when the sinner woman touched Him.[30] Ephrem argues in *Contra Haereses* 47,8:

If (Christ) did put on the body (only) apparently (b- dumia)
They (=the heretics) should break the shadow (of His body);
and if He showed only the appearance of the blood
they will pour only the shadow of wine in the chalice.
But if it is a true bread that they break,
that they truly touch it, and not apparently,
it was a true body touched
by the sinner woman that touched our Lord.
Blessed be He who said to Thomas
to touch His body and not the mere shadow (of a body)!
Blessed be He who found the lost sheep (Lc 15, 3 - 7),
the (human) reason which was wandering in everything.![31]

4. St. Thomas in India and his relics in Edessa

The only authentic witness I found in Ephrem regarding this point is in *Carmina Nisibena* 42, stanzas 1 - 4. To realize its importance it is necessary to remember that this hymn was written in Edessa where Ephrem lived some time after 363 till his death in 373. The text, on the authenticity of which there can be no doubt, gives us the contemporary living tradition in Edessa on the relics of the Apostle and on his mission in India.

The 42nd hymn of the *Carmina Nisibena* is composed of 10 stanzas. It is a complaint on the part of the devil about his defeat in the face of the work of redemption realized by Jesus and continued by His Apostles. The first four stanzas deal with Thomas, the rest, with the other Apostles. The text regarding Thomas was presented briefly but in a historical context by Medlycott,[32] with special reference to the mission of the Apostle in India. Here I give a comprehensive commentary on these four stanzas. The English translation is that of J. T. Strasfield Stopford.[33] The verses are arranged according to the Syriac edition of Dom. E. Beck, with a slight correction.

The first stanza speaks of Thomas in India and of his relics in Edessa. Martyred in India, Thomas is still living there and in Edessa. This presence is indicated by the favours and miracles worked through him; but the power is that of Christ, hidden in the bones (Refrain). *CNis* 42, 1:

The evil one wailed: Where now

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is there a place for me to flee from the righteous?
I stirred up Death[34] to slay the Apostles,
that I might be safe from their blows.
By their deaths now more exceedingly am I cruelly beaten.
The Apostle whom I slew in India[35] is before me in Edessa:
he is here wholly and also there.
I went there; there was he;
here and there I have found him and been grieved.
R. Blessed be the might that dwells in the hallowed bones!

The relics came to Edessa by the work of a Christian merchant, with a character opposite to that of Judas Iscariot (Jn 12, 6)! The merchant bought the relics Ephrem does not say from whom, i.e. whether from a Christian or a Hindu - for Edessa, spending his money for a good deed and brought them in a bag quite different from that of Judas. The one of Judas contained the demon of greed, the other, of the merchant, divine favours: torture for the devil. *CNis* 42,2: The devil wails:

The bones that the merchant carries,
or, was it then that they carried him?
For lo! they made gain, each of the other.
But for me, what did they profit me?
Yea they profited, each by the other,
while to me from both of them there was damage.
O that one would show me that bag of Iscariot
for by it I acquired strength!
That bag of Thomas has slain me,
for the secret strength that dwells in it tortures me.

Then Ephrem, according to his typological mind, finds a parallel in the Old Testament that Justifies the practice of the Church venerating the relics, i.e. the bones of saints. He compares the bones of Thomas to those of the patriarch Joseph, which Moses brought with veneration from Egypt and which accompanied the people of God in their journey to the promised land (Ex. 13, 19). Ephrem is lucid about the value of relics: they are profitable in faith and venerated in the Church not for superstitious reasons. So the merchant who bought them made the best use of his money. The graces granted by the relics of Thomas are riches for the Church of Edessa and impoverishment for the kigdom of the devils. The evil one admits that by saying (stanza 3):

Moses the chosen carried the bones (of Joseph)
in faith as for gain.
And if a great prophet believed
that there is benefit in bones,
the merchant did very well to believe
and did well to call himself merchant.

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That merchant made gain and waxed great and reigned.
His storehouse has made me very poor;
his storehouse has been opened in Edessa
and has enriched the great city with benefit.

Ephrem then compares these relics to the source of water which marvellously grows in as much as you drink from it. At the beginning the spring was poor, but the faith of the faithful, like a good thief, plundered it by their prayers and petitions and it became bigger and bigger. Marvellous abundance of divine grace and favours! The devil says (stanza 4):

At this storehouse of treasure I was amazed,
for small was its treasure at first;
and though no man took from it,
poor was the spring of its wealth.
But when the multitudes have come round it,
and plundered it and carried off its riches,
according as it is plundered,
so much the more does its wealth increase.
For a pent-up spring if one seeks it out
when deeply pierced it flows forth mightly and abounds.[36].

5. Appendix

Here I present very shortly the *Hymns on Thomas*[37] and the *Memra* for the *New Sunday*[38] on the Apparition to Thomas.
The three *Hymns on the Apostle Thomas (Lamy I, Hymni dispersi* V - VII) do not seem to belong to Ephrem, though they could come from an ephremitic tradition: they imply the themes anti-rationalist and correspond to Ephrem's view on the encounter of Thomas who really touched Jesus. But all these are less deep and compact than Ephrem's hymns. Hymn V uses often the term *Toubaik*, meaning happy are you, usually used by Ephrem in his hymns, e.g. *On Virginity*. These hymns were largely studied by Medlycott; here I give some significant stanzas not translated by him.

V,1: (...) Your (= of Thomas) hand touched the sweet spring which made flow life for the world (...)

2: (...) to touch the side of the Son of God (...)

3: Happy are you, o rich in faith
who did not believe your fellow disciples;
not that you (considered them) as liars,

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but because your love was burning
so that by the touch of hand
you may approach the Treasure.

4: (*same theme*)

5: Happy are you because your faith became
like a mirror for the resurrection (of mankind);
and from it the nations learned
that the body will rise on the day of resurrection (Nuhhama).

9: (..) You loved, touched, held and were confirmed,
and you preached among the nations.

12-17: (*On India and on the history of the merchant*, Translated and analysed by Medlycott.)[39]

VI, 1-3 (*On Thomas in India*, see Medlycott)[40]

4: (Thomas Apostle)

5: (Thomas works miracles)

6 - 8: (*Thomas in India* see Medlycott)[41]

VII, 1-2 (*Thomas in India*, see Medlycott)[42]

3: Happy are you, Thomas the Apostle
with a beautiful face, to whom was betrothed
an ugly and dreadful bride,
whose colour is black and conduct wicked.
By you she was illuminated, became beautiful and righteous
and gracious and with glorious deeds.
And behold the treasure of your victories has grown and
you changed the darkness into light

4: (*Here is a profession of faith in the divinity of Christ, clearly anti-arian; it refers to the arian motto: 'erat quando non erat'; it reflects the christology of Ephrem. The last three verses are liturgical*)
Far be it from me that I may have on the Son
a doubt in my mind that He is not God.
And anathema be that I say that there was a time
that He was not with His Begetter.
I believe that He tasted death
and that with His death He vivified the universe.
Prosperity to the Churches!
Peace to the kingdoms!
Jesus triumphs and wins His Cross!

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5: (*On Thomas' relics and on his miracles in India,* see Medlycott)[43]

6: (*The faith of Thomas, faith of the Church*):
From you did the Church learn
the faith without doubt,
and by you were confirmed the nations
which were in darkness (far) from the (true) Religion.
From you all those wandering learned
to walk on the way of faith:
Thanksgiving to your Lord
who exalted your memory.
May your prayer be a rampart for us.

The Memre for New Sunday is much longer, less mature in its assessments. It tries to justify the attitude of Thomas. His behaviour was a Kind of love for Jesus, which expresses itself by touching. Thomas is sad because the Lord appeared to the others and bestowed on them the joy to see Him and receive the Holy Spirit! Jesus responds to this love! There are some ephremitic themes, but the memra is weak. Here are the main verses which show the content, the spirit and the literary and theological levels of the memra. As reference I give the columns of the 1st volume of Lamy.

Col. 551 (*The Apostles say:*)
He showed us His wounds
and in them we have seen the place of the nails (...)
and He uncovered His side and showed us
Col. 553 the place of the lance with which it was pierced (...)
(Thomas) was sad because he did not happen
to see Jesus as his colleagues did.
And his mind was doubting
whether that was true or untrue (i.e. that Jesus was risen).
(*Thomas says to the Apostles:*)
"If it is true that our Lord has risen
and visited you as you say,
why did He leave you and go away,
and did not remain so that we would see Him? (...)
Be aware! May be the wicked one dared
to show you appearances (demwāta)
so that with them he may deceive you
and cheat you like children! (...)
And when I see Him and recognize Him,
I shall believe and worship Him (...)
I do not believe from words (men mellē)

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since deed is greater than word.

Col. 555 You saw His wounds from far (...)
This is not enough for me.

Col. 557 Why does He repel me,
since I made nothing ugly!
I loved Him and I do love Him,
and He has afflicted me because He did not wait for me.
Why did he not insufflate in me the Spirit,[44]
and gave not (her) to me as to you?
I shall not cease crying
until my eyes see Him!"

Col. 559 (*Jesus meets Thomas*)
And (Jesus) preceded Thomas before he approached Him
and allowed to touch Him (...)
"Thomas, bring your hand (...)
and touch the place of the lance
and stay not in the doubt
so to find yourself like an unbeliever (...)
The gift your friends received
you have it; do not be sad.
I insufflate in you the Holy Spirit
and by Her be directed (...)"
(*Thomas' approach:*)
And immediately when he approached as he had wanted,
and touched the wounds of the nails,
he believed and adored Him
exclaiming to Him: "My Lord and my God!"
(*The answer of Jesus*):
And to Thomas Jesus answered
with these words full of peace:
"Now that you have seen me you have believed
and that you touched me you know me?
This is not so great
that a man, when he touches and holds, believes.
This is not faith
but scrutiny and enquiry (...)
If you believe now
and you did not believe unless you touched me,
Col. 561 how could you believe in the Father
whom you cannot see and palpate? (...)
Very marvellous is the faith of Simon

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who, without seeing me, believed a woman,
and he did not doubt in order to investigate
because when I came and he saw me, he believed. (...)
Why, Thomas, did you not believe
that I am the Son of God?
And if you believe, what is your difficulty
that I do not act like God?"[45]

(Then follows the conclusion, a commentary on the conclusion of *John* 20: "and many other signs Jesus made....").

6. Conclusion and evaluation

Let us try to sum up the results of our enquiry. The authentic works of Ephrem do not give us a complete commentary of Thomas' pericopes in the Gospels. For example he gives no comment on the confession of Thomas, 'my Lord and my God', though the christology of Ephrem, fundamentally anti-arian, is a practical explanation of this. But from the other ephremitic text we come to the following conclusions:

Christ is the way, and at the same time the goal of the christian journey on earth; as Mediator, He is the necessary way to the Father. In this Ephrem follows the line of evangelical spirituality.

Regarding the attitude of Thomas, we find in Ephrem two traditions. The *Diat* speaks of the doubt of Thomas, and in this it is in agreement with the doubtful works of Ephrem studied in our Appendix. The other texts speak of Thomas as having an empirical attitude in faith and this is more consonant with the Gospel text. It is possible that the last chapters of the *Diatessaron's Commentary* were subjected to some revision, as I suggested in my article on the forms of the *Diat.*[46] The true Ephrem is more critical and acceptable. It seems clear that Thomas did not doubt but refused to believe unless he sees..

In the apologetic application of Thomas' experience, Ephrem insists on the reality of the body of Christ as a result of His manifestation to Thomas. Indeed the aim of the apparition to Thomas was to confirm the fact that Jesus rose from the dead. The reality of the body of Jesus is a legitimate corollary of the resurrection of Jesus and also the immediate consequence of Jesus' declaration: Touch me... .

Did Thomas really touch the Lord? Many modern exegetes do not think so. They are of the opinion that the presence of Jesus overwhelmed Thomas so greatly that before touching the Lord he adored Him. Ephrem bases his position on the words of Jesus asking Thomas: Bring your hand... , and considers it an invitation to which Thomas responded.

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On the question of Thomas in India and his relics in Edessa, this represents the undoubted tradition of Edessa: Thomas was really in India and his relics were exposed in Edessa for the veneration of the faithful who received divine favours granted 'through faith'.

Patros Yousif

NOTES

[1] *Diat* = Saint EPHREM, *Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant ou Diatessaron,* Syriac text and Latin translation by L. LELOIR (Chester Beaty Monographs 8), Dublin 1963. Armenian version and Latin translation by L. LELOIR, in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (=CSCO) 137 and 145, Armenian 1-2, Louvain 1953 and 1964; French translation from Syriac and Armenian by L. LELOIR, *Sources Chrétiennes* 121, Paris 1966. Quoted or referred to according to chapter and paragraph. Another part of this commentary has been recently discovered and it is expected to be published soon in *Revue Biblioque* by L. LELOIR.

[2] *PrRef* =Saint EPHREM's *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan,* Syriac Text and English translation by C.W. MITCHELL, A.A. BEVAN, and F.C. BURKITT, London, I, 1912; II, 1921.

[3] *HdF* =Des Heiligen EPHREM DES SYRERS *Hymnen de Fide,* Syriac Text and German Translation by E. BECK, CSCO 154-155, Syriac 73-74, Louvain 1955. Quoted or referred to according to hymn and stanza, and so in all the Hymns of Ephrem.

[4] *CH* =*Hymnen contra Haereses,* Syriac Text and German Translation by E. BECK, CSCO 169-170, Syriac 76-77, Louvain 1957.

[5] *Nat* =*Hymnen de Nativitate,* Syriac Text and German Translation by E. BECK, CSCO 186-187, Syriac 82-83, Louvain 1959.

[6] *H.A.* =*Hymnes de SAINT EPHREM conservées en version arménienne,* (extant) Armenian version and Latin Translation with notes by L. MARIES and Ch. MERCIER: *Patrologia Orientalis* 31, 1, Paris 1961.

[7] *CNis* = *Carmina Nisibena,* Syriac Text and German Translation by E. BECK, I CSCO 218-219, Syriac 92-93, Louvain 1961; II CSCO 240-241, Syriac 102-103, Louvain 1963. Also Syriac Text and Latin Translation by G. BICKELL, Lipsiae 1866.

[8] Edited by G. MENACHERY, vol. II, Trichur 1973, pp. 18a - 23a.

[9] Sancti EPHREM SYRI *Hymni et Sermones,* Syriac Text and Latin Translation by Th. J. Lamy, Mechliniae I, 1882; II, 1886; III, 1899; IV, 1902.

[10] In the collected hymns published under the title of *Hymni dispersi,* Hymns V-VII, cf. LAMY (above, footnote 9), IV, col 693-708, including Latin translation.

[11] It comments on the apparition to Thomas. See LAMY (above note 9), vol I, col. 551-566, with Latin translation.

[12] For an analysis of the *Commentary on the Diatessaron,* see P. YOUSIF, Les formes littéraires du Commentaire du Diatessaron de saint Ephrem de Nisibe, in *Les Actes du Symposium Syriacum* IV, 1984, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta,* Rome (forthcoming).

[13] About this see L. LELOIR, *L'Évangile d'Ephrem d'après les oeuvres éditées.* Recueil de textes. CSCO 180, subsidia 12, Louvain 1958, pp. 138-140. (Only on John 20, 24-29 and 21, 2 ff.). This book does not explore the critical edition of Ephrem's works by Fr. Beck and others which began in the late fifties.

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[14] *Diat* (above n. 1.), p. 193; Engl. Tr.by P. YOUSIF.

[15] *Diat* XII, 11

[16] Engl. tr. by P. YOUSIF.

[17] See P. YOUSIF, Histoire et temps dans la pensée de saint Ephrem de Nisibe, *Parole de l'Orient*, 10, 1981-1982, 3-35; here pp. 12-17.

[18] Ephrem finds in the name of Satana (devil) the root sta in Syriac which means to deviate.

[19] Engl. tr. by P. YOUSIF.

[20] Engl. tr. by P. YOUSIF.

[21] Engl. tr. by P. YOUSIF.

[22] About Mary, the mother of Jesus, and not the Magdalene, as the first witness on the Resurrection of Jesus (a position which may be implicit in the Gospel of John), see P. YOUSIF, Marie dans les derniers temps chez saint Ephrem de Nisibe, in *Etudes Mariales* 42, 1985, 29-55; here p. 48-49; and especially R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Chruch and Kingdom*, A Study in Early Syriac Tradition, Cambridge 1975, p. 148 and 329-335. A summing up may be found also in L. LELOIR, *Diat*, Fr. tr. (above n. I), p. 75.

[23] Engl. tr. by P. YOUSIF, on this attitude, see my articles: Approach to the Divine Realities in the Thought of Saint Ephrem of Nisibis, in *The Church I Love* Festschrift P. PODIPARA, ed. by J. MADEY and G. KANIARAKATH, Kottayam 1983, pp. 54-69; Foi et Raison dans l'apologétique de saint Ephrem de Nisibe, in *Parole de l'Orient* 12, 1984-1985, pp. 133-151.

[24] HdF (above n.3), German tr. p. 25, n. 22.

[25] This should be applied specially to Mary, see e.g. *Nat* 16...

[26] We are speaking of liturgical time, on which cp. S. P. BROCK, The Poet as a Theologian, in *Sobornost*, 7, 1977, pp. 243-250 (on Ephrem).

[27] Engl. tr. by P. YOUSIF. This text does not speak directly about Thomas, but it is at the conclusion of the apparition to him and recalls the words of the Lord which are an answer to Thomas. "Those who doubted" are some of the apostles during the apparition of Jesus to them on the Mount of Galilee before they received their universal mission to all nations (See Mt 28, 17).

[28] *PrRef* (above n.2), II, text p. 146-7; Engl. tr. p. lxviii.

[29] *PrRef* (Above n.2), II, text p. 163-4; Engl. tr. p. lxxvi. The last verse seems to have the following text in Syriac: La etnahham nawšeh lhodawhe (N.B. *PrRef* are taken from a *palimpsest*), which could be better translated as follows: He was not raised he himself alone, in accordance with the first two verses of our stanza which speaks of the resurrection of the body of Adam, that is of humanity; this might be an allusion to the body of saints who were raised and came out of the tomb after Jesus' Resurrection and went into the holy city (Cf. Mt 27, 52-53). The text has nawšeh lhodawhe, lit. 'his soul, he alone', the adjective is sing. masc. and it refers to Jesus himself and not to his soul.

[30] On this subject see P.YOUSIF, Les controverses de saint Ephrem et l'eucharistie, in *Euntes Docete* 33, 1980, pp. 405-426; and ID, *L'Eucharistie chez saint Ephrem de Nisibe*, Or. Chr. Anal. 224, Rome 1984, pp. 161-172.

[31] Engl. tr. by P. YOUSIF. The last two verses are a prayer. It is very frequent in Ephrem's 47th hymn *Contra Haereses*, to conclude with a prayer.

[32] See MEDLYCOTT (above n. 8), p. 19a and notes p. 22a.

[33] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. xiii, Reprint Chicago 1979, pp. 205-206.

[34] Death is often personalized in the second part of the *CNis* e.g. in the dialogue with Satan, CNis 41...

[35] It was questioned whether saint Ephrem by 'India' meant the present country. Dom BECK in his German translation of the *Hymni contra Julianum* 2,20 (CSCO 175, Syriac 79, Louvain

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1957 p. 74, n. 29) wonders whether India (Hendo) does not mean East Persia, but he does not give any explanation of his doubt. This is the translation of the verse: "Persia was ashamed of the Magi... India of the Magicians". He expresses the same doubt about *Contra Haereses* 3, 7, 3: "Also in Mani dominated the lie (which came) from India" (Germ. Transl. p. 13, n.8). But in the same footnote 8 he admits that Ephrem uses two different terms for these two countries: *Pares* and *Hendo*, so in *CH* 4, 10, 1, and in OVERBECK's edition of the *Hymni Contra Julianum (Ephraemi Syri... opera selecta*, Oxfrod 1865, p. 10, 2) which is the same as Contra Julianum 2, 20 quoted above. But this text precisely distinguishes the two countries, and we don't see why the doubt should come. If it is because Ephrem mentions the maniecheism as coming from India, this corresponds to the fact that Mani was exiled to India, where he might have borrowed some of his ideas. Anyhow, Fr. Beck editing his German Translation of the *Carmina Nisibina* in 1963 some six years later, translates our stanza without any comment of 'India' and he gives a subtitle in the top of that hymn what follows: "1-2: Satan klagt über die Macht der Reliquien des Apostels Thomas, die ein Kaufmann aus *Indien* nach Edessa gebracht hat" (German Translation, p. 28). From this we can conclude that Ephrem is speaking of India itself.

[36] The image of the inexhaustible spring is dear to Ephrem. He beautifully compares such a spring e.g. with the Word of God (*Diat* i, 1(18-19).

[37] See above n. 10.

[38] See above n. 11.

[39] See MEDLYCOTT (above n. 8), p. 19a.

[40] MEDLYCOTT, p. 19b - 20a.

[41] MEDLYCOTT, p. 20a.

[42] MEDLYCOTT, p. 20a.

[43] MEDLYCOTT, p. 20a.

[44] Ruha here is feminine, a sign that the text is ancient; that is why I translated the pronoun feminine (also above coL 557).

[45] All the Engl. Translations in this *Appendix* are by P. YOUSIF.

[46] See above n.12, about the end.

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PARTICULAR LAW IN THE FUTURE ORIENTAL CODE OF CANON LAW

When the revision of the Code of Canon Law (for the Latin Church) was started after the II Vat. Council, a further problem was discussed: whether the expected Code would be valid for the whole Catholic Church or whether there would be two Codes, one for the Latin Church and one for the Oriental Churches.

The solution was in favour of two Codes except for the programmed and later abandoned "Lex Ecclesiae Fundamentalis", which was to be the same for the whole Church.

The Pontifical Commission for the revision of the Oriental Code of Canon Law set up in 1972[1] discussed a second problem: would one Code safeguard the identity and the legitimate characteristic of each "sui juris" Church?

The question received an affirmative answer. However the Code would have to keep the question in mind so as not to impair any "sui juris" Church for the sake of another one.[2] On the other hand, it would be necessary that it provides ample possibility for the adaptation of the institutes which it examined and of its prescriptions to the lawful traditions of each Church. In other words, the Code should make ample use of the principle of subsidiarity. Hence it should limit itself to the codification of a discipline common to all the Oriental Churches and give them the faculty of adapting to particular law, other matters not reserved to the Holy See.[3]

The Secretariate of the Commission and the Consultors worked according to this criterion. They have practically finished their work and the text has been drawn up and revised and now await the observation of the Members (Cardinals, Oriental Patriarchs, numerous Bishops).

The present study will, first of all explain what is meant by particular law and will then examine the published Schemata of the future code in order to see, if possible, how much it leaves to the competency of particular law.

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– I –

1) The Concept of Particular Law in the Latin Church

The latin authors divide the Right and the laws with regard to their extension into universal and particular, general and singular, common and special, personal and territorial.

More detailed divisions and explanations are given by these authors.[4] Here I simply state that *universal* law means a law which concerns the whole Church while *particular* law is that which is in force for a determined territory; *general* law means that which binds all the faithful while *singular* law concerns only some categories of the faithful. *Common* law prescribes norms which ordinarily have to be observed while *special* law regulates exceptions to the general law.

Thus, for example, the law of the Eucharistic fast is universal, general and common. Laws which concern the religious life and which are binding on all religious are universal, singular and common; laws which are issued by a bishop for his diocese are particular, general and common.

The Latin Code speaks of laws in cc.7 – 22 and of customs in cc.23 – 28 (one must take into consideration also canons 5 and 29); it is not therefore a tract "de legibus" but presupposes at least some of the distinctions we have made.

2) The Concept of particular law in the Oriental Churches

The Commission for the revision of the Oriental Code had first of all to study the terminological as well as conceptual difficulty: namely if *universal* laws concern the *whole* Church, then many laws of the (Latin) Code of Canon Law cannot be called Universal, on the one hand, because, the Code is directed only to the Latin Church and on the other hand, because, while there are laws which really concern the *whole* Church as to their content and nature (concerning the Pope, the Ecumenical Council etc.) all the rest concern *only* the Latin Church.

Further more, if we call *particular* law that which concerns individual dioceses, according to Oriental terminology individual Eparchies, what name shall we give to the law of the "sui juris" Church?

Therefore the future Code in its schemata proposes another distinguishing criterion: *the law of the Universal Church* concerns the whole Catholic Church, both East and West, *Common Law* which also concerns

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the whole Church but is ordinarily specified as *common to all the Eastern Churches; particular law* which can be specified as the *particular law* of a "sui juris" Church, and is therefore proper to one of those churches. If no specification is given, the meaning of particular law is to be understood from the context and may be the particular law of a single Eparchy, of an intermediary Ecclesiastical circumscription or of a whole "sui juris" Church.[5]

The law of a religious Institute is also *particular*, even though a different terminology would be preferable: proper law.

3) The meaning of Particular Law according to II Vat. Council

In the documents of II Vat. Council, we find numerous premises for the preservation and enrichment of particular laws; we limit ourselves only to some statements of principle and we refer first of all to the Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen Gentium*. It solemnly states that Bishop in his diocese is the Vicar of Christ and therefore he enjoys all the faculties needed for the welfare of the Community of which he is the Pastor, the only exception being whatever the Roman Pontiff reserves for himself or for another authority.[6]

With regard to the Oriental Churches, the Council affirmed that Patriarchs (and Major Archbishops) together with their synods constitute the higher Instance for any question of the Patriarchate (or of the Archbishopric) an Instance (Authority) above which there is only the Pope (and the Ecumenical Council).[7]

Patriarchal and Archiepiscopal synods constituting the Higher Instance of their own "sui juris" Church can therefore lay down the norms which are most suitable to the welfare of the faithful of their own Church, within the limits of Common Law (of the universal Church and of all the "sui juris" churches) and of the particular law of their own church if issued by the supreme authority.

The Authority of the non-Patriarchal or non-Archiepiscopal "sui juris" churches can be associated with these synods. The Council acknowledges their competency in liturgical matters.[8]

Since the Bishop has to provide for the welfare of his own flock he can also establish all the norms that are most suitable to the circumstances of time and place; but he cannot go beyond the limits fixed by the common law (both that of the Universal Church and of all the "sui juris" Oriental Churches) and of the particular law of the "sui juris" Church.

4) The extension of Particular Law

In order to know the extension of the particular law of an Eparchy or of

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the "sui juris" Church, it is necessary to see how much authority is left in practice by the supreme legislator to the legislators of the "sui juris" churches and how much the latter leaves to each bishop.

The matter is not very simple. Legislative activity and customary law (diritto consuetudinario) can theoretically extend to every external manifestation of Christian life and therefore have a very vast range: Christian liberty goes beyond juridical prescriptions and can be expressed in everything that is not determined by law. The legislative power of every competent authority can be exercised in everything that is not determined by a law emanating from a higher authority. The wisdom and prudence of the legislator, his confidence in the maturity of the subjects and the respect for their freedom, consideration of the principle of subsidiarity etc., will have to limit the sphere of the exercise of his faculty.

An examination of the extension of the proper law of a "sui juris" Church or of an Eparchy cannot therefore be determined in a positive, but only in a negative way; or better by exclusion. In other words one must exclude all that is determined by the law of the Universal Church and by the law that is common to all the Oriental Churches, in order to conclude that "all the rest" enters within the competency of the legislator of the "sui juris" Church.

After having excluded what the legislator and the customs of a "sui juris" Church in their turn prescribe, one can assert that "all the rest" enters within the competency of the Bishop of the Eparchy.

Finally, a further examination will reveal how much positive law has withdrawn from the free initiative of the individual, while it is more difficult, if not impossible, to express in a positive way what remains to him: he is free in everything in which he is not bound by juridical prescriptions.

5) Provisorial nature of the present study

Since it is impossible to define the extension of a particular law, an extension whose range, as we have seen, is very vast, I would like to present at least one aspect and to draw up a list of the cases in which the supreme legislator, according to the Consultors of the Commission for the Code should give to other subordinate legislators the office of completing what in the future code will be purposely formulated only in a general way.

The use of the Conditional is obligatory

A study of the question cannot be undertaken today except through the material given in the eight schemata sent to the Consultative Bodies of the Commission of the Code. These schemata contain in a provisorial lay-out the thirty-eight titles in which the future code should be divided.[9] These

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schemata, drawn up by a group of Consultors, were published in Nuntia: The first, concerning the sacred hierarchy was published only once. The other seven schemata, on the other hand were published twice: that is to say for the first time as they were drafted by the Consultors and then a second time after the revision had been made according to the observations made by the Consultative Bodies. However, not even the second edition is a definitive text because while it was being published, the work of revision by the "Coetus de Coordinatione" was in progress. It is to be noted that this "Coetus" has not got the power to make any substantial changes in the text except in the case where they should find internal contradictions. In the latter case, the "Coetus" must make a choice and add a correction, even if it be substantial, provided that every contradiction between the various parts of the Code be eliminated.[10]

The revised text will then have to be examined by the members of the Commission and finally arrive as a proposed law to the supreme legislator.

– II –

Having stated these two premises it is clear that the present study is not based on a definitive text and that it cannot touch except a certain part of the liberty which the individual "sui juris" Church enjoys. And in this sense, I offer some examples.

1) The author of the particular law of the "sui juris" Churches

The particular law of a "sui juris" church therefore is made up of the complex of laws, legitimate customs, decrees and instructions, statutes and regulations etc. proper to the Church in question.[11] As we have said particular law completes common law while remaining subordinate to it in the sense that it has to keep it in mind and cannot contradict it, unless it is the supreme legislator himself who issues a law or other regulations destined to one "sui juris" Church only. In this case the regulations can be in contrast with the common law of the whole catholic Church or of all the Oriental Churches and thus constitute a special particular law.

It can also happen that the Supreme legislator in making law can explicitly leave to the particular legislator the possibility of drawing up proper norms that are contrary to the common laws.

Therefore particular law fills in what was left free by common law as a result of lacunas or because common law explicitly left some questions to

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particular law or finally because the supreme legislator deliberately passed over some questions in silence and has confined himself only to give general outlines.

Leaving out of consideration customs which, if legitimate, become a source of law, I shall now try to clarify what is the legislative authority of a "sui juris" Church and of an Eparchy. Then I shall take into consideration the content of the laws which it issues or it can issue.

The first internal legislator of a "sui juris" Church is a body composed of all the bishops of the Church in question.

For the Patriarchal and Major Archi-episcopal Churches, this body is the Synod.

It is already contemplated in the present Code and also present in the Motu Proprio *Cleri Sanctitati* under different titles. It is commonly known as the Patriarchal (or Archi-episcopal) Synod. But the schemata of the future Code call it "Synod of Bishops" of the particular "sui juris" Church.[12] These Synods, although they are an institution regulated by common law can legislate for the Church and more over enjoy various competencies concerning their own organisations and functioning.

Metropolitan Sees now have provincial Synods as their legislative bodies. But the schemata propose the setting up of a Council of Hierarchs with legislaive power for the whole "sui juris" metropolitan Church.[13]

With regard to "sui juris" Church that consists of only one Eparchy, the only internal legislator is the Bishop who obviously cannot make laws that are in contrast with the common law. His laws, however, may be changed by his successors. In this case under consideration namely of a "sui juris" Church made up of only one Eparchy, the laws made by the Bishop may be stabilised and thus become binding also on his successors if approved by the Holy See.

2. The extension of Particular Law according to the schemata of the Code

The competency of the legislative body of each "sui juris" Church is therefore very extensive since it covers everything that was left free by the supreme legislator.

We now wish to treat the sectors where the Supreme Legislator invites the legislative body of the "sui juris" Church to intervene and fill up the paths concerning all the "sui juris" churches purposely formulated only in a general way by common law

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A.– Common law, for example, is very precise in regulating the *election of the Patriarch* and it is good that an act of such importance be done in a uniform way throughout the whole Catholic Church.

Particular law however can lay down proper norms also in contrast to common law with regard to the presidency of the Synod, to the Scrutineers and to the person who draws up the minutes of the assembly (verbalista) (Hierarchy 37 s).

The Synod is also asked to indicate the conditions required for the candidates to the Patriarchal Office (Hierarchy 40).

In the case where the *Patriarchal See is vacant*, the schemata indicates who should assume the administration of the Patriarchal Church but it acknowledges particular law, if such proper norms exist (Hierarchy 98; cf. also 99,2).

Particular law can, at times must, complete the norms regarding the *election of Bishop* (Hierarchy 150 § 1 and 154 § 1) and the competencies of titular bishops (Hierarchy 161 § 2) the days in which the bishop of the Eparchy is absent (Hierarchy 173 § 3) and the quinquennial report (Hierarchy 176).

There are numerous reforms to particular law with regard to Parishes and other aspects of the life of an Eparchy (Hierarchy 191; 207 § 1; 235 § 1; 250 § 1; 253 § 3; 256; 266; 268 § 1).

B.– References to particular law are numerous also in the schemata dealing with the clerics. In the introductive canons (Clerics 5) all prescriptions regarding eventual *Minor Orders* are left to particular law.

Particular law has also to lay down the necessary dispositions for the promotion of *Vocations* to the Ecclesiastical ministries and for the eventual *admission* into minor Seminaries of young people not destined to the clerical state (Clerics 7 § 2 and 10 § 1).

Moreover particular law has to draft the "Ratio Institutionis" for the seminaries of the "sui juris" Church as well as other details concerning the Seminaries (Clerics 9 § 1; 14 § 2; Cult 93 § 1).

Other sectors of competence of the particular norm concern the ascription of the clerics to an Eparchy (or directly to a Patriarchal Church) (Cult 42 § 2; 43; 50 § 2), and their obligations (63; 67; 69; 72; 74 § 1; 75; 80).

C.– Considering the richness of the Oriental forms of cult and the differences which exist among the various traditions even in the midst of the same liturgical family, one could wonder about the fact that the references to the particular law of the schemata on cult are very few; but this is due to the fact that the schemata itself is short, limiting itself thus to dictate only the general norms with the scope of maintaining the fundamental unity in the

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Catholic Church.[14]

In the liturgical field, the competence of the single "sui juris" Churches is very extensive. It is enunciated in can. 3.

With regard to the relations to the non-catholic Christians, the particular law puts forward proper normatives (*cult* 4 § 2 and 5 § 5).

Other competencies concern: baptism, that is, both the faculty and the place of administering it; and especially the Eucharist where one takes into consideration the participation of the laity at the celebration of the divine liturgy, the obligation of assisting at it, the distribution of the Sacrament and the Eucharistic fast (*cult* 34 § 3; 43; 45; 48).

With regard to the *Orders*, besides that which is said regarding the seminarians, it is granted to the particular law the faculty of raising the minimum age for the diaconate and Priesthood (*cult* 92). On the other hand, the possibility of creating new impediments to the ordinations is excluded. (cult 96).

The possibilities to intervene in the field of matrimonial law are limited with the scope of safeguarding unity in the Catholic Church in the face of the growing number of marriages between catholics of the different "sui juris" Churches.

It remains, however, to the competence of the particular law to dictate norms for the betrothal and to raise the minimum age for the licit celebration of marriage (cult 130).

In the case of a marriage between a catholic and a baptised non-catholic some *declarations* are needed whose nature ought to be defined by particular law (cult 149 bis).

Finally, the schemata extending the content of the Conciliar text (OE 19) 15 recognises the competence of each "sui juris" Church with regard to the constitution, transfer or suppression of the feast days and days of penance (cult 221 § 2).

D.– The dossier on the teaching of the Magisterium of the Church contains canons relating to the evangelization of the people; to the Magisterium of the Church, to the admission of the baptized non-catholics into the Catholic Church and finally to Ecumenism. These canons sketch out a general outline of the norms which is made complete by the particular law.

The explicit references to Particular law are not many. With regard to evangelisation it is upto the particular law to dictate norms for the promotion of the *missionary activity* and eventually for specifying the prescriptions of the common law with regard to the admission of catechumens to Baptism (Magisterium 4 § 1; 7 § 1).

The particular law can limit the faculty of the deacons to preach (Magisterium 25 § 3).

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The higher authorities of each "sui juris" Church have the faculty to erect or approve Catholic Universities and Ecclesiastical Universities (Magisterium 57 1nd 64).

The same directives regulate the use of the "Mass media" for catechetical purposes (Magisterium 73) and to them belongs the promotion of initiatives in ecumenical field (Magisterium 97).

E.– Some competences are also committed to the particular law by the schemata on the temporal goods of the Church; they refer to the nature of the *preventive balance* (beni 99 § 3), to the institution of further cautions, beyond those established by the common law, for protecting the Church in case of the *alienation* of goods (beni 106) etc.

Conclusion

I close this short study summing up what I have already exposed.

The particular law is that which is proper to a "sui juris" Church or to an Eparchy which completes the common law for the purpose of making it adequate to the concrete proper reality.

The content is, or can be very wide, able to extend itself to everything on which the common law is silent, voluntarily or by involuntary omission.

The Code of Canon Law for the Oriental Churches as laid out in its scheme is very sober, limiting itself to imposing uniformity only when it seems necessary or at least opportune.

The principle of subsidiarity is therefore taken into serious consideration and is extended to many areas.

Often the Code itself invites the "sui juris" Churches and the Eparchies to make up for its silence; at other times it is completely silent leaving thus complete liberty to those Churches.

There are areas where the Particular law has very little voice or nothing at all. Thus, for example, the Catholic Church seeks continuously to perfect its own procedural law with the scope of guaranting always the right administration of justice in a better way. The outcoming results are codified for the whole Church.

With the right to appeal and to have recourse to the Roman Pontiff which is an unavoidable consequence of Primacy the lack of uniformity of procedure might hinder the actions of the courts of the Holy See to the complete damage to the parties who believe to have been wounded in their rights.

Sufficient space is however left in the penal field; the scheme on the penal sanctions seems to be not giving place to the particular law; but canon

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5 asserts that all those who have legislative power can, both issue penal laws and also attach penal sanctions to any divine or human law.

The term "puniatur" and the expression "puniri potest" are very frequent. The first invites the superior to proceed after having assertained the culpability of accused but without imposing it on him, the second leaves him free to intervene or not. Nothing forbids a legislator who believes it opportune to issue more severe norms.

Nothing has been said about the monks and other religious because the possible interventions concern the internal government of the Institute and not the "sui juris" Churches or the Eparchies.

The schema on the Hierarchy outlines in a perfect manner the Synodal Institution, but leaves to the same Synod the faculty of organising themselves; so also it describes well that of the Patriarchal Synod, but regarding this also it leaves many possibilities to the particular law.

Much material is left to the particular law with regard to the clerics. The same is true with regard to the cult: in the above schema very few are the references to the particular law, but the schema itself is short. It, however, excludes explicitly some areas from the competence of the particular law especially with regard to the sacrament of matrimony.

Also the other schemata are relatively short.

It is the desire of all that the Oriental Code of Canon Law be soon promulgated. It will not institute a flat uniformity of the Oriental Churches but on the contrary safeguarding that which ought to remain to express and testimony to the unity of the Catholic Church, will stimulate the legislative organs of the "sui juris" Churches in order to define better their proper particularity.

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Translated by
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NOTES

[1] Regarding the Commission mentioned, cf. the document of the institution in *Nuntia* 1 (1975)11; for the work done cf. all the numbers of *Nuntia* so far published.

[2] Cf. "Guidelines for the revision of the Code of Oriental Canon Law" *Nuntia* 3 (1976) 18 f.; these principles were approved by the Commission gathered at the plenary assembly during 18-23 March, 1974: Cf. *ibidem* 10.

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[3] Cf. "Guidelines", cited in the preceding note, p. 21 f.

[4] Cf. for example Conte a Coronata, *Institutiones Iuris Canonici*, I, Torino 1947[3], 16-18; more simple is the distinction proposed by V. De Paolis, A. Montan, "Il libro primo del Codice: Norme Generali", AA.VV. *Il Diritto nel Mistero della Chiesa*, I, Roma 1986, 249-251.

[5] Cf. can. 129 of "Schema canonum de normis generalibus" re-edited after the revision, in *Nuntia* 18 (1984) 3-95.

[6] LG 27; Cf. CD 8. On how much to the possible intermediary authorities cf. CD 38,4. For the suffered story of this paragraph cf. S. Kremer, *Gênese do poder das Conferências Episcopais (pro manuscripto)* Roma 1982.

[7] OE 9. The law in force about the Synods cf. M. Brogi, "Sinodi Patriarcali, Assemblee e Conferenze Episcopali di rito orientale", *Antonianum* 51(1979) 250-265; for the same on laws (under revision) cf. "schema canonum de Constitutione hierarchica Ecclesiarum Orientalium", *Nuntia* 19(1984) 3-92.

[8] OE 17 and 23. For the future Code, cf. the scheme cited in the preceding note.

[9] Cf. *Nuntia* 11 (1980) 85-88. The following are the individual schemata published.

De constitutione hierarchica Ecclesiarum orientalium (titles I-VIII) published in *Nuntia* 19 (1984) 3-92 (I will cite Hierarchy). The text re-examined is under print in *Nuntia* 22 and 23.

De clericis, laicis et consociationibus (titles IX, X and XII), in *Nuntia* 13 (1981) 81-119 and 20 (1985) 59-127 and 21 (1985) 3-39 (clero).

De monachis ceterisque religiosis necnon de sodalium aliorum Institutorum vitae consacratae (title XI), in *Nuntia* 11 (1980) 3-53 and 16(1983) 1-108.

De cultu divino et praesertim de sacramentis (title XV) in *Nuntia* 10 (1980) 3-64 and 15 (1982)3-97 (cult.)

De magistero Ecclesiastico (titles XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII in *Nuntia* 12 (1981) 3-36 and 17 (1983) 3-65 (magistero).

De tutela iurium seu de processibus (titles XIII, XXVI and XXI), in *Nuntia* 14 (1982) 3-106 and 21(1985) 40-65.

De sanctionibus poenalibus (title XXVII), in *Nuntia* 13(1981) 59-80 and 20 (1985) 3-58.

De bonis temporalibus et de normis generalibus (titles XVIII-XXII and XXVIII), in *Nuntia* 13 (1981) 3-57 and 18 (1984) 3-95 (goods).

N.B. The fascicles are enlisted with the titles given to them in the cited fascicle 11 of *Nuntia*; often the said titles have been modified, without changing the content.

[10] Cf. "Criteri e traccia di lavoro del "coetus de coordinatione", *Nuntia* 21 (1985) 66-79.

[11] Cf. CIC 7 – 95; De Paolis, Montan, "Il libro primo del Codice" cited in note 1, 240-327.

[12] Cf. BROGI, *art. cit.* to the note 7 C. PUJOL, *Decretum Concilii Vaticani II "Orientalium Ecclesiarum"*, Romae 1970 82-84; *Hierarchy* 71-83.

[13] *Hierarchy* 137-142.

[14] The schema in view, contains in fact 236 canons against 414 of the Latin Code (from can. 840 to can. 1253).

[15] The concialiar text refers only to the Patriarchal and Archiepiscopal Churches.

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THE UNION OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES

Of its very nature every religious institue has two goals: to help its members in the observance of the evangelical counsels, and simultaneously to be of service to the Church in her mission.[1] In fact under the direction of the Church and her hierarchy[2] religious institutes are designed to help their members in the practice of the evangelical counsels, one of God's gifts to the Church, by providing them with favourable conditions, such as "stability in their way of life, a proven method of acquiring perfection, fraternal association in the militia of Christ and liberty strengthened by obedience. Thus these religious can securely fulfil and faithfully observe their religious profession, and rejoicing in spirit, make progress on the road of charity".[3]

The other goal of religious institutes is to assist the Church, to which religious are intimately bound by virtue of the evangelical counsels as stated in "Notae directivae...": "Every Institute is born for the Church and is obliged to enrich her with its own characteristics in accordance with its particular spirit and specific mission. Therefore religious ought to nourish a renewed awareness of Church, working for the building up of the Body of Christ, persevering faithfully in obedience to their rule and to their legitimate superiors" (n. 14). By professing the evangelical counsels religious are to be a sign which can and ought to attract effectively all the members of the Church, inducing them to live their Christian vocation with commitment.[4] In addition to helping the Church in this way, religious have the obligation to work, according to their capacity and the nature of their own vocation, by prayer or by active apostolate, to plant and nourish in the souls of the faithful the Reign of Christ, and to extend it in every part of the earth.[5]

Religious life is not something set apart from the Church, but belongs to her, and from her it receives its essence. "In as much as their self-dedication has been accepted by the Church, they should realize that they are commited to her service as well,"[6] and not only in the service of God. Pope John Paul II was quite right, when, in speaking to some American bishops he said: "...the greatest misunderstanding concerning the charisma of religious, without doubt the greatest offence to their dignity and to their person, comes from those who try to place the life and mission of religious outside of their ecclesiastical context".[7]

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A religious institute, and therefore religious themselves, participate in the life of the Church according to its respective charisma, and must do so in the various areas which present themselves: (biblical, liturgical, dogmatic, ecumenical, missionary, social).[8] And hence each religious institute is obliged to insure that the lives of its members are entirely at the service of God and of the Church. In order that this participation in the life of the Church be efficient and useful "the communities* should promote among their members a suitable awareness of contemporary human conditions and of the needs of the Church"[9]

II

Carrying out these two goals of every religious institute postulates an adequate formation of men and women religious, not strictly limited to the religious and spiritual dimension, because today's circumstances require each religious person to master that genuine apostolic and technical competence which makes him or her capable of serving the Church in her mission. This formation of men and women religious is specially important today, and therefore each institute, desirous of offering its full and efficient collaboration to the Church in her mission of salvation, must provide all its members, and not only the priests, (on the formation of clerics see the decree "Optatum totius", the introduction to which states: "Because of the intrinsic unity of the Catholic priesthood, this priestly training is a necessity for all priests of either clergy and of whatever rite") with an adequate formation.

Beginning with the novitiate and during the entire religious life, religious formation must be regularly updated in order that religious are always not only religious, but also useful to the Church.

Every institute and every religious must live in his own time and act in conformity with the needs of contemporary society. Not without its own reasons did the Council, after having put in a relation of dependence the question of the renewal of religious formation, prescribe that "religious men other than clerics, and religious women as well, should not be assigned apostolic work immediately after the novitiate. In suitable residences and in a fitting manner let them continue their training in the religious life and the apostolate, in doctrine and technical matters, even to the extent of obtaining appropriate degrees". Later Pope Paul VI stipulated that the time of formation"...generally ought to embrace the entire period of temporary vows"[11]

Furthermore, since the formation once received is insufficient, the

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The documents of Vatican II are quoted from the edition of W. Abbott, S.J. In this the word 'Institute' is rendered as 'Community' (Editor).

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Council decided to render the religious of greater use to the Church by recommending that during their entire lifetime they devote themselves to diligently perfecting their spiritual, doctrinal and technical skills. In order that this be possible, religious superiors are obliged both to make available to their subjects the possibility of renewal in their formation, and to select and prepare competent teachers, masters of novices, spiritual directors and masters of spiritual life.[12]

In the light of these conciliar directives it is obvious what importance the Council attributed to the formation of men and women religious, ever desirous of their religious perfection and of rendering them more useful in the concrete circumstances of the Church in her mission of salvation.[13]

III

The preparatory commission charged with preparing Vatican II asked the bishops and other church organs to present those questions which they considered opportune to debate at the Council. ("Faveas huic pontificia Commissioni, omni cum libertate et sinceritate, communicare animadversiones, consilia et vota, quae pastoralis sollicitudo zelusque animarum (tibi) suggerant circa res et argumenta quae in futuro concilio tractari possunt").

The response was not wanting and many were the proposals made by the bishops to the preparatory commission. Some questions touched on the fusion or union of religious institutes, or even on their suppression, requesting at the same time the exclusion of new foundations. Even though a priori one has to exclude the desire of working against the good of the Church, one has to admit that some of these proposals seem to have manifested a certain prejudice against religious or against the behaviour of some religious, or perhaps a too superficial knowledge of religious life. This latter was seen in an exaggeratedly narrow perspective, for even though the religious state does not inherently belong to the structure of the Church, instituted by Christ as a hierarchical society, nontheless "..it belongs inseparably to the Church if one considers her in the act of answering to the call of her Lord, to realize her mission, her common good or her end of holiness, in short, to live according to what she is called to be."[14]

What was the Council's reaction? The council fathers were informed about all the proposals made, and these were discussed, without receiving full approal. The Council examined religious life in a broader context, and judged that the common good of the Church and the carrying out of the mission entrusted to her by Christ required the presence of religious institutes, capable of witnessing to the world the integrity of the doctrine of the Gospel.

These proposals, however, gave the Council the occasion of establish-

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ing basic norms for the erection of new foundations, for the union or fusion of existing ones, and if necessary, for their suppression. The Council in general was not favourable to the proposals mentioned, but rather attempted to reinvigorate and augment the presence of religious institutes, in order to increase their vitality and their service to the Church.

In opposition to the wish of certain ecclesiastical organs, the Council provided for the foundation of new religious institutes, as needed for the life and the sanctity of the Church. However the erection of new institutes, always within the exclusive competence of the hierarchy, requires that certain prerequisites be observed, in order that the new institute become an efficient means of securing to its members the way to evangelical perfection and also be useful for building up the body of Christ.

The idea was not to increase the number of religious institutes, but to provide the Church with institutes suitable for the proper practice of the evangelical counsels and at the same time useful to the Church in her apostolic mission. With this in mind the Council mentioned certain basic norms to be taken into consideration before the erection of a religious institute: "When there is a question of establishing new communities, serious thought must be given to the need for them, or at least to their eminent usefulness, and also to the likelihood that they will prosper. Otherwise, lack of caution will give rise to communities which serve no purpose or are deprived of sufficient vitality."[15] Also in the decree "Ad gentes" the Council insisted that "in the young Churches.... the bishops in their conferences should take care that the Congregations pursuing the same apostolic aims are not multiplied to the detriment of the religious life and the apostolate" (n. 18).

The Council desires that, since new religious institutes are in the Church and for the Church, the principal consideration be not the good intention of the founder or the programmes presented, but above all the need or the utility to the Church. In order that this utility be assured, the Council added another prerequisite, namely that the new institute have adequate possibility for development, without which the Church would not be enriched and the institute itself would not be able to fulfil the aims of a religious institute.[16]

Every religious institute must serve the Church not simply some way, but according to its nature and the charisma of the founder, because "every institute is born for the and Church and is obliged to enrich her with its own specific characteristics in accordance with a particular spirit and a specific mission".[17] Thus the Church always attempts to preserve and defend the paticular nature of each institute,[18] and Paul VI, in the instructions given for the application of the decree "Christus Dominus", permits the bishops in case of necessity to enlist in the service of the diocese men and women religious, always with the consent of their superior and in accord with the nature of the institute.[19].

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IV

Some proposals presented to the Council called for the suppression not of all institutes, but of those whose necessity was not obvious, or which were an impediment in the pastoral apostolate.

This mode of suppression aimed at the good of souls is not unknown in the history of the Church,[20] and is the first and the most radical. Although it did not totally refute these proposals, the Council sought to soften them in such a way that suppression be considered only when the institute in question offered no hope of flourishing again and had become useless in the service of the Church and in helping its own religious.[21]

The moderation of the Council becomes apparent in the manner prescribed for suppression; if necessary, in order to avoid the trauma which could follow an immediate suppression, the latter is to be effected slowly, that is by prohibiting the institute to receive new novices, thereby leading to its eventual extinction.[22]

Proof of the aversion of the Council to the suppression of religious institutes is to be found in the following which must precede the act of suppression. Both the Council[23] and Paul VI[24] recommended that whenever possible the suppression be carried out in the most delicate manner, by uniting the institute or monastery to another institute or monastery which is flourishing and which is not very different in its goals or spirit, thereby giving new vitality to the ailing institute.

For the suppression of an institute the Council provided that the opinion of the local ordinary be taken into consideration and the final decision be reserved to the Holy See, in accord with the norms mentioned below. Paul VI indicated some, if not all, of the possible criteria which must be carefully considered before coming to a final decision on suppression: "Among the norms applicable to arrive at a decision on the suppression of an institute or monastery, considering all the circumstances, the following points taken together, must above all be kept in mind: number of religious disproportionately small to the age of the institute, lack of candidates for several years and advanced age of the majority of the members."[25] In addition to these norms given by Paul VI, others might also be considered if they help in forming a just verdict, and help in proving that the institute in question has become useless in the service of the Church and has lost that vigour which is necessary to bring souls to evangelical perfection.

Since suppression affects the individual religious of an institute, it is necessary to protect the liberty of the religious as well as their personal dignity, and hence they must be given the opportunity of expressing their own opinion, even though the final decision belongs to the ecclesiastical authority.

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Before arriving at suppression and in order to soften the effect of so radical an act, a suitable preparation is necessary, above all a spiritual preparation, which demonstrates the expediency of such a decision for the good of the Church and for those faithful who aspire to evangelical perfection. "...omnia in caritate fiant-let everything be done in charity-" as Paul VI said.[26]

Suppression is the most radical of solutions; in other less serious cases, in which for the good of the Church and a greater vitality to the religious life of the members in question, the propitious solution is to provide the institute with conditions suitable for its renewal and for increasing its potential to be of service both to the Church and the religious. Such solutions include federation, union and fusion of institutes; even though these may be painful, they are nonetheless sometimes necessary.

The Council defined these cases in the following words: "Where opportunity and the Holy See permit, independent communities and monasteries should work towards making a federation of themselves if they belong in some sense to the same religious family; or, if their institutions and customs are practically the same and a kindred spirit animates them, they should try to form a union, especially when of themselves they are excessively small; or let them enter into an association if they engage in external activities of an identical or similar nature".[27]

According to the Council, the criteria for union or fusion of institutes are: near equality of constitutions, the same spirit, and the small number of members in relation to the number of years of existence of the institute. Other than these criteria listed by the Council, consideration ought to be given to other factors which may be important in the given case.[30]

The first criterion, the near equality of the constitutions, does not necessarily imply that they must be identical. The determination of the similarity of constitutions can easily be made by simple comparison. In addition there must be a near equality in the 'usages' or customs 'which refers to both the internal and external practices of the institutes, both in their external apostolate and in their internal religious life. In addition, as the Council stipulates, there must also be an identity of 'spirit' eodemque animantur spiritu.[31] This can obtain even if the institutes do not belong to the same religious family; it may derive from their founders, or may become manifest in the way of sanctification and in the apostolate, even in the presence of certain differences in the practical execution of the latter.

Insufficient number of religious, a factor which necessarily diminishes the ability of an institute to be of service to the Church, has to be considered in any eventual union. However, this problem has to be examined in relation to the number of years the given institute has existed, and certainly not taken immediately after erection.[32]

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V

One must ask whether the presence of these criteria indicated by the Council are sufficient to render obligatory union or fusion. The Council itself emphasized its aversion to union or fusion imposed by authority. It expressed its preference that this decision be arrived at as a result of a mature study by the institutes involved.

In fact in the document "Perfectae caritatis", n. 22, where federation is considered, the expressions 'where opportunity permits', 'they shall promote federations', are seen. These apply to all the cases considered in number 22 of the said document. Union or fusion must originate within the institutes themselves, must grow out of decisions made by them, and be enacted when the suitable time occurs. Thus it is insufficient that the institutes have similar constitutions, or that they are animated by the same spirit, in order to conclude that the hierarchy has the obligation of imposing fusion or union.

The decree provides that the institutes themselves have the obligation of promoting union or fusion, of removing obstacles and preparing for the intervention of the competent ecclesiastical authorities in order to give juridical force to the act.

In giving norms for fusion or union, neither the Council nor Paul VI resorted to authoritative regulations, but limited themselves to giving recommendations. And this was done precisely because they understood the difficulties which might or will arise in every attempt to enact the union or fusion of religious institutes.

In fact these acts can be very painful to men or women religious, who see the institute, in which they began and continued their life as religious, either disappear or change substantially, and in its place appear another, which even if similar, is still an unfamiliar institution. Union may give rise in certain members to a crisis not easily overcome, and time will be required in order to restore tranquillity to the souls involved. Owing to the difficulties which can arise and render difficult the execution of "Perfectae caritatis" n. 22 in regard to fusion or union, Paul VI wisely provided that "promoting union of any kind between institutes presupposes proper preparation, spiritual, psychological and juridical...".[33]

Difficulty can arise on account of the religious belonging to the institute. Even though they may have been asked for their opinion, and even though they may be very good religious, such persons may be opposed to a proposed union in as much as this would bring about a radical change in their lives. On the other hand their love for their own institute may blind them to the new efficiency in the service of the Church and to the renewed religious

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vigour which would enter their religious life through union. Or they may be unable to see the harm which would be inflicted on their institute, if it were to remain unchanged, in the face of new political, social and religious circumstances.

A problem can arise even on the part of the religious to whose institute one or more other institutes intend to unite; this arises when there is fear that the new members would be a dispersive force, or be unable to assimilate the spirit of the institute in question.

The desire to remain faithful to one's own charism may render union or fusion difficult or even impossible. Every founder has had his or her own proper charism, which under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, gave rise to the impulse to found an institute, and through it to transmit that charism to future generations. The Church has always defended the charisma of religious institutes, and has urged religious superiors to remain faithful to them, to ensure that their members do so as well; this ensures fidelity to the spirit of the founders.[34]

Nonetheless the attachment of religious to their own institutes should not be considered an insurmountable obstacle, because charisma are for the good of the Church;[35] the hierarchy, without doubting the authenticity of the original charisma, must remain aware of its duty to see to the good of the Church as well as to that of the institutes. And new circumstances can condition a judgment that the charisma in question have lost their original usefulness. In this case the ecclesiastical authorities may judge that union or fusion is desirable in order to guarantee that the institute in question be more efficient in realizing its own ideals.

Another difficulty may arise when various religious institutes in the same geographical area are aiming at the same type of apostolate. It is possible that in a given diocese or region there be religious institutes, of men and women, with the same spirit, and whose activities involve the same apostolic work. Examples are: the care of orphans, education, the care of small children, etc. Without doubt they all render service to the local Church or Churches of the area in question. Each Institute considers the works that it carries out to be peculiarly its own, perhaps with a certain exclusiveness, and thinks that with union or fusion these works will become common and it will lose its own autonomy.

Even these difficulties, however, may be overcome, especially when the ecclesiastical authorities judge that union of religious forces is useful or necessary for a more effective apostolate in the service of the Church, which the institutes in question have served up to the present time.

It is possible and even probable that other difficulties may arise from the institute itself or from persons or institutions outside the institute; these can impede the enactment of union or fusion. In this case it will be the task of the

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ecclesiastical authorities to examine carefully the difficulties which have arisen, before proceding to enact the union judged desirable.

VI

Who has the authority to enact the union or fusion of religious institutes?

The union or fusion of religious institutes necessarily brings about the disappearance of one or more institutes in order to create a new one. Thus one is dealing with an act which, although affecting the internal life of an institute, is at the same time an external act, a public act reserved to the hierarchy. It only can grand juridical existence to a religious institute, and to it alone is reserved the authority to suppress.

The intention is not to exclude action on the part of the members of the institute; indeed they have the right freely to express their opinion and to bring to the attention of the authorities their own judgments on the wisdom or the inadvisability of the union being considered. "Singuli autem religiosi antea audiantur", said Paul VI in discussing suppression; in every union "debita tamen habita ratione... sive libertatis singulorum sodalium"[36]

Before proceeding to enact fusion or union of religious institutes, the Council requires the prior approval of the Holy See. The question is not reserved to the Holy See in this provision; that is done in canons 582, 584 of the CIC.

These conciliar and canonical dispositions are valid for the Latin Church in conformity with her hierarchical structure. The hierarchical organisation of the Oriental Patriarchal Churches, however, is very different from that of the Latin Church: This is because the Patriarchs enter the juridical structure between the Roman Pontiff and the bishops; and existing canonical legislation[37] considers the right of suppressing religious institutes as belonging to the Patriarch. Oriental Bishops, on the other hand, have no rights in regard to suppression.

Current Oriental Canon Law does not provide for the union or fusion of religious institutes, but it does provide norms for the federation of monasteries (PAL, 11-12),[38] not however of orders or congregations. These latter, according to "Perfectae caritatis" may be the subject of union or fusion. PAL does not treat of the union or fusion of other institutes of consecrated life, with the exception of societies of common life without public vows; nonetheless the discipline provided for congregations (canons 224-231) is also applied to the former.

Since every union or fusion involves the suppression of at least one institute, Oriental bishops, just like their Latin counterparts, are not empowered to decree them, whether within or outside of their respective Patriar-

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chates; this is the competence of the Holy See or the Patriarch. Applying canon 14 of PAL one must conclude: the union or fusion of orders, whether of Pontifical or Patriarchal right and of congregations and other institutes of consecrated life of Pontifical right even when within the territory of a Patriarchate, is reserved to the Holy See. When one is dealing with congregations of Patriarchal or Eparchial right, union or fusion may be permitted by the Holy See or by the Patriarch within the limits of his own Patriarchate, after having obtained the consent of his permanent synod, and, before executing the decree, the approval of the Holy See.

VII

In order to avoid resorting to acts of union, fusion and above all of suppression of religious institutes, it is useful to recall what "Notae directivae.." provides for new foundations: "In certain regions there is an exaggerated tendency to found new religious institutes... In order to come to a balanced judgment as to the genuineness of a religious charism, the following characteristics must be considered as obtaining: a) a clear origin in the Holy Spirit, distinct from, even though not separate from, those particular personal gifts which are minifest in the works and organization; b) a profound desire of the soul to imitate Christ, in order to give witness to some aspect of His mystery; c) a positive love for the Church, which absolutely restrains from provoking in her any discord whatsoever.....

.....Thus when one is dealing with new foundations, every person, whose duty it is to pass judgment, must necessarily give his opinion with obvious prudence, with patient evaluation and with justice. Above all the bishops ought to assume this responsibility... to their authority the Holy Spirit commits even those endowed with charisma..."[39]

Clemente Pujol S.J.

Translated by Lawrence Dominik

NOTES

[1] "Christus Dominus" n. 33; "Perfectae caritatis" n. 5

[2] "Lumen Gentium" n. 45; Notae directivae pro mutuis relationibus inter Episcopos et Religiosos in Ecclesia 14-V-1978, AAS 70 (1978), 473-506, n. 9

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[3] L.G. 43

[4] Id. 44

[5] l.c.

[6] P.C. 5

[7] 21-IX-1983, Informationes SCRIS, n. 1. p. 44; Notae directivae.. 10.

[8] P.C. 2

[9] l.c.

[10] Id. 18

[11] "Ecclesiae sanctae", II, n. 35 (6-VIII-1966, AAS 58 (1966) 781).

[12] P.C. 18

[13] On the formation of the religious cfr Paul FELIX, De quelques problèmes d'adaptation propre aux Religieuses, in: Unam sanctam vol. 62, pp. 492-501; A.M. PERREAULT, La formation des religieux... in: Unam sanctam, vol. 62, pp. 513-520.

[14] Y.M.J. Congar, Avertissement, in: Unam sanctam vol. 62 p. 14

[15] P.C. 19

[16] l.c.

[17] Notae... 14

[18] L.G. 44; "Christus Dominus", 33

[19] "Ecclesiae sanctae" I, n. 36.

[20] D.J. Andrés, La supresion de los institutos religiosos - en Commentarium pro Religiosis, 64 (1986) pp 3-54; Pujol. C, De religiosis orientalibus ad normam vigentis iuris, Roma (1957) n. 75, note 567.

[21] P.C. 21

[22] Ibidem

[23] l.c.

[24] Ecclesiae sanctae II, 41

[25] Ibidem

[26] Ibidem

[27] P.C. 22

[28] l.c.

[29] "Ecclesiae sanctae" II, n. 40

[30] P.C. 22

[31] Ibidem

[32] "Ecclesiae sanctae" II, n. 41.

[33] Idem n. 33

[34] "Ecclesiae sancate" I, n. 36; "Christus Dominus" nn 15. 35. Notae.... nn 11. 14

[35] L.G. 12

[36] "Ecclesiae sanctae" II n. 40-41

[37] PAL cc 10. 14.

[38] PAL cc11 - 12

[39] Notae.. n. 51.

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ORIENTAL CATHOLICS IN ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESES

"Interritual" norms according to the new Codex Iuris Canonici

Preliminary remarks

For the student of canon law as well as for that of Indian Church history, the travel diary of *kathanar* (presbyter) Thomman Paremmakkal (1736-1799), known as the *Varthamanappusthakam*, is one of the most exciting sources, for it bears witness to a misleading or, least, misunderstood ecclesiology prevailing then and which the author had to face as long as he lived.

Paremmakkal, the companion of the indigenous Malpan Joseph Cariattil, who held a doctorate from the College of the Propaganda Fide in Rome, and who eventually became archbishop of Cranganore or Angamaly,* describes minutely the events connected with the appointment and episcopal ordination of Dr. Cariattil.

Cranganore, formerly Angamaly, has been the metropolitan see of the Church of the Thomas Christians. But to prevent an *oriental bishop* from ruling his own *oriental church*, the Roman Catholic rite** was enjoined on him, and he had to receive the episcopal ordination in that rite. This, evidently involuntary, transfer from his original Catholic Church to the Roman Catholic Church was then even considered as a special favour, an indult:

> "Joseph Cariatti (!) is promoted with the indult that he may embrace the Latin rite, and he may remain in it licitly, and he may receive in it the office of consecration in India from one bishop with the assistance of two dignitaries, any return to his original Syro-Chaldean rite being prohibited."[1]

So this prelate of the Thomas Christians was ordained by Dom Francis de Asumso, former archbishop of Goa, and two other Portuguese bishops in Lisbon on February 17, 1782. But even the fulfilment of the above quoted, in

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* By the word 'Roman Catholic' the author means Latin rite Catholic (editor).

** See above the Introduction.

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our view harmful, conditions could not calm the dissatisfaction of certain messengers of the Gospel working in India.

After the unforeseen death of the archbishop, Paremmakkal returned as the administrator of the vacant see of the Thomas Christians, but the Roman Catholic missionaries succeeded by their calumnies against him to get assurance from Portugal that he would not be promoted to the archepiscopal or metropolitan dignity. The Roman Catholics of that time were determined to maintain their superiority and rule over the Indian Orientals at any price, even at the risk of a schism.

Is this mentality nowadays absent everywhere in India? And does it not exist also elsewhere, be it only unconsciously? Has the post-Tridentine ecclesiology regarding the Catholic Church rather as monolithic block tolerating somehow Oriental "rites", if necessary, become really obsolete in the conscience of all?

> "As Western Catholics we are not yet sufficiently free from our ingrained habit of simply identifying ourselves with the 'universal' Church to be able to answer this question in a way that preserves the equal dignity and responsibility of the Eastern Catholic Churches in fact as well as in word".[2]

The Roman Catholic Church has got a new code of canon law in 1983 which is reflecting the council Vatican II and the ecclesiology of communion. But it is to the hierarchs and pastors to give this code life and not to let its canons and norms remain a dead letter.

Introduction

The new Codex Iuris Canonici (CIC), like that of 1917, applies exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church, i.e. the Catholic Church of the *Roman or Latin* rite (c. 1). But since there are more and more faithful belonging to different Catholic Oriental Churches, because of political or economical reasons, in so-called "Latin" regions and territories, either permanently or temporarily, the legislator deemed it necessary to incorporate into the CIC some important norms, where they are still entrusted to the pastoral care of Roman Catholic ordinaries. From the moment they are given a hierarchy of their own, the norms of the Oriental canon law are applied to them.

These Oriental faithful continue to remain members of their own Church. The new code does not use the term "particular Church" to describe the Oriental Churches, because this term was used by the council Vatican II in a double sense. The decree "Orientalium Ecclesiarum" used it for the Oriental Churches while the constitution "Lumen gentium" for a simple diocese. This is why the CIC takes "autonomous ritual Church, sui iuris" (c.

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111 § 2). As the term "rite" is rather ambiguous, we wish to state that we have not here to do simply with particular liturgical forms. We refer to the fact that English-speaking translators and commentators have preferred, from the very beginning, to speak of "individual Churches". "Rite" signifies the whole of the particularities of a distinct Church *sui iuris*: liturgy, ecclesiastical discipline, spiritual heritage, etc. (*Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, 2). In this understanding, the Roman Catholic Church is also *one of the Churches* sui iuris *of the Catholic Church*, and it is precisely this Church for which the CIC is obligatory.

This means, e.g. for the United States, that this code has no legal force for the Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Greek Melkite, Maronite, Assyro-Chaldean, Armenian and Rumanian faithful who have hierarchs of their own enjoying exclusive *territorial and personal jurisdiction* over the faithful of their respective Churches *sui iuris*. In regard to the other Oriental faithful: Byelorussian, Russian, Italo-Albanese, Syrian, Chaldeo-Malabarian, Syro-Malankara, Ethiopian, Coptic, the CIC is to be applied as far as the Orientals are expressedly mentioned as subjects of a Roman Catholic ordinary. In the Federal Republic of Germany, only the Ukrainian faithful belonging to the Apostolic Exarchate of the Ukrainians in Germany and Scandinavia, are exempt from the Roman Catholic CIC. In India, no provision is made as yet for the Oriental faithful outside the restricted area of the Oriental eparchies.

Therefore it is important that the bishops and those assisting them, particularly the local pastors, know about the contents of the norms laid down in the CIC and carefully observe them.

I.– Membership in a Church "sui iuris"

As a rule, the baptized person, insofar he or she is a minor, has membership in that church to which his or her parents belong (c. 111 § 1). In other words: a child of Roman Catholic parents always belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, a child of Chaldeo-Malabar or Syro-Malankara parents always belongs to the Chaldeo-Malabar or Syro-Malankara Church.

But which rule is valid in regard to the baptism of a child of parents belonging to two different churches *sui iuris*, e.g. one to the Roman Catholic church, the other to an Eastern church?

If both of the parents agree, they may ask that the child be received into the Roman Catholic church in which it receives baptism. If, however, the father belongs to an Oriental church and does not agree, the child will be ascribed to the respective Oriental church *sui iuris* of the father (c. 111 § 1). The rite of the baptizing priest is of no relevance in this context.

A person who has completed his fourteenth year of age, is free to join

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any Catholic church *sui iuris* (c. 111 § 2). He or she is not at all obliged to join the church which is that of the majority of a certain region or territory. Also in this case, it is of no relevance to which church the baptizing priest belongs.

On November 14, 1978, the Japanese student Makarios K. Kubota was baptized and received into the Greek Melkite Church, as he expressedly so wished. As there was no priest of that church in Japan, he was baptized by Fr. Peter Nemeshegyi SJ of Sophia University, Tokyo. His canonical membership was duly entered into the baptismal register.[3] The then 17 years old student has been the first and only Catholic of the Byzantine rite in Japan!

The same rule may also be applied in India and elsewhere. Any person above the age of 14, legally, enjoys the liberty of choosing any Catholic church *sui iuris* on being received into the Church as the Body of Christ by baptism. This right is not restricted to any limited areas; this right may be exercised anywhere, in every part of the world. A convert in Delhi or Calcutta is, consequently, free, when asking for baptism, to be ascribed to the local Roman Catholic church or to the apostolic church of India (Chaldeo-Malabar or Syro-Malankara).

The registration of canonical membership of a baptized is expressedly prescribed (c. 535 § 2). If baptism of an Oriental takes place in a Roman Catholic church, the canonical membership of the baptized should be entered into the baptismal register.

If a priest of the church *sui iuris* of the baptismal candidate is administering this sacrament, it should also be noted that chrismation (confirmation) was administered together with baptism.[4] In this way, an eventual "second confirmation" will be avoided, if the person continues to reside among a majority Roman Catholic population.

In regard to the administration of the sacraments, the minister has to celebrate them always according to his own rite (c. 846 § 2).

II.– Obligations of the Roman Catholic local Ordinary in regard to Oriental Catholic faithful confided to his solicitude

Canon law prescribes that the ordinary of a Roman Catholic local church has to care for all the faithful in appropriate manner irrespective of their age, social state or nation (c. 383 § 1). Consequently, he has to devote special solicitude to the faithful of Catholic Oriental churches *sui iuris* who actually are confided to his pastoral care.

First of all, the Ordinary has to ensure that provision is made for their pastoral needs. The code of canon law *obliges* the ordinary to appoint *priests of the respective church of the faithful and eventually to establish for them parishes of their own* (c. 383 § 2; 518)

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This is not a question of personal benevolence on the part of the ordinary. The faithful of the Eastern churches are not dependent on personal benevolence, but have, as the code says, *the right* to celebrate the divine liturgy and other religious services according to *their own rite* as well as to follow their particular form of spiritual life (c. 214).

In this context, the term "rite" is to be understood primarily in the sense of liturgical rite. The highest authority in liturgical matters of the Eastern Churches is the respective patriarch or archbishop major with his synod; in the non-patriarchal churches, this authority is exercised by the Roman Pontiff in his capacity of supreme pastor of the universal church.[5] The second part of the phrase points to "rite" in the sense of church *sui iuris*.

In c. 518, CIC says that, there where it is reasonable, personal parishes should be established according to the rite, language or nationality of the faithful of a certain region or according to another viewpoint. It is not enough to take into consideration only one viewpoint and eventually appoint a priest for all the faithful, irrespective of their ecclesial affiliation, because of their common language. It might be that faithful of several churches *sui iuris* speak the same vernacular.

In India, in some towns there are a few "chaplains" for faithful whose mother tongue is Malayalam; they have not even the rights of simple parish priests. This situation does not correspond to the demands of the code.

Within the territory of the German Bishops' Conference, the various ecclesial affiliations have been taken into consideration, e.g., in regard to the Catholics coming from Rumania: there are pastors for those belonging to the Roman Catholic Church as well as for those belonging to the Rumanian Catholic Church (which follows the Byzantine liturgical rite). The same principle was not applied in regard to Indian Catholics who belong to *three churches "sui iuris"*. A chaplain was appointed for them only on the basis of the language aspect. Possibly the German Bishops' Conference had previously contacted the Conference of the Catholic Bishops of India.[6] This situation is not satisfactory, because the faithful belong to the Chaldeo-Malabar Church (of East Syriac tradition), the Syro-Malankara Church (of Syro-Antiochean tradition) and the Roman Catholic Church (of western tradition).

If faithful are living much scattered or are numerous in a certain region, the local ordinary may appoint for them an episcopal vicar (c. 383 § 2). In fulfilling this recommendation, the ordinary should appoint a priest of the respective Oriental church or, at least, one who has a sufficient knowledge of the Oriental traditions and discipline. The episcopal vicar should possess the same ordinary power which, according to common law, is equal to that of the vicar general. If the episcopal vicar is not a bishop, he is to be appointed for a determined period (c. 477 § 1).[7]

It is rcommendable that a Roman Catholic ordinary who has no priests

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of an Eastern church (not even so-called "biritualists" who, because of an indult, may celebrate in the Roman Catholic and in an Eastern rite) in his territory, ask the respective Church *sui iuris* to put priests at his disposal.

III.– Restriction of the powers of the Roman Catholic Ordinary

From what we have said above on the authority in liturgical matters, it is evident that the Roman Catholic ordinary has no powers to add or to change something in the liturgy of an Eastern church.

Although the local bishop has to confer the ordination of presbyterate and diaconate to his subjects *in person*, in accordance with the common law of the church (unless he has executed dimissorials or is prevented from ordaining them because of other serious reasons), this norm may *not* be applied in regard to *ordination candidates belonging to an Eastern church*, even if they hail from his diocese and are under his ordinary jurisdiction. He needs a particular indult from the Roman Pontiff ("apostolic indult") in each individual case in order to be authorized to confer the ordination in question (c. 1015 § 2).

So the ordination candidates who are members of the Oriental churches in Poland, but are subjects of the Roman Catholic ordinaries (Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians) have been ordained, in the past few years, by the secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, the Ukrainian archbishop Kyr Myroslav Marusyn. It has been for this purpose that he has travelled to Poland. Previously, the candidates were sent abroad to receive ordination from an Eastern bishop of their liturgical rite.

A local ordinary is not entitled to execute dimissorial letters for another bishop belonging to a rite other than that of the ordination candidate (c. 1021).

The same norm should be also applied for episcopal ordination. A bishop of a church *sui iuris* should receive the imposition of hands from bishops of his own church or, at least, liturgical rite. Only for serious reasons, should bishops of other liturgical rites be con-consecrators. It is somehow a lack of ecclesial consciousness, if a Roman Catholic bishop wishes to be the main consecrator of an Oriental colleague. When the Greek bishop of Gratianapolis, Kyr Anarghyros Printesis, was ordained, the ordination was conferred by a Greek Melkite, an Ukrainian and a Rumanian Catholic bishop who all follow the Byzantine liturgical rite and not by the local Roman Catholic hierarchy of Greece. So also was a Syrian Catholic hierarch one of the con-consecrators of the Syro-Malankara bishop of Tiruvalla, because of the identity of the liturgical rite of the Syrian and the Syro-Malankara churches.

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The canons mentioned above as well as the general practice suggest that "rite" is to be understood, in regard to ordinations, rather as the liturgical rite. Therefore it would be more logical that, for certain reasons, a Chaldeo-Malabar ordination candidate be ordained by a Chaldean bishop rather than by a Roman Catholic bishop or a bishop of another Church *sui iuris*.

IV.– Norms for pastoral practice

When speaking of the *sacred minister* of the sacraments, CIC c. 846 § 2 lays down that he has to celebrate them according to *his own rite*. The same norm is to be applied in regard to those functions called sacramentals (c. 1167 § 2).

Interestingly, we do not find, in the code of canon law, any mention of the practice of biritualism. The faculty of biritualism is granted by the Roman pontiff to individual priests and deacons on their application addressed to the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. So we find, e.g. in some of the Oriental eparchies in the United States which do not have a sufficient number of priests, so-called biritualists, priests belonging to the Roman Catholic Church who are helping to assure the pastoral service among the Orientals.[8]

1) *Sacrament of Penance*

Every Catholic has the right to choose his own father confessor. This father confessor may belong to any of the Catholic churches *sui iuris*. It is not at all necessary that penitent and father confessor belong to the same church (c. 991). The only condition is, that the father confessor possess the faculty to hear confessions from his own bishop.

In like manner, each Catholic priest may hear the confession of a non-Catholic Eastern christian, if the latter asks this of his own accord, as the access to a priest of his own church is physically or morally impossible to him (c. 844 §§ 3 and 4; cf. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, 27).

2) *The Celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice*

It has already been stated above that the Roman Catholic bishop under whom are faithful belonging to Oriental Catholic churches *sui iuris*, has the obligation to provide for their pastoral needs (c. 383 § 2). He has to enable them to celebrate the eucharistic sacrifice according to their own liturgical tradition.

Since in the catholic universal church, no church *sui iuris* and consequently no liturgical rite may claim a superiority over others, every faithful is entitled to take part in the eucharistic sacrifice *of any rite celebrated by a*

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catholic priest, and receive communion (c. 923).

A Roman Catholic christian who attends the celebration of the divine liturgy by a priest of a Catholic Eastern church on a Sunday or feast day, or the evening before, has, of course, fulfilled the precept of obligation (c. 1248 § 1).

This is valid also in regard to the *Easter communion*. There is no prescription to receive it during a celebration in one own's rite (c. 920).

If a Roman Catholic – and since there is no difference among Catholics, this applies to Eastern Catholics, too – has no possibility of participating in a Catholic eucharistic celebration, permission is expressedly given, as often as necessity or a genuine spiritual benefit recommends such a course, to assist at the eucharistic celebration of a non-Catholic church and receive there communion. This permission is given under the condition, that the respective church has valid sacraments and that the menace of error or indifferentism is avoided. All the eastern non-Catholic churches do possess a valid eucharist and valid sacraments (c. 844 § 2).

The Roman Catholic bishop of a diocese or the Roman Catholic bishops' conference may publish general norms only after having consulted the respective authorities of the non-Catholic church (c. 844 § 5). On world level, there is only one such mutual agreement, namely the common declaration which was signed by Pope John Paul II and the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and All the Orient, Mar Ignatius Zakka I, on June 23, 1984 and published on the following day in the Vatican daily *L'Osservatore Romano*. Some canonists are tending to the opinion that this common declaration of the Pope and the Patriarch is not valid, because it has not yet been published in the official bulletin *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. This opinion is not acceptable, as Pope John Paul II in person holds to this agreement and referred to it in a very clear manner during his pilgrimage to India in early 1986, when he addressed Mar Baselios Paulos II, Catholicos of the East, in Ernakulam. Since the Roman pontiff is, according to catholic doctrine, the supreme legislator, one may accept his sayings as binding, whether published or not in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. There is no doubt that the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch considers this declaration as valid, too. In his encyclical to the faithful under his jurisdiction in India, he writes after having quoted paragraph 9 of the common declaration:

> "To illustrate what it means we may cite the instance of far-off places in India like Assam or Bihar or remote corners of states like Tamilnadu in India where our people may have settled down, temporarily or permanently, to seek a living, where a Syrian Orthodox priest is perhaps not available; such cases they are now allowed to receive the Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist and Anointing of the Sick from Roman Catholic priests. Even in Kerala, if a priest of one's own Church is not readily available our faithful can receive these Sacraments from

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Roman Catholic priests and our priests can administer these Sacraments to members of the Roman Catholic Church, if necessary" (D. BABU PAUL, *The Quest for Unity*, Cochin [1985], 74f.).

The basis of this agreement between the hierarchical heads of the two churches are articles 26-28 of the counciliar decree on the Oriental Catholic Churches which were taken up also by the Ecumenical Directory of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, published on May 14, 1967.

3) *The Sacrament of Matrimony*

In their territory, the ordinary and the local parish priests are competent to assist at the marriage of their own faithful as well as of strangers, under the condition that at least one partner belongs to the Roman Catholic church (c. 1109). The same rule applies to the parish priests of the other churches *sui iuris*. This means that it is required for the validity of marriage that at least one of the partners belong to the church in which the marriage takes place (c. 1110). Consequently the Roman Catholic parish priest is not competent, if both the partners belong to one or two eastern Catholic churches.

As the eastern parishes are often very large, covering the territories of one or more deaneries (vicariates forane) or even of a whole Roman Catholic diocese, the Roman Catholic parish priests should take care to instruct the competent parish priest of the eastern Church *sui iuris* to enable him, if necessity demands it, to give the Roman Catholic parish priest of the residential place of bride and bridegroom (or at least of one of them) the necessary delegation. Otherwise they could later sue for nullity.

Apart from an urgent case, the Roman Catholic code prescribes the observation of the rites as laid down in the liturgical books or introduced by legitimate custom (c. 1119). Consequently, in a region where eastern Catholics do not yet have a parish of their own, the competent local parish priest will impart the delegation to priest of the church *sui iuris* of the engaged couple.

In regard to marriages of partners belonging to different denominations which are normally called *mixed marriages*, the canonical form is to be observed; if one of them is a member of a non-Catholic eastern church, the observance of the canonical form is only required for the liceity. The marriage celebrated before a non-Catholic eastern priest, however, is valid in any case (c. 1127 § 1). It should be noted that a deacon of an eastern church is not entitled to bless a marriage, as is the case in the Roman Catholic church.

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V.– Change or Transfer of rite

This term means the going over of a baptized Catholic from his original church to another Catholic church *sui iuris*. It does not imply any defection from the Catholic church in order to join a non-Catholic church or denomination. Equally it has nothing to do with conversion. It is simply a juridical act.

When and under which conditions is a Roman Catholic christian allowed to go over to another Catholic church *sui iuris*? The legislator has been very clear in dealing with this issue.

A transfer does not become effective, if a Roman Catholic has been attending the services of another Catholic church *sui iuris* and receiving the sacraments there (c. 112 § 2). This norm applies also to oriental Catholics who are living without priests of their own, e.g. in India outside Kerala and the few mission eparchies, in Western Europe or other countries. They remain members of their church *sui iuris*, even if they are living outside of their original church for a longer period.

A going over to another church *sui iuris* from that to which one belongs by reason of descent or baptism (cf. c. 111), becomes effective only, if special permission was granted by the Roman Apostolic see (c. 112 § 1,1).

On entering marriage, however, or even during the existence of the marriage one of the partners may declare that he or she is going over to the church *sui iuris* of his wife or her husband respectively. Such a person has the right to return to his or her original church, when the marriage bond comes to an end (c. 112 § 1,2)

Minors who have not yet completed their fourteenth year of life, may pass to the oriental church *sui iuris*, together with their Roman Catholic father or mother. After having completed their fourteenth year of life, they may freely return to their original church. The same is also valid vice versa, if they have passed with their oriental father or mother to the Roman Catholic church (c. 112 § 1,3).

In any case, the transfer to another church *sui iuris* has to be brought to the notice of the parish in which baptism was received, that it might be entered into the baptismal register.

Children of parents living in a mixed marriage, from whom one part belongs to the Catholic church and the other part to an oriental church which is not yet in full communion with Rome, should normally be baptized according to the rite of the Catholic part. But in the original part of the draft (schema) on divine worship and sacraments prepared for the new oriental codification, a milder practice is envisaged to strengthen the ties of the family and the peace

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at home. According to c. 18 § 2 of this draft, the Catholic mother whose husband is a non-Catholic oriental christian, should have the right, to have the child baptized in the *Catholic oriental church sui iuris* corresponding to the non-Catholic oriental church of the child's father. This clear statement cannot be found in the revised draft where we read only: "The child is to be baptized according to the rite of that church to which it must be ascribed in accordance with the norm of c. NN. 'On rites' "[9]

> In any case, the first draft made evident that oriental non-Catholics have a Rite of their own. On becoming Catholic, they should not lose their Rite.

VI.– A shortcoming of the new CIC

In art. 4 of the decree on the Catholic Oriental Churches *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, we read:

> "All clerics and these in preparation for sacred orders shall be instructed in the rites and especially in the practical norms to be applied in interritual matters; nay even the laity shall be taught, as part of their catechetical instruction, about the rites and their regulations."[10]

This statement is not at all meant exclusively for the Catholic Orientals who generally have a far better knowledge of the Roman Catholic church than vice versa, but for all Catholics irrespective of their ecclesial affiliation. It is based on Pope Pius XI's encyclical of September 8, 1928.[11] Thereupon the Congregation for Universities and Seminaries prescribed in its instruction of August 28, 1929 that particular attention is to be dedicated in the theological studies to the questions concerning the eastern churches and peoples.[12] At last, the same congregation addressed a letter to *all the Roman Catholic bishops* in which it ordered that a special Oriental Day be held in every seminary once a year.[13] We regret to state that none of the documents quoted above is reflected in the new CIC. Something in this regard could have been said in c. 253 (or elsewhere). Particularly in our days, where the number of eastern Catholics has substantially increased in Roman Catholic dioceses and is much stronger than at the time when these documents were published, the questions concerning the Oriental churches are of most actual relevance.

Many pastoral issues would not arise, if bishops and parish clergy were better instructed.

Conclusion

Since the time of Mar Joseph Cariattil and his companion Kathanar Thomman Paremmakkal, much has changed. The universal Catholic Church

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teaches that there is no preeminence of any church *sui iuris*; the conviction that there could be something like a *praestantia ritus latini* because of being the rite of the Roman pontiff, has no reason in the apostolic tradition; this idea could originate only because of a centuries long estrangement of the churches. The long fight and sufferings of the eastern Catholic churches have proved to be of precious value for the universal church. It is through them that she has become Catholic in a more perfect way, as she came to know that her unity and unicity is not based on uniformity, on the contrary, her variety is manifesting it.

John Madey

NOTES

[1] P. B. GAMO, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Regensburg 1873, 117, quoted from CATHANAR THOMMAN PAREMMAKKAL, *The Varthamanappusthakam* (= OCA 190), Rome 1971, 231, ann. 1 (Notes by P. J. PODIPARA).

[2] R. BARRINGER, "Orientalium Ecclesiarum" deserves more attention: *Byzantine Catholic World* (Pittsburgh, PA 15214, December 29, 1985) 3.

[3] Cf. S.I.C.O. nn. 401-402 (1979) 32; see also the letter the Japanese student addressed to Patriarch Maximos V on November 12, 1981: *Le Lien* 47/1 (1982) 13.

[4] Vatican II has acknowledged and restored the authentic Oriental tradition according to which the ordinary minister of chrismation (confirmation) is the priest. He has to use the chrism (myron) consecrated by the patriarch or the bishop (cf. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, 13, 2).

[5] See *ibid.*, 19.

[6] Cf. Les Eglises Orientales Catholiques hors du Kérala: *Irénikon* 59 (1986) 122-125; Sekretariat der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz und Generalsekretariat des Zentralkomitees der deutschen Katholiken (eds.), *Adressbuch für das katholische Deutschland, Paderborn 1985, 198 and 210.*

[7] *The Roman Catholic bishop of Honolulu, Hawaii, has recently appointed the rector of SS. Cyril & Methodius Eastern Catholic Church Apostolate in his diocese Episcopal Vicar for the Orientals. There is an episcopal "delegate" for the Maronites in Buenos Aires, Argentina, who is appointed by the Roman Catholic archbishop of Buenos Aires, the ordinary for the Orientals who have not a hierarchy of their own in Argentina (cf. Annuario Pontificio 1986*, Vatican City 1986, 925.

[8] So there are 20 biritual priests, mostly religious (Benedictines, Franciscans, Franciscan Conventuals, Jesuits, etc.), in the Ruthenian eparchy of Parma, and 12 biritual priests and 2 biritual (permanent) deacons in the eparchy of Van Nuys. *1986 Directory of the Byzantine Ruthenian Metropolitan Province*, Pittsburgh, PA 15241, pp. 31, 40-42.

[9] See *Nuntia* no. 15, Vatican City 1982, 17.

[10] The term "rite" is used, in this article, in the meaning of church *sui iuris*.

[11] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 1926, 277.

[12] *Ibid.* 1929, 146ff.

[13] Cf. V. J. POSPISHIL, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum: Canonico-Pastoral Commentary*, Bronx (New York 10458) 1965, 15.

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THE SYRO-MALANKARA CATHOLIC CHURCH AND PAN-MALANKARA UNITY

Part I
THE SYRO-MALANKARA CATHOLIC CHURCH

1) Historical Introduction

The Malankara Church is one of the several Christian communities in India – known collectively as St Thomas Christians-having apostolic origin.[1] These Christians are also sometimes called "Syrian Christians" because Syriac was their traditional liturgical language. Following East Syrian traditions, they were a united community till the 16th century. At that time, with the arrival of the Portuguese and the introduction of Latin traditions, serious tensions emerged. The "Synond" of Diamper (1599) and the subsequent aggressive latinization increasingly alienated the Syrian Christians. Communal discontent reached a maximum in 1653 with the historic revolt, "The Coonan Cross Oath." There followed the tragic split of St Thomas Christians into two groups: Puthenkootukar (those of the new party) and Pazhayakootukar (those of the old party). The latter remained loyal to the Latin Bishops and the former formed theselves into an independent Church and later entered into communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. Historically, these Christians constitute the Malankara Syrian Church.

As years passed by, this 'Malankara Syrian Church' experienced many rifts and divisions. Today, we come across 'the Malankara Syrian Jacobite Church', and 'the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church',[2] and 'the Malankara Catholic Church', which are the major denominations in the family of the Malankara Syrian Christians. To this may be added the tiny known as the "Thozhyoor Church."

One of the most revealing phenomena in the history of the Malankara Syrian Church is, that right from the period of the great split in 17th century itself there has also been a series of attempts for union with the Apostolic See of Rome.[3] In 1926 the Malankara Orthodox Church deputed Mar Ivanios the Metrapolitan of Bethany, to enquire into the possibility of reaching com-

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munion with Rome.[4] Accordingly, Mar Ivanios began correspondence with Rome. After three years of inquiries Rome cautiously accepted the memoranda of Mar Ivanios with certain modifications. However in the meantime, the 'Catholicos' of the Malankara Orthodox Church gave up his intention to union with the Apostolic See of Rome.[5] As a resualt, Mar Ivanios found himself in a precarious situation. Nevertheless, Mar Ivanios and his suffragon, bishop Mar Theophilos, courageously went ahead for union. On September 20, 1930, Mar Ivanios and Mar Theophilus together with a priest, a deacon, and a layman were received into communion with the Apostolic See of Rome. That historic event marks the birth of a great movement which was itself the 'Nucleus of a Church', known as the Malankara Catholic Church.

Since this union of 1930, the growth of the Malankara Catholic Church was rapid. Today, this community consists about 300,000 faithful, five bishops and three dioceses spreading all over Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka. A renewed enthusiasm in the life of the Church today clearly indicates further growth of the Church. The vitality of this growing Church has many faces and expressions.

2) Worship and Spirituality

a) *Historical Background*

It is generally accepted by both Catholic and non-Catholic scholars that the pre-Portuguese Church of St Thomas Christians in India was following the Chaldean liturgy in Eastern Syriac.[6] After the historic revolt and split at 'Coonan Cross' the 'Puthen-kootukar' (the new party) came in close contact with the Syrian Jacobite Church of Antioch and thereby the Antiochene Syrian Liturgy came into the Malankara Church. In fact, it was Mar Gregorios, the Metropolitan of Jerusalem who came over to Malankara in 1665, and introduced the West Syrian liturgy into the new party.[7] But only in the Synod of Mavelikara, in 1836 did the Malankara Church affirm the primacy of Antiochene Patriarch and along with that the Antiochene liturgical traditions and disciplines came into the mainstream of life in the Malankara Christians.[8] When Mar Ivanios joined the Catholic Church he preferred to follow the same liturgical traditions and rites. Therefore the Holy See of Rome accepted that the Malankara Christians follow the "Pure-Syro-Antiochian Rite".[9] This is the brief history of the origin of the liturgy of the Malankara Catholic Church.

b) *The Divine Liturgy*

The "Holy Qurbono", the Eucharist, is the centre and core of the

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Malankara worship. The liturgy of St. James, an apostle of the Lord and the first bishop of Jerusalem, is considered as the prototype and most ancient of all West Syrian Liturgies. There are others who look upon it as the most ancient and pure form of Eucharist.[10] In the Malankara Catholic Church, generally, the 'Anaphora' of St James is used only on feast days and special occasions.

There are more than 70 'anaphoras' in the ancient Syrian worship of which only nine are in regular use in the Malankara Catholic liturgy.[11] The 'Holy Qurbono', as it's structure reveals, is celebrated with great solemnity, especially on Sundays and feast days. Though the original language of the liturgy was Syriac all the liturgical texts are translated and used in Malayalam right from 1930s. It is significant to note that for the Eucharist leavened bread is used following the custom of the early Church.

c) *Divine offices*

In the Malankara Church there are volumes of liturgical books which are used in different periods of the liturgical year. The office 'followed on ordinary week-days is called 'Shimo' in which each day of the week is dedicated to the different aspects of Christian life. There is an abridged and adapted form of the office for the daily use of the common fathful. On Sundays and other occasions of common worship 'the liturgy of the hour' is said by the clergy and the entire congregation. On feast days, there are special divine offices which are called FANQITHO. Besides, there are sets of separate offices for the five 'seasons of Lent'.

d) *Occasional Offices*

Liturgical services intended for special occasions are those for Religious Profession, Consecration of the Church, Consecration of Holy Oil for Baptism, Chrismation, Anointing of sick, Ordination service, etc. Prayer books are many. But one of the striking phenomena of the Church is that the lay people are quite familiar with the liturgical texts which are used for the celebration of the sacraments and the feasts of our Lord.

e) *Feasts and Fasts*

The feasts of our Lord are prepared in the spirit of abstinence, fasting and special prayers. The actual feast days are celebrated in great solemnity. There are five lenten seasons in an year. 'The Great Lent' marks the forty days fasting of our Lord in the desert (Mt 4:1-11) and His passion, death and resurrection. 'The little lent' of 3-days calls for repentance and prayer. The prototype of this is the prophet Jonah and the Ninevehan Episode. On these three days and all the days of the passion week, the faithful are expected to prostrate 40 times during the prayer of the sixth hour. This practice of prost-

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ration is very much practiced in the entire Church during the passion week. Otherwise the practice of making prostrations seems to be declining.

In the 'Thirteen day Lent' the lives of the apostles are commemorated, including Paul's. The fifteen day Lent is in preparation for the 'SONOYO-feast' (departure, assumption?) of our Lady. This season specially commemortes the committed life of Mary. As a preparation for the Advent of the Lord twenty-five days Lent is observed. The widely observed Eight-day lent preparation for the Birthday of Mary is very significant. The Church also celebrates the feast of the saints of both Eastern and Western Churches. A kind of agape meal attached to some of these feast day celebrations is also noteworthy.

f) *Prayer Meetings and Devotions*

An ancient typical Malankara phenomenon is a kind of charismatic prayer meeting. Once in a week the men and women of a particular locality gather together, separately, in a house. They read the scripture, sing songs, share reflections and prayers, discuss matters of common interest, propose and execute plans and projects on behalf of the parish. Daily Scripture Reading and family prayer are considered to be one of the most precious spiritual expressions of the Malankara family. Since the union with the Catholic Church pious associations like St. Vincent de Paul Society, Legion of Mary, and so on are introduced into the Church. However, it is significant that the Rosary and the eucharistic cult 'Adoration' and 'Benediction' of the Bl. Sacrament still remain foreign to the mainstream of Malankara piety and spirituality. The biblical spirituality is th predominant feature of the common religious life of the Malankara Church.

Paradoxically, the cult of 'Holy Cross' has an important place in the worship of the Malankara Churches. The Cross is considered not merely as the instrument of the passion of Christ but mainly as that of his victory over death and sin. That is why in the Malankara Churches the Cross is always without the body. This cult is so great that on every feast of our Lord there is a solemn "Elevation Service" of the Holy Cross. On those days, the entire congregation kisses the Cross before they disperse from the Church. Statues are unknown.

3) Faith and Theology

Systematic theology as a distinct academic discipline is not highly developed. The main sources and expressions of faith and theology are found in the traditions: scriptural, patristic, liturgical and canonical. Above all, it is the liturgy magnificently sythesising all the other elements which embodies

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and communicates the faith and the experience of the Church. The theologically well structured liturgical services unfold the divine mysteries. The long prayers, 'Prumion and Sedro', are articulations of the content of faith of the ancient Church which is purely biblical and patristic, presented in a 'mystical language'.

Since the Malankara Catholic Church was originally a 'pre-Chalcedonian Church' and it remained isolated from the rest of Christendom all its fundamental theological thinking is only in terms of the first three ecumenical councils. However, when it came into communion with Rome it accepted all the teachings of the Catholic Church. For, the formula for reception into the Catholic Church says,... "I believe and confess in the... one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church... I accept what the Church accepts and deny what the Church denies... I accept the Pope as the Vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter and supreme head of the visible Church..."[12] However, it is worth noting that, the Malankara Catholic Church adheres to the Nicene Creed and therefore, it does not use the expression 'Filioque'.

4) The Structure and Government

Parish is the smallest unit of the Church and is governed by a parish council headed by the Parish Priest. Then there is an ecclesiastical district constituted by a number of parishes of a particular area which is animated by a 'Proto-presbyter' or 'District Vicar', who gives leadership to the entire 'collective ministry' of that particular district. A diocese of the Church is governed by the bishop or 'ordinary' in consultation with the 'Pastoral Council' and the 'Priests Senate'. Now the Malankara Catholic Church has three dioceses which form one ecclesiastical Province and has a hierarchy headed by an Archbishop. However, in practice today, these dioceses act independently under Rome, except in matters of liturgical discipline and connunal fellowship.

Perhaps, it would be expedient to understand the general background and evolution of the structural phenomenon of the Church. With the Establishment of an independent Catholicate in Malankara in 1912 it began to function as an 'autocephalous' Church: as the Malankara Orthodox Church.[13] The Catholicate, thouch it accepted the spiritual supremacy of the Patriarch, was autonomous and independent of the patriarch of Antioch. The Holy Synod of the Catholicate exercised all the patriarchal powers and functions within the Catholicate. The Holy Synod had the legislative, administrative and disciplinary power in all matters, spiritual and ecclesiastical, within the Catholicate. The Catholicos ordained bishops and metropolitans.[14] It may be recalled that it was on behalf of the bishops of this Catholi-

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cate that Mar Ivanios sought union with the Holy See of Rome.[15]

Mar Ivanios, in the First Memorandum sent to Rome, states:

> The Holy Synod of the Catholicate prays that they may be admitted into the unity of the Catholic Church, themselves... preserving the ancient rites and rituals, retaining for the Holy Synod and for the individual Bishops their Jurisdiction over all the Jacobite Syrians that come into reunion and accepting the supremacy of the Holy See, the Pope being the successor of Peter, the Chief of the Apostles of our Lord... The Holy Synod does not want to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Beyrout. For, the Holy Synod itself exercises patriarchal jurisdiction within the Archdiocese of the Catholicate in South India.[16]

In 1928 Rome sent an unofficial reply to this memorandum explaining the general policy and attitude of the Holy See towards the uniting Oriental Churches and along with that sought certain clarifications. Therefore, a second memorandum[17] was sent further explaining the 'status' of the Malankara Church.

Finally, after much considerations and clarifications[18] as usual, Rome began to respond slowly but more positively. In the reply sent on 5th August 1929 Rome spelt out its policy of retaining the historic rites for those returning to Catholic unity. This principle would be valid for the returning Jacobites in so far as their rites and ritual books contain nothing that is contrary to Catholic faith and morals.

Regarding the returning bishops Holy See proceeds on the basis of their authenticity of orthodoxy of faith, validity of orders and personal reputation. Accordingly they will be confirmed in their government of their flock.

Regarding the hierarchical organization, the reuniting Jacobites will be in no way dependent on the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch.[19] However, the Synodal form of the episcopal government was refused.[20]

> Concerning the clerical discipline, Rome, out of feeling of particular esteem for the clergy of Malabar, would not want to see those who return to Catholic unity from Jacobitism lag behind their Syro-Malabar and Latin clergymen in a matter of such prime importance as clerical celibacy, and would desire to see them adopt this disciplinary measure for their future priesthood, but this, of course, without any prejudice to the ecclesiastical stand of those convert priests who are now married.[21]

At the final stage, after much consideration Rome made its final decision of accepting the uniting Malankarites by...

> ... assuring the 'Pure Syrian Rite of Antoch' will be maintained... assuring that, having verified the validity of baptism and the sacred ordination and Consecration of the Bishops, Mar Ivanios, Metropolitan of Bethany and Mar Theophilus, his suffragon, will be kept in their respective office and jurisdiction.

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> ... As for the title of the Catholicate or Catholicos it is not advisable to touch this question, in view also that, as the present Catholicos is not going to be converted, it is premature to decide now what should be done in the case of his conversion. The Archbishop of Bethany and the Bishop of Tiruvalla will at present depend directly on the Holy See, without any dependence on the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch.
> ... Regarding the liturgical books.... the same will be kept, correcting the expressions that are not proper and erroneous which eventually have been introduced...
>
> ... The new Catholics may be called "Syro-Malankara Catholics of the Antiochian Rite" or "Malabar Catholics of the Syro-Antiochian Rite" or "Syro-Malabar Church". In this they will be distinguished from the "Malabar Catholics of the Chaldean Rite" .. [22]

Mar Ivanios and his suffragon Mar Theophilus accepted the final decision of Rome.

a) *The Establishment of the Hierarchy*

The structural evolution of the Malankara Catholic Church reached a step of progress by the establishment of a hierarchy. Before the union with Rome Mar Ivanios was the Metropolitan of Bethany exercising jurisdiction in all the seven dioceses of the Catholicate and Mar Theophilus his suffragan.[23] After the union, as we have seen already, there was no structural or juridical precision in the provisions made for the uniting Church. But there was a general suggestion: "let them go on together for a while and when the opportune time comes to make a division, after we see the movements amounts to."[24]

Therefore, as the Church began to grow itself, through the Apostolic constitution "Christo Pastorum Principi", Pope Pius XI constituted a special hierarchy with an ecclesiastical province for the united Syro-Malankara group.[25] It is this hierarchy of the ecclesiastical province of Trivandrum that expresses itself in various ways the reality of the Malankara Catholic Church.

b) *Synod of the Malankara Catholic Church*

Another step forward in the growth of the Church is the forthcoming Synod of the Malankara Catholic Church.

The official note on the Synod says:

> The Malankara Catholic Church, being an Oriental Church in the Catholic communion, can have a Catholicos or Patriarch as its ecclesiastical Head. And, in fact, it retains its claim for a Catholicos... As there is no Catholicos or Patriarch, there is no permanent Synod either to rule this Church according to the patterns of a Synodal government true to the traditions of the Oriental

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Churches. While labouring under the pressure of this inadequate situation, the Malankara Church is trying to grow in its individuality, retaining its apostolic traditions and enriching its spiritual and cultural heritage.[26]

The main purpose of this Synod is expressed as: "The members of the Malankara Church becoming more aware of and explicitly expressing the nature, genius, canonical status, structure, mission etc. of their particular church – The Malankara Catholic Church."[27]

Part II
PAN-MALANKARA UNITY

1) Problems and Possibilities

The Church of Malankara is scandalously divided into different competing denominations. The complex history and life of the Malankara Church are tragic tales of inter-Church confrontations and divisions. The very emergence of the Malankara Community of St Thomas Christians, itself was due to a protest against the 'imperialism' represented by the Portuguese. This Malankara community, due to historical circumstances, came into contact with foreign Churches. Though it was enriched by those ecclesial traditions, each time it experienced further splits and rifts. Thus today, we come across a number of Churches within the Malankara community itself. In this situation the Malankara Catholic Church has the ecumenical task of praying and working for the unity of all Christians, after the mind of the Lord, "That they may be one" (Jn 17: 11). Therefore, we shall enquire into such ecumenical tasks and possibilities.

The different Churches of the Malankara community share a common eastern heritage. The Mar Thoma Church however, is considered as an eastern branch of the Protestant Church. It has already entered into communion with the Churches of South and North India, the Indian branches of the Protestant Church. The Thozhyoor Church is in communion with the Mar Thoma Church. The other three Churches undoubtedly share common "Eastern and Malankara Traditions." Therefore, it is only from this brackground that we can look for the possibilities for a 'Pan-Malankara Unity'.

In this context, Malankara Catholic Church has to face many ecclesiological problems in interpreting itself in relation to a possible unity. How do we theologically understand the union movement which Mar

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Ivanios initiated? In practice, does Rome accept Malankara Catholic Church as an individual Church? How do non-Catholic Churches acknowledge the ecclesial status of the Malankara Catholic Church? According to the Roman Catholic ecclesiology in the period of 1930, the one and true Church of Christ is the Catholic Church and others are schismatics. The Christian union is a return of the dissidents to the one true Church of Christ.[28] In this view, the union which Mar Ivanios initiated was not a union of two Churches but only a return of a Schismatic Church to the one, true Catholic Church. Also, the 'dialogue' between Mar Ivanios and Rome is quite revealing. The entire spirit of the correspondences indicate that at the final stage Mar Ivanios had only to accept the unilateral decision of Rome. These fundamental factors are enough to conclude that Rome did not accept Malankara Catholic Church as an individual Church, but just acknowledged it as one of the rites in the Catholic Church. Consequently, non-Catholics of Malankara consider, even today, the union movement started by Mar Ivanios only as ecclesial merger of some members of one Church to another.

It was only at Vatican II that Rome partially adopted a changed ecclesiology of Catholic Church as the communion of churches.[29] The decree on Eastern Churches recognises the existence of individual churches within the Catholic union. This has helped the Malankara Catholic Church to be conscious of itself as an individual Church. This reawakening can certainly help in the growth of its individuality, and authenticity. However, the ecumenical problem is whether this individual church can act itself for unity in its own way.

Since this Church is in Catholic communion under Pope, its ecumenical attitudes are bound to be in tune with the ecumenical principles of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church takes a double stand in its ecumenical relationships. With regard to the Eastern churches it holds high esteem and closer affinity, of sister churches.[30] But the Western Protestant churches are called only as separated churches or ecclesial communities.[31] Since Vatican II there is a remarkable growth in the relationship between Catholic and Orthodox Churches. By means of many national and international Orthodox-Roman Catholic dialogues the Churches could come to agreement on many doctrinal and ecclesiastical issues, that have been considered obstacles to reunion.[32]

Probably, the most important meeting of the Catholics and Orthodox since the Council of Florence in 1439 took place in Greece from 28 May to 4th Jan 1980. The Joint declaration of Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Dimitros reads:

> ... seeking only the glory of God through the accomplishment of his will, we affirm again our resolute determination to do everything possible to hasten the day when full communion will be established between the Catholic Church and

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> Orthodox Church and when we will at last be able to concelebrate the divine Eucharist.[33]

Thus, these developments in the global level have remarkable significance in our goals for the unity of Eastern churches of Malankara, both Catholic and non-Catholic.

Since the non-Catholic Eastern Churches of Malankara are 'Pre-Chalchedonian', the ecumenical tasks are greater. This is evident from the objections that are generally raised: problems of 'Two natures' in Jesus Christ, the Procession of the Holy Spirit "Filioque", the theory of 'transubstantiation', the dogma of 'Immaculate Conception', the dogma of 'Papal Infallibility', belief in 'Purgatory' etc. When a catholic is received into the Orthodox-Church he has to deny these set of docrines.[34] How, how can we interpret and explain away those issues? Do such problems exist at all? To what extent do they stand in the way of unity? Therefore, the ecumenical task of the Malankara Catholic Church can be to initiate combined theological inquiry into such issues which are said to be obstacles for unity.

In fact, this will challenge the non-Catholic churches of Malankara to articulate the content of their faith. For they do not have, a teaching magisterium with clearly defined dogmas on every aspect of faith, unlike the Roman Catholic Church. Even among the theologians of those churches there is no agreement whether the Church can speak authoritatively or infallibly in matters of faith.[35]

But it is generally said that the Eastern Churches do not give absolute importance to dogmatic definitions of faith because "the Eastern traditions always held that the mystery of God and his Church can never be fully articulated in clear, logical propositions. That is why the Patristic tradition divided theology into 'apophatic' and 'cataphatic' ".[36] Yet, paradoxically, in practice they give almost absolute importance to '*Traditions*' – Patristic, liturgical and scriptural. Significantly, Malankara Catholic Church also shares that common heritage which is the greatest binding force on which and from which the Malankara churches can strive for unity.

2) Positive Developments

Providentially, there is a phenomenon of changing ecumenical trends that are emerging in the Oriental Orthodox Churches to enter into more active dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church.[37]

Also, there is a growing awareness among the Oriental and Orthodox Churches of the need for a universal leader and spokesman of the Universal Church and show signs of willingness to accept the Pope as the president or primate in the college of the bishops, having a universal responsibility of all

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embracing pastoral care extending all over the whole Church. They do consider the special position of Pope: "the Pope among the bishops is the elder brother, the father being absent"; "Pope is the mouth of the Church and of the episcopate"; "Pope is the first among the bishops". Of course, it is not as it is defined in the first Vatican Council.[38] And the ecumenical consultations between the theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, in Vienna, opened the way towards greater understanding between the churches. These are new and positive signs towards unity.

The common declaration that was signed by Pope John Paul II and the Patriarch Ignatius Zakka Ivas I together with the Catholicos of the Syrian Jacobite Church in India, on the occasion of their visit to Rome in 1984, in its doctrinal and pastoral implications marks a decisive step in the relation between the Catholics and the Orthodox towards unity.[39] The common declaration affirms "... we must still do all in our power to achieve the full visible communion between the Catholic Church and the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch and ceaselessly we imploare our Lord to grant us that unity alone will enable us to give to the world a fully unanimous gospel witness". It continues "We pledge ourselves solemnly to do all that in us lies to remove the last obstacles still hindering full communion between the Catholic Church and the Syrian Church of Antioch".[40]

Yet another positive development is the visit of the Catholicos of the Syrian Orthodox Church of India paid to Pope John Paul II in 1983, which also marks another important stage in the journey towards greater unity.[41] Pope John Paul II's reciprocal visit to both Catholicoses of the Malankara Churches enhances the common desire for unity. All these events are paving the way for a better relationship with these churches.

3) A Theological Strategy

In this new situation it is the task of the Malankara Catholic Church to penetrate into the main stream of the Malankara people as a leaven of authentic Christian unity; to proclaim the need for one another, to rekindle the value of united Christian witnessing, to bring out the meaninglessness of living in isolation and getto-mentality, to enlighten the beauty of being united in universal communion, etc. This demands from the Church to adopt new approaches and creative theological strategies in the ecumenical endeavours.

In this context, it is important to recall the general observations made by many that the 'ecumenical movement' started by Mar Ivanios did not have sufficient preparations at the grass root level, among the masses of the laity and the ordinary clergy who have the most decisive role in the Malankara Catholic Church.Therefore, the contemporary ecumenical mission of the Malankara Chatholic Church is to 'dialogue with the masses' thereby

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breaking the ice of ignorance, traditional conservatism, misunderstanding, hatred and rivalry. In this mission the Malankara Catholic Church may have to undergo a kenotic process for unity. Such revolutionary strategies animated by the Divine Spirit alone can break through an ecclesial situation, where abuse of power and politics are active instead of humble love and service; where sociological and emotional sentiments are predominating instead of truth and justice; where ecclesiastical pride and isolation prevail instead of brotherhood and fellowship.

4) Conclusion

The Malankara Catholic Church as an individual Catholic community has a unique history and mission. It is an ecclesiastical imperative that this church while remaining in communion with the Pope, should grow itself into the total fullness of its authentic individuality. This perfect growth is more meaningful and possible only in relationship with the other Malankara Churches, because the Malankara Catholic Church belongs to the family of Malankara Churches, historically, sociologically, emotionally and ecclesially. Therefore, a Pan-Malankara unity is inevitable for which all are solicited to pray and co-operate.

Stephen Thottathil

NOTES

[1] Cfr. Cardinal TISSERANT, *Early Christianity in India* (Calcutta 1957); PERUMALIL H.C., and HAMBYE E.R., *Christianity in India* (Alleppey 1972); P. PODIPARA, *The Rise and Decline of the Indian Church of St Thomas Christians* (Kottayam, OIRS, 1979); E. M. PHILIP, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas* (Kottayam 1951); G. T. McKENZIE, *Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum, Govt. Press 1901).

[2] This is the name that a section of the Malankara Syrian Jacobite Church assumed to itself after having declared independence from the Antiochene Patriarch in 1972.

[3] Cf. C. MALANCHERUVIL, *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Alwaye 1972) pp. 102-131.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 122.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 129.

[6] Cf. G. T. McKENZIE, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-7; cf also M.V. GEORGE, *A New Life in an Old Church*, p. 7; P. PODIPARA, *op. cit.* p. 7-10.

[7] Cf. N. J. THOMAS, "The Eastern Orthodox Church in India", in *Christianity in India*, ed. by Perumalil and Hambye, p. 195 ff.

[8] Cf. C. MALANCHERUVIL, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-95, 145-155.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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[10] Cf. P. DREWS, *Zur Entstehungsgeschicte de Kanons* (Tübingen 1902) cited by L. BOUYER, *Eucharist* (London University Press, 1968) p. 245. Bouyer cites many authors' opinions to show the aniquity, purity and depth of the liturgy of St James.

[11] Cf. L. MOOLAVEETTIL, *Jacobite 'Anaphora'* (Malayalam), (Kottayam 1976) pp. 1-16, 265-274.

[12] Cf. "The Church Reception Text" in the *Holy Qurbano Thakso* (Tiruvalla: 1972), pp. 274-275.

[13] Cf. N.J. THOMAS, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[14] Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum 10:1926; the copy of the first memorandum sent to Rome. Cited by T. INCHACKALODY, *Archbishop Mar Ivanios* (Malayalam), (Trivandrum: 1957), pp. 297ff. Cf. also C. MALANCHERUVIL, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

[15] Cf. The section 'Historical Introduction'.

[16] C. MALANCHERUVIL, *op. cit.*, p. 122ff. The translation is of Malancheruvil.

[17] Cf. Second Memorandum sent to Rome. Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum.

[18] In 1928, Rome issued a questionnaire on Malankara Orthodox Church. Mar Ivanios answered them. On 5th Aug. 1929, Rome answers the Second Memorandum. On 17th Sept., 1929 Mar Ivanios wrote again to the Apostolic Delegate. Cf. C. MALANCHERUVIL, *op. cit.*, p. 124 ff; INCHACKALODY, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

[19] The Letter from the Apostolic delegation on 5th Aug. 1929. Archives of Archdiocese of Trivandrum.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Cf. The instruction forwarded to Mar Ivanios from the Apostolic Delegation on 18th Aug. 1930: cf. also C. MALANCHERUVIL, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[23] Cf. The Letter of Mar Ivanios to the Apostolic Delegate on September 1929, in Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum. cf. also C. MALANCHERUVIL, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[24] The instruction from the Apostolic delegation dated 18-1929. cf. Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum.

[25] Pope Pius XI, The Apostolic Constitution, *Christo Pastorum Principi* on 11 June 1932. Cf. also *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXIV (1932)289-292. Cf. also C. MALANCHERUVIL, *op. cit.*, p. 140 ff.

[26] CYRIL MAR BASELIOS, *Malankara Catholic Church Synod Publication No.* 2, p. 1.

[27] LAWRENCE MAR EPHRAEM, *Synod Publication No. 3*, p. 3.

[28] Cf. PIUS XI, Encyclical Letter *Mortalium Animos* (1928); Cf. J. NEUNER and J. DEPUIS, *The Christian Faith*, pp. 250-251.

[29] Cf. VATICAN II, *Lumen Gentium* 8,15,33; *Ad Gentes*, 20.

[30] VAT. II, *Orientatium Ecclesiarum*, No. 1, The recent past witnesses an extraordinary breakthrough in the Orthodox-Catholic relationship.

[31] Cf. *Ibid., Unitatis Redintegratio No. 1.* Cf. L.M. Bermejo, Ecclesial Communities or churches, *Bijdragen* 39(1978)2-31. The author analyses the ecumenical growths and set backs since the Council Vat. II.

[32] Cf. E. KILMARTIN, *Toward Reunion of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches*, (N.Y.: Paulist Press, 1979). Kilmartin brings out the certain recent scholarship and discussion in the area of Orthodox and Catholic relations.

[33] *Sobernost*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1981, p. 86 (Ecumenical News item).

[34] The Orthodox Church officially still holds that these dogmas are against their faith. This is evident from *The Church Reception Text* of the Orthodox Church.

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[35] Cf. T. WARE, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 253. According to him Orthodox Church considers that *Church is infallible*, but there is no such thing as personal infallibility.
Cf. K.M. GEORGE, "Infallibility – An Oriental Orthodox Understanding", *Jeevadhara*, XI, No. 64 (1981 pp. 281-290. The author says there is *no such notion of infallibility of the Church* in the Oriental Orthodox Churches (p. 290). And within the Church there is no 'seat' of authority which can be infallible. This author represents pre-Chalcedonian churches with whom the Malankara Catholic Church looks for unity.

[36] K.M. GEORGE, *art. cit.*, p. 288.
'*apophatic*' and '*cataphatic*' are the two ways employed in Christian tradition for approaching the knowledge of God. *First*, Negative method called *apophatic*, which begins with the notion of complete transcendence of God. Hence a spirituality of Prayer, contemplation... awe, fear, etc. *Second*, affirmative method called *cataphatic*, knowledge of God gained through creation – Christ is God's real icon. Hence the knowledge of God can be possibly expressed by the human language. This method is applied more in the western scientific and rationalistic theology. For further discussion cf. E. KILMARTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 54ff.

[37] Cf. PAULOSE MAR GREGORIUS, "Ecumenical Movement and Oriental Orthodox Churches", *Malankarasabha*, 3, No. 36, (1981) 7ff. The author, an outstanding spokesman of the Orthodox Church of India, reviews the ecumenical relation of Oriental Orthodox Churches with WCC. He points out the inherent inadequacies and problems that are within the WCC. Therefore, he calls for the formation of a new Council of Roman-Byzantine-Oriental Orthodox Churches which can eventually lead toward unity.

[38] T. WARE, *op. cit.*, p. 323. Ware challenges the Orthodox to ask themselves carefully and meaningfully the implications of such formulae. Also the great Byzantine theologians-Meyendorf, Schmemann, Affanessuff etc. acknowledge a certain primacy of Rome and Pope.

[39] POPE JOHN PAUL II, Speech during meeting with His Beatitude Mar Basalios Paulos I, Catholicos of the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church, on Feb. 7, 1986 at Cochin, in: *The Pope Speaks to India*, Bombay, 1986, p. 129.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 142

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THE SYRO-MALABAR AND THE SYRO-MALANKARA CHURCHES

Facts and Figures

A.– THE SYRO-MALABAR AND THE SYRO-MALANKARA HIERARCHIES

Introduction

The Catholic St Thomas Christians of India fall under two hierarchies – Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara. The Syro-Malabar Church today is hierarchically constituted of 12 dioceses in Kerala, groupped under two Metropolitan Sees and 8 mission dioceses outside Kerala. The Syro-Malankara Church has a Metropolitan See with two suffragan dioceses. In this study we first situate these Metropolitan Sees and dioceses in their historical context and then give statistical data on them. The data are of December 1986 and were collected directly through questionnaire sent to the diocesan centres. Of the 23 dioceses 20 responded. For the data on the other three dioceses (marked with asterisk) we have depended mainly on *Annuario Pontificio* 1987 and 'Servizio Informazione Chiesa Orientale', 5-9 (1986).

Origin and Evolution

St Thomas the Apostle who came to India in A D 52 founded the Church in Kerala (Malabar, Malankara). The members of this Church are called 'St Thomas Christians' after his name. St Thomas Christians got related with the Church of Persia in the early centuries and received the Syrian liturgy from them and hence were also called 'Syrian Christians'. A group of Christians came from Syria in A D 345 under the leadership of Thoma of Cana whose successors formed a group of their own called 'Knanaya Christians'. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese missionaries came to India and gradually the St Thomas Christians came under the Latin bishops. Owing to the latinizing policy of the Portuguese missionaries a small section separated from the Catholic communion and placed themselves under the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

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On May 20, 1887 through the Apostolic Constitution *Quod iampridem* of H. H. Pope Leo XIII two Apostolic Vicariates – Trichur and Kottayam – were created for the Syrian Catholics of Malabar. Through the Apostolic Constitution *Quae rei sacrae* of July 28, 1896 the Vicariates were reorganized into Changanacherry, Erankulam and Trichur. On August 29, 1911 through the Apostolic Constitution *In universi Christiani* the Apostolic Vicariate of Kottayam was erected exclusively for the Knanaya Catholics. The Syro-Malabar hierarchy was established on December 21, 1923 through the Apostolic Constitution *Romani pontifices* of Pope Pius XI – Ernakulam was raised to the status of Metropolitan See with Trichur, Changanacherry and Kottayam as suffragan dioceses.

On September 20, 1930 occurred the reunion of a group of those who had broken away from the Catholic Communion. For them was established the Syro-Malankara hierarchy through the Apostolic Constitution *Christo pastorum principi* of June 11, 1932 with Trivandrum as the Metropolitan See and Tiruvalla as the suffragan diocese. The diocese of Tiruvalla was bifurcated to form the diocese of Bathery through the Apostolic Constitution *Constat Paulum* of October 28, 1978.

On July 25, 1950 by the Apostolic Constitution *Quo Eclesiarum* the diocese of Palai was erected bifurcating the diocese of Changanacherry. By the Apostolic Constitution *Ad Christi Ecclesiam* of December 31, 1953 the diocese of Tellicherry was created. The diocese of Changanacherry was raised to the status of Metropolitan See through the Apostolic Constitution *Regnum caelorum* of July 29, 1956 with Kottayam and Palai as its suffragan dioceses. Through the Apostolic Constitution *Qui in beati Petri cathedra* of July 29, 1956 the diocese of Kothamangalam was created bifurcating the Metropolitam See of Ernakulam. Bifurcating the diocese of Tellicherry the diocese of Mananthavady was erected through the Apostolic Constitution *Quanta gloria* of March 1, 1973. On July 20, 1974 through the Apostolic Constitution *Apostolico requirente* the diocese of Palghat was erected bifurcating the diocese of Trichur. The diocese of Kanjirappally was erected through the Apostolic Constitution *Nos beati Petri* of February 26, 1977 bifurcating the Metropolitan See of Changanacherry. On June 22, 1978 through the Apostolic Constitution *Trichuriensis eparchiae* the diocese of Irinjalakuda was erected bifurcationg the diocese of Trichur once again. By the Apostolic Constitution *Constat non modo* of April 28, 1986, taking portions from the dioceses of Tellicherry and Mananthavady, the diocese of Thamarassery was formed.

In order to enhance and facilitate the missionary work of the Syro-Malabar Church the Syro-Malabar Ordinariate of Chanda was established on March 31, 1962 through the decree *Ad lucem sancti evangelii* of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. On July 29, 1968 Chanda was raised to

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an Exarchate by the Apostolic Constitution *Qui benignissimo Dei consilio*. On the same day other three Exarchates were established – Sagar by the Apostolic Decree *Quo aptius*, Satna by the Apostolic Decree *In mores est* and Ujjain by the Apostolic Decree *Apostolicum munus*. The Exarchates of Bijnor and Jagadalpur were established on March 23, 1972 through the Apostolic Decrees of *In beatorum apostolorum similitudinem* and *Indorum gentes* restpectively. All these Exarchates were raised to the status of dioceses on February 26, 1977 – Chanda by the Apostolic Constitution *Nostra ipsorum*, Sagar by *Divina verba*, Satna by *Ecclesiarum orientalium*, Ujjain by *Quo divino consilio*, Bijnor by *Quae cum Romano*, and Jagadalpur by *Nobismet ipsis*. Together with these the mission diocese of Rajkot was established by the Apostolic Constitution *De recta fidelium*. On June 21, 1984 the mission diocese of Gorakhpur was created by the Apostolic Constitution *Ex quo divinum*.

Statistical Data

Syro-Malabar Dioceses:	Area in sq. km.	Total Population	Catholic Families	Catholics	Parishes	Filial churches and stations	Priests				Dioc. Semin.	
							Incardinated	From other Dioceses	Rel./Society Priests	Incard. in other Dioceses	Major	Minor
Changanacherry (CHY)	25390	1584000	62000	335000	200	54	234	2	20	244	72	55
Ernakulam (EKM)	1500	3689000	57480	361705	136	419	301	–	197	–	67	89
Irinjalakuda (IJK)	1180	890246	40001	208500	100	20	132	4	68	46	40	48
Kanjirappally (KPLY)	1920	985000	21100	144668	87	58	107	11	16	109	63	62
Kothamangalam (KLM)	4840	732800	46762	314100	156	30	236	–	55	110	67	47
Kottayam (KTM)	560665	25403217	17478	113565	101	10	118	–	14	82	64	92
Mananthavady (MTDY)	48250	7889000	19948	128070	107	39	69	–	54	–	48	72
Pala (PLA)	1166	589085	38710	277400	136	34	390	–	87	360	92	69
Palghat (PLG)	28515	496000	–	43360	58	29	30	–	35	–	32	38
Thamarasserry (TMSY)	7200	–	–	104858	78+	–	–		32	–	–	
Tellicherry (TLCY)	24000	394000	37135	231205	116	64	146	–	24	18	55	56
Trichur (TCR)	2000	1758645	53972	356307	146	42	179	5	18	–	72	58
Syro-Malankara Dioceses:												
Bathery (BTRY)	75000	15000000	4000	24564	74	7	44	–	11	–	22	24
Tiruvalla (TLA)	34647	15720800	–	38561	62	102	106	–	13	10	40	38
Trivandrum (TVM)	10368	9398280	43450	217220	568+		172		28	3	38	46

+ Parishes, filial churches and stations together.

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Dioceses	Institutes: Religious / Societies / Secular / Pious Unions												Seminaries	Novitiates	Pastoral/Mission/ Theol./Orient.Centres	Sunday Schools	S.S.Teachers	S.S.Students
	No of Institutes						No of Houses						Total numbers					
	For men			For women			For men			For women								
	Malabar	Malankara	Latin	Malabar	Malankara	Latin	Malabar	Malankara	Latin	Malabar	Malankara	Latin	Men	Women						
CHY	4		4	7		17	38		7	152		16	130	1600	4	1	2	220	3140	61702
EKM													399	3418	3				5448	
IJK	5			10			14			95			86	1210	1	4	1	127	1756	43186
KPLY	4		1	9		5	9		2	88		8	44	976	1	9	1	110	1426	29681
KLM	4		3	12			19			156			55	2257	1	6	1	176	1800	47640
KTM	1			3		1	1			97		1	22	875	3	4	2	98	954	10000
MTDY	5		4				28		5	76		14	91	575	3	8	1	89	1053	22810
PLA	6		1	12		5	12		1	155		5	99	3500	6	7	4	173	2313	63110
PLG	2			15			15			76			32	664	1	1	1	87	425	
TMSY*														534						
TLCY	8			9			12			79			27	786	2	4	1	116	1852	45312
TCR	5		1	8		5	22		4	140		6	170	2629	2		3	212	2956	71979
BTRY		1			2	1		5			12	4	12	105	1	1			730	5100
TLA		2			2	1		7			23	4	33	229	1	2	1			
TVM		1	2	2	2	1		12	9	4	77	2	77	597	2	2	1	568	2500	

	Univ. Colleges	Training coll.	Tech. Schools	H. Schools	U.P.Schools	L.P.Schools	Nursery schools	Nursing schools	Training schools	Parallel coll.	Hospitals	Dispensaries	S. Work centres	Orphanages	Hostels and Boarding Houses	Homes for the aged	Houses for the handicapped	Press	Periodicals	Retreat houses
CHY	7	1	3	45	23	64	91	1	1	2	24	4	29	15	41	13	3	7	11	1
EKM	5	1	10	45	63		110	6	1	5	37	19		26	18	19	1	16	9	1
IJK	4		2	26	14	46	64	2	1	8	12	5	44	18	27	8	5	6	6	3
KPLY	1		1	30	28	42	86	2		3	15	9	100	8	19		1	1	3	
KLM	3		4	53	83	111	48	2	1	3	21	22	6	18	5	8	3	2	2	
KTM	2		24	17	15	41	52	1			7	3	3	5	12	3	3	1	2	1
MTDY				13	15	15			1	1	24		2	10	1	1	2	1	1	1
PLA	6	1	3	50	46	94	140	3	2	4	15	2	101	16	47	17	3	6	7	5
PLG	3			16	7	23	46			5	7	9	8	9	21	4	2	2		
TMSY*	1			16	20	20					3	2		6			1			
TLCY	1		1	20	25	20	62				13	7	52	7	11	3	11	1	1	
TCR	4	3	18	52	36	86	69	3	9	18	14	32	43	28	44	8	3	9	12	5
BTRY			2	4	6	12	16					13	7		4			1	3	1
TLA			2	9	4	12	7	1		1	1	3	1	2	1	1		2	1	
TVM	2	1	11	23	21	74	67		2	2	12	9	418	6	14	3		5	4	

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Syro-Malabar Mission Dioceses

Name of the Diocese			BIJNOR	CHANDA*	GORAKHPUR*	JAGDALPUR	RAJKOT	SAGAR	SATNA	UJJAIN
Area in sq. km.			31755	50000	19070	39176	109950	39020	45201	18255
Total Population			3756000	3921000	1106000	2000000	11000000	4038500	5717000	3467000
Catholics			677	19470	987	2153	7600	2750	1378	964
Catechumens			75				70	4	35	20
Parishes			19	51	12	4	10	8	13	2
Mission Stations			1	17	13	24	21	19	13	27
Priests working in			24	51		29	35	59	33	49
Priests incardinated to						3	1	5	2	2
Diocesan Seminarians			21	2		2		15	21	14
Catechists			3			14	6	7	6	1
Religious Brothers						6	1	7	8	
Institutes for Women: Relig./ Secular/Society/ Pious Union.	No. of Insti.	Malabar	6			8	9	9	10	7
		Latin	1				7	2		4
	No. of Houses		14			21	30	20	22	28
	Members		120	210	58	97	200	150	125	140
Formation Houses			3			2	2	5	1	5
High Schools			4			2	11	4	4	6
UP/ LP Schools			12			3	8	18	15	22
Technical Schools								1	2	1
Boardings / Hostels			2			11	2	4	4	5
Hospitals						2	2	1	2	3
Dispensaries			7			8	14	2	6	11
Health Centres							8	5		
Social Welfare Centres				99	1	1	10	7	1	22
Catechetical Centres								4		1
Dialogue / Information Centres							1	1	1	1

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B.- RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES, SOCIETIES, SECULAR INSTITUTES AND PIOUS UNIONS

This article is a short study on the nature, charism and apostolate of the Religious Institutes, Societies without Public Vows, Secular Institutes and Pious Unions of the Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara Churches. Each Institute is treated under its specific canonical category and at the end of each section we give the statistics of the institutes treated therein. The statistics and other information given are of December 1986. They were collected directly from the respective Institutes through questionnaire.[1] We faithfully follow their own answers in describing the nature, charism and apostolate of the Institutes.

1) Religious Institutes

Religious life is "a form of life to which some christians, both clerical and lay, are called by God so that they may enjoy a special gift of grace in the life of the Church and may contribute, each in his own way, to the saving mission of the Church" (LG. 43). The basic juridical elements that constitute religious life are public vows of obedience, chastity and poverty; stable manner of living in an institute approved by the Church; life under legitimate superiors in accordance with the approved constitutions (Postquam Apostolicis Litteris, c. 1). Vows are called public only if they are accepted by the legitimate superior in the name of the Church. The constitutions of each institute should make clear the particular charism of the Institute, namely, the specific manner of living out the evangelical counsels. They should also describe the apostolic activities of each Institute, which should be "in keeping with the particular kind of religious life to which they are called" (LG. 44).

The religious institutes can be classified as Monasteries, Orders[2] and Congregations.[3] Since there are no Orders in the Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara Churches we do not treat here this category.

a) *Monastery*

It is a religious house of monks or the house of an Order of women (PA. c. 312 / 2). Here the members strive towards evangelical perfection taking monastic vows, observing the rules and the ancient traditions of the Oriental

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monastic life. Contemplative and austere life, the solemn celebration of the Divine Liturgy, participation in the Divine Office, manual labour and mental activity are important elements of monastic life. The monasteries may be independent (sui iuris) or dependent. Various independent monastic houses of the same family may form a monastic confederation under one president. The monasteries may be eparchial, patriarchal (stauropegical) or pontifical, depending on the ecclesiastical authority on which they depend for the approval of their typica.[4]

1) *Kristiya Sannyasa Samaj (Kurisumala Ashram)*

This is a monastic confederation of the Syro-Malankara Church. It was founded by Fathers Francis Acharya and Bede Griffits in 1957 at Kurisumala and in the same year its typikum was approved by the then bishop of Tiruvalla of the Syro-Malankara Church. Kurishumala Ashram is a 'sui iuris' monastery of eparchial right. Its charism is "Ashram life with a special orientation, according to the Vatican II 'To return to simpler forms of ancient monasticism and striving to work out a genuine adaptation to local conditions' (AG., 18), that is of inculturation into both the Church's Oriental tradition of the monastic life and Indian monasticism". They encourage and receive both christians and non-christians who wish to dedicate themselves for a short term to spiritual retreat. The monks dedicate themselves to the celebration of the Divine Office, study and manual work. They contribute their share to the material development of the region through the dairy farm managed by them. The members of the Ashram are all monks, of three different grades; Sannyasis, Brahmacharies and Sadhakas. All three grades can have priests, deacons and laymen.

Members	23
Sannayasis	14
Brammacharies	6
Sadhakas	2
Priests	6
Deacon	1
Associate	1
Number of Houses	3
Formation House	1

b) *Religious Congregations for men*

In the religious congregations the members make public profession of the three evangelical counsels. The institute may be clerical or lay. They may be of eparchial, patriarchal or pontifical right. Common life under legitimate

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superiors is obligatory for these religious institutes. (Both the local hierarch and the patriarch in prior consultation with the apostolic see can erect a congregation).

1) *Carmelites of Mary Immaculate (CMI)*

This, the first religious congregation of the Syro-Malabar Church was founded by Fathers Chavara Kuriakos Elias (Blessed Chavara) Thomas Palackal and Thomas Porukara at Mannanam in 1831. In 1855, Msgr. Bernardine Baccinelly, the then vicar apostolic of Verapoly gave it canonical approval. Its constitution was approved by the Holy See in 1885 and the congregation was granted pontifical right in 1967.

Its charism is contemplative and active religious life. Accordingly it engages in various types of apostolic activities, such as education, missionary activities. seminary training, propagation of christian literature, social work, preaching retreats, organizing youth activities etc. The missionary apostolate in five of the mission dioceses (Chanda, Sagar, Jagadalpur, Rajkott, Bijinor) of the Syro-Malabar Church are entrusted to this congregation. In order to facilitate administration, the congregation is sub-divided into 6 provinces, 3 vice-provinces and 3 regions.

2) *Congregation of St. Theresa* (CST Brothers)

This lay religious congregation of the Syro-Malabar Church was founded by Mar Augustine Kandathil the late archbishop of Ernakulam at Mookkannur in 1931. It was canonically erected by the same Archbishop in 1945. This congregation grew up under the care and guidance of Fr. Thomas Panat (Fr.Basilius). Both congregations, namely the CST Fathers and CST Brothers together constituted one congregation until the canonical separation effected in 1979. The charism of the CST Brothers is "Child like obedience, sincerity and loving dedication to God's will, as St. Theresa of the Child Jesus". Its apostolate consists mainly of conducting charitable institutions like orphanages, hospitals, home for the aged etc.

3) *Little Flower Congregation* (CST Fathers)

This religious congrègation of the Syro-Malabar Church was founded in 1931 at Mookkannur by Fr. Thomas Panat (Fr. Basilius). It was canonically erected and its constitutions approved by the archbishop of Ernakulam in 1945. It remains a congregation of eparchial right. Its charism is "to work for the integral development of man imitating the child-like simplicity and self surrender of the patroness St. Theresa of the Child Jesus". The congregation engages in the social and missionary apostolate. The mission work in the diocese of Goragpur is specially entrusted to this congregation.

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4) *Malabar Missionary Society* (MMB)

It is a lay congregation of the Syro-Malabar Church founded by Mgr. Zacharias Vazhappally, at Mariapuram, Trichur, in 1948. Simultaneously it was erected by the bishop of Trichur. It is a congregation of the eparchial right. Its charism is actively to contribute to the pastoral mission of the Church. Accordingly its members engage in the catechetical apostolate, conduct printing presses, dispensaries, orphanages and homes for the aged.[5]

5) *Missionary Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament* (MCBS)

This congregation of the Syro-Malabar Church was founded by Fathers Mathew Alakulam and Joseph Paredam in 1933 at Kollad, in the diocese of Changanacherry in 1933. Simultaneously it was canonically erected by Mar James Kalacherry, the then bishop of Changanacherry. Its charism is "to live the Eucharistic mystery in its fulness and to visualize the religious vocation in its Eucharistic and missionary apostolate. The mission work in the region of Shimoga is specially entrusted to this congregation.

6) *The Order of the Imitation of Christ* (OIC)

The Order of the Imitation of Christ is a clerical religious congregation of the Syro-Malankara Church. It was founded in 1919 by Fr. Givarghese Panickaruveetil (later Mar Ivanios Panickaruveetil archbishop of Trivandrum). It participated actively in the ecumenical movement of the Church and after the reunion in 1930 it became a congregation of the Syro-Malankara Church. Its constitutions were re-formulated and promulgated by the archbishop in 1935 and it thus became a congregation of eparchial right. In 1966 it was raised to Pontifical status. Its charism is close imitation of Christ by living a simple life. Its apostolate gives emphasis to promoting ecumenism and missionary activities among the non-christians.

Men Religious Congregations of the Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara Churches

Name	Members			Scholastics	Novices	Postulants/ Pre-Novices	Apostolic/ Students / Candidates	Formal Houses	Non-Formal Houses	Formation Houses
	Priests	Brothers	Total							
CMI	933	85	1018	346	162	424		99	69	34
CST Brothers		53	53		23		23	8		3
CST Fathers	126	1	127		7	46		14	23	6
MMB		60	60		10	17		13	2	1
MCBS	83	6	89		13	47		14	9	4
OIC	75	11	86	28	6	28	9	3	29	5

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c) Women religious Congregations of the Syro-Malabar Church

1) *Assisi Sisters of Mary Immaculate:* This congregation was founded by Fr. Joseph Thomas Kandathil in 1949 at Sherthallay (Kerala). It was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right on April 2, 1949 by the archbishop of Ernakulam. It was affiliated to the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin on November 3, 1956. The congregation was raised to pontifical right on April 28, 1986. Its charism is to follow the humble and poor Jesus and to radiate His compassionate love in joyful service to the sick, needy, poor and the rejected in society, especially the lepers. The congregation engages in medical and educational work.

2) *Charity Sisters of Francis of Assisi:* This congregation was founded by Fr. Augustine John Ukkan at Chowannoor on November 21, 1944. Simultaneously it was canonically erected by Mar George Alappat the then bishop of Trichur as a congregation of eparchial right. The congregation was affiliated to the Franciscan Capuchin Order and changed its title from "Sisters of Charity Congregation" to "Charity Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi" on November 7, 1966. Its charism is to be dedicated fully to God and to serve the Church, especially by working among the poor with love and simplicity. The members of the congregation engage in apostolic activities such as primary education, health care, vocational training and slum care.

3) *Congregation of the Holy Family:* This congregation was founded by Rev. Fr. Joseph Vithayathil and Mary Theresa Mankadiyan at Putchenchira in the diocese of Trichur on May 14, 1914. Simultaneously it was canonically erected by the then bishop of Trichur as a congregation of eparchial right. In 1978 it was rised to pontifical right. Its charism is the family apostolate. The congregation conducts schools, maintains orphanages, nurses the sick, works in hospitals, visits the sick in their houses, renders them any possible aid, and prepares the dying for a happy death. At present the congregation is divided into 3 provinces and 2 regions.

4) *Congregation of the Mother of Carmel:* It is the first indigenous religious congregation for women in the Syro-Malabar Church. It was founded by Blessed Kuriakos Elias Chavara and Rev. Fr. Leopold Beccaro O.C.D., at Koonammavu on February 13, 1866. It was canonically erected in 1867 by the vicar apostolic of Verapoly. In 1887 the congregation was divided into two on the basis of rite. In 1967 it was raised to pontifical right. The congregation is divideds into 10 provinces and 3 regions. Its charism is "*Bhakti* and *Karma* blending in right proportion, the one leading to the other in mutual enrichment". The members engage in education, health care, social work, parish ministry and missionary activities.

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5) *Congregation of the Sisters of the Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.* It was founded in 1908 by Fr. Thomas Kuriyalacherry, who later became the vicar apostolic and bishop of Changanacherry. In the same year it was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by the vicar apostolic of Changanacherry. The Congregation was raised to pontifical status in 1968. Its charism is eucharistic devotion. Its members engage in education, medical care, social work and missionary activities. It is divided into 6 provinces, 1 vice-province and 2 regions.

6) *The Franciscan Clarist Congregation:* Msgr. Charles Lavingne, the then vicar apostolic founded this congregation in 1888 at Changanacherry. It was canonically erected by the vicar apostolic of Changanacherry in 1906 as a congregation of eparchial right. It acquired pontifical right in 1973. The congregation is divided into 10 provinces and 1 region. Its charism is "to walk in the foot steps of the poor, humble, crucified Jesus Christ joyfully and to proclaim the message of Gospel love according to the mind of the Church and in the Franciscan spirit". Its members engage in various apostolic activities, catechetical, medical and social works and the press apostolate.

7) *Institute of the Sisters of Nazareth:* This congregation was founded and canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by Mar Augustine Kandathil, the then archbishop of Ernakulam in 1948. The charism of the congregation is the family apostolate.

8) *The Medical Sisters of St. Joseph:* This congregation was founded by Rev. Fr. Joseph Panjikaran in 1944 at Kothamangalam. Simultaneously it was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by Mar Augustine Kandathil the then archbishop of Ernakulam. Its charism is healing ministry. Its members engage in medical work.

9) *Missionary Sisters of Mary Immaculate:* Founded by Fr. C.J. Varkey in 1962 at Kulathuvayal, it received canonical approval from Mar Sebastian Velloppally, bishop of Tellicherry as a congregation of eparchial right. Its charism is to help the poor and needy by visiting them at their homes, always through the example of a deep spiritual life. The members of the congregation engage in teaching, medical care, conducting orphanages, organizing renewal seminars and retreats in the parishes.

10) *The Sacred Heart Congregation:* This congregation was founded by Rev. Fr. Mathew Kathalikattil at Palai in 1911. It was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by the then bishop of Changanacherry in 1936. It was raised to pontifical status in 1976. It is divided into 4 provinces,

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1 vice-province and 1 region. Its charism is special devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The members of the congregation engage in care for the sick, conduct orphanages and participate in the pastoral and missionary activities of the Church.

11) *St. Joseph's Congregation:* This congregation was founded by Fr. Thomas Poothathil at Kaipuzha in the diocese of Kottayam in 1928. It was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right in the same year. Its charism is to practice the merciful love revealed in the Gosepl. The members of the congregation take on the apostolic activities of looking after the handicapped and the under-privileged.

12) *Samaritan Sisters:* This congregation was founded by Msgr. Paul Chittilapilly at Mannuthy in the diocese of Trichur in 1961. Simultaneously it was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by the bishop of Trichur. Its charism is to serve the poor, sick and the afflicted especially the lepers and the orphans. They engage in the socio-medical apostolate.

13) *Sisters of the Destitute:* This congregation was founded by Rev. Fr. Varghese Payyappally at Chunangamvely near Alwaye in 1927. It was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by the then archbishop of Ernakulam in the same year. Its charism is to imitate Christ in his compassionate love and to share this with the poor and least wanted. Accordingly they run dispensaries, hospitals, day care centres, schools for the physically and mentally handicaped. The congregation is divided into three provinces.

14) *Sisters of St. Martha:* This congregation was founded by Fr. John Kizhakooden at Ponnukara in the diocese of Trichur in 1948. It was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by the bishop of Trichur. Their charism is to imitate Christ the worker. They engage in manual labour such as, working in printing press, tailoring etc. They participate in the pastoral ministry through house visits and catechetical activities.

15) *Society of Nirmala Dasikal:* This congregation was founded by Fr. Joseph Vilangadan in the diocese of Trichur in 1971. Simultaneously it was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by the bishop of Trichur. Its charism is to be at the service of the Church especially through the service of the poor and the abandoned. They take care of unmarried mothers, abandoned babies, the aged, the crippled and the mentally and physically handicaped.

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Women Religious Congregations of the Syro-Malabar Church

Name	Professed Members	Novices	Postulants	Candidates	Formal Houses	Non-Formal Houses	Houses in Latin dioceses	Members working in Latin dioceses	Formation Houses
Assisi Sisters of Mary Immaculate	285	18	19	28	25	2	12	102	2
Charity Sisters of St Francis Assisi	476	47		22	34	14	1	7	3
Cong. of the Holy Family	1085	91	70	76	105	2	24	138	7
Cong. of the Mother of Carmel	4825	233	120	130	310	44	63	482	10
Cong. of the Sisters of the Adoration of the B.S.	2881	277	395		250	7	25	147	8
Franciscan Clarist Congregation	4708	152	184	240	348	15	37	290	10
Inst. of the Sisters of Nazareth	328	14	23	17	31	1	10	69	3
Medical Sisters of St Joseph	446	34	29	18	23	6	6	53	1
Missionary Sisters of Mary Immaculate	310	21		14	20	15	5	27	2
Sacred Heart Congregation	2175	81	106	120	160	39	14	112	5
St. Joseph Congregation	286	28	23	16	27			11	1
Samaritan Sisters	142	8	7	18	20		6	34	2
Sisters of the Destituite	729	41	45	42	83		13	58	3
Sisters of St Martha	201	10	11	7	18				1
Society of Nirmala Dasikal	142	18	10	13	17		5	30	3
The Visitation Con.	541	25	26		50	4			1

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16) *The Visitation Congregation:* This congregation was founded by Mar Mathew Makil at Kaipuzha in the diocese of Kottayam on June 24, 1892. It was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right in 1904. Its carism is to work for the glory of God and the sanctification of its members by following the virtues of charity, humility and meekness with special devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The congregation engages in the apostolic activities of education, care of the sick and it co-operates with the diocesan organs in other charitable works.[6]

d) *Women Religious Congregations of the Syro-Malankara Church*

1) Congregation of the Daughters of Mary: This congregation was founded by Fr. Joseph Kuzhingalil and Mary Kallarackal at Marthandam in the archdiocese of Trivandrum in 1938. Simultaneously it was canonically erected as a congregation of eparchial right by the archbishop of Trivandrum. They follow the Franciscan spirituality and give importance to work of evangelization. They engage in catechetical, ecumenical and missionary apostolates.

2) *Sisters of the Imitation of Christ (Bethany Sisters):* This religious congregation in the Syro-Malankara Church was founded by Fr. George Panickar, who later became the archbishop of Trivandrum, in 1925 at Trivandrum. It was raised to a congregation of pontifical right in 1956. The members of the congregation, leading a life of renunciation, prayer and simplicity, imitate the simple life of Our Lord who went about doing good. They participate in the ecumenical and evangelical endeavours of the Church, especially through education, care of the sick, orphans and the helpless. They also engage in the apostolate of press. The congregation is divided into three provinces.

Women Religious Congregations of the Syro-Malankara Church

Name	Professed Members	Novices	Postulants	Candidates	Formal Houses	Non-Formal Houses	Houses in Latin dioceses	Members working in Latin dioc.	Formation* Houses
Cong. of the Daughters of Mary	397	12	12	60	47	10	6 *5	31 *18	3
Sisters of the Imitation of Xt.	517	12	22	26	17	61	3	14	3

* Members and houses in the Syro-Malabar dioceses

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2) Societies without Public vows of the Syro-Malabar Church

They are institutes for men or women erected and approved by the competent ecclesiastical authorities. Since the members of these societies make no public vows of the evangelical counsels, they are not called religious. However they resemble religious life (PA. c. 224). The institutes included in this category differ in accordance with their charisms, manner of life, apostolate and scope. Some of the societies resemble the religious life more closely and have novitiate, private vows or promises of the evangelical counsels and life in common. The societies can be of eparchial, patriarchal or pontifical right.

a) *For men*

1) *Oblates of the Sacred Heart*

This is a clerical society of the Syro-Malabar Church founded by Mar Alexander Chulaparambil the late bishop of Kottayam in 1921. It was canonically erected by the same bishop in 1930. It remains a society of eparchial right in the diocese of Kottayam. Its members take on the practice of the evangelical counsels through a promise, after a period of novitiate. Its charism is to combine religious life with pastoral activities in the diocese of Kottayam. Accordingly, the members are engaged in pastoral activities in the parishes of the diocese of Kottayam[7].

2) *The Missionary Society of St. Thomas the Apostle*

This is a clerical missionary society of the Syro-Malabar Church. It was founded and canonically erected at Melampara, in 1968, by Mar Sebastian Vayalil, the then bishop of Palai, in consultation with and on behalf of the Syro-Malabar hierarchy. It is a functional missionary institute of the Syro-Malabar Church and its scope is "to preach the gospel of Christ in the less christian areas of India, and outside, remaining faithful to the identity and heritage of the Syro-Malabar Church". Its members make no vows or promises of the evangelical counsels but follow the life style of the missionary diocesan priests. It gives a missionary formation to its members and promotes collective and co-ordinated missionary apostolate. It remains a society of eparchial right. The missionary activities in the diocese of Ujjain is especially entrusted to this society.

3) *Vincentian Congregation*

This is a clerical society of the Syro-Malabar Church. It was founded at Tottakam, Vaikom, in the archdiocese of Ernakulam by Fathers George

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Mannara, Antony Powathil and George Vattamkandathil on 6, July 1927. Simultaneously it was canonically erected by Mar Augustine Kandathil, the then archbishop of Ernakulam. The institute draws its inspiration and distinctive character from the life and works of St. Vincent de Paul and its constitutions are modelled after that of the Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists). Its charism is "to preach the gospel to the poor and to co-operate with the diocesan clergy in pastoral work". Its apostolate consists mainly of preaching 'popular mission retreats', conducting schools, orphanages, hospitals, and missionary activities. Its members take on the practice of the three evangelical counsels making private vows after a period of novitiate and living a life in community. It was raised to pontifical status in 1968. The missionary apostolate in the diocese of Satna is specially entrusted to this congregation.

Societies without public vows for men

Name	Members	Priests	Brothers	Novices	Major Semin.	Minor Semin.	Houses	Formation
OSH	22	15	6	12	20	26	3	2
MST	223	121			102	80	1	3
VC	153	145	8	18	64	87	27	4

b) ***For women***

1) *St. Marthas Institute:* The society was founded by Mathai Joseph Kalapura at Moolamattom in the diocese of Palai in 1956. It was canonically erected by the bishop of Palai in 1974. The members of the society find glory in service. They engage in the works of teaching, nursing, the press apostolate, social service and missionary activities.

2) *Preshitharam Sisters:* The Society was started by Fr. George Kochuparampil at Kalady in the archdiocese of Ernakulam in 1964. It was canonically approved by the archbishop of Ernakulam in 1977. The members of the society work among villagers, teach catechism, conduct nursary schools for the poor and make regular house visits.

3) *Society of Kristhu Dasi:* The society was founded and canonically approved by Mar Jacob Thoomkuzhy, bishop of Manamthavady in 1977. The members of the society co-operate in the pastoral and social activities of the diocese.

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Societies without public vows for women

Name	Members	Novices	Postulants	Candidates	Houses	Formation Houses
St Marthas Institute	128	5	9	20	16	3
Preshitaram Sisters	97	18	8	33	7	3
Society of Kristu Dasi	49	21	15	8	12	2

3) Secular Institutes of the Syro-Malabar Church

They are officially approved ecclesiastical institutes for men or women, whose members live in the world and try to sanctify the world from within. They take on the practice of the evangelical counsels by means of sacred bonds such as promises, oaths etc. Pope Pius XII by the Apostolic Constitution "Provida Mater Ecclesia" recognized secular institutes as a state of perfection in the Church (AAS 39 (1947) 286). These institutes may be clerical or lay, for men or for women, of eparchial, patriarchal or pontifical right.

The members of these institutes, "do not abstain from civil life, they do not undertake the obligations of community life; they do not follow a regular liturgical observance, they do not carry out their apostolic works in a collective from, whether it be a teaching apostolate, the care of the sick, or other activities. The members of the secular institutes are not religious in the canonical sense of the word... If they live together in groups, they do so in the manner of friends who help one another, while retaining their own personal responsibility in the exercise of their own profession and in the running of their lives" (J. BEYER, *Religious Life or Secular Institute,* Rome, 1970, p. 113).

1) *Caritas Secular Institute:* This institute was founded by Mar Thomas Tharayil bishop of Kottayam at Thellakam in the diocese of Kottayam in 1961. It was canonically erected in 1962 by the bishop of Kottayam. The members of this institute work for the establishment of the Kingdom of God among the sick. They engage in medico social activities.

2) *Infants of Mother Carmel:* This institute was founded at Kuriyachira in the diocese of Trichur in 1976[8].

3) *Missionary Sisters of Mary Immaculate:* This institute was founded

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by Fr. Augustine Chilambikunnel at Palai in 1963. It was canonically erected by the bishop of Palai in the same year. The members of the institute try to sanctify themselves and the world through various activities compatible with the christian life. They make house visits with the aim of strengthening the faith. They co-operate with the pastoral activities of the Church.

Secular Institutes for women

Name	Members	Novices	Postulants	Candidates	Associates	Houses	Formation Houses
Caritas Secular Institute	68			14	14	8	1
Infants of Mother Carmel							
Missionary Sisters of Mary Immaculate	48	6	3		10	7	1

4) Pious Unions for women of the Syro-Malabar Church

Pious Unions belong to the canonical category 'associations of the faithful' (CS., c. 549). They are not religious institutes, nor do they belong to any state of perfection. However, the pious unions under study are all organized after the manner of religious institutes in the life style, habit and the organization and government of the institutes. They have life in common under legitimate superiors. They take up the practice of the evangelical counsels by means of private vows, promises or other similar sacred bonds.

In reality, the canonical designation 'Pious Union' does not suit the real nature of these institutes and the vocation of their members. For most of these institutes, it is just a preliminary stage, before being officially recognized and erected as a religious institute, society without public vows or secular institute. However, it is for the local hierarchs, in consultation with the Apostolic See to decide upon such a course.

1) *Daughters of St. Thomas:* This is a missionary institute founded by Fr. Jacob Thazhathel at Aruvithura in 1969 with the approval of the bishop of Palai. The members imitate religious life, leading a community life and observing the evangelical counsels by private vows. The institute gives special emphasis to the missionry apostolate. The members of this institute engage in various types of missionary activities.

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2) *Deen Bandhu Samaj:* This institute was founded by Mar Paulinus Jeerakath at Konta in the diocese of Jagadalpur in 1975. The members of the institute work for the general benefit of the poor adivasees in Bastar. They conduct dispensaries, non formal schools, hostels, nursary schools, etc.

3) *Fervent Daughters of Sacred Heart of Jesus:* This is an institute founded by Sr. Marykutty of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Punnavely in the archdiocese of Changanacherry with the approval of the archbishop of Changanacherry in 1980.[9]

4) *Kristu Rajya Sisters:* This institute was founded in the diocese of Rajkot in 1977. The members of the institute co-operate with the missionary activities of the diocese.[10]

5) *Ladies of Mary Immaculate:* This institute was founded by Fr. Paul Chittilappilly as a pious union in the diocese of Trichur. The process of raising the institute to a secular institute is under way. The members of the institute engage in the apostolate among youth especially in the field of education.

6) *Little Servants of Divine Providence:* This institute was founded by Sr. Dr. Mary Litty with the approval of the archbishop of Changanacherry at Kunnamthanam near Changanacherry in 1978. Trusting in divine providence the members of the institute dedicate their lives to the service of the poor and the unwanted. They engage in the family apostolate and conduct homes for the poor.

7) *Little Sisters of Christ:* This institute was founded by Sr. Mary Panamthanam at Pallathuruthy in the archdiocese of Chanaganacherry, with the approval of the archbishop of Chanaganacherry in 1975. The members of the institute serve the poor in the spirit of Charles de Foucauld through the family apostolate and manual labour.[11]

8) *Sadu Sevana Sahha:* This institute was founded by Fr. Thomas Maliekal at Mullassery in the archdiocese of Ernakulam in 1975. It was approved by the archbishop of Ernakulam in 1980. The members of this institute imitate the Holy Family of Nazareth by living a simple, hard working and dedicated life. They work for the unemployed, the sick and the needy.

9) *Servants of Our Immaculate Lady:* This institute was founded by Mar Mathew Kavukat in the archdiocese of Changanacherry in 1961.[12]

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10) *Sisters of Charity of St. John of God:* This institute was founded at Kattappana in the diocese of Kanjirapally in 1977 The members of the institute imitate religious life by observing the evangelical counsels and community life. They dedicate themselves to the service of the poor and aged. They work in hospitals and homes for the aged.[13]

11) *Sisters of Mary Immaculate:* This institute was founded by Mar Antony Padiyara, archbishop of Changanacherry at Amboori in the archdiocese of Changanacherry in 1974. The members of this institute engage in catechetical and social work.

Pious unions for women

Name	Professed Members	Novices	Postulants	Candidates	Houses	Formation Houses
Daughters of St Thomas	112	19	12		14	1
Deena Bandu Samaj	34	14	10		5	1
Fervent Daughters of Sacred Heart of Jesus	11					1
Kristu Rajya Sisters					1	1
Ladies of Mary Immaculate	15				1	1
Little Servents of Divine Providence	28	8	8	10	3	1
Little Sisters of Christ	18	3			2	1
Sadu Sevana Sabha	12	4	4	10	3	1
Servents of Our Immaculate Lady					1	1
Sisters of Charity of St John of God	15	15	7		2	1
Sisters of Mary Immaculate	30				3	1
Snehagiri Sisters	227	11	11	15	17	2
Society of Sisters of Jesus	27	9	7	7	4	2

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12) *Snehagiri Sisters:* The institute was founded by Fr. Abraham Kayappenplackal in the diocese of Palai with the approval of the bishop of Palai in 1969. The members of this institute dedicate themselves to the service of the poor and the destitute. They run institutes for the aged and for destitute men and women. They conduct home for the mentally and physically handicapped and for destitute boys and girls.

13) *Society of the Sisters of Jesus:* This institute was founded by Mar Clement Thottumgal, in the diocese of Sagar in 1980. The members of the institute imitate religious life by living according to the evangelical counsels. They dedicate themselves to the service of the poor and engage in missionary activities especially in the villages.

S. Vadakel
J. Thalachelloor

NOTES

[1] Out of 47 institutes 38 responded to the questionnaire. For the rest we have made use of *Oriente Cattolico, Cenni Storici e Statistiche, 1974* and the various diocesan directories of 1986.

[2] "A religious institute in which the members, although they are not monks, take vows which equal to the vows of monks is called an order" (PA. c. 314) Cf. V. POSPISHIL, *The law on person*, Ford City, 1960, p. 245.
The erection of separate provinces for the members of the Syro-Malabar Church in the 'Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum': O.F.M. Cap. and 'Ordo Fratrum Discalceatrorum B. Mariae V. de Monte Carmelo': OCD are under way.

[3] The erection of a separate province for the members of the Syro-Malabar Church in the Claretian Congregation (Latin rite) is under way.

[4] The norms according to which a monastery and its members are rgulating their life are called typicum. It consists of rules imposed upon the monastery by its founder, by the first superior, or some other authority, and contains usually disciplinary, liturgical and administrative regulations, which are to be followed by the monks or nuns. V. POSPISHIL, *The law on person*, p. 246.

[5] Cf. *Directory, Diocese of Trichur, 1986; Oriente Cattolico, Cenni storici e statistiche*, Città del Vaticano, 1974, p. 550.

[6] Cf. *Directory, Diocese of Kottayam, 1986; Oriente Cattolico,* 1974, p. 692.

[7] Cf. *Directory, Diocese of Kottayam,* 1986; *Oriente Cattolico,* 1974, p. 548.

[8] Cf. *Directory, Diocese of Trichur,* 1986.

[9] Cf. *Directory, Diocese of Trichur,* 1986.

[10] Cf. APPASSERY, ARUKALIL, *Kerala Catholic Directory*, 1986, p. 126.

[11] Cf. *Directory, Archdiocese fo Changanacherry,* 1986.

[12] Cf. *Ibid.*

[13] Cf. *Directory, Diocese of Kanjirapally,* 1986.

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C.- STATISTICS ON THE HIGHER STUDIES OF PRIESTS

This statistical presentation of higher studies of priests is meant to have a general idea of the promotion of specialisation in the various fields in the Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara Churches. Most of the data have been collected from the directories of the respective Dioceses and Institutes, with the help of priests belonging to those Dioceses and Institutes. Others have been supplied directly by the diocesan centres or other competent persons. We also made use of the official list of students who had higher studies in Kul, Belgium. In doubtful cases we have consulted various publications and unpublished Theses, as far as we could do. Still there remain some cases, of which we could not identify the subject of specialisation or the place of study. These are given under the caption 'unidentified'.

The Syro-Malabar Mission Dioceses are treated along with the Religious Congregations and Societies to which they are entrusted. There are a few cases where one person did specialised studies in more than one subject, which however, we have not indicated separately. In such cases preference is given to Ecclesiastical subjects and to the highest degrees obtained.

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a) Syro-Malabar Church

Dioceses Congregations Societies	Age	Subjects																				
		Eclesiastical															Philosophy		Psychology	Arts,Science S.Work etc.	Unidentified	Total
		S.Scr. Bib.Th.	C.Law	Liturgy	Patrol.	Ch.Hist.	Mor.Th.	Sp.Th.	Dog.Th.	Past.Th.	Missiol.	Catech.	Eccles. Ecumen.	Theol. general	Unident.	Total	Western	Indian				
CHY	50+	2	2	1				1						5		11	3			11		14
	40-49	2	2	1	1		2					1	1	10		20	1			17	1	19
	-39	1	1			1		2		1				3		9		1		8		9
EKM	50+	1	1											6	1	9	3			7		10
	40-49	1		1					1					7		10		2		18		20
	-39		1	1					1					6		9	1			13		14
IJK	50+		1											2		3	3			2		5
	40-49	2		2			1	1					1	1		8			1	3		4
	-39	1	1					1					1	2		6				4		4
KPLY	50+		1						3				1	1		6				3		3
	40-49		2	1		1										4				1		1
	-39		2					1				1		2		6				2		2
KLM	50+		3	2												5			1	8	8	17
	40-49	2		1			1	1						2	3	10			1	4	10	15
	-39		1									1		7		9				12	1	13
KTM	50+		2	1		2		1						7		13	2			3		5
	40-49													5		5				3		3
	-39			1			1							2		4				4		4
MTDY	50+																					
	40-49						1					1		7		9				1		1
	-39	1								1				2		4						
PLA	50+	1	1	1										7		10	7	1		26		34
	40-49		1	1		1				1				5		9	4			14		18
	-39	1	1	2	1		1							3		9				5		5
PLG	50+																1					1
	40-49		1							1				2		4				4		4
	-39			1												1						
TMSY & TLCY	50+													2		2				1		1
	40-49	1	1	1										11		14	1			10		11
	-39													5		5	1			5		6
TCR	50+	1	2											7		10	2			4		6
	40-49						1							3		4				7		7
	-39	1	2	2				1	1					2		9				6		6
Total		18	29	20	2	5	8	9	6	4		4	4	124	4	237	29	4	3	206	20	262
% age		3.67	5.81	4.0	0.4	1.0	1.6	1.8	1.2	0.8		0.8	0.8	24.85	0.8	47.49	5.8	0.8	0.6	41.28	4.0	52.51

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Dioceses Congregations Societies	Age	Subjects																				
		Eclesiastical															Philosophy		Psychology	Arts, Science S. Work etc.	Unidentified	Total
		S. Scr. Bib. Th.	C. Law	Liturgy	Patrol.	Ch. Hist.	Mor. Th.	Sp. Th.	Dog. Th.	Past. Th.	Missiol.	Catech.	Eccles. Ecumen.	Theology general	Unidentified	Total	Western	Indian				
CMI	50 +	5	4	4		1		11	2	4	1			6		38	8	2	4	40		54
	40-49	7	1	1		2	1	13	1	4	4		1	9	1	45	2	3	8	63		76
	−39		1	1	1		1	1	1		4	1		5		16		1	5	36	1	43
CST	50 +		1											4		5			1			1
	40-49	1						1		1	1			7		11	2	1	3	4		10
	−39	1		1				1						5		8	2			1		3
MCBS	50 +		1											1		2				1		1
	40-49	1					1	1								3			2	4		6
	−39	3		1				1	1		1					7	1	2		3		6
MST	50 +		1								1					2		1		1		2
	40-49	1									1			1		3				1		1
	−39	2	1	2		1		2								8	2	2		5		9
VC	50 +			1												1			3	2		5
	40-49	3	1					3	1							8			1	1		2
	−39		1				1									2		1				1
	Total	24	12	11	1	4	4	34	6	9	13	1	1	38	1	159	17	13	27	162	1	220
	% age	6.33	3.17	2.9	0.26	1.1	1.1	8.97	1.58	2.37	3.43	0.26	0.26	10.0	0.26	41.95	4.49	3.43	7.12	42.74	0.26	58.05

b) Syro-Malankara Church

TVM	50 +		1	1										2		4				13		13
	40-49				1									5		6	2			1		3
	−39	1												3		4				4		4
TLA	50 +	1	3					1						9		14				1		1
	40-49	1		1										5		7				1		1
	−39													3		3				2		2
BTRY	50 +																				1	1
	40-49		1							1						2				1		1
	−39	1						1								2						
	Total	4	5	2	1			2		1				27		42	2			23	1	26
	% age	5.88	7.35	2.94	1.47			2.94		1.47				39.71		61.76	2.94			33.82	1.47	38.24
OIC	50 +	1						1		1			1			4			4	3		7
	40-49			1				2					1			4		1	1	2		4
	−39							1						1		2				6		6
	Total	1		1				4		1			2	1		10		1	5	11		17
	% age	3.7		3.7				14.81		3.7			7.41	3.7		37.04		3.7	18.52	40.76		62.96

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Percentage of Higher Studies with ref. to the total number of Priests

Syro-Malabar Church							
Dioceses Congregations Societies	Total number of priests	Studies					
		Eclesi-astical	% age	Philosophy Psychology	% age	Secular	% age
CHY	234	40	17.09	5	2.14	36+1*	15.81
EKM	301	28	9.3	6	1.99	38	12.62
IJK	132	17	12.88	4	3.03	9	6.82
KPLY	107	16	14.95		0.0	6	5.61
KLM	236	24	10.17	2	0.85	24+19*	18.22
KTM	118	22	18,6	2	1.69	10	8.47
MTDY	69	13	18.8		0.0	1	1.45
PLA	390	28	7.18	12	3.07	45	11.54
PLG	30	5	16.67	1	3.3	4	13.3
TMSY & TLCY	233	21	9.01	2	0.86	16	6.87
TCR	179	23	12.85	2	1.12	17	9.5
Total	2029	237	11.68	36	1.77	206+20*	11.14
CMI	933+85**	99	9.72	33	3.24	139+1*	13.75
CST	126	24	19.04	9	7.14	5	3.97
MCBS	83	12	14.46	5	6.02	8	9.64
MST	121	13	10.74	5	4.13	7	5.79
VC	145	11	7.59	5	3.45	3	2.7
Total	1408+85**	159	10.65	57	3.82	162+1*	10.92
Syro-Malankara Church							
TVM	172	14	8.14	2	1.16	18	10.47
TLA	106	24	22.64		0.0	4	3.77
BTRY	44	4	9.09		0.0	2	4.55
Total	322	42	13.04	2	0.62	24	7.45
OIC	75	10	13.33	6	8.0	11	14.67

* unidentified
** Brothers

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Syro-Malabar Church

Dioceses Congregations Societies	Age	Degree obtained			Place of study								
		Doctor	Licen. M.Th.	M.A. etc.	Rome	U.S.A.	Leuven	Paris, Germ.etc.	India				Others & unidentified
									Pune-Candy	KTM	Bangal.	Alwaye	
CHY	50+	10	4	11	8	2	1	3					11
	40-49	14	8	17	10	1	3	4	2				19
	-39	2	7	9	5		1		2	1			9
EKM	50+	12	2	5	8	1		7					3
	40-49	10	3	17	7		1	4			1		17
	-39	5	5	14	2		2	3	2	1	1		13
IJK	50+	2	3	2	2				3				2
	40-49	4	4	4	3	1	1	2					5
	-39		6	4	3	1						2	4
KPLY	50+	4	2	4	3			2	2				3
	40-49	3	1	1	4			1					
	-39		6	2	3		1		2				2
KLM	50+	6	1	15	5			1					16
	40-49	7	4	14	7								18
	-39	2	6	14	3			1	6				12
KTM	50+	8	7	2	7	2			4				4
	40-49	1	4	3	3								5
	-39	1	3	4	3								5
MTDY	50+												
	40-49	2	7	1	6		1		1				2
	-39	1	3		4								
PLA	50+	16	4	24	10	5		2	2				25
	40-49	10	3	14	6	1	2	3	1			1	13
	-39	1	9	4	7			1				1	5
PLG	50+	1			1								
	40-49	1	3	4	1			3					4
	-39		1		1								
TMSY & TLCY	50+		2	1					2				1
	40-49	5	10	10	7			3	3			2	10
	-39	1	4	6	1			1		1		3	5
TCR	50+	4	8	4	5			4	5				2
	40-49	2	1	8	1		1		1				8
	-39	3	5	7	7				2				6
	Total	138	136	225	143	14	14	45	40	3	2	9	229

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Dioceses Congregations Societies	Age	Degree obtained			Place of study								
		Doctor	Licen. M.Th.	M.A. etc.	Rome	U.S.A.	Leuven	Paris, Germ.etc.	Pune-Candy	India KTM	India Bangal.	India Alwaye	Others & unidentified
CMI	50+	34	15	42	34	23	3	4	3				17
	40-49	20	22	80	30	32	7	14	3				41
	-39	6	15	37	13	1	1	8			2		39
CST	50+	1	3	2	1	2			2				1
	40-49	7	4	10	7	3	1	1	3			1	5
	-39	1	8	2	5		1		4			1	
MCBS	50+	1	1	1	1			1					1
	40-49	3	1	5	2	1	1						5
	-39	2	5	6	5				2		2		4
MST	50+	3		1	2								2
	40-49	1	2	2	1								4
	-39	1	9	7	6		1					1	7
VC	50+	1		5	1	5							
	40-49	5	4	1	6	3		1					
	-39	1	2		3								
	Total	87	91	201	117	70	15	29	17		2	3	126
Syro-Malankara Church													
TVM	50+	4	1	12	2	4		2	1				8
	40-49	3	4	2	3	1	1	4					
	-39		3	5							1		7
TLA	50+	1	14	1	6			6	1				3
	40-49	3	4	1	1			3	1				3
	-39		3	2				1	2				2
BTRY	50+	1			1								
	40-49	1	2		1			1					1
	-39	1	1		2								
	Total	14	32	23	16	5	1	17	5		1		24
OIC	50+	4	1	6	4	6							1
	40-49	2	3	3	4	2			1				1
	-39	3	1	4	1					1			6
	Total	9	5	13	9	8			1	1			8

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D.–SYRO-MALABAR CHURCH: HUNDRED YEARS' GROWTH AT A GLANCE[1]

Year	1887	1896	1921-22
Catholics	190000	244310	438129
Curches, Chapels Oratories		210	481
Priests	349	406	536
Seminaries		1	4
Seminarists	201	90	224
Rel. Inst. for men		1	1
Men Religious		83	231
Rel. houses for men		9	13
Women rel. inst.		3	6
Women Religious		91	983
Rel. houses for women		6	46
Press		1	9
Publications		2	5
Uni.colleges		–	2
High Schools		2	9
LP & UP Schools		236	584

1986-1987			
Catholics[2]			2654717
Parishes			1540
Mission stations Filial Churches			934
Dio. Priests[3]			1955
Seminarists			1433
Seminaries			40
Institutes[4]: Religious / Societies / Secular Insti. / Pious Unions.	Men	No. Inst.	8
		Members	1745
		Priests	1423
		Houses	35
	Women	No. Inst.	35
		Members	20479
		Houses	1840
Press			62
Publications			54
Uni. colleges			42
High Schools			404
LP & UP Schools			1015

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NOTES

[1] For the statistics of 1887 cf. *Catholic Directory of India, Burma and Cylon 1887*, (Madras 1887) p. 138-144; for that of 1896 and 1921-22 cf. *ACO* (Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches) *Delegazione India Soriani del Malabar*,vol. 109 (1906); for that of 1986-87 cf. the article *'The Syro-Malabar and the Syro-Malankara Churches: Facts and Figures'* in this work.

[2] This number does not include the Syro-Malabar faithful under the Latin jurisdictions in India and outside. According to a study, they number about 159000 alone in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Mafras, Pune and Bangalore put together. Cf. *Christian Orient* 3 (1982) p. 8.

[3] The exact number of the priests of the Syro-Malabar origin incardinated to the Latin dioceses and institutes is not available. The number is estimated to be about 2000 cf. *Christian Orient* 3 (1982) p. 15.

[4] These numbers include only the institutes of the Syro-Malabar origin. There are a number of Latin institutes with a large number of Syro-Malabar members. The Syro-Malabar women who belong to the various Latin institutes number 9918, cf. A.P. URUMPACKAL, *Vocations in India*, vol. I (Rome 1986) p. 234.

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APPENDIX

The following are two documents pertinent to the last years of Mar Cariattil:

Document 1. The Letter of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith empowering Mar Cariattil to receive Mar Thoma into the Catholic Communion and the coditions thereto.

A Monsig. Giuseppe Cariati Arcivescovo di Granganor.
Lisbona, 18 Luglio 1784

Non essendosi potuto avere un compito schiarimento intorno alla sincerità e durevolezza della conversione di Mar Thoma asserto Arcivescovo Siro-Caldeo di Nernan, non ostante le relazioni e informazioni trasmesse da Monsig. Vescovo Calamense e dal P. Giuseppe della Solitudine subdelegato e tale effetto da Monsig. Emanuele, allora Vescovo di Coccino e al presente Arcivescovo di Goa questa S. Congregazione di Propaganda anche coll'oracolo della /Santità di nostro Signore, ha stimato in cosa di tanta importanza prevalersi di V. S. sul riflesso principalmente, che non si sarebbe potuto trovar persona più prattica et intelligente di tutto questo affare senza dunque entrare a rammentarle quanto è occorso sin ora, di che Ella n'è più d'ogni altro informato; l'esporrò a dirittura ciò, che, anche a nome del Santo Padre, si desidera, e si richiede da Lei, ed è, che ella giunto che sarà felicemente come di cuore Le auguro, al Suo Arcivescovado di Granganor, voglia informarsi colla diligenza maggiore, e dopo maturo esame riferir poi candidamente, e con quella lealtà, che è necessaria in una materia cosi rilevante, cosa V. S. giudichi / in Domino circa la conversione di detto Mar Thoma, come egli siasi diportato dopo d'aver cercato l'unione cattolica, quali siano stati i suoi costumi, e se sia vero quel, che ci vien conferito, che egli abbia continuato a prender denaro per le Ordinazione, e per l'amministrazione degli altri sagramenti. Inoltre, se vi sia qualche dubbio fondato circa la di lui consecrazione in Vescovo, essendo assolutamente necessario il sapere, se quell'Arcivescovo Giacobita per nome Gregorio, dal quale si dice consecrato Mar Thoma, fosse veramente Vescovo, o soltanto monaco, come da alcuni vien supposto.

E poichè nella professione di Fede, ch'esso mandò, e che da V. S. fù / recata qui in Roma non si contengono tutte l'espressioni necessarie per qualificare la sua orthodossia, non confessandosi in essa nè l'unità di Persona di Gesù Cristo in due nature contro l'errore de Nestoriani, nè due nature indi-

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vise e incommunicabili contro quello degli Eutichiani, nè protestandovisi di accettare i due Concili Efesino e Calcedonese contro l'eresia degli uni e degli altri, nè anatematizandosi Nestorio, Eutiche e Dioscoro, nè facendosi menzione della lettera di S Leone a Flaviano, nè riprovandosi l'aggiunta fatta al Trisagio, in che specialmente peccano i / Giacobiti; nel caso che V. S. lo trovi costante e veramente disposto a detestare i detti errori e ad abbracciare con sincero animo la santa unione cattolica, farà di mestieri obbligarlo a sottoscrivere una nuova professione de Fede secondo l'esemplare latino, e caldaico, che se le compiega, che è appunto quella prescritta dalla S. M. di Urbano Ottavo per gli Orientali.

Dopo di che, riconosciuta che siasi da V.S. per reale e sincera la di lui conversione, Ella in vigore delle facoltà, che a tale effetto se Le accordano amplissime da Nostro Signore, previa l'assoluzione dalle censure, potrà ammetterlo alla communione cattolica, e trovando che egli sia veramente e validamente ordinato, potrà anche/ assolverlo dalla irregolarità, e riabilitarlo all'esercizio del ministero sacerdotale, con vietargli tuttavia assolutamente ogni e qualunque funzione vescovile in sino a tanto, che per formale giudizio della S. Sede venga dichiarata valida e vera la di lui consecrazione.

Avendo poi il P. Giuseppe della Solitudine ora Vescovo di Coccino rappresentato, che anche essendo vera la conversione di Mar Thoma, sarà molto difficile, che le chiese schismatiche a lui soggette vogliano abbracciare l'unione cattolica, e non piuttosto assoggettarsi al Vescovo Cirillo, che ci dice essere propriamente il loro Prelato, e che trovasi/ rifugiato non molto lontano dallo stesso Mar Thoma nel territorio del di Lei Arcivescovado con sole cinque chiese, che si sono mantenute ferme nel suo partito; perciò dovrà essere ispezione di V. S. e della Sua maturità l'esaminare, se trovandosi Mar Thoma ottimamente disposto, e potendosi, come si spera, ricevere nel grembo della S. Chiesa cattolica, sia per essere espediente il commettergli liberamente il Governo della sua Diocesi di Nernan, oppure se per il bene di quelle anime fosse meglio il dichiararlo soltanto Vescovo Coadjutore di V. S. nel governo delle Chiese Siro-Caldee; giacchè secondo l'opinione del detto Monsignore di Coccino, se gli si accordasse la giurisdizione sopra tutti i / Siro-Caldei, V. S. rimanerrebbe quasi senza sudditi, e l'Arcivescovado di Granganor una Chiesa di mero titolo.

Si affida pertanto interamente al di Lei zelo, alla Sua fede e alla Sua destrezza un affare di tanta importanza; e dalla Sua diligenza sene attenderanno a tempo debito i desiderati riscontri. E mentre L'assicuro, che tanto Sua Santità, come questa S. Congregazione hanno tutta la fidanza, che V. S. in questa causa vorrà procedere senza privati riguardi, nè aver altra mira, che al bene delle anime, e alla felice propagazione della fede, passo a pregare il Signore Dio, che La conservi e La prosperi.

Archives of the P. F.: Lettere 244 (1784) Fol 570R - 573V.

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(Translation)

To Mons. Joseph Cariatti Archbishop of Cranganor.
Lisbon, 18 July 1784

This Sacred Congregation of P. F. could not acquire a clear vision about the sincerity and perseverence of the conversion of Mar Thoma, the so-called Archbishop of Nernem of the Syro-chaldean rite, in spite of the reports and informations about this matter from the Bishop of Calamense and also from Father Joseph of Solitude who was the delegate of Mons. Emmanuel, now Archbishop of Goa, and at that time Bishop of Cochin. Hence, with the approval of the Holy Father, this S. Congregation considers it proper to make use of the service of Your Lorship in a matter of such importance. This decision was made mainly because it would be impossible to find another person with greater experience and understanding of the whole affair. There is no need to recall to You everything that took place upto now; of these You are informed more than anyone else. I frankly disclose to You, also in the name of the Holy Father, the desire and request that at Your arrival - which I cordially wish, will be a happy one - at Your Archbishopric of Cranganore, You should, with the atmost diligence, collect informations and after mature examination, refer frankly and with the loyalty necessary in such a remarkable matter, what You judge in the Lord about the conversion of Mar Thoma: How did he behave asking for Catholic union; how were his manners; is it true that he continued to accept money for ordinations and administering the other Sacraments? Besides, is there any well-grounded doubt about his Episcopal Ordination? It is absolutely necessary to know whether that Jacobite Archbishop Gregory, from whom Mar Thoma is said to have received Episcopal Ordination, was really a Bishop or a mere monk as is supposed by some people.

His Profession of Faith which Your Lordship had brought to Rome does not carry all the expressions necessary to show his orthodoxy. In it he does not acknowledge the unity of person in Jesus Christ in two natures against the error of Nestorius or two undivided and incommunicable natures against the Eutycheans. It does not also profess to accept the Councils of Ephesus and Calcedon against the heresy of the one and the other or condemn Nestorius, Eutychus and Dioscorus or mention the letter of S. Leo to Flavian or reprove the addition made to Trisagion, a special point of error of the Jacobites. In case Your Lordship find him steady and genuinely disposed to detest the above-indicated errors and to embrace the holy Catholic Union with a sincere spirit, You will necessarily induce him to sign a new Profession of Faith according to the model enclosed herewith in Latin and Chaldean, which is the one prescribed for the Orientals by Urban VIII of holy memory.

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If Your Lordship verifies that his conversion is true and sincere, You can, by virture of the extensive faculties His Holiness accords to You to this effect, admit him to Catholic Communion after having absolved him of the irregularity and rehabilitate him in the priestly ministry. You should, however, prohibit him absolutely to perform any Episcopal function whatsoever, until the Holy See would, by a formal sentence, declare his consecration true and valid.

Father Joseph of Solitude, at present Bishop of Cochin, has reported that even if the conversion of Mar Thoma were true, the Churches subject to him would more likely put themselves under Bishop Mar Cyril rather than embrace Catholic Union. This Cyril, Joseph of Solitude tells us, is their own Prelate and he has taken refuge within Your Archbishopric, not far from Mar Thoma with only five Churches with him, that remained firmly to his side. Hence if Mar Thoma is well-disposed, as it is hoped, to be received into Catholic communion, it shall be Your care to examine maturely whether he should freely be entrusted with the government of his diocese Nernam, or for the good of souls he should be declared coadjutor Bishop to Your Lordship in the government of the Syro-Chaldean Churches. The reason is, in the opinion of the aforesaid Bishop of Cochin, if he would be granted jurisdiction over all the Syro-Chaldean Churches, Your Lordship would remain almost without subjects, and the Archbishopric of Cranganore a mere titular See.

An affair of such importance is, therefore, entrusted fully to Your zeal, faith and skill. In due time the desired reply is expected from Your deligence. While assuring You that both His Holiness and this S. Congregation have the full confidence that Your Lordship would proceed in this case without any private interest and with no other aim than the good of souls and the happy propagation of faith, I go on to pray God to preserve You and grant You prosperity.

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Document 2. The last known letter of Mar Cariattil. It was written to Msgr Stephen Borgia, the Secretary of the Prop. Fide.

Archives of the Prop. Fide, Rome.
Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali - Cina 38 Fol 104 R-V.

104R Illusmo e Rmo S

Mio caro Monsig. Con somma anzietà ho spetato la promozione delli Emi porporati, sperando qualche lieta nova di V.S. Rmo per darli compiuta notizia anche degli affari miei in questa Corte. In quanto alla prima fu indarno ogni dimora. In quanto poi la seconda li dico, che di già sono licenziato dalla Mta Fma e dai suoi ministri. Mi mandano nella nave chiamato Principe di Brazil, e di qui a pochi giorni volendo Dio, mi imbarcherò per andare a Goa, e di li passar alla mia cattedrale. Pagò Regina il mio trasporto 4000 crucade al padrone secondo il custume; a me mi diede 2500 crucade per ogni caso, che mi potrà sovravenire. Porto con me una piciola libreria di quasi 6000 crucade i quali tutti furono scelti e comprati per me. In materia di libri sto quasi sazio. Liela dico candidamente che ne ho molti nemici, e percio ne ho molta necessita della sua assistenza per mezzo della Sa. Congregazione la quale, come mia special madre, hà tutto l'obbligo d'aiutarmi e soccorrermi; ed io in quanto a me, non ne posso dubbitare, che ella sarà puntuale in tutto, e per tutto con me.

Ora poi con tutta la confidenza entro con V.S. Ill.ma perchè mi comandi in tutto quello che conoscerà che io le possa agradare non solo in ciò che riguarda al servizio di Dio, e vantaggio de prossimi, ma ancora (lasciami cosi esprimere) in ciò, che maravigliandosi gli occhi umani nelle cose Indiatiche. Tanto liela protesto per mostra della mia filial obedienza, e debita gratitudine alli ricevuti benefizi.

Dal Convento di S. Benedetto
18 marzo 1785

Di V.S. Ill.ma e Rma
Aff.mo e Obl.mo Servitore
D. Giuseppe Cariati (Sic)
Arcivescovo di Cranganor

Altro tanto liela ripete
P. Thomas Parroco di Kollate mio compagno

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Fol 104 V

P.S. Mi fu riferito che in Propaganda si imprimono attualmente alcuni Dionari sic Caldaico latini compiuti e perfetti de quali io pure desidero di avere una o due copie. Fuori di questi vorrei che V.S. ill.ma mi ottenesse ancora un corpo de Biblioteca Assemani, Acta Sanctorum, e de Ritibus. Questi sono libri, che qui non si possono trovare e perciò avrà un favor sovra tutti gli altri a rispetto della mia nazione.

P.S. Non ho avuto tempo di tradurre da portughese in Italiano alcune lettere venute dall'India contra me e la mia povera nazione. Avendo più tempo non manchero d'inviarle perchè possa conoscere gli animi delli nostri nemici. Ma grazie al cielo che qui anche tacen. sic sono confutati e confusi in tutti i modi perchè qui sono gente pratica di quelle parti.

alli 23 Marzo

Translation)

104 R

Most illustrious, Reverend and my dear Monsignor

With the greatest eagerness I waited for the promotion of the Eminent Cardinals[1] hoping for some good news about your Lordship to give you full information also on my business in this royal Court. As regards the first, every delay was in vain.[2] About the second, however, I inform you that I have already the permission from her most faithful Majesty and her ministers. They are sending me in the ship called Prince of Brazil and, God willing, I shall be embarking from here in a few days to sail to Goa and from there to move to my cathedral. According to the custom, the queen paid 4000 cruçade to the owner of the ship. To me she gave 2500 for any expense that I might incur. I take with me a small collection of books costing almost 6000 cruçade. All these were selected and bought by me. On the matter of books I am well-content. I tell you frankly that I have many enemies and so am greatly in need of your help through the S. Gongregation which, being my special mother, has the full obligation to help me and to come to my assistance. From my part I have no doubt that it will stand with me in everything.

Now with full confidence I approach your Lordship. Command me in everything in which you may think I could be of service to you, not only in what concerns the service of God and the good of the neighbour but also (allow me to say so) in things Indian, at which the human eyes amazed. So

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much I declare to you to show my filial obedience and gratitude for the benefices received.

From the monastery of St. Benedict
March 18, 1785

Your obedient servant
Joseph Cariatti (sic)
Archbishop of Cranganore

My companion, Father Thomas, the Parish priest of Kollatte also repeats the same things.

104 V

P.S. I am told that the Propaganda is printing some copies of the full and complete Chaldean-Latin dictionary. I would like to have one or two copies of this. Besides I request your Lordship to procure for me a set of the Bibliotheca Assemani, Acta Sanctorum and de Ritibus.[3] These are books not available here and so it would be a favour above everything else towards my people.

P.S. I did not have the time to translate from Portuguese to Italian some letters from India against me and against my poor people. When I get time I shall not forget to send them to you so that you may see the spirit of our enemies. But thank God, in spite of our silence, here these were refuted and confused in all ways since there are people here with experience of our land.

March 23.

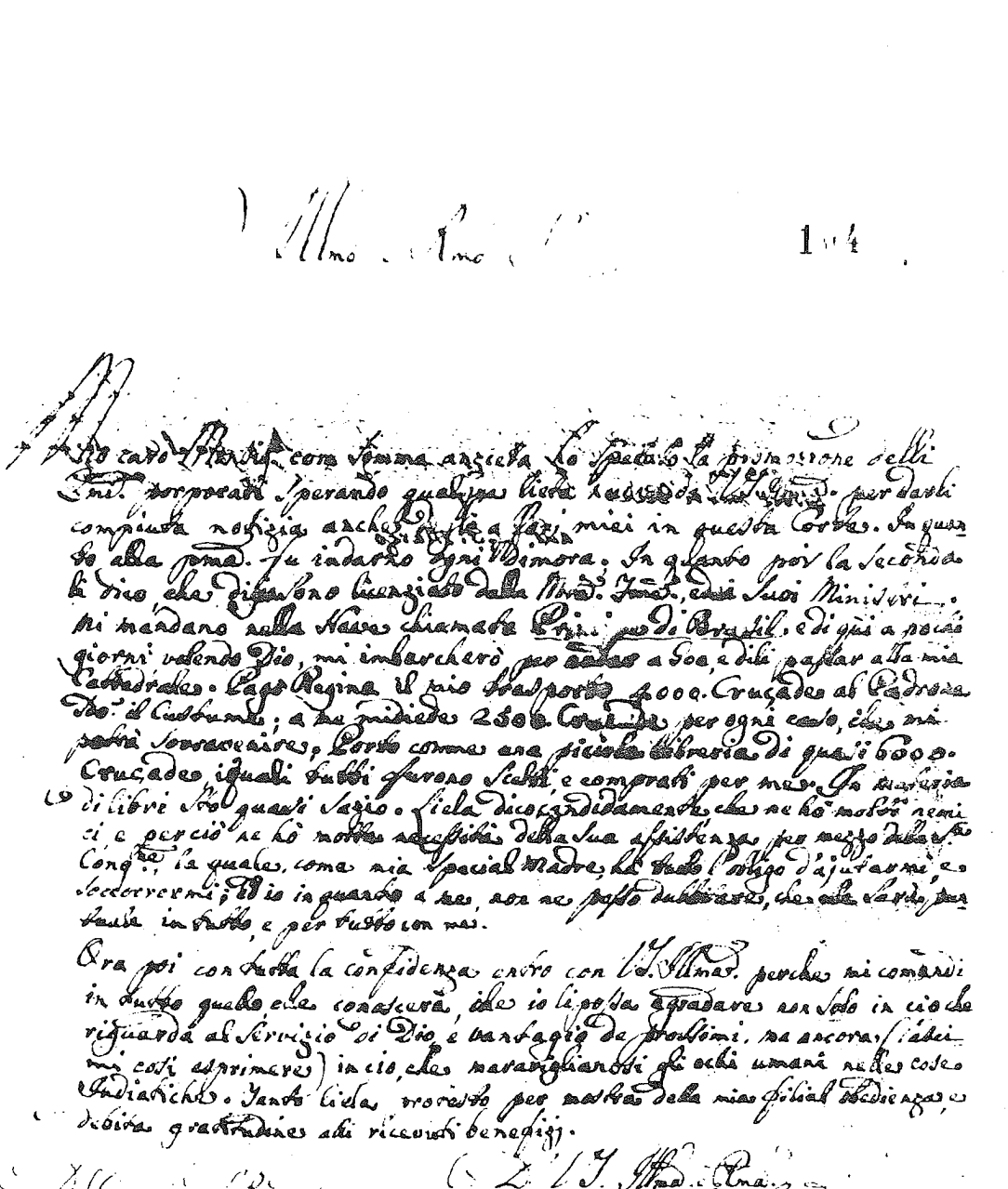
NOTES

[1] The allusion is to the consistory of February 14, 1785 in which Pius VI created 13 Cardinals. cfr. Ritzler A. and Sefrin P., Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi VI, 34.

[2] Stephen Borgia became Cardinal only on March 30. 1789. Idem 36.

[3] These books are: Joseph Simon Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; Joseph Aloysius Assemani, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae*. Stephen Evodius Assemani, *Acta sanctorum mart. orientalium.*

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LETTER OF MAR JOSEPH CARIATTIL (Cfr. Appendix 2)

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