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Malabar Christians  
AND  
Their Ancient Documents.

BY  
K. JOSEPH OF TRAVANCORE.

TRAVANCORE  
1857/186

Malabar Christians  
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Their Ancient Documents.

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T. K. JOSEPH OF TRAVANCORE.

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# Malabar Christians

AND

## Their Ancient Documents.

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Christianity is believed to have been introduced into Malabar in the first century A. D. by St. Thomas the Apostle, who is said to have landed at Cranganore <sup>(1)</sup> in A. D. 52. <sup>(2)</sup>

But the first explicit reference to the existence of Christians in Malabar (and in Ceylon) is in the Greek work *Topographia Christiana* written by Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Nestorian, about A. D. 535. He travelled extensively in the countries beyond the Red Sea between 520 & 525 A. D. Cosmas says:

“ Even in the island of Taprobane (=Ceylon) in Inner India where the Indian Sea is, there is a Church of Christians, with clergy and a congregation of believers, though I know not if there be any Christians further in that direction. And such also is the case in the land called Male (=Malabar) where the pepper grows. And in the place called

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1. Cranganore in the Cochin State is the ancient *Musiris* of Greek geographers, *Musiri*. ( $\mu\upsilon\sigma\iota\rho\iota$ ) of the Tamil classics, and *Muyirikkodu* ( $\mu\upsilon\gamma\iota\rho\iota\kappa\delta\upsilon$ ) of the famous Cochin Jewish copper-plate charter of A. D. 1085. See my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates* (in Malayalam), p. 33.

2. There is no consensus of opinion regarding the date of the landing of St. Thomas in Cranganore A. D. 52, 68, 82, and one or two other dates being assigned to the same event in writings of the 18th and later centuries. No precise St. Thomas dates are found in earlier documents.

Kalliana (near Bombay) there is a bishop appointed from Persia, as well as in the island of Dioscoris (= Socotra), in the same Indian Sea."—Mingana: *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, 1926, p. 29. "The island (of Ceylon) hath also a Church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a deacon, and all the apparatus of public worship. But the natives and their kings are quite another kind of people."—*Op. Cit.*, p. 30. (Cosmas quoted.)

### Pre-Cosmasian Landmarks.

Some two centuries before Cosmas, i. e. about 354 A. D., the Emperor Constantius equipped Theophilus and Malabar, ca. 354 A. D. and sent to the Sabeans of South Arabia, to Abyssinia, to Ceylon, and to India a mission under the leadership of Theophilus the Indian, a native of the Maldivé Islands very close to the Malabar coast. The Arian Philostorgius (as quoted in Photius's *Bibliotheca*) describes this mission to India thus :

"Thence (from the Maldives) he sailed to other parts of India, and reformed many things which were not rightly done among them; for they heard the reading of the Gospel in a sitting posture, and did other things which were repugnant to the divine law; and having reformed everything according to the holy usage, as was most acceptable to God, he also confirmed the dogma of the Church."

This shows that there were Christians in "India" which most probably is Malabar, about 354 A. D.

Earlier still, in 345 A. D. according to Malabar  
 Thomas Cana. Christian tradition, a foreign merchant  
 and his lost plates. 345 A. D. prince known as Thomas Cananeo in  
 Portuguese writings of the sixteenth and subsequent  
 centuries, and Knayi Tomman or Tomman Kinan in  
 Malayalam, founded a city in Cranganore for himself  
 and about 400 foreigners who had come with him (along  
 with Bishop Mar Joseph of Edessa, several priests and  
 deacons), and obtained from Cheraman Perumal, i. e. the  
 overlord of all Malabar, the famous copper-plate charter  
 of 345 A. D., missing or lost since some time after  
 1544 A. D.

Of these plates Gouvea, writing in and after  
 1599 A. D., says as follows in his *Jarnada* printed at  
 Coimbra only in 1606.

“and from him he (Thomas Cananeo) obtained  
 many privileges and honours for the  
 The 72 privileges. Christians among whom he lived, and a  
 very spacious ground whereon to found a large  
 Church, in keeping with the power and wealth  
 of the founder: all which he ordered to write on  
 copper *ollas*, which one Mar Iacob, Bishop of  
 these Christians, fearing they might be lost, en-  
 trusted to (Pero de Sequeira) the factor of  
 Cochim, when the Portuguese made the factory  
 there, so that the Christians might make use of  
 them when necessary; and in the factory they  
 were many years in the charge of the house, until  
 from carelessness they disappeared: whereof  
 these Christians felt much concern, not having writ-  
 ings with which to defend themselves before the  
 infidel Kings, who keep violating these their pri-  
 vileges, which among other things contained that

the Christians alone, when they married, were allowed to wear the hair of their head <sup>(3)</sup> tied with a golden flower, <sup>(4)</sup> to ride on Elephants, a privilege granted only to the heirs of Kings, to sit on carpets, and other honours which no other caste had, and which are of great value and esteem among the Malavars; and the Christians esteem them so much that, because the King of Paru (Parur in North Travancore) wished a very few years ago to grant one of these privileges to certain Moors of his Kingdom for a great sum of money which they gave him, the Christians rose against the Moors, and there were many deaths and much bloodshed on both sides".—*Jornada*, fol. 4 r, col. 2.

×                    ×                    ×                    ×

"and, owing to these privileges and honours, these Christians are liked by the gentio Kings and considered of the best and oldest nobility of Malabar, even the first place therein being given them, one more noble than have the Naires, who are the fidalgos and nobles of their Kingdoms;"—*Loc. cit.*, col. 1.

3. Malabar Christians have no long tuft of hair on the head now, nor do they wear ear ornaments at present. But they had both hair tuft and ear ornaments when the Portuguese saw them in A. D. 1498. They had hair tufts even in 1816—20 when Ward and Conner conducted their Survey of Travancore and Cochin. Hair tufts and ear rings survived among the Malabar Christians until about the end of the 19th century. A reconstruction picture of a Malabar Christian of about A. D. 1500 will appear in *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 4. See also plate opposite.

4. A photo of such a golden flower belonging to the church at Chunnam in Travancore, was published by me in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1923. It is like the cluster of leaves forming the crest of the pine-apple.



ഗമാ കണ്ട നസ്രാണി.

(ക്രി. വ. 1493.)

A Malabar Christian of about A. D. 1500.

Reconstructed by T. K. J. & P.

“ With these privileges, added to those which Xarao Perumal had left, the Christians of Malabar kept gaining much more credit, being held in such account that even now, in the Kingdoms beyond the Serra of the Pande, <sup>(5)</sup> they are called sons <sup>(6)</sup> of Kings.”—*Jornada*, fol. 4 v, col. 1. .

The Thomas Cana plates (two in number) of A. D. 345 have not yet come to light even though I <sup>The Thomas Cana stone slab, to be discovered,</sup> searched for them in Lisbon and other places through the Agent to the Governor General, Madras States, Trivandrum (*vide* his letter Ref. P. 1165/25 of 28th March 1926 and R. Dis. 1163/26 of 25th November 1926), and through Mr. K. M. Panikkar, now in Kashmir State Service. A Portuguese translation, <sup>(7)</sup> necessarily imperfect, of these plates is in the British Museum, in a MS. volume marked *Brit. Mus. Addl. Mss. 9853 Relacao da Serra, de 1604*. Malabar tradition says that a contemporary public copy of these plates is inscribed on a stone slab which lies face downwards ‘at the northern gate of the Cranganore temple.’ This lithic copy too has yet to be discovered. No stone

5. The Serra of the Pande means the mountain of the Pandyan Kingdom, i. e. the Southern portion of the Western Ghats.

6. Gouvea here refers to the title *Mappila* which the Malabar Christians are said to have obtained from Cheraman Perumal. *Pilla* (=son or daughter) is the title applied even now to the Perumal's indigenous Hindu subjects. His Christian subjects have been called *Mappilla* (= *Mappilla*), son-in-law, probably because the first man to obtain it, viz. Thomas Cana, was a foreigner. Jews and Moslems too of Malabar have the title applied to them.

7. An English translation of this by the Rev. Fr. H. Eosten, S. J., of Darjeeling, is included in an article on the plates by the Rev. Fr. J. Monteiro D'Aguiar, appearing in *Kerala Society Papers, Series 4*.

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slab in Cranganore, either above ground or under ground, is to be left unturned. In 1776, in the wake of an invasion of Haider Ali of Mysore, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, Adriaan Moens, made a hurried search in the wrong quarter for the Thomas Cana stone slab, but naturally enough failed to discover it, as recorded in his *Memorandum* published in *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911.

Gouvea's *Jornal* and other Portuguese and Dutch books have many more details about the prowess of the Malabar Christians. Says Gouvea :

“ With the favours and increases which the Christians had obtained the Christianity extended and spread so much that the Christians claimed to elect among themselves their own King, who should govern them all, though scattered in so many parts subject to so many diverse Kings <sup>(8)</sup>, and who should defend them and protect them from the violences and tyrannies of the infidels; and acting upon their resolution, they chose as their first King one called Beliarte <sup>(9)</sup>, whose title was King of the Christians of Saint Thomas, and for some years they were in this power of having a distinct King, until the death of the

---

8. At present the majority of the descendants of the original pre-Portuguese Syrian Christians of Malabar are under the Kings of Travancore and Cochin. A small portion, those in British Cochin and Palur near Chowghat are under the British Government.

9. Beliarte is the Villiyarvattam dynasty. The earliest mention of a Lord of the Malabar Christians is in a letter of A. D. 1330 from Pope John XXII., which began as follows : *Nobili viro domino Nasarinorum et unicersis sub eo Christianis Nasarinis de Columbo*.....Nasranis mentioned here are the Malabar Christians. Columbum is Quilon in Travancore.



last, who had no successor; whereupon the King of Diamper, with whom he was adopted (*com quem era perfilhado*), came to inherit his estates and lands; and when the Kings of Diamper failed, he of Cochin through a similar adoption next inherited the Kingdom; wherefore, the Kings of Cochin claim to have more jurisdiction and right on the Christians of Saint Thomas than the other Kings in whose lands they dwell...and, when the Admiral Vasco da Gama came to Cochin in the second fleet, which left Portugal in the year 1502, the Christians sent him an embassy in which they said that.....they asked him to be pleased to accept them under his protection, and the protection of his King.....; and, in token of the vassalage they wished to give to the King of Portugal, they sent him a red staff, garnished at the ends with silver, and having at the top three silver bells, which was the sceptre used by their Kings whom they had recently lost.”—*Jornad* 7, fol. 5 r-v. (10)

There was no Christian King in Malabar in 1502

A. D. But a palace of his existed in  
The Christian King's palace at Diamper. Udayamperur in North Travancore during the early years of the 16th century. The Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, s. J., (on the authority of Manoel Xavier: *Compendio univesral ds todos os Viso-Reys*; Mullbayer, 44) says that Fr. Luis de Salvador, a Missionary, one of the eight Franciscans who had come with Cabral in 1501 “was at Cananore and Cochin, preached in Malabar, tarried some time at the court of the King

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10. I am extremely obliged to the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, s. J., for he extracts from *Jornada* appearing in this monograph.

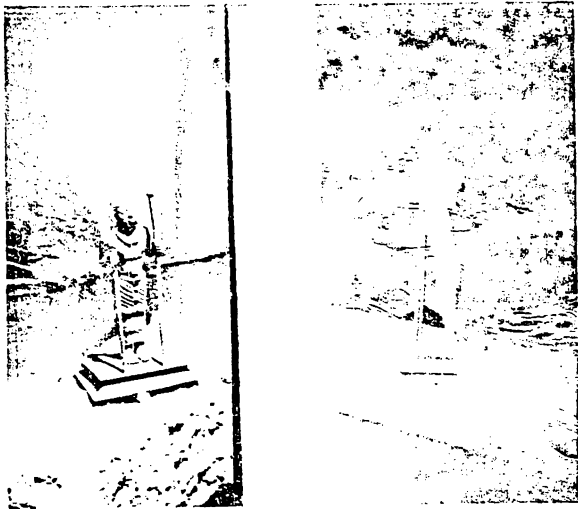
of *Diamp̄er* (11), went on a visit to St. Thomas at Mylapore (or intended going), and acted once as ambassador between the Portuguese authorities and the King of Vijayanagar." Fr. Luis seems to have been killed in Vijayanagar about 1511 A. D.



A bronze statuette of a King traditionally known as Pallivanavar among the Hindus of Nilamperur, on the eastern shore of the Vembanad lake in Travancore, was unearthed forty years ago and is kept safe in the house of a Nair of the place. This statuette has a conspicuous cross in the middle of a string of pearls or a rosary of *Tulasi* beads hanging from the neck. This was accidentally dug up from the floor of an old *mandapa* or shed which, the Hindus of the place say, covers the tomb of Pallivanavar. While digging deep the workmen struck against a large stone slab on which a cross was found sculptured. They were Christians (two of whom are still alive), and therefore refused to continue the digging. The tomb-shed is just outside the surrounding walls of the Palliyil Bhagavati temple of Nilamperur, and every year the Hindus of the place request formal sanction from Pallivanavar in the tomb outside to begin the grand annual festivals of the temple. According to local tradition there was also a stone statue of Pallivanavar set up on the floor of the tomb-shed. This is said to have been plucked up and thrown into one of the tanks close to the temple. (For statuette see plate).

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11. Diamp̄er (or Udayamperur) was latterly the seat of the Malabar Christian king, known in Portuguese and Dutch writings by the dynastic name Baliarte. The reference here is to the vacant palace of the recently extinct Christian dynasty.



Statuette of Pallivanavar,  
Nilamperur, Travancere.

T. K. Joseph.

This Pallivanavar may be identical with the Perumal Pallivanavar of *Keralolpatti*, a legendary history of Malabar. He has dates in the fourth century A. D. assigned to him from chronograms cited in that work.

The importance of the above statuette of King Pallivanavar was first realised by Doctor K. C. Cheriyan, a Syrian Christian medical practitioner of Nilamperur. Dr. Cheriyan says that it has not been possible to ascertain from the two surviving workmen who had seen the cross-tablet (about 6 ft. by 3 ft.) underground, whether there was any inscription on the slab in addition to the sculptured cross. The broken off portion of the staff in the right hand of the Pallivanavar effigy is reported to have been surmounted by a cross, which was damaged during the hurried digging under cover of night for the treasure supposed to have been hidden under the floor of the tomb-shed. The term Pallivanavar literally means the honoured personage who held sway in, or over the Church. It is an interesting point to be elucidated by further research whether the drapery, head-gear, coiffure, and the "rod and staff" correspond to any style of episcopal paraphernalia in vogue in any hot region of Christendom during the early centuries.



An earlier event of the same century enshrined in Malabar Christian tradition is the coming of Manikka Vachakar to Quilon in A. D. 315. Manikka Vachakar was an illustrious Tamil poet and a staunch Saivite. But in

Manikka Vachakar in Quilon, 315 A. D.

Malabar Christian tradition he is a sorcerer who induced many Christians of Quilon to secede to the Saivite faith. (12) (See Appendix I.) These apostates are, according to tradition, known as Manigramakkar, who are a class of Nairs found chiefly in Quilon. But there seems to be no connection between the names Manikka and Manigramakkar, which latter is held to be the old designation for a trade guild, or a community of jewellers. The term Manigramam occurs in inscriptions from Siam, Trichinopoly, and Cranganore, and Talekkad in Cochin. (See Appendix III.) It is found also in an old Malayalam song, the Payyannur Song of North Malabar, and in some Tamil works (for instance in the commentary on Gunavira Panditar's Tamil Grammar: *Sentamil Series*, No. 6, p. 63).

### Post-Cosmasian Landmarks.

A large granite slab, 74 in. by 56 in. lying at the foot of the open-air cross in front of the Roman Catholic Church at Talekkad in Cochin, bears a Vatteluttu inscription 13 of the reign of the Malabar King Rajasimha. On palaeographic grounds I assign the epigraph to

Talekkad inscription, 8th-10th century.

12. See Appendix II. for a Malayalam document relating to the activities of Manikka Vachakar in Quilon. He is said to have gone to Ceylon also. It is worthy of note that according to Geiger, King Gothakabhaya of Ceylon whose favour was gained by Sanghamitra "versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of evil spirits and so forth", reigned A. D. 302-15. Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar contends that King Sanghamitra is really Manikka Vachakar. (*Tamilian Antiquary*, Vol. 1, No. 4, P. 54).

13. This inscription was published by me with a facsimile in the *Indian Antiquary* for February 1907. Both faces of the stone bear inscriptions, that on the under side being indistinct in several places.

Mount Cross,  
Madras.



Muttuchira Cross,  
Travancore.



Smaller Kottayam Cross,  
Travancore.



Sketch of Mount Cross,  
1579 A. D.

Larger Kottayam Cross,  
Travancore.

Kadamattam Cross,  
Travancore.

Five Pahlavi-Inscribed Crosses in South India.

T. K. Joseph.

the period 8th-10th century A. D. By this stone charter the king gave certain merchants, presumably Christian, land for putting up shops as well as certain rights and privileges. See Appendix III.

\* \* \*

The Pahlavi-inscribed crosses in Travancore, the Original Pahlavi cross, 9th cent. original of which I assign to the first half of the ninth century A. D., constitute the next post-Cosmasian landmark in the history of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar.

So far four crosses, each sculptured under a Pahlavi-inscribed arch on the same slab of granite, have been discovered in Malabar, all of them being in Travancore itself. They are in the following localities.

A. In the Southist <sup>(14)</sup> Jacobite Church at Kottayam, called Valiapalli. (Valiya Palli means the great or principal church). 2 crosses.

B. In the Northist <sup>(15)</sup> Roman Catholic church at Muttuchira. 1 cross.

C. In the Northist Jacobite church at Kadamtam 1 cross.

(See plate opposite, for these four crosses).

Besides these four Pahlavi-inscribed arched crosses there are the following in Travancore, which are undoubtedly imitations of some Pahlavi-inscribed arched cross or crosses.

A. In the Valiapalli church at Kaduthuruthi: a Latin cross under a semicircular Roman arch intagliated with a Vatteluttu epitaph of A. D. 1614.

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14 and 15. The St. Thomas Christians of Malabar have, from very ancient times been of two classes, the Northist and Southist or Enanaya. The latter class forms a comparatively small, endogamous sect claiming descent from Thomas Cana already referred to on P. 3 *supra*.

B. In the same Church : a Latin cross under a semicircular Roman arch bearing an epitaph. A. D. 1615.

C. At the Muttuchira Church : a miniature cross almost like the Mount cross. This is sculptured on the western side of the pedestal of the open-air cross at the church which (cross) was set up in A. D. 1625.

There is in the Church on St. Thomas' Mount ~~See~~  
 Mount cross. <sup>(at San Thome in Mylapore)</sup>  
 original south-west of Fort St. George, Madras, an old pahlavi-inscribed cross, which was discovered underground by the Portuguese in 1547, while digging among the ruins of an ancient chapel. (See plate opposite P. 11). Unlike the Pahlavi-inscribed Travancore crosses this Mount cross can unhesitatingly be regarded as pre-Portuguese in origin from the circumstantial evidence of its discovery, and the palaeography of the inscription. This Mount cross is an original, the inscription around it being almost perfect in its orthography. It must have been written by a Pahlavi-knowing Pers: n. The orthography of the inscription around the larger Kottayam cross and the Kadamattam cross <sup>16</sup> is faulty, the latter being the worst of the four Travancore Pahlavi inscriptions. <sup>17</sup> The inscription around the smaller Kottayam cross and the surviving portion of that around the Muttuchira cross, are not so defective as the above two.

\* \* \*

16. The Kadamattam inscription was first recognized by me as Pahlavi in 1921 and I published an account of the cross and inscription in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1923, pp. 355, 356, and a facsimile of the inscription in the same journal for 1924, opposite p. 123.

17. See Mr. C. P. T. Winkworth's article, 'A New Interpretation of the Pahlavi Cross-Inscriptions of Southern India', pp. 238, 239 of the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1929.



The miraculous Mount cross was discovered in A.D. 1547, and by 1599 many churches had been made in imitation of it, as may be gathered from the following passage from Gouvea's *Jornada*, printed in Coimbra in 1605.

"And all the ancient churches were made in the manner of Pagodes of the Gentios," (i. e. Hindu temples) "but full, all of them, of Crosses after the manner of the cross of the Miracle of Saint Thomas, which they call Saint Thomas' Cross; whence is seen how much more ancient is the veneration of this Cross, and affection for it, and manner thereof, than the time when the Portuguese found it: for the ancient Churches of these Christians, built many years before the arrival of the Portuguese in India," (in 1498) "were all of them adorned with these, both in painting and in sculpture".

— Gouvea's *Jornada*, fol. 60 v. col. 1

It is most probably one such arched cross, probably an imitation of the Mount cross, that Gouvea describes as kept very safe in a chapel in Cranganore in 1599, and Fr. Vincenzo Maria di S. Cattarina di Siena, an Italian Carmelite, and Papal Envoy to Travancore, in 1622, mentions in his *Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Rome, 1672, p. 135.

"Cranganore", says Gouvea, "was anciently a very noble city of the Christians of St. Thomas, where many lived, and very rich ones, and where at first they began to have communication with the

Portuguese, when presently they came to India. And the Church which exists today in the fortress is the same which the Christians had anciently: wherefore, they have much affection and devotion for it, and also to a cross which is in the same City, which they call the Cross of the Christians, having for tradition that Saint Thomas placed it there and made many miracles, not only for the faithful, but also for the infidels. God wishing the sign of his holy cross to be honoured and venerated by all. This cross is placed in the middle of a chapel, open on one side, and entirely shut off with a grating; and it gives so much devotion to all who with true Faith prostrate themselves before it that there is no person who feels not in its presence newness of spirit and compunction of heart. On arriving in the morning, and after having been taken in procession to the Church, where he prayed to the most blessed Sacrament, the Archbishop" (the famous Dom Frey Aliexo de Menezes) "went to this Cross to say Mass. This Cross has sometimes been seen raised in the air, so high that it almost disappeared [Fol. 53 v., col. 1] from the eyes of the beholders, and so full of splendour that it blinded the eyes of those who looked on it. The Gentiles have so much veneration for it that they make to it many vows and offerings in their illness or needs, or when they have lost things which they value; and they send oil and wax to light it up, and they say presently that they obtain favours and find what they have lost; and not long before the Archbishop arrived there, the old King of Cranganore, having lost something

which he much liked, sent oil to the cross, and found it presently. Which he attributed to the Cross of the Christians. And, though many Gentios receive daily remedy in this want, in this divine sign, they do not lay hold of its chief fruit, which is their salvation".....*Jornada*, fol. 53 r-v.

From the first of the above two passages we are to understand that Gouvea regarded all the arches of the Malabar found (in A. D. 1599) sculptured or painted "after the manner of the Cross of the Miracle of St. Thomas, which they call St. Thomas' Cross", and which is now known as the Mount cross or the Mylapore cross, as pre-Portuguese in origin, his reason being apparently that they were in ancient churches built many years before the arrival of the Portuguese in A. D. 1498. But everything found in ancient churches is not *ipso facto* ancient.

The following extract also shows that Gouvea regarded the arched crosses existing in Malabar in 1599 as pre-Portuguese, nay even of the first century A. D.

"And for this Cross it is to be noted that all those which are found in the Churches of St. Thomas, ancient ones, or carved on stones, or in the very ancient buildings themselves of the same Churches, are of this shape and made in this form, of the one that sweats; whence is seen clearly that, either all those which the holy Apostle used were of this form, or that the first Christian, having knowledge of the Cross found these years, before the Church in which it was was destroyed, made in its semblance those which they placed in their Churches".—*Jornada*, fol 79 r, col 1.

The Mount cross was accidentally discovered underground in 1547 and from the very moment of its discovery it began to grow famous on account of the miracles associated with it, and the mysterious writing around it. In 1551, according to Manuel de Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, it was solemnly set up in the Mount Church; Christian pilgrims from Malabar visited it year after year; in 1557, according to Gouvea, it began to sweat very big drops of water; in some subsequent years too it sweated; reports on the miraculous sweating were sent to Goa; in 1562 a Brahmin gave a fantastic interpretation of the inscription; in 1579, and even before, sketches of the cross and inscription were made and sent to Europe. (See plate opposite p. 11.)

\* \*

We find all these and much more about the cross in contemporary writers, but none of them mention a similar arched cross as existing in Malabar, although another cross and inscription of the kind in Malabar or elsewhere would most naturally have been brought to the notice of the Malabar and Portuguese Christians in general, and visited, observed, studied, sketched and described in their letters and books by contemporary writers. In the present state of my knowledge therefore I cannot but come to the conclusion that there was not even a single Pahlavi-inscribed arched cross seen in Malabar in or about 1547, the year of the discovery of the Mount cross, and that the numerous crosses mentioned by Gouvea as existing in Malabar in 1599 were all imitations of the miraculous Mount cross. These were not more than 53 years old when Gouvea heard in 1599

No writer of 1500-1598 mentions another like the Mount cross.

that they had all been set up by St. Thomas himself or 'the first Christians' of the first century.

### Imitation Crosses.

In my opinion the mount cross may be regarded as the original set up by Afras the Syrian.  
All except the Mount cross are imitations-1. Muttuchira cross. The Muttuchira cross which, according to an inscription <sup>18</sup> in Vatteluttu, deciphered by me in 1925, existing at the Muttuchira church, was set up in A. D. 1580 on the day of the feast of the cross, i. e. on December 18th, is certainly an imitation of the Mount cross. It is remarkable too that the above lithic inscription calls it *utirakkurisu*, i. e. the bleeding cross, the very name by which the Mount cross is designated in the Brahmin's interpretation of 1562. (See Appendix IV, line 25).

The smaller, Gothic-arched cross at Kottayam is to me an imitation of and an improvement upon the Muttuchira cross of 1580 A. D. A Kottayam tradition says that the smaller cross was brought from Kaduthurthi, from which latter place the original

18. This inscription of which I got esampages taken in 1925, records the following events:—By command of the King (of Kaduthuruthi), in 1528 A. D., Mar Denaha and Mar Abo, together with Fra George, set up a holy cross (to mark the site of the proposed church) in this ground. Thereafter (he, Fra George) went to Portugal along with his nephew, Fr. Matthew.

On the 13th of September 1580 A. D., on the feast of the (Exaltation of the) Holy Cross, this (i. e. the above) holy cross was taken (from the ground) and set up, covered with wood, by Bishop Mar Simeon and Fr Jacob. + The same year on the feast of the 18th (December that of the Mount cross) this bleeding cross was placed. † On Good Friday, the 29th of March 1581 this granite cross (not identified) was set up. See Appendix ~~III~~ for the text of the inscription.

Southist parishioners of Valiapalli church had come and begun the construction of their first wooden church in A. D. 1550 and that of their second laterite church in 1577. Muttuchira and Kaduthuruthi are only about a mile apart, and it is quite possible that the smaller cross at Kottayam sculptured and inscribed with considerable accuracy at Muttuchira for the new Valiapalli church in or after 1580, i. e. three or more years after the construction of the second Valiapalli edifice of laterite, i. e. the present building, had been begun.

To me the larger cross at Kottayam appears to be an elaborate, improved imitation of the Kottayam cross. Mount cross and the smaller Kottayam cross. The larger was perhaps made at Kottayam itself not many years ago. The sculptured and painted<sup>19</sup> surface of the slab above the inscribed arch appeared to me almost fresh when I removed its proscenium 13-9-1929 for a close study of the whole slab *in situ*. Add to the freshness of the surface the anomalous position of the slab, 7ft. 4 in. x 3 ft. 5 in., behind a carved wooden frame on the southern altar, in which frame there was until 1000 M. E. (or 1824—25 A. D.) a wooden statue of St. George and the Dragon.<sup>20</sup> And it is inconceivable that such a grand cross was made and kept concealed behind a statue and its frame until 1000 M. E. I should

19. The whole surface of the small slab, and that portion of the slab below the intagliated arch as well as the arch itself were painted black only a few years ago, about 1975 M. E. (1859—1900 A. D.). The smaller cross was set up in its present position on 4th May 1895.

20. A foreign Bishop who came to Malabar in 1000 M. E. plucked up this statue as well as that of St. Thomas (a wooden statue) in the carved frame on the northern altar, and the wooden statue of St. Mary in the niche high up in the retable behind the main altar and also some others from the Valiapalli church at Kottayam and flung them into the compound

think that the larger cross at Kottayam was made only about 100 years ago, after the removal of St. George's statue from the wooden frame about 1825. It has to be borne in mind too that no one contends, neither is there any evidence to show, that this cross had been installed somewhere else in the church before it was set up half concealed behind the wooden frame as it now is.<sup>21</sup>

The nature of the mistakes in the Pahlavi inscription around the Kadamattam cross proclaims it an imitation. The slab on which the cross is cut is 2 ft. 5½ in. by 1 ft. 10 in.<sup>22</sup> and the sculpture is an improvement upon that of the larger Kottayam slab. It might very well have been designed by Mari Kurillos (Cyril), an artistically inclined foreign bishop, who designed the beautifully carved and painted *Kdus - Kudsin* (=Holy of Holies), a wooden shamiana or canopy over the main altar of the Kadamattam church, which canopy was finished on 17th September 1849 A. D. according to the bishop's own Syrian inscription on it.<sup>23</sup> The original Kadamattam church is said to have been built in 8) M. E. (104—5 A. D.)

of the Idakkad Roman Catholic Church next door immediately to the northwest. Some of these are still preserved in the latter church.

The statue of St. Thomas is said to have been sold by the Idakkad church to the Pulinkunnu church in central Travancore. The arc at the lower edge of the plank above the head of St. Thomas's bust painted above the small cross about 1900 A. D., marks the place where the top of the halo of St. Thomas's wooden statue was until 1000 M. E.

21. The smaller cross slab, 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 11 in., had been built into the southern wall of the nave before it was set up in its present position behind the wooden frame of St. Thomas' statue in 1895. Signs of its removal are still visible on the southern wall.

22. The Muttuchira cross-slab, the smaller Kottayam cross-slab and the Kadamattam cross-slab are very nearly of the same size (about 2½ ft. × 2 ft.). The Mount cross-slab is 3 ft. 4 in. square.

23. This bishop came to Malabar in Chingom 1022 M. E. and died in Malabar 20th Chingam 1050, according to information given me by one of the priests of the Kadamattam church.

There was at Kadamattam a Christian priest commonly known as Kadamattattacheban, far-famed for his sorcery and witchcraft, who is invoked even by Hindu sorcerers today in their incantations, and whose wonderful deeds in the field of black art are green in the memory of the present generation. He learned the art from a foreigner (Mesopotamian or Babylonian) called Maravu (=Mar Abo), perhaps a bishop, who took up his abode at Kadamattam and began building the Kadamattam church. Tradition has it that the Kadamattam cross was set up by this sorcerer and his writing on it (the Pahlavi inscription) is known in that place as 'patalamashi-kururu' (പാതാമശികുരൂരൂ) i. e. mysterious writing in infernal ink. Patriarch Peter who came to Malabar in 1050 A. D. (1874—5 A. D.) hearing that behind the Kadamattam slab the sorcerer priest had ensconced the right hand of his master Mar Abo, removed the slab from its place in the southern wall of the chancel, but found no trace of the hand. The slab was therefore put back in its place. Signs of this removal and replacement are visible on the wall.

### The Pahlavi Inscription and Its Interpretations.

The inscription around the crosses is in the Pahlavi language and characters current in Persia chiefly in the Sassanian period which extended from A. D. 226 to 651. <sup>24</sup> The only other specimen of Pahlavi writing in South

<sup>24</sup> M. N. Dhalla's *Zoroastrian Civilization*, O. E. P., N. Y., 1922, p. XII of contents.



India occurs in the second of the two sets of copper-plate charters granted by the Quilon King in the 9th century A. D. to the Tarisa Christian Church built in Quilon by a Persian Christian merchant prince, Maruvan Sabr Isho, who is twice referred to in the document as "Maruvan Sabr Isho who founded this city and obtained possession of it".<sup>25</sup> In the Kanheri caves in Bombay there are Pahlavi inscriptions of 10th October and 24th November 1009 and 30th October 1021 A. D., scribbled by Parsi visitors.<sup>26</sup>

The same sentence, with slight modifications in the later imitations, naturally resulting from unintelligent copying of the mysterious writing, appears in all the Pahlavi-inscribed crosses so far discovered. Pahlavi is to be read from right to left; but in this inscription the small cross (or plus sign) on the right curve of the arch (top right hand corner) marks the beginning of the inscription. From there the inscription runs right down to the bottom left-hand corner of the slab, and takes off again from the same cross right down to the bottom right-hand corner. This curious disposition of the words of the inscription

25. இங்ககரம் கண்ட தீர்த்த மருவான் ஸபரிசோ (உருகை கல் லிபிமொண்டவான் ஸபரிசோ): these are the words of the original copper-plate document. See T. K. Joseph's *Malabar Christian Copper Plates* (in Malayalam). Trivandrum, 1925, pp. 13, 16. The Quilon era current in Malabar is, according to T. A. Gopinatha Rao, counted from the founding, or rather re-founding, of the city of Quilon by Sabriso, who is referred to in the *Kerulolpatti*, a legendary history of Malabar written by a Namburi Brahmin of Malabar, as *Kollattuyavari* the Quilon Merchant. In Kottayam and other places around it there was current another city era called the Iravipuram era counted from the founding of the city of Iravipuram, east of Kottayam.

26. See *Indian Antiquary* Vol. IX, pp. 265-266.

has very probably been resorted to only to secure for the words *My Lord Christ* the conspicuous place on the key stone of the arch. In reading this right-hand portion of the inscription the reader has to step to the right and start reading from top to bottom, the flourishy dash or double hook *o* below the cross representing the *izafat i*. In the first longer portion the bottom of the letters is turned normally towards the centre of the slab, whereas in the second, shorter portion the bottom of the letters is turned *away from* that point.<sup>27</sup> The inscription when transliterated character by character into English letters<sup>28</sup> will have the following curious form on account of the absence of vowels which are not marked in Pahlavi writing.

MWR' MN MSYH' PWH'S Y MDM 'PR'S Y  
CH'RBWHT Y SWRY' MNW BWRYT DNH.

Ever since the discovery of the Mount cross tablet  
 Attempts at interpretation. in 1547 several attempts have been made to decipher and interpret the inscription on it. Sketches of the cross and inscription were sent

27. "It may be remarked, by way of explanation to those who are not familiar with the puzzling Pahlavi method of writing, that this language is pre-Islamic Persian, but that it was written in a running character derived from Aramaic letters; and further, that most common words were written in Aramaic (except perhaps the final letters) but read as Persian. Thus they wrote MLKAN MLKA, but they pronounced this *Shahan Shah*, i. e. 'Kings' King, the King of Kings. Confusing as such a way of writing seems and is, it was nevertheless the official style of the Sassanian Empire, and remained the native way of writing 'Persian' till the modern Persian came to be written in the Arabic character'.—C. P. T. Winckworth in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1929 (Vol. XXX, No. 119), p. 240. footnote 2.

28. For this transliteration of Mr. Winckworth's Hebrew transcript I am indebted to a local ecclesiastical dignitary.

to Europe and many Europeans in India & Europe tried in the sixteenth century to clear up the mystery surrounding the inscription. But none of them appear to have succeeded in solving the riddle.

At last in 1561, after the usual miraculous blood-Kanara Brahmin's sweating of the Mount cross on December 18 Gaspar Coelho the Vicar of Mylapore, fanciful interpretation, 1562. and others endeavoured in right earnest to get the enigmatic inscription puzzled out by Indian scholars. No one could be found in or near Mylapore, who was able to decipher it. Finally a Brahmin of Kanara (or Narsinga) fetched from far away in the interior offered to read and interpret the inscription for a decent sum of money. He said there were 36 characters and dots in the epigraph, each representing an idea, a sentence. The Brahmin's interpretation, or rather reading was in the form of a Tamil ballad of 28 lines (see Appendix V) a Romanized transcript and translation of which we have in a Spanish letter of Fr. A. Monserrate, S. J., written from Cochin in 1579. A translation of this transcript as deciphered and reconstructed by me from a rotograph<sup>29</sup> of the original manuscript in Goa, is given below. The Portuguese seem to have suspected the Brahmin's ballad. For they consulted another learned Hindu who, however, gave a similar reading, or thoroughly approved of the first scholar's ballad.

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29. See Plate III for this transcript above a sketch of the Mount cross Also *JPASB*, N. S. Vol. 19, 1923 pp. 296-8 and plate.

## The Kanara Brahmin's Interpretation, 1562 A. D.

1. Know that in (the year) five time six of the Lord Jesus,
2. In the great Dhāru (i. e. December), on the auspicious three times seven (i. e. 21st day),
- 3, 4. (The goddess) Kāli of the hill (the Little Mount) saw before her the Sole, Supreme God and trembled;
- 5, 6. And that was the means of the indefatigable sage of the Jewish race (i. e. St. Thomas), deserving (eternal) life (i. e. his being martyred).
7. After being in the womb of the Virgin Mary,
8. In the fixed thirtieth year (of His age), on a hill,
9. The One God
10. (Jesus Christ) preached to twelve teachers as He saw (God).
- 11, 12. One sage (from among those twelve) appeared in beloved Mayilai (Mylapore) where dwelt great sages of the six (Indian) religions,
- 13, 14. And built to God a church famed for the manner in which it was built and for the log of *tampakam* wood.
15. On this earth King Chera,
16. King Chola of the Kuru race, King Pandya of Kuruku,
17. Harischandra of Atanarpuram
18. Katu (Gad?), King of the South-Westerners,
19. And people of many other religions,
20. With hearts gladdened and thoughts changed

- 21, 22. Of their own accord worshipped in the sect of the sage Thomas.
26. Those servants of the saint's sect who worship
25. At the bleeding cross made by
- 23, 24. The band of Brahmin leaders and learned men who had come and seen the Brahmin's deed (i. e. his murder of St. Thomas),
27. Will be delivered from the great ocean of the sin of this birth,
28. And will surely rest in union with the Lord.
- Copies of this spurious Tamil reading of the inscription must have unsuspectingly been sent forthwith from Mylapore to the Bishop of Cochin, the Rector of the Jesuit College of Cochin, the Syrian Bishop of Ankamali, and to Syrian Christian clergymen who could read and understand Tamil. None of these, however, have yet come to light. Translations<sup>30</sup> of the Brahmin's ballad must have been sent at about the same time to the Archbishop of Goa, the King of Portugal and to the Pope.

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### Fr. Burtney's Interpretation 19th Century.

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"Father Barthey (*sic* for Burtney), S. J., a R. C. Missionary at Trichinopoly, who has made Burtney's blunder. Indian inscriptions his special study, declares the letters" (of the Mount cross inscription)

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30. Some old translations of the Brahmin's ballad will be found in J.P.A.S.B. N. S. Vol. 210, 1925. pp. 57-548.

“to be Aramaic and the language Tamil. He says that St. Thomas had brought the Aramaic characters to Southern India, and that they therefore call him: Teacher of the first Tamil. Father Barthey gives the following version of the inscription.

“When they heard in the West of the great fame of the Holy Martyr, the Emperor asked the Emperor of India for the right arm of St. Thomas, which was willingly granted.”

He assigns cross and inscription to the end of the second or beginning of the third century after Christ'. This <sup>31</sup> is less rhapsodical than the Kanara Brahmin's version of three hundred years before, but is nowhere near the true one.

### Modern Interpretations.

The credit of having discovered the two cross inscriptions at Kottayam and identified them and the inscription on the Mount cross as Pahlavi, goes to Dr. A. C. Burnell, Ph. D., of the Madras Civil Service, who first drew the attention of scholars to these inscriptions in a letter of his dated Mangalore, May 12th 1873 addressed to the London *Academy* and published in its issue of 14th June 1873 (pp. 237,8). Since then several European and Indian scholars have given us their versions of the inscription, only the most noteworthy of which are given below to avoid prolixity.

1. In punishment (?) by the cross (was) the suffering of this (one): (He) who (is) the true Christ, and God above, and guide ever pure.— (Burnell, 1873.)

31. See the Rev. Father Hegglin S. J., 'St Thomas, the Apostle of India', in *Sophia*, a monthly Catholic journal, Vol. 2, January 1893, pp. 1-4. According to the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S. J., in *The Indian Athenæum*, vol. 1, p. 83. Fr. Benedict Burthey came to the Madura Mission in 1846 and died at Tuticorin in 1895, having spent nearly 50 years in India.

2. He who believes in the Messiah and in God on high and also in the Holy Ghost is in the grace of Him who bore the pain of the cross. —(Martin Haug, 1874).

3. He who is the true Messiah, the reconciler, the resuscitator, for ever purified by virtue of his crucifixion. —(Harlez, 1892)

4. Such was the affliction of the wounding and spearing of him on the Cross, who was the faithful Messiah, the merciful one, the descendant of the great Abraham, who was the descendant of Chaharbukht. —(Sanjana, 1914.)

5. I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh, (have come) to this (country). Written (by) Mar Shapur. I, whom ...(?) Messiah, the forgiver, freed from danger (or terror). —(Modi, 1924.)

The authors of these two are two Parsi scholars of Bombay, still alive.)

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### The Latest Interpretation.

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MY LORD CHRIST, HAVE MERCY UPON AFRAS SON OF CHAHARBUKHT, THE SYRIAN, WHO CUT THIS. —(Winckworth, 1929.)<sup>32</sup>

This last interpretation by Mr. C. P. T. Winckworth of Cambridge, published in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1929 (Vol. XXX, No. 119, p. 243) was arrived at at the instance of Dr. F. C. Burkitt,<sup>32</sup> editor of the journal, to whom I had applied for a commonsense rendering

<sup>32</sup> A reprint of Mr. Winckworth's article kindly supplied to me by Dr. Burkitt is reproduced with my observations in the *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 3.

of the Pahlavi inscription for publication in the journal of the Kerala Society. Mr. Winckworth's reading and translation were first expounded in a paper read at Oxford in 1928, at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, and were generally accepted by the Iranian scholars there present. Mr. Winckworth's interpretation is simple, natural and credible, and has every chance of holding the field hereafter. "Who cut this" may perhaps have to be changed into 'Who got this cut,' or 'who caused this to be set up,' or 'who presented this.'<sup>33</sup>

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### Afras the Syrian and the Date of the Mount Cross.

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It is not possible to say for certain who this Afras  
Afras probably  
 Mar Apröt of 9th  
 century. the Syrian was who presented the original  
 Mount cross to the ancient pre-Portuguese  
 church on St. Thomas' Mount. The name of a bishop  
 called Mar Apröt in Malayalam is famous in the history

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33. The Syriac inscription below the larger Kottayam cross is a quotation from the Syriac Peshitta version of Galatians VI. 14, and means: Let me never boast of anything but the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is written in a hand that, according to several authorities, cannot be older than the tenth century. Dr. Burkitt says (on p. 44 of *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 1) that the Syriac characters of a Cambridge Buchanan MS. (Oo. I 8) which is not considered to be older than the 17th century, bear a strikingly close resemblance to those of the above Syriac inscription. I bring the larger Kottayam cross and inscription down to the first half of the 19th century.

Dr. Burkitt thinks that the illegible remnants of letters visible along the intrados margin of the arch of the Mutuchira cross may perhaps be those of the above Syriac verse.



of the Malabar Christians. Afras the Syrian may be this Aprot of about 825 A. D.<sup>34</sup> He came to Quilon in Travancore along with another bishop Mar Sabor on a ship belonging to the merchant Maruvan Sabrisho<sup>35</sup> who built the Quilon Tarisa church and obtained for it extensive lands, tenants, artisans and slaves from the Quilon King as recorded in the famous Quilon copper-plates of the ninth century A. D. preserved in the Old Seminary at Kottayam and in the Mar Thoma Metropolitan's house in Tiruvalla.<sup>36</sup>

The Pahlavi-inscribed Mount cross is assigned by Age of the Mount experts to the 7th - 8th century on palaeographic grounds. But if (as is very probable) Afras is identical with Bishop Mar Aprot it has to be brought down to the ninth century, the age of the Pahlavi-inscribed Quilon copper-plate kept in Tiruvalla.

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34. Cf. my article Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh in *The Indian Antiquary* for March 1928.

35. This merchant of Quilon is known in Malabar tradition as Savarisu Mutalali or Baresu Mutalali and there is a clan of Northist Christians in Travancore known as Quilon Mutalalis (Kollakkar Mutalalimar) who claim descent from him, as the Southists as a whole claim descent from Thomas Cana of 345 A. D. John de' Marignolli (1346-47 A. D.) speaks of Quilon *Modiliat*, Christian chiefs, the owners of the pepper. Later writers also mention these Mutalalis. Cf the title Lord of the Nasranis in the Pope's letter of about the same time (foot-note 9.).

36. One of the two plates in Tiruvalla has inscriptions in Pahlavi, the language of the Mount cross inscription, and in Hebrew and Arabic (for which see *infra*). Three of the Quilon Tarisa church plates are in the Old Seminary, along with another plate of the fourteenth century (the plate of Iravi Korttan, or the Vira Raghava plate).

## Malabar and Persia.

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Afras i Chaharbukht i Suryaya, i. e. Afras son  
Perso-Malabar  
 relations; 9th, 7th,  
 6th, 5th & 4th  
 centuries. of Chaharbukht, the Syrian was no doubt  
 a Persian as his and his father's name  
 indicate, the epithet Syrian being used  
 as an ecclesiastical and not as an ethnological or geo-  
 graphical designation. Syrian here (as well as in the  
 appellation Syrian Christians of Malabar) simply means  
 a member of the Syrian church or one who professes  
 the faith of the Syrian church and follows its liturgy.  
 Besides this Afras (Aprot) there were other Persian  
 Christians in Quilon in the ninth century. Maruvan  
 Sabrisho the merchant, and Mar Sapor (Shapur) the  
 bishop have already been mentioned. In the Pahlavi  
 portion of the Quilon copper-plate in Tiruvalla we have  
 not one or two, but ten Persian names, one of which is  
 Afras (perhaps the Afras of the Mount cross inscription),  
 and two others may be Sabrisho and Shapur (Sapor).  
 The Hebrew portion of the plate contains the names  
 of four Jews, but the language employed is "a sort of  
 Persian," as Dr. F. C. Burkitt of Cambridge says in  
 his note on the above inscription kindly supplied to me  
 on 4th November 1929. We may therefore surmise  
 that there were Persian Jews also in Quilon in the 9th  
 century.

The oft-quoted letter of the Nestorian Patriarch  
 Isho-Yahb III. (650—660) addressed to Mar Simeon,  
 Metropolitan of Riwardashir in Persia evidences  
 the fact that "India that extends from the borders of  
 the Persian Empire to the country which is called

Kalah, which is a distance of one thousand and two hundred parasangs" was under the Persian Metropolitan in the middle of the seventh century. Malabar was included in this 'India'. Kalah is not Quilon.

Three centuries earlier than the Quilon plates, Cosmas Indicopleustes who travelled extensively in the countries beyond the Red Sea between 520 and 525 A. D. mentions in his *Topographia Christiana* (about 535) a Church of Christians, with clergy and a congregation of believers in the land called Male (=Malabar), where the pepper grows, and says that "in the place called Kalliana there is a bishop appointed from Persia". This Kalliana may be not Quilon, but Kalyan near Bombay, whither in the seventh century the ancestors of the Bombay Parsis immigrated in order to escape the sword of Islam. Cosmas mentions *Persian Christians in Ceylon*. "The island", says the traveller, "hath also a Church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a deacon, and all the apparatus of worship. But the natives and their kings are quite another kind of people."

Then, earlier still, about the year A. D. 470, Ma'na bishop of Riwardashir, a scholar of the school of Edessa wrote in Persian (i. e. Pahlavi, the language of the Mount cross, Kottayam crosses, etc.) religious discourses, canticles, and hymns, and translated from Greek into Syriac the works of Diodore and Theodore of Mopsuetia, and sent them to "India". This India<sup>37</sup> can very well be South India.

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37. In a colophon to his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans Isho'dad writes as follows: "This Epistle has been translated from,

The earliest known indication of Indo-Persian ecclesiastical relations is contained in the signature, "Joannes Persa, Ecclesiis in tota Persia et Magna India", of Bishop John<sup>38</sup> who attended the Council of Nicaea in 325 A. D. Great India here perhaps included Malabar, although some old West Syrian writers have applied the term Great India to both Ethiopia and Arabia Felix combined.

### The Malabar Christian Copper-Plates.

The Thomas Cana plates (a set of two of A. D. 345) are the earliest of the charters granted to some of the leaders of the Malabar Christians. As already said on pp. 3 and 5 *supra* these two are now lost. See Appendix I for an analysis of an old Portuguese translation of the plates published in *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 4, pp. 180-182.

Another set of (three) plates also seem to be missing or lost. They were at Tevalakkara in 1599, in which year they were shown to Archbishop Menezes. Says Gouvea:—

Greek into Syriac by Mar Komai, with the help of Daniel the priest, the Indian". This Daniel the Indian of about 25 A. D. according to Dr. Mingana—was he a Christian of Malabar?

38. During the Patriarchate of Shahlupha and Papa, say about A. D. 295—300, Dudi (David), Bishop of Basrah, on the Persian Gulf, an eminent doctor, left his see and went to India, where he evangelised many people. This Ludi is the first bishop of "India" mentioned by name in history, but we cannot say for certain whether he was a Persian or whether the part of India to which he came was Malabar.

“But the Archbishop.....set out for Gundara (=Kundara, near Quilon). And before he went away, the Christians (of Tevalakkara) brought and showed him three large copper *ollas*, written in different characters, which contained many privileges and revenues which the King who founded Coulao (= Quilon) gave to the Church built there by the two who came from Babylon, Marzarao (=Mar Sabor) and Marprohd (=Mar Prodh), as we said above. Which *ollas* the Christians of this Church keep as an inestimable Treasure; and so, before they showed them to the Archbishop, they asked him to swear never to take them from that Church, and he did so: for they feared he might take them to Angamalle (= Ankamali). it being the head of the Bishopric, and where is its Archive; and of other *ollas* like these, granted to the Church of Cranganor (Fol. 97 v, col. 1) the Christians complained that they (= the Thomas cana plates) were lost in the factory of Cochim, where the Archbishop of the Serra (= Malabar), Mar Iacob, deposited them on a certain occasion; and they esteem so much these *ollas*, because in them are contained their privileges and honours, in which they want the Malavar Kings to maintain them always; and each *olla* was two plams long, and four fingers broad, and it was inscribed on both sides, and all three hung from an iron ring”..... *Jornada, 97 r-v*

The extant Quilon plates are much smaller than the above plates. That is why I suppose that the Tevalakkara plates are different from any plates now extant. The Dutch Governor Adrian Moens, Anquetil Du Perron (1758), and the illustrious King Martanda Varma of Travancore (after 1753) searched in vain for these

plates at Tevalakkara. I too have been searching for them in vain for the last eight years (since 1921). (See *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 4, pp. 194, 200).

The substance of the extant plates is given below. For full text and translation of these (and of the Cochin Jewish plates) see my Malayalam monograph on the copper-plates.

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### I. Quilon Church Plates, Fascicle I.

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**DATE.**—*Circa* 880 A. D. The fifth year of Sthanu Ravi, as the document says.

**DONOR.**—Ayyan, king of Venad, which was roughly the southern portion of modern Travancore.

**DONEE.**—The Tarisa (=Orthodox Christian) Church built at Quilon in Travancore by Sabriso, who re-founded the city of Quilon in 825 A. D.

**PURPOSE.**—1. Four women of the Ilava caste together with their eight children, and one family of the washerman caste are given to the church for menial service.

2. These low caste people are exempted from paying certain specified rates and taxes.

3. The church is made the custodian of the steel-yard and weights and the *kappan* (stamp), all of which previously belonged to the king of Venad.

4. The Ilavas and the people of the washerman caste given to the church are allowed to go into the Quilon fort and the Christian streets in spite of their being members of two polluting castes.

5. The right of trying the cases of these people is reserved for the Quilon Church.

These have been granted at the instance of Sabrison.

PLACE.—Quilon in Travancore.

## II. Quilon Church Plates, Fascicle 2.

DATE.—c. 880 A. D.; later than the previous set of plates (Set I).

DONOR.—Ayyan, king of Venad. (See Set I).

DONEES.—(a) The Quilon Church (of Set I.)

(b) The Quilon Jews (probably their authorized leaders).

(c) The Manigramam, *i. e.*, the authorized leaders of the indigenous Christians of Quilon who had been there when Sabrison came, some time before his re-founding of the city in 825 A. D.

PURPOSE.—(a) *Grants to the Church.*

1. One family of carpenters, four of Vellalas (= the agricultural caste of Sudras), and two of another caste. (The plate is damaged at this place).

2. Extensive lands within specified boundaries.

3. The right of trying the cases of the people living in the above area.

4. Protection of the Church and lands by the Venad militia called the six-hundred, and the Jewish and the Manigramam leaders.

5. Fee for weighing with the steelyard and weights of Set 1.

(b) *Remuneration to the Jewish leaders*—(See (c) below).

1. Remission of certain dues, as well as collection of certain others (specified).

2. The privilege of assessing customs duty on dutiable goods.

3. The right of co-operating with Government officials in fixing the prices of goods and in all other business of the king (presumably commercial).

4. Seventy-two other privileges (mostly social). Only the privilege of bringing, on an elephant, water for ceremonial purification is specified. The rest are indicated by an *et cetera*. All the seventy-two must have been already enumerated in a previous document, and therefore well-known at that time.

5. The privilege of keeping in custody the daily collection of customs duty.

6. The right of withholding the above money and the weighing fee already referred to [(a), 5], until wrongs done to them are redressed.

7. The right of trying their own cases.

8. The privilege of occupying the town of Quilon as tenants.

(c) *Remuneration to the Manigramam leaders.*

The same as that to the Jewish leaders [(b) (1) to (5)].

PLACE — Quilon, as in the case of the previous set. (See Appendices vi and vii for further details.)

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### III. Iravi Korttan's Plate.

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DATE.—1320 A. D. according to Kielhorn.

DONOR.—Vira Raghava Chakravartti.

DONEE.—Iravi Korttan of Cranganore, "Lord of of the city," with the grandiose title "The Chera King's Great Merchant Supreme in the Whole World."

PURPO<sup>U</sup>SE.—(1) Iravi Korttan is given the office of Manigramam, very probably the headship of the Cranganore merchants.

(2) Several social privileges also are allowed. (See the privileges mentioned in the previous sets of plates.)

(3) He is given the monopoly of the overland and sea-borne trade.

(4) All the merchants and the five artisan classes (carpenter, blacksmith, etc.) are made subservient to him.

(5) He is allowed brokerage on all sorts of goods and also customs duty or toll.

(6) His children and grandchildren and their descendants can enjoy these as a hereditary possession.

PLACE.—Cranganore.

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## APPENDIX. I

## The Thomas Cana Plates.

(Abstract of contents.)

*Date.* — A. D. 345, according to Malabar tradition.

*Donor.* — Cheraman Perunal, according to Malabar tradition; Cocurangon, according to a Portuguese version in a MS. volume in the British Museum, dated 1604.

*Donee.* — Thomas Cananeo, a merchant prince. (Not the Apostle Thomas, nor a bishop as some old writers have supposed.)

*Purpose.* (1) Thomas is given the title of Cocurangon Cananeo, which probably means the Chera, Emperor's Merchant. Cf. Iravi Korttan's title in his plate.

(2) He is given also the city of Cranganore and a jungle close by, which he converts into a town with a church and 62 houses.

(3) He is granted the privilege of using seven kinds of musical instruments, a palanquin or an elephant as a vehicle.

(4) 'Dignity' is conferred upon him—probably the title of *mappila*, son-in-law to the king.

(5) Besides, he and his posterity, associates and relations as well as the followers of his faith, *i.e.*, all Malabar Christians, are granted five kinds of taxes.

*Place.*—The document was executed while the king was in Carnellur (=Cranganore).

APPENDIX II

കെരളത്തിൽ മാർഗ്ഗവഴിയുടെ അവസ്ഥ.

മലയാളത്തിൽ പട്ടാങ്ങപെട്ട ശുദ്ധതയുടെ മാർഗ്ഗം ഒന്നും വാൻ അനുഗ്രഹത്തിനുടെ ഫെതുക്കൾ തൊട്ടുണ്ടായ നാനാ സ്ഥ \* \* \* \* \* കാവേരിപ്പുഴപ്പട്ടണത്തിൽ വിഗ്രഹം സിദ്ധിച്ച വെള്ളാളരുടെ നെരെ രാജഗൊലും ഉണ്ടായ ഗൊലും ആയവരു കപ്പലിൽ കരേറി കൊരക്കെണിയിൽ വരികയും ചെയ്തു. വന്ന എഴുപത്തുരണ്ടു കടുംബക്കാരനും ഇക്കാരക്കെണിയിൽ വിഗ്രഹ സിദ്ധിച്ച ആളുകളും തമ്മിൽ ബെന്ധുക്കളായി നടന്നു വന്ന കാലം നമ്മുടെ കർന്നാവിൻറെ കാലം ൨൭ ന് യ നുൽ നിരണമുള്ള വിഗ്രഹസുകാരനും കരക്കെണിയിൽ ഉള്ള വിഗ്രഹസുകാരനും കൂടെ ൧൦൦ വന്ന തമിഴരിലനസരിച്ചു തമിഴരുടെ മസ്റ്റാദയിൽ ചിലതും മലയാം മസ്റ്റാദയിൽ ചിലതും ഇങ്ങനെ നടന്നു വരുംപൊറം ൩൭ യ ൫ കാലം മാണിക്ക വാചകരെന്ന ഒരു ക്ഷുദ്രക്കാരൻ വന്ന മാർഗ്ഗമസ്റ്റാദയിൽ ഉള്ള ആളുകളിൽ ചിലരുടെ നെരെ അവൻറെ ക്ഷുദ്രതൊട്ടുകൂടെ സെവാച്ചു ത്തിയെ വീട്ടു ക്ഷുദ്രങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കുകയും ഭ്രാന്തു വരുത്തുകയും അംഗ കോഷ്ടികൾ വരുത്തുകയും ജീവജന്തുക്കളെ കൊല്ലുകയും, ഇങ്ങനെ ചെയ്ത ഉത്തര ഭവിക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾ അവൻറെ അടുക്കൽ ചെന്നു ഭസ്മം വാങ്ങി ഇട്രാൽ ഒട്ടു ഗൗനം കാണുകയും, ഒട്ടു വായയാക്കി തുള്ളിച്ചു ഒഴിക്കുകയും, കാവ്യം നിറഞ്ഞ നാടകകൊണ്ടു അവരു ബഹുമാനിക്കുന്നതിനെ കണ്ടു, യിറാൽ ചിലതായി കൊള്ള ചെയ്യാതെ ഉള്ള കൈകളെ രഥസ്യന്മാരായ മാണിക്കവാചകരുടെ അടുക്കൽ ക്രൂടിക്കൊണ്ടു ചൊല്ലുകയും പഞ്ചാക്ഷരങ്ങളെ ഒക്കൾക്കയും, രഥസ്യന്മാരായ നെച്ചു കാഴ്ചകൾ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ കൊടുക്കുകയും കരുമണിയും മുടിയെററും കാണുകയും കാവ്യത്തിൽ ഉള്ള കഥകളും കാവ്യങ്ങളും മന്ത്രങ്ങളും പഠിക്കുകയും ഇങ്ങനെ രഥസ്യന്മാരായ ചെയ്യാവരുംപൊറം മലയാളസംഗ്രഹത്തിനന്ന വന്ന വീട്ടുകാരൻ ഉള്ളതിൽ നാലാം കടുംബക്കാരുമാണിക്യ വാചകരെ അന്വേഷിച്ചു വന്നു. അവരും സമാധാന ക്രൂടീ ശുണാദോഷങ്ങളും ആയി യെകൊടം വിട്ടു വന്നു.

യങ്ങുളിൽ, ഇയ്യപ്പുപുതു രണ്ടു വീട്ടുകാരിൽ എല്ലാവരും കൂടെ മുപ്പുകൊടുത്തു നടത്തിവന്ന മുപ്പൻ കഴിഞ്ഞ ഹെതുറം കൽ വച്ചു, മാണിക്യ വാചകരുടെ ചുറ്റുമായി അകപ്പെട്ടതിൽ ഡെൽ ൮-ം, അന്ത്യപ്പിച്ചു വന്നതിൽ നാലും ഇവിടെ മേള തിൽ ഡെ-ം, ഇങ്ങനെ എഴുതുകൂടെ ഡെൽ നിന്നു പെരു കിയ തയന്നും ഒരു മനസ്സായിട്ടു കൂടി ഒരു ചെട്ടുമാനപ്പെട്ട ആളിനെ കൊടിയീൽ പൊതിഞ്ഞു കൊള്ളിവച്ചു അങ്ങനെ മെന്നും ഇവരപ്പുതുനാലിൽ നിന്നുള്ള വീട്ടുകാരും മല മാള തിൽ മേളതിൽ മതമധന വീട്ടുകാരിൽ കരക്കെണിയിൽ മേള ആളുകളു മാറ്റം വിറപ്പിച്ചു കാലം തൊട്ടു ഇന്നവരെയും വെള്ളയിൽ പൊതിഞ്ഞു അവരവരുടെ ഭവനങ്ങളിലടക്കി വരുന്നതിൽവണ്ണം അടക്കണമെന്നും തങ്ങളിൽ വിവദിച്ചു പ്പൊൾ എട്ടു കട്ടബകാരും കൂടി, അങ്ങൾ ഗുരുഗ്രന്ഥമെന്ന പഞ്ചാക്ഷരവും കെട്ടു, പതുവിൻറെ ചാണകവും മൂത്രവും പാ ലും ചൊരും നൈച്ചും കൂടി പഞ്ചഗവ്യം ചാക്കി സെവിച്ചു സീ ക്കപ്പുററ അങ്ങടെ വചനം നിങ്ങൾ കെരുകയിട്ടായെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങൻ തയന്നും വെദംതിട്ടും മെന്നും പറഞ്ഞു മാണിക്യവാ ചകരക്കു പ്രത്യക്ഷമായിട്ടു ചെറു മാണിക്യ വാചകരുടെ സൊവാമുരതിയെ അവരുടെ പറാൽ പരമെപ്പിച്ചു അതിനെ പനയന്നാറുകാവിൽ കുടിയിരുത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. അ ഇടംബ കാരരെ മാണിക്യ വാചകരുടെ നാമം ചൊല്ലി മണിഗ്രാമക്കാരാന്നും വിളിച്ചുവരണം. മാണിക്യവാചകരുടെ ഗുരു മന്ത്രം കെരുകാതെയും മൂലം ധരിക്കാതെയും ന്യായ കടംബകാരരും കൂടി വെള്ളച്ചീലയിൽ പുകയും പൊതിഞ്ഞു കഴിഞ്ഞ ആളി നെറു ഭവനഗുരു അടക്കിയ ആളുകളെ ധരയാൽക്കുളന്നും വിളിച്ചുവരണം.....

The original of the manuscript 'history of Christianity in Malabar', from which the above extract is taken is on palm leaves preserved in a Syrian Christian family known as Karuthedathu, in Mavelikkara, Travancore.

NOTES.

1. Poompattanam was a famous port in the



Chola country, on the Coromandel Coast. It is the same as Puhar, at the mouth of the northern branch of the Cauvery.

രാജപോദ്യം=Persecution by the king.

കരക്കേണി=Quilon in Travancore

വിശ്വസിച്ച ആളുകൾ=converts, Christians.

വിശ്വാസകാരൻ=believers, Christians, the faithful

മലയാം മസ്താമം=Malabar customs.

മാസ്താമം=Christian customs.

അംഗഗോഷ്ഠി=deformity of limbs

കാവ്യം=heathenism.

കരുണിയം മുടിയേറം=a festival at the temples of the goddess Kali, in which the slaying of Daruka by Kali is enacted.

ഗുണഭാഷങ്ങളും ആയി ഏകവൽഭവിച്ചു=intermarried and became united.

മുപ്പൻകഴിഞ്ഞു=the presbyter died.

കോടി=raw, or unwashed cloth fresh from the loom.

കൊള്ളിവെച്ചുകേം=to cremate.

വെള്ളം=cloth washed white.

അടക്കി=buried.

കെട്ടം=കേട്ട", heard.

സ്കന്ദപ്പുറം=ശിഷ്യപ്പെട്ട.

വേദം തിരിച്ചം=will apostatise, secede.

അവയുടെ പറ്റിൽ=in his hands, to him.

പനയന്നാർക്കാവ് is near Tiruvilla, in Travancore. There is a Kali temple there.

The derivation of Manigramakkar and Taritaykkal suggested in the extract is not correct.

## APPENDIX. III.

## The Talekkad Inscription

(8th - 10th Cent)

## Lines

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி, ஸ்ரீ, இராமசிங்கப் பெருமானடி
  2. கனாநாஸால் தாழக்காட்டுக் கட்டிடக்கப்பட்ட வாணிகர்க்
  3. குணராஜ் அவிரோதத்தாற் பிடிக்கை கட்டுவான் அமைத்த இ
  4. டம்:- சிறப்பள்ளி அடிகில் மெக்குப், பெரலில் வடக் குக், கனப்பள்ளியிற் கிழக்கு, மேற் திருக் கோயிற்றேவர்
  6. பூமிக்குத்தெற்கு, இதினகத்து ஊராள் தடுக்கவுந்தி
  7. ாறயும் பிடிக்கை கட்டிஊர், தந்தையயக்கொ
  8. ன்று தாயைக் கனத்தாம் வைச்சாராவோ.
  9. இருபதின் கோல் கொட்டிற்ரு பத்தினி செய் கொடுப்பது
  10. பாட்டமாளர் எடுத்துகொள்வது. அங்கால்வருஞ்சொ
  11. ற்ற இறைமுத்திறையுங் கொள்வது. இவகன் சென்று
  12. னிலயிட்ட சரக்கெல்லாரும் கொள்வது.
- (The remaining lines-13 to 22-are in small characters.)
13. இவ்வகையஞ்ச வாணியரில் மணிக்கிராமத்தாரான சரத்தம்படுகனும்
  14. இரவி கொத்தலு இவர்களிருவர்க்கு மிரண்டுமுதல் பிடிக்கைய
  15. லுக் செய்யில்லை, இரண்டுமுடியிலிருப் ஆர்க்கு எட்டேப்பட்ட இ
  16. றையுமில்லை இக்கச்சத்திற் குடி
  17. க்கு பத்தலக் காணமுக் தட்டாரக்க
  18. லியுமில்லை, கச்சத்திலக்கடி
  19. உல்கும் னுண்டெல்லும் படைவீரிகெல்லும் கொடு க்கக்கட
  20. வர். தட்டாரக்கலியும் உலகும் அனுபத்தஞ் செய்து (க or) கடத்தும்
  21. வன்முதல் கோயில் முதல் கச்சத்திலக் குடியு வடப பெண்ணு
  22. ம் பன்னாயு பதன்க்கு கட்டமுக் கச்சத்தெரெடெக்கும்

APPENDIX IV  
A Muttuchira Inscription.

മാറാൻ ഇഖൊ മിചിയംഘ പെറന്നിട്ട നമരവുയ  
മാത ഇ നെലത്ത ചുത്തം ആന തിളിവാ നിറത്തി തംപുരാൻ  
റെ കൽപ്പെനയാൽ മർത്തനാ മാറാവു കീവറകീത പിറന്തിയാ  
ക്രൂട. ഇതിൻറെ ചെഴം പൊറത്തകാൽ തെമാത്ത പൊയി  
തൻറെ മരുമകൻ മത്തായി പാതിരിയും ക്രൂട. മിചിയംഘ  
പെറന്നിട്ട നമരവുയ മാത കന്നി ഞായർ ധനു ന- മാ  
തിളിവാടെ പെരനാറുക്ക ഇ മാർ തിളിവാ ഏടുത്ത മര  
ത്തിൽ പൊതിഞ്ഞ നിറത്തി, മറചെമ ഒൻ മെത്തറാനം പാ  
തിരി യക്കൊവും. കാലത്ത ധവന- പെരനാറുക്ക ഇ ഉതിര  
ക്കരിച വെച്ചു. നമരവുയം മത മീനത്തായർ റുധൻ-  
തുക്കവെള്ളി ആഴ്ച്ച നാൾ ഇക്കരിക്കൽ തിളിവാ നിറത്തി,

*Transcript in modern Spelling.*

മാറാൻ ഇശൈമിശിയാ പിറന്നിട്ട് മരവു-മാത  
ഈ നിലത്ത് ശുഭമാന സ്ത്രീബാ നിറത്തി, തമ്പുരാന്റെ കല്പ  
നയാൽ മാർത്തന്മാർ ആബൊ ശിവഭഗീസു ബ്രാഹ്മിയം ക്ര  
ട്ടെ. ഇതിന്റെ ശേഷം പോർട്ടുഗൽ ഭേശത്തുപോയി, തന്റെ  
മരുമകൻ മത്തായി പാത്രിയം ക്രട്ടെ. മിശിയാ പിറന്നിട്ട്  
മരവുമാത കന്നി ഞായർ ധനു-മാർ സ്ത്രീബായുടെ പെര  
നാറുക്ക് ഈ മാർസ്ത്രീബാ ഏടുത്ത മരത്തിൽ പൊതിഞ്ഞ  
നിറത്തി മാർശിമയോൻ മെത്രാനം പാത്രീ യാക്കോബ്ബാ. കാ  
ലം ഇത് (=മേപ്പടി ആണ്ട്) ഹനു-ന- പെരനാറുക്ക് ഈ  
രധിരക്കരിശു വെച്ചു. മരവുമാത മീനത്തായർ റുധൻ-  
ദുഃഖവെള്ളിയാഴ്ചനാൾ ഇക്കരിക്കൽ സ്ത്രീബാ നിറത്തി.

## APPENDIX V.

## The Kanara Brahmin's

## Reading of the Mount Cross Inscription.

1. அறி யேசு கர்தன் அய்யாறு தன்னில்
2. தேதீய தனுவில் நிருத்த முடிவழில்
3. பராபரமாகிய பாட்டொருள் ஒன்றை
4. தாராகாணி யெநர் கண்டியல்,
5. யுத்தலத்துத் தயகறுமுனி தான்
6. வாழ்தல் பொருத்தும் வகையறு வாசிய.
7. கன்னிய மரிய கருப்பமதாகி
8. மன்னிய முப்பதாம் வருஷம் வரையநில்,
9. ஒன்றே என்னும் ஒருபொருள் தன்னை
10. கண்டென பத்திருத்தெசுக்கிருப்பார்.
11. ஆய சமயத்தருத்த வருறையும்
12. கூறியல் மயிலைக் கொறுமுனி தோன்றி,
13. தச்சு க்கொளும் தம்பகத்தருவும்
14. பெச்சின கோயில் இறைவனுசமைப்பான்.
15. சிறிபுவனத்தில் சொலக்கொணு
16. குருகுல சொழன் குருகில் பண்டியன்
17. அதனர் புத்தில் அரிச்சந்திரனும்
18. காறு என்னும் கன்னியர்க்காகம்
19. மற்லும் பலபல மரத்தூதாரும்
20. சித்தம் தெளிந்து சிவனுதவேறும்
21. தாமெப்பொருத்தித் தவமுனியான
22. தோமருலத்தில் கொழுத்தி பணிந்தார்.
23. அந்தண மெலொர் அறிவொருமிடை
24. வந்தொருயொகம் மறைபவன் செய்தல்
25. கண்டுசமைத்த உதிரக்குருகில்
26. தொண்டர்குலத்தில் தொழும் அடியார்கள்
27. பிறகிப்பாவப் பெருங்கடல் நீங்கி
28. இறைவனைச் சேர்த்தக்கிருப்பதுதின்னம்



**APPENDIX IV**  
**A Muttuchira Inscription.**

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മാറാൻ ഇഖൊ മിചിയംഘ പെറന്നിട്ട ന്നമഠവ്യയ  
മാത ഇ നെലത്ത ചുത്തം ആന തിളിവാ നിറുത്തിതംപുരാൻ  
ഘ കൽപ്പെനയാൽ മർത്തനാ മാറാവു കീവറകീത പിറാതിയാ  
ട്ടുട. ഇതിൻറെ ചെഴം പൊറത്തകാൽ തെചത്ത പൊയി  
ടൻറെ മരുമകൻ മത്തായി പാതിരിയും കൂട. മിചിയംഘ  
പെറന്നിട്ട ന്നമഠവ്യയ മാത കന്നി ഞായർ ധനു ന- മാറ  
തിളിവാടെ പെരന്നാറക്ക ഇ മാർ തിളിവാ ഏടുത്ത മര  
ത്തിൽ പൊതിഞ്ഞ നിറുത്തി, മറചെമ ഒൻ മെത്തറാന പൊ  
രിരി യക്കൊവും. കാലത്ത ധവുന- പെരന്നാറക്ക ഇ ഉതിര  
ക്കരിച വെച്ചു. ന്നമഠവ്യയ മത മീനഞായർ റധൻറ-  
യക്കവെള്ളി ആഴ്ച നാൾ ഇക്കരിങ്കൽ തിളിവാ നിറുത്തി.

*Transcript in modern Spelling.*

മാറാൻ ഇശൈമിശിയാ പിറന്നിട്ട് ചമുറാമത  
ഈ നിലത്ത് ശുദ്ധമാന സ്തീയാ നിറുത്തി, തമ്പുരാന്റെ കല്പ  
നയാൽ മാർത്തന്മാർ ആഖൊ ശിവറഗീസു ബ്രാദിയും കൂ  
ടെ. ഇതിന്റെ ശേഷം പോർട്ടുഗൽ ഭേശത്തുപോയി, തന്റെ  
മരുമകൻ മത്തായി പാട്ടിയും കൂടെ. മിശിയാ ചിറന്നിട്ട്  
ചമുറാമത് കന്നി ഞായർ ധനു- മാർസ്തീയായുടെ പെര  
ന്നാറക്ക ഈ മാർസ്തീയാ ഏടുത്ത് മരത്തിൽ പൊതിഞ്ഞു  
നിറുത്തി മാർസിറ യോൻ മെത്രാനും പാട്ടി യാക്കോബും. കാ  
ലം ഇത് (=മേപ്പടി ആണ്ട്) ചമുറാ ന- പെരന്നാറക്ക ഈ  
രധിരക്കരിശു വെച്ചു. ചമുറാമത മീന ഞായർ റധൻറ-  
ദുഖവെള്ളിയാഴ്ചനാൾ ഇക്കരിങ്കൽ സ്തീയാ നിറുത്തി.

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## APPENDIX V.

## The Kanara Brahmin's

## Reading of the Mount Cross Inscription.

1. அந்நியேச காதல் அய்யாறு தன்னில்
2. தேவிய தனுயில் நிருத்த புவெழில்
3. பாபமாயகிய பாய்நெய் ஒன்றை
4. தாராதாகாவி யெநி கண்டியங்கி,
5. முதலுத்தூத் துயகழமுனி தான்
6. வாழ்தல் பொருத்தும் வகைபது வாசியே,
7. சந்திரிய மரிய கருப்பமதாதி
8. சந்திரிய முப்பகாம் வநுஷம் வநாயகில்,
9. துன்றே என்னும் ஒருபொருள் தன்னை
10. கண்டென பந்திருதேசகிக்குவாய்பார்,
11. ஆறு சமயத்தருந்த வருறையும்
12. கூறியல் மயிலைக் கொருபுனி கோன்றி,
13. தச்சுக்கோளும் தம்பகதருவும்
14. மெச்சின கோயில் இறைவனுசமைப்பான்.
15. சிறிபுவனத்தில் சோலக்கோணும
16. குருகுல சோழன் குருகில் பாண்டியன்
17. அதனர் புரத்தில் அச்சந்திரனும்
18. காது என்னும் கன்னியர்க்காசம்
19. மற்றும் பலபல மார்த்துத்தாரும்
20. சித்தம் தெளிந்து சிஷைவேறும்
21. தாமெபொருத்தித் தவமுனியான
22. தோமருலத்தில் தோமுதடி பனிகாரி.
23. அந்தனை மெலார் அரிவோழும்பை
24. வந்தொருயோகம் மறையவன் செய்தல்
25. கண்டசமைத்த உதிரக்குருகில்
26. தொண்டர்குலத்தில் தோழும் அடியார்கள்
27. பிறனிப்பாவப் பெருங்கடல் நீல்க
28. இறைவனைச் சேர்த்தக்கிருப்பதுகின்னம்

## APPENDIX VI

The following translation of the Kufic and Hebrew signatures in the *Qasab* copper-plates, Sec. 2, was very kindly supplied by Dr. F. C. Burkitt was received by me on 4th November 1929.

1. *Arabic in Kufic characters.*

"And witness to this MAIMUN son of Ibrahim, and MUHAMMED son of Mani, and (F) SULH, son of AB, and UTHMAN son of al-Marraban, and MUHAMMAD son of Yahya, and 'AMR son of Ibrahim, and ISRAHIM son of al-Lay and BAKR son of Mansur, and AL-KASIM son of Humid, and MANSUR son of 'Isa, and ISMA'IL son of Yafrah.

2. *A list of Persons in Hebrew characters.*

Hereby I HASAN 'AS to it am witness. Hereby I ISAAC ben Michael to it am witness. Hereby I ABRAHAM ben . . . . am witness. Hereby I Y . . . . am witness. (See Herzl's *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 81 f.)

This translation is quite different from that of Mr N. E. Bodley's seen published in my Malayalam book on the copper-plates, pp. 17-18.

3. The Pahlavi signatures have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Mr. Winckworth is still puzzling them out. In his letter to me dated 23rd October 1929, Dr. Bodley says "On the one hand his Mr. Winckworth's new reading of some of the names is possible, even probable, and if ultimately confirmed of great historical interest, because it would connect the signatures of the crosses found in date and personalities with the signatures on the copper-plates;.....I think the name of 'Isa 4 - I-(Chahar) b (okht) Sur (saya)' can be made out with considerable probability."

The portions in brackets are not clear in the facsimiles studied by Mr. Winckworth. So I have supplied him with a clear facsimile of the signatures, and am awaiting his revised reading.

In the *tubdon*, a portion of the Malabar Jacobite Liturgy, the Catholicos of Selencia, the ancient head-centre of Christianity in the Persian Empire, is still loyally remembered in the Sunday service. It is not known when this practice was introduced into Malabar.

#### APPENDIX VII.

A lithic Inscription in the Quilon Jacobite Church.

തംപുരാൻ തൂണ  
 വൃതയര ആ മാ  
 ണ്ടു വിതിന മാതം  
 ഡയനു ചെരം  
 പാല ചെമ്പൻ  
 എഴുതിച്ചു ആന  
 ചിറത്ത മ  
 ണ്ണ നീരൂ മ  
 തെക്കു മറ്റ  
 എല്ലാ തൊ

This says that the portion of the Quilon plates dealing with the privileges of the Manigramam Christians was copied, one does not know for what purpose, in 1637 A. D.



## Errata.

- P. 5, para 2, line 4: though — through ✓  
P. 6, footnote 9: es — eo ✓  
P. 17, „ 18: Appendix III — Appendix IV ✓  
P. 25, „ 30: 57 — 507 ✓  
P. 27: THE, — THE ✓  
P. 29, footnote 36: kufic — Kufic ✓  
P. 32, „ 38: that — the ✓  
P. 34, 35, 37: PURPOT. — PURPORT. ✓

### Appendices.

- P. vi            திஊவா — திஊவா ✓  
                  ஊசலா — ஊசலா ✓  
                  மஊவா — மஊவா ✓  
                  போய, — போயி, ✓  
                  மஊவா — மஊவா ✓  
P. vii, line 19: மாரீக — மாரீக ✓