A Comparative Study of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari and the Maronite Anaphora Sharar

Introduction
The East Syriac anaphora of Addai and Mari (=AM) aroused much interest among the liturgical scholars of the last century. It is considered as one of the earliest Eucharistic prayers, may be dated back to the second or third century. The publication of an early manuscript of this anaphora known as Mar Ešaya text, which dated 10/11th century, by W. F. Macomber,¹ was a landmark in the study of East Syriac liturgical tradition. The similarity between this anaphora and the Maronite anaphora called *Sharar* was pointed out long ago by the liturgical scholars like I.E. Rahmani, A. Baumstark etc. and was a point of discussion among the later scholars. The Maronite anaphora bears various names, such as *Anaphora of the Apostles*, *Anaphora of Saint Peter (the third)*, and *Anaphora of Sharar*.² Several studies have been dedicated to this anaphora comparing AM in recent years. Searching for an original form of this anaphora led scholars for more recent studies in this area. Many consider that there may be a common original text (*Urtext*) to these both anaphoras and some even consider that *Sharar* is more ancient than the AM.

A Comparison of Texts³
Here we consider the anaphora proper of AM and *Sharar*, i.e. from the prefatory dialogue to the doxology that follows the Epiclesis, for our comparison and study. The text which we are using is the translation of B.D. Spinks.

The prefatory dialogue of AM can be seen in the *Sharar* in different style and in a more expanded form. Between this prefatory dialogue and the inclinatory (*g’hanta*) prayer we can see insertions in both anaphoras. The East Syriac version has *kussape* and the *Sharar* has a blessing of the congregation, and a prayer relating to incense, and the commemorations.

The first anaphoral prayer follows is almost common to both traditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AM</th>
<th>Sharar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worthy of praise from every mouth and thanksgiving from every tongue is the admirable and glorious Name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy</td>
<td>Glory to You, the admirable and glorious Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit who created the worlds by your grace and</td>
</tr>
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¹ W.F. Macomber, “The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari,” *OCP* 32 (1966), 335-371. This text is part of a *Hudra* (the book which contains the proper of the liturgy and the liturgy of the hours for Sundays and feast days) belonging to the Mar Ešaya Church/monastery in Mosul, Iraq, dated tenth/eleventh century.
Spirit, who created the world by his grace and its inhabitants in his compassion, and redeemed in his mercy, and has effected (lit. made) great grace towards mortals.

Your majesty, O Lord, a thousand thousand heavenly beings worship and myriads of angels, hosts of spiritual beings, ministers (of) fire and of spirit, with cherubim and holy seraphim, glorify your Name. Crying out and glorifying its inhabitants in your mercy; and has effected [lit. made] redemption for mortals by your grace.

Your majesty, O Lord, a thousand thousand heavenly beings worship and myriads of hosts of ministers of fire and of spirit glorify in fear. With the cherubim and seraphim, who from one to another bless and sanctify and cry out and say

Both anaphoras contain the hymn *Sanctus* following the above prayer. Generally it is accepted that it is a later addition may be from the Greek tradition. In the AM we can see a *kussape* after the *Sanctus*, which lacks in the *Sharar*. According to Macomber “the Maronite arrangement, with the second anaphoral prayer immediately following the first, reflects the common form of the anaphora”.

The second anaphoral prayer also seems to be parallel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AM</th>
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<tr>
<td>And with these heavenly powers we give thanks to you, O Lord, even we, your lowly, weak and miserable servants, because you have effected in us a great grace which cannot be repaid, in that you put on our humanity so as to quicken us by your divinity. And you lifted up our estate, and righted our fall. And you raised up our mortality. And you forgave our debts. You justified our sinfulness and you enlightened our understanding. And you, our Lord and our god, vanquished our enemies and made triumphant the lowness of our weak nature through the abounding compassion of your grace.</td>
<td>We give thanks to you, o, Lord, we your sinful servants because you have effected in us your grace which cannot be repaid. You put on our humanity so as to quicken us by your divinity. You lifted up our poverty and righted our dejection. And you quickened our mortality, and you justified our sinfulness and you forgave our debts. And you enlightened our understanding and vanquished our enemies and made triumphant our lowness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And for all your help and graces towards us, we raise to you glory, honor, thanksgiving and adoration, now and for ever and ever. Amen.</td>
<td>And for all your graces towards us, let us offer to you glory, and honor in your holy church before your propitiatory altar, now …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You, Lord, in your unspeakable mercies make a gracious remembrance</td>
<td>You, O Lord, in your many mercies make a gracious remembrance for all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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for all the upright and just fathers who have been pleasing before you in the commemoration of the body and blood of your Christ, which we offer to you upon the pure and holy altar as you have taught us.

the upright and just fathers in the commemoration of your body and your blood which we offer to you upon your living and holy altar, as you, our hope, have taught us in your holy and living gospel …

After this prayer comes the Institution Narrative in the Sharar, which lacks in the AM. The third anaphoral prayer of AM has some similarities with Sharar in words and expressions. It seems that Sharar is a developed form of AM.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>AM</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That all the inhabitants of the earth may know that you alone are God, the true Father, and you have sent our Lord Jesus Christ, your son and your beloved, and he, our Lord and our god, taught us in his life-giving gospel all the purity and holiness of the prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors and bishops and priests and deacons, and of all the children of the holy catholic church, who have been marked with the mark of holy baptism …</td>
<td>We remember you, only begotten of the Father … make us … that we may stand before you in purity and serve you in holiness … Yes, we beg, only begotten of the Father, through him peace has been proclaimed to us, Child of the Most High by whom the things above were reconciled with the things below, the good shepherd … We offer before you, o Lord, this oblation in memory of all the upright and just fathers, prophets, and apostles, martyrs and confessors, … bishops and chorepiscopi and periodeutai, priests and deacons and deaconesses, young men celibates and virgins, and all the children of the holy Church who are marked with the mark of saving baptism …</td>
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The last part of the AM, i.e. the Epiclesis and doxology, also has striking parallels with the Sharar.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>AM</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May he come, O Lord, your Holy Spirit and rest upon this oblation of your servants, and bless and hallow it, that it may be to us, O Lord, for the pardon of debts and the forgiveness of sins, and a great hope of resurrection from the dead and a new life in the kingdom of heaven with all who have been pleasing before you. And for all your marvelous economy towards us we give you thanks and praise you without ceasing in your Church redeemed by the precious innocent blood, with open mouth which</td>
<td>And may he come, O Lord, your living and Holy Spirit and dwell and rest upon this oblation of your servants, and may it be for those who partake for the pardon of debts and the forgiveness of sins and for a blessed resurrection from the dead and a new life in the kingdom of heaven, forever. And for your glorious economy towards us we give you thanks, we your sinful servants redeemed by your innocent blood, with open mouth which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
blood of your Christ, with open mouths and with uncovered faces, as we offer up praise, honor, thanksgiving and adoration, now and for ever and ever, Amen. give thanks in your holy Church before your propitiatory altar, now …

The use of the verb “come” in these anaphoras instead of “send” in some other Eastern anaphoras, according to scholars, is a mark of antiquity of these anaphoras. The expression “rest” and “dwell” can also be seen in the Anaphora of Nestorius. Here in Sharar they are reversed and, according to B.D. Spinks, reflect the Peshitta version of Isaiah 11.2. The expression “bless and hallow” is not found in the Sharit. According to B. Botte it is a later interpolation in the AM from the epiclesis of Nestorius.

The Address in these Anaphoras

Whether AM addresses to the Father or to the Son or to the Trinity is a much disputed question among the scholars. For example, according to Ratcliff it was originally addressed to Christ and essentially a thanksgiving, a “eucharistia.” A. Gelston believes that the anaphora is addressed to the Father, though Sharar is addressed to the Son. But many scholars believe that it oscillates between Father and the Son. Macomber says:

In its actual form, this [anaphora of AM] is divided into three prayers of inclination (ghanta) of which the first is addressed to the entire Trinity, the second is directed to the Son alone, whereas the third seems to oscillate between the Father and the Son.

S. H. Jammo in his study on the AM concludes that:

The address in this first stratum does not present a difficulty but a particularity: the first section is addressed to the divine Name, which was later expanded to mean the Trinity, the second section is addressed to Christ, the third section returns in its address back to the Father. It is unusual, but it is clear.

The problem of Institution Narrative

In the Sharar the Institution Narrative comes after the second anaphoral prayer, which have a peculiar form addressed to the Son. According to Macomber Sharar may well have preserved for us both location and the substance of the original narrative of the Anaphora of the Apostles. But A. Raes noting the strange form, “This bread is my body”, which provides a parallel with the cup saying, and also the characteristic West Syriac phrase “remission of sins and life eternal,” concluded that it showed signs of decadence, and could not therefore be original.

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12 B.D. Spinks, Worship Prayers from the East, 32.
The earlier manuscripts of AM, including *Mar Ešaya*, lack an Institution Narrative, which is very puzzling. In the Malabar tradition the interpolation of the Institution Narrative, due to the influence/force of Latin missionaries, was done by Mar Joseph Sulaqa, brother of the first Chaldean patriarch John Sulaqa (+1555), who served the Thomas Christians as their metropolitan from 1555 to 1569. Manuscripts from Malabar and Diamper/Rozian Taksas put the Institution Narrative in between the anaphora and the rites of fraction.\(^{13}\) In the printed Chaldean Missal (Mosul, 1901 and 1936) and the Syro-Malabar Missal (1962 and 1986) the Institution Narrative has been inserted in the middle of the second Anaphoral prayer. The Church of the East or the Assyrian Church still uses this anaphora without the Institution Narrative.

Different scholars give different solutions to the apparent absence of an Institution Narrative in AM. They may be categorized into three: 1. AM had never contained an Institution Narrative (E. Ratcliff, G. Dix). 2. The anaphora did originally have an Institution Narrative, but it was not, or is no longer, found in the manuscript tradition (A. Raes, B. Botte, Bouyer, Dalmais). 3. In comparison to *Sharar* some scholars says that *Sharar* may well have preserved both the location and the form of the “missing” Institution Narrative now absent from AM (W.F. Macomber).

A tantalizing evidence of the Institution Narrative, may be before the reformation of this Liturgy by Ishoyahb III,\(^{14}\) is there in the commentary of Gabriel Qatraya. After commenting on the deacon’s *kārozuṭā* it says:

*For just as our Lord Jesus Christ, when he transmitted these Mysteries, blessed, gave thanks as said (these words), so the Church, in accordance with his bidding, separates out a single priest to be the one who blesses and give thanks, in the likeness of Christ our Lord. Through the recital, he indicates that he is uttering the words of our Lord, (saying) “This is my body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins” (1Cor 11:24). After the priest’s recital, blessing the bread and the wine, through the grace of the Holy Spirit which overshadows, they become henceforth the Body and Blood of Christ – not by nature, but by faith and effectiveness.*\(^{15}\)

Whether this is a direct mention of the Institution Narrative in the AM or not is disputable. According to S. Jammo, and later E. Kilmartin it is a direct mention of the consecrative value of the Institution Narrative.\(^{16}\) But according to B.D. Spinks this is inconclusive because of the uncertainty of the commenting anaphora.\(^{17}\)

\(^{13}\) For a discussion of Institution Narrative in pre-Diamper and Diamper texts of the Eucharistic Liturgy of Thomas Christians, see, P. Pallath, *The Eucharistic Liturgy of the St Thomas Christians and the Synod of Diamper*, Kottayam 2008, 123-134.


\(^{17}\) B.D. Spinks, “Addai and Mari and the Institution Narrative,” 64-67.
Is Institution Narrative needed for the validity of this anaphora? Generally scholars say no. According to A. Gelston AM contains the following elements:  

(a) statements that this is a Eucharistic gathering for priestly service and offering and cultic celebration;
(b) an anamnesis of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ or variously of his body and blood; and
(c) a deliberate reference of the present celebration to the institution of the Eucharist at the last Supper.

Even though there is no formal Institution Narrative and independent anamnesis, it cannot be denied that the substance of both elements is clearly present in the anaphora. The Roman document, *Admission to the Eucharist in Situations of Pastoral Necessity Provision between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East*, by The Pontifical Council For Promoting Christian Unity (20 July 2001) says:  

The words of the Eucharistic Institution are indeed present in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, not in a coherent way and *ad litteram*, but rather in a dispersed euchological way, that is, integrated in prayers of thanksgiving, praise and intercession. All these elements constitute a “quasi-narrative” of the Eucharistic Admission to the Eucharist Institution. In the central part of the Anaphora, together with the Epiclesis, explicit references are made to the eucharistic Body and Blood of Jesus Christ (“O my Lord, in thy manifold and ineffable mercies, make a good and gracious remembrance for all the upright and just fathers who were pleasing before thee, in the commmemoration of the body and blood of thy Christ, which we offer to thee upon the pure and holy altar, as thou hast taught us”), to the life-giving mystery of Jesus’ passion, death and resurrection, which is actually commemorated and celebrated (“that all the inhabitants of the world may know thee ... and we also, O my Lord, thy unworthy, frail and miserable servants who are gathered and stand before thee, and have received by tradition the example which is from thee, rejoicing and glorifying and exalting and commemorating and celebrating this great and awesome mystery of the passion and death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ’), to the eucharistic offering for the forgiveness of the sins, to the eschatological dimension of the eucharistic celebration and to the Lord’s command to ‘o this in memory of me’ (“And let thy Holy Spirit come, O my Lord, and rest upon this offering of thy servants, and bless it and sanctify it that it my be to us, O my Lord, for the pardon of sins, and for the forgiveness of shortcomings, and for the great hope of the resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the kingdom of heaven with all who have been pleasing before thee”). So the words of the Institution are not absent in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, but explicitly mentioned in a dispersed way, from the beginning to the end, in the most important passages of the Anaphora. It is also clear that the passages cited above express the full conviction of commemorating the Lord’s paschal mystery, in the strong sense of making it present; that is,

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the intention to carry out in practice precisely what Christ established by his words and actions in instituting the Eucharist.\textsuperscript{19}

This anaphora contains the Institution Narrative not in a direct but in an indirect manner. And it gives primary importance to what is being done than what is being said.

Towards an Original Text

In his study S. Jammo summarizes the former studies and proposes three different strata in the development of the anaphora of AM.\textsuperscript{20} The first stratum is a “eucology, a eucharist structured following the \textit{Birkat Ha-Mazon}\textsuperscript{21} in its Passover context, and close to the eucharist of \textit{Didache} 10.”\textsuperscript{22} In the second stratum some additions had been made to the first stratum, especially the sanctus, Epiclesis etc. The third stratum is the text available today. The anaphora of AM and Sharar have differences in this stratum:

A&M is a Eucharistic prayer that preserves the mark of the apostolic era, and reflects the same basic structure of \textit{Birkat Ha-Mazon} in its paschal context. It reveals in its consecutive strata the layers of development of eucharistic euchology in the early liturgy. Peter III is A&M itself, adopted in its third stratum version, then modified by the Maronite Fathers to include the narrative of Eucharistic institution and other Antiochean features.\textsuperscript{23}

If we accept this theory we can solve many problems related to AM.

Conclusion

From the above study we can conclude that the anaphora of AM has many similarities with the Maronite anaphora \textit{Sharar}. At the same time the differences, especially the absence of Institution Narrative in the AM, are a puzzle for many. Different scholars give different solutions to this problem. But today it is generally understood that AM contains an implicit Institution Narrative, not an explicit one, though an explicit one was added in the catholic versions of Chaldean and Syro Malabar takas due to the influence of the Latin tradition. S. Jammo’s attempt for a common \textit{Urtext} by discovering the different layers of these anaphoras may be a solution to most of the problems emerged from the earlier studies.


\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Birkat ha-mazon} is a Jewish meal blessing prayer. Many scholars believe that at the Last Supper Jesus blessed the meal with this prayer. This blessing has a tripartite structure: 1. \textbf{Blessing} for creation; 2. \textbf{Thanksgiving} for the land/salvation; and 3. \textbf{Petition} for Jerusalem and the future blessings. AM, and many of the other anaphoras, has the same structure of the \textit{Birkat ha-mazon}.

