

Propaganda-Padroado Conflicts in India from 17th Century till the Concordat of 1886

Introduction

The period between the 16th and the 18th centuries occupies the centre stage in the history of the Church in India. It witnessed some of the events that had great implications for the Church in India. This was a period of great expansion of Christianity, of the emergence of some of the popular missions and of the appearance of notable personalities who contributed to the missions in India. Evidently, this period also marks the arrival of the Latin missionaries under the direction of the Portuguese crown. For the greater part, the Church in India was shaped and directed by the Portuguese crown which had received the right of evangelization from the Holy See. Hence, during this period, the Portuguese and its missionaries functioned under the *Padroado* system or also known as the Royal Patronage (*Padroado real*).

The *Padroado* system which bore rich dividends to the Indian mission in the 16th century, began to weaken from

the 17th century. Due to this, the *Propaganda Fide*¹ decided to take up the cause of the missions in India already from first half of the 17th century. However, due to the *Padroado* privileges granted to Portugal, the *Propaganda Fide* could not directly do it, but circumvented the problem by establishing apostolic vicariates. In the course of time, circumstances made both parties to clash, and this resulted in unpleasant consequences for the church in India. Though the first attempt of establishing apostolic vicariates in the 17th century did not yield positive results, those established in the 19th century — although were again strongly resisted by the *Padroado* clergy — paved the way for the establishment of Indian hierarchy.

This article focuses on some of the important missions in which these conflicts unfolded and some of the events that

¹ The *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* was canonically founded on 22 June 1622 by Gregory XV (Alessandro Lusovisi, r. 1621-1623) with the *Bull Inscrutabili divinae Providentiae arcano*. It was renamed as Congregation for the Evangelization of the Peoples in 1988, and in 2022 Pope Francis (Mario Bergoglio, r. 2013) again renamed it as Dicastery for the Evangelization, with the Pontiff as its Prefect. Francis Thonippara, “Propaganda Fide: Four Hundred Years Missionary Presence in India – An Overview,” in *Indian Church History Review*, 57/1 (January 2023), p. 22. See also: Giovanni Pizzorusso, *Governare le missioni, conoscere il mondo nel XVII secolo. La Congregazione pontificia De Propaganda Fide*, (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2018), p. 35.

had serious consequences for the Indian mission till the Concordat of 1886.

1. The *Padroado* System

The *Padroado* or Patronage is a form of ecclesiastical benefice, whose history goes back to the fifth century. Laymen were called upon by the Church to help in the promotion of the Christian faith in their territories. Though the Patronage was initially confined only to Europe, in the 15th century it was extended overseas. From then onwards it declined in Europe and flourished in Africa, India, Brazil, Japan, and China. The *Padroado* system entailed both duties and privileges.² The patron, to whom the *Padroado* powers were given, had the monopoly of missionary activities in his territory, like appointing persons to ecclesiastical benefices, such as bishop, parish priest, abbot, etc. On the one hand, only the patron could establish churches, and all the papal missives should have royal *placet* viz., the patron's approval for it to be effectively published and executed in the concerned territory. On the other hand, the patron had the duty of establishing and maintaining the church and the

² Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion 1440-1770*, (Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 78.

ecclesiastical persons, defending the Christians, and promoting the Christian faith.

From the time of Henry the Navigator (1394-1460)³, son of John I (1357-1433), Portugal showed much enthusiasm to carry out mission work.⁴ So the Popes bestowed the *Padroado* rights upon Portugal. But from the second half of the 15th century Spain too competed with Portugal for mission work.⁵ When the conflict was brought before the Pontiff, Alexander VI (Rodrigo de Borja, r. 1492-1503) divided the mission area into two by drawing a line of demarcation 100 leagues to the west of Azores and Cape Verde Islands, and entrusted the area lying to the east of

³ Henry was also the Grand Master of the Military Order of Christ, which had its headquarters in Tomar in Portugal. For more information on the role of Henry as the Grand Master, see Bruno Tadeu Salles, “A administração do Infante D. Henrique na Ordem de Cristo e os inícios da expansão marítima portuguesa no século XV (1420-1460)”, in *Revista Tempo de Conquista*, 4 (2008), pp. 1-25.

⁴ There are over 16 Bulls of different Popes from 1514 to 1606, which show that the sovereign of Portugal gradually obtained the right of patronage in the appointment of archbishops, bishops and ministers over all the dioceses and benefices in the territory entrusted to the *Padroado*. Cf. Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and Propaganda in the East* (Goa: Pilar Publications, 1997), p. 2.

⁵A. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 2001), p. 241.

the line to Portugal and to the west of the line to Spain.⁶ In the following year, the Pope advanced the line some 270 leagues further to the west in favour of Portugal (thanks to the *Tratado de Tordesillas*, on 7 June 1494).⁷ This is known as *Donatio Alexandrina* or the Alexandrian Partition of the World. Following this demarcation, the complete ecclesiastical functioning in India, like building churches, sending missionaries, seeing to their maintenance, etc. came under the control of Portugal. Therefore, if any missionary wanted to come to India, first he had to go to Lisbon, get the necessary permission from the king and only then could he sail to India. This also implied that he could not enter India on his own, or the Pope could not send him directly to India without reference to the Portuguese crown.⁸

⁶ Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado régio portoghese nella dimensione ‘globale’ della Chiesa romana. Note storico documentarie con particolare riferimento al Seicento”, in *Gli archivi della Santa Sede come fonte per la storia del Portogallo in età moderna. Studi in memoria di Carmen Radulet*, eds., Giovanni Pizzorusso - Gaetano Platania - Matteo Sanfilippo, (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2012), pp. 157-159, 165.

⁷ Carlo Pelliccia, “Analisi e riflessioni sulla presenza in Giappone di missionari portoghesi e spagnoli (secc. XVI e XVII)”, in *Sguardi sul Giappone da Oriente e Occidente. Nuove prospettive di ricerca*, eds., Simone Dalla Chiesa – Cristian Pallone – Virginia Sica, (Venezia: Cafoscarina, 2021), p. 62.

⁸ Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado régio portoghese”, p. 159; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, p. 78-79.

1.1. India under the *Padroado* System

At the beginning of the Portuguese power in India, all the new territories were ecclesiastically under the prelate of Tomar (in Portugal) as he was the Grand Prior of the Military Order of Christ, to whom exercising the *Padroado* jurisdiction went *ipso facto*.⁹ But in 1514, Pope Leo X (Giovanni Medici, r. 1513-1521) established the new diocese of Funchal in the Maderia Island, and all the territories of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia were placed under its jurisdiction. Its bishop never visited India but governed through five successive vicars general.¹⁰

1.2. The *Padroado* Ecclesiastical Organization

In 1533 Pope Paul III (Alessandro Farnese, r. 1534-1549) established the diocese of Goa with the Bull *Romani Pontificis Circumspectio* (31 January). But it had a vast territory from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. In 1558, Goa was elevated to the rank of archdiocese having two

⁹ Bruno Tadeu Salles, “A administração do Infante D. Henrique”, p. 2-6; Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado régio portoghese”, p. 165.

¹⁰A. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, p. 242; Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado régio portoghese”, p. 166-167.

suffragan dioceses, viz. Cochin and Malacca.¹¹ The diocese of Cochin had all the territories from Cannanore to Sri Lanka, and along the east coast till Bengal and Burma. In 1599, Cranganore, which was until then a metropolitan See of the St. Thomas Christians, functioning independently of the *Padroado*, was forcefully brought under the *Padroado* jurisdiction in the synod of Diamper (Udayamperur). And finally in 1606 the last *Padroado* diocese Mylapore was established.¹²

1.3. The *Padroado* Missionaries

Right from the beginning, the king of Portugal sent a number of diocesan and religious priests as chaplains and missionaries. The diocesan priests generally remained in settled parishes while the great part of the mission work was done by the religious. Among the religious, the Franciscans and the Dominicans were the first to set sail to India in 1497. From 1518 onwards the Franciscans began to build their friaries. The Dominicans were fewer, but they built their first friary only in 1548. The Jesuits arrived on 6 May 1542 led by

¹¹ The diocese of Macao was founded in 1576; the diocese of Funai (in Japan) was erected in 1588. Cf. Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado region portoghese”, p. 167.

¹² Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century: Role of Mgr. Clément Bonnard (1796-1861)*, vol. 2 (Bangalore: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 2006), p. 394.

Francis Xavier (1506-1552).¹³ Eventually they became quite numerous like the Franciscans and did efficient mission work in various parts of the country. The Augustinians came in 1572. The Carmelites, the Capuchins and the Theatines reached India only in the 17th century. The Oratorians founded an Oratory in Goa in 1682.¹⁴

1.4. An Evaluation of the *Padroado* System

The *Padroado* system produced good results till the last decades of the 16th century. For example, by then the Portuguese Goa was almost Christian. In the Portuguese Bassein, although the process was slower, presence of strong Christian communities could be seen everywhere. Even in other parts of the Indian coast, places like Southern Tamil Nadu, Canara, Travancore, and Bengal saw positive signs of the Church taking roots. The *Padroado* missionaries not only managed to set up a Latin mission in the Malabar coast, but also from the middle of the 16th century began to have strong influence over the St. Thomas Christians, through the latter would lead to unsavory events from then on. Even in the 17th

¹³ Incidentally it was also under the leadership of Francis Xavier that the first Jesuits reached Japan, at Kagoshima on 15 August 1549. Cf. Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*, (Berkeley-London: University of California Press, 1951), p. 36.

¹⁴ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 2001), pp. 6-7.

century the *Padroado* could boast of inland ventures like the Madurai, Mysore and Carnatic missions. Yet the danger of identifying the Church with a particular foreign power was always there. People began to view Christianity as exclusively western or a colonial imposition in India. The Indians considered the westerners *paranghis* because the latter ate beef, drank liquor, and related with lower castes, which were all abominable to the higher castes. Anyone who came into contact with the westerners or became a Christian was also considered a *paranghi*.¹⁵ Thus Christianity was seen as *paranghism*, the religion of the vile westerners.

2. The Decline of *Padroado* and Establishment of Apostolic Vicariates in the 17th and 18th centuries

In 1580, Portugal fell under the Spanish crown and remained under its control up to 1640. After the death of Cardinal-King Henry (1512-1580), Philip II (1527-1598) was crowned in March 1581 as Philip I of Portugal, thus initiating the period of the Iberian union. This badly affected the strength of Portugal. From then on it was no longer a naval

¹⁵*Paranghi*, a Perso-Arabic word, is corrupted form of the word *Frank*. Perhaps this term was first used during struggles between Christians and Muslims in Spain and Palestine and had become the standard designation to refer to the Europeans. During the 16th to 18th centuries in India it referred to the Portuguese, more specifically the *Padroado* missionaries, who were considered on a par with the low caste people. Hence it was more a derogative term than indicating what it actually meant.

power as it had been in the 15th and 16th centuries. Especially the period between 1634 and 1739 the Portuguese lost one by one their strongholds in the East Indies, like Jaffna, Malacca, Mangalore, Quilon, Cochin, Cranganore, Bassein and Bombay.¹⁶ Portugal also was challenged by Protestant powers like Holland and England. With the loss of their commerce and power the Portuguese could not send bishops regularly to the vacant Sees.¹⁷ For example, the diocese of Goa was vacant from 1831 to 1844 and from 1849 to 1862, and that of Cochin for a whopping 43 years from 1646 to 1689. From 1777 to 1838 Cochin had a bishop for only 13 years, Cranganore had only one bishop between 1750 and 1838 and Mylapore was occupied only for 32 years between 1759 and 1834.¹⁸ However, the Portuguese crown was unwilling to relinquish her rights. As the 17th and 18th centuries advanced the *Padroado* system became less and less useful for the Church.

¹⁶ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 22-23.

¹⁷ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 414.

¹⁸ Anchukandam Thomas, *The First Synod of Pondicherry 1844*, (Bangalore: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 1994), p. 11; Nikolaus Kowalsky, *Apostolische Vikariate in Indien 1834-1838 nach den Akten des Propaganda Archivs*, (Doctoral Dissertation, Pontificia Università Urbaniana, Rome 1950), p. 10-14.

During the period when Portugal was under the Spanish crown, some new developments took place in the Church organization. In 1622, pope Gregory XV established the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda Fide*), which immediately took charge of the mission work.¹⁹ The *Propaganda* was in a better position to harness the missionary resources and personnel of the religious orders, even the non-Portuguese ones.²⁰ Furthermore, it also stressed the need to promote native vocations for the survival of the missions. However, since the whole of India was covered by the four *Padroado* dioceses (Goa, Cochin, Mylapore and Cranganore), the Holy See could not erect dioceses or appoint bishops without the consent of the Portuguese crown and the knowledge of the archbishop of Goa.²¹ The *Propaganda* initially respected the *Padroado* jurisdiction and instructed its missionaries to work in regions other than those already under the *Padroado* personnel.²² The apostolic vicariates were in this sense just provisional arrangements, and Portugal could reclaim its

¹⁹ Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Il padroado régio portoghese", p. 161.

²⁰ Francis Thonippara, "Propaganda Fide," p. 20.

²¹ Francis Thonippara, "Propaganda Fide," p. 22.

²² Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 417; Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 33-34.

Padroado powers as soon as it regained its lost territories.²³ There was cooperation between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* till 1640. However, in that year, after the victory of the Portuguese revolution which re-established a Portuguese dynasty on the throne (House of Braganza), the relation between the two institutions soured. The *Propaganda* missionaries, taking advantage of the political situation in Europe, instead of occupying other places, preferred to occupy positions close to the *Padroado* missionaries.

2.1. Apostolic Vicariate of Idalkhan (Bijapur)

The first apostolic vicariate to be established in India was that of Bijapur, known as Idalkhan (from the Adil Shahi sultans of Bijapur). Its first apostolic vicar was Mathew de Castro (1594-1679), a Goan, born in the island of Divar around 1594 of brahmin parents.²⁴ Since the archbishop of Goa refused to ordain him a priest because he was an

²³ Thomas Pallipurathukunnel, *Double Regime in the Malabar Church (1663-1716)*, (Alwaye: Pontifical Institute of Theology and Philosophy, 1982), p. 6.

²⁴ See Giuseppe Sorge, *Matteo de Castro (1594-1677). Profilo di una figura emblematica del conflitto giurisdizionale tra Goa e Roma nel secolo XVII*, (Bologna: Clueb, 1986).

Indian,²⁵ he went to Rome and joined the Oratorians, and there he became a priest with the support of the *Propaganda*. In this manner the plan of this Dicastery to promote the native candidates to priesthood was being realized. When in 1637 Rome erected the apostolic vicariate of Idalkhan, he was chosen as its first apostolic vicar (he is the first known bishop of Indian origin).²⁶

2.1.1. Matteo de Castro

When Castro came to India in 1638 or 1639, he was opposed by the *Padroado* archbishop of Goa. Nevertheless, Castro set up his residence at Bicholim, just outside the Goan border, a territory belonging to Mohammed Adil Shah (1627-1656) of Bijapur. In that sultanate there were several thousand Catholics, most of whom were people who for various reasons had fled from the territories of the Portuguese. They lived there without any pastoral care. Since Castro had no priests, he chose about fifteen young men (brahmin Christians both laymen and clerics) and established a kind of Oratory in imitation of St. Philip Neri (1515-1595).

²⁵ His Indian origin was detested so much that when he arrived in India as the vicar apostolic, the Jesuit Patriarch of Ethiopia (Dom Afonso Mendes) did not have scruples to term him a Bare-Bottomed Nigger. Cf. Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, p. 13.

²⁶ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 417.

When the archbishop of Goa refused his request to ordain some of them as priests, he took them to Bijapur territory and ordained them all the same. Even some brahmin Christians of Goa supported him financially to build churches.

In the meantime, his sharp tongue created more enemies for him, especially the Theatines and the Franciscans. Complaints reached Rome that he was negotiating with the Dutch and the Bijapur sultan against the Portuguese. So, he left for Rome in 1643 to defend himself. In Rome he was praised for his achievements, but he was also asked to be moderate in his dealings. Though it is difficult to pass a judgement on him, he seems to have been a troublemaker. He went to the court of Shah Jahan, the Mughal emperor, and complained that the Jesuits in his court were spies for the Portuguese. As a result, one of the Jesuits was imprisoned for two months. Between the years 1653 and 1654, a number of complaints were made against him by several influential people from Goa. In 1658, Castro was once again left for Rome. The *Propaganda* decided that he should not return to India for the sake of peace.²⁷

²⁷Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, pp. 417-419.

2.1.2. Custodio de Pinho

Although the *Propaganda* was somewhat discouraged by the outcome of its first experiment, it decided to continue. In 1669, Custodio de Pinho (1638-1696), another brahmin Christian from Salcette (Goa) was appointed as the apostolic vicar. In matters of building churches and ordaining priests he followed the policy of his predecessor. But unlike Castro, he maintained peaceful relationship with the Portuguese. But the incipient mission of Bijapur was devastated during the Maratha invasions. The wars between the Mughals, the Bijapuris, the Marathas and the Portuguese caused dispersion and destruction of the Christian communities.²⁸

After the death of Custodio de Pinho in 1696, the vicariate passed into the hands of the Italian Carmelites. Already for a number of years the vicariate not only comprised territories of the sultanate of Bijapur, but also that of Golconda and Pegu. There were also small Christian communities in places like Delhi, Lahore, Patna, Jaipur and Sambar. In view of better evangelization of the Mughal empire, the mission was renamed as apostolic vicariate of

²⁸ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 420.

Great Mughal in 1696²⁹ and a Carmelite Peter Paul Palma was appointed as the apostolic vicar.³⁰ However, it functioned under this title only in name without really including the above-mentioned places of the Mughal mission which were actually under the *Padroado* Jesuits. Only in 1773 when the canonical Suppression of the Society took place,³¹ the Mughal mission was temporarily placed under this vicariate till 1784, after which the mission was again separated from the vicariate and entrusted to the Capuchins of the Tibet-Hindustan Mission. Nevertheless, the title vicariate of the Great Mughal continued to be used even into the 19th century, long after the disappearance of the Mughal empire. In 1832, Golkonda was made part of the vicariate of Madras, and after

²⁹ Joseph V. Velinkar, *Catholic Mission in the Region of Bombay, in Integral Mission Dynamics*, (II ed.), ed., Augustine Kanjamala, (New Delhi: Intercultural Publications, 1996), p. 148-155; Dominic, "The Latin Missions under the Jurisdiction of Propaganda," in *Christianity in India*, eds., H.C. Perumalil and E.R. Hambye, (Alleppey: Prakasham Publications, 1972), p. 102-128.

³⁰ Ernest R. Hull, *Bombay Mission-History: with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, (Bombay: Examiner Press, 1920), p. 55.

³¹ The Order was suppressed by Clement XIV (Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli, r. 1769-1774) with the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (21 July 1773) and it was restored with the bull *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum* (17 August 1801) by Pius VII (Gregorio Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti, r. 1800-1823).

this year it came to be called the apostolic vicariate of Bombay.³²

2.2. *Propaganda-Padroado* Conflicts in Bombay

The cause for *Propaganda-Padroado* conflicts in Bombay should be traced back to transoceanic circumstances. Bombay was part of the Portuguese Bassein which was evangelized by the Franciscans from 1547 onwards. Before 1610, the Franciscans had set up four parishes in Bombay. But in 1665, the Portuguese ceded Bombay as dowry to the English when Charles II of England married Catherine of Braganza. According to the agreement, the English permitted the *Padroado* clergy to continue to work in Bombay. Unfortunately, the relation between the English and the *Padroado* clergy worsened. On the one hand, the *Padroado* clergy were never reconciled to the cessation of Bombay, and on the other hand, the British resented the Portuguese influence over the people represented by the *Padroado* clergy. The tensions between the two sides kept escalating, and on 13 May 1720, all the Franciscans were ordered by the British Governor Charles Boone (†1735) to quit Bombay within twenty-four hours. They were replaced by the Carmelite

³² Ernest R. Hull, *Bombay Mission-History*, p. 52.

priests from the apostolic vicariate of Bijapur, who belonged to the *Propaganda*. Immediately the archbishop of Goa excommunicated the Carmelites.³³ The Catholics in Bombay did not look favourably to the Carmelites, as they were used to the *Padroado* climate till then. Still the Carmelites, amidst much opposition, served the parishes of Bombay for nearly thirty years. Towards the end of the 18th century the parishes in Bombay were divided between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* through a sort of double jurisdiction. This set off a long-drawn conflict between both sides which ended only with the Concordat of 1886 in which the *Padroado* jurisdiction ended in Bombay, and the vicariate apostolic was raised to an archdiocese.³⁴

2.3. Apostolic Vicariate of Canara

Canara, the coastal region of present-day Karnataka, began to be evangelized from the second half of the 16th century by the *Padroado* missionaries. This region was politically under the Ikkeri *Nayakas*. But Shivappa Nayaka (1645-1660), the greatest of the Ikkeri *nayakas*, was opposed to the presence of the Europeans in his realm and seized all

³³ Edward R. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. III, (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1997), pp. 382-385.

³⁴ Francis Thonippara, "Propaganda Fide," p. 28.

the Portuguese fortresses on the Canara Coast between 1652 and 1654. The priests fled to Goa, and about 6000 Christians were left without spiritual care.³⁵

When the Carmelites³⁶ reported the matter to Rome, the *Propaganda* appointed Thomas de Castro (1621-1684), a Theatine of Goan origin, as apostolic vicar of Canara. In the meantime, the Portuguese who were expelled by Shivappa Nayaka returned to Canara as peace treaties were signed between them and the successors of Shivappa Nayaka in 1671 and 1678. Along with the Portuguese the *Padroado* priests too returned. When the archbishop of Goa heard of the appointment of Castro as the apostolic vicar of Canara, he declared that Castro had forged his documents. He threatened everyone who received sacraments from the apostolic vicar with excommunication. Bishop Castro too aired similar threats of excommunication. This initiated a long-drawn conflict between the *Padroado* and the apostolic vicar of

³⁵ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 286.

³⁶ These are the Carmelites who had been sent to the Malabar to reconcile the St. Thomas Christians after the Coonan Cross Revolt which took place in 1653. These Carmelites, who were Italians, were expelled from Malabar in 1663 when the Dutch captured Cochin. They conveyed the situation of Canara to Rome when they returned there after this expulsion. Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 287.

*Propaganda*³⁷and caused great misunderstandings and scandals among the Christians as well as the non-Christians.³⁸

In 1681, Goa appointed Joseph Vaz (1651-1711), a Goan priest, as vicar forane of Canara. He met the apostolic vicar and came to an understanding with him, and both worked in Canara peacefully. But Castro's influence was restricted; hence he began to trouble Joseph Vaz, and the trouble continued till 1684. In that year bishop Castro died and the vicar general appointed by Castro too died in 1700. After this the *Propaganda* did not want to appoint an apostolic vicar, and thus the whole area once again came under the *Padroado*.³⁹ In 1722, the number of Christians in Canara was 24,000 and it rose to 40,000 in the year 1750.⁴⁰

2.4. The Vicariate Apostolic of Serra of Malabar

In Malabar, which is today called Kerala, the Christians in the 16th century were under two jurisdictions:

³⁷ Wilfred Prakash D'Souza Prabu, "*Padroado versus Propaganda Fide: The Jurisdictional Conflict between Portugal and Rome...*," in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 66 (2005-2006), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44145912>, (last accessed 14 June 2023) pp. 286-287.

³⁸ Wilfred Prakash D'Souza Prabu, "Padroado Versus Propaganda Fide," p. 977.

³⁹ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 288-289.

⁴⁰ Edward R. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. III, p. 273-274.

the St. Thomas Christians under the East Syrian bishops and the Latin Christians under the *Padroado*. The St. Thomas Christians whose tradition goes back to the first century, were from the beginning governed by bishops sent by the Patriarch of the East Syrian Church and their metropolitan See was at Cranganore (Kodungallur). Almost from the beginning of their presence in India, the Portuguese were trying to bring the St. Thomas Christians under the *Padroado*, in which they finally succeeded at the Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur) in 1599 - much to the displeasure of the St. Thomas Christians. From then on, for a little more than half a century the St. Thomas Christians were under the *Padroado* jurisdiction and were governed by Latin prelates who were Jesuits. The relationship between the prelates and the Christians was far from being cordial. Finally in the year 1653 the St. Thomas Christians revolted and broke away from the *Padroado* jurisdiction through a symbolic incident called Coonan Cross Oath.⁴¹ In order to reconcile the ceded St. Thomas Christians, pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, r. 1655-1667) established the apostolic vicariate of Serra of Malabar in 1659 and entrusted it to the Italian Carmelites. In this manner the St. Thomas Christians who were traditionally under the East

⁴¹Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 90-96.

Syrian jurisdiction, after being under the *Padroado* for a brief period, finally came under the *Propaganda*. Joseph Sebastiani, the first apostolic vicar of Serra of Malabar reached in 1661. But his stay in Malabar was cut short by the capture of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663. The Dutch expelled all the foreign Catholic missionaries from the Malabar coast. This threatened the very existence of the vicariate. Before leaving Malabar, Sebastiani ordained Chandy Parampil (†1687) bishop of Angamali⁴² and made him his successor. The Dutch were more favourable to Chandy Parampil. However, in 1675 the Carmelites were allowed to return to Malabar and they took control of the apostolic vicariate.⁴³

In the 18th century, the Syrian Catholics⁴⁴ were largely found in the Carmelite apostolic vicariate of Serra of Malabar. In 1709 the vicariate's name was changed to that of Verapoli. A small group of Syrian Catholics were still under Cranganore (*Padroado*). The *Padroado* archdiocese of Cranganore was vacant for 42 years from 1659 and was filled

⁴² Initially the bishops of the vicariate stayed in Angamali.

⁴³ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 105-108.

⁴⁴ From here it is better to denote this group as Syrian Catholics because nearly one-third of the revolted St. Thomas Christians did not come back under the vicariate apostolic, but in 1665 became Jacobites. The term Syrian Catholics is misnomer, and today they are better known as Syro-Malabar Christians.

only in 1703 when John Ribeiro (d. 1716) was appointed. This initiated conflicts between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. Though the Syrian Catholics were more inclined towards the apostolic vicariate, still we see at times churches shifting from one side to another. The Suppression of the Society of Jesus in Portugal in 1759 (by the Royal Decree of 3 September),⁴⁵ meant that the Jesuits could no longer work in Cranganore. From 1777 onwards the See became vacant. This had a positive effect as the vicariate could freely cater to the needs of the people.⁴⁶

Though the vicariate was from that time free of *Padroado* conflict, it faced constant unrest as relationship soured between the Catholics and the Carmelites. From 1770s the local clergy kept on demanding for local prelates. At times the Carmelites' ill treatment of them went even to the extent of chaining them and keeping them in confinements. This led to their bitter antagonism towards the Carmelites. Every now and then the arrival of prelates from the Middle

⁴⁵ It was started by Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699-1782), known as the Marquis of Pombal and implemented by Joseph I (1714-1777), monarch of the Braganza dynasty. On the Jesuits expelled from Portugal and its Empire, see Mariagrazia Russo and António Júlio Limpo Trigueiros, S.J., *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana esiliati in Italia (1759-1831)*, (Padova: CLEUP, 2013).

⁴⁶ Edward R. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. III, pp. 21-28.

East also added to the already existing conflicts. Amidst all these, majority of the Christians shifted once again to Cranganore jurisdiction. In the 19th century the relation between the apostolic vicars and the Syrian Catholics slightly improved and the Christian community also experienced vitality and revival. The Holy See finally having been convinced of the need to satisfy the Syrian Catholics, separated them from the apostolic vicariate of Verapoly, and in 1887 and placed them under two newly created vicariates apostolic: Trichur and Kottayam.⁴⁷

2.5. The Latin Christians of Malabar

The arrival of the Portuguese saw the emergence of Latin Christianity in Malabar. The *Padroado* diocese of Cochin was established in 1558 for the Latin Christians.⁴⁸ The Dutch capture of Quilon in 1661 and Cochin in 1663 resulting in the expulsion of the European clergy from Malabar affected both *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. Four thousand married Portuguese and Eurasians were removed from Goa. Only eight to ten thousand *Topazes* and Indian Christians were allowed to remain. Five Franciscans were

⁴⁷ Joseph Thekkedath, *A Short History of Christianity in India*, (Bangalore: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 2007), p. 78.

⁴⁸ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 111.

allowed to remain in Cochin with several restrictions. But they too were ordered to leave after three or four years. In the case of the kingdom of Quilon, one Jesuit managed to remain in the region because of the protection given by the king. In the rest of the coast, which lies to the south of Quilon till Cape Comorin, the situation was better. Here the Jesuits were able to continue their work.⁴⁹

In March 1663, the Dutch concluded a treaty with the raja of Cochin. Accordingly, the Christians came under the protection of the Dutch. This implied that their cases would be tried only by the Dutch, and no new taxes would be imposed without their permission. The Dutch tried their best to convert the Catholics to Protestantism, but the Catholics resisted every effort and stood firm in their faith. Finally, the Catholics were allowed free exercise of their religion on the condition that they recognized the bishop of Serra of Malabar (Chandy Parampil)⁵⁰ as their only ecclesiastical head, and no appeals be made to the Portuguese or the archbishop of

⁴⁹ Thomas Thayil, *The Latin Christians of Kerala: A Study on their Origin*, (Bangalore: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 2003), p. 191-193; Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, pp. 118-119; Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado region portoghese”, p. 187.

⁵⁰ Thomas Thayil, *The Latin Christians of Kerala*, p. 194-195.

Goa.⁵¹ In this way the Latin Christians of Malabar were brought under the apostolic vicariate of the St. Thomas Christians.

Even in the 18th century, the Latin Christians were under the jurisdiction of the Carmelites with their vicariate headquarters at Verapoli (the See of Serra of Malabar). The *Padroado* bishop of Cochin stayed in Anjengo (Anchuthengu) in the Travancore kingdom, and the spiritual needs of the Christians in and around Cochin were seen to by the Carmelites of Verapoli. For the most part in the 18th century the diocese of Cochin was either vacant or its bishop was in Goa as the administrator of the latter diocese in its vacancy. Because of this not less than ten administrators, usually called *governadores*, looked after the diocese of Cochin in this century. Since Cochin was a *Padroado* diocese, the suppression of the Jesuits in Portugal in 1759 seriously affected its clergy. They could not be paid properly and a little later they became almost penniless. But the situation of the clergy of the apostolic vicariate was better. They had some assets and drew a fairly good income from their properties.⁵² The vicariate of Verapoli, continued to have

⁵¹ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 119-120.

⁵² Edward R. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. III, p. 67-71.

both Syrian Catholics and Latin Christians till the Concordat of 1886. After that Verapoli became an archdiocese for the Latin Christians, and the Syrian Catholics were given two new vicariates apostolic as mentioned above.⁵³

The establishment of the apostolic vicariates by the *Propaganda* in the 17th and 18th centuries shows the determined efforts of *Propaganda* to make Indian bishops to preside over the vicariates. But this did not yield expected results for three reasons. First, with the exception of Malabar, the territories of other apostolic vicariates did not have large numbers of Christians. Secondly, the authority of the apostolic vicars was contested by the *Padroado* representatives. Finally, before the end of the 17th century the *Propaganda* also gave up its idea of appointing Indians as apostolic vicars.

3. *Padroado-Propaganda* Conflicts in the 19th Century

The person chiefly responsible for the missionary revival in India was Pope Gregory XVI (Bartolomeo Cappellari, r. 1831-1846). As a cardinal he had been in charge of the *Propaganda Fide*, and hence, he had an accurate knowledge of the missions in India. When he became Pontiff,

⁵³Joseph Thekkedath, A Short History of Christianity in India, p. 61.

all the *Padroado* dioceses in India were vacant. Therefore, he asked the Portuguese either to fulfil their obligations by nominating bishops or to give up their right of patronage. They did neither. After the civil war of 1833, when the newly formed anti-clerical government of Portugal broke off diplomatic ties with the Holy See and further negotiations became impossible for the time being, the Pope began to set up new apostolic vicariates in India.

3.1. Apostolic Vicariates and *Multa Praeclare*

In 1832, the apostolic vicariate of Madras (stretching as far away as Hyderabad, Nagpur and the borders of Orissa) was erected. Two years later, that of Calcutta (for Bengal) followed. The turn of the apostolic vicariate of the Coromandel Coast (comprising most of Tamil Nadu and Mysore, with headquarters at Pondicherry) came in 1836. But the *Padroado* clergy working in the areas covered by the new vicariates absolutely refused to recognize the authority of the apostolic vicars. Portugal supported the *Padroado* priests, and in 1836 sent bishops-elect to India to occupy the Sees of Goa, Cochin and Mylapore. The Pope replied in 1838 with the brief *Multa Praeclare* (on 24 April), abrogating the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* in the dioceses of Cochin, Cranganore and Mylapore, and committing all jurisdiction in

them solely to the apostolic vicars of those areas.⁵⁴ This started off open conflicts, sometimes called as “Goan Schism”. The *Padroado* clergy rejected the charge of schism, saying that the Pope could not act unilaterally in the matter of the *Padroado*, and that the brief *Multa Praeclare* was not validly promulgated in India, since it had not come through the Portuguese royal chancery.

3.2. Concordats of 1857 and 1886

The Holy See realized that things could be changed only with a concordat with Portugal. Between 1845 and 1851 the number of apostolic vicariates in India rose from six to fifteen. In the meantime, in 1841 Portugal once again established diplomatic relations with the Holy See and took up with it the question of the obnoxious *Multa Praeclare*. Long and difficult negotiations followed at the end of which a concordat was signed in 1857. The Concordat restored in India the *Padroado* dioceses of Cochin, Cranganore and Mylapore⁵⁵ and permitted side by side functioning of the *Padroado* and the vicariates apostolic, with the possibility of the *Padroado* eventually taking up the vicariates apostolic

⁵⁴ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 278; Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado region portoghese”, p. 188.

⁵⁵ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, p. 444.

when it would feel capable of financing them.⁵⁶ Within a few years, however, it became clear that most of the terms of the concordat were impractical, because at the time of its execution the Portuguese pleaded shortage of personnel and lack of funds.⁵⁷

In 1886, Pope Leo XIII (Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci, r. 1878-1903) signed a new concordat with Portugal, which granted certain titles and honours to Portugal in recognition of its past services, and at the same time greatly reduced the area under the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*. Thus, the archbishop of Goa was to have the title “Patriarch of the East Indies”. Goa would have Cochin, Mylapore and the newly created diocese of Daman as suffragan sees. The bishop of Daman would also have the honorary title of “Archbishop of Cranganore”. The king of Portugal would not only have the right of presenting bishops to the four *Padroado* dioceses but would also have some part in the appointment of bishops to four more dioceses, viz. Bombay, Mangalore, Quilon, and Madurai. In the rest of India, the Holy See would be free to erect dioceses and appoint bishops as it thought best. In fact,

⁵⁶ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 69; Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, p. 446.

⁵⁷ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 71-72.

within a few months, all the eighteen existing vicariates were raised to the rank of dioceses or archdioceses. Agra, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Pondicherry and Verapoly were the ones that were made archdioceses. Together with the already existing archdiocese of Goa, they formed seven ecclesiastical provinces in India.

This concordat remained in effect till 1928. After the independence of India and upon negotiations with the Holy See in 1950, Portugal renounced the *Padroado* in Indian territory, but the archdiocese of Goa kept some mission posts outside Portuguese Goa. A final agreement signed in 1953, practically ended the *Padroado* in India.⁵⁸ In 1975, the revolutionary government in Portugal renounced its *Padroado* rights and finally, in 1976 the *Padroado* diocese of Goa was brought under *Propaganda*.

3.3. Some Remarks about the Conflicts

The *Propaganda-Padroado* conflicts are indicative of the changed circumstances in which Portugal was unable to carry out the requirements, and it shows that the *Padroado* by 18th century had truly outlived its relevance.⁵⁹ Portugal was

⁵⁸ A. Da Silva Rego, "Patronato Real," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, eds., Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito, (Michigan: The Gale Group, 2003), p. 978; Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 74.

⁵⁹ Francis Thonippara, "Propaganda Fide," p. 30.

also unreasonable in claiming its privileges in the vast territories outside their rule where the *Padroado* clergy were not even present. Therefore, the *Propaganda* was right in sending missionaries and erecting apostolic vicariates in those abandoned regions. On the one hand, this arrangement was beneficial specially in North and Central India which was no longer under the *Padroado* missionaries. On the other hand, the *Propaganda* also made mistake by sending apostolic vicars in areas actively served by the *Padroado* clergy.⁶⁰

As far as ordinary people were concerned, the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflicts only created confusion and suspicion. Confusion because for the most part the people did not understand the intricacies of the jurisdictional arrangements.⁶¹ Churches were often going from one jurisdiction to the other whichever offered them better prospects.⁶² For example, many *Padroado* priests who had received faculties from the apostolic vicars, refused to obey them in the wake of the rejection of *Multa Praeclare* by the *Padroado* clergy. The conflicts also caused division among

⁶⁰ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 81-82.

⁶¹ Wilfred Prakash D'Souza Prabu, "Padroado Versus Propaganda Fide," p. 977.

⁶² Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 50.

the people.⁶³ In some cases, though being under the *Propaganda* would have proved more beneficial, churches preferred to remain under the *Padroado* just because they were used to that climate, as it happened in the case of Bombay.⁶⁴ In this manner, the conflicts created scandals, fights, forceful occupation of churches, despoiling the endowments from *Padroado* churches by *Propaganda* activists, court cases, accusations of one side against the other, rifts in the Christian communities, excommunication of one side by the other, all leading to the detriment of the Catholic faith.⁶⁵ The conflicts also resulted in several Catholics joining the Protestants, as in the case of Madurai.⁶⁶

3.3.1. Faults of the Propaganda Fide

The above-mentioned confusions and divisions were also due to a large extent Rome trying to introduce its own jurisdiction without really ending the *Padroado*, which could have effectively been abrogated only through bilateral consent. The bull of Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici, r. 1513-1521) *Dum Fidei Constantiam* promulgated on 7 June

⁶³ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 58-59.

⁶⁴ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 64-68.

⁶⁵ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 63-64.

⁶⁶ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 157.

1514 said that the *Padroado* rights could not be revoked without the consent of the king of Portugal.⁶⁷ *Super specula* of Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni, r. 1572-1585), issued on 23 January 1575, too stated that the *Padroado* rights were given to the king in perpetuity and could not be taken away even by the Pontiff.⁶⁸ It is true that there were moments prior to and during the conflict when ties between Rome and Lisbon were cut off due to anti-clerical and revolutionary governments in Portugal. The Popes made use of these intervals to take arbitrary decisions on church matters relating to India. Precisely those decisions created confusion and division when diplomatic ties were restored between the two sides. The *Propaganda Fide* justified the unilateral decision of suspending the *Padroado* jurisdiction and erecting vicariates apostolic by appealing to the plenitude of power of the Pope.⁶⁹ However that did not convince the *Padroado* supporters and make them submit to the *Propaganda*. To make things worse, the bull of 1843 that confirmed the

⁶⁷ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 18 footnote 26.

⁶⁸ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, p. 395.

⁶⁹ Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado region portoghese”, p. 174; Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 276.

nomination of José Maria Silva y Torres (1800-1854) as the archbishop of Goa failed to make express references to the new realities in India brought about by *Multa Praeclare* and the erection of the various apostolic vicariates and referred to the Goan See as the sole metropolitan of the East Indies, from which nothing had been derogated.⁷⁰ This gave the impression in India that the *Padroado* rights had been restored; and this created delusion in the minds of the *Propaganda* missionaries who were vehemently championing the cause of Rome. This once again initiated intense conflicts between the clergy of the both groups.

Another failure from the part of *Propaganda Fide* was, it did not consider the suggestions of the *Propaganda* missionaries in India, especially the apostolic vicars, who knew the ground realities better than those in Rome. This only caused ambiguity and uncertainty in the minds of the missionaries. This was most evident in the Concordat of 1857 which received strong opposition from the *Propaganda* leaders in India. Stalwarts like François-Antoine Albrand (1804-1867) and Clément Bonnand (1796-1861), a priest of the Paris Foreign Missions Society, tried their best to abort the Concordat for fear that all their efforts until then in the

⁷⁰ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 302.

Indian soil would go in vain. Albrand, the Superior of the Seminary of Paris, travelled to Rome in 1858 and met the Pontiff and other prominent cardinals to persuade them from ratifying the Concordat.⁷¹ Bonnand, the apostolic vicar of Pondicherry, wrote to the *Propaganda Fide* expressing his anxiety over the future of the Indian mission if Rome went ahead with the Concordat.⁷² The fact that he was unaware that the Concordat had in fact been signed is seen from his letter to *Propaganda Fide* (dated Pondicherry on 13 November 1857) in which he mentioned the reports appearing in Madras and Bombay about a pact being signed on the question of the *Padroado*, and he requested the *Propaganda* to kindly let him know if this was indeed true and in what sense it was accepted by the Holy Father.⁷³ Anastasius Hartmann (1803-1866), a Capuchin friar and the apostolic vicar of Bombay also had gone to Rome in 1856 to protest against the Concordat. Although pope Pius IX (Ambrogio Ratti, r. 1846-1878) listened to him with a certain benevolent consideration and although Hartmann had left an elaborate

⁷¹ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, pp. 421-424.

⁷² Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, pp. 417-419.

⁷³ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, pp. 453-454.

study indicating his opposition to the Concordat, the Concordat was nevertheless signed. This apparently led to his resignation as the apostolic vicar of Bombay.⁷⁴

3.3.2. Padroado's Limitations

Nevertheless, it would be unjust to overlook the magnificent work accomplished by the toil and sacrifices of innumerable *Padroado* missionaries. The *Padroado* could boast of great evangelization in the 16th and 17th centuries in Goa, Bassein, Canara, Malabar, Travancore, Pearl Fishery and Bengal coasts. Glorious missions like the Madurai, Mughal, Mysore, and Carnatic missions have left their traces that can be seen even today. Since many of the initial hitches had already been overcome through the *Padroado* evangelization, when the *Propaganda* missionaries took over the Indian missions, they did not have to start everything from the beginning. Furthermore, establishing the Latin Christianity in India was not the sole contribution of the *Padroado*, it also brought the East and the West together in a great cultural exchange which benefited both the sides; art and architecture, education, food, dress, social customs,

⁷⁴ Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, p. 442, footnote 114.

medicine, printing press, exchange of plants, scientific exploration all received impact.⁷⁵

It will not be an overstatement to say that often political interests subverted the *Padroado* to encompass activities leading not only to the extension of God's glory but also the empowerment of Portuguese crown in the colonies.⁷⁶ Portugal was able to strengthen its conquered territories also due to the presence of the *Padroado* clergy who championed its ideological expansion through evangelization. The same could be said of the *Propaganda* in a slightly different way. The *Propaganda* missionaries assisted the Dutch and the English to fight the *Padroado* clergy and reduce the hold of the Portuguese in India, which indirectly strengthened another imperial power. Bombay is the best example where the Portuguese tried to wield influence over it through the *Padroado* clergy even after the city was handed over to the English, and the English utilized the *Propaganda* missionaries to safeguard their power there. With this situation, the *Propaganda* missionaries found the British and

⁷⁵ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 16.

⁷⁶ Pius Malekandathil, "Cross, Sword and Conflicts: A Study of the Political Meanings of the Struggle between the Padroado Real and the Propaganda Fide," in *Studies in History*, 27/2 (2011), p. 253. For more details on how the *Padroado* contributed to the Portuguese Empire building see Ângela Xavier and Ines G. Županov, *Catholic Orientalism*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015).

the Dutch territories safer for their missionary work as compared to the Portuguese settlements.⁷⁷ Interestingly, the Catholic Church joined hands with non-Catholic powers like the British and the Dutch to fight against a Catholic Portugal. Probably the erasure of the various European powers from the political scene of India and the domination of the British colonialism also facilitated the success of the plans of the *Propaganda*.⁷⁸

Unfortunately, it was not in the missionary agenda of the *Padroado* to promote native clergy. The Portuguese, with their dominating superiority complex detested the natives. The flimsy excuse they gave was that they had no ecclesiastical benefices in Goa to give to the native clergy. In fact, they considered the native clergy dangerous for the safety of their possession in India.⁷⁹ In practice it was considered that a coloured indigenous clergy was apt to be kept in a strictly subordinate role to the white European priests, particularly where these latter were members of the

⁷⁷ Pius Malekandathil, "Cross, Sword and Conflicts," p. 261.

⁷⁸ Pius Malekandathil, "Cross, Sword and Conflicts," p. 266; Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 282.

⁷⁹ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 24-25; Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Il padroado régio portoghese", p. 177.

religious orders.⁸⁰ For this reason, most of the *Padroado* missions in India which were under the control of the Jesuits, suffered heavily due to the Suppression of the Society.⁸¹

3.3.3. Final Outcome

One of the clearest blessings of the *Propaganda* taking over the Indian missions is seen in rectifying the above misconception. Thanks to the zealous missionaries sent by the *Propaganda Fide* insisting the need to make the Church in India self-reliant.⁸² Its first secretary Francesco Ingoli (1578-1649) rejected the widespread prejudice against the natives as incapable of receiving the fullness of the priesthood and decided establishing seminaries for such purpose and encouraged erecting native hierarchy wherever it would be possible.⁸³ Attempts were made even in India for the promotion of native clergy. Already in 1771, the Paris Foreign Mission Society had started a seminary in Pondicherry. The Synods of Pondicherry (First Synod in 1844

⁸⁰ Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, p. 2, 67.

⁸¹ The Portuguese *Padroado* had special inclination towards the Jesuits as missionaries in their territories. For this reason most of the *Padroado* missions were in the hands of the Jesuits. Cf. Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado régio portoghese”, p. 182.

⁸² Francis Thonippara, “Propaganda Fide,” p. 20.

⁸³ Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Il padroado régio portoghese”, p. 196; Francis Thonippara, “Propaganda Fide,” p. 31.

and Second Synod in 1849), convened by the apostolic vicar, Clément Bonnard chalked out new programmes for the training of the native clergy.⁸⁴ The Synod of 1844 not only had far-reaching effects in India, but also in other Catholic missions because of the instructions published by the Holy See based on the decrees of this Synod.⁸⁵ In spite of such change of attitudes, prejudices and misconceptions on the part of the missionaries took very long time to disappear.⁸⁶ The Indian clergy had to struggle through such biased process

⁸⁴For a detailed information on the decisions taken in the Synod to promote native clergy see Anchukandam Thomas, *The First Synod of Pondicherry 1844*, p. 70-81.

⁸⁵ George M. Anathil, *Theological Formation in India*, (Poona: Pontifical Athenaeum, 1966), 78-113; Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th century*, vol. 1, p. 373.

⁸⁶ For example, there was a widespread attitude even among the *Propaganda* missionaries that it was difficult, if not impossible to form good native priests. Cf. Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 228-229. It can be seen in the refusal of Etienne-Louis Charbonnaux (1806-1873), MEP (who later became vicar apostolic of Mysore) to become the coadjutor bishop of Pondicherry because he would have to lay hands on the Indians to ordain them priests. Even Clément Bonnard, the apostolic vicar of Pondicherry, shared with the majority of his missionaries the rather unflattering views about the native candidates to the priesthood. However, these two missionaries in the course of time changed their views, especially after the Synod of Pondicherry in 1844. Cf. Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 228-230. If this was the attitude of the *Propaganda* missionaries, we can imagine the attitude of the *Padroado* missionaries. The example of Dom Cristovão de Sa (1610-1622), the archbishop of Goa, is said to have sworn on the Missal never to ordain any Indian as priest. This was the general attitude though there were some exceptions. Cf. Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, p. 12.

not only during their formation, but also later in their ministry with foreign missionaries.⁸⁷ It should be pointed out here that when the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflicts were affecting the missions badly, it was the native clergy who served the mission well. They steered the flocks entrusted to them, receiving blows from both *Propaganda* and *Padroado*.⁸⁸ Thanks to the efforts of the *Propaganda Fide*, today after 400 years of its founding, the Indian Church hierarchy is totally native, sending in return missionaries to different parts of the world, including places from where it once received them. The *Propaganda* realized that the native clergy would be in a better position to convert their compatriots and effectively manage their church. In this sense it will not be an exaggeration to say that the transition of the Indian church from *Padroado* to *Propaganda Fide* saw it evolving from being a missionary reality into self-dependent local church.⁸⁹

Conclusion

The *Padroado-Propaganda* conflicts in general are indicative of a broader reality that would characterize the

⁸⁷ For a detailed information on the prejudiced relations between missionaries and native clergy see Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 1, p. 158-159; Thomas Anchukandam, *Catholic Revival in India in the 19th Century*, vol. 2, p. 166-175.

⁸⁸ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 83.

⁸⁹ Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Il padroado régio portughese", p. 193-195.

Church throughout its history: the Church-State alliance. Right from the time of Constantine, the Church and the State worked hand in hand for the spread of the Christian faith. However, the Church had to frequently change its alliance from one power to another whenever the current alliance did not promote the Christian faith. We see it clearly when the Church besought the alliance of the Carolingian Franks in the 8th century when the Eastern Roman emperors were unable to come to the aid of the Popes. When the Carolingian dynasty declined, it was the turn of the German Ottonians to have the papal alliance. When their power also weakened and their alliance became a hindrance to the Church, the Popes turned to other powers. The same can be said in the case of the *Padroado*. When the *Padroado* became irrelevant to the spreading of the Christian faith, the Popes could not but terminate its collaboration and take the matters into their own hands.

Finally, we must acknowledge that both *Padroado* and *Propaganda Fide* have in their own way built the Church in India. They have been served by a galaxy of men and women remarkable for their virtue, learning, devotion to Christ, and to his Church, and love for India. However, the conflicts between the two are sad chapters in the history of the Church

in India. Had there been greater tact, greater charity and a more supernatural and disinterested zeal, there would perhaps have been a smoother transition of the missions from the *Padroado* to *Propaganda Fide*.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Cosme Jose Costa, *A Missiological Conflict*, p. 1.