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**Epistle on the Celebration of Easter (CPG 4612): Transmission and Context of the Slavonic Version in the Late 15th–16th Centuries**

**Abstract.** This article examines the Slavonic version of the *Epistle on the Celebration of Easter* (CPG 4612) by focusing on the issues of transmission and context. It begins with a brief overview of the manuscript tradition and the title of this writing, and then asks what function the epistle carried in medieval Russia where it was copied. The author argues that this function was primarily theological rather than technical (related purely to paschal calculations and calendar). For that purpose, the author does several things. First, he shows that there are good reasons to assume that this epistle was perceived as part of the Athanasian corpus of *Orations against the Arians*, whose copying was occasioned by the rise of the Judaizers – a group of Russian heretics that denied the most fundamental Orthodox doctrines and exploited the eschatological crisis in 1492 to lead the Christians astray. And second, the author explores the evidence from Iosif Volockij and comes to the conclusion that his *Enlightener* contains similar theological concerns about the celebration of Easter as we find in the epistle.

**Keywords:** Easter, transmission, context, medieval Russia, paschal calendar, eschatological crisis, Athanasius, *Orations against the Arians*, Judaizers, Iosif Volockij

While there is little doubt that the *Epistle on the Celebration of Easter* (CPG 4612) was translated into Slavonic very early in Bulgaria – possibly by Constantine of Preslav in 906/907 – all our extant witnesses were made by the Russian

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1 A brief analysis of the Slavonic version was done by Penkova, who also provided an edition of this text from manuscript A (see Table 1 for the list of manuscripts and their siglas): P. Penkova, *On the Authorship of ‘Solaniye o Prazdnice Paschy’ Attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria*, SeS 6, 2008, p. 279–303. One other edition of this text (from manuscript K) is available in *Die Grossen Lesemänäen des Metropoliten Makarij. Uspenskij spisok*, vol. I, 1–8 Mai, ed. E. Weiher et al., Freiburg 2007 [= MLSDV, 51], p. 303–313.
scribes and most come from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although this text was never ascribed to Athanasius in the Greek tradition, it was always known as Athanasian to the Slavs and treated as either an epistle (съланїе), oration (слѡво), or narrative (скаꙁаниє).

Thus, of the twelve manuscripts that are known to me and listed in Table 1, nine (ABCDEFGHK) place it after Athanasius’ four Orations against the Arians (CPG 2093, 2092), whereas the remaining three (LMN) put it among the different homilies. The first nine manuscripts give this writing the title of an Epistle: either an Epistle on the Feast (D and E) or an Epistle on the Celebration of Easter (FGHK). Of these nine, two witnesses from the fifteenth-century (AB) name it specifically as a Fifth Oration on the Celebration of Easter. The last three manuscripts from the sixteenth century (LMN) call this text a Narrative about Easter. Thanks to the scribal note in the earliest manuscript from the year 1488/1489 (D), we know that the original title of this writing in the old Bulgarian codex (from which all the Russian copies descend) had a short title: Epistle on the Feast. In addition to these twelve manuscripts, we also have a seventeenth-century copy that contains a compilation of fragments from this writing and places it among the texts which discuss the issues of calendar and chronology. Here our text is called On the Secret of Cycles Pertaining to the True Day of Saving Easter. In this article, I will use the name that appears in the majority of manuscripts – the Epistle on the Celebration of Easter.


3 To the nine manuscripts that have been known to us, I have added three more witnesses: LMN (see Table 1). For the description of the first nine manuscripts, cf. Athanasius of Alexandria, Oratio II contra Arianos. Old Slavonic Version and English Translation, ed. et trans. V.V. Lytvynenko, Turnhout 2019 [= PO, 248 (56.3)] (cetera: Oratio II contra Arianos), p. 371–381. For the other three manuscripts, cf. В.М. Ундольский, Каталог славяно-русских рукописей, Москва 1870, p. 419 (L); Иосиф (нером.), Опись рукописей, перенесенных из библиотеки Иосифова монастыря в библиотеку Московской духовной академии, vol. I, Москва 1882, p. 62 (M); И.В. Левочкин, Т.Б. Анисимова, РГБ. Собранние рукописных книг Е.Е. Егорова. Описание, vol. I, pars 1, Москва 2014, p. 174 (N). For the copy that contains the fragments (O), cf. А.А. Романова, ‘Учение отроком, хотящим учитися ведению ключа границы азбучные’, – сочинение 1496 г. по расчётной хронологии, ТОДЛ 52, 2001 (cetera: Учение отроком), p. 574. These fragments were published in Святцы, Москва 1646, ff. 377r–397r, where they have the same name as in the manuscript but with the running title Narrative.

4 This scribal note reads: In old Athanasius, it was written this way: By the same Athanasius, the bishop, Epistle on the Feast [и старо аѳанасїи писано так тогож аѳанасїи епїа посланїе о пранїц].

5 This claim is based on my textual work with this writing that is forthcoming.
### Table 1

| A | St. Petersburg, RNB Pog. 968, year 1489, f. 209r: тогоже свѧтаго аѳанасіа александрскаго епικα. съланіє о прѧнѫцѣ пасхѣ. [In the colophon, the scribe adds: ἡ σκληρὸς ἐπισκόπῳ πασχα.]. |
| C | Moscow, RGB Nikif. F. 199, 59, late 15th and early 16th c., f. 277v: тогѡ съланє о прѧнѫцѣ пасхѡ. |
| E | Moscow, GIM Sin. 20, between the late 1480s and early 1490s, f. 213r: тогѡхѧ афаꙁасѧ епικѧ. съланѧ ὑ прѧнѫцѧ пѧсχ. |
| F | St. Petersburg, RNB Sol. 63, 16th c., f. 305 р: Тогѡ аѳонасѧ епικѧ алексѧнтρскѧ. сѧланѧ ὑ прѧνѫцѧ пѧсχ. |
| G | St. Petersburg, RNB Sof. VMČ 1321, no later than 1541, f. 143об: тогѡ аѳанѧд епικѧ сѧланѧ ὑ прѧнѫцѧ пѧх. |
| H | Moscow, GIM Sin. Tsa. VMЧ 180, no later than 1554, f. 303v: тогѡ стѡгѡ аѳанаѧд епικѧ алексѧнтρскѧ. сѧланѧ ὑ прѧνѫцѧ пѧх. |
| K | Moscow, GIM Sin. Usp. VMЧ 994, no later than 1552, f. 152r: тѡгѡ стѡгѡ аѳанаѧсѧ αρχιεπισκοπѧ алексѧнтρскѧ. сѧлѧνε ὑ прѧνѫцѧ пѧх. |
| L | Moscow, RGB Und. F. 310, 561, miscellanea, 16th c., f. 305v: Ἴνη κύ ὑ ζηδα ωναντη аѳонаσιѧ аλεξѧνδρσκѧ. ταξανε ὑ πασχ. |
| N | Moscow, RGB Egor. F. 98, 72, Toržestvennik “Flowery Triodion”, late 16th c., f. 31v: ἵνη κύ ὑ ζηδα ωναντη аѳонаσιѧ αρχιεπισκοπα аλεξѧνδρισκѧ. ταξανε ὑ πασχ. |
| O | Moscow, RGB Und. F. 310, 443, miscellanea with texts on calendar and chronology, late 17th c., f. 51v: ὅ ταινηк ὑ τραχνδενη, επαστελναγѡ ὑ ἵνηννηα νασχ. ἵνη ὑ σκαλα κανα γατα αγανασιѧ ἀρχιεπισκ. αλεξѧνδρισκα. }
Given that the manuscript tradition of this writing is limited to the area of medieval Russia, a natural question that I would like to explore in this article is what function the *Epistle on the Celebration of Easter* had. One can assume that due to the significant attention that it gives to the issues of calculating the date of Easter, this epistle had primarily a calendar function. It spends a lot of time discussing the method of determining the date of Easter, which after the Council of Nicaea in 325 was to fall on the first Sunday after the full moon following the spring equinox. Unlike the method proposed at Nicaea, however, the one in our epistle suggests that Easter is to be postponed by a week if the full moon falls on Sunday to avoid the associations between the fourteenth-day moon and the crucifixion that took place on the fourteenth day. Accordingly, there must be at least two days from the day of the full moon to the day of Easter in order to re-create the three-day mystery of the feast on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. The epistle proposes various formulas to support this method and insists on taking it as biblical.

Furthermore, the year 1492 in the mind of that society marked the completion of 7000 years from the creation of the world and was believed by many to usher Christ's second coming. This eschatological expectation was further reinforced by the fact that the existing paschal calendars ended in the year 1492. When the expectation for the end of the world did not come true, the religious group known in the church terminology as the Judaizers sought to convert the Orthodox Christians to their beliefs rooted in the Old Testament. Therefore, one could suppose that church leaders copied the *Epistle on the Celebration of Easter* in response to the Judaizers (more on this later). But was this writing intended primarily to serve as a guide on how to calculate the dates for celebrating Easter? There is at least one factor that we should consider regarding this question.

Before the last century, it was commonly believed that medieval Russia was not able to do complex calculations for determining the dates of Easter and therefore had to rely on Constantinople for the supply of paschal tables. However, more recent research has shown that Russians had all the necessary skills and knowledge to perform complex mathematical calculations. The earliest example that demonstrates this fact is a twelfth-century treatise commonly referred to as the *Teaching*

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8 Cf. esp. the works by Simonov who made the most significant contribution in this field: Р.А. Симонов, Математическая и календарно-астрономическая мысль Древней Руси (по данным средневековой книжной культуры), Москва 2007; идем, Естественнонаучная мысль Древней Руси. Избранные труды, Москва 2001; Естественнонаучные представления Древней Руси. Сборник статей, ed. А.Н. Боголюбов, Р.А. Симонов, Москва 1978.
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... on Numbers\(^9\) by Kirik the Novgorodian (1110–1156/1158) from the monastery of St. Anthony in Great Novgorod. Among other things, he provides instructions on how to understand the indict, leap years, and different types of cycles (solar, lunar, and others); how to calculate the number of months, weeks, days, and hours within a year; and how to determine the date of Easter, using the old Byzantine-Syrian method\(^10\). Some later examples include such writings as Semityjačniki (a variety of treatises on the 7000 years) that appeared in the fifteenth century\(^11\), The Teaching to Teenagers that was composed in 1496 and served as a guide on Easter dating\(^12\), the Genuine Account\(^13\) with paschal tables and calculations from around 1542, and Paschalias (such as those composed by Gennadij Novgorodskij and Metropolitan Zosima during the years 1491 and 1492)\(^14\).

Therefore, even if one assumes that the Epistle on the Celebration of Easter could have initially been copied as a guide on Easter dating, one cannot claim that it was perceived as filling in a gap of missing knowledge. In what follows, I would like to suggest that instead of having a purely calendar function, this writing was intended to operate primarily on the theological front. There are two points that lend support to this suggestion. First, given the fact that several manuscripts (AB) treat the Epistle on the Celebration of Easter as an Oration, and one of them calls it the Fifth Oration, we can reasonably assume that it was perceived as part of the Athanasian corpus of Orations against the Arians, which the church leaders almost always copied as one codex\(^15\). Moreover, one of our witnesses (D) tells us that

\(^9\) The full title is Učenije imže vedati čeloveku čisla vseh let. For an excellent analysis of Kirik’s work, cf. В. В. Мильков, Р. А. Симонов, Кирик Новгородец: ученый и мыслитель, Москва 2011. The edition of the Teaching on Numbers is on p. 312–335.

\(^10\) For a description of this method, cf. Н. П. Иванова, С. В. Цыб, Историческая хронология, Москва 2020, p. 185–187.


\(^12\) The full title is Učenije otrokom, chotjaščim učitisja vedeniju ključa granicy azbučnyje. For the discussion, cf. Учение отроком, p. 567–581.

\(^13\) The full title is Skazanije izvestno, kako sčitatij paschlia naust'. Cf. Учение отроком, p. 574, note 37.

\(^14\) Gennadij Novgorodskij (1410–1505) composed his first Paschalia after the September council of 1491 and wrote another one (with the Easter dates for the next 70 years) on December 21, 1492. Metropolitan Zosima (d. 1494) presented his Paschalia (with calculations for 20 years) to the next council on November 27, 1492. Макариев (Веретенников), Геннадий (Гонзов), [in:] Православная Энциклопедия, vol. X, Москва 2005, p. 592.

\(^15\) Oratio II contra Arianos, p. 371–381. An important witness about the copying of Orations in that context may also be deduced from the letter which Gennadij Novgorodskij sent to the former Archbishop of Rostov and Jaroslavl' Ioasaf (died in 1514) in the year 1489. In this letter, he inquires of Ioasaf as to whether he has twelve specific books to counter the teaching of Judaizers and lists “Athanasius of Alexandria”, without naming the Orations as such. In my edition of Athanasius’ Orations, I have suggested that Gennadij could have meant the Orations against the Arians. For the text of the letter and my points, cf. Oratio II contra Arianos, p. 371–381.
Athanasius’ Orations were copied for a very specific theological purpose. Here, we have a colophon made by Veniamin Timofejev, where he explains that the work of copying Athanasius was occasioned by the rise of heresy that attacked the most fundamental Orthodox beliefs, specifically the doctrine of the Trinity:

In that year here in famous Novgorod, many priests and deacons (including those from simple folks) appeared to profane the pure faith. The town was overtaken by great trouble, and so much darkness and suffering befell this place [and] the holy Orthodox faith, which the holy fathers set down at the seven Councils by preaching the Father and Son and Holy Spirit in the one divine inseparable Trinity! However, it did not take long for the the Most Holy Archbishop Gennadij to expose the wickedness of their heretical teaching after he was filled with God’s grace of the Holy Spirit16.

Second, we have an indirect witness from Iosif Volockij (1439–1515), who composed a work named Enlightener (Prosvetitel’) to counter all the major aspects of the Judaizers’ faith17. A careful reading of this work suggests that the Judaizers’ rejection of Christian Easter had above all a theological motif, even though there was a major issue concerning the paschal calculations and the end of times in the background of the polemic. In one of the passages where Iosif portrays the Judaizers, he rebukes them for celebrating the Jewish Passover instead of the Christian Easter and puts this on the same list of charges as their denial of the most fundamental Orthodox beliefs, such as the divinity of Christ and Scripture:

Being like mad dogs and poisonous snakes and blood-thirsty beasts, they were all focused on mocking and humiliating the divinity of Christ and his economy in the flesh. everywhere they met they always did so secretly, and they offered Jewish sacrifices and celebrated the Jewish Passover together with other Jewish feasts. They spoke forth numerous blasphemies against our Lord Jesus Christ, and against Most Pure Theotokos, and against great John the Forerunner, as well as against all the holy apostles and revered and righteous martyrs,
desecrating and criticizing the churches of God, life-giving crosses and all honored icons… And ever since they denied Christ and until now, they have made every effort and used every endeavor to deceive the Orthodox and lead them into the Jewish beliefs.

Iosif asserts that the Judaizers offered Jewish sacrifices and celebrated the Jewish Passover together with other Jewish feasts. In other places, he explains that the Judaizers’ rejection of Easter along with other Christian beliefs had to do with their wrong understanding of sacred Scripture, and the only time he raises the technical issue of calculating the date of Easter in the entire book is at the end of Discourse 8. In the process, he accuses the Judaizers of dismissing Easter based on their wrong expectation of the end of the world in 1492 and concludes by arguing that according to Scripture, it is not in anyone’s power to know the end times: But why have we discussed all this if not to show that whatever God has not given us to know, cannot be known even if we do our best to try and search and examine; we will only put fire on our own head. For God said that even the angels cannot know this (cf. Mt 24: 36; Mc 13: 32).

Thus, if we accept the assumption that the Epistle on the Celebration of Easter was intended to refute the Judaizers’ teaching, then it had to address the theological concerns that we find in Iosif and demonstrate why one should celebrate Christian Easter rather than the Jewish Passover. This is exactly what we find in this epistle. In fact, the author begins his text by drawing a clear distinction between the Jews and heretics who have failed to grasp the true meaning of Easter on the one side, and the Christians who alone know the mystery behind this feast on the other: Without understanding the real truth, they depart as heretics while the Jews seek to fulfill the Passover; and only Christians are in possession of this mystery and properly keep it.

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18 Enlightener, Discourse 15, p. 522–523:

19 Enlightener, Discourse 9, p. 369:

20 Enlightener, Discourse 8, p. 353:

21 St. Petersburg, RNB Pog. 968, year 1489, f. 209r:
To unpack this mystery, the author resorts to the typological interpretation of the Easter cycle in the rest of the text, arguing that the Christian feast fulfilled the Old Testament expectation and surpassed it. Thus, he takes the spring equinox as a symbol of “the beginning of time” (the first day and night). Then, he interprets the fourteenth-day moon in the lunar cycle as an image of the sacrifice of a lamb on the fourteenth of Nisan according to the Mosaic law, which was fulfilled in Jesus, the true Lamb of God. And finally, he explains the full moon as a symbol of the darkness between the sixth and eighth hours at the crucifixion of Christ, foretold by the Old Testament prophets Zechariah and Amos.

By putting all these elements together, Christ fulfilled the Old Testament expectations in his own death and gave us the true meaning of Easter: *But when the Son of God gathered the times, when he conformed the entire week to the original creation, and when the equinox, the full moon and Friday met, the day on which he was to suffer and in suffering manifest the renewal, then he gave himself up to bear the passion*. Therefore, he continues later: *We, too, observe all times to show their mystical significance as we keep imitating them*. All this shows that the *Epistle on the Celebration of Easter* was a perfect text for that context. It carried a specifically theological function, even though a fair bit of this writing has to do with the technical elements of the paschal calendar. In the face of opposition from the Judaizers who questioned the most basic aspects of the Christian faith, this epistle was to tell them about the right celebration of Easter rather than just about numbers, figures, and dates, however important the latter were in that polemic.
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Abbreviations in the Manuscripts

Libraries and Archives

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Manuscript Collections

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“Epistle on the Celebration of Easter” (CPG 4612): Transmission and Context

UNDOL’SKIJ V.M., Katalog slavjano-russkich rukopisej, Moskva 1870.


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