

Contents

Preface	xi
Abbreviations	xv

Introduction

0.1. Divided Scholarship	xix
0.2. Tisserant and Hambye	xxiii
0.3. Will East and West Meet?	xxviii
0.4. Conclusion	xxxi

Part I Survey of Recent Literature

1.1. In English	3
1.2. In German	9
1.3. In French	15
1.4. In Italian	18
1.5. In Spanish and Portuguese	21
1.6. In Other Western Languages	23
1.7. In Malayalam and Tamil	25
1.8. Analysis of the Survey	26
1.9. Conclusion	27

Part II Methodological Prolegomena

2.1. Terminology	34
2.2. Historicism	40
2.2.1. The Drama of Historicism	41
2.2.2. A Case Study in Historicism	43
2.3. The Historical Method	45
2.4. Models for the Quest of the Historical Thomas	48
2.5. Applying Historical Criticism	52
2.6. <i>Traditionskritik</i>	54
2.7. Conclusion	57

Part III
Nine Theories

3.1.	India Confused with Other Countries like Ethiopia	63
3.1.1.	Ancient Geography	63
3.1.2.	Ethiopia and India Confused?	65
3.1.3.	India Qualified	68
3.1.4.	Relations Between the West and India.....	71
3.1.5.	The Fathers of the Church and India	75
3.1.6.	Modern Times	79
3.2.	The <i>Acts of Thomas</i> Is No Historical Source.....	81
3.2.1.	The Apocrypha	81
3.2.2.	The <i>Acts of Thomas</i>	85
3.2.3.	The Literary Genre of the <i>Acts of Thomas</i>	89
3.2.4.	The Five Major Apocryphal <i>Acts of the Apostles</i> . A Comparison	91
3.2.5.	The <i>Acts of Thomas</i> as Fiction or History?	93
3.3.	Apostolic Foundation in India an Edessan Invention	97
3.3.1.	Edessa Not of Apostolic Origin.....	97
3.3.2.	Inventing Apostolic Origin in India?	100
3.4.	No Christianity in India in the Second Century	107
3.4.1.	The Tradition Reported by Origen	107
3.4.2.	Commentary	108
3.4.3.	Bardaisan's Silence	111
3.5.	Parthia and India as Alternatives	113
3.5.1.	Parthia/India	114
3.5.2.	Gundaphar, King of Indo-Parthia	117
3.6.	Apostle Bartholomew India's Apostle	119
3.6.1.	The Visit of Pantaenus to India	120
3.6.2.	Interpretations of Pantaenus's Visit	124
3.6.3.	Bartholomew the Second Apostle of India?	130
3.7.	Not Apostle Thomas but Thomas of Kinai (Cana)	137
3.7.1.	Thomas of Kinai (<i>Knāyi-Thomman</i>)	139
3.7.2.	Northists and Southists	140
3.7.3.	The Southist Disclaimer	143

3.8.	Christian Origins in India from “Nestorian” Missions	145
3.8.1.	The Church in India Linked to the Church in Persia ...	146
3.8.2.	Dependence of Indian Christianity on the Persian Church	148
3.8.3.	Archaeological Evidence: “Pre-Nestorian” Crosses	153
3.9.	The Calamina Riddle	157
3.9.1.	The Problem	158
3.9.2.	Proposed Solutions	158
3.9.3.	Written Sources of “Calamina”	160
3.9.4.	The Historical Context.....	161
3.9.5.	Sociology and the Mental Horizon	164
3.9.6.	Philological Considerations	165
3.9.7.	Peculiar Dravidian Phonemes	168
3.9.8.	Critique of Proposed Solutions	171

Part IV
Patristic Texts on St. Thomas’s
Field of Apostolate

4.0.	Sharing the World Mission Among the Apostles	178
4.1.	Patristic Texts	181
0.	Pantaenus	1. Origen
2.	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	3. <i>Clementine Recognitions</i>
4.	<i>The Doctrine of the Apostles</i>	5. Eusebius
6.	Ephrem	7. Gregory Nazianzen
8.	Cyrillona	9. Ambrose
10.	Chrysostom	11. Gaudentius
12.	Rufinus	13. Jerome
14.	Asterius	15. Paulinus of Nola
16.	Socrates Scholasticus	17. Jacob of Serugh
18.	Gregory of Tours	19. Gregory the Great
20.	Isidore of Seville	21. Pseudo-Dorotheus
22.	Codex of Fulda	23. Nicetas of Paphlagonia
24.	Oderic Vitalis	25. Dionysius bar Salibi
26.	Michael the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch	27. Mar Solomon of Basora
28.	Bar Hebraeus	29. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos
30.	Other Patristic Writers	31. Anonymous Texts.
4.2.	Threefold Division of the Patristic Texts	213

4.2.1. Parthia Only	213
4.2.2. India Only	214
4.2.3. Parthia and India and Other Nations	215
 4.3. Apostle Thomas and Greater India	219
 4.4. Apostle of Many Nations	223
4.4.1. Parthians	223
4.4.2. Medes	223
4.4.3. Persians	224
4.4.4. Carmans	224
4.4.5. Hyrcanians	224
4.4.6. Bactrians	224
4.4.7. Magians	224
4.4.8. Indians	224
 4.5. The Source of the Edessan Relics	227
 4.6. The Fathers of the Church and the <i>Acts of Thomas</i>	233
4.6.1. The Fathers and the Apocrypha	234
4.6.2. Patristic Censure of the <i>Acts of Thomas</i>	238
4.6.3. Patristic Witness Based on the Apostolic Tradition	241
4.6.4. Texts and Cult	244
 4.7. Itinerary of the Apostle Thomas	247
Synthesis and Conclusion	252

Part V The Indian Tradition

5.0. <i>Tradition and History in India</i>	258
5.0.1. Historiography in India	258
5.0.2. Historiography in India Today	263
5.0.3. The Indian Traditions About the Apostle Thomas	266
 5.1. The North-west Indian Tradition	271
5.1.1. Taxila of Gundaphar	271
5.1.2. St. Thomas, the Apostle of Taxila	274
5.1.3. Other North-west Indian Traditions	277
 5.2. The Inscription in Central India	281

5.2.1.	The Historical Setting	282
5.2.2.	The Text of the Inscription	285
5.2.3.	Observations on the Inscription	290
5.2.3.1.	Historical Background	290
5.2.3.2.	Udayesvara Temple	292
5.2.3.3.	The Text of the Inscription	293
5.2.3.4.	Initial Invocation	294
5.2.3.5.	Liturgy	294
5.2.3.6.	Theology	295
5.2.3.7.	Ecclesiology	296
5.2.3.8.	Architecture and Art	297
5.2.3.9.	Christian Communities in Medieval India	298
5.2.4.	Indian Scholars on the Inscription	299
5.2.5.	Final Observations	303
5.3.	The South Indian Tradition (1): The Tomb of Mylapore	305
5.3.1.	A Tomb With No Rival	305
5.3.2.	Archaeological Evidence	308
5.3.3.	The Mylapore Tomb a Forgery?	312
5.3.4.	The Name Mylapore	313
5.4.	The South Indian Tradition (2): The Apostle's Death:	321
5.4.1.	The Place of Death	321
5.4.2.	The Date	327
5.4.3.	The Manner	330
5.4.4.	A Study in Contrast: A Forged Tomb	331
5.5.	The South Indian Tradition (3): Palayur	335
5.5.1.	The Palayur Story	336
5.5.2.	Understanding the Palayur Story	338
5.5.3.	Hindu-Christian Tradition at Palayur	339
5.6.	The South Indian Tradition (4) : The Seven Churches	343
5.6.1.	The Seven Churches of Apostolic Foundation	343
5.6.2.	The Most Ancient Churches	353
5.6.3.	The New-World Gaff	354
5.7.	The South Indian Tradition (5) The Ballads	355
5.7.1.	<i>Veerādian</i> Songs	357
5.7.2.	<i>Mārgam-kali-pāttu</i>	357
5.7.3.	<i>Rambānpāttu</i>	358
5.7.3.1.	Textual Criticism	359

5.7.3.2. Contents	361
5.7.3.3. Historical Assessment	362
5.8. The South Indian Tradition (6): The Names	
Thomaschristians and Nasrānis	369
5.8.1. The Name Thomaschristians	369
5.8.2. The Name Nasrānis	372
5.9. The Non-Starters	379
5.9.1. The Thomaschristian Priesthood	379
5.9.2. The Law of Thomas	381
5.9.3. The St. Thomas Cross	385
5.9.4. Ancient Jewish Settlements	388
5.9.5. Brahmin Social Customs Among Thomaschristians	390
5.9.6. Christian Influence on Early Indian Religion?	391
5.9.6.1. Christ and the Krishna Cult	391
5.9.6.2. The Gospels and <i>Tirukkural</i>	392
5.9.7. Official Statements	393
General Conclusion	
1. East and West: the Twain Shall Never Meet?	397
2. <i>Videtur quod non</i> : Western Theories in Focus	398
3. The Early Qualified Witnesses	404
4. The Multifocus Indian Tradition	405
5. <i>Fioretti</i> : Tribute of Posterity to the Great	406
6. Convergence of Traditions as Proof	408
7. Historical Certainty	409
Selected Bibliography	411
Maps and Illustrations	415
Index	421

5.7.3.2. Contents	361
5.7.3.3. Historical Assessment	362
5.8. The South Indian Tradition (6): The Names	
Thomaschristians and Nasrānis	369
5.8.1. The Name Thomaschristians	369
5.8.2. The Name Nasrānis	372
5.9. The Non-Starters	379
5.9.1. The Thomaschristian Priesthood	379
5.9.2. The Law of Thomas	381
5.9.3. The St. Thomas Cross	385
5.9.4. Ancient Jewish Settlements	388
5.9.5. Brahmin Social Customs Among Thomaschristians	390
5.9.6. Christian Influence on Early Indian Religion?	391
5.9.6.1. Christ and the Krishna Cult	391
5.9.6.2. The Gospels and <i>Tirukkural</i>	392
5.9.7. Official Statements	393

General Conclusion

1. East and West: the Twain Shall Never Meet?	397
2. <i>Videtur quod non</i> : Western Theories in Focus	398
3. The Early Qualified Witnesses	404
4. The Multifocus Indian Tradition	405
5. <i>Fioretti</i> : Tribute of Posterity to the Great	406
6. Convergence of Traditions as Proof	408
7. Historical Certainty	409
Selected Bibliography	411
Maps and Illustrations	415
Index	421