

them from fire, darkness, and the worm that dieth not, because none is free from sin, &c.

15. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (*Syro-Jacobite*).

And give rest in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Paradise of pleasure, in the place of repose, in the tabernacles of the Saints, where is the multitude of them that keep the glorious holiday, as the souls, bodies, and spirits of them who have come to Thee out of flesh and blood, to give, O Lord of all flesh: where is the perfection of life without molestation, and the first-fruits of incalculable promises; of the consummation whereof make them worthy, not reckoning to them their offences, but entering into judgment with Thy servants, for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified, for One only is without sin, &c.

16. THEODORE THE INTERPRETER (*Nestorian*).

Lord, our God, receive from us, through Thy grace, this sacrifice of thanksgiving, namely, the reasonable fruits of our lips, that the memory may be good before Thee of the ancient righteous men, holy prophets, blessed Apostles, martyrs, and confessors, bishops, doctors, priests, deacons, and all the sons of the holy Catholic Church, who with true faith have departed out of this world, that by Thy grace, O Lord, Thou mayest give them pardon of all sins and transgressions, which, in this world, in a mortal body, and a soul, subject to temptation, they have sinned and offended, for there is no man that sinneth not.

# SIX ST. THOMASES.

OF

## SOUTH INDIA

A Muslim Non-Martyr (Thawwama)  
made Martyrs after 1517 A. D.

BY

T. K. JOSEPH, B. A., L. T.,  
P. O. CHENGANNUR,  
TRAVANCORE, S. W. INDIA.

21/1956  
11

PRICE Rs. 2/8

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OF *with best* Compliments,  
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TRAVANCORE, S. W. INDIA.

*Associate  
Editor, University Journal  
of Indian History*

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## PREFACE

It is chiefly the evidence against South Indian Christians' claim first to the "Parish-arrow-killed non-martyr Thomas" from 1288 to 1517 A. D., and thereafter to the new "priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas" still retained, that is set forth in this book. Vide Sections 1, 2, 15, 17, 40, 41, &c. The evidence in favour of the Muslim claim since Marco Polo, 1293 A. D., to the above "Saracen" (non-martyr come from Nubia to Mysalapore) is given in Section 24.

These aspects of South India's claim to the non-martyr-martyr Thomas have not yet been dealt with by other authors. Vide Sections 40 & 41. They are silent also about the Christians' astounding change in South India, and not in the rest of the world, after 1517, from non-martyrdom to martyrdom!

No document of any land prior to the thirteenth century expressly assigns to the Apostle, as a non-martyr or martyr, South India or a seashore tomb, contrary to his "India or Parthia", and his "mountain" tomb mentioned in the early St. Thomas documents since the Syriac Acts of ca. 210. Vide Section 36. Travancore's alleged "St. Thomas Charitam (Eiography) of 72 A. D. by his own Travancore disciple" is no exception as it still remains unproven and unseen by the world in any century (Section 19).

Hindu evidence for the pre-Cosmasian Christian king of Malabar (317 to perhaps 345 A. D.) is given in Section 27. And even by 50 A. D. St. Thomas's Christians from his Indo-Parthian field in the Punjab, or from his Baluchistan, or Fars in S. W. Persia, could possibly come to Malabar for preaching, trade, and other purposes (vide Sections 26, & 36).

Have the Catholic and non-Catholic scholars quoted on pp. 24-28 gone wrong in their stand against South India? Let the Christian and non-Christian world judge.

It was my suspicion about Travancore's St. Thomas Song (see pp. 27, 29, 30-31, 35, &c.) published in 1916, that moved me (a "St. Thomas" Christian, now 71) to study St. Thomas documents. And since 1923 (see p. 26) my articles (from Trivandrum) on the evidence against South India had been published in Europe and America, and also one or two (from here) recently in Australia, before the present book was contemplated.

To many scholars in the 5 continents I sent since 1948, manuscript notes and 2 printed cards on S. India's Muslim and Christian Thomases. And my pamphlet (14 pages, 22-7-1952) on the same two Thomases was also supplied to most of them.

Chengannur, Travancore,  
7th May, 1955.

T. K. JOSEPH.

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# Six St. Thomases of South India

by

T. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T.,  
P. O. Chengannur, Travancore, S. W. India.

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## ILLUSTRATION

Sketch of the Malabar Christian King's Statuette, 317-? 346 A. D. .... op. p. 48 (See S. 27 above).

*Vide pages 25, 30 & 31 of this book for changes in the Leggenda di S. Tomaso, 1934, a spurious document translated.*

*La Leggenda di S. Tomaso in Umbria, Chiara, Rome, Vol 32 (1934), No. 49 (pages 169-70).*

# SIX ST. THOMASES

By T. K. JOSEPH

## CORRECTIONS

Page	
2,	last para: for 1495, read 1498.
11,	line 11: for 1498 to 1525, read in 1531 and 1552.
14,	line 1: 17 should be more than 16.
14,	para 2, l. 5: for chancel, read domed room.
14,	para 2, l. 7: for chancel, read room.
22,	S. 16: 1947, and not 1946.
30,	line 1 from bottom: of 1896.
36,	last line: for 30 read pp. 62-63.
42,	l. 2 from bottom: read Malei-.
45,	para 1: S. 36, and not 33.
47,	last line: read Iraq, not Cappadocia.
68,	line 1: 1340 is correct.
69,	para 2: 1523, and not 1517.
73,	para 2, line 7: read Guda and not Gunda-
76,	para 1, for p. 74, read 82.
83,	para 2, for had rested, read first rested.
87,	para 3, to tomb inside, add or outside.

To be added as para 3, on p. 115:

Real Isidore's (ob. 630) sentence given by Fr. Perumallil on his p. 49, runs: "This Thomas preached the Gospel of Christ to the Parthians, the Medes the Persians, the Hyrcanians, and the Bactrians, and to the Indians of the Oriental region, and penetrating the innermost regions (*intima gentium*) and sealing his preaching by his passion he died transfixed with a lance" (and not with an arrow, nor as a non-martyr) "at Calamina, a city of India, and there was buried with honour". Isidore's Indians were, reasonably, those only in the Gundaphar-Mazdai realms of the Greek Acts, *Passio, De Mir.*, &c. known to him; and not those in the whole of India south of the Himalaya. Is Calamina Mylapore? No; there was no "lance-martyr" St. Thomas's tomb in S. India before 1517 A. D.

## 6 St. Thomases of South India

—A Muslim Non-Martyr (Thawwama), made  
Martyrs after 1517 A. D.

(T. K. Joseph, Chengannur P. O.,  
Travancore, S. W. India.)

### 1. Mylapore Tomb No. 2

The best known and most venerated "St. Thomas" of South India is the Thomas buried before 1288 A. D. in the North-South tomb inside the San Thome Catholic Cathedral in Mylapore, Madras, S. E. India. That tomb or that Thomas, or any other Thomas of South India is not found mentioned in documents prior to the thirteenth century.

As described to Marco Polo in 1288—1293 by Christians, he had come to Ma'abar, i.e., Coromandel, South-East India, after his preaching in Nubia, in North Africa, and had been killed *accidentally* by a "Gavi" (= Arabic Kafir, Pariah) fowler with an arrow aimed at a peacock. So he was a *non-martyr*, quite unlike the Apostle Thomas described as a martyr in all non-South-Indian accounts found recorded in the extant documents of Asia, Europe, and Africa, from the Syriac *Acts of Judas Thomas*, ca. 210 A. D., downwards, and even in South Indian documents after 1517. He was transformed into another sort of non-martyr, and into martyrs of several sorts after South Indian Christians' contact with the early Portuguese, say after 1517, in which year too the Ma'abar Thomas from Nubia was

described to the Portuguese Diogo Fernandes (ca. 1517—43) as a *non-martyr*. *Vide Marco Polo II*, Book 3, ch. 18, 17, 20 & 35 for the Pariah-arrow-killed non-Martyr from Nubia claimed by Muslims as their own "Saracene Avarian" (Arabic *hawariy* plus Tamil masculine ending *aan*), and for St. Thomas in Abyssinia. No other record says the Apostle Thomas preached in Nubia or Abyssinia.

The above Ma'abar tomb is the present North-South Mylapore tomb inside the San Thome Cathedral, which (tomb) was in 1523 opened by the Portuguese Diogo Fernandes.

## 2. Against Both Mylapore Tombs

Says Col. Sir Henry Yule (in his *Marco Polo* Vol. II, 1903, p. 358):—

"The question" (of St. Thomas) "appears to have become a party one among the Romanists in India in connection with other differences" (between those of the ancient Syrian rite, and those of the Latin rite introduced by the Portuguese in 1498), "and I see that the authorities" (European, Latinite) "now ruling the Catholics at Madras" (those of the Latin rite) "are *strong in disparagement* of the special sanctity of the localities", (viz. (1) the San Thome tomb inside the Catholic Cathedral, (2) the Little Mount, and (3) St. Thomas Mount, both to the S. W. of, and near, San Thome) "and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Mailapur". (Italics mine). See also, Yule's *M. Polo*, 1871, for the same disparagement.

That "*strong disparagement*" in 1871 of South India's St. Thomas "story", by the Madras Catholic authorities was quite reasonable. For (1) as *admitted* by Christians to Marco Polo in 1288—93, and later on to Bishop Marignolli (1348), to Barbosa (1500—16), and Diogo Fernandes (1517), their Thomas was a *Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr, quite unlike* the martyr St. Thomas of all other accounts in the world, even of the South Indian Christians' account subsequent to 1517.

(2) The bones of the two skeletons, from the skulls downwards, were found in both the alleged Mylapore tombs of St. Thomas opened in 1522 & 1523, *whereas* one St. Thomas's bones including the skull with "no part found missing" as certified in 1566 by the Ortona Bishop and others, had been in the third century (232—3 or shortly after) taken away from somewhere in India to Edessa, and they were being venerated in the Ortona Church, East Italy, since 1258.

(3) Besides, the present alleged Mylapore St. Thomas tomb inside the San Thome Catholic Cathedral, viz. the tomb lighted in Barbosa's days (1500—16) by an old Muslim and not by a Christian, and in 1523 opened by Diogo, is and was in the *South Indian Muslim tombs' north-south* direction, with the head in the *north, quite unlike* the east-west tombs of the Jews or Eastern Christians, or the Hindus' north-south burials and funeral pyres with the head in the *south*.

(4) Syriac Thoma or Thama was used by *Muslims* also in the Arabic form Thuma or Thawwama, with the same meaning twin-born in both languages (e. g. the famous Muslim saint and scholar Sharfuddin *Thawwama* of Sonargaon in Bengal, 14th century).

### 3. Tomb Doubted, 1729 A. D.

Long before the Mylapore Catholic Bishop's and others' "strong disparagement" of 1871, supra, his predecessor had, in 1729, *doubted* the present tomb, and had written to the Sacred Congregation of Rites, Rome, for a decision as to "whether this place be the true sepulchre of St. Thomas". That doubt was quite legitimate as shown in the previous section. In 1729 he must have been aware of at least reasons 1 and 2 above. Rome's reply has not been published. Was the "strong disparagement" of 1871 a result of that reply, or of the reasons 1 and 2 given above, and known to the Bishop of 1871? Rome too must have been aware of those two; and Goa also.

### 4. Papal Letters of 1886 and 1923

H. H. Pope Leo XIII., in his Apostolic letter "Humanae Salutis Auctor" dated 1st September 1886, said..... "the East Indies fell to the lot of St. Thomas". Yes, the translations of Syriac *Acts*, c. 210, mentioned the portion of India under kings Gundaphar, Gad and Mazdai—all non-South-Indian, and even non-Indian names, but really Parthian (the first two) and Old-Persian (the third),

as evangelized by the *martyr* St. Thomas. And at about the same time, 228—231 A. D., Origen of Alexandria in Egypt, and in ca. 210, *The Clementine Recognitions*, assigned *Parthia* to that martyr. Did these two contradict *The Acts*? No, I think Gundaphar and Gad were the Indo-*Parthian* kings Gundaphara and Gadana, as historians say.

The Papal letter adds: "He.....having travelled to Ethiopia, Persia, Hyrcania and finally to the Peninsula beyond the Indus.....paid to the Chief Pastor of souls the tribute of his blood"..... Yes, the Apostle Thomas was really a martyr in "India", who paid to Christ, "the Chief Pastor of souls, the tribute of his blood".

But the first known, Muslim-claimed (1288—93), and Muslim-lighted (ca. 1510, as Barbosa saw) Thomas of Mylapore was a *non-martyr* who *did not* pay to Christ or any one else the tribute of his blood. For (1) as recorded from Marco Polo to Diogo (1288 to 1517), South India's Thoma (Muslim Thuma or Thawwama) died *accidentally* at the hands of a Pariah with an arrow. And (2) none before 1517 located the *martyr* St Thomas in *South* India, or in any *seashore* tomb as in Mylapore, *contra* the *mountain* tomb of his in all other documents since *The Acts* of ca. 210 A. D.

H. H. Pope Pius XI, in his letter of 21st Dec. 1923, quotes from the above Papal letter of 1886 the statement about the Apostle's martyrdom and about "India's" (not particularly, or definitely *South*



India's) revering that martyr since the year of his martyrdom in India-somewhere other than South India, whose earliest known Thomas, Muslim-claimed, and Muslim-lighted, was *undoubtedly* a non-martyr, in 1288 to 1517, and probably even before, and after Muhammad Nabi.

### 5. Whence Priest-Lance Martyr?

*Why* was he made the present "priest-lance"-killed martyr and other sorts of martyrs by South Indian or Portuguese Christians? No explanation at all has yet been offered by any one "Priest-lance-martyr" St. Thomas, we know, is found *only* in *De Miraculis Thomae* (c. 500) and some later European documents known to the Portuguese who came in contact with South India's "St. Thomas" Christians since 1501. West Asian and North African documents prior to the coming to W. Asia of the European "Friars Preachers" who were in and before 1253 preaching "in the lauds of the Saracens, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Comans, the Ethiopians, the Syrians, the Goths, the Jacobites, the Armenians, the Indians, the Tartars, the Hungarians and other infidel nations of the East", mention no "priest-lance"-martyr St. Thomas, nor the "priest-sword"-martyr found in the Latin *Passio Thomae*, ca. 500. The above date 1253 is that of Pope Innocent IV.'s letter to the above Preachers.

### 6. Bishop Medlycott's Explanation, 1905, not Valid

Bishop Dr. Medlycott (in his *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905) explains that the martyr St. Thomas was, in M. Polo's days (1288—93) and later on till 1517, described by Christians as a Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr, in order to 'save their face'. But not even one of those Christians' ancestors was the murderer, either deliberately or by accident. And so no Christian had in 1288—1517 to "save his face". It was a Pariah who happened to bring about that non-martyr's death, and that quite unintentionally, without *malice prepense*.

And the Pariahs ("Gavis") of M. Polo's days did admit their ancestor's arrow-shot, tacitly, by their fear "to enter the place where Messer St. Thomas is—I mean where his body lies". M. Polo adds: "Indeed, were even 20 or 30 men to lay hold of one of these Gavis and to try to hold him in the place where the Body of the Blessed Apostle of Jesus Christ lies buried, they could not do it! Such is the influence of the Saint;—(the "Saracen Avarian" from Nubia); "for it was by people of this generation", (a man of this Pariah Hindu low caste) "that he was slain, as you shall presently hear" (in Book 3, chapter 18, of M. Polo's *Book* of 1296). And no other Hindu, nor a Muslim had to 'save his face' as he was not implicated in the Pariah fowler's arrow-shot. So Dr. Medlycott's explanation is not valid.

### 7. D' Cruz's Explanation, 1929.

After the above Catholic "disparagement" of 1871, and the Papal letters of 1886 and 1923, Papal Chevalier D' Cruz, K. S. G., Editor, *Mylapore Catholic Register*, declared in his *St. Thomas*, 1929, p. 112, about the present north-south "St. Thomas" tomb inside his Mylapore Cathedral thus: "Catholics who venerate the tomb are not compelled to believe in its genuineness; and they know well that it is a question of evidence and that they may be mistaken as to the fact. They regard it, in any case, in the light of a memorial, whereby the saint (non-martyr) "is remembered and honoured. If miracles are said to have occurred in connection with the reputed tomb or relics",—(both being really of the Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr of, and before 1288 to 1517, and not of those Catholic's priest-lance-killed martyr St. Thomas of after 1517)—"Catholics understand again that here also it is a question of evidence and that, if genuine, they are the result of faith excited by the memorial of the saint"—(the non-martyr *Saracen*)—"whose intercession had been implored by clients for Divine interposition on their behalf". The evidence is for the non-martyr.

### 8. Contradictory Traditions, "so dear"

D' Cruz's book's Introduction is by the Catholic Bishop of Sinda, Rt. Rev. A.M. Teixeira, Co-Adjutor to the Mylapore Bishop. The Introduction affirms that "the Malabar tradition by itself is proof enough", and characterises the Mylapore tradition as "an

additional corroboration to the former", and as "hoary... to us all so dear". But the Malabar and Mylapore traditions about the "priest-lance-martyr" St. Thomas is *not prior to 1517 A. D.*, and so not hoary, but new-fangled. And, in fact, the previous South Indian "Thoma" tradition reiterated from Marco Polo to Diogo Fernandes (1288 to 1517) was *certainly* about a Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr from Nubia, claimed by Muslims "as their own Saracen saint." This non-martyr was "so dear" to South Indian Muslims, Christians and Hindus (other than Pariahs) since 1288 or before. Pariahs dreaded him! S. Indian tradition is "*unverified*", said Vatican City, 1952. See 17, 5 below.

Why was that dear non-martyr replaced, after 1517, by the present "so dear" martyr? And why were Pariah and arrow replaced by "Empraan"-priest and lance? No one has yet explained that violent, unchristian *volte face*—a *sin* for St. Thomas's sake!!

Will this priest-lance-martyr be rejected later on, and the former Pariah-arrow-non-martyrdom be accepted again? The Muslims do not care to have their non-martyr Saracen's tomb or bones back.

*Note:*—Will a law court decide in favour of the Muslims' Saracen, or the Christians' non-martyr-martyr?

On his p. 95 D' Cruz gives the *pre-Portuguese* (ante 1498 A. D.) account of the accidental, Pariah-

arrow-caused death of the "St. Thomas" buried in Coromandel, i. e. in Mylapore, as he admits. He says: "The local version" (of 1288 and 1348) "of the martyrdom"—(no, of the non-martyrdom) "prevailing on the Coromandel Coast, as given by Marco Polo and Bishop John de Marignolli, is that St. Thomas while praying in the wood was accidentally shot by an arrow aimed at a peacock" (by a Pariah fowler as M. Polo says; with a "friccia"—(arrow) as Marignolli says).

D' Cruz is *wrong* in regarding this accidental death as "martyrdom". It is quite unlike, and contrary to, St. Thomas's martyrdom, admitted by him as fact. He says: "However, the old Liturgical Books and Martyrologies of the Nestorian, Latin and Greek Churches, all testify to the fact that the Apostle Thomas won a martyr's crown". He is right as regards the Apostle's martyrdom, but wrong in regarding the Pariah-arrow caused accidental death of Mylapore's Thomas as martyrdom in the cause of Christ or Christianity, or as martyrdom consequent on his preaching Christianity, or on his converting people to his religion, or due to his praying to his God silently and unnoticed by the fowler (as M. Polo says about the non-martyr).

D' Cruz has not mentioned in his book the fact that even after Polo and Marignolli (1288—93 and 1348), Duarte Barbosa (ca. 1510) and Diogo Fernandes (1517), both of the early Portuguese period (1498 to 1523), heard from South India the Pariah-arrow-non-martyrdom account itself of 1288 to 1517.

He, like all others who have written on South India's several non-martyr-martyr St. Thomases, has not explained why, after the coming of the Portuguese to whom the Apostle was decidedly a martyr, South India has transformed its previous non-martyr of 1288 to 1517 into another sort of non-martyr and several sorts of martyrs, and finally after 1710 preferred its present "*priest-lance*"-martyr, first found in ca. 500 in the Latin *De Miraculis Thomae*, available in printed form in the early Portuguese period, <sup>1498</sup>~~1498~~ to 1525. Could South India's St. Thomas Christians excuse themselves by saying that it was the Portuguese who put the several sorts of martyrs in the previous non-martyr's place? Why have St. Thomas Christians *preferred* their present "Empran-soolam" (= priest-lance) martyr?

Again, like all other St. Thomas historians of recent centuries, D' Cruz has not explained why Mylapore's two alleged St. Thomas tombs are on the *seashore*. while in all documents of the world prior to Marco Polo the martyred Apostle's tomb is on a mountain. It must be noted here that Metropolitan Mar Solomon of Basrah's (ca. 1232) *actual* statements, in the *original* copy of his *Book of the Bee*, about St. Thomas's fields of work and his burial place ("India or Mahleph?") have not yet been ascertained.

### 9. Mar Solomon's Mahluph, or India?, ca. 1222

One manuscript copy of his *Book* says, "He taught the Parthians, Medes, and Indians", and "was buried in Mahluph", or "in Edessa", while the Oxford manuscript says, "He taught in India, and Sind, and Persia", and "was buried in India" (*some-where* in "India", and not in Sind or Persia), or "in Edessa". Mar Solomon was not sure where exactly the Apostle was first buried. We know from the *Syriac Acts* that the corpse was buried in the first century in a mountain tomb in "India", and that it was his bones from some place *west* of it, and near it that were much later, in or after the third century, "buried" in Edessa.

Did Mar Solomon or his amannensis write Mahluph, or merely India in his original copy and in other copies of his days? No one can say for certain that it was Mahluph itself in those earliest copies of the *Book of the Bee*, ca. 1222.

### 10. Bp. Bar-Hebraeus's Lance-Killed St. Thomas, ca 1250

We know that Mar Solomon's contemporary and neighbour in W. Asia, Bishop Bar-Hebraeus (b. 1226, d. 1286), the historian says in his *Matthaeum* that "Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes and Indians", as in one MS. of Mar Solomon, but unlike him says definitely (a) in his *Matthaeum*, *supra*, and (b) in his *Syriac Chronicle* that (a) he "was killed at Calamina", (b) (with a lance, by a

heathen living on a mountain of India), and that some one "carried his body away to Calamina and there buried it."

This Calamina is found first in the Spanish St. Isidore's *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* as "a town of India" in "the furthest eastern part" of "the Parthians and the Medes", where also "he preached the gospel", and was "pierced with a lance" and "suffered martyrdom". So that lance-pierced martyr St. Thomas buried in Calamina in the furthest eastern part of the Parthians and the Medes, was entirely different from South India's earliest known Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr "St. Thomas" (1288 to 1517 A. D.) buried in Mylapore, on the seashore, *quite unlike* the Apostle Thomas buried "in the sepulchre in which the former kings were buried" on the mountain on which he was killed by soldiers (with spears or lances) as narrated in the *Syriac Acts* of ca. 210, the earliest extant record of his journeys, death and burial.

### 11. Fr. Hosten's If, 1923

Rev. Fr. Hosten, S. J., whose published studies of St. Thomas documents are well known, says: "if what the Portuguese found at Mylapore in 1522 in a tomb at a depth of some 16 paces was not part of St. Thomas' body, then the whole contention in favour of St. Thomas' connection with Mylapore seems to be lost". See his article 'St. Thomas' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1923, No. 5, p. 169, footnote 5.

The year ought to be 1523, and the depth 17 palms, the depth at which Diogo Fernandes, the Portuguese excavator of the present (second) Mylapore tomb—(that inside the San Thome Cathedral)—found undisturbed in 1523 (not 1522) the following “much worn out” bones:—

(1) some bones of the *head*. (2) some ribs, (3) some bones of the whole body, (4) one thigh bone, (5) the rest of the bones in “the rest of the grave which lay under the foundation of the sanctuary”, i.e., of the unruined ~~bones~~ <sup>bones from east</sup> of the ruined Mylapore church. The head portion of this north-south tomb was outside the northern wall of the ~~church~~ <sup>chapel</sup>. See Diogo's sworn statement of 1543, published in *Esplendores da Religiao*, Goa, April 1930, pp. 152-6 and in *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 9, pp. 205—217 (English translation), and corrections in Series 10, p. 270.

In 1523 and before, since 1258, the skeleton admitted to be of St. Thomas the Apostle, with its skull certified in 1566 by the Ortona Bishop and others as entire, with “no part found missing”, has been venerated as genuine in the Ortona Church in E. Italy. So no portion of real St. Thomas's skull could be found elsewhere in 1523 or 1523. But the two alleged St. Thomas tombs of Mylapore opened in those two years did contain respectively, the entire skull and “some bones of the *head*”, as well as the rest of either skeleton. Neither of these two alleged St. Thomas skeletons of Mylapore could, therefore, be the Apostle Thomas's.

Thus, “the whole contention in favour of St. Thomas' connection with Mylapore” is certainly lost, and not “seems to be lost” as Fr. Hosten said.

Hence the “strong disparagement” by the Madras Catholic authorities, in 1871 and later, “of the special sanctity of the localities and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Mailapur”. Hence also the demand in March 1950 by the St. Thomas Catholics of S. W. India, at their meeting at Ernakulam, Cochin, for the *Ortona* skeleton of St. Thomas.

But it has not been given to them. In December 1953 the right hand of the Ortona skeleton, brought by H. E. Cardinal Tisserant, was deposited for veneration by them, in a Pontifical Shrine in Cranganore, in Cochin, as H. H. the Pope's property and not theirs.

Thuruthoor, near Cranganore, claims to have a fragment of the Ortona St. Thomas bones from long before 1523. It is said to have been brought to the Catholic Church there by some European missionary.

Another portion of the Ortona skeleton was some days later (in 1953) deposited by the Cardinal in Mylapore, as really St. Thomas's, even though most of the bones of 1523 are back in the present Cathedral tomb in Mylapore and a small fragment of one of them is outside it in a reliquary, all venerated as the Apostle's bones! In fact these are a *Muslim non-martyr's* bones.

## 12. St. Xavier Silent, 1545

St. Xavier too could say that "the whole contention in favour of St. Thomas' connection with Mylapore" is lost because the skull bones and the rest of the skeleton found by the Portuguese in either of the two alleged St. Thomas tombs in Mylapore in 1522 and 1523, could not be the Apostle's in view of the fact that his bones including the *entire* skull had been in the 3rd century taken away to Edessa, and have been venerated in Ortona since 1258. He could say that, even if he did not know that from 1288 to 1517 Mylapore's Thomas was a non-martyr, quite unlike the Apostle Thomas who was a martyr. St. Xavier was in Mylapore for four months in 1545, and was given some "St. Thomas relics", probably fragments of the alleged St. Thomas' bones of 1523. But he is silent about St. Thomas' whereabouts in Mylapore or Malabar, or about the manner of his death. (Where are the above relics he received from Mylapore?)

It was perhaps the story of stoning of St. Thomas by a Mylapore Yogi's ("Jogi's") partisans that St. Xavier heard in 1545. For in 1531 Miguel Ferreira had heard it "from Muhamadans and Hindus, from natives of Malabar and foreigners", and Gasper Correa (come to India in 1512) recorded it in his *Lendas da India*, which he was still writing in 1566. This book contains the history from 1497 to 1550, of India's Portuguese.

According to the story of 1531 reproduced by the Portuguese poet Camoens, in India from 1553 to 67, St. Thomas brought back to life the "Jogi's" son killed by the father, who accused the Apostle of the murder. That miracle resulted in the conversion of many people and their king. But the Yogi's partisans (Brahmins) hated St. Thomas and they stoned him, and one of them killed him with a spear during a riot, because of the conversions, and his intention to build a church in the Yogi's plot of ground. This murderer is not the Pariah of the non-martyrdom account of 1288 to 1517, but the "priest" of the narrative in *De Miraculis*, and other European records known to the Portuguese newcomers to South India and to Camoens, and probably to St. Xavier himself.

## 13. Non-Martyr of Joseph the Indian's Days, 1501

In 1501 "Josephus Indus", the St. Thomas Christian priest of Cranganore, could tell the Portuguese in Cochim and Lisbon, and the people in Rome, & Venice nothing but his old Pariah-arrow-non-martyrdom account of 1288 to 1517. But he appears to have been silent about his St. Thomas's death. For a Venetian report of 1507 of Joseph's supposed statements on some points, see *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 11, pp. 291-6. Castanbada who was in India, 1528-38, gives in his *Conquista da India* "nothing but an abstract of what Josephus Indus said", says Dr. Burnell in his edition of Linschoten, p. 85. Those in Europe could scarcely make out what he said.

### 14. St. Thomas's Log of Wood from Ceylon

And Linschoten (1584—9), we know, says the Apostle was, while praying in his church, stabbed on the back by some people instigated to do so by the Brahmins of Mylapore who had become his great enemies on account of the conversions resulting from his miraculous hauling ashore of a big log of wood which blocked the mouth of the Mylapore haven. This log appears first in Marignolli's account, 1348. It could not have been the martyred St. Thomas's.

With it he built one church in Mylapore, *himself*, and also another there (or on his Mount?) "by the agency of workmen". The log had been *ordered* by him to go to Mylapore by sea from Ceylon, while he was there. See Section 30 for his companion the Ceylon King Gaspar.

### 15. St. Thomas Martyr in Non-South-Indian Records

Some of the different modes of his death mentioned in documents of Europe and Asia prior to 1498 are noted below:—

1. Heracleon, the Gnostic, of Sicily or Italy, ca. 170—80, says that St. Thomas was no martyr for Christ, as some modern writers interpret his words. But what he says is only that St. Thomas uttered no "holy confession made by the voice before a magistrate". *The Acts*, we know, contradicted Heracleon in the next century, in Edessa, by saying that he did confess before the King, Mazdaï.

2. The *Acts of Thomas*, in Syriac, ca. 210 (Bernhard Piek's translation, Chicago, 1909, pp. 358, 360) says he was martyred by King Mazdaï's four soldiers who "stabbed him (with their weapons). Spears were their weapons as other old Asian documents say, though the *Roman Breviary* says he was pierced with their arrows. Why that change?

3. St. Gaudensius, ca. 402, says he was killed by "unbelieving and perverse men among the Indians". He does not mention the weapon or weapons used to kill him. The Malabar Catholic *Syriac Office* (of unknown date) for the 8 days' *Dukhraana* (=remembrance) of St. Thomas's martyrdom, says he was killed by perverse men, and mentions also "the blood of his neck" (from a neck wound), in addition to wounds similar to Christ's. Was his neck cut or pierced by the priest of the *Passio* with his sword? See No. 4 infra.

4. Latin *Passio Thomae* of ca. 500 has a priest with his sword, as the murderer. This was printed about 1480 A. D. Why this change to priest and sword?

5. Latin *De Miraculis Thomae* of ca. 500 has a priest with a lance. This was printed in 1531 and 1552.

6. St. Isidore of Seville, d. 636, says: "Indeed, being pierced with a lance, he died at Calcutina, a town of India, and was honourably buried there on the 12th before the Kalends of January" (= December 21). This lance is probably that of the priest

in *De Miraculis*, ca. 500 (No. 5 *supra*). Isidore and the author of *De Miraculis* are Europeans.

7. Peter Florus, ca. 830, says he was pierced with a lance. This echoes *De Miraculis* of ca. 500, No. 5 above.

8. The anonymous Syriac manuscript of 874 A. D. in the British Museum, says St. Thomas was killed at Qalimaia (=Calamina) with spears—"berumhe" in Syriac, which some have wrongly translated 'by Brahmins', as Dr. Leveen of the Museum pointed out in 1925. Syriac *rumha* means spear; *be-rumhe* means with spears. These are King Mazdai's soldiers' spears in *The Acts of Asia*. See No. 2 above. The Brahmin or Brahmins of after 1517 in S. Indian versions could not have been derived from this "berumhe" of 874, or from that of other Syriac records. "Berumhe" could not be interpreted by Syriac knowing men as Brahmins.

9. The Greek *Menologium*, 9th century, has murder by soldiers with lance (as in *The Acts of Asia*).

10. Bishop Isidore, of Europe (9th century?, not St. Isidore, d. 636) says he was "pierced with a glaive and died"—an echo of the European Latin *Passio's* sword of ca. 500. See No. 4.

11. Mar Solomon of Basrah's *Book of the Bee*, ca. 1223, mentions a king with his-spear as the murderer (King Mazdai). Why the change from soldiers of the *Acts* to their king?

12. *The Golden Legend*, of 1275, has "the bishop of a temple with his glaive". He is the *Passio's* priest with his sword, No. 4 above. But why the change from the soldiers' spears to the priest's sword or lance in European records?

13. Bar-Hebraeus, born 1226, dead 1286, says "one of the heathens living on that mountain pierced his side with a lance", and martyred St. Thomas. This is the priest with his lance found in *De Miraculis* of ca. 500, and not South India's Pariah with his arrow of Bar-Hebraeus's days, 1226-86. He could get priest-lance from the Friars Preachers from Europe, who were in his days in W. Asia. See SS. 5 and 10.

14. Pseudo-Dorotheus (date unknown) says that the Apostle Thomas was killed (by some one) with a pine-spear (made of wood). (Real Dorotheus lived in ca. 300.) Perhaps this spear is the lance of the priest in *De Miraculis*, No. 5 *supra*, and not a king's spear, or his soldier's spear.

Travancore "St. Thomas" Christians' *Maargam Kali Song* of 1732 gives the priest a pointed rod of wood pulled out of the fire which consumed the Mylapore Kuali goddess's temple as commanded by St. Thomas. This burning of the priest's temple (of the Sun) is found first in the *Passio*. But in it the priest is given a sword with which he transfixes the Apostle.

*(Geddes says that along with the St. Tho. cross, was found in 1547, by the Portuguese, the sword (not lance) with which St. Tho. was killed by the priest.)*

Did not speak or say other than I tell unless it showed up a cross in or inside a church or synagogue



Of the above 14 documents, differing from one another like the St. Thomas pictures and statues venerated today, No. 2, *The Acts*; No. 8, the Syriac MS.; No. 11, Mar Solomon's *Bee*; and No. 13, Bar-Hebraeus's book, are Asian documents; the others are of Europe. And all give the Apostle a martyr's crown. We cannot say how the king's soldiers or the king of the Asian records was changed into the priest by the European writers of about 500 A. D. All these documents, we see, contradict the non-martyrdom accounts of South India's Thomas (1288—1517). Moreover the Nestorian Calendar, the Nestorian and Jacobite Breviaries, the Synaxarium and the Roman Martyrology too contradict the Mylapore Christians' and Pariahs' version of their Thomas's accidental death. See Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, for the statements in these church records of Asia and Europe.

16. *Encyclo. Brit., 1946, Wrong on St. Thomas.*

Rev. Fr. Neil J. Twombly's article 'St Thomas' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says there is "agreement of the South Indian tradition with that of the church of Edessa". In this church's earliest recorded tradition, that in *The Acts*, or ca 330, St. Thomas is a soldiers-spears-killed martyr buried on a mountain. But according to the earliest recorded South Indian tradition, that of 1288 to 1517, its Thomas, claimed by Muslims, is a Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr come from Nubia, and buried on the seashore of Mylapore, Madras. And after 1517

that non-martyr was transformed into another sort of non-martyr, and into several sorts of martyrs, and after 1700 he has been Europe's priest-lance-killed martyr by preference, in S. India. Thus we see that there is no agreement at all in the manner of his death, the most important event, and the one event commemorated by "St. Thomas" Christians and other Christians every year, everywhere.

Fr. Twombly's mistake was pointed out by me to him and to the Editor in Chicago in 1950. The Editor's reply of Sept. 12, 1950 received by air mail on the 18th says that Rev. Father has agreed to change "a high degree" of probability for the Apostle's labours and martyrdom in South India into "a certain degree" of probability. But it is the statement about "agreement" between the traditions that has to be altered into disagreement, as I have informed him and the Editor. South India's alleged Christian St. Thomas, non-martyr *made* martyrs, has never been Edessa's Christian martyr St. Thomas. When will Fr. Twombly's error be corrected? Dr. F. C. Burkitt whose article on St. Thomas in two previous editions, which Fr. Twombly revised, had not postulated any agreement between the Edessene and South Indian traditions.

I have also suggested to the Editor that the following had better be added to the bibliography under Fr. Twombly's 'St. Thomas': (1) Marco Polo's report (1288—93) of the *Pariah-arrow-non-martyrdom* of South India's (Muslim) Thomas, (2) Diogo's sworn statement of 1543 about the *skull*

bones and other bones of that Thomas found in his Mylapore tomb, the present north-south tomb inside the Catholic Cathedral, and (3) the signed Deed of Verification (1566) of the *entire* Ortona skull with "no part missing", of St. Thomas from somewhere (Calamina) in India. For these three are essential documents, and their counter-evidence has been ignored by all writers on St. Thomas of South India.

### 17. Conclusions Against South India

I give below the conclusions against South India's St. Thomases, or against their South Indian tombs (two in Mylapore, which contained two skeletons, both venerated). They were expressed by scholars who have considered also the evidence against South India's *Christians'* claim.

1. Prof. E. J. Rapson, who has written on St. Thomas in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Chapter XXI, said in his letter to me, dated 10th August, 1926, thus, in reply to my letter on South India's St. Thomas, written before I was aware of the significant non-martyrdom accounts of 1288 to 1517. "I have read it" (my letter) "carefully, and my impression is that you have given good reasons for doubting the historical truth of the story of St. Thomas in South India". He had not (like me) considered the fact that South India's Muslim-claimed Thomas had been a Pariah-arrow-non-martyr before 1517 A. D., i. e., before the importation by the Portuguese, into South India of the priest-lance-martyr of *De Miraculis* (printed in 1531 and 1552), and other European records.

2 Sylvain Levi, of Paris, the famous researcher, said in his letter to me dated 29th April 1927, thus:- "you are right in denying any historical value to local legends which have nothing to bring to their support. What is known from early books" (the Syriac *Acts* of ca. 210, and other documents) "points only to North-West India, and no other place, for Saint Thomas' apostolic activity and martyrdom. This is, of course, mere tradition too, no real history".

And we may add that Travancore's alleged 'real history', viz. the Apostle's own Travancore disciple's St. Thomas "*Charitam*" (Biography) covering the period from December 50 to his death on 3rd July, 72 A. D., and 27 days after it, has had *no existence at all* anywhere at any time. And its alleged summary the *Rampaan's Song* "of 1601 A. D.", published in Italian translation in Rome in 1938, for the Pope and others, has not yet been proved genuine or authentic. (See S. 19 *infra*).

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Levi's letter, *supra*, was written after his having read my article on a part of the evidence against South India's claim to the martyred Apostle Thomas, in *The Indian Antiquary*, London, for December, 1926. That article had been prepared before I was aware of the significant Pariah-arrow-non-martyrdom accounts given by Marco Polo, Marignolli, Barbosa, and Diogo from 1288 to 1517. Rapson's and Levi's conclusions were published in my adverse criticism (in the *Young Men of India*

for July 1927) of Dr. J. N. Farquhar's *The Apostle Thomas in South India*, John Rylands Library, Manchester, January 1927.

3. Prof. Jarl Charpentier, Uppsala, in his article 'St. Thomas the Apostle and India', in *Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift*, Uppsala, 1927, pp. 21-41, written after his study of the controversy between Dr. P. J. Thomas of Travancore and myself in *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. LII, LIII and LV (of 1923, 1924, 1926), and in the *Young Men of India*, Calcutta, for 1927 and 1928, and of Dr. Thomas's article in the *Indian Historical Records Commission's*, Vol. V, 1924, and another by him in the *Centenary Supplement* of the Royal Asiatic Society, said in 1927 thus: "There is so far absolutely not the shadow of a proof that an Apostle of our Lord—be his name Thomas or something else—ever visited South India and Ceylon and founded Christian communities there" (pp. 32-33). And on page 46 he adds that "no authentic proofs whatsoever can be found for the South Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas".

If Prof. Charpentier had considered also the facts (1) that prior to 1517 South India's Thomas, now a priest-lance-martyr, was a Pariah-arrow-non-martyr, and (2) that the whole skeleton of his, much worn out, was in 1523 found *in situ*, undisturbed, in that non-martyr's Mylapore tomb still venerated, while, as all records affirm, and all believe, real martyr St. Thomas's bones had been in

the third century translated from India to Edessa, could he not say that all evidence was *against* South India?

4. Prof. K. S. Latourette, the well known church historian, Yale University, U. S. A., says in his letter of 18-10-1952 to me that the evidence *against* South India's claim to the Apostle "is very convincing".

(which persons?)

5. Rome's Vatican City's message of 13-11-1952 to India's Christians ready to celebrate the 19th centenary (A. D. 52 to 1952) of the Apostle Thomas's alleged landing first in Cranganore, Cochin, S. W. India, on "November 21, 52 A.D.", declared "unverified" the South Indian St. Thomas tradition known to H. H. the Pope and others in that City from the Italian translation of the Malayalam St. Thomas *Song* alleged to be of 1601 A. D., and published there in 1938 as a record of reliability hardly assailable ("*dushpradharsha visvaasyala*") as declared in 1916 by Rev. Fr. Bernard, P.O.C.D., Catholic, of Travancore, who published the Malayalam song in that year. The above City's message was in Nov. 1952 published in several newspapers of India. Yet no one has so far proved that the South Indian tradition or the *Song* is true. *Pope accepted the S. Ind. tradition later on. For what reason?*

6. Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J., Director of the Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, W. India, says about his conclusion regarding the Mylapore St. Thomas tombs (two), in his letter to me dated 6-2-1953, that he has "stated

*Handwritten note:* Pope accepted the S. Ind. tradition later on. For what reason?

that many times"—presumably after his book of 1944, *The Two Apostles of India*, Trichinopoly, 1944.

In it he had, like Dr. Farquhar, 1927, relied upon Travancore's *St. Thomas Song* "of 1601 A.D." (not extant before 1892); and brought the Apostle to *South India* from the territory of the Parthian king Gondophares of Taxila and Sirkap, both in the Punjab. That *Song* does locate the Apostle's tomb in Mylapore (unlike Fr. Heras, 1953). It was only after the publication of his *Two Apostles*, 1944, that Rev. Fr. Heras knew from me that the *Song* "of 1601" was unreliable. He had used its Italian translation, Rome, 1938.

x In 1953 Fr. Heras said about the St. Thomas tomb thus: "I am fully convinced that it has never been in Mylapore. I have stated that many times". Where else in *South India* is the Apostle's tomb? Is it any of the other alleged St. Thomas tombs in South India? Where in South India was "Calamina", or his "mountain" tomb? See SS. 21 & 25.

#### 18. St. Thomas Christians' Contentions

All the above conclusions are of non-St.-Thomas Christians. But almost all Christians of St. Thomas are, and cannot but be, in favour of their claim to the priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas accepted by their ancestors only after 1710 A. D.; and they are not willing even to hear of, or explain their previous ancestors' *Pariah-arrow-non-martyr* of 1288 to 1517. They blink also the astounding fact

that after the third century translation of St. Thomas's bones from India, two alleged "St. Thomas" skeletons, either of them with skull bones, were found in the two Mylapore tombs, and both have been venerated in Goa and Mylapore St. Thomas churches since 1522 and 1523. See page 15 *supra* for their unreasonable demand of March 1950 for the St. Thomas skeleton with *entire* skull, venerated in the Ortona St. Thomas Church, Italy, since 1258. The above Goa skeleton appears to be ignored now. Even so there are the two venerated skeletons in Mylapore and Ortona. South India's St. Thomas Christians contend also that since the very moment of his death their ancestors have been saying that St. Thomas was a "priest-lance"-martyr buried in the present *seashore* tomb in Mylapore, Madras.

#### 19. Travancore's St. Thomas Biography of First Century!

The St. Thomas Catholics of South-West India have, as quite reliable evidence for their claim to the Apostle St. Thomas, his Travancore disciple's alleged St. Thomas "*Charitam*" (Biography) covering the period from December 50 to third July, 72 A. D. and 27 days days after it; and (2) the alleged summary of it in the form of a Malayalam *Song* "of 1601 A. D." usually called "Rampaan's Song" (=the monk's song). (See S. 17, 2 *supra*). But no copy of that contemporary Biography has yet been shown to the world; nor has its existence anywhere at any time been proved, though openly challenged by me since 1916. (I am a "St. Thomas" Xtian).

St. Thomas Christians seem to be ready to welcome any number of additions to their recorded St. Thomas traditions of 1288 to the present day, if the fundamental concept of St. Thomas's *preaching and death in their, South India* itself is left intact. They do not mind whether he is a *non-martyr* or a *martyr*, and do not seem to care if they or their ancestors are accused of sins committed for his sake, or if the Saint himself is described in their records as having (like St. Peter in the Gospels) sinned. They will perhaps readily accept his Ceylon log of wood, his three skeletons, his two Mylapore tombs, his footprints on rocks, his dates 52, 68 A.D., &c., his contemporary *Biography* of 72-73 A. D., his waist cord presented to him by St. Mary on her "Assumption" to heaven, his coming to South India along with King Gaspar of Jaffna, his settling the goddess Kkali in the Cranganore temple, his withdrawing his dead hand from Chinese intruders to his tomb in Mylapore, and other things of the kind.

And in 1952 the advocates of the *Song* "of 1601" (not extant before 1892; rejected A. D. 50, the year of the Apostle's landing first from Arabia in *Maalyaankara* in Cochin, and A. D. 72, that of his priest-lance-martyrdom, and arbitrarily put in their place three other items. They are A. D. 52 for landing first in *Cranganore* in Cochin, and A. D. 68 for the martyrdom. It is from this 52 that they have reckoned the completion of 19 centuries down to 1952. They got the above 68 from the Latin inscription of unknown date at the present Mylapore

tomb. How could 68 be more reliable than the Apostle's own disciple's 72 A. D. in his *Biography* and in the Rampaan's summary of it? The above three significant changes in the *Song* have not yet been published in Rome, where its Italian translation was published in 1938, in *Orientalia Xtiama*. p.25

Rev. Fr. Placid, T. O. C. D., D. D., Ph. D., a St. Thomas Catholic of Travancore, has not, in his *St. Thomas* in South India, Trichinopoly, 1940, made any explicit reference to the Rampaan's *Song* of 1601. And even Rev. Fr. Bernard, another Travancore St. Thomas Catholic, who in 1916 certified that *Song* as of "reliability hardly assailable" — (he did not say it was of *un-assailable* reliability) — did not in his *Brief Sketch*, 1924, mention it as evidence. Instead of that he specified the *Veeradiann Song* and *Thomma Purvam* as evidence. These are not the same as the Rampaan's *St. Thomas Song of 1601 A. D.*

## 20. Diverse Dates

In Malabar Christian records, none of which are earlier than the 18th century (except, of course, the never-extant first century *Biography* and the *spurious*, St. Thomas *Song* of 1601), I have found these dates for his arrival in Malabar: A. D. 50, 51, 52, 52-3, 67, 78, and 84 (seven). Some of those records do say that he first landed in *Mylapore!* For his priest-lance-martyrdom Mylapore has 68 A. D. alone; while Malabar has 58, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 78, 82, 90 and perhaps 93—altogether ten or eleven dates!!

## 21. Six St. Thomases in South India

Like the above various dates, and the several modes of martyrdom indicated before, and the three exhumed skeletons of the Apostle, venerated in the St. Thomas churches in Ortoña, Goa and Mylapore since 1258, 1522 and 1523, there are the following St. Thomases in South India:—

1) The non-martyr Thomas in the North-South tomb inside the Mylapore Cathedral, which is the same as the tomb mentioned *first* by Marco Polo, and then by several others, but not by any before M. Polo.

2) St. Thomas in the other Mylapore tomb, now ignored, which contained the full skeleton sent to Goa with a report in 1523, and venerated there. See Yule's Marco Polo II, 1903, p. 358.

3) St. Thomas on an island south or southwest of Cochin, to which island Alvares Cabral's ship was driven from Cochin (after his arrival in Calicut on 22nd Sept. 1500) by a north wind. On that island "the body of St. Thomas rests. The chief of the Island received the Christians" (Portuguese) "very honourably and gave to ours relics of the holy body in token of friendship". See W. Germann in *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, 1877, pp. 272—3, quoting *Novus Orbis*, p. 95, and referring to Raulin, 385.

(Two mummified St. Thomas bodies are known, both in Iraq: (a) the undecayed body of "St. Thomas" (in Edessa?) described at the Pope's court by Mar

John III., Patriarch of "the Indies", in ca. 1192; (b) the body of "St. Thomas" (in Edessa?) described in his book by Bishop Eschilinus (*floruit* 1370 A.D.), as Raulin says in his *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae*, Romae, 1745, p. 377. For (a) see *Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. II-V (1886), and V-VIII (1889), *Catalo. Cod. Hagio.* I, 1 and 2.)

4) St. Thomas buried with a priest of his in the big tomb in the southern court yard of the pre-Portuguese Syrian Church of the "Tarisaa" Christians in Tiruvaancode in South Travancore, reputed to be the "half-church" included in the list of St. Thomas's 7½ churches in Malabar, i. e., S. W. India. Really that tomb is that of a recent priest of the reputed Konaat family in N. Travancore.

5) St. Thomas, non-martyr, buried in the Siva temple in Malayaattoor by his Christians come from Ankamaali. Both these places are in North Travancore. He was hidden at night inside that temple by those Christians to save him from the Mylapore king's wrath. But the "priest" of the temple, on opening it in the morning saw him in the sanctuary, and killed him by throwing a flat metal stirrer ("*chattukam*") at the non-Brahmin intruder in strange attire. See the Malayalam *Maatru Bhoomi* Weekly of March 29, 1953, Calicut, (Kozhikode), S. W. India, where the above Ankamaali Christian tradition about this non-martyr is published.

6) St. Thomas in Kalayamuthoor, near the Palm Hills, and west of Madura, in the Tamil region of South India. A Travancore Hindu researcher (Mr. A. Balakrishna Pillai, B. A., B. L.) recently identified Calamina, the Apostle's burial place, with that Kalayamuthur. For Calaminas see my article 'Kalamina and Kala of India, ca. 650 A. D.' in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. 28, 1950, part 3, No 84.

There is also St. Thomas, martyr in his tomb on the mountain in King Mazdai's territory. He is the earliest mentioned St. Thomas (ca. 210, in the Syriac *Acts*) Which of the above seven or where else, is the Apostle St. Thomas?

### 22. St. Thomas in Four Continents

There are documents which take St. Thomas to many places (from Edessa to China) in Asia, and to Socotra, Ceylon, Malacca, and Japan. Some take him to Nubia and Ethiopia, and even to Germany. Emmanuel Nobrega, 1552, locates him in Brazil, S. America!

### 23. South India's Evidence for St. Thomas

Almost all St. Thomas Christians now contend repeatedly that he did come to Malabar in 52 A. D., and lies buried in the present Mylapore San Thome Cathedral tomb in the north-south direction, having been martyred in 68 A. D., whatever the counter-evidence and the Muslim claim to him, and the self-contradictions, anomalies, incongruities, and sins involved may be.

Here is their evidence for their new-fangled priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas of after 1517, in the Mylapore Cathedral tomb. Five items of evidence were given in the published Pastoral Letter of 12—12—1951, issued by the Malabar Catholic Archbishops and Bishops (14 in all), and read out in their churches. They are:—

- 1) history,
- 2) tradition,
- 3) monuments,
- 4) belief of even non-Christians in Malabar,
- and 5) pilgrimage to his Mylapore tomb.

1) As for item No 1, their earliest history is the alleged contemporary St. Thomas "*Biography* by his own Travancore disciple". But no copy of it has yet been shown to the world, nor has its existence been proved. Its alleged summary the *Song* "of 1601 A. D." (not extant before 1892) tampered with in 1952 (see p. 30) has not been proved genuine or authentic. And later documents tell us since Marco Polo that from 1288 to 1517 "St. Thomas" of South India was a non-martyr, quite unlike the Apostle.

2) Tradition! South Indian St. Thomas tradition is not found recorded before Marco Polo, 1288-93. And Vatican City's message of 13-11-1952 has declared the known South Indian tradition "*unverified*". And not even the above Pastoral Letter of 12—12—1951 has proved that tradition, or the Rampan's *Song* "of 1601", or the belief (No. 4 above) true.

3) The monuments are St. Thomas's 7½ churches with 8 wooden crosses, in Malabar (or 4½, or 7 as some documents say), the two Mylapore tombs, the two Mylapore St. Thomas skeletons, &c. But none of these have been proved to be St. Thomas's, or to be even of the 12th century.

Elephantiasis, Cochin leg, also called St. Thomas foot, caused by his curse in Cochin; his footprints on several rocks; the redness of the soil of the San Thome region, due to his blood; the goddess Kaali settled by him, and still worshipped, in the Hindu temple in Cranganore, Cochin; the Pahlavi-inscribed Mount Cross on St. Thomas Mount, Madras; the very names St. Thomas Mount and St. Thomas Christians, and several others are other St. Thomas monuments!

The name "St. Thomas" Christians for those in South India is not on record before the 14th century; and St. Thomas Mount, St. Thomas cross (the Pahlavi-inscribed cross dug up in 1547), and San Thome are names given by the Portuguese after 1498. About the name Betumah see S. 24, 4 *infra*, p. 40.

4) Belief is no evidence unless it is proved to be based on facts. South India's belief from 1288 to 1517 was that its "St. Thomas" was a Pariah-arrow-non-martyr. But now its belief is that he was an "Empraan-soolam" (priest-lance) - killed martyr! Why that *sin* of self-contradiction for St. Thomas's sake? To him also are attributed by them several sins! See 30 below.

Western and Eastern Christians believe, on adequate evidence since at latest St. Ephrem, ca. 363, and Malabar now believes, that the Apostle's bones, including the *entire* skull (as certified in Ortona in 1566) were taken away from India. Whose then are the two skeletons, each with skull-bones, taken out from the two Mylapore tombs, and alleged to be St. Thomas's, and venerated in Goa and Mylapore since 1522 & 1523?

For South India's belief to the contrary in the Portuguese period after 1498 see 24, 2 *infra*.

5) There is no evidence for pilgrimages before the 13th century to either of the two Mylapore tombs, or to any of the other alleged St. Thomas tombs in South India.

The pilgrim Theodore, 6th century, reported to Gregory of Tours in France (who died in 594) his visit to "the place in India where St. Thomas first rested", (i. e. where he was first buried in India) and the monastery and the grand church there. Some years later St. Isidore of Seville in Spain recorded the name of the place of the Apostle's burial as Calamina in the furthest eastern part of the land of the Parthians and the Medes. This could not be Mylapore in South-East India. Theodore's visit of the 6th century could have been to that Calamina, probably Kalawan near Taxila, the capital of Gondophares converted by St. Thomas. This capital is named Elioforum in the Latin *Passio Thomae* of ca. 500 A. D. Elioforum may be



from the Prakrit form of *silaapuram*, the latter half of Taxila's Sanskrit name Taksha-silaapuram.

Did King Alfred's men, in 883, with "alms for St. Thomas in India", visit our India at all? The offering was not for the St. Thomas Christians, nor for his tomb in "Calamina". It could be offered at any shrine in Italy where there were St. Thomas relics, e. g. in Brescia, Nola, or Milan. See Dr. Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, for the relics there. Or it could very well be offered at the Edessa church where his bones were; or at his empty tomb in Calamina in Parthian India, e., N. W. India.

For a sermon preached in 402 at the new church of Edessa, wherein the Apostle's bones from India had been placed on 22nd August, 394 A. D., says: "the relics of St. Thomas had gone round the world" (since 232—3, 378—88, and 394, the dates of three transfers of the bones) "and every corner of the earth holds a part of St. Thomas. He has filled every place, and in each place he subsists entire"—perhaps even in Pope Damasus I.'s (366—84) St. Thomas shrine in Rome, which King Alfred's men must have visited with the "alms for St. Peter."

### 24. The Muslim Claim of 1288—93

In favour of the Muslim's claim of Marco Polo's days (1288—93) to the 'Saracen hawariyan and Prophet of their own', buried in Ma'abar (i. e., in Mylapore), are the following points:—

1) The saint was a Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr, "Prophet" quite unlike St. Thomas.

2) The saint's bones from the skull downwards were found *in situ*, undisturbed, in the present tomb, when it was opened in 1523.

And according to the Loma MS., Goa, 31, fols. 29 r-v, or 23 r-v, the South Indian tradition about the Mylapore (*non-martyr*) Thomas from Nubia (where the Apostle was never located before Marco Polo's report) Thomas, Muslim-claimed, was this: "his treasurer and his disciples.....came to him and took and placed him" (wounded with the Pariah's arrow) "in the chapel which he had made". ..... "Thence, say and swear ('*se affirmas*' is the original) those of the country, his relics were never taken or disturbed except in the manner I have already said above".—i. e., by the excavators of 1523. This definite affirmation by South-East India does not apply to the Apostle's bones, we are sure.

3) His Mylapore tomb inside the San Thome' Cathedral is in the regular South Indian Muslim tombs' *North-South* direction, with the head in the *North*, quite unlike the East-West tombs of the Jews or Eastern Christians, and unlike Hindu burials with the head in the south.

4) Syriac Thoma or Thama was used by Muslims also as a name in the Arabic forms Thuma and Thawwama. (See also pp. 2—3 *supra*).

What about Betumah, interpreted as 'house of Thuma', St. Thomas, and identified by St. Thomas Christians with Mylapore? But it could equally be the house of the Muslim Thuma or Thawwama, a non-martyr, of 1288 or even before and after the Prophet Muhammad's days (622—32) of preaching Islam. Betumah is mentioned by the Arab Sulaiman in 851 as a place somewhere east of Comorin. Col. Gerini located it at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, and east of Singapore, at *Tamus*, which the Malays call Tamasak. See his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. I, London, 1909, p. 139.

The non-martyr from Nubia (see 1 above) was called a Prophet by Muslims, though less important than Muhammad Nabi. Why, Tippu Sultan, in 1788, claimed to be a Prophet ("Paighambar") because he forcibly made Muslims of many Hindus and Christians in S. W. India.

### 25. Burials in Calamina, Qantaria, and Iotha

The earliest specific mention of St. Thomas the martyr's burial place in India seems to be by St. Isidore of Seville, in Spain, d. 636 A. D. In his *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* he says: "Therefore this Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes, up to the furthest eastern part, and there preached the gospel, and suffered martyrdom. Indeed, being pierced with a lance, he died at Calamina, a town of India, and was honourably buried there on the 12th before the Kalends of January" (i. e., on 21st December).

1) Calamina of India, where he was martyred and buried, in the easternmost part of (the land of) the Parthians and the Medes cannot be in South India. The Syriac *Acts* said in ca. 210 that he was martyred and buried in a mountain tomb in King Mazdai's territory, which was near that of his convert, King Gundaphar identified now with the Parthian King Gudaphara (Greek Goudophares, A. D. 19 to 55) of Taxila and Sirkap (new capital of his) in the Punjab, N. W. India. *The Acts* says also that in Mazdai's lifetime itself the martyr's bones were removed "to the west, secretly", probably by Gundaphar and other St. Thomas Christians, because they had reason to fear that the bones were not safe in the territory of Mazdai who had him killed by his soldiers. Calamina is, probably, this second locality where King Gundaphar and other St. Thomas Christians of the Taxila-Sirkap region deposited the Apostle's bones, in a tomb, secretly. And there is *Kalawan* near Taxila.

2) The Ethiopic version of *The Acts of Thomas* gives the name of the place of burial as Qantaria. This can be a form of Gandhara. The ancient Indian kingdom of Gandhara "included both Afghanistan and.....the North-West Frontier Province with the city of Taxila" (Takshasila). This was previously the Parthian Goudophares's city, with *Kala-ka-Serai* as its suburb.

*Passio Thomae* of ca. 500, i. e. of the traveller Cosmas's days, calls the city Elioforum. This may

be a Latin corruption of the latter half of the Taxilan Prakrit form of the Sankrit name Takshasilapuram. *Passio* mentions also Christians then in St. Thomas's Sandaruk in Baluchistan.

3) Iotha too is mentioned as the burial place of St. Thomas in "Codex Fuldensis, the famous MS. of the Latin Diatessaron, written for, and corrected by Victor, Bishop of Capua, in 546 A. D.", which "has a list of where the Apostles are buried. The entry for Thomas is THOMAS-IN INDIA-CIVITATE IOTHABIS". This Iotha (nominative) is a mistake for IORHA, i. e., Urha the Syriac name of Edessa, modern Urfa in N Mesopotamia, which country was a portion of ancient pseudo-India extending from N. E. Africa to N. W. India. Urfa (Urha), we know, was the place where his bones from (Calamina in) India were deposited in or shortly after 232—3 A. D.

And King Alfred's alms of 883 could be offered to his bones in Edessa, Urfa, to the entire satisfaction of the King and the Apostle as pointed out already on p. 38. Rev. Fr. Hosten, S. J., has interpreted IOTHA as SOSHA, i. e. Chola, Coromandel! But was there in 883 even the *non-martyr Muslim's* tomb there?

## 26. Earliest (1st Century?) Christians in South India

Cosmas, ca. 525, mentions Christians in "Male" (two syllables), viz. *Malci-naadu*, S. W. India, (and in Ceylon); and he was unaware of Christians be-

yond Ceylon "in Inner India". But we have yet no document (except certain Hindu records, *infra* S. 27) which speaks of Christians, indigenous or foreign, in Malabar, in any of the previous centuries.

Pantaenus (189—90 A. D.) came, not to our India, but to "Citerior India adherent to Ethiopia" as Rufinus, 4th century (c. 368), says. That "India", as Dr. Mingana affirms, was Arabia Felix, one of the several pseudo-Indias of ancient days. See his *Early Spread--in India*, 1926. Mar John was Bishop of "Pares" (Fars or Persia) and Great India", 325 A. D. But Dr. Mingana says that Great India was Ethiopia and Arabia Felix combined.

There are fourteen persons from St. Bartholomew (ca. 50) to Monk Abraham of Kashkar (6th century), whom documents connect with India. But most of those fourteen relate to *pseudo-Indias*; and the Indias of the others are uncertain. See my Malayalam book on the *Propagation of Christianity in India in the Early Centuries*, Malayalam C. L. S., Tiruvalla, Travancore, 1950, pp. 81—82, and Dr. Mingana's *Early Spread--in India*, 1926.

Now, the Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles*, "not much later than A. D. 250" (*apud* Dr. Mingana), says: "And after the death of the Apostles there were Guides and Rulers in the Churches,..... They again at their deaths also committed and delivered to their disciples after them.....also what James had written from Jerusalem,.....and Judas Thomas had from India, that the epistles of an Apostle might be received and read in the churches, in every place."

"India and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostle's Hand of Priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was Guide and Ruler in the Church which he built there and ministered there". *Vide Dr. Mingana's Early Spread — in India.* This Edessene *Doctrine* is also called the Edessene Canons, or the Canons of Addai.

This Syriac work of ca. 260 repeats what the Syriac *Acts* of ca. 210 said about St. Thomas's church (Christian congregation), which he had founded in "all India" (as *The Acts* says, ch. 7) and guided and ruled until his "soldiers-pears-martyrdom". That church was in the two territories of Gundaphar and Mazdai, close to each other, in Parthian India, i. e. in N. W. India.

The *Doctrine* gives also three new pieces of information: viz. (1) that St. Thomas wrote from India a letter or letters; (2) that what he had written was accepted and read in the churches (of Edessa, and other places, probably), like St. Luke's Acts of the Apostles; and (3) that "India and", i. e., including, all its own countries received "the hand of priesthood", i. e., Apostolic succession, from St. Thomas (who preached and was martyred in one corner of "India"). He also *baptized* the Christians there; but not those in the bordering countries.

The *Doctrine's* "India" is probably the Indus region, original India, where St. Thomas preached and himself appointed "guide and rulers" to succeed

him. The countries "*bordering on*" that Indus region did not receive the gospel direct from him, but only the hand of priesthood, Apostolic succession, indirectly, after his death. See S. 33 below.

Was South-West India included among the countries "*bordering on*" St. Thomas's own field, Indusian India? There is no evidence to show that in ca. 260 there were Christians in this corner of India. If at all the author of the *Doctrine*, ca. 260, meant that they were here in his days, what he says is only that South-West Indian Christians' "guides and rulers" had Apostolic succession from St. Thomas (indirectly), and not that he preached and founded a church in S. W. India (as he had done in Gundaphar-Mazdai's Parthian N. W. India)

And it was not impossible for St. Thomas Christians, and a "guide and ruler" from Gundaphar's and Mazdai's Indus region to come to S. W. India even in the first century, say, after the Kushan invaders defeated and drove away the Parthian King Gondophares and other St. Thomas Christians southwards, and in other directions, in about 60 A. D. *or even soon after the martyrdom in 30 A. D. (a possible date - 32 A. D.)*  
To the author of the Syriac *Doctrine* "the farthest sea" was probably the sea laving South Arabia. For according to St. Mathew's Gospel, Jesus, as a man, an untravelled Jew (see note below), said that the Queen of Sheba, i. e., of Arabia Felix, had gone to Solomon "from the very ends of the earth". Ignatius of Antioch, St. Mathew's contem-

porary, martyred under Trajan (A. D. 98—117) mentioned in his letter to the Ephesians, 3—4, "bishops established in their seats to the end of the earth", probably the end of the Roman world.

Was the *Doctrine's* India of ca. 260 the pseudo-India extending from Egypt and Ethiopia to the Indus region, or the whole of Ptolemy's "India intra Gangem" plus his "India extra Gangem" (ca. 150)? Was its "farthest sea" the China Sea, or the Bay of Bengal, or the Atlantic Ocean, or the Caspian Sea? For pseudo-Indias see my article 'India a Continuation of Egypt and Ethiopia' in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 26, Trivandrum, 1948, and my 'Constantine and Indias' in its Vol. 28, 1950.

(Note:— Was Jesus confined to the Galilee-Jerusalem region alone? The Russian traveller Notovitch's book of 1887 (in French?), on St. Issa, translated into English and published in New York, 1890, and in London later on, gives details of "Issa's" (=Jesus') alleged travels since the age of 13, through Sind and North India, and his teaching and preaching since his 20th year in Sanskrit and Pali, there, and preaching on his way back in Persia too, against the idolatry of both lands, and of his persecution by the priests of those regions. Notovitch got these particulars indirectly through an interpreter from the chief Lama of Himis monastery in Ladak, west of Tibet, who read out the relevant passages from two manuscripts containing Tibetan translations of about 200 A. D. or before, from first century Pali scrolls. These were Pali

translations of reports about Issa's first 12 years, and His subsequent sojourn in Sind, India and Persia and return to Palestine, and crucifixion.

The reporters were "foreign merchants in the Indian bazars". Hindus and Buddhists now make much of the above Himis documents, and say that the partisans of Jesus had every reason to omit from their talk and writings His study of Hinduism and Buddhism, his persecution by the Indian and Persian priests, and such other unfavourable details.

And two books by F. Lewis and one by Fr. Dolon say that Jesus as a boy, and thereafter as a youth, sojourned respectively in Priddy and Somerset in the south of England. And there is in Srinagar, Kashmir, a Muslim Issa's tomb venerated as Jesus Christ's!!)

## 27. Malabar Christian King, 317 to ? 346 A. D.

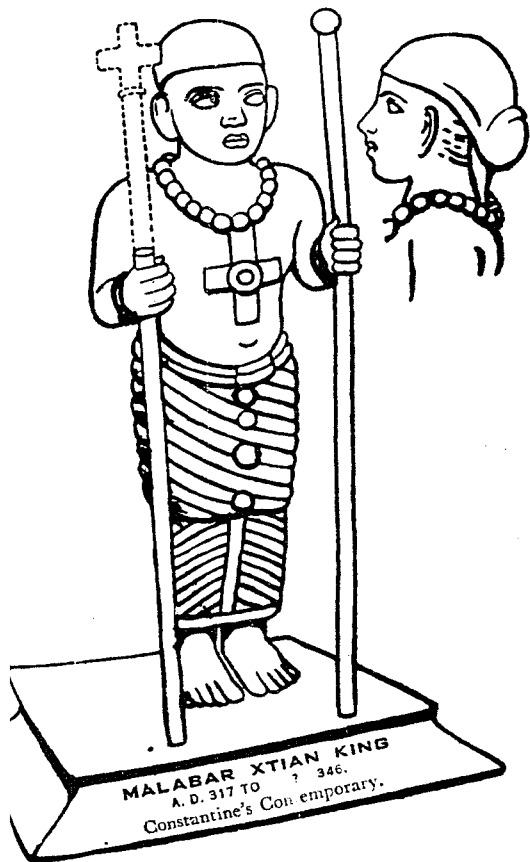
*Vide* my article 'An Indian Christian Date. A. D. 317, from Hindu Documents' in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 26, 1948 for the Malabar king Pallivanaavar. In three Hindu documents of Cochin in S. W. India there was discovered in 1940 by the Hindu curator of the Cochin Palace records, the chronogram "*ravaravam devaraajyam*" denoting the Kali day (=14th February, 317 A. D.) on which "one or two Bauddhas (non-Hindus) came from Baghdad in a foreign land, landed at Mahodevar (Makotai in Tamil, like the cities Mahosa in Cappadocia, and elsewhere), proceeded to Cranganore

(the capital), and made known to the king their *saashtra* (doctrine), and that king being converted, insisted that all should adopt this *saashtra*".

The above is only one of the several Hindu chronograms about important ancient events of Malabar Hindus, preserved in their memory and documents. It means that "*devaraajyam*", the "Kingdom of God" (preached by those foreigners) is "*rauravam*", the worst hell of the Hindus, or O God! the kingdom has become *rauravam* (owing to the king's conversion).

He is known as Pallivaanavar, which means one who resided in a "*palli*", a non-Hindu shrine, such as a Buddhist vihaara, or a Christian church, or a Muslim mosque, or a Jewish synagogue. His real name is not known. Perhaps it was Neelan a short form of Siva's name Neelakantha. His "*palli*" was probably a Christian church at Neelan-peroor *infra*.

In the village called Neelan-peroor (= Neelan's great village), near Kottayam in Central Travancore, the *Hindus* still piously preserve his burial place inside a building just *outside* their temple premises. About 1888 the tomb was opened, and in it was found a small bronze statuette (7.5 inches tall) of the convert, with a conspicuous Greek cross on his chest. Photos of the statuette (taken for me in 1929) were published by me in (1) my *Malabar Christians* (English), 1929; (2) *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 3, Trivandrum, 1930; (3) the *Bulletin*



of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, Washington, America, July, 1933; and its pictures (4) in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 28, 1940, in my article 'Christian and Non-Christian Crosses in Ancient India', p. 122; and (5) in my Malayalam book the *Propagation of Christianity in India*, C. L. S., Tiruvalla, 1950. For information on the cross-wearing king and his tomb see *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 3, 1930, and Series 6, 1930. The cross-wearing Pallivaanavar's tomb & statuette have always been in Hindu custody, and the latter is now in the custody of the superintendent of Hindu temples in Kottayam in Central Travancore, S. W. India.

The ancient Palli-Vaanavar crosses at his burial place in Neelan-peroor are six in number. (1) The cross in relief on the chest of the bronze statuette dug up in about 1888. See its picture opposite p. 48. (2) The granite cross set up at one end of the underground granite slab or pavement over his remains in his grave in the 3-storied cross-shaped building in ruins by about 1888. (3) That building itself, which stood till about 1888. (4) A cross sculptured on the above slab in No. 2. (5) The cross on the chest of the granite statue of Palli-Vaanavar, thrown away by the Hindus into a tank close by. (6) The cross at the tip of the staff in his right hand. This was broken off while digging into the grave at night for supposed treasure about 1888, or purposely removed later on.

Nos. 2 to 6 are not to be seen now. No. 4 may be discovered on further excavation. Nos. 2 and 3 (both of granite) may be recovered hereafter. Only No. 1 can be seen now. See op. p. 48.

I see no reason why historians should reject all the above crosses, the chronogram, or the tomb, or the statuette as spurious, or non-existent. In fact since the publication in the period 1929—1950 of the above articles, photos, and pictures by a Hindu, Mr. Panikkar of Neelan-peroor, and myself, and Dr. K. C. Cheriyan of Neelan-peroor, no historian has raised his voice against the genuineness of any of the three. So we may believe that in the fourth century, in Pallivaanavar's days (317 to perhaps 346) there were Christians in Travancore-Cochin, S. W. India, i. e., 200 years before the monk Cosmas Indikopleustes, ca. 525.

Were the preachers, termed "*Para-desis*" (foreigners), really Bar-desanites, or were they Arians? Arius's heretical propaganda began in ca. 313 A.D. in Constantine's reign, 306—337. That emperor was an Arian, and we may suppose that the "one or two" foreign missionaries of 317 A.D. with his letter to king Pallivaanavar of Coc

Perhaps Manichaeans, Bardesanite, and Arian missionaries came to S. W. India too period between Pallivaanavar's days and Quilon, Travancore, there are many Manigraamakkaar, said to be long ago, but reconverted by

Vaachakar, supposed to have been a Manichaeans sorcerer. But the names Manigraamakkaar and Manichaeans are not related at all. The former is probably a corrupt form of Malayalam *Vanigraaymakkaar*, which means those having the Tamil or Malayalam title *Vanig-raaya* (Sanskrit *Vanig-raaja*) which means merchant prince. For the Manichaeans Mar Ammo & Adda, near, and in, the Indus region in 265—317 A. D. see pages 31—33 of my article 'An Indian Christian Date, A.D. 317' in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 26, 1948. From there Manichaeans could come down to Malabar.

After Casinas of 520—25, a sure mention of Christians in S. W. India is in the two famous sets of copper-plate charters of about 873, originally belonging to the "Tarisa" Christian church built by the merchant Maruvaan Sabr-Iso, probably a Persian, in Quilon in Travancore. From the year of his reconstruction of Quilon harbour or city, destroyed some three years before, and the Quilon king's construction of a new temple in Quilon, the Quilon era began to be counted from 825 A. D.

**Early Christians in N. W. India before 900 A. D.**

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Perhaps Manichaean, Bardesanite, and Nestorian missionaries came to S. W. India too in the period between Pallivaanavar and Cosmas. In Quilon, Travancore, there are now Hindus called Manigraamakkaar, said to have been Christians long ago, but reconverted by one called Maanikka-

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## 28. Early Christians in N. W. India before 900 A. D.

St. Thomas's converts (of, say, 32 A. D.) in Sandaruk, probably "Ale-Xandria among the Oritae" in Baluchistan, and his converts the kings Gudnaphar, Gad, and Mazdai (of, say, 33 A. D.) and others, all in Parthian Punjab, are mentioned in the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, ca. 210. And history

tells us that in about 60 A. D. King Gudnapha (Gondo-phares) & others were driven away southwards and elsewhere by the Kushan invaders from the west. Bardaisan's *Syriac Book of Fate* or *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, ca. 196 A. D., mentions Christians among the *Kaishanaye* (Syriac word), the Kushans, probably among those in N.W. India too, and also elsewhere in India after the Kushan inroad.

Bardaisan, ca. 196, does not mention in his *Book* the customs among the Indian Christian converts there. Were there no such Indians then in N. W. India or elsewhere in the Kushan empire? Possibly there were indigenous Indian Christians there in ca. 196, & he did not have information about them or their non-Hindu or non-Buddhist manners and customs. Or, probably, he could not distinguish those he had himself seen in his Edessa from the Parthians or Persians, whose mode of dress Indians of N. W. India had long before adopted, and whose complexion too those Indians had, as attested by early writers.

Megasthenes, for instance, mentions some North Indians' "muslin robes and turban." See Strabo XV, 58. Arrian, ca. 150 A. D., says "The dress worn by the Indians" (having "the darkness of the Indian complexion", as he says) "is made of cotton, as Nearchos tells us,.....They wear an under garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down the ankles, and also an upper

garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round the head". See his *Indika*, XVI, Part I, based chiefly on Megasthenes (300 B. C.), and Eratosthenes (ca. 267—ca. 194 B. C.). The *Syriac Acts*, ca. 210 A. D., mentions the 'maapra' (translated 'turban') of Karish's servant in Mazdai's kingdom in N. W. India. It mentions also the "chair" on which St. Thomas was sitting.

The *Syriac Doctrine*, ca. 260 (see p. 43 supra) mentions converts by St. Thomas, and later Christians all with Apostolic succession from him, existing in "India and all its own countries" (probably in the Gundaphar-Mazdai region of St. Thomas's days), and later ones in the countries "bordering on it even to the farthest sea", probably the sea of South India or the sea washing South Arabia

(Then comes a blank period of about 3 centuries. For Pantaeus and others and their Indias see p. 43 & ss. 26, 29.)

In Cosmas's days, 520—5, there were Christians in the White Hun empire of Mibiragula (510—540?) in which was Taxila of Gundaphar. Cosmas called the former Gollae in his Greek. And in 420, 424, 424, and 486—97 there were Bishops in Baluchistan, Seistan, Khurasan, and Herat respectively; and later in 544, 576 & 585 also in Baluchistan and Afghanistan. See Mingam's *Early Spread—in Central Asia and in India*, 1925 and 1926 for these bishoprics very near N. W. India.

"It was not until the fifth century that bishops of Rome began their outrageous claims to the supremacy of the whole church", says Canon W. P. Hares in *The Church of Rome in India*, 3rd edn., p. 368. And the European *Passio* written between 450 and 550 says of "Andranopolis", i. e., Sandaruk of *The Acts*, ca. 210, west of N. W. India, probably Alexandria in Baluchistan (see *supra* for its Bishops from 420 A. D.), that "there is there the see of Thomas the Apostle and the Catholic faith to the present day" (ca. 500 A. D.), i. e., the Nicæan faith of 325 A. D.

[Note:— The name Alexandria appears in India as *Samtra*, almost the first half of *Sandaruk*. About Paulisa Siddhanta summarised by the Indian Varaha Mihira, the astronomer (ca. 550, a contemporary of Aryabhata, born 476, and of Cosmas, ca. 525, and also of the author of *Passio Thomæ*, *supra*, between 450 and 550 A. D.) Albiruni (I, 153) says: "Paulisa-Siddhanta, so called from Paulisa" (Paulos) "the Greek, from the city of Samtra, which I suppose to be Alexandria" (in Egypt). Yes, Samtra is Alek-samtria.

In North Indian Prakrit Alexander has become Alasanda; in Scottish Sandy. In Malayalam of S. W. India's St. Thomas Christians it has become Okkaanda, & Chaandy, and Aalak (the fist part Alex); and Alexandra (feminine) has become Kaanda. No wonder therefore if Alexandria (Greek Alexander-oikos, or oikia) became Sandaruk in the language of Baluchistan by the date of the

Syriac *Acts*, ca. 210 A. D. Varaha Mihira summarised *Romaka*, (i. e., Roman) Siddanta also in ca. 550 A. D.]

For Theodore's visit, 6th century, to "the place in India where St. Thomas first rested" (in N. W. India), see *ante*, p. 37. It is possible that then there were Christians there and a Bishop too.

In the next century, in about 635 there was in India "a special Metropolitan see with some six to twelve suffragan bishops", as Dr. Mingana says in his *Early Spread—in India*, p. 64. Probably one Bishop was in Kalliana (Kalyan near Bombay) where Cosmas, ca. 525, located a Persian Bishop. Where the other sees were we do not know.

After King Alfred's envoys' visit to some St. Thomas shrine (in Italy or Asia?) there was, in 893, a Metropolitan in Gandispur, modern Shabad in the Punjab. *Vide Rev. Stewart's Nestorian Missionary Enterprise*, 1929, pp. 93—4, and map at its end.

## 29. India of Bartholomew-Pantaenus, 190 A. D.

Our new *History of the Indian People and Culture*, Vol. 2, says on p. 628 that though the St. Thomas-Gudnaphar "legend—cannot be traced earlier than the third century. A. D.", "it may be admitted that Christian missionaries visited India, and small Christian communities were established there before the end of the second century A. D."

The ground for the above admission is given in a foot-note, p. 629, thus: "Eusebius (third century A. D.) says that Pantaenus (second century A. D.) who went to India to preach Christianity, found that the gospel had already been introduced there and some Indians had embraced Christianity. (*Ancient India*, pp. 214—15)".

It may be noted that just as the visit of St. Thomas (in, say, 32 A. D.) cannot be traced earlier than ca. 210, those of St. Bartholomew (in, say, 32 A. D.), & St. Pantaenus (in 189—90) cannot be traced before Eusebius, ca. 325 (not "third century"). All the three are therefore in the same predicament.

Now, we know that in the Greek author Eusebius's days (Bishop, 315—40) the Latin author of *Itinerarium Alexandri*, 345 A. D., said that "India, taken as a whole—is a continuation of Egypt and the Ethiopians". Yes, it included Ethiopia, Arabia and other pseudo-Indias west of India proper, then distinguished as "India Orientalis, India of the Brahmins, or India in the confines of the world". And the Latin author Rufinus, ca. 360, says that "Citerior India adherent to it" (Ethiopia) "is said to have fallen to Bartholomew" (by lot). This "citerior India" near, or adhering to Ethiopia cannot be a part of our India proper. And history tells us that in Rufinus' days citerior Arabia, Arabia Felix, was politically adherent to Ethiopia, it being under the Ethiopian king.

Dr. Mingana, in his *Early Spread—in India*, 1926, says that "It will be a matter of surprise if any responsible author will ever mention in the future Pantaenus in connection with India proper." See also my article 'The Citerior India of Rufinus' in *The Journal of India History* for August 1944, and 'India a Continuation of Egypt and Ethiopia' in the same *Journal*, August 1948, ending a controversy on Pantaenus's India.

"Citerior India" for Bartholomew is found in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* also, as in other European records. But pseudo-Sophronius, 7th century, and the Constantinopolitan tradition recorded in the Greek *Menology* of the 10th century have respectively the *Happy Indians* and *India Felix*, i. e. Happy India, Arabia Felix, a pseudo-India.

### 30. Is Everything in the Acts, ca. 210, Unreliable?

The Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, ca. 210, is by some South Indian Christian authors and others elsewhere rejected as unreliable heretical romance, or legend, or fiction, while some among them regard certain names and other details in it as historical and reliable. In fact *The Acts* is the only one among the earliest records, that assigns "India" to St. Thomas. If that is discarded as false fiction in every detail, "Parthia" assigned to the 'Apostle in the two other earliest documents, viz. *The Clementine Recognitions* of ca. 210, and Origen's

*Commentary on Genesis*, ca. 235—6, both non-Asian, has to be accepted as the real field of preaching and martyrdom of St. Thomas. That excludes South India, which was never in Parthia. But Parthia of St. Thomas's days, ca. 32—33 A.D., did include his Parthian contemporary King Gundaphar's (Gondophares's, Vindapharna's) N. W. India, now in W. Pakistan.

Historians have identified with the Indo-Parthian king Gudaphara, 19 to ca. 55 A. D., the Indian king Gudnaphar or Gundaphar of *The Acts*. And his brother Gad of *The Acts* is, they say, Gadana or Guda named in coin legends as a near relative of Gudaphara. So Gudnaphar, and Gad, and St. Thomas and their India are reasonably four reliable names in *The Acts*, an Edessene work of ca. 210, though it contains Gnostic doctrines, and miracles.

There is then King Mazdaï, of India, in *The Acts*. His soldiers killed St. Thomas. No king of that name, ruling in any part of ancient India in St. Thomas's days has yet been discovered. Besides, it is a "regular Old-Persian name", and no Persian or Parthian reigned in South-East or South-West India, the two regions assigned by South Indians to "St. Thomas", the non-martyr of 1288 to 1517, deliberately made a priest-lance-martyr after 1517, without their proving that from "A. D. 68 or 72" to 1288 A. D. their ancestors' "St. Thomas" had been the same as their present priest-lance-martyr.

The *Doctrine*, ca. 260, mentions (see p. 43) St. Thomas's letter or letters from India read in a church (probably in Edessa) or in churches. So the tradition there must have been based on what he had written about his work in Sandaruk & India of Gudnaphar, Gad & Mazdaï, even till it was recorded (in the first century perhaps) in the original non-Gnostic *Acts of Thomas*. Karl Schmidt says that such a non-heretical original *Acts of Thomas* must have existed, as in the case of certain other apocryphal *Acts*. See Medlycott's *India and.....Thomas*, 1905, pp. X, XI. That original must have been read in Edessa and perhaps in Fars, Sandaruk, and India too.

### 31. The Last Word on St. Thomas and on his Sins

The latest Christian advocate of South India's St. Thomas, affirms in a series of profusely illustrated lessons in Malayalam on that Thomas (a non-martyr till 1517), published for Catholic children from 8th Dec. 1954 to 26th January 1955 in the Malayalam Catholic Weekly *Satya Deepam* (Truth's Light) of Ernakulam, Cochin, S. W. India, the following as representing the truth, and nothing but the truth ever since 52 A. D., and worthy of acceptance by all historians.

- 1) St. Thomas landed in Cranganore, Cochin, in 52 A. D. (In fact this statement is *not* found before 1700 A. D. in any record of any land).
- 2) Gundaphar was then king in South India. (No, *not* a historical fact.)

3) Gundaphar pointed out to him the exact site for his palace to be completed *there on this earth* by the Apostle by the following year, and St. Thomas did agree to do so.

4) The king gave him money for building the palace there, and went on a foreign tour, promising to send him more and more money for building the palace *on this earth*, and did send it again and again.

5) But St. Thomas gave the king's money away to the poor, and not even one stone was laid for the earthly palace, as stipulated and agreed.

6) Gundaphar returned, and shouted angrily, "Ah, you have deceived me". He ordered him to be flayed alive and then burned.

7) Gundaphar's younger brother Gad, then happened to be taken ill and to die suddenly, but not before requesting the king to punish the sinful "saint" severely & as an example to all, for the disgrace he had brought upon the royal family.

8) But Gad came to life again miraculously, and described to all, the palace built in heaven for Gundaphar by the Apostle.

(Could even the holiest saint, sinless *unlike* St. Thomas build a house or room in heaven for another man, for even a non-Christian infidel like Gundaphar? St. John's Gospel 14:1—14 records Jesus' words to St. Thomas: "There are many mansions in my Father's house;....I am going away to make ready a place for you", i. e., for even St.

Thomas. So a mansion or place is already ready in heaven for each believer in Christ).

9) Gundaphar, Gad, and the rest of the royal household, and many others were then baptized in South India.

10) St. Thomas built *seven* churches (buildings) in Kerala, S. W. India. (This too is a modern assertion, not earlier, than 1700 A. D.)

11) At last he was pierced with a spear (= "*kuntham*", not "*soolam*", lance) in Mylapore (and not on St. Thomas Mount), and made a martyr (by whom?, in 72 A. D., or 68 A. D.? as Malabar or the Mylapore Latin inscription of 1896 says. Mylapore's Thomas was a Saracen *Muslim non-martyr*.)

12) The pictures of St. Thomas, Gundaphar and Gad are to be believed by the children as the exact reproductions of their facial and other features and their dress. The king and the Apostle have beards and moustashes.

13) Gundaphar, king of South India, is in foreign outfit; Gad too; with turban, shoes, &c., like the Persians.

Whence did the lessons' author or the artist get the exact features of St. Thomas? Was his picture drawn in his days by his own alleged Travancore disciple who is alleged to have written the Saint's *Biography* (non-existent)? Or, by St. Luke, one of whose 7 alleged pictures of St. Mary and the Infant is said to have been brought by St. Thomas when he came to South India. It was

hidden underground for centuries in St. Thomas Mount, and chanced to be dug up by the Portuguese in the 16th century!! It is now in the St. Thomas Mount church.

Or, could one teach the Catholic children that the picture of St. Thomas in their lessons was drawn by King Gundaphar's or King Gaspar's artist? A recent book (of 1954 or so) by the Roman Catholic Fr. Antoninus, O. M. I., of Jaffna, Ceylon, asserts as a historical fact that St. Thomas came to India in "in 52 A.D." along with King Gaspar of Jaffna, who was returning after his visit (in 4 B.C. or 6-5 B.C.) to the Infant Jesus at Bethlehem, as one of "the three wise men" of the Gospels!!

Of the above 13 details in the lessons for children all but Nos. 1, 2, and 10 to 13 are in the condemned Syriac *Acts* of ca. 210 A. D., and the other six are South Indian Christians' fabrications not found recorded before 1517 or 1700 A. D.

Even the Saint's sins are mentioned in the lessons, as they are in the St. Thomas Catholics' "*Song of 1601 A. D.*" When the children read that *Song*, published in S. W. India in 1916, and in Rome in 1938, as quite reliable, they will ask why it contradicts their lessons in the matter of the date (50 *versus* 52 A. D.) of landing, the landing place (Maalyaankara *vs.* Cranganore), and some other details.

They will reckon too the number of their ideal St. Thomas's sins, and compare their number and nature with those of the great St. Peter's sins,

Both these saints sinned even after the Holy Ghost's descent on them. Not only the original Syriac *Acts* of ca. 210, but also its Greek, Latin, Coptic and Armenian translations or versions do record the above sins of St. Thomas.

And the stained glass pictures in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Tours in France, have in their series depicting the scenes in St. Thomas's story, the Apostle distributing Guduaphar's money in alms, and the high priest (and not the king or his soldiers) killing the Apostle. The stained glass in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Bourges, France, pictures the Apostle as pointing to heaven, where he built the palace for the king, and St. Thomas sentenced and sent to prison for his deceit. Alas!

### 32. St. Thomas's House or Monastery, ca. 1504

Varthema, (1503-8; 1501, says Germann), and Barbosa (1505-16), perhaps actual visitors to the non-martyr Saracen saint's tomb inside his unruined domed "house or monastery", and to the ruined Christian church, the nave, probably a continuation of the domed "house" & the sanctuary of the church, give us certain details about them. In 1504 four W. Asian bishops also refer to the "monastery".

Ludovico di Varthema (= Louis of Varthema) while in the town of "Coromandel" (which town) was informed by the Christians there (who had then their priest also), that the body of St. Thomas was 12 miles from there" (in his *Mylapore domed house*)

"and was under the guard of some Christians", and that "the poor Christians cannot live there any longer, but are driven away and killed secretly" for fear of the King of Vijayanagar, their friend, though a Hindu. This persecution began "after the Portuguese had killed many Moors" (in Calicut on the S. W. coast, & elsewhere). So the Moors, Muslims, were the enemies of the Portuguese, and of the indigenous Christian settlers in S. E. India too, and also of the W. Asian and East Asian (Chinese, & other) Christians there going about as merchants or visitors to the Saracen's tomb under the dome (built in Saracen style, as seen in its sketch by the Vicar (1896) Fr. Pinto, and its photo in Rae's Syriac Church, 1892, op. p. 312.

About the same time Barbosa too says: "In this city ("Mylapore, almost uninhabited") is buried the body of Apostle St. Thomas in a small church" (with ruined nave, and unruined "vault" (=dome) as he says) "near the sea.--So he remains still in the hermitage" (under the dome) "very humbly and lighted up by the grace of God, because the Moors and gentiles light him up, each one saying that he is something belonging to them". Christians, we should think, were not allowed by the Muslims to do that, or claim the non-martyr.

But "Christians of India", adds Barbosa, "still go there as pilgrims, and carry away thence, as relics, some little pellets of earth of the tomb of this blessed Apostle". Such "pellets of earth" from Mecca's sacred Muslim spot are sold now to Muslim

pilgrims also to that place. Perhaps the Mylapore pellets too were sold to the Christians by the "poor Moor (who) takes care of that building and begs alms for it, and for the lamp, which still continues burning" (at the tomb) in Barbosa's time itself. Red earth "from the place where the saint" (non-martyr Thomas) "was killed" (outside his house or hermitage wherein his body was interred later on, and not the earth from his tomb as in Barbosa's days, and even today), was taken and used as medicine by Christian pilgrims in Marco Polo's time also, 1288-93 A. D.

The four West Asian Bishop's Syriac letter of 1504 from Malabar to their "Catholicos" Mar Elijah, "Patriarch of the East", says: As to the monastery of St. Thomas the Apostle ("*dair-Thuma*"), some Christian men have gone into it, have inhabited it, and are now busy restoring it;.... it is on the shores of the sea, in a town called Mailapore, in the country of Silan" (=of Cholan, Coromandel), "one of the Indian countries". The Loma manuscript in Goa calls the "monastery" his "chapel". See S. 24, p. 39. In a ground plan of 1896 or so it is marked "St. Thomas Chapel", being a very small one, with only one door in the south wall, and one window in the north wall. The south door was *inside* the cathedral. So only Christian priests could enter that chapel, which was next to, and east of the sanctuary of the cathedral.

This "monastery or 'chapel'" of St. Thomas is the domed, single-roomed and high-walled building



standing intact in ca. 1504, though perhaps the Muslim enemies of the Christians had destroyed the roof of their church attached to the chapel. This chapel was sacred to the Muslims as their own prophet's, the non-martyr Saracen saint Thomas' tomb, and so they did not destroy it. They appointed an aged Muslim Fakir to take care of their non-martyr's tomb.

Barbosa calls the domed room containing the saint's (north-south) tomb his "hermitage" at first, and later on mentions his "house and the church", & the "vault" with a great wooden cross at the top, and pea-cocks for a device." This cross with the pea-cocks, on either side as usual in Malabar too, must have been set up by the Christians when they had been in possession (since when?) of the domed room & the church (west of it) until about 1460.

When Nicolo de Conti visited? Mylapore between 1425 & 1430 he found there many Christians, "Nestorians (who) inhabit this city to the number of a thousand"—in, say, 150 houses near their church, perhaps unmolested by Muslims. After that Vartbema (1503—8) was told by one of the Christians 12 miles away from Mylapore that 45 years before his visit, i. e., in about 1460 (three decades after the above Nicolo) there had been in Mylapore Christians, probably indigenous settlers there.

"45 years ago the Moors had a dispute (was it about the ownership of the non-martyr's tomb?) "with the Christians and there were

wounded on both sides". That scuffle had occurred long before the Portuguese conflict with the Moors. Those Christians were perhaps in possession of the non-martyr's tomb, "guarded" by them against Muslim molestation, and also owned his domed house or hermitage, to the east of their church, then, about 1460, probably not destroyed by Muslims. The church's sanctuary was not the domed room of the tomb.

And in 1443, about a decade after the above de Conti, the king of Vijayanagar, the Mylapore Christians' friend, had a Christian councillor named "Nimeh Pezir" (=perhaps Nehemia Pezar, West Asian), by Abder Ra'zak, the Persian ambassador.

In Barbosa's days, 1505—16, Mylapore was "almost uninhabited" by Christians or Muslims.

The non-martyr Thomas's "*hermitage*", & "the wood outside" in which he used to pray some centuries before 1288—93 A. D., were mentioned to Marco Polo. He also saw or heard of the "church" (building) there, and "the houses that belonged to the church, and stood round about it", and in which the Christian, and perhaps the Muslim "pilgrims used to lay their heads". There were also then "the Christian people in charge of the church..... (who) have a great number of Indian Nut" (coconut) "trees whereby they get their living". It was in that "*hermitage*" of his that his body was buried.

"Amr ben Matthew, a Nestorian, 1350, calls it his "monastery" (in Arabic). Bp. Marignolli, 1348, refers to the above "hermitage" as his "oratory"; and Barbosa calls it his "hermitage", and his (vaulted) "house", as distinct from the roofless church of Barbosa's days, 1505—16. The 4 bishops of 1504 too call it his "hermitage."

The non-martyr Saracen's "hermitage, or monastery or house" of some year after Muhammad the Prophet's days, say between A. D. 650, and 1288, was sacred to the Muslims of Nubia, Comandeli, and other places, and they must have built a room of brick & mortar subsequently on the same site, with their saint's tomb entirely inside it. Perhaps in M. Polo's days, and during Malik Kafur's Muslim invasion as far as Rameswaram in 1310, the north-south tomb was, inside the domed room east of the chancel of the church.

Was half of the tomb later on left outside as a concession to the Muslims, or because the Christians thought that the *north-south* tomb of the non-martyr "Thomas" could not be a Christian's? Amr ben Matthew, the Arab author, 1340 A. D., says that the "tomb is—on the right side of the altar in his monastery" (east of the church). On the right side is probably the north side. But Amr does not say whether the tomb was half outside or not, as it was in the days of Diogo (1517 A. D.) and other Portuguese visitors. It is now entirely inside the nave of the present Mylapore Catholic Cathedral which replaced in 1893—6 the

previous cathedral that stood till 1892 enclosing (except on the north side) the domed "hermitage" adjoining the roofless chancel and nave of Barbosa's and Diogo's days (1505—17).

Barbosa says that "the Moors and gentiles" (=Muslims and Hindus) light him up, each one saying that he is something: belonging to them", and that "the Christians of India still go there as pilgrims, and carry away thence, as relics, some little pellets of the earth of the tomb of this blessed Apostle". This earth, believed to be red with the non-martyr's blood, must have been taken from the top of the outer, northern, half of the underground tomb which was "16 palms" below the surface, as Diogo found in 1517 by his actual excavation. The Christian pilgrims too, like the Muslims and the Hindus, must have offered oil for the Fakir-lighted lamp "continually burning", as Barbosa says about the light. It must have been inside the room, and so invisible to the Christians & Hindus, who had probably to stand outside the sacred Muslim room.

### 33. A Muslim & Some Christians at the Saracen's Tomb in 1504

In the days of Vartbema's and Barbosa's visits (ca. 1505) to Mylapore or its neighbourhood, and even later in the year of the visit to Mylapore in 1517 of Diogo Fernandes, perhaps the first Portuguese at the non-martyr Thomas's tomb, half outside his undestroyed domed hermitage with the roofless church attached to it, but full of

brushwood growing on its floor, in which rats, jackals, & other creatures had for about a generation since, say, ca. 1460 (*vide* p. 53 for Varthema's report) made holes for them (as we may infer from Barbosa's description), there were no Christians or Muslims permanently inhabiting the place. That was on account of the enmity between the Muslims on one side and the Christians, South Indian, W. & E. Asian, and Portuguese on the other side since some time after de Conti found about 1000 Nestorian Christians settled down in Mylapore. (*Vide* p. 66.)

Barbosa mentions only a Muslim Fakir living there (inside the tomb's room), and describes Mylapore city as "almost uninhabited", though frequented by "Moors and gentiles", and "the Christians of India" with offerings of lamp-oil for that non-martyr Thomas. All these three religionists were casual visitors; "pilgrims."

Who were those "some Christians" who, by 1504, "went into" the "almost uninhabited" Mylapore's tomb's room, and "inhabited it" and were "busy restoring it", i. e., repairing it, as the four Bishops' letter of 1504 says. Barbosa, who mentions the "poor Moor" at or in the vaulted (eastern) room of the saint, and also the Muslim, Hindu, and Christian pilgrims at the northern, anterior, outside half of his tomb, describes Mylapore of say, before, 1504 as an "almost uninhabited very ancient city". He could not regard the above said Christians who inhabited the saint's minar with the

cupola of circular base, as real, permanent inhabitants.

Their object was probably to take possession of the saint's room (and also the "much deteriorated" church, so described by Barbosa) against the "poor Moor" and other Muslims; and also in anticipation of the Portuguese who would by and by go to the spot and misappropriate the minar and the church and even the whole premises, just as the Christians had misappropriated it from the Muslims, before M. Polo's date, 1288 A. D.

Those daring Christians were perhaps some rich, foreign merchants from W. Asia or China, or elsewhere, rather than some indigenous Christians of India, or of some Islands near India, & Malaya. Those foreign Christians could count upon the help of the King of Vijayanagar, and of the Indian Christians also. But soon the more powerful Portuguese took possession of them as the king of Vijayanagar was their friend too.

Di Varthema, (1501 or 1503—8) found some Christians, indigenous, with their priest in a town 12 miles from Mylapore, and gathered information from them about the latter city. In Bengal he met Christian merchants, Nestorians, who came from Sarnam or Ayoutha the ancient capital of Siam. They conducted him to Pegu, in Burma, where the king had 1,000 Christians in his service. Those merchants took Varthema with them when they went to trade in Borneo, Java, and even the

Molucca Islands. See Nan's *L'expansion Nestorienne en Asie*, p. 278, and Stewart's *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise*, C. L. S., Madras, 1923, p. 94. There were then "St. Thomas" Christians in Travancore-Cochin too.

Vasco da Gama's *Roteiro* of 1497—8 says: "Pegu is a land of Christians and the king is a Christian, and they are all white like us". Gama's *Roteiro*, moreover, finds Christians in 1498 in Coleu (Quilon), Cael and Benguala (Kaayal-pattanam on the Tamil coast, and Bengal), and in Quorongoliz (Cranganore) with a Christian king; also in Chomondarla (Coromandel), Pegu, and Siam. So too Conjmata and Pater (50 days' sailing from Calicut) had Christians and a Christian king; and Camatatra (Sumatra) was of the Christians. How far da Gama's list is reliable one cannot say. Towards the end of 1502 certain Christians residing in Mangalore sent a deputation to da Gama, says Thome Lopez in his *Navegacao*, ch. 19. (See below).

In 1496 the Genoese Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, from South India, found a ruined church in Pegu, Burma, in which church he buried his companion Hieronimo Adorno's dead body. But he mentions no Christians there. The Mylapore church too was in ruins then, without any Christian residing there.

There were Christians then on the west coast, e. g., in Thiruvancode, Quilon, and other places in Travancore-Cochin, and Paalayoor north of it. Hieronimo mentioned above, says that (before

1496) there were "as many as 1000 houses inhabited by Christians in Calicut". Towards the end of 1502 certain Christians residing in Mangalore sent a deputation (as Cranganore Christians too did then) to Vasco da Gama, says Thome Lopez in his *Navegacao*, ch. 19. Did Lopez mistake Cranganore for Mangalore; and Hieronimo confuse Collam (Quilon in Travancore) with a Collam near Calicut? There are Cotti-Collam, and Panthalaani-Collam near Calicut.

### 34. Did Gundaphar Invite St. Thomas to Learn about the New Way?

India's King Gudnaphar or Gundaphar of *The Acts*, ca. 210, and Gad his brother have been identified by archaeologists with the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares of Taxila in the Punjab, and his relative Guda or Gadana. The names of both occur in the legends on their first century coins; and Gondophares's name occurs also as Gunda-phara in an inscription at Takht-i-Babi, north-east of Peshawar. Other discovered forms of his name are Goundaphoros, Gontaphoros, and Goundiaphoros (all in Greek); Gondophares, Gondaphares, & Undophares (all on coins); & Gundaforus, & Gundo-forus, (both these two in Latin). Its Pali forms are Gudaphara, Gadaphara, Gudaphana & Gudupharna on coins and in the Takht-i-Babi inscription. (In my collection is a Gondophares copper coin very kindly presented to me in October, 1924 by Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, who made archaeological investigations in Afgha-

nistan in that year). The Syriac forms of the name are Gudnaphar, Gundaphar, and Gundafar. The original Parthian is Vinda-pharna, meaning gainer of victory. (Vinda sounds like the latter half of the Sanskrit name Go-vinda) The other forms are those in the languages of the Indians, Greeks, Jews, Persians, Syrians, or others then living in the N. W. Indian part of his Parthian kingdom, ruled from his easternmost cities Taxila and Sirkap, both near each other, and close to Kalawan (which is probably Calamina, St. Thomas's burial place). Gondophares is the Greek form.

The gods of some of the above races appear among the emblems on Gondophares's coins. They are Zeus, Pallas, Nike (= Victory), and Siva; with also a vessel like the Christian chalice or ciborium, with or without its lid. This vessel is styled "the characteristic symbol of Gondophares" by historians. See Cambridge Ancient History of India, Vol. I.

The above multifarious symbols on his coins, show that Gondophares was an eclectic in religion, like Kanishka III. (A. D. 192....) of the Kushan dynasty that displaced his Parthian dynasty. And it was but natural that he wanted to know in addition from the Jews or Syrians, or Edessenes or others in his Taxila-Sirkap and neighbourhood about the new religion of Jesus the Jew of Palestine, who went about preaching "the Kingdom of God" (*deva-rojyam*) soon to be established, and had announced directly to St. Thomas and then to

others the existence already of "many mansions in His father's house", heaven, and foretold his "going to prepare a place", for them in heaven. See St. John's Gospel, ch. 14, and II Corinthians, ch. 5:1.

It is possible that in Gondophares's cities Taxila and Sirkap there were already some of the 3000 foreigners, both "Jews and proselytes", who had been on the day of Pentecost made Christians. As the New Testament says (*Acts* ch. 2, vv. 9-11) those foreigners then present in Jerusalem of Judaea, included "Parthians, Medes, Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Arabians, dwellers in Judaea", and in certain other countries.

And Judaea included among the lands of the *foreigners with foreign tongues*, wherein they were born" (*Acts* 2:8) is likely to be a copyist's error for India of the original Greek copies of about 100 A.D., none of which have yet been discovered. To those in Jerusalem of Judaea, Judaea was not a land of foreigners speaking foreign languages. J of Judaea was I in Greek, and Greek n could be easily mistaken for u, so that Greek In could be misread as Iu. The newly known Aramaic "Yonan Codex", of 1600 years ago, has also *perhaps* Judaea, as it seems to be only a translation from a Greek copy of ca. 350 A. D. Is the Acts in that Codex?

We may reasonably suppose that Gudnaphar sent "Habban" the Jew, perhaps one of those converted on Pentecost day, to find for him a disciple of Jesus, who would give him a clear idea of the

new religion. Gündaphar thus acted somewhat like his contemporary King "Abgar" of Edessa who sent a letter to Jesus Himself, requesting Him to go and cure him of his disease. And it was not impossible for Gundaphar to have already heard from visitors from Fars in S. W. Persia to Taxila, of St. Thomas himself preaching in Fars (see p. 74) about the Kingdom of God and the many "mansions" ready in heaven for the Christians of that Kingdom.

Gundaphar, or Habban, or those who heard St. Thomas's or Jesus' preaching could not mistake the "mansions" in heaven for palaces built on this earth. And St. Thomas could not dare to tell Gundaphar that he would build for him a palace in Taxila, or Sirkap, or Kalawan, or Kala-ka-Serai, Taxila's suburb. The remains of a grand palace 352 ft. x 270 ft. were found underground in Taxila by the Indian Archaeological Department some years ago. It faced west, towards the major portion of the Parthian kingdom and not towards the non-Parthian portion of North India. St. Thomas, we may affirm, did not build that palace, or any other building there or elsewhere in India, not even in S. India. For he was not a carpenter, or mason, or an Engineer.

As *The Acts of Thomas* says Habban brought St. Thomas to Gundaphar by ship (from probably Fars in S. W. Persia, where, in Fars, he had been preaching). The Apostle on arrival personally

instructed the king about the coming Kingdom of Heaven or of God (*deva-rajyam*, see p. 48 supra) and of the "many mansions" or "places" ready in heaven for Christians, as well as about repentance, baptism, "breaking of bread", and other features of his Master's new "Way."

As a result Gundaphar was converted to Christianity, and as instructed by St. Thomas, abandoned Siva, Zeus and the other gods represented on his coins.

His "characteristic symbol", the chalice-like vessel, was, I think, a sign of his having accepted Christianity. For the chalice, used in the Eucharist from the very beginning of Christianity, is the earliest known Christian symbol. The cross symbol began to be used later. Christ said He would use the chalice-cup again in His Father's kingdom. See St. Matt. 26:29

In addition to the above chalice symbol of Gondophares there is his title "*deva-vrata*", devoted to God, perhaps used in preference to the then usual royal titles "*devaanaam priya*", dear to the gods (plural), and "*deva-putra*", son of god. As taught by St. Thomas, Gundaphar must have been convinced that there are not many gods (his Zeus, Nike, Siva, & others), and that Christ alone was the Son of God. The converted king could therefore no longer use the customary titles meaning 'dear to the gods (plural), and son of god'. Hence his title "*deva-vrata*" meaning devoted to God,

which St. Thomas as "Guide and Ruler and minister", and baptizer of the Christians there, and the Apostle who had given their priests "the hands of priesthood", must have sanctioned. He is called in *The Acts* the messenger of "the new god".

### 35. Was there a St. Thomas Palace in Kalawan?

It was impossible for even a sinless Christian saint to build a palace in heaven for Gundaphar a non-Christian, or even for a Christian, by distributing the latter's money, with or without his knowledge, among the poor freely in alms. But in the Syriac *Acts* of ca. 210 and in almost all other St. Thomas accounts that Apostle is described as having built in heaven a palace for Gundaphar the non-Christian, & that without the latter's knowledge or request. Worse than that, St. Thomas is represented in the above records of Asia, Europe and Africa as having been a sinner in the transaction—a promise-breaker, a deliberate liar, and a cheat. See pp. 62—63.

To me it seems likely that there was in "Calamina" (=Kalawan near Taxila, or Kala-ka-Serai, Taxila's suburb) a building called "St. Thomas's Palace", so named by his convert King Gundaphar, who built it for housing the bones of St. Thomas removed "secretly to the west" (to Gundaphar's territory from the mountain tomb in the realm of King Mazdai, a non-Christian, and an enemy of the Apostle, as *The Acts* says. The bones were probably enclosed in a costly box and safely

treasured in an east-west tomb in that new edifice to which the King himself gave the grand name St. Thomas's Palace, as I suppose. As a Christian he rejected the then usual royal title "*dicu patia*", meaning son of God. So he, in all humility, regarded, we may suppose, his residence as a humble house, and honoured the above said St. Thomas house with the name "St. Thomas Palace".

And that St. Thomas Palace was by the author of *The Acts*, ca. 210, or others before him in Edessa, misunderstood as a palace built by St. Thomas.

St. Thomas's bones, as records say since *The Acts*, were honourably buried. First in Mazdai's kingdom they were in "the tomb of the former kings on a mountain". See p. 13. Then in Gundaphar's kingdom also they must have been honourably deposited perhaps in a costly casket, kept safe in a specially built tomb (in Kalawan, in the above St. Thomas Palace, as I suppose). St. Isidore (dead 636, see p. 19, No. 6, and p. 40, S. 25) said that St. Thomas had been "honourably buried at Calamina, a town of India" (probably Kalawan). In the sixth century Theodore (p. 37, No. 5) saw a grand church in "the place in India where St. Thomas first rested". This church perhaps replaced King Gundaphar's St. Thomas Palace (of about 33 A. D.) mentioned before on p. 78. But it is not known whether two centuries later, in 932—3, Alexander Severus's man (see *supra*) found the bones in a church in Calamina, or in some other

place, if Gundaphar or the other Christians, or his successor had taken them away with them to the place to which they had been driven by the Kushans in about 60 A. D. The emperor's letter or letters for the bones were to "the princes of India", says the *Passio*, ca. 500. So the Emperor's man had to find out which prince's kingdom had the bones in 232—3.

"In the year A. D. 442—443, Anatolius the General" (in command of the troops) "made an offering of a silver casket to hold the Bones of the Apostle St. Thomas" in the Edessa church. See Medlycott's *India and...Thomas*, 1905, pp. 103—4. It was suspended by a silver chain as he says on p. 102. And the entire skull of St. Thomas (from Edessa via Chios Island) is preserved in the Ortona St. Thomas church in E. Italy in a silver bust.

And even the *spurious* mummy (not bones) of "St. Thomas" in "Ulna" (= Urha, Edessa) in 1122 A. D. (see S. 21, pp. 32—33) was in "a most precious silver concha, suspended by silver chains within a magnificently wrought ciborium". See *Journal-of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, 1923, No. 5, p. 169, of Fr. Hosten's article St. Thomas and San Thome. The "much worn out" bones (found in 1523) of the Muslim Saracen non-martyr of 1288 or before were honourably kept in "a China coffer", and a fragment is now in a costly reliquary, and the rest of the bones is in the north-south tomb inside the San Thome cathedral in Mylapore.

### 36. St. Thomas's Journeys in India or Parania

As for the Apostle's missionary journeys *The Acts*, ca. 210, mentions only his voyage from some port to Sandaruk, a king's capital, and thence again to Gundaphar's capital in India (of course up the Indus, though not specified in *The Acts*) Then he preached in "the cities and countries" in Gundaphar's territory and in (his Viceroy?) King Mazdai's realm (close to Gundaphar's, and to the east of it as implied in *The Acts*). It is the above "cities and countries" in Gundaphar's and Mazdai's realms, that are specified some 5 decades later in *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, of ca. 260, as "India and all its own countries", where St. Thomas himself was "Guide and Ruler", and "minister". See S. 26, supra, p. 44. I think he sojourned preached, ministered, and was martyred and buried in the above portion of India under Gundaphar and (his viceroy?) Mazdai, in 32—33 A. D. (rather than in 29—30—31).

Where had he preached before that, i. e., from 29 to 32 A. D.? My opinion is that in 29 he went to his own Galilee, and thence to Edessa of King "Abgar" his contemporary, whose letter to Jesus St. Thomas must have read. It is recorded that after Jesus' death & resurrection, or after Pentecost of that year (29 A. D.), Addai was sent to King Abgar by St. Thomas. He therefore must have met Addai in Eddessa, and helped him in his evangelization of Edessa, and its neighbourhood. Edessa was known as "Edessa of the Parthians".



From that Parthian Edessa St. Thomas, probably, went down the Tigris to Fars in S. W. Persia. For the Metropolitans of Fars, Mar Isho Yabb (650—660), and Mar Thiomothy (779—823) repudiated the Seleucian Patriarch's authority over them, on the ground that the church of Fars was founded by St. Thomas himself, while the Patriarch's was not. See Mingana's *Early Spread*..... in India, 1926, pp. 35—36, 31, 64.

And the Syriac *Acts of Mar Mari*, ca. 520, says that after having preached (in the first century) in the country of the Huzites, viz. Khuzistan, north of Fars, Mari "went down to the southern countries until the odour of Thomas, the Apostle, was wafted to him; and there also he brought a great number of people to the Lord, and detained in those countries a disciple named Job, to minister to them", i.e., to the new Christians north of Fars. Mar Mari was the disciple of Addai (also known as Thaddaeus, Addaeus, and in Syriac Thandai), who was sent to the King (Abgar) and others of Edessa by St. Thomas, as Eusebius (ca. 325) says on the authority of Syriac manuscripts in Edessa.

The "odour of St. Thomas" wafted to Mari from Fars was the Fars tradition of the Apostle's martyrdom in King Mazdai's land east of King Gundaphar's Taxila-Sirkap-Kalawan region in the Punjab. "Odour" was used in the Bible to indicate sacrifice as in Genesis 8:21 (Noah's burnt offering), Ephesians 5:2 (Christ's martyrdom), and

Philippians 4:18 (gifts sent to St. Paul). The tradition of St. Thomas's "soldiers-spears-martyrdom" current in Fars implies the existence of St. Thomas Christians in the region from the Gundaphar-Maz-jai realms in the Punjab to Fars in the west.

And it was in the days, ca. 520, of the author of the above discussed *Acts of Mari*, that the European author of *Passio Thomae*, ca. 500, said, "there is there still the see of St. Thomas at Sandaruk", i. e., the St. Thomas Christians' bishop's seat. Sandaruk was "Alexandria" (Ale-xander-uk) "among the Oritae" (west of the river Hab in Baluchistan), founded by Alexander the Great on his return from "India", the Indus region, in 322 B. C. See pp. 54 and 55 *ante*. And Cosmas, ca. 525, mentions Christians probably in the Sandaruk region also, and in the White Hun region in N. W. India where in the sixth century (after Cosmas and before St. Gregory, who died in 594) the pilgrim Theodore found "a monastery and a church of wonderful magnitude in the region of India where St. Thomas had rested", i. e. had been buried (in Calamina). See p. 37 *supra*.

None of the above documents, nor others of the early centuries from 200 to 600 A. D., nor even later records of the period from 600 to 1298, the year in which Marco Polo's book was written while in prison, expressly mention St. Thomas's journeys to N. Africa, Arabia, Socotra, South India, Ceylon, Malacca, Japan, China, S. America,

&c. Not even Mar Solomon, ca. 1222, or Bar-Hebraeus, 1226—86, both West Asian bishops, locate St. Thomas in *South India* as a non-martyr or a martyr of any sort. See pages 12 & 13. [Origen's Parthia for St. Thomas may be regarded also as his mistake for "Bhaaratha" given to him by Indian visitors as India's local name. Bharatha & Parthia have almost the same sound.]

### 37. Additions to St. Thomas's Parthia-India

Parthia or India, or both are St. Thomas's fields of work mentioned in the earliest documents, *Clementine Recognitions*, Origen's *Commentary* and *The Acts* of Thomas, all of the third century. Some years later, in ca. 260, the Edessene work *The Doctrine* of the Apostles (see pp. 43—46) stated that St. Thomas was guide, ruler, and minister in the above part of India, i. e. of the Indus region, including "all its own countries", and that he laid his own hands on his priests in that region (where he preached and was martyred). It said also that the priests in the countries bordering on that part of India received "the imposition of hands" from those on whom he had laid his hands. In those *bordering* countries he was *not* "guide, ruler, or minister". S. W. India could receive his "hands of priesthood", indirectly, in the first century itself, after his soldiers—spears—martyrdom in Maz-dai's portion of the Indus region, i. e., of Parthian Bhaaratha.

The *Doctrine* of ca. 260 and perhaps *The Acts*, ca. 210, were written in Eddessa after its king Abgar IX., A. D. 179—214 became Christian and made his religion the chief one in his kingdom. And the *Acts* must have been well known to the king, the author Bardaisan and others in his city, including the Christians, Gnostics, Bardesanities, and perhaps Manicheans too by 260 A. D. It is not probable therefore that the *Doctrine's* author, in ca. 260, misinterpreted the "cities and countries" in the Gundaphar—Mazdai portion of N. Bharatha, or "all India" already assigned in *The Acts* to St. Thomas, as all the countries of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, or all the countries of the pseudo-India from Egypt—Ethiopia to the Indus. See also pp. 44—46.

But in the next century, the fourth, St. John Chrysostom, the European orator, stated that St. Thomas "travelled almost the whole world", including the (Indian?) Ethiopians' land. His "whole world" included perhaps the Roman world and the pseudo-Indias and the Indus region or the whole of the Indian sub-continent. Pseudo-Hippolytus said he "preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Margians". He was probably giving a list of the several peoples included in "Parthia" assigned to St. Thomas in the third century.

Later on Germany, South India, Japan, South America, &c. are added. Two Syriac MSS.

have (one of 1662; Judea, Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Sultania, Kandchar, Calabor (=Cabul?), Kafirstan, Lesser Guzarat, Tibet, Bengal, and Mylapur; (the other of 1788) Socotra, Melinde, Cafraria, Paces (=Pares, Fars?), and Zarique (=Serica, China?)

South India was added before M. Polo (1288), or before Sulaiman (651 A. D.) who mentioned Betumah (see p. 40). Brazil was added in 1552 (see S. 22, p. 34) by Ewmanuel Nobrega. "Germany", supra, may be a mistake for Karmania found in some lists of St. Thomas's fields. Karmania is Kerman in E. Persia.

Fiar Jordanus (1321—27) was told by the Christians of the Thana-Sopara region near Bombay that St. Thomas himself had preached and built a church at Supera, which, after its destruction by the Saracens, was replaced by the church then standing there. In this the Friar buried the bodies of the four European Franciscan preachers martyred at Thana south of Sopara, in 1321.

### 38. How Two St. Thomas Tombs in Mylapore?

The Portuguese opened in 1521—22, and 1523 two alleged St. Thomas tombs in the eastern part of Mylapore, to which part they gave the name San Thome, meaning St. Thomas. See SS. 1—3, pages 1—4.

The Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr Saracen Thomas's north-south tomb now inside the San

Thome Catholic Cathedral is the one opened in 1523, after the "white St. Thomas" skeleton from the other tomb had been sent to Goa in 1522 with a report. From at latest 1504 the Portuguese visitors Barbosa, Diogo Fernandes (1517) and others, and after them even Goa and Lisbon understood that the north-south tomb half inside and half outside the unruined domed room, immediately east of the ruined, roofless church in Mylapore, was that of a *non-martyr* (a Thomas) from Nubia, and not that of the martyr St. Thomas come from Jerusalem, or Galilee, or Edessa, or Fars. See S. 36.

The Portuguese, therefore, must have been sure that it was not their priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas's tomb, or that of any other Jew, or Eastern Christian. The Muslims must have been confirmed in their belief that all evidence was in their favour. And the Hindus who resorted to the outside, northern, half of the tomb must have been convinced that it was not a Hindu's burial place.

As the Portuguese were sure that the *non-martyr's* north-south tomb could not reasonably be their "priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas's", they naturally looked for another "St. Thomas" tomb there. And some Muslim, Christian, or Hindu probably showed them a tomb inside the ruined, deserted church as the Apostle's, and also a tomb near that one as that of the Chola King converted by him. Thus the local people, and the Muslims, Christians and Hindus from outside who

regarded the north-south tomb and the red earth from the northern half of it as sacred, and miraculously efficacious in curing diseases, could save their treasured tomb from being tampered with, examined, and desecrated by the Portuguese.

We know that in 1291—2 Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, who died in Mylapore, was buried in some part of the then unruined church there by Friar John of Montecorvino, in about Marco Polo's days there, 1292—3. Others too must have been buried in it, especially <sup>or outside</sup> Armenians, Persians and other foreigners. Two of those tombs could be pointed out to the inquisitive foreign Feringhis as the tombs of St. Thomas their priest-lance-martyr, and of his convert the Chola King.

The Portuguese, as ordered by the Goa Bishop and the King of Portugal, opened in 1521—2 both the tombs, and found in them the "white skeleton of St. Thomas", the white Jew, and the "black skeleton" of the black king. In 1522 they sent the white one to Goa with a report, as stated on p. 32 in No. 2. That skeleton is still there, though perhaps ignored <sup>or hidden</sup> now, like its tomb in some portion of the present San Thome Cathedral in Mylapore. The report of 1522 has not yet been published. It may be in the Goa or Lisbon archives even now.

Diogo's report of 1543 on his excavation, in 1523, of the other tomb there, the *non-martyr's north-south* tomb in the easternmost portion of the nave of the above said Cathedral itself, was

published in 1930. And the "much worn out" skull bones and other bones found in it in 1523 are back in the tomb itself, except small fragments in the alleged "St. Thomas" reliquary in the Cathedral, and elsewhere. See p. 16, para 1, end, & p. 15, para 4.

Goa and Lisbon and the Portuguese missionaries in South India were sure that the bones of real St. Thomas, either the whole of them, or the major portion, had been taken away to Elessa centuries before. So their test was to find out what the alleged Mylapore tombs had in them. In the one opened first the excavators found the *entire* skeleton, in the other too *all the bones* from head to foot were found undisturbed, though "*much worn out*". Their conclusion therefore must have been that neither of the tombs or skeletons was that of their "*priest-lance-martyr* St. Thomas, the Apostle". Hence the "*strong disparagement*" of 1871. See pp. 2-3. The Bishop's doubt of 1729 (p. 4) was reasonable.

And Rome's reply to him, not published, could be to the effect that a Pariah-arrow-killed *non-martyr* could never be the *priest-lance-martyr* St. Thomas, and that since his entire skull and other bones were in Ortona from 1258, the skull-bones and the rest of the skeleton found in that *non-martyr's* tomb were not the Apostle's. Neither Rome nor Goa could dare to ask South India to *transform* that Pariah-arrow-*non-Martyr* of 1238 to 1517 and of some unrecorded decades or centuries before 1288, into *Europe's* "*priest-sword martyr*,"

or priest-lance-martyr, or soldiers-arrows-martyr", of *Passio Thomae*, or *De Miraculis*, or the Roman Breviary, respectively. It is not known who, after 1517, *changed* the non-martyr into the present priest-lance-martyr of South Indian Christians. See p. 6, & S. 10, pp 12—15.

### 39. How was St. Thomas Located in Mylapore?

(A). Many St. Thomas Christians put the question, 'If St. Thomas had not actually come to Cranganore in 52 A. D., and been buried in Mylapore in 68 A. D., how could the S. Indian tradition arise?'

There are many such other problems also to be solved. For instance, how was St. Thomas located in Brazil, Germany, Tibet, Malacca, Japan, China, &c. (see S. 37, p. 84)? How have his footprints, knee-marks, finger-marks, mummies (see pp. 32-3), three skeletons, more than half-a-dozen tombs, &c. been found in Asia? How was he a Pariah-arrow-non-martyr from before 1288 to 1517, and how was he after 1517 deliberately made another sort of non-martyr, and several sorts of martyrs to boot?

How were the seven dates (A. D. 50, 51, &c.) for his landing first in South India, and the 10 or 11 dates for his death (as non-martyr or martyr) fabricated in South India after 1500 A. D.? (See p. 31). How was he made to land first in Maalyankore, or Cranganore, or Mylapore, diversely? How was the 'Rampan Song' about him composed "in 1601 A. D." as quite reliable, and then tampered

with in 1952? See pp. 35, 30. How has elephantiasis in Cochin (p. 36) been connected with St. Thomas?

How, again, has Jesus Christ been found sojourning in North India and the South of England? How has his sepulchre been found in Kashmir? (See pp. 46—7).

Again, how did the Ceylon tradition arise that on "Adam's Peak" there, "is the sepulchre of Adam, our first parent", as Marco Polo has recorded (in his Vol. II, 1903, p. 316)? How has another tomb of the same Adam been located in Arabia? How were the Pandavas, Sri Rama, Parasu Rama, and other Hindu heroes, and the Buddha and Jina located in several places in S. W. India? How have Burma & Siam located in them the Buddha's birth-place? How has Ceylon found in it the Buddha's, Adam's and St. Thomas's foot prints? How were "Indians" found in America by the first Europeans who reached it?

The answer to the St. Thomas Christians' question noted at the beginning of this section is, on the basis of known documents, the following. The "Pariah-arrow-killed non-martyr Thomas came from Nubia" to Mylapore, and after his preaching there, happened to die as above, and was buried there. These facts were admitted *repeatedly* to Marco Polo, Marignolli, and others till 1517 by the Christians of those centuries; while the Muslims affirmed that "he was one of their own Saracens

and a great prophet, giving him the title of *Avarian*, which is as much as to say Holy Man" (as Polo has recorded) That non-martyr Thomas from Nubia could not really be the martyr St. Thomas, the Apostle. But, the Christians of some year before Polo's days, 1288—93, *mistook* him for the Apostle St. Thomas, because they did not know or ignored the fact that St. Thomas who had come "to India" was a regular martyr. And after 1517, when they realized this fact, they readily *transformed* that non-martyr into several sorts of martyrs, and after 1710 have *preferred* their present "priest-lance-martyr".

Dr. Milne Rae, of Madras Christian College, who in his book *The Syrian Church in India*; 1892, *disallowed* South India's claim to either the non-martyr or martyr St. Thomas, answered the above question on the basis of two facts from which South Indian Christians reasoned fallaciously, or "wove this fictitious story of their origin", as Rae says. The facts are (1) "the belief of the Church" (of W. Asia) "from the earliest times that St. Thomas was the Apostle of the Indians", and (2) they were "Christians of St. Thomas". The ratiocination from these was in this fashion:- 'St. Thomas was the Apostle of the Indians; we are Indians. Therefore he was our Apostle. And there is in Mylapore (from before 1288) our St. Thomas tomb also (*though* it is that of a Pariah-arrow-non-martyr Thomas. There were no American Indians then). Besides

we have also the appellation "St. Thomas" Christians since the very first century (*though* it is not found recorded before the 14th century).

The portions in brackets supra are my additions. It is not likely that South Indian Christians of even the 14th century realized even the first anomaly, or (3) considered the north-south orientation of the tomb as contrary to that of Eastern Christian tombs of those days, or (4) were aware that "Thomas" was used by Muslims too as a name or surname.

(b). Another question of the St. Thomas Christians is, 'If his tomb is not in Mylapore, where else is it?' No one can say where it is now in India, or Parthia, or elsewhere. That does not mean that it was not in existence in former times elsewhere. But did even one of the two Mylapore tombs exist there before the 13th century? There is no evidence for it. And, besides, the earliest known Mylapore tomb was that of a *non-martyr* Thomas; and in 1523 *all* the bones, though "much worn out" from the skull downwards, were found in it. So that tomb cannot be that of the *martyr* St. Thomas. What evidence is there that the other Mylapore tomb, the one opened in 1521—2, and the full skeleton from it sent to Goa in 1522 are really St. Thomas's? And what about the other four alleged St. Thomas tombs of South India? Is any of them really his?

And why did South India, after 1517, commit (1) the sin of changing the *non-martyr* Thomas of 1288 to 1517 into the present martyr St. Thomas, and (2) the sin of changing, in 1952, three details in the Rampan's "reliable" *Song* into three others. In that *Song* St. Thomas too is a sinner in the affair of building the palace! See pp. 62—63.

#### 40. For and Against South India since Bp. Medlycott. (See also S. 17)

In 1814 (?) Bp. Dr. Buchanan in his *Christian Researches in Asia*, 5th edn., p. 134, said, "We have as good authority for believing that the Apostle Thomas died in India" (S. E. India), "as that the Apostle Peter died at Rome". (In both cases the testimony is of subsequent centuries. Bp. Buchanan was not aware of the St. Thomas Christians' sinful change of the *non-martyr* into their martyr Thomas). Bp. Heber in S. E. India (*Indian Journal*, III, p. 178) said: "It may be as readily believed that St. Thomas was slain in Mylapore, as that St. Paul was beheaded in Rome". If the Bp. heard the St. Thomas Christians in, say, 1500, would he have readily believed their *non-martyrdom* account, or readily questioned it?

In 1893, Rev. J. Hough, in his *Christianity in India*, I, p. 30, said "it is not probable that any of the Apostles of our Lord embarked on such a voyage.....to India" (N. W. or South). And Prof. Rae in his *Syrian Church*, 1892, located St. Thomas in Afghanistan, "where King Gondophares reigned".

(No, he reigned from Taxila and Sirkap, both in the Punjab, though some part of Afghanistan also was under him). W.R. Philipps (1903—4), Richard Garbe (1914), & Fr. Thurston, Catholic, disallowed South India's claim.

(1). In 1905, Catholic researcher, Bishop Dr. Medlycott, of Trichur, S. W. India, in his *India and -- Thomas*, 1905, located the Apostle in N.W. India first. And "after the demise of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (to see whose dead body he went away from N. W. India) he returned to South India via Ethiopia, and Socotra, two other fields of work assigned to him by Dr. Medlycott (2). Another Catholic author Dr. L.M. Zaleski in his *The Apostle Thomas in South India*, 1911, agreed with Dr. Medlycott in locating St. Thomas in South India. Bp. Zaleski relied upon the spurious *Rampax Song* "of 1601" (published in 1916), while Dr. Medlycott was unaware of its existence, or of its alleged original of 72-73 A. D. (See S. 19, pp. 29-31). In 1916 and 1924 Rev. Fr. Bernard, a St. Thomas Catholic who believed the above *Song*, located the Apostle in S. India as a "priest-lance-martyr", and not as his ancestors' *non-martyr* of 1288 to 1517.

(3). In 1927 the non-Catholic Dr. J.N. Farquhar, in his *The Apostle Thomas in South India*, Manchester, 1927, said (on p. 31 of its reprint) that "We cannot *prove* that the story" of St. Thomas's visit to N. W. and South India, "is history". And on p. 32 he added: "Thirty years ago" (in Prof.

Rae's days, supra, ca. 1892) "the balance of probability stood absolutely against the story of the Apostolate of Thomas in India; We suggest that today the balance is on the side of historicity"—even in the case of South India, and "priest-lance-martyrdom", and *not non-martyrdom*.

This support for South India is based on his *wrong* notion that "three tales about Thomas arose in the middle of the first century, one in Alexandria, another in the Punjab, a third in South India". He is wrong because as a matter of fact no document tells us what the *South Indian* account of St. Thomas was "in the middle of the first century", nor even in the centuries before Bar-Hebraeus (1226-86) and Marco Polo (1293), See SS. 10 and 1. He assumed groundlessly that the present S. Indian story of the "priest-lance-martyr" Thomas with the dates A. D. 52 and 72, had been current in S. W. or S. E. India since the middle of the first century. And he ignored the Pariah-arrow-*non-martyrdom* account current in S. India from at latest 1288 to 1517. That big slice of S. India's St. Thomas story finds no place at all in his booklet.

In 1925 or so on the occasion of Dr. Farquhar's visit to me in Trivandrum, Travancore, I suggested that he had better study the pros and cons of South India's claims to St. Thomas the non-martyr and martyr, telling him that I had found no evidence for the claim to our present priest-lance-martyr Thomas. The results of his study are in

his two booklets St. Thomas in North India and South India, Manchester, 1926 and 1927. My review of the two appeared in 1926 and '27 in *The Young Men of India*, Calcutta, in May and July respectively. In the same magazine there was in 1927 a controversy on South India's St. Thomas claim between Dr. P. J. Thomas and myself, both "St. Thomas" Christians. In *The Indian Antiquary* of London since 1923 there were my articles *against* our claim, and Dr. P. J. Thomas appeared in that magazine too with his arguments in favour of the claim.

And since 1927 almost all articles and books on South India's martyr St. Thomas (A. D. 52 to 63, or 72?) have been quoting Dr. Farquhar's conclusion in his booklet of that year. Some of the authors who agree or disagree with him are quoted below.

(4). In 1938, Rev. Dr. F. E. Key in his *The Syrian Church in India*, S. P. C. K., Madras, 1938 (and in its recent reprint of 1951) followed Dr. Farquhar. But, unlike him, Rev. Key characterises the Pariah-arrow-*non-martyrdom* account related till 1517 as "silly" (p. 13 of 1938). Yes, for one who knows that the Apostle was a martyr, the non-martyrdom narrative will appear untrue, or silly. But if it really appertains to a Saracen Thomas from Nubia, it cannot be silly.

(5). In 1938, Prof. Dr. John Foster, Birmingham, in *The Church of the T'ang Dynasty*, S. P. C. K.,



1938, p. 35, styles S. W. India's Christians "the so-called "Thomas Christians" of the Malabar coast". He regards them as a "considerable fragment" of the Nestorian church. The appellation "St. Thomas" Christians is, we know, not found applied to them before the 14th century. Before that they were termed Nestorians or Nasranis. He says on p. 24 that "the significance of Nestorianism lies rather in its freedom from connection with the Roman Empire than in any marked difference of faith." On p. X also he says: "The significance of Nestorianism is, not "heresy", but independence of the Roman State".

Prof. Foster's visit to me in 1938 or so at Thuckalai, S. Travancore, was the occasion for our discussion of South India's St. Thomases with three venerated skeletons. Only two of them, the non-martyr of ante 1288 to 1517 and the martyr who subsequently displaced him, were then talked about. See S. 21, pp 32—34 for some other St. Thomases. Prof. Foster was, while in Kottayam some days later, shown also by a friend the Pallivanavar statuette (see p. 48 and picture op.) in the Hindu Officer's custody (p. 49).

(6). In 1950, Rev. Fr. Louis M. Shouriah, a Catholic, said in his *Blood on the Mount* (41 pages) that "It was in the year 52 A. D. that the Apostle first landed at Cranganore" (p. 3), and that "the traditional scene of the Apostle's martyrdom (is) St. Thomas Mount -- nearly 7 miles from Mylapore"

(pp. 7—8). The Bangalore Bishop Rt. Rev. P. Thomas's Foreword mentions "the antiquity and strength of the tradition in Malabar, where there has been a large Christian community from the first century". But the Malabar tradition about its present "priest-lance-martyr" is not anterior to 1517; and there is no evidence for the existence of Christians or heretics in Malabar before Pallivanavar. (See SS. 26, 27, pp. 42—51). On page 41 Fr. Shouriah says of St. Thomas's bones that "part of his remains lie to this day" in "the Tomb of the Apostle" in the Mylapore Catholic Cathedral. For the skull-bones &c. of 1523, see p. 14 ante. Some part of those bones was given to St. Xavier, and some other part or parts were probably appropriated by others after 1523, and before deposition again in the tomb. What about Thuruthoor's fragment (p. 15)?

(7). In 1923, the oft-quoted Vincent Smith said (*Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 126): "My personal impression, formed after much examination of the evidence is that the story of the martyrdom" (of the Apostle) "in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the Saint's death". But he ought to have considered the fact that South India's martyr St. Thomas appeared in documents only after 1517, to oust its previous Pariah-arrow-non-martyr! Probably he did consider it later on. For in 1924 in his *Early History of India* (1924, p. 150) he said "I am now satisfied that the Christian Church of Southern India is extremely ancient,

whether it was founded by St. Thomas in person or not", -- Yes, it could be founded in Malabar soon after St. Thomas's soldiers-spear-martyrdom in the Punjab in, say, 33 A. D. See S. 96, p. 43, para 3.

(8). In 1926, Dr. Mingana, of John Rylands Library, Manchester, "adopted a non-committal attitude regarding the question of St. Thomas" in South India. See his *Early Spread of Christianity in India*. Manchester, 1926. After the publication in 1923 of his *Early Spread - - in Central Asia & the Far East*, I requested him by letter to publish a similar book of Syriac and other documents on Christianity in pre-Cosmasian India, ante 525 A. D. Several documents not generally known before are in that book, though some of the Indias in them are pseudo-Indias. See p. 43, para 3 supra.

(9). In 1923, Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S. J., a Catholic, the enthusiastic St. Thomas researcher, was in his *Antiquities from San Thome and Mylapore*, finished that year, but published in 1936 (after his death in 1935) in favour of South India's priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas's north-south tomb in the San Thome Cathedral, in Mylapore. But see S. 11, pp. 13-16. He identified St. Thomas's Calamina with Mylapore (on his pp. 302, 305-14).

In 1924 Fr. Hosten, after some correspondence between us, was met by me in Trivandrum, and I gave him in the course of our conversation my meagre evidence of those days against South India's

St. Thomas. And after that we went for a long time writing to each other on the St. Thomas problem. I supplied him (and also P. Berggren - see No. 8 ante) with English translations of the St. Thomas Song 'of 1601 A. D.' and of other relevant Malayalam documents. Vide the many references to them in his book of 1923 mentioned above.

Fr. Hosten (and Dr. Berggren and Fr. Hosten) unreasonably believed that Song 'of 1601' though its date, genuineness, and authenticity, and the existence of the original source (the alleged St. Thomas Biography of 72-73 A. D. see pp. 29-31) of it have not yet been proved. Since 1916, the year of the Song's publication by Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, Catholic, of Travancore, I have been through private letters and articles in papers and journals asking for evidence for the Song's date, genuineness, &c. and for the existence of the alleged St. Thomas Biography of 72-73 A. D. anywhere at any time. See S. 10, pp. 29-31.

#### 41. South India's Supporters, in and after 1681

In 1659 "St. Thomas" Christians and other Christians in India celebrated the 10th centenary of the alleged landing of St. Thomas, their priest-lance-martyr of after 1517, in Cranganore, N. W. India. Many books, brochures and articles by Christians, have been published in support of his coming to South India. And a Hindu (see S. 45)

published a book *against* it. A few of the above supporters' statements are quoted below, with my remarks.

(1). In 1951 Mr. K N. Daniel, of the Mar Thoma Church, gave on p. 12 of his *The South Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas*, Aug. 1951 (34 pages) published by the Church History Association, Serampore, W. Bengal, the following "almost unanimous.....tradition regarding the South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas", the martyr (and not the non-martyr of before 1517 A. D.). "St. Thomas landed at Maliankara" (mentioned in the *spurious* "Song of 1601").....and converted many Brahmans. He then proceeded to .....the seven centres of the work of St. Thomas in Malabar. ....At last he was stabbed to death by some Brahman and buried at Mylapore" (in which of the two alleged "St. Thomas" tombs there?)

It must be noted that he does not dare to give any of the various St. Thomas dates (see my p. 31), nor does he mention the Brahmin's weapon, which is alleged to have been a *soolam* (lance), or *kuntham* (spear), or pointed wooden rod (*moorcha-kol*) in Malabar records; or four spears, a sword, lance, or arrow or arrows, &c. in non-Indian documents. See my pp. 19-22. Neither does Mr. Daniel assert that the above tradition of "the Coromandel Brahman's" stabbing of the Apostle Thomas was in vogue in South India or even in the rest of Asia or in Africa before 1517 A. D. In fact the murdering

"priest" of a sun temple is a European legend, not recorded before ca. 500 A. D. See pp. 17-21 of this my book.

In ch. 2, on pp. 15-18, Mr. Daniel states that the traditions about South India's martyr St. Thomas (cf after 1517) current in the seven sections of the Church of Malabar, and in the Churches of Chaldea, Coromandel and Socotra "help" and "support" one another (p. 84). And in the Foreword Rt. Rev. Bp. Noel of Chers Nagpur, Ranchi, N. India, President of the above Church History Association, says: "not the least valuable chapter of Mr. Daniel's book is that (ch. 2) in which he seeks to vindicate the claims of Southern India".

But South Indian Christians' claim that 1517 was to the Pariah arrow-killed non-martyr from Nubia, and not to the "Brahman-stabbed" martyr St. Thomas from W. Asia. On p. 21 he quotes from Marco Polo the Christian and Muslim claims to the above non-martyr, but omits the Christian's own account of the non-martyrdom. Was that non-martyr of Polo's days (1288-98) and even of the later centuries down to 1517 the same as South India's "Brahman-stabbed" martyr of after 1517? Why was the former *changed* into the latter? Mr. Daniel does not give any answer.

(2). In 1952 the Most Rev. Juhanon Mar Thoma, Metropolitan, non-Catholic, Thiruvalla, Travancore, in his booklet *Christianity in India* (60 pages), 1952, said: "The Malankara Mar Thoma

Syrian Church (is) believed to be founded by St. Thomas, - - and called by that name" - - This "affirmation" of the Mar Thoma Church's "faith" is one of the four "declared to be unalterable" in "the constitution of the Mar Thoma Church". See p. 47 of the booklet.

On pp. 1—2 His Grace the Metropolitan says St. Thomas "is believed to have landed at Cranganore...in the year A. D. 52. In true Apostolic tradition he is said to have preached first to the Jews...in and around Cochin", - - - - "According to another story the Apostle" (no, a non-martyr) "met with an accidental death, by the arrow of a fowler. His body"(no, the non-martyr's body) "was buried in Mylapore; and later in the second century" (?), "the bones were carried off to Edessa". But in the 16th century "bones were found inside a tomb" (p. 2), pointed out by a Muslim as of "St. Thomas" See p. 14 supra.

Do not (1) the above non-martyrdom, and (2) the existence of the bones in the tomb in the 16th century, long after the admitted translation of the Apostle's bones to Edessa (in 232-3 or later), militate against the Mar Thoma Church's "unalterable affirmation"? Is its tradition, therefore, "true Apostolic tradition"? Its form before the 13th century is not found in any document. Was it then about the non-martyr or the martyr?

If evidence is thus against South India, and if South Indian Christians sinned in deliberately

changing the non-martyr into their present martyr, should the Mar Thoma Syrian Church delete from its constitution the above affirmation about its belief in the founding of that church by the Apostle and martyr St. Thomas? See pp. 24-28, S. 17, for Catholics' and non-Catholics' conclusions against South India. Malankara (p. 103 end) is S. W. India; and not Malyankara Island (p. 102, para 2, & p. 30, para 2). They are not related. (Mar Thoma = St., Bishop, or Lord Thomas).

(3). In 1952, Rev. Stanley Thoburn, non-Catholic, in his English farce on India's St. Thomas (Malayalam translation, 1952) refrained from assigning any 'palace-building' sin to the Apostle (Act 3, Scene 5). But in scene 8 he has accepted the dates A. D. 52 and 72 (not 68 of the Mylapore inscription of 1896); and in scene 10 the European documents' 'priest-lance'-martyrdom adopted by South India after 1517 only.

(4). In August 1952, S. N. Wald, S. V. D., Catholic, of Palda, Indore, in his book *St. Thomas the Apostle of India* (100 pages) brought the Apostle to Muziris (p. 66, a Cranganore port), in 53 A. D. (p. 54), and described him as a martyr killed by a "priest of the temple of Kali (goddess) near Madras" with "a lance" on "3rd July, 72 A. D.", and buried in his "supposed" tomb (p. 85).

Marco Polo's and Marignolli's Pariah-arrow-non-martyrdom account (repeated even later till 1517) is to the author "probably - - - a later and

false report" (p. 78). No, it is earlier than the priest-lance account of after 1517. Did the Christians of before 1517 give to Polo and three other visitors a *false* report? How could priest-lance-martyrdom be proved to be a *true* report?

On p. 86 he says: "Only a part of St. Thomas' relics was transferred to Edessa, the rest remained at Mailapur". He adds that in 1521 "some remarkably white bones, the iron point of a lance, with part of the shaft attached, and a clay vessel filled with earth" were found in a sepulchre (of St. Thomas), and the remains were "deposited in Goa". He does not mention the "much worn out" skull-bones, and other bones found also in the *other* alleged St. Thomas tomb (that in the Cathedral now) opened in 1523. Yes, both could contain the bones because those tombs were *not* the Apostle's. See the Loma manuscript's statement, p. 39 ante. See also pages 3, 13-15 & 29 ante. The bones found in 1523 must have been much older than the "white" skeleton in Goa, found in 1521-22.

(5). In July 1952, Rev. Fr. Dr. Placid, a St. Thomas Catholic, of Travancore, in his article in *Deepika's* St. Thomas Centenary Souvenir, Kottayam, 1952 (see S. 45) says on p. 115 that in former times (in the days of Polo, Marignolli, and others) it might not have been the tomb venerated today (in the Catholic Cathedral, Mylapore) that was regarded as the (priest-lance-killed) Apostle's; and it was possible that the bones found inside (when?)

happened to be understood as the Apostle's. (I translate, with my remarks in brackets, the Malayalam sentences given on pp. 28-29 of Mr. C. Krishna Kurup's booklet. See S. 45)

So Fr. Placid supposes that the present Cathedral tomb is *really* the Apostle's. But how were skull-bones found in it in 1523, while at the same moment the *entire* skull of the Apostle, certified as such in 1566, was in Ortona? What sort of martyr Thomas was in the present tomb before, say, 1500 A. D.? Which document prior to 1500 says that the present tomb's Thomas was a *South-Indian*-*"Empran"*-killed martyr? No record says so.

Where, in or near Mylapore, is now the *non*-martyr Nubian Thomas's tomb *venerated* by Christians *and* Muslims and Hindus in the days of Polo (1288-93), Marignolli, (1348), Barbosa (ca. 1505) and Diogo (1517)? It is *not* the other tomb which contained the "white skeleton" sent to Goa in 1522. The pilgrims did *not* resort to that tomb, *outside* St. Thomas's domed house. See pp. 63-71.

(6). In Aug. 1952, Rev. Fr. Herman D'Souza, of St. Thomas Mount, said on p. 27 of his *In the steps of St. Thomas* (112 pages) that "No one has ever proved that this Christianity and its tradition have an origin later than the first century after Christ". And I say that no one has ever proved that *South India's* "Christianity and its tradition" about the *naz*-martyr Thomas of 1288 to 1517, or about the present priest-lance-martyr Thomas had

their origin in the first century in 50 to 72, or 52 to 68 A. D., or in the period before Pallivanavar (pp. 47—51 ante). To prove all the above points is the duty of those who affirm them. See S. 26.

On p. 29 the author says that "There is no other country in India that claims to have had St. Thomas as the founder of its church save Malabar". But he has not established that even the Malabar church claimed before the 13th century the non-martyr or the martyr Thomas as its founder. Even Brazil, Germany, Japan, Parthia, &c. claimed St. Thomas. Let them prove their claim. See SS. 22 and 37.

(7), In Dec. 1952, Papal Chevalier, Joseph Thaliath, Retired Chief Justice of the High Court of Travancore, and a "St. Thomas" Catholic, said: "The more I read the more convinced I become that he" (the present priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas) "came to Malabar and Mylapore"-(p. 2 of his *St. Thomas's Mission in Malabar & Mylapore*, 11 pages, reprinted, 1952, from the 'Malabar Mail' Centenary Special, Ernakulam, Cochin).

He adds (on the same page) that "Those who have spent some time or years in Malabar and South India" (Malabar is in S. India) "and studied the question on the spot hardly ever doubted the Apostle's mission in these parts". Marco Polo, Marignolli, Barbosa and Diogo Fernandes (and Gaspar Correa too, 1516 A. D.?) spent time in Malabar or other parts of South India (from 1293

to 1517) and studied the question on the spot. And what they heard from the South Indian Christians, Muslims and Hindus was *not* about the West Asian Jew, the priest-lance-martyr St. Thomas of after 1517, but about the Pariah-arrow-*non*-martyr Thomas from Nubia. Were not those foreigners and the Christians, our ancestors, and other religionists in South India convinced about that *non*-martyr Thomas's "mission in these parts"? Why did our later ancestors give him up, and adopt the convincing present martyr St. Thomas?

If we lived in that pre-Portuguese period, could we "ever doubt" that Nubian *non*-martyr Thomas's mission to Mylapore? (In fact he was a *Muslim* Thomas from Nubia. See S. 24).

Chevalier Joseph quotes Sardar K. M. Panikar's, a Hindu's, opinion given in his *Survey of Indian History*, 1947, thus on p. 7: "Though no definite proof exists regarding the ministry of St. Thomas, the tradition is of very considerable antiquity, and cannot be discounted easily. Since we know now from the Arikamedu excavations that the Graeco-Roman world was in constant communication with South India, the probability of the tradition being true has very greatly increased". He means the priest-lance-martyr tradition.

But this is not "of very considerable antiquity", being subsequent to 1517. The previous tradition was about the *non*-martyr from Nubia. And if the Apostle Thomas could easily come to South India

and even to Fars, Baluchistan, Gondophares's Iucis region, Japan, Malacca, or China, or Brazil as alleged (see SS. 22 & 37, supra), a Muslim Thomas from Nubia could very well reach Mylapore in the period between 650 and 1288 A. D. And why do *all* now throw overboard the *non-martyr* Thomas of before 1517 accepted by South Indian Christians as their St. Thomas? No reason has yet been given by any author, Catholic, non-Catholic, or Hindu, or Muslim in any publication.

(8). In Dec. 1952, Rev. Fr. A. C. Perumalil, S. J., a "St. Thomas" Catholic of Travancore, published his *The Apostles in India: Fact or Fiction?* (153 pages), Patna, 1952, on St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew both in present day India, as he alleges. On p. 51 he opines that St. Thomas preached in our India as well as in Parthia outside this India. But others, we know, are of the opinion that he preached in the Parthian portion of India, viz. N. W. India of the first century. And in ch. 8 he locates the Apostle in *South India alone*.

He is *not sure* whether St. Thomas was a martyr or not. On p. 57, footnote 181, he admits that "the South Indian belief recorded by Polo, Marignolli and Barbosa shows that he met with an accidental death by the stray arrow of a hunter. There is not enough evidence to decide one way or the other". But we must recognise the fact that South Indian Christians of the period from 1288 to 1517, stood alone in this matter, against the rest of

the Christian Church, Eastern and Western. And after 1517 their descendants did make him a martyr.

Since all documents of the Christian world, from *The Acts of Thomas* downwards, *except* South India's account of the above period, testify that St. Thomas was a martyr, the legitimate conclusion is that the *non-martyr* Thomas of South India was *not* the martyr St. Thomas. But Fr. Perumalil is not sure that the Apostle was a non-martyr or martyr!!

In footnote 188 on pp. 62-63, and on p. 65 the author records his conclusion that "the main portion of the body" (the bones) "of St. Thomas was translated to Edessa before the 4th century A. D." His p. 57 has "most of them—the holy remains", removed to Edessa. And on p. 62 he admits that "some bones of the skull (cabeca)" and other bones were in 1523 found by Diogo in the present "St. Thomas" tomb in the Cathedral of Mylapore.

But we know from the Ortona Bishop's and others' "Deed of Verification" of 1566 (see ante, p. 14) that the St. Thomas skull at Ortona translated from (somewhere in) India via Edessa and Chios Island is entire, with "*no part found missing*". So no skull bones of the Apostle can possibly be found elsewhere. Whose then are "some bones of the skull (cabeca)" found in 1523 in the Mylapore Cathedral tomb? They cannot be the Apostle's. Fr. Perumalil cannot contend that those skull bones of 1523 were sent to Ortona to make the St. Thomas

skull there entire, with "no part missing". (The above attestation of 1566 is not mentioned in Fr. Perumalil's book. Why?).

Whose are the bones, "much worn out", found in 1523? They are the non-martyr Thomas's, and not of the martyr St. Thomas. This is the legitimate conclusion. See S. 24, pp. 38-40.

Fr. Perumalil says on p. 57, "No one can accuse her" (= "Mother India") "of forging documents to prove the apostolic origin of her Christianity". What about Travancore's alleged St. Thomas "*Charitam*" by his own Travancore disciple, and about its alleged summary the St. Thomas Song "of 1601 A. D.". See pp. 29-31, S. 19 ante.

On p. 55, in footnote 175, Fr. Perumalil shows that 3 out of 5 complete copies of Mar Solomon's *Bee*, of the period from 1476 to the 18th century, have "Mahluph" as the burial place of St. Thomas. That means only that in the above centuries from 1476 downwards West Asian copyists and others there heard of the Mylapore (Mahluph) tomb of (the non-martyr) "St. Thomas". West Asia could hear of it even long before 1476. Even Mar Solomon in 1222, before M. Polo, could perhaps hear of it.

But could the Bp. believe that the Mylapore tomb was really that of the martyr St. Thomas? He says in his previous sentence that "the King of the Indians - - stabbed him with a spear and he died" as a martyr, because "he baptised the daughter of

the king". Bishop Bar Hebraeus (1246-86) of W. Asia did not specify Mylapore, or South India, or non-martyrdom. See p. 21, No. 13, and S. 10. Bp. Jesu-yab, W. Asian (ordained in 1190), Solomon's contemporary, located the tomb vaguely "in India", as in the Oxford copy (1584 A. D.) of Solomon's *Bee*, and not in Mahluph.

The sentence about the diverse burial places, Edessa or Mahluph, in some copies of the *Bee* is this: "Habban, the merchant brought his body" (from the locality of "the King of the Indians"), "and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of our Lord. Others say that he was buried in Mahluph, a city in the land of the Indians". This is what "*others say*" in Solomon's *Days*, and not *his own* specific statement. He is *positive* (but, *wrong*) about burial in Edessa *first*, as we know that it was only the *bones* that were taken to Edessa, and not the dead body of St. Thomas. Was the body taken from the above king's place (which?) to Mylapore?

#### 42. Fr. Perumalil versus T. K. Joseph

Between Fr. Perumalil and myself there were in the Journal of Indian Hist. two controversies on St. Thomas the non-martyr-martyr of South India and the martyr of Calamina (in the Parthian Punjab), and on the India of Bartholomew-Pantaenus. See p. 57, para 1.

(1). On his p. 131 Fr. Perumalil accuses me of "interpolation". See also his p. 49, note 155. The *supposed* interpolation is in the translation of



two sentences from St. Isidore, in my article in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. 29, 1951, p. 325. That passage is also on p. 40 ante. I was merely quoting Fr. Hosten's translation (of the Latin original), on p. 302 of his *Antiquities*, Mylapore, 1936. His translation of the first sentence runs: Therefore this Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes, up to the furthest eastern parts (*ad extremam orientalem plagam*), and there preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom". But Fr. Perumalil's original has "*et intimam orientalem plagam*", and his translation is: "This Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes and the innermost eastern part, and there he preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom". (Fr. Hosten has "parts", plural.)

Fr. Hosten perhaps found the Latin passage in Bp Zaleski's *Saints of India*, pp. 139-40 and in his *Les Origines*, pp. 141-42, both of which he gives as reference, on p. 302, footnote. But Fr. Perumalil took it from Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tome 83, 1290, and says it is really a Pseudo-Isidore's statement (of what date? Is it after the Latin *De Miraculis Thomae* of ca. 500? This mentions 'priest-lance').

Which was Pseudo-Isidore's "innermost eastern part", where the Apostle was "pierced with a lance, and died at Calamina, a town of India", as that Latin author adds? See p. 40 ante. It was India's innermost eastern part. Did he mean Mylapore? Was there any Thomas's (*non-martyr's* or *martyr's*)

tomb in Mylapore when Pseudo-Isidore wrote as above? Was his India the Indus region alone, or the whole of India-Pakistan of today?

We know, however, that the "lance-pierced martyr" St. Thomas of South India is of the period subsequent to 1517 A. D.

(2). On page 56, note 177, Fr. Perumalil says that I have also "interpolated the text of Polo as "Saracen holy man and great prophet of their own, come from Nubia". Here, "come from Nubia" is an interpolation".

The Muslims told Marco Polo that the non-martyr Thomas (in the present, 2nd Mylapore tomb) was a Saracen holy man and great prophet of their own. It was the Christians who told Polo (1) that he was a Pariah-arrow-killed saint Thomas, and (2) that he had been preaching in Nubia before coming to S. E. India (and not in Malabar), <sup>and his name was Thomas.</sup>

I inferred that the Muslims also, and the Hindus, did agree with the Christians in their ~~two~~ assertions noted above. Hence it was that I added "come from Nubia" to the Muslims' words (about their non-martyr Thomas). They did not say that the Christians were telling lies in the matter of non-martyrdom, and of preaching in Nubia, <sup>and of his name being Thomas.</sup>

And neither the Christians nor the Muslims asserted that their non-martyr Thomas, from Nubia, preached also in Socotra, Malabar, or China, though South India's Christians have been in recent

centuries assigning those lands also to their new-fangled St. Thomas, an "Empran-soolam-martyr". Empraan is a South Indian Brahmin *pujari*, priest, and not a North Indian Brahmin priest. Empraan is composed of two Tamil-Malayalam words *en piraan*, meaning my lord.

(3). Fr. Perumalil says on p. 50, note 160, that I have "changed the text and has made Origen say that the tomb of St. Thomas is in Parthia". Origen said "Parthia fell to Thomas". Yes; from that I inferred that he not only preached in Parthia, but was also martyred and buried in Parthia itself, i. e. in the "Indian" portion of first century Parthia. So I did not tamper with Origen's statement, and "change" it into 'Parthia fell to Thomas's tomb'. Fr. Perumalil's opinion is that the Apostle preached in the two different regions Parthia and India.

#### 43. Fr. Perumalil's Picture of St. Thomas

On the dust cover of Fr. Perumalil's book is a colour picture of a man in non-South-Indian attire. From the scene between two coconut trees before him I take him to be St. Thomas the Apostle (of South India alone, according to Fr. Perumalil), and not St. Bartholomew or St. Pantagenus, both located by the author in the Konkan, on the west coast of India.

The sub-title of his book is "Fact or Fiction?", printed just over "St. Thomas's" head. I put this question about the picture;—is it a true or fictitious

picture of the present "Empraan-soolam-martyr" St. Thomas from West Asia, or of the previous "Parish-arrow-non-martyr St. Thomas" from Nubia?

Non-Catholic authors' books have no pictures of St. Thomas, non-martyr or martyr. Where, and of which years, are the originals of the St. Thomas portraits in Catholic authors' books? Those portraits differ from one another in their facial features and other details.

Where is the original of the portrait on the dust cover of Fr. Perumalil's book? What is that original's date? In A. D. 50—72? Or in 53 to 68? Or, is it a later portrait as fictitious as South India's "Empraan-soolam-martyr" St. Thomas fabricated after 1517 to displace the previous Saracen non-martyr from Nubia? See also pp 61—63 ante. The Sun-temple of *De Miraculis*, ca. 500, & other European accounts was changed in South India into the Hindu Kaali goddess's temple, and the Sun-temple priest into a South Indian Empraan Brahmin priest. See pp. 6, 9, 21, 105, 116.

#### 44. Did Gondophares Live before St. Thomas?

In Fr. Perumalil's Appendix Five (pp. 126—29) there are extracts from Dr. J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw's *The Scythian Period* (1st century B. C. to 3rd cent, A. D.), Leiden, 1949. Contrary to the period A. D. 19 to 45 (and after) assigned to Gondophares by researchers since 1905, Dr. Leeuw's "supposition" (as he admits) is that the year 103

of Gondophares's Takt-i-Bahi inscription corresponds to 26 B. C. ("103=26 B. C."), and the year 77 "of Gondophernes' dynasty" equals "53 B. C." See Dr Leeuw, pages 351—52.

I have requested the head of the Indian Archaeological Department, New Delhi, to examine Dr. Leeuw's "*supposition*". (Was there only one Gondophares in the Scytho-Parthian dynasty?).

#### 45. A Kerala Hindu against

S. India's St. Thomas, & Neelan Charter, 1320 A.D.

##### A. No St. Thomas in S. India

Mr. C. Krishna Kurup, of Thiruvangad, has in his Malayalam booklet of 53 pages quoted *against* South India's claim to the Apostle Thomas, the conclusions of Dr. A. C. Burnell, Dr. James Hastings, Vincent Smith, Neander, & Dean F. W. Farrar, and the conclusions in 2 Encyclopaedias. Its title's translation is: St. Thomas the Apostle has Never Come to Kerala. Its sub-title: The Martyr of the Imaginary Land. It was printed in Trivandrum, Travancore, and bears the date 3—7—1953 on the title page.

On page 51, the author gives these conclusions of his:—

- 1) Certainly St. Thomas has not come to India of today (outside Pakistan).
- 2) The Mylapore tomb believed to be his is not his tomb. (See ante p. 28; Fr. Heras).
- 3) He has not been martyred in Mylapore or in any other part of India of today.

4). Neither St. Thomas nor any other Christian effected mass conversion of Brahmins and others in India.

Mr. Kurup does not mention the astounding facts, (i) that the present martyr Thomas of South India was a *non-martyr* from 1288 to 1517 A. D., and (2) that in the present Mylapore tomb skull-bones, and other bones were found in 1523 even though the *entire* St. Thomas skull was at the very moment in the Ortona Church in Italy. See p. 32, Nos. 1 & 2, and S. 24 ante. His booklet is an adverse criticism of the St. Thomas Centenary Souvenir published on 3—7—1952 by the Travancore Daily Catholic Paper *Deepika* (=Light), of Kottayam.

##### B. King Pallivanavar's Crosses

On p. 51 Mr. Kurup says that no king (Hindu, or Buddhist, or Jain) of Kerala was converted to Christianity yet. What about the cross-wearing Pallivanavar of Neelan-peroor, and the Hindu chronogram "rauravam devarajyam"? See S. 27, pp. 47—50 ante.

##### C. Iravi Korthan, the Chetti, 1320 A. D.

On pp. 49—50 Mr. Kurup says about Iravi Korthan's copper plate charter granted by King Vira Raghava "Chakravarti" (=Emperor), that, since the particular person ("*inna aal*") to whom it was granted is not specified in the charter, it has to be considered whether the plate was granted to

Christians at all. He means that the religious persecution of "Iravi Korthan" mentioned in it as the donee, is not specified. (Was it therefore nobody's?)

He does not assert that the donee was a Hindu, though the late Dr. Goda Varma, Philology Professor, Trivandrum, declared that the name is really the Hindu Sanskrit name Ravi Govardhana, *with out* citing any clear instance of a decidedly Hindu name Korthan in other documents of about the same age. He has quoted a Sanskrit sloka which equates Korthan and Govardhanah. But its age is unknown; its authorship too.

Iravi Korthan may be a title, or an official designation, and not a name. Varthema, the European traveller says (ca. 1505) that in Calicut, Malabar, brokers are called "lella or cortor". Lella is Arabic *dallal*, meaning a broker. Cortor is an European word (allied to English *court*), introduced perhaps by Italian traders before the Portuguese came in 1498. Perhaps it is of some language of Italy. Portuguese too has *cortor* meaning one who cuts.

As for Iravi it may be a corrupt form of the Arabic Rab-i, which means 'Chief of'. So Rab-i-Cortor means Chief of the Brokers. The copper plate charter was granted to that officer and his descendants. Its date is 1320 A. D. as its script and language show, and not 230, or 774 as some have suggested on the basis of its astronomical details *alone*.

"72 privileges" also are granted to the donee. Those privileges were granted only to Christians, and Jews in Kerala, as documents testify, and not to any Hindu. No document mentions "72 privileges" granted to a Hindu by a Kerala king. We may, therefore, conclude that Iravi Korthan (Rab-i-Cortor, Master Broker) was a non-Hindu, in spite of his other title "Cheramaan-loka-perum-chetti", meaning the greatest merchant of the Kerala King. Chetti here is not the Hindu caste title. In Iringalakkuda and other places in Cochin, S.W. India, Christians too are called Chettis, i. e. merchants: e.g. Maathu Chetti, i. e. the merchant Mathew. See p. 51, para 1 for another title. *See also p. 51, para 1 for another title.*

Even without the Master Broker's personal name, King Vira Raghava and his subjects, and the succeeding generations could identify that Greatest Merchant and his descendants. Vira Raghava, "Emperor", was an ancestor of the present royal house of Cochin, and the ancient Kerala Perumals' (= Emperors') heir. Before the year of Iravi Korthan's copper-plate, 1320 A. D., the vast Kerala ("Chera") empire had been split up, and the Cochin house continued as the ancient emperors' heir, ruling the small portion containing the ancient Chera (all Kerala) capital in Cranganore, in Cochin.

**46. Further St. Thomas Anomalies**

South India's deliberate change of its non-martyr into martyrs, after 1517, and the two Mylapore St. Thomas tombs, the three skeletons, the non-existent St. Thomas *Biography*, the spurious

*See also p. 51, para 1 for another title.*

*Song* "of 1601 A. D." and other anomalies have been dealt with in the previous sections.

There are further anomalies relating to South India's non-martyr-martyr St. Thomases. For instance:—

1). The Biography-Song, and other accounts say that South India's St. Thomas set up crosses in his (4?, 5, 7½ or ??) churches in Malabar. No such setting up of a cross or crosses in the first century is known in other regions. No cross is mentioned for his two Mylapore churches.

2). He is alleged to have converted only the Jews, and the four high caste Hindus. The only exception is the miraculous alleged conversion of one barber in Niranam, in Travancore. But he had to continue as a low, polluting caste-man. That was against Christ's teaching and His last command (St. Mathew 26 : 18).

3). In the extensive region between Quilon (in Travancore) with one of his seven alleged churches, and Mylapore, he is not said to have preached or founded any church.

4). The non-martyr "St. Thomas" of 1299 to 1517, from Nubia, came to, and preached *only* in Mylapore, and not in the S. W. region of "the seven churches" of the martyr St. Thomas of after 1517 A. D. See Marco Polo's report of the Christian tradition of his days, ca. 1293.

5). None before 1517 located the "priest-lance-martyr" in South India. He is from Europe.

7-5-1955.

T. K. JOSEPH.