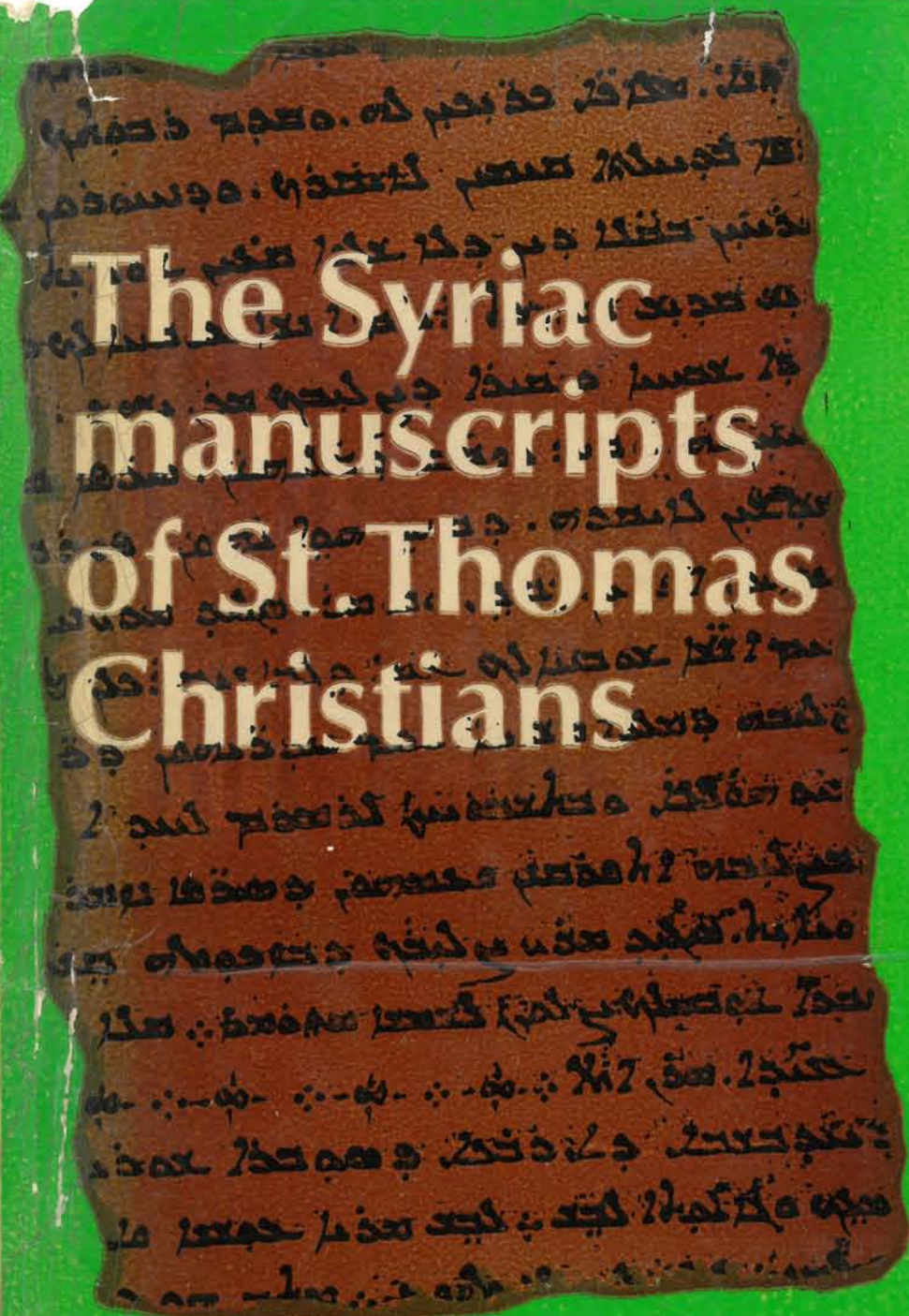




J. P. M. VAN DER PLOEG, O. P.



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Writes in quite a number of international reviews, in which he published many articles in various languages. Travelled extensively in the Middle East, from 1946 until the sixties. Was for a long time member of the scientific council of the Institute for the Near East, Leyden and of the board of Ex Oriente Lux, Leyden. Rector magnificus of Nijmegen University 1960/61.

**The Christians of St. Thomas
in South India and their
Syriac Manuscripts**

Personal Library
Fr. G. CHEDIATH

The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and their Syriac Manuscripts

by

J.P.M. van der Ploeg, O.P.

Member of the Royal Dutch Academy

Published

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FOREWORD

The Rt. Rev. Chor-episcopa J.P.M. van der Ploeg O.P. has placed the Oriental Churches under a great debt of gratitude by his long and assiduous service of these Churches. The Oriental Churches in India have obtained some understanding and recognition. This is in no small measure due to the systematic and serious studies of Chōr-episcopa van der Ploeg to bring to light the invaluable treasures of Christian Orient. He has enlightened not only people in the West about the Oriental Churches, but has also made the Orientals themselves more conscious of their own noble heritage.

His latest work: "Christians of St Thomas in South India and their Syriac Manuscripts" is indeed a substantial contribution in this regard. The Church in Kerala is as ancient as Christianity itself. Due to the vicissitudes of history, this Church still remains for the most part unknown and under a cloud. The spiritual and literary wealth of this community remains mostly unexplored and unknown. Unfortunately the Indian Christians themselves are practically unconcerned about their past. They just live in the immediate present, immersed in the day to day realities. On the other hand their deep piety and spiritual fervour are abundant proof of the vitality and vigour of their faith

and religious life. The roots of this spiritual experience, are surely to be traced to the past. A study of the life, customs and literature of this community is of supreme importance. Today when religious fervour is ebbing everywhere in the world, is on the wane, we are confronted with a unique phenomenon in South India. When the churches in many parts of the world are almost empty, here they are overcrowded. When in many countries Seminaries and Novitiates are becoming vacant, in South India, they are found insufficient for the young people who flock there for admission. Young people from South India are now to be found, as fervent apostles of Christ, all over the world.

In these circumstances it is interesting to find out how the life of these Christians is sustained and nourished. Among the literary documents of Christians in South India, the Syriac manuscripts are of special importance. They take us to the very source and origins of these Christians who all ultimately go back to St Thomas, the Apostle. Much of the earliest Christian teachings are enshrined in the language of Our Lord Himself: Syriac. It was from this mainstream that the Christians in South India drew their inspirations and their nourishment.

Chor-episcopa van der Ploeg who has done signal service to all the Oriental Churches, is connected with the St Thomas Christians of South India in a very special way. He knows them not only from their literature, but also through continuous personal contacts over the years. In publishing these Syriac manuscripts, he is filling up a gap in the literary heritage of a people whom he loves so much. He has not only examined sources in India, but also made a thorough study of libraries in Europe. The present work will remain a wonderful storehouse for scholars for all time to come.

My earnest prayer is that God in His mercy, may reward him richly and keep him in good health to continue his studies of the treasures of the East and also to serve the Christians in the East with his passionate dedication. I also pray that his example may inspire many young people to drink at the pure source of Christian life and wisdom and make available to the whole world these inestimable riches of the Christian heritage.

Trivandrum

July 3, 1982

Feast of St Thomas.

Benedict Mar Gregorios,
Archbishop of Trivandrum.

PREFACE

When I first began to study the Syriac manuscripts of Kerala, my idea was to publish a catalogue of them. This soon proved to be impossible for me because quite a number of manuscripts, mostly liturgical ones, are in the hands of private persons all over Kerala. Then I resolved to study as many of them as I could find in the ecclesiastical libraries of the country accessible to me, to serve as witnesses of the development of the Church of the Christians of St. Thomas since the coming of the Portuguese in 1498 and the vicissitudes of their history. I added a study of all the Syriac manuscripts, copied in Kerala and now in the libraries of Rome, Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Leyden and Amsterdam. A good many of them are of great importance for the study of the ecclesiastical history of Kerala. Since the manuscripts, now in the European libraries, have all been fully described, it was superfluous simply to transcribe what can be found in their catalogues. But, in practice, those catalogues can only be consulted by a few specialists. For this reason I used them fully in the 3rd and 4th chapters of this book, with the restriction that I only noted what was thought to be in accordance with the scope of this book. Where necessary, I have added critical considerations to the descriptions of the catalogues, and data not found there but only in the manuscripts.

This volume is offered to the bishops, priests and faithful of the various communities of the Christians of St Thomas in South-India, reminding them not to forget their ancient heritage, but to cultivate it and to be legitimately

proud of it. For this reason it is published in India, to make it more easily available to those in that country who are interested in its contents. The author is even more conscious than any one else of the great imperfection of his work and where any mistakes have occurred, he asks the reader, borrowing the words of many a Syrian scribe, 'to correct them and to pray for the author'.

I would have liked to describe all the manuscripts according to a single system, the one now universally adopted, indicating at least the number of *folia*, the size, the script and the number of lines in the page. Owing to the circumstances under which I had to work, it was not always possible to give all these details (in a number of cases the number of pages is given instead of the *folia*), but the manuscripts are sufficiently well described to identify nearly all of them.

As far as the script is concerned, I have distinguished only between East-Syriac (Nestorian) and West-Syriac (Jacobite). In some old manuscripts *estrangelo* script is used, but in Kerala there are, for all practical purposes, only two types of manuscripts, according to the main division of the community in East Syrian and West Syrian.

I thank all those who have helped me to write this book. First of all I must mention the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (z w o.), The Hague which twice gave me grants to travel to India. Next I must mention all those who granted me permission to use their libraries in India: His Eminence Cardinal Parecattil Mar Gregorios of Trivandrum, the late Mar Athanasios of Tiruvalla, Mar Aprem and Bishop Alapatt of Trichur, the Rev. Malpan Konat of Pampakuda, the librarian of the C M. I. Fathers at Mannaram and others; in Europe the officials of the various libraries I visited, who were all very helpful to me. I would be committing a serious sin of omission if I do

not mention here the Rev. Fr E R. Hambye, S.J., specialist in the ecclesiastical history of India, especially of the Christians of St Thomas, who was always willing to help me with his advice in addition to providing me some useful *data*. The Rev. Fr Paul Bl. Kadicheeni, my former pupil, accompanied me on a journey from Trivandrum to Trichur, in search of manuscripts. With him I visited the wonderful site of Verapoly. There are also others who helped and assisted me in various ways and I am grateful to them for their services. May God reward them all and may the Christians of St Thomas strive to conserve their identity, to study their traditions and love them. The identity of a group is firmly linked with the love for its tradition. Let nobody forget this fundamental truth.

Nijmegen, Holland,

J.P.M. van der Plöeg, O.P.

Epiphany 1982.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The works listed in the bibliography are mostly quoted under the respective names of their authors, if the bibliography mentions only one of their writings.

Other abbreviations.

Baumstark = A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syr. Literatur.*

BiOr = J.S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis.*

ES = East-Syriac (script, rite etc.)

List = List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts, 1961.

NT = *New Testament.*

OT = *Old Testament.*

Trichur = Hudra of Trichur, edited by Mar Darmo.

WS = West-Syriac.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SURVEY

The history of the Christians of St Thomas has been described by several authors and in various works. More than a century ago W. Germann published his excellent *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, (Gütersloh, 1877, X + 792 pages). Among the modern works one may see the article *Syro-Malabar (Eglise)* by E. Tisserant, in *Enc. de Théol. Cath.*, (Vol. XIV, 1941, col 3089-3162). This was translated into English and embodied in *Eastern Christianity in India*, by Card. E. Tisserant, *Authorized adaptation from the French* by E.R. Hambye S.J. (London, 1957). One may see also L.W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1956); A Mathias Munda-dan C.M.I., *The arrival of the Portuguese in India and the St. Thomas Chirstians under Mar Jacob 1498-1552* (Bangalore, 1967); id., *Sixteenth Century Traditions of St. Thomas Christians* (Bangalore, 1967); Placid J. Podipara C.M.I., *The Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, (Alleppey, India, 1976); id., *Die Thomas Christen* (Würzburg, 1966); Cyril Malancharuvil O.I.C., *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Ernakulam, 1974); Nava-katesh J. Thomas, *Die Syrisch-Orthodoxe Kirche der Suedindischen Thomas-Christen* (Würzburg, 1967), and other studies and articles. Many older works are quoted in the books just mentioned and in our bibliography. For the benefit of the reader of this book, who may not be sufficiently informed on the history of the St Thomas Christians, we give here a short survey of some important facts.

Though the tradition that the apostle St Thomas preached the Gospel in S. India and died there as a martyr cannot be *convincingly* proved, there is much to say in favour of its historical value. It is well-known that there were commercial relations between South India and the Greco-Roman world as early as in the first century of our era; Greco-Roman ships sailed along the coast of Kerala and the Coromandel coast (of Tamil Nadu). During one of my journeys in Kerala a rare

golden Roman coin was shown to me recently found in the region. There was a Roman trading-centre to the south of Pondicherry which has been excavated¹. According to the constant tradition of the Christians of St Thomas, the principal field of action of the Apostle was the coast of "Malabar" Kerala, whereas he died as a martyr, according to the same tradition, near Mylapur, to the north of Madras, at a great distance from Kerala. If the localization of his martyrdom had been a piece of fiction, tradition would not have let him die far from the region where he is said to have exercised his principal apostolic activity and built seven churches. This seems to be a strong argument in favour of St Thomas' activity in S.India.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Alexandrian merchant who became a monk, sailed to India in 520 A.D.. In his *Christianiké Topografía*, Book XI, he writes that he found Nestorian Christians on the isle of Socotra (a large isle not far from the Gulf of Aden), in the coastal regions of the country now called Kerala and a few in the isle of Sri Lanka (=Ceylon). There is no doubt that at least from this time the Christians of these regions recognized the jurisdiction of the Church which proudly called itself "the Church of the East", but which Western scholars and theologians used to call "the Nestorian Church". Among the Metropolitans and Bishops of this Church the Patriarch, generally called *Katholikos* (in Syriac *qatolîqa* or *qatoîlqa patriarkîs*), was not only a *primus inter pares*, like the oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, but a real head and ruler; he was considered as the successor of St Peter in the Church of the East (cf. Mt. 16, 18). He exercised his jurisdiction over the Christians of St Thomas mainly by nominating and consecrating their Bishop-Metropolitan(s), generally chosen from among the monks of a monastery in the Middle East. In the same way the Coptic Patriarch of Egypt used to nominate and consecrate the

1 Cf. Tisserant-Hambye, p.5 (note 2).

Archbishop ("Abûna") of Ethiopia. The Christians of St Thomas whole-heartedly accepted this immemorial practice and were very much attached to it. When they were forcibly brought under the jurisdiction of Rome they resented this very much. They wished to have a Patriarch of the East as their spiritual head, as it had always been. For a long time the term "Patriarch" remained for them a kind of magic word.

The esteem in which the Patriarch was held by the Christians of Malabar is well illustrated by some phrases of the colophon of MS VatSyr 22, completed in 1301 in the town of Shengala (=Cranganore, on the West Coast of Malabar) by a boy aged only 14 years. It reads: "This holy book has been written in the royal and well-known and famous town Shengala in the land of India, in the holy church dedicated to the glorious martyr Mar Quriaqôs... whilst our blessed and holy Father Mar Yahballaha the fifth, the Turk, *qatoliqa Patriarkîs* of the East, the head of all the countries... was great Governor, holding the offices of the Catholic Church of the East, the shining lamp which illuminates its regions, the head of the pastors and Pontiff of the Pontiffs, Head of the great High Priests, Father of the Fathers... The Lord may make long his life and protract his days in order that he may govern her (=the Church) a long time, for her glory and for the exaltation of her sons. Amen." The following words concern the bishop of the community: "And Mar Jacob, Bishop-Metropolitan, Superintendent and Governor of the Holy See of the Apostle Mar Thomas, is our Governor and also of the whole Christian Church of India. The Lord may give him strength and help to be our zealous superior, to govern us according to the will of the Lord, to teach us His commandments and to make us walk in His paths in length of days, through the prayer of the holy Apostle Mar Thomas and of all those who are with him. Amen." (MS, (fol. 93v).

The style of these words is certainly conventional, but in spite of this the colophon is a witness of the great reverence and veneration, the copyist had for the Patriarch of his Church and (though less) for his Bishop-Metropolitan. It is curious that the famous Yahballaha (1283-1317) is called the fifth of this name, whereas he actually was the third. He was an *Uighûr* (=name of a Turkish tribe), born in a Chinese town where his father had been an archdeacon. The fact that the young Indian copyist called him the *fifth* instead of the *third* may indicate that the Patriarch of the Church of the East was not sufficiently known in Malabar, nobody had ever seen him and as far as we are aware he did not interfere with the internal affairs of the community. The See of Yahballaha was located in the far away town of Maragha (to the south of Tabriz in modern Persia, not far from the south-east point of the Lake of Urmia).

MS VatSyr 204a, a compilation of extracts from various works, contains the notice of the consecration of two Bishops for S.India by the Patriarch of the Church of the East in 1490 A.D. After their arrival in India one remained there as Bishop-Metropolitan, the other one returned. Afterwards Patriarch Eliah V (1502-1503) consecrated three more Bishops for "the country of India and the isles of the seas in the midst of Dabag, Sin and Masin." On their arrival in India they found Mar John, the Bishop sent to this region in 1490, in good health; we know this from the letter one of them, Mar Denha, sent to his Patriarch in the name of the four Bishops in 1504 A.D. Assemani was the first to publish this text, which he did in his *BiOr* III/1, 590-599, with a Latin translation. This text has been referred to and commented on in various works. Therefore we can be brief in summarizing its contents.

In the year 1490 A.D. two Christians from Malabar, S.India (a third had died on the way), arrived in northern Mesopotamia, in the town of Gazarta (now Cizre on the Tigris in S.Turkey, near the modern Syrian frontier) to ask

for them a Bishop from Mar Simon IV, Patriarch-Katholikós of the Church of the East (1437-1497). After due instruction the two were made priests by the Patriarch and two monks of the famous monastery of Mar Awgin were consecrated Bishops and sent to India: Mar Thomas and Mar John. The Christians of Malabar had only asked for one Bishop, but two were sent to ensure that at least one of them would arrive, the journey being long and perilous. Mar John remained in India, Mar Thomas returned to Mesopotamia.

After the death of Patriarch Simon V, his successor Eliah V (1502-1503), also residing in Gazarta, consecrated three more monks of the monastery of Mar Awgin and sent them to India, accompanied by Mar Thomas, consecrated in 1490. Their consecration took place in the monastery of Mar John the Egyptian, brother of Mar Akha, near Gazarta, in the year 1814 of the Greeks (=1503 A.D.). The episcopal names of the three newly consecrated ones were Mar Yahballaha, Mar Denḥa and Mar Jacob. Once in India, they sent a letter dated 1815 of the Greeks (=1504 A.D.) to their Patriarch, which did not reach him before he died. The letter was probably written by Mar Denḥa, who gives the title of Mar to the other two, but humbly calls himself *aksenaya* (Assemani: *peregrinus*), one of the names the monks used to give to themselves. In the letter Mar Elias is called "Katholikós-Patriarch of the East, the Mother of the four regions (of the world), who tends the flock of Christ with the staff of Peter, for which power has been given to him in heaven and on earth" (cf. Mt 16, 19). According to the letter, on their arrival in India they found Mar John still alive, and that he sends many greetings. This detail proves that there were hardly any connections between the patriarchal See and the Bishop of the remote Indian diocese. The letter further states that there are in India about 30,000 Christian families (*bāte*=houses). Even today oriental Bishops in the Middle East are used to count the number of their subjects in terms of the number

of families. They were constructing new churches, which means that the community was flourishing. The author also mentions the church of St Thomas at Mailapur (near Madras), at a distance of nearly 25 days from the coast of Malabar.

Some important news is given about the Portuguese; they waged war against the Muslim king of Calicut and built a fortress at Cochin, for the pepper trade. These Portuguese were on most friendly terms with them and they could even celebrate the Eucharist in their presence, on a Sunday called in the liturgy of the Church of the East *Nusardél* (the 7th after Pentecost). The letter also states that the Portuguese priests celebrate Mass every day (which was not their own custom). The Portuguese are called "Franks", as was customary in the Middle East.

We have another report of the arrival of the aforementioned bishops in India confirming the notice and letter of MS VatSyr 204, published by Assemani. Another notice, found in MS Syr 25.f.7r of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris reveals that its author, Mar Jacob, arrived in India in the year of the Greeks 1815 (=1502/03 A.D.) in the town of Cannanur (*knnr*), accompanied by some others. In Cannanur they met Portuguese Christians, who were very glad to see them. In the beginning of the month of Elûl (September) 1813 A.Gr. (=1502 A.D.), the notice continues, our common Father Mar Simon, Katholikós of the East, had died. In order to elect a successor, the "Fathers" (=the Bishop-Electors) had assembled along with the Metropolitan Mar Yohanan and had elected Mar Eliah as the new Katholikós. This Mar Eliah sent Mar Yahballaha and Mar Thomas as Metropolitans to India, Mar Denha and Mar Jacob as Bishops. Mar Thomas is probably the one consecrated in 1490, and he had returned to Gazarta; the three others were consecrated in the monastery of Mar John the Egyptian, near Gazarta, in the region of Kulaz, on Easter-Monday of the year 1815 of the Greeks (=8 April 1504 A.D.). According

to the Vatican MS, the year of the consecration was 1814 A.Gr. (=1503 A.D.), which seems more probable. At that time Mar Jacob must have been a very young man, not even thirty years old, since he died half a century later, after a life full of troubles and difficulties. Of his companions we know hardly anything; they may have died or they may have gone to other regions or countries leaving no traces, behind them. There is also no information about Mar John, sent to India in 1490; it seems that he died not many years after the arrival of Mar Jacob, who became his successor.

The MS of the National Library of Paris is presumed to have been copied by Mar Jacob, but later in this book we shall see that this is not true. But he copied at least one other book, now in the Vatican Library as VatSyr 17. It is a New Testament, copied in 1510 A.D. at Cranganur (*qrwngwr*), and contains the whole New Testament according to the canon of the Church of the East: Gospels, Acts, James, 1 Peter, 1 John and the Corpus Paulinum of XIV Epistles. The Catholics had also 2 Peter, 2 & 3 John, Jude and the Book of Revelation; in 1510 Mar Jacob, who was strongly influenced by the Portuguese, may have known this. But even if he had been willing to add them to his biblical text, from where could he have copied them, since they were lacking in the New Testament of the Christians of St Thomas and of the Church of the East in general?

Mar Jacob had disciples whom he taught Syriac. The book mentioned above was copied by him for his unmarried deacon George, whom he calls "his (spiritual) son." In MS VatSyr 4 the copyist Jacob, a priest, calls himself a pupil of Mar Jacob; this MS was copied in a church of Parur in 1559 A.D. According to Assemani (Catalogue) its colophon is written in very bad Syriac, full of mistakes; this judgement of the Maronite is somewhat exaggerated and certainly does not prove that Mar Jacob was a bad teacher.

The episcopal life of Mar Jacob was full of vicissitudes and adversities which have been described in detail by Father Mundadan. During his life time the Portuguese clergy, who had no understanding of the Eastern rites and the Oriental way of living were trying to latinize the Christians of St Thomas, especially those who lived in or near the coastal regions and for this reason were under their direct influence. Mar Jacob was unable to oppose this tendency effectively. It seems also that he was not a fighter. In the later years of his life he was a friend of the Franciscans and lived in their monastery at Cochin. He was known to St Francis Xavier, who recommended him to the Portuguese king in a letter written by the saint at Cochin on Jan. 26, 1549. In this letter he described Mar Jacob as "a good and holy old man" who, but for the help of the Franciscans, would already be resting with God; "he has worked much among the St Thomas Christians and now in his old age he is very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome." There are a number of rather confused reports about a younger Mesopotamian Bishop who worked among the Christians of St Thomas during the lifetime of Mar Jacob; he may have been the above-mentioned Mar Denha, but we have no information about him in Syriac sources.

After the death of Mar Jacob, presumably in 1553, two other Mesopotamian Bishops played a prominent role in the history of the Christians of St Thomas in the second half of the 16th century. The first of these was Mar Joseph, brother of the deceased Patriarch Simon VIII Sulaqa, who had acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See and had died as a martyr for the union of his Church with Rome (1551-1555). He has been succeeded by Abdiso IV Maron (1555-1571), former Bishop of Gazarta. His successors were Yahballaha V (1578-1580) and Simon IX (1581-1600). All of them lived in union with Rome.

Before he was called to the patriarchal throne, Abdiso had been Bishop-Metropolitan of Gazarta; he had been consecrated by Sulaqa. This place, called in Arabic Jeziret (=island) ibn Umar, in modern Turkish Cizre, was situated on an island formed by a bend in the Tigris and a small loop canal, about 135 kms. north-west of Mosul. The famous traveller Gertrude Bell visited the place in the spring of 1909; she did not see anything but ruins there and wrote that the region had a bad reputation for its fever². To the west of Gazarta stretches the famous mountainous region called in Arabic Tûr Abdin (=mountain of the servants, i.e. of the monks, the servants of God *par excellence*) with its many monasteries, now nearly all in ruins. The region lies within the Turkish border. The Chaldean See of Gazarta and the monastery of Mar John the Egyptian have been of great importance for the Christians of St Thomas in S.India.

Patriarch Abdiso sent a certain Mar Eliah, a Metropolitan, as visitor to India with the instruction to instal Mar Joseph, brother of the murdered Sulaqa, as Bishop-Metropolitan of the diocese of the Christians of St Thomas. He was a monk, presumably of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd of which his brother Sulaqa had been Superior. His sad history and that of his colleague, contemporary and successor, Mar Abraham, has been described by several authors (e.g. Tisserant-Hambye, pp. 34-47). Mar Joseph died in Rome (or on the way to Rome) in 1569, Mar Abraham in Malabar in 1597. They were succeeded by Latin Bishops. Their history is one of continuous struggle with the Portuguese clergy to conserve the oriental and Chaldean identity of their diocese, their rite and canon law, and also of struggle with the Portuguese civil authorities, who for commercial reasons were determined to cut off every connection of the people of Malabar with the Middle East.

2. Gertrude L.Bell, *Five Months in the Garden of Eden (Amurath to Amurath)*, London, 1911, p. 295-297.

For the Portuguese clergy the Christians of St Thomas were Nestorians, or at least suspect of Nestorian heresy. The Portuguese did not doubt their own (Latin) superiority and wanted the Latin ecclesiastical customs to be adopted by the Christians of S. India, for their own benefit. This inevitably led to conflicts with the Mesopotamian Bishops who were not infrequently supported by Rome and with the people. But Rome could not intervene effectively, in the presence of the opposition of the Portuguese colonial authorities and the Portuguese clergy.

After his consecration by Patriarch Abdiso IV in 1557 or 1558, Mar Joseph went to Ormuz (an island in the Persian Gulf, now Hormoz, south of the Persian town Abbas), from where he sailed to Mozambique in Africa. There he had to await a favourable wind to sail to Goa, India. In those times a long journey on the open sea was a perilous and laborious undertaking; people did not sail for their pleasure and often died on the way. During his stay in Mozambique Mar Joseph passed his time copying manuscripts. In the colophon of an East-Syriac pontificale (Vat Syr 45), copied in Mozambique Mar Joseph calls himself "Bishop and Metropolitan", not mentioning his See, of which he had not yet taken possession. He had probably been consecrated "For India", without mention of a special See. The copying was completed on 8.7.1556 A.D.; it had been done from another copy of the pontificale, copied in 1529 A.D. by the monk Abraham, master (malpānā) "of the school of the blessed Mar Akha in the blessed region of Gazarta Zabdayta."

From Mozambique the Bishop and his companions (amongst whom were the Chaldean Metropolitan Mar Eliah and the Maltese Dominican Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg) sailed for Goa, from where they were sent to a Franciscan monastery in the Portuguese town, a commercial centre of Bassein, to the north of Bombay, the ruins of which still

exist with the remains of several churches and monasteries.³ They had to remain there for one and a half years. The Superior of the Franciscans had orders to persuade Mar Joseph to return to Mesopotamia but the unexpected presence in Malabar of a certain Mar Simon, a Nestorian Bishop, was the reason for finally sending him to the Christians of St. Thomas, to counteract the influence and activities of the Nestorian intruder. His best loved companion was the visitor Mar Eliah, mentioned above.

In the monastery of Bassein, where they were virtually prisoners, the two Bishops not only learnt the Latin rite (both celebrated Mass in Latin on Easter-Sunday 1557), but Mar Joseph continued to copy books. One of these was the famous *nomocanon* of Abdiso of Soba, the most important collection of ecclesiastical laws for the Church of the East, which Mar Joseph intended to observe in the government of his diocese. The copying was completed on 17.12.1556 A.D. (VatSyr 128). In the colophon of VatSyr 88 Mar Joseph calls himself Bishop and Metropolitan, unworthy to hold this holy office. He is full of genuine praise for the holy monks of the various monasteries of Bassein. This book was copied in 1556 on the isle of Salsette (not far from Bassein), under the protection of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God (*sic*, not "Mother of Christ").

From Bassein-Salsette the two Bishops went to Cochin; after some time Mar Eliah returned to Mesopotamia whereas Mar Joseph was sent by the Portuguese Inquisition to Lisbon; there he remained one year. When these things happened, the Chaldean Patriarch again sent a Bishop to Malabar, Mar Abraham, a person so different in character

3. Bassein has been an important Portuguese centre from 1534-1739. Its impressive ruins attract tourists and are witnesses to a glorious past. Cf. e.g. *A handbook of Travellers in India*.....by L. F. Rushbrook Williams, London 1968 p. 26-27,

from the too indulgent and lenient Mar Joseph. He also met with the opposition of the Portuguese, but he managed to escape several times from their hands and was able to govern his diocese until his death in 1597. He was the last of a long line of Mesopotamian Bishops who have governed the Christians of St Thomas in S. India. Once he was arrested and sent to Portugal, but he managed to escape and went to his Patriarch in Mesopotamia, by whom he was sent to Rome, a less dangerous place than the regions dominated by the Portuguese. Here he was told to share the diocese of Malabar with Mar Joseph and after the death of the latter he became the only Bishop of the whole diocese.

From Lisbon Mar Joseph was allowed to go back to Malabar, but from there he was again sent to Lisbon, from where he went to Rome ; he died either in Rome or on his journey to the eternal city in Italy. In his book on the Chaldean Church in the century of its union with Rome, Mgr G. Beltrami (the later Cardinal) published a letter (in Italian), written by Mar Eliah, Bishop-Metropolitan of Diarbekr, to Rome in the beginning of 1581. In this letter he mentions the vicissitudes of Mar Joseph, revealing that at the moment of his death he owed 1503 *zoochini* (ducats) to a widow and her five children in "Assiria", which she could prove by documents. Mar Eliah asks that the money be sent to the family of the creditors, since Mar Joseph had left behind him books, goods and perhaps money (Beltrami, o.c., p. 202). ⁴

After his return from Rome, Mar Abraham had gone to Goa, where he was confined in the monastery of the Dominicans, but he managed to escape to the hilly regions of

4. Tisserant-Hambye, p. 41; Tisserant, *Dict. de Theol. Cath.*, XIV, col. 3104 and also Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*.....p. 189. Levi della Vida makes a mistake by giving the impression that the widow was Mar Joseph's own widow! The text of the letter, quoted integrally by Beltrami, *La Chiesa Caldea*.....pp. 199-203, has *una veva* (a widow), not *la vedova* (the widow), as quoted by Levi della Vida,

Malabar ; there the Portuguese did not have enough power to get hold of him. He presented a profession of faith to Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) and in 1572 he wrote a letter to the same Pontiff. Invited to Goa to attend a Synod, he came only when he was sufficiently convinced that his freedom would not be imperilled. This Synod took place in 1585 ; before that time, in 1583, he himself held a Synod, probably at Angamali. From Goa Mar Abraham returned to Malabar accompanied by Francis Roz S.J., his future successor, who was given to him as a counsellor and certainly also as a supervisor.

Mar Abraham wished to preserve his oriental identity and his Chaldean rite, liturgy and canon law ; in 1590 he refused to ordain the seminarians of the Jesuit seminary of Vaipicotta in the Latin rite. Roz was not satisfied with him and took steps to have him removed. A Jesuit of Maronite descent denounced Mar Abraham to his Superior General in Rome, whereupon Clement VIII entrusted the Archbishop of Goa, the Augustinian friar Alexis de Menezes, with an enquiry, on 27.1.1595. When this Prelate came to Malabar to visit the Latin communities, Mar Abraham died (February 1597).

Mar Abraham did not want to be called a Nestorian. We know it from a marginal note in a copy of the Nomocanon of Abdiso of Soba, copied for Mar Abraham in Mesopotamia. It is now in the library of the Syrian Archbishop of Ernakulam (NP L 22 of the library). In its colophon one reads that its copying was completed on May 25, in the year 1874 of the Greeks (= 1563 A.D.) by a priest of the town of Gazarta. Mar Abraham is called "Bishop of India", and praised as a scholar. The marginal note on p.1 of the MS runs vertically from top to bottom ; in translation it means :

The cursed Nestorius, the rapacious wolf, does not belong to us and we do not belong to him. But his name

sticks to us and every time we reject it from us, it is not taken away and does not leave us.

Therefore we curse and excommunicate him. And we declare that he is a foreigner to our church and faith, as proclaims and teaches the holy Church of the Romans. And we confess and believe that the blessed Mary is the Mother of God and procreated Him. And our Lord Jesus Christ is in two natures and in one person, truly God, without divisions..... This curse was formulated by Mar Abraham, Metropolitan of Angamali of the Christians.

We shall discuss this text later in our book. The curse may have been formulated in Mesopotamia, because it contains words found also in a letter written by Patriarch Eliah to Pope Paul V in c. 1612, (cf. Assemani, BiOr I, 547 b. (*Verum nomen Nestorii adhaesit nobis et non possumus illud rejicere*)).

In the library of the Mar Ivanios College at Trivandrum we found a book of Gospels, copied in 1563 by a priest Jacob, disciple of Mar Joseph, "Bishop and Metropolitan of India and of the whole East." It was completed on the 15th of August of that year. This proves that Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham were Bishops in Malabar at the same time.

The Mesopotamian priest who copied the Nomocanon for Abraham was a Catholic; in the text of Credo "of the 318 Fathers" (f10v) he adds the Syriac translation of the *Filioque*. Mar Abraham had been consecrated by Patriarch Abdiso, who was a Catholic, and there is no reason to think that he sent a Nestorian to Malabar; on the contrary, Mar Abraham wished to remain faithful to his spiritual heritage as a whole and was certainly not aware of all the subtleties of Western theology.

In Malabar the 16th century was a time of continuous struggle between the Portuguese clergy and the St Thomas

Christians and their priests. From time immemorial they had received their Bishop-Metropolitans from Mesopotamia, a faraway foreign country with which they had few connections or none. On arrival, these foreign prelates could only converse in Syriac with those who knew the language, that is, the clergy and a few others. For all practical purposes the diocese was administrated by an Archdeacon, chosen from a prominent local family. The fact that the Bishops came from abroad belonged to a constant and unalterable tradition; a desire for a change did not even cross the minds of the Christians of Malabar. The fact that the Portuguese wished to put an end to it and the alterations they wished to introduce profoundly disturbed them. They lived according to the "Law of St Thomas," as they thought, for them a holy heritage. Mar Abraham did everything in his power to preserve in his diocese the old traditions of his Church, probably even those which were unacceptable to the Portuguese. This was the reason of their conflict.

In the 16th century Syriac manuscripts continued to be copied in Kerala but we possess only a very limited number of them. As far as we know, there was no original indigenous production of Syriac books, just hardly one or two, if any. The works prescribed by the Synod of Diamper (Actio III, Decr, XIV) are nearly all drawn from Middle East copies or sources. The liturgy was celebrated according to the rite of the "High Monastery" in or near Mosul, Iraq, but in former times the liturgy of the patriarchal Cathedral at Kokha (Seleucia-Ctesiphon) seems to have served as a model. This means that the ecclesiastical and liturgical life of the community was not free from influence from abroad.

In the Vatican library there is a copy of the Old Testament in two volumes (VatSyr 2 and 3), copied in 1558 A.D. at Angamali by a *rabbān* (title for monks) and priest Giwar-gis (George). On p. 176 of the first volume one finds a kind of colophon stating that Christ is in one person (*parṣopa*)

and in two natures, the natures of God and man, joined by the freewill (of God) to make up a unity of one undivided Lordship (*marûta*); the Godhead dwells miraculously in a holy temple of our race, having united itself with it, and is adored in one *parşopa*. This terminology is predominantly Nestorian, but is nevertheless the result of a compromise with Catholic doctrine, because the author avoids saying that Christ is one *parşopa* (person) in two *qnome* (= hypostâseis, substantiae, "persons"). He did not wish to hurt the Roman Catholics or explicitly to profess Nestorian doctrine, but he maintained as far as possible the doctrine in which he had been educated and which he found in his books. He expresses in it terms which *might* be understood in an orthodox way, but clearly betray their origin.

The colophon of the 2nd volume says that it was copied "in the church of the Blessed Mary, Mother of light and life" at Angamali, in the year 1558 "of the birth of our Lord..". The expression "Mother of light and life" is also found in other Kerala manuscripts and one is inclined to think that it was used to avoid both the expressions "Mother of Christ" and "Mother of God." For the priest Giwargis of Angamali the struggle between the two forms of confession of faith was not yet been resolved.

In the house of the present Metropolitan of the Church of the East at Trichur there is a manuscript of the type called *kaskûl* (or *kaskol*, *keskol*) which contains the text for the canonical hours of ordinary weekdays. It was copied in Kothamangalam in the year 1895 of Alexander, 1584 of the Nativity of Christ, Kollam 761 by one Mattay, son of the priest Joseph whose name is *pwnwrkdn* (Pûnûrkadan). Kothamangalam is a town in the hills to the East of Ernakulam at a distance of more than 40 kms as the crow flies, where the influence of the Portuguese was not strong or perhaps did not exist. The town is called "blessed and fertile in the orthodox faith." This faith was certainly the one of the Church of the East. The element *doxa* in the Greek word "orthodox"

is understood by the Syrians in the meaning of "praise"; for them "orthodox" means "to be rightly praised" but it refers first of all to the faith. In the colophon the Pope of Rome is not mentioned but rather "the Father of the Fathers and Rabba of the Pastors Mar Simon *qatoliqa patriark'i*s of the East" and "Mar Abraham, Bishop-Metropolitan of India". Mar Simon was Simon IX Denha, who lived in union with Rome and governed his Church until 1600, but it seems that this was not of interest for our copyist who nowhere in his book mentions the Pope of Rome.

The *kašköl* follows the *taqsa* (order, rite) of the "High Monastery of Mar Gabriel and Mar Abraham", a monastery of which at present only the church exists in the northern part of the town Mosul (opposite the ancient Nineveh, on the western bank of the Tigris), the present Tahra of the Chaldeans. It was a very old monastery; the Nestorian Patriarch Isoyahb III, the famous reformer of the liturgy, is said to have lived there in the middle of the 7th century. J. M. Fiey O.P., gives credit to a tradition according to which it disappeared in 1261, but he is not certain.⁵ The way the liturgy was celebrated in this monastery was considered as a norm for all the Churches of the East; for this reason it is mentioned in several liturgical manuscripts found or copied in Malabar. But the way it is expressly mentioned seems to point to an earlier use which was not the same.

In accordance with the prescriptions of Diamper (Actio III, Decr. 15) a few passages have been corrected in the MS by a later hand because of their obviously Nestorian contents, as will be more fully described later in this book. The

5. Cf. J. M. Fiey, O.P., *Mossoul chretienne*, Beyrouth 1959, p. 121 ss. See also A. Rücker, *Das Obere Kloster bei Mosul und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Ostsyrischen Liturgie*, *Oriens Christianus*, 1932, pp. 180-187.

copyist noted that his father was a priest, which proves that after the coming of the Portuguese the Mesopotamian Bishops had continued to ordain married men, or even to allow the marriage of priests. as was the custom in the Nestorian Church since 486 A.D.⁶

The extant Syriac manuscripts confirm what we already knew from historical sources, *viz.*, that the Portuguese influence was strongest in the coastal regions of the country, but did not extend very strongly to the interior parts. An energetic Bishop like Mar Abraham was able to save in more distant regions at least a part of the traditions which have been lost, and also, retain his own freedom of action.

After the death of Mar Abraham a successful attempt was made to incorporate the diocese of Angamali definitively into the framework of the Church of Latin rite and Latin canon law. This was the work of the Austin friar Archbishop Alexis de Menezes (15.1.1559 -2.5.1617). He became Archbishop of Goa on 13.2.1595 and was a most energetic man, ready to risk his life for what he considered his duty. After the death of the last Mesopotamian bishop he convoked and organized a Synod in the village of Udiamperur (Diamper), not far from Cochin, fully to incorporate the diocese of the Christians of St Thomas into the Roman Catholic Church of Latin rite. This Synod, held in 1599, has never officially been recognized by Rome, as canon law prescribes and without this approval the decrees had no canonical value. In spite of this the decrees of Diamper became something like the ecclesiastical constitution of those St Thomas Christians who were willing to submit to it.

6. In the first centuries of the Persian Church, celibacy was compulsory for the whole clergy; even its lower ranks. Under strong pressure it was abolished by a synod held in 486.

The history of the Synod with its prefabricated (even partly post-fabricated) decrees has fully been described by Father (later Bishop of Rajkot) Jonas Thaliath C.M.I. and does not require to be repeated here.⁷ It was held in the church of Diamper where all the priests and four lay delegates of each village had to assemble on the 3rd Sunday after Pentecost, the 20th of June, 1599. In one week all was over and the closing ceremony took place on the 27th of the same month. This means that there could not have been any real deliberations; the decrees were only read and imposed. For our knowledge of the customs of the St Thomas Christians of that time the decrees are of great importance; but for those immediately concerned they prepared the drama of the secession of a part of the community in the middle of the 17th century and its present disunity and divisions. It is clear the principal author of this drama, Archbishop de Menêzes, was only moved by his religious conviction and zeal and by what he considered as his duty, for which he was prepared even to give up his life. His extraordinary energy and youthful courage (in 1599 he was only forty years old) finally made it possible for the greater part of the Christians of St Thomas to remain faithful members of the Roman Catholic Church until this day.

The Synod issued a very unfortunate and fatal decree: it ordered the destruction of practically all the Syriac books (=manuscripts), except the biblical and liturgical ones. The latter were needed for celebration of Mass and for the recitation of the canonical hours.⁸ Therefore they were not to be

7. See J.Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, passim. In 1968 the text of the Synod has been reprinted photographically in the edition of F.Raulin, *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo*, Rome, 1745 (republished by Gregg International Publishers, 1969).

8. In its *Actio VII, De Sacramento Ordinis, Decr.1*, the Synod demanded that those priests who did not know Latin should have the same degree of knowledge of Syriac as the Synod of Trent prescribed with regard to the Latin. Therefore, the Synod commanded that no "Syrian" can be ordained who has an insufficient knowledge of the Syriac language.

handed over to the envoys of Menezes to be burned, but had to be "corrected" (Actio III, Decr. 15). Menezes did not believe in half measures, he ordered all these things under penalty of excommunication. He did not understand Syriac himself, and there can be little doubt that the list of books to be burned was compiled, chiefly by Francis Roz S.J., the later Bishop. If he is really its author, he was the first scholar in Kerala systematically to study Syriac manuscripts, not to preserve them or to preserve at least the knowledge of them, but to have them destroyed.

During our research we found no books proscribed by the decree of Diamper, except some short passages. But the wholesale loss of so many books cannot be attributed to the Diamper Synod alone. The damp tropical climate and the greed of its insects have played their part in it. When we visited the widow of a deceased *chorepiscopa* she showed us some of the manuscripts of her husband, most of which were in a deplorable state. In addition one should not forget that when in the middle of the 17th century an important group of Christians separated themselves from the main body, gradually to become Jacobites, they too lost their interest in the old literature of the "Church of the East".

The Synod did not aim at completely doing away with Syriac liturgy and language, as had been tried unsuccessfully in the preceding period, but the liturgy of Mass was thoroughly revised in accordance with Latin theology and the anaphorae of Theodore of Mopsueste and Nestorius were proscribed (not because of their contents, but because of the names of their supposed authors).⁹ The Catholic

9. The Synod proscribed also the anaphora of Diodorus (*Actio V, De S. Missae Sacrificium, Decr. 2*), the existence of which is doubtful, Patriarch Isayahb III (647-958), the great reformer of the liturgy in the Nestorian Church, reduced the number of anaphorae to three: Apostles, Theodore, Nestorius. It is not impossible, however, that in such a remote region as Malabar a liturgy of Diodorus, whose name

Chaldeans in the Middle East still use those anaphorae. The length of both may have been another reason for suppressing them. Ordinations were performed in Latin and in the Latin rite. The other sacraments were administered according to the Latin rite, translated into Syriac. In course of time the very long prayers of the canonical hours were shortened. In the Holy Week Latin ceremonies were introduced. The liturgical calendar was gradually revised and purged of Nestorian saints. Saints of the western Church were introduced, like St Sebastian, whose veneration has become a lasting success even to this day. One can often see processions being taken in honour of the saint, the priest carrying an arrow (the saint suffered martyrdom in Rome; according to a later tradition he was a soldier who was riddled with arrows). He was also invoked against the plague. Celibacy became compulsory for the clergy, as it was in the Latin Church. Theological literature became predominantly Latin. But the Syriac language was still taught and written and a thorough knowledge of it was even obligatory for those who wished to become priests.

Being cut off from Mesopotamia and ruled by a Latin hierarchy, the community was like a branch cut off from its tree. Syriac writing deteriorated in course of time, its script was influenced by the round forms of Malayalam letters and the rules of grammar were not always well observed. In spite of this, many priests preserved a real knowledge of Syriac and not a few were interested in old Syriac literature. Only now after the second Vatican Council, Syriac is quickly ceasing to be the liturgical language in Catholic Malabar, both for Mass and the administration

was always associated with those of Theodore and Nestorius survived until the Synod of Diamper. The Libanese Maronite Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664), who worked in Rome, affirms to have seen its text, cf. Assemani, *Bior III/1*, p.29. For Abraham see *Dict. de Th. Cath.*, Vol. I, col. 116-118,

of the Sacraments as well as for the canonical hours. Its place has been taken by the local language: Malayālam. The time does not seem to be far off when Syriac will be understood only by a few specialists among the priests. The modern propaganda for an entirely new "Indian" liturgy is even a threat to the existence of the Catholic Christians of St Thomas as a separate community, though many do not anticipate this. The Nestorians at Trichur preserve Syriac as their liturgical language.

In 1599 Francis Roz S.J. was appointed by the Holy See Bishop (not Metropolitan or Archbishop) of Angamali, considered as a suffragan See to the Latin See of Goa. By this nomination the Chaldean Patriarch lost *de facto* his right to nominate and to consecrate Bishops for the Christians of St Thomas. Roz thought it wise not to reside at Angamali but in the coastal town of Cranganore, where he could enjoy the protection of the Portuguese garrison. This brought him into conflict with the Latin Bishop of Cochin. To put an end to the quarrel, Roz was promoted by Rome to the dignity of Archbishop, while the diocese of Cochin was divided and Cranganore assigned to Angamali. In 1604 Roz held a Synod in which a text for the celebration of Mass, in its simple form and in the solemn one now called *rāza*, was fixed which deviated from the prescriptions given at Diamper.

It is thought that Roz succeeded in preventing the explicit approbation of the Synod of Diamper by Rome; this gave him an opportunity to go his own way, wherever he thought it necessary. He died in 1624 and was buried in a church at Cranganore on the 16th of February of the same year, according to Brown (p.96), but Germann quotes Paulinus (± 1774), who found a tombstone in the church of North-Parur, stating (in Malayālam) that Roz died on Sunday the 18th of February at ten o'clock in the evening, at the beginning of Lent (according to the Chaldean liturgy; o. c., p. 437).

This deviation is very clear when one consults the Latin text (translation) of the "Mass of Menezes", published by A. de Gouvea as an appendix to his well-known *Jornada* (the pages of this appendix are not numbered). Gouvea had accompanied Archbishop Menezes during his journeys in Malabar and he belonged to the same religious order of the Austin friars. He wrote his *Jornada* at Goa in 1603 and it was published, having duly passed censorship, at coimbra in 1606. This means that the text of the Mass was sent to Portugal before Bishop Roz held his Synod in 1604. It has one page of introduction in Portuguese, followed by 17 pages of Latin text of more than 50 lines a page. We read that it is a translation of the text of the Mass "used by the ancient Christians of St. Thomas of the diocese of Angamalle of the Serras (mountainous regions) of Malabar of East-India, purged from errors by Frey Aleyxo de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa and Primate of India" From this translation it appears that the "Mass of Menezes" was in some respects closer to the *qurbāna* of the Church of the East, as practised in Malabar, than the *textus receptus* used later, until 1960; in other respects it deviates from it in a non-traditional way. We may suppose that the *textus receptus* was mainly, if not entirely, the work of Roz and his Angamali Synod of 1604.

The title of the Mass is *Sacrum beatorum Apostolorum*, which means that the text of the first anaphora ("of the Apostles" = Adday and Mari) had been chosen. In the first few lines we read that the priest goes to the altar preceded by the deacon or a minister who is swinging the censer, a ceremony which has now disappeared. As soon as they arrive at the altar the priest makes no sign of the cross but begins abruptly with "Glory be to God in the highest", which he says two times, not three as was and is still the custom (but this may be a printer's error, as there are also others like this). In the first part

of the Mass no distinction is made between prayers said for Sundays and for weekdays; one is printed after the other, both forming a pair, without any rubrics: two before the psalms of the day, two before the hymn *lakû mara* ("Thee O Lord...."), two before the *trisagion*. The latter is followed by the first and second of the three most used *Karôzûta* (litany prayers), said or sung by the deacon ("God of mercies".... and "Let us pray and beseech"....). In the meantime the priest prepares the paten and the chalice, assisted by the deacon; he places the chalice at the south side of the altar, the paten at the northern one. Then he takes them in his hands, reciting the usual prayers of the Offertory, accompanied by a hymn. Now the deacon recites the third *karozûta* ("With supplication and prayer.."), during which the priest washes his hands. Only now the readings of the Epistle and the Gospel take place (no portions from the Old Testament), immediately followed by the Credo.

What follows is more or less identical with the *textus receptus*, with a number of minor exceptions. The priest does not interrupt his prayers as frequently as he does in the *textus receptus* (and in the original one). The words of the consecration, translated from the Latin, have been placed after the complete anaphora, (with its epiclesis at the end). After the consecration of the chalice we read the words *Hoc erit nobis pignus usque ad consummationem saeculi, gloria tibi Domine mi, gloria tibi Domine mi, gloria tibi Domine mi propter ineffabile donum tuum*, (for which see the Acts of the Diamper Synod, Actio V, *De Missae Sacrificio*, Decretum I).

The text edited by Gouvea has all the changes prescribed as corrections by the Diamper Synod. Some prayers especially among those to be said by the deacon, are not found in the *textus receptus*. This may be an indication that Roz has shortened the text as approved and corrected.

by Menezes; a number of corrections imposed by the former were not accepted by him. For this he may have had several reasons: he may have thought it unnecessary to change traditional texts which can be understood in a perfectly orthodox way, whereas some of them, in poetical passages, corrupted the poetical rhythm with its prescribed number of syllables and could only be sung with great difficulty. Menezes does not seem to have been aware of the latter, from which one may conclude that he worked on a Latin translation of the liturgical text. Even Nowadays the Catholic Chaldeans in the Middle East *sing* their Mass; "low Mass" is unknown among them.

Francis Roz was succeeded by two Portuguese Bishops who were Jesuits: Stephen de Brito (1624-1641) and Francis Garzia Mendez (1641-1659). After the death of the latter, the See remained vacant for a number of years. In the meantime the priest Parampil Thumi (in Latin Thomas a Campo) became Archdeacon of the archdiocese and defended the old rights of his predecessors in office.

In the spring of 1652 an eastern monk arrived on the scene of the Church of Malabar. He pretended to be a Patriarch (still a magic word for the Christians of St Thomas), sent by the Holy See. When he was visiting the shrine of St Thomas near Madras, he was arrested and sent to Goa, where he was cruelly executed in 1654. The false rumour spread that he was drowned on his way to Goa.

The news of the coming of this obscure man had stirred a new hope in the hearts of many members of the old Christian community. When a report of his arrest reached them, they were upset. A group collected at the so-called Coonan Cross on the half-isle of Matanchery, opposite Cochin (the cross is still there in a small Catholic chapel in the main street and is much venerated). There they

abjured the Jesuit prelates, stating that they would no longer obey Archbishop Garzia. The famous "oath of the Coonan cross" was sworn in 1653; it inaugurated the breaking away of a considerable part of the community from the main body, which remained faithful to the Church of Rome. The insurgents assembled at Alangad (a place to the north-east of Cochin, near the Periyar river) and there twelve priests imposed their hands on the Archdeacon,¹⁰ who thus became their Bishop-Metropolitan. The twelve and their adherents certainly knew that what they did was contrary to the canons of the Churches of East and West and by all normal standards invalid. But they assumed that in the present circumstances it was the only thing they could do. The newly consecrated Archdeacon styled himself Mar Thomas I and was succeeded in his office by a series of equally uncanonically (and invalidly) consecrated prelates, until Mar Thomas VI (1765-1808) received a true episcopal consecration from the hands of a Mesopotamian prelate in 1772. From this day he called himself Mar Dionysios I, thus recognizing implicitly the invalidity of his former consecration and those of his predecessors.

The rebellion was facilitated by the fact that the Portuguese power in Malabar was gradually broken by the Dutch United East-Indian Company (the V.O.C.). This Company was governed by a board residing at Amsterdam, whose 17 members were protestants. One coastal town after another fell into the hands of the Company. In 1658 Quilon (Kollam, Kulam) was occupied and in 1663 the last portuguese stronghold, Fort Cochin, had to be surrendered. The Dutch did not try to impose their cult or religion, or even to propagate it; they came as traders and only for trade, but the end of the Portuguese power in Kerala meant also the end of the dominance of the Portuguese clergy and Bishops in this region.

10. See, Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of All-India*, Kottayam, 1972,

Mar Thomas I and those who had chosen him as their prelate wanted to renew the ties of the community with the Middle East. Despite all the Latin innovations they had continued to commemorate in the Eucharistic liturgy "all the Patriarchs and Bishops and priests and deacons" without making mention, in this prayer, of the See of Rome; Roz had not thought it wise to suppress it, probably because it was popular and said by the whole congregation. The dissidents seem to have been incapable, for reasons still unknown to us, to establish contact with the Nestorian Patriarch Eliah X (1660-1700), then residing in the monastery of Rabbān Hormizd in a mountainous region to the north of Mosul, or his rival, Simon XIII Denḥa (1662-1700), who had withdrawn to the inaccessible village of Kotchannes in the Hakkiari Mountains, now in S. Turkey. They established relations with the Jacobite ("Syrian-Orthodox") Patriarch of Antioch, residing in the Tūr Abdin, in a monastery called Deir ez-Za 'frān ("the saffran monastery", not "the yellow monastery, as is sometimes translated), not far from Mardin. It is difficult to assume that Thomas I had any idea of the dogmatic tenets of the Jacobites as opposed to those of the Church of the East or of Rome, nor of the differences which had always existed between Jacobites and Nestorians.

As far as we know the Christians of St Thomas had never been in contact with the monophysites of Mesopotamia and Syria. We know of a man from Malabar called Caspar (in portuguese texts Gaspar), who became a servant, later a deacon of the Jacobite Patriarch Na'mattallah. Under terrible pressure this Patriarch had committed apostasy, by becoming a Muslim. He repented soon, and fled to Rome in 1577/8, where he was from 15.5.1580-11.4.1581 teacher of Arabic in the *collegio dei Neofiti*, founded for converts from Judaism and Islam. There are still some WS manuscripts copied by Caspar

which will be mentioned later in this book. It is almost certain that Caspar cannot be considered as a possible link between the Christians of St Thomas and the Jacobite or Roman Churches. According to a notice appearing in a Syriac manuscript, now in a public library at Halle, East-Germainy, N^o Q r UuLB (cf. Assfalg, p.91), he was from Malabar and had been a "slave" (*servum olim*). The Synod of Diamper mentions the fact that the Christians of St Thomas sometimes had black slaves, taken captive in war (*captivos nigros...servos*; Actio VII, De matrimonio, Decr. 12). He may have been one of these. But it also happened that poor parents gave their children to a church to be educated as *servi*, "slaves" or "servants" as we know from some Portuguese documents incorporated in CodSyr 25 of the National Library of Paris. The name Caspar is unknown among the Christians of St Thomas, was common in Portugal. Our Caspar may have got his name from Portuguese priests but it is not known how he became a servant of the Jacobite Patriarch. In his house he learned Arabic and probably also Syriac, for which he used, of course, the WS script; his handwriting was mediocre. There is no reason to assume that he brought the Christians of St Thomas into contact with the Jacobites of the Middle East. His case seems to have been an isolated one, but there may have been more of this kind.

A successor of Thomas I, Mar Thomas V (1686-1725), sent letters to his Antiochian Patriarch through the services of the Dutch East-Indian Company, but they never arrived at their destination, the Dutch not knowing the whereabouts of the Eastern prelate unknown to them. At Amsterdam nobody could read the letters. A copy accompanying the first letter was sent to Carolus Schaaf, a lecturer, later extraordinary professor of "Oriental languages" at the University of Leiden, as we shall state at the end of this book. Schaaf taught at the University from 1679-1729 (the year of his death). He read the first

letter and published it with the answer he had sent to Mar Thoma. This was the beginning of a correspondence (in Syriac) between the two men. It is believed some young men were sent from Malabar to Leyden for studies, but there is no evidence that the Dutch seriously tried to propagate in Malabar their Protestant doctrine and cult. The circumstances under which the correspondence with the Patriarch of Antioch had to be conducted demonstrate how difficult it was for the Christians of St Thomas to come into contact with their new Antiochian overhead. Until now we have ignored how the very first contact took place.

Two years after the conquest of Cochin by the Dutch (1663), the first Jacobite Bishop arrived in Malabar. His name was Mar Gregorios and he was Metropolitan in the monastery of St Mark in Jerusalem. He was in Malabar from 1665-1672, where he died. Only in 1685 two other Jacobite Bishops arrived from the Middle East: Mar Basilios and Mar John. In the course of time they were followed by others.

The newcomers could not eradicate at once all the Latin elements from the liturgy of the seceded Christians, nor were they able to replace the whole liturgy and canon law of the Church of the East (as far as it still existed) with their own Jacobite liturgy and canon law. Some latinizations, introduced by the Portuguese Priests and hierarchy, had so intimately become a Part of their tradition, that the community, ignoring their origin, refused to give them up. Mar Gregorios had to compromise and even went so far as to celebrate Mass in the latinized Syriac liturgy, but with his own vestments and leavened bread.

From the manuscripts we were able to study it is abundantly clear that the Jacobite Bishops first tried to introduce their eucharistic liturgy, whereas other ceremonies,

before all the office of the canonical hours, remained unchanged for a long time. The dissidents continued to use the ES script for more than one century; only after that it began to disappear, to be completely eradicated in the beginning of the second quarter of the 19th century; the manuscripts prove this abundantly. In the beginning even the texts of the WS Eucharistic liturgy were copied in ES script. In the 17/18th century we observe the appearance of a new kind of writing: Malayālam written in Syriac characters, with the addition of some Malayālam letters (Malayālam has many more consonants than Syriac). The practice of writing a language in a script of another one is very old in the Middle East, where it is now called *garsûni* (written also *karsûni* a word of unknown origin, perhaps the name of a person?), mostly Arabic in Syriac characters. At present the priests who can read the Malayālam *garsûni* are rare: most of those whom I approached for explanations did not even know of its existence or even flatly denied it.

When the news of the schism reached Rome, the authorities were much disturbed. They decided to replace the Portuguese Bishops of the Society of Jesus, who had been ordered by the Dutch to leave the country, with the Italian Carmelites. Three of them were sent to Malabar, of whom one, fra Joseph Sebastiani (Joseph a Sancta Maria) became the first Apostolic Vicar. He arrived in Malabar in the beginning of 1657, with the mission to take all the necessary measures to remove the schism. After his first visit he returned to Rome to report to the Propaganda; he came back in 1660, secretly having been consecrated Bishop. When Fort Cochin was conquered by the Dutch (1663) Bishop Joseph was ordered to leave within a few days. He convened a Synod at Kaduthuruthy, where Alexander de Campos (Parambil Chandy) was elected his successor and was given episcopal consecration by virtue of the special powers Joseph had received from the Roman authorities. This Alexander was a cousin of Mar

Thomas I, the former Archdeacon Thomas de Campos. He was consecrated on February 1st 1663 and lived until 1687. In 1674 he asked for a coadjutor and the Propaganda ordered that this should be a native, a Christian of St Thomas. In spite of this instruction, the Portuguese Raphael de Figueredo Salgado was appointed in the beginning of 1676, designated by two Carmelite envoys sent from Rome to Malabar in 1675. They acted, apparently, against their instruction that the elect should not be a European. Salgado was appointed on the 3rd of March 1676, but because of the opposition offered by Bishop Alexander, he was consecrated only in 1683 and he began to rule the diocese without regard for the rights of Alexander. In 1684 Salgado was suspended from office by the Propaganda and a converted Brahmin, known as Custodio de Pinho, was nominated Apostolic Visitor. In 1700 a new Apostolic Vicar was nominated in the person of the Carmelite friar Angelo Francesco a S. Teresa, who governed the vicariate until his death in 1712.

The Apostolic Vicars had jurisdiction over the Syrians as well as over the Latins. This situation remained the same, until the vicariate became an Archbishopric (1886); in 1887 the Syrians were placed under the jurisdiction of two special Apostolic Vicars; Adolph Medlycott of Trichur and Charles Lavigne S. J. of Kottayam (and in 1891 also of Changanacherry). In 1896 Aloysius Pareparampil became Vicar Apostolic of Ernakulam. His successor Augustine Kandathil became Archbishop of the see in 1956, when an indigenous Syro-Malabar hierarchy was erected by Pope Pius XII.

The vicissitudes of the two communities of the Christians of St Thomas in the 18th century can be known from the works of Tisserant-Hambye, Brown, Podipara and others. To satisfy the full purpose of our book it is sufficient to mention only a few facts. Effort to reconcile the two branches of what has always been one community were undertaken several

times by both sides but these always failed. Lack of confidence in each other was one of the main reasons of this failure; not all too happy diplomacy was another one. In 1772 Mar Thomas VI succeeded in getting himself validly consecrated Bishop by two Jacobite prelates who had come from the Middle East: Mar Gregorios and Mar John. They had come to the country at the request of the Dutch authorities to consecrate Mar Thomas V (+ 1765). From now on the Syrian-orthodox community had its validly consecrated Bishops.

In 1752 a "maphrian" (second in rank after the Patriarch in the Jacobite Church) had been sent to India. It is generally believed that he died in 1763 and was buried in Kandanad, but Paulinus a S. Bartolomeo states in his *India Orientalis Christiana* that he died two years after his arrival. This is now confirmed by a statement of MS 32 of Tiruvalla (our enumeration) which says in a note that the Maphrian died on the night of Thursday, Tisri 9th, 1753 A. D.

We have seen that Dutch did not try to convert the Christians of St Thomas to protestantism. They had no missionary purpose and had only come to trade, especially to buy the so much coveted pepper, of which the Christians of St Thomas were the best suppliers. In the interest of trade, peace and tranquillity had to prevail in the region. This was the reason of their intervention in the question of the cosecration of Mar Thomas.

In the 17th century the Dutch power in Kerala was challenged from the north (Calicut) and from the south (Travancore). The British were on the scene and on October 20, 1795 the Company had to surrender its last possession, Fort Cochin, to British military commander. This meant the end of Dutch rule in the country, which was taken over by the British for nearly one and a half century. Whereas the Dutch "do not seem to have made

any serious attempt to get recruits for their creed",¹¹ the British were different. Though abstaining from interfering directly with ecclesiastical affairs, they were not without interest in them especially as far as the Jacobites were concerned.

From the beginning of the 19th century an English officer with the title of "resident" resided in Kerala as an "adviser" of the rajas of Cochin and Travancore. One of them, a col. Munro, nominated in 1810, began to use his influence to improve the situation of the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Churches as he thought fit. In 1806 A. D. a Dr. Claudius Buchanan had come to Kerala, sent by the authorities of the British East Indian Company. Buchanan was Vice-Principal of Fort William College, Calcutta. He visited the head of the Syrian-Orthodox Church, then Mar Thomas VII (1796-1809), and discussed with him, among other things, on the necessity of having a sufficient number of copies of the Bible at the disposal of the faithful and their clergy. On this occasion Mar Thomas presented him with a copy of what was later called the "Buchanan Bible" and other Syriac manuscripts (see later in this book, manuscripts of Cambridge). He sent the manuscripts collected by him to Cambridge where they are now in the library of the university. A number of them had been collected and sent to England for the purpose of editing the Bible in Syriac for the People of Malabar.

The British and Foreign Bible Society edited the complete text of the New Testament (the 27 books) in 1816 and the Old Testament (Lee) in 1823. Copies were sent to Malabar, where one can still find a good number of them. The paper of all the copies of the Old Testament I have seen has a dark colour and I have been told that this is result of shipwreck, but this cannot be true. In the New Testament are indicated the liturgical pericopes. The Old

11. Cf Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, p. 258.
3]

Testament is the first single-volume printed edition of the Pesitta (= the translation of the O T in Syriac). The text is substantially the same as that of the London polyglot (1654-1657, edited by B. Walton), with some corrections. It contains only the books of the Hebrew Bible, not the deuterocanonica.

Resident Munro called to Malabar an English missionary the Rev. Thomas Norton of the Church Missionary Society. He arrived in 1816 and was soon followed by two others. They declared that they had not come to make converts among the Christians of St Thomas, and the Jacobite hierarchy was keen that they should not do so. But they did not intend to remain idle. They advised a number of priests to marry and those who did so were offered a financial incentive by the Resident.¹² They suggested that Malayalam should be used in the liturgy (which the Syrians had never done, always taking great pride in saying that their liturgical language was that of Our Lord) and that the Bible should be translated into the vernacular. Facilities for education were extended, especially for the clergy, and a seminary was founded at Kottayam (the "old seminary"). Munro used his influence to interfere even in purely ecclesiastical matters, such as the consecration of a new Metropolitan after the death of Mar Dionysios II in 1816. According to Brown, who quotes other authors, the interference of Munro in the affairs of the Syrian community could not but create the impression that he wished to absorb it into the Church of England.¹³ The Syrians were however absolutely unwilling to be so merged and it was also at variance with the policy of the Church Missionary Society. Col. Munro retired in 1819 and some of the privileges he had granted the Syrian Orthodox community were withdrawn by his successor.

12. The first priest to marry got from Munro not less than 400 rupees, at that time a large sum. Cf. Brown, *o.c.*, p.133.

13. Brown, p.135.

What followed is a very complicated story, which one can read in the works of Germann Brown, but especially in the work of Fr. (now Bishop) Cyril Malancharuvil: *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Alwaye, Kerala, 1973). It appears that the British Missionaries tried to induce the Syrian Orthodox community to accept their views on various points relating to doctrine and discipline, with a view of making them conform to those of the Church of England. The hierarchy refused to comply and the Metropolitans strengthened their ties with the Patriarchate of Antioch, from which the foreign missionaries tried to keep them away. According to Malancharuvil the Syrian Orthodox community (he calls it the "Malankara Church") was under autonomous indigenous rule from 1772 (the year of the first valid consecration of a Metropolitan) to 1876, but the spiritual ties with Antioch were more and more strengthened, as a reaction to the interference of the British in religious matters.

In spite of heavy resistance, a number of members of the clergy and the faithful came under the influence of the British and this eventually led to the creation of a separate and independent "Mar Thoma Church" (the members of which are now called Marthomites), with Protestant (Anglican) characteristics. As everything in the community had strong links with traditions, this did not happen at once. In 1842 the Jacobite Patriarch Ignatius Elia II had consecrated in the monastery of Deires-Za'frân, where he resided, a Metropolitan for Malabar, who assumed the name of Mar Athanasios I (1842-1877). He was supported by native friends of the Anglicans and set himself up as a rival of the local Metropolitan Mar Dionysios IV (1825-1846; + 1853). In 1865 another competitor was consecrated, who called himself Mar Dionysios V (1865-1909). He enjoyed the favour of his consecrator Mar Ignatios Jacob II (1847-1872) and his successor, Ignatios Petros VII (1872-1895). The latter even visited

Malabar to bring the whole community under his control (1875/6). He convoked a synod at Mulanthuruthy (a region to the S. E. of cochin), held from 15-18 November 1876. The community was represented by priests, deacons and laymen (as also in the synod of Diamper) and recognized the Patriarch as the spiritual head of their Church. Then Mar Petros proceeded to the creation of seven dioceses (that of the Metropolitan included) and consecrated six new Bishops. Dionysios was recognized by the Patriarch as head of the Malankara Church and assumed the title of Metropolitan of Malankara; his rival Athanasios was anathematized (he died on July 15, 1877, having claimed that all he had taught was in accordance with the Bible).

The rebellion of Mar Athanasios had led to the foundation of a new dissident Church in Kerala, the "Mar Thoma Church." Athanasios was succeeded by his cousin Mar Thomas Athanasios II, whom he had consecrated in 1868 as his coadjutor. The Marthomites enjoyed and still enjoy the favour of both Anglicans and (other) Protestants, whereas their creed is very similar to the Anglican one. They celebrate the eucharistic liturgy as others do, omitting however the prayers for the dead, the commemoration of the saints and other prayers of which they disapprove because of their protestantizing opinions.¹⁴

In 1911 a new schism occurred in the Syrian -Orthodox community. At that time there were two rival Jacobite Patriarchs. One of them, Ignatius 'Abdul Masih II (1895-1906; +1912) had been deposed by the Turkish government, which had no right to do so. He did not accept his de-

14. This is reported by K. N. Daniel, *A Critical Study...*: "It was the custom of the divines of the Mar Thoma Church to conduct the service with the Jacobite liturgy before them. They knew by heart the corrections introduced into it by their Church" (1st ed. p.15, 2d ed. p.28, in a note).

position; in 1912 he went to Malabar, where he instituted the katholicate in the Syrian -Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan was given the title of "katholikós", meant to be an equivalent of *maphrian*, the old title of the head of the Jacobite Church in the eastern regions of the Antiochian patriarchate. He became the autonomous head of those Syrian-Orthodox Bishops and communities who recognized him as such. A part of the community, however, (about half of it) recognized the rival Patriarch, Ignatius Abdullah II (1906-1916) and repudiated the authority of the Katholikós. From this time on the Syrian-Orthodox community was divided in two parts or parties: One of the Patriarch, and the other of the Katholikós. In 1964 a temporary reconciliation was brought about. Ya'qub II installed a new Katholikós at Kottayam, who recognized the Patriarch as the spiritual head of the Malabar Church, but without any power or jurisdiction, especially in temporal affairs. Delegates of other monophysite Churches-Copts, Armenians, Syrians- and an immense crowd of faithful were present. But the reunion did not last long: in 1976 new troubles broke out and at present there are again two parties, the members of which were some time so vehemently opposed, that the police had to intervene to preserve peace. Mar Ya'qub was no great diplomat. He died in 1980 and his successor may succeed in reuniting the conflicting parties once again. The important reason for the conflict is the fact that the power of the Jacobite patriarchs has never been very great in Kerala; the Antiochian patriarchate has no deep and long standing roots in the country, like the Church of the East had.

An earlier schism, though minor, has to be mentioned. In 1751 the Jacobite Patriarch Ignatius George III had sent three Bishops to Malabar to give canonical consecration to Mar Thomas V. But the 4000 rupees the elect had promised to pay for the journey of the three prelates were not

paid. Therefore one of them consecrated in 1770 a *rampān* (monk); he was an enemy of Mar Thomas VI, who had succeeded Thomas V after his death in 1665. The newly consecrated Bishop called himself Mar Kurillos and erected his See at Thozhiur, near Añiur (the names are transcribed in various ways) to the north-west of Trichur. This independent diocese, subject to nobody, exists even to day. In the beginning each Bishop consecrated his successor before he died, no Syrian-Orthodox Bishop being willing to give him canonical consecration. When at some time the diocese was without a Bishop, the consecration of his successor was performed by a Marthomite Bishop and this happens even today. In 1977 the acting Bishop, Mar Philexinos, resigned and joined the Catholic Church along with only a handful of followers. Another Bishop was elected in his place.

In 1930 two Syrian-Orthodox Bishops - Mar Ivanios Metropolitan of Bethany (a titular See) and his suffragan Mar Theophilos - joined the Roman Catholic Church. This was the origin of so-called Catholic Syro-Malankara Church, which has now three dioceses; the Archbishop resides at Trivandrum, the capital city of Kerala, his suffragans at Tiruvalla and Sultan's Battery (also called Battery). The three dioceses number together more than 200,000 followers of whom a good number are converts from paganism (in the south).

We have already drawn attention to the fact that the West-Syriac or Antiochian liturgy was very gradually adopted by the community which had declared itself independent in 1653, because it was entirely foreign to her tradition. The complete removal of all traces of the East-Syriac Liturgy (Latinized or not) and the script is ascribed by some authors to Mar Kurillos Joyakim, a Bishop from the Tûr 'Abdin, who was in Kerala from 1846 (or 47)-1874. He had been sent by the Jacobite Patriarch "to rule the Churches according to the discipline of the Syrian Church and to

protect the ecclesiastical customs".¹⁵ But from a study of the manuscripts it appears that Mar Kūrillos did not have much to do in the liturgical field; moreover his authority was not universally accepted. A study of the Syriac manuscripts of Kerala reveals that the complete adoption of the "pure" Antiochian rite happened at the end of the first quarter of the 19th century. Then too the ES script disappeared completely in the Syrian-Orthodox community. This disappearance was suddenly so complete that it must be ascribed to some special cause. There is every possibility that it happened under the direct or indirect influence of Dr. Claudius Buchanan and the protestant foreign missionaries. They managed to get the liturgy purged of its supposedly Latin (Roman) elements. The reaction against the Anglican and Protestant propaganda led to a growing consciousness of their own "Syrian-Orthodox" identity.

In 1821 the Metropolitan Dionysios III wrote to the British president of the Church Missionary Society that he and his flock were under the authority of the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch. He strengthened his relations with this Patriarch, who in 1825 sent one of his Bishops, called Mar Athanasios, to look after the affairs of the Malabar Church. About this time the West-Syriac script was universally adopted by the copyists of manuscripts and the last traces of the liturgy of the "Church of the East" (except a few) disappeared. In this respect the office of the canonical hours deserves special mention; in the 18th century it was still said according to ES rite, as used by the Catholics, after 1825 we no more find it in the WS manuscripts.

In *L'Orient Syrien*, Vol. V, 1960, pp.197-224, Father F. Graffin S.J. has published a report on the situation of the Christians of St Thomas in Malabar, presented to the Roman congregation of the Propaganda by Mgr. M.M.

15. Malancharuvil, o.c., p. 54.

J. Marion de Brésillac, then Vicar Apostolic of Coimbatore. He belonged to the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He had come to India in 1842 and in 1845, at the age of 31, he had been nominated Vicar Apostolic of Coimbatore. He made two journeys to Malabar: one in May 1847 and another one in August 1850. In 1853 thirty Catholic Syrian priests of Malabar sent a petition to Rome making several complaints about the Latin missionaries in their region; they asked Rome to give them a Bishop of their own rite. A year later Mgr de Brésillac was in Rome and was asked by the Secretary of the Propaganda to submit to the Holy Congregation a report on the Christians of St Thomas. This he did and the report was presented to the Congregation towards the beginning of May 1854; it was finally published by Father Graffin.

The Vicar Apostolic of Coimbatore, a town in the present state of Tamil Nadu, not far from the border of Kerala, may have had a fair knowledge of Indian ecclesiastical affairs, but he knew very little about the Syro-Malabarians. This he acknowledged. In spite of the inevitable shortcomings of his report it is interesting to read. The Vicar Apostolic presents his ideas under three headings: 1. The deplorable state of the Syro-Malabar clergy and their Christianity; 2. The remedies to be adopted to halt the process of deterioration and to prevent "this interesting Christianity" from relapsing into heresy; 3. Without knowledge of the causes of the decay it is impossible to reform this Christianity and to bring it back to its former glory, honour and life.

1. The number of Catholic Syro-Malabarians is evaluated at 158,000, with more than 180 churches, 409 priests and 250 clerics. Besides these there are 40,000 "Nestorians", as he calls the Jacobites (here and elsewhere in his report), evidently ignoring everything about them. The picture he

presents of the priests is not an optimistic one: in his view they are ignorant, most of them hardly understand Syriac (though they copy their breviary in their youth), they have no theological formation and they have a strong aversion to the Latin missionaries, their Apostolic Vicar, Mgr. Bacinelli, not excepted. Generally they are very poor.

Mgr. de Brésillac concedes possibly Bishop Bacinelli has “no sensible affection” for the Indians and he adds that this is unfortunately true for 90% of the missionaries (p.208)! But he loves them with (supernatural) charity and is certainly ready to do everything for the salvation of their souls. For the time being it is impossible, he says, to give them a Bishop from their own ranks.

2. The Holy See should send a letter to the Syro-Malabarians to encourage them. It is necessary that a seminary be founded for the education of the clergy. In this seminary, conducted by Carmelites (and Jesuits, if necessary) the teachers should all know thoroughly Malayalam, the local language, and some of them also Syriac. They should not take part in the administration of the Parishes. The total number of priests should be somewhat reduced, because there are too many of them (one for $\pm$ 400 followers). The Apostolic Vicar and his missionaries should have some affection for the Indians, without familiarity, however, which in India is even more dangerous than elsewhere (this seems to me a typical French point of view). Unfortunately it is very difficult, Mgr. de Brésillac goes on, to love *the black* (p.212); no doubt one loves them supernaturally, “but naturally their character is repelling for us and we repel them”. It is to be hoped that this was the personal opinion of Mgr. de Brésillac.

3. To restore the past glory of the community one should avoid the mistakes of the past. First of all the Syriac rite should not be touched, as has been done, with disastrous consequences, by Menezes and others. Latin priests should

not continue to build their churches in the territory of the Malabarians and the money sent to the missions should not go almost exclusively to the Latin missionaries. Mgr. de Brèsillac thought that a rite should not be attached to the person of a priest, but to a territory and to a church. Latin priests should celebrate in Syriac in Syrian Churches and Syrian priests sometimes in Latin in Latin churches. The misfortune of India is its state of division, especially as one considers the caste system; to this must be added the difference of rites. Though it may seem that nearly all this is irreparable, everything should be done to undo it and to improve the existing conditions, bringing more unity into the Church.

We have summarized the report of Mgr. de Brésillac because there are hardly any other reports of this kind and one may learn quite a number of things from it. As far as we can trust the author, who was certainly completely honest, most of the Latin missionaries and their Bishops remained foreigners in the country. They were unable to identify themselves, so to say, with the Indians or with the "Syrians".

Meanwhile the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch had not forgotten that there were followers in India who once belonged to the Church of the East and recognized the authority of its Patriarchs of whom they considered themselves the legitimate heirs. In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries they repeatedly tried to get into touch with them, and there was correspondence from both sides. We have copies of a number of letters, extant in the manuscripts, and in special collections.

The Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo (1848-1878) tried to establish his jurisdiction over the Catholics of his rite in Malabar, and he consecrated Bishops for this community. For this and other reasons he came into conflict with

Rome and at the end of his life he was even suspended for a time. The best known person he sent to Malabar is the Mesopotamian Bishop Mar Mellus (the name is differently written; in one manuscript we found it written as Mêlûs,) who founded a dissident community which had its headquarters in the Church and the adjacent buildings of Our Lady of Dolours at Trichur. Mellus was in Malabar (Trichur) from 1874-1882. In 1907/09 his community at Trichur presented its submission to the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Simon XIX, who sent a Bishop-Metropolitan, Mar Timothy Abîmelech (1878-1945) to govern it. This was the beginning of the still existing Nestorian diocese of the "Church of the East" at Trichur. Its present Bishop is the young and energetic Mar Aprem, who received his theological education in the United States of America; he is assisted by an auxiliary Bishop, Mar Paulose.

There is a schism even in this small diocese. The Metropolitan Mar Thomas Darmo (1945-1969) was deposed by his Patriarch Mar Simon XXIII (called also Simon XXI), but for various reasons, some convincing, he did not accept the verdict. On September 7th he left India and reached Baghdad where he was soon elected as (rival) Patriarch. This led to a schism in what remained of the Nestorian Church. He died exactly a year later, on 7.9.1969. As his successor at Trichur, he consecrated the young Mar Aprem who still belongs to his party. A number of members of the community remained faithful to Mar Simon, who also gave them a Bishop. They filed a law suit against Mar Aprem but lost it.

In the Catholic Syro-Chaldean (= "Syro-Malabar") community, by far the largest of the St Thomas Christians and numbering in 1980 about 2.300.000 followers, the hierarchy was restored, or rather newly erected in 1823. From that time onwards there are only indigenous prelates, whose number is increasing. In 1980 there were two Archdioceses and

9 dioceses. In 1969 the Archbishop of Ernakulam, Dr. Joseph Parekattil, became Cardinal. In spite of all this the community, taken as a whole, and its clergy did not sufficiently become more conscious of their oriental past tradition and identity, though there is a very strong community-feeling. From some manuscripts, preserved in the Archbishop's library at Ernakulam, we may conclude (as we shall see later in this book) that the first Archbishop, Augustine Kandathil, was interested in the old traditions of his Church, but he could not do much as the process of latinization had taken very deep roots.

It was necessary to give this short sketch of some important events of the ecclesiastical history of Kerala, which we wish to illustrate more thoroughly from the manuscripts we could look at and study. This will be done in the following chapters.

The first persons who studied the Kerala manuscripts systematically were surely those who prepared the decree of Diamper which ordered their destruction. Their interest was negative. In recent times the first person who studied the manuscripts with positive interest and who published the results of his study was, to our knowledge, the late K. N. Daniel, whose *A Critical Study of Primitive Liturgies especially that of St. James* appeared in 1937 (1st ed.); a second edition of this book, revised and enlarged, appeared in 1949, T. A. M. Press Tiruvalla. In the 2nd edition the author mentions not less than 117 manuscripts, nearly all of them liturgical which he found in Kerala; they belonged to a large number of priests. The scope of the protestant author was not scientific, but rather apologetic. (See later in this book).

In 1977 Father Hambye published an article *Some Syriac Libraries of Kerala (Malabar): Notes and Comments*, in *A Tribute to Arthur Vocebus* (Chicago 1977), p. 35-46.

The author rightly remarks that "Only a team of scholars could succeed in making a complete survey of all the Syriac manuscripts of Kerala" (p. 37). In his article there are some usefull notes on the Konat library (Pampakuda), the library of the Bishhp's house of Mar Aprem at Trichur and one located by the C. M. I. Fathers at Mannanam, St Joseph's monastery. In an appendix of three pages, added to his article, Father Hambye has described a few important manuscripts in these libraries. Recently Mar Aprem published a catalogue of his library (see later in this book). Our study, though imperfect and incomplete intends to be a major step in the study of Syriac manuscripts copied in Kerala, of which we list and describe in the following pages as many as we could study or look at.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

In this chapter we will give a systematic survey of the MSS we studied or saw, arranged according to their contents. A detailed description in accordance with the various places where they are preserved follows in chapter 3.

1. BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS

A. Old Testament manuscripts (other than Psalms)

The oldest biblical MS in some way related to Kerala is the so-called *Buchanan Bible*. It is in a very bad state and is now preserved in the Library of Cambridge (U.K.) University, where it is regarded as one of its treasures. It contains both Old and New Testaments, the OT part is described in the *List PM*, p.4 and in Wright, *CC II*, 1037-1043. The handwriting is called by Burkitt "the Estrangela of the *Tār-, Abdin*"; for the estrangela script see Hatch, *Album*, p.27. According to Burkitt¹ the text is thoroughly Jacobite; for this reason it cannot have come to India prior to 1665. It was presented to Dr. Claudius Buchanan in 1836 by Mar Dionysios I (+1808) and it may safely be dated from the end of the 12th century (Burkitt, l.c., and *List PM*, p.4). Besides the books of the Hebrew Bible it contains Sap; Ep Jr; Bəl D; Sās; Jdt; Sir; 1-4 Macc; Ib; 3 Ezr. A beautiful MS like this, written on vellum with three columns to a page, must have been a treasure long before it was brought to India. We do not know whether it had already considerably deteriorated before

1. The Buchanan Manuscripts at Cambridge, Kerala Society Papers I (Trivandrum 1929), p. 42.

it was brought there and whether it originally had a colophon (now lacking). Why was it carried to S.India? Biblical manuscripts were not lacking there. It may have been the cherished possession of one of the Jacobite Bishops who came to the country from the Middle East. It may also have been brought to Kerala because it contained books which were lacking in the New Testament canon of the Church of the East. At any rate, Mar Dionysios I, presenting the MS to Dr Buchanan, did not think that he deprived his Church of a badly needed book, whereas he thought that Dr Buchanan could use it for a printed edition of the Syriac Bible. The printed Syriac OT, edited by Lee, was ready in 1823 and was shipped in large numbers to S. India. On the title page of at least a part of the edition we read that the book is intended "for the East-Syrians who are in the country of Malabar." It contains the books of the Hebrew Bible.

The books of the OT were certainly copied in Malabar before the 16th century, but no MSS of that time have been preserved. Cod. VatSyr 4, completed on 16.2.1556, A.D. contains the text of the prophets: Is; Jer + Lam; Ez; Dan + BelDr (see *List PM*, p.43) It was copied by a priest, disciple of Mar Jacob, the Mesopotamian Bishop, in the church of Mar Sabor and Mar Pot (*sic*) in the village of Parûr,

VatSyr 2&3 contain other books of the OT: the Pentateuch; Jos to Kings; Prov; Sir; Ec; Ru; Ct; Job; Su. Both volumes were completed in 1558 and copied at Angamali in the church of the blessed Virgin Mary "Mother of light and life" by the priest and monk Giwargis.

Among the MSS which Buchanan brought to Cambridge there are several biblical ones. According to Wright, all date from the 17th-18th century. Among them there are

three copies of the Pentateuch (Oo.I.8.26.27). Wright thinks that the first one was probably copied in the beginning of the 18th cent., whereas Burkitt says that it "is not considered older than the 17th century."² He thinks that it should be most interesting to Indians" because of the resemblance of its handwriting to the Syriac inscriptions on the well-known old "Nestorian" cross in an old Jacobite church at Kottayam.³ The resemblance however is not very peculiar and the inscriptions have been refashioned in later times with lime, to make the Syriac text easier to read; this was rather badly done in the 18/19th century, if not in the 20th. The writing of Oo. 1.8 is so peculiar that it seems difficult to admit its Indian origin. Oo. 1.26 appears to be from the 17/18th century., and Oo. 1.27 from the 18th.

Cambridge Oo. 1. 18 contains the four Major Prophets (+ Lam; Bar; Sus; BelDr) and the twelve Minor ones; they probably belong to the 18th century (Wright). It was copied in 1682 by the priest Giwargis Qōqōm in the village of Mattom (to the NW of Trichur). Another dated Cambridge MS is Oo. 1, 11, copied in 1734; besides non-biblical works, it contains Esdr; 2-3 Macc; Esth; 1-2 Chron; Ezr-Neh. It was copied in a Carmelite monastery. Historical books and books of Wisdom are to be found in Oo.1.10 and Oo.1.39; they belong to the 18th century.

In the Syrian Archbishop's library at Ernakulam there is an ES copy of the Pentateuch, written in 1828 in Pali-puram (to the W. of northern parur), by a certain Joseph (a layman?) in the church of St John the Baptist. He calls himself a *mḡnqn'* = *mḡanqānā* "singer", probably a minor clerk or a layman, who was interested in the Old Testament. In the same library there is an incomplete copy of

2. o. c. (see note 1), p. 44.

3. I. S. ...

the Pentateuch, beautifully written but in a very bad state of preservation (16/17th cent.).

On 26.12.1974 the present writer visited the young Bishop Giwargis Gregorios, Metropolitan of Perumpally-Mulanthuruthy, consecrated not long before by the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Mar Ya'qûb in Baghdad, and examined his small collection of manuscripts, mostly liturgical ones. Among them there were extensive remnants of what may have been a complete OT, or a part of it, copied in a very beautiful ES hand. The beginning and the end were among the lost parts (17/18 th cent.?)

In the CMI novitiate at Kuruvillaserry, Mala (not far from Trichur), I saw an ES biblical MS containing "the great Wisdom", dated 1703, and Wisdom of Sal; Sir; Prov; Ct; Ru; Job; dated 1734.

In the Syrian Archbishop's library at Trivandrum I found a small volume of 484 pages, with the text of Prov; Ct; Revelation and some non-biblical texts. It was copied in 1816 "in the royal town of Seppâd (near the coast, between Alleppey and Quilon). In a volume with various non-biblical texts I discovered a most interesting copy of Judith in a hitherto unknown version, dated 1734. The copyist was a Catholic.

In the library of Pampâkuda (Konat) nearly all the books of the OT are present, with the exception of Prov; Ct; Judith; of some books there is more than one copy (the Pentateuch; 1-2 Sam; Pss and some other books). Some are dated: 1753; 1767; 1783; 1804; 1887 A.D. One book of 1783 (Pent.) is described in the *List* as "partly Nestorian" (No.40) and so also one of 1804 (No.8); the same is said about numbers 19 and 128, which can be safely dated circa 1800, or the 1st quarter of the 19th century (not simply

XIX cent., as in the *List*). No. 6 contains the *awsar roze* of Barhebreus and a number of deuterocanonical and apocryphal books: 1-3 Macc; BelDr; Sus(?); OrMan; EpBar; Jdt; Tb; Sap; Sir and is dated 1887 in WS. The Psalters are dated 1753 and 1767 A.D. and are WS (Jacobite). It seems possible that the owners of the Konat library tried to have at least one complete set of books of the Old Testament (before the arrival of Lee's printed edition, edited in 1823). No. 6, copied in 1887, contains books not found in Lee.

Our collection of Syriac MSS of the OT is not very big. This may partly be due to the fact that the printed edition of Lee made manuscript copies superfluous, so that a number of them may have disappeared in the last one and a half centuries. Another reason is certainly that in the theological education in the seminaries conducted by Latin priests there was insufficient interest shown for the Syriac OT. In spite of this it was still copied in both the Catholic and Jacobite communities.

It is interesting to note that the text is nearly always divided, not in the chapters of the Latin Bible and the present Hebrew one, but in the old Syriac *shāhē*. This provides enough proof to conclude that in Kerala the Syriac texts of the OT belong to an authentic Syrian (mostly ES) tradition. This enhances the value of the manuscripts copied in such a remote part of the centre of Syriac tradition.

In the eucharistic ES liturgy of the "Church of the East" four lessons of the Bible were always read: the first ones were invariably taken from the Pentateuch and from the Prophets (according to the Hebrew canon). In Mesopotamia, this was a heritage from the Jewish synagogue. One must assume that before the arrival of the Portuguese and even after that time there were lectionaries from

which the OT passages were read during the liturgy. None of these lectionaries have survived and under the influence of the Portuguese the readings of the Old Testament soon disappeared from the celebration of the Eucharist.

When Protestant missionaries visited Malabar in the beginning of the 19th century, they felt that the (Jacobite) Christians of St Thomas did not have enough "Bibles" at their disposal. This was the reason why Lee had to prepare his OT *pešitta* for the British and Foreign Bible Society, London. The predilection of the indigenous priests for their own biblical text in Syriac must have strongly influenced the board of the Bible Society in its decision to publish first a Syriac OT, not a translation in Malayālam, a language not yet much studied by Europeans. Lee's edition of the OT contains only the books of the Hebrew Bible, not those whom the Catholics call deuterocanonica, the protestants apocrypha.

B. Psalms

The Psalms merit a separate treatment, because the Psalter has always been an integral and important part of the ES liturgy. In the monasteries the Psalter was recited twice during the week and besides this quite a number of Psalms were recited more than twice, some even daily. In the West-Syrian Church things were different: there the Psalms have been largely replaced by poetical compositions, except a few which are recited daily during evening and morning prayers, and others on Sundays and special days.

The Syriac liturgical Psalter (the normal form in which the Psalter is found in the manuscripts of Kerala) consists of 20 divisions called *hullalē*, to which is always added a 21st *hullala* made up of the four "Canticles" used in the liturgy: Ex. 15, 1-21; Is. 42,10-13 + 45,8; Dt.32, 1-21a; Dt. 32,21b-43. Each *hullala* is divided into *marmyata* (sing.:

marmīa) of which there are 57 in the Psalter (or 60 if one includes the Canticles). In the ES tradition practically each half verse (*petgama*) is considered as a separate unit, which is peculiar to this tradition. Besides the liturgical division of the Psalter there is also one in *shāhē*, probably an older one.

The oldest copy of a liturgical Psalter from Kerala is supposed to be the one in MS Syr 25 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris (see the catalogue of Zotenberg, p.9-10). F. Nau, who published an article on this MS in 1912,⁴ thought that the Psalter was copied in 1504 by the famous Mar Jacob, Mesopotamian Bishop of Malabar in the first half of the 16th century. This he concluded from a full-page Syriac text in a more or less cursive hand found on f. 7r of the codex, amidst texts of various styles and language. But this cannot be true, as we shall see later in this book. The Psalter is of around 1650, in ES.

The library of the University of Cambridge, U.K., has an interesting old Psalter, followed by liturgical texts with Diamper corrections (Oo. 1.22). According to Wright it was probably copied in the 16/17th century; the middle of the 16th century is more likely.

An interesting ES copy of the Psalter is now in the library of the Dharmaram College, Bangalore, followed also by liturgical texts. It was completed in 1731 by a Jacobite deacon, son of a layman and disciple of a famous *malpān*, at Mulanthurutti (to the SE of Ernakulam). We may ask ourselves whether the *malpān* Abraham was not a member of the konat family. The psalter is the normal ES liturgical one. At the end we find a *masora finalis*, of the same kind as is found, for example, in the

4. F. Nau, *Deux notices relatives au Malabar...*, *Rev. de l'Or. Chret.*, 1912, pp.74-99.

breviary of P. Bedjan, given also by Mateos:⁵ 150 Psalms; 29 *shaḥé*; 20 *hullalé*; 60 *marmyāta*; 4833 *petgamé*; 19,934 words; 90,852 letters; the word *marya* 732 ×; *allaha* 400 ×; etc. (*meṭṭul*; Moses; Aäron; Jacob; Samuel; Benjamin; Israel; *gér*; *dén*: *thót*; for ever and ever).

In the library of the Syrian Catholic Bishop of Trichur there is a much used liturgical Psalter (MS No. 38) which has no colophon and which may have been copied c. 1800. It is typically ES. After the Canticles the copyist had added Ps. 151 "spoken to Goliath", in a Syriac text almost identical with a text published by Mingana⁶ and the Greek one published by Rahlfs in his edition of the Septuagint. It is not divided into half verses (hemistichs) and there are a few variants: v. 1: "I was small in the midst of brothers"; V. 3: "He is the Lord and He is my God" (also in the Mingana MS); "he exalted me from the family (*sharba* instead of '*erbé*'=*sheep*'-Mingana) of my father." There is a note saying that the psalm is lacking in a number of MSS. It did not belong to the liturgical tradition and for this reason it is clear that the copyist got it from somewhere else.

In the same library at Trichur there is also a small volume containing the Psalter and liturgical texts. Besides the usual *canons* of Mar Aba there are headings, of which we give three examples: Ps. 2: "Prophesied on the whole passion inflicted to our Lord by the Jews"; Ps. 51: "Prophesied on the people in Babylon, confessing its sins asking for pardon"; Ps. 71: "It shows the great suffering which the people shall endure in Babylon and it indicates that these afflictions are for their emendation and conversion." At the end only: 150 Psalms; 29 *shaḥé*;

5. J. Mateos, S.J., *Lelya - Sapra...*, pp. 28-29.

6. A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, Vol. 1, Cambridge 1927, pp. 289-93.

20 *hullalé*; 60 *marmyāta*; 4833 *petgamé*. The handwriting is much older than that of the Trichur Psalter mentioned above.

There is a third Psalter in the same library, with the *canons* of Mar. Aba but without headings. In the library of the Malankara Bishop of Tiruvalla a liturgical Psalter is found in a volume with various texts (our N° 32). It is called "The psalter of King David, the Prophet", ES, and is divided into *hullalé*. At the end there are some WS liturgical prayers (a proof that the Psalter was used by Jacobites) and a note dated 1753 A. D. makes it clear that the text was copied not later than that year.

The Konat library at Pampakuda has two ES Psalters and two WS ones, all copied between 1750 and 1800, (ES: Nos 102 and 132; WS: Nos 96 and 166).

There are, of course, many more manuscripts with the Psalms, which had such a prominent place in the ES daily canonical office, for which no printed books were available for a long time. A reformed (shortened) Syro-Malabar breviary was published in 1876 A.D. It was finally reprinted at Alwaye in 1952. These editions, as also the (Nestorian) Trichur edition of the *Hudra* in three volumes, 1960 A.D., present the traditional liturgical Psalter of the Church of the East with the *canons* of Mar. Aba and the liturgical prayers at the beginning of each *marmīta*. Since Mar. Aba was Patriarch of the Church of the East from 540-552, the liturgical Psalter represents a tradition of more than 14 centuries. In Kerala it was abandoned by the Jacobites only one and a half centuries ago.

C. The New Testament

When the portuguese arrived in Malabar they found with the Christians of St Thomas copies of the Syriac New Testament which were not completely identical with

their own (Latin) text ; some books were lacking, some passages also and there were a few minor variants.

In its Actio III, Decr. 1 - 3, the Synod of Diamper first stated the canon of the biblical books according to the Council of Trent (Decr.1). Then it observes that in the OT the books of Ester, Tobias and Wisdom are lacking; in the New Testament 2 Petri; 2 & 3 John; Jude; Revelation. Lacking are also John 7, 53-8, 11 (the adulterous woman) and some words in various passages. In Luke 10, 3 mention is only made of 70 disciples of the Lord, instead of 72; in the text of the Our Father, Mt 6, the doxology "because thine is the Kingdom..." has been added. In 1 John 4, 3 the words *Qui solvit Jesum non est ex Deo* have been expunged and in id. 5, 8 the *komma johanneum* *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt* (Decr.2). In Decr.3 the Synod observes that in Acts 20, 28 the "Nestorian heretics" changed in an impious way the words "the Church of God" into "the Church of Christ", to give another meaning to the passage, viz. *in qua vos posuit Christus ad regendam suam Ecclesiam, quam acquisivit suo (= Ecclesiae!) sanguine*, because the Nestorians "incited by the devil" do not wish to acknowledge that God has suffered for us, shedding his blood. In 1 John 4,3 they dropped the words *qui solvit Jesum non est ex Deo* because they divide Jesus into two persons (*supposita*). In 1 John 3, 16 they changed the words *caritatem Dei* to *caritatem Christi*, not to say that Christ died for us. In Hebr 2,9 they added the words *praeter Deum*, instead of *gratia Dei* because of their Nestorian heresy. In Luc 6,35, where the Vulgate has *mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes* they substituted *mutuum date, et inde sperate*, to defend the practice of taking interest. So far the accusations of the Synod, whose authors ignored that in most of the above quoted texts we have to do with old variants, also attested elsewhere

The remarks of the Synod are partly confirmed by the manuscripts which are still available. In the ES Kerala copies of the NT 2 Petr., 2 & 3 John, Jude, Revelation, and the passage of the adulterous woman are generally lacking; even Catholics did not copy them, because they had no examples. Roz could not change this, as the Synod had prescribed (Actio III, Decr.2, at the end).

The oldest Malabarian copy of the New Testament I found is now Vat Syr 17. It was written by Bishop Mar Jacob and completed in 1510. The MS contains the four Gospels (without John 7,53-8,11), Acts, James, 1 petri, 1 John, the Fourteen Epistles of St Paul; it is a normal ES New Testament. A page from this (Mk 12.16-25) has been reproduced in the *Album* of Hatch (opposite p. 231).

The oldest copy of the four Gospels available in Kerala is Ac. N^o, 3842, coll. No. 198 of the library of Mar Ivanios College at Trivandrum. The colophon says that it was copied in 1563 by a disciple of Mar Joseph Bishop and Metropolitan of Hindo and Sin (China) and the entire East. When the book was copied the Bishop was probably away from his diocese but he had not been forgotten. The volume is rather small: 17 × 12,7 cm., the original binding is lost. The passage of the adulterous woman is lacking.

In the Buchanan collection of Syriac manuscripts from Malabar at Cambridge, Oo. 1. 25 is a copy of the four Gospels and Acts. The ES writing is good and the Codex seems to have been copied in the 17/18th century, rather than in the 16th, as Wright thinks. At the end of Mark we find the notice that the Gospel has 1652 verses. In Luke 10, 1. 17 a later hand has added "and two" after the word "seventy", a correction asked for by Diamper. In John the passage of the adulterous woman is wanting. In the story of the passion of Jesus according to St John special

signs have been added to make it easy to sing it with three voices, according to the Latin custom, introduced by the Portuguese in Malabar. The "voice of Christ" is always marked with a cross, exactly as in the Roman missals.

In the Konat library I found only one handwritten copy of the NT, preceded by some "Questions and answers" a well-known *genre littéraire* of the Nestorian literature. The date may be 17th century; in ES. There are at least 10 printed copies of the NT in the same library; the printed edition (with indications of the liturgical passages) supplanted the manuscripts in the Jacobite Church of Malabar.

In the library of the University of Leiden, there is an ES copy of the four Gospels, given in 1723 to the public library of the town by a former Dutch commander of Ceylon. The script (ES) shows that it was copied in Kerala in the 17th century. Besides this book the University possesses two somewhat later manuscripts, the first one containing the four Gospels, the second Acts and St Paul. At the end of the 2nd volume we find some words which must have been written by someone who was acquainted with the Jacobite liturgy. Though the writing is ES, the two books were copied by members of the Jacobite community. There is at Leiden also a WS copy of the Book of Revelation, copied by the Indian scribe Caspar in about 1580 A.D., without any relation to Malabar.

In the library of the Archbishop of Trivandrum there is a book of the Four Gospels (Triv.N 9), in ES probably copied in the second half of the 17th century. Another MS (Triv.Nº 10) contains the Acts of the Apostles, copied c.1700, in ES. A third one contains James, 1 Peter, 1 John and the Fourteen Epistles of St Paul. (Triv. Nº 7), copied (at least partly) in 1753, in ES. The first volume was probably copied by a Jacobite scribe, the two others certainly.

In the library of the Catholic Bishop of Tiruvalla there are three hand-written copies of the NT. The first was copied in 1794 at Kunnamkulam by a Jacobite scribe in ES script and contains only James, 1 Petri, 1 John (followed by the remark "Completed are the Acts with its letter"), St Paul (the XIV Epistles in the normal order, as always in Kerala).

The second is an ES text of the four Gospels (without John 7,53-8.11); the writing is of a better quality than that of the preceding MS and seems to be older. The third is a book of the four Gospels (without the passage of the adulterous woman), in ES, dated 1808; the copyist was most probably a Jacobite (of Angamali).

The Bodleian Library, Oxford, preserves a copy of a part of the NT (James, 1 Petri; St Paul), copied in 1733 and 1734.

Cambridge Oo. 1.22, written according to Wright "by several elegant Nestorian hands" contains Acts and Revelation. Wright has forgotten to add that the MS has whole pages in WS writing between the ES ones; one has the impression that the same copyist passed from ES to WS writing and *vice versa*. The WS writing is sometimes very clumsy as if the copyist did not (yet) know it well. The date must be 1800. Oo. 1.31 ES, contains Acts; James; 1 Petri; 1 John; St Paul; 18th century?

The collection of hand written texts of the New Testament is not very large; nearly all of them in ES script. This is to be explained by the fact that in the most tradition-minded community, the Jacobite one, ES script could not be read by most deacons and priests after 1825, except by those who had learned it in earlier years; the printed books (in WS characters) made manuscripts superfluous. In the Catholic community the passages of Holy Scripture to be used in the eucharistic liturgy were

found in the new missals (Latin customs ; the first printed one was edited in Rome in 1774) and used in the seminaries and in the study of theology.

We have seen that in Original ES manuscripts of the NT, copied in Kerala, the book of Revelation was lacking. But it was recognized as canonical by the Jacobites in the Middle East at the moment when the Christians of St Thomas came into contact with them. Dionysios bar Salibi (+ 1171) wrote a commentary on the book of which we found several copies in Kerala in WS script of Jacobite origin). A text of Revelation is available in Konat 111, another one in Trivandrum (our N° 27), with parts of the commentary of Dionysios, dated 1816 A.D. The Apocalypse of St John is also to be found at Cambridge, Oo.1.11 and Oo.1.21 ; both books present a collection of various texts ; the first one is dated 1734 A.D., in ES, the second is to be dated 1750-1800, also in ES.

D. Biblical lectionaries

The biblical lectionaries do not contain a continuous biblical text but the pericopes to be read in public worship, mostly in the eucharistic liturgy, according to the days of the year for which they are prescribed. In olden times the lectionaries were always separate books with the readings of the Old Testament, of St Paul, and of the Gospels. The latter were found in *evangelitaria*. In the Churches of the "West" (as seen from the standpoint of the "Church of the East") they were often beautifully written and embellished with magnificent bindings ; the reason was that the Gospel, the word of Christ, is thought to represent Jesus Christ. In the Nestorian eucharistic liturgy a book of the Gospels and a cross must always be there. In Kerala we did not find any specially decorated book of Gospels, though they were not unknown in the Nestorian Church (cf. Thomas of Marga, *Book of*

Governors, II, 27 where it is said the Katholikos tried to take away such a book from the monastery of Bêt Abê and was maltreated by the monks with stones and sticks). Bodleian Or. 625 has crude figures of the four evangelists; in ES; the only known Kerala MS with human figures.

The oldest and best known Malabarian lectionary is Vat Syr 22, already mentioned in this book. It was completed in 1301 at Cranganore and contains the liturgical pericops of the Epistles of St Paul, to be read in the eucharistic liturgy during the year.

A WS lectionary (Jacobite), copied in the Middle East in 1423 A.D. is now in the library of Pampākuda (Konat 77). It contains passages of the OT and of the NT. Cambridge Syr Oo. 1.17 is an ES lectionary of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and the feast days of the year; it was probably copied in the middle of the 16th century.

There are quite a number of other lectionaries, but they are all combined with liturgical texts for the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy. They will be mentioned among the liturgical books. Readings of the OT are not recorded, only the texts for the "epistle" and "gospel" of the Mass. Some lectionaries are important from a liturgical point of view.

E. Commentaries of H. Scripture

The great commentator of H. Scripture in the "Church of the East" was Theodore of Mopsuestia the "Interpreter" (352-428) and his works were condemned and therefore proscribed on the oecumenical Council of 553. Of his work only a small part survived, even in the Syriac speaking churches. The Synod of Diamper does not even mention his books. It mentions an anonymous commentary, called *Expositio Evangeliorum*, which it accuses of Nestorianism (Actio III, Decr. 14).

Among the manuscripts we could see, we found hardly any ES biblical commentaries. But there are WS ones, which proves that in this respect the Jacobite community had other needs, different from the Catholic one. We saw several copies of the *awṣar rozē* of Barhebreus : a very beautiful one (not dated) is in the library of Anjur and copies of it in Konat collection. At Pampākuda we saw also commentaries of Dionysios bar ṣalibi of recent date. We came across several copies of a large commentary on the Psalms (WS) written by Daniel of Tella, as the author is called in the MSS. His real name was Daniel of ṣalaḥ, who flourished in the 6th century and who was a Monophysite. The Konat library has, besides the commentary of Daniel, a volume with biblical commentaries of St Ephrem (N° 9), copied in 1884. Konat 237 is a volume which contains the Harclean version of the New Testament with a short commentary; copied in 1895, WS.

From all this we conclude that the desire to have original Syriac commentaries of both Old and New Testaments was alive in the Syrian - Orthodox community but almost absent in the Catholic one, where we found only some rare copies, or fragments of them, of Isho'dad of Merw. The presence of quite a number of original Syriac commentaries in the library of Pampākuda may be due to the special interest of the members of the Konat family.

F. East Syriac Liturgical Manuscripts

Liturgical matter can be divided into three classes : the liturgy of the Eucharist, the liturgy of the other Sacraments, the canonical hours (or office). In the manuscripts for the celebration of the Eucharist we often find texts for the administration of Baptism, Marriage and some times even of other Sacraments which the priest has to administer. In the following pages the three will be treated separately.

1. The Eucharist

Before the coming of the Portuguese the celebration of what the Latin Church calls the *Sacrificium Missae*, the Church of the East Holy *Qurbana* (=offering) was performed according to the authentic rite of the Church of the East. In course of time this rite has undergone developments, even after its fixation by Patriarch Ishoyahb III in the middle of the 7th century; in Malabar however there are only a few traces of this development. In the famous lectionary Vat Syr 22 (1301 A.D.) the series of reading of St Paul (epistles) is that of the church of kokhe, that is the cathedral church of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. A number of the same readings are also to be found in Cambridge Oo. 1.13. For particulars see A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische Syrische perikopenordnungen* ...p.70-77.

In quite a number of MSS copied in the 16th century one reads that they follow the *ṭaksa* of the High Monastery at Mosul, of which mention has already been made in this book. Refer also to Baumstark, o. c., p. 10-70, for the biblical pericopes are concerned. This express mention makes it clear that the *ṭaksa* of this monastery was not the only one always followed in the Church of the East in the course of its history. Those who mention it first were well aware of this; later copyists may simply have written what they found in the codex they transcribed.

Under the influence of the Portuguese some changes were made in the text of the anaphora of "the Apostles" (=Adday and Mari), the most common one. In this anaphora the words of the Institution of the Eucharist were not written, most probably at least from the time of Ishoyahb III (7th century). The priests had to supply them from the Roman rite. In the time of the Synod of Diamper this was already normal and universally done, because the Synod makes no mention of the

Nestorian custom to omit these words. In its *Actio V, De Sancto Missae Sacrificio*, Decr. 1, the Synod says that in the Syriac Mass the following words are added to the consecration of the chalice: *et hoc erit vobis pignus in saecula saeculorum.*" At present these words are not found in any form of the Chaldean or Nestorian liturgy. They have been retained in Vat Syr 66, f. 101r at the end of what was certainly a consecration formula. The words have been written separately, not as a part of the anaphorae of the Apostles and of Theodore, which follow. We translate the text (brackets added by us):

Our Lord Jesus, in the night He was to be delivered and on the day before the passion, took this holy bread in his pure and holy hands and raised his eyes to pronounce a thanksgiving to Thee, God the Father, Maker of all things, and + blessed and broke and gave to his disciples and said: take and eat all from this bread, this is verily my body. (and he raises the chalice a little from the altar and says over the chalice:) And likewise after He had taken supper He took this chalice in his pure hands and pronounced a thanksgiving and + blessed and gave to his disciples and said: Take and drink all ye from this chalice, for every time you shall eat from this bread and drink from this chalice, you shall commemorate my commemoration. This is verily the chalice of my blood, of the new covenant, which for you and for many is shed for the remission of faults and for the forgiving of sins. This shall be for you a pledge (*rahbôna*) for ever and ever. And also (*wken*): The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you, now (and he makes the sign of the cross) on himself...

In the liturgy the blessing quoted precedes the anaphora and the sign of the cross is now made over bread and wine, the priest does not make it over himself (at the moment). It is clear that the words of this consecration have mainly been translated from the Latin formula, though not literally and "this shall be for you a pledge for ever and ever" has been added. In the NT the Greek word *arrabōn* occurs three times (2 Cor 1,22 ; 5,5 ; Eph 1,14), always meaning or indicating the Holy Spirit; but in Latin theology the Eucharist is called a *pignus* (pledge=handseal), cf. the end of the well-known prayer *O sacrum convivium et futurae gloriae nobis pignus datur*. This makes it more than probable that the addition was made under Latin influence. But by whom was it made?

To the present writer the best answer seems to be the hypothesis that the formula of consecration of Vat Syr 66 originated in Mesopotamia, after the reunion of a part of the Nestorian Church with Rome under Patriarch Sulaqa (1551-1555); he was a brother of Bishop Mar Joseph who took Vat Syr 66 with him on his journey to Rome and wrote parts of it. The main part of the codex was written in 1840 A. Gr. (=1529 A.D.), as a colophon indicates, in the year 1856 it belonged to Mar Hananisho, Bishop Metropolitan of Gazarta and brother of Patriarch Simon (probably Simon VII 1538-1551, a member of the bar-Mama family, which occupied the Patriarchal throne since 1450), but without the parts written by Mar Joseph. The Rev. Douglas Webb has formulated the hypothesis that the words have been written by Mar Joseph⁷ and he knows even the time and places during his detention at Bassein. Though we may readily accept that Mar Joseph was the copyist, it seems far from certain that he composed the formula. This may have been done by Sulaqa himself or one of his

7. Rev. Douglas Webb, *Mar Joseph Sulaqa et la liturgie du Malabar. L'Orient Syrien III*, 1958, pp. 185-208.

advisers. A good Latin theologian would probably never have written: "take... from this *bread*, this is my body" (cf. St Thomas, *S. Theol.*, III, 78,2 ad 3). If we take into account that there are good reasons to suppose that even some changes in the text of the canonical hours were already made in Mesopotamia, to bring them in line with Catholic theology (as we shall see later in this book), there are also good reasons to suppose that the consecration formula had a Mesopotamian origin. This would easily explain why it was so universally adopted in Malabar as the Synod of Diamper implicitly attests in 1599.

In its *Actio V, De Sancto Missae Sacrificio*, Decr. 1 ss., the same Synod ordered some changes to be made in the Eucharistic liturgy. A Latin text of the Mass into which these changes were incorporated has been published by Gouvea in his *Jornada*⁸. But quite a number of these alterations have not been adopted in the Syro-Malabar liturgy as we knew it before the recent reform. It is most probable that the final text was fixed at the Synod held by Roz at Angamali in the 4th month of the 4th year of his Government (December 1603). In the text of the *Jornada* we find the words *et hoc erit vobis pignus, etc.*

More than twelve years ago Father E.R. Hambye discovered in the Ajuda library of Lisbon, Portugal, a Syriac manuscript written in Malabar (Ajuda 52-VIII-4)⁹. It was the only Syriac MS he discovered during his research in

8. A.de Gouvea. *Jornada...*, Coimbra 1606 (written in Goa and published only some years later, because of the time needed by the various censors); the text (Latin) of the Mass is found in a not paginated appendix at the end of the book (1 page of introduction, 17 pages of text of more than 50 lines a page).

9. E.R.Hambye S.J., *Un manuscrit oublié de la liturgie Syro-Malabare*, Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis, 1969, p. 221-231.

the libraries of Portugal. According to him the Ajuda MS was written in 1604 and is the oldest MS containing the text of the Latinized Syro-Malabar liturgy known to us at present. The codex contains the text of a letter or recommendation, signed by Bishop Francis Roz S.J. on 4.11.1604 in the house of the Jesuit Fathers at Vaipicotta, a place in Kerala to the north of Cochin and to the east of Cranganore. (See f.10v - 11r of the MS). The book is a *ṭaksa*, a kind of missal combined with a ritual, with texts of the administration of Baptism and other Sacraments, lectionaries for Mass and the text of the Eucharistic liturgy itself. It is expressly said that the readings of the epistles and the Gospels for feast days are according to the rite of the Roman Church. Hambye does not tell us whether the other readings (for Sundays and for Lent) are also taken from the Roman missal, or whether the codex follows here the old custom of the High Monastery, as in an MS of Trivandrum. He notes that the text of the "common" of Mass is not *exactly* the same as the one in the printed missal of 1774, but the differences are secondary. The text does not yet contain the beautiful hymn *Father of truth* of James of Sarug, nor the words *Agnus Dei* The three prayers said by the priest immediately before communion are not there, nor the words of Ps 116 (Vg and Pesh. 115), 12-13, nor the three prayers accompanying the ablution of the chalice and the paten, all found in the missal of 1774 and its following editions (they are also found in the Chaldean missal printed in Mosul, 1901). In the Lisbon missal one finds the Syriac translation of the words *Lord I am not worthy*.... before the communion of the priest and the faithful, the translation of the *confiteor* and of *See the Lamb of God*.... before the communion of the faithful. The words *Lord I am not worthy* are not repeated, as in the (former) Latin rite. At the beginning of Mass the priests make the sign of their cross (absent in the old liturgy and also in the text of Gouvea). The "farced" *Our Father* is only mentioned at the end.

When one compares the prescriptions of Diamper with the missal of Roz it becomes clear that the Syro-Malabar liturgy of Mass, used for more than two and a half centuries (until 1960) was the liturgy of Roz, not of Menezes (=Diamper). This is the conclusion reached by Father Hambye, who remarks that it was already that of Father Placid Podipara in 1957.

It may have been Bishop Roz who introduced in his Syro-Malabar rite the ceremonial distinction, known in the Latin rite, between "Private Mass" and "High Mass", a distinction unknown in the East. Besides the "normal" Mass, said or sung by one priest, the rituals also know its solemn celebration, called *raza*. Father Hambye continues, on the authority of Fr placid¹⁰, that there are at present two manuscripts of the *raza*: one in the C.M.I. monastery at Mannanam and the other one in the monastery of the same Congregation at Chethipuzha, near Changanacherry. We found another copy in the library of the Catholic Bishop of Trichur and one at Trivandrum, in the archbishop's library.

Mannanam No 1468 has the text of the *raza* as approved by Mar Francis Roz at the Synod of Angamali of 1603, in the 4th month of the 4th year of his administration. The copy is not old (19th century?) and has no colophon, but the date of the Synod is the same as indicated in the Lisbon MS, mentioned above.

In the Catholic Bishop's library at Trichur there is one more copy of the *raza* of the *marita* (flock, diocese) of India, as explained (*d'tnhr*) by Mar Francis at the Synod of Angamali in his 4th year, the 4th month. The text is the same as that of Mannanam. There is now a printed text of the *raza*: *An English Version of Rasa or the Syriac*

10. o.c., p. 225.

Pontifical High-Mass by Fr Andrew Kalapura, Syriac Professor Ap.Seminary, Puthenpally, M.T.S.Press, Verapoly, 1924, $13\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ cm., viii + 148 pages. In the beginning of the ceremony a small table is placed to the north of the altar, with two tapers, the book of lectures (of the OT) and the book of readings of the Apostle (Paul); the book of Gospels is placed on the altar and also the cross which is to be venerated by the congregation (according to a very old tradition of the Church of the East). After the veneration of the cross it is placed on the small table, from where it is taken to be used in a ceremony which was in former times the rite of the dismissal of the catechumens, before the Mass of the faithful. After this rite, the printed translation says, there is a ceremony of prostrations by the priest (s) at the four sides of a "carpet" (rather a square cloth) in the nave of the church. This ceremony is not mentioned in the manuscripts of the *raza*, it is peculiar to Malabar and is not found in the present Chaldean missal of Mosul, 1901, nor in the Nestorian missal of Trichur, 1959. It is probably a very old rite, dating from the time when there was still *bema*, a platform, in the nave of the church; the square cloth may have taken its place.

Mannanam No 882, copied in 1793 by a priest named Philippus, contains the usual Syro-Malabar text of the Mass + indications for *raza*. The same text, but without *raza*, is found in MS 2 of Trivandrum. It contains also a lectionary of Epistles and Gospels for Sundays according to the authentic use of the Church of the East and the rite of the High Monastery. It has another series of readings for feast days, most of which were prescribed by Diamper. This means that it was copied between 1599 and before 1774 (first printed missal); it is not dated. We shall return to this MS later.

There are also in Kerala some rather recent manuscripts, copied in the Middle East and containing the East-Syriac anaphorae. Mannanam 1220 (our number 2) was

copied at Mosul in 1859 under the care of a deacon, son of a priest. It contains the customary three anaphorae, not latinized, the first even without the words of the Institution. The latter were added at the end, p. 42, translated from the Roman missal; they are preceded by the words: "Glory to Thee, God the Father, who sent thy only-begotten Son for our redemption; and He, on the day before his passion, took bread in his holy hands...." etc. It is not indicated at which moment of the anaphora they are to be said. In a colophon the three anaphorae are called "the *qûdashê* or *qûrbane* of the Apostles and of the Fathers and of the Interpreter". After the anaphorae we find the liturgical prayers attributed to Abû Halîm (=Elias III Patriarch from 1176-1180) to be said at the beginning of the canonical morning prayer called *şapra*, and other liturgical prayers composed by Mar shallîta of Resh 'Ayna (Nestorian Bishop, 8th century).

There is at Mannanam another Chaldean MS copied in the Middle East; it contains the text of the 1st anaphora, in which the words of the institution are placed (as a consecration formula) just before the breaking of the Host, as in the Syro-Malabar missals from before 1960. The anaphora is followed by the other two, called "second" and "third". No date, place or name of the copyist are indicated; he belonged most probably to the 19th century and was a Catholic Chaldean.

It seems probable that the two last mentioned manuscripts came to Kerala in the time of the troubles caused by Patriarch Mar Joseph Audo VI (1848-1878).

2. Calendar and lectionaries

The "Church of the East" has a calendar different from that of the Latin Church. According to a very ancient custom, the origins of which are to be looked for in pre-Christian days, the ecclesiastical year is divided (as

far as possible) into periods of seven weeks: one preceding Easter; one following it; another following the feast of Pentecost (the period of "the Apostles"); the seven week of "summer" (*qayta*, also called *hallelayn*, after the first word of the royal anthem of the first Friday of this period); the seven weeks "of Eliah" (the last four of which are also called "the Sundays of the Cross"); the seven weeks of Moses. The Advent has four weeks whereas the number of Sundays after Nativity depends on the (variable) date of Easter, a date which has also its influence on the number of weeks in the final periods of the ecclesiastical year.

Besides the regular Sundays etc, there are also feast days and "commemorations" of the Saints. Those commemorations are not very numerous when one compares their number with those of the Churches of the "west" and they are often assigned to a Friday (or even to a Sunday). Père J. M. Fiey O.P. has drawn attention to the fact that in course of time some dozens of commemorations celebrated in the "Church of the East" have disappeared in a gradual process of elimination.¹¹

In its Actio VIII, Decr. 9, the liturgical calendar of the diocese of the St Thomas Christians was reformed. "Because there is a great confusion - the Synod says - with regard to the observance of festival days... the Synod declares which days are to be observed." They are: all the Sundays of the whole year and also

1. Jan. 1: Circumcision.
2. Jan. 6: Epiphany.

11. J.M.Fiey, O.P., *Le Sanctoral Syrien Oriental...*, L'Orient Syrien VIII, 1963, p.21-54. In his conclusion the author says that the calendar of the Church of the East evolved in the 6th, 7th, 8th and even 10th centuries by the addition of new commemorations, of which he mentions several dozens. According to Fiey the ES calendar had the same tendency to grow as everywhere in the Church.

3. Febr. 2: Purification of the blessed Virgin.
4. Febr. 24 (or 25): the Apostle Mathias.
5. March 25: Annunciation.
6. April 23: St Georges, "as is the custom in this diocese."
7. May 1: the Apostles Philip and James.
8. June 24: St John the Baptist.
9. June 29: St Peter and Paul.
10. July 2: Visitation (Mary visits Elizabeth).
11. July 3: St Thomas, "according to the ancient custom of this episcopal See."
12. July 25: St James, Apostle.
13. Aug. 6: Transfiguration, "according to the custom of this diocese."
14. Aug. 15: Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary.
15. Aug. 24: St Bartholomew, Apostle.
16. Sept. 8: Nativity of the blessed Virgin.
17. Sept. 14: Holy Cross, "according to the custom of this region."
18. Sept. 25: the Apostle Matthew.
19. Sept. 29: the Archangel Michael.
20. Oct. 27: St Simon and Jude, Apostles.
21. Nov. 1: All Saints.
22. Nov. 30: St Andrew, Apostle.
23. Dec. 8: Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary.
24. Dec. 18: the sweating of the cross of the glorious Apostle St Thomas, "according to the custom of this diocese".
25. Dec. 21: St Thomas, Apostle.
26. Dec. 25: Christmas.
27. Dec. 26: St Stephan, first martyr.
28. Dec. 27. St John the Evangelist.
29. Dec. 28: the Holy Innocents.

The *decretum* adds the *Triduum Sacrum* (three days before Easter); Easter and the three following days ("though this feast is now celebrated not longer than two days"); Ascension; Pentecost and the two days which follow it;

the feast of *Corpus Domini* (of the blessed Sacrament) "which is customarily celebrated (*solet...celebrari*) in these regions" (certainly only after the coming of the Portuguese); the feasts of the patron-saints of the churches. On all these days it is forbidden to work, etc He who does so commits a mortal sin. A number of them were introduced by the Synod in accordance with the customs of the Church of Rome. The Synod also declared that the Fridays from Christmas to Lent are no more to be celebrated in a special way, because to the saints commemorated on those days other days have been assigned, and also "because some of these feasts are dedicated to heretics." In Actio III, Decr. 9, the commemorations of "all the Nestorian heretics" are strictly prohibited; the text mentions 32 of them and says that they were commemorated on the Fridays of the whole year. We do not find any mention that Diamper changed or abolished the periods of seven weeks and the corresponding names of the Sundays, nor the passages of Holy Scripture to be read on these days. As far as we know this was only (officially) done in the missal of 1774, published for the faithful of St Thomas by the Propaganda in Rome.

The lectionary of readings of St Paul copied in 1301 (Vat Syr 22) is for us the oldest witness of the ecclesiastical year of the Church of Kerala. We already remarked that it does not follow *taksa* of the High Monastery of Mosul, but that of the patriarchal church of Kokhê (=Seleucia-Ctesiphon), the ancient See of the patriarchs of the Church of the East. The series of readings of the 1301 lectionary is completely different from the one found in the missal edited by the French Dominicans at Mosul in 1901, or that of the recently printed Nestorian *hudra* of Trichur. The Syriac MS Oo.1.17 of Cambridge betrays in its lectionary the influence of that Kokhe. According to Wright this MS is "probably of the middle of the XVIth century" (*Catalogue ...* p.1063). The taking over of

another (of the High monastery) lectionary seems to indicate a change in the liturgical custom of Kerala between 1300 A.D. and the 16th century, under N. Mesopotamian influence. According to Baumstark the order of readings of the High Monastery with its *lectio continua* was the older one, that of the Cathedral a later modification, which was itself again modified in course of time.¹²

In Vat Syr 22 the division of the ecclesiastical year is for the most part, the same as the present one, as found in the printed *hudra* + *kashkól* of Trichur: For Christmas three passages of St Paul are given (Rom 1, 16; Gal 3, 15-29; Eph 3, 20-21) and not Gal 3, 15-4,6 as in the *hudra* of Trichur (to be called T). For Easter there are three readings for three Masses: of the evening, midnight, and the morning, and not two, as nowadays. Between the readings of the 1st and 2nd Mass there is one for Baptism (*dbét ma'mûdîta* = of the baptistry). The last Sunday of the Apostles is not called *nusardêl* (as in T and Mosul), and the following Sundays are called *dhallelayn*, not *dqayta* = of the summer. The Epistles for the days of the liturgical year are followed by lectures for special occasions: for the dedication of a church; for a deceased person; for rain; when there is an earthquake, etc.

Trivandrum 2 is an MS which contains two series of Epistles and Gospels for the eucharistic liturgy, and the anaphora of Adday and Mari. The MS is not dated, but judging from the handwriting it belongs to the 17th century. The first series of readings (100 pages) is identical with the list of Diamper, Nos. 3-24, except the feast of St George (omitted) and the commemoration of All Souls (Nov. 2nd, added); Nos. 1-2 & 25-29 of Diamper are absent, but lessons for some other days are added. There is also

12. A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische Perikopenordnungen...* p. 77.

a series of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays of the whole year, some important feast days, commemorations and the days called *ba'ûta*, pl, *ba'wātā* = supplication(s), special fast-days. This series is not in accordance with Vat Syr 22, but with T and Mosul (details excepted). For each Sunday the words of the royal anthem are indicated, according to a very ancient custom (most Sundays were called after these words), now forgotten in Catholic Kerala, but preserved by the Chaldeans in the middle East and the Nestorians. The feast of Christmas has lessons for three Masses and is followed by lessons for St Stephen; St John the Evangelist; the Holy Innocents; the 1st Sunday after Christmas; Circumcision. This means that all the feasts prescribed by Diamper were adopted, but the ecclesiastical year had still retained its old character; the old division into periods of seven weeks was preserved and even the old names of the Sundays. We have here a definite proof that the adaptation to the Latin liturgy was a gradual one. The old calendar received its *coup de grâce* only in 1774, by the printed missal. Then also the *turgame* (to be compared with the *sequentiae* of the Latin rite), of which there are still some in the Trivandrum MS, disappeared (in the celebration of *raza* they may still be used).

Mannanam No 882 (our number 6) was copied in 1739 A.D. by a priest, possibly for his personal use. It contains first a series of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays etc. of the whole year, and at the end (after the liturgy of Mass + *raza*) a lectionary for feast days, more or less like the one in Trivandrum, described above. The feast of the Holy Cross is called feast of *mar sliba qaddisha* indicating that the original meaning of *mar*=lord had been forgotten (in Malabar it meant something like "saint"). If we compare this MS with Diamper and Trivandrum 2 it becomes clear that the series of feast days was not yet *ne varietur*. If we assume that the priests often copied their own missals and lectionaries, it becomes

clear that no strict control was exercised in the interest of absolute uniformity. A Missal + *raza* in the library of the Catholic Bishop of Trichur contains a fully latinized lectionary (date unknown).

3. The canonical office

The rather late Latin custom and obligation of privately reciting the canonical office did evidently not exist in the diocese of Malabar before the coming of the Portuguese. The clergy recited the public prayers of the Church of the East *in common*, and because they were long, it had become a custom in Malabar that a number of priests and clerics were only present during a part of the office, as the Diamper Synod remarks in its Actio VII, Doctrina de Sacramentis, Decr. 5. Some would even leave the Church after the recitation of only a few verses. Only very few (*paucissimi*) would recite the divine office privately if they had not been present at its public recitation. It is most probable, though not certain, that this form of private recitation betrays Latin influence. In the Church of the East monks would practise it on days they did not leave their cells. To excuse themselves, some referred to the scarcity of books, all hand-written, of which there were only a few in Malabar (*perpauci sunt in hac Ecclesia*, Diamper, l.c.).

For the way the office was recited or sung, we refer the reader to Juan Mateos S.J., *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 364 ss. (explains the present Mesopotamian practice) and to the works of Professor H. Hussmann, of which we mention *Die Melodien des chaldaischen Breviers*, 1967, p. 108 ss. ; *Die Tonarten der chaldaischen Breviergesänge*, Or.Chr.Per. XXXV 1969, pp.215-248. Professor Hussmann has been in Kerala, observing carefully the old tunes and melodies of the canonical office sung by a community of C.M.I. fathers and by Fr Amos C.M.I. He concludes that they

go back to a very old, certainly pre-Portuguese practice. Large parts of the office used to be recited or sung by one voice, not in *chorus*. The faithful, or at least some of them, used to assist and may have introduced the custom of being present only during a part of the very long office, going in and out while it was sung. We observed the same thing in Greek-Orthodox churches in Greece, during Mass.

The office was recited or sung in Malabar (at least from the 16th century) according to the *ṭaksa* of the High Monastery at Mosul. This is explicitly stated in a number of manuscripts. In Malabar the canonical office was very long but in course of time it has been shortened. The story of this shortening has not yet been fully studied; it began perhaps in Mesopotamia, when the Chaldean community united with Rome.

In the 1st chapter of this book we have already mentioned the *ḥudra* of Trichur (Nest.) written at Kothamangalam and completed there in 1584 A.D. It follows the rite of the High Monastery "customary in the whole East", as the colophon says. The text is corrected or obliterated in a few places, as a consequence of the prescriptions of Diamper in its Actio III, Decr. 15, (at the end). The corrections are exceedingly few in number, for the simple reason that the Nestorian christology did not very much influence the official prayer of the Church of the East in a positive way. In the Buchanan collection of Kerala manuscripts of the library of Cambridge there are several manuscripts with the same kind of erasures, corrections and additions (see Oo.1.17; 1.22; 1.19.). Most probably these have been made to fulfil the prescriptions of Diamper, but the later Jacobites, in whose possession they were when they were given to Buchanan, may have had the same difficulties as the Catholics. This can hardly be the case for Oo.1.22 where the name of Evagrius was added, a

mystic much venerated by Eastern monks; this points to a Mesopotamian origin of the correction. There is another (partial) *hudra* of great interest in the library (Nest.) of Trichur. Its text is nowhere visibly corrected by a second hand: the corrections are already *in* the text. Its calendar is the usual one of the Church of the East. The office of the feast of the Holy Cross (on Elul 13th, *sic*) is placed between those of the 2nd and 3rd Sundays of Eliah, though the 1st Sunday of the Cross is the 4th of Eliah.

The Synod of Diamper had specific objections against the offices of the Advent and Christmas and made a special mention of the royal anthem of the vespers of Christmas. In our last mentioned manuscript I did not discover any really objectionable passage. On f.48v at the end of *šapra*, one reads "Mary gave birth to the 'itya (=the divine Being), not as the heretics viciously say, and she did not give birth to a man, as Arius falsely pretended, but she gave birth to God as Mar Cyril has confessed." The formulation is somewhat strange; the original text can be found in the printed *hudra* of Trichur, Vol.1, p. *tq̄p'*: "Not to the 'itya Mary gave birth, as the heretics viciously say, and she did not give birth to a man, as Arius falsely pretended, but she gave birth to Christ as Mar Nestorios has confessed." In the breviary of Bedjan (Roman ed.) the whole text has been omitted. The corrector transposed the word *law*, with which the text begins after "Mary" and replaced "God" by "Christ" and "Nestorius" by "Cyril." Though theoretically we cannot exclude that the corrected text is of Jacobite origin it is more than probable that the-MS is a post-Diamper Catholic one. On f.49r we find the remark that at the feast of Christmas the Creed of the 318 Fathers is to be said during Mass, a perfectly superfluous remark, because this *credo* is always said in the liturgy of the Church of the East

(and by the Jacobites also) ; this betrays Latin influence. The last Sunday "of the Apostles" is also called *nusardel*.

When in the beginning of the office of the first Sunday of Dedication of the church the clergy ascends the *bēm* with the cross and the book of Gospels, the anthem sung during the procession ends with the words : "....the architects Peter, Paul, Evagrius and John," whereas the printed text of Trichur has: ...the architects Peter, Paul, Theodore and Nestorius" and Bedjan: "Peter, Paul, John and Andrew". Evagrius is certainly Evagrius Ponticus (346-399) who lived in Egypt as a monk (since 382) and who was a friend of Makarios ; his works were condemned as heretical by the Ecumenical Council of 553, Constantinople, and by three subsequent Councils. Evagrius was in the East a famous saint and mystic, especially among the Nestorians ; Isaac of Ninive (2nd half of the 7th century) quotes him as one of his most important authorities. It is difficult to accept that his name was introduced into the divine office in Kerala by the Portuguese or under their influence. The only place and time where this can have been done seems to us Mesopotamia in the middle of the 16th century, when a body of Nestorians submitted themselves to the authority of the Roman Pontiff *and began to correct their liturgy themselves*. It seems possible that they also shortened the long office which was then brought to Malabar by a Bishop like Mar Joseph or even Mar Abraham. We venture to suppose that the monastery of St John near Gazarta was the place where the corrections may have been made in which the name of Evagrius is mentioned.

Here we have to mention again the Syriac MS 25 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. In this MS we also find the name of Evagrius, replacing the name of a Nestorian saint. From this we may conclude that this text at least was partly copied from a text which originated in the diocese of Gazarta. This would mean that not all the cor-

rected texts originated in Malabar and that the origin of the text of the divine office as used in Malabar in the (16th), 17th, 18th, centuries is more complicated than hitherto assumed.

Vat Syr 85 is a *kašköl* (office for ordinary days of the week) ; it states that it follows the rite of the "High Monastery" and was copied in 1562 A.D. at Angamali by a priest. The A. D. dating betrays Catholic influence; the fact that the book contains the office for weekdays indicates that priests still recited the office on those days. The MS contains commemorations of "Nestorian" saints, later proscribed by Diamper.

Among the books which Bishop Mar Joseph, the brother of Sulaqa, copied during his forced stay on the isle of Salsette (to the north of Bombay) is a *ṭaksa* "for novices who pray in their cells." The colophon says that the office was composed by a monk called Fransa ; he may have belonged to the monastery near Gazarta, which had become Catholic under Sulaqa. The copying was completed in 1557 A. D. and in the office occur the names of Diodorus, Theodorus, Nestorius, Narses and other Nestorian saints. This makes it clear that the monk Fransa did not abhor them, nor did Mar Joseph ; not all the hymns were corrected by him, some prayers were transcribed as they were found and were known by heart.

Vat Syr 89 has no colophon and does not mention the names of its copyist, nor the year when it was written. According to Assemani the handwriting proves that it was copied by Mar Joseph *circa annum 1529* (one of the many printer's errors in the catalogue of Assemani; the year may have been 1569). It contains the hymns of the martyrs celebrated in the divine office and other texts ; in these hymns Assemani found the names of Nestorian saints (Diodorus, Theodorus, etc.), but he forgot to mention that the name of Nestorius was sometimes erased (f.30r ; 46r ; 79r).

In the library of the Dharmaram College, Bangalore, there is a *kashköl* of 828 pages. It was copied in 1734 (A.D.) at Malanturutti by a Jacobite deacon, but the text is ES. In a *karozûta* (public prayer), found on p.683, is a prayer to be said for the Antiochian Patriarch Ignatius, for Mar Basilius *qatol'qa*, for the Bishop-Metropolitan and for the whole clergy. No Katholikos Basilius is known to have been in Malabar at the time and therefore it cannot but be the common name of the Maphrians, as "Ignatius" for the Patriarchs. Feast days are Christmas; St Stephen; the Evangelists; Circumcision; Ascension; Pentecost; the Cross of our Lord; Manifestation of our Lord; St John the Baptist; St George; the Mother of God; there is also a commemoration of the deceased. Circumcision is most probably a Latin survival; it is the "patron-feast" of the Jesuits. The *qaddisha*....has become the Jacobite *qaddishat*...., addressed to Christ, not to the Trinity.

In the C.M.I. novitiate of Kuruvillaserry, near Mala (Trichur Dt) we found an ES liturgical MS with the canonical prayers for Sundays and Fridays, dated 1739 A.D. It is clear that it has been used by Jacobites. Another one was copied in 1749 A.D. It begins with the liturgical prayers of *ba'ûta* the fast of the Ninevites.

The data collected in the preceding pages make it clear that the old canonical office of the Church of the East continued to be recited in Malabar, even after the time of Diamper. At the time of the Synod there were only a few books available and so not all the priests had copies of the liturgical books. In the 2nd half of the 16th century there were already MSS. with (probable) Mesopotamian corrections. After Diamper more corrections were made. The Jacobites continued to recite this (corrected) office, until it was definitely replaced in their community by the pure WS one (c. 1825).

The first printed text of the office for Sunday and the other days of the week, with some prayers for Lent etc., taken from the *hudra*, was edited in Kerala under the care of Leonard a S. Aloysio Mellano, Vicar Apostolic of Malabar (1868-1886, of Verapoly 1886-1897). In his preface (in Syriac and in Latin; the texts are slightly different) he says that the number of available manuscripts for the recitation of the divine office was insufficient, and that those who prepare themselves for the priesthood had no breviary at all. Moreover the copies daily used were not identical and contained mistakes. The usual office of Lent was shortened by the authority of the Holy Father. In future the printed breviary was to be the only official one and the manuscripts would have to be abolished. The latter was certainly the reason why relatively few of these manuscripts have survived. A short survey of the later history of the "breviary" has been published by Fr V. Pathikulangara C.M.I.¹³ The MSS department of the C.M.I monastery of Mannanam possesses quite a number of them and I saw also quite a few more in the library of the Syrian Archbishop of Ernakulam, stored in the attic of his house, with other documents and books (even texts on palm-leaves). Others can be seen in the library of Pampākuda (Nos 100; 109; 120; 180; 184; 186).

The breviary of 1876 was reprinted in 1952 (my copy); it is a kind of *kaškōl*, though this name is not widely used. It contains the traditional Psalter, to be recited in two weeks (not twice in one week), whereas the special prayers for Lent are omitted, with the exception of a few. The editors remained faithful to the traditional texts and did not create a new breviary.

13. Varghese Pathikulangara, "Divine office in Malabar Liturgy" *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Vol. LXXXVIII, 1974, pp. 131-141.

4. The Sacraments

The Synod of Diamper abolished from the ES rite all the Sacraments, except the celebration of Mass. The form prescribed was the Latin one, translated into Syriac. This was most explicitly stated for Baptism (Actio IV, *De Baptismo*, Decr.14). Confession was not much practised, the Synod says, "because this Church was governed ... by Nestorian heretics, the sworn enemies of this Sacrament" (Actio VI, *De poenitentia*, Decr. 1). The holy orders were administered in Latin, according to the Latin rite, because they were given by Latin Bishops; even Alexander de Campos and Karyatil did so. Certain indigenous ceremonies of betrothal and marriage were strictly forbidden as "diabolical" (Actio VII, *De Sacramento Matrimonii*, Decr. 14; a qualification of some superstitious customs). The Synod puts on record that Confirmation and Extreme Unction did not exist in the diocese (Actio IV, *De Sacramento Confirmationis*, Decr. 1; Actio VI, *De Sacramento Extremae Unctionis*, Decr. 1.) For the customs of marriage, see also the so-called struggle against the "Malabar rites" in the first half of the 18th century (texts in Raulin, *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae* .. pp.451-510).

The Mesopotamian Bishops Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham were reluctant to confer holy orders in the Latin rite. During one of his journeys or detentions Mar Joseph copied an ES pontifical (Vat Syr 45&46), but we have also a translation of the Latin rite of the administration of Holy Orders in his hand writing (Vat Syr 66), probably made during one of his detentions, under Latin guidance or even pressure. In Vat Syr 65, written by Mar Joseph, we find a text for the ES ceremonies of Baptism and one for the confection of the Holy Leaven, a ceremony peculiar to the Church of the East, where it was thought that a part of the eucharistic bread used by our Lord at the Last Supper has been used for the next one, and so on

in the Church of the East until our times. The Holy Leaven is called *malka* and is much venerated.

From the injunctions of Diamper we may safely conclude that before the Synod (1599) Sacraments were still administered in the ES rite, though this was far from favoured by the Portuguese clergy. After the Synod it all came to an end (except for Mass, and there only in part), whereas the Syriac language was retained.

5. Burial Ceremonies

The Church of the East used to accompany the bodies of the deceased faithful to their last resting place with many prayers, especially if they were priests or Bishops. These prayers recited were long, especially for the members of the clergy. The present Nestorian ritual has been described by Badger, who also translated portions of it.¹⁴ In the library of Pampākuda are several ES manuscripts with the text for the ceremony of burial. We were able to study a MS of Tiruvalla (our No 16), which comprises not less than 334 pages of text, and has been used by Jacobites, whose Patriarch (Ignatius) is mentioned in a litany of prayers. The seven "Penitential Psalms" have been taken over from the Latin rite. In Kerala we find them in quite a number of Jacobite manuscripts.

According to Badger five long parts (*mawtbe* = *kathismata*) of the office for the burial of the dead are to be said in the house of a deceased priest; after this the bier is carried to the church where again long prayers are recited and portions of Holy Scripture are read; only then the deceased priest is buried. According to the Tiruvalla MS the deceased priest is brought to the

14. G.P.Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, II, London 1852 (reprint Farnborough, 1969), pp.282-321.

church after the second *mawtba*. According to Badger those present touch the hand of the deceased priest in a last greeting; according to our MS the right hand of the deceased priest should protrude from the grave that all may kiss it, before the corpse is completely covered with earth.

G. West-Syriac Liturgical Manuscripts

This paragraph can be short, because a good number of things relating to it were already said in the foregoing pages. The WS liturgy needed time to be universally accepted in the Syrian Orthodox community and was for many years partially identical with the ES one. The liturgy of the Eucharist was the first one to be changed. In the 2nd half of the 17th century, manuscripts appear containing the West Syriac liturgy, often written in ES characters, and with a very limited number of anaphorae. From this we may conclude that the eucharistic liturgy was the first one to be changed into the WS one. In course of time more and more anaphorae were adopted, or at least copied in the manuscripts. It also seems that Baptism was very soon, if not at once, administered according to the WS rite, predominantly in the one ascribed to Barhebraeus. For some Sacraments, for example, Confession and Extreme Unction, Latin formulae, taken over from the Catholic community, were used for many years.

The canonical office remained as prescribed by the ES, perhaps until the end of the 18th century, though the WS one had already begun to appear in the manuscripts. The same must be said of the ceremonies for burial. How deep and broad the cleavage between the two communities had already become in the beginning of the 18th century clearly appears from the manuscripts (letters) of Amsterdam. In less than half a century the schism was complete.

In c. 1825 the ES liturgy and script totally disappeared from the Jacobite community and also the ES script, to be replaced by the WS ones. It seems that the influence of British and other missionaries was an important factor in this development.

CHAPTER III

LIBRARIES IN KERALA

In this chapter we will describe the Syriac manuscripts copied in Kerala, the ones we found in the various libraries of Kerala and Europe. In the *Introduction* we have already remarked that there is some inconsistency in the description, owing to the conditions under which we had to work and also to the fact that in the beginning of our research we noted only the pages of the manuscripts, sometimes only the written pages. Added to the measures, script and number of lines per page, this is sufficient for future students to identify them and it is for this reason that we feel entitled to ask the co-operation of the reader of these pages. When during a later visit we tried to note the number of folia of all the manuscripts we found that some of them had (temporarily) disappeared. So we were unable to complete our descriptions as we would have liked to. In Kerala some manuscripts have library numbers, others not, so we had to give them our own numbers. Manuscripts of little or hardly any importance (e.g. late liturgical books for daily use) are often only imperfectly described or even left out. Our book is not intended to be a purely technical one but to provide information to illustrate the ecclesiastical history of the Christians of St Thomas in India.

A. Library of the Malankara Catholic Archbishop, Trivandrum

The present writer first worked in this library in December 1971; he returned to it again in December 1972,

and in later years. His last visit was in February 1979. Since the diocese is of recent foundation (1932) there are not many books. I, however, found dozens of manuscripts, most probably collected by the late Mar Ivanios, first Archbishop of the See (1882-1953) who was greatly interested in the history and the tradition(s) of his Church.

1. ES, various contents, $34 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 159 ff. (in the beginning three have been cut away), 290 written pages of which the first 66 are numbered with Syriac letters (beginning on the first page of the written text) 29 lines to a page. The MS was much damaged by insects and there are large holes in the text, but not throughout the book.

The first three folia are much damaged and without text (Nr. 278 of the library).

F. 4v. - 19v. a number of *sugyata* (poetical texts, often alphabetically arranged) for the liturgy of Palm Sunday; Holy Thursday; Easter; Ascension; Pentecost; Commemoration of the Apostles; St Thomas; Moses; Joseph son of Jacob; Dedication; 3rd Sunday of Dedication; some other days (3 pages), ending with f.19v. where we find the words: *šlm swgyt' dmdbrnwt'* = "ended are the *sugyata* of (divine) dispensation". They are followed by *sugyata* and other poetical texts taken from Kamîs, a Nestorian priest who lived at or near Arbela and who was a younger contemporary of Bar Hebreus (see *Baumstark*, p.321). He was the author of poetical texts which have been incorporated into the liturgy; "Kamîs" was proscribed by the Synod of Diamper (Actio III, Decr.14) because the author was a Nestorian.

F. 19v - 30r. Other poetical texts ('*onyata*'), including a well-known one against a deacon of Meškeleg who became a Moslem, found in several manuscripts in Kerala.

F. 30v (p.55)-34v : find *turgamê* to be sung before the Gospel in the eucharistic liturgy, taken from the *Kamîs*.

F.35r-36v contains an 'onīta by Gabriel Qamša, Metropolitan of Mosul when he was still a monk in the holy monastery of Sabrišo of Bet Qāwqa (Nestorian, 13th century, not mentioned by Diamper).

F. 37r-118v. Paradise of Eden by Abdišo of Soba, a very popular book of which several copies are to be found in Kerala.

F. 119r-122v. Void.

F. 123r-139r. The book of Judith, according to an unknown recension. At the end we have this colophon:

Now this holy book was completed and finished in the days of the corporeal Cherub and bodily Seraph and Angel in the flesh Mar John Baptist Mary Apostolica of the whole of India and Gôgin, of the Order of the Discalced Carmelites and in the days of the government of Mar Antonîs Metropolitan of the whole of India of the Order of the Jesuits. Our Lord may make their days as long as those of Methusalāh. Amen.

Written by me in the church of the holy Apostle Mar Thomas called in Indian maram and called the country of the North...in the year 1734 of Christ our Lord.

F. 150v-156v: Romans; 1Corinthians, 1, 1-10, 18 (v. 18 is incomplete, the text breaks off). At the end there are three blank leaves. The two letters of St Paul are divided into *ṣhaḥē*.

2. ES book for the eucharistic liturgy. 212 ff., $28\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 2col., 22 lines. Contains two series of Epistles and Gospels and between them the text of the Mass (*raza*), followed by the text of the administration of some Sacraments, for the use of priests. No colophon, fine writing (17th cent.).

F. 1v-2r *computatio dierum*, to find the dates of the various feasts of the ES ecclesiastical year, to which is added the feast of *Corpus Domini*. The first Sunday of *qayta* (the

seven weeks of "summer"), is called *nusardel*. At the end it is stated that the Advent has 4 weeks, the time of *yalda* (Christmas): 2, Epiphany: 8; Lent: 7; Easter: 7; Apostles: 7; *Nusardel*: 7; Elia: 4; Moses: 2; Dedication: 4. The mention of *Corpus Domini* points to the Latin influence.

F. 2v. Thirteen lines, attributed to S. Ephrem, to find the dates of the feasts of the year.

F. 3r-21r. Epistles and Gospels for 22 feasts prescribed by the Synod of Diamper (All Souls Day included). On the 13th (*sic*) of September is the feast of the Exaltation of *Mar Sliba qaddisa*=of the Holy Cross, called *Mar Sliba*.

F. 21v-22r. blank.

F. 22v-25v. The passion of Our Lord according to St John for three alternating voices, as in the Roman rite.

F. 26r-36v, Ceremonies of Good Friday, translated from the Latin.

F. 36v-40v. The special ceremonies for *raza* with a note on f. 40v: "This new order of *raza* was drafted by Mar Francis, Bishop of our flock."

F. 41r-52v. Various liturgical texts: sacramental absolution; distribution of the Eucharist; marriage; blessing of holy water on Sundays; blessing of candles on the 2nd of February; exorcism of a house infested by demons, with prayers, holy water and incense.

F. 53v-102v. Lectionary of Epistles and Gospels according to the rite of the Church of the East, with some additions, as a 2nd and 3rd Mass of Christmas and after Christmas: St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents. There is a feast of Circumcision.

After Epiphany three days of *baw'ata* of the virgins and some weeks later the same of the Ninevites. After the 7th Sunday after Epiphany there is a Friday "of the children of Adam".

F. 103v-124r. Order of Mass with the anaphora of the Apostles, the well-known latinized text with some prayers.

for its preparation (from the Roman Missal). Before and after this text there are blank pages.

F. 125r-208r: continuation of f.53v. On Palm Sunday there is a ceremony with palms according to the Roman rite, used in Kerala until today.

F. 209r-210r. Blessing of the *mappae* of the altar; blessing of a man that he may be free from illness, demons etc., by the prayers of Mary, Peter and Paul and all the martyrs. *Credo* of the twelve Apostles, of which each sentence is ascribed to one of them.

Except the two last *folia* the main text of the manuscript has been written by one and the same hand in beautiful script. The second lectionary, with its own (unfinished) numbering of the pages, seems to have been added (bound) at a later stage along with the Order of Mass, f. 103v-124r. Date: 17th century, probably the first part of it.

3. Anonymous treatise with classified series of words and terms. ES, 262 ff., $20\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ cm., 16 lines, 1 column. The first six leaves are blank; the introduction to the whole work is on f. 7r: "Having completed with the help of God the discourse on the categories (*adśawhi*) of nature which are called natural names, we shall speak of the individual names, which are all distinguished from the names of nature...." At the end there is a kind of colophon stating that with the help of God "is completed the tightly composed tissue of the grammatical craft (*umanāta*). Praise be to Him in whose virtue we began and with whose help we completed. Amen. From the hand of the priest Jacob." Some pages (the *verso*) are blank, because of the transparency of the text written on the *recto*. (17/18th century?)

4. Commentary on the book of Psalms, by Daniel of Tella, with the explanation of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist by Moses bar Kifo. WS, 139 ff. (277)

numbered pages), 20×16 cms., 18 lines (Dan. of T.), 16-14 lines (Moses bar K.). A colophon states that a priest Abraham copied the book and completed it on 30 Tammûz (July), 1887 A.D. The commentary has three parts: Ps. 1-50; 51-100; 101-150. There cannot be any doubt that this book, of which various copies are to be found in Kerala, is the commentary of the Psalms in three volumes written by Daniel of Salah, a Monophysite who wrote a commentary on the Psalms in three volumes in 541/2 (Baumstark, p. 179). Patriarch Baršawm, in his *History of Syriac Lit.* (Syr.ed., 1967, pp.332-334) states that Daniel of Salah is also called Daniel of Tella and he knows of a tradition which holds that Daniel was born in the village Tella (and not in Salah in the Tûr Abdîn, according to another tradition). According to the same author he became Bishop of Tella of Mawzalta after the year 542. Baršawm tells us that Daniel completed his commentary in 542, before he became a Bishop.

5. A Syriac grammar by Isaac Sadrewoyo, WS, 19½×16 cms., 131 ff., 18 lines, WS vocalization. This is a written text of a printed book, the author of which was a Maronite Metropolitan of Tripolis in the Lebanon. Assemani (BiOr I 552-553) refers to him Isaac Sciadrensis. He died in 1663 and published in 1636 (in Syriac) a grammar of the Syriac language (ed; Rome, College of the Maronites). Baumstark mentions the author (p. 343), not his grammar. For the author, see also G. Cardahi, *Liber Thesauri de arte poetica Syrorum*, pp.140-141. The MS has 254 numbered pages, on p.232 of which is a colophon ascribing the grammar to Isaac. On pp.235-253 one finds a treatise on "the language of Edessa" by "the famous Timotheus Isaac", Metropolitan of Amid, called *Light for Beginners*. This Timotheus of Amid seems to be the one mentioned by Assemani, BiOr I, 549-551; he was a Nestorian who became Catholic and was sent by Patriarch Eliah VIII to Pope

Paul V (1605-1621), not long after 1612. At that time Isaac was in Rome and translated into Latin the letters sent by the Patriarch to Rome through the archimandrite Adam, the later Timotheüs. This fact makes it clear that a short treatise written by Timotheus (not mentioned by Assemani) was added to the grammar of Isaac. In our MS Timotheus is called "son of the deacon Abdišo, Assyrian."

We found several hand-written copies of this grammar in Kerala, nowhere the printed edition. It must have been considered a good and useful book, since it was also copied and used by the Jacobites.

6. Canonical office for Lent, WS, 170 ff., $32\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 31 lines. On f. 157 the text breaks off and is followed, after some blank pages, by a text which is not a continuation of the former one. At the end is added (a psalm and prayers) a quire of 4 ff., 17×22 cms.

7. Catholic Epistles and those of St Paul. ES, $19 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 202 ff., 16 lines. Two hands. F. 1r-30r: James; 1 Peter; 1 John; On f. 30r: "Completed are the Catholic Epistles and the Acts, written by the deacon Giwargis, disciple of the priest Abraham, the famous one, in the year 1753, on Thursday Dec. 8th." The same deacon mentions his name at the end of James ("the deacon Giwargis of Tumpemannur") and after 1 Peter ("the deacon Giwargis"). The three Catholic Epistles are followed by those of St Paul in this order: Romans; 1, 2 Thess.; 1, 2 Cor.; 1 Tim; Gal; 2 Tim; Eph; Titus; Philip; Philemon; Col.; Hebr. After Romans there is a colophon which again mentions the deacon Giwargis as the copyist. On f. 91r, the first of a new quire, another hand begins to appear, the paper is thicker and has a different watermark, the lines are somewhat longer. At the end the copyist calls himself "the priest Thoma, of the church of Putiakavu"; no year. On the binding there is a type written note stating

in English that the handwriting of the book shows that it was copied by the priest Thomas, an ancestor of Mar Ivanios, who became a Catholic in 1930. He lived in c. 1700.

8. Volume with commentaries on the New Testament. 211 ff., 21x15 cms.; 16-18 lines. ES.

The book consists of two parts, bound together (same paper throughout, same watermark, the same as that of the first part of MS 7 mentioned above). 1st part: f.1-110 (2+16+16+16+16+16+16+12ff.), 16 lines. 2d part: f.111-211 (16+16+16+16+16+10+6+5 ff.); in all 16 quires. The 1st part contains questions on the Gospel of St Matthew, and begins abruptly, without a heading. The second part is a collection of questions from the "Exposition of the New Testament by our holy Father Mar Ísodad" (=Ísodad of Merw, Bishop of Hdatta, 9th century, famous Nestorian commentator of both Testaments). The handwriting of the 2nd part is slightly, but decisively different from the one of the 1st part; on f. 200v a colophon states that the MS. was completed in the year 1751 (A.D.). The copyist was a priest named Jacob; he asks for a prayer from the reader in order that wisdom be given to him "by the prayer of Mary, the Mother of God, and by the prayers of all the saints." At the end an alphabetic poetical text, to be used in the days of *ba'alta* and of Lent, followed by an alphabetical text by Mar Aprem, again followed by the colophon on f.200v, by two *'onyata* of (Giwargis) Warda (proscribed by Diamper) and a *pušaga* (interpretation) of the parable of the judge and the widow. The MS proves that in spite of the prohibition by the Synod of Diamper some texts of Warda survived their prohibition in Malabar.

9. Book of the Gospels. ES, 20x14 cms.; 260 ff. (+2 and 3 ff. of the binder at the beginning and at the end), 16-17 lines. St John was copied by another hand (17 lines; the three synoptic Gospels: 16 lines). John 7, 53-8, 11 is missing but not John 5. 3b-4. 17th century?

10. Acts of the Apostles. ES, 202 ff., $15 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ cms, 12 lines. The colophon on the two last written pages mentions as copyist the deacon Giwargîs, disciple of the famous priest Abraham; written in the church of the Apostle St Thomas at Kôtarakkarê (*sic*). No year; c. 1750.

11. The book of Hierotheos. WS, 78 ff., $23 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ cms, 24 lines. The major part of the book is written in two columns a page, the inner columns in thick handwriting, the outer ones (the interpretation of the inner column) is in smaller script. According to the colophon at the end of the book it was copied in 2223 A.Gr.=1911 A.D. by Yoḥanan, called 'dyry'. For the *Book of Hierotheos*, see Baumstark 167; it is a work written by Stephen Bar Sudaile, 5/6 century (died c. 550) and very difficult to understand.

12. Mar Thomite Missal. WS, 61 ff. (+1+1 ff. of the binder), $18\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 16 lines (first hand), 17 lines (2d hand, Baptismal ceremony by Barhebreus). No colophon; 19/20th century, WS vocalization of a number of passages by a later hand. Tos ph

13. Mar Thomite Missal, 72 ff., 20×16 cms., 16 lines. Jacobite Anaphorae of James; Xystos; Dion. bar Salibi; Petros; John of Haran. At the end five blank ff. + 6 ff. with Malayalam text (9 pages) + 2 blank ff. Tos ph

14. Florilegium of interpretations of the Gospels. ES. 83 ff. (+1 f. of the binder at the beginning and 3 at the end). The book contains extracts (*pāsāqê* = portions, sections) of interpretations of the Gospels by John of Amîd; Dionysios bar Salibi; Hippolytus of Rome; Epiphanius of Cyprus; Philoxenos of Mabbug; Evagrius; Moses bar Kifo; James of Edessa; John of Constantinople; John of Dara; Mar Aprem; Mar Yakûb; Cyril and many others. No colophon, no date; probably 18th century, copied by a Jacobite.

15. *Directorium* for confessors. WS, $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ cms., 12 lines. Colophon on f. 166 and 167; it says that "the book of confessions and canons of the apostles and the fathers, with various kinds of prayers, (was copied) by the hands of the priest Thomas...in the year 1850 of Christ...pray for the blameworthy writer, the priest Thomas who is pastor in the church of Putikaw. Amen, Amen." The book contains a collection of bits of advice for the confession of sins with rules for the absolution of various kinds of them. On f. 165v. there is a formula of confession and absolution (with *frumion* and *sedro*) of Latin inspiration:

I confess to God, almighty Father, and I confess to our Lady the Mother of God, Mary, always Virgin, and I confess to the Archangels Mar Michael and Mar Gabriel, and I confess to Mar Petros and Mar Paulos, I confess to the twelve Apostles and the 72 Evangelists, and I confess to the three holy Synods of the 318 Fathers.....and I confess to all the Saints and I confess to the priesthood which is exercised by thy hands. I believe and affirm that whatever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven and whatever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven. And I confess to you all my sins, committed by thought, word and work. And I ask from you that you may be for me a mediator between God (and me) and that He may give me absolution and remission through your hands. This is followed by the *sedro* of the sins and by the absolution:

The Almighty and all-powerful God may have mercy upon you. In the power of Jesus Christ, which he gave to his holy Apostles and which they gave to the high priests and which the high priests gave to my weakness, I weak and sinful servant, by the power which has been entrusted

to my hand, I absolve you, blessed brother N.N. of all these sins which you have confessed and which you have forgotten, mortal and venial, which were yours day and night. In the power of our Lord Jesus Christ I absolve you of of all these bonds and excommunications and maledictions and suspension, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one true God. Amen.

The text quoted above is a typical example of the living on of Latin formulae and thought, long after the secession of the Syrian Orthodox community.

16. Nomocanon of Barhebreus, chapt. 1-10. WS. 167ff. (164-167 are blank), $19 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms, 15 lines, copied by the priest Zacharias, of the flock of *māweliqrā pw'ykm*, in the year 1901 (A.D.)

17. *Chirotonia* of Metropolitan and Bishop. WS. 138 ff. (the last 7 ff. are blank), $26\frac{1}{2} \times 21$ cms., 14 lines. According to the colophon the book was copied in January 1914 A.D. in the monastery of Mar Sarbel near Midhiat (in N. Mesopotamia, now S. Turkey) on behalf of Gregory Metropolitan of India and *tebelaya* of the flock of Niranam, by a priest Johanan, son of Abdallah, from the Târ 'Abdin (now S. Turkey).

18. Office of the burial of Bishops, priests, deacons and monks. WS. 65 ff. (+1 at the beginning and 1 at the end, of the binder). 19th or 20th century. The ES office for burial had been long in use amongst the Jacobites of Kerala, but was at last replaced by the WS one, recorded in this volume.

19. Syriac grammar of Barhebreus (*Book of Rays*). WS., 228 ff. (+one of the binder at the beginning and at the end), $19\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 18 lines. Colophon without date

or name of the copyist. Text written in small and elegant characters, black (modern ?) ink, titles violet. 19/20th cent.

20. Jacobite Missal. WS. 358 ff., $17\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$ cms., 14-17 lines. It contains the rite of Baptism by Barhebreus; the blessing of the rings of the bridegroom and bride; the *ṭaksa dqurobo* (ceremonies of Mass) with the anaphora of James, followed by the anaphorae of Moses b.K.; Dionys.b.S.; Mathew the Pastor; Eustathios; Julios (Rom.); John Ev.; Mark; Ivanios (of Harran); Xystos; Peter; Twelve Apostles; John Patr.; James of Sar.; Ignatius, disciple of John; Dionysius, disciple of Paul; Cyr. Alex.; James of Edessa; Marûta, Katholikos of the East; Lazarus of Baghdad; Pâtra, patr. of Antioch; Philoxenos of Mabbug. The book has been copied by at least three hands and was bound twice. It is evident that at least during the second binding the anaphorae of a second were added. Lost or badly damaged passages may have been replaced by new ones of the second hand. The anaphora of Jacob of Sarug was copied by this second hand (12 ff.), the priest Paulos; it is followed by a third hand, until the end (15 lines) and some additions (two lessons of the Gospel, to be used during Mass; very recent hand). When the book was bound a second time, it was also cut (again?). The handwriting is beautiful; the origin of the MS is uncertain.

21. Jacobite Missal. WS. 30×20.5 cms., 18-21 lines. The text begins on p. 15 with *frûmion* and *sedro communis*. This is followed by the order of the eucharistic liturgy. The priest takes the holy vestments in the second preparatory service and only afterwards he prepares the paten and the chalice, whereas this is at present normally done in the first service ("of Melchisedech"). There are 15 anaphorae: James; John Ev.; Ignatius of Antioch; Matthew the pastor; Twelve Apostles ("recorded by Luke"); Dionysius
7]

of Athens; Cyril of Alexandria; Jacob Intercisus; Petra, Patr. of Antioch; Eustatius Patr. of Alexandria; Lazarus Barsabba of Baghdad; Julius of Rome; Xystus of Rome; Dionysius b. Sal.; John of Haran, Habura and Nisibin. Between Julius and Xystus some *frumia* and *sedros* have been inserted. After the anaphorae there is the order of the blessing of rings and crowns in the ceremony of marriage. This is followed by the order of Baptism according to Barhebreus and the order of the Anointing of a sick person "who asks from the priest a prayer of *husayo* (propitiation) for the body and soul. The text is not the one of the solemn ceremony of the extreme unction, called *kandilo*, but is relatively short. After an introduction the *trisagion* is said; Ps 51; a *šuroyo* (beginning of a psalm), *frimion*, *sedro*, *qolo*. After this the margin has a vertical note of two lines:

Here the priest anoints the sick person on his eyes, ears, lips, nose, hands, feet and everything with this holy oil (saying): By His sweet grace may God forgive you everything which you sinfully did by the fault of the eyes in the name of the + Father. Amen. And of the + Son. Amen. And of the Holy + Spirit, for life everlasting. Amen.

This is probably to be said after the *qolo*, because there the word *hōrkō* ("here") has been added above the line; the note is in a second hand, the formula derives from the Latin rite. It is followed by 'etro'. James 5.13-16: *pet-gomo*. Mt 10. 5-10: *ba'āto*. Real anointing is only mentioned in the marginal note, not in the text itself, which is rather curious. The order of the anointing of a sick person is followed by various other texts: for the preparation of the eucharistic bread; the way the various hosts or parts of them may be laid on the chalice; for the blessing of a house; blessing of bridegroom and bride (6 pages of 34 lines each).

It seems that the MS was copied in Kerala. The date is uncertain; 19th century?

22. Jacobite "breviary"; selected texts for feasts. 6+335 pages, $19\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ cms. It gives the text of *ramso*; *lityo*; *saftro*; terce of the second day after Easter, followed by the order of the "new Sunday" and of the apostle Thomas; Mar Giwargis; Ascension; Our Lady of the Seeds in the midst of May; Pentecost; Golden Friday; Peter and Paul; the Twelve Apostles; Mar Thomas the Apostle; Transfiguration on Mount Tabor (called: *Feast of the Tabernacles*); Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; Nativity of Mary; Joachim and Anna and the just Simeon; Invention of the Holy Cross. There are no prayers for *'etro*, no *slowoto*, no *frumion-sedros*. The handwriting is ES and WS, both scripts are mixed; the ES writing is not very elegant, sometimes even bad; 2nd half of the 18th century. Several hands. The MS is interesting as a document showing the transition from the ES writing to the WS one. There is no colophon at the end, but on f.642 (p.117) one reads the following note: "This was written in Kulam (Quilon) 967, on the 23rd of December, on the day Olanda (=Holland) took the Kovalam of Cochin-this is the palace of the kings- because there was a conflict. After 4 months peace returned." "Kulam" means the era of Kulam-Quilon; according to A.S. Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, 1967/70, p.114 this era began in August-September 825 A.D. This means that the note was written in 1792 A.D. We know that the Raja of Cochin made a treaty with the English East India Company in Jan. 1791, and that Fort Cochin surrendered to the same Company on the 20th of October, 1795. The note is written in WS script. The book has still its original leather binding, in the interior of which is to be found a paper on which an Arabic-Malayalam list of words had been written. This provides us with a proof that Arabic speaking Bishops or priests from the Middle East have tried to learn the local language.

23. Order for the ordination of priests. WS. Copied in the Lebanon by Isaac Armaleh. Patriarch Tappouni approved the MS (1-10-1930) and certified this with his seal. Nice handwriting; ruled lines were not used. The book has 33 written pages, $25\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{4}$ cms. This copy and some others were certainly made at the request of Mar Ivanios, who made profession of faith in the Catholic Church on Sept. 20th 1930; the date of our manuscript proves that already before that day he must have been in contact with the Patriarch of the Catholic Syrians. Not only the fact that Card. Tappouni was a Catholic prelate may have induced him to do so, but also the scholarly reputation of his predecessor Patriarch Ephrem II Rahmani (1848-1929) and of Chorepiscopus Isaac Armaleh (1879-1954). Rahmani studied the ancient liturgical traditions of his Church and published scholarly books.

24. Bethany Manuscripts, liturgical. Eight modern liturgical manuscripts of big size (c. 32×20 cms.) with large writing, on paper mostly mentioning at the bottom of each page the name BETHANY by which they are easily recognizable. One of them, of 16 lines to a page, contains the text of the ordination of psaltes, lector, subdeacon, deacon and priest. There is a notice that a certain Giwargîs was ordained deacon by Mar Ivanios at Bethany. This is followed by the notices of other ordinations, the last of which is dated 29.3.1936. Evidently the MS once belonged to Mar Ivanios. Another MS contains various blessings to be given by a Bishop, like the blessing of a chalice, of a church, of its founding stone, of liturgical vestments. Other volumes contain parts of the *Penqîto* (the great "breviary" of the WS Church) edited in three volumes by the Pampākuda Press (1962/63/64) and in seven at Mosul, Dominican Press (1886-1896). One volume contains the anaphora of Mar John the Patriarch son of *M'yny*. In the words of

the institution *hono itaw pagro d'il* the *p* of *pagro* is left out and there is a blank space! This may be connected with the fact that the Jacobites and Catholics of the Middle East pronounce *fagro* (in Arabic the *p* is Pronounced as *f*) whereas in Kerala even Jacobites say *'pagro*, a relic of the old ES pronunciation. The anaphora is followed by parts of the canonical office, including texts for the feast of St Thomas, Ap. There is also the text of a homily of Jacob, Metropolitan of Mfarqin, town of the martyrs in Bêt Nahrîn, for those who ask to become deacon or priest. The homily is addressed to those who recognize the first three Synods only. i.e., the Jacobites. There are also prayers for the ordination of the Chorepiscopus.

25. Besides the books mentioned above there is a small number of more or less recent liturgical books, for personal use of the clerics, without any special value for our study. They were copied when printed texts were not available or when a priest or Bishop wished to have his own hand-written copy. Mostly they have no colophon; 19th or 20th century.

26. A volume with some books of the Old Testament. ES. 246 ff., 15×10 cms., 12-13 lines. The book contains the Proverbs of Salomon, divided in the original ES *ṣhaḥe*; Canticles, with Western division in chapters (but ch.V begins in IV 16b=edition of Lee); Apocalypse of John, with Western division in chapters; parts of the commentary of Dionysius bar Salibi on the Apocalypse; Canticles (second copy). At the end there is a long colophon, stating that the MS was completed on Tammuz 28th (July) 1816 A.D., in the royal town of Seppād, in the church of the martyr Giwargis, in the days of Dionysius Metropolitan ... of the whole of India. This Dionysios was the second Catholicos of this name (1815-1816). There were two copyists: the second began his work on p.385, in the midst of the

commentary of Dionysios bar Salibi; his writing is inferior to that of the first one. The names of the copyists are given as Zacharya, disciple of the skilful (*mhîra*) and wise priest Philippos and Giwargîs, disciple of the same priest. It is said that Zacharya was from Seppad.

27. Syriac Grammar in verse, by Barhebreus (the short grammar of this author). WS. $28\frac{1}{4} \times 21\frac{3}{4}$ cms., 97+8 pages. According to the colophon it was completed on 'Tammuz 28 (July) 1879 A.D., in the school of Parmala.

B. Library of the Malankara Bishop's House, Tiruvalla

In this library the present writer found 43 Syriac manuscripts, none of which was numbered. Most of them are of WS origin and script, some are written in ES handwriting and a few have both scripts. I studied the manuscripts in the same years as those of the Trivandrum library, mentioned in the foregoing pages.

1. *Bêt gazzo*. WS. 166 ff., 332 pages, $22 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 30 lines, 2 columns. This volume was copied in the Middle East in the year 1899 A. Gr.=1588 A.D. The MS has suffered much damage and has been restored. The first 27 pages have been copied by another hand to replace a lost text; at the end of the book the text of one leaf nearly disappeared. The MS has been rebound, apparently in Kerala, and the pages have been cut again. It contains the texts of the WS canonical hours of ferial days (*shîmo*). At the end of the *shîmo*, p. 108, there is a short note at the bottom of the page stating when it was copied. This note is followed by *qolê dšahrê*, *takšefoto* and *ma'abranê*. At the end of the *takšefoto* there is a note saying that the hymns are used in the monastery of Mar Zakkay at Gargad (*sic*; must be Gārgar). There are also *kathismat*; *ma'anyoto*; *ba'woto* (prayers) of Mar Jacob, Mar Eprem and Mar Balay: hymns sung during the procession with the cross on Good Friday; some

zumôrê, the order of prayers before *qurobo* (=the anaphora); answers of deacon and congregation during the eucharistic liturgy. The text of the *shîmo* is most often the same as the one edited at *Sarfeh*; 1937 A.D. The *qolê* for the deceased are not short, as in *Sarfeh*, but as long as the other *qolê*. The paper is from the Middle East, except the 16 ff. at the beginning which were later added and have a watermark (letters: PB).

2. Book of Gospels. ES 451 pages, $19\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 20 lines. Text divided into *shahe*. No colophon, probably 18th century. John 7,53-8,11 is lacking, but *not* Mk 16,9-20; Luke 22, 19b-20, 43; John 5,4.

3. Book of Gospels. ES, 442 pages, $21\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 18 lines. Syriac *shahe*. John 7,53-8,11 is missing, but not the three texts mentioned above. According to the colophon the copyist was the priest Abraham, son of Paulos, disciple of the priest Giwargîs, who copied his text in the church of the saints Mar Sabor and Mar Aprot and Mart Maryam at Angamali; it was completed on a Sunday, Tammûz (July) 26th, 1808 A.D.

4. Epistles of the NT. ES. 333 pages, $20 \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ cms., 18 lines. The MS contains James, 1 Peter, 1 John and the Corpus Paulinum in the usual order. The colophon states that the MS was completed on Elûl (September) 24th, 1794 A.D., by the deacon Giwargîs, disciple of the priest Joseph, in the church of Mar Lazarus at Kunankulam. At the end of 1 John: "End of the Acts with its letter."

5. Commentary on the Gospels. WS. 450 pages, $30\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 24 lines; preceded by 10 pages with various insignificant texts. The book contains the commentary of Dionysios bar Salibi on the three synoptic Gospels. The copyist does not give the full text of Dionysios; in his introduction, Book 1, he jumps from *kephalaion* 9 to 13.

At the end of Mark there is a colophon without date, mentioning the name of the copyist: the priest Abraham; probably 19th century.

6. Commentary on the Gospel of St John. WS. Main text on 263 pages, $20\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 14 lines; followed by 2 blank pages and 28 pages of hymns and prayers in times of distress. At the end of the commentary a colophon: "This is a copy from the holy book of our Father Gregory, Metropolitan of the flock of Niranam... by the priest Abraham in the year 1816 A.D., Tammuz (July) 20th, on the feast of St Thomas, at Pampākuda, in the cell of the church of the Apostle St Thomas". On the page preceding the colophon we read the remark that the text of the angel moving the water (John 5,4; of dubious authenticity) was not taken from the "body" (*gāśma*) of the Gospel, but was found above the text (= addition between the lines). This verse is missing in the Syro-Curetonian text, but is present in the pešitta.

7. Commentary on the Apocalypse by Dionysios bar Salibi and Acts of the Apostles. WS. 153 pages, 27×21 cms., 25 lines. The commentary takes up 27 pages, the Acts 90. On 8 pages before and 28 after both texts have been copied a number of *pušaqe* (interpretations) of the NT in cursive WS script; the paper of these pages was partly burned away by the ink. 19th cent.

8. Interpretation of the seven Catholic Epistles of the New Testament and Romans, 1 Corinthians, by Dionysios bar Salibi. WS. The main work takes up 272 pages but at the end, after 6 blank pages someone has added in crabbed handwriting various unimportant texts $24\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 22 lines. James: 26 p.; 1 Peter: 19 p.; 2 Peter: 10 p.; 1 John: 15 p.; 2 John: 12 lines (1 p.); 3 John: 12 lines (1 p.); Jude: 8 p.; introduction to St Paul: 32 p.; Romans: 120 p.; 1 Corinthians: 40 p. No colophon; end of 19th century?

9. Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ. WS. Main text 234 pages, $19\frac{1}{2} \times 16$ cm., 18 lines. The book begins thus: "Testament, i. e., the words which Jesus has spoken to his Apostles after He had risen from the dead and which have been written down by Klimis (=clemens) of Rome, disciple of Petrus, in eight books." The first book comprises 90 pages, the others 132. The text of the Testament is followed by the canons of Nicea (12 p.), with a colophon, stating that the book was copied by the priest Jacob of the church of Artat of Mailipur. This is followed by the canons of various Synods: Anqora; Neo-Caesarea; Gangra; Niqia in the church of Antioch; Laodicea the 150 bishops at Constantinople; the Synod which was convoked because of the blasphemies of Nestorius; exposition of the twelve chapters of Cyril of Alexandria; letter of Gregorios Theologos.

10. Exposition of the Seven Sacraments of the Church. ES, 284 pages, $20\frac{1}{4} \times 15$ cms. The colophon is on pp. 276/7; it states that the book was copied by the deacon Giwargîs Palnakan of the church of Putbeliqrî (?), disciple of the priest and *malpān* (teacher) Abraham, in the seminary of All-India; he asks for prayers from the reader that he may be helped by God Almighty (*mṣṣ'ahîd kul*), in the year 1855 of Christ, *hẓîran* (June) 24th. The author of the book is Mar Petros Qûmûz (or Qawmuz); Bishop and angelic doctor, who wrote "for those of the household of the faith"; the text was translated "from the Roman language (=Latin) into Syriac." The Roman Catholic treatise is followed by the 27 Apostolic Canons and a treatise on the celibacy of the clergy. In the binding there is a page of a printed Hebrew book which may mean that Hebrew was not unknown in the seminary of the copyist.

The seven Sacraments are given in the order of the Synod of Diamper. The author was a Latin Bishop Malacca, a diocese founded in 1557 and suffragan of Goa;

it was virtually destroyed by the Dutch in 1641 and its See, mostly empty, was transferred to Portuguese Timor. It was suppressed in 1838. There are various copies of this book extant in Kerala; it was most probably used in the theological instruction of future priests in a Catholic seminary or by a *malpān*. Unfortunately the copyist does not mention the name of the seminary of "All India" and we can only guess: Was it Verapoly? Puthenpally was opened later than 1855.

11. Anaphorae. ES with additions in WS. c.300 pages, 19×13½ cms., mostly 12 lines. The first c.93 pages, of which ten are blank, contain various texts, mostly *frāmions* and passages of the New Testament (Epistle and Gospel) to be said during Mass (ES writing),. We noted a special prayer to be said when the priest puts on his liturgical sandals; a prayer for the blessing of new *ma'n* (=liturgical clothing, lit. objects, etc.); a prayer to be said after the *bat malko* "*qāqlion*" in time of misery, hunger and pestilence and liturgical texts for Mass in those circumstances among which a liturgical lecture ("epistle") 2 Sam. 24, 15-19. 25, the same as used in the *Missa pro vitanda mortalitate* in the Roman rite, and for this reason certainly an 'avatar' of this rite in the Jacobite one (the text comprises 2 Sam. 24, 15-19+verse 25). There is also a prayer to be said over the altar after it has been defiled by infidels or heretics (ES hand).

The most important part of the codex are 210 pages with the text of six anaphorae, followed by a colophon saying that the copyist was the priest Cyril of Tebbenal, who wrote on 9.12.1769 A.D.; he calls himself a disciple of a skilled and learned Chorepiskopa, whose name he does not reveal. The first anaphora is of James, as usual. It is preceded by the part of the eucharistic liturgy to be said by the priest. Bread and wine are prepared in the first preparatory service, liturgical vestments are taken in the

Second one, as is the custom now. The other anaphorae are of Dionysios; John of Haran, Habûr and Nisibîn; Jacob of the monastery of Mar Hananya; John the Patriarch; Xystus, Patriarch of Rome. Each anaphora is followed by a colophon in which Cyril reveals himself as the copyist; he asks for the prayers of those who will use the anaphora, prayers for himself, the Chorepiskopa who instructed him, his *malpān* (probably the Chorepiskopa) and his brother the priest Giwargîs.

The MS has a curiosity worth mentioning. In the narrative of the Institution (of the Eucharist) of the 1st anaphora, the words *barrek* (blessed), *qaddeš* (sanctified), *qša* (broke)....*metqše* (broken) and again *barrek*, *qaddeš*, *met'sed* (poured out) are written in very thick characters; in the anaphora of Dionysios only the first *barrek* is written thus; in the anaphora of Jacob of Mar Hananya the first *barrek wqaddeš*. The explanation of this curious fact seems to be that the copyist imitated in his way a tradition, originated by the Latin priests, to write the words of the Institution (=Consecration) in a special way. It is to be noted that the words of the epiclesis, to which the consecratory power was ascribed, are not brought out in relief. The copyist refused to follow the Latin custom completely, but he may have felt that something was to be done. The MS proves that in the middle of the 18th century Mass was celebrated in the Jacobite community according to the WS rite, in the same way as it is done now, but the liturgical texts were still copied in ES script and are not entirely free from survivals of the Latin rite, brought into the country by the Portuguese.

12. Order of Mass etc. WS. 98 pages, $24 \times 19\frac{1}{4}$ cms., 23 lines, very thin bluish paper. The whole order of Mass with the anaphora of James, followed by some prayers of the priest to bless new objects; a ritual of Baptism according to Barhebreus; rite of marriage and *varia*. Recent, no date or colophon (c. 1900?).

13. Anaphorae. WS. 115 written pages, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$ cms., 14 lines. The MS contains the anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (as in the šarfeh edition, 1922, but with various important variants); John the Evangelist; Peter; John of Haran and others. The book is a *torso*, because it refers to the anaphora of James (usually the first one) which is lacking. According to the colophon the book was completed on the 16th of Elûl (September), 1869 A.D., by Giwargîs son of Mattay, in the church of the royal town of Mûl-matûrtî (Malanaturuti). The vocalisation, where it is used, is sometimes ES, sometimes WS (added later?). First there are some *frāmions* for the various anaphorae.

14. A Ritual. WS. 185 pages, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 18 lines. The pages are numbered at the bottom with Arabic numbers, there are some complete Arabic words, and there is also Malayalam *garšuni*. On p. 1 one reads that the text which follows is that of the ritual of the Holy Baptism of Christ, by Severus of Antioch, according to Klimis, disciple of the apostle Thomas, translated from Greek into Syriac by the learned Jacob of Edessa and approved by Barhebreus! As a matter of fact various different rituals of the liturgy of Baptism are ascribed to the authors just mentioned; our author combines them; see M. Elenjikal, *Baptism in the Malankara Church*, Bangalore 1974. The ritual of Baptism is followed by the rite of the blessing of the wedding rings and by various other texts; p. 85 ss.: *garšuni*.

15. Ritual. WS. 150 ff., $19 \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ cms. The first 60 ff. are on bluish paper, the following 98 ff. on yellowish. Contains: a. Baptism, according to the ritual of James of Edessa. b. Blessing of rings, etc., according to the rite of "the orthodox Jacobites", ritual of James of Edessa! c. Blessing of a widow. d. Office of the *qandîlo* for him "who approaches to the *ṭaybûto* (here: unction) "whether sick or healthy." This is a very long office, to be performed by several priests,

a parallel to the ceremony of (Extreme) Unction in the Western Church. According to the Synod of Diamper this Sacrament was not administered in the community when the Synod was celebrated. The text refers to James 5, 14-15 which speaks of the unction of the sick only. The office is called *kand'lo* because the priests who perform it must take an earthen vessel with Olive oil, and dough, in which five wicks are fixed which are lighted, one after the other, during the five parts of the office. e.Burial of a man or a woman.

16. Ritual. WS. 16×10 cms. Contains : a.Ritual (short) of Extreme Unction. b.Psalms of penance. c.Book of the dead according to the rite "of the Eastern Syriac Jacobites." d.Rite of the burial of the faithful deceased. e.Blessing of holy water. This blessing begins with the words "Our help is in the name of the Lord ..." (from the Latin rite) and has also a formula "Let us pray, peace be with us" (Chaldean). It is evident that the book contains formulae of Latin origin, translated into Syriac and used by the Catholic Chaldeans, inherited from them by the Jacobites, who ignored the origin of these prayers. On page 31 (and 32) there is a colophon, saying that the book was copied and completed by Simon, whose family name is Karût, from the blessed village of Kandanat, in the year 1859, on the 31st of the first Tešrîn (September), a Saturday. Of this Karût or Karôt there are various books in the Tiruvalla library.

17. Order of the burial of priests. ES. 334 pages, 19¹/₂ × 14¹/₂ cms., 19 lines. This book was copied and used in the Jacobite community, but its text, written in ES script, is mainly East-Syriac. There are some small additions from the WS rite, for example, the words generally said in the beginning of the liturgical prayers : "Praise be to the Father ...and on us weak sinners..." The seven penitential psalms and some prayers for the priest when he puts on the

holy vestments stem from the Latin liturgy, whereas the prayer for putting the *zânoro* (girdle) is taken from the WS rite. The office is very long, as the number of pages of the MS shows; there are several *mawtbê*. No colophon; c.1800?

18. Order of the Burial of Priests. WS. 216 pages, $19\frac{1}{2} \times 16$ cms., 13 lines. There is a stamp of Kûri Sim'ôn in the book. In the colophon he mentions his name and calls himself a disciple of Mar Cyril, Leader (Bishop) of the flock of the Apostle St Thomas. No year; probably the middle of the 19th century. The colophon states that the book contains the order of burial of the Syrian Orthodox Church (not the old Chaldean one).

19. Burial Ceremonies. WS. 66 (original) pages + 36 (added ones), $20\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms. From the Middle East, no colophon. Modern. On the title page one reads, written in (Arabic) *garšuni*: "The beginning of Wisdom is the fear of the Lord."

20. Ritual. WS. 169 pages, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ cms., 9 lines, with stamp of Kûri šim'ôn' completed on Tammûz (July) 25th, 1866 A.D. It contains: a. Ritual of the unction of a sick person by a priest with the Latin formula for extreme unction (in Syriac), respectively on the eyes, ears, nose, hands, feet, "all". b. Prayer in the hour of death c. Blessing of a house. d. Burial of men. e. Penitential Psalms.

21 a. WS daily prayers (*šhîmo*) šhîm'on Karawt (*sic*) of Kandanat, completed in 9 Kanûn Ahray (January) 1852 A-D. The text has nearly everywhere ES vocalization, but sometimes also WS, 21b. same as 21a, but other hand writing.

22. WS booklet with various liturgical texts written by the deacon Giwargîs Karôt of Kandenat, ordained priest some days after the completion of the booklet on the 2nd of Nisan (April) 1892.

23. Burial of priests and monks. WS. Small booklet, nicely written, no colophon; 19th century?

24. *Diakonikon*. WS. Prayers of the deacon and the people during Mass.

25. Ordinations. WS. Booklet with the text for the ordinations up to and including priesthood. There is also the rite of the appointment of a *bat qyomo* (the wife of a priest); she stands before the door of the sanctuary and after psalms and prayers the Bishop makes the sign of the cross on her forehead saying: "Signed is N.N. to be *bat qyomo* in the holy Church. *Barek Mor*. In the name of the Father, etc. Amen." There are also prayers for a priest who is reinstated in his priestly service, prayers for one who converts from a heretical confession, etc.

26. Prayers of Lent. WS. Small booklet with stamp of Kûri Sim'ôn.

27. Various liturgical texts. WS 20×16 cms., 249+8 pages. Modern, copied by the deacon Thomas Mulmannil (p.249); property of the priest Thoms Mulmannil. This man was *malpân*, who became a Catholic; he lived about one hour from Tiruvalla, where the present writer visited his widow. Contains hymns and *madroś* from the *Penqîto*, etc.

28. Office for the Fast of the Ninevites. WS. 149 pages, 20½×16 cms.; p.1-85: 13 lines; p.86-149: 16 lines. Completed on *hẓîran* (June) 11th, 1850 A.D., on a Saturday.

29. Hymns, etc. WS. 203 pages, 26¼×20½ cms., 16 lines. Nice hand(s), two recent additions. No date.

30. Ordination of a deacon and consecration of a church. 29+47 pages, 24½×17 cms., 19 lines. Copied by Isaac Armaleh (see Trivandrum, no 23) of Aleppo, completed in the residence of Patriarch Tappouni (whose stamp, with a foreword is in the MS), on Adar (March) 25th,

1931 A.D. It is expressly stated that it was copied from old manuscripts in the patriarchal library. The copy was most certainly borrowed from the Syrian Patriarch in Libanon, who was known to have good and old manuscripts in his library.

31. Codex with various texts. WS. $19\frac{1}{2} \times 16$ cms. It contains: a. A treatise on the various choirs of angels, 30 pages, 17 lines. b. A florilegium of interpretations of the Gospel, with a colophon stating that the text was copied by the priest šim'ôn Karôt, disciple of Mar Cyril Yoḥanan, Metropolitan of the Tûr 'Abdîn; it was completed on Elûl 19th, 1858 A.D. This Mar Cyril was in Kerala from 1846-1866. c. Interpretation of the 52 names of Christ, of the names of the Apostles and notes regarding the Apostles and some holy Fathers 27 pages (in fact: $\frac{1}{2} + 5 + \frac{1}{2}$). Same hand as b. d. Extracts from the interpretation of the Apocalypse by Dionysios of Amid (=bar Salibi); 57 pages, 12 lines. No year, no name of the copyist.

32. History of Mar Giwargîs and other texts. ES. 142 pages, $14\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ cms., 12-14 lines. At the end 22 pages of Malayalam *garsuni*. The volume contains: a. the story of Mar Giwargîs (St George), martyr, 76 pages, 12 lines. b. Prayers with psalms (in the ES version) and liturgy of the Extreme Unction (from the Latin), 26 pages, 12 lines. c. Liturgy of All Saints and other prayers (from the Latin). 14 pages, 12 lines. d. *Sîgîta* (not alphabetic) on the murderer Titus, who are crucified with Jesus, 14 pages, 13 lines. This poem contains a dialogue between the murderer and the cherub who keeps watch at the gate of Paradise. e. A poem of Giwargîs Warda, the Nestorian (proscribed by Diamper), for the Friday of the Holy week; 12 pages, 14 lines. f. *Garsuni* text with the Syriac heading: "Because it is written; I shall smite the pastor and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed". 22 pages. No colophon, date unknown; 18th cent. ? 19th cent. ? At some places points written above a word have the meaning of *deletur* signs.

33. Various texts from various hands. ES. $15\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ cms. It contains: a. 32 pages in good handwriting, 13 lines. Story of Jonah son of Mattay, the boy who was resuscitated by the prophet Eliah: the story of the book Jonah, etc. b. Various prayers in a mediocre handwriting, 31 pages, 13 lines (the Our Father; Credo; Hail Mary; etc., followed by 49 short paragraphs with advices). c. Psalms of David, King and Prophet, according to the ES text. d. Litany of the blessed Virgin. e. Evening prayer of Mar Jacob Malpāna (alphabetical), beginning thus: "Father, Son and Holy Spirit, enlighten my spirit, I knock at thy door, hear me in thy grace.... ." f. On the Mother of the Redeemer. g. Some short hymns of Mar Jacob, called *tbarata* (= "broken hymns", short poems or verses). h. Psalm 19 and Is. 42, 10ss. i. Canticle (*tesbōhta*) for Lent. j. Some prayers for Lent with a prayer (*ba'ūta*) of Mar Jacob. k. End of the prayer of *ramsa*, followed by the opening prayer of Lelya, called *m'irana* (a term of the WS liturgy), etc.

The book has clearly been copied by a member of the Jacobite community, who was not aware of the Latin origin of a part of his texts. At the beginning of the book there is a note in WS script, stating that in the middle of the night of Thursday, the 19th of *Tesrîn qdīm* (October), 1753 A.D., the Maphrian died and was buried in the town of Kandanad. Can we infer from this that the whole codex, which does not have a colophon, was copied before 1753? This seems very probable, because the WS handwriting, used for the note in the beginning of the volume, makes it probable that the (ES) book itself was written before the date of the note. It confirms that the book belonged to a Jacobite and was copied by a member of the community, where traditions were still alive which had originated in the latinized Syro-Malabar community.

34. Liturgical texts. WS. 36+2 pages, $25\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{3}{4}$ cms., Contains the *ṭaksa* of Mar Kuriakos Martyr and his mother Julitta, whose commemoration is in the middle of Tammuz (July). The MS has been copied in the Middle East, which is attested by two colophons, one in the middle and another at the end of the text. They state that the copyist was the priest and monk Abdišo, of the Tûr 'Abdîn, who wrote the text in the monastery of Mar Awgîn and Mar Hananya, known as the monastery of *Kîrkemō* or *Za'afrân*, seat of the Antiochian Syrian Patriarchs, in 1905. Oswald Parry lived in this monastery for some five months of the year 1892. It is supposed to have been founded, 16 centuries ago, by Mar Hananya of Kafr Juta; its great church is dedicated to Mar Awgîn, venerated as the founder of monachism in Syria. The monastery was also known to O. Parry as *Deir Kurkemō*. (See his *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, 1895, p.103 ss. and the Syriac text on p.109). Abdišo says he was ordered by John, Metropolitan of Jerusalem, to copy the little book, from a copy of the deceased Patriarch Philatôs.

35. Prayers for Lent. WS. 108 pages, 20×16 cms., 19 lines on pp.1-24; 27 lines on pp.25-144. At the end of the office of the 1st Sunday there is a colophon, declaring that the text has been written by Giwargîs, Metropolitan and *nûlkroyo* (=stranger, a name given to themselves by monks). The colophon at the end mentions as copyist the deacon Yoyakim, whose handwriting is hardly different from that of the Metropolitan. No date; 19/20th century?

36. Laughable Stories by Barhebreus. WS, 42 pages of 22 lines completed on the 8th of Kanûn Qdîm (December), 1901 A.D., by the deacon Sliba, in the country of *mylyp'r*. A well-known and curious book; among its stories there are some of a morally doubtful character. First edition by Wallis Budge in 1897 (London), reprinted in 1976 in the U.S.A.

37. Grammars. The library of Tiruvalla contains a number of grammars: a. An incomplete one (beginning and end are lacking) in ES writing b. A book written in a curious ES hand (cursive writing?), 293 pages, $20\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 19 and 16 lines. In the title Barhebreus is mentioned. No colophon; 1900? c. A WS one, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 17$ cms., WS vocalizing. Someone has written in the book the name of the priest Yoakim Karot, of the flock of Kandanat. No colophon. d. A grammar in WS handwriting, 116 pages, $19\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 16 lines. The first $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages are in *garšuni*. The book contains also the ritual of Extreme Unction, 14 pages, 15 lines; the ritual of Baptism according to Barhebreus, 30 pages, 15 lines; two rituals for marriage, 38+22 pages, 15 lines e. WS, without title and colophon, 108 pages, 20×16 cms., 18 lines.

38. Book of *zalge* (lightnings) and of the truth of the Church by Barhebreus. WS. 160 written pages, $32\frac{1}{2} \times 20$ cms., copied by the priest Paulos "from the works of our holy Father Mar Gregorios Maphrian (=Barhebreus) and completed on the 2nd of *hẓiran* (June) 1908 A.D.

C. Library of the Monastery of St Joseph, Mannanam

This monastery was founded in 1831 and is one of the main monasteries of the Syro-Malabar Congregation of Discalced Carmelites of the Third Order, now called "Carmelites of Mary Immaculate" (C.M.I.). Father E.R. Hambye S.J., in his article *A Tribute to Arthur voobus* (1977) informs the reader that the library of this monastery contains "some ninety Syriac MSS" of which "no less than fifty are liturgical texts" (p.42). During my visit to the monastery (17-20 January 1972) I did not find as many; among those shown to me only a dozen seemed to be of sufficient importance to deserve special mention in this book. Most of the liturgical manuscripts were breviaries used by the monks in the recitation of the divine office. From the report of Mgr de Brésillac,

quoted earlier and dated 1854 we know that it was customary for each young priest to copy his own breviary. As soon as printed texts became available (1876) this practice ended and manuscripts gradually went out of use. A scholar who wishes to study the history of the "breviary" in Syriac Kerala has to study them; the scope of our book being different it seems enough if we just mention them collectively. At Mannanam we saw also the first printed edition of the Chaldean Missal (Rome, 1774, *Superiorum permissu*, edited by the Propaganda, though this is not explicitly stated in the book). At the time of the foundation of the monastery Chaldean Missals were already available and for this reason we did not find many manuscript copies of them.

1. A volume of 16+441 pp., $17\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ cms., 16 lines. ES, no colophon, no date; probably first half or middle of the 19th century. It is a Chaldean manuscript from the Middle East, containing mainly three ES anaphorae and the rite of Baptism. The anaphorae of Theodore and Nestorius are called the "second" and the "third" which betrays the Catholic origin of the book. In the anaphora of the Apostles are inserted the words of the Institution - Consecration, translated from the Latin text of Rome, after the words "Praise be to thy holy Name ..." etc., as in the Syro-Malabar Missal before the reform of 1959. The MS may have arrived in India (as also the following one) at the time of the Mellusian troubles, which were not at all supported or favoured by the founder of the Carmelite Congregation of Mannanam, who was a strong defender of the authority of the Romn See.

2. A volume of 279 pages, $32\frac{3}{4} \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 23 lines. ES.Nr 1220 of the library. It is a missal, copied at Mosul in 1859 A.D. and completed, according to the colophon, on Ab (August) 22nd, in the night of the 6th Sunday of *Qayta* (Summer), the 'on'ita of which begins with the words 'āmra damle' ("A dwelling place full of [delights]..."). The name of the copyist is found on the last page but

one: Iśa, son of Eśa'na, son of the deacon Kuriakos, son of the priest Talya, from the village of Eqrôr in the region of the Sendayê. After the three anaphorae one comes across a full page of text saying that the deacon Joseph, son of the priest Antûn, son of Hormez, son of the deacon Eśay, son of the deacon Hormez, son of Joseph, son of Aswad, son of Joseph, (8 generations) who were responsible for the copying of the anaphorae. The words of the Institution-Consecration are lacking in the 1st anaphora, but they are given at the end of it, not on a leaf later inserted in the manuscript, but on a leaf which belongs to it. The text is the Syriac translation of the Roman one, preceded by the words: "Praise be to Thee, God Father, who sent Thy only begotten Son for our redemption. And he, in the night before his passion, took bread in his holy hands...." etc.

After the anaphora, the colophon and a blank page, there are 189 pages with prayers for the morning office (*ṣapra*), composed by Patriarch Elia III (1176-1180), called also Abû Halîm (cf. Baumstark, p.289).

3. A volume of 373 pages to which 10 pages were later added, copied by another hand. ES. $19 \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ cms., 17 lines, no colophon, probably 19th century. The text is similar to No. 1, mentioned above, but copied in Kerala (as the Malayâlam words prove). It is a ritual for priestly functions, in the midst of which one finds a text for the eucharistic liturgy (the anaphora of the Apostles) with the words of the Institution at the place they occupied in the Syro-Malabar missals until the reform of 1959 (after the words "Praise be to the holy Name..."). After the text for the Mass there is a lectionary for Mass in accordance with the Roman missal.

4. A volume of $28\frac{1}{2} \times 20$ cms., 25 lines, ES. No colophon, 19th century. It contains first the Syro-Roman lectionary for Mass, followed by the text of the Mass

with the anaphora of the Apostles (as in Nr 3). In the third part of the volume there is a Latin translation of all the ordinations (of Bishop, priest, etc.). It is not stated by whom the translation was made, but see hereafter, under No. 9.

5. A volume of 68 pages, 25×18 cms., ES. No. 1468 of the library. No colophon; 19th century? The MS contains the text of the *raza*, the solemn celebration of Mass. The ceremonies proper to the *raza* are described at the end. It is said that the *raza* is to be offered on Sundays and feast days by a priest with deacon and sub-deacon and 4 minor servants (if they are available). The liturgical vestments have to be white (their traditional colour in the Church of the East); at the north side of the altar (or rather the sanctuary) a table has to be placed, with two candles and the book of the liturgical readings of the Apostle. The book of the Gospels must be placed on the altar. It is stated that the rubrics for the *raza* were approved by Mar Francis Roz in the Synod of Angamali in the 4th year of his government, in the 4th month (1603). This date is also found in other manuscripts, and is certainly historical.

6. An incomplete volume of 176 pages + 40 added later, $19\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ cms., 17 lines. ES. No colophon (19th cent.?). The manuscript contains the very long text of the burial of priests according to the rite of the Church of the East. In the fifth (and last) *mawtwa* (session, division) there is an Epistle and Gospel, followed by a *karōzūtā* in which commemoration is made of "Mar Pios, *qatolīqa patriarkīs*, head of the whole Church of Christ" and Mar N. N. (Bishop). The MS must have been copied under Pius IX (1846-1878). The 40 additional pages contain various texts: blessings, etc. From a comparison with a similar manuscript in the library of Tiruvalla (No 16) it appears that the text of Mannanam is shorter, but it still remains sufficiently long.

7. A volume of 362 pages, $22\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{3}{4}$ cms., 16 lines: ES. A colophon on p.254 indicates that it was copied by the priest Philippus in 1739 A.D. (Number 882 of the library. The first 182 pages contain a liturgical lectionary for holy Mass on Sundays etc. The 72 pages which follow contain a text for the eucharistic liturgy and *rāza*. Then follow 62 pages which contain a lectionary for feast days: Purification; St Mathias Ap.; St Philip and James, Ap.; Nativity of St John the Baptist; St Peter and Paul; St James, Ap.; Transfiguration; Assumption of Mary; St Bartholomew, Ap.; Nativity of the blessed Virgin; feast of the Exaltation of *Mar Sliba qaddīša* (-the Holy Cross); St Matthew Ap.; St Michael; St Simon and Jude, Ap.; All Saints; St Andrew Ap. These are followed by readings for the daily Mass for the defunct; burial Mass; commemoration of the Apostle St Thomas; votive Mass of the blessed Virgin; St Fabian and Sebastian; St George (Nisan=April 24th); for the sick; in times of distress (*sānqānā*); a hymn; a *hūtāmā* of Gregory of Jerusalem. This portion is followed by 46 pages with the ritual for Marriage; Extreme Unction; the 7 penitential psalms; litany of All Saints; some prayers; blessing of holy water.

8. A volume composed of 2 parts of 210 and 182 pages respectively; $20\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 15 and 16 lines, with marginal notes in Arabic. ES. Imported from the Middle East. It contains two copies of a *mēmṛā* (metrical homily) with rhyming verses, composed by Barhebreus, enlarged by Kamīs Malpana bar Qardaḥe (a later contemporary of Barhebreus), again enlarged by one Išoyahb, Metropolitan of Adiabene, in 1763 A.Gr.(=1451 A.D.), once more enlarged by Joseph II, Patriarch of the Chaldeans, in 2003 A. Gr. (=1697 A.D.); finally enlarged by the priest Sawma of Piwaz (unknown). By these successive enlargements the metrical composition had become five times as large as it was originally. Though originally composed by Barhebreus, a Jacobite, in distichs ("On things divine and their

perfection"), it was enlarged by a Nestorian, who added to each pair of verses a new distich. Those who enlarged the poem afterwards in the same way, adding new distichs, were all East-Syrians (see Baumstark, p.319; 321). Various copies of this curious composition are to be found in Kerala.

9. A volume of $21 \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ cms., ES. No. 886 of the library. The text commences with stories of saints, first in Arabic, then in Syriac. A Syriac note at the end of the table of contents states that the book belongs to Mar Jacob, Chaldean Metropolitan, 1876 A.D. This Mar Jacob was the Chaldean Bishop who had come from the Middle East to assist Mellûs but soon returned to his native country (cf. Placid Podipara, *Die Thomas-Christen*, p.159). According to Fr Placid, *op.cit.*, p.161, he was "converted" in the monastery of the Third Order Carmelite Fathers at Elthuruth, near Trichur. A colophon states that the book was completed on 3 *Tešrîn qdîm* (October), under the Patriarchate of Mar Joseph VI (Audo; 1848-1878), Patriarch of the Church of the East, of Salîq (Seleucia-Ctesiphon), in 1876 A.D. It was copied in the church of our Lady of Dolours (the actual Nestorian cathedral) at Trichur.

The stories of the saints are followed by the famous catalogue of biblical books and ecclesiastical writers of the Nestorian Metropolitan Abdišo (Ebedjesus) of Soba (+ 1318; published by Assemani in his *BiOr* III/1, p.3 ss.), 64 columns of text, 18 lines.

This catalogue is followed by a copy (7 pages) of a letter written to "our blessed Father Mar Joseph Karyata, Metropolitan of Cranganore and of the whole flock of Angamali, by the priest Thomas, thy servant and son in Christ" in 1784 A.D., the 17th of the 2nd *Tešrîn* (November). For this Mar Karyata (also called Karyatil) see Placid Podipara, *The Varthamanappusthakam*, *Orientalis*

Christiana Analecta 190, Rome 1971. Karyatil was consecrated in 1783 in Lisbon to become Archbishop of the Christians of St Thomas; on the way to his diocese he died in Goa on Sept. 10th, 1786. According to his friend Thomas, the author of our letter and his companion on his journey to Europe, Mar Joseph had been for eleven years the head of all the Christians of St Thomas (which means from 1773). This is the year in which the first serious troubles had arisen when the Latin Carmelites did not allow the Malabarians to participate in the burial of the Vicar Apostolic Florentius of Nazareth (1750-1773), himself a Carmelite. Karyatil's nomination as Archbishop dates from 16.12.1782; in his letter Thomas dedicates to him a Syriac translation of the Latin Pontifical (which Joseph needed after his consecration, because he was not supposed pontifically to officiate and administer holy orders in the old rite of the Church of the East). Is this perhaps the translation we found in No. 1468 of the Mananam library (see above, No 4)? This may well be the case. The translation was made in Portugal and Thomas says that he is a foreigner "in this country." In his *Varthamanappusthakam* Thomas says that the departure from Lisbon, after the consecration of Mar Joseph, was delayed for two and a half years (see Thomas in his *Varthamanappusthakam*, chapter LXX. ed. Podipara, p.236).

10. A small booklet called in Syriac *neṣḥānē danbīyē* "Triumphs of the Prophets", by Epiphanius of Salamis, translated into Syriac. Without colophon; 19th century? ES. No.685 of the library. This is one of the many apocryphal works attributed to the famous St Epiphanius (+ 403), cf. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, p.302.

11. A volume of 185 written pages, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 15 cms., 18 lines. ES. No colophon, no date; 19th century or even c.1900. No 1660 of the library. The MS contains a collection

of letters, or rather copies of them, important for the study of the history of the Syro-Malabar Church. The book begins with a number of models of letters, for persons who would like to write to Kings, Patriarchs, Bishops, priests, etc. From the letters we make a special reference to the following :

a. A letter of a Chaldean Metropolitan Simon to the Christians of Malabar, dated 2012 A. Gr = 1701 A.D. The author must be identified with the Chaldean Bishop Simon, sent from the Middle East by the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch to bring the non-Catholic Syrians into his flock ; cf. Podipara, *Die Thomas-Christen*, p.139.

b. A letter concerning the Nestorian Metropolitan Gabriel, who arrived in Malabar c.1709 (cf. Podipara, *op.cit.*, p. 140; Tisserant-Hambye, p.92 ; 193-194), telling that he was a Catholic Chaldean. The letter is dated 1722 A.D. and is not very friendly for Gabriel : it says that it is known since 1716 that the man returned to his vomit ; the Faithful must accept the guidance of the Discalced Carmelites, who teach the true doctrine of the Apostle St Thomas.

c. A letter of Joseph VI Audo, Patriarch of the Chaldeans (1848-1878) to Mar Jacob, Metropolitan (see above, MS No.9), written at Mosul on the 1st Kanûn (December) 15th, 1877 A.D.

d. A letter written to Pope Alexander VII (April 1655-May 1167) on 1st Kanûn (December) 15th, 1657 A.D. For the relations of this Pope with the Christians of St Thomas, see Tisserant-Hambye, p. 83.

e. A letter of the deacon Joseph to deacon Zacharias, 1827 A.D.

f. A letter with questions and answers (a well-known *genre littéraire* amongst the East-Syrians) by Hormizd, Patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldeans. John VII Hormizd was confirmed as Patriarch by Rome in 1830 ; he died on 16.8.1838.

g. A letter of John Mêlûs (written *mylws*=Mellûs) from the metropolitan "cell" at Trichur, 2nd Teśrîn (November) 1875 A.D. Mellus was in Malabar from 1874-1882 (cf. Podipara, *op.cit.*, p.159). His name is transcribed in various ways: Mellos, Melus, Mêlos. The Chaldeans of the Middle East pronounce liturgical Syriac like their own (spoken) Aramaic dialect, in which an original *ô* sounds like *û* and *ê* often like *î*. According to our letter, the name of the Métropolitan was pronounced Mêlûs.

h. A letter to Jacob, Metropolitan of Cranganur and of the flock of Angamali, written by the priest Thomas and dated 2nd Teśrîn (November) 17th, 1772 A.D. If this Mar Jacob is the same as the one mentioned under c, the date is not correct.

i. A letter sent by the priests of Babylon (=Chaldean priests of the Middle East) to the *mdabberānā* (Governor, Bishop, etc.) of the whole of India, who died in 1799 A.D. We know that the Latin Bishop of Cochin, the Carmelite Joseph de Soledade, died in 1799, but can he have been the addressee?

12. Another volume with letters in Syriac and Malayalam, No. 1708 of the library.

13. Some non-biblical manuscripts, amongst which one finds theological and catechetical works: a treatise on the seven Sacraments of the Church etc.

14. Quite a number of copies of the "breviary": the East-Syriac canonical office in the form it was recited by the Syro-Malabarians. Amongst them there is a volume copied by Philip son of Thomas in 1734; it begins with the first Sunday of the Advent.

The venerable Father Kuriakose Elias Chavara, the founder of the C.M.I. congregation and of the monastery at Mannanam, is praised by his biographers for his perfect loyalty to Rome. This means that he must have been a man of the ecclesiastical and liturgical *status quo*, who

was not interested in a *special* way in the traditions of the Syro-Malabarians of past centuries and still less in restoring them. This attitude is reflected by the contents in manuscripts of the library of the St Joseph's monastery.

D. Library of the Syrian Archbishop, Ernakulam

In 1896 Mar Aloysius Pazheparampil became the first Indian Vicar Apostolic of the newly erected See of Ernakulam, opposite Cochin (1896-1919). His successor was Mar Augustinus Kandathil, coadjutor from 1911, Archbishop in 1923; he died in 1956. There are some indications that the latter was interested in the liturgical past of his rite, as we shall see. When I visited the library, which I could do several times and for which I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Archbishop, Dr Joseph Cardinal Parecattil, it was stored in the attic of the Archbishop's house. Among the Syriac manuscripts, I found quite a number of "breviaries" of rather recent date, used when printed texts were not yet available and which were of little interest for my study. There was also a collection of Malayālam texts on palm-leaves, held together by cords, as it was the custom in olden days.

1. A volume of 70 ff. (seven quires of 20 pages; at the beginning and the end five pages are blank), $36\frac{1}{4} \times 24\frac{1}{4}$ cms., 21 lines, very beautiful ES handwriting. The book is a Chaldean Pontifical for all the ordinations, as fixed by Mar Cyprianos Metropolitan of Nisibis, Mar Išoyahb Katoḷīka Patriarkīs and Mar Israel *harrīp zaw'e* ("the quick one") and for the consecration of the holy oil. According to the colophon the book was completed at Alqos (Iraq) on Elul (September) 8th, 1928 A.D., under Pope Pius XI and Patriarch Emmanuel II of the Chaldeans. It was copied by the deacon Joseph, son of Thomas, son of the defunct deacon Sipa, son of the priest Petros. The Archbishop of Malabar, Mar Augustinus, had asked for it; the colophon declares, through the kind offices of

Ablahad (*sic*), patriarchal vicar at Basra; this Ablahad had passed the request to Rabban Joseph, general superior of the Chaldean monasteries, who gave orders to copy the Pontifical for the deacon Joseph. The MS bears the stamp of Archbishop Kandathil. In Malabar it was the custom to administer holy orders in Latin according to the Latin rite; this custom was also followed by the local Bishops, nominated by the Holy See. The fact that Mar Kandathil procured for himself an ES Pontifical indicates that he may have made up his mind to change this awkward situation.

2. A volume of *circa* 913 pages, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ cms., 17 lines, ES, late handwriting. The volume contains first of all the text of the Pentateuch, divided in the usual Syriac *shahs*; there are also headings provided for various passages. At the end of the biblical text there is a colophon stating that the copying was completed on Nisan (April) 25th, 1828 A.D. "in the blessed and orthodox place" Pallipuram (situated to the south of [northern] Parur, not far from Cranganore) in the church of St John the Baptist, by Joseph, whose name and office are indicated by numbers: 10-6-60-80=Joseph; 40-100-50-100-50=*mqanqana*, and even his family name: 70-2-200-1-2-30-10=*br'bly*.

The Pentateuch is followed by 153 pages of extracts from commentaries on Genesis written by various authors (no names are given). These are followed by 28 pages of extracts "of the blasphemies of the heretic Kaldôn" (proscribed by the Synod of Diamper), in which the author "plucked roses amidst thorns" (a phrase found also in other Kerala MSS). The copyist criticizes the opinion of Kaldôn that the angels are only admitted to the beatitude after the resurrection of the just. At the end there are 30 pages of various texts, amongst which we find the "prophecy of Jonah" and two very short letters of 9 and 16 lines, respectively, said to have been written by the blessed

virgin Mary, daughter of Joachim, to Ignatius of Antioch. In the first letter Ignatius is exhorted to believe everything the Apostle John taught him; in the second Ignatius is referred to the doctrine of St Paul and it is stressed that Jesus is the Son of God and truly man. It purports to have been sent from Jerusalem and is signed by "the Virgin Mary." There are also 8 pages of extracts from Dionysius the Areopagite. At the end there is a much damaged letter written by John, Patriarch of Babylon, to the priest Abraham and the Chaldeans in Malabar. This Patriarch was John VIII Hormizd (1830-1838) and the short letter is dated Elul (September) 16th, 2141 A.Gr.=1830 A.D. The Patriarch had sent to Malabar two priests: one Joseph and one Hormizd, but he had no news from them nor from the Chaldeans of S. India. Now he sends the lector Abdiošo on a new mission, to establish relations with the Chaldeans of Malabar.

3. A volume in a very bad state. 29×19 cms., 22 lines, numbered quires of 20 pages; many pages are loose and not placed in their original order. ES. It is an old copy of the Pentateuch (17/16th century?); incomplete, the greater part of Deuteronomy is lacking and for this reason also the colophon, had there been one. The text was not written (as is often the case) on lines previously drawn with a sharp instrument. Red sub-titles in the text.

4. A volume of $320 + 94$ pages, $20 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 21 lines ES. Library No L 22. Paper with watermark opened and bound again after setting things right. The 320 pages contain first the "Synodical Canons, collected by our Father Mar Abdišo, Metropolitan of Soba and Armenia." Abdišo, a famous and very fertile Nestorian writer, became Metropolitan of Sōbā (= the ancient Nisibis, now called Nisibîn, in S Turkey, near the Syrian border) in 1290/1 A.D.; he died in 1318. One of his later works is the famous *Nomocanon*

or collection of canons promulgated by Synods of the Church of the East. pp. 1-171 exhibit this collection in two parts, interrupted by a collection of canons of Timothy II, Patriarch of the Church of the East (1318-1353). The Synodical Canons are followed by the "Canons, prescriptions and laws of the holy Apostles, disciples of the Lord" (p.273-319). On pp. 319-320 we find a colophon in three parts. In the first part it is said that this holy book was completed on Iyar (May) 25th, 1874 A Gr. (=1563 A.D.). The second one tells us the name of the copyist: "the priest 'Aṭiya, son of the faithful deceased 'Abdo, known in Bêt Ateli." It was copied "in the blessed town of Gazarta." In the 3rd part one reads: "This book was written on behalf of our famous father and divine man and pure person, a person entirely full of wisdom, a famous one, a perfect understander, an understander of all wonderful knowledge, chosen among the skilled men of our time and prominent among the learned of our generation, our friend and beloved one, our worthy in our Lord, Mar Abraham, Bishop of Hindo and all its territories. May our Lord give him to invoke Him and to gain benefit (*n'tr*) and make others profit by him. Amen."

It is quite common in the East for a copyist to use superlatives to refer to a person he respects, but here one gets the impression that there was more than respect; the copyist highly esteemed Mar Abraham. 'Aṭiya is an Arabic name; W.P. Hatch, *Album*, plate CLXXXI reproduces a page of an ES MS, copied by a priest 'Atiya son of Farag, in 1545 A.D. at Gazarta. The two persons cannot be identical because their handwriting is quite different; they may have belonged to the same family. The exact date of the consecration of Mar Abraham is unknown, but he may not have arrived in S. India before the end of 1563. In our colophon he is called "Bishop of Hindo" which means that he had been ordained for India, but had not yet assumed charge of a particular See. In the

manuscript we find a marginal note cursing Nestorians. At the end of this note Mar Abraham is called "Metropolitan of Angamali of the Christians." 'Aṭiya was a Catholic Chaldean, which is clear from the fact that he adds the *Filioque* to the *Credo*. In 1563 it could have been only a few years since he joined the Church of Rome. The handwriting of the "curse of Mar Abraham" can hardly be distinguished from 'Aṭiya's, though there are some slight differences, which may be due to the fact that the characters are so small.

On pp. 273-320 are copied the "Apostolic canons of Clemens"; pp. 273-276 are written by another hand, but not the pages which follow (until p. 320); there are now 20 lines to a page. On p. 321: rules for the reconsecration of the altar. p. 325: how to find the dates of the ecclesiastical year, followed by some pages in Malayālam *garṣūni*. On pp. 332-335 a short treatise on the Holy Trinity written by a much later hand, and on pp. 340-414 a treatise on the Government of the Church by *tebelayē* (general or universal authorities). This is followed by two half pages of Malayālam text.

According to a note on p.1, at the bottom of the page, the book had belonged to the Carmelites: "Pertinet ad Carmelitas Discalceatos", but it bears also the stamp of Mar Kandathil, who may have acquired it from the Carmelites. This would show again the interest of the first Indian Archbishop of Ernakulam in the old traditions of his Church.

5. A volume of $20 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 18-19 lines. ES. No date (1600?). Not complete, some pages missing. It is a *ṭaksa dkaḥnē* = a ritual (or handbook) for priests. It begins with the liturgy of Baptism, translated from the Latin (three forms: for a male, a female, several persons), followed by the ritual of marriage; Extreme Unction, etc.

At the end there is a series of biblical readings for the eucharistic liturgy (Epistle and Gospel only), in accordance with the Roman missal for the feast of St Stephen; St John Ev.; Circumcision; Purification; Vow of Mary; St Philip and James Ap.; Nativity of St John the Baptist; St Peter and Paul; commemoration of St Thomas Ap.; St James Ap.; Assumption; St Bartholomew Ap.; feast of the Mother of God, the blessed Virgin; Mar Sliba (*sic*; the Holy Cross); St Matthew Ap.; St Michael; St Simeon Ap.; All Saints; All Souls; St Andrew Ap.; St Lucia. Then: 1-4th Sundays of the Advent; Ash wednesday; Palm-sunday; Maundy Thursday; *raza* of the night of Easter; Sunday of Easter; 2nd and 3rd day after Easter; Low Sunday; Ascension; the Holy Apostles; for the sick; the Holy Angels; the Holy Trinity; for the remission of sins; 7 other votive Masses. The readings for some of the votive Masses are not peculiar to the Latin rite, they have their parallels in Vat Syr 22, the oldest lectionary copied in Kerala. But though almost all the readings were taken from the Latin rite, though the series of feast days on which they are to be used is not yet identical to the Diamper one. It is especially remarkable that there is a Mass for the night of Easter, in accordance with the old liturgy of the Church of the East and not with the Latin rite of the time.

These are the principal manuscripts we found in the library of Ernakulam, which are of importance for this book. In the same library we found the first printed missal, the full title of which is: *Ordo Chaldaicus Missae Beatorum Apostolorum juxta ritum Ecclesiae Malabaricae Superiorum permissu*; the propaganda is not mentioned, but on the front page the mission of the Apostles by Jesus is represented, with the words: *Euntes in mundum universum praedicate evangelium omni creaturae*. We found also

the Roman *Ordo Chaldaicus ministerii sacramentorum*...., Romae MCDLXXV.

E. Library of the Catholic Bishop's House, Trichur

When we visited this library for the first time we found there a good collection of Syriac books and a number of MSS. Coming back some years later the valuable printed books had disappeared and I was told that they had been sent to the major seminary at Vadavathoor (near Kottayam). But the manuscripts were still there. It is most probable that the collection owes its origin to the interest of Bishop Adolphe E. Medlycott, first Apostolic Vicar of Trichur (1887-1895) in Syriac matters, who did a lot of work for his diocese, which he found "in an extremely sorry state" when he assumed his office (Tisserant-Hambye, p.131).

1. A volume of 165 pages, $19\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ cms., 17 lines. It contains first the usual liturgical psalter (with canons and prayers). After the 21st *hullala* (the four canticles) follows the 151st Psalm, said to be spoken by David to Goliath. There is a note saying that this (apocryphal) Psalm is missing in many manuscripts; except for some variants, its text is identical with the Greek one published by Rahlfs in Septuaginta edition of the Psalter and is *not* of the type found in the Psalter of Cave 11 of Qumrân, edited by J. Sanders (1965 & 1967). The text is not divided into hemistichs, as is the ES custom, which is a strong indication that it is not derived from an ES tradition. The Psalter is followed by a *ṭaksa d'ihidaya*, liturgical prayers for the monk. Date c.1800?

2. A small volume of $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ cms., 16 lines. ES. No date, older than No 1. It begins with the liturgical Psalter with the usual canons, but without Psalm 151. At the end the contents are indicated: 29 *ṣḥaḥ*; 20 *hullalê*; 60 *marmyata*; 4833 *petgamê* (verses). The Psalms are followed

by the 'onyata and šurayé of qdām and batar of week-days; i.e. the text of the canonical office ("breviary"). The Psalms have special headings, as found in many Syriac Psalters (e.g. Ps 2: "Prophesied on the whole passion caused to our Lord by the Jews and also testifying his humanity"; Ps 51: "Prophesied on the people of Babel confessing their sins and asking for pardon"; Ps 71: "Predicts the great distress which the people shall suffer in Babel, and it predicts these afflictions for their conversion"). Circa 1800?

3. A liturgical Psalter with canons and prayers. No headings, no date. Beginning of the 19th century? It is followed by the text for the canonical office, as in the foregoing manuscript.

4. A volume of $19\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ cms., ES. No date or colophon. It is a missal with the usual latinized lectionary for the readings. It is interesting to note that this MS contains a full text of the *raza* of the flock of India "elucidated", (*d'etnehar*) by Mar Francis at the Synod of Angamali in his 4th year, the 4th month. The text is almost the same as the one found at Mannanam, the ceremonies are the same and are explained in detail. The text is based on the assumption that the Bishop (*rabba*) celebrated, assisted by the Archdeacon and other ministers.

5. A volume with the *Paradise of Eden* of Abdišo of Soba (cf. Baumstark, p. 325), also found elsewhere in Kerala. ES. This poetic work was composed by its author in 1290 /1; he wished to show his mastery of the language and for this reason the text is so difficult that he had to explain it in a later work. One may ask whether it could be understood in Malabar. Late 19/20 th century.

6. A volume with *mēmre* and interpretations (*Pūsage*) in a rather cursive ES hand, not easily readable. The author(s) of the *pūsage* are not named; 19th century?

In the beginning of the volume there are some blank pages with a watermark, showing that the paper was fabricated by Shaik Ahmed Dawood, Bombay, 1883. The paper of the following quires is older.

7. A volume of $20\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ cms., 18-23 lines. It begins with the expanded *mēmra* of Barhebreus we found at Mannanam; 179 pages. 18 lines. It is followed by the *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, written by a disciple of Bardesanes (cf. Baumstark, p. 14), 20 pages, 18 lines. This is followed by a *mēmra* of the philosopher Meletos "who stood before the emperor Antoninus", 20 pages, 20-30 lines. This Meletos is certainly the Bishop of Sardis, who lived in the 2nd century (he died before 190 A.D.) and who was, according to Tertullian, a contemporary of Antoninus Pius, Emperor (86-161 A.D.). At the end there is another copy of the *mēmra* of Barhebreus.

8. A volume of 280 pages, $16\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 16 lines. ES. According to its colophon it was copied in the Middle East, in the monastery of Alqoś, the village of the prophet Nahum, by the priest and monk Augustin, son of the faithful Kuśabay of Tel Kef (a large Chaldean village to the north of Mosul), under Pope Pius IX, Joseph VI, Patriarch of the Chaldeans (1848-1878) and Eliśa, head of the monastery. It was completed on the 7th Sunday of the Apostles, on the 1st of Tammûz (July), 2177 A.Gr. = 1866 A.D. It is a Chaldean missal, containing liturgical texts for some feasts, but mainly the text of the three anaphorae of the Church of the East. In the first one the words of the Institution-Consecration (translated from the Latin formula) have been inserted in thick characters on the place where they are found in the Syro-Malabar missals prior to 1969, with a variant: after the threefold "Bless us Oh Lord...because we are not worthy" the text goes on to say "Praise be to Thee, God the Father, who sent thy only begotten Son for our salvation. On the day before

his passion he took bread in his holy hands....” etc. The anaphora of Theodorus is called “the second, which is called after the Interpreter” (without mentioning the name of Theodore). After the third we find the rite of Baptism and some prayers translated from the Latin.

9. Various Syriac grammars, of which some were copied in the Middle East. ES. There is the *Book of Rays* (the long grammar of Barhebreus) copied in Tel Kef in 1891 A.D., $22\frac{1}{4} \times 16$ cms. This book has two columns to a page; the two columns in the midst of two opposite pages have 17 lines, those at the outsides 28. Copied in the time of Pope Leo (XIII; 1878-1903) and Patriarch Mar Eliah (XIV, 1879-1894). There is also the *small* grammar of the famous scholar, copied in the same year at Tel Kef, badly damaged by worms. Then a partly conserved grammar of Barhebreus, with an Italian note in the beginning: *Parte della Grammatica Siriaca di Barebreo Fatta rescrivere per uso del Seminario di Puttempally. Costa nientemeno che cinque rupie*, 1875 A. D. The price of 5 rupees was considered to be too high! $18\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 18 lines. Finally, we mention a handwritten copy of the printed Syriac grammar of the Maronite Bishop Shadronaya; it was copied in the 19th century and it is indicated that the original (of which we found no copy in Kerala) was printed in 1636 in Rome “in the school of the Maronites.”

The small collection of ES manuscripts of the library of the Catholic Bishop of Trichur bears witness to the relations of the Trichur community of the Christians of St Thomas with the Middle East, since the appearance of Bishop Mellus. More witnesses are found, of course, in the library of the Bishop of the “Church of the East”, adjacent to the former church of our Lady of Dolours, now the residence of the Nestorian Bishop, at present the young and energetic Mar Aprem, who gave us every opportunity to study his manuscripts and to whose generosity we are much indebted.

F. Library of the Metropolitan's house of the Church of the East (Nestorian), Trichur

In this library there is a good collection of Syriac manuscripts, nearly all of them ES. The collection is recent, as is the Nestorian bishopric of Trichur. Mar Mellus was there from 1874-1882. During his stay, there was a Bishop called Mar Jacob for a short time. Before Mellus a certain Mar Rokos had been sent by the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph VI Audo (1860-1862). An Indian priest called Thondanatt got himself consecrated Bishop by the Nestorian Patriarch in 1862, but he soon repented and withdrew himself into the St Joseph's monastery at Mannanam; years later, he was considered by the party of the "Mellusians" at Trichur as their head; he died in 1900. In 1908 this party got a Bishop from the Nestorian Patriarch in the person of Abimelek Mar Timotheos (1908-1945), a native of the Middle East, who is still held in great honour at Trichur. He was succeeded by the Mesopotamian Mar Thomas Darmo (1945-1969) who died as Patriarch of a fraction of the Church of the East in Baghdad. His successor is the present Bishop of Trichur, Mar Aprem, born in 1939. The Bishops Rokos, Jacob, Mellus brought some manuscripts with them, which formed the nucleus of the present collection, together with some others they could acquire in the country. But the Bishops Abimelek and Darmo collected and imported more of them, or got them from the Middle East. This means that not all the Syriac manuscripts kept in the library are of direct interest for our study; a good number of them are only of interest as witnesses of the foundation and the development of the Nestorian diocese of Trichur, but not of the Christians of St Thomas as a whole, or of their two major divisions: Syro-Malabarians and Jacobites.

Recently Mar Aprem has published a catalogue of his manuscripts; it is to appear in a learned publication, but because this would take time, he published it provisionally

in a small memorial volume, called *First Anniversary Chaldean Syrian Church, Kallur 14-1-1979* (the church of Kallur belongs to the diocese of Mar Aprem). This list of 16 unnumbered pages enumerates 82 manuscripts, 2 collections of diaries of Mar Abimelek and Mar Darmo, 4 collections of various letters, of which the 4th is the most important, and a copy (Mar Aprem calls it a "rubbing") of natural size of the texts of the famous stone of Si-ngan-fu, erected in 781 in a suburb of the capital of the Chinese empire of the time. A stone copy of this monument is now in Rome and it has been studied and reproduced in various works. See especially, P.Y.Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, London 1916. We visited the library of Mar Aprem several times and the Bishop gave us every opportunity to study its volumes.

Of 23 manuscripts it is explicitly stated that they were copied in the Middle East; of a number of others the same thing is very probable, if not certain. We shall first give a short list of the works copied in the Middle East, in which this is explicitly stated. The numbers of the list of Mar Aprem, if different from ours, are given within brackets after our own number. All the books are in ES script, unless stated otherwise.

1. Book of the burial of the dead, 23. 3×15. 5 cms., 413 pages. Copied in 1900 A.D. by Abimelek, son of the priest Ésay of the Kellayta family of Mar Bîsô (a village near Urmia) who became Metropolitan of Trichur.

2. The same kind of book, 282 pages, 15. 6×9. 3 cms. Copied in 1846 under the Catholic Patriarch Nicolas Zaya (1840-1847; +1855), by Michael Rumanos, son of the deacon Michael of Alqos.

3. (10). Book of letters of Timothy I, Nestorian Patriarch (780-823; died at the age of 95, Baumstark P. 217).

445 pages, 33.5×22 cms. No date, no colophon but undoubtedly copied in the Near East. According to Baumstark, Timothy left a collection of c. 200 "partly very interesting letters" and Mar Aprem is preparing a publication of them, completing a work begun by Mar Darmo.

4. (12). A gospel-lectionary, 287 pages, 30×21 cms., copied in the days of Mar Eliah Katholikos (Eliah IX, 1617-1660) in 1642 A.D.

5. (13). Prayers for feast days, from the *gazza*, composed by Mar Joseph II, Catholic Patriarch residing at Diarbekr (1696-1712), 321 pages, 27×19 cms. In the last part of the volume there are histories of the saints: Mar Behnam, Jacob Mpaşqana and a Mar Yonan (by Mar Zodi, priest and monk and head of the Church of Mar Thomas in India; nine chapters). There is no date or colophon, nevertheless this volume was undoubtedly copied in the Middle East. The mention of the Indian Mar Zodi is quite interesting.

6. (14). A *gazza* as mentioned above, with a burial service. 756 pages, 30.8×20.5 cms. No date, but Mar Aprem indicates that the *gazza* was copied in 1707 A.D., 2018 A.Gr.

7. (16). History of important rules for the dutiful and perfect anchorite, by Mar Bîşô of Kmol. 224 pages, 24.2×15.5 cms., 22 lines, dated 20-11-1900 A.D. Copied by a member of the Kellayta family for Abimelek, who became Metropolitan of Trichur.

8. (18). Book of Aba Isaiah, copied in 1903 A.D. by Abimelek from another MS copied in 1869 A.D. 335 pages, 30.5×21 cms., a palimpsest! It is the only palimpsest hitherto known in Kerala: "The book was copied after rubbing off the previous writing" (Mar Aprem).

9. (20). Rules for monks of our holy Father Mar Anthony the great. 328 pages, 19.2×12.5 cms. Copied by

the priest Khošaba. The name of the copyist suggests that the MS was copied in the Middle East. No colophon, no date.

10. (24). *Kaškol*=liturgical prayers for weekdays. Copied in Tel Kef (Iraq) in 1875 A.D.; 618 pages, 30.4×22 cms.

11. (27). *Hudra*, copied by the deacon Hananišo in 1598 A.D. at Alkaye in Iran. 1331 pages, 29.2×20.5 cms., brought to India by Mar Mellus in 1874 A.D. This manuscript was used as the most important source for the edition of the three volumes of the *Hudra* by Mar Darmo, in 1960, 61 and 62. The volume contains also the three eucharistic anaphorae, on their usual place, i.e. before the office of Easter. In the anaphora of the Apostles the words of the Institution-Consecration are missing. Unusual in such a late MS is the fact that the silent prayers of the anaphora, called *kušapé* are also absent. We know that they did not belong to the primitive text but are (old) additions of a later age. There is also a ritual for Baptism and one for making *malka*, i.e. the Holy Leaven (see Badger, II, pp. 161-162; 409-410; W. de Vries S.J. *Sakramententheologie bei den Nestorianern*, p. 198); for the preparation by priest or deacon of the eucharistic host(s) (see F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, London 1896, pp. 247-249).

12. (28). *Hudra*, doubtless copied in the Middle East; a prayer is requested for the monk and priest Augustin Dasrat. 18+942+11 pages; 21.8×16.5 cms. The title page of the *Hudra* bears the year 1880 A.D. The 18+11 pages contain prayers for special occasions. Small and beautiful script; vocalized.

13. (29). *Hudra* copied by the priest Giwargîs, son of Israel, at Alqoš (Iraq), in 1681 A.D. 834 pages, 41×27 cms. The book was brought to India by Mar Rokos and rebound at Trichur in two volumes, 1928. The first five

quires (of 20 pages) were copied by a priest Hadbešabba, brother of the main copyist. It was to be used in the church of Sim'ôn aš-Safa at Mosul (=St Peter), cf. Fiey, *Mossoul Chrétienne*, p. 110; Fiey mentions 10 MSS copied for this church, of which No 5 is a lectionary of the Gospels, copied by the priest Giwargis, son of Ismael, son of the priest Hormizd, in 1681 at Alqoš. The latter seems to be the same person as the copyist of our *hudra*, whom the introduction to the printed *hudra* of Trichur calls "the priest Giwargis, son of the priest Israel, son of the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Israel, the man of Alqoš."

14. (33). Consecration of an altar, by Patriarch Išo-yahb III (647 or 650 - 657/8 A.D.). 436 pages, 33×22.5 cms., copied in 1537 A.D., no doubt in the Middle East, though this is not indicated.

15. (36). Lexicon of Bar Bahlûl. 940 pages, 32.8×22.8 cms. No date, no colophon. This famous lexicon has been published by Rubens Duval in Paris in 1888-1901 (reprinted at Amsterdam in 1970). Our MS was certainly copied in the Middle East, though this is not indicated.

16. (42). A book copied by a priest of Urmia in 1939. 115 pages, 25.6×20.3 cms.; it is an admonition on spiritual life.

17. (48). Prayers for the days of the fast of the Ninevites, copied in 1713 A.D. by a deacon "from the land of Rustaqa from the village of Bet 'Abhe" (Mar Aprem). 244 pages., 19.5×14 cms. Rustaqa is mentioned by Thomas of Marga in his famous *Historia Monastica*, ed. Budge, p. 345, translation p. 602 and G. Hoffmann, *Auszuge* ..., p. 241. Bet'Abê is the name of the monastery of which Thomas of Marga has written the history, and of a village in the neighbourhood. The name means "Place of forest" and may have been given to more than one place.

18. (53). A commentary (or commentaries) on the Gospels, 392 pages, 19.3×16 cms. It was copied in N. Mesopotamia by a priest of Aqra in 1874 A.D. Mar Aprem adds that the book has a note saying that it was given "in the year 1864 to Mar Elia Mellus, who came to Malabar in India in 1874."

19. (64). The oldest and most important book of the library of Mar Aprem. It is a copy of the *Nomocanon* of Abdiso of Soba, dated 19-5-1302 A.D. The author wrote this book at an unknown date when he was still a simple monk; later he became Bishop, first of Sigar and Bêt Arbaye, in 1290/1 of Soba (Nisibis); he died in November 1318 A.D. The date of his death indicates that this *Nomocanon* was copied during his life time. Later (in 1315/16 A.D.) he wrote another book on the same subject, which was discovered by J.B. Chabot, who mentions it in his *Synodicon Orientale* (Book of the Synhados), 1902, p.609. A translation into Latin of this (second) book has been published by J.Vosté, O.P., Rome 1940, *Codificazione Canonica Orientale*, Fontes, II, 15 (a publication of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches). The *Synodicon Orientale* edited by Chabot is a collection of canons compiled according to him between 775 and 790 A.D. (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 13).

20. (66). A volume called by Mar Aprem *Synhados* (as 64 and 65 of his collection) and copied by Abimelek, the later Metropolitan of Trichur, in 1898 at Urmia. It has 597 pages, 30.5×22 cms.

21. (67). A book with texts of Synods of the Church, translated from Latin into Arabic and from Arabic into Syriac by the Catholic Patriarch Joseph I (1681-1695; died in 1707), who resided in Diarbekr and was the first of a line of Catholic Patriarchs of the Chaldeans. The book gives texts of 12 Synods, the last one being that of Florence (1439-1445). 430 pages, 20.8×15 cms. It was completed in 2005 A.Gr.=1694 A.D.

22. (68). A book called *sūqala* ("Consideration"). Various texts, 371 pages, 25×18.5 cms.; pp. 369-371: table of contents. Copied, according to Mar Aprem in 1898 A.D., completed in 1929. Copied most probably in the Middle East, except the last part (1929).

23. (74). A Catholic Chaldean missal with the text of the anaphora of the Apostles, copied in 1797 A.D. at Alqoš (Iraq). 209 pages, 20×15 cms.

24. (76). Ritual for marriage, copied by a priest of the village of Gundukta (Middle East) in 2173 A. Gr.=1862 A.D., in the month of Adar (March). This ritual was published by the Mar Narsai Press at Trichur.

25. (81). A grammar of Rabban Yohanan bar Zo'bi (cf. Baumstark, p. 310), 13th century. 644 pages, 17×10.5 cms., copied at Alqoš (Iraq) in 1722 A.D., by the priest Abdišo, son of the priest Khošaba, son of the priest Israel.

We shall now describe some of the most important manuscripts of the library copied in Kerala of which we made a special study.

26. (22). *Kaškōl* (book of the canonical office for the ferial days of the years, those of Lent excepted). 359 pages, 33×23 cms., 30 lines, rebound in brown leather at Trichur, some pages patched and repaired. The first 11 pages replace lost ones; they are written on a quire of six leaves of recent paper with watermark: Skagerack Bond Made in Sweden. The colophon on pp. 356-359 says that the book is a *kaškōl*, according to the *ṭaksa* of the High Monastery of Mar Gabriel and Mar Abraham at Mosul; it was completed on the 6th of Elul (September), a Friday, of the year 1895 of Alexander, son of Philip the Macedonian, the year 1584 of the Nativity of Christ, 761 of Kulam; written in the blessed town, flourishing in the orthodox faith Kdôdmangalam (Kothamangalam) in the church of the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of light and life. Copied under "the government of

the Father of Fathers and Lord (*rabba*) of Pastors, Head of the Church ...Mar Simon *qatoli'qa* (*d*)patriarkis of the East ...and in the days of Mar Abraham, Bishop Metropolitan of India....by Mattay, son of the priest called *punorkidan*(?).” The *d* before *Patriarkis* is a slip of the pen of the copyist. The text was copied from a volume from Bêt Asman, Amîd (=the present Diarbekr, also written Diarbekir, in S.Turkey). The Simon referred to was Simon IX Denha, residing at Salmas (now in SE Turkey, not far from the old Se‘ert, now called Siirt). He was recognized as Patriarch by Rome in 1581 and therefore a Catholic at the time our *kaškôl* was written. He died in 1600. His relations with Rome were of no interest for the copyist of our volume, who does not mention Rome or its Bishop at all, not in the colophon, nor in any part of the book. Mary is called “Mother of light and life”, as in other manuscripts of the same time, copied at Angamali, perhaps to avoid to call her “Mother of Christ” with the Nestorians and “Mother of God” with the Portuguese.

On pp. 1-186 we find only indications for the ferial days (2nd, 3rd, 5th day, Friday and Saturday), except for Lent and the week after Easter. The second part (pp.188-356) has the usual 28 *qale'* (hymns), parts of which are used in the daily office.

In a few places the text has been “corrected” according to prescriptions of the Synod of Diamper, Actio III, Decr. 16. Sometimes the corrections are made in such a way that the original text is still easily readable, sometimes the censor tried to obliterate it completely (for example in the case of the name of Nestorius). We found the following corrections :

a. On p. 32 some lines were scored through because of expressions regarded as Nestorian (Christ called “a temple of God”, but cf. Col.1,19). Some words were replaced by others, written above the lines.

b. On pages 59/60 two lines of texts, in which it was said that Christ chose from us a *hmayra* (=hostage; pledge) of peace (*sayna*) and made it an '*umra gabya* (=an elect, chose habitation; this formula is certainly not orthodox).

c. On page 143 a passage of ten lines of text has been crossed out, but rather weakly (the original text is still readable), because of its Christology (Christ called a temple of God and a glorious abode of the divine being).

d. On page 216 the names of Diodorus, Narsay and Mar Aba have been crossed out.

e. On page 271 the name of Nestorius has been obliterated, those of Diodorus and Nestorius crossed out. In a verse of a hymn: "Pray that the Church may not enter into the darkness of the Egyptians" the last words were cancelled, being understood as an allusion to the doctrine of St Cyril of Alexandria. In a *karoza* (litany) the words *qatoliqe sarrire* (true Patriarchs) and "our glorious and holy Father Mar N.N. *qatoliqa patriarkis* of the East" were cancelled, page 288.

f. On page 309 were cancelled, in another litany, the names of Miles, Mar Papa and Mar Awgin.

In summary we can say that the corrections or changes are far from numerous and the same can be said of other "corrected" liturgical MSS (cf. some in the Buchanan collection at Cambridge). The reason is that the piety of the Church of the East, as reflected in its ecclesiastical office, was not much influenced by Nestorian doctrine, since this maintains the unity of Christ: God and man, in one *parsoya*, which makes it the object of our adoration. A part of the office may also antedate the christological controversies, that is, they originated before they exercised their influence in the "Church of the East". This does *not* mean that Nestorianism did not deeply influence Nestorian *theology*, but that is a different matter. In later times this theology made its influence felt in some places of the liturgy.

27. (23). Partial *Hudra*. 596 pages, $29\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 28 lines. No colophon, no date or time of the copyist; 1600? Very nice writing, well preserved manuscript. From the blank leaf at the end a piece, 16×9 cms., was cut away; did it contain a notice which had to be destroyed? Without the usual words "In the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write ..." etc., the text begins abruptly with the office of the 1st Sunday of *Sābara* (Advent); the volume does not contain the office of Lent and of the week after Easter. There is an office for the day of the Circumcision of our Lord (Jan. 1st), missing in the *hudra* printed at Trichur, but celebrated in the Catholic rites and in the Byzantine one. Circumcision is the Patron feast of the Jesuits; did they introduce it, or was it introduced because it was a Western *festum de precepto*?

In a *karoḷita* (litany) on page 93 there is no room for the name of the Pope; the Patriarch of the East is to be mentioned. On page 96 we read towards the end of *ṣapra* of Christmas: "Mary engendered the *ītya* (=divine Essence, God) not like the heretics accuse (us); and not a man she engendered as Arius falsely said, but she engendered God as Mar Cyril confessed." In Syriac the first of these sentences is awkwardly formulated; it is a correction of the original words: "Not the *ītya* Mary engendered, as the heretics accuse (us), and not a man she engendered, as the heretics badly say, but she engendered Christ, as Mar Nestorius confessed" (cf. the edition of Trichur, Vol.I, page *tqp'* = 571). This correction can only have been made by a Catholic. At the feast of Epiphany no mention is made of the anaphora of Nestorius to be said on that day (as is done in the Trichur edition). The office of the Friday after Epiphany is followed by an open space of 7 lines, followed by the office of the dawn of Easter (six pages) and the text of the "celebration of peace", which used to take place on that day with a procession on Easter Sunday; in this text Mary is called "mother of Christ."

It is also stated that from *sūbara* to *ōśa'na* (Palm-Sunday) the anaphora of the *mpašqana tebelaya* (the "Common Interpreter" = Theodore of Mopsueste) is to be said, thus avoiding the mention of the name of Theodore, condemned in 553, long after his death.

On the 1st Sunday of the weeks of the Dedication of the Church (according to the calendar of the Church of the East) there is a solemn procession from the *dārta* (court of the church) right into the church itself. Before the clergy ascend the *bēm* (originally a platform in the midst of the church, later the elevated place between the sanctuary and the nave) an anthem is sung in which Peter, Paul, Evagrius and John are celebrated as architects of the Church. The Trichur edition has here Peter, Paul, Theodore and Nestorius (Vol. III, page *tqsh*=565). The Trichur text is doubtless the original one, and it is very curious to find in our MS the name of Evagrius, unknown in Kerala, but very famous among the monks of the Middle East (See for example, Isaac of Ninive, *De perfectione religiosa*, ed. Bedjan 1909, *passim*). He lived from 346-391 A.D. and his works were condemned by the ecumenical Council of 553 (Evagrius Ponticus). It is very difficult, or rather impossible to suppose that the name of Theodore was replaced by that of Evagrius in *Kerala*, under the influence of the Portuguese, because both men have been condemned by the same Council. For this reason the replacement of Theodore by Evagrius, observed also in other MSS related with Kerala (cf. for example, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS Syr., No 25) points to the Middle East. When former Nestorian monks, not long ago reunited with Rome, came to know that Theodore was the name of a famous heretic, they replaced it with that of Evagrius, whose condemnation they ignored.

We do not know who in the aforesaid text is referred to as John, but we venture to hypothesize that it was John

the Egyptian, the patron saint of the once famous monastery to the north of Gazarta. Monks always had a great veneration for the patron, often the founder, of their monastery, commemorated in the liturgy as "our Father." It is interesting to note that the feast of the Holy Cross is on the 13th of September (the same as in the *hudra* of Trichur), not on the 14th, as in all the Catholic Chaldean missals I saw in Kerala. In olden times the feast was celebrated in Jerusalem on the 13th (dedication of the *anastasis* monument) and the 14th (dedication of the adjacent *basilica*).

Our hypothesis is that the MS either originated in the Middle East, not long after the reunion of a group of Nestorians with the Catholic Church, and in that case it may not be dated long after the middle of the 16th century; or it has been copied in Kerala from such a MS. It has a short *hudra*, corrected or rather modified in some places to bring it in line with Catholic views. In any case it is a precious book.

Certainly of Catholic Chaldean origin are the following books :

28. (8). Book of seven prayers, 360 pages, 15.2×10.5 cms., written by St Gregory, David, St Aprem, St Augustine, etc. The last page mentions the name of Mar Abdišo Antonis (Thondanat), Metropolitan of Malabar, 1862, in the days of the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch Joseph VI Audo.

29. (17). A volume of 436 pages, 19×14 cms. Various texts, such as interpretations of liturgical texts etc. Concluding pages in *garsuni*; 19th century, copied in Kerala.

30. (45). A volume of 504 pages, 18.5×13.3 cms; pp. 388-389 in *garsuni*. Psalms of David and other prayers. Mary is called "Mother of God."

31. (55). A volume of 79 pages, 19.5×14 cms. First part of the Chaldean Mass only.

32. (61). Prayers, translated from Latin into Syriac.

33. (78). A grammar written by the Maronite Metropolitan Isaac Sadrewaya. 236 pages, 29.5×14.5 cms.

34. (79). A volume of 475 pages, 19.8×14.6 cms. Deals with the book of Acts (pp. 1-187) and contains the name of Pope Gregory XVI (1831-1845). This text is followed by the grammar of Isaac (see above, No 33). The book was written in 1832.

Here follows a list of MSS of some importance, to which no date is assigned in the list of Mar Aprem.

35. (5). Collection of Synodical canons of East and West; 252 pages, 24×16.5 cms. Probably a late copy. No date or colophon is indicated.

36. (9). *Debbor'ita*, or Book of the Bee. 460 pages, 21.5×15.3 cms., written by Slëmon, Metropolitan of Parth, who was a native of Kalat in Meida and who became Bishop of Başra (Baumstark, page 309); he participated in the election of the Nestorian Patriarch Sabrišo IV (1222-1224). The "Bee" is a History of Salvation from the creation to the last judgment. Beginning and end of the MS are missing. The few pages remaining in the beginning are the last pages of the "Jewel" of Abdišo of Soba. "Looks more than 4 or 5 centuries old" (Mar Aprem).

37. (30). A selection from the famous exegetical works of Išodad of Merw, who lived in the 19th century. 523 pages, 17×12 cms. The late Fr Thomas Arayathinal of the diocese of Palai had a work of Išodad in his own library, among a few dilapidated manuscripts. This proves that Išodad, a Nestorian, was read and studied in Kerala.

38. (34). Consecration of the altar without oil. 42 pages, 20.5×14.3 cms., "almost 300 years old" (Mar Aprem).

39. (40). The "Jewel" (*marganīta*), written by Abdišo of Soba, with a foreword of Patriarch Ešay Simōn XXIII, the Patriarch who was murdered some years ago in the U.S.A. A recent copy, 64 pages, 34×25 cms., to be published at Trichur, Mar Narsay press.

40. (41). An older copy of the preceding book; 65 pages, 20.2×16.2 cms.

41. (49). A volume with 24 *mēmre* of Isaac of Nineveh (7th century), famous mystic and ascetic writer, 371 pages, 20.5×14 cms., 20 lines. Pages 264-267 are missing. The date—not given by Mar Aprem but supplied to me by Fr Hambye—is 2001 A.Gr. (=1690 A.D.), 1101 of the Hīgra (Muslim era). The mentioning of the Muslim year indicates that the book was copied in the Middle East. The concluding lines of the colophon were destroyed and the name of the scribe has disappeared. The name of the Patriarch was erased. It was Simon XIII, 1662-1700, who was formerly a Catholic but he became a Nestorian and transferred the patriarchal See to Kotsānnes, in the Hakkiāri Mountains (now in S.Turkey), where it remained until World War I. The edition of Isaac of Nineveh by P. Bedjan, called by him *De perfectione religiosa* (1909) has 82 chapters (*mēmre*, prose), whereas the book of Trichur has only 24.

42. (56). Volume of 226 pages, 20.7×14.7 cms. Qurbana, text of the eucharistic liturgy.

43. (57). Volume of 335 pages, 22.5×17 cms. A commentary on the readings of the Pentateuch etc. by Dionysios bar Salibi. After p. 100 four pages are missing. Page 240 refers to liturgical texts for the ordination of priests and deacons, written by a disciple of Abdišo, Bishop of Gazarta, in 1862 A.Gr.=1531 A.D. pp. 276-281 in Malayālam *garšuni*. pp. 319-327 are missing.

44. (65). *Sunhados*, the book of Syonds of the West and the East. 551 pages, 39×29 cms. No date, no colophon; "appears to be 3 or 4 centuries old" (Mar Aprem).

45. (70). A liturgical lectionary, with some pages in *garsuni*. "May be from the 18th or 19th century" (Mar Aprem).

In the library there are only a few Jacobite books: No 15: the history of St Ephrem in WS script; No 31: a "Book of Light" in ES script, but with a label on the cover that it is Jacobite; No 62: WS liturgical prayers in ES script; date: around 1700 (Mar Aprem); 236 pages, 15.3×9.8 cms.; No 82: Bar Hebreus's Book of *Zalge* (splendours), a theological compendium. WS script with Arabic notes in the margin; 298 pages.

Besides the above mentioned books there are others of minor importance, of which we give here a short list, with the numbers of the list of Mar Aprem. Nearly all are recent and bear no date. 3. Burial service, Syriac and Malayālam, 171 pages. 4. Prayers at the burial service and blessing of houses, in Syriac and Malayālam, 75 pages. 6. Commentary on the Bible reading in the Church, 381 pages. 7. Commentary on the book of the Apocalypse, 280 pages. 11. Book of letters. From F.S. Kizhakekara's library. 324 pages; pp. 271-324 contain parts of the correspondence between the Syrian Christians of Malabar and Patriarchs of the Middle East in the 19th century. 21. *Karōzīta*. Beginning pages in Syriac, followed by a Malayālam translation; the whole copied in 1912 by Mar Abimelek. 25. *Kam's*. A selection of poems written by Kamīs bar Qardahê, a Jacobite author, who lived in the 13/14th century (see Baumstark, page 321); 208 pages, ES. No date. 26. Readings for Mass, copied by the Rev. Ign. Nadakkavukaran for Mar Darmo between 1920 and 1928; 264 pages. 32. Prayerbook, 539 pages, small size: 8.7×6.5 cms. 35. Letters of 1759 and following years, from the

Kizhakekara library; also some Syriac words. 37. Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews and other NT books in modern Syriac. 76 pages. 38. Some notes on festival days of the Church etc. by Isaac Simon (*sic*; Mar Aprem) in his own handwriting. 37 pages. 39. An apology for the Church of the East by Mar Abimelek of Trichur. 11 pages, 31.8 × 19.5 cms. 43. Psalms and prayers for ordinary days: a *kaškôl*. 473 pages. 44. The same as No 43; 540 pages. (pp. 1-2 are missing). 46. Exposition of the mysteries of the Church. 357 pages. 47. Same title as No 46; 127 pages. 50. Details for the festivals, taken from various *hudras*, available at Trichur (copied at Urmia; Alqoš; Kothamangalam), by Isaac Simon (see No 38) in his handwriting; 98 pages. 51. Explanation of old Syriac words in modern Syriac, by Isaac Simon (see above), 1939, Trichur; 251 pages. 52. Interpretation of old Syriac words in modern Syriac and Malayālam *garṣuni*, by Isaac son of Simon of Mar Bišo in 1939; 251 pages. 54. *Puṣaqa* (interpretation) of the Gospels. 58. *Siyāmīda*. Book of ordinations. 150 pages, followed by 23 pages for the consecration of the *dappa* (the wooden altar tablet). There are seven pages with the names of those who were ordained by Mar Darmo (it is an oriental custom to note these names in the book used for the ordinations). 60. *Siyāmīda*. 51 pages. 63. Study in modern Syriac on the Epistles of St Paul. 23 pages. "Not very old" (Mar Aprem). 69. A Syriac Malayālam lexicon; also a discourse on the Antichrist. 245 pages. 71. Syriac lessons (*sic*, Mar Aprem): notebook of Mar Abimelek. 22 pages. 72. Syriac notes 106 pages. 73. *Taksa drābhaya dṭaybuta* (for the meaning of this expression see Assemani *Bior* III/2, p. CCLXXVII^s and Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 3792. It is the text for a ceremony of augmenting the quantity of holy earth, relics, oil. 14 pages. 75. Order of prayers for Lent. 127 pages. 77. *Tūraṣ māmla*=Order of the Language, the name of various Syriac grammars. This one has 8 pages of Barhebraeus, followed by

138 of Eliah, Metropolitan of Nisibis (=Elias bar Sinaya, 975-1049, Jacobite Metropolitan of Nisibis since 1008 A.D.; Baumstark page 287). 80. Grammar: conjugation of verbs. 121 pages.

The above mentioned books have no special importance for this study. We have mentioned their titles for the sake of being complete, (and mostly) just as we found them in Mar Aprem's list. When we visited the Library of Mar Aprem quite a number of books were not available: some were in court, pending decision of a lawsuit, so that we were unable to consult them. In the Bishop's palace there are also some very large collections of letters. Mar Aprem mentions 11 diaries kept by Mar Abimelek from the year he arrived in India; there are others of Mar Darmo, his successor, who left India in 1968. There are also hundreds of Syriac letters and replies from various people, written by Mar Abimelek and Mar Thomas Darmo. The latter had a Syriac typewriter, which enabled him to keep copies of his letters. Then there are some letters of Bishop Thondanatt. Of importance is also a book with copies of letters mainly of the 19th century, throwing light on the history of the Christians of St Thomas during the period the letters were written. Among the letters there are, of course, some of Patriarch Joseph VI Audo. Some deal with the events prior to the episcopal consecration of Bishop Thondanatt. A large copy of the stone of Si-Ngang-Fu is of interest for those in Kerala who cannot study the monument elsewhere and desire to have some information about it.

G. Library of the Jacobite Bishop's House, Anjoor

Anjur (the name is variously transcribed) is the seat of an independent Jacobite diocese. We visited the Bishop's house twice; it is large and spacious and has an open inner court; nearby is a hospital belonging to the diocese. The Bishop Metropolitan Mar Philexinos (as he writes his name)

is now titular Bishop of Chandal, since he joined the Catholic Church. On January 2nd, 1973 we could see his most important manuscripts.

1. The most beautiful MS we saw is a splendid copy of the *awṣar rōzē* ("Treasure of mysteries", a running commentary on Holy Scripture) of Barhebraeus. The text has been copied in 2 columns, in black and red, 35 lines a column. We could nowhere discover a colophon or an indication of time, place or name of the copyist. The MS is several centuries old and must have been brought to Kerala from the Middle East like so many other Jacobite manuscripts. The Bishop was very proud of it and said that Europeans or Americans had come in the past and had asked to take away the manuscript with them, which, of course, was refused. M.Sprengling and W.C.Graham do not mention it in their introduction to the book: *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament, Part I: Genesis – II Samuel*, Chicago 1931, though they quote 20 manuscripts. Nor was it known to J.Gottschberger in his book on the *awṣar* (*Barhebraeus und seine Scholia zur Heiligen Schrift*, Bibl. Stud. V, 4/5; Freiburg i.Br. 1900).

2. A volume of 392 pages, 19×15 cms., 18 lines, ES. According to the introduction on p.1 of the book, it contains the text of the *Paradise of Eden* written in metrical verses by the holy and loving Christian Mar *eyw' ennenyos* (sic; probably Iwanios=John), Bishop. The colophon on pages 388-391 states again that the book was written by the Bishop mentioned above whose name is now written *iyaw' nniōs*, in the year 1617 of Alexander the Macedonian (=1316 A.D.). The well-known *Book of Paradise*, of which a number of copies are extant in Kerala, was written by Abdišo of Soba in 1290/1; the author wrote a commentary on his own work (written in difficult and artificial language, to compete with Arab poets) in 1316 A.D., the year our book was written. For this reason there can be no doubt that Abdišo of Soba was the real author, and not the unknown Bishop John quoted above.

The colophon goes on to state that "this book was completed on the 2nd of *Tešrîn qdîm* (October), on a Wednesday, in the year 2000 (here follows a blank space of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cms.) of Alexander, King of the Greeks, in the church of Mar Giwargîs, the glorious martyr, in the blessed place of Irapelli (=Edapally, some 5 kms. to the NE of Ernakulam, on the way to Alwaye). May God make it inhabited. Amen and Amen. In the days of the Father of the Fathers and the Head of the Pastors, who anoints the High Priests and who distributes (*masrah*, play of words) the talents and who hands over the staffs and who ties the belts, Mar Ignatios Patriarch of the East, constituted in all strength and shining in all splendour for the exaltation of the Catholic and Apostolic (Church) and the glory of the Apostolic one. Amen. In the days of our venerable Father and head of the Venerables, Pastors, Watchers and alert ones and Governor who rules the Church of Christ, Basilios, qatolîqa of Jerusalem and in the days of Mar Thoma, Bishop of India. The Lord may prolong his days by the prayers of the Apostles his colleagues. Amen." The copyist then mentions his "unworthy name": "Abraham, son of Abraham, whose mother was named Elisabeth, daughter of Ašer and disciple of the priest Mattay the *malpān* (doctor)."

At the bottom of p. 388 a 19th line has been added to the text in badly written WS characters, stating that the MS was written in 895 of the era of Kulam (=Quilon; this era began in 825 A.D.; therefore the year was 1720 A.D.) and was completed at Erapal(y): *kwlm + psh h' šlm b'yrpl*. Where we have put a cross(+) the text has a large and very thick St Andrew's cross. This date, written under the Greek date, may have been intended as a supplement to the probably incomplete Greek date; the blank space after 2000 A.Gr. may have been intentional, to provide room for a smaller number.

Basilios is a first name often given to Maphrians, the Patriarchs being often called Ignatius. In the colophon our Bishop is called *qatoliqa*; when this title was given to the Maphrian it may have become a reason for the people of Kerala to think that he was a Patriarch. A Syrian Bishop named Basilios arrived in Malabar in 1685; he came from the monastery of Mar Matta, not far from Mosul, for a long time the seat of the Maphrians; the most famous and greatest of all of them, Barhebreus (+1286), is buried there and one can still visit his tomb, covered by a white marble slab. We do not know how long Basilios was in Malabar, and where his companion, Bishop John (also from Mar Matta) died in 1693. In 1751 three more Bishops were sent to Malabar by the Jacobite Patriarch; one of them, named Basilios, had received the title of Metropolitan of Malabar, where he died in 1753.

We may take it for granted that the book was copied in the beginning of the 18th century, either in 1700 or in 1720 A.D. The copyist was a Jacobite priest who still used the traditional ES script, with full vocalization, but which had already evolved considerably from the handwriting we come across in manuscripts belonging to the preceding century.

3. A volume dated 2076 A.Gr., 940 Kulam (=1765 A.D.), ES. It contains among other texts a work of Eusebios of Caesarea (see Baumstark, pages 58-60).

4. A *mémra* of Ignatios Behnam, Patriarch of Antioch (1412-1455 A.D.), dated 1960 A.Gr. (=1649 A.D.), WS.

5. A WS *ṭaksa*, dated 1973 A.Gr. (=1662 A.D.; date found in the middle of the MS).

6. A WS office for the Sundays of Lent, dated 1810 A.D.

There are other manuscripts in the library, but we did not see them; according to the Bishop they are of no importance.

H. Library of the Dharmaram College, Bangalore

From February 24-27 1972 the present writer has been the guest of the Dharmaram College. This big Institution belongs to the CMI Fathers and is their principal house of studies. There are a few Syriac MSS in the library which I was able to study.

1. A volume of 828 pages, $20\frac{3}{4} \times 15$ cms., 16 lines. ES. Numbered quires of 24 pages. It is a *kašköl*, the text for the canonical hours on ferial days, beginning with the psalter. On page 385, at the end of the psalms, the copyist reveals his identity: Abraham, son of the faithful Abraham and disciple of the famous and learned *malpān* Abraham. The headings of the psalms are attributed to Abdišo of Soba, interpreter of the holy books. At the end of Psalms we find the usual enumeration of the number of verses etc. of the Psalter (the four liturgical Canticles not included); 4833 verses; 19934 words; 90852 letters; $732 \times$ the word Lord; $400 \times$ the word God; 285 *meṭṭul* (=because); $6 \times$ Moses; $6 \times$ Aaron; $24 \times$ Jacob; $1 \times$ Samuel; $2 \times$ Benjamin; $44 \times$ Israel; $5 \times$ *gér* (but, etc.); $5 \times$ *dén* (now, therefore); $13 \times$ *thôt* (under); $4 \times$ "from everlasting and to everlasting." The Hebrew psalter edited in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensi* (1969) has at the end a *masora finalis* stating that the number of verses of the Psalter is 2527; from this it follows that the 4833 Syriac *petgame* are hemistichs, not full verses. Their numbering is, *mutatis mutandis* not identical with that of our Hebrew Bibles, but is the same as is found in the liturgical editions of Bedjan and Trichur, which have also the other numbers. They belong to an old Syriac "masoretic" tradition. It is also to be noted that the form *thêt* is not found "in David" as *thôt* not in the Apostle (Paul). On page 402, after the Canticles, we find a colophon: "Completed are the Canticles of Moses and Isaiah by the wretched and weak deacon Abraham, in his cell of the church of the Apostle Thomas at Mulduruty (= Malanthuruthy) in the year 1731 of Our Lord." Then we

have the anthems for ferial days, the hymns of the martyrs, the '*onyata* of the *mawtbé* for ferial days (pages 403 - 667). On page 667 we read that this part of the book was completed by the deacon Abraham at Mûldûrûtî "in the year of the Nativity of our Lord 1734", 2045 A. Gr., in the month *hîziran* (June) in the days of Mar Thoma, Bishop and Metropolitan of India. On page 669 ss. are noted the special prayers for the vespers of the 1st Sunday, on page 715 ss. for its matins and on pages 757-770 for morning prayer. On page 669, in the prayers preceding the canonical hours, we do not find *qaddîsa allaha*, addressed to the Father or the Trinity, as in the Church of the East, but *qaddîsat allaha*, addressed to Christ, as is the Jacobite custom. There is also the Jacobite formula : "And upon us, weak sinners, be mercy and grace at all times in the two worlds and for ever and ever. Amen" (following the "Glory be to the Father..."). This also is Jacobite. On page 683 are commemorated in an ES *karozi'ta* : "our Holy Father Ignatius, Patriarch and head of the Church of Christ and Mar Basilius *qaṭolî'qa* and Mar N. N. Bishop Metropolitan and all their clergy..." For the name of Basilius see Anjoor No. 2. On page 685 we find again "Ignatius N.N...., Mar *qaṭol'qa* and Mar Thomas Bishop Metropolitan. On page 694/6 some notes for the weeks of Epiphany ; Apostles ; summer ; Holy Cross ; etc. On page 770 ss, there are various additional prayers.

On pages 823-824 we find some remarks : a. According to Patriarch Timothy (a Nestorian !) is it not appropriate to offer *qurbana* (Mass) with heretics who do not communicate with us ; b. The great Athanasius said it is not appropriate to take Holy Communion from a chalice by a heretical priest. c. According to Theodosius *qurbana* may sometimes be celebrated in private houses or on the mountains, if necessary. d. According to Patriarch John (there are several Patriarchs of that name) a priest who celebrates *qurbana* without a *tablî'ta* (a small wooden board consecrated by a Bishop) or not on an

altar is to be excommunicated. e. According to George a priest or deacon who gives Holy Communion to a heretic... here the text breaks off and the remainder of the page is filled with a decorative design.

On pages 826-827 are indicated the psalms to be said on feast days; the feasts are: Christmas; St Stephen; the Evangelists; Circumcision; Epiphany; Ascension; Pentecost; the Cross of our Lord; the Manifestation of our Lord (= Transfiguration); John the Baptist; St George; the Mother of God; the deceased. The order of these feasts is neither in accordance with that of the Church of the East, nor with the one of the WS Church. One gets the impression nevertheless that the Latin influence is still there, as for example, the feast of Circumcision. On page 828 we read that the crown of thorns of our Lord had 72 thorns; that Herod killed 25000 infants; that Mary remained 40 days in Bethlehem. This is followed by six lines in Malayālam *garśūni*.

The manuscript we have described above is interesting for various reasons. It shows that in 1734 the Jacobites still used the canonical prayers of the Church of the East more than 80 years after their separation (1653), with only few and very small Jacobite variants. On page 686, in a *kerozūta*, Mary is called the Mother of God, which may well be a Catholic heritage. The canonical prayers had more or less the same form as they now have among the Syro-Malabarians. The series of feasts is mentioned because psalms to be said are indicated.

In the book there was a note written on a separate piece of paper, saying that Malanthuruthy is not far from Diamper and the church mentioned by the copyist now belongs to the Jacobites. The book had belonged to the Rev. Jacob Pathanveetil of the archdiocese of Trivandrum, who became a Catholic in 1931 (the first reunion took place in 1930). According to the same note the owner was in his

family the 25th of an uninterrupted series of priests. Because the Jacobite priests practised celibacy until the coming of the British, and the Catholic priests did so since Diamper, the series of 25 cannot have been an interrupted line father-son. The manuscript was acquired by the Rev. Jacob from his predecessors, with many others. When he was still a Jacobite he gave it to the Rev. Fr Stephen, a Third Order Carmelite, in 1922/3, who worked as a missionary among the Jacobites with Kottarakara as centrum. The book shows signs of frequent use; the script is clear, but not as nice as Trivandrum I of the same year. The reason may have been that Triv. I was copied by a professional scribe, whereas the other one was copied by a priest for his own use.

2. A volume of 430 pages, $21\frac{1}{4} \times 17$ cms., 14 lines. The *Paradise of Eden* of Abdiso, Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia. Violet lines around the text of each page; watermark: Dorling & Gregory. Probably 19th century.

3. A booklet of $15 \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 15 lines, ES. Contains the rite of Baptism according to Barhebraeus; the rite of marriage; the preparation of holy water (*may hnana*), translated from the Latin; the rite of Extreme Unction, also from the Latin (called unction of the sick); the sacramental formula is after the Latin one and so also the litany of All Saints, but quite a number of psalms have been added (altogether 36 pages). There are prayers for the 1st Tuesday of Lent, etc. Towards the end the ES script alternates with the WS one, page after page; the Jacobite scribe had learned the WS script, but it was not yet familiar to him. The whole is a Jacobite ritual for priests, probably from c.1800. It shows what kind of traditions the Jacobites inherited when they separated from the main body of the Christians of St Thomas. The curious transition from ES handwriting to WS is also to be found in other Kerala Syriac MSS.

I. Library of the Orthodox Syrian Seminary, Kottayam

On Dec. 24, 1974, we visited the former "old seminary" of the Syrian Orthodox Church at Kottayam and we were admitted into the library which was used as a hall for study. On one shelf we found some Syriac books and among them about a dozen handwritten ones, but not of special importance. I took notes of two of them.

1. A volume with the rite of Baptism according to Barhebraeus and some other texts in ES script. The book shows that already before the introduction of the complete WS liturgy around 1825, Baptism was administered in this rite though the text was copied in the traditional handwriting. The book may date from c. 1800.

2. A *shimo* = book of daily prayers for ferial days in the WS rite. ES script, but WS office in the rite of "the syrian-Jacobite-Orthodox priests and deacons" (*sic*). No colophon, but probably from the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. At the end a WS hand states that the book belongs to the priest Paulos, named Kallerikal, in the year 1849 A.D.

On the same day, Dec. 24, 1974, we visited the then 92 year old Katholikos in his residence near Kottayam, where I was told that there are no manuscripts at all in the residence of the high prelate.

J. Library of the Monastery of the CMI Fathers at Kuruvilassery, Trichur

I visited this monastery on Jan. 5, 1975. A novitiate of the Congregation has been established there. In the library I found a few manuscripts, worth of mention here.

1. A nicely written ES volume with biblical books; Wisdom; Sirach; Proverb; Canticles; Ruth; Job. 18 lines, ES. These books are preceded by a text of the "Great

Wisdom" (of Salomon) in a different handwriting, 17 lines separated from the following pages by blank space of two pages. The first part of the book was copied in 1703 A.D., the second was completed in 2045 A. Gr. (=1734 A.D.); nothing more is said in the colophon.

2. An ES book with prayers for Sundays and Fridays, ES. Copied in the Church of St Thomas at Mawlduruti (*sic*) in 1739 A.D. The copyist was a Jacobite as can be concluded not only from the place of origin, but also from the expression, *had allaha šarrira* "one true God", used in a rubric.

3. A book with liturgical prayers, ES. Begins with the prayers for the days of *ba'wata* rogations; dated 1749 A.D. The writing is much worse than the one of No 1; when we first opened the book we thought that it was about half a century more recent younger than this one. This shows how difficult it is to estimate the date of a non-dated manuscript of Kerala (and of all other non-dated Syriac manuscripts).

K. Library of the Konat family, Pampakuda

Pampākuda has certainly the richest library of Syriac manuscripts in Kerala. It is a small hamlet with a few houses and a church and its name is not to be found on the modern maps available in the shops of the country. It is marked on the map at the end of W.Germann's *Die Kirche der Thomas christen* (1877). Assuming that this map is correct, Pampākuda lies at a distance of a little more than 4 geographic miles (=45-50 kms.) to the east of Ernakulam; it may be reached from Piravam. The hamlet is not shown on the map facing p.298 of L.W.Brown's *The Indian Christians of St Thomas* (1956).

The library belongs to the Konat (Konattu) family (for which see L.W.Brown, *op.cit.*, pp. 136, 137, 141, 152). The present owner is the Syrian Orthodox priest and *malpān* Abraham Konat, born in 1908, who became a priest in 1930 and received the title of *Malankara Malpān* in 1963.

His father was Mathen Konat, born in 1859, priest in 1883, *malpān* in 1890, died in 1927. According to the present owner he collected most of the important books and organized the library. The Konats belong to a family of priests and the present *malpān* told me that he is supposed to be the 23rd of an uninterrupted line (compare what has been said above in relation to Dharmaram No.1). They played a prominent part in their community, at least during the last two centuries (see L. W. Brown, II.cc.). According to the present owner the library originated about six generations back (of the family); his father, grandfather and greatgrandfather (and may be some other members of the family) copied books or procured them from various places, not a few from the Middle East. These books are now preserved as precious treasures, but unfortunately they cannot be easily consulted. For various reasons it was impossible for me to study the manuscripts as I would have liked to, but I managed to see them all and to take a few notes. Father Hambye also published some notes and through him I got a list, written in English by the present owner Malpan Konat, of 63 manuscripts, considered by him as the most important of his collection of c. 170 MSS.

My first visit to the library was on Jan.25, 1972. At that time the manuscripts were stored, together with printed books indiscriminately, as happens in Oriental libraries, in two cupboards in the church, which dates from 1825 (according to Malpan Konat). On that occasion I saw quite a few of the most important books and I could take photos of MS No 77, a WS lectionary, copied in 1423 A.D., for the Pešitta Institute at Leyden. On my second visit, Dec.25, 1974, the books were stored in a new building outside the church, overlooking the churchyard. I was not admitted in the place where the books were stored but into a room nearby, where the Rev.A.Konat showed them to me, one after another, assisted by his son.

In the following list we enumerate the manuscripts with the numbers they have in the library, omitting the printed books and some others of little value. The description of the manuscripts is rather poor, for which I invoke the sympathy of the reader, to whom I offer all the information I could get in my condition as a visitor of Pampākuda. I thank all those who supplied this information to me, especially the Rev. Malpan Konat and Fr Hambye, expressing the hope that a younger visitor may be able to furnish a more complete catalogue, drafted according to modern standards.

1. A commentary of the four Gospels by Dionysios bar Salibi, copied by a priest Isaac, Kerala; 1874. WS.

2. A Syriac-Malayālam *garṣūni* dictionary.

3. The first volume of a WS *Penqito* (canonical prayers for non-ferial days), copied by several priests in Kerala; 1885 A.D.

4. The "Lamp of the Sanctuary" of Barhebreus, copied in Kerala; 1866. WS.

5. *Penqito*, WS, Part 2 (see No 3), copied in Kerala; 1888. WS.

6. The *awṣar rozé* of Barhebreus, copied by Mathen Malpān Konat from the copy in the library of Anjoor (see Anjoor, No 1), as the present owner told me. 1887, WS. The volume contains also the text of I-II Macc.; Bel and the Dragon; Sus.; Prayer of Man.; Ep. of Bar.; Judith; Tob.; Sap.; Sir. The latter part of the volume is mentioned in the List of OT Peś. MSS, p.65. There it is added that the measurements are 10 × 6 inches (=25¹/₂ × 15 cms.), 30 lines, 1 col., c.100 ff. No mention is made of the work of Barhebreus. The present writer saw the whole book.

7. A commentary of the Apocalypse by Dionysios bar Salibi, ES, copied by Abraham Konat in 1808 A.D.

8. Books of the Old Testament, copied by Abraham Konat in 1804: Is.; Jer.; Ep. Bar.; Ez.; Dan.+Bel. Dr. Sus.; Jud.; I-II Sam.; I-II Kings; Sir.; Ecclesiastes; Ruth; Job; see *List*, p.66. The measures given are $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ($=23 \times 14$ cms.), 2 col., 27 lines, c.375 ff.

9. Commentaries of St Ephrem on books of the OT, WS. Copied in Kerala in 1884, probably from the S.E. Assemani edition, Rome, Vol.I 1737; Vol.II 1740 (Syriac volumes). There are Greek and Latin characters in the book. No date is given.

10. A book with the text for the ordinations, WS, no date, copied in Kerala (in the last quarter of the 19th century?).

11. *Penq'ito*, WS, Part 3 (see Nos. 3 & 5), copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner, partly in WS, partly in ES script. This points to a date between 1800 (or 1808? see No 7) and 1825.

12. A commentary of Dionysios bar Salibi on parts of the NT. WS. Copied by the deacon Sakralla in 1755 A.D. in the Middle East.

13. The *prāmions* of the *Penq'ito*, Vol.I, for festivals, copied by the father of the present owner in 1881, WS.

19. Some books of the OT, copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner. ES, no date; in the *List* (see No 6), p.66 we find the following data: Jud. (defective at the beginning); I-II Sam.; Jos.; I-II Chron. (defective at the end). Measurements: $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ($=23 \times 14$ cms.), 2 col. 33 lines; c. 60 ff.

32. A volume containing a collection of various writings, copied in 2069 A.Gr. (=1758 A.D.) WS. Fr Hambye has given a description of this book in his article in

the *Festschrift Voobus : Some Syriac Libraries...*, p.44 which we used. The MS, WS and copied in the Middle East, has 80 ff., 24.5×18.5 cms., 2 col., 27 lines. On f.3 is a table of contents. The book contains : 1. The Eight books of Clemens'' (=the *Doctrina Apostolorum*). 2. Teachings of the Apostles. 3. Revelation of each Apostle. 4. Synodical canons of Nicea, Ancyra ; Neo-Caesarea; Gangra; Antioch; Laodicea of phrygia ; Constantinople 1 ; Ephesus. 5-6. The twelve anathemas of St Cyril of Alexandria and their explanation. 7. The condemnation of Nestorius. 8. A letter of St Gregory of Nazianzus. 9. A calendar of feasts and fasts (last 5 ff.). On ff.24, 36, 47 texts are missing. Occasionally there are Arabic words in the margin ; *garšini* texts on ff 5,76. It is clear that this is a Jacobite MS, copied in the Middle East, brought to Kerala and used there in the Syrian Orthodox community. See also No.68.

33. NOMOCANON of Barhebreus, called in Syriac *ktobo dhūdoyé* (=Book of Rules) ; 250 pages of text, with additions ; 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ×11 $\frac{3}{4}$ cms. WS. Copied in the Middle East in 1601 A.Gr. (=1290 A.D.). It is the oldest MS in the library and also the oldest one of this famous book, the most authoritative collection of Canon Law of the West Syrian Church. It is the oldest known copy of the Book, copied four years after the death of its author (1286 A.D.) ; the oldest copy mentioned by Baumstark in his *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (1922) is of 1291 A.D., preserved in the monastery of Mar Markos in the old town of Jerusalem.¹

1. In his article quoted above Fr Hambye writes (p.38) that the MS was copied in 1389 A. D., but in a letter written to me he said he had made a mistake. The number 1389 was a printer's error for 1289, a date obtained deducting 312 from 1601 A.Gr. But this would have been exact only if the book had been copied in one of the last three months of 1601 A.Gr. Now its colophon states (as we saw with our own eyes) that it was completed on the 19th of the month *sbat* (=February), a little more than three and a half years after the death of the famous author, which occurred on 30.7.1286.

34. Anaphorae, WS, copied in 2060 A.Gr.(=1749 A.D.) by a Bishop Iwannis who came to Malabar. This person is most probably the ramban John from Antioch who in 1752A.D. was appointed Metropolitan of Malankara Church, as a rival to Mar Thomas V (see *Malancharuvil*, P.35). He called himself Mar Ivanios. In the same volume are bound liturgical texts in ES writing, copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner. In the book one finds a text of the ritual of Baptism, etc.

35. A volume with the WS anaphora of St James, the rituals of Baptism and Marriage. WS. Copied in the Middle East in 2063 A. Gr. (=1752 A. D.).

36. *Prümions*, (for festivals) volume 2 (see No.13), copied in Kerala in 1874 A. D. WS.

37. *Nomocanon* of Barhebreus, copied from No.33, by the father of the present owner, in Kerala. No date is given. 40 chapters (Konat).

38. A Syriac grammar in Malayālam *garšūni* and in pure Malayālam.

40. Some books of the Old Testament, ES. According to the *List*..., P. 66: c. 440 ff., 6×4 inches (=15×10 cms.), 1 col., 17 lines. The five books of the Pentateuch, copied in Kerala in 1783 A. D.

41. A dictionary, Syriac (ES)-Malayālam *garšūni*

42. A dictionary, Syriac (ES)-Malayālam *garšūni*, copied in 1793 A. D.

43. The great Syriac grammar of Barhebreus ("Book of Rays"), copied by the father of the present owner in 1888 A. D.

44. A codex with various texts, assembled by great-grandfather of the present owner, ES.

45. Commentary on the liturgy by Moses bar Kifo (anaphorae, Baptism, etc.) WS. Copied by Bishop Joyākim

Kurillos (1846-1866), an Antiochian prelate from the Middle East, in 1851 A.D. See *Malancharuvil*, pp.54, 92 ; according to this author it was this Bishop, sent to Malabar from where he returned to the Middle East, who "replaced the Chaldean script by the Antiochene"; we have seen that this happened in c.1825.

46. List of biblical texts to be used in the liturgy, WS. Copied in Malabar.

47. A book with anaphorae, ritual of Baptism, etc., copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner in 1810, ES.

48. Text for the consecration of Bishops ; from the Middle East. WS, no date.

49. The Book of Paradise, Sacred lecture for monks. Copied in Kerala in 1884 A.D.

50. A WS daily prayer-book (*shimo*), WS. Copied in Malabar? No date.

51. *Idem*, WS, no date ; c. 1850 ?

52. Book of *mémre* of Jacob of Sarûg, Efrem, etc. Hambye describes it in his article *Some Syriac Libraries*,... p.44. It is a volume of 490 pages., 18×11 cms., 24 lines, 1 col., WS. It was copied in Mosul. Konat's date is 1894 A.Gr., but according to Hambye it was completed in 1673 A.D., which is also the date noted by me when I saw the book. The correct date is 1672, because a colophon says (Hambye) that it was completed in a monastery not far from Mosul in November 1984 A.Gr. There are two conflicting colophons: the first says that the book was completed in the monastery of Mar Jacob near Mardîn in 1984 A.Gr. and that it was the 50th MS copied by Yudah son of Sammu Bukrid. The second colophon reads: "This manuscript was begun at the monastery of Mar Yakub and of the Mother of God near the fortress of *Qal'ahmarh*; it was completed

in a monastery situated in the country of Mosul in November 1984 A.Gr. Pray for his father Sammu and his mother Masiro" (Hambye, *art. cit.*, p.45). Mardîn is lying on the summit of a mountain, it is (or was?) an imposing fortress (*qal'ah* in Arabic). Is *qal'ahmahr* = Mardîn?

Malpân Konat has given us (i.e. to Fr Hambye) a full index of the *incipits* of the various *mémre* (in Syriac). From this list it appears that he counted 74 of them, of which 56 are explicitly attributed to Jacob of Sarûg; two are said to be written in the metre of Jacob (12 syllables); No.5 is called "another one", which may mean that it is attributed to Jacob, the author of No.4. P. Bedjan has published 5 fat volumes (each of 800-900 pages) with 195 *mémre* of Jacob (Leipzig-Paris, 1905-1910).

In Konat's book 4 *mémre* are attributed to St Ephrem, followed by "another one" (called the 6th) and a last one. Six *mémre* are anonymous, one is attributed to Timotheus, Bishop of Gargar, on the *šûnoyo* (=departure, death, assumption) of the Blessed Virgin Mary (cf. Baumstark, p.191; this composition is also attributed to a Bishop Iwannîs of Bîrta). There is also a text in prose and another one in Arabic *garšûni*. In his handwritten list Konat notes under No.37 that 23 *mémre* are to be inserted here, to make the collection complete. At the end c. 22 pages are missing.

The 56 or 57 *mémre* of Mar Jacob in the present volume deal with the following subjects, which we give in alphabetical order with the numbers they have in the handwritten list of Konat.

41. Ascension of Our Lord.
13. Baptism of Our Lord.
33. Blind, the man who was blind from the womb of his mother and was healed by Jesus.
18. Cana, marriage at.

- 28. Canaanite woman, whose son Jesus healed.
- 31. Curved woman healed by Jesus.
- 65. Day and night, the course of.
- 63. Dedication of a church.
- 6. Elizabeth, visit of Mary to.
- 23. Ephrem, St.
- 45. Eucharist; do not leave the church during its celebration.

- 38. George, St.
- 12. Innocents, the Holy.
- 59. Invention of the Holy Cross.
- 15. John the Baptist, decapitation.
- 25. Lame man, healed by Jesus.
- 37. Lazarus, resuscitated from the dead.
- 24. Leper, healing of.

Liturgical:

- 20. Lent (on Lent).
- 21. Lent (on Lent).
- 66. Evening song.
- 67. Night song.
- 68. Morning song.
- 39. One person of the Fathers (=commemoration of).
- 44. On the XII apostles.
- 19. Love
- 27. Love of the poor.

The Blessed Virgin Mary:

- 1. Mary and Joseph and the calumny of the Jews.
- 4&5. Annunciation.
- 10. Against those who deny the virginity of Mary after she gave birth to her Son.
- 14. Congratulation of Mary (26 Dec.)
- 16. Purification.
- 58. Death of the Blessed Virgin.
- 70. Feast of the B. Virgin Mary of the Seeds.
- 61 & 62. Martyrs (on the martyrs).
- 7, 8 & 9. Nativity of Christ.

Others :

60. Nicaea, Council of.
43. Pentecost.
41. Resurrection of our Lord, 3rd apparition.
36. Sebaste, 40 martyrs of.
29. Serpent of brass, raised by Moses in the desert.
30. Sheep, lost.
2. Simon Peter.
47. Simon and John going to the temple.
17. Simon the elder speaking to Mary in temple.
32. Son, prodigal.
11. Stephen, first martyr.
34. Temptation of Jesus in the Desert by Satan.
49. Transfiguration of our Lord on a mountain.
40. Thomas Apostle, incredulous.
26. Widow, who gave her money to the treasury of the temple.
35. Widow, whose son was resuscitated by Jesus.
54. Various texts of little importance.
55. A theological work called '*ellat kul*'=The cause of all falsely ascribed to Jacob of Edessa, a famous Jacobite author (640-708). It must be identified with a book called "The cause of causes" written by a Bishop of Edessa in the 10th Century (see Baumstark, page 280/1). Copied in Kerala in 1888 A.D. WS.
57. Syriac anaphorae, copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner in 1833 A.D. WS.
58. A book with WS rite of Baptism, marriage and other texts. Copied in the Middle East, WS. No place, date or name of the copyist.
60. Biblical commentaries of Dionysios bar Salibi, ES. Copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner, c. 1800 A.D.
61. *Frāmions* for the Sundays of Lent, WS. Copied in Pamkouda, 1889 A.D.
62. The book of *zalge* (lightnings) of Barhebreus, a Jacobite manual of dogma, WS. Copied in 1887 in Kerala.

63. "Commentaries" (Konat) in ES and WS script; no date. The use of both scripts points to Kerala, c. 1800.

67. A WS grammar, no date etc., copied in the Middle East; belonged to Mar Kurillos, a Bishop from the Near East (see Hambye, page 149; Malancharuvil pages 51, 54, 92.) who was in Kerala from 1846-1866.

68. A copy of No. 32, WS. c. 1850 A.D.

69. The rite of Baptism, according to the ritual ascribed to Mar Severios, copied in the Middle East in 1678 A.D.

70. A *bēt gazzē* (=house of treasures, the canonical WS office for ferial days). No date, etc., copied in Kerala. WS.

71. Commentary on the Psalms ascribed to Daniel of Tella (=Daniel of Salah, Baumstark, page 179). ES. Copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner in 981 Kollam Era (=1806 A.D.).

72. Eight chapter of the *Nomocanon* of Barhebreus. ES. Copied by Mar Julius of Konat. Beginning of 19th century (or some years earlier?)

75. Grammar of Barhebreus in poetry (=the small grammar). WS. Copied in the Middle East; a rather old book (16/17 century or even older?).

76. Burial of priests. ES, copied in 1880. A very long ritual.

77. Lectionary of biblical readings of Old and New Testaments, (no gospels), copied in 1734 A. Gr. (=1423A.D.) by Basilius, Patriarch of Antioch. Measurements: 30×19 cms., 2 col., 28 lines. Completed on the 19th of *šbaṭ* (=February). The book shows marks of frequent use. Basilius was in the Jacobite Church a schismatic Patriarch (1421 - 1445 A.D.). He died in Jerusalem and our manuscript may have been brought from there to India by a Jacobite Bishop, perhaps from Jerusalem. Basilius had been Bishop of Gargar, the present Gerger in Turkey.

78. A manuscript copy of the printed Syriac grammar of the Maronite Bishop Isaac Sadrewoni copied in Kerala in 1859 A.D.

80. Book with WS anaphorae, copied in Kerala in 1858, WS.

81. Grammar of Barhebreus, copied in Kerala in 1882, WS.

82. History of Mar Ephrem, copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner, ES. c. 1800.

85. A book on the *symbolum* of the faith, by Dionysios bar Salibi, copied by Mathen Konat in 1886 A.D. WS. In the list of Konat the book is called *mawdeyonûto* = Profession of faith (cf. Baumstark, page 296, note 6).

87. Nomocanon of Barhebreus, 40 chapters (the whole book) WS. Not recent, copied in the Middle East, no date etc., concluding pages damaged.

94 & 95. Book of daily canonical prayers (*šhimo*), copied by the father of the present owner.

96. A very small booklet with a WS Psalter; according to the *List* page 66, it has c. 168 ff., $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches = $5 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ cms. My own measure: 7 cms. long. 1775 A.D.; according to the *List*: 1753. Probably Middle East.

97. A rather short book with prayers for burial of the faithful. WS, no date.

99. A grammar. ES. 18th century?

100. Liturgical and theological texts. ES. No date etc. c. 1700 A.D.?

101. Commentary on the Books of Wisdom & Psalms; also sermons. ES. c. 1700 A.D.

102. Psalms. ES. c. 1800 A.D.?

103. Questions and answers on the Gospels. ES. c. 1700 A.D.?

104. Epistles of St Paul and Catholic Epistles, ES. Copied in Kerala in 1732 A.D.

105. WS liturgical text to be used in the Eucharistic Liturgy. ES Script. No date, etc.

106. Lives of the Saints : St George ; St Gregory ; etc. ES. Copied by Joseph of Syria in 2014 A. Gr. (=1703 A.D.).

107. Copies of some letters from the Patriarch of Antioch.

109. Liturgy for Lent. ES.

110. Books of the Old Testament. According to the List..... : Gen., Ex., Lev., a part of Num. ES. c. 334 ff., 6 x 4 inches (=15 x 10 cms.), 1 col., 18 lines. (breaks off with Num. xxvii). No date etc. available.

111. Revelation of St John ; Job and other texts. ES. Copied in 1718 A.D.

113. Treatise on the seven Sacraments and Hymns of Mar Ephrem. c. 1750. ES.

114. WS liturgical prayers.

115. Theological treatises and commentary of the Our Father. c.1750-1800 A.D. ES.

116. Life of St Makarios. ES (+WS parts). c. 1800.

117. The same as 113 ES.

118. Commentary on the Our Father, etc. ES+WS ; c. 1800 A.D.

119. Syriac grammar ES, and *garšûni*.

120. Prayers, ES (some pages) c. 1800 A.D.

121. Book on the Mother of God. ES, c. 1750 - 1800 A.D.

122. WS canonical prayers for Lent.

123. Acts of the Apostles. ES. c. 1800 A.D.

124. Prayers of Lent; ES.

126. Grammar+commentaries + texts in *garsûni*. ES c.1800 A.D.

127. Burial service for priests, service of Baptism, etc. ES. Dated 1678; the book is of Catholic Chaldean origin.

128. Some books of the OT, copied by the great-grandfather of the present owner. ES and partly WS. First quarter of the 19th century.

129. WS liturgical prayers, WS. Copied by a member of the Konat family c. 1825.

130. Commentaries. ES. c. 1750-1800 A.D.

131. WS liturgical prayers, WS.

132. Psalms. ES. c. 1750. A.D.

133&134. Grammars. ES.

135. Burial service. ES.

136. A big volume with sermons in *garsûni*.

137. Burial service for priests. ES. 1741 A.D.

138. Small booklet with sermons. ES. 1710 A.D.

139. Similar to No 136. A fat book.

140. Grammar. ES. 1781 A.D.

141. Grammar with *garsûni* texts. c. 1800 A.D.

142. A book with questions and answers. ES. c. 1750.

143. Commentaries, theology. ES.

144. Dionysios *z'oro* against the "phantasma" (*hggyt'*) heresies and the Armenians. ES 18th century? Probably a treatise against the Paulicianians, a kind of Manichees, who flourished in Armenia from the 7th to the 10th century and who denied that Christ had a body of the same matter as we have; the identity of Dionysios *z'oro* is not clear to me (the name probably means Dionysios *junior*).

153. Rules and *mémre* of a Bishop John Ahubo of the Syrians. WS.

156. Book of *tānoyé* (= The Book of Laughable Stories; this work has been edited with an English translation by E.A. Wallis Budge, London 1897; reimpression New York 1976) by Barhebreus. WS. No date, etc.

158. Some prayers for Easter, burial etc. WS. 1878 A.D.

159. Prayers. ES. No date etc. Late.

160. WS prayer-book.

161. Daily canonical prayers. WS. 1861 A.D.

162. Daily canonical prayers. WS.

163. Notes on biblical passages. ES and *garšūni*. "Late" (Konat).

164. Ordination of priests and deacons and the text of Holy-Mass. Copied in the Middle East by Mar Isaac Basil, Maphrian, in 2008 A.Gr. (=1697 A.D.).

166. Psalms. WS. 1753 A.D.

171. A small booklet with stories of Makarios and other Egyptian monks. Notes on the OT. ES.

173 & 174. Books in Malayālam *garšūni*.

179. Life of Makarios. WS.

180. A small booklet with prayers. ES. c. 1700 A.D. Some WS texts were later added retaining the same binding.

181. Theological notes. ES and WS.

182. Treatise on the seven Sacraments by Petrus Qûmiz, Bishop and Doctor. ES. This Petrus was a Roman Catholic, who was Bishop, as far as I could make out, in Malacca. He must have written his work in Latin. The diocese of Malacca was erected in 1558, its Bishop was a suffragan of Goa, and therefore under the Portuguese *padroado*. Often times it had no Bishop; in 1888 it became a dependent of the archdiocesan See of Pondicherry, SW India. The relations of the diocese with the *padroado* may explain why a work written by a Latin Bishop of Malacca became known in Malabar, where it was translated into Syriac, no doubt for the use of the Catholic Chaldean clergy. Several copies of it are at present available in Kerala.

183. Prayer-book by Mar Philoxenos and prayers to the blessed Virgin Mary. ES. Philoxenos was Bishop of Mabbug (the present Manbij, about 80 Km. NE of Aleppo). According to Baumstark, p. 143, note 12, he composed various prayers. Because he was a well-known Monophysite it is clear that our manuscript was copied by a Jacobite in Kerala, still using the ES script.

184. Very small booklet with prayers. ES. Roman Catholic.

185. Grammar and Life of St George. ES. c. 1800 A.D.

186. Small booklet with prayers, for example, for burial ceremonies. ES.

188. A ritual in ES and WS writing.

189. Hymns. WS.

190. Eucharistic liturgy and other texts, on bluish paper, used in Kerala in the 19th century as is evident from a number of MSS. ES and WS.

191. WS prayer-book. 1876 A.D.

194. Same as No. 91, same year. WS.

195. Grammar. ES. c. 1800 A.D.

196. Burial service. WS. Bluish paper (see No. 190).

197. Prayers of the Holy Week. WS.

200. Part of the *Penqîto*. WS.

201. Part of the *Penqîto*. WS. 1891 A.D.

207. Commentaries on the OT by St Ephrem. WS. Copied in Kerala in 1892 A.D.

208. Lectionary: readings of the Gospel. WS. 1893 A.D.

209. Anaphorae (St Peter, Dionysios). WS.

212. Book of *zalgê* of Barhebraeus (cf. No. 62). Copied by the monk Hadia of Mosul in 2028 A.Gr. (=1697 A.D.)

213. Lectionary : readings of Gospel, copied in Kerala in 1894 by Mar Gregorios of Parumala. This Bishop is venerated in Kerala as a saint by the Syrian Orthodox community, the only one canonized in Kerala, as Fr Konat told the present writer.

215. Anaphorae, WS. Copied by one Abdul Azîz in the Middle East in 1895 A.D.

216. A slim booklet, with a history of the life of Barhebreus. WS. Copied in the Middle East. No date, etc. Appears to be recent.

217. A slim booklet with the service of Holy Mass WS. 1896 A.D.

220. Ecclesiastical History of Barhebreus, parts 1 & 2. Copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul. WS. 1894 A.D.

222. Astronomical work of Barhebreus, called *ktobo ds'loqo hawnonoya* (Book of the ascension of the intellect) WS; copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1894 A.D.

223. Philosophical work of Barhebreus called *ktobo dtegrat tegroto* (Book of the Merchandise of Merchandises) copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1896 A.D. WS.

224. Book of *sîmoto* = treasures, by the monk Jacob Bartoloyo, copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1896 A.D. It is not easy to identify this Jacob. One may guess that he was a native of the Syrian village Bartalla, also called Bartolli or Bartelli, 22 Kms. to the East of Mosul on the road to Arbil (cf. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, page 416 ss.), which is now partially Syrian Catholic, partly Jacobite. In his history of Syriac literature (Syriac ed., 1967, page 587) Patriarch Baršaum mentions a priest Jacob, son of the deacon Saka, native of Bartolli who was born in 1864, became deacon in 1906, priest in 1929 and who died in 1931; he was an author of hymns and *mémre*. He studied in his native village and in the monastery of Mar Mëtta, but he was not a monk (or a "remban", as Konat calls the author of his

"Book of Treasures"). Therefore the author was probably an other person, also mentioned by Baršaum, *op.cit.*, pp. 511-514: Jacob of Bartolli, who was Metropolitan of the monastery of Mar Matta (+1241), a monk who wrote in 1231 a book called *s'moto*=treasures, a theological compendium of dogmatics.

225. A book called *swōd sōfta* = "Divan of Wisdom", written by Barhebreus, a work of logic, physics, and metaphysics, copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1896 A.D.

226. Book of *boboto*="Pupils" (of the eye), on logic, by Barhebreus, copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1896 A.D.

227. Book of the dove by Barhebreus: on the conduct of monks (translated by A. J. Wensinck: *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove*, Leyden 1919), copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1897 A.D.

228. A book called *thûmê daslowoto* ≡ "Times for (of) the prayers", written by Patriarch Ignatius bar Wahîb (+1333), a work not mentioned by Assemani (cf. BiOr II, page 464), nor by Baumstark (cf. page 320), but recorded by Baršaum *op.cit.* p. 551 (without any indication of contents). Copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1896 A.D.; WS.

229. A book called *hewat hekmeto*="The Cream of Wisdom" the principal philosophical work of Barhebreus ("the mightiest complete system of Aristotelian philosophy in Syriac", Baumstark, page 316); part I, copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1896 A.D.; WS.

230. Commentary of Dionysios bar Salibi on the OT, beautiful *in folio* volume. WS. Copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul. 1895 A.D.

231. Commentary of Dionysios bar Salibi on the NT, beautiful *in folio* volume, WS. Copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1897 A.D.²

2. In the handwritten List of Konat, No. 230 is the commentary on the NT, copied in 1895 A.D., whereas No. 231 is the commentary on the OT, copied in 1899 A.D. Our numbers are those we quoted during our visit to the library.

232. The second part of No. 229, copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1896 A.D.

233. The *Ethicon* of Barhebraeus (mystical ethics, related to the *Ihya* of Ghazālī, the Muslim mystic) copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1899 A.D. WS. (Partial translation by A. J. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove*, Leyden 1919).

236. Syriac grammar of Barhebraeus, beautifully written in two columns with red outlines (there are more of this kind in the library of Konat). Copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1895 A.D.; WS.

237. The New Testament in the version of Thomas of Harqel, a translation from the Greek made in 515/6 by Thomas when he was an exile in Egypt, after he was expelled from his episcopal See of Mabbûg in 602 A.D. Short commentaries have been added. Copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1895 A.D.; WS.

239. An apocryphal letter, attributed to Dionysius Areopagita and purportedly written by him to Timotheus, the disciple of St Paul, on the death of the Apostles Peter and Paul (see Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der alikirchlichen Literatur*, IV, p. 289; besides the Syriac version there is also a Latin and an Armenian one). Copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1899 A.D.; WS.

240. The commentaries of Moses bar Kîfo (813-903), Bishop of Mosul and two other places (united with M.) on Baptism and the Eucharist. The book was written by bar Kîfo in 863 A.D., copied by the deacon Mathew of Mosul in 1899 A.D. WS.

260. A bulky volume with sermons for festival days, copied in the Middle East in 1724 A.D.; WS. Authors of the sermons are Fathers like St John Chrysostom and others. The copyist was a certain monk 'Abdelnûr.

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261. The four Gospels, copied by Mar Cyril, Bishop of Anjoor in 1792 A.D. (the list of independent Bishops of Anjoor begins in 1771; the first and the second were both named Kurillos).

268 & 269. WS. Insignificant.

271. Parts of the *Penq̄tto*, WS, copied in 1908 A.D.

283. Theological treatises, written by the Katholikos Mar Simon and by Basilius. Copied by Fr Mathew, Kerala, in 1912 A.D.; WS.

289. Book of ordination services, copied by a Mar Dionysios Abdelnūr in 2133 A.Gr. (=1822 A.D.).

303. A book called by Konat *Sobo Rabo*, written by "Mar James", containing meditations for monks and copied in Kerala. No date etc. WS.

305. A biblical dictionary written by a monk Abdukos and others, and copied by a deacon named 'Abdul 'Azîz in 2204 A.Gr. (=1693 A.D.).

These are the titles of the manuscripts in the library of the Konat family at Pampākuda. The list gives us an idea of its riches. Most of the books are West-Syriac works or writings, though a good number of them were copied in ES script, used by the Syrian Orthodox community until c. 1825. Not a few volumes seem to have been brought to Kerala mainly from the Middle East, by Bishops and their companies. Other copies were especially ordered from India for the library in Pampākuda, such as the beautiful volumes copied by the deacon Mathew in Mosul. The member of the Konat family who ordered them wished to possess copies of the best works of classical WS authors, above all Barhebreus and bar Salibi. The library was evidently built up with care and love for tradition. A good number of books it contains are also to be found in other places in Kerala. In Kerala WS tradition is not more than three centuries old and in those years it needed time to develop.

This is the reason why one does not find in the library of Pampākuda the same variety of quite old and important manuscripts that one finds in the old libraries of monasteries and prelates in the Middle East. Besides that one should not forget that a number of valuable volumes left the country and are now treasures of European libraries, as we shall see in the following pages.

L. Manuscripts in Private Possession

1. On December 26th, 1974, I visited a young Jacobite Bishop, named Mar Geevarghese Gregoriose Metropolitan of Perunpally (that is how he wrote his name on his photo which he gave me), who had been ordained shortly before by the Jacobite Patriarch Mar Ya'qūb in Baghdad as a "missionary Bishop" (a word used by the Patriarch in a conversation I had with him at Baghdad in the beginning of 1974). He was constructing a church and after the service which he conducted he showed me his manuscripts. There were only a few, the usual WS official prayer books, but also what remained of a once beautiful copy of the Old Testament, ES. The beginning and the end were missing. The book may have been a part of the OT; 17/18th century? He showed me another MS in ES script, of not much importance, the contents of which I unfortunately forget.

2. In 1974 I was in the vicinity of a small place called Anchalpetty, where I was the guest of a convent of sisters of the Imitation of Christ (not far from Muvattupuzha). There I was presented with a WS Manuscript, containing the office for the burial of priests. It has 88 ff. of bluish paper, preceded by 4 blank leaves and followed by 5 other blank ones at the end of another kind of paper (white to yellowish), $20 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 16 lines, WS. The book once belonged to the priet Abraham Konat of the flock (*mar'ito*) of *gdsymwn* (= Gadsimôn? This may mean Gethsemani, cf. the various ways this word is sometimes written, Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 658). Many pages are decorated with line-drawings

nicely filled up with colours, in the oriental way. There are no representations except a cross at the beginning. The colophon at the end says that the book was completed on a Friday, the 2nd of *Tammūz* (July) of the year 1848 A.D. by the priest Abraham of the family Kāttadi, also called Nedū-maṭm, of the church of the Mother of God at Kandanāt, in the southern "cell" of the church. After this colophon someone else has written on the following page in rather vulgar Syriac characters: "In the hour of death. Remember, Jesus: I believe in one God; the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amīn. Remember me, O Lord Jesus Christ when Thou comest in Thy Kingdom with thy angels and with thy saints Amīn." The book has rubrics in *garšūni*; the writing is clear, though the copyist was not an experienced calligrapher. The vowel signs are of the ES type, but here and there some WS ones have been added, probably later and by another hand. The book has been executed with much care; the copyist may have followed a model copied in the Middle East; from this book he may also have copied his designs.

3. On February 9, 1979, I visited Father Thomas Arayathinal (+1980), the author of an "Aramaic" [=Syriac] grammar in two parts (Mannanam 1957, 1959), in his house at Arivithura (near Palai, Kerala). He had some manuscripts in a very dilapidated state; among them were the remains of a commentary of Išo'dad of Merw, Nestorian Bishop of Hdatta (9th century), famous for his commentaries on Holy Scripture (OT&NT). There was no colophon (it may have disappeared); according to the script the book was probably copied in the 18th cent. The three other MSS he had were in an even worse state than the commentary of Išo'dad. One was completely in Malayālam *garšūni*. Fr Arayathinal was one of the few Kerala priests I met who could read *garšūni*; some other priests who could not read it even denied that it had anything to do with Malayālam!

4. Quite a number of manuscripts in private possession are mentioned in the two editions of K.N.Daniel's *A Critical Study of Primitive Liturgies, especially that of St. James* (Kottayam 1937, 213 pages; revised and enlarged edition Tiruvalla 1949, 267 pages). The author seems to have been a Protestant; in 1981 I was told that he is no more alive. His book is very useful and contains, among others, 20 facsimiles of Kerala Syriac Manuscripts, besides a number of passages of these manuscripts translated by the author or even quoted in Syriac. The aim of K.N.Daniel was clearly apologetic: he wanted to disprove the Syrian Orthodox eucharistic doctrine (not to speak of the Roman Catholic one). In accordance with the scope of his book he was mainly interested in manuscripts and books containing the text of the eucharistic liturgy. On pages 27-34 of the 2nd edition (the one we quote in the following passages) he enumerates not less than 124 manuscripts in Kerala and 6 in the British Museum in London. Seven of these MSS are *diakonika*: they provide the texts for the deacon and the people. On page 35 this list is followed by another one, enumerating 11 manuscripts which have only the text of Baptism, which is also to be found in 34 of the other manuscripts. Besides manuscripts Daniel quotes also a number of editions, translations, commentaries, articles and works of general interest. He quotes 4 copies of the commentary on the liturgy by Moses bar Kîfo, found by him in Pampākuda, Kallōpara, Kuruppumpadi, Alwaye, (Syrian Seminary). Not all the manuscripts quoted by our author were copied in Kerala, some are from the Near East. Of the 177 manuscripts of the Eucharistic liturgy 29 are in ES ("Chaldean") script, the rest is WS. The author is specially interested in what he calls "the liturgy of St James", that is, the WS anaphora which bears this name, the first and the most solemn of all; to be used in great solemnities, ordinations, etc.

Only in the case of a few books Daniel was able to indicate the date they were copied: No. 50, a liturgy in ES script, was copied in 1767 A.D. and found at Valur; No. 76 was copied "in excellent handwriting" in 1795 A.D. and was found at Kalloopara. Both liturgies are evidently WS. No. 72 is a WS liturgy belonging to a Mar Thoma priest at Kallisery, in which is a note written "by the Jacobite Patriarch of Jerusalem, who visited the church of Kallisery in 1850 A.D., and a seal of a prelate who came from Syria" (Daniel, page 30). The other books are not dated, but an approximate date can be given to some, because they are said to be the autographs of authors known to have lived in the 19th century. Only three of the facsimiles are in ES script: two found in the library of the autocephalous Metropolitan of Anjoor-Thozhioor (*op.cit.*, pages 105-107) and another one in possession of a priest at Omallur (page 133, cf. page 29). The three facsimiles represent parts of the WS liturgy. A page of a manuscript (Daniel, page 131) copied by Yoyakim Mar Kurillos from the Tûr Abdîn, who was in Kerala from 1846-1874, exhibits a part of the "prayers which immediately precede the anaphora, with the prayer of the washing of the hands of the priest. Another page of the same manuscript is represented on page 213; it contains text of the first part of an anaphora, with a not very common prayer of the priest: "On high, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, the Father, must be our minds and our thoughts and our hearts!" This manuscript is nicely written in rather thick WS characters, 13 lines to a page. On page 211 we find a facsimile of another manuscript, used by the same Mar Kurillos, written in an almost or (completely) identical hand; the text is written in two columns, and the left is Arabic *garšûni*; 16 lines.

Unfortunately, the late K. N. Daniel (whose orthography we followed in quoting his book) nowhere says how he came to know about the existence of such a large number of manuscripts, nearly all belonging to individual priests in

various places of Kerala ; he must have made a long search and undertaken quite a number of travels. He does not mention any large library, not even that of the Konat family at Pampākuda, from which he mentions only two manuscripts: a liturgy with *diakonika* + the ritual of Baptism, and a *diakonika* in ES script (Daniel's Nos. 41&42)

For the purpose of the present book the series of manuscripts drafted by the late K. N. Daniel confirms what we knew already: the WSeucharistic liturgy was practised in Kerala long before the ES script got out of use; Daniel's manuscript in this script make up about 25% of the total. Nearly all his books were found with individual priests. It confirms what we saw before that each individual priest procured for himself copies of the liturgical books he needed and, if possible, copied them himself. It is clear that a number of manuscripts, not mentioned in this book, may still be found with private owners (mostly priests) or their families. Once we visited the widow of a deceased *choriskopa*; she showed us a chest containing some books of her late husband, all of which were in a very bad state and of no interest. Most of them were his liturgical books, but they were not many. The hot and damp climate of Kerala is not favourable for the preservation of manuscripts, the value of which is generally unknown to their possessors.

CHAPTER IV

LIBRARIES IN EUROPE

In this chapter we will describe the Syriac manuscripts copied in Kerala and now preserved in European libraries (outside Europe there seem to be none). All of them are described in the various official catalogues and it is not our intention simply to repeat or to extract what can readily be found there. We saw and studied all the manuscripts personally and because of this we are able in the following pages, to give details which one cannot find in the catalogues. We describe only those things which serve the scope of this work: to illustrate the spiritual and ecclesiastical history of the Christians of St Thomas from their Syriac texts.

A. Vatican Library, Rome

The history of the formation of the most ancient collection of Oriental manuscripts, including the Syriac ones, in the Vatican Library (founded 15-6-1475 by Pope Sixtus IV) has been described in a masterly and fascinating way by Georgio Levi della Vida in his *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della biblioteca Vaticana* (=Studi e Testi 92; Città del Vaticano 1939; *Appendice*: Studi e Testi 143, Città del Vaticano 1948). In this work we find important data on old Syriac manuscripts from Kerala and on the way they became part of the Vatican collections. A good number of these volumes once belonged to the unhappy Chaldean Bishop Mar Joseph, brother of Patriarch Sulaqa, who has copied some of them

himself. Mar Joseph ended his life in Rome (or on the way to the eternal City) in 1569 and the collection of books he had taken with him on his last journey was finally acquired by the Vatican Library, "perhaps by the application of the *ius spoli*" as Levi della Vida cautiously puts it (*op.cit.*, p. 189). "Perhaps", because we do not know it.

1. Vat Syr 2. A volume of 177 ff.+an additional f. (f. 76 bis), $3 \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ cms., one col., 29-31 lines. See also *List*, page 42. Contains the Pentateuch. According to the colophon the MS was completed in the church of the blessed mary, "Mother of light and life" at Angamali, on a Monday, 9 *Iyar* (=May), in the year 1588 A.D., 1869 A.Gr., 733 Kulam (in this order) by a priest and monk (*qaššiša wihidaya*) who does not mention his name. This is revealed by a possessor of the book, named David, who calls the copyist rabban *qaššiša Giwargīs* (in an additional note facing the beginning of Genesis). Beautiful hand, few vowel signs. In the colophon the copyist confesses his faith in the Holy Trinity "one in nature, which habitated in the holy temple of our race which He had associated with Him and in which he habitated in a wonderful way... in one Person (*paršōpa*) of two natures, divine and human, which associated themselves voluntarily into one union of one unmixed Lordship..." The terminology of this confession of faith is somewhat clumsy, because "Trinity", in Syriac a feminine word is followed by verbs in the masculine form, referring obviously to the divine Person of (in) Christ. The terminology of this confession of faith is partly reminiscent of the Christology of the "Church of the east" (Nestorian), partly of Catholic doctrine. According to some Nestorian doctors the whole Trinity inhabited the human *qnōma* (person) of Christ (cf. M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. V [1935], p.195 ss.) and of this idea the words quoted above are certainly reminiscent. But the influence of Catholic theology on the author of the colophon is also evident. The fact that he was

a monk does not prove that the Church of the East had monasteries in Kerala; one could be a monk living alone, like the *rambans* nowadays, of the Jacobite community.

2. Vat Syr 3. This is the second volume of the work of which Vat Syr 2 is the first one, though it was completed earlier; 239 ff., 30×20 cms., 30-31 lines, 1 col., ES. This time the copyist mentions his name: Giwargis; he completed his work on the 26th of *Kanām* II (January), 1588 A.D. The volume contains Jos.; Kings; Prov.; Sir.; Eccles.; Ruth; Cant.; Job; Susanna. See *List*, p. 42.

3. Vat Syr 4. A volume of 285 ff., 20×15½ cms., 1 col., 21-24 lines; 6 pages are blank. ES. It was completed on a Tuesday, the 18th of *Sbat* (February), 1556 A.D. by a priest named Jacob, disciple of Mar Jacob, the well-known Bishop of Malabar of the 1st half of the 16th century. It was copied in the church of Mar Sabor and Mar Prôt (*sic*) in the village of Parur and contains Is.; the XII Minor Prophets; Jer.; Lam.; Ez.; Dan.; BelDr.; some lacunae. The colophon is on f. 278 rv. and Assemani remarks that it contains so many grammatical errors, that it was clear for him that the copyist had a poor knowledge of Syriac. This however applies only to the copyist of the colophon, who is not the man who copied the book, clearly written by another hand. The saints Mar Sabor and Mar Prôt (*sic*) were proscribed by the Synod of Diamper (Actio VIII, Decr. 25; there the names of the saints are written Mar-Xabro&Mar-Prodh); they were very popular in Kerala because they had lived in the country. See also Assemani, BiOr III, p. 442 and the *List*, p. 43.

4. Vat Syr 17. A volume of 480 ff. (478+2), 15×10½ cms., 1 col., 21-23 lines. ES. It was completed on the 6th of *Adar* (March) of the year 1821 A.Gr. (1510 A.D.) and copied by Mar Jacob "Bishop of Hindo", who arrived in S.India in 1504 A.D., "in the blessed and famous place Sangalla (Assemani transcribes *Scigala*) which is called *qrwngalur*

(=Cranganur) which is in Malabar in the country of India", in the church of St Thomas of that place. It contains the complete ES New Testament: IV Gospels; Acts; James; Peter; 1 John; XIV Epistles of St Paul (in this order). In John the passage of the adulterous woman is lacking (John 8, 1-11), as usual. A photocopy of one side of f.94 of this MS is given in Hatch, *Album*, Pl. CLXXX (Mark 12, 16-25). This is the only manuscript known to have been copied by Mar Jacob himself; MS Syr 25 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is not his, as we shall see. Between f. 477 and f. 478 a leaf has been taken away. On f.477v., line 12, a word has been erased in the middle of the line, which may have been done by Mar Jacob himself who sometimes made mistakes in copying. The Bishop performed his work "for his blessed son and pure deacon and trusty levite...Giwargîs, son of the noble Joseph, son of Giwargîs...of the blessed village *mnwr*"; he prays that the Lord may give the reader to profit from the contents "by the prayers of the blessed Mart Maryam (=the blessed Virgin Mary) and the Apostle St Thomas."

5. Vat Syr 22. 94 ff., $35\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 22 lines, 2 col., written in ES (estrangelo) script. According to its colophon it was copied in 1612 A. Gr. (=1301 A.D.) "in the royal town of Sengala, in Malabar, in the country of India". Sengala must be identified with Cranganore, some 25 kms. to the north of Ernakulam, near the seacoast, the place where St Thomas is supposed to have landed when he arrived in India. To commemorate this event there is now a monument with a relic of the saint, blessed by Card. E. Tisserant on 6-12-1953 and constructed by the Syro-Malabar CMI Carmelites. At the time of the copyist the See of Mar Jacob, Bishop Metropolitan "superintendent (*gayyôma*) and ruler of the See of the holy apostle Mar Thomas, our ruler and (ruler) of the whole Christian Church of India" (f. 93v.) seems to have been established in this place.

The MS is the oldest one known to have been copied in Kerala. Levi della Vida remarks that it was rebound in "legatura europea" of the 16th century (*op.cit.*, p. 176). On the first leaf, of the same time as the binding and added to the book, mention is made of Portuguese personalities; whereas a European hand of the 16th century wrote in Italian an indication of the contents: "The epistles for the Sundays of St Paul for the whole year in Chaldean characters and language." This is followed by a note in small ES script, attributed by L.d.V. to Mar Joseph (*op.cit.*, p. 526; see also tavola X, 2). The note indicates the readings of Genesis and Isaiah for the 1st Sunday of *sûbara* (=Advent; Gen 17, 1 ss.; Is 42, 18 ss.). This is followed in somewhat thicker characters by the Portuguese name Gela Fonseca, the pronunciation of which is secured by the addition of an Arabic *gim* under the *g* and *fa* under the *p*. The book may have been in the hands of the Portuguese and given by the pious Gela to Mar Joseph, who took it with him on his last journey to Rome. The copyist was a young boy of 14 years, already a deacon and called Zakharya bar Joseph bar Zakharya; he knew Syriac pretty well, though he denies he had any knowledge of the language. The latter probably means that he could not speak it well, as older well-instructed members of the clergy certainly could. Even in recent years I have met Jacobite priests who could speak Syriac. His Patriarch, "Katholikos-Patriarch" of the Church of the East is called by him Yahballaha III, whereas in reality he was the 5th of this name, while he gets from him the surname *Tûrkaya* = the Turk. He was an *Uighur* of the Far East; the *Uighurs* were of Turkish stock and were considered as "Turks", a more common name.

The famous book contains, as is well-known, a lectionary for the readings of St Paul in the eucharistic liturgy of Sundays, feasts and commemorations of the whole ecclesiastical year according to the rite of the church of Kokhe (=the cathedral church of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, See of the

Patriarchs of the Church of the East in earlier times). This rite is different from the one of the "High Monastery", so often quoted in Syriac MSS in Kerala and is therefore of particular interest. The new rite seems to have been introduced between the 14th and the 17th centuries, maybe in the beginning of the 16th. But this is only a hypothesis, nothing more.

The readings of St Paul for the Sundays of the whole year are followed by those for "votive Masses" as they would have been called in the Latin rite: 1. for the dedication of a new church; 2. for the dedication of an old church; 3. for the commemoration of the Patriarch Aqaq, Babay, Shila and the other Patriarchs buried in the church of Kôkhê; 4 and 5. when there is no rain; 6 and 7. in the time of famine; 8 and 9. in the time of an earthquake; 10. for deceased Bishops; 11. for deceased Bishops and excellent priests; 12. for a priest who was a *malpānā* (doctor); 13. for deacons, scholars and monks; 14. in the time of plague; 15. when one becomes an Archdeacon; 16. when one becomes a new doctor; 17. for the Patriarch; 18. for the commemoration of St Sirin, martyr; 19. for the commemoration of St Thomas; 20. for the commemoration of St George; 21. for the commemoration of St Sabrîsho, *qatôlîqā*; 22. for the commemoration of St Shamônî and her sons (cf. 2 Macc. 7; Jewish martyr is very famous in the Syriac Churches); 23. commemoration of St Sila *abbêla* (= "the weeper", surname of a monk or anchorite); 24. commemoration of St Petyôn, (very famous Persian martyr, beheaded in 447 A D.); 25. commemoration of Mar Mari, the Apostle; 26. Commemoration of one person: a martyr or any saint as epistle for the commemoration of St Qûryakôs (Cyriacus) has been indicated by a later hand (in the margin). Indication of the whole series of epistles are given by Assemani, Catalogue, Vol. II, p.174 ss.

Specimens of the MS are to be found in E. Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium* (Bonn, 1914), Pl. 34a and in Hatch, *Album*, Pl. CLXXV (reproduction of folio 55v, Col. 1, 6-16).

7. Vat Syr 45. A volume of 185 ff. 179 written ff., followed by 4 blank ones and preceded by two others, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 18 lines. ES. According to the colophon it was copied by "Joseph, Bishop and Metropolitan" from a manuscript written by a Rabban Abraham *mal'pāna* (doctor) of the school "which is in the church of the blessed Mar Akha...in the blessed region of Gazarta Zabdayta" in 1840 A.Gr. (=1529 A.D.). It was completed on the 18th of *Tammūz* (July) 1867 A.Gr. (=1556 A.D.) in the town of *msmbyk* (Mozambique) in East Africa. Mar Joseph had been consecrated not long before July 1556 and was on his way to his See in Malabar.

The text is what we call a *Pontifical* and contains the prayers meant to be used by a Bishop for various blessings, ordinations and consecrations; the blessing of the altar with or without oil and solutions of various difficulties; ordination of deacons, priests, Archdeacons, Bishops, Patriarchs; vestition of monks and tonsure of monks and nuns; ordination (*syamīda*=imposition of hands) of a deaconess; institution of the head of a monastery. These texts are followed by three poems composed in the honour of the Patriarch-Martyr Sūlaqa, brother of Mar Joseph; the canons of Dionysios bar Salibi on confession, with a formula of absolution translated from the Latin one; prayers for the sick; prayers when a Bishop enters or leaves a monastery; blessings for an archimandrite and for students; an admonition concerning the time of the administration of holy orders.

The three poems related to Sūlaqa are described by Assemani in his BiOr I, p.527 ss. and 539-542; their author is Abdišo, Metropolitan of Gazarta and according to Assemani they contain three passages "quae Nestorianan haeresim sapiunt" (*op.cit.*, p.540). In the 1st Passage Christ is said to exist in two persons (*qnōmē*), in the 2nd and 3rd, the Name of Nestorius is mentioned with honour as a saintly

man and in the 2nd S.Cyril is put on the same level as Bar Mama, responsible for the murder of Sûlaqa. Assemani remarks that in a MS of Amîd, copied in 1603 A.D., the objectionable passages are lacking and he concludes that they were added by a later hand. This seems very questionable, and does not alter the fact that Joseph copied them. According to the ideas of his contemporaries and of Assemani this was clearly a sign of Nestorianism. But Mar Joseph may have found it difficult to leave them out, since he found them in the text he copied. He may also not have understood the whole purport of the words he found in his copy and the possible consequences of his copying them. In the 3rd passage the author of the poem says to Sûlaqa: "Go, be a neighbour (*šbābā*) of the persecuted Nestorius and of that famous John" (Chrysostom). Assemani finds the faith (=Christology) of Mar Joseph "dubious" (Cat II, p.305).

When Joseph writes that the exemplar of his codex was copied in "the church" of Mar Aḥa, this means that it was written in one of the adjacent rooms or in the monastery (the same locution is even now in use). Probably this was no other than the monastery of Mar Aḥa, for which see also what will be said on Vat Syr 66. It is clear that the whole Vat Syr 45 contained more than its exemplar copied in 1529, because the poems on Sûlaqa were composed some 20 years or more later. Mar Joseph did probably not realize what it meant to take the book with the questionable texts to Rome, where it could easily fall into the hands of the Inquisition.

8. Vat Syr 46. A volume of 129 numbered ff. and 1 not numbered; $20\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ cms., 1 col., 18-20 lines. ES. A number of pages are blank. There is no dated colophon and Assemani remarks that the handwriting seems to be that of Bishop Mar Joseph, the copyist of preceding MS. Levi della Vida accepts this ("probabilmente...scritto di mano del Metropolita Mār Yōsef", *op.cit.*, p. 180). It is a *Pontifical*, containing various blessings and ceremonies not found in Vat Syr 45,

followed by the canonical office of Easter and various hymnical compositions. It ends with a formula of the absolution of heretics who revert to Nestorianism, prescribed by the famous and vigorous Patriarch Išoyahb III (661-680/1). Before this formula the MS has some blank pages (f. 114 v - 121r) and the formula itself is written in a much more vigorous handwriting than the *Pontifical*. Because of this there are good reasons to doubt whether the (Nestorian) text of the absolution was copied by Mar Joseph; it was done by somebody else. But because the MS most probably belonged to the collection of books Mar Joseph took with him on his last journey (for Levi della Vida this is even certain, *op.cit.*, p. 180), the identity of the person who added the the words of the absolution at the end of the codex remains a mystery. The absolution was clearly meant for those who repudiated the Jacobite Church, since it anathematizes St Cyril of Alexandria and the famous Monophysite Patriarch Severus of Antioch.

9. Vat Syr 62. A volume of 132 numbered ff. (quires of 12 ff.), $20\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ cms., 1 col., 20 lines. ES. It contains 27 of 28 *qalê d'udranê* of the canonical office of the Church of the East ("hymns of help"). They are also to be found in the printed *hudras* of Trichur and P. Bedjan, at the end of each of the three volumes, before the Psalter. In our MS hymn 26 is left out, not in the two *hudras*. Assemani and Levi della Vida think that the MS was copied by Mar Joseph, but to the present writer this seems more than doubtful, even wrong. The handwriting is much more vigorous than that of Mar Joseph and from the graphological point of view it points to a scribe with a more energetic character than Mar Joseph's. Moreover the script is not fully identical with the one of Mar Joseph: the characters are more bent towards the left, where this is possible and others, like *şade* and *taw* have a somewhat different form. Was Mar Elia, the companion of Mar Joseph on his first journey and later Metro-

politan of Amîd (Diarbekr) perhaps the copyist? If not we ignore for the moment his identity.

10. Vat Syr 65. A volume of 89 ff., of which two are blank; $16\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 18 lines. ES. The contents are various: order of baptism; order of the renewal of the leaven, called *malka* on Maundy Thursday (according to the Nestorian tradition a part of the eucharistic bread consecrated by our Lord at the Last Supper was used as a leaven for the next Eucharist, and so on until the present day); a calendar to find the dates for mobile feasts; the various epochs of the world and some important dates of history (among them: the death of the Emperor Constantine and of St Ephrem, followed immediately by the year of the consecration of Nestorius as Patriarch of Byzantium and of the Nestorian Baršauma as Bishop of Nisibis, 435 A.D.); the years of Christ (taken from a work written by Abdišo of Nisibis); an answer to the question how many times our Lord celebrated the feast of Easter after his Baptism (answer: four times); models for the headings of letters to be written to various persons of high and low rank; blessing of polluted water; metrical texts; text for letters to ask for alms from the faithful for a monastery or a church.

There is no colophon, but the handwriting is doubtless that of Bishop Mar Joseph. A date in the "calendar" indicates that the MS was copied in 1868 A. Gr. (=1556/57 A.D.), when Mar Joseph had not yet arrived in his diocese (he arrived in Goa in the second half of 1556, coming from Mozambique and he was released from Bassein only in the second half of 1568). From the way Nestorius is quoted it is clear that Mar Joseph appreciated him in a special way, and also Baršauma.

11. Vat Syr 66. A volume of 133 ff., 20×15 cms., 1 col., 19-20 lines. ES. The main part of this MS, f.11-100, is a *Pontifical*; for the consecration of an altar; the ordi-
13]

nation of priests and deacons; the clothing of monks; the tonsure of monks and nuns, etc. It was copied by a monk of the monastery of Mar Aḥa of the diocese of Gazarta in Mesopotamia. A note on f.37 says that this was written on a Thursday, the 23rd of *Elāl* (September), 1840 A.Gr. (=1529 A.D.). The book had been ordered by Mar Gabriel, Metropolitan of Gazarta and was copied from a codex written by a deacon named Brîka son of Said the Baghdâdi, *malpân* (doctor, teacher) in the school of the church of Hamdân, in 1587 A.Gr. (=1276 A.D.). In 1856 A.Gr. it belonged to Hananišo, Metropolitan of Gazarta, brother of Patriarch Sim'on (=Sim'on VII bar Mama, 1538-1551? cf. note on f.98v.), who must have inherited the book from his predecessor and have given it to Mar Joseph on his way to India. Mar Joseph added the text of the actual ff. 1-10, on which he wrote a text of the administration of Holy Orders according to the Latin rite in Syriac language. It is known that during the time Mar Joseph was detained in one or more monasteries in the region of Bassein, to the north of Bombay, he was taught Latin and the Latin liturgical ceremonies; on Easter Sunday 1557 he even celebrated Mass according to the Latin rite and in the same monastery he may have been induced to render the prayers and ceremonies for the administration of Holy Orders into Latin, helped by the Franciscans. Assemani points to at least one mistake: it seems that Mar Joseph identified the Latin *exorcists* with the *psalmists* of his own rite; his formula of this ordination is quite different from the Latin one.

ff. 106 ss. at the end are also from the hand of Mar Joseph. They contain the text of the eucharistic liturgies of the Apostles and of Theodore; the *qālta* of the canonical office of *lelya* for ferial days when the Eucharist is celebrated (the *qālta*, diminutive of *qālā* = hymn, consists of two verses of a hymn followed by a part of a psalm

and is said at *lelya* after the psalms) and some *hâtamaē* (final blessings). On f. 101r we find the formula of the eucharistic consecration, in accordance with the Latin rite and totally lacking in the Mass of the Holy Apostles. Whereas the anaphora of the Apostles has certainly been copied by Mar Joseph, the present writer has doubts with regard to the one of Theodore.

The order of the tonsure of monks of the main text, not copied by Mar Joseph, contains the praise of quite a number of holy monks of the Church of East and West and also a series of doctors of the Church concluding with Diodorus, Theodorus and Nestorius (f. 78 r). In the text for the tonsure of nuns, the blessed Virgin Mary is called "Mother of Christ."

Excursus: In the preceding pages of this book, we have already drawn attention to the importance of the episcopal See and the monasteries of Gazarta for the ecclesiastical history of the Christians of St Thomas in the 16th century. Of special importance was the monastery of Mar Aḥa. In the colophon on f. 94r etc. of Vat Syr 66 the location of this monastery is indicated with the following words: "...written under the shelter of the blessed Mar Aḥa, the natural brother of Mar John the Egyptian, of the disciples of the divine man: the blessed Mar Awgîn; their habitation was constituted by the Lord Spirit on the blessed mountain, resembling the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem, called the Mountain of the Monasteries, lying on the bank of the Tigris, the river of Eden, in the neighbourhood of the castle of Penek, which is in the region of Gazarta Zabdayta" (text also in Assemani, *Catalogue*...page 370). Because of the importance of this monastery we wish to locate it more exactly.

Gertrude Bell, who visited the place, as we saw already, knows Penek as Finik (*Five Months in the Garden of Eden*, London 1911, page 296, note, and page 298), and there she

saw ruins of "castles" but not of a monastery. Finik lies near the place where the Tigris bursts through the last barrier of mountains which separates the country to the north of it from the Mesopotamian plain. To the west are the mountains now called Tûr'Abdîn ("Mountain of the Servants", that is, of God, the monks), most certainly identical with the "Mountain of the Monasteries", mentioned in the above quoted colophon. J.M.Fiey, O.P., in his *Assyrie Chrétienne*, II, p.738, locates Penek on the east bank of the Tigris, 12 kms. north-west of Gazarta. Fiey knows of a church of Mar Aḥa and Mar John at Dera ("monastery") near Penek at a distance of 9 kms. from Gazarta, on the left bank of the river (*op.cit.*, p.729). From this we may conclude that it was situated 3 kms. to the south of Penek-Finik. This small place lies in a side gorge of the Tigris, and its "castle", mentioned above, had a military scope in a strategically important region. Xenophon and his men had seen it and it is also mentioned by the Arabian geographer Yaqût, III, 920.

12. Vat Syr 85. A volume of 105 ff., 30×20 cms., 24 lines, ES. It contains the canonical office for ferial days except those of Lent, according to the rite of the "High Monastery" of Mosul. The colophon, f. 104v.-105r., informs us that the codex was copied at Angamali by a priest Simon, son of Simon, born at Angamali, in the church of the blessed Virgin Mary "Mother of Light and Life"; it was completed on a Tuesday, the 15th of *Kanûn* 1 (December), in the year 1562 A.D. The copyist calls his book a *kaskôl*. The text is nearly identical with the one of the printed editions of Trichur and Bedjan, except for some divergences regarding the commemoration of saints. Here and there the writing presents typical round forms, reminiscent of Malayâlam.

13. Vat Syr 86&87. These MSS are mentioned here because Levi della Vida is certain that they once belonged

to the small library Mar Joseph of India took with him on his latest journey (*op.cit.*, p.187). He comes to this conclusion from the way they must have entered (according to him) the Vatican library, but he advances no other arguments. The books themselves do not contain any indication of the time and place of the copyist. The last leaves of the 1st volume have been torn out, but on f.212 one still reads: "... and remember Mattay and his family, O sir Reader". Mattay may have been the name of the copyist, but this is all we can conjecture.

Both volumes are parts of the *ḥudra* of the Church of the East. The first volume begins with the first Sunday of *Sūbara* (Advent), the second one with the Sunday after Easter. That Mar Joseph had a *ḥudra* with him, that is, the books which contain the canonical office for Sundays, feast days and Lent, would certainly agree with his pious character. But even if Vat Syr 86&87 had belonged to him, he may have taken them with him when he left Mesopotamia. Assemani assigns Vat Syr 86 to the 16th century, whereas Vat Syr 87, entirely without colophon, is assigned by him to the 15th century.

14. Vat Syr 88. A volume of 214 ff., $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ cms., 1 col., 18 lines. ES. Thin paper. It contains the canonical office to be recited by the *ḥīdayē sarwayē* in their cells. These Syriac words seem to mean "monks (who are) novices", as Assemani translates (*monachorum tyronorum*). One might ask whether the second word should not be read *sarōyē* = dwellers, but it seems reasonable to trust Assemani. The monasteries of the Church of the East were mostly *laurae*, in which the cenobitic life was combined with that of the anchorites, living in cells in the neighbourhood of the community-building. The solitary life was the ideal: the years a monk passed in the community had to be a preparation for the lonely life in a cell not far away, which the anchorite would only leave at the week-ends, to participate

in the canonical office and the eucharistic liturgy of the Sundays. Our MS contains the canonical office prescribed for those who were still "novices" in the solitary life. Besides the canonical office for weekdays, there is another one for Sundays; directions for the reading of the New Testament (which was one of the occupations of the monks in their cells); nine *Questions and Answers* on psalmody; admonitions for monks; the blessing of polluted water; the making of Holy water; didactical homilies (*madraṣé*) on penance; an anthem for special occasions.

The manuscript has been copied by Mar Joseph of India, Bishop and Metropolitan, in 1868 A. Gr. (=1567 A.D.) and was completed by him on a Thursday, the 28th of *Kanûn* 2, on the isle of Salsette, situated, as he says, at a distance "of two leagues, that is 8 miles, from Bassein" (colophon; c. 12 kms.?). The isle of Salsette, still bearing the same name, is situated to the north of Bombay and is formed by the Thana and Bassein Creeks, which meet about 4 kms. to the north of Thana; Bassein lies at the northern mouth of the Bassein Creek; about 32 kms. north of Bombay. When he was detained on this isle, early after his arrival in India, Mar Joseph spent his time in praying and copying; for Vat Syr 89 he used a copy of the *ṭûksa* (ordinances) of a monk called Rabban Fransa. In this office the famous Nestorian trio: Diodorus, Theodorus, Nestorius is several times honourably mentioned, not to speak of other Nestorian saints. But in the colophon (f. 200 r) Mary is called "the mother of our God, Lord, King, Saviour and Vivifier Jesus Christ." It seems probable that this expression was already in use in Mesopotamia, after the union of a fraction of the Nestorian Church with the Church of Rome.

15. Vat Syr 89. A volume of 151 ff., 16.2×11.2 cms., 1 col., 18 lines. ES. The MS contains the Hymns of the Martyrs, which are recited or sung in the canonical office of the Church of the East toward the end of *ramṣa* (evening

prayer) and *ṣapra* (morning-prayer); the order of betrothal; the blessing of the vestments of the spouses; the blessing of the crowns used in the marriage ceremony; nine hymns of Kamīs bar Qardaḥe, a Nestorian author of the 13/14th century; *ḥutama* (final blessing); Syriac text of the administration of the seven Holy Orders, taken and translated from the Latin rite (according to Assemani, who knew Syriac and Latin perfectly, this was done *perperam ut plurimum*, that is, "very bad, as so often"); a treatise on the eucharistic sacrifice (*qurbana*).

The MS has no colophon, nor any explicit indication of its date or copyist, but already Assemani has remarked that the handwriting is of Mar Joseph, and that the book has been copied "circa annum 1529"; the latter is doubtless a printer's error for 1559. Mar Joseph was not the only copyist; ff.49v-93r are clearly written by another hand. Because of this change of handwriting in the midst of continuous texts, we can only conclude that Mar Joseph had collaborated with somebody else in copying the book. Was it perhaps Mar Eliah, the later Bishop of Amīd, Mar Joseph's companion of confinement in Bassein, who accompanied him on his journey to India by order of his Patriarch? This seems to be the best hypothesis.

In the hymn of *ṣapra* of Thursday we find again the names of the well-known trio: Diodorus, Theodorus and Nestorius; in the next strophe they are followed by those of Ephrem, Narsai and Abraham (f.24r). The same text is still found in the Nestorian office. In *ramṣa* of Friday we find a long series of predominantly Nestorian saints, opening with the trio just mentioned. Assemani does not mention that the name of Nestorius was erased at least twice (f.29v; 46r); on f.46r Nestorius is commemorated between Narsai and Mar Aba. On f.79r the name of Nestorius has been covered with ink; only the first and the last letter can be identified. Because it is not probable that

the erasures were made in Rome or in the Vatican Library, we may suppose that they were made by Mar Joseph himself, when the copy was still in his possession.

16. Vat Syr 99. This codex contains mostly West-Syriac and Arabic texts, but two originally independent quires (ff. 21-39; 21×15 cms., 1 col., 21 lines) have an ES text; their script is so similar to that of Mar Joseph that already Assemani has ascribed them to him and Levi della Vida seems to agree (*op.cit.*, p. 189). The two quires are a beginning of a *hudra* for the whole year, as the heading on f. 21r says. It may very well be that Mar Joseph began to copy the *hudra*, but did not continue or finish the work.

17. Vat Syr 128. A volume of 208 ff., 14×9½ cms., 1 col., 18 lines. ES. It contains the *Nomocanon* of Abdišo of Soba. From the long colophon at the end it appears that copyist was Mar Joseph, Bishop and Metropolitan; he completed the work on a Thursday, the 17th of *Kanûn* 1 (December), 1868 A. Gr. (=1556 A.D.) in the town of Bassein, 60 miles from Goa. Then follows an enumeration of the various churches and monasteries of Bassein (for which see Assemani, BiOr III/1, pages 332-334), and some words related to Goa and to the King of Portugal. The copyist performed his task "under the protection of San Francisco, called in our language Mar Fransê" as he says. This means that he worked in the Franciscan monastery where he was detained. The contents of the MS are described at length in Assemani, BiOr III/1, pages 332-351 and shorter in Assemani, *Catalogus*, III, pages 181-188.

18. Vat Ar 89. This is a volume of 72 ff. with an Arabic text, completed in 1853 A. Gr. (=1552 A.D.). It contains 20 homilies for the feasts of our Lord, etc., written by Eliah III, Patriarch of the Church of the East (=the well-known Abû Halîm, 1176-1190 A.D.). The codex is clearly of Nestorian origin; in its colophon Patriarch Simon VIII (1551-1558), whose party was responsible for the murder of

the Catholic Patriarch Mar Sûlaqa, the brother of Mar Joseph, is extolled. In the codex is inserted, as f. 27, what remains of a letter of Mar Joseph, the Indian Bishop, in his own (as we suppose) cursive ES script. It is a piece of paper which had been folded in the customary way, to be despatched to the addressee, whose name was written on the outside. Now we find only the latter part of the alphabet (from *ṭet* to *taw*). On the *verso* of the folio we find the incomplete text of the letter, of which the following words have been preserved (we translate) :

1. I (*If our reading is correct*)
2. miserable Joseph appeskopa [
3. (*four signs, of which the latter is a semkat, each surmounted by a cross*)
4. The grace of the Holy Spirit be with thee [
5. amên. And after greeting you many [
6. pleasing, as soon as reaches this letter [
7. You must rise and come here to Kûgê [
8. since I wish to speak with you, and bring [
9. which you asked me when you left me from [
10. for my chirotonia. I say *k* [
11. of Paul. Is say[].....
12. to write [
13. to Kûgê [

Levi della Vida discusses this letter in his *Ricerche*...., pages 188-189; for a reproduction of it, see pl. X, 3 of the same work. It is not clear what the letter means; the fact that it has been bound together with the homilies of Abu Halîm proves that the binder attached a special importance to it, because of the person of Mar Joseph. The place *kûgê* has not yet been identified; it cannot be read as *pûgê* (=Poggi?) as has been suggested. The fact that an Arabic *gim* has been written under the *g* of *kûgê* proves that the writer wanted to make sure of the pronunciation of the word; it suggests also that the addressee knew Arabic.

The value of the document resides in the fact that it is a hand-written letter, an autograph, of a famous personality, the only letter in his hand-writing we possess. Levi della Vida supposes that Mar Joseph wished to prove the authenticity of his consecration (*chirotonia*), but there are no valid arguments for this hypothesis. Levi della Vida also thinks that the whole codex belonged to Mar Joseph, who had taken it with him on his last journey; the remains of the letter were probably found lying in the book and were inserted in it when it was bound again.

19. Vat Syr 186 & 188. These MSS were not copied in Kerala, but Levi della Vida is almost certain that they once belonged to Mar Joseph, who brought them from Malabar to Italy. Vat Syr 186 is an ES codex of 248 ff. with poetic texts, especially of *Kamîs bar Qardaḥê* (13/4 century), copied by a Nestorian priest from Tel Kef (to the north of Mosul) in 1477 A.D. Vat Syr 188 is a volume of 117 ff., ES, also with poetry. The subject of one of the poems is the history of the apostasy of a deacon of Meškeleg who became a Muslim. We found this curious poem in several manuscripts of Kerala and it may well be that the text of Vat Syr 188 was their prototype. Levi della Vida does not furnish conclusive proofs, as far as I know, that Mar Joseph was the owner of the two manuscripts.

20. Vat Syr 204. 200 ff., $21\frac{1}{4} \times 15$ cms., 1 col., 20 lines, ES. It contains various texts in Syro-Arabic *garṣûni*. On f. 154r there is a note mentioning the decease of a deacon Abraham on the 19th of *Kanûn* 2 (=January), 1844 A.Gr. (=1533 A.D.), during the first vigil of the night of the second day of the week. This curious historical note suggests that the MS was copied in the same year and that the copyist was so greatly struck by this death that he mentioned the date and the hour in his manuscript. We found a similar notice in (our) codex Tiruvalla 32. The MS contains ff. 154v-160v the Syriac text of the famous letter written in 1815 A.Gr. (=1504 A.D.) by four Meso-

potamian Bishops to their Patriarch, referred to in the beginning of this book and published by Assemani in his *BiOr* III/1, pp.590-599. The letter is preceded by an historical notice describing the vicissitudes of three Christians of Malabar, who went to see the Patriarch of the Church of the East in northern Mesopotamia in 1490 A.D. to ask him to consecrate a Bishop for their community of the Christians of St Thomas. MS 85 of the (former) library of the Chaldean monastery of Alqoš in Iraq contains, according to J.Vostè O.P. who published a catalogue of this library (Rome, 1929), the text of the letter the three Christians brought with them to the Patriarch. I could not see this text nor obtain a copy, all my endeavours proved futile.

B. University Library, Cambridge

The austere modern building of the Library of the University of Cambridge (United Kingdom) accomodates in its department of manuscripts a collection of Syriac codices of South Indian origin. All of them were acquired in Kerala by Dr Claudius Buchanan, Provost of Fort William College, Calcutta, in 1806, during a journey in which he visited the Jacobite churches and institutions in Travancore (now the southern part of Kerala). He sent them to Cambridge where they secured a place in the library of the University. In each MS one finds the printed notice: "This manuscript was found in one of the churches of the Syrian Christians in India, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, in the year 1806." In a letter to Dr Jowett, dated June 6th, 1809, Buchanan says that all the old Syrian MSS were found "among the Syrian Christians in the interior of Travancore near the mountains" whereas "a few MSS of modern date were found among the Romish-Syrian churches on the sea-shore of travancore and Cochin" (Wright, *Catalogue*, Vol. I, page xiv). At Cochin Buchanan examined several "Syriac and Syro-Chaldaic" manuscripts; at Verapoly he found a library "many of the books in which were marked 'liber hereticus

prohibitus' ” and at Angamali he found “a good many valuable manuscripts” (Wright, *op.cit.*, p. xv). When we visited the library of the Carmelite monastery of Verapoly in January 1975 we found it totally neglected and in a very bad state ; there were some valuable old books, not cared for, but we could not find any Syriac book or manuscript.

Many MSS of the Buchanan collection are biblical ones, in accordance with the intention of the donor : to be used for the edition of the Bible in Syriac. But there are also books of another kind. In July 1979 the present writer was at Cambridge and could study the whole “Buchanan collection.” Wright’s description of the MSS proved to be exact and reliable, except for some details and misunderstandings in the field of liturgy. In the following pages we shall give our own observations, in so far as they are useful for the scope of this book.

The most precious of the MSS of the collection is the so-called Buchanan-Bible (library No. 00. 1. 1, 2) which was copied in the Middle East in the 12th century; see Wright, *Catalogue*, II, pages 1037-1044; *List*, page 4. We ignore when it came to S. India and who brought it there ; it was not in India for more than a century and a half. It is now in a very bad state, but when it was intact it contained the whole Bible, the Old and the New Testaments. The latter contains also 2 Peter; 2 & 3 John ; Jude (placed after James). But Luke 22, 17. 18 ; John 7, 53-8. 11 and the book of Revelation are wanting. At the end the copyist added “the six books of Clement.” On ff. 131 and 141 the Jacobite Patriarch Michael is mentioned, which makes the Jacobite origin of the codex certain. Wright presumes this Michael to have been Michael the Great who died, according to Assemani (*BiOr* II, page 369) on the 7th of *Tešrîn* 2, A. Gr. 1511=1199 A.D. (*op.cit.*, page 1043). The codex is of no special interest for the history of the St Thomas Christians of Kerala.

1. 0o.1.7. A volume of 238 ff., $28\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 23 lines. ES. The colophon at the end is partly illegible, as a result of the humidity of the climate of Kerala. Major and minor Prophets, see *List*, page 4; contains also Dan.; Sus.; Bel et Dr. The manuscript was completed in 1682 A.D. (*sic*), 857 of the *Kullam* era; the copyist was the priest Giwargîs, also called *qôqôm*, who lived at Muttam (a village near the sea to the south of Cochin). At the end of the colophon the priest prays that the grace of Lord may be with all of us "in the two worlds. Amen." The expression "in the two worlds" is frequent in the Jacobite liturgy, whereas it does not occur in the Nestorian one. This signifies that the copyist, who used the ES script, belonged to the body of dissidents who had placed themselves under the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch since 1653. The first Bishop sent by this Patriarch arrived in 1665. Our codex was copied only seven years after that event, which is a rather short time and may cast a doubt on our hypothesis that the expression "in the two worlds" is of Jacobite origin; this however remains the best explanation. This is not contrary to the fact that some Latin and Portuguese notes are found in the book, because its ownership can easily have changed more than once in the course of time.

2. 0o.1.8. A volume of 166 ff., $28\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 25 lines. ES. A Pentateuch (cf. *List* page 5). The MS is written in a most curious hand, a photocopy of which is reproduced by Burkitt in *Kerala Society Papers, I* (Trivandrum 1929), facing page 44 (f. 125 v, of the MS). The book is incomplete, Deuteronomy ends at 21, 8 (it has 34 chapters) and for this reason a colophon may be missing. F. 1 was later added, its *recto* is blank, the *verso* has 28 lines written in normal ES script, which may date from the 18th century (Kerala). With the exception of this page the MS is "written in a unique mixed Nestorian hand, resembling Palestinian Syriac in its general character, but approximating most closely to the Syriac inscription of Cotayam... ;

probably at the beginning of the xviii century" (Wright, *op cit.*, p. 1047). The book has been restored in a later period; several loose leafs were pasted in it. The text contains correction by later readers.

Because we don't have any Syriac MS from Kerala copied in this curious handwriting (I Judge from the manuscripts I saw), it does not seem very probable to me that it was copied in Malabar. It seems to have originated in the Middle East, perhaps in Palestine (Jerusalem?). Was the book brought to S. India by Mar Gregorios, the first Jacobite Bishop to arrive there, who was Metropolitan in the Jacobite monastery of Markos in the old town of Jerusalem? This is nothing more than a guess. A certain resemblance of the script with that of an inscription on a "Nestorian cross", now above a side-altar in a Jacobite church at Kottayam (*l' nhw' ly d'stbr 'l' 'n bzqyph dmrn ysw'msyh'* = "It be far from me to glorify if not in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" Gal. 6, 14) is not very close and no definite conclusion can be drawn from it. One should also not forget that the inscription was made more legible in later times with white paint or lime, which may have changed the original form of the letters. When we saw the Latin inscription on the stone which covers the tomb of the famous general E.B. de Lannoy, of Dutch origin (+1786), in the south of Travancore, we found that it had been "restored" in recent times; the restorer, who did not know Latin, introduced Latin mistakes into the text. In the script of our manuscript the "long" letters *l*, *t*, and *ʔ* rise hardly above the others, against the general custom (but see the specimens of two Palestinian codices in the *Album* of Hatch, Pl. 199 and 200).

3. 0o. 1.9. A volume of 284 ff., $28\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 21-25 lines. ES. Liturgical. Different hands have copied the book; the best writing is that of the first part; it may have been the one of *malpān*, master, whereas his disciples may have continued the work. The text gives the hymns for the

days of Lent, the Holy Week and and Easter followed by 26 hymns for ferial days, the last of which is incomplete, whereas Nos. 27 and 28 are missing. It is explicitly stated that the text is in conformity with the one of the High Monastery at Mosul. At present there is no colophon, but there may have been one, because a fragment of 16×17 cms. have been cut away from the last leaf; on this the colophon may have been written (or the name of the owner, or some other note). The paper may be of oriental origin, it is different from the normal one used in Kerala, which was imported from Europe. Wright thinks that the volume was copied in the 17-18th cent. The kind of paper used for the book raises the question of the country of origin, but the MS was certainly used in Kerala, from where Buchanan sent it to England.

4. Oo. 1.10. A volume of 268 ff., incomplete, $26\frac{1}{2} \times 18$ cms., 1 col. of 23-25 lines, ES. See *List*, page 5. There is no colophon and the last leaf is mutilated. Contains Judges; Samuel; Kings; Proverbs (a note at the end says that prov. has 13 *ṣhaḥē*); Sir.; Eccles.; Ruth: Cant.; Job (incomplete, last verse: 18, 19). The (good) handwriting is assigned by Wright to the 17-18th cent. The leaves are numbered in Malayālam. Buchanan Collection.

5. Oo. 1.11. A volume of 280 ff., $25 \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 19-20 lines. ES. *List*, page 5. The volume presents first poetry, written by a Jesuit Maronite Peter of Cyprus and the Maronite Bishop Isaac Sadrewaya, on the Chaldean lexicon of John Baptist Ferrarius of Siena, S.J. (ff.1-2). This is followed by some biblical books: 3 Ezra (called 1 Ezra; apocryphal); 2-3 Meccabees; an *'ōnīta* for Fridays; Apocalypse of St John; table of feast days for the whole year, starting on 1 *Tešrīn*; on the origin of the fast of the Ninevites; Esther; 1-2 Chron.; Ezra; Neh.; on excommunication and other matters of discipline; various small texts and fragments, among which is part of a Syriac grammar. On

f.104r a colophon states that the preceding pages were completed in the year 1734 of the Nativity of the Lord on a Sunday, 14th of *Tešrîn* 2 (November) "in the monastery and celestial habitation of the venerable and praiseworthy Discalced Carmelites, religious and monks, in the house of the spiritual seed which is sown by them in these regions to make the faith of the Indian faithful perfect and strong; taught by the blessed Apostle Mar Thomas. Amen." The colophon does not mention the name or place of the Carmelite monastery; it tells us what these religious considered as their task: to promote the faith of the Christians of St Thomas, which was for these Christians the faith of the Apostle himself.

Wright says that the book was written "in several Nestorian hands" (*op. cit.* p. 1052); it is more correct to say that it is nearly wholly of a single hand, but there are also other ones. The MS shows that Syriac writing was still practised in a Latin monastery, but also that it was deteriorating, cut off as it was from the Middle East, its country of origin.

On ff. 105r-115r of this manuscript one finds a curious calendar of saints and feast days for most of the days of the ecclesiastical year, beginning with *Tešrîn* 1. Wright does not give any particulars, except that it begins in the 1st month of *Tešrîn* (October). It is not identical with any of the ecclesiastical calendars I could consult and it seems to be the work of a private person, probably a priest from the Middle East who composed it for his own devotion. The calendar is a mixture of various elements: Syrian Latin and Greek. On the 6th of *Tešrîn* 1 (October) is celebrated the feast or commemoration of the Apostle St Thomas (also on July 3rd, but not on Dec.21st). On the 31st of July is the Dedication of the church of the Mother of God Mary and the commemoration of the 350 Maronite Martyrs, killed by heretics in Syria in the year *tqlh* (=535), as the text says, without indicating the era. These 350 Martyrs are famous in the Maronite Church.

See P. Dib, *L'Eglise Maronite* (Paris 1930) pp.43-44; according to Dib their martyrdom took place under Pope Hormizdas (514-523), in or before 518. On the 9th of *šbat* St Maron is commemorated, as in the Maronite Church today. On the 6th of October the feast of St Bruno is added to that of St Thomas. On the 1st of November is the commemoration of all the Saints. On the 26th of *Kanūn* 1 (December) is a commemoration of the Mother of God, doubtless the feast of her "Congratulation" after the birth of her Child, as in the WS and the Maronite rites. On Dec. 27th is the commemoration of St Stephen and on Dec.29th that of the Holy Innocents, as in the Maronite Church today.

On the 9th of *Tammūz* (July) is the Dedication of (the church of) the three young men of the house of Hananya (Dan. 1, 11), who are famous in the liturgy of the East. "And on this day is celebrated the Feast of Mary, the Mother of God, the day she was seen by Mar Petros and John on the mountain of *Antik* (Antioch) near the source of water, when they were with her, carrying the Holy Spirit from Sion, mother of the churches." There is a fast of three weeks before Christmas, which begins on Dec. 5th (the fast of the Advent of the Nestorians lasts 25 days; Badger II, p.188). There is a commemoration of the six (*sic*) Synods on Sept. 15th. On the 13th of this month is commemorated "the Dedication of the Resurrection" (the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, in Arabic the *qyāmta*); on the 14th the "Exaltation of the vivifying Cross."

One gets the impression that the calendar is of Maronite origin, though it is quite different from the one now in use in the Maronite Church. A Maronite priest may have drawn it up, incorporating in it saints venerated in various places and rites. There is an indication that its origin must be sought in the Middle East and not in S.India,

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because it contains indications of the length of the days and nights of every month. In December the day has 9 hours, the night 15; January: 10-14; February: 11-13; March: 12-12; April: 13-11; May: 14-10; June 15-9; July: 14-10, etc. At Amsterdam the days of December have an average length of 8 hours only, the nights of 16 hours; in June the approximate numbers are $16\frac{1}{2}$ - $7\frac{1}{2}$. The numbers given in our MS are more or less in accordance with N.Mesopotamia, and also with Portugal. In S.India, on the contrary, the days are more or less equal to the nights during the whole year; at Cochin the difference between the longest and the shortest day of the year is of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours. From this it is clear that the calendar cannot have originated in S.India, but has been composed in the Middle East. We ignore how it came to Kerala, but we know that Maronite priests were from time to time in the country (see Tisserant-Hambye, Index, p.259, s. v. *Maronites*). One of them may have brought the calendar with him, which was afterwards copied in ES handwriting. This would also explain why the volume has two Maronite poems in the beginning.

6. Oo. 1. 12. A volume of 142 ff., $23 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 19 lines. Neat ES hand, no colophon, 18th cent. (Wright). Incomplete. The MS contains comments on Psalms and on Genesis, collected by the author from various orthodox interpreters, amongst whom he mentions St Gregory of Nazianzus; St Ambrose; St John Chrysostom; this betrays the Catholic origin of the collection. It may have originated in Kerala, where possibly someone translated the texts from Latin (Ambrose) into Syriac. On f. 22b the author calls Mary "the blessed Mother of God, always virgin." The text pays much attention to the creation of man in the image of God. There are three chapters (ff.57v-68v) on astrological divination, very common in India (not to speak of other countries). Buchanan collection; a date in the 18th century seems probable.

7. Oo. 1. 13. A volume of 117 ff., $24\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 18 lines. WS. Eastern paper. The MS is in a bad condition, some leaves are loose. Wright assigns it to 16th century. Very incomplete, ff. 1-41 are missing. In the superior margin of ff. 90v there are eight Arabic words, written with the same ink as the MS itself, as it seems. The title on the fly-leaf inside is *Liturgia Maronita*, outside *Liturgia Syriaca*. As it is now, the codex contains texts for the canonical office of twelve festivals and commemorations: Ascension; Bar Sawma; Pentecost; Golden Friday (=the Friday after Pentecost); Mar George; St Peter & Paul; the Apostles; Mar Thomas; Cyriacus and Julitta; Mar Andrew and the Bishop Mar Abhay; the feast of the Tabernacles (=Transfiguration); the *sûnaya* (departure) of the Mother of God; the holy feast of the redeeming Cross. The book was doubtless brought to S. India from the Middle East and is of Jacobite origin. The *Penqîto* of Mosul (Vol. VI, p. 646) commemorates Quryaqô's Yulîti on 15.7, whereas the *Penqîto* of Pampâkuda commemorates on the same day also Mar Abhay; the (present) Maronite rite commemorates on the 15th of *Tamûz* only Cyriacus and Julitta.

8. Oo. 1. 15. A volume of 52 ff., 26×19 cms., 1col., 21-24 lines, thick paper. It is written in a good ES hand and contains the text of some passages of the Gospel of St John for daily use; the text of the eucharistic liturgy of the Apostles (Adday and Mari); the ordinations of Reader, Subdeacon, Deacon, Priest, Archdeacon according to the ES rite; some prayers and lessons in Arabic *garšûni* and in Syriac. On f.45v there is a colophon in Arabic *garšûni* stating that it was completed in Rome on the 17th of *Tesrîn* 1 of 1691 A.D. (*sic*), in the time of Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700), by the Metropolitan Simon of Amîd. This person is the same as Simon of Ada, a native of Amîd (=Diarbekr) a most versatile man who was a Nestorian in the first part of his life and probably died as a Catholic Chaldean (in 1720 in Pondicherry; see A. Lampart, *Ein Martyrer der Union mit Rom*,

Einsiedeln, Benziger, 1966, p. 205 ss. and E.R. Hambye S.J., *Le Métropolitain Chaldéen Simón d'Ada*, in *Parole d'Orient*, Vols. VI-VII, 1875-1976, pp. 493-513). Simon appeared in Rome in 1690, asking an audience with the Holy Father to make a profession of Catholic faith (see Lampart, l.c.). In the colophon of our MS he states that he is rector of the Catholic church of the Lady Mary at *qdš alšarīf* (Jerusalem). In the great work *Jérusalem* by Vincent & Abel, Vol. II, (1926), we could not find any mention of a church used by Nestorians or Chaldeans. On p. 986 the authors say that Maronites, Copts, and Nestorians had no fixed residences at Jerusalem; in the times of the pilgrimages they could celebrate somewhere in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; this contained a chapel dedicated to the blessed Virgin (*op.cit.*, pp. 134, 253, 270).

In a summary of negotiations conducted by the Nestorian patriarch Eliah IX (1660-1700) with the Congregation of the Propaganda, dated 6-10-1670, now in the archives of the Congregation and published by Lampart (*op.cit.*, pp. 244-249) it is said that Eliah had manifested his desire that at Jerusalem a church should be built for the Chaldeans, pretending that Pope Paul V (1605-1622) had already given his permission (p. 248). This was granted by the Congregation with the words: "Che si dia una capella in Gierusalemme. Si veda la scrittura del Commissario di Terra Santa" ("A chapel may be given at Jerusalem; see the paper of the Commissioner of the Holy Land.") This chapel may have been the one in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but Hambye (a.c.) prefers to think that it was the church dedicated to St Mary Magdalen and St Simon the Pharisee. In the work of Vincent & Abel there is no mention of Simon the Pharisee and it is said that the church of Mary Magdalen does not exist any more (p. 1025; 1926 A.D.); a plan of the church is given on p. 991 (after M. de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1860, pl. XXI).

Mar Simon went to India, where he consecrated the Apostolic Vicar Angelo Francis on 13-2-1701 at Alangad. But he was not trusted and was sent forcibly to Pondicherry, where he died on 16-8-1720. He may have left his manuscript in Malabar or Travancore, where it was acquired by Buchanan. On p. 47r is added, in much smaller script, the formula of the blessing of a house, translated from the Latin; there is also a formula of the sacramental absolution, taken from the Latin rite and on f. 52r the beautiful hymn *abba dqusta* etc. ("Father of truth...") of James of Sarug, used in the WS liturgy after the fraction and taken over in the former Chaldean liturgy of Malabar, from which it disappeared in the reform of 1960.

9. 0o. 1.17. A volume of 280 ff., $22 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 17 lines. The original codex had at least 350 leaves; whole quires and many leaves are lost. The beautifully written ES text is a lectionary of the readings of the Epistle and the Gospel for the whole year. There is no colophon, but the MS may well be of the 16th century (Wright, p. 1063). The paper is of the western type but without a watermark and produced in a rather primitive way. The codex is important because the series of readings from St. Paul is substantially the same as in Vat. Syr 22, which means that it follows the custom and rite of the patriarchal church at Kokhê (also *kawka*, *kâkê* = Seleucia; but see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, p. 387, note 5). We have here an instance besides Vat. Syr 22 provided by Kerala of the venerable remnants of an ancient Syriac tradition.

The *ṭaksa* of the church of Kokhê was superseded in Kerala by that of the High Monastery at Mosul. According to A. Baumstark the *ṭaksa* (rite, order) of this monastery goes back essentially to a liturgical praxis of the first millennium, as far as the order of scriptural pericopes is concerned; he thinks that already before the 12th century this monastic praxis had been drastically recast in the patriarchal church

and that it was again modified after the middle of the 16th century (A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische Syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends*=Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 15, 1921; 1972; p. 77). Baumstark draws his conclusion from Vat Syr 22, Oo. 1.17 and Cambr. Add. 2053, an ES lectionary copied near Urmiah in Persia (now called Reza'iyyeh). Add. 2053 purports to follow the *taksa* of the High Monastery, but it points to the influence of the praxis of Kokhê. For the location of the "High Monastery" or "Monastery of Mar Gabriel and Mar Abraham", see J. M. Fiey O.P. *Mossoul Chrétienne*, Beyrouth 1959, p. 126 ss. and A. Rücker, *Das obere Kloster bei Mosul und seine Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der ostsyrischen Liturgie*, in *Oriens Christianus* III 1932, pp. 180-187.

Some remarks: In the heading of the readings, for the commemoration of the "Greek Doctors" on Friday after Epiphany, the word "Greek" (*yawnayé*) has been erased (also in the margin) and in the same way the word "Syrian" in the commemoration of the "Syrian Doctors", one week later. This was doubtless done because someone, a Roman Catholic did not consider *all* these doctors as orthodox. F. 168v has only one line, as also ff. 169 and 170; the remainder is blank. What follows is called by Wright in his Anglican way a "Communion Service" (p. 1077); in reality it is a consecration formula for the eucharistic liturgy (the words of the Institution), written by another hand which is not the same as the main part of the MS. The text is in accordance with the former Latinized rite of the Chaldean Church of Malabar. It opens with the words: "Praise be to thy holy Name, our Lord Jesus Christ, and adoration to thy Lordship eternally." Now follow the words of the consecration of the bread, translated from the Roman Mass. The text breaks off at the bottom of the page, where the consecration words for the chalice should begin and is not continued on the following page. The words "This is the living Bread ..." etc., found in

the pre-1960 Syro-Malabar missals between the consecration of the bread and the wine are not found in our text, placed immediately after the various readings for the great Sunday of Easter. The place is not occasional: in quite a number of *hudras* one finds the eucharistic anaphora after the vespers of Easter. The text of lectionary continues in the midst of the Epistle for Friday after Easter. The two leaves with the consecration formula were added later.

10. Oo. 1.18. A volume of 318 ff., $19\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1col. of 19 lines. ES. No colophon, probably 18th cent. Contains the books of the Major and Minor Prophets and Cat. See *List*, p. 5. Jer. is followed by Lam. and Bar., Daniel by Susanna and BelDrag. Nicely written and executed, with red headings and adornments. The text is divided into the chapters of the Vulgate, under Latin influence. The book has been in Jacobite hands, as is proved by the numbering of the pages in WS writing and a WS table of contents.

11. Oo. 1.21. A volume of 130 ff., $20\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ cms., 1col. of 15-16 lines. ES. Contains mainly the Acts and the Apocalypse. At the beginning two leaves have been inserted with the text of a *sug'ta* on the thief Titus who was crucified with Jesus; a Malayalam text to find the date of Lent and a Syriac note referring to the ecumenical Council of Constantinople, held in the year 1180 A. Gr. (in reality: 5-10-869-28-2-870 A.D.), which treated, as the note says, "on the primacy of the Pope...; the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; the unleavened (bread for the Eucharist); the celibacy of priests and all the matters on which the Greeks and the Franks did not agree "after which they separated from each other." This note is largely un-historical and seems to emanate from ill-informed Jacobite source.

According to Wright the MS is written "in several inelegant Nestorian hands, probably of the xviiiith century" (p. 1080). He did not notice that ES and WS writing

alternate in this MS, for example: ff. 19v: blank; 20r: WS; 20v: ES (in a hand different from the first part of the manuscript); 22r: ES (same hand as in the first part); 29r-38v: WS; 39r: ES; 39v-40v: WS; 41r-42v: ES; 43r-44r: WS; 44v: ES; 45r-46r: WS; 46v ss.: ES; 74v: WS; 77r: WS; 91 rv: WS; 93v-94r: WS; 127v: WS. The same copyist, using the same ink, the same number of lines to a page and the same thickness of characters passed from ES writing to WS and the reverse. This points to the last part of the 18th century as the date of the MS or even c. 1800 A.D.

12. 0o. 1. 22. A volume of 139 ff., 20×14 cms., 1 col., 19-22 lines. ES. Paper probably eastern. Contains an ES liturgical Psalter followed by a collection of hymns (*tešbeḥata*) to be sung during the canonical hours on Sundays, feast days and ferial days. No colophon. The book was rebound long ago; western paper was used in the binding and it was cut off anew; in some quires the leaves were badly arranged, not in their original order; see *List*, p.5. The beginning is missing (Ps 1, 1-3, 4, first word).

In the headings of the hymns the names of the Nestorian authors, or those suspect of Nestorianism, were often erased or made illegible. In the second part of the collection it is still possible to read them, a sign that the energy of the author of the erasures, who wished to obey the prescriptions of Diamper, had slackened during the work of correction. On f. 118r, the names of Nestorian saints have been erased in a *karoziṭa*, (series of prayers, litany; wrongly called *concio* by Wright); between the lines the names of Ambrosius and Augustinus were written, to be used instead of Narsay and Abraham, well-known Nestorian writers and saints. In the hymns of the martyrs quite a number of Nestorian names have disappeared and on f. 135r were added (in the margin) the names Gregorios, Evagriſ (*sic*) and *Iwlynws* (=Julianos?).

in the office of *ṣapra* of Fridays. On f. 118r the names of Gregorius, Basilius and Athanasius are to be read instead of those of Nestorian authors. The mention of Evagrius suggests that the change was not made under Portuguese influence, but in the Middle East, shortly after the reunion of a body of Nestorians with Rome.

On f. 120r we find a correction of dogmatic importance: after the mention of the names of a number of martyrs and confessors in a *karozûta* the words had been written: *d'lh' nkl' 'nwn* "whom God may crown"; this wish or prayer, understandable in a Church of the East in which the "crowning" of the saints was expected at the hour of the last judgment, was at variance with the prevailing belief of the Western Church and for this reason a later hand changed *nkl'* to *nklln*, "may crown us"; whereas *'nwn* was partially erased and *'nd* (a form of a verb meaning "to die") was written above it, making no sense but probably to suggest the meaning "departed", "defunct". Thus the meaning of the sentence became: "in order that God may crown us after our death." The name *lwlylws* is very strange and otherwise unknown; perhaps Pope Julius III (1550-1555) was meant, during whose government a body of Nestorians under Sûlaqa were united with the Church of Rome. This is only a guess. Wright ascribes the MS to the 16-17th century; the middle of the 16th century seems more probable. On p. 109r one reads in the *Credo* of the 318 Fathers: "Who proceeds from the Father." A later hand added between the lines "and from the Son."

12. 0o. 1. 25. A volume of 291 ff., $17\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ cms., 1 col. of 19 lines. ES. Contains the four Gospels and the Acts. At the end of Mark we find the masoretical note: "Mark wrote 1652 verses"; according to the enumeration of the Vulgate Mark has only 678 verses (16, 9-20 included). In Luke 10, 1 17 a later hand added twice

in small characters *trên* "two" after the number 70, in accordance with Diamper, Actio III, Decr. 2. John 7, 53-8, 11 is missing. In John 18 & 19 we find three kinds of different signs which show that the text (of the Passion) had been used for recitation by three priests or clerics on Good Friday, a Latin custom introduced by the Portuguese in the liturgy of Malabar. After the Acts the Epistle of James had to follow, but there is only its heading. The remainder of the page (f. 291r) is blank. The first page of the MS is missing; the text was copied by different hands, according to Wright probably in the 16th century. The 17th (or 18th) century seems more probable.

14. Oo. 1.26. A volume of 296 ff., $20\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col. of 19-22 lines. ES. *List* p. 5. An incomplete Pentateuch; on f. 115r starts another hand, not as good as the first one, and continue until the end. The handwriting is of the 17-18th century. No colophon. On the last leaf we find the notice: "*Hic liber vocatur Orraita id est quinque libri Moysis seu Pentateuchus*"; the scribe who added these words knew that the Syrians still gave to the Pentateuch its Jewish-Aramaic name (=Law). The text is divided according to the old Syriac tradition.

15. Oo. 1.27. A volume of 192 ff., $19 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 27 lines. ES. See *List*, p. 6. A Pentateuch, like the preceding MS. The letters are rather small, the paper is bad. In the binding some leaves were misplaced. The last two chapters of Deut. are almost entirely lost. No colophon. Probably 18th century. Old Syriac division in *shahé*.

16. Oo. 1.28. A volume of 110 ff., $19 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 19 lines. ES. Oriental paper. It contains the Syriac version made from the Arabic of a Roman Catholic theological work in 15 chapters, called "Necklace of Hyacinths." According to the colophon on f. 109r it was translated by the priest John son of Abraham of the village 'Ainkava (not far from

Arbela-Erbil, cf. J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, I, pp. 167-172; the village had become Chaldean-Catholic in the middle of the 18th cent. *op.cit.*, p. 171), for the learned priest Abraham "Malpana of All India" and his brother Mattay Taşgan, sons of Sargis, of the blessed village Kôtiôdôrî (=Kaduturutti?), in the year 1798 after the birth of our Lord. This year means that the book was acquired by Buchanan in less than ten years after it was produced. It is a Catholic book, designed for priests who have to hear confessions and to administer the last sacraments.

In an appendix preceding the colophon, the copyist (who was also the translator) tells us that the Chaldean people of India asked the Catholic (Chaldean) Patriarch of Babylon, whom he calls Yûhanan (=John VIII Hormizd, 1830-38) to come to visit them. John VIII was—after many difficulties—recognized by Rome only in 1830. Because he himself was unable to come and no Bishop dared to undertake the journey for fear of "the mighty waves of the sea" (f. 108v) he sent to them two priests and our copyist-translator was one of them. We do not know why this book was given (or sold) so soon to Buchanan; was it then in the hands of Jacobites?

17. 0o. 1. 29. A volume of "about" (Wright) 300 ff., 20×15 cms., 1 col. 20-22 lines. ES. Several hands, no colophon. The book contains various texts (note on f. 299r: *Hic liber est miscelaneus seu continet opuscula varia*), 17th-18th cent. (Wright); rebound and cut. The MS contains a curious collection of texts, mostly liturgical and theological, of various kinds, written by several hands. They were collected by people who tried to preserve dispersed fragments of the old Syriac heritage; it originated among the Catholic Chaldeans of Malabar. The latter is clear from the Athanasian Creed, quoted wholly, and from a treatise "on the doctrine of Incarnation of the Word (of) God, according to the mind of the holy Church of the Romans, against the heresies, particularly of the Nestorians" (f. 126v).

The book has texts for various ordinations and consecrations, including those of Metropolitan, Bishop, Archdeacon, Chorepiscopus. There is a letter to priests of Sabrišo of Bêt Garmy (Nestorian Metropolitan, 7th cent.; cf. Assemani, BiOr III/1, p. 125 and Badger, *Book of Governors*, I, p. xlviii and II, p. 139); a part of a book wrongly ascribed to Simon bar Sabba 'ê, Bishop of Seleucia (+344), but probably belonging to the 12th century; extracts of Bar Kaldôn, the heretic (Wright wrongly: "a Chaldee Syrian", p. 1102), in which the author "plucked roses amidst thorns." The same words are also used with reference to the quotations from Kaldôn in Ernakulam 2 (Standard expression or rather a common source?).

Towards the end we find extracts of Dionysius' *De Mystica Theologia*. The book contains passages on astrology, on auspicious and dangerous days. Some passages are marked in Latin with *liber prohibitus* (f. 56v) or *Quae sequuntur sunt prohibita* (f. 193 v). These words were doubtless added by a censor who lived after Diamper. The *liber prohibitus* consists of 8 leaves and has been copied by another hand than the one that copied what immediately precedes and follows in the same MS; the passage is found once again (ff. 173r-180r) preceded by astrological and superstitious texts. On f. 187v a hand wrote *quae sequuntur s* (Sic) not finishing his phrase. On f. 203v the words *Quae sequuntur sunt prohibita* were erased; they had been written on a blank page, followed by two other blank ones. On p. 45 (numbering of the MS) we find prayers for the day of the commemoration of Mar Awgîn, the famous founder of Syriac monachism on Mount Izla in the Tûr 'Abdîn.

Our manuscript is unique; it preserves some fragments of Syriac literature prohibited by Diamper, especially texts considered as superstitious.

18. Oo. 1. 31. A volume of 220 ff., 20×14¹/₂cms., 1 col., 20-21 lines. ES. Contains the Acts, followed by

James, 1 Peter, 1 John and the XIV Epistles of St Paul in the normal order. Wright ascribes the MS to the 17th-18th cent., but the 18th seems more Probable to the present writer.

19. 0o. 1. 36. A volume of 126 ff., $20 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 15-16 lines. ES, paper with watermark (figures and the words *Pro Patria*). It is a Jacobite book, containing the text of the WS eucharistic liturgy and seven anaphorae: James; Matthew the Shepherd; Xystus; Dionysius bar Salibi; XII Apostles; St John; John of Harran. After these, the text continues with *frāmions* used in the eucharistic liturgy; final blessings (*hutamé*); some Epistles and Gospels for Mass and a text for the blessing of chalice, paten, priestly garments and furniture of the church. After the anaphora of John of Harran there is a short colophon saying that it was completed by one Iwannîs in the year 2060 (=1749 A.D.). At the end a leaf is inserted which contains the copy (ES) of a letter sent by "Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan of India" to the Syrian Orthodox community of Omellûr (in the District of Quilon, to the SE of Tiruvalla) to recommend the bearer of the letter, the priest Zakarya, who had received "the degree of the priesthood on Maundy Thursday, the 10th Nisan (April) 1802 A.D. Because the copy is in ES writing it is probable that the same script had been used for the original. Dionysius was the first of this name; he was validly consecrated in 1772 and died in 1808.

20. 0o.1.39. A volume of 126 ff., $17\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 16 lines. ES. Cf. *List* p. 6. It contains Wisdom of Salomon (translated from Latin, see *List* 1.c.) ; Prov; Eccles; Sir.³⁷ At the end of Eccles. it is said that this book has 13 shaḥé (12 in our Bibles) and Sir 20 (51 in the Vulgate). This proves that the text of both books stems from an old Syriac tradition. Some Malayalam scrawls and the fact that the MS belongs to the Buchanan collection indicate that it came from Kerala. 18th century, not earlier (Wright: 17th-18th cent.).

21. 0o. 1. 40. A volume of 195 ff., $14 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 13-14 lines. ES. An ES liturgical Psalter with headings, etc. Written by at least two hands, 18th century.

22. Oo. 1.43. A volume of 188 ff., $14 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 13 lines, ES (Wright: "a mixed S.Indian hand"). End of 18th century. The text is that of a WS *shîmo* and begins thus: "In the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the book of the prayers of the six days of the week according to the custom of the orthodox Jacobite Syrians." The MS bears marks of heavy use. The red colophon is badly legible and one has the impression that its second part was copied by a different hand, which repeated some words of the first part. I propose the following translation: "I belong to the priest Philippos Mar Iwanîs, *malpānā* of Amîd. Lord, God of salvation, during the day I cry unto Thee. Etc. I (here begins the second hand, writing the impossible 'b' instead of 'n') belong to the priest Philipôlôs Mar Iwanîs *gnt'*..." Amîd is a town in S. Turkey, called Diarbekr, at the eastern side of the Tûr 'Abdîn, in northern Mesopotamia. The book was not copied there, but the Indian copyist, using his own form of script, slavishly copied the colophon he found in his text.

23. Oo. 1.44. A volume of 226 ff., $14\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 13-15 lines. ES. A *kaškôl* with some additions, containing the prayers for evening and morning of ferial days, with some prayers for Sundays and festivals. Hymns were added for the evening prayer and a *mêmra* of St Ephrem. The text was copied by various hands; it begins in a fine hand, but later the writing becomes rather bad; 17th-18th cent. according to Wright. There are more examples of codices copied by various persons, not all of whom were experienced writers. They may have been copied by a master (*malpān*) and his disciples. The master may have begun in a fine, experienced hand, the disciples completing his work as well as they were able to. The book bears marks of frequent use, whether in the Catholic or in the Jacobite community.

24. Add. 272, 1-7. All these "additamenta" are kept in a portfolio. They were sent to Cambridge by Buchanan. They are written in WS script and are ascribed by Wright to 15th-16th cent. Some 200 leaves.

1. 121 ff., 32×23 cms., 2 col., about 25 lines. The original MS contained the four Gospels, of which now at least 30% is missing throughout the text. Luke 22, 17-18. and John 7, 53-8, 13 are missing; in Luke 10, 1 the number of disciples is 70; the liturgical doxology "Because thine is the Kingdom ..." etc. is added to the Our Father, Mt. 6, 13.

2. About 70 ff., 31×23 cms., 2 col., 25-28 lines. Remains of a manuscript with homilies for Sundays and feast days throughout the year; to each of them is joined a prayer of Jacob Sarûg.

3-7. Three fragmentary leaves and three fragments from various manuscripts containing homilies (one for the commemoration of Mar Dîmet (=Domitius) and also Mt. 2, 8-23 and Mark 8, 21-92.

25. Add. 285, 32-35. "A number of loose leaves belonging to a mass of miscellaneous papers" (Wright, p. 1121). ES. Syriac and Malayâlam *garšûni*.

26. Add. 1167. A volume of 198 ff., 20½×15 cms., 1 col., 21 lines. ES. See Wright, *Catalogue*, I, 5-6. It contains mainly the four Gospels and Canticles in a small and nice handwriting, ascribed by Wright to the 18th century, but it may well belong to the 17th. In Luke 10, 1-17 the number of disciples is 72, which indicates a post-Diamper origin. John 7, 53-8, 11 is missing, most probably because there was no Syriac text available. At the end a rather bad hand (ES) has added short passages with quotations from the Gospels. No colophon.

On ff. 7v and 8r we find three texts of a special character. The first, about 10 lines, speaks of the power given to the disciples to heal the sick. The second and third texts are charms with magic character. The second has a short heading and conclusion in Malayâlam *garšûni* with a text in Syriac: "The Lord makes loose those who are

shackled. The Lord showed his redemption. The spirit veils their wickedness. And may their eyes find heat in order that they may not see. I am bound ..." The charm is difficult to understand, especially the final words. The same is true of the entire second charm, intended for healing. The use of charms was severely condemned by the Diamper Synod (Actio III, decr. 14), but our text proves that it did not die out at once. The MS is no part of the Buchanan collection; it belonged to Dr A. Clarke (in 1835).

27. Add. 2973 is a recent WS manuscript copied in 1869 A.D. by a priest Alexandros son of Abraham of the church of *Pattō Mavelikē* and contains, besides other prayers for the eucharistic liturgy, 11 anaphorae: of Ignatius; James; Xystus; Dionysius bar Salibi; John of Haran; St Peter; John the Evangelist; the twelve Apostles as arranged by St Luke; Eustathius; Mark the Evangelist; Matthew the Shepherd. It was presented to the Cambridge University Library in April 1887.

C. Bodleian Library, Oxford

Amongst the treasures of the Bodleian Library at Oxford there are some Syriac manuscripts copied in Kerala. The collection is less important than that of Buchanan, Cambridge, but still of considerable value. In his Catalogue of the Syriac MSS of Cambridge, Vol. I, 1901, p. xix, Wright tells us that the Bodleian Library recently acquired two S. Indian Syriac MSS.: Syr e. 5 and 6. Besides these Or. 628 and parts of Or. 623 are of S. Indian origin, and also Or. 624-626.631.655.666.667; cf. R. Payne Smith, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Pars VIa, Oxonii 1864. Where as Or. 628 & 623 belong to the 18th century, the other ones are of a later date.

1. Syr. e. 5. A volume of 88 ff., $20\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 1 col., 17 lines. ES. From a letter, attached to the MS, it

appears that it was sent to the Bodleian by G.B. Howard, late assistant chaplain in the (Anglican) diocese of Madras and author of the book *The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies* (Oxford & London 1864), on 18-6-1892. He had used the MS for his book, in which one finds a nearly complete translation of it (*op.cit* , pp. 191-337). On the inside of the cover Howard has noted that he numbered the 175 pages of the book at Ootacamund (a place in the Nilgiris and famous summer-resort at an altitude of 2285 m., not far from the actual border of Kerala) on Oct. 13th, 1861. The text is not complete, after f. 88 some leaves are missing.

The MS contains the WS anaphorae of James; Peter; the Twelve Apostles; Dionysius bar Salibi; Xystus. These are followed by readings of the Gospel for the days of the week; the blessing of new utensils for the altar; the consecration of an altar; an anaphora of John; several final blessings and some *frûmions*. The copyist has made a few mistakes: on f. 27v (Howard: p. 53) he wrote in the epiclesis *kad m' lu* instead of *kad m' gn* (in the anaphora of Peter correctly *mg'n* , abnormal form of the *afel* participle of *gnn*). Because *lamad* and *gamal* have no similarity in the WS script, but often have in ES manuscripts, it seems probable that the copyist had before him a MS in ES writing copied in Kerala. On f. 19r (p. 36) he wrote *wmklsyn* instead of *wmqlsyn* and there are other mistakes.

The anaphora of John of Harran, ff. 76r-80r, was copied by a later and rather bad hand. The consecration formulas (=the words of the Institution) are interesting, because not all of them sufficiently express what Jesus did at the Last Supper and are therefore, from the standpoint of Latin Catholic theology, invalid. This proves that the priests who used them ceased to be influenced by western theology; the contacts between the two communities cannot have been very strong when the MS was copied for the
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personal use of a Jacobite priest, most probably in the second half of the 18th century. Its ES writing shows signs of considerable deterioration.

The book bears marks of having been much used: quite a number of pages are heavily thumb-marked. From the intensity of the thumb-marking one can conclude which anaphorae were more used than the others. The order is the following: the anaphora of Dionysius was used most of all; it is followed by those of Peter and Xystus; James, long and prescribed for certain days and occasions only, was rarely used and the same is true of the anaphora of the XII Apostles. Most used of all was, of course, the *pars communis*. Nowadays most priests, if not very young, know it almost by heart, but this was not the case in Kerala when the WS liturgy was introduced and took the place of the ES one. The anaphora of John of Harran was possibly added to fill blank pages at the end.

2. Syr. e. 6. A volume of 210 ff., $15\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{3}{4}$ cms., 15—16 lines (16: ff. 50—210). ES. On the wooden binding (at the back, inside) one reads that the MS was presented to R. W. Poe Esqr of Calcutta by Abraham, Cattamar (=priest) of the Syrian church of Putupalli in Travancore on March 4th 1830 A.D. There is a colophon saying that the book was completed in the year 7225 of Adam, 2045 of the Greeks, 1734 of the Nativity of Christ, on a Wednesday of... (name of the month illegible). The copyist was the deacon Mattay of *pwdkly* (f. 10v; 20v; 29r), disciple of the skilled priest Abraham (according to f. 29r). The colophon on f. 29r was completed on a Tuesday of *Tesrin* 2 (November) of 2045 A.Gr. (=1733 A.D.), whereas the colophon at the end of the book was completed in the year 1734 A.D., mentioned above.

The following notes, except the number of ff. and lines (communicated to me by the Bodleian Library) are taken from R. Payne Smith, *Catalogi*...etc. Pars VI, Oxonii, 1864 (=PS).

3. Or. 623 (PS 36). A volume of 138 ff., $20\frac{3}{4} \times 15$ cms., 20 lines. ES. Contains the 2nd part of the New Testament: Acts, James, Peter, John, XIV Epistles of St Paul. Given by the priest Abraham to William Mill in 1821 A. D. Three different hands: the oldest part is perhaps of the 18th century (ff. 117-140), the most recent one from about 1800 A.D. (f. 72-75).

4. Or. 624 (PS 134). A volume of 169 ff., $19\frac{3}{4} \times 15$ cms., 15 lines. ES. Contains a commentary on the four Gospels and a poetical composition in 12 syll. metre on Samoni and her seven sons, Jewish martyrs (cf. 2Macc., 7). This MS was given to William Mill by Mar Dionysius III, Metropolitan of the the Syriac Jacobites (1818-1825) on 14-1-1822 A.D. and had been copied "recently". No colophon; beginning of the 19th century.

5. Or. 625 (PS 17). A volume of 210 ff., 19×14 cms., 17 lines. ES. Contains the four Gospels. On 14-1-1822 A.D. it was given by Mar Dionysius Metropolitan to William Mill. At the beginning of each Gospel is a crude representation of the Evangelist in question. At the end of the Gospel of St John we read that the MS was copied in 1801 A.D. by a priest George of Putupalli. The passage of the adulterous woman (John 7, 53-8, 13) is missing in the text of the Gospel, but is added in the form of an appendix. At the end of Matthew we find the following "masoretic" note: chapters 70; Canons 360; miracles 25; parables 25; quotations (of the Old Test.) 38; readings 74; *shahe* 22 (after each Gospel is an analogous list). Then there is a small representation of Mark (4×3 cms.) occupying the space of four lines of text. It is flanked by two designs with cross in the middle.

This manuscript is the only one from Kerala the present writer could find with illustrations representing saints. Jules Leroy does not mention it in his work *Les manuscrits*

syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient, 2 vol., Paris 1964, but he stopped his study of manuscripts with paintings at the end of the 15th century. So one does not expect him to mention it.

6. Or. 626 (PS 67). A volume of 57 ff., $19\frac{1}{4} \times 16$ cms., 14 lines. ES. Contains the anaphorae of James; John; Mark; John of Harran; some *frimions* and *sedre* and a prayer for the altar. On f.2 one reads that the MS was procured from Abraham Malpān, professor in the CMS (Christian Missionary Society) college at Kottayam by William Mill in 1840 A.D. Because it is a Jacobite MS with ES writing it must have been copied before 1825, may be even before 1800.

7. Or. 628 (PS 200). A volume of 138 ff., $18\frac{3}{4} \times 14$ cms., 17 lines. ES. A Syriac grammar, for the Syrians in Malabar "*saeculi forte XVIIIi*" (PS).

8. Or. 655 (PS 69). A volume of 124 ff., $21\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ cms., 19 lines. WS. A WS Pontifical with the texts of various ordinations, according to the rite of the Jacobites and texts for the blessing of a church and of holy oil. The ordinations are those of Lector; Subdeacon; Deacon; Archdeacon; Priest; Bishop; Metropolitan; Maphrian; Patriarch. At the beginning one finds a profession of faith to be made by deacons and priests before their ordination. The codex was acquired by W. Topley Humphrey, missionary in Travancore and given to William Mill in 1840 A.D.; 19th century.

9. Or. 666 (PS 26). A volume of 253 ff., 21×15 cms., 18 lines. ES. Contains the four Gospels, copied by a priest Abraham, as one can read at the end of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. No colophon. Beginning of 19th century.

10. Or. 667 (PS 72). A volume of 42 ff., 20×13 cms., 7-19 lines. Partly ES, partly WS. Copied by Thomas

Mavalikkara for William Mill in the years 1821 and 1840. The MS contains various texts: 1. Blessing of wedding-ring and crowns 2. Names of the degrees of the Church on earth and of the angels: Psalter; Cantor; Exorcista=*Ostiarius*; Lector; Subdeacon; Deacon; Priest; *Periodeutes* or Visitator; *Chorepiscopus*; Bishop; Metropolitan; Patriarch; Angel etc., till the degree of Seraph (=the 21st). 3. A short history of the Syriac Church in Malabar, written by the priest Abraham for Guglielmus (=William) Mill (according to Abraham the Syrians in Malabar have always been Jacobites, etc.). 4. History in Malayalam characters. 5. Some observations of the dealing of the Romans (=the Latins) with the Church of Malabar. 6. A riddle of Mar Ephrem. 7. Extracts from manuscripts of the church of Putenkav; at the end: 30 miracles wrought by St Thomas and a short history of the Church of Malabar. 8. Some extracts of a codex of the book of Revelation; copied by the priest George for William Mill in 1821 A.D. 9. The ecclesiastical orders; among them we find again the Exorcists who have to conjure the demons at Baptism. 10. Poetical compositions of the priest Giwargîs, *malpân*. 11. Names of those whom the Church of Malabar anathematizes: Nestorius, Pope Leo, etc. It is to be noted that in Vat Syr LXVI, in a text written by Mar Joseph, the Exorcists are confused with the Psalmists of the eastern rites. In our volume they are equated with the Door-keepers of the Latin Church.

D. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*

In this famous library there are quite a number of Syriac manuscripts, described by H. Zotenberg in a catalogue published in 1874. Among the 286 MSS he has enumerated only a few are from Kerala. The reason is that the French never had relations of any importance with the Christians of St Thomas until about a century ago. At that time a French Jesuit, Mgr Charles Lavigne, was

Vicar Apostolic of Kottayam (1887-1897). There was and still is a Catholic French mission in Pondicherry on the east coast, where a French colony was established in 1674. The only possession of the French on the west coast was Mahé (Mayyasshi), a territory of $6\frac{1}{2}$ square kms., situated c. 60kms. to the north of Calicut and 8 to the south of Tellicherry. It was conquered by Mahé de la Bourdonnais in 1725; it was British from 1761-1817 and again French until it was handed over after World War II to the independent Indian government. On the "Dutch" cemetery near Quilon (where a Dutch colony existed) I found on 14-1-1964 two French epitaphs; they were of a couple: the husband was born in Paris and passed away at Quilon in 1810. There are no more Dutch tombstones, though there were still some after the War, as the Latin Bishop of Quilon told me. The presence of some Kerala Syriac MSS in the Paris Library gives evidence that there were at least some direct or indirect relations between the Christians of St Thomas and the French.

1. Syr 24. A volume of 141 ff., $20\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 20-21 lines. ES. The manuscript contains mainly the liturgical Psalter and a number of *tešbeḥata* (sg. *tešbōḥta*) that is, hymns. There were at least 3 copyists, who used various kinds of paper. The first quire (ff. 1-8) is western paper, as also ff. 81-141 (this paper is different). Ff. 9-80 are oriental paper. The Psalter ends on f. 155r, with a *masora finalis*, in which the number of the characters of the Psalms is 100 000, a round number, instead of the more precise 90852 characters in other MSS. On ff. 116v-128r we find the text of 25 *tešbeḥata*, mainly the hymns of the night-office, but there is also one for Holy Communion. The names of the authors to whom they are attributed are added; quite a number of them are of well-known Nestorians, such as Abraham, Baby, Narsay, and others. On ff. 119v-120v we find an East-Syriac *Credo*, called "the faith of the 318 Fathers", in which the Holy Spirit is said to procede from the Father (only).

At the end we find a number of liturgical proclamations of the deacon (*karôzwata*). In one of them the names of Diodore, Theodore, Nestorius and Narsay have been cancelled (f. 130r; also on f. 136v), but on p. 137r the corrector forgot to delete Narsay. At the end, on the last page of the volume, there is a confession of faith in the Trinity followed by the beginning lines of a "Tale of the merchant and his wife", written in Syro-Arabic *garšûni*.

The main and the oldest part of the MS are the quires of oriental paper (ff 9-80). By frequent use the leaves have suffered much wear and tear and the original beginning and end of the Psalter are lost. They were supplied by two later scribes, who completed the Psalter; the second copyist added also other texts, as we could make out.

Zotenberg calls the writing of the whole codex "nestorien de Malabar", which we cannot accept, at least not the second part; and with some reservations we might accept the 3rd one. The oriental paper and the Arabic *garšûni* point to the Middle East. The corrections are of the same type as in Kerala MSS, and they were most probably made in the 17th century in Kerala rather than in the Middle East. Zotenberg thinks that the codex was copied in the 17th century, but for the part on oriental paper the 16th century is much more probable.

2. Par. Syr 25. A volume of 16+323 ff., c. $17\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ cms., 1 col., 18-21 lines. As a consequence of bad cutting after the codex had been rebound, the pages are not perfectly rectangular; on the inside their length is c. 17.3 cms., and on the outside 17.7 cms. By the bad cutting the beginnings and the ends of some lines have disappeared. The codex is of great importance and the most important one among the Kerala MSS in Paris.

In an article written by F. Nau : *Deux notices relatives au Malabar...* (Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, Vol. XVII/1912,

pp. 74-99); pp. 82-87 are consecrated to our manuscript (Zotenberg; pp. 9-10). It is said that the book is an ES Psalter, copied in 1815 A. Gr. (=1504 A. D.) by Jacob, Bishop of India. This error, not committed by Zotenberg, has been repeated by later writers, who had not seen the MS. The error is due to a note in bad ES script on f.7r of the first series of 16 leaves, which reads as follows, in translation :

I write this book in the year 1815 of the Greeks, and praise be to the Lord, by the hands of the stranger [*aksenaya*, a name for a monk] Jacob. You must know, sir reader, that in the year we mentioned, we arrived in these regions of India near the town which is called *knnwr* [=Cannanore] and there we saw in it our Christian brothers who are truly Franks who are called Portuguese and they were glad with us. And it is also right to know that in the year 1813, in the beginning of the month *Elûl* [=September] our common Father Mar Simon Qatolîqa of the East passed away from this world of adversities. And the Fathers assembled with our Father Mar John Metropolitan *mššh'* and they elected Mar Eliah to be Qatolîqa Patriarkîs of the throne of the East. And our Father Mar Eliah ordained Fathers for India: Mar Yahballaha and Mar Thoma [became] Metropolitans and Mar Denha and I, the weak Jacob, Bishops, in the holy monastery of Mar John the Egyptian near Gazarta Zabdayta in the region of Kulaz, on the second day of Easter of the year 1815 of the Greeks.

The writing of the three last lines (from "in the holy monastery") is more or less cursive, as if the copyist did not bother very much about the writing of these last words. The words within brackets have been added by us in the translation. The notice is found on f.7r, the 7th of the 8 double leaves which compose the preliminary quire of 16 leaves (=8 folded leaves) of the codex.

A careful inspection of the quire (we used a microfilm, obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale) reveals that the 8 double leaves originally constituted separate documents, including some letters in Portuguese, one of which has been inserted upside down. The leaves may have constituted a small file; they have been put together and were added to our codex when this was (probably) rebound and badly cut. The leaf placed upside down is the 4th one (of the double leaves). The 18 blank pages, scattered throughout the quire (ff.1v-4v; 5v; 7v-8r; 9r; 10v-13r; 16v), belong all to single double leaves used (partly) for writing texts. The fact that the documents were all put together and made into a single quire explains why the blank pages are scattered in the way we have indicated. Because of some dates and the name of Alexander de Campos (see below) the assembling cannot have taken place before 1665 A.D.

There is only one double leaf on which two different texts were copied and this is, to be precise, the 7th, on the first page of which our notice was written. On the 3rd page of this double leaf (f.10r) we find some lines in Malayālam *garṣāni*, concluding a list of dates written on f. 9v. We suppose therefore that this list was copied or written when the 8 (double) leaves had already been assembled, to preserve the list or for the pleasure of copying it on blank pages. On f.5r we find the dates of the Fast of the Ninevites; the Great Fast; Easter and Pentecost for the years 1665-1689. On f.6rv there is a list of *epacts* from 1657-1675. Both lists belong to different leaves and the copyist or writer of the *garṣāni* list concerning the months January and February may have been inspired by the two lists in Syriac. The years 1657, 1675 and the name of Bishop Alexander de Campos (1663-1687) provide us with the dates of the original composition of the documents.

The conclusion can only be that the notice of Mar Jacob was written on a loose double leaf, incorporated in

the quire; of this leaf only the first page was used. The writing of the main text of the codex is totally different from that of f.7r and also from the handwriting of Vat. Syr 17, copied by Mar Jacob in 1510 A.D., a page of which is reproduced in Hatch, *Album* (in opposite p.231). But also the text of our notice points to a different copyist because various letters have characteristically different forms. Whereas it is absolutely certain that Mar Jacob is not the copyist of our codex, it seems probable that he did not even copy the notice, but that this was done by a later hand who did not care much to write nicely. One more remark. The opening words of the notice *'ektab ktābā hānā* "I write this book" may also mean: "I write this notice" (for this meaning of *ktābā* cf Mark 15, 26); if this were correct there would not even be any question of a *book* written by Mar Jacob.

All told the first quire of our codex is composed of five letters in Portuguese, one double leaf with a calendar of special days, another double leaf with the *epacts* and an eighth double leaf with the notice of Mar Jacob. The few lines in old Malayālam on f.1r may have been added later, as was certainly the case with the *garšāni* texts. In the 1st Portuguese letter it is stated that 30 *fani* (south Indian coins) must be paid to Alexander de Campos. In the second, placed upside down, Alexander is called Alexandre de Cruz (cf. Germann, p.468). In the third letter, written by the Apostolic Vicar Joseph a S. Maria (1556-1563), he is referred to by the same name. The fourth letter was written in 1669 from Cochin; the name of the addressee was written on the outside in large and flamboyant characters: Dom Alexandre de Campos "missionary Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Christians of the Serra." Someone, perhaps Alexander himself, was not pleased with this title and wrote under it in Syriac: "Alexandros, Bishop of All India." The 5th letter is again in Portuguese, written by Joseph a S. Maria. It is to be noted that under the

signature of the 1st letter three small Malayālam characters were written, followed by the first three letters of the Syriac alphabet.

The remainder of the codex consists of 323 leaves; f. 324 was affixed with glue on the back of the actual binding cover. There are first 19 numbered quires of 12 leaves (ff.1-228); then the numbering stops but appears again at the bottom of the verse of f. 308 (the sign kaf =20), which indicates that in the original codex 68 leaves were inserted between the quires 19 and 20 (ff.229-296), on the assumption that the 20th quire had 12 leaves, like the others. The quires which were added are not numbered as also the quire of the 16 leaves at the end of the manuscript.

The main part of the codex begins with the liturgical Psalter, ff.1v-103r (the four canticles included, ff. 99v-103r), with headings and "canons". The headings are attributed to "Mar Interpreter of the divine books"; this author is no other than Theodore of Mopsuestia, to whom these headings are sometimes ascribed (cf. Baumstark, p. 104). The "canons" are usually attributed to Mar Aba Qatolīqa (540-552), the first of this name, but in our codex they appear under the name of "Mar Papa Paulos Qatolīqa." There was no Patriarch Paulus but because Mar Aba was considered by the Catholics as a Nestorian heretic his name had to be replaced by another one. *Papa Paulos* cannot be confounded with the *Mar Papa*, who governed the Church of Seleucia-Ctesiphon c. 300 A.D.; *Papa Paulos* can only mean "Pope Paul", in whom we may see Paul III (1534-1549), Paul IV (1555-1559) or Paul V (1605-1621). Just before Paul IV the first union of a body of Nestorians with the Church of Rome took place (1553) and it is not impossible that his name was chosen as that of the author of liturgical "canons." We may also think of Paul V, be-

cause the time of his government is closer to that of Alexander de Campos, quoted in the Portuguese letters at the beginning and at the end of the codex. This is the idea of Fr Hambye, which he communicated to me in a letter dated (3-2-1981). We shall come back to the subject in connection with the dating of the main part of the codex.

On ff.103v-185r we find the *hûdra* (sic) of ferial days ; on ff.125r-150v one finds the fourteen Hymns of the Martyrs for evening and morning services. In these hymns the names of Nestorian saints are replaced by those of orthodox ones. So one reads in the hymn of the morning office of Thursday, according to the *hûdra* of Trichur : "*Army of angels of the Lord. (You) of the house of Diodorôs and Teadorôs and Nestorîs : pray that the darkness of the Egyptians may not enter the Church. And your prayers for all of us. (You) of the house of Mar Aprêm and Mar Narsay and Mar Abraham : your prayers be for us a wall at night and during the day.*" (p.440, lines 16-19).

In the Syro-Malabar breviary we read: "*Army of angels of the Lord. (You) of the house of Grigoriôs and Atanasîs, the glorious one, pray that the darkness of the Egyptians may not enter the Church. And their prayers for the whole earth (You) of the house of Mar Aprêm and Mar Ambrosîs and Mar Yoanîs : your prayers be for us a wall at night and during the day.*" (ed of 1952, pp.564-565). The "darkness of the Egyptians" is Monophysitism, including the doctrine of St Cyril of Alexandria, who so vigorously fought Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus (431). The Nestorian triad, mentioned above, was removed from the Catholic Chaldean breviary and replaced by more solid saints. The same is also done in our codex Par Syr 25, but not in identical terms: "*Army of angels. (You) of the house of Grigorîs and Atanasîs and Ewagrîs, pray that the darkness of the Egyptians may not enter the Church. By your prayers. (You) of the house of Mar Aprêm and Mar Basilîs and Mar Abraham : your prayers be for us a wall at night and during the day.*"

The most interesting thing in this text, which we take as an example, is that the name of Evagrius, a mystic who lived in the 4th century and was condemned long after his death at the Council of 553, replaces a Nestorian name. The corrector who did so was unaware of the fact that for the orthodox Evagrius is a heretic. Mar Abraham was also a Nestorian, probably Abraham of Bêt Rabbân, a disciple of Narsay (6th century), if not Abraham of Kaškar or Abraham Natperaya. It is evident that he was not correctly identified by our corrector. The presence of both names indicates that a Catholic Mesopotamian monk brought them into the text not long after 1553 (the year of the reunion). Note also the minor differences between the three texts.

On f.150v begins *lelya*, the office of the night. On f. 185r begins the office for monks (*taksa dihi dayš*). This office is remarkably similar to the office for Sundays as it is found in the printed Syro-Malabar breviary, ed. of 1952. In the *karožûta* (litany) mention is to be made of "Mar Papa N.N., *qatołēqa patriarkis*, head of the whole Church of Christ" (f. 188r, line 15-16), followed by "Mar N.N. Bishop Metropolitan and all their clergy." In the second *karožûta* there is again a prayer for the Pope and Metropolitan, after which a commemoration is made of Mary "the Mother of the living God, our Saviour and Vivifier" (f. 189r, lines 9-10), exactly as in the breviary of 1952, p. 293. In the commemoration of the holy Fathers are mentioned "the teachers of truth: Mar Aprem, Grigorios Baselîs, Ambrosîs, Agustinôs, Iranîmôs", instead of Diodoros, Theodoros, Nestorios, c.s. (the modern breviary has the same names, but adds, as in similar cases, the names of St John Chrysostom and St Athanasios), cf. f. 189rv.

It is noteworthy that the vespers of the "Office for monks" are nearly identical with those indicated in the modern breviary for the first or each pair of Sundays. In the

office for the night there are still the customary 7 *hûlâlê* (Ps.37-81, replaced in the breviary by five *marmejata*: Ps. 1-7 for the first Sunday, 82-89 for the second one). There are more Variants in the office for the night. The *qala dšahra* (a kind of Lauds) is different from the one found in the breviary. It opens with the same prayer: "May it please Thee...", but whereas in the breviary this is at once followed by Ps. 18, it is followed in the MS by three more prayers, an *onûta* and Ps. 145 (Hebr.146), cf. f.199v, a hymn "praise be to God who delivered our race..." (f.200r) and the *karožûta* (200v, line 2-3; only the beginning words are indicated).

After the *qala* we find the psalms of *sapra*, introduced by the two customary prayers (f.200v-202r; pp. 349-350 of the breviary). The remaining part of the morning prayers is nearly identical with the morning prayers the breviary indicates for Sundays.

From this survey it appears the "office for monks" is very strongly related to the office the breviary indicates for Sundays. Nowhere is one referred to the big *hudra* and there are no texts for various periods of the year (as in the breviary). One gets the impression that it is a text for solitary monks (see also Vat Syr 88), living in their cells, not having the large *hudra* at their disposition. There seems to be a good chance that this was the model for the reformation of the breviary introduced under Latin influence after the Synod of Diamper and locally perhaps even before that. The text of the daily canonical hours of the Church of the East is of monastic origin and therefore very long; from the Synod of Diamper we know that many priests assisted only at parts of the office in their churches and did not feel obliged to recite it privately (Diamper, Actio VII, *De Sanctis Sacramentis Ordinis et Matrimonii*, decr.5), and one of the reasons was certainly the length of the office.

The Diamper Synod is silent on this point and does not ask to shorten the canonical prayers. But we understand that this had to be done to make it morally possible to observe the Diamper injunction. It was shortened again in the first printed breviary (1876).

Now follows in our MS the *tesmešta gazzayla wgaw-wanayia* = the text of the *gazza* (treasure of hymns, etc.) for special feastdays and the *officium commune* of an apostle (f. 208v-217r). This is followed by the canonical office of St Thomas "the blessed and vivifying apostle of all-India" (f. 217r-226v). This office is much shorter than the one we find in the *hidra* edition of Trichur, where its length is more than double (vol. III, p. 175ss.). The Bedjan edition of the office could be an abbreviated edition of the tradition represented by Trichur. To this tradition belongs also the office of our codex, but here and there it seems to have been composed especially for use in India. In the *'onita daqdān* of the vespers one finds in the Trichur and Bedjan edition the words: "In the Holy Ghost the Apostle Thomas was sent to the terrible (*dhila*) country of the Indians", but in the codex the word "terrible" is significantly omitted. In the codex the poetical part of the night-office begins with the words: "Come, sons of India, educated by the Apostle Thomas, the light of the world, the pastor of the Church, great treasure, whose story (*šarbeh*) is elevated and cannot be contained in human words; and wonderful is the beauty of his story (*šuprehtaš'iteh*, a grammatical mistake, which may be a clerical error) and very stupendous." These words are not to be found in Trichur and Bedjan and the impression is that they were expressly composed for the Christians of St Thomas in India, to whom they are addressed. Trichur and Bedjan are both different, though sections of their text of the night office are also to be found in our codex. A third observation is to be made: at the end of the office there are no texts to be used in the eucharistic liturgy; in the 17th

century this was no more necessary in India : there were "missals" with their latinized texts. These three observations warrant the supposition that the office was not only copied in India for Indians, but also drafted in its present form for the Christians of St Thomas.

On ff.226v-239v we have the text of a Chaldean *officium commune* of the Virgin "Mary Mother of God" ; it is copied in a slightly different script. The two following pages are blank (ff 227v-228r) probably by mistake, and f.228v is the last page of the first series of numbered quires (but see f.308v). On ff.240r-248r we find a text for the common office of a martyr ; f. 248v is blank and on f.249r the last part of a prayer, found at the end of f.248r is repeated in 11 lines of calligraphic script. On ff.249v-250v there is a short treatise on the government of the Church by St Peter and his Roman successors. In one of the phrases written between the lines one reads that Bishop Alexander de Campos received his dignity from him. Ff.251r-251v contain a short treatise on the celibacy of Bishops, priests, deacons and subdeacons. On ff 252r-257v we find an office for Christmas, whereas ff.257v-271v contain a "book" of prayers—a long series of short prayers, called *ṣlawata* (sing. *ṣlōta*), used in the liturgy, often in pairs.

After this we have two partly blank pages and a wholly blank one (ff 272r-273r) ; on the 1st and 2nd are written six, and seven lines of the Syriac translation of the Latin text of the blessing and imposition of the scapular (or habit) of the Carmelites, ff.273v-275r. The two following pages are blank, except that we find on f.276r some odd scribbles, evidently written by a man who wished to make some personal notes for himself in Arabic characters and numerals. They are written in short oblique lines, beginning in the left corner of the page. On ff.275v-276r there is again a calendar of dates for the ecclesiastical year, fuller than the one in the beginning of the codex. The following pages, ff.278r-297r contain

a long list of liturgical prayers to be used by priests "in all their priestly functions" (*šūmlayé*); the prayers belong to the Chaldean canonical office. The next page (f.297v) is blank.

Ff.297-308 make a single quire of 12ff. Strangely enough it is marked at the end by the Syriac character *kaf*=20. The main part of the codex (beginning after the 1st additional quire) has 19 quires of 12 ff. (ff.1-228). Our "20th" quire is a special one. Like the 1st additional quire it has a number of blank pages (f 297v ; 301v ; 303v ; 304rv ; 305rv ; 307r). Besides some Syriac and Malayalam *garšūni* texts there are others in Portuguese. One of them is a MEMORIA (thus written) of letters of Bishop Alexander de Campos, written on 17-12-1667, mentioning the names of seven persons to whom they had been despatched ; one of them is Matthevs Bispo de Meleapor, the other one an inquisitor (or rather the Inquisitor at Goa, because no name is given). On the top of the page there is a note in Portuguese mentioning the names of the Bishops Joseph a S. Maria and Alexander de Campos, and dated 1669. Under this note are three lines in *garšūni*. On f 305v one finds three lines in *garšūni*, with a signature in Portuguese, evidently from the same hand.

At the end of our codex there is a quire of 16 leaves (=8 original (double leaves). A great number of pages are blank : ff.311v ; 315v ; 316r ; 318r ; 319r ; 320r-322v ; 323r ; 324rv. Most of the (double) leaves are blank on the left side; on 3 leaves there are some words in *garšūni*, whereas f. 323v is Malayalam. This leads us to the supposition that the leaves of this quire were assembled more or less in the same way as those of the initial quire of our codex, though it is clear that two or three of them had been assembled separately before they were brought together in the present quire. There is again a letter or document in Portuguese (f 312rv)

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mentioning the names of the Bishops Jozeph de Sancta Maria and Alexander de Campos; the document is written by one Pedro de Rozairo. On ff.302r-311r we find a number of ordinary prayers for the morning office; on ff.313r-315r a litany addressed to Jesus, after the Latin model, and hošanna acclamations. On some pages we find texts in *garšūni*, mostly rather short, on f.317v. fifteen lines in Malayalam, and on f.323v a whole page of 25 lines in Malayalam.

Conclusions: When the copyist of the *kāskōl* began his work he had probably before him a file of new paper of 20 quires of 12 leaves. He could complete his work using only 19 of them; the two leaves at the end remained blank, except for 1 line on f.226v. Then a second copyist took the last quire (19) and some more and began to write on them his texts of the *gazza* and the *commune sanctorum*. We suppose that he, or he and his successors, used 8 quires of 10 leaves. When the work was finished the (or: a) copyist discovered quire no. *k*(=20) of the original stock, now: ff.297-308, and this was used to copy various texts, between which a number of pages remained blank. Finally, a quire of 16 leaves (this is our hypothesis) was added to the codex. After the first three double leaves a 4th was added with a Portuguese text. Other leaves may have been inserted in this quire: ff.317-324 (the second half of the quire) which were originally blank. On ff.316-319 some *garšūni* notices were added and at the end, f.323v, someone wrote 25 line in old Malayalam. The preliminary quire and the last one of the present codex were added to the main work, perhaps when the book was bound a second time.

Zotenberg rightly ascribed the codex to the 17th century; if the Mar Papa Paulos, mentioned (in the Psalter) is really Paul V (1606-1621), the *kāskōl* was probably copied during his reign, that is in the beginning of the 17th century, not long after Diamper (1599). The copyist

avoided everything "Nestorian", of which the codex bears no traces : it is wholly a Catholic Chaldean book. Though the Latin influence is clear enough, there are hardly any texts translated from the Latin, except those texts like the blessing of the Carmelite scapular and the litany on f.313r-314v. The Arabic scribbles on f.276r present a special problem : perhaps they are only some *pro memoria* notes, written by someone on a leaf which became later part of our codex. The scribe may have been one of the Maronite priests, sent by the propaganda to Malabar in 1660 (cf. Tisserant-Hambye, p.84) along with Joseph a S. Maria, or a Maronite who arrived later in the country (cf. *op.cit.*, 88). This coincides exactly with the time of Bishops Alexander de Campos and Joseph a S. Maria, so frequently mentioned in the most recent parts of the codex. The documents preserved in the codex may have belonged to the personal archive of one of these Bishops.

If we have examined codex Par Syr 25 in such detail, it is not only to show that Bishop Jacob of the first part of the 16th century cannot have been its copyist, but also because of the exceptional importance of the book for the history of the development of the Syro-Malabar liturgy. The nearly exclusive use of the *kāškōl*, as known from later times, without the large *hūdra*, is already attested by our manuscript. The *hūdra* was a book of which there were very few copies in Malabar ("perpauci sunt in hac Ecclesia", Diamper, Actio VII, *De sacramento Ordinis*, Decr. 5). If the priests had to recite their own "breviary" privately, an abbreviated text had to be made in which the greater part of the *hūdra* was left out. The office for solitary monks living in their cells, who often had no *hūdra*, seems to have been of great help in this matter. But it was not easy to break at once with an age-old tradition, and therefore some offices for feast days, normally belonging to the *hūdra*, were added in Par Syr 25 by another hand. It is significant that our codex has

the text of the *commune* of the apostles, whose feasts (*festas de precepto*) had been introduced by Diamper according to the Latin calendar (Actio VIII, Decr. 9). Diamper also introduced some feasts of the blessed Virgin Mary, for which we find an *officium commune*; some martyrs continued to be venerated, for whom our codex has also a common office. Then there is the office in the honour of St Thomas, the great Patron of Malabar and founder of the community, to which no date is assigned, perhaps because his feast was celebrated twice: in December and in July. We have seen that this office bears evidence of having been retouched in Malabar, to say the least.

The *garšûni* texts seem to have been written in the time of Alexander de Campos (if not later). The present writer did not find any traces of Malayālam *garšûni* in earlier manuscripts. For this reason he ventures to make the hypothesis that this kind of *garšûni* originated at the initiative or under the influence of the Maronites who were in Malabar in the 2nd half of the 17th century, and for whom *garšûni* (for the Syrians in the Middle East: Arabic in Syriac characters) was not only quite normal but even felt to be a quasi-necessity.

3. Syr 186. A volume of 130 written ff., with 8 blank ones at the beginning and 12 at the end; 31×21 cms., 22 lines. ES. The paper has a watermark very similar to that of the Catholic *hudra* of the Nestorian Bishop of Trichur, No. 25 (81), which we ascribed to the 17th century. This watermark consists of three circles, arranged above the other; the upper part of the upper circle has the form of a crescent; in the middle circle we read the characters BC (in the Trichur MS GBP). The upper circle wears a crown with three crosses, of which the middle one is placed at a somewhat higher level (in the Trichur MS there are three spikes instead of the crosses). The two watermarks are so similar that it is clear that

the MSS of Paris and Trichur belong to the same period, whereas it seems probable that the paper was produced by one and the same factory. Paris 186 is a Syro-Malabar missal of the latinized type, as was used since Diamper and thereafter. Zotenberg refers to the printed missal of 1775.

The missal begins with a *ta'sa dkuhna* (or *kahné*, plural): a ritual for the priest(s), not a pontifical as Zotenberg claims. This ritual contains the texts for the administration of the Sacraments by the ordinary priest, translated from the Latin *rituale*: Baptism; Marriage; Extreme Unction. One finds also texts translated from the Latin for Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday (still called "Sunday of Hoşanna"), Good Friday (ff 4-50). On ff 1-3 there is a series of readings of the Epistle and Gospel during Mass, beginning abruptly on f. 1r in the midst of John 6, 37 (third word of the verse), which proves that the beginning of the MS is missing; the reading John 6, 37-40 is that of the (Latin) anniversary of the deceased.

On ff. 51r-52v a later hand has written the text of the Latin litany of the blessed Virgin Mary in Syriac, with a long prayer at the end, not used nowadays in Latin. On ff. 53r-70r we find the text of the Mass of the Apostles, preceded by preparatory prayers and followed by prayers of thanksgiving (from the Latin). There is a double introduction of the anaphora: one for ordinary days and another one, taken from the 2nd anaphora, for feast days; the latter has been in use right up to the recent liturgical reform (it is found in a Malayalam edition of the music of the Mass, "compiled by The Seminary Syrian Choir", 1954, p 123 ss.) On f. 77r ss. we find a lectionary of readings for the eucharistic liturgy (Epistles and Gospels). This lectionary is clearly a post-Diamper one and begins with the first Sunday of *sābara* (Advent). From this day it goes on until the 3rd day in the week of Pentecost.

This first series is followed by another one: feasts of Mary; Matthew; St George, martyr; Philip and James; Nativity of John the Baptist; Peter and Paul; James, Ap; Transfiguration of the Lord; passing away of Mary; St Bartholomew Ap; feast of the holy Mother of God on 8 *Elûl* (Sept.); Exaltation of the Cross (14 *Elûl*); St Matthew Ap.; Dedication of the church of St Michael; Simon and Jude, Apostles; All Saints; All Souls; St Andrew, Ap. These are followed by a series for votive Masses, readings on the day of the Cross, for the feast of St Thomas Ap.; for the holy Angels. The MS seems to belong to the 17th century, 2nd part of it, and not to the 18th, as Zotenberg thinks, *op.cit.*, p.130.

4. Syr 187. A volume of 173 ff., $20\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 22 lines, ES. A missal, much the same as the preceding one. The text on ff.1-41 is in Malayâlam *garšûni*; the contents are indicated on f.2r: it is a treatise on the seven Sacraments of the Church in this order: Baptism; Confirmation (*šûrar haymnûta*); eucharist; Penance; Extreme Unction; Priesthood (called *darga*=ordo); Marriage. The Latin influence, above any others is clear. On f.43 we find indications for the *epacts* and on ff.43v-46r we have the order of the blessing (*rûšma*) of the Carmelite *esfla*=scapular, habit. After various pages with texts in *garšûni* and some in Syriac, related to the calendar and the liturgy, we find on f.57r ss. a series of readings for the year during the eucharistic liturgy, beginning with the first Sunday of the Advent. The three Masses for Christmas are followed by those for St Stephen; St John Ev.; Holy Innocents; Circumcision; AshWednesday; Holy Thursday; Easter (one Mass only); Low Sunday; Ascension; Pentecost; St Andrew Ap., etc. This is followed (f.131r ss.) by the rite of Baptism (translated from the Latin ritual); the blessing of Holy Water; ceremonies of Palm Sunday; Extreme Unction; Marriage. The text ends with five lines in red *garšûni*; no colophon. According to the handwriting (but this is a

difficult criterion to apply where relative short periods are concerned) the MS is of later date than the preceding one. It belongs to the 17th century. In the beginning of the volume there is a note in French saying that its author, a Dr Picques, had seen on Jan. 18th 89 a similar volume, copied in Rome by a Chaldean priest. The year 89 (abbreviated number) is interpreted by Zotenberg as 1689. A missal like this one is not complete: it does not indicate the readings for all the liturgical days (Sundays, etc.) of the year.

5. Syr 280. A volume of $25\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 202 ff., 26-28 lines (21 on ff. 74v-98v), ES. The text is a Syro-Malabar missal of the same kind as the two preceding ones. Zotenberg describes it in only 9 lines, but it deserves more. The copy is not identical with the two former ones, as all the written missals present differences. Many priests seem to have copied these for themselves and each one did it in his own way. In our copy we find first a list of biblical readings for the celebration of Mass, beginning with the 1st Sunday of the Advent with those of the *quattuor tempora* of this time of the liturgical year. After the feast of the Holy Innocents on the 28th of December there is a feast of Mar Thomas, under whose name is written "and Bishop", f. 7r. This can be no other than St Thomas Becket of Canterbury who died as a martyr on 29-11-1170. There are readings for all the days of Lent; on Palm Sunday there is the whole text of the passion of Christ according to St Matthew, for three voices (Christ, the Evangelist; the people), as in the Latin rite. Between ff. 14v and 16r; 30v and 32r; 59v and 61r printed engravings are inserted, most probably taken from a printed and damaged European book; they represent scenes of the passion of Christ (Christ before Caiphas and Christ in the Garden of Getsemane, the latter with an old French text). On ff. 74v-98v we have the text of the Mass in two columns, beginning with the washing of hands of the priest in the

sacristy before Mass. The following 5 ff. (ff. 100–104) are blank, whereas ff. 105r–131 offer the readings which are used on the Sundays (*sic*) of the whole year, f. 131r, beginning with Easter. On f. 131v until the end we have the readings for the feasts of the saints “according to the institution of the holy Church of Rome, mother and mistress of all the churches”, for some votive Masses and the *commune* of the saints! At the end, ff. 180r–202 are the texts for Baptism, Marriage, Extreme Unction (followed by the litany of all saints and prayers) and the blessing of Holy Water.

The MS may be assigned to the 18th century. One can see in it how the process of assimilation to the Latin lectionaries and calendar was going on. It ended with the publication of the printed missal in Rome in 1775. According to W. Wright, *Catalogue Cambridge*, I, p. xix, Syr 92 of Paris would also belong to the Malabar manuscripts. He says this on the authority of Renan, *Histoire des langues sémitiques*, p. 288 No. 6 (1864) but he gives no reasons. Syr 92 is a volume of ff. 41, 31×21 cms., and contains the *taksa* of the *qûḏṣa* (Mass) “according to the custom of the Chaldeans”, with the priestly prayers for *ramṣa* (evening service), *ṣapra* (morning service) and the eucharistic liturgy. For these prayers Zotenberg refers to Assemani, *BiOr* III/1, p. 290 for a description (should be p. 291 ss.). Their author is the monk Eliah of Nisibis (975– after 1049; Baumstark, 287s). Zotenberg ascribes the MS to the 17th century. It does not seem very probable that at that time the Christians of Malabar called themselves “Chaldeans” without mentioning their country or diocese, as is done in this book.

E. University Library, Leiden

This library owns some Syriac MSS and documents from Kerala, but before we deal with them, we shall first deal with a correspondence between the Jacobite Metropolitan of Malabar in the first half of the 17th century with Carolus Schaaf, Leiden, and his son.

Earlier in this book we have already mentioned Carolus Schaaf, lecturer and in the last few years of his life "extraordinary professor" of "Oriental languages" at the University of Leiden, Holland. Schaaf had been teaching at the University from 1679-1729 and quite accidentally he happened to enter into correspondence with the head of the Jacobite community in Malabar. In 1709 A.D. Mar Thomas IV (1686-1725) handed the Dutch commander of Fort Cochin, the most important Dutch stronghold in "Malabar", a letter to be forwarded to Ignatius Patriarch of Antioch. The commander, Adam van der Duin, sent the letter to the board of the "United East Indian Company" (V.O.C. = *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) at Amsterdam, with a copy, also given to him by the Bishop. The letter, written in Syriac, reached Amsterdam but to verify its contents, the "Board of Seventeen" sent the copy for examination to Schaaf. Van der Duin had no idea whatsoever of the identity and abode of the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and wrote on the letter: "Desen brief sal men bestellen aan de Surianen, Igbatayers, Coesayers, Noebayers of Armeniers" (=This letter shall be delivered to the Syrians, Copts, Ethiopians, Nubians or Armenians)! It is interesting to note that nearly all those mentioned by Van der Duin are Monophysites. Even Mahatthoma ("the great Thomas") as the Indian Metropolitan was called, seems to have had no information where his Patriarch lived, nor did he know his full name (Ignatius Gerge II, 1686-1708/9, or Ignatius Basilius Isaac II, 1709-1724).

We do not know when the letter from Malabar reached Schaaf who answered Maha Thoma in Syriac; in a letter dated 20-12-1713. Both letters, with an introduction and translations were published by Carolus Schaaf in his *Relatio historica ad Epistolam Syriacam a Mahathome, Id est, Magno Thoma, Indo ... ad Ignatium, Patriarcham Antiochenum...Lugduni Batavorum* (=Leiden) 1714. In this booklet of 29 pages, 24 × 18 cms., published privately at

the author's expense, the letter from the Bishop is printed in WS characters, pp. 9-12 ; its Latin translation on pp. 16-20 ; the Syriac letter of Schaaf pp. 20-24, its translation pp. 25-29. Mar Thomas calls himself "the humble Bishop of the Syrians of India, the old true Christians." He asks the Patriarch, whom he venerates as "the Head of the Catholic Church and Pastor of the sheep of the East, Elected by God and accepted by Peter, the Head of the Apostles," etc., to send to India a Patriarch, a Metropolitan and two priests ; they must be "philosophers" (=learned men), who know the meanings of the holy and divine scriptures, "because the sons of Hendo (India) are like sheep without a shepherd ; they have no knowledge to distinguish between good and evil and they are living among pagans and infidels who venerate idols." He reminds the Patriarch of the coming to India, "long ago" (*men gdtm*, an exaggeration, because the first Jacobite Bishops arrived not more than half a century ago) of Mar Grigorios, the 5th Patriarch of Jerusalem and after him the *maphriân* Basilios, *qatoliqa* of the East and Mar Iwannîs Metropolitan, but they died and "after their death we are like sheep without a shepherd." Now someone came, he says, who called himself Metropolitan of Nineveh and told that he was sent by Mar Eliah *qatoliqa* (all the Patriarchs of the Nestorians from 1551-1804, residing in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd to the North-West of Mousl, called themselves Eliah, eight all told). His name is Gabriel and he teaches that there are two natures and two persons (*qnômê*) in Christ ; he also talks in a very scandalous way of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. For this reason "we did not believe him", the Bishop says. But one priest Mattay went over to him and created some confusion. Thomas brought the matter before the Dutch commander of Cochin (Adam Van der Duin) who advised him to write to the Antiochian Patriarch. The letter is written in a verbose and even pompous language, as the occasion seemed to require. Other letters are in the same style. The original, as well as the copy, is now

in the library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam. On Gabriel see Tisserant-Hambye, p.92.

In his answer, written in 1713, Schaaf informs the Metropolitan that he sends him a printed text of the Syriac New Testament, recently edited by him (Leiden, 1704, vdP1.), asking to send him in return his own New Testament. If Mar Thoma is pleased with the book, Schaaf will send him as many copies as he wants, at a moderate price (*sic!*). The commercial part of the letter being completed, Schaaf confesses his faith, in the words of the first part of the short (Roman) *Credo*, adding that in Christ are two natures, the divine one and the human one and one Person. He goes on to say that if there are any books in India written by St Thomas or any other Apostle, he would very much like to have them. He is much interested in the books of the Old Testament, the text of the liturgy and the principal doctrines of the community (*doctrinas vestras fundamentales*), in order that the glory of God may be magnified everywhere on earth: "that we may serve the Lord in one spirit and one soul, all the days." At the end of the letter Schaaf gives his address in Dutch: *Carolo Schaaf Leeraer der Oostersche taelen in de Academie tot Leyden*.

The Gregorios mentioned by Mar Thoma in his letter is the one who arrived in Malabar in 1665; he came from Jerusalem where he resided in the old monastery of Mar Markos with the rank of Metropolitan; he died in 1672, in Kerala where he was called Patriarch. One gets the impression that the *Maphriâns* (a title unknown in the old form of Christianity of Kerala) were sometimes called Patriarchs by the Jacobites of Malabar. Basilios and John arrived in 1685; they came from the monastery of Mar Mattay (not far from Mosul), seat of the Maphriân. Mar Iwannis (John) died in 1693. The story of Mar Gabriel is known from various sources and the library of the University of Amsterdam has a letter sent by him to Holland, as we shall see; cf. Germann, p. 544 ss.

The Syriac of the letter of Maha Thoma is not outstanding, to say the least; from its style and contents it is clear that he is still under the influence of the old traditions of the Christians of St Thomas. The way he addresses the Patriarch of Antioch is reminiscent of ES tradition and ideas. The Nestorian Patriarch was the supreme head of his Church, responsible to nobody and successor of St Peter to the Church of the East. An echo of this resounds in the terminology of the letter.

Schaaf did not understand the Christology of the Orientals and he was not familiar with the East-Syriac script used by Maha Thoma. In the introduction he says that it took him one and a half days to study the script (p.3), and also that high-ranking Roman Catholics were interested in the Latin version of the letter, which was communicated to the Papal Nuncio in Belgium (p.4). Schaaf was honest enough to confess his own faith in the two natures of Christ, about which the Jacobites refused to speak. Though born in Germany (Duisburg) he had nevertheless something of the nature of the Dutch merchant in his trying to take advantage of his new acquaintance to sell him his edition of the New Testament and to acquire valuable manuscripts.

The second letter of Mar Thoma, written on 20-1-1715, reached Schaaf only in 1720 (see manuscripts of Amsterdam). In 1720 Mar Thoma wrote another letter to the Patriarch of Antioch, residing at the time in the present Kurdistan (Mardin or Amid). It was not written from Kandanaḏ like the first one, but from (northern) Parur. Most probably it did not reach Holland but was intercepted and sent to Rome, where Assemani found it in the archives of the Propaganda; he published it in his BiOr III/2 (p.464-466) with a Latin translation (pp. 466-468). In the letter Mar Thoma mentions his Dutch friend Carolus, doctor, orientalist and philosopher, who was very dear to him and was living at

Amsterdam (Schaaf lived at Leiden, but the address of the Company was at Amsterdam). In the beginning of the letter Mar Thoma calls himself the fifth Bishop of this name, whereas he was in reality Thomas IV; several hypotheses have been made to explain this (see Germann, p.547). This instance is not an isolated one: in Vat Syr 22 the Nestorian Patriarch Yahballaha III is called Yahballaha V, whereas the late Mar Simûn XXI used to call himself Simûn XXIII. In our letter the author may have thought of St Thomas, the founder of the Church in S. India, as the first one of this name. Mar Thoma had so little idea of what the Dutch really were, that he called the board of governors of the Company *King Kûmpasi* (=King Company). The contents of the letter are about the same as those of the first one: Thoma asks again to send to India a Patriarch, a Metropolitan and two priests. Until now, he writes, there came to Malabar Mar Grigoriôs, fifth Patriarch of Jerusalem; Mar Andreôs; a Maphrian Mar Basiliôs *qatolîqa*; Mar Iwannis Metropolitan; rabban Mattay (a monk). He complains again of the activities of Mar Gabriel mentioned in the first letter, and says that a priest Mattay Betikûtel and some "Roman Franks" had joined him and that neither he nor his priests or people were able to refute him, because of their lack of knowledge. Schaaf died on 4-11-1729 and his son Jan Hendrik continued the correspondence, but not for long. See Amsterdam Syriac Manuscripts mentioned in this book.

The Syriac MSS from Kerala, owned by the Library of Leiden, are numbered by M. J. de Goeje in his catalogue *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium* (of Leiden) as Nos. MMCCCXLIX-MMCCCLII, but they are mostly known as Cod. 1204, 1212-1215 (MMCCCLI = 1213-1214). In this catalogue, Vol. I, p. 72, de Goeje notes that 1212-1215 seem to have been given to Schaaf in 1720 by the Nestorian Metropolitan Gabriel, as he concludes from a letter written on 15-3 of the same year and preserved in the library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam, MS 7 IV 4.

1. Cod. 1204. A volume of 217 ff., $19 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ cms., 20 lines. ES. It contains the four Gospels. Inside, attached to the over, is a letter dated 22-1-1724, attesting that Adam Van der Duin, former commander of Ceylon (and earlier of Cochin) had sent this book to Wolpherdus Sanguerdus, librarian of the public library at Leiden, on 4-10-1723. The book is of no special interest. John 7,53-8, 11 is missing.

2. Cod. 1212. A book of 211 + 192 ff., 21×15 cms., 20 lines, ES, is preserved in two volumes. The first one contains the four Gospels (without John 7,53-8,11), the second part has Acts ; James ; 1 Peter ; 1 John ; the XIV Epistles of St Paul. There is no colophon, but at the end of the 2nd volume there are some words which suggest a Jacobite origin of the book. Parts of a WS MS were used for the binding (parts of Judges 1-6). It was sent to Schaaf by Mar Gabriel.

3. Cod. 1213 is wrongly listed as a codex. It is a long sheet composed of three (double) leaves of a normal codex, stuck together; $120 \times 28-30$ cms. ES. It contains a short history of the Church in Malabar since the coming of St Thomas. The text has been published by J.P.N. Land *Anecdota Syriaca*, I Leiden 1863, pp. 123-127. The story, written by a priest Mattay (a Jacobite) is highly legendary and has little historical value. According to the text St Thomas arrived in India in A.D. 52 ; a merchant called Thomas went from Jerusalem to Edessa and from there to Malabar ; having stayed some time in S. India he returned and reported to the Syrians what he had seen. After this he went back to India, accompanied by a Bishop, priests, deacons, men, women and children. They arrived in 345 A.D. In 893 Sapor and prot., accompanied by Sabrišo came to India. They went to the king of Kulam and got some land from him. The documents also mentions the coming to India of the Bishops Mar Denḥa, Mar Toma, Mar Yahballaha. In 1580 (*sic*) came

Mar Abraham. During 52 years after his death there was no Bishop ; then the schism took place. The document is interesting because it reveals that certain historical traditions were still preserved in Kerala in the time of the copyist, c. 1700 A.D., though distorted. The Jacobite Patriarch is called “*qatol'qa* of the East”, after the ES fashion.

4. Cod. 1214. The same text as above, in Malayalam.

5. Cod. 1215. A volume of 82 ff., 19×14 cms., 19-22 lines, ES. Written by at least two different hands. It shows signs of frequent use and since it was sent to Schaaf in 1723, it must have been copied before that year, probably in the second half of the 17th century. The first 43 ff. contain the ritual of some Sacraments and liturgical blessings, all taken from the Roman rite. Then follows the *Ordo ad Sancta mysteria*, f.44, with from f.52 to the end a text for the Mass, ending (*sic*) with the double introduction of the anaphora (*l'el nehwon*... and *l'el bawmrawmê*...), f.82v. From this it is clear that the missal is incomplete ; it is a Catholic one and of not much importance for our study.

The same library has also a Syriac translation of the biblical Book of Revelation, 62 ff., 16×11 cms, 13 lines. WS. It was copied by the well-known scribe Caspar or Gaspar, a native of Malabar. The MSS is listed by de Goeje as N^o MMCCCXLV. The only relationship of this book with Kerala was that the copyist or translator was born there. It does not belong to the Syriac literature of Kerala. 16th century.

F. Municipal University Library, Amsterdam

The “room of manuscripts” of this university (to be distinguished from the “free” = Protestant university in the same town) has under No. EH3 a large portfolio containing about 20 miscellaneous documents, with “correspondence, in Syriac, between Mar Thoma, Bishop of the Christians of St Thomas near the coast of Malabar, Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, Carolus Schaaf and other

persons" (=rubrication, in Dutch, on the portfolio). This correspondence is largely unknown, though Germann and Land have written on it. We may suppose that the collection once belonged to the Archives of the United Dutch East Indian Company, which is now preserved in the Hague. It took some time to discover it at Amsterdam, and I wish to thank the keeper for the trouble she took to find them. In the following pages we give first a conspectus of the collection, with some comments. The first scholar who has studied the MSS, after the death of Schaaf and his son, is J. P. N. Land, professor at Leiden. In his *Anecdota Syriaca* I, 1862, he mentions them and published the one preserved in Leiden library, as we have already mentioned. Land showed them to W. Germann who used them in his book (p. 534 ss.). On p. 539 Germann says that at his request Land studied the dossier and made for him an abstract of it in Dutch. This abstract has been published by Land in the form of an article *Smeekbeden der Malabaarse Christenen, 1700-1728*, in "Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indie", 3rd series, part 6 (= Vol. 18 of the whole series), 's Gravenhage, 1871. We shall revert to this article (quoted as *Sm.*), but first we give a survey of the contents of the portfolio, as they are described and catalogued in the dossier, adding a few remarks:

A. *Letters of Mar Thomas, Bishop of India, to his Patriarch Ignatius of Antioch.*

1. a. First letter, ES, paper, glued on parchment. 1709 A.D.
- b. A copy of this letter in WS writing, made by Schaaf.
- c. A Latin version with some notes.
- d. A Dutch version, less literal than the Latin one.

N.B. a and c are published in the *Relatio* of Schaaf.

2. A third (*see below*) letter, dated 27-10-1721 with a copy in the same handwriting: k. 1-2.

N.B. A second letter was intercepted by Catholics and sent to Rome: it is now in the Archives of the Propaganda, and

was published by Assemani, BiOr III/2, p. 464-466, with a Latin translation, pp. 466-468.

B. Letters of Mar Thoma written to C. Schaaf, and one of Mar Gabriel.

1. e. A letter in ES script, dated 20-1-1715 A.D.
2. f. A letter in ES script, dated 1717 A.D.
3. (g. A letter in ES script, written Mar Gabriel, the intruder).
4. h. 1+2. A letter in WS script, with some vocal signs. According to the envelope (= 2) the letter was forwarded by Schaaf to the Board of Seventeen of the United East Indian Company, Amsterdam. Dated 30-9-1720.
5. i. 1+2. A letter in WS script, dated 26-10-1721, with an envelope.
6. j. A letter in WS script, dated 26-9-1721, with an envelope.

These are followed by a letter describing the miraculous construction of a church by the Apostle St Thomas. On the back Mar Thoma apologizes for the delay of the letter.

C. l. Letter from Mar Thoma to the Governor-General of the Company at Batavia on the isle of Java. Dated 6-1-1728. ES.

D. m. A letter from Mar Thoma to "King Company", dated 6-1-1728. At the end the author asks Schaaf to be his intercessor with the Company. ES.

E. o. 1-5. A letter from Schaaf to Mar Thoma dated Leiden 20-1-1713 with copies. WS.

p. 1+2. Two Latin versions of the letter.

q. 1+2 Two Dutch versions of the same letter.

N.B. This letter has been edited by Schaaf in his *Relatio*.

F. r. Letter from Johannes Henricus Schaaf (son of Carolus) to Mar Thoma, 1730. WS with vowel signs.

G. s. 1+2. A letter from Christophorus Theodosius Walther, addressed to Mar Thoma in the name of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. Dated 1725. With Latin translation.

t. Address (on an envelope) of Mar Thoma, written in Syriac by C.Schaaf.

N.B. According to Land, *Sm.* p. 162, there is also a letter written by J. H. Schaaf to Mar Thoma, dated 14-10-1735.

The letters of Mar Thoma are written in defective Syriac and a nice ES hand. Since Schaaf answered in WS script, the only one he knew well, Mar Thoma (or rather his secretary) used it in some letters. In his first letter (A, 1, a) Mar Thoma wrote more or less the same things as in the letter which was intercepted and sent to the Propaganda. Both letters are addressed to the Syrian Orthodox Antiochian Patriarch of whom Thoma only knew the common name, borne by a number of them until today : Ignatius, whose full name was Ignatius Basilius Isaac II (1709-1724). The 1st letter was written in Kandanad (to the south of Cochin), the second in northern Parur, 25 *Elul* (=Sept.), 1720 A.D. (*sic* : no Greek era), in the Church of the blessed Apostle St Thomas. Signed : "The Gate of All India." In this letter the author calls Ignatius "Patriarch of the whole Church of the East" and addresses him in the same form on which the Nestorian Patriarchs used to be addressed. The fact that this style and ceremonious forms were not unknown to Thoma may indicate that he had knowledge of old documents in which these were used. Mar Thoma complains of the activities of the Metropolitan Gabriel, an intruder, sent (according to him) by the (Nestorian) Catholicos Mar Eliah (whose full name is Mar Eliah XI Maroghin, 1700-1722) from Nineveh (he resided in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, in the mountains to the north of Nineveh-Mosul). Mar Eliah arrived, it is told, in 1709. Then the author mentions Carolus Schaaf who became his friend and who lived, as he believed, at Amsterdam. He asks the Patriarch to send a letter to the Dutch commander of Cochin asking him to help Thoma and his faithful against the Roman Catholics. As he believes the commander of Cochin is subject to the "King of the whole of India," called by him

malka kûmpasi (= King Company;) He complains that Gabriel admits two natures in Christ, which a Jacobite would never do; this proves that Mar Thoma firmly believed the Jacobite (Monophysite) Christological doctrine certainly inculcated by the Antiochian prelates from the Middle East. Mary is called the Mother of God.

Mar Thoma complained of a priest Mattay (most probably of his flock) who had joined Mar Gabriel with some "Franks". According to Assemani the letter is "*barbaro Syrorum Malabarum sermone exaratum*", and though these words are very strong, there is some truth in them. Land accepts this though he does not use the word "barbarous", (*Sm.*, p. 153).

On 27-10-1721 Thomas wrote a third letter to his Patriarch (A k, 1) with a copy (A k, 2). It seems that none of the three reached their destination. The third letter is more or less identical with the two former ones; Mar Thoma tried in vain to contact and inform his highest religious superior.

The Jacobite Bishop had also a lively correspondence with C. Schaaf. The (first) letter written by Schaaf to Mar Thoma from Leiden was dated 20-12-1713; he published it in *Relatio*. Mar Thoma answered him in two letters, one written on 20-1-1715 (B 1, e), the other in 1717 (B 2, f). Both letters reached Schaaf only in 1720, from Batavia. In the first one he says that in olden times the Christians of St Thomas used to receive their Bishops from the Patriarchs of Antioch (*sic*). He intimates his (Jacobite) confession of faith and informs Schaaf that his Church has no other Apostolic books than those of the New Testament, known to Schaaf, who had sent him a Syriac New Testament, edited by him. At the end he asks the help of Schaaf and of his Dutch compatriots against the Portuguese and their clergy, who give money to the Christians subjected to their authority and also to the pagan kings of the country. Then he

relates the story of monk Athalla (an intruder, as we know), who came from the Middle East, pretending to be a Patriarch and who had been received with great joy. His fate became the direct occasion of the secession of a part of the Christians of St Thomas from those who obeyed the Portuguese and their priests. According to Mar Thoma Athalla had been drowned by the Portuguese when they forcibly brought him to Goa on a ship. This is not true; the unhappy man arrived at where he was condemned to death by the Inquisition and was executed (1654).

The second letter is a copy of the preceding one; some poetical lines have been added and the date is 10-10-1717, Chenganoor.

The third letter is dated 26-10-1721 (B. 5, i, 1-2; i 2 is the envelope). It was written from northern Parur, in WS script. Thomas asked Schaaf to obtain for him a document of recommendation to the authorities of the Company, written in Dutch and in Syriac and addressed to the commander of the fortress of Cochin. Generally those commanders did not remain in office longer than three years, and it is only natural that Mar Thoma wished to possess a recommendation of permanent value. Among other things Mar Thoma formulated the wish that two young Dutchmen be sent to him for purposes of study. There are reasons to think that some young Indians were sent to Leiden for the same purpose. This time Schaaf could not answer: he died on 4-1-1720. His son answered instead.

Mar Thoma also wrote letters to the Governor-General of the United East Indian Company at Batavia, Java (C 1) and one to "King Kumpasi", as he called the Company, in his eyes a mighty "king". This detail shows how superficial the relations were between Mar Thoma and the Dutch. Both letters were written from Kandanad on 6-1-1728. In them the author asks the Dutch to be delivered from the "*Sampaulites*" (=the Jesuits) and the Carmelites.

The letter to King Company has been translated by Land Sm., pp. 151-152.

Then we have a letter written as an answer to schaaf by the intruder Mar Gabriel (wrongly listed in the portfolio, among the letters of Mar Thoma), as if schaaf had written his letter(s) not to Mar Thoma, but to him. For this Gabriel see Tisserant-Hambye, pp 92, 143-144 ; Germann, pp. 542-544. The letter purports to have been written in the house of the commander of Cochin, "king of All India, of the sea and the dry land." The letter was dictated to the priest Mattay, probably the same one as mentioned in several letters of Mar Thoma, who had joined Mar Gabriel with some "Franks". Gabriel calls schaaf a *kahnā*, a priest and informs him that he is sending him a copy of the Syriac New Testament, containing the 4 Gospels, Acts, James, Peter, John and the 14 Epistles of St Paul. The MS is now No. 1212 at the manuscripts of the University of Leiden.

Afterwards Gabriel intimates a part of his *Credo*, affirming that in Christ are two natures *wšarka* (=etc.; Gabriel evidently did not wish to say more and betray his Nestorian tenets). He asks Schaaf to send him a copy of his New Testament and one of the Prophets (=the Old Testament?). He also asks Schaaf to help him to send some of his personal letters to Nineveh, to be delivered to Mar Eliah *qatolīqa Patriarkīs* of the East (=Mar Eliah XI Maroghin, Nestorian Patriarch, residing in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, c. 30 kms. to the north of Mosul-Nineveh). At the end he expresses his desire to be liberated from the "Franks" who oppress the Syrians, who should revert to their old traditions. This document of 30 lines has three wax seals affixed to it : two brown ones and a red one. Signing the letter Gabriel calls himself, in the traditional style, "the weak and miserable" Metropolitan of the Orthodox Syrians. One has to bear in mind that "orthodox" does not mean the same for the Greeks as for other Orientals; for the Byzantines it means

right in doctrine (*doxa* = doctrine) for the Syrians : "rightly to be praised (*dōxa* = praise, in Syriac *šubḥa*). The letter was written by the priest Mattay, in not too nice a WS script without the use of lines.

G s, 1 is a letter written in Syriac (WS) to Mar Thoma by Christophorus Theodosius Walther, in his own name and in that of three other Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, at the east coast of S. India (Coromandel Coast), c. 100 kms. to the south of Pondicherry. It was written in the 'Church of Jerusalem' at Tranquebar in 1725. The missionaries had received information about the letter of Schaaf of 27-10-1721. The writer said that the missionaries had been sent by God and by the king of Denmark to the infidels of the Coromandel Coast. Their faith is the same as Schaaf's they write, as may be seen from a booklet sent with the letter. They announce that they have translated the New Testament into Tamil (a Dravidian language, akin to the Malayālam of Malabar) and also half of the Old Testament. The letter had been sent to Kandanad and from there it was forwarded to Schaaf, whom it reached a few days before his death. G s, 2 is a Latin translation of the letter.

F r is a letter written by Johannes Henricus Schaaf, son of Carolus, in 1730 (the year after his father's death), in WS script. It contains, most important of all a warning against the Danish missionaries ! Because Schaaf Jr. has misread the series of their names, taking each Christian name for a personal one, he thought that there were ten missionaries instead of four.

According to Land, *Sm.* p. 162, Schaaf Jr. wrote another letter to Mar Thoma, dated 14-10-1735. In this letter he enumerates the earlier letters sent to Malabar and received from there. He warns once more against the Danish missionaries (perhaps inspired by political motives : Danish-Dutch competition?) and urgently asks for an answer, as he had received no news since 1728.

From the contents of the correspondence which we reviewed above, we may draw the following conclusions:

1. Mar Thoma considered the Portuguese his irreconcilable opponents. He has no good things to say about them. This was the outcome of the secession which had held good for about half a century already. The split of the community into two parts had been total. The aversion of the two parts to each other was probably strongest in both hierarchies less between the faithful; at present this is the situation in the Middle East with regard to the Oriental Christians of various rites and jurisdictions.

2. Mar Thoma did not know where his Antiochian Patriarch was living, nor did he know his full name. From this it appears that he had no genuine relations with him. The Jacobite prelates who had come to Malabar since the secession may have told the Christians of St Thomas that they were subjects of the same Patriarchs who used to send Bishops to S.India in earlier times, the Patriarchs of the "Church of the East". Mar Thoma invoked the help of the Patriarch against the "Franks", not knowing how this could be implemented, probably relying on the collaboration of the Dutch.

3. Having been separated from the Middle East centre of ES learning, we have no reason to be surprised that his Syriac was rather poor, though he (or his secretary) had still a nice ES handwriting. Since Schaaf only knew the WS script (he had to decipher the script of the first letter written to him in ES characters), Mar Thoma took care to see that some letters to Schaaf were written in WS script.

4. Mar Thoma was very much upset by the activities of Mar Gabriel, which implies that they were of greater importance than his letters make us to believe. The principal person who went over to the intruder's party seems to have been the priest Mattay, who was familiar with the WS script.

5. Mar Thoma had only a legendary knowledge of the ancient history of the Christians of St Thomas. Even his knowledge of its recent history (that is, since the arrival of the Portuguese) was inadequate. The authenticity of various legends is taken for granted by him. One of these legends is the story of the coming of the merchant Thomas Cana to S.India in A. D. 345 (as he says), though this may have an historical foundation.

6. Mar Thoma complains of the poor state of his community: it has no learned men, able to argue against the "Franks". This implies that the influence of the Portuguese clergy was rising. He accepts with joy the moral help given to him by Carolus schaaf, whom he considered to be a very learned man of great influence. The Nestorian Metropolitan Gabriel may have thought the same, since he also wrote to Schaaf. The letters from Malabar are very verbose; Thomas repeats himself in subsequent letters, fearing that the preceding letters had not reached their destination. Considering the enormous size and length of the letters, their contents are rather thin. Their style, though "eastern" is somewhat decadent and so is also his grammar. The original letters provide us with some authentic episcopal seals of the time.

G. Archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome

For our study we did not deem it necessary to go through the archives of the *Congregatio De Propaganda Fide*, Rome, to look for documents in Syriac. We have already quoted the letter published by Assemani. The archives preserve a number of letters written from Malabar to Rome. The correspondence was conducted in Portuguese or in Latin. In spite of this some letters bear signatures in Syriac, or even in Malayālam. So we find in Scrit. Ref. Or., Vol. 232 f.101 a letter dated 1657 A.D. and signed in Syriac by the priests Alexandros, Markos, Luqa, Alexandros, Jacob, Joseph, Jacob, Abraham.

f. 149 (same volume). A.D. 1658 : the priests Mattay and Mattay ; the deacon Abraham; some six Malayālam names. Written at Matancheri, in Portuguese, no Port. signatures. At the *verso* 26 signatures in Malayālam and three in Syriac: of the priests Jacob and Giwargîs and the deacon Mattay. All those priests and deacons signed a petition, addressed to Rome, that Fr Joseph de S. Maria, Carmelite and Apostolic Delegate may return to Malabar (which he had left on 17-1-1658, cf. Tisserant-Hambye, p. 82).

f. 201, A.D. 1658. A letter in Malayālam, signed in Syriac characters by the priests Jacob and Zachariah.

f. 215, A.D. 1658. Signature of the priest Mattay in Syriac and three Port. signatures.

f. 230, A.D. 1658. Three Port. signatures and those of the priests Thomas, Paulos and Luka in Syriac.

f. 244, A.D. 1658. Five Prot. signatures and those of the priests Alexandros and Jacob (?) in Syriac.

f. 245, A.D. 1658. Three Prot. signatures and those of the priests Jacob and Giwargîs in Syriac.

f. 278, A.D. Syriac sign. of the priest Alexandros.

f. 279, A.D. 1659. Various signatures, among which one is of the priest Alexandros (since this name occurs so often, it seems probable that it was the one of Alexander de Campos, the later Bishop).

f. 233, A.D. 1659. A sign. of the priest Simon in Syriac, another one in Malayālam and two in Portuguese.

Why did so many priests write their names in Syriac or Malayālam characters? Though a number of them may not have been able to write their names in Portuguese (European, Roman) characters, there is no reason to think that none of them could do so (e. g. Alexander de Campos). But the name was, so to say, a kind of prolongation of the personality and the indigenous Malabarians considered themselves above all as "Syrians" (ecclesiastically). In spite of the Portuguese authority or domination, the self-consciousness of the Christians of St Thomas and their clergy had not disappeared.

H. Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome

In the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus a letter, or rather a short treatise, has been preserved, written in Syriac and in Latin by Father Francis Roz, S. J., missionary in S. India, where he became Bishop of Angamali. It was discovered by P. Castets, S. J., a member of the Jesuit mission at Trichinopoly (in S. India, Tamil Nadu, to the N.E. of Maduray). It has been edited by Fr Hausherr S. J., with a foreword by Castets in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XI/1 (=No. 40), Rome 1928, pp. 1-35 : *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali versantur, Auctore Francisco Roz S.I. Inédit Latin-Syriaque de la fin de 1586 ou du début de 1587, retrouvé par le P. Castets S.I., missionnaire à Trichinopoly, Annoté par le P. Irénée Hausherr S.I.* In his historical introduction (pp.5-10) Castets refers to other unedited documents of the same time (not in Syriac) and preserved in the Roman archives of the Society. He is not favourably disposed towards the Mesopotamian Bishops Joseph and Abraham but he praises Roz (who was certainly a man of genius, as his *curriculum vitae* reveals). Roz was born in Catalonia in 1557, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1575, went to India in 1583 where he became Professor of Syriac in 1584. He also knew Malayalam and preached in that language. In 1585 he accompanied Mar Abraham to a Provincial Council at Goa, where he suppressed the name and the Office of Nestorius from the liturgy. He tried to compile a personal collection of Syriac books, but in most cases he had to be content with reading those belonging to indigenous priests and to take notes. He was the first to compose religious books in Malayalam (among which is a book of Christian doctrine and a collection of prayers). In 1600 he became Latin Bishop of Angamali, in 1608 Archbishop of the diocese, to which the See of Cranganore was added in 1610. He died at Cranganore on 16-2-1624. Two years later his body was found "incorrupted" when it had to be translated. Castets does not say where the mortal remains of the Bishop found

their last resting place, but Tisserant-Hambye notes (p.75, note 1) that his tomb-stone can be seen in the old church of northern Parur, one of the churches said to have been founded by St Thomas.

In his treatise Roz makes it clear that he strongly suspects Bishop Abraham of heresy since he (unlike many others) knew both the Catholic and the Nestorian doctrines, a reason for which Roz could not forgive him dubious or unorthodox expressions or formulae. In matters of doctrine or faith Roz was indulgent towards those who did not know better. He mentions four printed editions of the Syriac New Testament, which he may have brought with him : Plantin, Antwerp 1575 (Moss : *Catalogue : Antwerp ? 1575?* a re-issue of the ed. of Antwerp 1574 in Hebrew characters); Vienne 1556, Antwerp 1567, Heidelberg 1568 (there were also other editions). Roz thought that the Syriac text of the NT as used in Malabar, was corrupt in various places ; his series of "corrupted" places is almost the same as the one found in the Acts of Diamper, Actio III, Decr. 2 &3.

Roz found the first Nestorian christological text with an old priest who held it in great esteem "because of his ignorance", p. 20/2. Nevertheless, he says, they publicly call the blessed Virgin the "Mother of God". This custom was certainly not Pre-Portuguese, but either introduced by the Latins or by Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham, who were catholics even before they left the Middle East.

On p. 27 Roz mentions bar Kaldôn and wrote in the margin : "This book was partly corrected by Mar Abraham when he lived in Goa."

He lists 43 texts considered by him Nestorian, found among the Syriac books he consulted. Of those 30 are christological ones, 10 are words of praise for Theodore, Diodore and Nestorius and three others. Besides he has listed 4 texts in Latin, the first three of which he had

found "long ago" (*olim*) and which he still remembered having translated them into Latin. He mentions the book *Paresman*, condemned by Diamper, Actio III, Decr. 14 (end) because of its magic contents. Hausherr thinks that the quotation is rather from the *Liber Sortium*, equally condemned by Diamper in the middle of the same decree). Using this book, many priests predicated the future by touching with closed eyes letters arranged in a special way etc.

P.33 : The Sacraments of Confirmation and Last Unction are unknown ; there is also no Consecration of Chrism or Holy Oil. Holy orders are received for payment even by very young persons ; the minor orders were given together and so also the subdeaconate, deaconate and priesthood. From these words we can conclude that under Latin influence, the subdeaconate already belonged to the major orders. If one bears in mind that the Nestorian clergy, priests not excepted, could not only be married but were even allowed to marry after their ordination, one need not be surprised that very young persons (Diamper : *adolescentes, immo impuberes*, Actio VII, De Ordine, Decr. 1) could be ordained. The ordination did not prevent them from a later marriage if they chose to contract one. According to Roz, all the clerics, except a few, were *ebriosi*, which probably means that in his eyes they indulged too much in dinking strong beverages (like the palm-wine, now called *toddy*). More astonishing things were told about Nestorius (*mira de Nestorio*) evidently things Roz could not approve.

P. 34/5: Roz is very indignant in Mar Abraham and he accuses him of being dishonest; a thousand times he had promised at Goa, even under oath, he said, that he would correct the Syriac books, but nothing of the kind happened. He pretends to be holy and just, Roz continued, but one should look at his works ; he should be removed from his office because of heresy.

Hausherr concludes that the words of Roz make it clear that he was the principal man who prepared the Synod of

Diamper. It is on the other hand clear, that Archbishop Menezes has formulated the Decrees in his own way and that Roz did not accept all of them. He held his own Synod in Angamali at the end of 1603.

I. Some Other Manuscripts

a. The Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in Germany (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band V, Julius Assfalg, *Syrische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1963), p. 139, No. 65, mentions a MS No.111 of the Dombibliothek, Freising in Germany (near München). It is a collection of 4 leaves of different sizes (the biggest one 36 × 43 cms.) in ES handwriting. The text consists of addresses of congratulations offered by the seminarians of the seminary of Puthenpally to their Rector, Fr Bonifatius of the Heart of Mary on his name-day, 11-6-1885. The first leaf contains a congratulation in Syriac, the second leaf one in Latin, the third one in English, whereas f. 4r is written in three columns: English, Syriac, Latin. On the back, f. 4v, there is a text in Malayalam.

b. Catalogue of the Syro-Chaldean library of the (Chaldean) monastery of Our Lady of the Seeds near Alqoš in Iraq (to the north of Mosul). This catalogue has been edited by Jacques Vosté, O. P., *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Syro-Chaldéenne du couvent de Notre Dame des mences près d'Alqoš*, Rome-Paris 1928, 143 pages. Because of the war which had been raging in Northern Iraq between the troops of the government and the revolting Kurds (it all began in 1974), the library of the monastery had to be evacuated and to be brought to a safer place near Baghdad. All the attempts of the present writer to have a copy of some pages of one of the MSS have so far failed. None of my letters was answered, which may be regarded as an oriental way of making clear that those ecclesiastical persons to whom I addressed myself could not help me.

Two items of this library are important for our study: Nos.85 and 224. No.85 is an ES MS of 20 quires (*sic*, Vosté),

30 × 20 cms., 25–28 lines, 1886 A.D. It is a book of “Dogmata of the Chaldeans”, in 1884 translated from Latin into Syriac by Samuel Giamil, Superior General of the Chaldean Monks. We are not concerned with the text of this book, but with the appendices. The following are listed by Vosté:

1. History of the coming of Malabarian Indians to the Patriarch of the Church of the East in 1801 A. Gr. (=1490 A.D.).

2. A copy of the letter they brought with them.

3. A letter of Mar Simon, Bishop of Beit Arsām, written in 1515 A. D. (pp. 15–22).

4. A letter from Pope Julius III (1550–1555) to John Sûlaqa, written on 6–6–1553 (quire 19, p. 22–quire 20, p. 5).

5. Letter from Mar Eliah VI (1558–1576) to the Franciscans of Aleppo, dated 1615 ; quire 20, pp. 5–6.

The first of these items may well be the story, first published in Assemani's BiOr III/1, pp. 590–592, found in Vat Syr 204. In Assemani this is followed by a letter written from India by the newly ordained Mesopotamian Bishops. But in the MS of Alqos the second document is said to be the letter the three Malabarian Christians took with them on their journey to the Patriarch of the East, then residing at Mosul. If Vosté did not make a mistake (he was a very careful scholar) this letter has never been published and we would like to know more about it.

MS 224 is a collection of 53 letters or their copies sent by the clergy of Malabar to Father Giamil, at that time Vicar General of the Patriarch of the Chaldeans in Rome ; at the end there are some other letters relating to the same subject. The MS measures 33½ × 24 cms., 16 quires (*sic*, Vosté), 26 lines a page. Completed on 20-6-1903 in the monastery of Our Lady of the Seeds by the monk Paul.

From this document it appears that letters belonging to a long correspondence between the Malabarian Chaldeans and those of the Middle East are not only available in various places in Kerala, but also in Chaldean libraries of the Middle East. The whole correspondence merits a special study, but this would go beyond the limits of this book.

APPENDIX

Some Survivals of Ancient Pre-Portuguese Customs among the Christians of St Thomas in Kerala

In this concluding chapter we wish to draw the attention of the reader to some of the many customs of the St Thomas Christians which have survived from pre-Portuguese times and have something to do with Christian religion. We made a choice among those things which struck us personally during our visits to Kerala since 1963.

1. We do not wish to insist on the preservation of at least a part of the old liturgy and its language: Syriac, in its Eastern variant which is slightly different from the Western one, used by the Jacobites, Maronites and Catholic Syrians. We have said enough on the preservation of the East-Syriac script which is gradually being replaced by the West-Syriac one in the Syrian Orthodox community. In the Nestorian and Chaldean communities of the Near East the liturgical language is pronounced after the manner of the spoken modern Syriac or Aramaic. For this reason the Nestorian Patriarch was called Mar Simûn (pronounce: Shlemoön) and not Sim'ôn, as it should be. A more ancient (and more correct) pronunciation has been preserved in Kerala. The hard and explosive pronunciation of the *pe* is even preserved in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy; I always heard *pagro* (=body) instead of *fragô*, which is the WS pronunciation. The pronunciation of the WS of the Middle East is now strongly influenced by Arabic; the short *a*

became an *ê* (as in the English word *hat*). I did not observe this and other Arabizations in the Malankara liturgical language.

In Eastern Syriac double consonants are pronounced sharply, so for example in *qaddîš*=holy, which through dissimilation, became *qandîš* in the Syriac of the Catholic Syro-Malabarians. The Jacobites say *qadîš*. In the copying of texts in WS script the East Syriac system of vocalization is generally used, not the WS one, which one may find in comparatively recent manuscripts. In some manuscripts, even WS ones, the *garšûni* is also used, which is based on the ES script. This can be seen in my personal copy of the liturgy for the dead, written in ordinary and not too bad WS script with ES and some WS vowel signs (the WS ones may have been later added), and dated 1848 A.D.

Quite a number of words of the ES ecclesiastical language are now commonly used in Malayalam by both Syro-Malabarians and Malankarites. A list of a number of these was made for me by Father Matthew Chempothinal, L. Ph., L.D., in the Bishop's house called Marygiri at Tiruvalla; the Bishop and his diocese are Malankarites. We put the list into alphabetical order and transcribed the words as he did, that is according to the English pronunciation. One has to take into account that 'ain and 'ale are not pronounced, and the aspirated *t* (in English *th*) became an *s*. Those words marked with an asterisk (*) are also used in non-Christian circles.

1. *besqudisha*: Holy of Holies=the sanctuary of the church.
2. *dayra**: monastery.
3. *denha*: Epiphany.
4. *hasha*: passion.
5. *yalda*: Christmas.

but malabar q u g lion p. 106

6. *kadîsha**: holy.
7. *kahana*: priest.
8. *kahnûsa*: priestly office.
9. *kala*: voice (hymn).
10. *kappa**: cope.
11. *kasa**: chalice.
12. *kashîsha**: priest.
13. *lilya*: night prayer.
14. *madbaha**: sanctuary.
15. *malaka**: angel.
16. *malpân(a)**: teacher.
17. *manodîsa**: baptism.
18. *mawdyanûsa*: confession.
19. *mawrba*: praise.
20. *ntîya**: prophet.
21. *paraklîta*: advocate.
22. *pilusa**: paten.
23. *qurbana**: mass, eucharistic liturgy.
24. *rambân**: superior, teacher (monk; originally *rabbân*; also *rembân*)
25. *ramsha*: vespers.
26. *rasa**: mystery, High Mass, procession.
27. *rûha*: spirit.
28. *sahda**: martyr.
29. *sapra*: morning prayers, lauds.
30. *shalîta*: authority.
31. *shlîha**: apostle.
32. *taksa**: order (on ritual, etc.).
33. *tablîta*: tablet (wooden tablet, for Mass).

Many more words than these have passed into Malayâlam, for example *trûnga*=citron (from *trûga*, *eṭrûga*); *kandîl*=candle; also the Syriac word *akelqarṣa*=accuser, adversary, slanderer passed into Syriac, as someone told me without knowing its origin. In a Syriac-Malayâlam list of words I found *rabba*=*malpân*. It is probable that Syriac

was not understood by most of the faithful and the Diamper Synod even complains that a good many priests had hardly any knowledge of it.

2. Liturgy.

The organization of the liturgy was, of course, a matter for the clergy. According to the Synod of Diamper, the greater part of the faithful did not understand anything of Syriac (*cuius linguæ est penitus ignara*; Actio VIII, Decr. 18). For this reason the people could not participate actively in the recitation of the divine office (the canonical hours), but one may assume that some were present at morning or evening prayers, especially at evening prayer or during a part of it, as one can still see in the Syrian Orthodox churches. Daily Mass was unknown in the Church of the East.

We saw that with respect to the eucharistic liturgy, it seems possible that the anaphora of Diodorus was still known in Kerala when it had already disappeared in other parts of the Church of the East. During the form of celebration of the Eucharist (the old one) now called *raza* there is a special ceremony which is only known in Kerala in the Syro-Malabar rite and of which I did not find mention in those manuscripts which describe the *raza* and record its *taksa*. After the (ancient) ceremony of the dismissal of the catechumens and before the Creed a curious ceremony takes place, unknown today in the Nestorian or Chaldean rite. It is described in the booklet *An English Version of Rasa*, Verapoly 1924, pp. 60-63. The priest and his assistants go into the nave of the church, where a square veil with a cross (referred to in *An English Version* ..., p. 60 as "the carpet") is spread on the ground. Now follows a rather complex ceremony, of which it is enough to say here that it consists mainly of a number of prostrations at the four sides of the "carpet". A special prayer is said,

the celebrant beginning with: "Let thy priests put on justice and thy just glory;" here he prostrates himself and the choir sings: "The priest on entering before the altar of sanctity, stretches his hands in purity to the heavens, and calls down the Spirit and He descends from on high and sanctifies the blood of Christ." After this song the priest and deacon sing: "We will enter into his tabernacle and adore his footstool."

In ancient times there was a platform in the middle of the church (*bém*) where the priest and his major assistants took positions in the beginning of the eucharistic liturgy (after the *marmta* of the psalms and the singing of an anthem in the sanctuary). There he remained, listening to the passages of Holy Scripture, read on the *bém*, or rather sung. The Gospel was sung by a priest. When the proper eucharistic service was to begin, after the placing of bread and wine on the altar, the priest and his assistants solemnly left the *bém* to enter the sanctuary, ascending its steps. It is tempting to see in the ceremony of prostrations and kissings of the present *raza* a relic of the ancient ceremony described above: the priest(s) and his (their) assistants coming down from the *bém* to enter the sanctuary. The *bém* (*béma*) was, of course, a sacred place only accessible to members of the clergy. On it was placed a small "altar", called *Golgotha*, on which were laid the liturgical cross and the Book of Gospels (see J.M.Fiey O.P., *Mossoul Chrétienne*, p.76-78). The holiness of the *bém* may explain the prostrations at the four sides of the square cloth or carpet, believing that this cloth represents the ancient *bém*. This interpretation is only a tentative hypothesis.

In the old Syro-Malabar churches, whether they belong to Catholic "Chaldeans" or to the Syrian-Orthodox community, the sanctuary of the church (the place reserved for the clergy) is, inside and outside, always more elevated or

higher with respect both to the floor and the roof of the Church. From the nave a good number of steps lead to the sanctuary and in one Catholic church we saw two curtains, hanging from both sides of the entrance of the sanctuary, but not locking it, withheld on both sides by a cord. In all the Jacobite churches there are, of course, veils which can be drawn to protect the sanctuary and its altar from profane eyes or from the eyes of the faithful at certain moments during the eucharistic liturgy or when there is no service in the church.

The old church in Fort Cochin, originally built by the Portuguese in 1516 (the first wooden structure dates from 1503, according to a folder distributed to visitors in the sacristy) has a roof the height of which is everywhere the same, in the nave and in the sanctuary, which seems to be original in spite of the various reconstructions of the church (or rather restorations). In 1816 the church had just bare walls, the interior was dilapidated and part of the roof had fallen in. But there is no reason to suppose that the original situation of the sanctuary has been changed; this would have required a reconstruction of the church and not only repairs. The difference between this building and the old Syriac churches in Kerala is obvious.

In the Jacobite churches, one always finds a small table standing before the steps leading to the sanctuary. On the table a cross is placed and there are always some liturgical books for the biblical readings of the eucharistic liturgy. One may ask whether this is not a relic of "Golgotha", the little "altar" or table standing on the *bém*.

In the same churches one finds nearly always a big brass oil lamp, hanging from the ceiling of the nave. The present writer has often been told that these lamps can be seen in Hindu temples, and are a kind of imitation of them. But there may be another explanation. In the sanctuary of the ancient Nestorian churches there was always a lamp hang-

ing midway between the altar and the veil of the sanctuary. It had a function in the liturgy, because it divided the sanctuary into two parts. Only deacons and priests could go beyond the lamp, the subdeacons had to remain on this side of it. Now in the Nestorian churches the altar was placed against the eastern wall of the sanctuary and nobody can go around it, whereas in the Jacobite churches the altar is always placed at such a distance from the eastern wall, that a procession can easily go around it. This means that the old lamp in the middle of the sanctuary cannot serve the same purpose in the WS liturgy as it does in the ES one and it may well be that for this reason it was given a place in the middle of the church. The present writer was told by a priest near Piravom on 22-12-1972 that there are still some churches where the lamp is seen hanging in front of the entrance of the sanctuary.

In various places one may find baptismal fonts of pre-Diamper or even pre-Portuguese origin. The present writer saw one near the ancient church of Edapally, badly maintained and heavily damaged. Its large basin had been filled with concrete and a small basin was provided to receive the water when a child was baptized according to the Latin ritual. A photograph of the complete font is reproduced in the *St Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India*, Volume 2, 1973, 3rd plate opposite p.144. This encyclopaedia reproduces also the font at Kanjoor and another one at Kaduthuruthy, in which a person is depicted to show that Baptism by immersion can be practised in it (plate 5 opposite p.184). The font of Edapally has an outside diameter of 94 cms. and inside 81 cms.

According to the Diamper Synod the sanctuaries of the churches were dark and without windows (this reminds one of the sanctuaries of Hindu temples), and therefore very warm, even hot. The Synod prescribes that there must be windows in the walls of the sanctuary, but in such a way

that the pagans cannot look through them and get glimpses of the divine mysteries (Actio VIII, Decr. 28). This reminds one of the very low windows which can still be seen in old churches, for example, at Angamali, through which people standing outside can easily see what is happening inside. See also Diamper, Actio V, Decr. 14.

A special feature of the old churches of Kerala is the open porch built in front of the facade and attached to the church. Several priests were asked about the scope and meaning of these porches (which are similar to the detached open porches one can see in Hindu temples), no answer was forthcoming. One priest said, however, that the porch was used for lessons in catechism. I venture to suggest that it served for that part of the liturgy which was celebrated outside the church in the Church of the East in Mesopotamia during summer-time: the first part of the eucharistic liturgy, ending roughly with the singing of the Gospel and the canonical prayers. During summer it is very hot in Iraq, much hotter than during the corresponding period in Kerala, a region which does not experience our "summer" and "winter." In S. India there was no special need to copy the Mesopotamian example, but liturgical customs have their own rules. The first Sunday of the "Sundays of the Dedication of the Church" (nearest to the 1st day of the 2nd month of *Tesrin* [November]) was and is still called *ma'alta* (entrance); because on that day the clergy and the faithful solemnly entered the church through the churchyard, that is, from the walled square surrounding the church. From that day the whole canonical office was conducted inside the church itself. This is also mentioned in some old liturgical books of Kerala.

Another wellknown feature of a number of old churches of Kerala is that they are surrounded by a wall, generally a square one, with gates in the middle of each side. This feature they have in common with Hindu temples and their

gopurams (above the gates) in S.India and is certainly an imitation.

It seems that few if any of the pre-Portuguese churches (that is, the original buildings) still survive, in spite of some local traditions (as for example, at Edapally). The reason is obvious: in olden times churches were constructed out of timber, a perishable material. There is still a wooden palace in the south of Kerala, belonging to the rajas of Travancore, which has foundations of stone; it is now a place of tourist interest. There can be no reasonable doubt that a number of churches, that we see today like the seven St Thomas is said to have built, have been erected on the foundations (or at least on the locations) of the older ones of pre-Portuguese times.

In this respect we cannot but mention the so-called "Nestorian crosses", found in some places in Kerala (especially Kottayam) and also near Madras. Similar crosses have been discovered in quite a number of places of Central-Asia; there is even one at the top of the famous stone of Si-Ngang-Fu in China.

The huge stone crosses one finds in front of many churches of the Eastern Christians in Kerala are most probably all of Portuguese or post-Portuguese origin. But the veneration those Christians had for the holy sign of the Cross must have made it easy for the Portuguese to erect them in front of so many churches. Sometimes they have bases in Indian style, for example, the cross in front of the church of Diamper.

3. Various Customs

In Kerala Christians often take off their sandals or shoes before entering a church. This is a very old custom, attested already in the Old Testament (Ex.3,5) and common among the Hindus and members of other religions. In North India I did not observe this custom and at Hyderabad a Dutch priest told me that in the language of the local

people Christians are called "those who enter the church with shoes." In Kerala this custom is not obligatory; it is generally observed by the Jacobites and Catholic Malankarites, not so much by the Catholic Chaldeans.

Catholic priests mostly wear a long white robe with buttons, after the Latin (Roman) model. The Mar-Thomites have also a long white robe, with a belt, but the Jacobite priests have quite a peculiar dress: a robe which reaches the knees with a slash at both sides. Under this they wear white trousers and at their neck, at the back, they have a kind of collar similar to that of a sailor. On their head they always wear a little black cap. There are reasons to think that, except for the trousers, this dress is pre-Portuguese. This is suggested by the Synod of Diamper, Actio VII, De Ordine, Decr. 12: "The Synod commands that none of them (=the clergy) may leave his house *braccatus, sive breviori veste indutus* (=in a short garb), of which the parts are not sewn together at both sides, so that the underwear is visible, according to the custom of the region." This description fits in with the present-day dress of the Syrian Orthodox clergy. The Synod also insists that the priests cover their head with a cap (*pileo caput tegant, l.c.*). In the same passage the Synod permits the priests to wear a beard, but the juniors (seminarians?) have to shave it (l.c.). In the time of the Synod the colour of the dress was black, white or blue (l.c.), but now the blue colour has disappeared.

The Synod of Diamper proscribed the names of "Nestorian Saints", particularly of "Mar-Xabro and Mar-Prodh", as it calls them. The real names are probably Sapor or Sapor and Peroz (for this name see Hoffmann, *Auszüge* ..., pp. 39-42; name of a martyr). In Kerala the pronunciation seems to have been Perôt, or Afrôt. The Diamper Synod, Actio VIII, Decr. 25, strictly prohibits the dedication of churches to both these saints who were very famous in

Kerala. Those churches which bear their names must be dedicated to all the Saints. In spite of this prohibition I found among the manuscripts of the Tiruvalla library a Jacobite book of Gospels, written in an ES hand and copied in the church of Mar Shabor and Mar Aprut and the blessed Virgin Mary at Angamali, in the year of the Nativity of our Lord 1808. The church still exists and belongs to the Syrian Orthodox; it is situated a little to the south of Angamali. I have been told that there are other churches still dedicated to the two Saints.

It is a custom to bear Old Testament names, like Abraham, Jacob, etc. The Synod of Diamper was against this (Actio IV, De Baptismate, Decr. XVII). But it still prevails, especially among the Syrian Orthodox and Catholic Malankarites.

The great influence the laity still has in the parish (and its organization) seems to be a relic of a pre-Portuguese past. True parishes, as we know them now, were unknown before 1500 A.D. There were churches, around which were grouped a number of families, which provided for the maintenance of the officiating priests and the church. In such a situation, still in vogue in Eastern Churches, it is easily understandable that the heads and important persons of the families involved exercised their influence in ecclesiastical matters. For this reason Archbishop Menezes convoked to his Synod not only priests, but also four virtuous and prominent men from every *pagus vel communitas* (=from every village or community), though it was not his intention really to consult them or to abide by their opinions, to take them into account. The lay-people were ordered to come and to subscribe and to tell the people back home what had been ordered and prescribed. In spite of the attitude of Menezes the influence of the laity was very great in their communities, as later events (oath at the Coonan Cross) have proved in such ample measure. I was once the guest of a Syro-Malabar Bishop, who was

just receiving a delegation of the laity of one of his parishes asking for the removal of the parish priest. Afterwards the Bishop drew my attention to the great influence of the laity in the parish.

We have already seen that a part of the pre-Portuguese liturgy survived, even after Diamper (1599). This fact does not need to be commented upon once again. But little attention has been drawn to the survival, at least partial, of the music of the Church of the East, that is, the musical way in which the ecclesiastical office and the eucharistic sacrifice were executed. These melodies were scientifically studied, with true German thoroughness, by professor Heinrich Hussmann of Gottingen, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Ernakulam. He was in Kerala for some weeks and published the results of his studies in various publications, of which we mention here only *Die Melodien des chaldaischen Breviers Commune nach den Traditionen Vorderasiens und der Malabarkuste* (=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 178, Roma 1967) and his short article *The Practice of organum in the liturgical singing of the Syrian Churches of the Near and Middle East*, in "Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese", New York, 1966, pp. 435-439. For Hussmann the "Middle East" means India. In his article he describes how he studied the manner of singing the liturgical office in the Prior General's house of the C.M.I. Fathers at Ernakulam, where his musical adviser was the Rev. Fr. Amos, "the musical authority of his house" (p.436). There he observed a way of "parallel singing" (in octave, or in third, fourth or fifth) *As the musical practice of the Arabic and Indian peoples among whom these Christians* (Hussmann includes those of the "Near East": Beyrouth, etc.) *live is an absolutely different one, namely, the use of heterophony-singing and playing in the same melody in different variations at the same time, but in unison and octaves- it is clear that the practice of parallel singing described above is a peculiarity of the Eastern Syrian Christians* (p.438).

He found "the finest form of parallel fourths" during his visit to the Syro-Malankara Bishop of Tiruvalla (l.c.). This practice, he writes, is very old and he conjectures that it is as old as antiphony and the liturgical singing of bigger choirs (p.439). The observations of a specialist like Hussmann are important enough to make note of them in this book. Since we are no specialist in this field of studies, we leave it to more competent persons, expressing the hope that this part of the heritage of the Church of the Christians of St Thomas will be thoroughly studied before it possibly disappears under the influence and the weight of the post-conciliar movement.

Finally, I wish to mention that though there is a marked difference in the way of executing vocal ecclesiastical music between the Chaldeans in Mesopotamia and those in India, similarities cannot be denied, which points to a common tradition. Hussmann even thinks that the tradition of Malabar, in so far as he studied it, is more ancient than the present one of the Middle East (*op.cit.*, p.VI). In the Middle East church music has been influenced by Arabic and other music; in Kerala it was clearly influenced by the Portuguese, as is clear from an edition (wholly in western musical notation, with Syriac in Malayālam characters), published in 1954 with a title in Malayālam by *The Syrian Seminary Syrian Choir, under the direction of ...M. Vadakal & Aurelius* Apostolic Seminary, Alwaye (277 pages, 20×13 cms.). But it must be assumed that this book contains quite a number of tunes and melodies which have not been much influenced by Portuguese music. Since the introduction of Malayālam as liturgical language and of modern Malayālam songs, the traditional Chaldean church music has suffered a almost fatal blow. But it is still sufficiently known to the older generation of priests. The Music of Mass was always executed in a very slow manner, and one may well ask whether this was original, since it differs from the way it is executed in the Middle East.

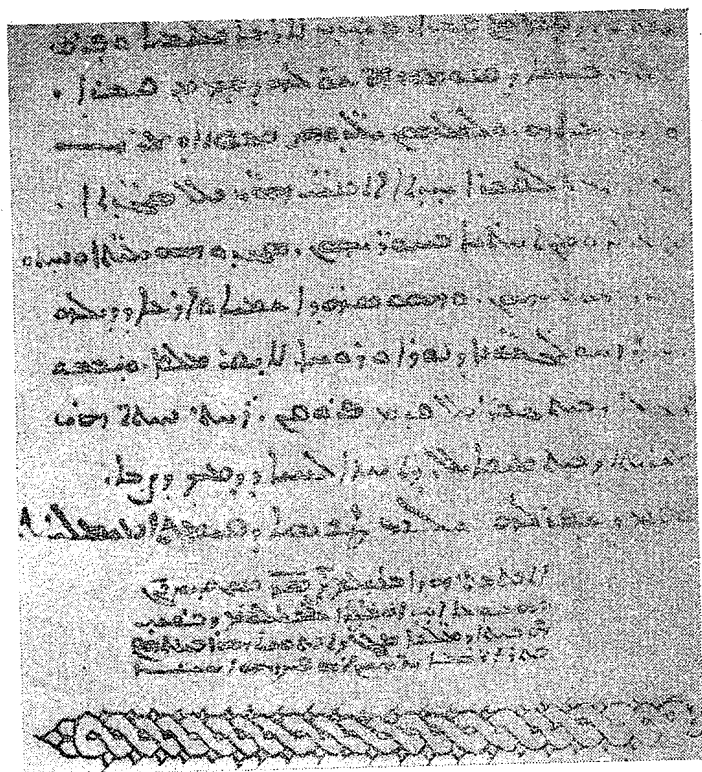
In the preceding pages we have seen that in spite of the excessive latinization of the liturgy by the Portuguese or under their influence, the old liturgy partly survived. We cannot dwell on this subject again but we wish to draw the attention to a special ceremony, mentioned by the Synod of Diamper, Actio VII, De Ordine, Decr. 4. It is said that "in this diocese" it is a custom that at the end of the canonical prayers the superior or the eldest of the priests takes hands of the others in his own, as a sign of peace, called *casture*, being a *vetustissima ceremonica*. I observed this ceremony at Tiruvalla, in the chapel of the Malankarite Bishop. At the end of the office all the participants went to the superior to touch his hands. The Synod blamed a number of priests of its time who left out this beautiful ceremony.

Many more things could be added to this chapter in which we have mentioned only a few that we observed ourselves and to which very little or no attention has been paid.

The page contains handwritten text in Telugu script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The writing is dense and fills most of the page area.

From the ħudra, 17 th cent. in the library of the Nestorian Bishop
of TRICHUR F. 53 No 22 (23)

[illegible]



Jacobite Friary WS F. 642, Trivandrum No. 22 shortly before 1792 A.D.

ERRATA

Because of the circumstances under which this book had to be printed, the author, living far from the printer's place, could not see and correct the proofs. For this reason he gives the following (incomplete) list of Errata. He wishes to express his cordial thanks to those who did the proofreading for him. In the transcriptions *ś*=English *sh*.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| p.4, line 17, read: Vat Syr 204 | 67, 14: Placid |
| line 28, read: 1514 | 69, 16: Shallita |
| 6, 20: 1504/03 | 70, 3: weeks |
| 13, 32: translation | 76, 15: Mesopotamia |
| 15, 23: proscribed | 77, last line: is |
| 16, 23: had not yet been | 78, 3 from below: conclude |
| 23, 4: appendix | 80, 16: <i>qadishat</i> (last word) |
| 23, 6: belonged | 87, 34: five <i>turgamē</i> |
| 24, 33: are not (no <i>comma</i>) | 89, 30: <i>ba'wata</i> |
| 27, 35: where Caspar was | 91, 23: to him as Isaac Sc... |
| (not: where <i>he</i> was) | 97, 25: Add: as also the |
| 31, 22: Syrians | date(s) |
| 34: efforts | 102, 29: <i>ma'brone</i> |
| 32, 19: the Dutch | 32: <i>kathismata</i> |
| 32, 31: the British | 105, 5: Clemens |
| 35, 27: Deir ez- | line 2 from below: of Ma- |
| 38, 1: <i>ramban</i> | 111, 22: <i>madrośē</i> |
| 12: performed | 112, 15: 7 pages (and <i>not</i> : 27) |
| 39, 28: Catholics | 112, 25: Litany (and <i>not</i> : |
| 41, 1: certainly | Liturgy) |
| 43, 33: in 1956 (not: 1823) | 116, 29: Roman See. |
| 45, 5: Bishop's | 128, 1: Nestorius (and <i>not</i> : |
| 46, 17: Tūr 'Abdîn | Nestorians) |
| 56, 20: 1806 (and not 1836) | 129, 20: though: <i>to be omitted</i> |
| 52, 29: Konat | 31: Propaganda |
| 55, 28: God (and not: Christ) | 130, 12: 1895), in Syriac |
| 59, 1: custom | matters, |
| 62, 11: readings | 23: in his Septuaginta |
| 12: Kokhe | edition |
| 64, 12: <i>futurae</i> | |

- 131, line 3 from below :
 (*pusaqe*)
- 142, 12 : Diodorus and
 Theodore
- 151, 24 : *eyw'ennenyos* (one
 word)
- 27 : *iyaw'nnios* (one
 word)
- 152, last line, read: for an
 earlier year (A.Gr.)
- 159, 24 *Thomaschristen* (one
 word)
- 169, 17 : chapters
- 176, 18 : *thûmê*
- 179, 23 : forgot.
- 183, 10/11 : manuscripts
 18 : *chorepiskopa*
- 188, 27 : Yahballaha V,
 whereas he was in
 reality the 3rd
- 189, 25 : this Jewish martyr
 32 : indications
- 201, 22 : I say
- 225, 19 *m'gn* (one word)
- 231, 16 : not for the
 17 : we might accept
 it for
- 234, 20 : one more double
 leaf (not : an eighth)
- 239, 27 *šupreh taš'iteh* (in
 two words)
- 242, 14 : one line

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