# Byzantine Easter Computi: An Overview with an Edition of Anonymus 892 

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# Byzantine Easter Computi An Overview with an Edition of Anonymus $892^{*}$ 


#### Abstract

The Easter Computus in Par. suppl. gr. 920, dated to year 892, is the earliest known Byzantine Easter Computus that is not embedded in a discursive framework but is a collection of bare procedures and examples. After an outline of the tradition of Easter Computi, I present four approaches to this Computus: an edition of the Greek text that preserves all linguistic features of the original; a faithful translation; a transcription of the involved algorithm in a mildly symbolic formalism; and a discursive elucidation of the same algorithm. The symbolic transcriptions will prove more useful in comparing the procedures set forth in different Computi than the algebraic formulas usually used to formalize them.


Keywords: Algorithm, Byzantine Mathematics, Easter Computus, Southern Italy

## INTRODUCTION

Easter Computi are a body of chronological writings whose subject-matter is the determination of the date of Easter. Most modern accounts of Easter Computi are focused on their history in Western Europe, where they were a major component of the mathematical lore available in the Early Middle Ages, and whose literature-theoretical categorization underwent an evolution that eventually made them general scientific encyclopedias ${ }^{1}$. After an initial period that Western and Easter Computi share (say ca. AD 150 to $c a$. AD 550) and that-with its controversies on the Paschal terms and its competing Easter cycles-has been thoroughly studied ${ }^{2}$, a branching occurs in the

[^0]sources and in scholarship: on the one side, a proliferation of Latin sources and a continuous flow of studies of them ${ }^{3}$, enriched by remarkable findings; on the other, a desert punctuated with scattered Greek-speaking oases: the Chronicon Paschale, the computists of the middle- $7^{\text {th }}$ century, the need for a reform voiced in fourteenth-century Constantinople ${ }^{4}$. As for Byzantium, the recent contributions from the Louvain philological school were preceded by wide-ranging excavations in manuscripts coordinated by a nearly-forgotten yet fascinating figure of scholar, Otmar Schissel, whose work was interrupted by an untimely, Walserian death during a walk on December 28, 1943.

Apart from the different abundance of sources, the reason for such a polarization is evident at once: the intellectual freedom Western Medieval computists manifested in critically appropriating the received lore is outlandish by Byzantine standards ${ }^{5}$. On the other hand, it can be argued-but I shall not do that here-that the set of algorithms used by Western computists was less mathematically connotated ${ }^{6}$, and poorer from the stylistic point of view, than the set of algorithms we may gather from Byzantine sources. Of course, these two facts are interrelated.

The main goal of the present article is to provide an edition, a translation, and a commented paraphrase of the Easter Computus I shall call Anonymus 892, from the year in which it was composed. I selected this Computus for the following reason: according to my survey, it is the earliest specimen of a complete Byzantine Computus (1) which is not embedded in any discursive or doctrinal frame, (2) which is shaped as a collection of bare prescriptions formulated in algorithmic style and (3) whose data are not set out in tables. The provenance of the manuscript that carries Anonymus 892 (Southern Italy), its material features (small size and bad parchment), the fact that the text is anonymous and exhibits an obvious vernacular tinge, show that this Computus was written for personal use. With Anonymus 892, and as far as our documentary record goes, Computi

[^1]entered Byzantine low-brow intellectual production. Thus, there are several motives of interest in publishing this Computus.

However, a bare Computus, even translated, is as next to a totally opaque piece of writing as possible. To complete my edition with adequate context, I shall outline the evolution and the main actors in the tradition of Byzantine Easter Computi; I shall also explain the structure of the tradition and the stylistic codes adopted in Computi. A computistical glossary and a thematic word index prelude to four approaches to Anonymus 892: these are an edition of the Greek text that preserves all linguistic features of the original; an English translation; a discursive elucidation of the algorithms employed in the text; and, embedded in the latter, a transcription of these algorithms in a mildly symbolic formalism. I am convinced that the symbolic transcriptions are the real highlight of my approach: they are more faithful to the syntactical structure and to the "mathematical content" of the original procedures than algebraic formulas can be summarizing entire procedures in one single equality, thereby erasing their operational structure. Algorithms will certainly prove more accurate than the "static" algebraic formulas, if our goal is to compare the procedures set forth in different Computi.

## THE TRADITION OF EASTER COMPUTI: EVOLUTION AND MAIN ACTORS

The early history and evolution of Easter Computi can be summarized as follows. The date of Easter, the most important Christian festival, depends, in a way that underwent early variations, on the date of the Jewish festival Passover, for the Gospels relate that Jesus had his Last Supper in the evening of that day (then a Thursday) ${ }^{7}$, died on Friday, and resurrected on Sunday. Passover corresponds to the $14^{\text {th }}$ day of a schematic lunar month and must occur on or straight after the Spring equinox, whose date was fixed, as far as computistical matters are concerned, to March 21. Easter is the first Sunday after Passover; if Passover falls on Sunday, Easter is celebrated on the Sunday next thereafter. Since Passover occurs on a fixed day of a specific lunar month, its date and the date of Easter vary from year to year. The dates of all other festivals in the annual Christian calendar that depend on Easter must vary with it, which explains the reason why the Easter date must be calculated in advance. In order to determine this date, it is necessary to know-for the given year and possibly for a string of years - the date of the beginning of each lunar month, which the Jews set at first crescent visibility. This can be ascertained by observation (and thus with no advance), by means of geometric models of the motions of the Sun and of the Moon that may even be very refined but difficult to use, or by means of reasonably accurate approximations of these motions. In the latter two cases, what is computed is the instant, or the date, of the new Moon. The only viable solution for such a widespread community as Christendom was the third. The relevant approximations of the motions of the Sun and of the Moon are called "cycles": in the case of the Moon, a cycle is a time interval after which the sequence of new Moons repeats itself on the same dates. Some of these cycles were well-known in Babylonian and in Hellenistic astronomy ${ }^{8}$. In Computi, and throughout the present paper as well, "Passover" is therefore the $14^{\text {th }}$ day of a schematic lunar month in a lunar cycle ${ }^{9}$.

The first cycle that was devised for the purpose of computing the date of Easter comprises 8 calendar years, and was employed by some Hippolytus and by someone called "Computist of 243". Our sources for it are a stone chair of "Hippolytus" (it was carved in the $2^{\text {th }}$ century, engraved in

[^2]AD 233-235, excavated in 1551), carrying engraved the Passover and Easter dates for an iteration of the 8 -year cycle to a period of 112 years that begins in AD 222, and the text of an anonymous computist of 243 -in fact the earliest computistical work-respectively ${ }^{10}$.

This cycle soon proved to be inadequate. It was replaced in Rome by a cycle of 84 years. There are two versions of the 84 -year cycle, denoted $84(12)$ and $84(14)$ according to the position of the saltus lunae (see below). The former is a table whose beginning is set at AD 298 and is called Supputatio Romana, the latter is the table called latercus, which was conceived by Sulpicius Severus and started in AD 354 but was used much later in the Irish and British Churches ${ }^{11}$.

Alexandrian scholars were in a better position to exploit the resources of (Babylonian-)Hellenistic astronomy. They adapted the well-known lunar cycle of 19 years to computistical purposes, and this adaptation was sanctioned by the Alexandrian Church. Before reaching its definitive form, the 19-year cycle had to undergo some adjustments, needed to give a stable seat to specific, and controversial, Passover and Easter dates. However, major points of detail that could not be settled by simply adopting a lunar cycle had to be fixed: whether Passover was allowed to fall before the Spring equinox or not (eventually it was not: the heretics are the Protopaschites) and what date had to be retained for the equinox (eventually the date was March 21) ${ }^{12}$; if Passover fell on a Sunday, whether Easter was allowed to coincide with Passover or not (eventually it was not: some of the heretics were the Quartodecimans, whose Easter squarely coincided with Passover); whether Easter

[^3]was allowed to fall on the day immediately after Passover or not (eventually it was: in the middle of the $5^{\text {th }}$ century, this point sparked a controversy between Alexandria and Rome, which championed the losing view) ${ }^{13}$.

Names of major characters in the early evolution of the 19-year cycle are as follows. Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea until AD 283, first devised this cycle and clearly stated the "rule of the equinox". Theophilos, patriarch of Alexandria until AD 412, constructed a 100-year table for AD 380-479. His nephew and successor patriarch of Alexandria until AD 444, Cyril, set out a recalculated 95 -year table for AD 437-531 adapted to the Roman calendar ${ }^{14}$. Annianus (ca. AD 400), in the framework of a general chronography, created the Alexandrian world era by synchronizing a proleptic era Diocletian with the 19 -year cycle and devised a $11 \times 532$-year table accompanied by now-lost operational rules ${ }^{15}$. Victorius of Aquitaine, in an attempt to solve the above-mentioned controversy, proposed in AD 457 a table of 532 years that unsuccessfully tried to reach a compromise between Roman and Alexandrian conventions ${ }^{16}$. Dionysius Exiguus continued in AD 525 Cyril's tables for the ensuing 95 years AD 532-626, crucially introduced the Incarnation era that grounds the anno domini era still in use, was decisive in establishing the view that the rules for computing Easter were fixed during the Council of Nicaea ${ }^{17}$, and, translating Greek sources, composed an extant-and extremely successful as to diffusion-set of algorithms for computing the quantities required to construct a 19 -year cycle ${ }^{18}$. These algorithms are called argumenta, which

[^4]Dionysius further qualifies as Aegyptiorum. Owing to the principle of marginal areas, a major witness to the early Alexandrian 19-year cycle are the Computi in Ethiopic sources; the same cycle, in Dionysius' version, was also sanctioned in Bede's De Temporum Ratione.

At the end of the whole process a definitive list of Passover and Easter dates ${ }^{19}$ and a stable set of rules was arrived at, and the tradition of Eastern Computi branched off from the mainstream of Latin Computi, which culminated in Bede's masterpiece (AD 725) before entering a period of critical re-evaluation of the whole method. Accordingly, our story reaches a branching point, and takes the nearly deserted route to Byzantium. One might ask how the story should not also end, if it is true that a definitive list of Passover and Easter dates was established. Well, part of the answer will be given in the following Section. The remaining part of the answer is that first, the Byzantines adopted a world era different from the Alexandrian world era, a fact that entailed a reorganization of the lunar cycle ${ }^{20}$; second, computistical techniques were an integral part of scientific and notarial lore and were therefore transmitted as such ${ }^{21}$; and third, the mathematical notions and the algorithms for computing the quantities required to construct a 19 -year cycle underwent an evolution. This evolution is the history of Byzantine Easter Computi, which ended with the clear perception that a reform of the cycles was necessary.

Among the earliest Greek sources of interest to our purposes figure the wheel (= table of circular format) IV in the Chronicon Paschale, which records the dates of Passover from AD 344 to $362^{22}$; an algorithm for computing the weekday of an assigned date in Paul of Alexandria, Apotelesmatica 19-20 (AD 378) ${ }^{23}$; Anonymus 487 mentioned above and an algorithm for computing the epacts of the Moon, dated Diocletian $239[=\mathrm{AD} 522 / 3]^{24}$; two almost identical algorithms for finding the age of the Moon of a given date, found in Theon of Alexandria, "little commentary" on Ptolemy's Handy Tables 20 (AD 364) ${ }^{25}$, and in Stephanus of Alexandria, in Ptolemaei Tabulas Manuales 12 (AD 617) $)^{26}$. In the latter treatise, sects. 28-30 (AD 623) were almost certainly authored by the emperor Heraclius, and contain a concise Easter Computus that will prove important in our perspective ${ }^{27}$. To the same period belong three fully-fledged treatises. The Chronicon Paschale

[^5](AD 629/30) features a Syntagma de Pascha that provides sparse technical material, whereas the main body of the Chronicon includes a dozen of computistical calculations difficult to harmonize with each other ${ }^{28}$. In general, the Chronicon is a source of primary importance, but in our perspective it contributes little. Of the utmost importance are two complete Computi-contemporary with each other and possibly in explicit competition-that are embedded in a discursive framework and were quite obviously intended as reference works: first, the Brevis Enarratio Christiani Paschatis of Maximus the Confessor (AD 640/1) $)^{29}$, for some time Heraclius' secretary, the champion of the Alexandrian era and our sole early source for the approach to Computus that goes under the name of $\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda 0 \tilde{v} \nu \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \kappa \alpha i \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \lambda 0 \tilde{v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma^{30} \text {; second, the computistical portion of the treatise on heresies }}$ by George Presbyter (AD 638/9), the champion of the Byzantine era ${ }^{31}$.

After the proto-Byzantine period and a couple of centuries marked by partial, isolated and still unpublished contributions, the Eastern Greek tradition surfaces in three different stylistic formats: tables, paschalia, and Computi proper, namely, a collection of rules for calculating the quantities involved in a 19 -year cycle. The earliest Byzantine Easter Computus that is not embedded in a discursive and doctrinal frame ${ }^{32}$, whose data are not set out in tables, and that is shaped as a collection of bare prescriptions formulated in algorithmic style was written at the end of the $9^{\text {th }}$ century. It is dated to 892 and it is contained in the tenth-century manuscript fragment Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 920 (southern Italy, Diktyon 53604) ff. 2r-16r. I shall call it Anonymus $892^{33}$. This is the Computus which I shall edit in the present paper.

Nearly the same computistical material as we read in Anonymus 892 can be found, with the addition of two wheels and of their explanation, in Anonymus 830. This Computus is contained in folios $36 \mathrm{r}-43 \mathrm{v}$ of Ambr. A 45 sup., a twelfth-century collection of non-literary texts assembled in a middle-brow notebook that preserves excellent computistical material. The manuscript witnesses of both Anonymus 830 and Anonymus 892 come from Southern Italy-a further application of the principle of marginal areas-and show that a stable body of very early computistical lore was kept alive for centuries in a peripheral region of the Byzantine empire. Anonymus 830, however, exhibits a marked character of compilation: several algorithms are repeated in different sections of this

[^6]Computus (see the Appendix); the presence of the two wheels and of their explanation disrupts the stylistic continuity of the text. As only a handful of the sections of Anonymus 830 work out dated examples, it is clear that the (much later) copyist of Ambr. A 45 sup. ultimately depends on more disparate sources than the copyist of Par. suppl. gr. 920 .

Two centuries later, two Computi (Anonymus 1079 and Anonymus 1092A-C) ${ }^{34}$ drew on the same tradition as Anonymus 830 and Anonymus 892. To the same period belongs Michael Psellos’ chronological primer (dated AD 1092) ${ }^{35}$ : this is a well-conceived, well-argumented, and moderately verbose literary product organized in two books and in sections itemized as quaestiones; the algorithms and the long lists Psellos provides are embedded in a discursive frame. One century later, Anonymus 1183 was written to be included in Par. gr. 1670 (Diktyon 51293), a manuscript that is a computational primer resulting from a conscious selection of texts, entrusted to an excellent copyist, and intended for conservation purposes ${ }^{36}$. The manuscript was designed to carry a complete technical record, both as regards the proposed material and on account of the possibility of a double level of use. Linguistic excellence, an inflexible formulaic rigidity, and the solutions of layout adopted in Par. gr. 1670 marked a turning point in the development of high-brow technical literature in Byzantium.

After Anonymus 1183, Easter Computi abound in our manuscript sources ${ }^{37}$. Dozens of anonymous Computi and chronological primers ${ }^{38}$, sometimes no more than few lines long and added in

[^7]blank spaces within manuscripts, prelude the authorial achievements of the $14^{\text {th }}$ century: these are the Computi by Nicholas Rhabdas and Matthew Blastares ${ }^{39}$, the latter embedded in a larger work; Nikephoros Gregoras' scattered expositions (ca. 1324) as well as his (self-)celebrated performance before the Emperor ${ }^{40}$; the monographs by Barlaam of Seminara and Isaak Argyros ${ }^{41}$; the computistical sections included in more comprehensive astronomical primers, such as Theodoros Meliteniotes' Three Books on Astronomy ${ }^{42}$. Gregoras and Barlaam, and Blastares drawing from the latter, discussed a possible reform; Gregoras even ventured to construct a revised Damascene-style table. They wisely concluded that, after all, they would not bother seriously to engage in such a reform: exeunt Byzantine critical computists ${ }^{43}$.

[^8]
## THE TRADITION OF EASTER COMPUTI: GENERAL STRUCTURE

Sixty years ago, Alfred Cordoliani published two masterly studies, in which he established a typology of Western computistical literature, enriched by long lists of occurrences in manuscripts ${ }^{44}$. Cordoliani's database was huge and still very partial: on the one hand, the Western computistical tradition is incomparably richer than the parallel Byzantine tradition; on the other hand, he only sifted some libraries. Cordoliani's typology is threefold: mnemotechnic verse, tables, argumenta. These categories reduce to two in the case of Byzantine computistical literature, for I know of only one specimen of mnemotechnic verse: the short and incomplete $13^{\text {th }}$ century text I call Anonymus $F$, in political verse ${ }^{45}$.

As for tables, two subcategories can be identified: real tables and Paschal lists, called paschalia. The former comprise day-finding tables, the Damascene Easter table and Gregoras' Easter table, but also new and full Moon tables, epacts and Passover tables, tables of the motion of the Moon, Horopodia ${ }^{46}$, calendars, chronological tables of any kind, some of which are firmly witnessed in the tradition of Ptolemy's Handy Tables. The paschalia list key chronological data for a specific string of years; such key data normally include the year in a suitable world era, the solar and lunar cycle years, the indiction, the dates of Passover, Easter, and Meat-Fare Sunday, the duration of the Apostles' Fast ${ }^{47}$. The paschalia may either take the form of mere lists or be organized as tables; more often, the data associated with a specific year are singled out by suitable iconic elements, usually circles. These paschalia may be richly illustrated; they present several motives of interest from the iconographic point of view. The paschalia were studied by Ferdinand Piper ${ }^{48}$.

Following a long-standing tradition, Cordoliani calls my "algorithms" argumenta; their collections I call (Byzantine) "Easter Computi" ${ }^{49}$, whose principal features are as follows.
(A) Easter Computi constitute themselves as a tradition: authors feel free to write their own compilation by drawing largely from previous compilations without bothering to mention them. From the material point of view, Easter Computi make a huge corpus, comparable in many respects to the geometric metrological corpus or to the corpus of Rechenbücher ${ }^{50}$. This corpus mainly comprises short, anonymous texts used as fillers of blank pages in manuscripts. However, as we have seen, almost all scientific personalities of the Palaiologan age-do not forget Michael Psellos well before them-set out to write on computistical matters: Nikephoros Gregoras, Matthew Blastares, Barlaam, George Chrysokokkes, Nicholas Rhabdas, Theodoros Meliteniotes, Isaak Argyros, all actively engaged in plagiarizing each other ${ }^{51}$.
${ }^{44}$ A. Cordoliani, Contribution à la littérature du comput ecclésiastique au moyen âge. SM 1 (1960) 107-137, and SM 2 (1961) 169-208.
${ }^{45}$ See Schissel, Note sur un Catalogus 290-291, where the beginning of Anonymus F is published. This Computus is witnessed in Laur. Plut. 87.16, f. 17r-v.
${ }^{46}$ On Horopodia or "shadow-tables", see O. Schissel, Antike Stundentafeln. Hermes 71 (1936) 104-117, and O. Neugebauer, Über griechische Wetterzeichen und Schattentafeln. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Kl. Sitzungsberichte 240(2) (1962) 27-44; O. Neugebauer, A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy (Studies in the History of Mathematics and the Physical Sciences 1). I-III. Berlin - Heidelberg - New York 1975, 736-748, and Neugebauer, Ethiopic Astronomy 209-215.
${ }^{47}$ On the meaning of most of these items see the computistical glossary below.
${ }^{48}$ F. PIPER, Karls des Grossen Kalendarium und Ostertafel. Berlin 1858, 124-162, with a database of 27 elements.
${ }^{49}$ I shall understand "Byzantine" henceforth. Suitable qualifiers will be added whenever I shall refer to other traditions.
${ }^{50}$ For the geometric metrological corpus, see volumes IV and V in J. L. Heiberg - L. Nix - W. Schmidt - H. Schöne, Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia. I-V. Lipsiae 1899-1914; F. ACERBI - B. VITRAC, Héron d'Alexandrie, Metrica (Mathematica Graeca Antiqua 4). Pisa - Roma 2014, 429-556; for Rechenbücher, see just below and F. Acerbi, Byzantine Rechenbücher: An Overview with an Edition of Anonymi L and J. JÖB 69 (2019) 1-57. On the peculiar features of Byzantine mathematics see now F. Acerbi, Arithmetic and Logistic, Geometry and Metrology, Harmonic Theory, Optics and Mechanics, in: A Companion to Byzantine Science, ed. S. Lazaris. Leiden - Boston 2020, 105-159.
${ }^{51}$ Most of these authors appropriated verbatim elaborations of their predecessors and claimed that these were original discoveries of their own. This was a widespread practice in the Palaiologan period: F. Acerbi - D. Manolova - I. Pérez Martín, The Source of Nicholas Rhabdas' Letter to Khatzykes: An Anonymous Arithmetical Treatise in Vat. Barb. gr. 4.
(B) As far as we know, Computi were not included in the curriculum taught in Byzantine schools and higher institutions ${ }^{52}$. Nor have Computi ever featured in the scientific encyclopedias called Quadrivia or in manuscript-based wide-ranging collections of primary sources as the one assembled in years 1360-70 by Malachias in the two-volume set Par. gr. 2342 (Diktyon 51974) and Vat. gr. 198 (Diktyon 66829) ${ }^{53}$. The point is that "logistic", the discipline encompassing all computational sciences, was not part of the Greek heritage, with the sole, and marginal, exception of the anonymous Prolegomena to the Almagest, a Late Antiquity primer on the elementary arithmetical operations in the sexagesimal system, intended to assist the student of the Almagest and thereby transmitted, in its earliest manuscript witnesses, as a preface to it ${ }^{54}$. Accordingly, only the kinds of techniques expounded in the Prolegomena might find a place in Quadrivia, as a minor subsection of the discipline headed "astronomy" ${ }^{55}$. Consequently, our knowledge of Byzantine logistic-the highlight of Byzantine science ${ }^{56}$ - rests on scattered specimens, on anonymous or authorial treatises such as those I have just mentioned or shall mention below or such as Planudes' Great Calculation According to the Indians, and, most importantly, on dedicated "counting books" assembled for conservation or for personal purposes. An example of the former category of counting books is the above-mentioned Par. gr. 1670, an example of the latter is the early fourteenth-century manuscript Par. suppl. gr. 387 (Diktyon 53135) ${ }^{57}$. Computi were often included in these counting books, along with computational primers on the decimal system, usually featuring Indo-Arabic numerals, geometric metrological collections, and Rechenbücher. A miniature specimen of such a counting book is Nicholas Rhabdas' Letter to Tzavoukhes.
(C) Easter Computi have "patrimonial" purposes: they often compile different (and sometimes contradictory: check Anonymus 892 , sects. 14-17 and $\mathbf{2}$ vs. 20) algorithms for computing one and the same chronological item. No Computus known to me outlines even a sketch of a proof that the algorithms presented as alternatives are equivalent. Almost no Computus known to me outlines even a sketch of a justification of the algorithms presented and of the parameters they contain ${ }^{58}$. Any decently complete Computus counter-checks the algorithms by performing instance computations for a specific year; this is usually asserted to be the current year. Of course, such computa-

[^9]tions just confirm well-known and traditionally well-established dates. In a sense, $i f$ its goal is calculating the date of Easter in a given year, a Computus is a useless piece of scientific lore, and even more so because any Computus can be replaced by such a widespread tool as a Damascene Easter table and by the simple rules for converting years of the current era to lunar and solar cycle years, and for using the table ${ }^{59}$. On the other hand, this fact shows that Computi were conceived of as general chronological primers ${ }^{60}$, confirms the formidable inertia of any scientific sub-genre constituting itself as a tradition, and in the long run had at least the merit of making discrepancies between schematic and actual lunar phases patent.
(D) Byzantine mathematics is "sectional" in its essence ${ }^{61}$ : it mainly comprises works that do not display a tight deductive structure; consequently, these works can easily be-or actually aresubdivided into independent sections, or can easily be assembled to generate sectional texts: of this kind are logistic and geometric metrological writings, primers of any kind (including the primers on special astronomical "texts" like the Handy Tables and the Persian Tables) ${ }^{62}$, scholia, isagogic compilations, compendia like the Quadrivia. Even such complex architectures as Metochites' Abridged Astronomical Elements and Meliteniotes' Three Books on Astronomy are sectional writings; a notable exception is Barlaam's Logistic ${ }^{63}$. An extreme example of sectional mathematics are the above-mentioned Rechenbücher: these are collections of computational techniques and of arithmetical or geometric metrological problems unrelated to each other, sometimes in (fictitious) daily-life guise, sometimes organized in sequences of almost identical items, and often formulated in a debased algorithmic code. Mid-way between the extreme of the Rechenbücher and more structured sectional texts lie Easter Computi: a fully-fledged Computus is made of a sequence of selfcontained sections, each of which presents one or, less frequently, more algorithms for computing a specific chronological item. These items include: length and subdivisions of the solar year; reduction of years in a given era to indiction, lunar, and solar cycle years; epacts of the Moon and of the Sun; weekday of an assigned date; date and weekday of Passover, date of Easter; date of Meat-Fare Sunday; duration of the Apostles' Fast; age of the Moon at an assigned date in the year; embolismic months and years. Further chronological items can be computed. The sections of most Computi are usually very short, and contain only the algorithm and the examples.
(E) Easter Computi can be an integral part of several textual constellations. A Computus can be: A treatise embedded in a discursive and doctrinal frame, as Maximus' Enarratio and George Presbyter's Computus.
${ }^{59}$ See, for instance, the instructions written by John Pediasimos on f. 319r of Vat. gr. 191 (second half of $13^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 66822: see F. Acerbi - A. GIoffreda, Manoscritti scientifici della prima età paleologa in scrittura arcaizzante. Scripta 12 [2019] 9-52: 30-34 and 41-44)-or in Grumel, La Chronologie 311. On tables as a tool for someone calculandi minus idoneus, see Bede, De Temporum Ratione xix.
${ }^{60}$ This characteristic is much more accentuated in Western Computi than in Easter Computi: just check the table of contents in Bede's De Temporum Ratione, in Jones, Bedae Opera 177-178, and see the comparative analysis of De Temporum Ratione and of early Irish Computi (Computus Einsidlensis, De ratione conputandi [edited in M. Walsh - D. Ó Crórnín, Cummian's Letter De controversia paschali and the De ratione conputandi (Studies and Texts 86). Toronto 1988], Munich Computus), with a detailed description of the structure of the latter, in Warnties, The Munich Computus cvil-cxxir. Reading the twenty Computi magisterially edited in A. Borst, Schriften zur Komputistik im Frankenreich von 721 bis 818. IIII (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 21). Hannover 2006, confirms this fact.
${ }^{61}$ I have introduced this notion in Acerbi, Arithmetic and Logistic 155.
${ }^{62}$ In the case of primers on tables, as for instance on Ptolemy's Handy Tables or on the Persian Tables, their sectional nature is obviously motivated by the nature of the reference text.
${ }^{63}$ A study, a (partial) edition, and a discussion of the manuscript tradition of the mentioned treatises is found in B. ByDÉN, Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 66). Göteborg 2003; Leurquin, Théodore Méliténiote; P. CareLos, B $\alpha \rho \lambda \alpha \alpha ̀ \mu ~ \tau о v ̃ ~ K \alpha \lambda \alpha \beta \rho о v ̃, ~ \Lambda о ү ı \sigma \tau ı ŋ ŋ . ~ B a r l a a m ~ v o n ~ S e m i n a r a, ~ L o g i s t i k e ́ ~(C o r p u s ~ p h i l o s o p h o r u m ~ M e d i i ~ Æ v i . ~ P h i l o s o-~$ phi byzantini 8). Athens - Paris - Bruxelles 1996, respectively.

An adjunct to a more comprehensive treatise, as Anonymus 686, which complements Maximus' Enarratio in, among others, the manuscript Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Scal. 33 ( $11^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 37986) ff. 17r-26v.
An adjunct to (and a primer on) Paschal tables, as Nicholas 916, witnessed in the manuscripts Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, in scrin. 50a, f. 1r-v, and London, British Library, Add. 18231, ff. 4v-5r, and Theophylaktos 956, again in Hamb., SUB, in scrin. 50a, f. $11 \mathrm{v}^{64}$. Nicholas 916 is written in the form of a letter.
A part of a florilegium, as the computistical sections of the Florilegium Coislinianum, for which I have checked the manuscripts Ambr. Q 74 sup. (gr. 681; end of $10^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 43158) f. 98 r (an abridged version), and Par. gr. 924 ( $10^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 50513) ff. 286v-293v. An algorithm in the computistical part of the Florilegium is dated AD 716.
A section of a textbook of canonical law, as in Matthew Blastares' Syntagma. The contents of this treatise are organized alphabetically, as in the Florilegium Coislinianum.
A part of the material accompanying a psalter, as Anonymus 951, witnessed in the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.1 (Misc. 5; Diktyon 46972) ff. 29v-34v, which ends with a mutilated paschalion dated AM 6459-6464 [= AD 951-956] (4 folios have been excised) ${ }^{65}$. Other early psalters that contain Computi include Anonymus 1021, witnessed in Vat. gr. 341 (Diktyon 66972) ff. 8r-13r, Anonymus 1095, in Vat. gr. 342 (Diktyon 66973) ff. 17r-23v (which includes a paschalion dated AM 6596-6667 [= AD 1088-1159] and features a passing reference to an 84 -year cycle), and Anonymus 1105 , in the manuscript Harvard University, Houghton Library, gr. 3 (Diktyon 12290) ff. 282r-288v, which includes a paschalion dated AM 66136632 [= AD 1105-1124].
A part of an instruction manual to a collection of astronomical tables, as the algorithms contained in Stephanus-Heraclius' in Ptolemaei Tabulas Manuales (sects. 12 and 28-30, respectively), in George Chrysokokkes' Syntaxis Persica (sects. 9-10), in Meliteniotes' Three Books on Astronomy (sects. II.19-20 and III.17, 23-24), and in the anonymous Paradosis in Tabulas Persicas (sect. 13), the latter three explaining how to use the "persian tables".
A part of an anthology; this can be a low-brow notebook intended for personal use, as the one containing Anonymus 892; a middle-brow notebook, as Ambr. A 45 sup., which features an Alexandrian Computus and Anonymus 830, and Par. gr. 854, where we find Anonymus 1079; or a high-brow anthology, as Par. suppl. gr. 690 (1075-85; Diktyon 53425), whose ff. 249r-v present computistical material ${ }^{66}$.
A part of a philosophical encyclopedia, with special emphasis on logic and natural philosophy, as in Laur. Plut. 87.16. This manuscript, one of the most important witnesses of Nikephoros Blemmydes' Epitome Isagogica, contains four Computi, namely, Anonymus F, Anonymus 1247, Anonymus 1273, and Psellos' treatise.
A part of a Rechenbuch, as Anonymus 1183, Anonymus 1256, the isolated procedure in Par. suppl. gr. 387, and the computistical section in Rhabdas' Letter to Tzavoukhes.
An independent treatise dealing exclusively with technical issues, as the Computi composed by Psellos, Argyros, and Rhabdas, and many other anonymous works.
${ }^{64}$ Theophylaktos also copied the Hamburg manuscript. See footnote 101 below for details.
${ }^{65}$ This is the earliest psalter with a Computus; see M. Wallraff, The Canon Tables of the Psalms: An Unknown Work of Eusebius of Caesarea. DOP 67 [2013] 1-14; G. R. Parpulov, Towards a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850-1350 AD. Plovdiv 2014 passim.
${ }^{66}$ A detailed analysis of this manuscript can be found in G. Rochefort, Une anthologie grecque du XI ${ }^{\mathrm{e}}$ siècle : le Parisinus suppl. gr. 690. Scriptorium 4 (1950) 3-17; see also I. Pérez Martín, Les Kephalaia de Chariton des Hodèges (Paris, $B N F, g r .1630$ ), in: Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6-8 May 2009, ed. P. van Deun - C. Macé (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 212). Leuven - Paris - Dudley (MA) 2011, 361386 (Par. suppl. gr. 690 was one of the sources of Chariton's notebook), and M. D. Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometers. Texts and Contexts. Wien 2003 passim et in particular 329-333.
(F) Computi elude standard philological methods for establishing filiations among manuscript witnesses: as any highly sectional text, such collections can be assembled and disassembled very easily; moreover, any computistical algorithm or worked-out example can undergo (major) modifications in the process of transmission. Accordingly, hypotheses of filiation between versions of specific algorithms in different manuscripts can seldom be corroborated by uncontroversial textual evidence ${ }^{67}$. The only sensible attitude is to edit every Computus separately, even when there areas there frequently are-overlaps with other Computi. This remark, and the sectional nature of Computi highlighted in the previous point, explain my choice of presenting Anonymus 892 as a sequence of disconnected chapters, each of which is followed by the translation and a commentary.
(G) Computi make exclusive use of the "procedural" and "algorithmic" stylistic codes, as we shall see in the next Section.
(H) Computi are firmly anchored to current linguistic practice; they frequently exhibit the vernacular and an "aberrant" morphosyntax. Special attention to these linguistic features was paid in the editions procured by the school of Otmar Schissel ${ }^{68}$.

## THE TRADITION OF EASTER COMPUTI: STYLISTIC FEATURES

The style adopted in Easter Computi requires an explanation. Greek and Byzantine mathematics adopted three stylistic codes: these are the demonstrative, procedural, and algorithmic codes ${ }^{69}$. The demonstrative code is the one in which ancient Greek geometry and number theory-in a word: Euclid's Elements-are written; it does not concern us here. In logistic treatises, the solution of a numerical problem, usually provided without any supporting "proof" in the strict sense, was encoded in two peculiar expository formats, which I have called the "procedural" and the "algorithmic" codes. These are two stylistic resources that formulate chains of operations on numerical entities, and such that the output of an operation is taken as the input of the operation next in order: they are the ancient counterpart of our computer programmes. In particular, the procedural code was aptly used to express in words operational sequences that we would summarize in an algebraic "formula". A description of these two codes runs as follows.

The procedural code formulates its prescriptions as a sequence of coordinated principal clauses with the verb in the imperative or in the first person plural, present or future; to each principal clause are subordinated one or more participial clauses coordinated with each other; the participle is a satellite and performs the function of modifier of the operating subject. There are, moreover, an initializing clause, which inserts the initial input into the procedure, and an end clause, which identifies the result of the chain of operations as the quantity to be calculated. This quantity is usually

[^10]declared in a clause that precedes the entire procedure. This code is used to formulate operatory prescriptions in the most general way; the verb forms-either finite or participial forms-represent the operations, and each verb form corresponds to exactly one operation; the involved mathematical objects, the "operands", are the complements of the verb forms and are designated by (sometimes extremely long) definite descriptions. The operations may be unary or binary.

Procedures prominently figure in the astronomical corpus; they expound how to use numerical tables for computing relevant astronomical quantities. Thus, we find procedures in Ptolemy's Al magest ${ }^{70}$ and in his own instruction manual to the Handy Tables, in Pappus' and Theon's commentaries thereon, in Stephanus' commentary on the Handy Tables, and in all similar Byzantine primers like the eleventh-century manual best witnessed in Par. gr. 2425 (Diktyon 52057) ${ }^{71}$, Metochites' Abridged Astronomical Elements (ca. 1316), George Chrysokokkes' Syntaxis Persica (1346), Meliteniotes' Three Books on Astronomy (1352), the anonymous Paradosis in Tabulas Persicas (1352). We also find procedures in the above-mentioned Prolegomena to the Almagest.

To become acquainted with this stylistic resource, let us read some examples in Byzantine writings. First, here is part of sect. 59 of the manual in Par. gr. 2425, which explains "how to find the true degree of the sought for syzygy" ${ }^{72}$ :






First seek for noon positions of the two luminaries before the sought for syzygy, and record each by itself. Then, taking the excess of the Sun over the Moon, put it in two places, and quintupling one add the resulting minutes to the other, and add the minutes from the quintuplation to the Sun's position, and add the figure of the other place-to which the minutes from the quintuplation were added - to the Moon's position. And if the positions of both luminaries turn out to be equal, you have computed correctly.
Second, let us read an extract from a geometric metrological compendium that contains only procedures; one is required to find the height of a pyramid ${ }^{73}$ :





Find both the height and the volume of a pyramid. Do as follows. And find the height. Multiply one of the sides by itself, and double the result; then take a $4^{\text {th }}$ of the result, and reckon again one of the edges by itself, and removing the said $4^{\text {th }}$ from the result take the square root of the remainder, and you will have the height.

Finally, here is a Passover algorithm that will deserve a fuller discussion below; we read the formulation found in Meliteniotes' Three Books on Astronomy III. $24^{74}$ :

[^11]






There is also a second way of taking Easter, namely, the following one. For doing eleven times the cycle of the Moon and adding 6 to the result for the other cycles of it, and adding 7 for $<$ cycles $>17$, 18 , and 19 , and taking away the intervening thirties, if any, from the <number> gathered in this way, then taking what remains to 50 for the remaining number, if it is 31 or less than 31 , we shall write it down as days of March; if it is more, we shall write down the <number> after removal of 31 as days of April, on which Passover will be accomplished.
In all commentaries or computational primers mentioned above, procedures precede paradigmatic examples presented in algorithmic form and are intended to validate them.

The algorithmic code features paradigmatic examples featuring specific numerical values. After the initializing clause, the algorithms are expressed as a sequence of principal clauses coordinated by asyndeton; each clause formulates exactly one step of the algorithm and comprises a verb form in the imperative (this is the operation) and a system of one or two objects ${ }^{75}$-a direct and an indirect object-in the form of demonstrative or (cor)relative pronouns or of numerals (these are the operands). The operation is often expressed by means of the preposition that introduces the indirect object, without any verb form: "these by 3 " instead of "multiply these by 3 ". The result of each operation is identified as such in a dedicated clause, with the verb in the present indicative (forms of $\gamma$ ívoual "to yield", "to result") ${ }^{76}$, sometimes replaced by an adjective in predicative position (mainly $\lambda 0$ oús "as a remainder" after a subtraction); both syntactic structures are equivalent to our equality sign ${ }^{77}$. An end clause identifies the result of the chain of operations as the quantity to be calculated. This quantity was usually declared in a clause that precedes the entire algorithm. The main feature of an algorithm is the systematic use of parataxis by asyndeton: no coordinants, (almost) no connectors, no subordination. The algorithmic flow is usually one-step: any step (1) accepts a number that is the output of the immediately preceding step as input and (2) inserts new data by means of the second operand. Operations in which neither operand is the output of the immediately preceding step are less frequent. Such operations induce a hiatus in the algorithmic flow; the hiatus is often syntactically marked by the presence of particles or of specific verb forms.

Let us read a part of Hero, Metrica I.8, as an example of an algorithm ${ }^{78}$ :

|  | For instance, let the sides of the triangle be of $7,8,9$ units. |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Compose the 7 and the 8 and the 9: it yields 24 ; |
|  | take half of these: it yields 12; |
|  | remove the 7 units: 5 as a remainder. |
|  | Again, remove the 8 from the 12: 4 as a remainder. |
|  | And further the 9:3 as a remainder. |
|  | Make the 12 by the 5: they yield 60; |
|  | these by the 4: they yield 240 ; |
|  | these by the 3: it yields 720; |
|  | take a side of these, |
| кגì ह̈бт人ı $\tau$ ò $\varepsilon \mu \beta \alpha \delta o ̀ v ~ \tau o v ̃ ~ \tau \rho ı \gamma ต ́ v o v . ~$ | and it will be the area of the triangle. |

${ }^{75}$ Accordingly, the operation is unary or binary, respectively.
${ }^{76}$ The former must be used to translate finite verb forms, the latter for participial forms.
${ }^{77}$ In mathematical papyri, $\gamma i ́ v \varepsilon \tau \alpha l$ can be replaced by a vertical stroke: see, for instance, PMich. III.145, in J. G. WINTER, Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection. Miscellaneous Papyri (Michigan Papyri 3). Ann Arbor 1936, 34-52. This shows that the verb form is equivalent to our equality sign in a strong sense.
78 Acerbi - Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie 174.3-7. This is "Hero's formula" for finding the area of a triangle once its sides are numerically given.

In ancient Greek sources, this code characterizes Hero's Metrica, and it is used exclusively in the geometric metrological corpus. In the Metrica, proofs using the "language of the givens" precede paradigmatic examples of computations in algorithmic form, and are intended to validate them. In all astronomical primers mentioned above, and more generally in all Byzantine texts of this kind, paradigmatic examples presented in algorithmic form are very frequent; they are systematically preceded by procedures; the latter are intended to validate the former. In these texts, algorithms are frequently replaced-or accompanied-by tabular arrangements of the performed operations; the tabular arrangements are nothing but an evolution of the algorithms in a more perspicuous format.

In Meliteniotes' Three Books on Astronomy, for example, each operation is frequently carried out three times: by means of a general procedure (called $\mu \varepsilon ́ \theta o \delta o \varsigma$ ), by means of a procedure featuring actual numerical values ( $\dot{\delta} \boldsymbol{\sigma} \delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \gamma \mu \mu \alpha$ "example"), and finally by means of an algorithm in the sense just explained, often organized as a tabular set-up ( $\varepsilon \kappa \kappa \varepsilon \sigma \iota \varsigma \tau \simeq ̃ v \dot{\alpha} \rho \imath \theta \mu \tilde{\omega} v$ "setting-out of the numbers"). Let us read the second and third avatar of the procedure in Book III.24, read just above ${ }^{79}$ :



[...]


Again, according to the second procedure, making eleven times the cycle of the Moon (namely, 2) and adding 6 to the number that has turned out to result and taking what remains to 50 for the gathered <number> 28, which is 22, we have written this down as days of March on which Passover will occur.
[...]
Second cycle of the Moon; this eleven times: it yields 22; add 6: it yields 28 ; what remains to 50 : it yields 22. And they are the days of March on which there will be Passover.
Both the procedural and the algorithmic code are adopted in Easter Computi, as some examples will show. I use an algorithm in Anonymus 1183 as my paradigmatic example. I have selected this Computus because, as said, it is contained in a manuscript redacted for conservation purposes as part of a multi-purpose notarial vade mecum; we may expect a highly regularized style from it. Let us read sect. 9 , which presents the algorithms for the epacts and the base ${ }^{80}$ of the Moon ${ }^{81}$.





 $\sigma \varepsilon \lambda \eta ́ v \eta s$.

[^12]If you want to find the quantity of the base of the Moon and its epacts for the present year, keep the years from the foundation of the world up to the present one, and multiply them eleven times, that is, undecuple them; then again also add the nineteenth part of the years from the foundation of the world to the <numbers> brought up from the undecuplation, too, and uniting them together remove by 30 , and that which remains down from 30 are the epacts of the Moon; always add the first <day> of the month of January to these, and you will find the quantity of the base of the Moon.

Let us dissect this neatly formulated algorithm:

| conn. | gener. | operation | operands | phase |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | keep * | * the years from the foundation of the world up to the present one | initialization |
| 1 and |  | multiply * eleven times | * them * | algorithm |
| 2 then again |  | add *(i) *(ii) | (i) the nineteenth part of the years from the foundation of the world <br> (ii) to the <numbers> brought up from the undecuplation |  |
| 3 and |  | uniting * together | * them * |  |
|  |  | remove by 30 |  |  |
| and |  | * are * | that which remains down from 30 * the epacts of the Moon | identification of the result |
| 1 | always | add *(i) *(ii) | * (i) the first <day> of the month of January <br> (ii) to these | algorithm |
| and |  | you will find * | * the quantity of the base of the Moon | identification of the result |

The first column numbers the truly operative steps of the algorithm. The second column sets out the "connector", which links two algorithmic steps; one of these steps can be the "initialization" clause or the "identification of the result". In the column "generality" one finds the linguistic units (usually adverbs) that mark operations or operands that are structural parameters of the algorithm. The "operation" column contains the verb forms that express the operations. Note step 3, where two operations are nested as a principal clause + participial satellite. The next-to-last column sets out the "operands", which are always designated by standard definite descriptions; I have conventionally included in this column the subject of the clause that identifies the result. The asterisks mark the position of the operands/operation omitted in the operation/operands column. Steps (1) and (3) of the first algorithm comprise unary operations, steps (2) of the first and (1) of the second algorithm are binary operations, to which two operands are accordingly associated. The last column identifies the "phase" of the entire algorithm. It is clear that two sequentially linked algorithms are at work here. If set against my categorization above, the text we have read is clearly a "procedure", even if I shall consistently use the denomination "algorithm". The procedural character is confirmed by the massive presence of definite descriptions, like "the nineteenth part of the years from the foundation of the world" above, not accompanied by any numerical exemplification.

According to the previous discussion, my symbolic transcription is as follows ${ }^{82}$ :
(1)
(2)
(3)
(1)
$(y) \rightarrow 11 y \rightarrow 11 y+y / 19 \rightarrow(11 y+y / 19) \bmod 30=e_{m} \rightarrow e_{m}+1_{J}=b_{m}$.
where $y$ is the year in the Byzantine world era, $e_{m}$ and $b_{m}$ denote the epacts and the base of the Moon at lunar cycle $m$, respectively, and $1_{J}$ is January 1 . The modulo reduction computes the remainder of the division by 30 of what precedes the "mod" sign ${ }^{83}$.

[^13]As in the above example, the symbolic transcriptions I shall use throughout this article are intended faithfully to represent the computational flow. The initial input is the assumed quantity; it is enclosed in parentheses, thus: (y). A self-contained step of the transcription formalizes a complete "participial clauses + principal clause" sentence of the algorithm (thus, several operations may feature in it). Steps in which the output-input chain is not interrupted are linked by an arrow $\rightarrow$. The operands in a given step are usually written in the same order as that in which they are introduced in the text. The sign | separates independent steps that follow one and the same step (that is, a branching has occurred). A full stop indicates an algorithmic hiatus or the end of an algorithmic branch. Levels of brackets go iteratively from parentheses to braces. The final output is preceded by the sign $=$.

A calculation that is standard in Computi finds the remainder of a reduction by repeatedly removing multiples of the modulus, as in Anonymus 892, sect. 10, where it is shown that $16 \equiv 6400$ $(\bmod 28)$; this is an "algorithm" according to my categorization above:


 тои̃ $\dot{\lambda i ́ o v . ~}$

Remove the same $<6400>$ years by 28, and you will find the cycle of the Sun; twenty times two hundred, 4000; eight times 200, 1600: there remain 800 as a remainder; remove also these as follows. Twenty times 20,400 ; eight times 20,160 : and there remain 240 ; eight times 20,160 ; eight times eight, 64: and there remain 16 as a remainder. And recognize that it is the sixteenth cycle of the Sun.

## A COMPUTISTICAL GLOSSARY

The computistical terms are in boldface when they are defined; they are in italics when they are mentioned. All the terms here defined are discussed in the commentary on the relevant section(s) of Anonymus 892.
 empire for taxation purposes. There are several regional variants of the indiction cycle, and its initial history is complex; ${ }^{84} \mathrm{AD} 312 / 3$ is year 1 of the most current indiction cycle. The Byzantine civil year and the indiction year begin on September 1.

An era is a non-cyclic count of calendar years starting from a year 1, called epoch. The epoch
 world"; henceforth denoted AM) is BC 5509 September ${ }^{85}$, a Saturday; years are Julian years ${ }^{86}$. The epoch of the Alexandrian world era is BC 5493 August 29 (BC 5492 March 25 according to Annianus), a Tuesday; years are Julian years. The Byzantine era is the Alexandrian era shifted 16

[^14]years backwards. The shift was probably motivated by the requirement of synchronizing lunar, solar, and indiction cycles with each other and with the era: year 1 of the Byzantine world era is also year 1 of the lunar, solar, and indiction cycles ${ }^{87}$. This can be done because the beginning of the solar and lunar cycles is conventional ${ }^{88}$, whereas the indiction is rigidly attached to the era of Diocletian-of which the Alexandrian world era is an avatar shifted 5776 years ( $=304$ lunar cycles of 19 years) back $^{89}$.

The tropical year is the time interval between two successive passages of the Sun through the same point of its own yearly circuit. A tropical year comprises 365 days and a fraction of a day that is very nearly approximated by $1 / 4$, that is, 6 hours. Julian-style calendar years take into account the fractional nature of the tropical year by introducing an intercalary day every fourth year and in a fixed place in the year; this year is called leap year ( $\beta$ í $\sigma \varepsilon \xi \tau \sigma v$, $\delta i ́ \sigma \varepsilon \xi \tau 0 v$, $\beta$ í $\sigma \varepsilon \kappa \tau \circ v)^{90}$. In this way, the tropical year is transformed into a calendrical entity, the Julian year, which comprises a number of days that is either 365 or 366 . The Byzantine calendar years are Julian-style years; they employ Roman months endowed with a forward day-count from the first day of the month as the sole monthly epoch; the year begins on September 1; the additional day of a leap year is intercalated every fourth year as February $29^{91}$.

Solar cycles of equal length exhibit the same sequence of pairings between dates and weekdays. As in Julian years an intercalary day is added every fourth year, the number of weekdays, 7, and 4 are prime to each other, and neither 365 nor 366 are multiples of 7 , the shortest solar cycle consists of $7 \times 4=28$ Julian years. Byzantine solar cycle years begin on October 1 .

The natural time interval associated with the motions of the Moon and of the Sun as seen from the Earth is the synodic month, which corresponds to the return of the Moon to the same position with respect to the Sun. The new Moon is traditionally taken as the boundary between two consecutive lunar months. A synodic month comprises 29 days and a fraction of a day that is very close to $1 / 22$. Hence, a synodic month of about $29 \frac{1}{2}$ days covers an interval of 30 days. The age of the Moon is the number of days elapsed since the immediately preceding new Moon; these days are traditionally denoted by the word luna followed by an ordinal number: the $14^{\text {th }}$ day of a lunar

[^15]month is luna XIV. A schematic lunar month is the approximation of the synodic month to $291 / 2$ days, counted from one new Moon to the next and embedded in a calendar year. Such an embedding is usually put into effect by alternating lunar months of 30 or 29 days ${ }^{93}$. A lunar cycle is any period after which the sequence of pairings between calendar dates and ages of the Moon repeats itself. The 19-year lunar cycle comprises 19 calendar years of 365 days, which equal 6935 days; these are organized as a sequence of 228 alternating lunar months of 30 and 29 days (= 6726 days) plus 7 embolismic ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \mu \beta \dot{\partial} \lambda \mu \mu \circ$ ) months of 30 days each ( $=210$ days) occurring in specific years ${ }^{94}$ and resulting from the fact that 12 lunar months of $291 / 2$ days (a lunar year) correspond to only 354 days. The 11 days needed to complete a calendar year of 365 days accumulate (the quantity accumulated at each lunar cycle year is called epacts [ह̇ $\pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha i]$ of the Moon) ${ }^{95}$ until they exceed 30 days; when this happens, an embolismic lunar month of 30 days is formed, and these days are subtracted from the cumulating epacts. In this case, a calendar year comprises 13 lunations, and the lunar year has 13 months. A 19-year lunar cycle therefore comprises $228+7=235$ lunar months of 30 or 29 days ${ }^{96}$. These 235 lunar months equal 6936 days: the discrepancy of 1 day between the 6935 days counted by 365 -day calendar years and the 6936 days counted by lunar months is eliminated by increasing the age of the Moon by one day at some point of its cycle, an operation that is equivalent to deleting one lunar day: this is the saltus lunae, the "leap of the Moon". Accordingly, the lunar cycle year that follows the year in which the saltus lunae is inserted carries 12 epacts and not $11^{97}$. In Byzantine Computi, the saltus lunae is normally inserted towards the end of the $16^{\text {th }}$ lunar cycle year. ${ }^{98}$

[^16]Leap years make no difference to the lunar cycle, whose sequence of months is supposed to fit to a leap year exactly as it fits to a non-leap year: this means that the date of the beginning of each lunar month is the same in leap years and in non-leap years ${ }^{99}$. The lunar months in which the intercalary day falls do have an additional day, but sometimes this is assigned an age of the Moon, sometimes it is not, sometimes it is assigned the same age as the previous day ${ }^{100}$. In Byzantine Computi, disregarding leap years amounts to assuming that February has always 28 days in lunar cycle computations. The adaptation of the 19-year cycle to Julian years of 365 or 366 days is possible thanks to the fact that the duration of a synodic month is greater than $29 \frac{1}{2}$ days by a quantity that almost exactly offsets, after 19 years, the $19 \times(1 / 4)=4 \frac{3}{4}$ mean additional days coming from the leap years. Accordingly, the sequence of lunar months is, by stipulation, extended to Julian years by assuming that it goes unchanged in leap years: and such an extension works remarkably well.

A lunar cycle year is a calendar year whose beginning can be shifted with respect to the beginning of the civil (calendar) year. A 19-year lunar cycle consists thus of 19 calendar years, 19 lunar cycle years, and 19 lunar years (the latter of variable length, since they can be either 12-lunarmonth or 13-lunar-month sequences); these three 19-"year" periods overlap, but they differ from one another because different meanings of "year" are involved. Byzantine lunar cycle years begin on January 1.

Passover ( $\tau$ ò voцккòv Фáбкк / Па́б $\sigma \alpha$ ) is defined as the $14^{\text {th }}$ day of a schematic lunar month and must occur on or straight after the Spring equinox, whose date was fixed to March 21 (this is the rule of the equinox).

Combining the lunar and the solar cycles, we obtain a Period ( $\pi \varepsilon \rho$ ío $\delta$ os or $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \alpha \varsigma \kappa$ ќк $\lambda о \varsigma$ ) of $532(=19 \times 28)$ years, at the end of which the same sequence of Easter dates recurs ${ }^{101}$.
end AD 2020 (which, qua incipient quantity, would be tabulated in front of AD 2021 ), and then counting the days contained in the months as far as July, and then counting 10 days. For this reason Ptolemy tabulated incipient quantities of their time-arguments in the Handy Tables, whereas the opposite is the case, with the notable exception of the mean syzygies, for the tables of the Almagest. Roughly speaking, using incipient quantities subsumes the epoch values in the tabulated values.
${ }^{98}$ See again the list in Grumel, La Chronologie 54-55, and my discussion in the commentaries on sects. 12 and 14.
${ }^{99}$ In the 19-year lunar cycle, no assigned lunar cycle year is a leap year or a non-leap year per se: leap years may occur in any year of a 19-year lunar cycle. The reason is simply that 19 is not a multiple of 4.
100 See Holford-Strevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars passim. The "sometimes" also depends on the lunar cycle adopted.
101 There are at least two Greek manuscripts that set out an entire Period in tabular format. They are Hamburg, SUB, in scrin. 50a (end of $10^{\text {th }}$ century; Southern Italy; a part of Laur. Conv. Soppr. 177 [Diktyon 15877]; Diktyon 32373; see M. Molin Pradel, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg [Serta Graeca 14]. Wiesbaden 2002, 32-37) ff. 2r-11r, and London, BL, Add. 18231 (971/2; Diktyon 38944; Southern Italy; see A. Cataldi Palau, Manoscritti greci originari dell'Italia meridionale nel fondo 'Additional' della 'British Library' a Londra, in: A. Cataldi Palau, Studies in Greek Manuscripts [Testi, Studi, Strumenti 24]. Spoleto 2008, 345-410: 386-390) ff. 5r$11 v$ (these are Codex A and Codex C of Gregory of Nazianzus, respectively). In both of them, the period is AM 63856916 [ $=$ AD 877-1408]. The table is conceived like the one in Grumel, La Chronologie 266-277: the 532 Cycle years are listed sequentially; the lunar and solar cycle counts run independently on separate columns. A lengthy explanation of the properties of the 532 -year cycle is found in the computistical section of the Florilegium Coislinianum, letter $\Pi$, $\mathrm{n}^{\circ} 164$; a more concise exposition is found in Nicholas 916, sect. 1, and in Anonymus 1172, sect. 1, a Computus first witnessed in Vat. gr. $432\left(14^{\text {th }}\right.$ century; Diktyon 67063$)$ ff. $139 \mathrm{v}-146 \mathrm{r}$, a copy of which is Vat. gr. $509\left(14^{\text {th }}\right.$ century; Diktyon 67140$) \mathrm{ff}$. $312 \mathrm{v}-316 \mathrm{v}$. See also the lists of 532-year cycles in Grumel, La Chronologie 137-139. Borst, Schriften 1106-1108 provides a list of 33 manuscripts containing 532-year Dionysiac Easter tables. The Damascene Easter table, which reduces the 532-year table to a manageable size without loss of information, is based on the observation that there are seven partially cyclical structures within a solar cycle of 28 years. In the Damascene table, the 28 solar cycle years in a cycle are subdivided into 7 groups of 4 ; to each group there corresponds a single Easter date for each lunar cycle year (the elements of each group are the "Evangelists" of the Ethiopic Computus: NeUGEBAUER, Ethiopic Astronomy 127-128). A mathematical analysis I shall present elsewhere shows that this structure formalizes the well-known 95-year imperfect subcycle of the 532-year table. Since the Passover dates are in any case the same after 95 years (for $95=19 \times 5$ ), the same Easter dates recur at the end of a 95 -year period if and only if the intervening intercalary days are 24 and not 23 , for $95+24=119 \equiv 0$ (mod 7). In the Julian calendar, the unfavourable case occurs if and only if the first year of the 95 -year period is a leap

Easter ( $\tau$ ò X $\rho ı \sigma \tau \iota \alpha v \tilde{v} v$ П $\alpha \sigma \chi \alpha$ ) is the first Sunday after Passover. If Passover falls on Sunday, Easter is celebrated on the Sunday next thereafter.

Meat-Fare (А $А$ о́к $\rho \varepsilon \omega \varsigma)$ is the third Sunday of preparation to Lent in the Byzantine liturgical calendar; it falls 8 weeks $=56$ days before Easter.

The terms of a festival are the extremes of the interval in which it may occur. The terms for Easter are $22_{M} \leq r \leq 25_{A}$. The terms for Passover are $21_{M} \leq p \leq 18_{A}$. The former terms are an immediate consequence of the latter: Easter cannot coincide with Passover, whence the lower bound March 22; Easter is the first Sunday after Passover, whence the upper bound April 25. The Passover terms result from the facts that the lower bound is the Spring equinox (March 21) and that Passover is allowed to fall within 1 lunar month from that date.

## THE COMPUTUS IN PAR. SUPPL. GR. 920: ANONYMUS 892

The tenth-century parchment manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 920 is made of 22 folios, written on 19 lines each; its dimensions are $\mathrm{mm} 150 \times 110$, its quire structure is $1^{1}, 2^{8}, 1^{6-1}$. As for its contents ${ }^{102}$, f. 1r is opened by a very short sequence from Herodianus' Пع ${ }^{\text {i }}$
 $\kappa \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v$ єủtuхía $\chi \rho \tilde{\omega}$, and by two lists of the alphabet letters accompanied by numbers. The lists carry the titles "How must one divide the 24 letters in three isopsephic parts?" and "How must one correctly pronounce the 24 letters for <completing> the number of a myriad?" ${ }^{104}$. The Computus I call Anonymus 892 is contained in ff. 1r-16r, the final segment of the manuscript, ff. 16r-22v, contains pieces of astronomical, geographical, and magical lore ${ }^{105}$. No graphic break demarcates these texts from the Computus. A Sicilian chronicle is copied in the margins of ff. 1v-3r, the period ranges from 827 to $982^{106}$.

The final part of the manuscript is severely damaged and incomplete: a folio has been cut off after f. 20 (some letters can still be read in the stub); the last folio has a big hole in the middle; the last text is truncated in the middle of a sentence. If something is obviously missing at the end, it is not said, despite the presence of the subscription after the extract from Herodianus, that something is missing at the beginning. The first folio looks in fact like a guard-leaf for the three quires that follow; their early codicological continuity is warranted by the presence of the Sicilian chronicle. It is possible that our manuscript has never been a codex; it may well be a part of a multi-quire scrapbook of some moderately literate monk in Southern Italy ${ }^{107}$. The contents of the surviving three quires, which gradually shift from computistical themes to magic (but see sect. $\mathbf{2 3}$ of Anonymus 892) passing through basic astronomy, meteorology, and astrology, corroborate this hypothesis.

The copyist of Par. suppl. gr. 920 must have been moderately literate because misspellings are



[^17]
 $\pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \lambda \theta o ́ \tau \omega v$ for $\pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \lambda \theta$ óv $\tau \omega v$ (12), $\pi \lambda \eta \rho o ́ \sigma \varepsilon ı \varsigma$ for $\pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega ́ \sigma \varepsilon ı \varsigma ~(12), ~ \psi \eta ́ \varphi \eta \sigma o v ~ f o r ~ \psi \eta ́ \varphi ı \sigma o v ~(124), ~ \tilde{\omega} v$ for oũ̃v (23).
 non-indicative moods of the aorist tense in which the augment is retained (passim); غंveucivaбov, an
 äpðov (12) and $\ddot{\alpha} \rho \xi \varepsilon$ (12). Temporal determinations are formulated in the genitive or with $\varepsilon i \varsigma+a c c u s a t i v e$. Note also the construction, widespread in all Computi I know of, $\dot{\alpha} \pi o ́+$ accusative $(17,26)$.

The copying mistakes and the misspelling in Anonymus 892 show that the scribe of Par. suppl. gr. 920 has slavishly copied a source. The material and methodological mistakes and the inconsistencies in Anonymus 892 show that this source was a compilation; it is less likely that the compilation originates with Par. suppl. gr. 920. One of the inconsistencies in Anonymus 892 is that AM 6396 is assumed as the current year in sect. 7, whereas all other sections carry out the computations for AM 6400. On account of the presence of the gematric computations on f . $1 \mathrm{r}-\mathrm{v}$, it is possible that the choice of an end-of-century year as the current year was dictated by arithmological considerations.

## A THEMATIC WORD INDEX TO ANONYMUS 892

The first and the last two sections of this index are organized discursively: the English terms are between quotation marks; they are followed by the Greek term they translate; each Greek term is followed by the numbers of the sections of Anonymus 892 in which it occurs. The other sections of this index are a list of words; each Greek word is followed by its translation and by the numbers of the sections of Anonymus 892 in which it occurs.

## Chronological lexicon

А "cycle" (ки́клоц: 1-2, 4-5, 7-8, 10-12, 14-15, 18-20, 22, 26-27) "begins" (ä $\chi \varepsilon \tau \alpha 1: ~ 1), ~ " r e a c h-~$


 $\mathbf{1 , 4 - 7 , 9 , 1 1 , 2 7}$ ) the first item in a sequence "up to" ( $๕ \omega \varsigma: 2,8-9,11-12,14-19,22,25-26 ; \mu \varepsilon ́ \chi \rho ı:$ 4) the last item ${ }^{109}$. A numerical interval is identified by "within" ( $\varepsilon \sigma \omega \theta \varepsilon v$ : 12), its complement by
 and "end" ( $\tau \dot{\lambda} \lambda \mathrm{o}$, lying "below" [ко́ $\tau \omega \theta \varepsilon v]$ : 22). Past time segments are "past" ( $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \tau \rho \varepsilon ́ \chi o v \tau \alpha: ~ 7)$ or "bygone" ( $\pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \lambda \theta$ óv $\tau \alpha: 12$ ); the current month is "ongoing" ( $\kappa \alpha \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \chi \omega v: 12$ ); the current "year"
 (ǐvסıктo̧: 9; elsewhere 1, 6-7, 27), or cycle (11) is "present" ( $\dot{\varepsilon} v \varepsilon \sigma \tau \omega \varsigma)$ ); a year next in a sequence is "next" ( $\mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda \lambda \lambda \omega v: 24$ ). The first "day" ( $\eta \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha: ~ 1, ~ 3, ~ 8, ~ 12-20, ~ 23-24) ~ o f ~ a ~ " m o n t h " ~(~ \mu \eta ́ v: ~ 1, ~ 8, ~ 12-~$ 13, 17-20, 22, 24, 26) is its "starting-day" ( $\alpha \rho \chi \mu \eta v^{\prime} \alpha: 24$ ), that is, where a month "begins"

 17-20, 23-24; "holy" [ $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta$ ]: 12); a day is made of "hours" ( $\tilde{\omega} \rho \alpha=1, \mathbf{3}, \mathbf{8}, \mathbf{2 5}$ ), which are made of "minutes" ( $\lambda \varepsilon \pi \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha}: \mathbf{1 , 8}$ ). The determination of the date of a festival is stressed by "there" ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \varepsilon \tilde{i}:$



[^18] by means of ordinals but also by means of $-\tau \alpha i 0 \varsigma$ adjectives (25); the "lunar month" is also called $\varphi \varepsilon ́ \gamma \gamma \circ \varsigma(\mathbf{8}, \mathbf{2 3})$. The Moon "shines" ( $\lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha} \mu \varepsilon \varepsilon$ : 25) so many hours in a night. The Moon "is in advance with respect to" ( $\pi \rho \circ \lambda \alpha \mu \beta \dot{\alpha} v \varepsilon \varepsilon: 19)$ the solar year; this advance is accumulated in the
 ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \mu \beta$ ó $\lambda \mu о \varsigma: 19$ ) year or month. The "Sun" ( $\mathfrak{\eta} \lambda$ ıos: 1-2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 18-20, 27) completes a year in 365 or 366 days; the latter occurs in a "leap-year" (ßíб\&ктov: 3, 12, 17, 21, 24; this year includes a "bissextile <day>" [ $\beta$ íбєктоv]: 3, 24; such a day may "be impeding" [غ̇ $\pi \iota \varphi \varepsilon ́ \rho \varepsilon \iota v]: ~ 24) ; ~ a t ~ e a c h ~ s o l a r ~$ cycle year, the excess in days over a whole number of weeks is accumulated in the "epacts" of the Sun ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha i ́: ~ 2, ~ 20) . ~ A ~ g e n e r a l ~ m e a n i n g ~ o f ~ غ ̇ \pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha i ́ ~ a s ~ a n y t h i n g ~ " b r o u g h t ~ i n " ~ i s ~ a l s o ~ a d o p t e d ~(8, ~$ 12).

## Specific mathematical lexicon ${ }^{110}$





 $\chi \varepsilon i ̃ \alpha \varsigma ~ \sigma o v ~ / ~ غ ̇ л i ̀ ~ \chi \varepsilon ı \rho \tilde{\omega v ~ / ~ \delta \alpha к \tau ט ́ \lambda \omega v ~ \sigma o v: ~ k e e p ~ i n ~ y o u r ~ h a n d s ~ / ~ i n ~ y o u r ~ f i n g e r s ~}(\mathbf{8}, \mathbf{1 4}, \mathbf{1 8})^{111}$.
 $\dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \rho \tau \imath \sigma \mu$ ós: completion (19); $\dot{\alpha} \rho \imath \theta \mu \varepsilon ́ \omega$ : to count (15) and $\dot{\alpha} \rho ı \theta \mu$ ós: number (4, 7, 14-15, 20, 25-
 $\pi \lambda \varepsilon o v \alpha ́ \zeta \omega:$ to exceed (20); $\pi \lambda \eta \rho o ́ \omega:$ to fill (12); $\varphi \theta \alpha \dot{v} \omega$ : to attain (12); $\psi \eta \varphi i \zeta \omega$ : to calculate (12, 17,
 can be indicated by $\pi$ oté $\omega$ : to make (15-17).

Identification of the result of an operation as a chronological item. $\gamma เ \downarrow \omega ́ \sigma \kappa \omega$ : to know (12, 14,
 to consider (24-25); $\sigma \eta \mu \alpha$ iva: to signify (25).

 much (2, 4, 8, 12).

Numerical sets. $\dot{\varepsilon} \beta \delta o \mu \alpha ́ s: ~ w e e k ~(t h a t ~ i s, ~ h e p t a d) ~(1, ~ 12-13, ~ 17-20, ~ 23-24) ; ~ \dot{v} v \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha ́ \varsigma: ~ h e n d e c a d ~$ (19); $\mu \nu \rho ı \alpha ́ \varsigma: ~ m y r i a d ~(1) ; ~ \tau \varepsilon \tau \rho \alpha ́ \varsigma: ~ t e t r a d ~(2) ; ~ \tau р ı \alpha к о \nu \tau \alpha ́ \varsigma: ~ t h i r t y ~(12) ; ~ \chi ı \lambda ı \alpha ́ \varsigma: ~ t h o u s a n d ~(7, ~ 27) . ~$.

## Operations

Addition. $\dot{\alpha} v \alpha \beta \alpha i v \omega: ~ t o ~ m o u n t ~(2, ~ 8, ~ 17) ; ~ \beta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega$ : to put ( $\mathbf{8}, \mathbf{1 2}-\mathbf{1 3}$ ); $\dot{\varepsilon} v o ́ \omega$ ö öovs: to unite all of them
 result is indicated by $\gamma$ ivoual: to yield (1, 3, 12, 26); $\sigma \dot{v} \boldsymbol{\alpha} \xi!\varsigma$ : gathering (19). The operation is
 not "admit of it" $[\pi \rho \circ \sigma \delta \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \chi \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha 1]$ ).
 mainder" ( $\lambda$ oimós 16; "remaining" 26-27) is mainly indicated by predicative $\lambda$ oıóv: as a remainder


[^19]$\pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \varepsilon v ์ \omega:$ to remain over $(\mathbf{1 9 - 2 0}, \mathbf{2 5})$ ，and the related noun $\pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \varepsilon i \alpha$ ：remainder（19）．The opera－ tion is called $\dot{v} \varphi \varepsilon \imath \lambda \mu$ ós：removal（26－27）．

Multiplication．It is formulated by means of an－$\alpha \kappa 1 \varsigma$ adverb（3，8－12，14，20－21，25）；this is systematically written，for instance，غ́ $\pi \tau \alpha ́ l$ or $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \tau \alpha \dot{\eta}$ or $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \tau \alpha \dot{\varepsilon} \varepsilon$ for $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \kappa 1 \varsigma$＂seven times＂，a spelling common to many Computi and that I have normalized．

Taking multiples．Imperatives $\delta i ́ \pi \lambda \omega \sigma o v: ~ d o u b l e ~(1, ~ 3) ; ~ \dot{\varepsilon} v \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha \pi \lambda \alpha \sigma i ́ \alpha \zeta \varepsilon$（14）and $\dot{\varepsilon} v \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha \pi \lambda \alpha \sigma \dot{i} \alpha \sigma o v(\mathbf{1 2 , 2 0})$ ：undecuple；$\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \dot{\alpha} \pi \lambda \omega \sigma o v:$ sextuple（8）；$\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha ́ \pi \lambda o v$ ：quintuple（25）．Sub－ junctives $\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \lambda o ́ v v \eta \varsigma:$ sextuple（8）；$\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda o ́ v v \eta \varsigma:$ quintuple（8）．Participles $\dot{\varepsilon} v \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha \pi \lambda \alpha \sigma 1 \alpha \sigma \alpha \varsigma:$ undecupling（12）and $\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \lambda \dot{\rho} \mu \varepsilon v o v:$ sextupled（8）．

Division．$\alpha$ 人̀a $\lambda$ v́ $\omega$ عíc：to resolve out into（21，25）．
 cated by（ $\mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega) \kappa \alpha ́ \tau \omega \theta \varepsilon v$ ：to remain down from（4－8，12－14，16），but the adverb may be absent．

## Connectors and particles

Explanations of specific steps are introduced by＂for＂（ $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho: \mathbf{1 4}, \mathbf{1 9 - 2 0}, \mathbf{2 3}$ ），in some cases they are
 ＂namely＂（ $\eta$ そovv：7，19－20）or＂viz．＂（ $\eta$ tor：20）．A refreshed algorithm is introduced by＂again＂ （ $\pi \dot{\alpha} \lambda_{\mathrm{Iv}} \mathbf{8}$ 8，11－12，18，20，26），a branching by＂with the＜following＞exceptions＂（ $\pi \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} v: 14$ ）．Opera－ tions that necessarily precede other steps may be introduced by＂as soon as＂（ $̇ \pi \alpha ́ v: 12,17)$ ．There is just one occurrence of＂then＂（oṽv：23）；the only occurrence of $\gamma \varepsilon(\mathbf{1 2})$ is rendered by italicizing the lexical item the particle has scope over．Negation can be in the form oủxi（26）．

## Metadiscourse

Universality of numerical parameters is conveyed by the adverb＂always＂（ $\pi \dot{\alpha} v \tau \boldsymbol{\tau} \boldsymbol{\tau}$ ：12－15，18， 26），genericity by the determiner＂whatever＂（oio $\delta \delta \eta \pi \frac{\tau}{}$ oũv／oio $\sigma \delta \dot{\eta} \pi \mathrm{o} \tau \varepsilon$ ：12，14，24）．Iteration is formulated by＂continuously＂or＂so on＂（ $\kappa \alpha \theta \varepsilon \xi \tilde{\eta} \varsigma: ~ 14, ~ 20, ~ 24-25 ~ o r ~ 12, ~ 14, ~ 18) . ~ A ~ s h o r t e n e d ~ a l g o-~$

 are introduced by＂for instance＂（oĩov：19，20，26）．Metamathematical markers include the modal operators＂one must＂（ $\delta \varepsilon i: \mathbf{1} \mathbf{1 , 2} \mathbf{2 7}$ ）and＂one has to＂（ $\chi \rho \dot{\eta}: \mathbf{2 7}$ ），the volition verbs＂to want＂（ $\theta \dot{\varepsilon} \lambda \omega$ ： 7－9，12－13，20，24，26）and＂to hesitate＂（òкvと́ $\omega:$ 7），the modal verb＂can＂（ $\delta \mathbf{v} v \alpha \mu \alpha: 12$ ）．The verb
 12）and＂do＂（ $\pi$ oíc： 24 ／$\pi$ оínoov：18）initialize a computation．The adverb＂as follows＂／＂in this way＂（ov̋ $\omega \varsigma$ ：2，9－11，14，18， $24 / 3,12,19-20,24-25$ ）introduces an algorithm or refers to an algorithm just carried out．The adverb＂how＂（ $\pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma: \mathbf{2 - 3}, \mathbf{2 1}, \mathbf{2 7}$ ）presents an algorithm；the adverb ＂otherwise＂（ $\ddot{\lambda} \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma$ ：7）presents an alternative algorithm；the adjective＂further＂（ $\check{\varepsilon} \varepsilon \rho \circ \varsigma$ ：5－6，10－ $\mathbf{1 3}, \mathbf{1 5}-\mathbf{1 7}, \mathbf{2 0}, \mathbf{2 5}$ ）introduces a new section．The adverbs＂similarly＂（ó $\mu$ oí $\omega \varsigma$ ：8，12，14，18，24） and＂likewise＂（ $\dot{\sigma} \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \omega \varsigma: 18$ ），and the syntagm＂in the same way＂（ $\tau \tilde{\varphi} \alpha v\rangle \tau \tilde{\varphi} \tau \rho o ́ \pi \varphi: ~ 26$ ）replace an algorithm that is identical to an algorithm previously carried out．The expressions＂exactly as we said／taught above＂（ $[\kappa \alpha \theta] \omega े \varsigma \pi \rho о \varepsilon i ́ \pi \alpha \mu \varepsilon v / \pi \rho o \varepsilon \delta \delta \delta \alpha ́ \xi \alpha \mu \varepsilon v: 8,12)$ refer to algorithms previously carried out．A hiatus of an algorithm is indicated by＂that＇s fine＂（ $\varepsilon \tilde{u}$ к $\alpha \grave{~} \kappa \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma: 12$ ）；a restated rule is introduced by＂the other way around＂（ $\alpha \vee \alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha \lambda_{1 v}$ ：12）．Note the two occurrences of the bewilder－
 an unexpected branching in an algorithm．

## PRELIMINARIES TO THE EDITION

The text of Anonymus 892 is divided into sections according to the titles in the manuscript．The subject－matters of the sections are as follows．Section 1：subdivision of the year；2：epacts of the

Sun; 3: leap years; 4-7 and 9-11, 27 (examples): conversion from a world era year to a year within an assigned cycle; 8: age of the Moon; 12: date and weekday of Passover, dates of Easter and of Meat-Fare Sunday; 13: weekday of an assigned date; 14-17: alternative algorithms for the date of Passover; 18: list of Passover dates in a lunar cycle; 19: embolismic years; 20: epacts of the Sun, names of the weekdays, and periods of the seven planets; 21: leap years; 22: terms for Passover; 23: lucubrations about the phases of the Moon; 24: weekday of the first day of any month; 25: illumination of the waxing and waning Moon; 26: how to compute the Passover dates in sequence. Each section presents the Greek text, its translation, and a commented paraphrase that is printed in reduced font size and is preceded by a title summarizing the contents of the section.

Edition. I have retained the original accents of proclitics and enclitics; otherwise, the accents are normalized to the conventions presently in use. After much hesitation, I have decided not to keep the original punctuation, for the following reasons. Most of the time, Anonymus 892 exhibits a beautiful "algorithmic" punctuation, made of comma and of a point located in a position that, however, covers the entire range between upper and lower. Because of this ambiguity, because the punctuation is not applied consistently in Anonymus 892-which almost uniquely comprises algorithmic texts - and because uniformity of punctuation is required if our aim is to study Computi as a corpus, I have punctuated the text anew, following the "algorithmic" rules I use in editing Greek and Byzantine mathematical texts ${ }^{112}$. In particular, such rules prescribe that consecutive steps of an algorithm are separated by an upper point; that an algorithmic hiatus is marked by a full stop; that commas separate the principal clauses of a procedure and the result of a multiplication from the two factors.

Lexical and morphological peculiarities of Anonymus 892 are kept unchanged: this Computus attests for a use of vernacular Greek that should not be erased. I have corrected the misspellings, but they are all recorded in the critical apparatus. Numeral letters standing for integers are not marked by an apex; ordinals that in the text are given as numeral letters are written with a raised ending; dates are always treated as counting numbers; I have normalized mixed numerals such as $\dot{\varepsilon} v v \alpha \kappa \alpha u \tau о v=\dot{\varepsilon} v \nu \varepsilon \alpha \kappa \alpha \iota \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha ́ \tau о v$ or $\pi \varepsilon v \tau \iota \kappa о \nu \tau \alpha \delta=\pi \varepsilon v \tau \eta \kappa о \nu \tau \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \sigma \sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \varsigma$. I have maintained adverbial expressions written in one single word as they appear, like $\kappa \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \tau \circ \varsigma=\kappa \alpha \tau$ ' $\varepsilon$ ̌̌ $\tau o \varsigma$ or $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha v o v ̃ v=$ к $\alpha 亢 \alpha ̀$ voũv.

Translation. Different Greek terms are normally translated with different English terms; the translations adopted for the main terms are listed in the thematic word index given in the previous section. As a rule, I do not translate $\delta \dot{\varepsilon} ;$ otherwise, it is rendered by "and"; all other lexical items are translated. Within algorithms, aorist indicative is translated as a present. Words supplied in translation are put within angular brackets <...>; the reference of some pronouns is made explicit between square brackets [...]. The translation of the algorithms is punctuated as follows: a colon precedes the statement of a result; a semicolon separates steps in which the output-input chain is not interrupted; a full stop indicates an algorithmic hiatus and precedes the final winding-up, where the outcome of the algorithm is identified as a specific chronological item.

Commented paraphrase. In my commented paraphrase, I provide a symbolic transcription of the algorithms set out in the text ${ }^{113}$. This kind of transcription is more faithful both to the syntactical

[^20]structure and to the "mathematical content" of the original algorithm than an algebraic formula summarizing the entire algorithm in one single equality can be. Nevertheless, such a formula can be found at the end of the algorithm (read the algorithm from right to left). Any symbolic transcription occupies no more than a handful of lines; it is followed by a commented paraphrase that combines rephrased sentences of Anonymus 892 and explanations of mine. The latter are sometimes intended to clarify the stepwise progression of the algorithm. These two components are easily disentangled with the help of the translation. In principle, the commented paraphrase is selfcontained; readers who dislike the symbolic transcriptions may simply skip them ${ }^{114}$.

## EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF ANONYMUS 892, WITH A COMMENTARY

## 1



 $\pi \alpha ́ \lambda ı v ~ \varepsilon i ́ s ~ \alpha ~ v ̇ \pi о б \tau \rho \varepsilon ́ \varphi \varepsilon ı . ~$


 $, \eta \psi \xi-\lambda \varepsilon \pi \tau \dot{\alpha} \beta \mu \nu \rho \dot{\alpha} \delta \alpha \varsigma, \alpha \geqslant$.

One must know that the cycle of the Sun begins on October 1, and reaches to <cycle> 28, and reverts back again to the first <cycle>

The cycle of the Moon begins on January 1, and reaches to 19, and reverts back again to 1 .
The indiction begins on the $1^{\text {st }}$ of the month of September, and reaches to 15 , and reverts back again to 1 .

The year has 52 weeks, $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days, 4380 hours - double these, and they yield 8760 hours - 2 myriads and 1900 minutes.

Features of the solar, lunar, and indiction cycles; subdivision of the year. The solar cycle begins on October 1 and lasts 28 years. The lunar cycle begins on January 1 and lasts 19 years. The indiction cycle begins on September 1 and lasts 15 years. The subdivision of the year is: 1 year ( $\chi$ póvo¢) $=52$ weeks $=365 \frac{1}{4}$ days $=4380$ [double]hours $=8760$ hours $=21900$ minutes. The third equality stated in the text is valid only for a year of 365 days; otherwise, one gets $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days $=4383$ [double-]hours $=8766$ hours $=21915$ minutes (see sect. 3). I have introduced the qualifier "double" to distinguish between the two "hours" mentioned in the text; in principle, there is no connection with the "double hours" of the astronomical tradition ${ }^{115}$, nor is there any connection with the algorithms that give the additional day of a leap year 12 hours (see sect. 3). The above subdivision can be summarized as follows ${ }^{116}$ :

[^21]| year | day | [double-]hour | hour | minute |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1 | $365 \frac{1}{4}$ | 4380 | 8760 | 21900 |
|  | 1 | 12 | 24 | 60 |
|  |  | 1 | 2 | 5 |
|  |  |  | 1 | $21 / 2$ |

Other subdivisions of the year are adopted in Byzanine Computi. A standard subdivision is as follows ${ }^{117}$ :

| year | day | hour | minute | point | momentum |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1 | $365 \frac{1}{4}$ | 8766 | 43830 | 175320 | 2103840 |
|  | 1 | 24 | 120 | 480 | 5760 |
|  |  | 1 | 5 | 20 | 240 |
|  |  |  | 1 | 4 | 48 |
|  |  |  |  | 1 | 12 |

whereas Anonymus 1256, sect. 16, sets out the following subdivision:

| year | day | hour | point | momentum |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1 | 365 | 8760 | 26280 | 105120 |
|  | 1 | 24 | 72 | 288 |
|  |  | 1 | 3 | 12 |
|  |  |  | 1 | 4 |

The subdivision of the hour adopted by Anonymus 1092A, sect. 2, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 5.20-26, is as follows:

| [double-]hour | point | minute | degree | momentum | indication | atom |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1 | 5 | 10 | 150 | 1200 | 14400 | 864000 |
|  | 1 | 2 | 30 | 240 | 2880 | 172800 |
|  |  | 1 | 15 | 120 | 1440 | 86400 |
|  |  |  | 1 | 8 | 96 | 5760 |
|  |  |  |  | 1 | 12 | 720 |
|  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 60 |

The "minutes" of Anonymus 892, and, more generally, of the Computistical tradition, do not coincide with our $1 / 60$-hour minutes. Two conventions were used, neatly differentiated by the context. The equivalence 1 hour $=5$ minutes $\rightarrow 12$ hours $=60$ minutes, is usually found in the algorithms that compute the duration of visibility of the waxing and waning Moon (see sect. 25) ${ }^{118}$. The equivalence 2 hours $=5$ minutes $\rightarrow 1$ day $=60$ minutes, was used in other contexts, which in general are related to the age of the Moon ${ }^{119}$.

[^22]

 $\varepsilon i \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \alpha ~ \alpha ̉ v \alpha \sigma \tau \rho \varepsilon ́ \varphi o v \sigma ı v . ~$
${ }^{\mathrm{a}} \gamma \nu \tilde{\omega} \theta \mathrm{l}-\dot{\eta} \lambda$ íou corruptum cf. versionem et comm.

## How one must find the epacts of the Sun

The epacts of the Sun can be found as follows. Keep the cycle of the Sun, and know how many tetrads you have, <and mount them, and remove by 7, and how many remain down from 7,> so many epacts of the Sun there are. The epacts mount up to seven, and revert back again to 1 .

A computation for finding the epacts of the Sun ${ }^{120}$. The reconstructed algorithm is ${ }^{121}$ : $(s) \rightarrow s+\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket \rightarrow(s+\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket) \bmod 7=e_{s}$.

See also sects. 12 and 20. This algorithm computes the cumulative excess of the days, counted from the beginning of a solar cycle, of an assigned solar cycle year over a whole number of weeks. To explain the above algorithm, it should be kept in mind that a year of 365 days exceeds a whole number of weeks by 1 day (summand $s$ in the algorithm; it also includes 365 of the 366 days of a leap year), a leap year exceeds it by 2 (further summand $\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket$; these are the "tetrads", that is, the number of leap years since the beginning of the cycle) ${ }^{122}$. Reducing the sum modulo 7 eliminates whole weeks. For example, one computes that $s=1 \rightarrow e_{s}=1$. As expressly stated in the text, the convention is that $7 \bmod 7=7$. The transmitted algorithm is corrupt, since the solar cycle year and the tetrads must be added in order to find the epacts of the Sun.

## 




${ }^{\text {a }}$ corruptum cf. versionem et comm. ${ }^{\text {b }} \tau \varepsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \varepsilon ı \varsigma$

## How a bissextile <day> comes to be

The year has $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days, $<4380$ hours; $>$ double these: and they yield $<8>760$ hours ${ }^{123} ;<$ remove these by 7 ; seven times 1000, 7000: there remain $1760 ;>$ seven times two hundred, 1400 : there remain three hundred 60 ; seven times 50,350 : there remain 10 ; seven times one, 7 : and there

[^23]remain 3 hours per year, and they yield twelve hours in four years, and in this way the bissextile $<$ day $>$ comes to be.

The origin of leap years. The text is incomplete and the calculation mistaken, as it reads as follows: $3651 / 4$ days $=8760$ hours; $8760 \bmod 7=3$ hours; in 4 years, these 3 hours add up to 12 hours, namely, to 1 day. The text can be completed readily ${ }^{124}$, but the (correct) modulo 7 calculation is a wrong attempt at coping with the mistake of setting $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days $=8760$ hours (see sect. 1): the result $8760 \bmod 7=3$ fits the number of exceeding doublehours per year only numerically and by coincidence ${ }^{125}$. To explain the presence of 366 -day years, it suffices to remark that an excess of $1 / 4$ a day per year becomes an excess of one full day after 4 years.

The modulo reduction is equivalent to computing the remainder of a division between integers. Here, as elsewhere in Anonymus 892 and, more generally, in Byzantine Computi, the calculation is carried out by successively removing multiples of the divisor. This procedure is attested as early as Paul of Alexandria, Apotel. 19-20 ${ }^{126}$. As only a few moduli are used in computistical reductions (namely, $7,15,19,28$, and 30 ), it is not necessary to suppose that multiplication tables were used to ease such calculations. Tables of this kind are never included in Byzantine Computi.

## 4







## God willing, calculation by means of which the cycle of the Sun can be found

Know how many years there are from the foundation of the world up to the present year, and remove them by 28 , and if anything remains down from 28 , this is the cycle of the Sun; but if <you> removed such a number of all the years and there remain 28 , this is the twenty-eighth cycle of the Sun.

A prescription for finding the year of the solar cycle corresponding to a Byzantine world era year. The algorithm is $(y) \rightarrow y \bmod 28=s$.

As expressly stated in the text, the convention is that $28 \bmod 28=28$. The text writes "cycle of the Sun" and "twenty-eighth cycle", using ки́к $\lambda$ os to name both the 28 -year solar "cycle" and a solar "cycle year" within a solar cycle. Sections 4-6 allow converting a year in the Byzantine world era to a year within an assigned cycle. The indiction cycle is of no use in computing the date of Easter; its presence shows that an "Easter Computus" was conceived as a general chronological primer. As seen, in Byzantine Computi the solar cycle, the lunar cycle and the reference era are synchronized. For this reason, the reduction rules from world era years to solar and lunar cycle years are straightforward.

[^24]
 кט́к $\lambda$ оऽ $\tau \eta ̃ \varsigma ~ \sigma \varepsilon \lambda \eta ́ v \eta ร . ~$
${ }^{a}$ ทั $\tau 1$
A further calculation, by means of which the cycle of the Moon can be found
Remove these years from the foundation of the world by 19 , and if anything remains down from 19 , this is the cycle of the Moon.

A prescription for finding the year of the lunar cycle corresponding to a Byzantine world era year. The algorithm is $(y) \rightarrow y \bmod 19=m$.

## 6


 ̌vסıктоৎ.
${ }^{a}$ १ั $\tau$
A further calculation, by means of which the indiction can be found
Remove these years from the foundation of the world by 15 , and if anything remains down from 15 , this is the indiction.

A prescription for finding the year of the indiction cycle corresponding to a Byzantine world era year. The algorithm is $(y) \rightarrow y \bmod 15=i$.
$\kappa \alpha i ̈ \alpha \partial \lambda \omega \varsigma$






 кобí $\omega v \lambda \beta$, к $\alpha i ̀ \tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v \tau \alpha \kappa \alpha ́ \tau \omega \theta \varepsilon v \tau ต ̃ v ~ \varphi \lambda \beta \delta \eta \lambda o v ̃ \sigma ı v \alpha v ̉ \tau \eta ́ v$.


## And otherwise

If you hesitate to remove from the foundation of the world, discharge six thousand and 300 years from the years, and hold the ninety-six presently past, and for the Sun remove them by 28 , and that which remains down from 28 shows the cycle of the Sun. For the indiction, remove <by> fifteen, and that which <remains> down from 15 shows it [scil. the indiction]. For the Moon, add 30 years to those past, and remove by 19 , and that which remains down from 19 shows the cycle of the Moon. The Period comprises five-hundred-thirty-two years, namely, the number of alpha. And if you want to find the present Period, remove the years of the world by five hundred 32, and that which remains down from 532 shows it [scil. the Period].

Alternative algorithms, supposedly simpler, for finding the year of the solar, lunar, and indiction cycles, and of the Period. The algorithm for the solar cycle is:
$(y) \rightarrow y-6300 \rightarrow(y-6300) \bmod 28=m$.
A computation of $y-6300$ is carried out for current year AM 6396 [ $=\mathrm{AD} 887 / 8]$; the lunar cycle is not computed. This current year is different from the one assumed in the rest of Anonymus 892.

The algorithm for the indiction cycle is:
$(y) \rightarrow y-6300 \rightarrow(y-6300) \bmod 15=i$.
The algorithm for the lunar cycle is:
$(y) \rightarrow y-6300 \rightarrow(y-6300)+30 \rightarrow[(y-6300)+30] \bmod 19=m$.
The algorithm for the Period ( $\pi \varepsilon \rho$ ío $\delta o \varsigma$ ) of 532 years, the number of $\alpha \lambda \varphi \alpha^{127}$, is:
(y) $\rightarrow y \bmod 532=g$.

In these algorithms, the nearest end-of-century year is removed from the assigned world era year before the modulo reduction is carried out. Since $6300 \equiv 0(\bmod 28)$ and $6300 \equiv 0(\bmod 15)$, the algorithms for the solar and indiction cycles are modified by introducing only the shift $y \rightarrow y-6300$. The addition of 30 in the computation of the lunar cycle results from the fact that $6300 \equiv 30(\bmod 19)^{128}$.

The three parameters $30 \equiv 11(\bmod 19), 0$, and 0 are the values of $m, s$, and $i$ for year 6300 , respectively. Below is a table of the values of $m, s$, and $i$ for the end-of-century years that are relevant to Byzantine Computi; these values are sometimes called the "bases" $(\theta \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda i \alpha)$ of the relevant cycles (see sect. 27) ${ }^{129}$.

|  | 6200 | 6300 | 6400 | 6500 | 6600 | 6700 | 6800 | 6900 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $m$ | 6 | 11 | 16 | 2 | 7 | 12 | 17 | 3 |
| $s$ | 12 | 0 | 16 | 4 | 20 | 8 | 24 | 12 |
| $i$ | 5 | 0 | 10 | 5 | 0 | 10 | 5 | 0 |

Since 100 is a multiple of 4 and of 5 , the end-of-century year values of $s$ and $i$ have a period of 7 and 3 centuries, respectively. Such values of $s$ and $i$ can only be of the form $s=4 k$, with $k=0,1, \ldots, 6$, and $i=5 k$, with $k=0$, 1,2 . Since 100 and 19 are mutually prime, no such periodicity exists for the lunar cycle.

## 8






${ }^{127}$ The "number" of a string of alphabet letters is the sum of their values as digits. Thus, the "number" of $\alpha \lambda \varphi \alpha$ is $1(\alpha)+30(\lambda)+500(\varphi)+1(\alpha)=532$ : see ACERBI, How to Spell. The mention in Anonymus 892 is among the earliest occurrences of the mnemonic device relating the standard Period of 532 years to the "number" of letter $\alpha \lambda \varphi \alpha$. A similar statement is found in Anonymus 830, sect. 16 (see also sect. 7)—in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX (and XXX)—which claims that this computation was established by Hero and Athanasius (see GAStGEBER, Neue texte XXX-XXX for the edition and a discussion); Anonymus 1092A, sect. 1, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 4.2-3; Anonymus 1172 , sect. 1, which mentions the view that, because of this relation, "the completion of the Period will also bring about the per-

${ }^{128}$ Of course, the most economical summand is 11.
${ }^{129}$ Other Computi in which end-of-century years are subtracted are Anonymus 830, sect. 22, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX; Anonymus 982, sect. 4, contained in the manuscript Ambr. B 113 sup. (gr. 134; Diktyon 42357) ff. 210r-215r (this Computus is obviously related to Anonymus 892). Anonymus 1092 A , sect. 1, and 1092B, sect. 1 (both in computing indiction), in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 5.1-3 and 8.136-138, respectively; Anonymus 1172, sects. 2-4; Anonymus 1204, contained in the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 528 (coll. 777; middle of $14^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 69999) ff. 5r-6v; Anonymus 1247, sects. 2, 6, 8, in Schissel, Chronologischer 106-107; Anonymus 1256, sects. 5-7; Anonymus 1273, sect. 3, in Buchegger, Wiener griechische Chronologie 29.19-27; Blastares 1335, in Rhalles - Potles, इv́vtaүu人 VI 414416; Rhabdas 1342, sects. 2, 4-5, and 12; Anonymus 1350, sects. 1-3, in Schlachter, Wiener griechische 5.3-6.14; Argyros 1372, sects. 3 and 6, in PG XIX 1284-1285 and 1292; Anonymus 1377, sects. 1-2, 4, in PG XIX 1317 and 1321; Anonymus 1379, in PG XIX 1329.







 $\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \eta \eta_{\kappa} \kappa \tau \tau \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \pi \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \dot{\eta} \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha \mu i ́ \alpha$.


## Calculation by means of which the daily quantity of the Moon can be found

Know to what the cycle of the Moon amounts, and if it is the $1^{\text {st }}$, say: five times one, 5 ; and mount the days of the months from January up to the month where you want to find the quantity <of the Moon>, and put how many <days> it has, and remove by 60, and that which <remains> down from 60 are the minutes of the lunar month, and look at how many 60 s you removed, and add so many epacts ${ }^{130}$ to the $<$ se $>$ minutes. Know that, beyond the epacts, the minutes are determined, and keep both the minutes and the epacts in your hands, and again sextuple the cycle of the Moon, that is, six times one, six; and uniting all of them together, both the epacts and the minutes and the cycle of the Moon, remove what has been sextupled by 30, and that which <remains> down from 30 is the quantity of the Moon. Similarly also in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ cycle, five times two, 10 , and mount the months as we said above, and again sextuple the cycle. Similarly also for the $3^{\text {rd }}$ cycle up to the nineteenth cycle, quintuple first, and remove by 60 , and you find the minutes and the epacts, and again sextuple, and remove by 30, and if anything <remains> down from 30, this is the quantity of the Moon. Know also this, that five minutes are one hour, and sixty minutes one day.

A computation of the age of the Moon (called $\pi$ ooótทऽ "quantity") on day $x$ counted from January $1^{131}$. The algorithm is:

```
\((m, x) \rightarrow 5 m \rightarrow 5 m+x \rightarrow 5 m+x+(5 m+x) \bmod 60 \rightarrow 5 m+x+[(5 m+x) \bmod 60] / 60+\llbracket(5 m+x) / 60 \rrbracket \rightarrow\)
\(\rightarrow\{5 m+x+[(5 m+x) \bmod 60] / 60+\llbracket(5 m+x) / 60 \rrbracket\}+6 m \rightarrow\)
\(\rightarrow(\{5 m+x+[(5 m+x) \bmod 60] / 60+\llbracket(5 m+x) / 60 \rrbracket\}+6 m) \bmod 30=a_{m}(x)\).
```

The age of the Moon on day $x$ in the year is calculated in several steps: (1) add to day $x$ counted from January 1 a number obtained from writing the epacts of the Moon at lunar cycle $m$-namely, $11 m$ (defined in sect. 14, and see also the commentary on sect. 12-as $5 m+6 m$; (2a) first, operate only on summand $5 m+x$, with a correction (see just below); ( $2 b$ ) subtract pairs of lunar months by reducing modulo 60 rather than modulo 59 ( $=$ two lunar months of $291 / 2$ days each); ( $2 c$ ) add 1 day for every removed set of 60 units (this is summand $\llbracket(5 m+x) / 60 \rrbracket)$ in order for the modulo 60 reduction to be equivalent to subtracting pairs of lunar months; (3) second, add 6 m to complete the epacts of the Moon; (4) reduce modulo 30, which is required since $6 m$ has been added. The final reduction modulo 30 is the standard way of eliminating whole lunar months, see sect. $\mathbf{1 2}$ below.

To understand what are the "corrections" I have alluded to, let us rewrite the last line of the algorithm as follows (for simplicity's sake, the modulo 30 reduction is disregarded): $a_{m}(x)=(11 m+x) \bmod 30+\llbracket(5 m+x) / 60 \rrbracket+[(5 m+x) \bmod 60] / 60$.

The first addendum is the canonical contribution "epacts [= the age of the Moon on December 31] + number of days counted from January 1" to the age of the Moon. The other two addenda (the "correction") are the value of $5 m+x$ written not in units but in sixtieths (that is, in minutes): divide $5 m+x$ units by 60 and you get by definition ${ }^{132}$ a quotient made of the floor $\llbracket(5 m+x) / 60 \rrbracket$ and of the fractional part $[(5 m+x) \bmod 60] / 60$. This correction

[^25]is equivalent to adding $5 / 60=1 / 12$ a day for every lunar cycle year $+1 / 60$ a day for every day in the lunar cycle year. The " $1 / 60$ a day" addendum contributes 1 day every 2 months and therefore offsets, as explained above, the difference between the reduction modulo 60 performed in the algorithm and the required reduction modulo 59 . The " $1 / 12$ a day" addendum not only triggers a saltus lunae in cycle year 12, but also makes the Moon generally older than the Alexandrian Computus does, and this occurs in particular for the Passover luna XIV ${ }^{133}$. In particular, there are cases in which, what the Alexandrian Computus sets as luna XIV and the supporters of this algorithm set as luna $X V$ or $X V I$, falls on a Sunday. In such cases, either the supporters of this algorithm set Easter to coincide with (Alexandrian) Passover-which is forbidden-or they set it on (their) luna XXII or XXIII, which falls outside the Alexandrian Easter limits. In either case, the supporters qualify themselves as computistically heterodox.

This is the algorithm adopted by the so-called $\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda 0 \tilde{v} v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \lambda 0 \tilde{v} v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma^{134}$, and it dates back to early stages of the Alexandrian Computus. As is clear, it is not an algorithm for computing Passover, but an algorithm for checking whether a traditional date of Passover falls on luna XIV or not, on the supposition that January 1 of the year that precedes solar cycle year 1 is luna I. Nevertheless, considering that a Moon age algorithm is in a sense the inverse of a Passover algorithm, this algorithm is incompatible with the Passover algorithms Anonymus 892 sets forth in sects. 12, 14, and 15: this fact shows that Anonymus 892 is a compilation.

Additional information on time-subdivisions, required in the present context, is finally provided in the text: 1 double-hour $=5$ minutes; 1 day $=60$ minutes (see also sect. $\mathbf{1}$ ).

## 9








## God willing, calculation for finding the indiction

The years from the foundation of the world up to the present $10^{\text {th }}$ indiction are 6400 years. If you want to find the indiction, remove them as follows. Ten times four hundred, 4000; five times four hundred, 2000: there remain 400 as a remainder; remove also these as follows. Ten times 20, 200; five times 20, 100: there remain 100 as a remainder; remove also them by 15 ; six times 15 , 90: and there remain 10. And you find that the indiction is the tenth.

A computation of the current indiction cycle year. A computation of the indiction cycle year is carried out for current year AM 6400 [ $=$ AD 891/2]; it yields $i=10$. In sections $9-11$, the general algorithms of sections 4-6 are applied, but in a different order.

## 10





[^26]


## $\odot$ A further calculation, for finding the cycle of the Sun

The cycle of the Sun can be found as follows. Remove the same years by 28 , and you will find the cycle of the Sun; twenty times two hundred, 4000; eight times 200, 1600: there remain 800 as a remainder; remove also these as follows. Twenty times 20, 400; eight times 20, 160: and there remain 240; eight times 20, 160; eight times eight, 64: and there remain 16 as a remainder. And recognize that it is the sixteenth cycle of the Sun.

A computation of the current solar cycle year. A computation of the solar cycle year is carried out for current year AM 6400; it yields $s=16$.

## 11






 $\lambda \sigma \varsigma \tau \eta ̃ \varsigma \sigma \varepsilon \lambda \eta ์ \nu \eta \varsigma$.
${ }^{\text {a }} \pi \varepsilon \nu \tau ı \kappa о \nu \tau \alpha \delta$

## ৫ A further calculation, for finding the cycle of the Moon

The cycle of the Moon reaches up to 19 , and reverts back again to $1 .<$ From $>$ the six-thousand-four-hundredth year from the foundation of the world up to the present sixteenth cycle of the Moon; remove also these years as follows. Ten times 300, 3000; nine times 300, two thousand 700: there remain 700 years as a remainder; remove also these as follows. Ten times 30,300 ; nine times 30, 270: there remain 130 years as a remainder; remove also these as follows. Ten times 6, 60; nine times 6 , fifty-four: there remain 16 as a remainder, which is the sixteenth cycle of the Moon.

A computation of the current lunar cycle year. The lunar cycle lasts 19 years. A computation of the lunar cycle year is carried out for current year AM 6400; it yields $m=16$.

## 12


 $\dot{\varepsilon} v \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha ́ \kappa 1 \varsigma \mu i ́ \alpha, ~ \varepsilon ̌ v \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha \cdot \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \beta \alpha ́ \lambda \varepsilon ~ \tau \alpha ̀ \varsigma ~<\zeta>~ \varepsilon ̇ \pi \alpha \kappa \tau \grave{\alpha} \varsigma \tau \tilde{v} v \alpha i \omega ́ v \omega v \tau \tilde{\omega} v \pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \lambda \theta o ́<v>\tau \omega v \cdot\{\varsigma$ غ̇ $\pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha ̀ \varsigma\}$









$\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha ̇ v \alpha ́ \pi \alpha \lambda v v^{g}$

 А Алокрє́ $\omega \sigma \iota \varsigma$.














 عטீ



## A further calculation of Passover, by means of which it can be found in each year

Know to what the cycle of the Moon amounts, and undecuple it, and if it is the $1^{\text {st }}$, say: eleven times one, eleven; and put the 6 epacts of the bygone eras: and they yield 17 days; and begin from March 1 until you will fill 50 days, and Passover is there; and if you will fill the 50 <days> within March, that's fine; but if you do not, put also <days> from April in order for 50 to be filled. Know that Passover can be found on whichever day of the Holy Week. And as soon as you have found Passover, calculate on what weekday it falls, and reaching up to Sunday you will find our Easter. As soon as you have found our Easter and you want to find Meat-Fare Sunday, add three days in it-if it is a leap year, <add> 4-and you find <that> Meat-Fare Sunday <falls> on such-and-such days. <If Easter falls> from March 28 towards above (I mean by "above" the beginning of the month) you find Meat-Fare Sunday in January; if it is a leap year, from $<$ March $>27<$ towards above>.

And the other way around
If it was a leap year, from March $28<$ on $>$ Meat-Fare Sunday was found on the first of February, whereas continuously from March $29<$ on> Meat-Fare Sunday is always found in February.

The calculation of whatever finding of the week is this. Know to what the cycle of the Sun amounts, and put both the cycle of the Sun and its quarters, and beginning from the month of October take three days of the month that has 31,2 days from the one that has 30 , and reach up to the ongoing month, and put how many <days> it has, and uniting all of them together remove by seven, and if one day remain, know that <the intended day> is a Sunday, and if two, it is a Monday, if three, a Tuesday, if four, a Wednesday, and continuously up to Saturday. If you do not have <anything> down from seven, know that it is a Saturday. Similarly also in the second cycle of the Moon, say: eleven times two, 22; and put the 6 epacts of the eras: they yield 28; and again begin calculating on March 1 exactly as we said above. As soon as you have attained the third cycle of
the Moon, say: eleven times 3, thirty-three; and remove the thirtieths ${ }^{135}$ : and there remain three; and add the epacts of the eras to them: and they yield nine; and again begin calculating from the month of March exactly as we taught above. Similarly also in the $4^{\text {th }}$ and in the $5^{\text {th }}<$ cycle $>$ and up to the $19^{\text {th }}$ cycle, undecupling remove how many thirties you have, and keep the days that remain down from the thirties, and add the epacts of the eras to them, and in this way always begin from March 1, exactly as we said above. Know also this, that from the first cycle up to the sixteenth add six epacts, from the seventeenth up to the $19^{\text {th }}$, seven, for you do not find what is secure ${ }^{136}$.

A complete set of algorithms for computing Passover, Easter, and Meat-Fare Sunday. This is the core section of Anonymus 892. The algorithm for Passover is ${ }^{137}$ :
( m ) $\rightarrow 11 \mathrm{~m} \rightarrow$
$\mid m<17,11 m+6 \rightarrow(11 m+6) \bmod 30 \rightarrow 50-[(11 m+6) \bmod 30]-: 1_{M}=p_{m}$.
$\mid 17 \leq m \leq 19,11 m+7 \rightarrow(11 m+7) \bmod 30 \rightarrow 50-[(11 m+7) \bmod 30]-: 1_{M}=p_{m}$.
The first branch of the algorithm can be described as follows: multiply the lunar cycle year $m$ by 11, add 6 units, reduce modulo 30 , subtract the result from 50 (a parameter which I shall call norm) and count, from March 1 , as many days as the remainder: the resulting day is the date of Passover. This day falls in April if the remainder is greater than 31 .

This remarkable algorithm has two main features. First, the addendum $11 m$ fits the definition of the epacts of the Moon given in sects. 14 and 19, but the text-while using the general meaning of $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha i ́(s e e ~ s e c t . ~ 8) ~ i n ~ t h e ~$ expression "epacts of the eras"-does not refer to the epacts of the Moon because the branching condition is formulated in terms of the lunar cycle years: therefore, the position of the saltus lunae is a feature of the algorithm, not of the epact sequence (see below and sect. 14 for a discussion). Second, this algorithm simplifies the fundamental algorithm expounded in early sources such as Heraclius and George Presbyter (see sect. 14) ${ }^{138}$, and which is a straightforward adaptation to the Byzantine era of the algorithm adopted in the early Alexandrian Church.

The adaptation of the Passover algorithm from the Alexandrian era to the Byzantine era can be explained as follows. Let us first consider the short Computus added by Heraclius as sect. 30 in Stephanus of Alexandria's in Ptolemaei Tabulas Manuales. Heraclius uses the era Maurice (here denoted $\left.y_{M}\right)^{139}$, and gives the following algorithm for the epacts: $\left(y_{M}\right) \rightarrow 11 y_{M} \rightarrow 11 y_{M} \bmod 30=e_{m}$. He then carries out a computation for April indiction 11 [= AD 623 April]; this yields $e_{m}=15$ (no correlation is established by Heraclius between lunar cycle years and epacts, but I shall keep the subscript $m$ ). Heraclius' Passover algorithm computes the quantity "norm minus shifted epacts" $44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)$, and then counts as many days from $1_{M}$ or from $1_{A}$ as the value thus obtained; the resulting day is the date of Passover:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \left(e_{m}\right) \rightarrow e_{m}+8 \rightarrow 44-\left(e_{m}+8\right) \rightarrow \\
& \quad \mid 20 \leq 44-\left(e_{m}+8\right) \leq 31,44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)-: 1_{M}=p_{m} \in M . \\
& \quad \mid 44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)<20,44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)-1=\left[44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)-1\right]-: 1_{A}=p_{m} \in A . \\
& \quad \mid 44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)>31,\left[44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)\right] \bmod 31-: 1_{A}=p_{m} \in A .
\end{aligned}
$$

As $44-8=36$ and no modulo reduction overlaps with this subtraction, this is a norm 36 algorithm in disguise; as shown by O . Neugebauer, this norm characterizes the Alexandrian Computus ${ }^{140}$. As regards the three branches of the algorithm, they result from the fact that the relation $p_{m}+e_{m} \equiv 36(\bmod 30)$ typical of the Alexandrian Computus can be solved for $p_{m}$ (as in the first branch of the algorithm), days being counted from $1_{M}$, but one must not forget that (a) a modulo reduction is involved (consequently, one cannot simply write $p_{m}=36-e_{m}$ ), and (b) large epacts entail numerically small Passover dates, but these dates may be forbidden by the rule of the equinox if they fall in March. Therefore, for large epacts one must count from $1_{A}$ and not from $1_{M}$. This requirement collides with the modulo 30 reduction constitutive of the Passover-epacts relation unless 1 unit is subtracted (second branch of

[^27]the algorithm) or, what amounts to the same, a modulo 31 reduction is performed (third branch). Finally, there is no trace of saltus lunae in the algorithm. A feature of this algorithm, which is also found in other Computi, is that the branching conditions are given as inequalities involving the "norm minus shifted epacts" quantity (which in principle does not straightforwardly coincide with $p_{m}$, as just seen), and not simply the epacts or the lunar cycle year ${ }^{141}$.

Why does Heraclius use norm 36 but computes with norm 44 and adds 8 to the epacts ${ }^{142}$ ? Why use a norm different from 36? A reason can be that 44 is the number of days nearest to 1 lunar month and one half (because $291 / 2+14 \frac{1}{2} 1 / 4=44 \frac{1}{4}$ ), but George Presbyter will give us a complementary clue.

Before seeing this clue, recall that Heraclius computes the date of Passover for AD $623\left(e_{m}=15\right)$ with the above algorithm and finds $p_{m}=21_{M}$. He also mentions the existence of a year without epacts and computes that in this case (last branch of the algorithm) $p_{m}=5_{A}$. Thus, Heraclius' epact sequence coincides with the Alexandrian sequence ${ }^{143}$; moreover, according to the algorithm just seen, the saltus lunae (marked by a double vertical bar in the table below; Passover dates without a subscript fall in April) is located at the end of the cycle:

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $e_{m}$ | 30 | 11 | 22 | 3 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 17 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 23 | 4 | 15 | 26 | 7 | 18 |
| $p_{m}$ | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 |

Let us now turn to George Presbyter. He is the avowed champion of the Byzantine world era and epact sequence. His computations are set for current year Heraclius $29=$ AM 6147 [ $=$ AD 638/9], $i=12$.

George finds the lunar cycle as follows: $(y) \rightarrow y \bmod 19=m$, as in sect. 5 of Anonymus 892. The algorithm for the epacts of the Moon is $(m) \rightarrow 11 m \rightarrow 11 m \bmod 30=e_{m}$ (as in sect. 14 of Anonymus 892), but George offers an argument to justify the presence of the saltus lunae after cycle $16^{144}$, and sets out all Passover days. The resulting list of epacts and Passover dates is as follows (the position of the saltus lunae is again marked by a double vertical bar):

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $e_{m}$ | 11 | 22 | 3 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 17 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 23 | 4 | 15 | 26 | 8 | 19 | 30 |
| $p_{m}$ | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 |

George gives the following Passover algorithm, which is a slightly modified, 2-branch version of Heraclius’ algorithm:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \left(e_{m}\right) \rightarrow 43-e_{m} \rightarrow \\
& \quad \mid 43-e_{m}<20,\left(43-e_{m}\right) \bmod 30-: 1_{A}=p_{m} \in A \\
& \quad \mid 43-e_{m} \geq 20,43-e_{m}+1 \rightarrow 43-e_{m}+1-: 1_{M}=p_{m} \in M .
\end{aligned}
$$

This norm 43 algorithm (a norm that is also operative in the second branch of Heraclius' algorithm) is straightforwardly equivalent to a norm 44 algorithm, for the reference epoch has to be $1_{M}$ and the actual norm in the second branch of the algorithm is $43+1=44$. As in the case of Heraclius, no trace of saltus lunae is found in the algorithm; this confirms George's argument about the saltus lunae being a feature of the epact sequence.

The change of era, and Heraclius' epacts shift of 8 units, explain the transition from the Alexandrian era and epact sequence to the Byzantine era and epact sequence. To see this, note that the epacts shift of 8 units transforms Heraclius' cycle into

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $e_{m}+8$ | 8 | 19 | 30 | 11 | 22 | 3 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 17 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 23 | 4 | 15 | 26 |
| $p_{m}$ | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 |

[^28]Of course, the saltus lunae remains at the end of the cycle. The 16-year backwards shift from the Alexandrian to the Byzantine world era makes the new cycle begin in (proleptic) Alexandrian $m=4$. Therefore, since Heraclius' and George's Passover algorithms are equivalent, George's cycle is as follows (the saltus lunae after cycle year 16 characterizes the Byzantine epact sequence; the relocated cells are shaded gray):

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $e_{m}$ | 11 | 22 | 3 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 17 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 23 | 4 | 15 | 26 | 8 | 19 | 30 |
| $p_{m}$ | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 |

The argument just outlined explains the crucial transition from the Alexandrian era and epact sequence to the Byzantine era and epact sequence. Conversely, it cannot be a coincidence that Heraclius' additive shift of 8 units gives an epact sequence such that $e_{1}=11$ after the change of era.

Let us return to the norm 50 algorithm of Anonymus 892. The simplification of Heraclius' and George's Passover algorithms was carried out by writing 44 as the result of $50-6$, with the norm 50 lying outside the modulo 30 reduction and the parameter 6 lying inside it: this rewriting allowed setting a branching condition much more transparent than the one in Heraclius' and George's algorithm ${ }^{145}$; it also allowed simplifying both these algorithms and the related, and unwieldy, algorithms we shall see in sects. $\mathbf{1 4}$ and $\mathbf{1 5}$. This simplification is a consequence of the following fact: counting 50 days starting on March 1 one gets to April 19, which is the upper bound for Passover (see sect. 26), hence no counting from April 1 is required for large epacts, contrary to what one finds in Heraclius' and George's algorithm.

The norm 50 algorithm of Anonymus 892 is attested in other sources; it is also called "notarial" (voтарıкŋ́ $)^{146}$. The 6 units to be added to $11 m$ are called "epacts of the bygone eras" ( $\varepsilon \pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha i ̀ \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \alpha i \omega ́ v \omega v \pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \lambda \theta o ́ v \tau \omega v)^{147}$, which correspond to the 6 whole millennia elapsed since Creation: this is the basic mnemonic trick in the norm 50 computation of Passover ${ }^{148}$. In the second branch of the algorithm, the additional unit to be added to 11 m in the cycle years from 17 to 19 (that is, 7 units are added instead of 6) is the saltus lunae. As usual, whole lunar months are removed by reducing modulo $30^{149}$.

In this section of Anonymus 892, a complete set of prescriptions (Passover, Easter, Meat-Fare Sunday, weekday of an assigned date) is provided for the first year of the lunar cycle ${ }^{150}$. At the end of the section, however, the Passover algorithm is summarily retrieved for a representative sample of all lunar cycle years.

[^29]A computation of Meat-Fare Sunday. A computation of the date of Meat-Fare Sunday (A $\AA$ ок $\rho \varepsilon ́ \omega \sigma \iota \varsigma)$ follows; it includes a clarification on the use of the adverb $\alpha 0 \omega$ "above" as a way to specify the time arrow (see sects. 22 and 26). The algorithm is ${ }^{151}$ :
$(r, y) \rightarrow r+3+\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket \rightarrow(r+3+\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket) \bmod 31=t$.
If $r \geq 29_{M}$, then $t \in F$; if $r \leq 28_{M}-\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket$, then $t \in J$.
In the Byzantine liturgical calendar, Meat-Fare is the third Sunday of the pre-Lenten period of preparation and repentance; it falls 8 weeks $=56$ days before Easter. Since in non-leap years February plus March last 59 days, Meat-Fare Sunday falls numerically 3 days after Easter (summand $r+3$ ) but 2 months before the month in which Easter falls. There is, however, a due adjustment in leap years (summand $\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket)^{152}$, and one must keep in mind that if the date of Easter falls on a day after March 29 ( 28 in leap years), then Meat-Fare Sunday falls in February rather than in January. The modulo 31 reduction is not indicated in the algorithm of our text, but it must be introduced in order to take into account Easter dates in March shifting to April because of the addition of $3+\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket$.

A computation of the weekday of Passover, if this falls in month $X$. The algorithm is as follows, where $n_{k}=$ length of month $k$ in days ${ }^{153}$ :
$(s, x, X) \rightarrow s+\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket \rightarrow s+\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket+\sum_{k=O}^{X-1}\left(n_{k}-28\right) \rightarrow s+\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket+\sum_{k=O}^{X-1}\left(n_{k}-28\right)+x \rightarrow$
$\rightarrow\left[s+\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket+\sum_{k=0}^{X-1}\left(n_{k}-28\right)+x\right] \bmod 7=w_{s}\left(x_{X}\right)$.
This algorithm computes the weekday of any date $x$ in month $X$. To this end, it suffices to count the days elapsed from a date falling on a known weekday and remove whole weeks. It should be kept in mind that a year of 365 days exceeds a whole number of weeks by 1 day (summand $s$ in the above algorithm: recall that the Byzantine world era and the solar cycle are synchronized; this summand also includes 365 of the 366 days of a leap year); a leap year exceeds it by 2 days (further summand $\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket$; the first two summands, after reduction modulo 7 , are the epacts of the Sun, as seen in sect. 2) ${ }^{154}$; a month exceeds it by its own length in days minus 28 days ( $=4$ weeks), namely, $n_{k}-28$ in our notation. The sum $\sum_{k=0}^{X-1}\left(n_{k}-28\right)$ is the excess over 28 days of the months from $O$ (ctober) to the one preceding the given month $X$, denoted by $X-1$ (the sum gives null values when the assigned month is October). The date $x$ must then be added. Reducing the sum modulo 7 involves eliminating whole weeks. Since only months of 31 and 30 days are mentioned and because of the leap year contribution included in the term $\llbracket s / 4 \rrbracket$, February must be set to 28 days; given the fact that this summand is operative throughout the year, the month $X$ must be a month coming after February. This restriction, however, is of no consequence as far as Passover or Easter computations are concerned. To check the consistency of the algorithm, recall that the weekday of the epoch date of the Byzantine world era is a Saturday $=7$, so that $w\left(1_{O}\right)=2$ for the first day of the solar cycle, which is the output for $s=1, x=1$.

[^30]




 $\left.\right|_{8 r} \zeta$, $\sigma \alpha ́ \beta \beta \alpha \tau o ́ v$ モ̇ $\sigma \tau \tau$.


## A further calculation, by means of which each weekday can be found

Always keep in mind the last day of the month of September, and if it is a Sunday, hold one; if it is a Monday, hold 2; if a Tuesday, three; if a Wednesday, 4; if a Thursday, 5 ; if a Friday, 6; if a Saturday, 7; and from the month of October begin taking three days of the month that has 31, 2 days of the one that has 30 , and, of the month in which you want to find the day, put how many <days> it has, and remove by 7, and that which <remains> down from 7 shows <the weekday>. If you do not have <anything> down from 7, it is Saturday.

A computation of the weekday of date $x$ in month $X$. The algorithm is as follows, where $n_{k}=$ length of month $k$ in days ${ }^{155}$ :
$\left(w\left[30_{S}\right], x, X\right) \rightarrow w\left(30_{S}\right)+\sum_{k=O}^{X-1}\left(n_{k}-28\right)+x \rightarrow\left[w\left(30_{S}\right)+\sum_{k=O}^{X-1}\left(n_{k}-28\right)+x\right] \bmod 7=w\left(x_{X}\right)$.
This algorithm for computing the weekday of date $x$ in month $X$ takes the weekday of September 30 (= the day before the beginning of a solar cycle) and then computes as in the previous algorithm. The solar cycle year begins on October 1; consequently, $w\left(30_{S}\right)$ takes the role of the epacts of the Sun. As the algorithm mentions only months of 31 and 30 days, and years are absent, we may suppose either that February has always 28 days, and the algorithm is accordingly valid if month $X$ is not later than February, or that the case of February having 29 days has been omitted by negligence or mistake, and the algorithm is accordingly valid in general. All in all, the prescriptions for finding the weekday of a given date are carelessly formulated in Anonymus 892.

 غ̈tou̧, кגì ט̇ழદı













[^31]
## Calculation $<$ for $>$ finding Passover

Always keep 43 in your hands, and remove the epacts of the Moon of each year from them, and if, once you removed the epacts of the Moon, there remain more than 30 in your fingers, remove 30 and, if that which <remains> down from 30 is from one up to 19, know that Passover is in April. If there remain 20 or 21 or 22 or 23 and so on, always add one day, and seek for Passover in March, with the <following> exceptions: in the $18^{\text {th }}$ cycle you will not add <anything>, in the seventeenth cycle of the Moon, where 7 epacts remain for you, remove eight from forty-three. Similarly also in the $19^{\text {th }}$ cycle, where 29 epacts remain, remove thirty from 43 , for you do not find what is secure. The epacts of the Moon can be found as follows. In the first cycle it has eleven epacts, and in the second, 22 , in the $3^{\text {rd }}$, three, since the thirtieth number really turns out to be completed: for eleven times three, thirty-three; and once you removed 30, there remain 3. These are the epacts of the third cycle. Similarly also, continuously up to the nineteenth cycle of the Moon, undecuple whatever cycle of the Moon, and remove thirtieths, and that which remains down from thirty are the epacts of the Moon.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { A computation of Passover. The algorithm is as follows }{ }^{156}: \\
& \left(e_{m}\right) \rightarrow 43-e_{m} \rightarrow \\
& \mid 43-e_{m} \leq 19,43-e_{m} \rightarrow\left(43-e_{m}\right) \bmod 30=p_{m} \in A . \\
& \mid 43-e_{m}>19,43-e_{m} \rightarrow\left(43-e_{m}\right) \bmod 30+1=p_{m} \in M . \\
& \mid m=18,\left(43-e_{m}\right) \bmod 30=p_{18} . \\
& \mid m=17,43-8 \rightarrow[43-8] \bmod 30+1=p_{17} . \\
& \mid m=19,43-30 \rightarrow[43-30] \bmod 30=p_{19} .
\end{aligned}
$$

In the last three branches of the algorithm, the month in which Passover is located is tacitly determined by the inequalities that single out the first two branches. The branching conditions involve both a "norm minus epacts" quantity $43-e_{m}$ (see the commentary on sect. 12) and the lunar cycle $m$; the latter is the case after the saltus luna$e$. The formulation of the last branch makes it certain that $e_{19}=29$; consequently, the list of epacts has a discontinuity at the end of cycle year 19, whereas the saltus lunae is shifted back by the algorithm to the end of cycle year 16. Thus, in this case the saltus lunae is a feature of the algorithm, not of the epact sequence.

To clarify this statement, recall that the epacts are the accumulated advance of 12 lunar months over a calendar year of 365 days; this advance is of 11 days for each lunar cycle year. Whenever this sum exceeds 30 units, these are subtracted to form an embolismic month. Since 11 and 30 are mutually prime, the sequence of epacts is cyclic and runs through all numbers from 1 to 30 before returning to the initial value. The order in which the numbers from 1 to 30 appear is as follows:

30 | 11 | 22 | 3 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 17 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 23 | 4 | 15 | 26 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 10 | 21 | 2 | 13 | 24 | 5 | 16 | 27 | 8 | 19 | 30 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Choosing the initial point of the sequence amounts to fixing the age of the Moon on the first day of the first cycle. Any initial point can be selected; the list is cyclic, as I have emphasized by repeating number 30. Two "natural" starting points are $30 \equiv 0(\bmod 30)$, so that the first day of the first cycle is luna $I$, and 11 , the value of the yearly lunar advance. These values also occupy consecutive places in the list; the former was adopted as a starting point in the Alexandrian Computus, the latter in the Byzantine Computus (see sect. 12). If returning to the starting point takes an entire cycle, a good approximation of an exact return is after 19 steps, where the difference is 1 : $11 \times 19=209 \equiv-1 \equiv 29(\bmod 30)^{157}$. The epact sequence singled out by this approximation is the sequence of the 19-year cycle, with a "saltus lunae"-namely, a "discontinuity" of the epact sequence-at the end: the epact value that follows 29 in this 19 -token sequence is again 11, which is obtained from 29 by adding 12, not 11, and then reducing modulo 30 . However, one must be careful in distinguishing between the saltus lunae and the "discontinuity" of the epact sequence. The point is that any cyclic sequence of epacts that does not coincide with the whole

[^32]30 -token sequence must have a "discontinuity" (that is, a disruption of the principle of constant difference 11) somewhere: a saltus lunae at the point of discontinuity has exactly the function of making consecutive lunar cycles fit to each other. However, the saltus lunae can be placed at any point of the cycle, but this does not entail a displacement of the discontinuity of the epact sequence. For this reason, in Byzantine Computi, actually set out or reconstructed lists of epacts can be found that differ as to the position of the discontinuity (not of the saltus lunae) but that nevertheless give rise to the same list of Passover dates, which is impossible if equivalent Passover algorithms are intended: very simply, there is a one-to-one correspondence between epact values and Passover dates for any given algorithm. In the same way, a list of epacts is not significant unless the algorithm in which it is used is also provided. To sum up, one must look at the Passover algorithm actually used in order to ascertain where the saltus lunae is really located.

Since $50-6=44$, and on account of the definition of the epacts of the Moon provided later in the text and of the position of the modulo 30 reduction, the norm 43 algorithm for computing Passover expounded in this section is equivalent both to the norm 50 algorithm of sect. 12 and to the norm 44 algorithm of sect. $\mathbf{1 5}$. The latter equivalence is proved by observing that the number $44(=43+1)$ figures in the algorithm branch for $43-e_{m}>19$ (namely, if Passover falls in March). If, conversely, $43-e_{m} \leq 19$, one unit is absorbed by the shifted origin of daycounting from $1_{M}$ to $1_{A}$ because of the discrepancy between modulo 30 reduction and March having 31 days. Since most Easter dates fall in April, the norm is set to 43 rather than 44 . For $m=18$, the unit to be added to the epacts because of the saltus lunae is offset by the unit to be added for $43-e_{m}>19$. For $m=17, e_{17}=7$, to which 1 must be added because of the saltus lunae, and the second branch of the algorithm applies. For $m=19, e_{19}=29$, to which 1 must be added because of the saltus lunae, and the first branch of the algorithm applies. The number of branches makes this algorithm unwieldy.

The text continues by showing how to find the epacts of the Moon ${ }^{158}$. The rule is:
$e_{1}=11 ; e_{m}=\left[e_{1}+11(m-1)\right] \bmod 30$ if $m>1$.
This is a simple variant of the standard rule for finding the epacts. No mention is made of the saltus lunae; therefore, the discontinuity is located at the end of the epact sequence. The resulting epacts are set out in the following table; again for the convenience of the reader, the table includes the Passover dates:

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $e_{m}$ | 11 | 22 | 3 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 17 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 23 | 4 | 15 | 26 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| $p_{m}$ | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 |

## 










[^33]
## A further calculation of Passover

Know the epacts of each year of the Moon, and conjoin them from March until you will make number 44: Passover is there. If you have lunar epacts 25 or 26 or 27 or 28 or 29 , always add one day in them, and count from April until you will arrive at number 44, and Passover is there. In the $17^{\text {th }}$ and in the $18^{\text {th }}$ cycle, add one epact to each one, and count from March up to 44 . In the nineteenth cycle, just begin from March without conjoining any epact to it, until you will arrive at number 44: Passover is there.

A computation of Passover. The (annotated) algorithm is as follows ${ }^{159}$ :

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \left(e_{m}\right) \rightarrow \\
& \quad \mid m=1-4,6-7,9-15,44-e_{m}-: 1_{M}=p_{m} . \\
& \mid 25 \leq e_{m} \leq 29, e_{m}+1 \rightarrow 44-\left(e_{m}+1\right)-: 1_{A}=p_{m} .\{m=5,8,16,19\} \\
& \mid 17 \leq m \leq 18, e_{m}+1 \rightarrow 44-\left(e_{m}+1\right)-: 1_{M}=p_{m} .\{\text { saltus lunae }\} \\
& \mid m=19,44-: 1_{M}=p_{19} .
\end{aligned}
$$

This norm 44 algorithm for computing Passover is straightforwardly equivalent, after deletion of the modulo 30 reductions, to the norm 43 algorithm of sect. 14. Adding 1 to large epacts (as in the second branch) derives from counting from $1_{A}$ and from March having 31 days. The additional unit in cycle years 17 and 18 (third branch) is the saltus lunae. The no-epacts prescription for cycle year 19 (fourth branch) originates from $e_{19}+1=$ $=29+1=30 \equiv 0(\bmod 30)$ : the additional unit coming from the saltus lunae leads to an epactsless branch if days are counted from $1_{M}$. This shows that the value $e_{m}=29$ should be deleted from the second branch. The explicit mention of the epact value $e_{m}=29$ shows that the discontinuity of the epact sequence is located after cycle year 19. However, the saltus lunae is placed after lunar cycle 16; therefore, it is a feature of the algorithm. As in sect. 14, the number of branches makes this algorithm unwieldy.

## 16

## ع̌єєроऽ $\psi \tilde{\eta} \varphi \circ \varsigma \tau о \tilde{~ П \alpha ́ \sigma \chi \alpha}$



 тò vo $\mu$ ккòv Пá $\sigma \chi \alpha$.
${ }^{a} \Gamma v \omega \dot{\theta} \eta \eta^{b}$ غ̈ $\tau$

## A further calculation of Passover

Know how many years there are from Adam up to the present one, and remove 13 from them, and the whole of the remainder remove by 19 , and undecuple what remains down from 19 , and remove by 30 , and conjoin what remains down from 30 from March 1 until you will make 50 days, and Passover is there.

A computation of Passover. The algorithm is:
$(y) \rightarrow y-13 \rightarrow(y-13) \bmod 19 \rightarrow 11[(y-13) \bmod 19] \rightarrow\{11[(y-13) \bmod 19]\} \bmod 30 \rightarrow$ $\rightarrow 50-\{11[(y-13) \bmod 19]\} \bmod 30-: 1_{M}=p_{y}$.

This algorithm is equivalent to the algorithm of sect. $\mathbf{1 2}$ because, by definition, $y \bmod 19=m$ and because 6 $\equiv-13(\bmod 19)$; hence, $11(y-13) \equiv 11 m+66(\bmod 19)$. Finally, $11 m+66 \equiv 11 m+6(\bmod 30)$. However, the

[^34]compiler omitted to include the saltus lunae after cycle 16. This algorithm can also be found in Anonymus 830, sect. 26; Anonymus 982, sect. 11.

غ̈тєроऽ $\psi \eta ̃ \varphi о \varsigma ~ \sigma ט ́ v \tau о \mu о \varsigma ~ \tau о и ̃ ~ П \alpha ́ \sigma \chi \alpha ~$





${ }^{\mathrm{a}} \kappa \rho \alpha ́ \tau \eta{ }^{\mathrm{b}} \psi 1 \varphi i ́ \zeta \omega v{ }^{\mathrm{c}} \dot{\eta}^{\mathrm{d}} \psi i ́ \varphi \eta \sigma o v$

## A further, concise, calculation of Passover

Know exactly how many days the Moon has on January 1, and keep them, and calculating from January 1 mount the days of the months until you will make 105 days, and Passover is there. If it is a leap year, <mount up to $><10>6$. As soon as you have found Passover, calculate on what weekday it is, and reaching up to Sunday you will find our Easter.

A computation of Passover. The algorithm is:
$\left(y, a\left[1_{J}\right]\right) \rightarrow 105+\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket-a\left(1_{J}\right)-: 1_{J}=p_{y}$.
This norm 105 algorithm for computing Passover shifts the origin of day-counting from $1_{M}$ to $1_{J}$ and thereby introduces the age of the Moon on January 1 (in other Computi, this is the "base" $b_{m}$ ) as a reference. As seen in sect. 12, the shift adds 59 days to the count; these become 60 days in leap years (summand $\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket)^{160}$. Since $105-59=46$ and looking for instance at the norm 44 algorithm of sect. 15, one gets that, at lunar cycle $m$ and including the saltus lunae in the sequence of epacts, $a_{m}\left(1_{J}\right)=b_{m}=e_{m}+2$, instead of $e_{m}+1$ as one should expect. If we accept that the latter is correct, the norm of the algorithm should be corrected to $104^{161}$. The text adds that Easter is the first Sunday after Passover.

## $\beta^{\alpha} \psi \eta \varphi о \varphi о р i ́ \alpha \alpha^{a}$ тои̃ Па́б $\alpha \alpha$

Гívต












[^35]



## $2^{\text {nd }}$ calculation of Passover

Know that the Passover lists can be found in the 19 cycles of the Moon, that is, from the $1^{\text {st }}$ up to the nineteenth, all of them amounting to 19 Passover's. These 19 are found in each month in order as follows, that is, 1 Passover in March or in April. In the first <cycles> always keep two days of April in your fingers, that is, the first and the second, and you will not do anything else than seek for what the cycle of the Sun amounts to, and find from it on what weekday occurred the second of April, and if it occurred on a Sunday, the Holy Easter is on the other Sunday; if it was found a Tuesday or a Wednesday or a Thursday or a Friday, and continuously up to Saturday, reach up to the $<$ following $>$ Sunday, and there you will find the most divine Easter. $2^{\text {nd }}$ Passover. Similarly again keep 22 days of March in your fingers, and do likewise, that is, find the day of Passover. $<3^{\text {rd }}$ Passover. $>$ Keep the ten of April in your fingers. $4^{\text {th }}$ Passover 30 of March. $5^{\text {th }}$ Passover 18 of April. $6^{\text {th }}$ Passover 7 of April. $7^{\text {th }}$ Passover 23 of March. $8^{\text {th }}$ Passover 15 of April. $9^{\text {th }}$ Passover 4 of April. $10^{\text {th }}$ Passover 24 of March. $11^{\text {th }}$ Passover 12 of April. $12^{\text {th }}$ Passover 1 of April. $13^{\text {th }}$ Passover 21 of March. $14^{\text {th }}$ Passover April 9. $15^{\text {th }}$ Passover March 29. $16^{\text {th }}$ Passover April 17. $17^{\text {th }}$ Passover April 5. $18^{\text {th }}$ Passover March 25. $19^{\text {th }}$ Passover April 13.

The list of Passover dates. There are 19 different Passover dates, one for each year of the lunar cycle. Easter is the first Sunday after Passover. A complete list of Passover dates is provided, as in the following table:

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $p_{m}$ | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 |












## On the embolismic year

Know that from the first year of the Moon (namely, cycle) up to the $19^{\text {th }}$, the Moon has thirteen months every three years because of the remainder of 11 days by which it was in advance with respect to the year of the Sun; for the year of the Sun is of 365 days disregarding $1 / 4$, the <year> of the Moon is of 354 ; for from 354 up to 365 there are 11 days; for there remain over 11 days of the Moon per year, the so-called epacts. For instance, in the $1^{\text {st }}$ <year> there remain over 11 days, and in the second, 11 ; there it is, 22 because of the addition of 11 ; and in the $3^{\text {rd }}, 11$; there it is, three eleven, 33 , and that year of the Moon has 13 months because of the gathering of the hendecads; for after the completion of the 12 months of the Moon there remains over one month, the one also called embolismic; for in this way there remains over an embolismic month of the Moon every three years.

Embolismic years. There are 7 "embolismic lunar years" (they contain 13 lunations instead of 12; the additional lunar month has 30 days) ${ }^{162}$ because the solar year of $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days exceeds 12 lunar months ( $=354$ days) by $11 \frac{1}{4}$ days. If we neglect fractional parts, these 11 days-the so-called "epacts of the Moon" ( $\tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \sigma \varepsilon \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \downarrow \varsigma$ ह̇ $\pi \alpha \kappa$ $\tau \alpha i$ )-complete an "embolismic" lunar month of 30 days every two or three solar years; these days are subtracted from the cumulating epacts. Accordingly, the cumulating epacts must be reduced modulo 30. The text computes the epacts of the first three lunar cycles as an example; the implicit algorithm is $e_{m}=11 m \bmod 30$. In a whole cycle of 19 years, there are $209(=11 \times 19)$ additional days, which complete 7 embolismic months of 30 days via the trick of the saltus lunae (that is, the age of the Moon is increased by one day at some point of its cycle). Hollow years ( $\kappa$ о $\lambda$ oí) in the 19 -year cycle are years $1,2,4,6,7,9,10,12,13,15,17,18$; embolismic years $(\dot{\varepsilon} \mu \beta \dot{\sigma} \lambda \mu \mu \iota)$ are years $3,5,8,11,14,16,19^{163}$.

Below is a table of the main numerical data related to the lunar cycle that are explicitly or implicitly assumed in Anonymus 892, sects. 12, 14, 15, 17, 19: these data are the epacts (the saltus lunae is placed after cycle year 19) the location of the embolismic year, and the date of Passover.

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $e_{m}$ | 11 | 22 | 3 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 17 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 23 | 4 | 15 | 26 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| $e m b$. |  | $*$ |  | $*$ |  |  | $*$ |  |  | $*$ |  |  | $*$ |  | $*$ |  |  | $*$ |  |
| $p_{m}$ | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 |










[^36]


 $\pi \lambda \alpha v \eta ́ \tau \alpha \varsigma \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \theta \varepsilon o v ̀ \varsigma ~ \omega ̉ v o ́ \mu \alpha \zeta o v^{\mathrm{d}}$ oi какळ̃ऽ $\varphi \rho о v o v ̃ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \cdot$ oi $\delta \varepsilon ̀ \mu \eta ̀ ~ o v ̃ \tau \omega \varsigma ~ \varphi \rho o v o v ̃ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~ \theta \varepsilon o v ̀ \varsigma ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \varepsilon ̌ \lambda \varepsilon \gamma-$














 đòv $\delta \rho o ́ \mu o v \alpha v ̉ \tau \omega ̃ v$.

${ }^{m} \kappa \alpha \tau \sigma \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \omega v \tau \alpha \downarrow$

## A further calculation, for finding the epacts of the Sun

If you want to find the epacts of the Sun of each year, know that the year has $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days, and remove them by 7, and that which remains down from 7 are the epacts of each year of the Sun, viz. cycle. For instance, the $1^{\text {st }}$ cycle of the Sun (namely, year) has one epact and a quarter, since we really removed $365 \frac{1}{4}$ by 7 : that is, seven times 50, 350 : and there remain $15 \frac{1}{4}$ days. Again, twice seven, 14: and there remains $1 \frac{1}{4}$, which is called "solar epact". And again, the second <cycle> has two and a half epacts, since there really remains over $1 \frac{1}{4}$ per year. And the third has three and a half and a quarter. The fourth has 5 epacts because of the addition of the quarters. The fifth has six and a quarter epacts. The sixth has seven and a half; remove seven, and there remain a half of an epact. $<$ Do $>$ also in this way continuously up to the $28^{\text {th }}$ cycle of the Sun. Whenever a number exceeds 7, remove seven, and keep what <remains> down. Know that they are called "epacts" for every cycle of the Sun, and "epacts of the Gods" by the Egyptians. For the Egyptians were used to refer to the week by taking the 7 planets as model, which planets were also named "gods" by those who think wrongly; those who do not think in this way called them "gods" not because of their nature but because of the kind of their activity; for they called them "gods" because of their "going", that is to say "running", whereas <that which is> god because of its nature is called "god" because of its "begolding" everything ${ }^{164}$. Know, as the ancient wise men say, that God made the seven days of the week by taking the 7 heavenly bodies, also called "planets", as model, and He likens Sunday to the Sun, Monday to the Moon, Tuesday to Mars, Wednesday to Mercury, Thursday to Jupiter, Friday to Venus, Saturday to Saturn.
$h 1^{\text {st }}$ Saturn is in the first zone of the heaven, and travels over the 12 signs in 30 years.
$242^{\text {nd }}$ Jupiter is in the second one, and travels over the 12 signs in 12 years.
$\sigma^{\pi} 3^{\text {rd }}$ Mars is in the third one, and travels over the 12 signs in 15 years.

[^37]$\odot 4^{\text {th }}$ the Sun is in the fourth one, and travels over in 12 months.
o $5^{\text {th }}$ Venus is in the fifth one, and travels over in 8 months.
$\ddot{+} 6^{\text {th }}$ Mercury is in the sixth one, and travels over in 3 months.
$\mathbb{7 ^ { \text { th } }}$ the Moon is in the seventh one, and travels over in 30 days.
The Moon is the lowest <heavenly body>; for, as when you will make a pole inside another pole, the inner pole will be found to be smaller, so the motion of the Moon, insofar as it is lower, is also smaller and it will be carried up faster. They are called "planets" not because they deceive people, but because they travel transversely across their course ${ }^{165}$.

A computation for finding the epacts of the Sun. The algorithm is ${ }^{166}$ :
$(s) \rightarrow\left[\left(365 \frac{1}{4} \bmod 7\right) s\right] \bmod 7=e_{s}$.
This algorithm, which computes with the crudest fractional approximation of the tropical year, is equivalent to adding $11 / 4 \equiv 365 \frac{1}{4}(\bmod 7)$ for every year of the solar cycle and to reducing the result modulo 7 ; see sect. 2. A complete list of epacts of the Sun is provided in the text, as in the following table; in this section, $7 \bmod 7=0$, and fractional remainders are admitted (they "pass through" the modulo reduction).

| $s$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $e_{s}$ | $11 / 4$ | $21 / 2$ | $31 / 21 / 4$ | 5 | $61 / 4$ | $1 / 2$ | $1 / 2 / 4$ | 3 | $41 / 4$ | $51 / 2$ | $61 / 21 / 4$ | 1 | $21 / 4$ | $31 / 2$ |
| $s$ | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 |
| $e_{s}$ | $41 / 21 / 4$ | 6 | $1 / 4$ | $11 / 2$ | $21 / 21 / 4$ | 4 | $51 / 4$ | $61 / 2$ | $1 / 21 / 4$ | 2 | $31 / 4$ | $41 / 2$ | $51 / 21 / 4$ | $/$ |

The text states that these epacts are called "epacts of the gods" ( $\theta \varepsilon \tilde{\varrho} v \dot{\varepsilon} \pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha i ́)$ by the Egyptians, for they named the weekdays after the seven planets, which were also called "gods" because of the names of most of them; a polemical remark on the real etymology of the epithet follows ${ }^{167}$. The text continues by mentioning a wellknown piece of astrological lore about the generation of the seven weekdays by imitation of the seven planets, in the order Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn ${ }^{168}$, and by listing location and periods of the seven planets, as follows ${ }^{169}$ :

| planet | Saturn | Jupiter | Mars | Sun | Venus | Mercury | Moon |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| period | 30years | $12 y$ | $15 y$ | 12 months | $8 m$ | $3 m$ | 30 days |

The section ends with a remark on the fact that the Moon is the innermost planet and on the etymology of the word "planet".

[^38]Many ancient and Byzantine sources list the periods of the planets; the following table sets out those found in Geminos, Isagoge I.24-30, and in an end ninth-century scholium in Vat. gr. $1291^{170}$ :

| planet | Saturn | Jupiter | Mars | Sun | Venus | Mercury | Moon |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Geminos | $30 y$ | $12 y$ | $2 y 6 m$ | $12 m$ | $12 m$ | $12 m$ | $27 d 1 / 3$ |
| Vat. gr. 1291 | $30 y$ | $12 y$ | $1 y 6 m$ | $12 m$ | $11 m 6 d$ | $8 m$ | $30 d$ |


 ßíбєктоv.

How a leap year comes to be
Resolve out the years of the world into four-times, and if it gets completed to a fourth <year>, say that it is a leap year.

A criterion for identifying a leap year. If $y \equiv 4(\bmod 4)$, then $y$ is a leap year.

## 22

$\left.\right|_{13 v}$ Гívต




Know that the lunar cycle of the Moon in which Passover is also found begins from March 21 <and reaches> up to April 18. Know that outside this month there cannot be Passover, <viz.,> neither above nor below. Consider that the beginning is above and the end is below. This lunar month is also called the "middle month of the Moon".

Terms for Passover. The terms for Passover are: $21_{M} \leq p \leq 18_{A}$ (see sect. 26). A clarification follows, on the use of the adverbs $\ddot{\alpha} v \omega \theta \varepsilon v$ and $\kappa \alpha ́ \tau \theta \theta \varepsilon v$ as ways to specify the time arrow (see sects. 12 and 26) ${ }^{171}$. The Passover interval is also called "middle month of the Moon" ( $\mu \varepsilon ́ \sigma o \varsigma ~ \mu \eta ̀ v \tau \eta \tilde{\varsigma} \sigma \varepsilon \lambda \eta ́ v \eta \varsigma)$.

## 23

غ̇рต́tท⿱宀ธร ${ }^{\text {a }}$

д̀ло́крıбıs





[^39]
## Question

Why does the lunar month keep 30 days and four weeks?
Answer
Then, the Moon also has four turning points: for $<$ at the end of $>$ the $1^{\text {st }}$ week it becomes a $\theta,<$ at the end of $>$ the second, an $\epsilon,<0 f>$ the $3^{\text {rd }}$, an o , and $<o f>$ the $4^{\text {th }}$, a c , and it writes $\theta$ coc. Through Ursa Major $\zeta$, through the Pleiads $\omega$, through South $v$, and the lunar month $\theta \epsilon o c$; and it writes $\theta \epsilon \circ c \zeta \omega v[$ scil. "Living God"].

Why does the lunar month ( $\varphi \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \gamma \mathrm{\gamma}$ ) have 30 days and 4 weeks? Because the Moon has 4 turning-points ( $\tau \rho \circ \pi \alpha i$ ); they bound 4 periods within the lunar month at the end of which the phases of the Moon, if they are put together one after the other, trace the word $\theta$ єoc. Moreover, through (?) Ursa Major $\zeta$, through the Pleiads $\omega$, through South $v$, yielding $\theta \epsilon o c \zeta \omega v$. I have been unable to understand the connection with Ursa Major, the Pleiads, and South, nor have I found parallel texts.

## 24

 $\dot{\varepsilon} \beta \delta o \mu \alpha ́ \delta o \varsigma ~ \varepsilon ̇ \sigma \tau i v$

Гívต








${ }^{\mathrm{j}} \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta \mu \eta v i ́ \alpha{ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ 阝 б́бєктоv
God willing, calculation for finding on which weekday the starting-day of each month falls
Know on what weekday the starting-day falls of the month you want of the present year, and if the starting-day of the month of the present year is a Sunday, next year is found on Monday, and in this way know that whatever month of every year coninuously begins according to the weekly ordering.

Know also this, that, if the starting-day of whatever month of the present year falls on a Sunday and a bissextile <day> is impending, consider that the starting-day of next year will be a Tuesday because of the addition of a day. Similarly also, whenever a leap year will be arrived at, continuously do in this way; know that the <days> before a leap year and after a leap year fall according to the weekly ordering.

A computation of the weekday of the first day of month X in year $y+1$, if the weekday of the first day of month $X$ in year $y$ is given. The implicit algorithm is (I have been charitable with our text, translating ßíб\&кгov both as "bissextile <day>" and as "leap year"):
$(y, X) \rightarrow$
$\mid 1_{X}>28_{F}, w_{y}\left(1_{X}\right) \rightarrow w_{y}\left(1_{X}\right)+1+\llbracket[(y+1) \bmod 4] / 4 \rrbracket \rightarrow\left[w_{y}\left(1_{X}\right)+1+\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket\right] \bmod 7=w_{y+1}\left(1_{X}\right)$.
$\mid 1_{X}<28_{F}, w_{y}\left(1_{X}\right) \rightarrow w_{y}\left(1_{X}\right)+1+\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket \rightarrow\left\{w_{y}\left(1_{X}\right)+1+\llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket\right\} \bmod 7=w_{y+1}\left(1_{X}\right)$.
Since $365 \equiv 1(\bmod 7)$, the weekdays of the same dates in consecutive years are consecutive, unless the interval between the two dates includes February 29, in which case the difference is of two weekdays. I could not find this algorithm in other Computi.

A A




A further calculation, for knowing how many hours the Moon shines and when it reaches anew
From the $1^{\text {st }}$ to the $15^{\text {th }}<$ day $>$ of the Moon, quadruple what you have, and resolve out into fivetimes ${ }^{172}$, and that which remains over signifies how many hours it shines. From the $16^{\text {th }}$ know $<$ as follows>; consider that in the sixteenth day the Moon shines as many hours as it shone in the fourteenth day, and in the seventeenth <day> as many as it shone in the thirteenth, and continuously consider in this way up to the end of the number of the Moon.

Duration of visibility $v_{a}$ of the waxing and waning Moon. The implicit algorithm is as follows, where $a=$ age of the Moon:
(a) $\rightarrow$
$\mid 1 \leq a \leq 15,4 a \rightarrow 4 a / 5=v_{a}$.
$\mid 16 \leq a, v_{a}=v_{30-a}$.
The duration of visibility of the waxing (waning) Moon ${ }^{173}$ is supposed to increase (decrease) stepwise every day of the lunar month. Since the full Moon is supposed to "shine" for the length of the interval between sunset and moonset, the step is $4 / 5$ an hour, which is the scaling factor between 12 hours and 15 days. This, and comparison with other sources ${ }^{174}$, shows that the algorithm in our text must be corrected by inverting its implied scaling factor $5 / 4$. Seasonal hours are intended ${ }^{175}$.














[^40]
## God willing, a concise calculation of Passover

Know that, in the $1^{\text {st }}$ cycle of the Moon, Passover is always found on April 2, and if you want to easily find the remaining Passover's from the $1^{\text {st }}$ cycle up to the $19^{\text {th }}$, add 20 , and remove 12 , and you find the Passover of each year. For instance, add 20 to April 2: and they yield 22. And there it is, Passover is on March 22. And again remove 12 from March 22: and there remain 10. There it is, Passover is on April 10. Calculate in the same way from the first up to the nineteenth cycle; adding 20 and removing 12 you will find the Passover of each year. There are 3 remarkable cycles that do not admit of the addition of 20 but a removal of 11 and not of 12 (these are $<$ cycles $>6,9,12$ ), and also <cycle> 17 , while not admitting of the addition of 20, does admit of a removal of 12 and not of 11. Know also this, that whenever you have a number of days greater than 20, Passover is in March; from <number> 18 and above (I mean by "above" the beginning of the month), seek for them [scil. the days] in April.

A computation of Passover. To follow the prescription more easily, recall the sequence of Passover dates:

| $m$ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $p_{m}$ | 2 | $22_{M}$ | 10 | $30_{M}$ | 18 | 7 | $27_{M}$ | 15 | 4 | $24_{M}$ | 12 | 1 | $21_{M}$ | 9 | $29_{M}$ | 17 | 5 | $25_{M}$ | 13 |

The algorithm is ${ }^{176}$ :

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \left(p_{m}\right) \rightarrow \\
& \quad \mid p_{m} \in A, p_{m} \leq 11, p_{m}+20-: 1_{M}=p_{m+1} . \\
& \mid p_{m} \in A, p_{m}>11, p_{m}-11-: 1_{A}=p_{m+1} . \\
& \mid p_{m} \in M, p_{m}-12-: 1_{A}=p_{m+1} .
\end{aligned}
$$

This algorithm formalizes the following data: since each year the epacts increase by 11 units, the date of Passover shifts backwards by 11 days from an assigned year to the next (second branch of the algorithm). However, Passover cannot fall earlier than March 21; therefore, such early dates are replaced by a day falling one lunar month later (this lunar month lasts 30 days, as we shall see in a moment); to this day does not correspond the same date in April, but the numerically precedent date because March has 31 days. Therefore, whenever the Passover date falls outside the lower bound, March 21, of the Passover interval $21_{M} \leq p \leq 18_{A}{ }^{177}$, it enters again this interval from its upper bound numerically lowered by 12 units instead of 11 (third branch of the algorithm). Finally (first branch of the algorithm), adding 20 comes from $20 \equiv-11(\bmod 31)$. Thus, the prescription is as follows: from the date of Passover of cycle year 1 alternately add 20 and subtract 12 , with the exceptions of cycles $6,9,12$ (resp. 17), which are reached by subtracting 11 (resp. 12) from the previous cycle instead of adding 20 . Of course, the special case of cycle 17 corresponds to the saltus lunae. The text has a final remark (see sects. $\mathbf{1 2}$ and $\mathbf{2 2}$ for the clarification about the adverb $\alpha ้ v \omega$ ): if $p_{m}>20$, then $p_{m} \in M$; if $p_{m} \leq 18$, then $p_{m} \in A$.

Both in primary sources and in secondary literature ${ }^{178}$, the Passover terms are the 29-day time interval $21_{M} \leq p \leq 18_{A}$, but the principle of 11-day backward shift of lunar dates entails that the real terms are the boundaries of the 30 -day time interval $21_{M} \leq p \leq 19_{A}$ : April 19 is discarded because this date coincides with a gap in the Passover sequence and it is located at the end of the interval. This can be seen in the "wheel" ( $\tau \rho 0 \chi$ ó $\varsigma$ ) below, which is the standard representation of many cyclic structures in early Computi. The days in the time interval $21_{M} \leq p \leq 19_{A}$ (middle ring) are numbered in succession (outer ring, clockwise); the inner ring carries the se-

[^41]quence of Passover dates, identified by the associated lunar cycle year ${ }^{179}$. The direction of the 11-day cyclic backward shift is exemplified inside the wheel, by means of dots (first three steps) and of two arrows. The shift is cyclic in the sense that March 21 is adjacent to April 19 and the shift crosses this border. In this diagram, the saltus lunae occurs after lunar cycle year 19: the Passover date of lunar cycle year 1 is found 12 cells (and not 11 cells) counterclockwise to the Passover date of lunar cycle year 19.


27
 тov̀ऽ $\lambda 0 \varkappa \pi$ оv̀ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ кv́к $\lambda \mathrm{Ov} \varsigma$
$1 \varepsilon v, \zeta^{b} \cdot 1 \varepsilon \kappa, \tau \cdot 1 \varepsilon \zeta, \mathrm{Q}$.




 $\dot{\varepsilon} v \varepsilon \sigma \tau \tilde{\sigma} \tau \circ \varsigma \chi \rho o ́ v o v$.
${ }^{\mathrm{a}} \lambda v \pi o v ̀ \varsigma{ }^{\mathrm{b}}, \varsigma$ e corr. m. $2{ }^{\mathrm{c}} \dot{\mathrm{v} \varphi} \varphi \lambda \mu \mathrm{o} \varsigma$
One has to know how the years from the foundation of the world are removed for finding the indiction and the remaining cycles
$15<$ times $>400,6000 ; 15<$ times $>20,300 ; 15<$ times $>6,90$.
How one must find the cycle of the Sun. 20 <times> 200, 4000; $8<$ times> 200, 1600; 20 <times $>20,400 ; 8<$ times $>20,160$. There it is, we removed 6 thousand and 160: and there remain 240 from $<6>400 ; 20<$ times $>5,100 ; 8<$ times $>5,40$ : there remain 100 as a remainder; 20 <times> 3,$60 ; 8<$ times $>3,24$ : there remain 16 as a remainder from 100 , which is the $16^{\text {th }}$ cycle of the Sun.

How the removal of the Moon can be found. $19<$ times $>300,5700 ; 19<$ times $>30$, 570. There it is, we removed 6 thousand and 270 years: there remain 130 as a remainder; $19<$ times $>6,114$ : there it is, there remain 16 , which is the cycle of the Moon of the present year.

A computation of indiction, solar, and lunar cycle years. The computation is carried out, for current year AM 6400 [ $=$ AD 891/2], by subtracting suitable multiples of 15,28 , and 19 , respectively. The results are $i=10, s=16$, and $m=16$ (see sect. 7).

[^42]
## APPENDIX. A CONCORDANCE OF ANONYMUS 830 AND ANONYMUS 892

## Anonymus 830 is edited in GASTGEBER, Neue texte XXX-XXX; the division into sections is mine.

$\left.\right|_{36 r} 1$. An algorithm for computing the epacts of the months and the weekday of the beginning of a month \{see footnote 153 \}
2. A compendium of computistical parameters: subdivisions of the year and length of the solar, lunar, and indiction cycles $\{\approx$ Anon. 892, sect. 1 \}
3. A (meaningless) computation of solar cycle years
$\left.\right|_{36 \mathrm{v}} 4$. An algorithm for computing the epacts of the sun (with fractional parts), $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. $\mathbf{2 0}\}$ and their use to find the weekday of the beginning of a month
5. About the period of 532 years $\{\approx$ Anon. 892 , sect. 7$\}$
6. An algorithm for computing the epacts of the sun $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. $\mathbf{2}\}$
7. An algorithm for computing the epacts of the Moon; features of the lunar cycle $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 14$\}$
$\left.\right|_{37 \mathrm{r}} 8$. Lunar wheel, featuring lunar cycles - epacts of the Moon - Passover, Byzantine epact sequence
$1_{37 v} 9$. Solar wheel, featuring solar cycles - epacts of the Sun - leap years, with fractional epacts $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 20 $\}$
$\left.\right|_{38 r-v} 10-12$. Interpretation ( $\delta$ ı́ $\gamma \eta \sigma 1 \varsigma$ ) of the three wheels ( $\pi$ ó $\lambda \mathrm{o}$ ); the wheel for indiction is missing $\{=$ George, sect. III $\}$
$\left.\right|_{39 \mathrm{r}}$ 13. A computation of solar, lunar, indiction, and leap-year cycle years for AM 6321 [ $=$ AD 812/3] \{=Anon. 892, sects. 3-7 and 9-11, 27, 21 \}
14. An algorithm for computing the epacts of the sun $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 2$\}$
15. An algorithm for computing the weekday $\left.\right|_{39 \mathrm{v}}$ of a given day $\{=$ Anon. 892 , sect. $\mathbf{1 2}\}$
16. About the Period of 532 years; the role of Hero and Athanasius; the number of $\alpha \partial \varphi \alpha\{\approx$ Anon. 892, sect. 7\}
17. An algorithm for computing the weekday using September 30 as epacts $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 13$\}$
18. The norm 50 algorithm for Passover; Easter is the Sunday next thereafter \{see Anon. 892, sect. 12\}
19. Age of the Moon computed for April 4, leap-year, $m=12,\left.\right|_{40 \mathrm{r}}$ using the algorithm of the $\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda \mathrm{ov} v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \kappa \alpha i ̀ \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \lambda \mathrm{oṽv} \tau \varepsilon \varsigma$ \{see Anon. 892, sect. 8\}
20. A computation of the solar cycle year of indiction 8 , AM $6338[=\mathrm{AD} 830]$; features of the solar cycle \{see Anon. 892, sects. 4 and $\mathbf{1 0}\}$
21. A computation of the lunar cycle year of indiction 8 , AM 6338 [ $=\mathrm{AD} 830]$; features of the lunar cycle \{see Anon. 892, sects. 5 and 11\}
$\left.\right|_{40 \mathrm{v}} 22$. An algorithm for computing the lunar cycle years by adding 11 [end-of-century 6300 is intended] and removing the result by 19 \{= Anon. 892, sect. 7\}
23. An algorithm for computing the indiction; a computation of the indiction of indiction 8 (sic) AM 6338 [=AD 830]; features of the indiction cycle \{see Anon. 892, sects. 6 and 9$\}$
24. An algorithm for computing the duration of visibility of the waxing and waning Moon \{see Anon. 892, sect. 25 \}
25. The norm 50 algorithm for Passover; $\left.\right|_{41 \mathrm{r}}$ an algorithm for computing Meat-Fare Sunday $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 12 $\}$
26. A concise computation of Passover $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 16\}
27. A concise $\left.\right|_{41 \mathrm{v}}$ computation of Passover $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 26\}
28. The norm 50 algorithm for Passover; $\left.\right|_{42 \mathrm{r}-\mathrm{v}}$ an algorithm for computing the weekday of an assigned day; an algorithm for computing Meat-Fare Sunday \{see Anon. 892, sect. 12\}
29. An algorithm for computing the weekday of the beginning of a month by using the solar epacts $\{=$ Anon. 1092B, sect. 16\}
30. Partition of the base epacts of the Moon as $11=5+6\{=$ Anon. 1092B, sect. 2$\}$
31. How the bissextile day comes to be $\{=$ Anon. 892 , sect. 3$\}$
32. About the embolismic years $\left.\right|_{43 \mathrm{r}}$ and months $\{=$ Anon. 892 , sect. 19$\}$
33. An algorithm for computing the duration of visibility of the waxing and waning Moon \{see Anon. 892, sect. 25\}
34. An algorithm for computing the epacts of the Moon \{see Maximus, Enarratio III.10, in PG XIX 1272\}
35. The norm 105 algorithm for $\left.\right|_{43 \mathrm{v}}$ Passover $\{=$ Anon. 892, sect. 17\}

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    * The present edition is an extract from a complete record of the sources (about 300 Greek manuscripts contain computistical material) and from an exhaustive discussion of them. I have collated Par. suppl. gr. 920 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France on November 28, 2019 (the manuscript is also available online: search in the website https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/ by using the Diktyon number); I warmly thank Christian Förstel for his logistic support. I am extremely grateful to Immo Warntjes for a series of enlightening discussions, to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for a critical reading, and to the referees for the suggestions. The pieces of mathematical notation I use will be explained in a footnote on their first occurrence. With the crucial exception of the "modulo reduction", all these pieces of notation are nothing more than convenient shorthands.
    ${ }^{1}$ Byzantine Computi took a more mathematically-oriented turn, as we shall see.
    ${ }^{2}$ The reader will profit from the following studies: F. RÜHL, Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Berlin 1897, 63208; B. Mac Carthy, Annals of Ulster, 1155-1541. IV. Introduction. Dublin 1901, XIV-CLXxvii; E. Schwartz, Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologischhistorische Klasse, n.f., VIII.6). Berlin 1905; CH. W. Jones, Bedae Opera de Temporibus. Cambridge (MA) 1943, 6-77; V. Grumel, La Chronologie (Traité d'Études Byzantines 1). Paris 1958, 1-128, which contains a wealth of material; A. Strobel, Ursprung und Geschichte des frühchristlichen Osterkalenders (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 121). Berlin 1977; G. DECLERCQ, Anno Domini. The Origins of the Christian Era. Turnhout 2000, and G. Declerce, Dionysius Exiguus and the Introduction of the Christian Era. Sacris Erudiri 41 (2002) 165-246, to be checked against L. Holford-Strevens, review of Declerce, Anno Domini. Peritia (2001) 401-410; C. Leonhard, The Jewish Pesach and the Origins of the Christian Easter (Studia Judaica 35). Berlin - New York 2006; L. HolfordStrevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars up to Bede. Peritia 20 (2008) 165-208; A. A. Mosshammer, The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era. Oxford 2008, filled with detail and reconstructions that dilute the main line of the argument, but extremely useful for this very reason (for instance, the analytic refutations of other scholars' hypotheses constitute useful summaries of them); C. Ph. E. Nothaft, Dating the Passion. The Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology (200-1660) (Time, Astronomy, and Calendars 1). Leiden - Boston 2012, and C. Ph. E. Nothaft, Scandalous Error. Calendar Reform and Calendrical Astronomy in Medieval Europe. Oxford 2018, which cover the period 2001600 and which I have found informative and particularly clear; S. STERN, Calendars in Antiquity. Oxford 2012, 380-424, in a strictly socio-political perspective; I. Warntues, The Mechanics of Lunar Calendars and the Modes of Calculating Easter, AD 400-1100: Contexts and Perspectives, in: La conoscenza scientifica nell'Alto Medioevo (Settimane di Studio

[^1]:    della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 67). Spoleto 2020, 273-310. A complete and technically informed account of Alexandrian Computi, a key character in the history of Computus, has been reached only thanks to the masterly studies of Ethiopic sources carried out in O. Neugebauer, Ethiopic Easter Computus. OC 63 (1979) 87-102, O. Neugebauer, Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 347). Wien 1979, and O. Neugebauer, Abu Shaker's Chronography (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 498). Wien 1988. An interest in technical features comparable to Neugebauer's can more recently be found in the writings of Leofranc Holford-Strevens: see B. Blackburn - L. Holford-Strevens, The Oxford Companion to the Year. Oxford 1999, 661-692, 708-711, 762-832, 858-875; Holford-Strevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars; the book reviews in Peritia 15 (2001) 401-410, 19 (2005) 359-371, and 22-23 (2011) 356-368.
    ${ }^{3}$ A state of research is found in I. WARNTJES, Introduction: State of Research on Late Antique and Early Medieval Computus, in: Late Antique Calendrical Thought and Its Reception in the Early Middle Ages, ed. I. Warntjes - D. Ó Cróinín (Studia Traditionis Theologiae 26). Turnhout 2017, 1-41, which also see for references to editions of some Latin texts more recent than B. Krusch, Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie. Der 84jährige Ostercyclus und seine Quellen. Leipzig 1880, and B. Krusch, Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie. Die Entstehung unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung. I. Victorius. Ersatz der fehlerhaften Ausgabe Mommsens in den M.G. II. Dionysius Exiguus, der Begründer der christlichen Ära (Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1937. Phil.-hist. Klasse 8). Berlin 1938. To give an idea of the figures involved, Bede's De Temporum Ratione is witnessed by some 245 manuscripts, a number which far exceeds the number of Greek manuscripts that contain fully-fledged Byzantine Computi.
    ${ }^{4}$ For the Chronicon Paschale, see Grumel, La Chronologie 73-84; J. Beaucamp - R.-Cl. Bondoux - J. Lefort - M.-F. Rouan - I. Sorlin, Temps et Histoire I: Le prologue de la Chronique pascale. TM 7 (1979) 223-301; Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 286-311; and Ch. Gastgeber, The So Called Chronicon Paschale, the Vatican Chronological Compilation with Computus, in: A Companion to Byzantine Chronicles, ed. R. Tocci. Leiden - Boston 2021, XXX-XXX. For the computists of the of the middle- $7^{\text {th }}$ century, see A. Tifon, Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius, in: Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. B. Janssens - B. Roosen - P. Van Deun (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 137). Leuven 2004, 625-646; and J. Lempire, Le calcul de la date de Pâques dans les traités de S. Maxime le Confesseur et de Georges, moine et prêtre. Byz 77 (2007) 267-304. For the reforms, see A. Tihon, Barlaam de Seminara. Traité Sur la date de Pâques. Byz 81 (2011) 362-411. These references also provide earlier bibliography.
    ${ }^{5}$ See the in-depth survey in Nothaft, Scandalous Error.
    ${ }^{6}$ Conversely, the tool-box of Western Computists abounded with reckoning shortcuts: concurrentes, several types of regulares, litterae punctatae, numeri aurei, claves terminorum, tables and calendars of all kinds.

[^2]:    ${ }^{7}$ The Last Supper took place the day before, according to John.
    ${ }^{8}$ Cycles are of crucial importance for their Christological import: as all Christian eras were devised in strict correlation with Easter cycles, different cycles entailed different dates for Christ's birth and for the Passion. Further constraints came from the Genesis account that the Moon came to existence as a full Moon on the fourth day of Creation, and from the numerological requirement that the Incarnation had to occur 5500 years after Creation.
    ${ }^{9}$ Since the lunar phases depend on the position of the Sun, a lunar cycle should more properly be called a "lunisolar cycle", but I shall use the shorter denomination.

[^3]:    ${ }^{10}$ Sources for Hippolytus, who also composed a chronography now lost, are Eusebius, HE VI.22, and the Chronography of Elias of Nisibis (dated 1019), in E. W. Brooks, Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni Opus Chronologicum (CSCO 63). Lipsiae 1910, 120-121; the engraved tables are transcribed in PGX 875-884, and in M. GUARDUCCI, La statua di «Sant'Ippolito» in Vaticano. RPAA 47 (1974-1975) 163-190, and M. GuARDUCCI, Epigrafia Greca. I-IV. Roma 1967-1978 IV 535-545. Guarducci showed that the statue, heavily restored as a male character in 1564-5, originally represented a female character and did not bear any inscription (see E. Castelli, La cattedra della Chiesa e il trono del vescovo tra II e III secolo a Roma: ricerche sul contesto storico della "statua d'Ippolito". ASE 27 [2010], 35-50, for un updated bibliography). The Computist of 243 is edited as Pseudo-Cyprian, De Pascha computus, in PL IV 939-972 (this work is mainly a chronography). On the 8-year cycle see Schwartz, Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln 29-40; F. K. Ginzel, Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie. I-III. Leipzig 1906-1914 II 236-238; M. RICHARD, Comput et chronographie chez saint Hippolyte. MSR 7 (1950) 237-268; M. Richard, Notes sur le cycle de cent douze ans. REB 24 (1966) 257-277; M. Richard, Le comput pascal par octaétéris. Muséon 87 (1974) 307-333; Holford-Strevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars 167-172; Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 109-129; Nothaft, Dating the Passion 38-56; A. A. Mosshammer, Towards a new edition of the Computus of AD 243, in: Late Antique Calendrical Thought and Its Reception in the Early Middle Ages, ed. I. Warntjes - D. Ó Cróinín (Studia Traditionis Theologiae 26). Turnhout 2017, 43-70. A further source on the 8-year cycle is Quintus Julius Hilarianus (ca. 397), Expositum de die Paschae et mensis XIII, in PL XIII 1105-1114, 1113, whose short computation is also found, applied to the ogdoas constitutive of a 19-year cycle, in the letter of Dionysius Exiguus to Boniface and Bonus, in Krusch, Studien (1938) 84.20-24. The 8 -year cycle was described, and shown to be inadequate, already in Geminos, Isagoge VIII.27-49. See also O. Schissel, Neue Zeugnisse für die OKTAETHPIг. Hermes 72 (1937) 317-333, for possible Byzantine traces of the 8-year cycle.
    ${ }^{11}$ On the 84 -year cycles see Krusch, Studien (1880), who edits the then known sources; Schwartz, Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln 40-104; Holford-Strevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars 173-187; Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 204-239; I. Warntues, The Munich Computus and the 84 (14)-year Easter reckoning. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 107C (2007) 31-85, I. Warntjes, The Munich Computus: Text and Translation (Sudhoffs Archiv 59). Stuttgart 2010, and Warntjes, The Mechanics. The latercus was recovered in a Padua manuscript: D. Mc Carthy - D. Ó Crórnín, The 'Lost' Irish 84-year Easter Table Rediscovered. Peritia 6-7 (1987-1988) 227-242 (discovery), D. Mc Carthy, Easter Principles and a Fifth-Century Lunar Cycle Used in the British Isles. JHA 24 (1993) 204-224 (reconstruction of the principles underlying the table), Blackburn-Holford-Strevens, The Oxford Companion to the Year 870-875 (overview), Holford-Strevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars 178-187 (lunar calendar). Reformed avatars of the 84(12) cycle are the laterculus of Augustalis (for which see A. A. Mosshammer, The Computus of 455 and the Laterculus of Augustalis, with an Appendix on the Fractional Method of Agriustia, in: The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ed. I. Warntjes - D. Ó Cróinín [Studia Traditionis Theologiae 10]. Turnhout 2011, 21-47) and the Zeitz table (AD 447), for which see Th. Mommsen, Chronicorum Minorum saec. IV. V. VI. VII. I-III (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum Tomus IX). Berlin 1892-1998 I 501-510; B. Krusch, Neue Bruchstücke der Zeitzer Ostertafel vom Jahre 447. Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1933. Philos.-hist. Kl. Berlin 1933, 981-997; E. Overganuw - F.-J. Steving, Die Zeitzer Ostertafel aus dem Jahre 447. Petersberg 2005.
    ${ }^{12}$ See Nothaft, Scandalous Error 26-34 on competing conventions in Latin West.

[^4]:    ${ }^{13}$ In the terminology I shall explain in the glossary, the Alexandrian Easter limits ranged from luna $X V$ to luna $X X I$, the limits endorsed by the Roman Church from luna XVI to luna XXII. In addition, the Roman Church deemed them unacceptable Easter dates after April 21, the day celebrating the foundation of the town. In the $5^{\text {th }}$ century, the Roman Church still used the $84(12)$-year cycle. The $84(14)$ cycle in the latercus was supplemented with limits from luna XIV to luna XX and the equinoctial term was March 25, the traditional date in Rome.
    ${ }^{14}$ The prologues to the two tables, edited already in Krusch, Studien (1880) 220-226 and 337-349, have been recently reedited in A. A. Mosshammer, The Prologues on Easter of Theophilus of Alexandria and [Cyril]. Oxford 2017. A version of Theophilos' prologue has been very recently recovered in the partial Alexandrian Computus I shall call Anonymus 487 (its structure is characteristically much looser than the structure of any Byzantine Computus; it only contains algorithms for computing the epacts and the age of the Moon) dated Diocletian 203 [ $=$ AD 486/7] and witnessed in the manuscript Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 45 sup. (gr. 1; $12^{\text {th }}$ century, Southern Italy; Diktyon 42172 ) ff. 1r-8v: see Ch. GASTGEBER, Neue texte zum Computus byzantinischer Zeit im Codex Ambrosianus A 45 sup. JÖB 71 (2021) XXX-XXX: XXX-XXX and XXX-XXX; this manuscript also contains an adaptation of Cyril's table for the years Diocletian 191-229 [= AD 475513] (XXX-XXX) and a Byzantine Computus (XXX-XXX) I shall call Anonymus 830. The significance of the 95 -year time interval is explained in Neugebauer, Abu Shaker's $96-97$ (and see also Neugebauer, Ethiopic Astronomy, s.v.); Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 55. The 100 years of Theophilos' table are a rounding of 95.
    ${ }^{15}$ As $11 \times 532=5852$ and Annianus set the beginning of his era in BC 5492 March 25 , the end of the eleventh cycle falls in AD 360/1. The epoch of the Alexandrian era was eventually reset to BC 5493 August 29 (the first day of the Alexandrian calendar year). This shifts back the end of the eleventh cycle to AD 359/60.
    ${ }^{16}$ Victorius is also known for his arithmetical tables: see A. M. Peden, Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey: Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine. Oxford 2003. Despite the mathematical abilities testified to by these tables, in his Easter table Victorious got involved in a series of mistakes: see Jones, Bedae Opera 63, and Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 239-244.
    ${ }^{17}$ This belief was finally reduced to its historical measure in L. Duchesne, La question de la Pâque au Concile de Nicée. Revue des Questions Historiques 28 (1880) 5-42, and again in F. Daunoy, La question pascale au concile de Nicée. Échos d'Orient 24 (1925) 424-444, but see already A. De Morgan, On the Ecclesiastical Calendar. Companion to the Almanac (1845) 1-36: 6-8.
    ${ }^{18}$ Sources for the authors mentioned in this list are edited in Mommsen, Chronicorum Minorum I 667-756, and Krusch, Studien (1938). A recent overview, with discussion of previous scholarship, is found in Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 130-203, 239-277, and 339-356 (on the era of Dionysius). The dates preceding Dionysius and that I have given in the era AD should more accurately be given in the era Diocletian. What Krusch, Studien (1938) 75-81 edits as Dionysius' argumenta is a reworking to be dated to AD 675: I. Warnties, The Argumenta of Dionysius Exiguus and Their Early Recensions, in: Computus and Its Cultural Context in the Latin West, AD 300-1200, ed. I. Warntjes - D. Ó Cróinín (Studia Traditionis Theologiae 5). Turnhout 2010, 40-111. The earliest reworking, dated AD 562, is edited in P. Lehmann, Cassiodorstudien. Philologus 71 (1912) 278-299. Studies of the argumenta that derive from Dionysius Exiguus' rules are also found in O. Neugebauer, On the Computus Paschalis of "Cassiodorus". Centaurus 25 (1982) 292-302, and in MossHAMMER, The Easter Computus 97-106.

[^5]:    ${ }^{19}$ Maximus, Enarratio I.15, in PG XIX 1232, explicitly makes this point.
    ${ }^{20}$ On the transition from the Alexandrian era to the Byzantine era, see most recently Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 278-316, with discussion of previous scholarship. See also the commentary on sect. $\mathbf{1 2}$ of Anonymus 892.
    ${ }^{21}$ However, no documents prove that this specific lore was taught in Byzantine schools or higher institutions; see also point B of the next Section. On scientific teaching in Byzantium, see most recently D. Manolova - I. Pérez Martín, Science Teaching and Learning Methods in Byzantium, in: A Companion to Byzantine Science, ed. S. Lazaris. Leiden - Boston 2020, 53-104. In Latin West, computistical techniques were an integral part of monastic education; see I. Warnties, Se-venth-century Ireland: the Cradle of Medieval Science? in: Music and the Stars: Mathematics in Medieval Ireland, ed. M. Kelly - C. Doherty. Dublin 2013, 44-72.
    ${ }^{22}$ See the edition in L. Dindorf, Chronicon Paschale. I-II. Bonnae 1832 I 534. A reconstruction is put forward in Grumel, La Chronologie 232, and see also discussion at $77-84$ (the wheel is reproduced on page 78). A different reconstruction is found in Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 293-296.
    ${ }^{23}$ See the edition in E. Boer, Pauli Alexandrini elementa apotelesmatica. Lipsiae 1958, 39.17-41.16.
    ${ }^{24}$ Anonymus 523 is found in the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1291 (shortly after 811; Diktyon 67922) f. 47r, and in the apographs of Vat. gr. 1594 (late $9^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 68225) (most recent edition in F. Acerbi, Topographie du Vat. gr. 1594, in: La «collection philosophique» face à l'histoire. Péripéties et tradition, ed. D. Bianconi - F. Ronconi. Spoleto 2020, 239-321: 285 and n. 19). It accompanies a wheel of epacts of the Moon for the years Diocletian 30-257 [= AD 314-541]. The wheel (for the years Diocletian 30-238 [= AD 314-522]), but not the algorithm, is also found in the manuscript Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.G. 78 (813-20; Diktyon 37735) f. 2r. This is Table C4
     (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 59a). Louvain-La-Neuve 2011, 61-66.
    ${ }^{25}$ See the edition in A. Tihon, Le "Petit Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée (StT 282). Città del Vaticano 1978, 256.8-258.10 and 267.6-268.6.
    ${ }^{26}$ See the edition in J. Lempire, Le commentaire astronomique aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée attribué à Stéphanos d'Alexandrie. Tome I (Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins 11). Louvain-La-Neuve 2016, 154.2-158.19 and 176.1-15.
    ${ }^{27}$ See the edition in Dindorf, Chronicon Paschale II 210-219; H. Usener, De Stephano Alexandrino, in: H. Usener, Kleine Schriften III. Leipzig - Berlin 1914, 311-317. See also Grumel, La Chronologie 101; Tıноn, Le calcul.

[^6]:    ${ }^{28}$ See the edition in Dindorf, Chronicon Paschale I 3-31 (Syntagma de Pascha) 368-415 (this page-range includes the computations). See also G. Mercati, A Study of the Paschal Chronicle. JThS 7 (1906) 397-412; D. Serruys, De quelques ères usitées chez les chroniqueurs byzantins. RPh 31 (1907) 151-189: 158-172 O. SchisSEl, Note sur un Catalogus Codicum Chronologorum Graecorum. Byz 9 (1934) 269-295: 278-285; Grumel, La Chronologie 73-84; Beaucamp et al., Temps et Histoire; Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 286-311; Gastgeber, The So Called Chronicon Paschale.
    ${ }^{29}$ See the edition in D. Petau, Uranologion. Lutetiae Parisiorum 1630, 313-355 = PG XIX 1217-1279. See also the discussion in Lempire, Le calcul.
    ${ }^{30}$ For this approach, see also the commentary on sect. $\mathbf{8}$ of Anonyms 892.
    ${ }^{31}$ See the edition in F. Diekamp, Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios, ein unbekannter Schriftsteller des 7. Jahrhunderts. BZ9 (1900) 14-51. Two of the three wheels that are missing in Diekamp's reference manuscript-namely, Vat. gr. $2210\left(10^{\text {th }}\right.$ century; Diktyon 68841), which contains an explanation of these wheels-have been recently recovered: GASTGEBER, Neue texte XXX-XXX; however, and contrary to Diekamp's assessment (50-51), I doubt that the explanation of the wheels was an integral part of George's treatise. On George's treatise, see also Schissel, Neue Zeugnisse 322-323; M. Richard, Le traité sur les hérésies de Georges hiéromoine. REB 28 (1970) 239-269; LEmpire, Le calcul.
    ${ }^{32}$ This framework usually comprises a discussion of theological issues and of competing approaches to the determination of Easter. This is the structure of the treatises of George Presbyter and of Maximus the Confessor, of the Syntagma de Pascha preceding the Chronicon Paschale, and of the 8 -book treatise-whose loss is much to be regretted-described in Photius, Bibliotheca, codex 116. Photius' description shows that this Computus included both a doctrinal exposition and computational procedures. See also Bibliotheca, codex 115. A comparison between codex 116 and Psellos' two-book treatise is carried out in G. Redl, Untersuchungen zur technischen Chronologie des Michael Psellos. BZ 29 (1930) 168-187: 172-176.
    ${ }^{33}$ The principle I have followed in assigning the denominations is to make the name of the author or the word Anonymus followed by the assumed current year. Between the two AD years corresponding to a given year in the Byzantine world era, the current year in a Computus is conventionally set to the year that includes the date of Easter; thus, the conversion shift is always 5508 . As for Anonymus 892 , the current year in sect. 7 of the treatise is AM 6396 [ $=$ AD 887/8], but I shall keep the year assumed in the rest of the Computus as its eponymous date. Of course, these different dates just show that Anonymus 892 is a compilation.

[^7]:    ${ }^{34}$ Anonymus 1079 is witnessed in Par. gr. 854 (second half of $13^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 50441; on this manuscript, see Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum. I-XII. Bruxelles 1898-1953 VIII.4 3-5; G. De Gregorio, Teodoro Prodromo e la spada di Alessio Contostefano (Carm. Hist. Lii Hörandner). Né $\alpha$ Pó $\mu \eta 7$ [2010] 191-295: 194-205; A.-L. Caudano, Cosmologies et cosmographies variées dans les manuscrits byzantins tardifs. Byz 85 [2015] 1-25: 10-12) ff. 168r-171r; for the edition, see A. Mentz, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung bei den Byzantinern. Dissertation Königsberg 1906, 76100. Anonymus 1092 A-C is witnessed in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 57.42 ( $12^{\text {th }}$ century, southern Italy; Diktyon 16411) ff. 154ra-156rb, 156rb-161va, 161va-162vb; see the edition in F. P. Karnthaler, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen des Laurent. Gr. Plut. 57, Cod. 42. 154-162V. BNJ 10 (1933) 1-64.
     $13^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 16833) ff. 324v-346v. The edition is G. Redl, La chronologie appliquée de Michel Psellos. Byz 4 (1927-1928) 197-236; 5 (1929-1930) 229-286. See also G. Redl, Studien zur technischen Chronologie des Michael Psellos. BNJ 7 (1930) 305-351; RedL, Untersuchungen; F. Zimmermann, review of Redl's works in Philologische Wochenschrift 51 (1931) 865-872. For the Florence manuscript see P. Moraux - D. Harlfinger - D. Reinsch - J. Wiesner, Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles. Erster Band, Alexandrien-London. Berlin - New York 1976, 311-315.
    ${ }^{36}$ The manuscript is the only independent witness of the two Logarikai, the important treatises of fiscal accounting composed shortly after the death of Alexios I Komnenos in 1118; see C. E. Z. von Lingenthal, Jus Graeco-Romanum, Pars III, Novellae constitutiones. Lipsiae 1857, 385-400 (who resorts to a tabular set-up that destroys the original layout), M. F. HENDY, Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1091-1261 (DOS 12). Washington (DC) 1969, 50-64, and C. MorrisSON, La logarikè: Réforme monétaire et réforme fiscale sous Alexis I ${ }^{\text {er }}$ Comnène. TM 7 (1979) 419-464, with a French translation. On this manuscript, see F. Acerbi, Struttura e concezione del vademecum computazionale Par. gr. 1670. $S \& T$ 19 (2021) XXX-XXX; the edition of Anonymus 1183 is in Appendix 5 of this study.
    ${ }^{37}$ See also O. Schissel - M. Ellend, Berechnung des Sonnen, Mond und Schaltjahrszirkels in der griechisch-christlichen Chronologie. BZ 42 (1942) 150-157.
    ${ }^{38}$ Published Computi of this kind include the following. Anonymus 1247, witnessed in Laur. Plut. 87.16, ff. 18r-20r and 21v, edited in O. Schissel, Chronologischer Traktat des XII. Jahrhunderts, in: Eis $\mu \nu \eta \mu_{\mu} \nu \Sigma \pi$. $\Lambda \alpha ́ \mu \pi \rho o v$. A $\theta \tilde{\eta} v \alpha 1$ 1935, 105110. Anonymus 1273 , on the basis of the manuscript Wien, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, phil. gr. 222 (second half of $14^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 71336 ; this is a copy of Laur. Plut. 87.16 , ff. $324 \mathrm{v}-325 \mathrm{v}$ ) ff. $3 \mathrm{r}-5 \mathrm{r}$, edited in F. Buchegger, Wiener griechische Chronologie von 1273. BNJ 11 (1934-35) 25-54. Anonymus 1350, witnessed in Vindob. med. gr. 29 (ca. 1400; Diktyon 71054) ff. 124r-125r, edited in O. SChLAChTER, Wiener griechische Chronologie von 1350. Dissertation Graz 1934. Anonymus 1377, witnessed in Par. gr. 2509 ( $15^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 52141) ff. $152 \mathrm{r}-156 \mathrm{v}$, edited in Petau, Uranologion 384-392 = PG XIX 1316-1329; see also O. Schissel, Die Osterrechnung des Nikolaos Artabasdos Rhabdas. BNJ 14 (1938) 43-59: 46-50. Anonymus 1379 or Pseudo-Andreas, $14^{\text {th }}$ century, witnessed in Vat. gr. 578 (end of $14^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 67209) ff. 177r-187v, edited in Petau, Uranologion 393-395 = PG XIX 1329-1334. Mé $\theta$ o $\delta$ о̧ $\mathfrak{\alpha} \kappa \rho \curlywedge \beta \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \tau \eta$, $14^{\text {th }}$ century, witnessed in Vat. Urb. gr. 80 (end of $14^{\text {th }}$-beginning $15^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 66547) ff. $33 \mathrm{r}-35 \mathrm{v}$, edited in P. Collet, Deux textes relatifs à la fête de Pâques. Mémoire de Licence, Université Catholique de Louvain. Louvain 1969 (non vidi); studied and partly edited in Schissel, Neue Zeugnisse 323-333; see also O. Schissel, Niketas Seidos. Eine

[^8]:    Handschriftenstudie. Divus Thomas 15 (1937) 78-90: 89-90 (this includes a description of the chronological fragments in
     Vat. Urb. gr. 80, see P. Canart - G. Prato, Les recueils organisés par Jean Chortasménos et le problème de ses autographes, in: Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel I, ed. H. Hunger. Wien 1981, 115-178: 132-146, repr. in P. CANART, Études de paléographie et de codicologie. I-II (StT 450-451). Città del Vaticano 2008, 577-675: 594-608.
    ${ }^{39}$ Nicholas Rhabdas wrote a fully-fledged Computus (dated 1342), autograph in the manuscript Leeds University Library, Brotherton Coll. MS 31/3 (Diktyon 3761) ff. 64r-69r; it is edited in F. Acerbi, The "Third Letter" of Nicholas Rhabdas: an
     P $\alpha \beta \delta \alpha ́ ~ \gamma ı \alpha ~ \tau o v \varsigma ~ \varepsilon к к \lambda \eta \sigma ı \alpha \sigma \tau ı к о v ́ \varsigma ~ \lambda о \gamma \alpha \rho ı \sigma \mu о v ́ \varsigma . ~ N \varepsilon v ́ \sigma ı \varsigma ~ 27-28 ~(2019-20) ~ 353-399 . ~ O n e ~ y e a r ~ e a r l i e r, ~ a ~ p a r t ~ o f ~ t h i s ~ C o m p u-~$ tus was included by Rhabdas in the so-called Letter to Tzavoukhes, dated 1341. The tradition of the Letter to Tzavoukhes originates in Vat. gr. 1411 (end of $14^{\text {th }}$-beginning of $15^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 68042) ff. 23r-25v (incomplete, des. 132.31 غ̇бтıv ó $\kappa \varepsilon$ Tannery); the edition is P. Tannery, Notice sur les deux lettres arithmétiques de Nicolas Rhabdas. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale 32 (1886) 121-252, repr. ID., Mémoires scientifiques IV. Toulouse Paris 1920, 61-198: 134.23-138.28. See also O. SChISSEL, Die Osterrechnung. Matthew Blastares included a computistical section in his $\sum \dot{v} v \tau \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha$, dated 1335. The earliest known witness of this treatise is the manuscript Moskva, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Synod. gr. 149 (Vlad. 327), dated year 1342 (non vidi; Diktyon 43774); I have checked the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, $\alpha$. V. 8.14 (Puntoni 190; Diktyon 43522) ff. 308v-316v, written before
     404-425 = PG CXLV 65-104; see also MENTZ, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 108-132.
    ${ }^{40}$ Epist. XX is edited in S. Bezdeki, Nicephori Gregorae epistulae XC. Ephemeris Dacoromana 2 (1924) 239-377: 330-336; for Historia Byzantina VIII. 13 see L. Schopen, Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia. I-II. Bonnae 1829-1830 I 364$373=P G$ CXLVIII 548-558. Gregoras' Easter table is in PG XIX 1313-1316; as for manuscript evidence, this table can be found for instance in Vat. gr. 792 (ca. 1352; Diktyon 67423) f. 2 r (but here beginning of the $15^{\text {th }}$ century), Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 328 (early $15^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 69799) f. 19r. The best discussion of Gregoras' contribution is Tifon, Barlaam 393-407; see also P. Kuzenkov, Correction of the Easter Computus: Heresy or Necessity? Fourteenth Century Byzantine Forerunners of the Gregorian Reform, in: Orthodoxy and Heresy in Byzantium, ed. A. Rigo P. Ermilov. Roma 2010, 147-158.
    ${ }^{41}$ Barlaam of Seminara' short treatise is dated 1333. It is witnessed, with autorial corrections, in Marc. gr. Z. 332 (first half of $14^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 69803) ff. 67r-71v; the edition and a discussion are found in TiHON, Barlaam 362-393 and 402411. On Marc. gr. Z. 332, see A. Gioffreda, Su scrittura, libri e collaboratori di Barlaam calabro. $S \& T 14$ (2016) 361378. Isaak Argyros' Computus is De cyclis Solis et Lunae ad Andronicum, dated 1372. This treatise is autograph in Laur. Plut. 28.13 (Diktyon 16194), ff. 91r-97v; see the editions in Petau, Uranologion 359-383 = PG XIX 1279-1316; H. Baufays, Isaac Argyre, Cycles solaire et lunaire. Comput pascal. Mémoire de licence, Université Catholique de Louvain. Louvain-La-Neuve 1981 (the editor used Marc. gr. Z. 328, ff. 1r-18v, which is in fact a recension). See also G. MerCati, Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV (StT 56). Città del Vaticano 1931, 229-236.
    ${ }^{42}$ See the edition in R. Leurquin, Théodore Méliténiote, Tribiblos Astronomique. Livre I; Livre II (Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins 4-6). Amsterdam 1990-1993 (Book III, which contains the computistical material dated 1352, is still unpublished; I have checked Meliteniotes' autograph Vat. gr. 792); see also the studies in R. Leurquin, La Tribiblos astronomique de Théodore Méliténiote (Vat.gr. 792). Janus 72 (1985) 257-282, and R. Leurquin, Un manuscrit autographe de la Tribiblos astronomique de Théodore Méliténiote: le Vaticanus graecus 792. Scriptorium 45 (1991) 145-162. There exists an anonymous version of Meliteniotes' Book III, traditionally called Paradosis in Tabulas Persicas; an edition is found in A. Bardi, Persische Astronomie in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Byzantinistik und zur Wissenchaftsgeschichte. PhD thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. München 2017.
    ${ }^{43}$ One finds the same attitude in Bede, De Temporum Ratione XLIII. The denomination "critical computists" has become a technical term to describe Western computists seeking a re-dating of the incarnation era since it was introduced in J. Wiesenbach, Sigebert von Gembloux, Liber decennalis (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 12). Weimar 1986, 63-112.

[^9]:    JÖB 68 (2018) 1-37: 35-37, and ACERBI, Arithmetic and Logistic 107-108. The relevant part of George Chrysokokkes’ Syntaxis Persica is edited in Usener, Ad historiam astronomiae symbola, in: H. Usener, Kleine Schriften III. Leipzig Berlin 1914, 323-371: 369-370.
    ${ }^{52}$ It is possible that counting and the elementary operations were taught in schools or in dedicated apprenticeship curricula, and we do have faint traces of this: see A. Tifon, Enseignement scientifique à Byzance. Organon 24 (1988) 89-108, Acerbi, Arithmetic and Logistic 109, and Manolova - PÉrez Martín, Science Teaching. There is a widespread yet unjustified tendency in scholarship to regard an educational context as the prime mover for technical writings of Byzantine scholars (contra, see F. Acerbi - A. Gioffreda, Un Aristotele di Massimo Planude. REB 77 [2019] 203-223). I contend that the educational perspective is unsuitable for a correct assessment of the ancient Greek and Byzantine scientific output: this comprises first and foremost literary products, and it must be evaluated in this perspective. Computi are no exception.
    ${ }^{53}$ On these manuscripts see F. Acerbi, Byzantine Recensions of Greek Mathematical and Astronomical Texts: A Survey. Estudios bizantinos 4 (2016) 133-213: 154-160, with bibliography. On Malachias, olim "anonymus aristotelicus", see B. Mondrain, La constitution de corpus d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs aux XIII ${ }^{\mathrm{e}}$ et XIV ${ }^{\mathrm{e}}$ siècles. CodMan 29 (2000) 11-33: 19-24; B. Mondrain, L'ancien empereur Jean VI Cantacuzène et ses copistes, in: Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino, ed. A. Rigo (Orientalia Venetiana 16). Firenze 2004, 249-296: 278-290 and 292; and most recently T. MARTÍNEZ MANZANO, Malaquías mónaco, alias anonymus aristotelicus: filosofía, ciencias y exégesis bíblica en la Constantinopla de la controversia palamita. Aevum 93 (2019) 495-558.
    ${ }^{54}$ See F. Acerbi - N. Vinel - B. Vitrac, Les Prolégomènes à l'Almageste. Une édition à partir des manuscrits les plus anciens : Introduction générale - Parties I-III. SCIAMVS 11 (2010) 53-210, and the forthcoming edition F. ACERBI, Les Prolégomènes à l'Almageste (Mathematica Graeca Antiqua 5). Pisa - Roma 2022.
    ${ }^{55}$ For instance, a short computational primer is found in sects. 1-6 and 26 of the astronomical "way" of Pachymeres' Quadrivium, edited in P. TANNERY, Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère (StT 94). Città del Vaticano 1940.
    ${ }^{56}$ See again AcERBI, Arithmetic and Logistic 116-128. I would now include Computi in my survey.
    57 A detailed analysis of both manuscripts is carried out in ACERBI, Struttura e concezione.
    ${ }^{58}$ Exceptions are for instance Maximus the Confessor, Psellos, Matthew Blastares, and Isaak Argyros (who lifts much of his material from Blastares).

[^10]:    ${ }^{67}$ These observations apply to most sectional writings, such as geometric metrological collections, Rechenbücher, and grammatical compendia; see, in this order, Acerbi - Vitrac, Héron d’Alexandrie sect. III; Acerbi, Byzantine Rechenbücher; the categorization and the examples in G. UCCIARDELLO, 'Atticismo', excerpta lessicografici e prassi didattiche in età paleologa. AION 41 (2019) 208-234. My approach to editing Computi collides with Borst's, best exemplified in Borst, Schriften: through his editorial approach, he suggests that there have been master texts, from which fragments and extracts were then distributed widely. For a criticism of Borst's approach, see I. WarntJes, The Computus Cottonianus of AD 689: A Computistical Formulary Written for Willibrord's Frisian Mission, in: The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ed. I. Warntjes - D. Ó Cróinín (Studia Traditionis Theologiae 10). Turnhout 2011, 173-212: 199 n. 82. I am grateful to Immo Warntjes for a discussion on this point; in collaboration with J. ter Horst and Th. Snijders, Warntjes is currently preparing a database centred on "computistical objects".
    ${ }^{68}$ See Redl, La chronologie appliquée, for Psellos; KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen, for Anonymi 1092AC; Buchegger, Wiener griechische Chronologie, for Anonymus 1273; Schlachter, Wiener griechische, for Anonymus 1350.
    ${ }^{69}$ These notions were first introduced in F. ACERBI, I codici stilistici della matematica greca: dimostrazioni, procedure, algoritmi. QUCC 101 (2012) 167-214. See also Acerbi - Vitrac, Héron d'Alexandrie sect. II.2, for the algorithmic code in Hero's Metrica, and my comprehensive discussion in F. Acerbi, The Logical Syntax of Greek Mathematics (Sources and Studies in the History of Mathematics and the Physical Sciences). Heidelberg - New York 2021, sects. 1.1-3.

[^11]:    ${ }^{70}$ See Almagest II.9, III.8, III.9, V.9, V.19, VI.9-10, XI.12, XIII.6.
    ${ }^{71}$ See the edition in A. Jones, An Eleventh-Century Manual Of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy (Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins 3). Amsterdam 1987. A preliminary study is in O. Neugebauer, Commentary on the Astronomical Treatise Par. gr. 2425 (Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques. Mémoires 59.4). Bruxelles 1969.
    ${ }^{72}$ Jones, An Eleventh-Century 84 (text) and 85 (translation, slightly modified).
    ${ }^{73}$ The ancestor of the entire tradition is Vat. gr. 1411, ff. 17v-23r; our text is from f. 23r. A synopsis of the compendium is found in Heiberg - Nix - Schmidt - Schöne, Heronis Alexandrini V ic-CiI.
    ${ }^{74}$ Vat. gr. 792, f. 350r. I retain the original accents for the enclitics.

[^12]:    ${ }^{79}$ Vat. gr. 792, f. 352r and 353r, respectively.
    ${ }^{80}$ The "base" of the Moon is not used in Anonymus 892. For the "base" of the Moon, see footnote 95 below.
    ${ }^{81}$ The verb forms in the aorist tense must be translated with a present, unless they occur in first or second person verb forms or whenever a second-person subject is expressed. For in algorithms no temporal connotation can be present; the aorist tense there adopted simply intimates absence of temporal or aspectual connotations (the "pure action" expressed by the verb): this is possible only in the aorist, which is the less connotated pole of the aspectual opposition (see J. Humbert, Syntaxe grecque. Paris 1960, 133-181 passim, and again my discussion in Acerbi, The Logical Syntax, sects. 1.1-3). The reader will also note that there is an adverbial кגì in excess in a clause (maybe both adverbial кגì are in excess there); this feature is common in Computi; it is in fact a general trait of Greek mathematical style: Acerbi, The Logical Syntax, sect. 5.3.5.

[^13]:    ${ }^{82}$ For clarity's sake, I have superimposed the numbers of the steps on the arrows. I shall never do this again.

[^14]:    ${ }^{83}$ The crucial operation in a Computus is finding the remainder of the division of a number $x$ by a number $n$. In modern terms, this is the "modulo" reduction, whose sign is " $x \bmod n$ ". We also write " $x \equiv y(\bmod n)$ " (read " $x$ is congruent to $y$ modulo $n$ ") to signify that numbers $x$ and $y$, once divided by $n$, yield the same remainder. As we shall see in Anonymus 892 (see the commentary on Sect. 3), the division is carried out by removing suitable multiples of the divisor $n$. Again, in modulo $n$ reductions in our text, if the dividend is a multiple of the divisor, the remainder is frequently taken to be $n$, and not 0 (or, to be accurate, "nothing").
    ${ }^{84}$ A detailed study is in S. Bagnall - K. A. Worp, Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt. 2nd ed. Leiden - Boston 2004. Grumel, La Chronologie 192-206 provides a brief account and explains the regional variants. See also the account in Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 20-24.
    ${ }^{85}$ To denote dates, I adopt the astronomical convention era - year - month - day.
    ${ }^{86}$ On eras, see the synopsis in Grumel, La Chronologie 207-226 and 279-296. See also Neugebauer, hamA 1143 s.v., and especially 1064-1067 and 1074-1076 (with bibliography), and the dedicated sections in Neugebauer, Ethiopic Astronomy, and Neugebauer, Abu Shaker's.

[^15]:    ${ }^{87}$ George, sect. II.1, in DIEKAMP, Der Mönch 24.20-31, claims that the synchronization of all cycles is the main virtue of the Byzantine era. As the years of the three cycles begin on different dates, synchronization is not exact: time intervals contained in two consecutive solar or lunar cycle years may belong to one and the same calendar year. However, Passover, Easter, and most movable feasts of the Christian calendar fall in the "safe" time segment bounded by January 1 and August 31.
    ${ }^{88}$ It is enough to call cycle year $X$ of the old cycle "cycle year 1 " of the new cycle and to rearrange the epacts in such a way that the Passover dates remain the same.
    ${ }^{89}$ The rule is as follows: $i=1$ for Diocletian $14=$ Alexandrian AM $5790=$ Byzantine AM 5806 [=AD 297/8]. Since $5790 \equiv 0(\bmod 15)$, there is a crucial discrepancy of 1 unit between indiction cycle and Alexandrian era. On the other hand, $5806 \equiv 1(\bmod 15)$. To enforce synchronization while preserving the position of leap years, one must introduce a shift of $15 k+1=4 p$ years, for some integers $k$ and $p$. The smallest solution is $(k, p)=(1,4)$, and the shift is of 16 years.
    ${ }^{90}$ See Stern, Calendars in Antiquity 204-227, especially for a discussion of the problems with intercalation that affected the first decades of application.
    ${ }^{91}$ Unless otherwise stated, this is what I call the "Julian calendar". In counting the days in a year, the Romans used a backward day-count keyed to three monthly epoch: the calends ( $1^{\text {st }}$ day of a month), the nones, and the ides (both variably located: $7^{\text {th }}$ day in March, May, July, and October, $5^{\text {th }}$ day in the other months; $15^{\text {th }}$ day in the same four months, $13^{\text {th }}$ day in the others, respectively); as a consequence, only the days counted from the nones and the ides carried the name of the month in which they were included. The intercalary day of leap years was located as a second February $24=$ VI Kal. Mar. (counted backwards, that is, before our February 24), whence the denomination bis-sextus "twice-sixth". This system is tabulated in Grumel, La Chronologie 298-299, and in E. J. Bickerman, Chronology of the Ancient World. Ithaca (NY) 1980, 125. See also A. E. Samuel, Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I.7). München 1972, 152-170. The structure of the Roman calendar is explained in the Computus contained in Par. suppl. gr. 690, sect. 6 (= TiHON, Le "Petit Commentaire" 364, text $\mathrm{n}^{\circ} 55$ ).
    ${ }^{92}$ The duration of the lunar month is in fact highly variable: there is a difference of more than 13 hours between the longest and the shortest lunations in the time span 1760-2200; see J. Meeus, More Mathematical Astronomy Morsels. Richmond (VI) 2002, 19-31.

[^16]:    93 The pattern of embedding is a lunar calendar, see HOLFORD-STREVENS, Paschal Lunar Calendars, and footnote 163 below. The new Moons that set the boundaries of these lunar months are fixed once and for all; accordingly, their sequence is also schematic.
    ${ }^{94}$ The periodic sequence in which the embolismic years are arranged in the 19-year cycle is CCECCECECCECCECCECE, where the sign "C" stands for a "common" year, "E" for an "embolismic" year, that is, a year that contains an embolismic month. The qualifier "periodic" in the previous sentence means that the first year of the cycle can be located anywhere in the sequence, according to the epacts assigned to this year. The sequence as given above can naturally be split in two subsequences: the first of them comprises 8 years; the second, 11 years; these were called ogdoas and hendecas in Western Computi (the ogdoas and the hendecas are also marked in the Greek 532-year tables mentioned in footnote 101 below; these tables are witnessed in manuscripts copied in Southern Italy; these manuscripts also contain the Computi Nicholas 916 and Theophylaktos 956, which expound Western computistical procedures): see, for instance, the letter of Dionysius Exiguus to Boniface, in Krusch, Studien (1938) 82-86, or Bede, De Temporum Ratione XLVI; more information on these designations in JONES, Bedae Opera 380-381. If our sources usually indicate the position of the embolismic years, it is less obvious to reconstruct where the embolismic month was exactly located, and according to what principles (see the main footnote to sect. 19 below).
    ${ }^{95}$ Since all numerical sequences related to cycles are periodic, a starting point must be selected for the epacts: see the discussion in the commentaries on sects. 12 and 14. In a lunar cycle that is synchronized with January 1, the epacts coincide with the age of the Moon on December 31. As lunar days are counted from January 1, a base ( $\theta \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda ı c ̧, \theta \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda ı o v)$ of the Moon $b_{m}$ was introduced such that $b_{m}=$ epacts +1 , which is the age of the Moon on January 1 ; the "base" replaced the epacts in specific algorithms. A "base" adapted to the features of other algorithms and defined by $b_{m}=$ epacts +3 , was also introduced. For this "base", see, for instance, Anonymus 1247, sect. 20, in Schissel, Chronologischer 105-110; Anonymus 1256, sect. 18, in Vat. Pal. gr. 367 (ca. 1317-20; Diktyon 66099; this important manuscript is the paradigmatic example of the script type called "chypriote bouclée", see P. CANART, Un style d'écriture livresque dans les manuscrits chypriotes du XIV' siécle: la chypriote "bouclée", in: La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Actes du Colloque Paris, 21-25 octobre 1974, ed. J. Glénisson - J. Bompaire - J. Irigoin [Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S. 559]. Paris 1977, 303-321, repr. in CANART, Études 341-359; an analysis of the manuscript, inclusive of the several datings occurring in it and of a rich bibliography, can be found in A. Turyn, Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi. In Civitate Vaticana 1964, 117-124 and pl. 96) ff. 85r-88r; Blastares 1335, in RHALLES - Potles, $\Sigma v ́ v \tau \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha$ VI $414-415$ and 416-417; Argyros 1372, sect. 7, in PG XIX 1293 (but he calls the bases "epacts"); Anonymus 1377, sect. 5, in PG XIX 1321; Anonymus 1379, in PG XIX 1334. See also the list of epacts and bases in Grumel, La Chronologie 54-55.
    96 There are 114 lunar months of 29 days and $114+7=121$ lunar months of 30 days.
    ${ }^{97}$ The epacts of the Moon are a good example of an "incipient" quantity, namely, one that is attached to the beginning of a time interval and not to its end: the epacts attached to a given lunar cycle year record the advance accumulated at the end of the previous lunar cycle year. Incipient quantities have the advantage that they can be read off directly in tables: the age of the Moon of today, AD 2021 August 10, must be calculated by using the lunar advance from epoch accumulated up to

[^17]:    year, for the intercalary day precedes Easter, so that the first intervening intercalary day occurs in cycle year 5, and the last and $23^{\text {rd }}$ intercalary day in cycle year 93 .
    ${ }^{102}$ Descriptions of the manuscript are found in Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum VIII. 4 89-92, and Ch. Astruc - M-L. Concasty, Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Troisième Partie. Le Supplément Grec III. Paris 1960, 18-19.
    ${ }^{103}$ Grammatici Graeci. I-IV. Lipsiae 1867-1910 III. 1521.11 ह̌ðovtac-13.
    ${ }^{104}$ The material contained in $\mathrm{f} .1 \mathrm{r}-\mathrm{v}$ is studied in F. Acerbi, How to Spell the Greek Alphabet Letters. Estudios bizantinos 7 (2019) 119-130; I have recently found two more witnesses of these gematric computations: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. gr. Q 20 ( $13^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 38127) f. 5r, and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632 (middle of $15^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 9761) f. 284r.
    ${ }^{105}$ They can partly be found also in Anonymus 1092B, sects. 11-15.
    ${ }^{106}$ See the edition in P. Schreiner, Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. I-III (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 12). Wien 1975-1979 I 326-340 (nr. 45).
    ${ }^{107}$ Anonymus 892 does not exhibit any explicit connection with Latin Computi.

[^18]:    ${ }^{108}$ I keep faithful to the text in making $\delta \dot{\varepsilon}$ enclitic and in attaching or not attaching enclitics to the previous word.
    ${ }^{109}$ In most Computi, but not in Anonymus 892, a каí "also" is added if the last item is included.

[^19]:    ${ }^{110}$ The technical lexicon of Computi overlaps with the technical lexicon of Rechenbücher. For the latter, see K. Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts (Wiener Byzantinische Studien 6). Wien 1968, 141-143, and the "thematic word index" in Acerbi, Byzantine Rechenbücher, whose translations I adopt.
    ${ }^{111}$ In logistic and astronomical texts, Rechenbücher, and Easter Computi, the verb кратє́ $\omega$ for "keeping" a number in order to use it in an operation is frequently found. However, this does not imply anything as to a possible application of a fingernotation, even if the verb is qualified by an expression like "in your hands".

[^20]:    ${ }^{112}$ These rules are not rooted in the punctuation practice of any specific language; they are expounded in AcERbI, The Logical Syntax, sect. 1.4.
    ${ }^{113}$ The notation used in the commentary is as follows: $1_{J}, 1_{F}, 1_{M}, 1_{A}, 30_{S}$, etc. $=$ January 1, February 1 , March 1, April 1 , September 30, etc.; $a_{m}(x)=$ age of the Moon on day $x$ in the calendar year at lunar cycle year $m ; a_{m}\left(x_{X}\right)=$ age of the Moon on day $x$ of month $X$ at lunar cycle year $m ; b_{m}=$ base of the Moon at lunar cycle year $m ; e_{m}=$ epacts of the Moon at lunar cycle year $m ; e_{s}=$ epacts of the Sun at solar cycle year $s ; f=$ Meat-Fare Sunday; $g=$ Period year; $i=$ indiction cycle year; $J$, $F, M, A, M a, J n, J l, A u, S, O, N, D=$ January, February, March, April, May, etc. or counting number of their position in this sequence (the context always decides); $l=$ leap year cycle year; $m=$ lunar cycle year; $p_{m}=$ date of Passover at lunar cycle year $m ; r_{m}=$ date of Easter at lunar cycle year $m ; s=$ solar cycle year; $y=$ year in the Byzantine world era; $w_{s}\left(x_{x}\right)=$ weekday of day $x$ of month $X$ at solar cycle year $s$.

[^21]:    ${ }^{114}$ I shall insert in footnotes references to analogous procedures or to similar sets of data found in early, unpublished, sources or in later Computi, as Psellos' or Anonymus 1092A-C; in the case of the latter, the relation with Anonymus 892 is obvious. The Appendix contains a concordance with Anonymus 830.
    ${ }^{115}$ For double-hours, see F. Böll, Sphaera. Neue griechische texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder. Leipzig 1903, 311-319. For the subdivisions of an hour, see P. TANNERY, Sur les subdivisions des heures dans l'antiquité. $R A, 3^{\circ}$ série, 26 (1895) 359-364, repr. ID., Mémoires scientifiques II. Toulouse - Paris 1912, 517-526.
    ${ }^{116}$ The subdivision in Anonymus 1092A, sect. 1, in Laur. Plut. 57.42, f. 154v, reads: 1 year $=52$ weeks $=365 \frac{1}{4}$ days $=4380$ [double-]hours $=8760$ hours $=43830$ points $=21915$ minutes. On account of sect. 2 of Anonymus 1092A, the text should be corrected as in Karnthaler, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 5.16-18: 1 year $=52$ weeks $=365 \frac{1}{4}$ days $=4383$ [double-]hours $=8766$ hours $=21915$ points $=43830$ minutes. Sect. 1 of Anonymus 892 should be corrected in the same way. Note the subdivision in Anonymus 1172, sect. 12: 1 year $=12$ months $=52$ weeks plus 1 day $=365$ days $=4380$ [double-]hours $=11900$ [lege 21900] points.

[^22]:    ${ }^{117}$ See Anonymus 1041, sect. 1 (only the subdivisions of an hour), a Computus witnessed in the manuscript Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, II.C. 34 (beginning of $16^{\text {th }}$ century; Diktyon 46080) ff. 100r-106v; Psellos 1092, sect. II.22, in Redl, La chronologie appliquée II 257.12-22; Anonymus 1183, sect. 1; Anonymus 1247, sect. 22, in Schissel, Chronologischer 110.
    ${ }^{118}$ See Anonymus 830, sects. 24 and 33 (the fractions of an hour are called "points" [ $\left.\sigma \tau \gamma \mu \alpha i\right]$ ), in GASTGEBER, Neue texte XXX and XXX; Theophylaktos 956 sect. 5-6 ( $\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda o v ̃ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \kappa \alpha i ̀ \varepsilon \xi \alpha \pi \lambda \lambda o v ̃ v \tau \varepsilon \zeta$ and waxing and waning Moon, respectively); Anonymus 982, sect. 23; Anonymus 1041, sects. 1 and 19 (the latter waxing and waning Moon); Anonymus 1092B, sect. 5, in Karnthaler, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 9.159-170; Anonymus 1172, sect. 21; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 9; Anonymus 1377, sect. 7, in PG XIX 1324-1328. Anonymus 892, sect. 25, does not mention minutes. In Anonymus 951, sect. 13 (an independent section) these fractions of an hour are called "points".
    ${ }^{119}$ See Anonymus 892 , sect. 8 (age of the Moon computed according to the $\left.\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda o v ̃ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \kappa \alpha i ̀ \varepsilon \xi \alpha \pi \lambda o v ̃ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma\right) ;$ Anonymus 1079, sect. 5, in Mentz, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 82, and the Computus contained in Par. suppl. gr. 690, sect. 1 ( $\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda 0 u ̃ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \grave{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \lambda 0$ ṽv $\varepsilon \varsigma)$ ); Anonymus 1092B, sect. 7, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 11.234 (saltus lunae distributed among the lunar cycle years); Rhabdas 1342, sect. 8 (epacts of the Moon). In Anonymus 951, sect. 1 (Horopodion) these fractions of an hour are called "momenta" ( $\rho о \pi \alpha i$ ).

[^23]:    ${ }^{120}$ Other occurrences of this algorithm can be found in George, sect. II.3, in DIEKAMP, Der Mönch 26.3-14 (the epacts of the Sun are called $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha \grave{̀} \tau \tilde{\omega} v \dot{\varepsilon} \beta \delta o \mu \alpha ́ \delta \omega v$ "epacts of the weeks"); Maximus, Enarratio I.29, in PG XIX 1248; Anonymus 830, sects. 6 (identical wording) and 14, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX and XXX; Anonymus 951, sect. 4; Anonymus 1092B, sect. 10 (identical wording), in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 12.281-285; Anonymus 1172, sect. 19.
    ${ }^{121}$ The sign $\llbracket x \rrbracket$ denotes the floor (or integral part) of number $x$, namely, the nearest integer ( 0 included) less than or equal to $x$. The floor function is particularly effective in formalizing leap year computations: if $y$ is a year in the Byzantine world era or in the era $\mathrm{AD}, \llbracket(y \bmod 4) / 4 \rrbracket$ singles out leap years-which in both eras are such that $y=4 k$ for some integer $k$ because $y \equiv 1,2,3$ or $4(\bmod 4)$, and $\llbracket 1 / 4 \rrbracket=\llbracket^{2} / 4 \rrbracket=\llbracket^{3} / 4 \rrbracket=0, \llbracket 1 \rrbracket=1$. As taking the floor of a division amounts to taking its quotient by disregarding the remainder, $\llbracket y / 4 \rrbracket$ is the number of leap years since epoch. For any two integers $m$ and $n$, by definition and with a slight abuse of notation, ${ }^{m} / n=\llbracket m / n \rrbracket+(m \bmod n) / n$, for the first addendum is the quotient of the division of $m$ by $n$, and $m \bmod n$ is the remainder of the same quotient. Alternatively, we may write $m=n \llbracket \prod^{m} / n \rrbracket+m \bmod n$.
    ${ }^{122}$ A solar cycle of 28 years contains by definition 7 leap years, whose 1-day-each overall contribution of 7 days is deleted, at the end of the cycle, by the modulo 7 reduction. Thus, the contribution of leap years to the epacts of the Sun can be restricted to the leap years occurring within a single solar cycle.
    ${ }^{123}$ The ensuing calculation makes it necessary to integrate the number 8 before 760, but the text also presents two lacunae; I fill them in my translation according to Anonymus 1092B, sect. 8, in Karnthaler, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen $11.250-258$. See also the commentary.

[^24]:    ${ }^{124}$ Other early occurrences of this algorithm can be found in the computistical section of the Florilegium Coislinianum, letter $\Pi$, no 169; Anonymus 830, sect. 31, in GASTGEBER, Neue texte XXX; Anonymus 951, sect. 12; Anonymus 1041, sect. 14; Anonymus 1090, sect. 4, contained in the manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), Ham. 625 (Diktyon 9305) ff. $327 \mathrm{r}-329 \mathrm{v}$; Anonymus 1172 , sect. 22. An in-depth discussion of this algorithm (which is Dionysius' argumentum XVI: Krusch, Studien [1938] 80.17-81.6; see also K. Springsfeld, Alkuins Einfluß auf die Komputistik zur Zeit Karls des Großen [Sudhoffs Archiv 48]. Stuttgart 2003, 203-214) in Western Computi is found in a study in preparation by T. Loevenich and I. Warntjes. On the tradition that the annual contribution to a leap-year was 3 hours (it is refuted by Bede, De Temporum Ratione xxxix), see also Jones, Bedae Opera 372-374, and M. Smyth, Once in Four: The Leap Year in Early Medieval Thought, in: Late Antique Calendrical Thought and Its Reception in the Early Middle Ages, ed. I. Warntjes - D. Ó Cróinín (Studia Traditionis Theologiae 26). Turnhout 2017, 229-264: 236-247.
    ${ }^{125}$ If hours are employed, 8760 should read 8766 , and a modulo 24 reduction must be performed; if "[double-]hours" are employed, 4383 [double-]hours and a modulo 12 reduction are required, respectively.
    ${ }^{126}$ Alexandrian and Byzantine Early Computi may formulate the modulo reduction as a division: see for instance the Computus in Ambr. A 45 sup., ff. 7r-8r, in GASTGEBER, Neue texte XXX-XXX; George passim.

[^25]:    ${ }^{130}$ Note, here and in sect. 12, the term غ̇ $\pi \alpha \kappa \tau \alpha i ́ ~ i n ~ i t s ~ g e n e r a l ~ m e a n i n g ~ o f ~ s o m e t h i n g ~ " b r o u g h t ~ i n " . ~$
    ${ }^{131}$ The procedure is tersely phrased; its first formulation suggests replacing my $x$ counted from $1_{J}$ with $\sum_{k=J}^{X-1} n_{k}+x$, where $n_{k}$ is the length of month $k$ in days and $x$ is the assigned day in month $X$. I have adopted a simpler notation.
    ${ }^{132}$ See footnote 121 above, and sects. 12 and 17.

[^26]:    ${ }^{133}$ A complete list, keyed to lunar cycle years, of ages of the Moon according to this algorithm when the Alexandrian Computus sets them as Passover luna XIV is in Maximus, Enarratio II.1, in PG XIX 1255-1256.
    ${ }^{134}$ See also Maximus, Enarratio I.11-12, 16, in PG XIX 1228-1229, 1233, and the entire chapter II, in PG XIX 1252-1264; Anonymus 830, sect. 19, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX; Theophylaktos 956, sect. 5 (the algorithm is incomplete); Anonymus 1041, sect. 2; Anonymus 1079, sect. 5, in MEntz, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 80-84, and also Mentz's discussion at 51-66; the Computus contained in Par. suppl. gr. 690, sects. 1-2; Anonymus 1090, sect. 3; Anonymus 1092A, sect. 3, and 1092B, sect. 2, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 5.29-38 and 8.142-150, respectively. Anonymus 1092A calls the algorithm $\chi \alpha \rho \tau о v \lambda \alpha \rho \iota \kappa$ ́s "archive-keeper-style": KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 5.28; Anonymus 1172, sect. 13. None of these sources sets out a clear-cut algorithm. Assessing the aims of the $\pi \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \pi \lambda 0 \tilde{v} \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \kappa \alpha \grave{\varepsilon} \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \lambda 0 \tilde{v} v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma$ is not simple: see SChwartz, Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln 81-88; Grumbl, La Chronologie 54 and 117-124. Modulo 60 algorithms for computing the age of the Moon can also be found in Anonymus 1183, sect. 9; Anonymus 1204; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 7.

[^27]:    ${ }^{135}$ Here and in sect. 14, note the ordinal $\alpha i \quad \tau \rho 1 \alpha \kappa о \sigma \tau \alpha i$ "the thirtieths", where "thirty" would normally be used.
    ${ }^{136}$ The same clause occurs in sect. 14, and in Anonymus 830, sect. 25, in GAStGEBER, Neue texte XXX; Anonymus 1092A, sect. 4, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 6.68. See also Anonymus 982, sects. 9 and 15.
    ${ }^{137}$ The act of counting is denoted by the sign "-:". Thus, $50-: 1_{M}$ are 50 days counted from March 1.
    ${ }^{138}$ See UsENER, De Stephano Alexandrino 314-317; DiEKAMP, Der Mönch 30-31, respectively.
    ${ }^{139}$ The epoch of the era Maurice is AD 589 August 29, a Monday; this the $8^{\text {th }}$ year of his reign, AD 582 August $14-602$ November 23; years are Julian years. As $588+5493-1=6080 \equiv 0(\bmod 19)$, the Maurice era is an avatar of the Alexandrian era.
    ${ }^{140}$ NeUgEBAUER, Abu Shaker's 41-44 and 48-58.

[^28]:    ${ }^{141}$ For instance, $44-\left(e_{m}+8\right)<20$ might simply be phrased $36-e_{m}<20$, or even $e_{m}>16$. But it is not.
    ${ }^{142}$ Of course, $44-8=36$, but the crucial point, let me stress it again, is that no modulo reduction separates the minuend and the subtrahend of this subtraction. This is not always the case, as the norm 50 algorithm shows. Thus, Heraclius applies in fact a norm 36 algorithm.
    ${ }^{143}$ The Alexandrian epact sequence and Passover dates are listed in Grumel, La Chronologie 54, column II.
    ${ }^{144}$ DIEKAMP, Der Mönch 27.27-28.5.

[^29]:    ${ }^{145}$ Just one branching remains in the norm 50 algorithm, and it occurs at a most natural place: the position of the saltus lunae. Moreover, the branching condition is formulated in terms of the lunar cycle, not in terms of the "norm minus shifted epacts" as Heraclius and George do.
    ${ }^{146}$ The denomination is used in Anonymus 1079, sect. 5, in Mentz, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 98. Other occurrences of this algorithm can be found in Anonymus 830, sects. 18, 25 (same wording as Anonymus 892), and 28, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX, XXX and XXX; Anonymus 951, sect. 15; Anonymus 982, sect. 9; Anonymus 1041, sect. 8; Anonymus 1079, sect. 5, in Mentz, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 100; the Computus contained in Par. suppl. gr. 690, sect. 3; Anonymus 1090, sects. 1 and 5; Anonymus 1092A, sect. 4, and 1092B, sect. 6, in Karnthaler, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 5.40-6.47 and 9.191-10.198, respectively; Anonymus 1172, sect. 5; Anonymus 1183, sect. 6; Anonymus 1204; Anonymus 1247, sect. 3, in Schissel, Chronologischer 106; Anonymus 1256, sect. 9; Blastares 1335, in Rhalles - Potles, $\Sigma$ v́vtaүua VI 416; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 10; Meliteniotes 1352, sect. III.24; Anonymus 1377, sect. 8, in PG XIX 1328; Anonymus 1379, in PG XIX 1329.
    ${ }^{147}$ This expression is also found in Anonymus 1092A, sect. 4, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 5.42, and in Rhabdas 1342, sect. 10.
    ${ }^{148}$ Matthew Blastares (in Rhalles - Potles, $\Sigma$ vóvtaү $\mu \alpha$ VI 416) adduces another explanation of the parameter 6: because of the excess of $0 ; 1,50$ day of a true lunar month over $291 / 2$ days, which yields about 6 days in 1 year (immo $6 ; 53$ days).
    ${ }^{149}$ Thus, the convention assumes that lunar months are 30 -day months. Unnecessary complications would arise from reducing modulo $29 \frac{1}{2}$; moreover, one would not let Easter coincide with Passover, and reducing modulo 30 rather than modulo $291 / 2$ shifts forward, and most conveniently, the schematic date of the computed Passover. There exist, however, algorithms that compute the age of the Moon (but not the date of Passover) by reducing modulo $29 \frac{1}{2}$ : see, for instance, Maximus, Enarratio I. 28 and the eighth algorithm compiled in III.8, in PG XIX 1245 and 1269; Psellos 1092, sect. I.15, in Redl, La chronologie appliquée II 237.1-11; Anonymus 1183, sects. 9 and 10; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 7; Anonymus 1377, sect. 6, in PG XIX 1323.
    ${ }^{150}$ In its first occurrence, the Passover algorithm is harmlessly incomplete: since $11 m+6<30$ for $m=1$, the modulo 30 reduction is not operative and hence it is not mentioned.

[^30]:    ${ }^{151}$ Other occurrences of this algorithm can be found in Anonymus 951, sect. 17; Anonymus 982, sect. 9; Anonymus 1079, sect. 2, in Mentz, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 78; the Computus contained in Par. suppl. gr. 690, sect. 5; Anonymus 1041, sect. 8; Anonymus 1090, sects. 1 and 5; Anonymus 1172, sect. 10; Anonymus 1183, sect. 8; Anonymus 1256, sect. 12; Blastares 1335, in Rhalles - Potles, Lv́vtaүu VI 418; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 13; Meliteniotes 1352, sect. III.24; Argyros 1372, sect. 12, in $P G$ XIX 1301-1304.
    ${ }^{152}$ For the meaning of this formula, see footnote 121 above.
    ${ }^{153}$ This algorithm is ubiquitous in Computi. See, for instance, Maximus, Enarratio I.24, in PG XIX 1244 (second algorithm); the computistical section of the Florilegium Coislinianum, letter $\Pi, \mathrm{n}^{\circ} 168$; Anonymus 830 , sects. 15 and 28 , in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX and XXX; Anonymus 951, sect. 14; Anonymus 982, sect. 9; Anonymus 1041, sect. 8; Anonymus 1079 , sects. 1 and 7, in MENTZ, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 76 and 90-92, respectively; Anonymus 1090, sect. 2; Psellos 1092, sect. I.13, in Redl, La chronologie appliquée II 229-232; Anonymus 1092A, sect. 5, in Karnthaler, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 6.69-77; Anonymus 1172, sect. 9; Anonymus 1183, sect. 7; Anonymus 1256, sect. 11 (one of the algorithms uses the "epacts of the months" [see just below], also computed in sects. 11-12); Blastares 1335, in Rhalles - Potles, $\Sigma v ́ v \tau \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha$ VI 418; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 11; Meliteniotes 1352, sect. III.23; Anonymus 1377, sect. 3, in PG XIX 1317-1320; Anonymus 1379, in PG XIX 1332. As for the "epacts of the months", they correspond to Western regulares: the epact of a given month is the weekday of the last day of the previous month (a further example of an "incipient" quantity), gauged to $w\left(1_{O}\right)=2$ : thus $e_{O}=1$; see Maximus, Enarratio I.26, in PG XIX 1244-1245; Anonymus 830, sect. 1, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX; Anonymus 1092B, sect. 11, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 12.286-13.1; Anonymus 1172, sect. 20; Anonymus 1204; Anonymus 1247, sect. 16, in Schissel, Chronologischer 109; Anonymus 1256, sect. 11 and 14; Anonymus 1350 sect. 6, in SChLACHTER, Wiener griechische 7; Argyros 1372, sect. 5, in PG XIX 1285-1288; Anonymus 1377, sect. 3, in PG XIX 1320 (but only the excess of each month over 4 weeks is tabulated); Anonymus 1379, in PG XIX 1332-1333.
    ${ }^{154}$ Solar cycle years are used only in computistical algorithms of this kind.

[^31]:    ${ }^{155}$ Other occurrences of this algorithm can be found in Anonymus 830, sect. 13, in GASTGEBER, Neue texte XXX; Anonymus 1256 , sect. 15.

[^32]:    ${ }^{156}$ See George, sect. II.4, in Diekamp, Der Mönch 30.5-31.2, Anonymus 982, sect. 15, and the discussion in sect. 12 above.
    ${ }^{157}$ A 30-year cycle might underlie the Paschal canon presented by the Eastern bishops at the Council of Serdica (ca. AD 343): see Schwartz, Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln 121-125, Grumel, La Chronologie 41-43, and Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 184-186. This cycle began in AD 328.

[^33]:    ${ }^{158}$ For the epacts of the Moon in Byzantine Computi, see the early and clear expositions by George, sect. II.2, in Diekamp, Der Mönch 25.25-35, and by Maximus, Enarratio I.7, in PG XIX 1223. Early Computi in which the epacts of the Moon are calculated or tabulated include Stephanus-Heraclius' in Ptolemaei Tabulas Manuales, sects. 12 (the era Philip and the era Constantine are used) and 30 (the era Maurice is used), in LEMPIRE, Le commentaire 154.2-156.12, and UsENER, De Stephano Alexandrino 315-316, respectively; the table in the computistical section of the Florilegium Coislinianum, letter $\Pi, \mathrm{n}^{\circ} 166$ (with fractional parts generated by accumulating twelfths); Anonymus 830, sects. 7 and 34, in GASTGEBER, Neue texte XXX and XXX; Theophylaktos 956, sect. 4 (the AD era is used); Anonymus 1183, sects. 9 and 12 (with fractional parts generated by accumulating nineteenths: the saltus lunae is evenly distributed among the lunar cycles). Epacts with fractional parts are also found in Anonymus 1092B, sect. 7, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 11.207248 ( 3 minutes are added for each cycle, plus 1 minute every time six cycles have been completed: the saltus lunae is unevenly distributed among the lunar cycles).

[^34]:    ${ }^{159}$ See Anonymus 982, sects. 10 and 14; Anonymus 1172 , sect. 8 (an incomplete algorithm); Anonymus 1273, sect. 7, in BuchEGGER, Wiener griechische Chronologie 31.58-75; Meliteniotes 1352, sect. III.24. These two algorithms do not mention the epacts, replacing them with their definition $e_{m}=11 \mathrm{~m}$ mod 30 . See also the discussion in sect. $\mathbf{1 2}$ above. An algorithm that is straightforwardly equivalent to this norm 44 algorithm is a norm 45 algorithm in which the epacts are replaced by the "pastoral base" $b_{m}=e_{m}+1$ : see Anonymus 1079 , sects. 3-4, in MENTZ, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 78; Anonymus 1172 , sect. 7 (an incomplete algorithm), and sect. 18 for the "base"; Anonymus 1273, sect. 6, in Buchegger, Wiener griechische Chronologie 30.43-31.57; Anonymus 1095. In all these algorithms, the saltus lunae is a feature of the sequence of bases.

[^35]:    ${ }^{160}$ As leap years must be disregarded in lunar computations, adding this summand constitutes a misunderstanding of the procedure. The supplementary unit in leap years is not mentioned in Anonymus 1079, sect. 1, MENTZ, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 76. The mention of leap years in our Computus might be a faulty annotation that was inserted in the text.
    ${ }^{161}$ This is confirmed by Anonymus 1172, sect. 6, and by Anonymus 1273 (which do not add the unit of leap years, either). Both computists calls the standard base $b_{m}=e_{m}+1$ "pastoral base" ( $\pi$ o七 $\left.\mu \varepsilon v 1 \kappa o ̀ \varsigma ~ \theta \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda ı \varsigma\right)$ : see the text inserted in the wheel in Vat. gr. 432, on f. 144v, and Buchegger, Wiener griechische Chronologie 30-31, respectively; see also MENTZ, Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung 46-47 n. 11. Unsurprisingly, Anonymus 830, sect. 35, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX, uses the incorrect norm 105. On "bases", see footnote 95 above.

[^36]:    ${ }^{162}$ Other expositions of lunar embolism include George, sect. II.4, in DIEKAMP, Der Mönch 31.3-15; Maximus, Enarratio I.7-10, and 12-13, in PG XIX 1224-1232; Anonymus 830, sect. 32, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX; Anonymus 982, sect. 12; Psellos 1092, sects. II.24-25 and 27, in Redl, La chronologie appliquée II 261.14-264.9 and 270.21-271.7; Anonymus 1172, sect. 14; Anonymus 1183, sect. 11.
    ${ }^{163}$ A prescription for locating all new Moons in a lunar cycle is a "lunar calendar"; such calendars were paid special attention in Latin West; Dionysius Exiguus' table did not include one. Most of the range of variability I shall mention just below is mentioned at appropriate places in Holford-Strevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars. It must be stressed that some lunar calendars we find in secondary literature are reconstructed, and that, frequently, lunar calendars are not uniquely determined by the available data: additional constraints must be imposed, such as the base principle of alternation of full and hollow months (a principle that is not followed in the latercus), or the requirement that full lunar months end in odd-place solar months of the Julian calendar. Consequently, extant or reconstructed lunar calendars display some variability as to: (a) the exact mechanism of embolism (this can be the standard insertion of 30-day months, or a clever disposition of lunar months entirely included in a calendar month-the lunae abortivae-as in the De ratione conputandi); (b) the exact position of the embolismic months; $(c)$ the exact position of the saltus lunae, as in principle any full month in the year that carries the saltus can be made hollow; $(d)$ how the intercalary days of any Julian-style calendar are to be taken into account; ( $e$ ) where the lunar year begins (Bede canonically has the "lunar years" begin on the first new Moon of Spring; Psellos 1092, sect. II.25, in REDL, La chronologie appliquée II 263.1-267.2, has the "lunar years" begin on Passover [the same in Dionysius, KrUSCH, Studien (1938) 85-86]; the first month of a lunar cycle year ends with the first new Moon of January). The matter is complicated by the fact that a lunar cycle year does not coincide with a "lunar year", and it is not obvious whether the embolisms should be keyed to the former or to the latter. Bede's lunar calendar coincides with the one printed in the excellent edition of the Carolingian standard calendars A. Borst, Der karolingische Reichskalender und sein Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libri Memoriales 2). I-III. Hannover 2001, 1647-1727; see also Grumel, La Chronologie 303, who corrects a mistake in Ginzel, Handbuch III 136-137, from where he draws the table, but introduces several more by his decision to mark full lunar months in italics; it is better to check Holford-Strevens, Paschal Lunar Calendars 202, and passim for the other lunar calendars. Other schemes of embolismic years in a late Western source are discussed in O. Neugebauer, Astronomical and Calendrical Data in the Très Riches Heures, in: M. Meiss, French Painting in the Times of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries. Paris 1974, 421-432.

[^37]:    ${ }^{164}$ I have tried to keep the paraetymology by forging the misspelled verb "to begold" for "to behold".

[^38]:    ${ }^{165}$ I was unable to render the two Greek paraetymologies ( $\pi \lambda \alpha v \dot{\eta} \tau \eta \varsigma$ vs. $\pi \lambda \alpha v \alpha \dot{\alpha} \omega$ and $\pi \lambda \alpha v \eta \dot{\eta} \eta \varsigma \varsigma$ vs. $\left.\pi \lambda \alpha \gamma \dot{\prime} \omega \varsigma\right)$ in English. The former paraetymology plays with the two meanings of $\pi \lambda \alpha v \alpha \dot{\alpha} \omega$ : "to wander" but also "to deceive".
    ${ }^{166}$ Other occurrences of this algorithm can be found in the computistical section of the Florilegium Coislinianum, letter $\Pi, \mathrm{n}^{\circ}$ 165 (only a table); Anonymus 830, sects. 4 and 9, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX and XXX; Anonymus 1092B, sect. 10, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 11.268-12.279; Anonymus 1183, sects. 13-14. A wheel of fractional epacts of the Sun is also found in Maximus, Enarratio I.1, in PG XIX 1219-1220; the fractional parts are deleted in the $P G$ edition, but they are present in all manuscripts.
    ${ }^{167}$ See Theophilus of Antioch, ad Aut. I.4, PG VI 1029A, and also Nicomachus, Ench. 3, 241.15-18 Jan. The solar epacts are called "days of the Gods" by Paul of Alexandria, Apotel. 19-20. For the occurrence of the expression in the Index of Athanasius' Festal Letters (Athanasius died in AD 378), see Mosshammer, The Easter Computus 82-83 and 163-166 (an edition of the text, with a translation and a commentary, is found in A. MARTIN - M. Albert, Histoire «acéphale» et Index syriaque des Lettres Festales d'Athanase d'Alexandrie [Sources Chrétiennes 317]. Paris 1985). For the transliterated occurrence in Ethiopic Computi, see O. Neugebauer, Țentyon. Orientalia 44 (1975) 487-488. A list of the names of the
     christlichen Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte. ZNW 6 (1905) 1-66, 27, relying on [A. MAU], Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (1881) 30; the list begins with Saturn.
    ${ }^{168}$ See Dio Cassius XXXVII. 18.
    ${ }^{169}$ The list is also found in Anonymus 1092B, sect. 11, in KARNTHALER, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 13.322-328.

[^39]:    ${ }^{170}$ See J. Mogenet, Les scholies astronomiques du Vat. gr. 1291. BIBR 40 (1069) 69-91, Text 4. For other sources see Neugebauer, hamA 604-607 (on the "great year", on which Psellos wrote, see also P. TANNERY, Psellus sur la grande année. REG 5 [1892] 206-211, repr. ID., Mémoires scientifiques IV. Toulouse - Paris 1920, 261-268) and 782-785. Geminos' value for the Moon is the length of the sidereal month.
    ${ }^{171}$ The opposite convention can be found in George, sect. II.3, in DIEKAMP, Der Mönch 29.29-30, and in Maximus, Enarratio I.14, in PG XIX 1232.

[^40]:    ${ }^{172}$ The text wrongly reads "quintuple" and "four-times"; see the commentary.
    ${ }^{173}$ This quantity coincides with the illuminated part of the lunar disk measured as a fraction of its diameter.
    ${ }^{174}$ For this algorithm, see also Anonymus 830, sects. 24 and 33, in Gastgeber, Neue texte XXX and XXX; Anonymus 982, sects. 20, 23, and 27; Anonymus 1041, sect. 19; Anonymus 1092B, sect. 5, in Karnthaler, Die chronologischen Abhandlungen 9.159-170; Anonymus 1172, sect. 21; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 9; Anonymus 1377, sect. 7, in PG XIX 1324-1328, where the procedure is described in detail. Latin computistical treatises include Bede, De Temporum Ratione xxiv and the Computus printed in PL CXXIX 1305. The connection with Western sources is also made explicit in Theophylaktos 956
     same algorithm, and, in the same manuscript, in Nicholas 916, sects. 5-8 (which, however, does not present this algorithm). See also Neugebauer, HAMA 830, and Neugebauer, Ethiopic Astronomy 164-165.
    ${ }^{175}$ The conversion from seasonal hours to equinoctial hours is carried out in Rhabdas 1342, sect. 9, and in Anonymus 1377, sect. 7, in PG XIX 1325-1328.

[^41]:    ${ }^{176}$ For this algorithm, see George, sect. II.3, in DIEKAMP, Der Mönch 29.7-30.2; Anonymus 686, sect. 3; Anonymus 830, sect. 27; Anonymus 951, sect. 18; Psellos 1092, sect. I.4, in Redl, La chronologie appliquée I 213-215; an isolated procedure in Par. suppl. gr. 387, f. 149v, in Acerbi, Struttura e concezione, Appendice A.6; Blastares 1335, in Rhalles - PotLes, इóvidү $\mu \alpha$ VI 417 n. 1; Rhabdas 1342, sect. 15.
    ${ }^{177}$ For this interval, see also sect. 22 and the computistical glossary above.
    ${ }^{178}$ Almost all Computi list the Passover and Paschal terms. Early explicit statements are in Stephanus-Heraclius' in Ptolemaei Tabulas Manuales, sect. 30, in Usener, De Stephano Alexandrino 314; Maximus, Enarratio I.14, in PG XIX 1232; Anonymus 951, sect. 16; Anonymus 982, sects. 14 and 29; the Computus contained in Par. suppl. gr. 690, sect. 4; Anonymus 1090, sect. 1 (with an explanation); Psellos 1092, sect. I.4, in RedL, La chronologie appliquée I 213.11-21, Anonymus 1183, sect. 8; Anonymus 1204.

[^42]:    ${ }^{179}$ For instance, the cell in the middle ring carrying number 13 corresponds to the cell in the inner ring carrying number 3. This means that, in lunar cycle year 3, Passover falls on April 13.

