

# Zacharias the Priest between Liturgical Texts and Images<sup>1</sup>

## زكريا الكاهن بين النصوص الليتورجية والصور

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### ملخص

تعرض هذا المقالة إلى شخصية زكريا الكاهن، وعلى الرغم من أن ذكره عابر في الأناجيل، فإننا نجد له كثيرًا من الرسومات الحائطية في كثير من المواقع. ويستعرض المقال ما ورد في البرتوفانجيليوم ليعقوب، ثم يُعرج المقال على تذكارات زكريا في التقاويم المختلفة، وينتهي باستعراض النصوص القبطية المختلفة التي تخص زكريا؛ مثل الذكصولوجيات، والدفنار، والطروحات، مع التعليق على كل نص وأهميته.

## Introduction

While only few lines mention Zacharias in the *New Testament*, mainly the *Gospel of Luke 1: 5- 80* (while there is mention of a certain Zacharias Matthew 23:35);<sup>2</sup> we find some liturgical texts relating to Zacharias. In this paper, we will overview wall paintings that depicted Zacharias and we will provide the texts commemorating him in liturgy.

## Zacharias on the Wall-Painting

Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, a great saint is invoked in many inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> He is depicted in the Chapel XVIII of the Monastery and the Necropolis of Bawit as the man holding the Bible with the inscription “Saint Zacharias priest” “ⲟⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥⲟⲩⲛⲏⲃ” (sic).<sup>4</sup> He is also depicted in the rock church of Deir Abu Hinnis,<sup>5</sup> as well as the Church Colluthus near Antinoopolis.<sup>6</sup> All these churches are small, and are located in remote areas, and were probably funerary churches.

Later, Zacharias is depicted on the Ciborium of Abu Saifin among other priests.<sup>7</sup> There is also a Greek icon preserved in the Coptic Museum depicting the cruelty of the massacre of Zacharias the prophet.<sup>8</sup>

## Zacharias in the literary texts

Zacharias occupies a very important place in Coptic literature,<sup>9</sup> as well as in all the literature relating to John the Baptist such as the *Homily* by Theodosius.<sup>10</sup>

The Apocryphal books, such as the *Protoevangelium* of James narrates the story of the assassination of Zacharias the priest:

23 (1) Herod was searching for John, and sent officers to Zacharias saying, ‘Where have you hidden your son?’ And he answered and said to them, ‘I am a minister of God and serve in the

temple of the Lord. I do not know where my son is.’ (2) And the officers departed and told all this to Herod. Then Herod was angry and said, ‘His son is to be king over Israel!’ And he sent to him again saying, ‘Tell the truth. Where is your son? You know that you are at my mercy.’ And the officers departed and told him these things. (3) And Zacharias said, ‘I am a witness of God. Pour out blood! But the Lord will receive my spirit, for you shed innocent blood at the threshold of the temple of the Lord.’ And at about daybreak Zacharias was slain. And the children of Israel did not know that he had been slain. 24 (1) But at the hour of the salutation the priests were departing, and the customary blessing of Zacharias did not take place. And the priests stood waiting for Zacharias to greet him with prayer and to glorify the Most High. 2. But when he failed to come they were all afraid. But one of them took courage and went in and he saw beside the altar congealed blood; and a voice said, ‘Zacharias has been slain, and his blood shall not be wiped away until his avenger comes.’ And when he heard these words, he was afraid and went out and told the priests what he had seen. (3) And they took courage and entered and saw what had happened. And the ceiling panels of the temple wailed, and they split their clothes from the top to the bottom. And they did not find his body, but they found his blood turned into stone. And they were afraid, and went out and told all the people that Zacharias had been slain. And all the tribes of the people heard and they mourned him and lamented three days and three nights. (4) And after the three days the priests took counsel whom they should appoint in his stead and the lot fell upon Symeon. Now it was he to whom it had been revealed by the Holy Spirit that he should not see death until he had seen the Christ in the flesh.<sup>11</sup>

The *Apocalypse of Paul* briefly mentions the assassination of Zacharias:

“Zacharias said, ‘I am he whom they killed while I was presenting the offering to God; and when the angels came for the offering, they carried up my body to God, and no man found where my body was taken.’

### The Egyptian Calendars

The commemoration of Zacharias is mentioned in liturgical calendars such as the Synaxarion,<sup>12</sup> the *monologues of the Gospels* (8 Tût = 5 September),<sup>13</sup> in the calendar of Ibn al-Rahib,<sup>14</sup> as well as in the calendar of Abu Barakat Ibn Kabar (8 Tût)<sup>15</sup>

However, it is not mentioned in the Calendar of Qalqašandî.<sup>16</sup>

The reading of this day commemorates Moses and Zacharias. Both are prophets, hence it is hard to determine what relates to Moses or Zacharias.<sup>17</sup>

### The Commemoration of Zacharias in Other Calendars

A. Sahidic calendar: The feast of Moses corresponds to 8 Tût in Lower Egypt, is commemorated on the 22 Kihak. Unfortunately, the day of the 8<sup>th</sup> is missing in the manuscript.<sup>18</sup>

B. The Synaxarion of Constantinople: Revised by the order of the Emperor Basil II (975-1025 AD).<sup>19</sup> The commemoration of Zacharias the priest is on 5 September.<sup>20</sup>

In the tenth century, the Melkites began a translation of their synaxarium into Arabic.<sup>21</sup> The Arabic translation of the Melkite Synaxarion

has a great influence on the Copto-Arabic Synaxarion, however this commemoration is absent in the Manuscript Paris Arabe 254 fol. 6v-7r.<sup>22</sup> There is no hymn for this feast.<sup>23</sup>

C. Syriac calendar: The 5 November (Aylûl) commemoration of Šarbal, and his sister, Babûlâ, Zacharias the prophet and repose of John from Kafrisin.<sup>24</sup>

### Zacharias in the Coptic liturgical texts<sup>25</sup>

Despite a relatively large number of wall-paintings and icons, as well as the different usages in the cycle of John the Baptist, and in the funerary of Bawit, and in the ciborium, there are very few liturgical texts.

There is no doxology for this date from the seven manuscripts used by ‘Abd al-Masih in his studies on the doxologies.<sup>26</sup>

From among the seven manuscripts used by Bishop Samuel for his edition of the book the *Order of the Church* “*Tartîb al-Bay‘ah*”, no manuscript includes this commemoration.<sup>27</sup>

### The Doxology

No doxology is found in the collection of manuscripts used by Yassa Abd al-Masih:<sup>28</sup>

- Ms 75 Liturgy from the collection of the Church of Sammanûd.
- Ms Paris Copte 123, which contains the doxologies for the first half of year, the manuscript was originally from the Monastery of al-Muharraq.<sup>29</sup>

<p>ونياحة زكريا الكاهن ذكصولوجية واطس منهم المردات والتوزيع</p>	<p>The repose of Zacharias the priest Doxology Batos And from them the responses and the distribution</p>
<p>ετα πιωπ ι εζαχαριας+ εταλε εογσθοινογχι επρωδι+ αρωε εβογν επερφει+ αϱχηκ<sup>30</sup> ηπερωμεωι εβολ</p>	<p>When the lot came to Zacharias to offer incense, he entered the temple and accomplished his ministry</p>
<p><sup>31</sup>Γαβριηλ αρωωνηρ<sup>32</sup> ερω+ σαογιναμ ηπιμανερωωογχι+ εε ηπερερροτ ζαχαριας+ αϱωτεμ γαρ επεκτρο</p>	<p>Gabriel appeared to him on the right of the altar: “Do not fear Zacharias for your prayer was heard.”</p>
<p>τεκρμηι ελισαβετ+ εε*μισι νακ ηογωηρι+ εκεμογτ επεφραν εε ιωα+ αϱερ<sup>33</sup> ογνιωτ ηπεμθο ηπεσ</p>	<p>“Your wife Elisabeth shall bear for you a son and you shall call his name John, he shall be great in front of the Lord.”</p>
<p>εταγμορ<sup>34</sup> εβολ ηεε ηιερωογ+ ητε αλισαβετ<sup>35</sup> εερεσμισι+ εεμισι<sup>36</sup> ηπεσωηρι ηπιωορη ημισι+ εγμογτ επεφραν εε ιωα</p>	<p>When the days of Elisabeth were accomplished to give birth, she gave birth to the first born called his name John</p>
<p>εετοτ<sup>37</sup> αρωων ηρωω περωωτ+ ζαχαριας πιωγηνβ+ αρωε εβοληεν πιπνα εωγ+ αρωμογ ηφτ<sup>38</sup> ηπεσ</p>	<p>Immediately his father opened his mouth and he was filled of the <i>Holy Spirit</i> and he blessed God of Israel</p>
<p>εταγι ηεε ημαγοσ+* ερωωωτ<sup>39</sup> ηηεσ πεε+ ογορ αρωτεμ ηεε ηρωαηε<sup>40</sup>+ αηιαλωγι<sup>41</sup> αρωωτεβ<sup>42</sup> ηηωωγ</p>	<p>When the wisemen came to worship Jesus-<i>Christ</i> and Herod heard about the children, he killed them</p>
<p>αρωωρη ημετια<sup>43</sup> ηματοι+ απωγηνβ<sup>44</sup> ζαχαριας+ αρωωτεβ ημογ ηεν περφει+ σαβογν ηπιμανερωωογχι</p>	<p>He sent fifteen(?) soldiers to Zacharias the priest, he (Herod) killed him (Zacharias) in the temple inside the sanctuary.</p>
<p>τω+ ω ηηελλοι<sup>45</sup> ζαχαριας+ πιωγηνβ ητε φτ εεσοσι+ η</p>	<p>Pray O elder Zacharias the priest of the elevated God in order</p>

## Commentary

The text exists in a Church of Lower Egypt (Sammanūd), and in the Monastery of Middle Egypt (al-Muharraq). However, it is amazing that the misspelling of words occurs in both manuscripts, such as in the first stanza αϱχηκ or the fourth stanza αλισαβετ. This means that the original was already corrupted before the eighteenth century.

The title is “Repose” and not “Martyrdom”, while from the text it is clear that Zacharias was killed.

The text does not use any Greek words, except “Spirit” and “Christ”.

The text is inspired by the first chapter of the *Gospels of Luke and Matthew* 2:1 and 23:35.

The seventh stanza is inspired by the Protoevangelium James, which is reflected in the *Letter of Severus of Antioch to Anastasia the Deaconess*, as it is known in Arabic, Coptic, Greek and Syriac; we will provide the beginning of the *Letter* according to the Arabic text:<sup>46</sup>

“A letter written by the holy great father Anba Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, to a holy virgin, called Anastasia, the deaconess. It is the explanation of a saying in the holy *Gospel of Matthew*, which the

Lord, the Saviour said to the Jews, that upon you may come all the righteous bloodshed upon the earth from the blood of the righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom you slew between the temple and the altar”.<sup>47</sup> To be read in the blessed day of the eighth of Tût. May his blessings be with all the sons of the Baptism. Amen”.<sup>48</sup>

- 1- The vision of the Zacharias in the sanctuary.
- 2- The prophecy of Zacharias about his son John the Baptist.
- 3- The martyrdom of Zacharias between the temple and the sanctuary.

The text of the doxology contains the main themes which occur in the Sahidic Antiphonarium. These include the following:<sup>49</sup>

**The Difnar<sup>50</sup>**

ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΗΧΟΣ ΒΑΤΟΣ	لذكريا الكاهن طرح واطس	Zacharias tunes Batos
ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ+ ΣΑΟΥΙΝΑΜ ἡπιμανερῳωουφι+ εφκω† ΝΕΜ ΠΙΘΟΙΝΟΥΦΙ+ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΣΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΑΦ	ذكريا الكاهن عن يمينا المذبح وهو يطوف بالبخور تكلم معه غبريال	Zacharias the priest, on the right of the altar turning with the incense Gabriel talked to him:
Χε тексзи ми аlicabet <sup>51</sup> + есемici наκ ἡουφιρι+ ере оуради ωφι наκ+ нем оуθεληλ ηεν πεφχιηηici	ان امراتك اليصابات تلد ابناً ويكون لك فرحاً وتهليلاً بمولده	“Your wife Elisabeth shall give birth to you a son (he will) be a joy to you and the gladness in his birth
Χε πως φαι ναωφι ἡμοι+ επιαν αιερηελλο+ τасзи ми еlicabet+ оуаδρηη Δε есмici αν	فقال كيف يكون لك لي هذا وانا قد شخت وامراتي اليصابات عاقر لم تلد	“How this will happen for I am an old man and my wife Elisabeth is barren and not to give birth
εκεωφι εκκω ἡρωκ + φα τογμici ἡπαλου+ αφωηηηαφ χε неквал+ εκε†ωου ἡπῶε φ†	انت تكون اخرس حتى يولد الصبي اذا ما ابصرت عيناك فانك تمجد الرب الاله	You shall be dumb until the birth of the child, when your eyes will see him, you will glorify Lord God.”
ετα πιωп ἡ εζαχαριαс+ еταлеоусθoиноуφι επωφι+ аφωε еђоуη епiεрφει+ аφ.χωκ ἡπεφωεωφι εвол	ولما بلغت ذكريا نوبة وضع البخور فدخل الى الهيكل واكمل خدمته	When the lot came to Zacharias to offer incense, he entered the temple and accomplished his ministry.
оуаггелос афоуоηεφ εвол+ сΑουἰηαμ ἡπιμανερῳωουφι+ χε ἡπερερρο† ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑС+ аφсωтем гар епек†ро	فظهر له ملاك عن يمينا المذبح وقال تخاف يا زكريا قد سمعت طلبتك	An Angel appeared to him in the right of the altar: Do not be afraid Zacharias, for your prayers were heard

<p>ΤΕΚΕΣΙΜΙ ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΤ+ ΕΣΕΜΙΣΙ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΙ  ΝΑΚ+ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΙ+ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΘΟΚ ΕΚΕΜΟΥΤ+  ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΙΩΔ</p>	<p>وامراتك اليصابات تلد لك ابنا وانت  دعوا اسمه يوحنا</p>	<p>Your wife Elisabeth will give birth to a son to you and you will call his name John.</p>
<p>ΕΤΑΥΜΟΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΧΕ ΝΙΕΖΟΟΥ+ ΕΘΡΕΣΜΙΣΙ  ΝΧΕ ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΤ + ΔΣΜΙΣΙ ΜΠΕΣΩΗΡΙ +  ΔΣΜΟΥΤ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΙΩΔ</p>	<p>ولما تمت الايام لتلد اليصابات فولدت  ابنها ودعت اسمه يوحنا</p>	<p>When his days of Elisabeth were filled to give birth to her son, she called his name John</p>
<p>ΤΟΤΕ ΔΦΟΥΩΝ ΝΡΩΦ ΠΕΦΙΩΤ+ ΝΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ  ΠΟΥΗΒ+ ΔΦΜΟΖ ΕΒΟΛΉΕΝ ΠΙΠΝΑ ΕΘΥ+  ΔΦΕΡΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΙΝ ΕΦΧΩ ΝΜΟΣ</p>	<p>حينذا افتتح فم زكريا الكاهن وامتلا  الروح القدس وتنبى قايلاً</p>	<p>Then his father Zacharias opened his mouth he was filled of the Holy Spirit and he prophesied saying</p>
<p>Χε ρσμαρωογτ ηχε π̄σ̄ φ̄τ+ η̄π̄ῑσ̄λ̄ χε  αφχεμπωιη+ αφ̄ῑρῑ η̄ογ̄σ̄ω̄τ̄ η̄πεφλαοσ+  αφτογνος ογταπ η̄νορεμ ναη</p>	<p>مبارك الرب الاله اسراييل لانه اطلع  وصنع نجاه لشعبه واقام لنا قرن  خلاص</p>	<p>Blessed is the Lord God of Israel for He visited and He redeemed his people He raised a horn of salvation to us.</p>
<p>τωβη η̄π̄σ̄ ερ̄νη̄ εχ̄ων...</p>	<p>اطلب من الرب</p>	<p>Pray to the Lord on our behalf...</p>

## Commentary

Like the Doxology, the text of the Difnar is inspired by the first chapter of the *Gospel of Luke*. The text appears to be two texts amalgamated into one. The first four stanzas narrate the story of Zacharias and after the fifth stanza; the text is almost identical to the Doxology, while nothing is mentioned of the martyrdom of Zacharias.

Only the *Psali tune Batos* survives and there is no *Psali tune Adam*.

## The Book of Turuhat

Oswald H.E. Burmester was the first to study the Turuhat.<sup>52</sup> However, before his leading studies, very few studies were carried out on this subject.

Turuhat Coptic Museum 323 Lit<sup>53</sup>

TURUHAT FOR THE FEASTS OF THE MONTHS OF TUT, BABEH AND HATUR, incomplete at the end.

Copto-Arabic

273 folios, 20 lines, 24 x 16 cm. Simple frontispiece at the beginning. Folios mutilated. Titles in red. Folios restored. Some the the Turuhat taken from the “Difnar”. The title runs as follows: “The Antiphonal book for the Feasts of the Coptic Year,” Embossed binding with a flap. XV<sup>th</sup> cent.

The following are not in the Graf Catalogue.<sup>54</sup>

<p>ΟΥΟΣ ΟΝ ΉΕΝ ΠΙΜΑΞ Η̄ ΝΘΩΟΥΤ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ</p> <p>НХОС ВАТОС</p>	<p>وفي الثامن من توت ايضاً عيد زكريا الكاهن<sup>٥٥</sup> لحن واطس</p>	<p>On the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Thot Zacharias the priest <i>Tune Batos</i></p>
<p>ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ+ ΣΑΟΥΙΝΑΜ Η̄ ΠΙΜΑΝΕΡΩΟΥΩΙ+ ΕΦΚΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΣΘΟΙΝΟΥΦΙ+ Α ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΣΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΑΦ</p>	<p>كان زكريا الكاهن عن يمين المذبح يطوف بالبخور فخاطب غبريال قايل ان</p>	<p>Zacharias the priest, on right of the altar turning with the incense, Gabriel talked with him</p>
<p>Δε текεξιμι еlισαвет+ есемиси η̄ ουφηρι+ ере ουραφι φωπι νακ нем ουθεληλ+ η̄ εν πεφξιμησι</p>	<p>زوجتك اليصابات تلد ابنا ويكون لك فرحا وتهليلا بمولده</p>	<p>Your wife Elisabeth will give birth to a son and joy and gladness will be to you in his birth</p>
<p>αφεροφω η̄χε ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ+ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ η̄τε φ† ετσοσι+ *εφσαχι нем ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ+ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ η̄φωξ η̄χρωμ+</p>	<p>فاجاب زكريا كاهن الله العلي * مخاطبا لغبريال الملاك المتوقد ناراً</p>	<p>Zacharias the priest, of the Elevated God, answered talking with Gabriel the burning <i>angel</i></p>
<p>Δε πως φαι ναφωπι η̄μοι+ επιδη αιερελλο+ τακεξιμι еlισαвет+ ουαβρηη τε есемиси αν</p>	<p>كيف يكون مني هذا وانا قد شخت وامراتي اليصابات عاقر ليس تلد</p>	<p>“How this will happen to me for I become old and also my wife Elisabeth is barren and will not give birth</p>
<p>πεχε ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ+ εφσαχι нем πηελλο+ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ+ η̄ παρη† εφχω η̄μος</p>	<p>فقال جبرائيل الملاك مخاطباً الشيخ زكريا الكاهن هكذا قايلاً</p>	<p>Gabriel the <i>Angel</i> said, talking with the elder Zacharias the priest saying thus:</p>
<p>Δε екеφωπι екχω η̄ρωκ+ φα η̄τογμησι η̄παλοу+ αφωφαναу η̄χε некβαλ+ * еке†ωου η̄πεс φ†</p>	<p>تكون صامتا حتى يولد الطفل وتنظر ذلك بعينك * وتمجد الرب الاله</p>	<p>“You will be dumb till the birth of the child until your eyes see him you will glorify the Lord God”</p>
<p>εταγμοξ η̄χε η̄ιεροου+ αμησι η̄χε еlισαвет+ αφοφων η̄ρωφ η̄χε ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ+ καга псахи η̄παγγελοС</p>	<p>فلما كملت الايام ولدت اليصابات وانفتح فم زكريا كقول الملاك</p>	<p>The days was accomplished Elisabeth gave birth, Zacharias opened his mouth according to the word of the <i>Angel</i></p>
<p>τοτε αφμοξ εβολ η̄εν ουπ̄ινα εφογав+ ουος αφεpppφητηγιν+ η̄ παρη† εφχω η̄μος</p>	<p>حينئذ امتلأ من روح القدس وتنبى هكذا قايلاً</p>	<p>Then He was filled with the Holy Spirit prophesied saying thus</p>
<p>Δε ψμαρωου† η̄χε πεс+ φ† η̄πεсλ+ χε αφχεμηφωμη αφιρι η̄ουφω†+ αφ*τογμοС ουгап η̄ηοξем нан</p>	<p>مبارك الرب الاله اسراييل لانه افتقد وصنع خلاصاً * واقام لنا قرن نجاة</p>	<p>Blessed is the Lord God of Israel for He visited and redeemed He raised up a horn of salvation for us</p>
<p>τωβξ η̄πεс</p>	<p>اطلب عنا</p>	<p>Pray...</p>

## Commentary

Like the previous text, this one is also inspired by the first chapter of Luke, but this text adds the prophecy of Zacharias without mentioning his martyrdom.

Ἰησοῦ ὀν Ἀδάμ	وله ايضا ادام	To him also Adam
ἀκεμψα ἰοῦνιωτ ἰωοῦ+ ω ποῦνβ ἴτε φτ+ πεθοῦαβ Ζαχαριας+ φιωτ ἰππροδρομος	استحققت مجد عظيم يا كاهن الله القديس زكريا اب السابق	You became worthy of a great glory O priest of God, Saint Zacharias the father of the <i>precursor</i>
ἀκσιςι εμαψω+ ογορ ἀκσιταιο+ παρα νιογνβ τηροῦ+ εταγερωορπ εροκ	تعاليت جداً وتكرمت اكثر من جميع الكهنة الذين سبقوك	You are extremely elevated and you are glorified <i>from</i> all the priest who have preceded you
ἀκρῖωεννοῦφι <sup>56</sup> νακ+ ριτεν γαβριηλ+ εῶβε πι*χφο ἴτε πεκωρηι+ ιωαννης ππροδρομος	بُشرت من قبل جبرائيل * بميلاد ابنك يوحنا السابق	You were announced by Gabriel the birth of your son John the <i>precursor</i>
ἀκχεκ πεκβιος+ βεν ογμετβελλο ενανες+ ογορ ἀκραναϛ ἰφτ+ βεν πεκωρεωι εθογαβ	اكملت سيرك بشيخوخة حسنة وارضيت الله بخدمتك المقدسة	You accomplished your <i>life</i> in good old age and you pleased to God by your holy service
ἀγβωτεβ ἰμοκ+ ἴχε νιοῦδαῖ ογτε περφεῖ νεν πιμανερωωοῦωι	قتلك اليهود بين المذبح والهيكل	The Jews killed you between the temple and the altar
εῶβε ποῦφθονος+ νεν οῦνιωτ ἴχορ+ εχεν ππροδρομος ἰωδ πεκωρηι	من اجل غيرتهم وحسداهم العظيم في السابق يوحنا ابنك	Because of the envy and great jealousy for the <i>precursor</i> John your son.
τοτε ἀϛχωκ εβολ+* ἴχε φηετβηοῦτ+ βεν νιεγαγγελιον+ ἰπαρητ εϛω ἰμοκ	حينئذ كمل * مكتوب في الانجيل اذا يقول	<i>Then</i> what is written in the <i>Gospels</i> was fulfilled saying thus:
Χε σεναῖ εχενθηνοῦ+ ἴχε σνοϛ νιβεν ἴμνη+ εταγφονϛ εβολ+ ριχεν πρζο ἰπκαρῖ	سياتي عليكم دم كل الصديقين الذي اريق على وجه الارض	That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth
ιχεν πσνοϛ ἴαβελ+ ψα πσνοϛ ἴΖαχαριας+ φηεταρετενβθεβεϛ+ ογτε πνη νεν πιμανερωωοῦωι	من دم هابيل الى دم زكريا الذي قتلتموه بين المذبح والبيت	from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias whom you killed between the house and the altar
ωοῦνιατκ Ζαχαριας + ἀκβιχλομ β [Laucna	طوباك يا زكريا لانك نلت اكليلين واحد لاجل النبوة وواحد لاجل الشهادة	Blessed are you Zacharias for you received two crowns <sup>57</sup> one for the prophecy and one for the martyrdom
	بصلوات القديس زكريا انعم علينا بمغفرة خطايانا	Through the prayers of Saint Zacharias Grant us the forgiveness of our sins.

### Commentary

This text combines the annunciation of John the Baptist and the martyrdom of Zacharias.

Also this text is unique to mention the crowns which are usually associated with the acts of the martyrs (... he received the imperishable crown of the martyrdom).

### Conclusion

Despite the importance of Zacharias, as it is clear from the inscription, wall-paintings and icons, very few Coptic texts have his commemoration.

We were able to find only one doxology Batos in two manuscripts from Middle Egypt and Lower Egypt. It is clear that they were copied from a similar original, as the misspellings are the same in both manuscripts. The Doxology text is mainly inspired by Luke chapter 1, and Matthew chapter 2, and 23:35.

The book of *Difnar* contains only one *Psali Batos* for Zacharias, the text seems to be a combination of two texts as we find repetition.

The *Book of Turuhāt* contains two hymns for Zacharias, while the hymn Batos resembles the previous texts, the hymns Adam has some special features.

All the texts which mention the martyrdom of Zacharias identify him as the one mentioned in Matthew 23:35. This was defended by Severus of Antioch in his letter to Anastasia.

This paper shows once more the importance of linking the liturgical with literary texts, as well as the wall paintings and inscriptions.



Sammanūd Ms 75 Liturgy.



Paris Copte Ms. 123.



Coptic Museum 323 Lit.

## Notes

- \* University College Stockholm, (Stockholm) and University of Divinity, (Melbourne); youhanna.n.youssef@ehs.se.
- 1 I would like to thank Daniel Kisliakov for his kind help in reviewing this paper.
- 2 We will discuss this in the later pages.
- 3 A. Papaconstantinou, *Le Culte des Saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides, l'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris, 2001), 100–102.
- 4 J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 12 (Le Caire, 1904), 93 pl. LXIX and LXXIII
- 5 G.M. Van Loon et A. Delattre, 'La frise des saints de l'église rupestre de Deir Abou Hennis', *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), 89–112 especially 95.
- 6 M. Rassart-Debergh, 'Painting, Coptic Mural', in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia*, volume 6 (New York, 1991), 1872a–1876a.
- 7 A. Jeudy, 'Icônes et ciboria: relation entre les ateliers coptes de peinture d'icônes et l'iconographie du mobilier liturgique en bois', *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), 67–88, such as Aaron, Moses etc.
- 8 Coptic Museum number 3869.
- 9 A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies contributions to Biblical and patristic literature*, Vol. IV No 2 *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, (Cambridge, 1896), 235–236. All the literature related to John the Baptist, cf. E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913), 128–144 (text), 335–350. Translation (*Encomium on John the Baptist* by Saint John Chrysostom).
- 10 K.H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on John the Baptist, attributed to Theodosius Archbishop of Alexandria*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 268 *Coptici* 33 (Louvain, 1966).
- 11 J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford, 2005), 66, 644 (*Apocalypse of Paul*).
- 12 I. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 1 Arabic 18 (Paris, 1905), 97–100; R. Basset, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite, (rédaction Copte)*, 2 *Mois de tout et de Babeh, Patrologia Orientalis* 3.3 Numéro 13 (Paris, 1907), 268[192], 270[194].
- 13 F. Nau, *Les Ménologes des évangélistes Coptes-Arabs*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 10.2 Numéro 47 (Paris, 1913), 187[23], 211[47], 223[59], 225[61] (the Moses and Zacharias).
- 14 A.Y. Sidarus, *Ibn ar-Râhibs Leben un Werk, Islmakundliche Untersuchungen Band 36* (Freiburg, 1975), Tafel 7.
- 15 E. Tisserant, *Le calendrier d'Aboul-Barakat*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 10.3, Numéro 48 (Paris, 1913), 253 [9].
- 16 R.G. Coquin, 'Le Calendrier Copte des fêtes de saints chez al-Qalqaşandî', *Parole de l'Orient* 6–7 (1975), 375–411 especially 389.
- 17 M. Fenoyl, *Le Sanctoral Copte, Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth* 15, (Beyrouth, 1960), 63.
- 18 U. Zanetti, 'Leçons liturgiques au Monastère Blanc six typical', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 46 (2007), 231–304 especially 235–238, 275–284.
- 19 A. Fortescue, 'Synaxarion', in C. Hebermann (ed.), *Catholic Encyclopedia* 14 (New York, 1913), s.v. Synaxarion.
- 20 Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae*, col. 716.
- 21 J.M. Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des Synaxaires Melkites-Subsidia Hagiographica* 45, (Bruxelles, 1969).
- 22 G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes-première partie Manuscrits Chrétiens*, Tome 1 (Paris, 1972), Numéro 254 p.212–213.
- 23 The text jumps from 4 September to 6 September cf. J. Schiro, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eurta italiae inferioris* (Roma 1966), 97–99.

- 24 R. Akhrass, *Calendar of the Lordly feasts and the commemorations of the Saints in the Church of Antioch the Syriac Orthodox* (Damascus, 2015), 134. (It is identified by the editor as 5 BCE, however the Coptic and Greek calendars make us think that the father of John the Baptist is meant here).
- 25 For the technical liturgical terms cf. Y.N. Youssef, *Historical Dictionary of the Coptic Church* (Lanham, Maryland, Toronto, Plymouth UK, 2008), *ssv*.
- 26 Y. abd al-Masih, 'Doxologies in the Coptic Churches', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 7 (1941), 31–61 especially 35.
- 27 صموئيل السرياني، ترتيب البيعة عن مخطوطات البطريركية بمصر والإسكندرية ومخطوطات الأديرة والكنائس، الجزء الأول (القاهرة)، ١٠٦، (١٩٨٤)
- [Samuel al-Surianî, *the Order of the Church according to the manuscripts of the Patriarchate in Cairo, Alexandria and the Manuscripts of the Monasteries and the Churches*, part 1 (Cairo 1984), 106.
- 28 Y. 'Abd al-Masih, 'Doxologies in the Coptic Church-unedited Bohairic doxologies I (Tût –Kyahk', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 7(1941), 31–61 especially p.36.
- 29 L. Delaporte, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Première Partie Manuscrits Bohairiques). (Paris, 1912), 84 Numéro 123 CANONS ET HYMNES (bohairique) pour les six premiers mois de l'année
- 30 This reading appears in both A and B, read αϣϫωκ
- 31 B adds α γαβρηλ, the reading of A is better
- 32 Read αφοϣωνε
- 33 A. B. the same, read ϩηαερ
- 34 B wrongly read ετασμοϩ perhaps influence of the Arabic where the plural used the third person singular.
- 35 Read ελιαβετ
- 36 A. B. read αςμικι
- 37 B correctly read ατοτϣ
- 38 B correctly read εφ†
- 39 Read αϣοϣωϣτ
- 40 A. B. read ηρωΔης
- 41 Read εμιαλλωϣι
- 42 В асѡтєв
- 43 В аϣοϣωρ ωπ ημετια perhaps μετιοϣ (?)
- 44 Read επιοϣηβ
- 45 Read πηελλοπηελλοι
- 46 M. Chaîne, «Une lettre de Sévère d'Antioche à la diaconesse Anastasie» *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1913) 32–58. G. Mercati, «La lettera di Severo Antiocheno su Matt 23:35» *Oriens Christianus* 4, (1915) 59–63.
- 47 Matt. 23:35, Lk 11:51.
- 48 Youhanna Nessim Youssef, "Letter of Severus of Antioch to Anastasia the Deaconess," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie* 40 (2001) 126–136.
- 49 M. Cramer & M. Krause, *Das koptische Antiphonar; Jerusalem Theologisches Forum* 12, Münster: Aschendorf Verlag 2008, 68–69 fol. 7.
- 50 For this book cf. G. Gabra, 'Untersuchungen zum Difnar der koptischen Kirche. I Quellenlage, Forschungsgeschichte und künftige Aufgaben', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 35 (1996), 37–52; G. Gabra, 'Untersuchungen zum Difnar der koptischen Kirche. II zur Kompilation' *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 37(1998), 49–68. For the relation between the Difnar and the Synaxarion cf. N. Mekhaïel, *Untersucungen zur Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des koptischen Difnars*, *Jerusalem Theologisches Forum* 14 (Münster, 2010), 345–352.
- 51 Read ελιαβετ
- 52 O.H.E. Burmester, 'The Turuhāt of the Saints (Tût, Bâbah, Hatûr)', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 4 (1938), 141–194 especially p.148.
- 53 M. Simaïka and Y. 'Abd al-Maish, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, volume 1 (Cairo, 1939), 84 Number 171.

- 54 G. Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes Chrétiens conservés au Caire, Studi e testi* 63 (Città del Vaticano, 1936).
- 55 The Arabic translation differs from the Coptic 'on the eighth day of Tût also the feast of Zacharias the priest'.
- 56 Reading based on the Arabic render  $\alpha\chi\zeta\iota\omega\epsilon\mu\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\upsilon$
- 57 The following occurs only in Arabic.