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THE LITURGY OF THE MAR THOMA SYRIAN CHURCH
OF MALABAR IN THE LIGHT OF ITS HISTORY



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by

Zacharia John

**Submitted for the degree of M.A. in the faculty of Arts
University of Durham**

1994.



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ABSTRACT

THE LITURGY OF THE MAR THOMA SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR IN THE LIGHT OF ITS HISTORY.

Zacharia John.

This thesis is an evaluation of the Divine Liturgy of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, from a historical perspective. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar, as it is officially known, is an Oriental Reformed Church with its head quarters at Tiruvalla in Kerala State, the south west coast of India. The Christians of Kerala are known as Syrians, owing to their descent from the immigrants of Persia and through the use of the Syrian liturgy as well.

The first chapter gives the common history of the Syrian Christian community of Kerala. Owing to the change of the Western political powers that ruled India from time to time, this community has been fragmented into different Christian denominations. It ipso-facto adopted different liturgies viz. the Chaldean (East Syrian), Roman (Latin), Antiochian (West Syrian), Anglican etc. Only Antiochian liturgy comes in the scope of this study. The second chapter describes the different stages of the Antiochian connection and the distinctive features of its liturgy.

Tradition and renewal are not contrary but complimentary. Tradition enables to become part of the past and renewal helps to be relevant. Negation of either results in imbalance. The touch-stone of the two is to be the Scripture. The third chapter describes the impact of the Scripture in the Syrian Reformation of the 19th century and the fourth chapter, the consequent developments in the Syrian Church. The fifth chapter gives the different stages of the liturgical revisions in the Mar Thoma Church.

The sixth chapter shows that the said Reformation was an earnest endeavour of correction rather than abolition. It resulted in the revision of the Antiochian liturgy at certain points. Like the other Eastern and Oriental Churches the doctrines of the Mar Thoma Church are also embedded in its liturgy. The liturgy proves its accordance with the Scriptures and Canons.

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DECLARATION

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

Zacharia John.

3rd July 1994.

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CHAPTER 1.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA UP-TO 1600.

a) *St.Thomas Tradition.*

The foundation of the Church in India is generally ascribed to St.Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ. Historical documents are lacking to prove this conclusively, nevertheless, a deep rooted and widely spread oral tradition prevails down through twenty centuries. The earliest document available which connects St.Thomas and India is the apocryphal book- *Acts of Judas Thomas*, almost certainly written in Syriac at Edessa in Mesopotamia, perhaps in the third century B.C.(1) It portrays how the Apostle entered the Indo Parthian Kingdom as a carpenter, Preached the Gospel, performed seven miracles and died a martyr's death. The story in a nutshell is as follows:

The Apostles meet in Jerusalem and cast lots to ascertain in which country each should preach, and India falls to the lot of Thomas; but he was most unwilling to go. Later, Christ sells Thomas as a slave to one Abbanas, a merchant from India, sent by a certain King Gundaphorus to get a carpenter for him. The apostle is commissioned to build a palace for the King. Instead of doing so he distributes whatever he received from the King as alms to the poor. The King imprisons him for not fulfilling the duty. Later, Gad, the King's brother dies and miraculously lives again to report on the palace, he saw in heaven, built by Thomas. The story ends with the liberation of Thomas and the baptism of the King and his brother.(2)

Even though the *Acts of Judas Thomas* has not been considered as a historically sound document, excavations conducted by the end of the 19th century



have established the fact that a certain King by name Gundaphorus ruled one of the great provinces of India, viz. the Punjab and the Indus- valley, in the middle of the first century. In 1833 *Charles Masson*, an English man did excavations at *Begram*, the ancient *Kapisa*, (in *Afganistan*) and found 1,565 copper coins and 14 of gold and silver. Masson thus brought back to history a number of Kings who were unknown or had entirely forgotten. Among them was *Vindapharna* ('the winner of glory', Persian), the varieties in the form of whose name as written on the coins (*Gudnaphar* in Syriac, *Hindopheres* in Greek) are due simply to represent in various tongues a name derived from an unfamiliar language.(3)

Milne Rae gives pictures and descriptions of the coins in his book 'The Syrian Church of India'.

"The inscription on the obverse side of these Gondophares coins is in Greek characters, on the reverse side in Indian Pali. The Greek form of the name is, on the horse man coins, ΤΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ, on the bust coins, ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ; while the Indian Pali equivalent is *Gundapharasa* or *Gadapharasa*." (4)

Further light regarding the period of Gundaphorus's government is derived from an inscription on the Taht-i-Bahi stone, now in the Museum at Lahore. The first two lines, which contain the name of the King and the date, are translated by Prof. Dowson as follows:

"In the twenty-sixth year of the great King Gondophares, (and) on the third day of the month vaisakha, (year) one hundred (100) of the samvatsara."

As the samvatsara or era of Vikramaditya corresponds to 56 B.C., the date on the stone, according to this reading, would be 44 A.D. (5)

According to the South Indian- Malabar tradition the Apostle landed at Cranganore in A.D.52 on the south western coast of India, where a large colony of Jews then resided. He preached the Gospel and converts were made from both Jews and the natives. It has been believed since very early days that St. Thomas

established seven churches on the Malabar coast at: (1)*Cranganore (Kodungalur)*, (2)*Patior (Chavakad)*, (3)*Parur (near Alwaye)*, (4)*Kokkamogalam (Pallipuram)*, (5)*Niranam*, (6)*Nilakkal (Chael)*, (7) *Quilon*. (6)

After delegating the care of these infant churches to others he continued his apostolic journey to the east coast of India. He was pierced to death by a fanatic Hindu at a hill in Madras, now called St. Thomas Mount, and was buried at *Mylapore* in A.D.72. Later his bones were removed to *Edessa*.

Of the seven churches the Apostle is said to have founded, all except Nilakkal are to be found near the sea coast and in those areas to this day Christians form a large part of the population. Ample evidence exists to show the range and vigour of the commerce between India and the Western World in the first two centuries of the Christian era. *F.E.Keay* has established that, from the mention in the O.T book of 2.Chronicles 9:11, of the articles brought to the court of King Solomon from India, that even before Christ, there was trade between the Malabar coast and Palestine in spices and luxury articles like ivory, apes, peacocks etc.(7) Several Roman coins, all golden and silver, have been discovered in South India since 1775. Among the coins those of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius predominate. Those from a period after the reign of Nero are much less numerous. In 1945 a Roman commercial settlement was discovered at Arikamedu in the neighbourhood of Pondicheri. Fragments of pottery of the Arretine ware from Italy make it possible to date the settlement in the early years of the first century.(8)

According to the *Fathers*, Thomas was particularly prominent in Syriac Christianity and those regions that received Christianity from Syria. *Eusebius of Caesaria* mentions that the Apostle brought the Gospel to Parthia (H.E.3.1); *Jerome* (Vita Apost.5) and *Rufinus of Aquileia* (H.E.2.4) say Persia. *Gregory of Nazianzus* clearly held that he preached the Gospel in India and was martyred there (Or.25). (9) *Ephrem* has also emphasised Thomas' mission in India in his hymns.(10)

As *Bishop L.W.Brown* puts it

"We can not prove that the Apostle worked in South India any more than we can disprove the fact; the birth of the tradition is a reasonable probability because of very considerable commercial contact between the Western World and the Malabar coast in the first century A.D and the presence of Jewish colonies in that period".(11)

HISTORY SINCE THE SECOND CENTURY.

b) Reports of visitors

Very little is known about the detailed history of the early period of the Indian Church. Eusebius of Caesarea and St. Jerome have mentioned that Pantaeus, the founder of the Alexandrine school of theology, arrived in India in A.D 189. He found a Christian group with an Aramaic version of St.Matthew's Gospel. Mention has been made in the records of the Council of Nicea (A.D 325) of the presence of a Bishop Johannes, who bears the title Metropolitan of all Persia and Great India.(12) Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, an Alexandrian merchant of the sixth century made voyages to India in A.D 522 reports in his work *Christian Topography (Book 3.64)*

"...Even in the Island of Taprobane (Ceylon) in inner India, where also the Indian sea is, there is a Church of Christians, Clergy and Believers. I do not know whether there are Christians even beyond Taprobane. The same is true in the place called Male (Malabar), where the pepper grows, and in the place called Kaliana (Quilon), and there is a Bishop appointed (lit."consecrated") from Persia. The same is true of the island called Dioscorides (Socotra) in the same Indian sea". (13)

c) Immigrations and Persian contact

There have been two immigrations from the Middle East to Malabar during the fourth and ninth centuries of this era. W.J Richards says:

"The godly merchant Thomas of Jerusalem (Cana) was sent to Malabar to investigate the state of the churches there. On his return he reported that they were in a depressed state through the lack of Clergy. Not long after, the Patriarch sent Joseph the Bishop of Uraha (Edessa) with the honoured merchant, and together with him several Priests and Deacons, and many men, women and children; and they all landed safe at Malabar in the year of our Lord 325, Knayil Thomas paid a visit to Cheraman Perumal, King of Malabar, and was favourably received by him, being granted the 72 marks of distinction enjoyed by Brahmans and others of high caste. Moreover they received a grant of land at Kodungalur (Cranganore), and a stake was placed to mark the site for a church". (14)

There has been mention of a second immigration from Persia under the leadership of a Persian merchant named Marwan Sabriso. With two Syrian Bishops- Mar Sapor and Mar Parut (Piruz) he reached Quilon in A.D 823. A Syriac manuscript, written in about the eighteenth century says that they approached King Vira Raghava Chakravarti for a piece of land to build a church for themselves, and the land was granted by the King.

It is to be noted that King Alfred the Great of England, in fulfilment of a vow, sent a Mission to the shrine of St. Thomas in South India in the eighth century. (15)

d) Copper plates

Confirmation of these events is afforded by a number of copper plates which are still in existence and are in possession of the Christians and Jews of Kerala. The Jews of Cochin have in their possession a copper plate, probably of the eighth or

ninth century. One single plate, probably of 1320 A.D, records a grant made to Iravi Korttan of Cranganore. The first Christian charter consists of a single plate, written on both sides in *Vatteluthu* (old Tamil) script with a good many *Grantha* (Sanskrit) letters. In this certain rights are reserved in perpetuity to the Christians of the Tarisa church at Quilon. They include the guardianship of the steel yard, the weights and the royal stamp. Certain lower caste families are assigned for the maintenance of the church.

The second Christian charter consists of five leaves, including two leaves with the signatures of witnesses in various languages. Among them three are preserved at the Old Seminary, Kottayam and two at the Syrian Christian Seminary, Tiruvalla. Both instruments have been dated with considerable probability in the year AD 880. Each is a grant made in council by Ayyan, King of Venad, in the reign of Sthanu Ravi, the supreme ruler of the area (about A.D 877-907). Seventy-two social privileges are granted in these instruments. The signatures of witnesses are written in the Kufic form of Arabic, in Hebrew, or rather in a kind of Persian written in Hebrew letters and in Pehlevi.

e) Persian Crosses

In 1547 the Portuguese found an ancient granite Cross, incised beneath an arch, around which an inscription in Pehlevi (middle Persian), at Mylapore. Since then, four other similar Crosses have been found in various places in Travancore and one among them is seen in the Big Church, Kottayam. They are commonly called the *St.Thomas Crosses* or *Persian Crosses*. Palaeographers are in agreement that the style of the lettering is consistent with a date in the eighth century.

f) Travelogues

Some of the western travellers of the middle ages have written about the Malabar Church. Marco Polo in his return journey from China to Europe by way of India travelled extensively during the period 1292 and 1295. He arrived in India at

the province of Malabar (India the Greater). He mentions on the Christian pilgrimage at the tomb of St. Thomas, the kingdom of Coilum (Quilon) and a small Christian community. John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan Friar who was sent as a Missionary by the Pope to China spent thirteen months in India. He has mentioned his stay in Mylapore and the Nestorian Christians there. Friar Jordanus, a Dominican Priest was in India in the years 1321 and 1322. His letter gives the clue that the Christians in India were Nestorians. Friar Odoric of Pordenone, who arrived in India in 1322 tells about his travels and mentions Quilon, Maabar (Malabar) and the Nestorians. Another Franciscan Friar John of Marignolli in 1347 spent about a year in India on his way home from China. His narration highlights on the pepper cultivation in South India and the role of the St. Thomas Christians in the trade.

The history of the Malabar Church prior to the coming of the Portuguese can be summarised like this: A strong tradition prevails that the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar are descendants of Jewish- Hindu converts of the first century. They were engaged in pepper trade. Since the fourth century there had been immigrations from Persia and hence the Church became liturgically east Syrian and later Nestorian. Under the mild rule of the native Hindu Kings the Church flourished and was at peace. It was ruled by the Patriarch of Babylon. He was assisted by an Archdeacon of the Pakalomattam family. The reports of the Portuguese reveal a community of about 200,000 Christians having 15,00 churches during the fifteenth century. The Metropolitan's see was at Angamale.

g) The Portuguese and the Roman Catholic connection

With the Portuguese conquest begins the influence of Rome on the Malabar Church. Through the Pope's padroado the Kings of Portugal received a special commission to spread the Roman Catholicism in the eastern lands. In the 15th century the Portuguese were powerful in the eastern areas and had control over the sea routes. Vasco da Gama's landing at Calicut in 1498 is a remarkable event in history. Since then almost all the many fleets which successfully made voyages to

India carried Roman Priests among their passengers. Pero de Mascarenhas, captain of the fort of Cochin gives a list of so many Portuguese men who married Indian women and of women who bore children to Portuguese men without marriage. Of those who had married the majority had been baptised. Thus a new race emerged during this time.(16) The first Roman Catholic Missionaries in India during this period (1500) were the Franciscans. They settled in Goa, Cochin and Cranganore. The secular Clergy as a whole served as Chaplains to the Portuguese. The Jesuits with the famous Francis Xavier, arrived in 1542. Through Xavier's remarkable mission in Goa hundreds of the people along the coast were baptised. The Portuguese started Seminaries at Cranganore in 1546 and at Vaipicotta in 1587 to train young men for the ministry, but they did not receive wide acceptance from the Malabar Christians. Then they used their power to prevent Babylonian Bishops from coming to India. The ruling Bishop Mar Joseph was deported to Portugal and another Bishop Mar Abraham from Persia was severely persecuted. In the absence of a Bishop, Archdeacon George was the administrator of the Malabar Church.

h) Synod of Diamper (1599), a turning point

Alexio de Menezes was appointed Archbishop of Goa by Pope Clement VIII in 1595. He tried to win over to his side many of the leaders of the Malabar Church by friendly visits, bribery and threats. Since the death of Mar Abraham there was no Bishop in Malabar and Menezes ordained quite a number of Priests from the natives. After winning the support of the Rajah of Cochin, he convened a Synod at Diamper (Udayamperoor), south east of Cochin on June 20, 1599. It was attended by the Archdeacon with 153 Priests and 660 delegates from the different churches, besides numerous Deacons and others connected with the Church. The purpose of the Synod was described as the extirpation of heresies, the eradication of simony, a general reformation of the whole Church and its restoration to the unity of Christendom both in faith and morals by submission to the Pope. The Priests and delegates were forced to accept the decrees read out by the Archbishop. The Synod

commenced on 20th June came to a close on 26th. The acts and decrees of the Synod are nine in number, and comprise of 267 sections which fill more than three hundred pages in the English translation made by Michael Geddes. (17).

On the first day Menezes published a sentence of excommunications against any who should presume to discuss the questions before the Synod in any private assembly, so long as the Council should continue to hold its sittings; and it was ordered that no one should be permitted to leave until he had signed the acts of the Synod, and had made the required profession of the faith. (18).

The second day was entirely taken up with receiving from the participants the profession and declaration of the faith, in which Nestorius was anathematised as a heretic; the title *Mother of God* and the decrees of the Council of Ephesus were expressly admitted; all communication with the Patriarch of Babylon renounced; submission to the Church of Rome as the head and mother of all Churches, and to the Pope Christ's vicar upon earth, was openly avowed; and obedience promised to the Metropolitan designated by the Pope, and to none other.

The third day was set apart for discussions and questions on faith. The fourth day was spent in closed sessions exclusively for the Thomas Christians. The sessions continued from morning to late night. The one principle ruled all the actions of Menezes was everything should be in accordance with Rome and Roman ways. It was decided therefore that Priests must be unmarried thence forth. The decree about the celibacy of the Clergy was made retrospective.

According to Howard, the principal subjects treated of were:

The rejection of Nestorianism and other 'heresies';

The recognition of the Papal supremacy;

The reception of the rite of Confirmation;

The extirpation of simony, and other abuses in respect of faith and morals;

And the expurgation of all books which were declared to contain heretical doctrine. (19)

The Malabar Church had used the eastern liturgy of Addai and Mari. The expurgations from and alterations to this liturgy by Archbishop Menezes are summarised by the Portuguese editor Gouvea as under:

The substitution of the name of the Roman Pontiff for that of the Patriarch of Babylon:

The substitution of the names of Cyril and other Orthodox Doctors for those of Nestorius, & c.; and of the term *Mother of God* in place of the Nestorian term *Mother of Christ*, throughout the liturgy:

The substitution of the terms *Bread and Wine* for *the Body and the Blood*, before the act of consecration:

The insertion of the words, *God of God, Light of light, very God of very God*, in the Nicene Creed; and the substitution of the words *consubstantial with the Father* for *the Son of the essence of the Father*, which was the Malabar reading:

The direction to elevate the Host at the time of consecration:

The transportation of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost from its former position after the words of consecration, so as to precede those words: and the alteration of its terms, so as to make it refer solely to a fruitful reception of the Eucharist. (20)

After the Synod Menezes continued his series of parish visits in Malabar.

W.Germann gives a summary of the proceedings:

"The proceedings in all the visitations was the same - announcement of his arrival, a solemn entry, procession from the point at which he had alighted to the church, pronouncement of the blessing and dispensations, collection of books too heretical to be corrected in order that they might be burned, checking of baptisms and as it appears (conditional) repetition of baptism in a great many cases....."

(21)

The records and prayer books of the ancient Church were destroyed. The decrees of the Synod shed light on some of the earlier practices in the Malabar Church. Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma puts it as under:

"The Malabar Church Never accepted the Papal supremacy,
Denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation,
Condemned the adoration of images,
Knew nothing of masses and prayers for the dead,
Knew nothing of the intercession of Saints,
Did not use the holy oil in Baptism,
Looked with horror on auricular confession,
Did not practise the celibacy of the Clergy,
Recognised only two orders, the Priesthood and the Diaconate, (22)
Believed in the activity of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of the
elements in the Holy Communion,
Had communion in both kinds,
Admitted to the Communion members of other Churches,
Accepted three sacraments: Baptism, the Eucharist and
the Holy orders,
In all questions of doctrine accepted the authority of the sacred
Scriptures as decisive. (23)

The Synod was followed by other proceedings to render the subjection of the Malabar Church as complete as possible. The Episcopal see was removed from Angamale, its ancient seat, to Cranganore on the sea coast, which was more easily accessible by the Portuguese. The dignity of the office was lowered, by the loss of the title of Metropolitan, and by being made subject to the Archbishopric of Goa. The first four Bishops appointed to the newly-erected see were either Spaniards or Portuguese. They were Francis Roz, Stephen de Britto, Francis Garcia and Joseph Sebastiani. The Malabar Church remained under the Roman Papacy for half a century.

Notes.

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3. Neill, op.cit., pp.27-28.
4. Rae, G. Milne., *The Syrian Church in India*, (Edinburgh, 1892) pp.52-53.
5. ibid., pp.54-55. also vide *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol.2, K.A Nilakanta Sastri (ed.), (Calcutta Private Press Ltd., 1957) pp.209 - 215.
6. Rae, op.cit.,p 361.
7. Keay, F. E., *A History of the Syrian Church in India*, (Delhi, 1960) p.2.
8. Neill, op.cit., pp.30- 31.
9. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol xiv, Patrick A.O'Boyle(imp.), (USA, 1990) p.101.
10. Migana, A., *The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, (Manchester, 1926) p.18.
11. Brown, L.W., *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, (Cambridge, 1956) p.59.
12. Mar Thoma, Alexander.,*The Mar Thoma Church Heritage and Mission*,(Kottayam, Manganam, 1985) p.3.

13. Neill, op.cit., pp.36-37.
14. ibid., p.42.
15. Chatterton, Eyre., *History of the Church of England in India*, (London, 1924) p.273.
16. Neill, op.cit., p.118.
17. ibid., pp. 212-213. also vide Geddes, M., *History of the Church of Malabar*, (London, 1864) pp. 89-443.
18. Howard, G. B., *The Christians of St. Thomas and their liturgies*, (London, 1864) pp. 37-38.

19. loc.cit.
20. *ibid.*, pp.39-40.
21. Neill, *op.cit.* , p.216.
22. Of the seven orders of the Roman Clergy (*Priest, Deacon, Sub-deacon, Acolyte, Exorcist, Reader and Door keeper*) , the Syrians knew only two, namely, the Priest (*Kasheesha*) and the Deacon (*Shumshana*). There were no native Bishops in Malabar during that period.
vide Buchanon, Claudius., *Christian Researches in Asia*, (London, 1811) p.108.
He says, "*they had no other orders or names of dignity in the Church, than Bishop, Priest and Deacon*".
23. Mar Thoma, Alexander., *op.cit.*, pp.7-8. also vide Chatterton, *op.cit.*, pp.271-272.

CHAPTER 2.

HISTORY OF ALLIANCE WITH THE ANTIOCHIAN CHURCH.

a) The Oath of the Coonen Cross (bent Cross) 1653.

Archdeacon George expired in 1640 and his nephew Thomas became his successor. The new Archdeacon took a strong determination to safeguard the tradition of the ancient Syrian Church. The presence of an Eastern Bishop was inevitable to this and the Archdeacon wrote to the ancient Patriarchates of the east to provide the necessary help. In 1653 the Patriarch of Babylon sent a Bishop named Ahatallah to Malabar. On his arrival at Mylapore, the Portuguese seized him and put on board ship to be conveyed to Goa and consigned to the Inquisition. When the Syrians heard that the Portuguese fleet had left Mylapore with Ahatallah, they expected it would touch at Cochin. They determined to make an effort for his liberation and anxiously watched for the arrival of the vessel at Cochin. However a rumour circulated among them that the Portuguese had drowned Ahatallah in the harbour of Cochin. This infuriated the Syrians and about two thousand men marched to Cochin under the leadership of the Archdeacon. When they saw the gates of the Cochin port were closed and cannons were mounted on the fortress, they gathered in front of the church at Mattancheri. They tied ropes to the granite Cross outside the church and touching the ropes swore upon the holy Gospel that they would no longer obey the Jesuit Archbishop Garcia, and that they would have nothing further to do with the Portuguese; they would recognise the Archdeacon as the head of their Church. The granite Cross was slightly leaning and hence this event is known as the oath of the 'coonen Cross'. This remarkable incident was on 3rd January 1653, and resulted in the formation of two branches in the Malabar Church. Those who renounced Papacy became known as the Puthencoor (new community) and those who favoured Papacy became known as the Pazhayacoor (old community).

Since then to this day all members of the independent Malabar Church of Kerala (Puthencoor) regard the event as the moment at which their Church recovered its independence and returned to its own true nature.

b) Mar Thoma I

The Puthencoor Syrians were eager to regain their autonomy which they had lost through the Synod of Diamper. Despairing of getting the help from West Asia, so long as the Portuguese had power, they met at Alangat on 22 May 1653, and as a temporary measure a college of twelve Priests consecrated Archdeacon Thomas as their Bishop with the title Mar Thoma I. Francis Garcia continued as Archbishop of the Romo Syrians.

Realising the hatred which the Jesuits had inspired, the Pope immediately sent four discalced Carmelite Friars to Malabar to restore peace. Fr. Hyacinth, the head of the mission was bestowed the title of Apostolic Commissary and one among them was Joseph Sebastiani, who became Bishop later. He could divert quite a number of the Puthencoor Syrians through his far and wide propaganda that Mar Thoma I was no true Bishop. In the long run this benefited the Romish branch very much. (1)

c) The Dutch Period.

The Portuguese history in India can be divided into three periods. Its infancy extends from the end of the fifteenth century down to the year 1561. From 1561 to 1600 is the full vigour of their period. Its old age starts from 1600. The Synod of Diamper was the zenith of their glory, but the most melancholy episode in the history of the Malabar Church.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch turned their attention to the East and soon became rivals to the Portuguese. In 1636 they captured Ceylon from the Portuguese and in 1660 Nagapatam, of which the latter was made the capital of their possessions on the Coromandel coast. They next concentrated their attention to Malabar. Quilon was captured towards the end of 1661, Cranganore in

1662 and Cochin in 1663. This reduced the Portuguese area to the city of Goa and a few places to the north.

Garcia, the Jesuit Archbishop died in 1659 and Joseph Sebastiani succeeded him. The irresistible advance of the Dutch put an end to the Portuguese dominion in Malabar. The Dutch were not in favour of the Roman Catholic Church in India, especially ~~to~~^{of} its chief representatives the Portuguese. One of the first acts of the Dutch on becoming masters of the Portuguese settlements, was to insist on the departure of the Jesuits and Carmelites from Malabar. Before leaving Malabar, Sebastiani consecrated Parambil Chandy (Alexander de Campo) an Indian Priest, as his successor in 1663. Thus for the first time in the history of the Malabar Church, two native Bishops from the same family, Mar Thoma I and Parambil Chandy, became the heads of the two branches of the St. Thomas heritage. Two third^s of the Thomas Christians were loyal to Bishop Chandy and one third to Mar Thoma I.

d) The starting of the Antiochian alliance.

The Syrians under Mar Thoma I had to undergo various hurdles for more than a decade. The Romo Syrians portrayed them as apostates, the native rulers were rather indifferent to protect them, and they were defenceless in the Hindu society. The defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch opened the way for Bishops from abroad to come to Malabar. In 1665 Metropolitan Peter Mar Gregorios of Jerusalem, who was under the Patriarch of Antioch, arrived in Malabar. (2) Mar Thoma I and his supporters received him cordially, for they had been longing to restore connection with the Oriental Church. Mar Thoma I, who had not received the formal rite of episcopal consecration was duly consecrated by Mar Gregorios. (3) The east Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari was still in use. With the influence of Mar Thoma I, Mar Gregorios also adapted himself to the local traditions, except the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The common people were not concerned about the doctrinal stand of the foreign Bishop. Their only desire was to preserve the Oriental ethos of

the Church and to restore valid episcopacy at any cost. In the words of Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma:

"The Syrians, however, clung tenaciously to their traditions and made desperate attempts to get bishops from Western Asia. Of the geography of Western Asia they knew little; of the theological niceties that rocked that ancient centre of Christianity, perhaps less. What they apparently wanted was a Bishop of Western Asian appearance who did not understand their language, Malayalam; and as long as a person of this description came to them by sea they were not interested in his doctrines or his bonafides." (4)

The arrival of Mar Gregorios related the Malabar Syrians to the Patriarchate of Antioch. The following were the distinguishing features of the Syrians during this time.

1. They followed the old calendar.
2. They abstained from meat on Wednesdays and Fridays.
3. For ecclesiastical fasting the day was counted from the Sunset to the evening of the next day.
4. For the fasting in preparation for the celebration of the Eucharist and communion the fast started from midnight onwards.
5. Retained the breviary, Missal and the ritual reformed by Bishop Francis Roz, but mentioned the name of the Patriarch and the then ruling Archdeacon in the dyptics.
6. Resumed the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist.
7. Celebrated the Eucharist on the wooden altar not on the stone. (5)

Mar Thoma I was succeeded by Mar Thoma II. In 1685 two foreign Prelates Mar Basilius Maphrain and Mar Ivanius arrived in Malabar and the former died shortly. Owing to the sudden death of Mar Thoma II, Mar Ivanius consecrated Mar Thoma III. Two years later, when Mar Thoma III died, Mar Ivanius consecrated Mar Thoma IV.

Mar Ivanius made a marvellous attempt to restore the early Syrian traditions prior to the Latinisation of the Portuguese. By the time of Mar Ivanius' death in 1693 the Malankara Metropolitans appear to have taken definite steps towards accepting the doctrinal tenets of Jacobitism. At the beginning of the 18th century Mar Thoma IV clearly adhered to the teachings of the Antiochian Church and rejected the doctrinal tenets of Mar Gabriel, the Nestorian Bishop who arrived in 1705. In the letter of Mar Thoma IV to the Patriarch of Antioch the difference between the Chaldean and Antiochian Churches was accentuated sharply. (6) Mar Thoma IV consecrated Mar Thoma V who succeeded the former in 1728. In his letter to the Dutch Governor on 8th June 1729, Mar Thoma V has clearly emphasised the following things:

Ac^lknowing^s the Church of Antioch as the head.

The Lord has one nature and one person.

The Holy Spritⁱ goes out from the Father.

In the Eucharist they distribute fresh bread which is baked that same day (fermented).

Difference in fasting between Syrians and Latins (Romans). (7)

In 1747 one Mar Ivanius came from Bassorah. In consequence of his interference with images in the Church, Mar Thoma V and the people united in opposition to him and sent the following resolution to the Patriarch of Antioch.

"resolved that, since it was the practice for Prelates, who had up to that time come from foreign parts, to be subject to the Metr^opolitan and Archdeacon of Malayalam, a proper Prelate should be got down." (8)

In 1751 the Patriarch sent Basilius Catholica^vs, Gregorius, and Ivanius to Malabar. They brought copies of the different Anaphoras of the Antiochian liturgy including that of St. James and propagated them among the people.

"The liturgy which he (Basilius) brought to Malabar was of St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, written at Mardin where the Antiochian Patriarch was residing who sent Basil and his friends to Malabar." (9)

Chaldean Syriac also was in use in the worship during this period. In fact, the Clergy of the Malabar Church were more familiar with the Chaldean Syriac. (10)

Mar Thoma V raised his nephew as his successor in 1761 and died in 1765. In 1770 Mar Thoma VI received re/consecration from Mar Gregorios and took over the title Mar Dionysius I and then governed the Church for thirty seven years. Being a man of considerable influence and administrative capacity he is known as Mar Dionysius the Great.

e) An outline of the Antiochian liturgy.

1. ORDO COMMUNIS

(1). The first part of the preparatory service.

- a. The Priest starts by praising, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son etc. followed by the prayer of the beginning.
- b. The preparation of the Celebrant.
' Have mercy upon me, o God, after Thy great goodness etc
(Psalm. 51)
- c. Then he goes up to the altar, kneels down and then kisses the horns of the altar, saying a prayer each time.
- d. The preparation of the altar.
- e. The prothesis.
- f. Proemion and sedra of penitence.
(The service of penitence is finished which was foreshadowed by the Old covenant and the law)

(2). The second part of the preparatory service.

- a. The vesting.
- b. Offertory prayers.
- c. General prayer of remembrance.

(Here the salvation history through the Christ event, Adam, Eve and the Virgin Mary; the Prophets and Apostles; Preachers and Evangelists; Martyrs and Confessors; Righteous men and Priests; Holy Fathers and True Shepherds; Orthodox Doctors, Monks, Cenobites the Departed etc. are commemorated)

d. General proemion and sedra.

e. The incense.

(3). The liturgy of the Word / Catechumens.

(the curtains are opened)

a. Responsory of Mar Severus.

b. Trisagion.

c. Reading from the Epistle.

d. The Gospel.

e. Proemion and sedra of the Entrance.

f. Blessing of the incense.

g. The Nicene creed.

The Priest washes his fingers, asks for forgiveness, bows down in silent prayer and then ascends on the step of the altar.

2. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. JAMES

a. The kiss of peace.

b. The prayer of the veil.

c. The first blessing.

d. The sursum corda.

e. The words of Institution.

f. The anamnesis.

g. The epiclesis.

h. The great intercession (Diptychs).

There are eighteen prayers in this category; six are the Priests' private prayers, six his public prayers and six the Deacons' prayers.

- i. The second blessing.
- j. The fraction.
- k. The Lord's prayer.
- l. The third blessing.
- m. The elevation (Sancta sanctis).
- n. Prayers before reception.
- o. The communion.
- p. The thanksgiving.
- q. The fourth blessing and dismissal.
- r. The post communion office.
 - consuming the holy elements left.
 - the ablutions.
 - adieu to the altar.

f) An evaluation of the Antiochian liturgy.

Brightman in his book, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, gives a Greek text and an English version of the Syriac text of the St. James' liturgy. Howard, in his book *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, gives the English version of the Syriac text and a vivid description of the St. James' liturgy used in Malabar. Connolly and Codrington, in their book *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, gives the Anaphora of St. James with its commentary by Moses Bar Kepha, in estrangela Syriac as well as its English version. Peter D. Day also gives an English version of the Anaphora of St. James in his book, *Eastern Christian Liturgies*.

There are three main divisions in the liturgy. Pre-Anaphora, Anaphora and the Post Communion service. The first and third parts are considered to be later additions. The proemions, sedras and hymns also come under this category. There

are ever so many proemions, sedras and hymns composed by different persons and at different periods.

(1) Pre Anaphora

Howard and Brightman give a full sketch of the Syrian liturgy which includes Pre- Anaphora, Anaphora and Post Communion service. Regarding the Pre Anaphora slight differences are to be noted between the two. After the 'praise' and 'the prayer of the beginning', Howard gives the proemion and sedra before Psalm 51; which is wanting in Brightman, where the Psalm starts afterwards. The prayer before the altar, "I will come unto the altar of God:" etc. is wanting in Brightman. The vesting of the Priest comes soon afterwards in Brightman, which comes only in the second service in Howard. The praise and short prayer in the beginning and lections at the end of the second service in Brightman are lacking in Howard. The mention of the "Mass of the Catechumens", before the 'general proemion and sedra' is seen only in Brightman.

Three differences are to be noted in part III . The invocation of the Priest in Howard, "Let Mary who brought Thee forth, and John who baptised Thee, be suppliants unto Thee in our behalf; and have mercy upon us", is altered in Brightman as, "By the prayers of Mary who brought Thee forth and of John who baptised Thee". The responsory of Mar Severus of Antioch follows in both texts. After the trisagion and Kyrie-eleison, a prayer "Vouchsafe us, O Lord God, by the intercession of thine holy Apostles" etc. and "The chosen Apostles" etc. are included in Brightman. This is not seen in Howard. The proemion and sedra of the 'Entrance' in Howard is lengthy compared to that in Brightman. Moses Bar Kepha, Bishop of Mosul, 9th and 10th centuries, and Dionysius Bar Salibi, Bishop of Amid, end of the 12th century, have written commentaries on the Jacobite liturgy. It is the St. James liturgy that is commented upon by both. During the days of Bar Kepha there was no proemion, nor sedra, nor katholiki. Bar Salibi speaks of the sedra of Entrance at the

beginning of the service, not any where else. He never mentions the word proemion. But speaks of katholiki.(11) In their days the Pre- Anaphora was very short.

As was the ancient practice, nobody was allowed to attend the service after the reading of the Scripture without communicating. According to Bar Kepha, those who were not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper, such as the Catechumens and the guilty members of the Church, were sent out. Jacob of Serugh of the 6th century, has mentioned this practice in his homilies.(12) K. N Daniel points out that this practice was dropped out on the advent of the new teaching about the Eucharist. That is, there is a local and external presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and that there is some benefit in approaching that external presence. Therefore non-communicants were allowed to attend the Eucharistic service later.(13) According to Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios, the liturgy of incense, which recalls the offering of incense in the Temple (Ex. 30:1-10), seems to have replaced the dismissal of the Catechumens, and comprises a general absolution of the Priest and People before the offering of the Eucharistic liturgy.(14)

J. H Srawley, also mentions that the elaborate dismissals in *missa catechumenorum* disappeared from *St. James* due to the changed conditions of Church life.(15) The 'Great Entrance', the procession in which the bread and wine are carried from the Prothesis to the altar is also now extinct in the Antiochian Liturgy.

(2) The Anaphora

The present Anaphora of St. James is a shortened form by Gregorios Bar Hebraeus of the 13th century. There are seventy liturgies formed after the pattern of this Anaphora; (16) whereas the Pre-Anaphora and the concluding service are the same for all these different liturgies. During the time of Bar Kepha the names inscribed in the 'book of life' were read after the 'kiss of peace' for a variety of reasons.

1. It proclaims those who have piously and holily arrived at a holy end.
2. It may show that they are living and not dead.
3. Because in their life they cleaved to the holy things, it is right that after their death also they should be proclaimed over the holy things.
4. As the altar represents Jesus, their reading upon the altar makes known that they are with Jesus always.
5. It urges us to imitate their holy conversation and right faith that we too may be worthy of their blessed end, and after our decease be proclaimed.(17)

This practice, according to Bar Salibi, became extinct by the 12th century. (18)

According to the liturgies of Bar Kepha and Bar Salibi the Communion was made just after the words "Holy things are given for the holy and the pure alone". In Bar Kepha the liturgy ends with the Communion and in Bar Salibi with the people's prayer, "Have mercy upon us", the deacon's exhortation, "Go in peace" and the people's response, "We go as you ordered us in the name of Our Lord and God".(19) The liturgies in Howard and Brightman continues.

g) Distinctive features of the Anaphora of St. James

The Anaphora of St. James is traditionally ascribed as the liturgy of Jerusalem and attributed to St. James, brother of the Lord and the first Bishop of Jerusalem. It has been widely accepted that the structure of this liturgy is distinctive. It has close verbal echoes of the *Mystagogic Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered in 348 A.D. J.H Srawley, after comparing the various liturgical sources of the early centuries, suggests that there existed in Syria and Palestine a well defined type of liturgy which agrees in its main features with that of St. James.(20) Critical studies suggest that it developed in West Syria in the fourth century, as an outcome of a fusion of the old Jerusalem rite with the earliest Egyptian form of the Anaphora of St. Basil. Later, it

was also influenced by the Byzantine version of St. Basil and the Egyptian Anaphora of St. Mark.(21) Louis Bouyer has qualified *St. James* as the ideal liturgy, conceived and developed on a plan which is substantially primitive, even if its working form represents an undeniably advanced evolution. The continuity of its development and the logical unity of the Trinitarian structure in which it is cast seem to be guarantees of the quasi-apostolic antiquity of this Eucharistic schema, whatever we might say about the variation in detail of the formulas with which it may be clothed. (22)

In the economy and balance of its composition, it may be claimed that this liturgy remains the most accomplished literary monument of the whole of liturgical literature. Its deep roots in the Jerusalem tradition are expressed by the many allusions to the holy places included in it and by the constant evocation of the heavenly Jerusalem. The liturgy was widely used outside Jerusalem until the twelfth century, as a result of the pilgrimage to the holy city from abroad. It is the principal Anaphora among the seventy West Syrian Anaphorae, and their proto-type as well. *St. James* is used most commonly, especially on all principal feasts, for the first Eucharist offered by a Priest, or offered at a new altar, in the West Syrian Church. (23)

There is a clear affinity in *St. James* to Cyril's description of the *missa fidelium* in his Catechesis. In *Cyril*, before starting the communion service proper, the Deacon brings water for the washing of hands to the Bishop and the Presbyters who surround the altar. This is followed by the kiss of peace and the *sursum corda* respectively. (24)

The *sursum corda* begins with 'the Grace' (2 Cor.13:14), a significant modification of the Pauline formula moulded in the scheme of the Trinitarian theology of the fourth century. The *preface* is an expansion of that quoted by Cyril. It mentions a summary of the creation 'visible and invisible' concluding with the reference to the vision of Isaiah (6:2,3). The whole creation is invited to join unanimously in the hymn of the Seraphim and summed up in the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 12:22-24). Here the heavenly bodies themselves praise God, instead of being

the objects of thanksgiving. This distinctive procedure has Jewish precedent (Psalms 118, 135, the Benedicite). (25)

The Anaphora as expounded by Cyril has been further developed in *St. James* by the insertion of an entirely new section between the *sanctus* and the *epiclesis*. It comprises a *post sanctus*, an *Institution Narrative* and an *anamnesis*. Although this is considered as an adoption from the *Egyptian St. Basil*, it is greatly expanded in *St. James*. (26)

The *post sanctus*, as distinctive in the Syrian Anaphorae, starts with a reference to the holiness of God who created man in his image, passes to the divine mercy and compassion by which the act of redemption is extended. The divine call through the covenant, the teaching through the Prophets and the supreme act of sending His Only Begotten Son etc. are orderly portrayed. The narrative of the redemptive dispensation is preserved continuously. To do this the narrative of the Eucharistic institution was detached from the *anamnesis* and inserted in its place in the commemoration of the passion. *St. James* avoids going right through to the last judgement before the Institution Narrative and follows the *Apostolic Tradition* in setting the latter in its chronological place. From the *anamnesis* to the end, the Syriac version of the Anaphora is addressed to Christ.

The transition from the *anamnesis* to the *epiclesis* is made in a very touching and dramatic style. The mention of the Judgement elicits a passionate and earnest request to the divine mercy. The sacrificial tone of the whole text comes explicitly from it: "*We offer to you....Master this awesome unbloody sacrifice*". This terminology is evident in Cyril as well. The offering is made in the present tense as in Hippolytus, which is for the first time in the East.(27) The elaborate *epiclesis* in the liturgy is an encomium of the Spirit, parallel to those of the Father and the Son in the *post sanctus* and *anamnesis*. Here the precise petition is not only that the Spirit manifest that the sacramental bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, but that he *make* them the body and blood.

In the structure of the liturgy as a whole, the Trinitarian theology is vividly emphasised. The Father is praised for all creation, gathered together into the "Church of the first born"-the heavenly Jerusalem. The Son is acclaimed as the one ~~who~~ in whom and through whom the divine economy of infinite mercy has brought to fruition the plan to bring together and restore all things for the purpose of this glorification of the Father in the heavenly Jerusalem. The Spirit is invoked as the one through whom the work of the Son finds its ultimate fulfilment in us now and for eternity. (28)

(3) The Post Communion service

Before the dismissal, in Howard there is a long prayer under the title, 'The seal with the sign of Mar James', which is wanting in Brightman. Both of them give a vivid description of the rituals in connection with the consuming of the holy elements left, ablutions, proemion / sedra of the departed etc. and conclude with the prayer when the Priest takes leave of the altar.

Notes.

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3. Howard, *The Christians of St. Thomas*, p.49.
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4. Mar Thoma, Juhanon., *Christianity in India and a brief history of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church* (Madras, 1954) p.6.
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6. *ibid.*, p.43.
7. *ibid.*, p.144.
8. Rae, *op. cit.*, pp.271-272.
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15. Srawley, J.H; *The Early History of the Liturgy*, (Cambridge University press, 1919) p.109.
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18. Daniel., *op. cit.*, p.39.

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20. Srawley., *op. cit.*, p.109.
21. Jasper & Cuming., *Prayers of the Eucharist Early and Reformed*, (3rd ed.), (USA, 1987) p.88.
22. Bouyer, Louis., *Eucharist*, (USA: University of Notre Dame press, 1968) p.245.
23. Davies., *op. cit.*, pp.541-542.
24. Srawley, J.H., *op. cit.*, p.84.
25. Jasper & Cuming., *op. cit.*, p.88.
26. *ibid.*, p.91.
27. *ibid.*, p.92.
28. Bouyer., *op. cit.*, p.278.

CHAPTER 3.
THE BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION IN THE SYRIAN
CHURCH OF MALABAR

a) Introduction

Before entering the details of the Reformation, a flashback to the early political history of Malabar is inevitable at this point. P.Cheriyian in *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society*, gives a well studied history of Kerala.(1) The south western coast of India, known as Malabar (later Kerala) was for many centuries under the rule of the dynasty of Cheraman Perumals. It was during the reign of the Perumals that Christianity was established and flourished in Malabar. Mention has been made in the first chapter of the Persian Christian immigrations in the fourth and ninth centuries and the social privileges granted to them. The rule of the last of the Perumals came to an end in the tenth century.

Many foreign nations had been attracted from very early times to Malabar for trade and commerce. Even before the tenth century, the Arabs had established commercial relations with Malabar. Although they started on friendly terms with the local merchants, chiefly Syrian Christians, they eventually resulted in capturing the monopoly of trade from the latter and this led to friction and trouble.

The end of the Perumal dynasty in the tenth century, gave rise to the split of the country into numerous petty kingdoms. There had been almost constant warfare among the petty Kings. Of the rulers who held sway in the northern part of Kerala, the Zamorin and the Rajah of Cochin were the most powerful.

The discovery of a new sea route to India, via. the Cape of Good Hope, by the Portuguese towards the end of the fifteenth century inaugurated another chapter in the area of trade. Serious conflict prevailed between the Arabs and the Portuguese on the high seas and led to intrigue with the Malabar Kings. The local Kings who were rivals to each other, on the other hand, were eager to secure the aid of any of the aforesaid foreigners to strengthen themselves against their rivals.

The southern region consisted of a large number of principalities viz. Nanjanad, Elayadathunad, Desinganad (Quilon), Onad (Kayankulam), Pandalam (Iyrunad), Vembunad, Thekkumkur, Vadakkumkur, Edappally, Alangad, Parur etc. These Princes were never able to live in peace with one another. The Travancore Government Directory has preserved the names of twentysix Sovereigns who ruled during the period between 1335- 1729. It was during the reign of Marthanda Varma Maha Rajah (1729- 1758) that these principalities were conquered and added to the territory of Travancore. In 1795, during the reign of his second successor Bala Rama Varma, the English took over Cochin fort from the Dutch. The Portuguese and the Dutch rule in India has been mentioned in the second chapter. The native Kings were inclined to accept their supremacy to establish their own authority over their internal rivals. During the reign of the Hindu petty Kings the high caste Hindus benefitted much. All appointments in the Government service were entirely in their hands. This monopoly vested in their hands, could easily oppress the other communities at will.

When the Roman Catholic Portuguese became powerful the Kings naturally favoured the Roman Catholic Christians. In the subsequent period of Dutch rule also the Roman Catholics were taken care of. De Lanoy, a Belgian Catholic was the general of King Marthanda Varma.(2) P.Cheriyian quotes from *Voyage to the East Indies* by Fra Paolino da san Bartolomeo, a learned Carmelite Missionary who resided in Travancore between 1776 and 1789, that Rama Varma Maha Rajah, the successor of Marthanda Varma, was very much attached to the Roman Catholic Missionaries. Paolino also refers to his visits to the Maha Rajah and the various favours which he was instrumental in procuring for the Roman Catholics from the King.(3) He further mentions that even the Pope intervened on their behalf and the Rajah sent a message to Pope Pius XVI through him, that he would take under his protection the Missionaries and the Christians in general who had been recommended to him by His Holiness. (4)

The Puthencoor Syrians did not enjoy the advantages possessed either by the high caste Hindus or by the Roman Catholics. Neither their religious state nor their social life was in a healthy position during this time. In his letter to the Madras Government Col. Munro, the second Resident of Travancore and Cochin, observes that the Dutch afforded protection to the Roman Catholic Christians and that as the result of this they enjoyed many civil rights. The letter reveals the real picture of the sufferings of the Syrians.

"The real Syrian Christians, on their separation from the Roman Catholics, were exposed to powerful enemies and serious dangers. The Roman Catholics, regarding their secession as an act both of apostacy and rebellion, persecuted them with unrelenting animosity. The Princes of the country, seeing their defenceless state, considered them as fit subjects for plunder and insult: they were destitute of religious books, Pastors, and instruction: they had lost, by their union with the Jesuits, the pure system of religion and morals, and the high spirit by which they were formerly distinguished: and the Dutch, whose policy was marked with perfidy and meanness, abandoned them to their fate.....The Syrians were exposed to still greater calamities, in the conquest of their country by the Rajah of Travancore.....They were reduced to the lowest state of poverty and depression." (5)

b) The period of Mar Dionysius the Great

In the history of the Puthencoor Syrians, from 1653 to 1765 five Metropolitans ruled the Church. Each of them had to overcome various problems to safeguard the Church from the Roman Papacy as well as the troubles aroused by some of the Syrian Prelates from abroad.

By the time of Mar Thoma V, the Puthencoor Syrians had almost become Jacobites. As mentioned in the previous chapter Mar Thoma VI governed the

Church for thirty seven years and some of the incidents in his time have established remarkable effects in posterity and deserve special attention here.

A. Even though he was raised to the episcopate by his uncle Mar Thoma V, he had doubt about the validity of his consecration. It is said that Mar Thoma V was not duly consecrated by his predecessor and the rite was limited to the imposition of the mitre of staff and ring at the hour of the latter's death. Owing to this reason Mar Thoma VI received reconsecration from Mar Gregorios, the foreign Prelate, in 1770 and took over the title Mar Dionysius I. This is the only instance of a Malabar Bishop accepting reconsecration at the hands of a foreign Prelate after receiving his consecration from a local Bishop. (6) Even the Roman Catholics who have impugned the episcopal validity of the first five Puthencoor Bishops admit the episcopacy of Mar Dionysius I and agree that ever since Puthencoor Syrians have enjoyed an almost unbroken line of validly consecrated Bishops of their blood. (7)

B. It has to be mentioned that Mar Gregorios who reconsecrated Mar Dionysius I, in the meantime, raised one Abraham Kattumangatt, another Indian Priest, to the episcopate with the title Mar Kurilos. This was without the consent of Mar Dionysius I and led to a dispute. The Rajah of Travancore issued an ordinance in favour of Dionysius I and Kurilos left Travancore and founded an independent see at Thozhiyur in British Malabar. Though this seems to be an unfortunate event at this point, the later history of the Church shows that it was a blessing-in-disguise for the Syrians. Mar Philoxenus II, the third successor of Mar Kurilos, has had the unique honour to consecrate three successors to Mar Dionysius I (Pulikkot Joseph Mar Dionysius II, Punnathra Geevarghese Mar Dionysius III, & Cheppat Philipose Mar Dionysius IV). The episcopate of these Metropolitans are significant in the era of Reformation in the Syrian Church of Malabar.

C. Another important event during the episcopate of Mar Dionysius I was the appointment of Col. Macaulay in 1800 as the first British Resident in Travancore and Cochin. He was a staunch friend of the Syrians and genuinely desired the spread of the Christian religion in the country. As mentioned already, the Syrians had been

undergoing an unhappy time then. In 1806 Lord William Bentick, Governor of Madras, sent Dr. Kerr, the senior Chaplain of Madras presidency, to Travancore to investigate the state of the Syrians. He was very impressed by the moral quality of the St. Thomas Christians and by the honour and obedience they gave to their clergy.

(8) In his report he has observed that

"the service in the Syrian Church was performed very neatly after the manner of the Church of England, that the doctrines of transubstantiation and the purgatory were not accepted and that they never admitted as sacraments extreme unction, marriage and confirmation." (9)

D. Yet another remarkable event during the time of Mar Dionysius I was the starting of negotiations for the investment of three thousand *star pagodas* (Rs. 10,500) with the British Government. About the origin of this fund it has been viewed that, Col. Macaulay obtained through the Travancore Government a sum of twenty one thousand rupees as compensation for some act of oppression done against the Syrians and divided the amount equally between the Puthencoor and the Pazhayacoor Syrians. Both these sums were, at the special request of the religious heads of the two sections invested with the East India Company as perpetual loans on the understanding that the proceeds of the investment were to be utilised for charitable purposes.

c) The visit of Dr. Claudius Buchanan - Printing of the Gospels in Malayalam and Syriac

In the same year Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Vice Provost of Fort William College, Bengal, visited Travancore and had a meeting with Mar Dionysius I at Kandanat. His visit can be considered as the first step in the process of the Reformation in the Malabar Syrian Church. It was by him that the needs of the Syrian Church at Travancore were first fully realised. In his *Christian Researches in Asia* Buchanan has recorded the dogmatic position of the Syrian Christians he met.

He was satisfied that they were neither Nestorians nor Monophysites. As their chief doctrines, he mentions three:

1. "They hold the doctrine of a vicarious atonement for the sins of men by the blood and merits of Christ, and of the justification of the soul before God by faith alone in that atonement."
2. "They maintain the REGENERATION, or new birth of the Soul to righteousness by the influence of the Spirit of God, which change is called in their books, from the Greek, the META-NOIA, or change of mind."
3. "In regard to the TRINITY, the creed of the Syrian Christians accords with that of St. Athanasius but without the damnatory clauses..." (10)

To Buchanan, the Bible and Scripturalness were of supreme importance. In his words, "the Syrian Christians of Malayalam possess the two chief requisites for junction with any pure Church, they possess the doctrines of the Bible and reject the supremacy of the Pope.....These are not times when we ought to scan too accurately the creed of our neighbours, particularly in the heathen lands.....At all events it will be time enough to enter on particular points of doctrine *after we have given them the Bible* and can refer to a common testimony." (11)

He could observe the want of complete and accurate copies of the Scriptures in the churches which he visited, and spoke to the Metropolitan about the need for translation and printing of the Scriptures from Syriac to Malayalam. The Metropolitan expressed great interest in this project and presented him a manuscript copy of the entire Bible in Estrangela Syriac, engrossed on strong vellum, in large folio, having three columns in a page and written with beautiful accuracy. To quote the Metropolitan:

"It will be safer perhaps in your hands than in our own; and yet, we have kept it , as some think, for near a thousand years." (12)

This famous manuscript is now in the University library of Cambridge. It is one of the rare complete ancient manuscripts of the Syriac Bible.

Buchanan returned to England in 1808 and devoted his attention to the printing of the Scriptures. The four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles were printed in Syriac under his eye at Broxbourne. After his death the British and Foreign Bible Society completed the printing of the New Testament in 1816 and the Old Testament in 1823. In 1826, a complete edition of the Syriac Scriptures was published by the Bible Society, especially for the use of the Syrians in Malabar.(13) It was the result of the earnest advocacy of Buchanan that the Church Missionary Society was induced to take measures for the establishment of a mission in Travancore to promote the education of the people, especially of the Clergy and the general restoration of the Church in accordance with the purity of evangelical truth.

E. The greatest achievement to be remembered to the credit of Mar Dionysius I is that, it was entirely under his supervision that the four Gospels were translated, though very imperfectly, into Malayalam by 1807. Later Buchanan got the manuscripts printed at Bombay in 1811. (14)

d) The services of Col. Munro

Col. Munro was the second British Resident as well as the Dewan in the states of Travancore and Cochin between 1810 and 1819. He had to settle two disputes on succession, one political and the other ecclesiastical. His decisions in both cases were prosperous for the state as well as the Church. Shortly after his arrival, Bala Rama Varma, the then King of Travancore, expired. His death aroused a contest regarding the successorship. On the advice of Col. Munro, the East India Company upheld the claim of Rani Lakshmi Bai. After her short reign (1810- 1815), her sister Rani Parvathi Bai succeeded as Regent upto 1829.

P.Chériyan gives a realistic picture of the state of Travancore when Col. Munro took charge.

"The administration was clogged by corruption and want of discipline. The central power was weak and in consequence the subordinate staff not properly controlled. The sad effects of recent wars and revolutions were visible. There was chaos and discontent. There were chronic mismanagement and malversation of the public revenue. The state was indebted to the extent of six lakhs to the general public and eighteen lakhs to the East India Company. The people were groaning under imposts such as a tax on inheritance, a poll tax, a tax on fishing nets, a cottage tax, a tax on Christian festivals etc. There were all sorts of monopolies on articles of trade."
(15)

The situation in the state of Cochin was worse than in Travancore. The state was sunk in an ocean of debts and armed robbery was very much common.

It is to be noted that the Residency of Col. Munro was a prosperous period to the states in general and to the Syrian Christians in particular. To quote Munro's own words from the Travancore state Manuel:

"In less than three years, although I encountered far greater difficulties than I anticipated, I succeeded in paying, besides the current subsidy, debts of eighteen lakhs of Rupees to the Company and nearly six lakhs to individuals, in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes, and in getting the affairs of the country conducted on principles of justice and humanity. I restored the management to a native Dewan delivered from its burdens, with a greatly augmented revenue, and in a situation of complete internal tranquillity." (16)

e) *Establishment of the Syrian Seminary*

The second dispute which Munro had to handle was within the Syrian Church. Mar Dionysius I was succeeded by Mar Thoma VII in 1808. Though the latter governed the Church for a short period, it was during his reign that Resident Macaulay recovered three thousand *star pagodas* (Rupees 10,500) through the Travancore Government and invested in the East India Company, at eight percent interest per year for the benefit of the Syrian Christians. When Mar Thoma VII was dying in 1809 it is said that some people brought a Priest Thomas, one of his relatives, to the bed side and persuaded the sick Bishop to lay hand on the latter's head. They subsequently reported to Col. Macaulay that this Thomas was the successor. As a result a quarrel originated between the supporters and the opposers of Mar Thoma VIII on the episcopal validity. No sooner Col. Munro, the new Resident, took office in 1800 than he was presented with a petition on the above dispute by Ramban Ittoop Pulikkot. The accumulated interest on the '*star pagodas*' endowment for a period of five years had not been paid by the Government owing to the aforesaid dispute on valid succession. In 1814, through the recommendation of Col. Munro, Ramban Ittoop was awarded the interest of the endowment to be used in building a Seminary for the Syrians. It was Munro's plan to establish a college for the Syrian Clergy and Laity. It was also arranged that the recurring expenditure incidental to the maintenance of the Seminary was to be met out of the future interest accruing from time to time. Later in the same year, through the influence of Munro, Rani Lakshmi Bai graciously assisted the enterprise by granting a plot of land at Kottayam, twenty thousand Rupees from the treasury and a hundred men for manual labour. Her successor, Rani Parvathi Bai, also gave large donations and a large tract of land at Kallada (Munro Island) to serve as an endowment for the Seminary. The Seminary was duly completed under the efforts and attention of Col. Munro and started its work in 1815 with Ramban Ittoop in charge. It had begun to instruct a few Deacons in the Seminary even before the completion of the building and the arrival of the CMS Missionaries. In the same year the Ramban received episcopal

consecration, with the title Joseph Mar Dionysius II, from Geevarghese Mar Philoxenus of Thozhiyoor. To put an end to the dissensions among the Puthencoor Syrians a Royal proclamation was issued, on Munro's advice, ordering them to obey Mar Dionysius II as their Bishop. Under the Bishop's able leadership the Seminary flourished gradually. The staff consisted of two English Missionaries, two Malpans, a Professor of Hebrew and two native Teachers of Sanskrit; while the Metropolitan resided at the college as its head. (17) Two other significant events of this time were the starting of the construction of the Seminary Chapel in 1817 and the receipt of about one hundred copies of the Gospels in Syriac printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society from the manuscript taken to England by Buchanan.

Munro had a definite master plan to reform the society through the reformed Church. It was his desire to have an English Clergyman attached to the College. He hoped to make available a Malayalam translation of the Bible, with the aid of the College staff. In his vision the College should be the means of educating the Syrian Clergy and also of turning out educated men from whom candidates may be chosen for the ministry. He insisted that no one should be ordained as Priest unless he had previously undergone a satisfactory course at the Seminary. He also wished that the most learned and able Priests should be engaged for giving instruction in the Seminary. Finally, he hoped that, in this manner, a respectable body of native Clergy could be procured for the propagation of Christianity among the non Christians. Munro, in one of his letters to the Rev. Marmaduke Thompson, the Secretary to the corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society, Madras, requests to send an English Clergyman and says:

"We must regard the Syrians as instrumentals for the enlarged diffusion of Christianity, and our endeavours to reform and enlighten their minds should have a reference to these extended views." *In other words* "Let us reform and enlighten the Syrians in order that they may become Missionaries to their non-Christian fellow country men."

(18)

f) The mission of help from the Church Missionary Society

In compliance with the request of Munro, the Madras Corresponding Committee directed Thomas Norton, the first CMS Missionary, to Travancore. Shortly after his arrival in 1816, the Resident and he had an interview with Metropolitan Dionysius II. Norton reports that their discussion was focused on the necessary steps for the reformation of the Syrian Church and particularly to uplift the status of the Clergy. He also mentions the license given to him by the Metropolitan to preach in the Syrian churches. The Missionaries had the freedom of preaching in the Syrian churches until Mar Dionysius IV ceased it in 1837. This was how the practice of preaching started in the Syrian churches.

g) Re establishment of Clergy matrimony

Even after giving up the Roman Catholic connection the Syrian Clergy remained unmarried. The Resident offered an award of Rupees four hundred to the first Priest who would be married. The Metropolitan, a short time after, issued a circular letter to all the churches in which he stated the prohibition of sacerdotal matrimony to be not of the Church of Antioch, but of the Church of Rome, and desired that the Clergy would take the matter into consideration and comply with the ordinance of marriage, when convenient. Two of the Clergy were in consequence soon after married; and forty more have entered into bonds that they will marry as soon as some provision shall be made for the support of their families. (19)

Munro made necessary arrangements for the CMS to work in Travancore. Alleppey, being a central place with respect to the Syrians and the Roman Catholics and a commercial centre, was selected for Norton to reside. Norton reports about his visits to the Seminary at Kottayam and the pressure put by the Resident on him to study Malayalam and for the quickening of the Bible translation. He also mentions his suggestions to give a selected group of students English education at Alleppey so that they may in turn teach English at the Seminary.

h) The Kottayam Trio

Rev. Benjamin Bailey, the second CMS Missionary, arrived at Alleppey in 1816. After spending some time for studying Malayalam, he shifted to Kottayam to work in the Seminary. With his arrival Norton gradually confined his labours to Alleppey and the surrounding places which eventually became a centre of the Anglican Church. Two other missionaries, Joseph Fenn and Henry Baker, arrived at Kottayam in 1818 and 1819 respectively and thence forward they (Bailey, Fenn and Baker) became known as the Kottayam Trio. They observed the need of the Syrian community and puts the urgent needs as under:

1. The circulation of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The instruction of the youths.
3. The instruction of the Clergy and
4. The enlargement of the churches.

They proceeded to effect a division of labour. It was accordingly decided that Bailey should devote his time chiefly to the Clergy and translations, Fenn should have the management of the Seminary and the Introductory School (Grammar School) and that Baker should have the charge of the schools intended for the people at large.

Bailey was the principal of the Seminary upto 1819 and was succeeded by Fenn. During the latter's period the curriculum was rapidly enlarged to include the study of Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Mathematics, History and Geography, besides English, Malayalam, Syriac and Sanskrit. The faculty consisted of a Jew to teach Hebrew, several Syriac Malpans for teaching Syriac, a Warriar and a Nair (high caste Hindus) to instruct in Sanskrit, two competent school masters and three assistants. The latter were Europeans. J. W Doran succeeded Fenn in 1827 and J. B Morewood afterwards. During the charge of Joseph Peet, his successor, there happened a split between the Missionaries and Mar Dionysius IV, the then Metropolitan and this eventually resulted in starting another College (the present CMS College) at Kottayam. An extract of the Parent Committee of the College states that, in spite of

erecting a new building, the original aim and objects of the College (Seminary) remained unchanged, the only difference being that now the majority of the students were lay boys, whereas at first the bulk were the Deacons. (20)

i) The starting of Schools

Observing the people's extremely backward state of education Munro proposed to start elementary schools attached to each parish. The Missionaries, eventually, started several schools of this kind in the outlying parishes. They also started a Grammar School at Kottayam to receive the more advanced pupils passed out of the parochial schools and prepare them for being instructed at the Seminary. The wives of the early Missionaries made another remarkable contribution by laying a foundation to the education of females. This four fold system of education, a parochial school attached to each church, a Grammar School of an intermediate type linking the parochial schools with the Seminary and a few schools for girls, received considerable development in after years. The twenty fourth report of the CMS shows that there were fifty schools and more than 1300 students. (21)

j) Establishment of a Printing Press

When the Missionaries started the work of translating the Bible in to Malayalam printing was a great difficulty to them. A printing press was sent from England at the request of the Missionaries for the Travancore Mission and it was established at Kottayam in 1821. The next hurdle was the availability of Malayalam types. At the request of the Missionaries, in the next year the College of Fort St. George at Madras permitted a fount to be cast with its dies for the use of the Kottayam press. But when it was found useless, Bailey made an attempt of his own. His zeal and industry to caste a fount of Malayalam types deserve esteem appreciation. To quote P.Cheryan,

"Mr. Bail^o_ky, without ever having seen a type foundry or its apparatus of any kind but eager to get some portion of the Scriptures and some

other works respectively printed as soon as possible, set himself to endeavour to form his own types with such aid as he could find from books alone and from common workmen. He had recourse chiefly to the Encyclopaedia Britannica and with the instruction which he received from this and from another small work or two and from a carpenter and two silversmiths he succeeded so completely....."

(22)

The first sheets of the Malayalam Bible were printed with the types and press which Bailey produced. The Missionaries were also engaged in the preparation of multitudes of tracts, which they diligently circulated, and in assiduous preaching in the churches and market places. Reports from the 'Madras Church Missionary Record 1834' shows that in the year 1833, nearly 30,000 tracts, 55,000 hand bills, 300 hymn books and 1,500 copies of the Psalter were printed from the press.(23) Apart from the mission work, the Missionaries spent time regularly in studying Malayalam, Syriac and Sanskrit.

k) Translation of the Bible in to Malayalam

In the West the Reformation movement was based on the open Bible. Tyndale published his English translation of the New Testament in 1526. British Protestants have been in the forefront in endeavouring to circulate translations of the Holy Scriptures in all countries of the world.

Claudius Buchanan is the first European who took practical interest in the Malayalam translation of the Bible. His chief object was "to forward the translations of the Bible, knowing that this was the fountain of light, and that if they were once possessed of this, it would be easier to adjust particular doctrines."(24) Mention has been made already that his special interest in this gave Mar Dionysius I much enthusiasm for translating the four Gospels in to Malayalam. When Col. Munro took charge as the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, he made it a point to see that Malayalam translation of the Bible and the establishment of an efficient system

of education were the inevitable needs of the time. His letters to the Missionaries clearly supports his zeal and determination in this task. In one of his letters to Norton he says,

"We can not calculate on the good management of the College and above all on the early translation of the Scriptures in to Malayalam, unless an English Clergyman is fixed at Kottayam and is placed in an efficient and direct superintendence over the affairs of the College, and of the Syrian Church in general. I hope that you have urged the new Metropolitan to hasten as much as possible the translation of the Bible, and indeed it would be desirable that you should frequently inspect the progress of that work, and employ every endeavour in your power both to accelerate and to ensure the correctness of the execution. The most learned of the Kattanars should be employed upon that work, and a separate provision made for their support. I am most anxious to have a *good* version of the Bible in Malayalam at an early period; for it will greatly facilitate the diffusion of our religion. "

(25)

In his letters the Missionaries were repeatedly asked to stimulate the Kattanars engaged for the work to be unremitting in their endeavours. To avoid the delay that might arise in the work owing to the shortage of finance, the Resident offered to pay out of his own pocket the salaries fixed for the Priests engaged in the task. He warned the Missionaries to take particular care that the translation should be accurate in every respect. Another letter of his to Norton is the best example to prove this.

"I shall write without delay to Mr. Thompson to recommend that an allowance may be granted by the Calcutta Bible Society for the support of Kattanars employed in the work of a Malayalam translation of the Holy Bible and I have every hope that it will be granted. But if it should not, I must try to devise some means of procuring such an

allowance, and I should rather pay it myself, although I am not very well able to afford it, than allow any delay to occur in translating the Bible into Malayalam. I anticipate the greatest benefits from the circulation of the Scriptures in that language; but our exertions to a correct and sound translation must be proportionate to the good that is calculated to be produced by its diffusion among the people. Some specific arrangement is highly necessary for the purpose of obtaining a translation within any reasonable period of time, and I should be happy if you would proceed to Kottayam and endeavour to effect the following objects viz:-

1st. To allot a certain number of the ablest Kattanars to the exclusive task of translating the whole Bible into Malayalam language: and to ascertain the salaries requisite for their maintenance during their employment on that work.

2nd. To establish the means of revising and correcting the translation as it proceeds, in order to ensure as far as may be practicable its fidelity and accuracy.

3rd. To ascertain the progress that has been already made in the translation: and to form an estimate of the time that will be required for its completion.

4th. To determine the several books of the Holy Bible that are to be translated and to enquire into the correctness of the Syrian version from which the translation is made.

5th. To determine whether the translation is to follow closely the Syrian version in the possession of the Metran, or to be occasionally assisted by a refer^ence to European manuscripts and versions.

6th. To ascertain the use that may be made of the existing Malayalam translations of parts of the Scripture. " (26)

Munro left India before the completion of the Bible translation. The whole responsibility of the task was on the shoulders of Bailey. He had a team of scholars to assist in the translation work. Moses Isarphati, a Jew and Hebrew scholar from Cochin, Waidya Natha Iyer, a Tamil Brahmin and Chathu Menon, a Nair, both Sanskrit scholars, were some of them. (Owing to the close acquaintance gained with the Holy Scriptures during the translation work, Chathu Menon and his family became Christians later). Although the translation was a Herculean task which consumed much time in its course, it became successful in 1829 when 5000 copies of the New Testament were printed. The entire Bible was printed for the first time in 1841. (27)

l) Errection and enlargement of Churches

It is to be mentioned that the Missionaries did a laborious service to repair and to renovate the old and dilapidated Syrian churches and to erect new churches as well. The main churches of the Syrians at Niranam, Omallur, Ankamali, Akaparambu, Kothamangalam Parur, Perumattam, Mulaculum, Kundra, Kallada, Kadambanad are among those repaired. Besides the liberal endowments of the Travancore Government through Col. Newall, the then British Resident, additional funds were procured by the Missionaries from Britain. Mar Dionysius IV, in one of his letters refers that a sum of fourteen thousand Rupees out of donations received through the British Resident was invested in the purchase of landed property. The whole of the balance received in response to this appeal was utilised for the repairs of the old churches, for building some of the schools and for building two new churches, one at Erathod near Niranam and the other at Pampakuda.(28)

m) The translation of the Book of Common Prayer

The translation of the English liturgy is of much importance here. It has the credit of being the first translated liturgy in Malayalam. The urge of Col. Munro behind this translation is evident in one of his letters, dtd. 23rd May 1818, to Bailey.

The Kottayam Missionaries had already begun to translate portions of the Prayer Book in to Malayalam. It consisted of the Morning and the Evening prayers with the Liturgy and catechism, parts of the Communion service and several of the Collects, Epistles and Gospels. The Missionaries, in the twentieth Report of the Church Missionary Society, makes it clear that it was not intended to impose any of the English ceremonies on the Syrians, but to provide a model for them in their attempt at reformation. (30)

To quote the Missionaries,

"We think they (Syrians) will be more delighted with the constitution of the English Church the better they are acquainted with it; and it appears to us to be of growing importance, that the discipline and services of that Church should be fully exhibited to them,.....Not that we wish to impose any of our ceremonies on them, much less to identify them with the English Church; but a model is necessary for them in their attempts at reformation,..." (31)

A few copies of the translation were prepared and distributed among some of the clergy including the Metropolitan. There were daily evening family worship at Bailey's house and public service on most Sundays in the Seminary chapel in Malayalam according to the Book of Common Prayer. The morning and evening services were read in some of the Syrian Churches also occasionally after the usual Syrian service. Hough, in *Christianity of India* says,

"Mr. Bailey's translation of the English Liturgy was very acceptable to the Metran and his Clergy; and, of their own accord, several Kattanars read it in their churches not at the time, however, of their own Syriac services, with which the Missionaries were specially careful not to interfere. At Kottayam, Mr. Bailey himself performed the Malayalam service with the Metran's permission, in one of the Syrian churches, which was generally well attended." (32)

The remarks of the Metropolitan about the performance of the public service in the vernacular deserves much attention here. To quote Hough,

"Acknowledging the advantage of performing public service in the which the people understood, the Metropolitan admitted that their Church had no canon against translating into Malayalam even their own Liturgy, except those prayers which were peculiar to the Priests which must always be read in Syriac...." (33)

Hough also mentions the attention devoted by the Laity and Clergy to these services, particularly to the sermon. The Church Missionary Record of 1831 says that Divine service was regularly performed in the Grammar School House, in the morning in English and in the afternoon in Malayalam. Morning Malayalam service on Sundays was started towards the close of the year 1827.(34) For several years manuscript copies of the Malayalam Prayer Book continued to be used in public worship. A thousand copies of the complete Common Prayer (with out the Psalms) were printed in 1829.

n) The appointment of Readers (Catechists)

As already mentioned, the complete copies of the Malayalam New Testament were issued from Bailey's press in 1829. It opened a new era in the history of the Travancore Syrian Christians. Although the vast majority of the people were illiterate there was a great demand for the copies from those who were able to read. Till about 1840, the copies were given gratis. Reports of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society show that year after year thousands of Malayalam Bibles and Bible portions were being purchased by the Malayalam speaking people.(35) To quote Bailey's own words,

"It will, I am persuaded, afford the Committee pleasure to hear of the great desire generally manifested by the Syrians to possess the Scriptures. The demands upon me for copies are so great that I can not get them stitched together so quickly as they are required. The

Metropolitan (Mar Dionysius IV) called on me,.....and requested a large supply of copies to distribute during his absence. I gave him as many as I could spare but by no means so great a number as he requested. " (36)

The Missionaries appointed Readers in various places to extend the benefit of the Scriptures to the illiterate section. It was their duty to read the Scriptures to the congregation. They were stationed at villages remote from the churches and served as School Masters in the week and as Readers on Sundays. Mention has already been done of the preaching in Syrian churches started by the Missionaries.

Notes

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4. Paulino, *Voyage to the East Indies*, p.181- in Cheriyan., op.cit., p.63.
5. *Twentieth Report of the CMS 1819-1820*, pp.333-340- in Cheriyan., op.cit., pp.366-367.
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12. Buchanan., op.cit., pp.138-139.
13. Howard., *The Christians of St. Thomas* , pp.60-61.
14. Cheriyan., op.cit., p.60.
15. *ibid.*, pp.79-80.
16. *ibid.*, p.81.
17. Howard., op. cit., p.63.
18. Cheriyan., op. cit., p.96., (*italics mine*)
19. *Missionary Register, 1818*, p.98. in Cheriyan., op. cit., p.98.
20. Cheriyan.,op. cit., p.188.
21. *ibid.*, p.189.
22. *ibid.*, p.152.
23. Howard., op. cit., p.90.
24. Buchanan., op.cit., p.

25. *Letter of Munro to Norton dtd. 6th Jan. 1817*, in Cheriyan., op.cit., p.349.
26. *Letter of Munro to Norton dtd. 15th Feb. 1817*, in Cheriyan.,
op. cit., pp.352-353.
27. Cheriyan., op. cit., p.178.
28. *Proceedings of the CMS. 1824-1825*, p.135, in Cheriyan., op. cit., p.158.
29. Cheriyan., op. cit., p.192.
30. *ibid.*, p.194.
31. *loc.cit.*
32. Hough, vol.v, pp. 385-387. in Cheriyan., op.cit., p.394.
33. *loc.cit.*
34. Cheriyan., op.cit; p.195.
35. *ibid.*, p.180.
36. *ibid.*, op.cit; p.202.

CHAPTER 4.

THE STARTING OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT

The Mission of help extended to the Syrian Church by the CMS and the special role of Col. Munro behind it have been mentioned already. The period between 1815- 1830 can be described as the era of prosperity in the history of the Syrian Church. Several factors have contributed to this development. The protection and generosity of the local governments were extended to the Church through the special concern of the British Resident. The episcopate of the Syrian Bishops got official and wider acceptance in the states through the Royal proclamation and hence peace prevailed in the ecclesiastical realms. The three venerable Metropolitans, Philoxenus II of Thozhiyoor, Dionysius II and Dionysius III, were specially remarkable for their piety, prayerfulness and general Christian character. Their greatest devotion to the advancement of their people deserves esteem. The constant mutual cordiality between the Metropolitans and the early CMS Missionaries is laudable. The Missionaries were sympathetic towards the Syrians and did a splendid service for their upliftment. About Mar Dionysius III the Missionaries say,

"He is the head not only of the Syrian Church, but of the Mission." (1)

Owing to this cordial relationship the Church could witness marvellous developments in the area of education, Scriptural acquaintance, appointments in Government service, and social life.

a) Appointment of a committee to consider Reformation

L. W Brown and P. Cherian point out that a Synod was convened at Mavelikkara by Mar Dionysius III on the 3rd of December 1818.(2) The assembly was convened in order that such matters might be brought before it, as had been frequent subjects of friendly conference between the Metropolitan and the Missionaries. About such friendly conferences the Missionaries write,

"Many hints of improvement are suggested by the Metran, and he follows up very warmly the plans proposed by us. We all meet twice a week to regulate the affairs of the Church and Mission; and it is quite a pleasure to see the method and propriety with which the Metropolitan attends to business." (3)

In the synod at Mavelikkara the Metropolitan presided. Bailey and Fenn were present. Mathai John points out that the assembly was met to welcome the Missionaries.(4) Fenn's address at the occasion has been published in the twentieth Annual Proceedings of the CMS 1819- 1820. In the address he says,

" To take these matters into consideration, the Metropolitan will appoint six of your most able and beloved Kattanars, who will meet and discuss them, and report to you the result of their deliberations."(5)

The three authors, mentioned above, agree that the assembly appointed a committee of six prominent Priests to study the reforms that might be necessary. Abraham Malpan of Maramon, Syriac professor of the Seminary at Kottayam, was one among them.

b) Hindrances to Reformation

A sharp decline from the reformatory view is evident in the Syrian Church during the period between 1825-1830 and it reached its peak in 1833. This resulted from the demises of the three venerable Metropolitans and the retirement of the Missionary trio due to ill health. Mar Dionysius II died in 1816. Col. Munro left Travancore three years later. Mar Dionysius III met with a sudden death in 1825 and in the following year Fenn left for England. Mar Philoxenus II of Thozhiyoor was called to eternal rest in 1830. Bailey and Baker left on furlough in 1830 and 1833 respectively. This was the close of the cordial chapter of relationship between the Syrian Bishops and the early English Missionaries. The arrival of one Athanasius, deputy to the Patriarch of Antioch, in 1825 gave rise to a serious difference of

opinion among the Syrians and it empowered the conservatives to oppose the reformatory ideas with tooth and nail.

It was against this background that a new chapter starts in 1833 with Mar Dionysius IV, Joseph Peet and W.J Woodcock, the new batch of Missionaries. The new Metropolitan was a conservative and the new Missionaries, who were juniors, had neither the patience nor caution of their predecessors. The early Missionaries sympathised with the Syrians as a people who had missed their way through the long alliances with the Romans and the non Christians. The new Missionaries regarded them as a people who did not show a readiness to give up certain errors which they abhorred. Ordination fees and the fees for the Mass to the departed were a sound source of income to the Metropolitan and the Clergy respectively. The measures taken against these by the Missionaries had aroused dislike among the former~~s~~. A group of Syrians, who disliked the discipline enforced by the Missionaries, intentionally worked to their own benefit by kindling flames of discord between the latter and the Metropolitan. In addition to these developments, as mentioned by Canon Bateman and Whitehouse, the occasional visit of certain Anglican Chaplains in the service of the Government and others to the Syrians and their expression of high appreciation of the old doctrines and practices of the latter became a stumbling block to the Missionaries. All these circumstances created much friction between the Metropolitan and the Missionaries and resulted in a split at the Mavelikkara Synod of 1836.

c) Mavelikkara Synod- 1836

This Synod is quite decisive in the history of Reformation in the Syrian Church. It was held at the St. Mary's church, Mavelikkara on 16th January 1836. Mar Dionysius IV presided over the Synod in the presence of Mar Kurilos of Tozhiyoor. A perusal of the agreement drawn up at the occasion will reveal the following main clauses:

→ It has been affirmed twice that the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malankara was subjected to the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch. This Church observes the liturgies and ordinances instituted by the prelates sent by the Patriarch. This Church ipso-facto, cannot deviate from such liturgies and ordinances and maintain a discipline contrary thereto. The Patriarch being the supreme head of the Church, the Missionaries cannot be allowed to preach and admonish in this Church without his permission. The Syrians of Malankara would not follow any faith or teaching other than the Orthodox faith of the Jacobite Syrian Christians. The agreement ends by mentioning the prayers of 'the ever happy, holy, and ever blessed Mother of God, the redresser of all complaints, and the prayers of all Saints' and the Holy Trinity as its witness. (6)

The intention of the conservative group to uproot the reforms proposed by the Missionaries is quite evident here. To get wider acceptance they were sacrificing the autonomy of the Syrian Church, regained from the Papacy in 1653, by the surrender to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

d) Consequences of the Mavelikkara Synod

The first step of Metropolitan Dionysius IV against the Reformation was forbidding the Deacons from studying in the Seminary. He issued a circular on this notifying that those who disregard this would not be ordained as Priests. The Priests and Laity in general were also notified that those who associate with the Missionaries would be excommunicated. This circular resulted in an adverse effect.

In spite of the threat of excommunication, some Syrians sent their children to the Mission schools, which were the only educational institution at that time. Small groups of Syrians here and there who had doubts towards some of the prevailing rites and practices of the Church chose to stand by the Missionaries. These groups of people ceased to attend the regular Syrian services. Possible provision had to be made for their Sunday worship, for the administration of the Christian ordinances for

their benefit and for the burial of their dead. This aroused the question of the specific form of worship to be adopted for them.

e) The need for a revised liturgy

The aforesaid Syrians did not desire to use the same liturgy (unreformed) then in use. During this period, since the Anglican Church had no branch in Travancore or Cochin, the Missionaries sought permission from the Parent Committee of the CMS, on the permissibility of introducing the Anglican liturgy. The committee in turn informed the Missionaries that a definite action on the matter required permission from the Parent Committee in London and it was the conviction of the former that the identity of the Syrians should be preserved and they were not to be amalgamated with the Church of England. J.Tucker, Secretary of the Committee puts it clear in his letter dated 14th March 1836, to the Missionaries.

"The Committee took into serious consideration, the important question whether it is desirable to introduce our liturgy or to attempt to compose a reformed one from their own....it is at present the decided conviction of the Committee that we ought to endeavour to preserve their identity and not attempt to amalgamate them with the Church of England." (7)

The following resolution of the Missionary Conference held on the 22nd March 1836 supports the impression that a few of the Syrian Priests had at the instance of the Missionaries been composing a revised Syrian liturgy.

"That with reference to the fifth of the above resolutions, (5. "That the Missionaries be requested to prepare a suitable liturgy in Malayalam for the use of the Syrians, from the different liturgies and services in use.") the Syrian liturgy now preparing be proceeded with, with the least possible delay and that when finished, a copy in English be submitted to the Committee for their approval." (8)

f) The revised liturgy

The principal feature of this liturgy was the omission of a number of passages containing prayers for the dead, invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints and the acknowledgement of anything resembling the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was a Malayalam liturgy which was described by those who were against the changes as " half mass." (9)

g) Transition period

A period of about three years between 1836 and 1839 can be considered as the transition period in the history of the Reformation in the Syrian Church. During this period at a few places like Mallappally, Pallam and Kollat the Morning service was read according to the Anglican liturgy and the Eucharist service according to the revised Syrian liturgy was performed afterwards by one of the Syrian Priests.

In April 1837 Mar Dionysius IV intimated by a circular to all the churches under him that neither the Missionaries nor those who associate with them should be allowed to preach in the Syrian churches and warned that the congregation would be excommunicated otherwise. This circumstance urged the Missionaries to convert the Mission of Help into an open Mission, whose principal object was the proclamation of the Gospel to the non Christian population.

The Parent Committee of the CMS, in London, took a final decision on the request of the Missionaries in 1839 that since the Mavelikkara Synod had rejected the Mission of Help it should be transformed as an ordinary open Mission. Subject to the approval of the Parent Committee, the Madras Committee on 16th May 1838 accepted the new scheme submitted by the Missionaries.

1. It comprised the formation of three districts viz. Kottayam village, Kottayam taluqs and Mavelikkara under the charge of Bailey, Baker and Peet respectively.
2. It was decided to form Anglican congregations throughout the Mission field.
3. It was also decided that the Missionaries should labour for gathering in of both Christians and non Christians alike.

In short, the policy was evangelization, starting of Anglican congregations and continuation of educational and literary activities. (10)

h) Formation of an Anglican community

A careful and impartial evaluation of the Mission of Help from 1816-1839 reveals that the Missionaries were exclusively concentrated on the welfare of the Syrian Church. Their entire endeavour was to influence the Bishops, Clergy and Laity in favour of spontaneous and internal reform. With this view they circulated the Scriptures and the Anglican Prayer Book. After the split this policy was changed, though they continued running the educational institutions. The main attention was turned to their own small congregations and the non Christian community. As a result of their work large congregations were formed in different parts of the states consisting mostly of converts from the Ezhava, Arrian and other communities. A group of Syrians had also left the Syrian Church and joined the Missionaries. Thus a branch of the Anglican Church was formed. In 1840 the Archbishop of Canterbury authorised the Bishop of Madras to supervise these Anglican congregations. In the same year the disputes between the Missionaries and the Metropolitan on properties were settled by arbitration. The reformed Syrian liturgy has been used in the Seminary chapel upto 1838 and in the congregations at Pallam and Kollat till 1840. Since 1840 the Syrian services were discontinued and regular Anglican services were introduced. Palakkunnathu Abraham Malpan, Kaithayil Geevarghese Kattanar and Eruthikkal Marcus Kattanar were the Syrian Priests who officiated at the Seminary chapel, Kollat and Pallam respectively.(11)

i) Submission of a memorial to the British Resident - 1836

Another group of Syrians who favoured the reformatory ideas decided to continue the reformatory ideas of the Missionaries by remaining within the Syrian Church instead of joining the Anglican communion. Palakkunnathu Abraham Malpan was

the leader of this group. He was one of the Syriac teachers in the Seminary at Kottayam till 1840.

The first step taken by the aforesaid group was submitting a memorandum to Col. Fraser, the then British Resident. Twelve Priests from places viz. Maramon, Puthupally, Kalloopara, Kottayam, Kozhencherry, Thewalakara and Chathannoor had affixed their signatures in it, of which the most prominent were Palakkunnathu Abraham Malpan of Maramon, Kaithayil Geevarghese Kattanar of Puthupally, Adangappurathu Joseph Kattanar of Kalloopara and Eruthical Marcus Kattanar of Kottayam. This event is regarded as the starting point of the Reformation within the Syrian Church and hence known as the *Trumpet call in the battlefield of Reformation*.⁽¹²⁾ The contents of the memorial was that Dionysius IV, the Metropolitan, was departing from the ways of his immediate predecessors viz. Mar Dionysius II, Mar Dionysius III and Mar Philoxenus II. That he misappropriated the income of the churches, fomented discord in the congregations from avaricious motives, brought about a rupture with the Missionaries and conducted himself against the injunctions of the Scriptures and the Canons. Along with the memorial a statement containing a detailed account of the various abuses prevailed among the Syrians was also submitted. The above memorial was a thorough protest against the misdeeds of the Metropolitan and the abuses enlisted in the statement were condemned as unscriptural and uncanonical. Although the memorial denounced some of the practices prevailing in the Syrian Church it neither attacked any of the distinctive Jacobite doctrines and practices nor expressed approval of any of the evangelical doctrines which were advocated by the Missionaries or associated with Protestantism. There was no hint in it of any revolt against the Jacobite Patriarch. Though the memorialists prayed for the removal of Mar Dionysius IV from office, they had expressed readiness to have Mar Kurilos of Thozhiyoor to rule over them as Metropolitan.

The Resident did not consider the memorial. As mentioned already, Mar Dionysius IV reacted to it by issuing a circular to all the churches under him in early

1837, forbidding the Missionaries to preach in the Syrian churches. It was at this stage that the Priests under the leadership of Abraham Malpan formed the reformed Syrian liturgy.

j) The first stage of the Reformation

There are ample reasons to prove that Abraham Malpan kept a balance between Syrian traditions and Scriptural importance. He had doubts on his ordination received from Mar Thoma VIII, the irregularly consecrated Bishop. It was out of his esteem of apostolicty that he received reconsecration from Mar Athanasius of Antioch, who arrived Malankara in 1825. He was attached to the peculiarities of the Syrian Church, such as its vestments, canonical orders, rites, the way of chanting prayers and the stress on the study of Syriac. He therefore made a serious and earnest attempt to effect a reform without abandoning the cherished peculiarities. The minutes of the Travancore Missionary conference held on February 12, 1836, underlines this.

"The Malpan thought that the people would not consent to put aside the elevation of the Host, the crossing themselves and the incense. He wishes that the Lord's supper should be a communion, and not celebrated by the Priest alone." (13)

In the light of the reforms suggested by the Missionaries, he desired to purge of all the unscriptural teachings and practices in the existing Syrian liturgy. Owing to the circular of the Metropolitan forbidding the Missionaries to preach in the Syrian churches and the warning of excommunication to those who associate ^{with} them the reformist group had subsided. The Metropolitan had the support of the Government and the Royal Proclamation and those who oppose him would ipso-facto incur the displeasure of the Government itself. P.Cheryan points out the probability that though from 1837 onwards the idea of the Syrian Reformation was under consideration and though Abraham Malpan and some of his friends were preaching in its favour, the movement began to be pushed forward with vigour only after he

resigned his appointment in the Seminary subsequent to 1840. (14) He retired to Maramon, his own village, and introduced the proposed reforms in his own parish. He had destroyed a wooden image, probably of Mar Baselius who had died at Kothamangalam commonly called Muthappan, kept in the church at Maramon. This image was venerated at an annual festival which brought considerable revenue to the church. The Malpan declared it idolatrous and abolished the festival itself. This act has given definition to the beginning of the reform movement within the Syrian Church, which is often called the *Reforms of M. E 1012* (1837). (15) Among the other main reforms introduced by him may be the following,

"The regular Sunday services were held in Malayalam. Auricular confession, prayers for the departed, invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints and the celebration of the Eucharist when there was no one to communicate along with the officiating Priest were all stopped. In administering the Lord's supper he made it a rule to give the bread and the wine separately to the laity as in the Protestant Churches; but he did not follow their example in introducing the *Filioque* clause into the Creed. He took care to see that, subject to these innovations, the form and exterior of the Kurbana service and the arrangement of the Public worship were changed as little as possible. Perhaps the greatest change that he introduced was to arrange for the regular reading of the passage from the Old and New Testaments during the service in addition to the Gospel and Epistle for the day and to preach regularly to those who assembled for Divine worship. He adopted plans for the strict observance of the Lord's Day by every member of his congregation. In order to popularise the Reformation, he took special care to have the Bible regularly read and family worship held in the houses of his parishioners." (16)

As the Reformation began to spread and a number of Deacons were found willing to stand by the Malpan, Mar Dionysius IV excommunicated the entire Maramon

congregation and declared that he would not ordain any of the Deacons to Priesthood, who had undergone training under the Malpan. This circumstance coupled with the knowledge that his Church as a whole was not showing any inclination to adopt the Reformation started by him set his mind upon devising means for securing a duly consecrated Bishop to carry on the Reformation. He sent Deacon Mathan, his own nephew, to Mesopotamia in 1841 and the latter was consecrated as Metropolitan at the hands of the Patriarch. The Malpan's primary intention behind this was to ensure the supply of episcopally ordained Priests to minister to those congregations which might follow the Reformation. But contrary to the desire of the Malpan, Mathews Mar Athanasius, the new Metropolitan's endeavour was to acquire power and authority, rather than to strengthen the reform movement. This caused much disappointment and intense pain to the Malpan and he died at the age of 49 in 1845.

Notes.

1. Cheriyan., *The Malabar Syrians*, p.229.
2. Brown., *The Indian Christians*, pp.135-136.
3. Cheriyan., op.cit., p.229.
- 4 John, Mathai., "The Reformation of Abraham Malpan an Assessment",
Indian Church History Review, (vol. xxiv, no.1, June 1990) p.39.
5. Whitehouse, Thomas., *Lingerings of light in a dark land*, (London:
William Brown & co., 1873) pp.263-264.
also vide Bateman, *Life of Wilson*, vol., II, p.223, in Cheriyan., op.cit., p.301.
6. Cheriyan., op. cit., pp.390-391.
7. *Letter from J. Tucker, Madras, dtd. 14th March 1836 to Messrs. Bailey,
Baker and Peet*, in Cheriyan., op. cit., pp.406-407.
8. Cheriyan., op. cit., pp.243, 407.
9. *ibid*; pp.243-244., *vide Appendix. A of this thesis.*
10. Cheriyan., op. cit., p.255.
11. Hunt, *Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin*, vol. II, p. 54, in Cheriyan.,
op. cit., p.286.
12. Mar Thoma, Alexander., op. cit., p.15.
13. *Minutes of the Travancore Missionary Conference*, Tue., Feb.,12, 1836, in
Cheriyan., op. cit., pp. 408- 409.
14. Cheriyan., op. cit., p.290.
15. Brown., op. cit., p.141.
16. Cheriyan., op. cit., pp.290-291.

CHAPTER 5.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE REFORMATION

a) Introduction.

Mention has already been made of the background of the Reformation in the Syrian Church. The C.M.S Missionaries prepared its way and Abraham Malpan became the weapon to carry it out. In the Malpan's endeavour to carry out the reforms, Mar Dionysius IV, the presiding Metropolitan and the conservative majority in the Church were against him. Only a few Priests, Deacons and Laity favoured him. But he had the full support of the entire Maramon parish and the backing of the Missionaries. When Mathews Mar Athanasius, the new Metropolitan returned from Mardin, the Malpan hoped that he would become the leader of the reformers. Contrary to this, the new Metropolitan's intention was to establish his position by ousting the presiding Metropolitan and afterwards to carry out the reforms widely in the Church. This resulted in arousing dispute and unrest. To investigate the situation the Patriarch sent one Bishop Yoyakim Mar Kurilos in 1846 as his delegate. Mar Dionysius IV resigned his charge to Kurilos, petitioning the Resident to have the latter proclaimed as his lawful successor. In the meantime another Stephanos Mar Athanasius also had come from Mardin. The Governments of Travancore and Cochin, after proper investigation, declared Mathews Mar Athanasius as lawful Metropolitan of the Malankara Church. Although since 1852 he became the sole Metropolitan his position was not secure enough. He was in between the conservatives and the reformists. The conservatives were against his reformatory ideas. He could not introduce liturgical reforms widely as he wished, owing to various hindrances inside and outside the Church. After the demise of Dionysius IV in 1857, Pulikot Joseph, a native Priest, became the leader of the conservative group. He was supported by Yoyakim Kurilos until the latter's death in 1874. In 1865 he

went to Mardin and was consecrated by the Patriarch with the title Joseph Mar Dionysius. His return in 1866 created a new challenge to Mar Athanasius. His endeavours against the latter became successful in bringing Mar Ignatius Peter III, the then Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, in 1875. The Patriarch in turn succeeded in persuading the Travancore Government to withdraw the Royal proclamation made in 1852 in favour of Mar Athanasius. Instead a Royal decree was issued by the Government that since then all the disputes that might arise in the Church on property or position should be decided in the courts of law. The Patriarch also established his supremacy over the Malankara Syrian Church through the decrees of the *Synod of Mulanthuruthy*. He divided the province of Malankara into seven dioceses and consecrated six more Bishops as well. All these procedures strengthened the conservative group greatly and in turn made the reformists fragile.

b) Mathews Mar Athanasius (1852- 1877)

In 1869 Mathews Mar Athanasius consecrated Thomas Mar Athanasius as coadjutor with the assistance of Joseph Mar Kurilos of Thozhiyoor. In 1873 a religious revival started among the reformists under the leadership of Justus Joseph, a Brahmin convert and Anglican Priest. Through his intensive evangelistic work, hundreds of people were converted. L. W Brown comments that the revival tended to unite the people as well as strengthen their Bishop. Under its influence quarrels were made up and Hindu customs abandoned. (1) It helped a minority to withstand the rapid flow towards the conservative group during the visit of the Patriarch in 1875. Mathews Mar Athanasius was the first native of Malabar that ever received consecration as Syrian Metropolitan of Malabar directly at the hands of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. To quote L. W Brown,

"all parties recognized that in knowledge of the Scriptures and theology he was perhaps the most able Metran the Christians of St. Thomas had ever had." (2)

G. Milne Rae writes about him,

" For a quarter of a century he had occupied the episcopal throne of Malankarai; and, more than any of his predecessors, had attempted to reform his Church.....During his *regime*, "every encouragement was given to the reading of the Scriptures, translated by the Missionaries; prayers in the Church were conducted in many instances in the vernacular; invocation of the Saints and worship of relics with other superstitious practices, introduced into the Syrian worship by the Roman Catholics, were excluded; Sunday schools, Bible readings, and other active efforts to spread the truth were fostered and encouraged," and all the ordinary apparatus of evangelical work was used for promoting the good of the Syrian Church."

He also stopped the custom of burying the Bishops within the chancel of the Church. (3) He codified and published a Canon for the Church in 1857. Its clauses 9 and 10 reveal the attitude of the reformers towards the rites of the departed.

9. " That, since all the departed saints, who lived in accordance with the Holy Scripture and instructed the Church by rightly imparting the Words of Truth, are ideal models, their names should be commemorated in prayers and beseech for Divine Grace to follow their foot steps."

10. " That, since worshipping the angels or saints and praying to the departed saints are not in accordance with the teaching of the Scriptures, the Holy Church must abstain from such worships and prayers". (4)

It is also to his credit that during his episcopate the revised Eucharistic liturgy was printed by the Rev. Ipe Thoma Cattamar, Vicar General, in 1872.(5) The Metropolitan, known afterwards as Mar Athanasius the Great, died in 1877 and was succeeded by Thomas Mar Athanasius.

c) Thomas Mar Athanasius (1877-1893)

During his period Joseph Mar Dionysius of the conservative group filed a suit against him in 1879 to recover the Church properties. It is of special significance that there was no reference to heresy in the plaint and that the whole question was about the acceptance of supremacy of the Jacobite Patriarch over the Malabar Church.(6) After ten years of litigation, the Royal Court of Appeal consisting of three Judges gave the final decision-the two Hindu Judges, in favour of Joseph Mar Dionysius, confirming the authority of the Patriarch; and the one Christian Judge, Ormsby, in favour of Thomas Mar Athanasius, declaring that the Church had throughout been independent.(7) It was this judgement in 1889 that finally caused the split in the Syrian Church between the Jacobite and Reformed. Henceforth the Reformed section became known as the Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar.

d) History of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church since 1889

Owing to the judgement of the Royal Court of Appeal, Thomas Mar Athanasius surrendered the properties (The Old Seminary and the Endowment) of the Syrian Church to Joseph Mar Dionysius. After a series of court cases for the possession of parish churches the Mar Thoma Church got only two churches; Maramon and Kozhencherry. Five other churches were to be used by both groups on alternate Sundays. The only church held without contest was of Kottarakara, where the whole congregation favoured the reforms. In other places worship services were held in small sheds. (8) K.K Kuruvilla points out that Metropolitan Thomas Mar Athanasius thought that the liturgy needed further revision, but he passed away in 1893 without effecting any revision in the liturgy. The evidence of the Metropolitan in the *Seminary Case* gives a general outline of the doctrinal stand of the reformers.(9)

e) Endorsement of the doctrinal reforms of Abraham Malpan -

First Liturgy Revision Committee - 1900.

Metropolitan Titus I Mar Thoma was consecrated in 1894. *The Report of the Liturgical Committee-1927* says in its introduction that the Priests, who favoured the reform movement, celebrated the Eucharist in Malayalam by using the Syriac liturgy. Because the translation was extempore there was no verbal uniformity among the Priests. Eventually a few terminological variations happened to be included in different parts of the liturgy. In order to check this and to make possible a uniform liturgical text a *Prayer Book Revision Committee* was instituted during the episcopate of Titus I in 1900. (10) They discussed certain points which are theologically of great importance.

To quote K.K Kuruvilla,

1. "The way in which the presence of Christ is realized by the recipient in the Sacrament- Is it the physical presence of the body and blood of Christ or is it the spiritual presence only of Christ?"
2. "The significance of the use of 'mystery' and 'bloodless sacrifice' in the liturgy."
3. "The meaning of the expression 'worthily receive'. Does it imply receptionism?." (11)

The members in the Committee had different views on the interpretations of the above expressions. They prepared a tentative liturgy for temporary use in the Church. The Committee did not function afterwards.

f) Second Prayer Book Revision Committee- 1913

This Committee was appointed during the episcopate of Metropolitan Titus II Mar Thoma, in 1913. The Malpan left behind him no treatise on his reforms. The posterity were left with only the expurgations he made. Therefore the Committee tapped other sources of information in this respect. The chief among them were the following.

1. The inferences from the negative statements of the Synod of Diamper.
2. The memorial from the Clergy to Col. Fraser, the British Resident, in 1836. (12)
3. The statement issued by the Reform Society in 1878. (13)
4. The deposition of Thomas Mar Athanasius in the *Seminary Case*. (14)

The Committee submitted its report in 1920. It contained a summary of the liturgical reforms of Abraham Malpan. According to this the Malpan effected ten alterations in the Eucharistic liturgy and three changes in practices. They are the following.

1. "All invocations to the Saints have been discarded.
2. All prayers for the dead have been omitted.
3. The prayer beginning "Thee who holdest the bounds of the earth, I take in my hands.....Thee who art God I place in my mouth" has been left out.
4. The prayer "We offer this bloodless sacrifice for Thy Holy Church universal" has been recast to read "O Lord.....We offer this prayer for the Church" (vide page 43 of the *Taksa* published by the Vicar General Very Rev. Kovoov Ipe Thoma Kassesha in 1872).
5. The declaration "Offer this living sacrifice....." has been altered to read "Offer this living sacrifice, the sacrifice of grace, peace and praise" (ibid page.36).
6. The declaration "This Eucharist is sacrifice and praise" has been omitted. (ibid page31).
7. "The Holy Spirit is the Sanctifier of the Censer". This declaration has been omitted. (ibid page 31).
8. The note that "The Censer should be blessed" has been left out.

9. The prayer "May this bread be transformed into the life-giving and saving bread" has been altered to read "May He (the Holy Spirit), by brooding over it, make this bread the body of the Lord Jesus for those that receive it for the remission of sins and for eternal life".
10. The statement "This is the flaming rock laid at the sepulchre of Our Lord" was altered into "Thou art the tried and precious stone which the builders rejected".

The reforms to the practices are:

1. "It was ordained that Holy Communion should be administered in both kinds". (to the laity)
2. The practice of obtaining absolution from the Priests by confession to them was abolished.
3. The practice of celebrating Holy Communion even in the absence of communicants was discontinued".(15)

The Committee adopted unanimously the following resolutions on Holy Eucharist as well.

"In Holy Communion, Christ gives Himself to his believers and they partake of Him. But we repudiate the doctrines that any material change occurs in the Bread and Wine and that Christ is localised in them. Besides, the Holy Communion is a reminder of Christ who offered Himself up as an eternal sacrifice, for the redemption of the whole world and of His death; a sacrificial feast for participating (eating and drinking) in Christ, who offered Himself up as a sacrifice; a pledge of the certainty of the redemption through Christ; a means for the incorporation of the believers in Christ and between themselves; a thank offering declaring our gratitude to God for the redemption wrought through Christ and for all other benefits we enjoy from God; a prayer for all blessings on the basis of Christ's

eternal sacrifice; an offering, wherein the Church incorporating itself in the offering of Christ, offers itself up as a living, holy and acceptable sacrifice to God. This holy rite was instituted by Our Lord on a most important occasion in His life and the Church has been celebrating it from Apostolic times, and it occupies the central place in the worship of the Christian Church and no section of Christians, which disregard this rite which is biblical and in conformity with the consciousness of the Church Universal, will escape suffering serious deterioration in spiritual life and progress. The blessings of Holy Communion are dependent on conditions spiritual and not only that those who participate in it without proper mental attitude do not derive any benefit therefrom, but also, that it becomes a curse to them".

It is also recorded,

"that even before 1098 M.E,(1922) there have been differences in outlook, that through the means of the Bread and Wine, the Body and Blood of Christ become present in the company of the worshippers and that they do not so become present, but that the Church does not compel the acceptance of the one or the rejection of the other". (16)

g) Third Liturgy Revision Committee - 1924.

The Committee, appointed in 1924, prepared a tentative Eucharistic liturgy according to the above articles of reforms and resolutions. The changes to be noted in the liturgy relate to the following points.

"1. Incense:

The old liturgy gives great importance to this and gives the impression that it is something which effects reconciliation with God. "Accept our incense out of thy mercy, O Lord" was changed into "Accept our worship, O Lord", and "Be reconciled to us through the

incense offered by Thy priests" into "Attend unto the prayer of Thy priests".

2. *Sacrifice:*

Wherever this word expresses the idea that the sacrifice of Christ is being repeated, it is either dropped or explained. It was replaced by the expression *"the bloodless sacrifice of grace, peace and praise"*.

3. *Sacrament:*

a. *The words of Institution* in the old liturgy are so changed that only the words of Christ as given in the Gospels are retained (Luke 22:19; Matthew 26: 28). The old liturgy contained the expression *"This is my body which is broken for the remission of sins and eternal life"*.

b. *'Mystery':* This word is dropped from all places where it occurred. It was feared that this word might encourage the worshippers in the belief that some magical change would take place in the bread and wine during the Communion Service.

c. *The Epiiclesis:* The Prayer of Institution. Different forms were suggested. One form was as in the original Jacobite *Thaksa: "May the Holy Ghost descend on this bread and transform this into the life-giving and saving body of Christ"*. This was at first changed into: *"May the Holy Ghost descend on this bread and transform it into the body of Christ for those who worthily receive it"*. The last Committee replaced it by the following: *" May the Holy Spirit sanctify this (bread) to be the body of our Lord Jesus Christ"*. A corresponding change is made in the form of the consecration of the wine also.

d. *The Person of Christ:* Passages suspected of Monophysitism were dropped. Such passages are: *" His body was separated from His soul without the separation of any of His Godhead from His body or his soul"*. *"Due to the sin of the whole world the Son died on the Cross"*. *"His soul came and joined His body"*. *" Emmanuel is one*

and the same after the indissoluble connection, He is not divided into two natures".

e. The Priest: In all prayers which the Priest offers in his own name for the people, the first person singular is deleted and either the first person plural or the second person plural, signifying the congregation, is substituted. After the prayer for the Holy Ghost, just before the Prayer of Institution, the prayer of the Priest, "*O Lord, respond to my call*", is changed into "*O Lord, respond to our call*". After the fraction, the prayer of the Priest that "*this my service (oblation) be acceptable unto Thee*" is changed into "*this our service be acceptable to Thee*". This change was made in order to emphasize the Priesthood of the Laity (1 Peter 2:5; Revelation 1:6, 5:10, 20:6) and to affirm that the Church does not recognize its Ministers as mediators." (17)

The report and the liturgy were presented for the approval of the General Assembly of the Church in 1927. The Assembly reaffirmed the *summary* of Abraham Malpan's reforms, drafted by the Committee, and also the resolutions on Holy Eucharist. It has been decided to prepare the *Orders of Worship* accordingly. Since the tentative liturgy did not get general acceptance the question of revision was still further postponed. Although this liturgy was not adopted officially by the Assembly, it had the unanimous agreement of the *Liturgy Revision Committee*. It was used widely in the Church and eventually became known as *The Liturgy of the Committee*. On the recommendation of the Episcopal Synod, Metropolitan Titus II Mar Thoma published the aforesaid liturgy in 1942 with slight modifications. This liturgy is known as *The Liturgy of Titus II*.

h) Fourth Liturgy Revision Committee - 1945.

In 1945 another *Liturgy Revision Committee* was appointed. The Committee submitted its report in 1951. With the approval of the Episcopal Synod, Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma published a revised Eucharistic liturgy in 1954.

This is known as *The Liturgy of the Synod*. There appears to be no difference of a fundamental character in the two liturgies mentioned above. A comparison of the *Epiclesis* in the two liturgies is given below.

Liturgy of Titus II:

"May the Holy Spirit sanctify this bread to be the Body of our Lord Jesus the Messiah". "May the Holy Spirit sanctify the wine in this Chalice to be the Blood of our Lord Jesus the Messiah".

Liturgy of the Synod:

(a) "May the Holy Spirit sanctify this bread to be the Body of our Lord Jesus the Messiah".

OR

"May the Holy Spirit bless this bread and sanctify it to be, for us, the Communion of (Participation in) the Body of Christ, Thy dear Son and our Lord God Jesus the Messiah".

(b) "May the Holy Spirit sanctify the wine in this Chalice to be the Blood of our Lord Jesus the Messiah".

OR

"May the Holy Spirit bless this chalice and sanctify it to be, for us, the Communion of (Participation in) the Blood of Thy dear Son and our Lord God Jesus the Messiah". (18)

Both of these liturgies have been officially accepted and are in common use in the Church now.

The Church had to undergo a period of litigation between 1955 and 1965 on matters of its doctrines. A summary of the affidavit filed by Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma in this regard points out the doctrinal stand of the Church.

The reforms which are believed and affirmed by the Mar Thoma Church, as having been effected by the said reformers of the Malankara Church (Malpans Palakkunnathu Abraham & Kaithayil

Geevarghese), are those described in the resolutions adopted by the *Alochana Sabha* (General Assembly) at its session held in the year 1102 M.E (1927). The ten reforms which are believed to have been effected by them in the *Taksa* (liturgy), then in use, and the three alterations effected in the rituals are stated in these resolutions. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church does not accept any other reform as having been effected by them.

The Church has accepted the Bible and the Nicene Creed, the several offices for the celebration of the different sacraments and rituals too as the bases for ecclesiastical subjects.

The Church does not believe that invocation of Saints is opposed to the Bible; but the Church neither enjoins the practice of invocation of Saints nor invokes the Saints. The Church does not believe that prayers for the dead are contrary to the Bible.

The Church has recorded that the Holy Eucharist is *the Living Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of Grace, Peace and Thanksgiving*. It does not believe that the Holy Communion is a sacrifice in no sense of the term; but it is not believed to be a sacrifice attended with shedding of blood.

The doctrinal position of the Church, in relation to the Eucharist, lies embedded in the *Taksas*, which have been officially accepted, and are in use for its celebration; in the offices for the performance of other rites, in the prayers, invocations and declarations and in the resolutions of the General Assembly. The Church has not so far attempted to codify them. The definition unanimously adopted by the members of the *Liturgy Revision Committee (1913-1920)* reflects the consciousness of the Church in this behalf and has been accepted by the General Assembly in 1927.

The Church does not believe that the Bread and Wine in the Holy Eucharist are mere symbols of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. It is permissible for the members of the Church to believe, either that while they are symbols, the Body and Blood of Christ become present in the company of the worshippers through the media of Bread and Wine, in a manner incomprehensible to human senses and beyond the reach of analytical tests, or that they do not so become present. (19)

It is to be noted that the District Court at Kottayam, the High Court of Kerala and the Supreme Court of India have accepted the statement of Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma on the doctrines of the Church.

Notes

1. Brown, L.W., *The Indian Christians.*, p.145.
2. *ibid*, p.143.
3. Rae, G. M., *The Syrian Church.*, pp.324-325.
4. *Mar Thoma Sleehayude Edavakayakunna Malankara Suriyani Sabhayude Canon*, (Kottayam,1857) p.14. (*Translation mine*)
5. *Malankara Mar Thoma Suriyani Sabhayude Qurbana Thaksa*, (Tiruvalla, T.A.M Press:1942) prologue p.ii.
6. Rae., *op.cit.*, p.329.
7. Kuruvilla, K. K; *A History of the Mar Thoma Church and its Doctrines*, (Madras: Diocesan Press,1951) p.23.
8. Mar Thoma, Alexander; *The Mar Thoma Church.*, p.21.
9. Kuruvilla., *op.cit.*, pp.29-31.
10. *ibid.*, p.31.
11. *ibid.*, p.31.
12. *ibid.*, pp.15-17. also vide Appendix. B. of this Thesis.
13. *ibid.*, pp. 26-28. also vide Appendix. C. of this Thesis.
14. *ibid.*, pp.29-30.
15. Thomas, K. T., & Koshy, T. N., (ed), *Faith on Trial*, (Ernakulam: Mar Themotheus Memorial Printing and Publishing House Ltd., 1965) p.156.
16. *ibid.*, pp.17-18.
17. Kuruvilla., *op.cit.*, pp.32-33.
18. *Mar Thoma Suriyani Sabhayude Qurbana Thaksa*, (Tiruvalla: T.A.M Press, 1954).
also vide *The Order of the Holy Qurbana*,(Tiruvalla: V.G.C, 1984) p.29.
19. Thomas, K. T., & Koshy, T. N., *op.cit.*, pp.15-

CHAPTER 6.
THEOLOGY AND EVALUATION

In the first part of this chapter a comparative study of the main differences evident in the Jacobite and three revised versions of the St. James' liturgy is attempted. The revised versions are, the first altered one of 1836, the first printed one of 1872 and the one published in 1942. For convenience' sake, the former is mentioned as *Jac.* and the others according to their year.

ORDO COMMUNIS

a) Second part of the preparatory service

The prayers when the Priest places the bread in the paten and mixes the wine and water.

Jac.

a. "O First-begotten of the heavenly Father, receive this First-begotten from the hands of Thy weak and sinful servant".

b. "Make one, o Lord God, this water with this wine, as Thy Divinity was made one with our humanity".(1)

1836.

a. "O first born of the heavenly Father, receive this bread from me thy weak and sinful servant".

b. "O Lord God join this water to this wine, like as thy Godhead was united to our manhood". (2)

1872.

a. "O first-begotten of the heavenly Father, receive this first-begotten from the hands of Thy weak and sinful servant".

b. "Make one, O Lord God, this water with this wine, as Thy Divinity was made one with our humanity". (3)

1942.

(The first prayer is included as a concluding part, after the mixing of the wine and water)

a, b. "...O Jesus, First begotten of God the Father, accept these first-fruits from the hands of your weak and sinful servant". (4)

(The second prayer is missing)

b) The prayer of incense (After the proemium and general sedra)

Jac.

"Praise the Lord, O ye righteous. With the smoke of spices let there be a remembrance: to the Virgin Mary, mother of God".

"Praise Him, all ye people. With the smoke of spices let there be a remembrance: to the holy prophets, apostles and martyrs".

"Glory be to the Father. With the smoke of spices let there be a remembrance: to the doctors and the priests and the just and the righteous".

"From of old. With the smoke of spices let there be a remembrance: to the holy Church and all her children".

"Receive, O my Lord, in Thy mercy, the incense of Thy servants; and be reconciled by the smoke of Thy priests; and be appeased by the service of Thy worshippers; and magnify thereby the remembrance of Thy mother and Thy saints and of all the faithful dead: O Christ the Son, who, with his Father and His Holy Spirit, is worshipped and glorified, now and in all times for ever".

"May the just and the righteous, the prophets and the apostles, and martyrs and confessors and Mary the holy mother of God and all the saints who in all generations have pleased Thee, O God, be intercessors and suppliants unto Thee in their behalf of the souls of all of us; that by their prayers and supplications wrath may cease from thy people. And have mercy upon the flock of Thy pasture; and cause Thy tranquillity and Thy peace to

dwell in the four quarters of the world; and to the dead grant pardon in Thy goodness, O our Lord and God for ever". (5)

1836. *(No prayer of incense)*

1872.

"To the glory and honour of the holy and glorious Trinity, I place spices with my weak and sinful hands".

Adoration to the gracious Father ! Adoration to the gracious Father !
Adoration to the gracious Father !

Adoration to the merciful Son ! Adoration to the merciful Son ! Adoration to
the merciful Son !

Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit ! Adoration to the living and Holy
Spirit ! Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit !

Praise the Lord, O ye righteous. Praise him all ye people. Glory to the Father
and to the son and to the Holy Spirit, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Receive, O my Lord, in Thy mercy, the incense of Thy servants and
be reconciled by the smoke of Thy priests and be appeased by the service of
Thy worshippers, O Christ the Son, who with His Father and His Holy Spirit
is worshipped and glorified, now and in all times for ever. O our Lord and
our God, may wrath cease from Thy people and have mercy upon the flock of
Thy pasture and cause Thy tranquillity and Thy peace to dwell in the four
quarters of the world". (6)

1942.

"Praise be to the merciful Father; Praise be to the merciful Son; Praise be to
the Holy and Living Spirit.

All the righteous, praise the Lord; all the nations praise him. Glory be to the
Father, Son and Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning for ever and ever.
Amen.

"Receive, O Lord in Thy mercy, the worship of Thy servants; and listen to the prayers of Thy priests; and be pleased in the service of Thy worshippers: O Christ the Son, who, with his Father and His Holy Spirit, is worshipped and glorified. Amen".

"Cease wrath from Thy people, O our Lord and God. Have mercy upon the flock of Thy pasture; and cause Thy reconciliation and peace to dwell throughout the world. Amen". (7)

(Liturgy of the Word)

c) Responsory of Mar Severus.

Jac.

a. "Let Mary who brought Thee forth and John who baptized Thee, be suppliants unto Thee in our behalf; and have mercy upon us".

b. "...Thou art immortal in Thy nature...Thou didst take a body, from a holy, blessed and pure Virgin, even from Mary who brought forth God, and didst become very man". (8)

("...he took a body without change...") (9)

1836.

a. "O Lord our God graciously hear the intercessions of thy Son Jesus Christ on our behalf. Lord have mercy upon us. Christ have mercy upon-us. Lord have mercy upon us".

b. "Thou didst take a body from a holy, blessed and pure virgin..."etc. (10)

1872.

a. (This invocation is missing)

b. "...immortal in Thy nature...Thou didst take a body from a holy, blessed and pure virgin, even from Mary, who brought forth God and didst become very man".(11)

1942.

a. "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who took flesh from Mary, received baptism from John, pour forth Thy blessings upon us". (12)

b. "...Immortal in your nature, who was born of holy Virgin Mary...Without change of nature you became the Son of Man..." (13)

d) Trisagion

Jac.

"Holy art thou, O God: Holy, O mighty: Holy, O immortal who wast crucified for us: have mercy upon us". (14)

1836.

"O God, thou art holy, O mighty one, thou art holy, O immortal one, thou art holy, O thou didst hang upon the cross for us, have mercy upon us". (15)

1872.

P. "Thou art holy, O God; *and the people should say after him three times*
Have mercy upon us, O our Lord, spare O our Lord and have mercy upon us.
O our Lord receive our service and our prayers and have mercy upon us.
Glory to Thee, O God ! Glory to Thee, O creator ! Glory to Thee, O King
Messiah, who hast pity on Thy sinful servants". (16)

1942.

"Holy art thou, O God

Holy art thou, Almighty one

Holy art thou, Immortal one

*O thou that wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us". (17)

*(*In common use*, "O Lord Messiah, who wast crucified for us...)

e) Deacon's exhortation before the sedra

Jac.

D. "Before the Lord who blesses and before the Altar that absolves and before the Divine and Heavenly Mysteries and before this awe inspiring Holy Qurbana, incense is offered by this honourable priest. Let us all pray and beseech of the Lord grace and mercy". (18)

1836.

"Bless O Lord the incense put in by the hands of the reverend Priest in the presence of the merciful God before his holy altar. Let our prayer, O Lord, be set forth before thee as incense. Let us all pray and ask blessings and mercies from the Lord. O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us and assist us". (19)

1872. (*Nil*)

1942.

"Before the merciful Lord and before his sanctifying altar, the incense is put in by the hands of the reverend Priest". (20)

f) Sedra

Jac.

"...and remember therein, O my Lord, the souls of our fathers, and of our brethren, and of our masters, and of our teachers, and of our dead, and of all the faithful dead, the children of Thy holy and glorious Church. Give rest, O Lord God, to their souls, and their spirits, and their bodies; and sprinkle the dew of love and mercy on their bones; and be Thou the Propitiation and the Propitiator for us and for them..." (21)

1836.

"...O Lord God, in Thy mercy remember us". (22)

1872.

"...Remember us, O Lord God, in the mercies that are from Thee. Give rest, O Lord God, to our souls and our spirits and our bodies, and sprinkle the dew of love and mercy on our bones. And be Thou the propitiation and the propitiator for us". (23)

1942.

"...Remember us O Lord, in Thy mercy, and also our parents, our brethren, our bishops, our teachers and all the faithful members of Thy holy and glorious Church. Give rest, O Lord God, to our bodies and spirits. Sprinkle the dew of grace and mercy on us. Be Thou the propitiation and propitiator for us". (24)

g) After the sedra

Jac.

"Let us respond and say, Holy is the Holy Father: Holy is the Holy Son: Holy is the Living and Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth the incense of His sinful servants, sparing and having mercy upon the souls of our fathers and of our brethren and of our masters and of our doctors and of our dead and of all the faithful dead, children of the holy Church, in both worlds, for ever and ever. Amen". (25)

1836. (*Blessing of the Trinity and the Creed are missing*)

1872.

"Holy is the Holy Father. Holy is the Holy Son. Holy is the Living and Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth the children of the holy Church, sparing and having mercy upon them in both worlds, for ever and ever". (26)

1942.

"Holy is the Holy Father. Holy is the Holy Son. Holy is the living and Holy Spirit". (27)

THE ANAPHORA

a) *The exhortation of the Deacon and the silent devotion of the Priest.*

(while removing the veil that covered the holy elements)

Jac.

D. "Brethren, let us stand well with awe, reverence, purity, holiness, love and true faith and watch this holy Qurbana which is offered before us by this reverend priest. For he offers this *living sacrifice* to God the Father in unity and peace on behalf of us all". (28)

P. "Thou art the hard rock which sent forth the twelve rivers of water for the twelve tribes of Israel. Thou art the hard rock which was set against the tomb of our Redeemer". (29)

1836. *(Both are missing)*

1872.

D. "Let us stand with decency, fear, reverence, holiness, purity, true faith in knowledge and godly fear and behold these holy and solemn mysteries that are placed before us. *A living sacrifice and sacrifice of grace, peace and thanksgiving*, is offered to God the father of all by the honourable Priest for us all, in peace and tranquility".

P. "Thou art the hard rock which sent forth the twelve rivers of water for the twelve tribes of Israel. Thou art the tried and precious stone which was set at naught by the builders". (30)

1942.

D. "Brethren, with reverence and purity of heart, with love and true faith and devotion, let us participate in this Holy Qurbana which is now offered. To God the Father, to whom all things belong, is offered this *sacrifice of grace, peace and praise* in a spirit of unity and concord". (31)

P. *(Same as in 1872)*

b) *Epiclesis*

Jac.

D. "My beloved, how fearful is this moment and how fearful is this moment and how dreadful this time when the Holy Spirit descends from heaven, from the heights above, and dwells upon this holy Qurbana and sanctifies it. Stand ye in silence and pray". (32)

P. "Hear me, O Lord; hear me, O Lord; hear me, O Lord; and spare and have mercy upon us."

"So that He may come down and make this bread the life-making Body, the saving Body, the Body of Christ our God".

"And may thoroughly make this Cup the Blood of the New Testament, the saving Blood, the Blood of Christ our God". (33)

1836.

(No exhortation by the Deacon)

P. "That by his coming on this bread, he may sanctify it for the remission of sins and life eternal to those who duly partake of it".

(No prayer for the Cup is seen, may be a scribal error)

1872.

D. "My friends, how solemn is this moment and how terrible this hour, in which the Holy Ghost descends in majesty from the highest heavens and abideth upon the holy mystery placed before us; and sanctifieth it. Let us all stand with fear and reverence and pray that peace may be with us and good will towards us all".

P. "Hear me, O Lord ! Hear me, O Lord ! Hear me, O Lord, and spare and have mercy upon us !".

"So that he may come down and make this bread the life giving body of Christ our God".

"And may thoroughly make this cup, the blood of the New Testament, the saving blood of Christ our God". (34)

1942.

(No exhortation by the Deacon)

P. "Answer unto us, O Lord; answer unto us, O Lord; answer unto us, O Lord; and by your grace have mercy upon us".

"May the Holy Spirit sanctify this bread that it may be the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ".

"May the Holy Spirit sanctify the wine in this chalice that it may be the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ". (35)

c) The Great Intercession

Jac.

(The Blessed Virgin, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Preachers, Martyrs, Confessors, John the Baptist, St. Stephen and all the Saints; the first three Ecumenical Councils, Fathers and Orthodox Doctors viz. St. James- brother of the Lord, Ignatius, Dionysius, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Timothy, Eustathius, John, Cyril, James & Ephraim; those before them, with them, after them who kept the Orthodox and uncorrupted faith and delivered it, are commemorated) It concludes:

"Let us beseech the Lord".

The commemoration of the faithful departed concludes:

"Let us pray and intercede and beseech Christ our God who hath received their souls and spirits unto himself to vouchsafe them in his great mercies pardon of offences and remission of sins and to bring us and them to his heavenly kingdom". (36)

1836.

(The commemorations of the first three Ecumenical Councils and the holy fathers who participated in them, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, all the Saints and all the faithful departed are missing)

1872.

(Their names or titles are not mentioned particularly)

1942.

(All in the list mentioned above in 1836 are commemorated. The names of the Blessed Virgin and the Apostle of India are mentioned particularly)

The concluding part of such prayers are:

"...that we may follow their foot steps / true doctrines".

The commemoration of the departed:

"Lord in the last day when you raise and gather all the faithful who are departed and fallen asleep in the true faith, grant that we also may with them be counted worthy of the remission of our sins and be gathered into your Heavenly Kingdom". (37)

d) Prayer of the Fraction

Jac.

"...and His soul was separated from His body: though His divinity was in no wise separated, either from His soul or from his body...and His body was stained thereby...And His soul came and was united to His body:...and is One Emmanuel, which is not divided after the indivisible union, into the two natures...And this Body appertains to this Blood and this Blood appertains to this Body". (38)

1836. *(Nil)*

1872.

"...and His soul was separated from His body, though His divinity was in no wise separated from His soul or body...with which His body was covered...and His soul came and was united to His body;...and is one Emmanuel, which after the indivisible union cannot be divided into two natures...that this flesh is that which belongeth to this blood, this blood is that which belongs to this flesh". (39)

(An elaborate rubric of fraction is given as in the Jacobite liturgy)

1942. *(The above sentences and rubric are missing from the prayer)*

1836. *(The second and third blessings, the elevation, some of the aftercommunion prayers and the fourth blessing are missing. The Great Intercession and the Lord's prayer are followed by the Communion and thanksgiving.*

Very similar to the BCP)

e) Prayer while the Priest partakes the Holy Elements

Jac.

P. "I am holding Thee: I am holding the uttermost bounds and limits: I grasp Thee who orderest the heights and the depths: Thee, O God, do I place in my mouth: by Thee may I be delivered from the fire that is not quenched and be made meet for the remission of sins, like the sinful woman and like the thief; O our Lord and our God for ever. Amen".

P. "A propitiatory Coal of the Body and Blood of Christ our God is given..."

(40)

1836. *(Nil)*

1872.

P. "Make us worthy O Lord God, that our bodies may be made holy by Thy holy body and our souls made bright by Thy propitiatory blood; and may it be for the pardon of our offences and for the remission of our sins; O our Lord and our God for ever".

P. "A propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given..."

(41)

1942.

P. "Make me worthy O Lord to feed on Thee. May my evil desires be vanished and my sinful emotions be removed by partaking of Thy holy body and blood.

O our Lord and God, may I become worthy by Thee for the pardon of offences and remission of sins. Amen". (42)

P. "The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is given..." (43)

f) The Post-Communion Address

Jac.

"Depart in peace...with the viaticum and the blessing which ye have received from the propitiatory Altar of the Lord; those far off with those that are near, the living with the dead...and may give rest to the spirits of your dead". (44)

1836. (Nil)

1872.

"Depart in peace...with the viaticum and the blessing which ye have received from the propitiatory altar of the Lord...and may give rest to your spirits".

(45)

1942.

"Depart in peace...with the gifts and blessings that you have received from the atoning sacrifice of the Lord...You, both far and near...and comfort your souls".(46)

g) The adieu to the altar

(This is seen only in the Jacobite liturgy)

"Remain in peace, O holy and divine altar of the Lord. I know not whether I shall return to thee hereafter, or not. May the Lord make me meet to see thee in the Church of the First-born that are in heaven: and on this testament do I trust. Remain in peace, O holy and propitiatory altar of the holy Body and pardon-giving Blood which I have received from off thee. May it be to me for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins and for confidence before Thy dreadful judgement-seat, O our Lord and our God for ever. Remain in peace, O holy altar, table of life: and entreat our Lord Jesus Christ, for me, that my remembrance may not cease from Thee, henceforth and for ever". (47)

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The impetus of the Syrian Reformation is to be understood as an outreach of the Classical Reformation of the 16th century. Owing to the impact of the Reformation, different groups were formed in the West viz. the Lutherans in Germany, the Zwinglians and Calvinists in Switzerland, France, Holland and the Anglicans in England. Through the Anglican Missionaries it reached Malabar in the 19th century. It resulted in the liturgical revision of the Syrian Church through Abraham Malpan. A perusal of the revised liturgy points towards the line of the Lutheran 'Alone formulas'- Faith alone, Grace alone, Christ alone, and Scripture alone. Two stages are evident in the history of the Syrian Reformation.

The significant part is seen in the reforms effected by the Malpan. A careful study will reveal that his reforms were in the area of practices rather than textual. The destruction of the statue, venerated by the people, and the removal of the festival related to it are the best examples to this. The deletion of the adoration to the Virgin Mary and the mediation through the Saints was a consequence of the aforesaid. The practice of requiem and auricular confession were discontinued owing to the various

evils crept into the Church through them. The administration of the Eucharistic elements in both kinds to the laity was to adopt the Scriptural tradition. To discard private Masses and to teach that the Eucharist is to partake and not to worship the consecrated elements, it was decided not to celebrate when there is nobody to partake. The significant textual changes were in the rephrasing of the prayers for the departed. More emphasis was given on the faith in God and the hope through Him. To make the liturgy meaningful to the congregation, it was to be conducted in the vernacular. In short, the Malpan made very little changes in the liturgy and his reforms were to correct the practices which were not according to the Scriptural teaching.

The second stage of the liturgical reforms was a consequence of the redaction of the Malpan's reforms, about eighty years later. In this process there had been serious debates in the Church. Through a compromise the General Assembly finalised the articles of reforms in 1927. The further liturgical reforms in the Church are to be evaluated in the light of the said article.

The comparative study of the three reformed liturgies mentioned in the beginning of this chapter gives a graph of the reformatory ideas of three different periods. The altered liturgy of 1836 is the first in this series. It was produced during an interim period prior to the Reformation. Among the three liturgies this is the most distinctive. The *Great Intercession* is followed by the *Communion* and ends with the *Grace*. The *Trinitarian blessing* after the *Sedra* followed by the *Creed*, the *Elevation*, the second, third and fourth blessings (*Rushma*) are lacking. The latter part of the Anaphora shows more similarity with the Book of Common Prayer. This can be defined as a radical reformed liturgy.

The 1872 liturgy is the first printed reformed liturgy in Malayalam. K.N.Daniel has stated that the Revd. Koor Ipe Thoma Cattinar translated the Syriac manuscript reformed by Abraham Malpan. (48) He has also observed that till M.E. 1070 (1895) the reformed liturgy of the Malpan was mostly in use. (49) The authorship of Fr. Koor, the Vicar General, has been affirmed by Metropolitans

Titus II and Juhanon Mar Thoma. This liturgy was marked as *Exhibit III* in the Church case. (50) It deserves special significance that the above liturgy was published during the episcopates of Metropolitans Mathews Athanasius and Thomas Athanasius, the nephew and the son of the Malpan respectively. This liturgy seems to be identical with the Jacobite except the invocations to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. The prayers for the departed are rephrased in the form of commemoration. This proves that the Malpan's attempt was not abolition but correction and that he was so careful in preserving the structure and ethos of the Antiochean liturgy.

The 1942 liturgy is still recasted according to the *Articles of reforms of 1927*. The structure and body are retained to the maximum. Over emphasis on symbols and ceremonials has been reduced. A shift of emphasis, from rituals to faith, from mediatorial priesthood to representative priesthood, is evident in the wordings. Whichever portions that lacked Scriptural basis have been restructured accordingly. A deletion of suspected Monophysitic terms is also observed as a speciality. It has to be noted that the Malayalam liturgy is generally used in the Church. The English version, an abridged form, is for occasional use for those who can not follow Malayalam. It has not included some of the private prayers of the Priest and rubrics as well.

How far is the liturgy Orthodox ? A definition of the term Orthodox is needed here to answer this question. History of the Church shows that the origin of this term goes back to the Christological controversies of the 4th and 5th centuries. The first three Ecumenical Councils have declared the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. The Trinitarian formula is summarised in the Nice^{nc}-Constantinopolitan^{ile} Creed. The nature of Christ is defined in the Council of Ephesus. The accepted definition_{(o b (benedict))} is that there were in our Lord two natures, a perfect divine and a perfect human, without mixture, without change, without separation and without division. It has also affirmed the epithet *Mother of God* to the holy Virgin Mary. There is no reference in the canons of any of these Councils to support the practice of adoration

of the holy Virgin or mediation through the Saints. Therefore it proves that Orthodoxy is based on the doctrines of Trinity and the person of Christ.

To conclude, the faith of the Mar Thoma Church, like any other Oriental Church, is embedded in its liturgy. It remains as Orthodox in unequivocally upholding the doctrines of the first three Ecumenical Councils. Since it has adopted the Antiochean liturgy, it has not ipso-facto accepted the Council of Chalcedon. It has adopted in its liturgy the veneration of the Saints, commemoration of the departed and reiterates the hope of resurrection of all the departed on the last day. It also professes sacramental grace. An unprejudiced study of the reformed liturgy will substantiate the aforesaid comments.

Notes.

1. Howard, G, B; *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, (Oxford & London, 1864) p.197.
2. Birmingham: University Archives, MS.D. C I- 2 M.14. *The amended liturgy for the Syrian Church*, (CMS Hand Book South India., Rec. Nov. 3/36).
3. Whitehouse, Thomas., *Lingerings of light in a dark land* (London:WilliamBrown&co.,1873) Appendix I, p.318.
4. *Malankara Mar Thoma Suriyani Sabhayude Qurbana Thaksa*, (3rd ed.), (Tiruvalla: T.A.M Press,1977) p.11. (Translation mine)
5. Howard, op.cit., pp.209-210.
6. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, pp.320-321.
7. *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., p.14. (Translation mine)
8. Howard, op.cit., p.210.
9. Brightman, F.E; *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (vol.1), (Clarendon Press 1896) p.77.
10. CMS MS.D., op.cit.
11. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, p.321.
12. *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., p.16. (Tr. mine)
13. *The Order of the H.Q.* (Eng.version of St. James Liturgy), (Tiruvalla V.G.C, 1984) p.8.
14. Brightman, op.cit., p.77.
15. CMS MS.D., op.cit.
16. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, p.322.
17. *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., p.16. (Tr. mine)
18. *The Order of the H.Q.*(Tr. by Mar Ivanios of Bethany), (Trivandrum: Travancore Govt. Press, 1929) p.6.
19. CMS MS.D., op.cit.
20. *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., p.22. (Tr. mine)
21. Howard, op.cit., pp.214-215.

22. CMS *MS.D.*, op.cit.
23. Whitehouse, op.cit., p.323.
24. *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., p.22. (*Tr. mine*)
25. Howard, op.cit., p.219.
26. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, p.325.
27. *The Order of the H.Q.*(1984), op.cit., p.12.
28. *MS. Liturgy of Patriarch Ignatius Abdulla* in Daniel, op.cit., p.43.
29. Howard, op.cit., p.224.
30. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, pp.327-328.
31. *The Order of the H.Q.*(1984), op.cit., p.15.
32. *MS. Liturgy of Patriarch Ignatius Abdulla* in Daniel, op.cit., p.46.
33. Howard, op.cit., pp.230-231.
34. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, p.329.
35. *The Order of the H.Q.*(1984), op.cit., p.17.
36. Brightman, op.cit., pp.92-95.
37. *The Order of the H.Q.*(1984), op.cit., pp.19-20.
38. Howard, op.cit., pp.238-240.
39. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, p.333.
40. Howard, op.cit., p.246.
41. Whitehouse, op.cit., Appendix I, pp.335-336.
42. *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., p.52. (*Tr. mine*)
43. *The Order of the H.Q.*(1984), op.cit., p.24.
44. Howard, op.cit., p.254.
45. Whitehouse, op.cit., p.337.
46. *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., p.60.
47. Howard, op.cit., p.264.
48. *Mar Thoma Church Case: O.S. No.116 of 1955 in the District Court of Kottayam*, Daniel, K.N (pub), (Quilon: V.V Press) p.3.
49. Daniel, K.N; *Oru Athmavruthakadhanam* (An Autobiography), (Quilon:

V.V Press,1951) p.211.

50. *Faith on Trial*, op.cit., pp.162-163. also Vide *Qurbana Thaksa*, (1977), op.cit., prologue, pp. i-ii.

APPENDIX. A

"The amended liturgy for the Syrian Church", a manuscript copy of the revised Syrian liturgy found in the CMS Hand book South India, M. 14 Mission book: documents received between the period 3 November 1836 -- 12 February 1838, Birmingham University Archives.

Glory be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. May his blessing be upon us, who are weak and sinful, in both worlds for ever.

O Lord God, who dost bless and love men, make us fit to stand in thy presence, in purity and holiness, with knowledge, fear, and due preparation of mind, that we may minister to thee the Lord and Creator, to whom worship is due from all creation.

(Here follows the 51st Psalm)

I will come unto the altar of God my exceeding joy, O God I have entered into thy house, O King of heaven I have bowed at thy throne: forgive all that I have sinned against Thee.

Fasten thou our sacrifices with cords unto the horns of the altar. O God I will confess unto Thee; my Lord I will praise thee, O Christ who art full of light, and who art the true light that enlighteneth all creatures, we see light by thy light. O beam of the heavenly Father, illuminate us by thy splendid light. O thou splendid and holy one that inhabitest the regions of light, remove from us evil passions and hateful thoughts, and grant that we may perform righteous deeds with pureness of heart.

Priest. Let us all pray and ask blessings and mercy from the Lord.

Gracious God bless us, assist us, and make us fit to offer glory, thanksgiving, worship, praise and infinite exaltation at all times without ceasing.

To the only father that answers sinners, who call upon him, and blesses them, to the only merciful Son, who receives the penitents, who knock at the door, to the only living and Holy Spirit, who sanctifies the transgressors who seek him, and who is equal to the Father and the Son in praise, honour and worship, to whom praise;

honour and glory is due at this time of divine service, all the days of our life, and for ever.

O God who lovest mankind, and who art patient, merciful and slow to wrath. Thou delightest in mercies and not in sacrifices. Thou lovest a contrite heart more than burnt offerings: thou delightest in the humble mind, much more than in blood and offerings of bulls and fat lambs. Receive thou our spiritual sacrifices at this time: make us worthy by a perfect (or faithful) ministry to present our souls as a sacrifice pleasing, loving and acceptable in thy sight: and grant that we may sacrifice to thee on thy altar above great and spiritual offerings with a contrite heart and humble mind and by the splendid torch of faith may we be a virtuous and spotless flock to thee: and be renewed: and may we proceed to the new world, as new creatures, with wise and sanctified souls, and do thou enable us to sing praises to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost in thy Church now and for ever.

O our Lord, we sinners who have erred from thy ways many years knock at thy door and beg blessings from thy treasury. Enable us to confess our sins, forsake them and live by thy goodness. O our merciful Lord to whose gates shall we go and knock but to thine. O King, before whose honour kings prostrate themselves, to whom can we pray for remission of trespasses, if thy mercy does not intercede for us ? Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. O Father, Son and Holy Ghost, be thou our lofty wall and place of refuge from Satan and his host, who fight against us, and when the righteous shall be seperated from the wicked, hide us under the wings of thy mercy. As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be. Amen.

Let the voice of our ministry be the key that openeth the gate of heaven.

O thou who showest mercy to sinners, I have sinned against thee, receive thou my prayers and have mercy upon me.

O my Lord Christ, who didst receive the offerings of the Holy priest Melchisedic, receive thou the prayer of thy servant and forgive the sins of thy flock:

O Lord make us fit to lift up offerings of praise as a sweet perfume. O Father, Son and Holy Ghost may all our thoughts, words and deeds in all the days of our life appear before thee, as a perfect, spotless and acceptable sacrifice to thy Divinity, now and for ever.

O God remove from me the filthy clothes in which the devil clothed me through the weakness of my wicked works. O our Lord and God for ever clothe me with that choice apparel, which is suitable to the ministry of thy honour and to the praise of thy holy name.

O our Lord God, who art Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and for ever, we have entered into thy high and lofty holy of holies, having our minds washed and cleansed from all evil thoughts, make us worthy to stand before thy altar in pureness and holiness to lift up to thee acceptable and spiritual sacrifices in true faith.

O Lord God, who art Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and for ever, clothe me with an incorruptible garment by the power of the Holy Ghost and grant that I may perform clear and right works in true faith all the days of my life.

Thou will clothe me with strength unto the battle, and make those who are against me bow their knee under me.

O thou mighty one, gird thy sword upon thy loins: thy praise exalts in thy majesty and glory.

O Lord, Father, Son and Holy Ghost now and for ever, make my members the instruments of righteousness and prepared for all good and right deeds. O cleanse our Churches and make our apparel choice and suitable to the ministry of thy honour and to the praise of thy holy name. Teach my hands to war and strengthen my arms like a bow of brass. Let thy right hand assist me and thy correction bring me up. Let thy Priests be clothed with righteousness and thy Saints with praise for thy servant David's sake: turn not away the face of thy anointed.

"He was led as a lamb to the slaughter and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so in his humiliation he opened not his mouth."

O Lord thou hast made thy Church ready for thy seat. O Lord establish it by thy holy hands. The Lord shall reign for ever.

O first born of the heavenly Father, receive this bread from me thy weak and sinful servant.

Our Lord Jesus Christ was hanged upon the tree between two thieves at Jerusalem, and his holy side was pierced by a spear, from which gushed forth blood and water for the remission of the sins of all creation. He that saw it bare witness: and we know that his witness is true. "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me. I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay vows to the Lord now in the presence of all the people."

O Lord God join this water to this wine, like as thy Godhead was united to our manhood.

O Lord, Almighty Lord God, who forgivest the sins of men, and desirest not the death of a sinner, I stretchforth the hand of my mind to thee and being unworthy, beg of thee forgiveness of all my transgressions. I beseech thee to keep my mind from all the works of the rebellious one, my eyes from looking at unholy things: my ears from listening to evil words, my hands from performing hateful actions, and incline my thoughts to thee, so that I may be wholly with thee, and obtain from thee the influence of thy Holy Spirit.

(Here follows the 93rd Psalm)

O our God Christ who art the pure and spotless lamb that offered thyself as a sacrifice acceptable to thy Father, for the sins and salvation of the whole world; make us fit to offer up ourselves as a living sacrifice that will be pleasing in thy sight.

In remembering the Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ and all his acts for us, we call to mind the declaration of the angel, his glorious conception and birth in the flesh, his baptism in Jordan, his forty days fasting, his suffering for salvation, his lifting upon the cross, his life giving death, his honourable burial, his glorious resurrection, his ascension into heaven, and his sitting on the right side of God the Father as he told us.



The heavens are covered with the splendour of him who is glorious, and all creation is filled with his praise.

Let us all pray and ask blessings and mercy from the Lord. Gracious Lord bless us and assist us and make us worthy to lift up glory, thanksgiving, worship, praise and infinite exaltation now and all times without ceasing.

O Thou who art the creator of the worlds, and who madest creation good and who sprang from Mary the Virgin, we bless and praise thee: we lift up this incense in thy presence, like Aaron the priest who lifted up pure incense in the tabernacle and thereby removed the plague from the children of Israel. O thou who art our Lord now and for ever, permit me to offer praise, honour and worship to thee, to thy Father and to the Holy Ghost.

Praise the Lord all ye people. Glory be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. O Lord our God be gracious unto the people of thy pasture, and let thy love and goodness abide with them for ever. Amen.

(Here must follow the Nicene Creed)

O Lord our God graciously hear the intercessions of thy Son Jesus Christ on our behalf. Lord have mercy upon us. Christ have mercy upon us. Lord have mercy upon us.

O my Lord, the King of glory, thou art the only Son and Word of the heavenly Father, thou art immortal in thy nature, but didst pity us, and didst in mercy come down from heaven for the life and salvation of all mankind. Thou didst take a body from a holy, blessed and pure virgin, even from Mary who brought forth God. Thou wast hanged on the cross for us; by thy death thou didst trample under foot and destroy our death; thou art one of the Holy Trinity. O our Lord Christ, who art equally worshipped and praised with thy Father and with thy living and Holy Ghost, have mercy upon us all.

O God, thou art holy, O mighty one, thou art holy, O immortal one, thou art holy, O thou didst hang upon the cross for us, have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

O Lord God receive our prayers and supplications, which are presented to thee at this time. O our Lord God for ever fit us to keep thy commandments and the commandments of thy divine apostles and of Paul the builder of thy holy Church in holiness and purity.

I heard blessed Paul the apostle say, "If I or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed". Because there will arise different doctrines in all parts, blessed is he, who beginneth and endeth with divine instructions.

Bless O Lord.

Bless O Lord. Praise be to thee, O Lord.

(Here follows the Epistle according to the Rubrick which is read by the Deacon)

Deacon. Bless O Lord Hallelujah. Hallelujah. Hallelujah. Offer to the Lord sacrifices of praise, bring an offering and come into his courts. O worship the Lord before the altar of his holiness. Hallelujah.

Priest. O Lord God, grant us the knowledge of thy holy word: fill us with the understanding of thy holy Gospel, the riches of thy divine influence, the indwelling of thy Holy Ghost and grant that we may cheerfully observe thy laws now and for ever. And may we be enabled fully to perform thy will and befitted for thy blessing and mercy.

Peace be with you.

Deacon. We must attend with diligence, reverence and for the reading of God's word, which gives eternal life, and that is contained in the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Priest. The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ which is the living declaration of the Evangelist Matthew (or whose Gospel so ever it may be that is read) who preached eternal life.

Deacon. O Good God make us fit to receive it by thy Holy Ghost. Blessed art thou who didst come and will come. Praise be to him that sent him, may his mercy be upon us all for ever.

Priest. These things happened in the life time of Jesus Christ, who took flesh from the holy Virgin Mary, who is our Lord, our saviour and the word of life.

deacon. We believe and confess it.

Here the Priest reads the Gospel: at its conclusion he adds

Priest. Peace be with you all.

Priest. Praise, thanksgiving and blessings be to our Lord Jesus Christ for his life giving word which is granted unto us: to the Father that sent him for our salvation and to the living holy and our life giving Holy Ghost now and for ever.

Here the Priest puts more incense into the censer

Deacon. Bless O Lord the incense put in by the hands of the reverend Priest in the presence of the merciful God before his holy altar. Let our prayer, O Lord, be set forth before thee as incense. Let us all pray and ask blessings and mercies from the Lord. O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us and assist us.

Priest. Let us pray and ask blessings from our gracious Lord.

O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us and assist us, enable us to lift up glory, thanksgiving, worship, praise and infinite exaltation now and at all times.

Praise, honour and worship is due to him, who does forgive sins, cleanse the guilty, receive penitents and who delight in the conversion of sinners, wills the salvation of transgressors and has said call ye and I will answer; knock ye and I will open, and give my hand to thee and will pardon thy sins and trespasses at this time and for ever.

Deacon. Amen.

Priest. O Lord, my Lord God, who doest cleanse us from transgression, who doest pardon, blot out, remove and dost call them to remembrance, in thy loving mercy blot out my sins, which are great and numberless, together with the sins of all thy faithful

people. O thou who art good, pity and have mercy upon us. O Lord God, in thy mercy remember us. O Lord my Lord answer us, come to our assistance and save us.

O God assuage fierce punishments. O Lord in thy mercy keep back and remove from us the scourges of wrath and fit us for those blessings which come upon holy men.

O grant unto us such a Christian spirit as is delightful and pleasant to thy divinity. O fit us all for a good end, now and for ever. To thee, O Lord, we lift up praise and thanksgiving.

O mighty, warlike, strong and glorious Lord God, arise assist and save us from the wicked one and from his host, by thy strength and by thy lofty (mighty) arm. O my Lord in thy goodness and great mercy thou didst take flesh from the holy Virgin Mary and through thy love to mankind didst clothe thyself with flesh. Our Lord Christ cast us not away from thy presence and from before the heavenly throne that adorn thy greatness and from the presence of Seraphim and Cherubim.

O my God enable us to bless thy goodness and pray and beseech thy mercy to shew us the way of life and salvation, which leadeth to thy Kingdom. O our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon us; O our Lord Jesus Christ assist us. O our Lord Jesus Christ regard us with thy merciful eye. O our Lord Jesus Christ deliver us from our enemies.

O our Lord Jesus Christ hide us beneath the wings of thy cross. O our Lord Jesus Christ raise us from the depth of sin. O our Lord Jesus Christ redeem us from all the deceits of the devil. O our Lord Jesus Christ lift us from the pits and windings of affliction. O our Lord Jesus Christ preserve us from uncleanness and evil speaking. O our Lord Jesus Christ, remove from us the filth and spots of such things as are hateful. O our Lord Jesus Christ, cleanse us from wickedness and guilt. O our Lord Jesus Christ, satisfy us with thy blessing and goodness. O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us rejoice in thy bridechamber, which is filled with gladness. O our Lord Jesus Christ make us happy with the happy children of the Kingdom and with those who are bidden to thy feast. O our Lord Jesus Christ, invite us to the feast with the

righteous and holy persons in whom thou delightest. O Lord Jesus Christ gather us with the lambs who are the children of thy righthand.

O Lord Jesus Christ illuminate us with the chosen and holy in the day in which thy greatness shall shine forth. O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us to sit at thy righthand at thy spiritual feast. O my Lord enable us to lift up praise and thanksgiving to thee, to thy father and the Holy Ghost now and for ever.

Deacon. Amen.

Priest. May we obtain the cleansing of our trespasses and the forgiveness of our sins in both worlds for ever. Amen peace be with you.

Deacon. And with thy spirit. May the Lord accept your ministry and assist us through your prayers.

Priest. May our souls and the souls of all our friends be clothed with the holiness of the Son of God in both worlds for ever. Amen.

Glory be to the Holy Ghost.

Priest. O holy and blessed Trinity have mercy upon me. O holy and blessed Trinity have mercy upon me a sinner. O holy and blessed Trinity receive this service from my weak and sinful hands. O God forgive my sins and sanctify me thy sinful servant at this time. Assist my weakness for I call upon thee at all times. O God, in thy mercy forgive and cleanse away the sins of all for whom we ought to pray.

Deacon. Lord have mercy upon us. Christ have mercy upon us.

The Liturgy of St. James, the brother of our Lord and the first Bishop of Jerusalem

Prayer before giving peace

O Lord God of all and lover of mankind, make us worthy of this salvation, altho' we are unworthy, that we bring cleansed from all deceit and may be united in the bond of love and peace, through thy only Son our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom glory, honour and power are due to thee and to thy most holy and good Spirit, who is holy in all and good.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Give peace, O Lord.

People. Make us worthy to come before thee, O Lord.

Priest. O Lord, who only art gracious and dwellest in the highest and beholdest them that are below, send thy blessings on all those who are here before thee, and bless them through the mercy and love of Christ thine only begotten Son towards mankind, through whom and with whom glory, honour and power are due to thee and thy most holy and good Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest. O God our Father who through thy great and unspeakable love towards mankind hast sent thy Son into this world that he might bring back the strayed sheep, turn not away thy face from us while we are offering this spiritual sacrifice; for we trust not in our righteousness but in thy mercy. Therefore we pray and beseech thy mercy, that this my slay which is performed may tend to the furtherance of our salvation and not to the condemnation of thy people, but to the pardon of sins and remission of crimes and to thanksgiving to thee through the grace, mercy and love of thine only begotten Son towards mankind, through whom and with whom glory honour and power are due to thee and thy most holy and good Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest. The love of the Father, the grace of the Son and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts.

People. we lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

People. It is meet and right so to do.

Priest. It is meet, right, decent and our bounden duty that we should praise and bless thee, glorify, worship and give thanks to thee, the maker of all visible and invisible creatures, whom the heaven of heavens and all the hosts of them praise thee, sun, moon, the whole chair of stars, the earth, seas and all things that are therein, the heavenly Jerusalem, the assembly and church of the first born that are written in heaven, angels, archangels, principalities, authorities, thrones, dominions, the host of the world above and the heavenly armies, the many eyed Cherubim and the Seraphim with six wings, who with interrupted shouts, the triumphant hymns to thy exalted glory, praising, shouting, crying aloud and saying.

People. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabbath, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest.

Priest. Thou art holy O eternal King, the giver of all holiness and holy is thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ and holy is thy holy Spirit who searcheth all things, even the mysteries of thy Godhead. Thou didst create man out of the earth and put him in paradise; and when he had transgressed thy command, thou didst not abandon him to go astray, but instructed him by the prophets; and last of all didst send thine only begotten Son into the world, who being incarnate of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary renewed thy lost image. Therefore when the time was come that he who had no sin was to suffer a voluntary death for us sinners, he took bread and gave thanks and blessed it and brake it and gave it to the disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me.

People. Amen.

Likewise after supper also he took the cup and gave thanks, blessed it and gave it to his disciples saying, Drink ye all of it for this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.

People. Amen.

Priest. Do thou in remembrance of me, for as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shewforth the Lord's death till he come.

People. O Lord we shewforth thy death and confess thy resurrection.

Priest. Therefore, O Lord, we remember thy death, thy burial, thy resurrection the third day, thine ascension into heaven, thy sitting on the right hand of God the Father and thy second terrible and glorious coming when thou shalt judge the world in righteousness and shall render to every one according to his deeds and we offer to thee these solemn oblations. O Lord deal not with us after our sins, nor reward us after our iniquities, but according to thy mercy and unspeakable love towards men blot out the sins of us thy servants who pray to thee. For we thy people and thine heritage pray to thee and through thee and thy Father with thee saying, O Almighty God the Father, we praisethee, we bless thee, we worship thee; we pray to thee O good Lord, have mercy upon us.

People. Have mercy upon us.

Priest kneeling invokes the Holy Ghost

O God the Father Almighty have mercy upon us; send down on us and on this offering (set before thee) thy Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who is consubstantial with thee, O God the Father and with thy co-eternal and equal Son, who spake by the law and by the Prophets and by the new Testament and descended on our Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a dove in the river Jordan and came down on the holy Apostles in the shape of tongues of fire.

People. Lord have mercy upon us.

Priest. That by his coming on this bread, he may sanctify it for the remission of sins and life eternal to those who duly partake of it.

People. Amen.

Priest. That they may be to us and all who duly partake thereof and communicated therein for the sanctification of our souls and bodies and for the bringing forth the fruit of good works, through the grace mercy and love towards mankind of thine only begotten Son, through whom and with whom glory, honour and power are due to thee and thy most holy and good Spirit.

On this account we offer also to thee prayers and supplications for thy holy Church, which is dispersed throughout the whole world. Grant her, O Lord, the

richest gifts of thy Holy Spirit. Remember thou, O Lord, all the Fathers who rightly dispense to us the word of truth; but especially our Fathers *N. D.* our Patriarchs and our holy and blessed Father *n.* and grant them long life. Preserve them, O Lord, many years, while they are feeding thy people with all piety and holiness. Remember, O Lord, the honourable presbytery of this place and of every other place, the Deacons in christ, all other ministers and the whole congregation of the church. O Lord remember my poverty whom thou hast made worthy to be called though I was unworthy. O Lord remember not the sins of my youth nor my ignorances, but remember not the sins of my youth nor my ignorances, but remember me according to the multitude of thy mercies: for if thou mark our iniquities, who shall be able to stand before thee ? but there is forgiveness with thee. Search me and purify me; where sin has abounded, there let thy grace much more abound. Remember also our brethren who are in chains, imprisonment and miseries, those who are sick, weak and vexed by evil spirits and those who are in trouble. Remember, O Lord, the air, seasons, dew, fruits of the earth and the crowning of the year; for the eyes of all wait on thee and thou givest them their food in due season; thou openest thy hand which satisfies all and fillest every living creature with goodness.

Deliver us from all contention, anger, adversity and from all conspiracy and opposition of wicked men, from all assaults and violence of the devils and from all chastisement sent by thee our God and which happens to us on account of our sins. Preserve us and all those who are made worthy to stand before thee and wait for thy bountiful grace, in the true faith and in the observance of thy holy and quickening commandments: for thou art a God who delightest in mercy. We render thanks to thee and to thine only begotten Son and to thy Holy Ghost now, always for ever and ever.

Again: Vouchsafe O Lord, to remember those who are present praying with us, our fathers, brethren and our magistrates and those who are absent and those who desired us to remember them in our prayers to thee our God. O Lord remember those who have offered oblations at thy holy altar: those who were willing to offer, but

have not been able to do it, those whom they bear in mind and those who are now named.

Remember, O Lord, those whom we have remembered and those whom we have not remembered, according to the greatness of thy kindness: accept their offerings in thy vast heaven; vouchsafe to them thy care and assistance and reward them with the fulness of thy salvation: embolden them by thy strength and clothe them with thy mercy; for thou art merciful and delightest in mercy, glory, honour and power be to thee and to thine only begotten Son and to thy most holy and good Spirit.

O Lord remember our pious Kings and Queens. Take sword and shield and stand up to their help; subject to them all the enemies who fight against them that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life in all godliness and humility.

O Lord we render glory and praise to thee and to thine only begotten Son and to thy most holy and good Spirit; because thou art a refuge of safety, a powerful helper and the giver of victory to all those who call upon thee and hope in thee. Therefore O Lord thou hast the power of life and of death; and thou art the God of mercies and of love towards men: make us worthy to remember all those who have pleased thee from the beginning.

O Lord of abundant mercy who created impossible things to be possible, we pray thee join us to this blessed assembly, number us with that Church and unite us by thy grace to the first born who are written in heaven. Enter not into judgement with thy servants, for no one living shall be justified in thy sight; nor is there any one among men upon earth who is free from the guilt of sin and pure from the filth thereof but our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ through whom we also hope to obtain mercy and the remission of sins.

O God, spare us and remit, pardon and forgive our voluntary and involuntary sins which we have committed in word and deed and thought, knowingly and ignorantly, in secret and public, known and forgotten, but which thy holy name knows.

Preserve us to the end of our Christian course without sin and gather us under the feet of thine elect when, where and as thou pleasest; only let us be free from the confusion of our iniquities that in this as in all things thy name may be praised, honoured and glorified with that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and that of thy Holy Spirit, now always and for ever.

People. As it was etc.

Priest. Peace be with you.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest breaks the bread etc.

Priest before 'Our Father which art in heaven' says,

O God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all consolation, who sittest upon the Cherubim and art glorified by the Seraphim, upon whom attend thousands of archangels and ten thousand times ten thousands of angels, the exalted and heavenly armies; thou hast vouchsafed to sanctify and consecrate the oblations of gifts and offerings of fruits offered to thee for a sweet smelling savour, through the grace of thine only begotten Son and by the coming of thy most Holy Spirit. O Lord sanctify our souls, bodies and spirits, that we may with a pure heart, enlightened soul and without confusion of face presume to call upon thee our God, the heavenly, almighty and holy Father and say, Our Father which art in heaven.

People. Hallowed be etc.

Priest. O Lord our God lead us not into temptation, which we are not able to bear: but with the temptation make a way of escape that we may be able to bear it and deliver us from evil, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ through whom and with whom glory, honour and power are due to thee and thy most holy and good Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest. O Lord we thy servants have come before thee, in expectation of the riches of thy mercy. Send down upon us, O Lord, thy abundant blessings and sanctify our souls, bodies and spirits that we may be made worthy to partake of thy body and

blood of our Saviour Christ, through the grace, mercy and love of our Lord Christ towards men, with whom and with thy most holy and good Spirit thou art blessed and praised in heaven and the earth.

People. Amen.

The Priest then takes the bread saying,

Grant, O Lord, that our bodies may be sanctified by thy holy body and our souls purified by thy precious blood: and grant that they may be for the pardon of crimes and the remission of our sins.

Then he administers it to other Priests if there any present and the Deacons and Laity saying,

The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ given for the pardon of crimes and remission of sins for ever.

After all have communicated the Priest says,

O Lord, our God, we give thanks to thee and we praise thee; especially for the greatness of thy immense and unspeakable love towards mankind. O Lord who hast made us worthy to partake of thy heavenly table, condemn us not for having received thy holy and quickening mysteries, but preserve us from all evil and vanities, that we, having become partakers of thy Holy Spirit, may obtain a part share and heritage with all the Saints who have pleased thee from the beginning thro' the grace mercy and love of thine only begotten Son towards mankind, through whom and with whom glory, honour and power are due to thee and thy most holy and good Spirit, who is worshipped, the author of eternal life and is equal to thee in substance, now, always and for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. O great and wonderful God, who hast bowed the heavens and come down for the salvation of mankind, turn to us through thy grace and mercy: bless thy people and save thy heritage, that we may praise thee who art the true God and God the Father, who has begotten thee and thy holy and good Spirit, now, always and for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all evermore. Amen.

Here ends the liturgy of St. James the brother of our Lord.

APPENDIX. B

The statement on certain improper practices in the Syrian Church submitted by Abraham Malpan, along with eleven other Clergymen, to Col. Fraser, the British Resident, in 1836.

"1. Of the Ten Commandments given in Exodus 20, the Second Commandment, relating to worship of images, is dropped out and, to make amends for this, the Tenth Commandment is split into two.

2. It is necessary and proper that the baptism of an infant should be made perfect through instruction and examination; and, in utter disregard of this principle, marriages and similar rites are being conducted before this is done.

3. There is neither the custom nor the rule of anointing a person a second time for the same blessing. In violation of this and in the name of "First Unction", *Moron (Sythe)* is administered.

4. It is ordained that prayer should be offered on behalf of a sick person and that, when he is conscious, he should be advised to repent and that the Holy Communion should be administered to him. Instead of this, it is taught that the performance of the last unction even when a man is unconscious is a guarantee of salvation.

5. For forgiveness of sins and the grace of God, Holy Communion should be offered only to those who through confession have given evidence of repentance, but it is administered without giving adequate time for instruction and advice, in the anxiety to secure one *chackram* (about half an anna) per individual from those who come for Holy Communion.

6. The Holy Fathers have enjoined on all who come for confession that they should ask for forgiveness with fasting and prayer. Instead they are asked to offer coconut oil, incense and candles on such an occasion.

7. The Sunday services are held in a very irreverent and unspiritual way. Instead of reading and expounding Scripture as is ordained, Clergymen seek for betel leaves and arecanuts from those who come early to church and indulge in meaningless talk with

them. They also take this as an occasion to ascertain whether there are festivals in connection with the departed. There are occasional demonstrations of bitter conflicts among them over the days appointed for such functions: this occurs when there are more Priests than one in a parish. After these irregularities, they say a Mass which has no life and which does not provoke people to a holy life.

8. Besides the practice of going round the church and then crawling into it to offer gifts, the worshippers seek salvation through migration from one church to another on festival days.

9. All Ministers are expected to follow the advice of St. Paul to Timothy that he should preach the Word in season and out of season; but these instead of fulfilling their great responsibility frequent law courts, conspire with revenue officers for illicit gains, engage in trade and come to church to hold services only when there is any hope of financial gain out of it.

10. The Old and New Testaments as well as the canons instruct Christians to spend Sunday in prayer and the reading of the Word. Instead of encouraging this habit, on promise of settlement of disputes on Sunday before the Bishops or the Elders, they encourage such people to come to church for this purpose. Others spend the time in attending to their ordinary work.

11. The canon has enjoined the Bishops that they should ordain only candidates who have been examined by them and the Malpans (Syriac Professors) and gained the good report of the people. But this being entirely overlooked, young men are called to the ministry on the recommendation of interested people.

12. The Holy Fathers have decreed that a Deacon should be called to the priesthood only after he reaches the age of thirty, but, no heed being paid to this, Deacons are called to be Priests even at the age of sixteen.

13. It is but proper that on Saints' Days we should be reminded of their holy lives and that the laity should be instructed to follow them. Instead of this, people are advised to celebrate these days with the hoisting of flags and theatrical performances as heathens do.

14. Heretics who like the Nestorians deny the Catholic faith regarding the person of Christ and the Trinity are included in the lists of Saints, in disregard of the synodical and canonical injunctions.

15. The Syrian Canon, Chapter 7, places on Bishops the responsibility of appointing Malpans for the education of the young for the priesthood, and, if the Church has not resources enough to maintain the school and pay the Malpans, contributions may be called for from the faithful. It is regrettable that the money available is not used for this purpose, but is appropriated by the Priests and Lay-administrators of the Church for their selfish ends, and if anything is left it is used to make small images for the adoration of the Laity.

16. The holy books and the canon teach that image-makers, astrologers and those who produce inscribed tablets to ward off evil should be excommunicated from the Church, but the Priests encourage these, and worse things than these, both in church and outside.

17. Lent should be utilized both as an expression of repentance and as a means for self-control. It is not used properly, and in addition an unauthorised season of Lent for eight days is now in vogue. During this period, people are allowed to congregate in certain churches, and they keep Lent by saying formal prayers in the Roman fashion, by preparing their food, and by indulging in trivial pleasures.

18. It is not our custom to organize torch-light processions on Christmas Day.

19. Charcoal is taken on the closing day of Lent and at Christmas-time for making cross-marks on the forehead and for taking a bath the same evening in water mixed with the remaining portion of charcoal. This is not our custom and is not mentioned in our canon.

20. It is also against our custom to smear charcoal on the forehead as the Roman Catholics do on Ash Wednesday.

21. In recognition of the Lord's Supper instituted by our Lord on the evening of Maundy Thursday a special kind of bread is prepared, which the head of the family cuts in pieces and distributes. Another kind of bread is made on the same day and is

plied with needles as a sign of binding the Jew for his act of bringing about the crucifixion of Christ. This again is against our canon.

22. The practice of praying for the dead and of doing obeisance at their graves with lighted candles is common in all the churches and is abhorrent to us.

23. Though the remains of the Saints are holy, it is against the canon to keep them in the sanctuary. In contravention of this, the dead are buried in the sanctuary, lamps are lighted over their tombs and images are erected on them. The people are encouraged to worship these as if the worshippers would receive benefit out of it.

APPENDIX. C

The statement issued by the Reform Society in 1878 soon after the death of Metropolitan Mathews Mar Athanasius, inviting the Priests., of the Malankara Parish to join the Reform Society, dated 28th Medom 1053 (1878).

"From the Malankarai Community of the Holy Apostle Mar Thoma,

To All Brethren of the Malankarai *Edavagay*,
Beloved People,

The secular and religious evils which have affected our Community, which dates its origin with the commencement of Christianity, and which, in respect of antiquity, is not inferior to any of the ancient foreign Churches, are known and easily understandable to all intelligent people and all such as possess a knowledge of our religion.

Though in these days the propagation of the Gospel is disseminating a wider knowledge of religion and the fear of God, among the people of all our *Edavagays* (parishes), the heretical teachings and ignorant practices which crept in with the Nestorians, Portuguese and Merdeen Antiochians are still prevalent and have not been totally removed. It is therefore the duty of the servants of the Church to endeavour most vigorously to remove these evils and to base the Church on Truth.

As a field when lying waste is left undisturbed for want of the materials to prey on, but when improved, tilled and sown, destructive worms and locusts which eat away the growing seedlings make deprivations unawares; even so though our Church, during its lethargic times, like unto a field lying waste, has been left undisturbed by Satan and his minions, enemies appear to be coming in from all sides to work evil, seeing that it is reforming in these days. We learn that from one side, one party, with ignorance, hypocrisy and tradition not founded upon religion; from the other, another party with unsealed *Niboosa* and *Sleehosa* and with commentaries

which are contrary to and pervert the truth of religion, and who in the garb of piety are yet against real piety, are bent on the destruction of the Church.

Further, in these days some of the branches of the Church appear to have been won over to be under subjection as they were in former times under the Nestorians and Portuguese and the Merdeen Antiochians are endeavouring to destroy the ancient independence of the Church and its prelacy. On this account, the late Most Reverend Mathews Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan, who was also president of the *Sabha*, had, and now the present President, the Most Reverend Thomas Mar Athanasius has, prompted the members of the Church to form a religious Consultative Association for the purpose of basing on firm grounds the true faith and the independence of the Church and its government.

It being the necessary and special duty of the servants of the Church to renovate it by grounding the true faith on a stronger basis and to bind the Church with cords of love to grow in their adherence to Messiah, the head, this Community, constituted as it is of your servants who desire to grow, and to bring you up, in the fear of the Lord, resolved to form a religious Consultative Association; and meetings and consultations adapted to the purpose of renovation were held at Tiruvalla, Maramon, Chengannur, Kolancherry (*Kozhancherry*) and Pooyappalli churches.

As a resolution has been passed at a meeting held this day at the Anjur church requiring this letter to be addressed to you, your servants the *Samoohakkar* (Members of the Association), humbly and with their best wishes for your well-being, accordingly address this paper to you. We learn that there are several Priests and Laymen who earnestly and with tears pray for the well-being of the Community and who desire to become members of the *Samooham* (Association) and to form branches thereof.

It is therefore required that all priests and laymen who are heartily willing to join the movement, and favour it with their good views and consider with and accept all rules that may be established as adapted for the renovation and elevation of the Church, may communicate their names to this association through letters.

The Rt. Rev. Mar Thomas Athanasius, Metropolitan, President of the *Sabha*, will be the Chairman of the consultative meeting to be held for confirmation of the rules framed for the purpose.

The subjects for consideration in connection with the renovation of this community briefly are:- The removal of ignorant practices bordering on hypocrisy, prayers to the Saints, prayers on behalf of the dead and heretical festivities, and the establishments of rules conformable to the holy religion and to the ancient practices of our community and which will contribute to rendering the basis of the true faith firmer: and these are published for the information of all.

May all benedictions and blessings of God be with this Consultative Association of His vassals; 28th *Medom* 1053 *M.E* (1878 A.D)*

**Royal Court of Final Appeal, Case No. III of 1061, Vol. III, pp. 26 and 27.*

APPENDIX. D

A summary of the statement of Metropolitan Thomas Mar Athanasius, in the course of his examination in the Seminary Case, on the doctrinal position of the Reformists.

1. The Trinity: "The doctrine laid down in the canons of Malankarai regarding the Trinity is similar to that decided upon at Nicea about the belief in Trinity.....We believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, not from the Father and the Son. The Church unequivocally holds the doctrine of the Trinity as interpreted by the creeds of Nicea, Constantinople and Ephesus".

2. The Person of Christ: "Our belief is that both the Divinity and the humanity of Christ are united in the same Person inseparably, but so as not to be confounded in the union. We are neither Nestorian nor Monophysite. The prayer of the congregation in our present liturgy expresses the same idea:"

"We will magnify Thee, O Lord, our King, the only begotten Son and Word of the Heavenly Father, Who art immortal in Thy Nature, who by Thy grace didst come for the life and salvation of the whole race of man, and didst take a body from the Holy Virgin Mary and became the Son of Man without change and wast crucified for us. O Christ our Lord, Who by Thy death didst trample underfoot our death and destroy it, Who art one in the Holy Trinity and art worshipped and glorified equally with Thy Father and Thy Holy Spirit, have mercy upon us all".

3. Sacraments: "The bread and wine used in the Mass are regarded as the sign and semblance of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. We do not say that the bread and wine are the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The belief of those who hold that the bread and wine are the body of Jesus Christ is erroneous. We accept the bread and wine set at the Mass as the symbol and likeness of the body and blood of Christ, after the Mass is over. We do not consider that the bread and wine before the Mass are the

body and blood of Christ. We consider the same as simple bread and wine. We deny transubstantiation and the physical presence of Christ in the body and blood".

*4. Prayers for the Dead and to the Saints: "Praying for the dead and to the Blessed Virgin and Saints are opposed to our canons and Scriptures". **

** In the Royal Court of Final Appeal, Vol. IV.*

APPENDIX. E

An English translation of the revised Malayalam version of the Syrian Liturgy of St. James published by Very Rev. Kovoov Ipe Thoma Cattannar, with the sanction and approval of Metropolitan Mathews Mar Athanasius, in 1872. This translation has appeared in the Madras Church Missionary Record for April and May, 1873. The Malayalam version was printed at the C.M.S press, Kottayam.

THE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES, AS NOW IN USE IN THE REFORMED SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR.

N. B.- At the commencement of the service, the veil or curtain being drawn, the priest puts on the sandals, and standing before the steps of the throne (or altar), repeats the following prayer in a low voice.

First. The Priest praising.- Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

People. Upon us, who are weak and sinful, may mercy and grace be poured forth in both worlds, for ever and ever. Amen.

The prayer of the beginning.- O Lord God, merciful and loving towards man, make us worthy, with knowledge and reverence and beauty of spiritual order, to stand before Thee purly and holily, and to minister unto thee as the Lord and Maker; to whom is due adoration from all: Father, and Son and Holy Ghost.

(The Priest now puts on the black gown and repeats the 51st Psalm)

When he goes up to the altar.- I will come unto the altar of God, and unto God who maketh my youth joyful.

And he kneels down and says:- To Thy house, O god, have I come up, and I kneel before thy throne, O heavenly King. Pardon me all that I have sinned against Thee.

And he bows down at the altar and says:- Bind, O Lord, our feasts in chains even to the horns of Thy altar.

In Thy light do we see light, O Jesus full of light. For Thou art the true light that enlighteneth all creatures. Enlighten us with Thy glorious light, O beam of the Heavenly Father.

O Holy and Just One, who dwellest in the abodes of light, keep away from us evil passions and hateful thoughts. Grant us with purity of heart to work the works of righteousness.

Proemion of Penitence.- Let us pray all of us: let us ask mercy and grace from the Lord.

People. O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us and help us.

Priest. May we be made worthy to send up glory and thanksgiving and honour and praise and exaltation good, that does not cease, continually, in all moments and times.

Glory to the one merciful Father who answereth the sinners who cry unto Him; to the one merciful Son who receiveth the penitents that knock at His door; to the one living and Holy Spirit who justifieth the guilty who pray unto Him. To whom belongeth glory, honour and adoration in this time, and in all feasts and times and hours and moments, and all the days of our life now, and in all moments, for ever and ever.

People. Amen.

The Sedra.- O God, who art gentle and gracious and loving to men; who takest pleasure in mercies and not in sacrifices, and lovest a contrite heart more than whole burnt offerings, and receivest a humble spirit rather than the blood and fat of bulls and fat lambs; receive our spiritual sacrifice at this time on Thy reasonable altar, and make us meet to present ourselves unto Thee a living and acceptable sacrifice, that in reasonable service may be pleasing to Thy will; and to offer unto Thee reasonable and spiritual sacrifices, with contrite heart and humble spirit, upon Thy altar that is on high; and may we be unto thee a flock bright and without stain; so that being changed the new change, and renewed, we may be sent to the new world, with reasonable and wise souls, with the bright torches of the faith: and may

we be made worthy all of us to sing in Thy temple, Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

Voice (Chant) .- At Thy gate, O our Lord, do I knock. I make supplication for mercies from Thy treasury. I a sinner of years have declined from Thy way. Grant me to confess my sins and to forsake them, and to live by thy goodness. At what gate shall we go and knock but at Thy gate, O our gracious Lord ? and what have we that shall plead with thee, O King whose glory kings adore ?

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

People. From everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Priest. Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, be Thou to us a lofty wall and house of refuge, both from the Evil one, and from the powers of him that fighteth against us. Hide us under the wings of Thy mercies when the good are seperated from the evil.

Let the voice of our ministry be a key that openeth the gates of heaven; and may the archangels in their orders say, How sweet is the voice of the inhabitants of the earth ! may the Lord quickly answer their prayers.

Smoke (Prayer of Incense). May the fragrance of our prayers be sweet unto Thee, O my Lord, at all times; and may the smoke of our incense be for Thy reconciliation; and be Thou reconciled thereby to Thy creatures for Thy mercies' sake.

Examination. I have sinned against Thee, O Thou that pitiest sinners: receive my prayer, and forgive me all my offences, and have mercy upon me; O Lord, who art the owner of all, have mercy upon me.

Another Prayer. O Christ, who didst receive the offering of the pure priest Melchizedek, receive the prayer of Thy servant, and forgive the sins of Thy flock.

The seal. may we be made worthy to offer unto Thee, O Lord, sacrifices of praise for a sweet perfume, all our thoughts, and words, and works, and whole burnt-offerings; and to appear before Thee without fault and well pleasing to Thy Godhead, all the days of our life. Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, now, and at all times for ever.

Here the Trisagion should be sung by the Priest, and the People should say after him three times.

Thou art holy, O God; Thou art holy, O Mighty; Thou art holy, O Immortal; have mercy upon us, O Thou didst hang for us. Have mercy upon us, O our Lord. Spare, O our Lord, and have mercy upon us. O our Lord, receive our service and our prayers, and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee, O God: Glory to Thee, O Creator; Glory to Thee, O King Messiah, who hast pity on Thy sinful servants.

Our Father which art in heaven, & c.

The First Service is finished.

(Next follows the Sedra (Order) of Penitence, repeated in a low voice)

Again. And putting off his private garments, he says:- Put off from me, O Lord God, the filthy garments wherewith Satan hath clothed me, by the loosing of my wicked works; and clothe me with choice garments that are fit for the service of thy Majesty, and for the praise of Thy holy name, O our Lord and our God, for ever.

And he begins the service of the Corban (Mass), and washes his hands saying:

Make us worthy, O Lord God, that having our hearts sprinkled and pure from all evil conscience, we may be made meet to ascend to Thy high and lofty Holy of Holies, and may stand purly and holily before Thy holy altar, and offer unto thee reasonable and spiritual sacrifices in belief of the truth: Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, for ever.

Having put on the Cuthino he says: Put upon me, O Lord, a robe of incorruption by the power of the Holy Spirit; and grant us that we may be led in pure and right conversation all the days of our life, in the belief of the truth: Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, now and at all times for ever.

And he puts the Orro on his neck and says: Thou shalt gird me with power in the battle, and shall subdue under me them that rise up against me.

And he ties the Zunro and says: Gird the sword upon Thy thigh O mighty One. Thy honour and Thy glory triumph.

And he takes the Zando and says: Make my members instruments of righteousness, O Lord, and meet for all good and right-handed works; manifesting us pure temples and chosen vessels, that are fit for Thy glorious service, and for the praise of Thy Holy Name: Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

And he vests the left arm and says: Teach my hands to war, and strengthen my arms as a bow of brass.

And he makes one cross on the other and says: Make my members instruments of righteousness, & c.

And he vests the right arm and says: Thy right hand shall help me; and Thy discipline shall make me great.

Then he puts on the Phaino and says: Let Thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and Thy righteous with glory. For Thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of Thine anointed.

And he takes in his two hands the bread and says: He was led as a lamb to slaughter; as a sheep before the shearer was he silent; and in his humility he opened not his mouth. O Lord, Thou hast made Thy sanctuary ready for Thy seat. Establish it, O Lord, by Thy hands. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

And when he places the bread in the paten: O First-begotten of the heavenly Father, receive this first-begotten from the hands of Thy weak and sinful servant.

And he pours a libation of the wine into the cup and says: Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified between two thieves on the wood in Jerusalem. He was pierced in His side by the spear, and there flowed therefrom blood and water, the propitiation for every creature: and he that saw it bare testimony, and we know that his testimony is true. What shall I render unto the Lord for all that he has rendered to me? I will receive the cup of salvation, and will call on the name of the Lord. My vows also will I render unto the Lord in the presence of all His people.

And when he mixes the water, he also says: Make one, O Lord God, this water with this wine, as Thy Divinity was made one with our humanity.

And having covered the mysteries with their veils, he kneels before the altar and says this prayer for himself: O Lord God Almighty, who pardonest guilty men, who delightest not in the death of a sinner, to thee, O Lord, do I stretch out the hand of my heart; and I implore from Thee forgiveness of all my unlawful deeds, though I be unworthy; but I entreat Thee, keep my mind from the operations of the adversary; my eyes, that they look not incontinently; my ears, that they hear not vanities; my hands from the service of odious things; and my feet, that they may be moved in Thee; so that I may be entirely for Thee; and from Thee may be granted unto me the gift of Thy divine mysteries: now, and at all times for ever.

Then he ascends the step and removing the covering of the mysteries, he places that of the paten on the south, and that of the cup on the north, and says: The Lord reigneth, and hath clothed Himself with majesty; the Lord hath clothed Himself with strength, and is strong. He hath also established the world, that it may not move: firmly prepared is Thy Throne from the beginning; and Thou art from everlasting. The floods have been raised up, O Lord: the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods have been lifted up their noise of breaking. The Lord that is on high is more glorious than the voice of many waters, than the mighty storms of the sea. Thy testimonies also are very faithful: and holiness, O Lord, becometh Thine house for length of days.

O pure and spotless lamb, who didst offer Thyself to Thy Father, an acceptable offering for the expiation and redemption of the whole world, make us meet to offer ourselves to Thee, a living sacrifice that may be pleasing unto thee, and like Thy sacrifice which was for our sake, O Christ our God.

THE COMMEMORATION OR GENERAL PRAYER.

Finding the paten placed on the north, and the cup on the south, he stretcheth forth his hands in the figure of a cross, his right hand over his left hand, and takes the paten in his right hand and the cup in his left hand, and says:

The remembrance of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of all His salutary dispensation on our behalf- that is, the message of the angel, and His glorious conception, and His birth in the flesh, and His baptism in the Jordan, and His fast of forty days, and His salutary passion, and his being lifted up upon the cross, and his life-making death, and His honourable burial, and His sitting on the right hand of God the Father; according to His own command to us, we are celebrating at this time upon the Eucharist that is set before us.

Here he puts down the Mysteries, and places the cup on the east, and the paten on the west, upon the table, and he extends the veil and covers the Mysteries, saying:

The heavens are covered with the splendour of the Glorious One, and his glory filleth all creation.

THE GENERAL SEDRA.

Proemion. Let us pray all of us. Let us ask mercy and grace from the Lord. O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us and help us. May we be made worthy to send up glory, and thanksgiving, and honour, and praise, and exaltation good, that doth not cease, continually, in all moments and times. Glory to the beautiful fruit which sprung from the Virgin's womb. To Him who liveth and giveth life, who by His sweet voice raiseth the dead, and maketh them joyful with Himself in blissful glory. To whom belongeth glory.

The Sedra. We adore, and confess, and glorify Thee, the Creator of the worlds, and Disposer of created things, the blessed Root that buddeth forth and ascended from Mary, and all the earth was filled with the perfume of its glorious sweetness; and it drove away the putrid odour of heathenism from all regions by its glorious doctrine. We offer before Thee this incense, after the example of Aaron the priest, who offered pure incense unto Thee in the temporary tabernacle, and thereby averted the plague from the people of Israel. So we beseech Thee, O Lord, receive this smoke of spices which our lowliness offers unto Thee because of our sins and offences. And we will raise glory, and honour, and adoration to thee, O my Lord, and to Thy Father, and to Thy Holy Spirit.

THE INCENSE.

He places spices and says: To the glory and honour of the holy and glorious Trinity, I place spices with my weak and sinful hands.

And he adores in the midst of the Table saying: Adoration to the gracious Father ! Adoration to the gracious Father ! Adoration to the gracious Father !

And at the north horn saying: Adoration to the merciful Son ! Adoration to the merciful Son ! Adoration to the merciful Son !

And at the south horn saying: Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit ! Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit ! Adoration to the living and Holy Spirit !

And he ascends the steps saying: Praise the Lord, O ye righteous. Praise him all ye people. Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

And he descends from the step saying: Receive, O my Lord, in Thy mercy, the incense of Thy servants, and be reconciled by the smoke of Thy priests, and be appeased by the service of Thy worshippers, O Christ the Son, who with His Father and His Holy Spirit is worshipped and glorified, now and in all times for ever. O our Lord and our god, may wrath cease from Thy people, and have mercy upon the flock of Thy pasture, and cause Thy tranquillity and Thy peace to dwell in the four quarters of the world.

THE NICENE CREED.

He says the Nicene Creed: We believe in One God, &c.

The Priests with the Deacons and people should say as follows: My Lord the King, I will extol Thee. Thou art the only Son and Word of the heavenly Father. Thou art immortal in Thy nature, but dost pity us, and in pity camest down from heaven for the life and salvation of all mankind. Thou didst take a body from a holy, blessed, and pure virgin, even from Mary, who brought forth God, and didst become very man. Thou wast hanged on the cross for us; by Thy death Thou didst trample under foot and destroy our death. Thou art one of the holy Trinity. Our Lord Jesus Christ,

who art equally worshipped and praised with Thy Father, and with Thy living and Holy Ghost, have mercy upon us all.

Here the Priest says: Thou art holy, O God; *and the people should say after him three times--* Have mercy upon us, O our Lord, spare O our Lord, and have mercy upon us. O our Lord receive our service and our prayers, and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee, O God ! Glory to Thee O Creator ! Glory to Thee, O King Messiah, who hast pity on Thy sinful servants.

The prayer before the Epistle: Receive, O Lord God, our prayers and our supplications, which are at this time before Thee; and vouchsafe unto us that with purity and holiness we may keep Thy Commandments and those of Thy Divine Apostles, and of Paul the architect and builder of Thy holy Church, O our Lord and our God for ever.

Deacon. Paul the blessed apostle says: But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. But behold ! diverse teaching having arisen from all parts, blessed is he that beginneth in the teaching of God and continueth therein.

(And the Deacon reads the Epistle as selected)

The prayer before the Gospel. Grant unto us, O Lord God, the knowledge of Thy divine words, and fill us with the understanding of Thy holy Gospel; and vouchsafe unto us that with joy we may keep Thy Commandments, and may accomplish and fulfil Thy will, and may be made meet for the blessings and the mercies that are from Thee; now and in all times.

Deacon. Hallelujah ! Hallelujah ! Hallelujah ! Sacrifice to Him the sacrifices of thanksgiving. Bring your offerings into the court of the Lord, and worship Him in his Holy temple.

Priest. Peace be to you all.

People. May the lord God make us worthy with Thy Spirit.

Priest. The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the life-giving preaching of the Apostle Matthew *or* John, who proclaimed life and salvation for ever.

(If it be the Gospel of Mark or Luke the Priest shall say, The living declaration of Mark or Luke, who preached eternal life)

People. Blessed is he that cometh and that is to come. Glory to Him that sent Him. May his blessings be upon us all for ever.

Priest. In the time therefore of the dispensation of our Lord and our God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, the word of the living God, who was incarnate of the holy Virgin Mary, these things thus were done.

(Here the Priest reads the Gospel)

The prayer after the Gospel. Our glory and our thanksgiving and our blessing to our Lord Jesus Christ for His life-giving words to us, and our blessings to His Father who sent Him for our salvation, and to His living and Holy Spirit who giveth us life.

Proemion. Let us pray all of us, let us ask mercy and grace from the Lord.

People. O merciful Lord, have mercy upon us, and help us.

Priest. May we be made worthy to send up glory, and thanksgiving, and honour, and praise, and exaltation good that ceaseth not, continually, at all times, and in all moments, to Him who pardoneth and giveth remission of sins, to him who is the sanctifier of the filthy and the receiver of penitents, and delighteth in the conversion of sinners, and desireth the salvation of the wicked. To Him that saith, Call and I answer; and, Knock and I open; and I give my hand to you, and your sins and iniquities I remit; to whom is due glory, and praise, and adoration, in this time of this divine and perfect Eucharist, and in all feasts, and years, and hours, and moments, and all the days of our life. Therefore, O Thou propitiator, purifier, and absolver; Thou that blottest out and doest away, not remembering our evil days, blot Thou out, O Lord God, in the pitifulness of Thy love. O my Lord, my sins many and great and unnumbered, and the sins of all Thy believing people: spare, O God, and

have mercy upon us. Remember us, O Lord God, in the mercies that are from Thee. Give rest, O Lord God, to our souls and our spirits and our bodies, and sprinkle the dew of love and mercy on our bones. And be Thou the propitiation and the propitiator for us, O Christ our King, O Lord our Lord, Lord of Glory; and answer us, O my Lord, and come to our aid, and come to our protection and deliver us, Receive our prayers and our supplications, O God; and cause severe chastisements to pass away and to cease: and rods of wrath do Thou, in Thy loving kindness, O Lord, turn from us, and cause to pass away: and make us all meet for the good end which is for men of peace: and vouchsafe to us a Christian close that is loved and honoured by Thee, and that pleaseth Thy divinity, and make us all meet for a good end; and to Thee we offer praise and thanksgiving now, and at all times, for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. O Lord God, strong and warlike, and powerful, and glorious, arise, help us, and deliver us from the Evil One and his power by Thy might and by Thy uplifted arm. Thou, O my Lord, in Thy grace, and in our sake didst clothe Thyself with a body, in Thy love towards man. O Lord, our Lord, by that throne which is in heaven, which beareth Thy majesty; and by the four-faced beasts which serve below Thy throne; by the multitude of angels and archangels that glorify Thy deity; by the orders of Cherubim that bless, and celebrate, and magnify Thy might; by the six-winged Seraphim that call out and cry, and say, Holy, Holy, Holy art Thou, O Lord, in Thy holiness; by all the powers and orders and bands which stand and serve Thy reverence, with the substance of Him that begat Thee; cast us not away from Thy presence, but show unto us the way of life and of salvation, that we may go in thereby to the house of the Kingdom: and grant us to give thanks for Thy grace, and to pray and make supplication unto Thy sweetness, O my Lord.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon us.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, help us.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from our enemies.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, hide us under the wings of Thy cross.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from all the wiles of the devil.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, raise us from the ruin of sin.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, bring us up from the pit and lake of afflictions.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from all evil thoughts.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, deliver us from impurity and blasphemy.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, wash us from the filth and pollution of hateful things.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, cleanse us from wickedness and defilement.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, satiate us with good things and blessings.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us rich from Thy treasure-house, which is full of mercy and pity.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us joyful in Thy chamber full of gladness.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, make us joyful with the companions and guests, the children of Thy kingdom.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, invite us together with the upright and righteous who have pleased Thee.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, set us with the sheep, the children of Thy right hand.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, shine upon us, together with the elect and the saints in the day of the rising of Thy majesty.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, cause us to sit on Thy right-hand side at that spiritual feast.

O our Lord Jesus Christ, be Thou friendly with us in Thy mercy.

And we will send up glory and thanksgiving to Thee, O my Lord, and to Thy Father, and to Thy Holy Spirit, now, and at all times, for ever.

And adds. Peace to you all.

People. And with thy spirit. May the Lord receive your offering, and help us according to thy prayer.

Priest. May we receive from God pardon of offences and remission of sins in both worlds, for ever and ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. Let us, who are weak and sinful, respond and say, Holy is the Holy Father.

People. Amen.

Priest. Holy is the Holy Son.

People. Amen.

Priest. Holy is the Living and Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth the children of the holy Church, sparing and having mercy upon them in both worlds, for ever and ever.

People. Amen.

Deacon. Wisdom crieth out. Let us all stand up in proper order, and respond to the prayers of the honourable priest.

THE NICENE CREED.

priest. We believe.

People. In One God the Father Almighty, &c.

And the Priest washes the tips of his fingers in water, and says: Wash away, O Lord God, the filthy pollution of my soul, and cleanse me with Thy dew of life, so that I may be made meet to ascend to Thy holy and sanctifying Holy of Holies in purity and holiness, and may handle Thy adorable and divine mysteries without defilement, so that with pure conscience I may offer unto Thee a living sacrifice, O our Lord and our God for ever.

And he kneels before the table of life, and prays this prayer in silence. O holy and glorious Trinity, have mercy upon me. O holy and glorious Trinity, forgive me my sins. O holy and glorious Trinity, receive this offering from my weak and sinful hands. O God, pardon and remit in this hour the sins of Thy sinful servants, and help my weakness, which crieth unto Thee at all times; and pardon and remit, O God, in Thy loving kindness, the sins of those for whom we pray.

THE ANAPHORA.

And he ascends the steps and begins the Corban- First, the prayer before the Peace.

○ God of all, and our Lord, make these our unworthy selves meet for this salvation, so that without guile, and united by the bonds of love, we may salute one another with a holy and divine kiss, and may send up unto Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy and good and adorable and life-making and consubstantial Spirit; now and at all times, for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be to you all.

People. And with Thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us give peace one to another, with a holy and divine kiss, to those who are united by the love of our Lord God.

People. Before Thee, who art our Lord, we bow our heads after this peace which we have obtained, O gracious Lord.

Priest. O Thou only merciful Lord who dwellest on high, and hast respect unto the lowly, send down blessings on those who bow their necks before Thee, and bless them by the grace of Thy Only-begotten Son, with whom to Thee belongeth glory, and honour, and power, with Thy all-holy and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit; now.

People. Amen.

Priest. O God the Father, who in Thy great love towards mankind didst send Thy Son into the world to bring back the sheep that had wandered; do not reject, O my Lord, the service of this unbloody sacrifice; for we put our trust in Thy mercies, and not in our righteousness. Let not this mystery, which was appointed for our salvation, be to our condemnation, but to the blotting out of our sins, and the rendering of thanks unto Thee, and Thy Only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Deacon. Let us stand with decency, fear, reverence, holiness, purity, true faith in knowledge, and godly fear, and behold these holy and solemn mysteries that are placed before us. A living sacrifice and sacrifice of grace, peace, and thanksgiving, is offered to God the Father of all by the honourable priest for us all, in peace and tranquillity.

The Priest lifting the veil. Thou art the hard rock which sent forth the twelve rivers of water for the twelve tribes of Israel. Thou art the tried and precious stone which was set at naught by the builders.

The Priest turning to the west blesses the people, saying: The love of God the Father, and the grace of the Only-begotten Son, and the communion and dwelling of the Holy Spirit, be with you all, my bretheren, for ever.

People. And with Thy spirit.

The priest stretches his hands equally towards heaven, and says: Up where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, be the thoughts and minds and hearts of all of us in this hour.

People. They are.

Priest.(Depression). Let us praise, and adore, and glorify the Maker of all creation.

People. Truly, it is meet and right.

The Priest raises his voice. Whom the powers of heaven, corporeal and incorporeal, glorify; the sun and the moon and all the stars; the earth and the seas; the first-born graven in the heavenly Jerusalem; Angels and Archangels; and primacies, principalities, thrones, dominions, powers; the many-eyed Cherubim; and the six-winged Seraphim, which with veiled faces and feet, fly one to another and sing the Sanctus, and cry and say- Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts.

People. Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty, whose glory filleth the heaven and the earth; Glory in the highest. Blessed is he that has come, and is to come, in the name of the Lord: Glory in the highest.

Priest. (Depression). Assuredly Thou art holy, and Thou makest holy, O everlasting King; and holy is Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ: holy too is Thy Holy Spirit also, who searcheth hidden things. Out of the ground Thou didst create the son of man, and didst place him in paradise; and when he had transgressed Thy commandments, Thou didst not leave him wandering, but didst guide him by the hand of the prophets, and at length didst send Thy Only-begotten Son into the world, who when he had received a body by the Holy Ghost and from the Virgin Mary, renewed Thy image that was worn away: (*raising his voice*)- and when He was prepared to undergo voluntary death for us sinners, He took bread in His holy hands.

People. Bless, O Lord.

Priest. And when He had given thanks, He blessed, and sanctified, and brake, and gave to His disciples, and said, Take eat of it, this is my body which for you and for many is broken, and given for the remission of sins and for eternal life.

People. Amen.

Priest. In like manner also He took the cup, and when he had given thanks, He blessed and sanctified, and gave to His holy Apostles, and said, Take, drink ye all of it: this is my blood which for you and for many is shed and given for the remission of sins and for eternal life. Amen.

Priest. This do ye for My memorial; when ye communicate in this mystery, commemorate My death and My resurrection until I come.

People. Thy death, O Lord, do we commemorate; Thy resurrection do we acknowledge; and for Thy second coming do we look forward; may Thy blessing be upon us all.

Priest. Commemorating Thy death and burial, O Lord, and Thy resurrection in three days, and Thy ascension into heaven, and Thy sitting on the right hand of God the Father, and further Thy second coming, wherein Thou wilt judge the world in righteousness, and wilt reward every one according to his works; we therefore offer unto Thee this unbloody sacrifice, so that Thou mayest not make us guilty, nor reward us according to our sins. But according to Thy abundant mercies blot out the

sins of us Thy servants; for Thy people, and Thy inheritance make supplication unto Thee, and by Thy hands and with Thee to Thy Father also, saying:

People. Have mercy upon us, O Almighty God; we praise Thee, O Lord God; we adore Thee, we glorify Thee, we beseech Thee, O God, to have mercy upon us.

Priest (Depression). And we also, O my Lord, Thy weak and sinful servants, render thanks unto Thee, and confess Thy benignity unto all and for all.

THE INVOCATION OF THE HOLY GHOST.

Deacon. My friends, how solemn is this moment, and how terrible this hour, in which the Holy Ghost descends in majesty from the highest heavens and abideth upon the holy mystery placed before us; and sanctifieth it. Let us all stand with fear and reverence, and pray that peace may be with us and good-will towards us all.

Priest. Have mercy upon us, O God the Father, and send down upon these offerings Thy Holy Spirit, the Lord equal to Thee and to Thy Son in the throne and kingdom and essence eternal, who spake in Thy Old and New Testament, and descended like a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and like tongues of fire upon the Apostles in the upper room. (*Elevating his voice*) Hear me, O Lord ! Hear me, O Lord ! Hear me, O Lord, and spare and have mercy upon us !

People. Kyreleison, Kyreleison, Kyreleison.

Priest. So that he may come down and make this bread the life-giving body of Christ our God.

People. Amen.

Priest. And may thoroughly make this cup, the blood of the New Testament, the saving blood of Christ our God.

People. Amen.

Priest. So that they may sanctify the souls and spirits, and bodies that partake of them; for the burthen of the fruit of good works; for the confirmation of the holy Church which is made strong upon the rock of the faith, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. And deliver her from heretical offences, even to the end; that she may raise to Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten

Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit; now, and at all times, for ever.

People. Amen.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION.

Priest (Depression). We offer unto Thee this prayer, O Lord, in behalf of the Holy Church which is in all this world, that Thou mayest vouchsafe to her the gift of Thy Holy Spirit. Remember, O Lord, our Fathers that rightly impart the word of truth to us, our Patriarch, Mar Ignatius, our Bishop, Mar---, and the presbyters and the deacons, and all the orders ecclesiastical, together with my humble self. Remember also our brethren in bonds, the sick, the infirm, the afflicted, those who are vexed by evil spirits; and bless the air, and the crown of the year; fulfilling Thy good pleasure unto all that liveth.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord...

People. Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation). And deliver us, O Lord God, from every evil insurrection of the wicked sons of men, and assault and oppression of devils; and from every stroke which has been brought upon us because of our sins; and keep us in the observance of Thy holy commandments; for Thou art a merciful God, and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest (Depression). Remember, O Lord, the fathers and brethren who are standing and praying with us, and those who willed to come and were not able; and grant to each one his proper petitions.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord...

People. Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation). Remember, O Lord, all those whom we have remembered, and receive their sacrifices in Thy broad heaven. Satisfy them with the joy of Thy salvation, and make them worthy of the aid that comes from Thee; make them strong

in Thy might; arm them with Thy strength; for Thou art a merciful God, and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest (Depression). Remember, O Lord, kings and queens of honourable reverence; and aid them with the weapons of the Spirit, and make subject unto them all that hate them, that we may lead quiet lives.

Deacon. Let us pray to the Lord...

Priest (Elevation). Thou art a Saviour and Defender, and givest victory to all them that trust in Thee, O Lord; and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest (Depression). Forasmuch as Thou hast authority over life and death, may we remember, O Lord, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, with all the righteous, so that we may follow their foot-steps.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord...

People. Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation). We implore of Thee, O mighty Lord, who prevailest over that which is impossible, unite us to the multitude of the first-born that are written in heaven; by the grace and by the mercies of Thy only Son, and of Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest (Depression). Remember, O Lord, the fathers that rightly impart to us the word of truth.

Deacon. Let us pray to the Lord...

People. Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation). The doctrine of illustrious men and doctors who bore Thy holy name before peoples, and kings, and the sons of Israel, do Thou confirm in our

souls; and bring to naught the heresies that are injurious: and make us meet to stand unaccused before Thy dreadful judgement-seat; for Thou art holy, and sanctifier of the saints; and to Thee we send up glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy Only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest (Depression). Remember, O Lord, all faithful churches which are named in the orthodox faith.

People. Kyrieison, Kyreleison, Kyreleison.

Priest (Elevation). O Lord, Lord God of spirits and of all flesh, deliver us from the condemnation that never endeth, make us joyful in that place which the light of Thy countenance visiteth; blotting out our misdeeds, and not entering into judgement with us, for there is none innocent before Thee save only Thine Only-begotten Son, by whose hands we trust to find for ourselves mercy and remission of sins.

People. Put away, O God, pardon all our misdeeds which we have committed before Thee wilfully and not wilfully, and with and without knowledge.

Priest (Depression). Put away, O God, pardon our misdeeds which have been in thought and word, and deed: secret and open are open unto Thee.

Priest (Elevation). And keep our end without sin, O Lord: and gather us under the feet of Thine elect, when and where and as Thou wilt, only without the confusion of our sins, so that herein, as in all things, Thy all-glorious and blessed name may be praised and glorified, with that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Thy Holy Spirit.

Deacon. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be to you all.

People. And with Thy Spirit.

The Priest turning to the West blesses the people and says: The mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

People. And with Thy Spirit.

O thou merciful, the voice of our supplication knocketh at Thy gate; withhold not from those that worship Thee their needful petitions.

THE CATHOLICON.

Deacon. Let us pray to the Lord.

People. Kyreleison.

Deacon. Bless, O Lord. Let us at all times entreat the Lord, my brethren, for the spirit of peace and tranquillity, and for mercies and grace.

People. Grant us, O Lord, according to Thy grace.

Deacon. Bless, O Lord. Let us pray at all times for all the churches and for all the Episcopate, that peace may be granted to them, and for all the diaconate and ministry of the entire complement of the Church, that they all may be kept and preserved, and that they may be blessed with plentiful years.

People. May we be reconciled, O Lord, according to Thy mercy.

Deacon. Let us pray at all times to the Lord, that we may be true Christians, pleasing the Lord with good works, and with a holy and upright conversation.

People. May we be made worthy according to Thy goodness.

Deacon. Let us pray at all times to the Lord, that the whole of our race may be saved from the fire that queneth not, from the worm that dieth not, and from the bitter weeping and gnashing of teeth.

People. Save us, O Lord, by Thy cross. Bless, O Lord. By Thy grace and mercy, and in Thy goodness and abundant blessings strengthen the sick, heal the infirm, release those that are in bonds, restore those that are far, watch those that are near, make those that are divided united and friendly; gather together those that wander; may they that are lost be found; console the mourning; help the weak; make the empty rich; comfort and succour the widows; satisfy the hungry; and grant full pardon to sinners. O Lord, make Thy priests illustrious and the deacons holy; cause

Thy peace to reign in the kingdom of the earth; make wars to cease, and grant us remission of sins and offences.

Deacon. Let us glorify God the Father of all, and His only Son, and worship His Holy Ghost.

People. O gracious Lord, we commit our lives into Thine hands, and entreat Thy mercy; spare us: and have mercy upon us.

THE BREAKING, OR PRAYER OF CONSECRATION.

The priest breaks. Thus truly did the word of God suffer in the flesh, and was sacrificed and broken on the cross; (*here he divides the bread into two pieces, but holds the pieces together,*) and his soul was separated (*here he separates the pieces from each other*) from his body, though His divinity was in no wise separated from His soul or body. (*At the word 'separated' he again joins the pieces, after which separating them, with the piece in his right hand, he marks the wine with the sign of the cross, saying*) And he was pierced with a spear in his side, (*here he withdraws the bread from the wine, and wetting the broken parts of the other piece with the part that had been dipped in the wine, says*) from which flowed blood and water, a propiation for the whole world, (*again marking the top of the wine with the wet piece*), with which His body was covered, (*marking the bread as before*). And for the sins of the universe (*here uniting the pieces in the form of a circle and turning them round*), the Son died upon the cross; (*wetting the bread as before*) and His soul came, and was united to His body; and He turned us from a left-hand conversation (*here he again joins the pieces in the form of a circle, turning them as before*) to that of the right-hand; and by His own blood He reconciled, and united, and associated heavenly things with the things of the earth, and people with peoples, and the soul with the body; and the third day he rose (*elevates the bread*) from the tomb; and is one Emmanuel, which after the indivisible union cannot be divided into two natures. (*Here he again separates the pieces, and holding one part between the thumb and finger, and the other between the middle finger of the left hand.*) So we believe; (*here he touches the bread with his right hand, and puts it to his forehead*),

so we confess; (*repeats the last form*) so we declare; that this flesh is that which belongeth to this blood, (*here putting one part of the bread into the wine*) this blood is that which belongs to this flesh, (*here breaking one of the small pieces from the second piece and laying them both in the plate, he repeats the prayer of the Doctor St. James:*)

O Father of truth, behold Thy Son, the sacrifice which propitiates Thee; receive this One who died for me, and may I be pardoned through Him. Accept this offering from my hands, and be Thou reconciled unto me, and remember not against me the sins which I have committed before Thy Majesty.

During the repetition of these words he divides the two larger pieces into four parts, places them in the plate, then elevating it and dipping one of the small parts into the wine, and touching the other parts with it in ten different places twice over, he says:

Behold the blood shed upon Golgotha by wicked men, and pleading for me; for its sake receive my petitions. As great as are my offences, so great are Thy mercies. If Thou shouldest weigh them, Thy mercies would weigh more than the mountains that are weighed by Thee. Look upon the sins, and look upon the offerings for them; for the offering and the sacrifice is much greater than the sins; because I sinned, Thy beloved bore the nails and the spear; His sufferings are sufficient to reconcile Thee; and by them may I live ! Glory to the Father who delivered His Son for our salvation; and adoration to the Son who died on the cross and restored us all to life; and thanksgiving to the Spirit who began and completed the mystery of our salvation. O Trinity, exalted above all, have mercy upon us !

Another prayer of breaking. Thou art Christ the God who wast pierced in His side on the heights of Golgotha for us. Thou art the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world. Do Thou pardon our offences and remit our sins, and set us on Thy right hand.

And he raises his voice. O God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who art blessed by the Cherubim and hallowed by the Seraphim, and extolled by thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of reasonable hosts, who sanctifiest and makest perfect the offerings and ripe fruits which are offered unto Thee for a sweet odour; sanctify also our bodies and souls and spirits, so that with a clean heart and face that is not ashamed we may call upon Thee, O God, heavenly Father, and may pray and say: Our Father which art in heaven:

People. Hallowed be Thy name, &c.

Priest. Yea, O Lord our God, lead us not into temptation that cannot be endured, but deliver us from evil, making a way to escape to follow the temptation; and we will send up unto Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be to you all.

People. And with Thy spirit.

Deacon. Before receiving these holy mysteries that have been offered let us bow our heads unto the merciful Lord.

People. We will bow our heads unto the Lord.

Priest. Unto Thee do Thy poor servants bow their heads, because Thy mercies are rich. Send forth blessings, O Lord, and sanctify our bodies, and souls, and spirits; and make us meet to partake of the life-giving mysteries of Christ our Saviour, and we will raise to Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

People. And with Thy spirit.

Priest turning to the West, blesses the people and says, And may the grace and mercy of the holy, and glorious, and uncreated, and essential, and eternal, and consubstantial Trinity be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

People. And with Thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us behold with reverence and awe.

People. Spare, O Lord, and have mercy upon us.

And the priest takes the Paten and elevates it, saying, Holy things are given for the holy and pure.

People. The one Father is holy, the one Son is holy, the one Spirit is holy.

He takes the cup also and elevates it, saying, Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

People. One they are from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Priest. May the one holy Father, who formed the world in His mercy, be with us.

People. Amen.

Priest. May the Holy Son, who redeemed it by His own glorious sufferings, be with us.

People. Amen.

Priest. May the one living and Holy Spirit, who is the perfecter and completer of every thing that is and has been, be with us. Blessed be the name of the Lord, from everlasting to everlasting.

People. Amen.

Here the Priest descends from the steps and says as follows, the people repeating after him: Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison. O our Lord, have mercy upon us. O our Lord, spare and have mercy upon us. O our Lord, hear us and have mercy upon us. O merciful Lord hear us. O Lord full of mercy hear us, O Lord hear us and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee, O our Lord; Glory to Thee, O our Lord; Glory to Thee, O our refuge for ever.

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

The Priest turning to the West bows himself before the people and says:

My brethren and sirs, pray for me that my services may be accepted.

Deacon. Like as a father pitieth his children, the Lord loveth them that trust in him.

People. As for man, his days are as grass, as a flower of the field so he flourisheth.

Priest. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

People. From everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

O Thou Son of God, who hast abolished our death by Thy death, raise us from the ground that we may call out and sing praises unto Thee. We will raise our voice and say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is glorious and adorable God. Glory to Thee from generation to generation.

The Priest kneeling before the altar prays these prayers. Make us worthy O Lord God, that our bodies may be made holy by Thy holy body, and our souls made bright by Thy propitiatory blood; and may it be for the pardon of our offences and for the remission of our sins; O our Lord and our God for ever.

And when he partakes he says, A propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to a sinful servant for the pardon of offences, and for the remission of sins, in both worlds, for ever and ever. Amen.

And when he drinks from the cup he says, By Thy living and life-giving blood, which was poured forth on the cross, may my offences be pardoned and my sins be remitted, O Jesus, Word of God, who camest for our salvation for ever and ever. Amen.

And when he communicates a Priest, he says, A propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to you for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins. Amen.

And the Priest takes the paten in his right hand and the cup in his left hand, and as he turns to the west, says: From Thy propitiatory altar let there come down pardon for Thy servants, O Son of God, who camest for our salvation, and wilt come for our resurrection and the renovation of our race for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest (continues). Stretch forth Thy invisible right hand, O Lord God, and bless this multitude which worships Thee; which receives Thy glorious body and blood for the pardon of offences and remission of sins, and for confidence before Thee, O our Lord and our God for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. May the love of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be upon those who bear these holy things; and upon those who give them; and upon those who receive them; and upon those who have laboured, and have participated, and are participating in them; the love of God be upon them in both worlds for ever.

People. Amen. O our Lord, have mercy upon us; O our Lord, spare and have mercy upon us; O our Lord, hear us and have mercy upon us. Glory to Thee our Lord, glory to Thee our Lord, glory to Thee our refuge for ever.

And when he communicates the people, he gives the bread and says: The holy body of Jesus Christ is given to you for the pardon of offences and remission of sins.

And the recipient says: Amen.

He gives out of the cup and says: The holy blood of Jesus Christ is given to you for the pardon of offences and remission of sins.

The recipient. Amen.

Priest. Glory to Thee, glory to Thee, glory to Thee, O our Lord and our God for ever. O our Lord Jesus Christ, let not Thy holy body which we have eaten, and Thy pardoning blood which we have drunken, be unto us for judgement and for vengeance; but for the life and salvation of us all. And have mercy upon us.

People. The world will kneel down and worship Thee; all the tongues will sing praises unto Thy holy name, for Thou raisest the dead, and art a strong refuge to them that are buried. We adore Thee for Thy grace that all we have received.

Priest: the thanksgiving. We thank Thee, O Lord, for the abundance of Thy mercies, whereby we have been made worthy to partake of Thy heavenly table. O our Lord, let us not be condemned in the reception of Thy holy mysteries; but, being worthy, may we be partakers of Thy Holy Spirit; may we find a portion and

inheritance with all the righteous who have been from the beginning; and we shall raise unto Thee glory and thanksgiving, and to Thy only-begotten Son, and to Thy all-holy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be to you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Having received these holy mysteries, we should bow our heads in the presence of the merciful God.

People. Before Thee, O our Lord God, we bow our heads.

Priest. O great and wonderful God, who for the salvation of our human race didst bow the heavens and come down, pity us and have mercy upon us, so that we may continually glorify Thee, and God the Father who begat Thee, and Thy Holy Spirit, now and at all times for ever.

People. Amen.

Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. Bless us all, O our God; keep us all, O our Creator; shew unto us the way of life, helper and Lord of us all.

People. O Lord, receive the prayers and supplications of Thy servants that ministered in Thy presence, and remit the sins of Thy flock. May we be made worthy, O Lord, for the blessings and graces that are from Thee, and send us in peace.

The Address. Depart in peace, brethren and beloved, seeing we commend you to the grace and mercy of the holy and glorious Trinity, with the viaticum and

the blessing which ye have received from the propitiatory altar of the Lord, saved by the victorious cross of the Lord, sealed with the sign of holy baptism, that it may obtain the pardon of your offences and the remission of your sins, and may give rest to your spirits; and may I, a weak and sinful servant, obtain mercy and help through your prayers. And depart in peace, joyful and glad. Pray for me.

People. May the lord accept Thy offering and help us by Thy prayers.

The Priest when he eateth and drinketh of what remaineth of the holy mysteries, says the following Psalms, viz., xxiii., xxxvi. from verse 8; also xxvi. and xxix.

Prayer. O Son of God, who by Thy immolation didst save the guilty by Thy living sacrifice, dispel my passions and heal my infirmities. Good (is He) that came, and they pierced His side at Golgotha. By the blood and water that flowed therefrom, quench Thou my thirst.

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