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SLOVO O ZAKONE

I BLAGODATI:

A DISCOURSE

ON THE LAW

AND GRACE

Nancy Louisa Ickler

Introduction

The *Slovo o Zakone i Blagodati*, usually referred to in English as the *Sermon on Law and Grace*, is the earliest and most polished piece of extant Kievan homiletic literature. It can be dated on internal evidence between 1037 and 1050. The *Slovo* is usually ascribed to Ilarion, a man about whom little is known except that he was connected with the Crypt Monastery, served as a priest at the Church of the Holy Apostles at Berestovo, and was made metropolitan of Kiev in 1051,¹ apparently the first non-Greek to attain that rank. The "Confession of Faith" which follows the *Slovo*

in the best manuscript, the fifteenth-century Synodal manuscript, is the only work actually signed by Ilarion (see translation); but the "Confession" and *Slovo* are written in the same handwriting, indicating that the fifteenth-century scribe probably viewed them as a unit, and the stylistic similarities are so striking² that most scholars accept Ilarion as the author of the *Slovo* as well. The place and occasion for the delivery of the *Slovo* are impossible to ascertain. It has been suggested that it was delivered in the Cathedral of St. Sophia,³ in the Church of the Tithe, where Ilarion could point to Vladimir's tomb,⁴ or in the Church of the Annunciation, since the Annunciation is an important theme of the *Slovo* and the church itself is mentioned in the text.⁵ Rozov further postulates that the *Slovo* was delivered in a year when Easter fell close to the feast of the Annunciation, since the Gospel passages and themes in the *Slovo* are connected with these two festivals; he suggests March 26, 1049.⁶

Structurally, the *Slovo* is readily divisible into two parts, the discourse on the (Mosaic) Law and (Christian) Grace, and the encomium to Vladimir I, the grand prince who made Christianity the official religion of Kiev Rus'. Müller⁷ suggests that it actually consists of four works delivered on different occasions: the discourse on the Law and Grace, a series of biblical quotes on the salvation of the Gentiles, the encomium to Vladimir, and the prayer to God. For a more detailed discussion of the structure of the *Slovo* and the rhetorical devices used by Ilarion, the reader is referred to Fennell.⁸ Little of certainty is known about the sources Ilarion might have used, other than the Bible; some possibilities have been discussed by Rozov⁹ and Müller.¹⁰

The *Slovo* is a work of significance for many disciplines. It is important to literary scholars not only for its place in Byzantine oratory, but also for the great impact it had on Russian homiletic and hagiographic literature of the following six centuries.¹¹ It is of interest to linguists as one of the earliest works written in Old Russian, though with much influence from Old Church Slavic, the ecclesiastic *lingua franca*. Historians find in the *Slovo* an expression of Russian nationalism. Attempts have been made to deduce from the *Slovo* information about Kiev's foreign relations: Priselkov,¹² for example, sees the *Slovo* as an attack on the Patriarchate of Bulgaria, while Lixačev¹³ sees it as a polemic against Byzantium.

The entire *Slovo o Zakone i Blagodati* has never been translated into English, although a short passage was translated by Zenkovsky.¹⁴ The present translation includes not only the *Slovo*, but also the

“Confession” and autobiographical note. The “Confession” presumably was written by Ilarion for his enthronization, and thus dates from 1051.

I am grateful to Professor Francis Whitfield for encouraging this project, reading several versions of the translation, and making numerous suggestions, as well as to Professor John Fennell for his helpful comments.

Editorial notes: The present translation is based on the text in the Synodal manuscript, edited by Rozov.¹⁵ The numbering corresponds to that edition. Single slashes indicate the approximate place of every fifth line division; double slashes indicate page divisions. Notes referenced by manuscript page and line appear at the end of the translation and give information on historical background, biblical sources, and emendations. New Testament references are to the King James version; Old Testament references are to the Septuagint and the King James version. In case of a discrepancy, the King James reference is given first and the Septuagint reference follows in parentheses. Because of their frequency, not emended are uses of participles for finite verbs and omissions of *i* ‘and.’ Transliteration follows the so-called linguistic system. Old Russian letters are transliterated as their modern Russian equivalents, except that *ě* is used to transliterate *ĭ* and the symbol *~* is used where it appears in the original to mark the omission of letters. Words in square brackets were supplied by Rozov from another manuscript. Words in parentheses were added by me to produce a smooth translation.

Notes to the Introduction

1. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (Moscow: Nauka, 1962) I: 156.
2. Ludolf Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), pp. 12-15.
3. D. S. Lixačev, *Nacional'noe samoznanie drevnej Rusi* (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademija Nauk, 1945), p. 31.
4. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, pp. 31-32.
5. N. N. Rozov, “Sinodal'nyj spisok sočinenij Ilariona—russkogo pisatelja XI v.,” *Slavia* 32 (1963): 148.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Ludolf Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1971), pp. 11-14.
8. John Fennell and Anthony Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 43-63.
9. N. N. Rozov, “Iz istorii russko-češskix literaturnyx svjazej drevnejšego perioda.”

- Literaturnye svjazi drevnix Slavjan*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Leningrad: Nauka, 1968), pp. 71-85.
10. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, pp. 148-176.
 11. A. B. Nikol'skaja, "'Slovo' mitropolita Kievskogo Ilariona v pozdnejšej literaturnoj tradicii," *Slavia* 7 (1928-9): 549-63.
 12. M. D. Priselkov, "Očerki po cerkovnopolitičeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X-XII vv.," *Zapiski Istoriko-Filologičeskogo Fakul'teta Imp. Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta* (Saint Petersburg, 1913) 116: 95-111.
 13. Lixačev, pp. 26-27.
 14. Serge A. Zenkovsky, ed. and trans., *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales* (New York: Dutton, 1963), pp. 79-83.
 15. Rozov, "Sinodal'nyj spisok sočinenij Ilariona," pp. 141-75.

Translation

168a Of the Law given by Moses, and of the Grace and
 Truth which came through Jesus Christ; and how
 the Law passed away, while Grace and Truth
 5 filled all the earth / and the Faith extended to all
 nations, even to our Russian nation; and an
 encomium to our khan Vladimir, by whom we were
 10 baptized; / and a prayer to God from our whole
 land. O Lord, grant thy blessing, Father!

 Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, the God of
 15 Christians, for he hath visited and redeemed / his
 people. For he did not utterly forsake his creation
 (and allow it) to be held fast in the darkness of idols
 and to perish in the service of devils. But first he
 20 justified / the tribe of Abraham through the Tables
 168b // and the Law; and afterward through his Son he
 redeemed all nations, leading them through the
 Gospel and baptism to the renewal of regeneration
 5 unto life eternal. /

 Let us then praise and glorify him whom the
 angels praise without ceasing, and bow down to him
 10 to whom bow the cherubim / and seraphim. For
 verily he looked upon his people: and not an
 ambassador, nor a messenger, but he himself saved
 15 us, coming into the world not in apparition, / but in
 truth, suffering for us in the flesh even unto the
 grave, and with himself resurrecting us. For having

20 169a clothed himself in flesh, he came to men that lived
on earth, / and through his Crucifixion and // burial
he descended to them that were in hell, that both
the living and the dead might know their visitation
and God's coming, and might understand that he is
5 for the living and the dead / a strong and mighty
God.

For who is as great as our God? He alone is the
One that doeth wonders. He established the Law for
10 the preparation of Truth and Grace, that in it /
human nature might turn away from idolatrous
polytheism and learn to believe in the one God, that
15 mankind, like a fouled vessel washed with water, /
might receive through the Law and circumcision the
milk of Grace and baptism. For the Law was a
precursor and servant to Grace and Truth, but Truth
20 and Grace, / servants to the future age of life
169b incorruptible. // For the Law led those that were
under the Law toward the baptism of Grace, but
baptism admits its sons to eternal life. For Moses
5 and the prophets spake of the coming of Christ, /
but Christ and His apostles, of the Resurrection and
the age to come.

But to call to remembrance in this writing the
10 preaching of the prophets / concerning Christ and
the teaching of the apostles concerning the age to
come is superfluous and inclining to vanity. For to
set down here what is written in other books and
15 known to you / is the image of foolhardiness and
vainglory. For we write not to the ignorant, but to
those who have sated themselves beyond all
abundance in the sweetness of books, / not to the
20 heterodox enemies of God, but to his very sons, //
170a not to strangers, but to the heirs of the heavenly
kingdom.

Rather is this an account of the Law given by
Moses, and of the Grace and Truth which came
5 through Christ. / And what did the Law achieve,
and what did Grace?

10 First the Law, and then Grace; first the shadow,
and then the Truth. And the figure of Law / and

Grace is Hagar and Sarah, the bondwoman Hagar
 and the freewoman Sarah, the bondwoman first, and
 then the freewoman. Whoso readeth, let him
 15 understand: Abraham from his youth had Sarah / for
 his wife, a freewoman, and not a slave. And God
 before the ages deigned and purposed to send his
 20 Son into the world, that Grace thereby should be
 revealed. But Sarah bare no children, / inasmuch as
 she was a barren woman; she was not barren, but
 170b was sealed // by Divine Providence to bear in old
 age. So also the secret and hidden things of God's
 great wisdom were concealed from angels and men,
 5 not as unrevealable, but as concealed, / and to be
 revealed at the end of the age. And Sarah said unto
 Abraham, Behold, the Lord God hath sealed me
 from bearing. Go in therefore to my maid Hagar and
 10 thou wilt beget / a child of her. And Grace said unto
 God, If it is not the time for me to descend to earth
 and save the world, then descend to Mount Sinai,
 15 and establish the Law. And Abraham hearkened to /
 the voice of Sarah, and went in to her maid Hagar;
 and God, too, hearkened to the words of Grace, and
 descended to Sinai. And Hagar the bondwoman bare
 a child to Abraham: the bondwoman, a child of
 20 bondage; / and Abraham called his name Ishmael.
 171a And Moses took down // from Mount Sinai the Law
 and not Grace, a shadow and not Truth.

And after these things, when Abraham and Sarah
 were already old, God appeared to Abraham, as he
 5 sat / before the door of his tent at noon, by the oak
 of Mamre. And Abraham, running to meet him,
 10 bowed himself to the ground and received him / into
 his tent. And as this age was nearing its end, the
 Lord visited mankind, and descended from heaven,
 entering into the womb of a virgin. And the virgin
 15 received / him with adoration into the tent of her
 flesh, without suffering, and said unto the angel,
 Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me
 according to thy word.

20 In the former time, / God opened Sarah's womb,
 171b and she conceived and bare Isaac: the freewoman, //

a freeman. And when God visited human nature,
 the secret and hidden things were revealed, and
 there was born Grace: the Truth and not the Law,
 5 the son and not / the slave. And when Isaac was
 weaned and grown strong, Abraham made a great
 feast, when Isaac his son was weaned. Even when
 10 Christ was on earth, / Grace had not yet grown
 strong, but was a suckling for thirty more years,
 during which Christ hid himself. But when the Grace
 15 of God was weaned and grown strong and appeared /
 to all men in the River Jordan, God made a
 celebration and great feast with the calf fatted from
 20 the ages, his beloved / Son Jesus Christ, calling
 together to one rejoicing those things which are in
 heaven and those which are on earth, // gathering
 172a angels and men together in one.

And after these things, Sarah, seeing how Hagar's
 son Ishmael was playing with her son Isaac, and how
 5 Isaac was done injury / by Ishmael, said unto
 Abraham, Cast out the bondwoman, even with her
 son, for the son of the bondwoman shall not inherit
 10 with the son of the freewoman. / And after the
 Ascension of the Lord Jesus, when his disciples and
 the others who already believed in him were in
 Jerusalem, and when they were both together, Jews
 15 and / Christians, the baptism of Grace was offended
 by the circumcision of the Law. And the Christian
 church in Jerusalem would not accept / an un-
 circumcised bishop, inasmuch as those of the cir-
 20 cumcision, making themselves to be elder, // were
 doing violence against the Christians, the sons of
 bondage against the sons of freedom. And there
 were many quarrels and disputes among them. And
 5 free / Grace, seeing her children, the Christians,
 offended by the Jews, the sons of the Law of
 bondage, cried out unto God, Cast out Jewry, even
 10 with the Law, and scatter / them among the nations.
 For what part hath the shadow with the Truth,
 Jewry with Christendom? And cast out was Hagar
 15 the bondwoman with her son Ishmael. / And Isaac,
 the son of the freewoman, came to be heir to

- Abraham his father. And cast out were the Jews and scattered among the nations, and the children of Grace, the Christians, / came to be heirs to God and the Father.
- 20
- 173a For the light of the moon departed // when the sun rose, and so with the Law when Grace was revealed. And the cold of the night passed when the heat of the sun warmed the earth. And mankind is
- 5 no longer / held strait within the Law, but freely walketh in Grace. For the Jews by the candle of the Law worked their justification, but Christians / by
- 10 the sun of Grace build their salvation. While Jewry by the shadow and the Law was justified, and not saved, Christians by Truth / and Grace are justified
- 15 not, yet saved. For among the Jews, justification, among the Christians, salvation: as justification is in this world, / but salvation in the age to come. For
- 20 the Jews rejoiced in earthly things, // but the Christians in those things which are in heaven. And that Jewish justification was sparing because of
- 173b jealousy, for it did not extend to other / nations, but was in Judea alone, while the salvation of the Christians is gracious and generous, extending to all the ends of the earth.
- 5
- 10 And the blessing of Manasseh was fulfilled / [on the Jews and that of Ephraim on the Christians, for Manasseh,] the elder son, was blessed with Jacob's left hand, and Ephraim, the younger son, with his right. Even though Manasseh was older than
- 15 Ephraim, through Jacob's blessing / he became lesser. Likewise, even though Jewry was first, yet the Christians became greater through Grace. For
- 20 when Joseph / said unto Jacob, On this one, father, lay thy right hand, for he is the elder, // Jacob
- 174a answered, I know it, child, I know it, and he also shall be a people, and he shall be exalted: but his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his
- 5 seed shall become a multitude of nations. / Even as it came to be, for the Law was first, and was exalted for a little time, and passed away, while the Christian faith, which appeared afterward, became greater than

10 the first, and bare fruit / in a multitude of nations.

And the Grace of Christ embraced the whole earth, and covered it like the water of the sea, and all men, laying aside the things of old, which had
15 grown old through the jealousy / of the Jews, hold to the new, according to the prophecy of Isaiah: The old things have passed, and new things do I declare
20 to you. Sing unto God a new song, and praise / his name from the ends of the earth, ye that go down to
174b the sea and sail // upon it, and all the islands. And again: My servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed on earth, for they shall bless the true God.

5 For before, / it was ordained that men should worship in Jerusalem alone, but now throughout the whole land, as Gideon said unto God, If by my hand
10 thou wilt save Israel, then let the dew be on / the fleece only, and drought over all the land. And it was so: for over all the land there was first drought, inasmuch as the deception of idolatry ruled the
15 nations, and they did not receive the dew of Grace. / For only in Judea was God known and in Israel his name great, and in Jerusalem alone was God glorified. And again, Gideon said / unto God, Let the
20 drought be on the fleece only, and the dew on all //
175a the land. And it was so. For Jewry passed away and the Law departed—the unacceptable sacrifices, the Ark of the Covenant and the Tablets—and the Mercy Seat was taken away. And over all / the land the dew, over all the land spread faith. The rain of Grace fell; the baptism of rebirth clothed its sons in
5 incorruption. /

10 Even as the Savior said unto the woman of Samaria, that the hour cometh and now is when neither in this mountain nor at Jerusalem shall the Father be worshipped. But there will be true worshippers, who shall worship the Father in spirit
15 and in truth, / for the Father seeketh such to worship him, that is to say, with the Son and the Holy Ghost. And so it hath come to pass: now over
20 all the earth the Holy Trinity is praised, and / re-

- ceiveth the worship of all creation. The small and
175b the great praise God // according to the prophecy:
And everyone shall teach his neighbor, and every
man his brother, saying, Know the Lord, for they
shall know me from the small to the great. Even as
5 our Savior Christ said unto / the Father, I confess
thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because
thou hast hid these things from the wise and
prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Yea, O
10 Father, / for so it seemed good in thy sight. And
gracious God hath shewed such mercy on mankind,
that even fleshly men, through baptism and good
15 deeds, / become sons of God and partakers in
Christ. For as many, said the Evangelist, as received
him, to them he gave power to become children of
20 God, to those who believed on his name, / who
were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh,
176a nor of the will // of men, but of God through the
Holy Ghost in holy baptism. All, whatsoever our
God hath pleased, that hath he done in heaven and
5 on earth. Therefore, who / will not glorify, who will
not praise, who will not bow down to the majesty of
his glory, and who will not marvel at his boundless
love for man?
- 10 Born of the Father before the ages, / one with the
Father in power and in being, like the light of the
sun he came down to earth. He visited his people
without being separated from the Father, and
15 he became flesh of / a pure, virginal, and im-
maculate maiden, having entered her womb as he
alone knoweth. Having taken on flesh, he came out
20 as he entered, being one of the Trinity in two /
natures, Godhead and manhood: wholly man, by
virtue of the Incarnation, // and not an apparition,
176b but wholly God, by virtue of his Godhead, and not a
simple man, but he who shewed forth on earth the
things of God and the things of man.
- 5 For as man he swelled his mother's womb, / and
as God he came out without harming her virginity.
As man he took his mother's milk, and as God he
appointed angels to sing with the shepherds, Glory

10 to God in the highest! / As man he was wrapped in
 swaddling clothes, and as God he led the Magi by
 the star. As man he lay in the manger, and as God
 15 he received the gifts and worship of the Magi. / As
 man he fled to Egypt, and to him as God the idols
 of Egypt bowed down. As man he came to baptism,
 20 and Jordan, in awe / of him as God, turned back. As
 177a man he entered naked // into the water, and as God
 he received from the Father the testimony, This is
 my beloved Son. As man he fasted forty days and
 5 hungered, and as God he overcame the Tempter. /
 As man he went to the marriage in Cana of Galilee,
 and as God he turned water into wine. As man he
 slept in the ship, and as God he rebuked the
 10 winds and the sea and they heeded / him. As man
 he wept over Lazarus, and as God he raised him
 from the dead. As man he sat upon the colt of an
 ass, and as to God they cried unto him, Blessed is
 15 he that cometh in the name of the Lord! / As man
 he was crucified, and as God, by his power, he
 admitted the one crucified with him into heaven. As
 man, having tasted of vinegar, he gave up the ghost,
 20 and as God he darkened the sun / and shook the
 177b earth. As man he was laid in the grave, // and as
 God he harrowed hell and freed the souls. As man
 he was sealed in the grave, and as God he came
 forth, preserving the seals intact. The Jews tried to
 5 conceal / his Resurrection as man, bribing the
 guards, but all the ends of the earth came to know
 and recognize him as God.

In truth, who is so great a God as our God? He
 10 is the God that doeth miracles. / He hath wrought
 salvation in the midst of the earth, by the cross and
 the passion at the place of the skull, tasting of vin-
 egar and gall, that by tasting of bitterness he might
 take away the transgression and sin of Adam's tast-
 15 ing of the sweetness / from the tree.

They that did these things to him stumbled a-
 gainst him, against the stone, and were crushed,
 20 even as / the Lord said, He that shall fall on this
 178a stone shall be crushed, and on whom // it shall fall,

it shall crush him. For he came to them fulfilling the
 prophecies prophesied of him, even as he said, I am
 5 not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house / of
 Israel, and again, I am not come to destroy the Law,
 but to fulfill it. And to the Canaanite woman, a
 10 foreigner, asking the healing of her daughter, he
 said, It is not meet to take / the children's bread,
 and to cast it to dogs. But they called him "that
 15 deceiver," [born of adultery,] and casting out devils
 by Beelzebub. Christ gave sight to their blind, /
 cleansed their lepers, made straight their lame,
 healed their possessed, strengthened their palsied,
 and raised their dead; but they put him to suffer as a
 20 criminal and nailed him to the cross. / For this there
 178b came down upon them the final wrath of God, //
 even as they themselves bare witness to their des-
 truction when the Savior spake the parable of the
 vineyard and the husbandmen: What then will he do
 5 unto those husbandmen? They answered, / He will
 miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out
 his vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall
 render him the fruits in their seasons.
 And they themselves became the prophets of
 10 their own destruction. / For he came to earth to visit
 them, and they received him not, for their deeds
 were dark. They loved not the light, lest it be
 15 revealed that their deeds were dark. / And therefore,
 coming to Jerusalem, Jesus beheld the city and
 wept, saying of it, If thou hadst known in this thy
 20 day the things which are unto thy peace! / But now
 they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall
 179a come // upon thee, and thine enemies shall cast a
 trench about thee, and compass thee round, and
 keep thee in on every side, and shall destroy thee,
 5 and thy children within thee, because / thou knew-
 est not the time of thy visitation. And again: Jeru-
 salem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and
 10 stonest them which are sent unto thee, / how often
 would I have gathered thy children together, even as
 a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and
 15 ye would not! Behold, your house is left desolate. /

Even as it came to pass, for the Romans came and captured Jerusalem and leveled it to its foundations. From that time Jewry ceased to be, and then the
 20 Law waned like the evening twilight, / and the Jews
 179b were strewn throughout the nations, // lest evil should abide in one place.

For the Savior came, and was not received of Israel, and according to the word of the Gospel, he came unto his own, and his own received him not.
 5 But of the Gentile nations he was received, / as Jacob said: And he is the hope of the nations. For even at his birth Magi from the Gentile nations were the first to worship him, while the Jews sought to
 10 kill him; and because of him / they also slew the children. And the words of the Savior were fulfilled, that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob /
 15 in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness. And again: The kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to nations / bringing forth the fruits
 20 thereof, to whom he sent his disciples, // saying, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every
 180a creature, that he that believeth and is baptized may be saved. And: Go ye and teach all nations, / baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded
 5 you.

For it was meet that Grace and Truth should shine on new peoples. For according to the word of
 10 the Lord, men do not pour / new wine, the teaching of Grace, into old bottles, grown old in Jewry: else the bottles will burst / and the wine run out. For, not having been able to hold the Law, the shadow, but oftentimes worshipping idols, how are they to hold
 15 the teaching of true Grace? / Rather (let) the new wine, new teaching, (be put) into new bottles, new
 20 peoples, and both // will be preserved. Even as it hath come to pass: for the faith of Grace hath spread
 180b over the whole world, and hath reached even our

5 Russian nation. And the lake of the Law hath dried
 up, while the spring of the Gospel, / flooding and
 covering the whole earth, hath poured over even to
 10 us. For behold, we too, with all Christians, now
 glorify the Holy Trinity, while Judea / remains silent.
 Christ is glorified and the Jews accursed, the Gen-
 15 tiles led in and the Jews cast out, as the prophet
 Malachi said, I have no pleasure in the sons / of
 Israel, and I will not accept a sacrifice at their hands.
 20 For from the east to the west my name is glorified
 among the Gentiles, and in every place incense / is
 181a offered to my name, for my name is great among
 thee, and sing to thee. And: O Lord our Lord, how
 wonderful is thy name in all the earth!

5 And no longer are we called idolators, but Chris-
 tians, / no longer people despairing, but hoping in
 life eternal. And no longer do we build a temple to
 Satan, but erect churches to Christ. No longer do we
 10 sacrifice one another to devils, / but Christ for us is
 slain and broken in sacrifice to God and the Father.
 And no longer, tasting the blood of sacrifice, do we
 15 perish, but, tasting the most pure blood of Christ, /
 we are saved.

On all lands hath our gracious God had mercy,
 and us he hath not despised, but he hath loved us
 and saved us, and led us to the knowledge of Truth.
 20 / For when our land was desolate and parched, dried
 181b up by the burning heat of idolatry, // suddenly the
 spring of the Gospel began to flow, giving drink to
 our whole land, as Isaiah said, And water shall burst
 5 forth for those walking in / the desert, and the dry
 land shall become pools, and in the thirsty land shall
 be a spring of water. When we were blind and saw
 10 not the light of Truth, / but wandered in the
 deception of idolatry, and were also deaf to the
 teaching of salvation, God had mercy on us, and
 there came to shine even in us the light of un-
 15 derstanding, which is to know / him, according to
 the prophecy, Then shall the eyes of the blind be
 opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear. And

- 20 when we were stumbling / in the ways of destruction, which is to follow devils, and knew not
182a the way which leadeth to life, // and also were stammering with our tongues, praying to idols and not to our God and Creator, God's love toward man
5 visited us; and now we no longer follow / devils, but clearly praise Christ our God, according to the prophecy: Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the stammerers shall be clear.
10 And before, when we were / like beasts and cattle, not knowing our right hand from our left, devoting ourselves to earthly things, and not in the least mindful of the heavenly, the Lord sent even unto us
15 / the commandments which lead to life eternal, according to the prophecy of Hosea: And in that day, saith the Lord, I will make for them a covenant with the birds of the sky and / the beasts of the earth. And I will say to them which were not my people,
20 You are my people, // and they shall say to me, Thou art the Lord our God. And thus, being strangers, we have come to be called God's people, and having been enemies, we have come to be named his sons.

- And we revile him not after the manner of the
5 Jews, / but praise him after the manner of Christians. We take not counsel to crucify him, but to bow down to him crucified. We crucify not the
10 Savior, but stretch out our hands to him. / We pierce not his ribs, but drink from them the spring of incorruption. We take not thirty pieces of silver for him, but offer to him one another and our whole
15 life. / We hide not the Resurrection, but in all our houses cry, Christ is risen from the dead! We say
20 not that he was stolen, but that he hath arisen / to where he was. We disbelieve not, but like Peter we
183a say unto him, // Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, and with Thomas, Thou art our Lord and God, and with the thief, Remember us, Lord, in thy kingdom. And believing thus on him, and keeping
5 the tradition of the Holy / Fathers of the Seven Councils, we pray God to help us further and direct

us on the way of his commandments.

- And what was spoken of the Gentiles hath come
 10 to pass with us: / The Lord shall reveal his holy arm
 before all the nations, and all the ends of the earth
 shall see the salvation that comes from our God.
 15 And again: As I live, / saith the Lord, every knee
 shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to
 God. And the word of Isaiah: Every valley shall be
 filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought
 20 low: / and the crooked shall become straight and the
 183b rough places smooth roads. // And the glory of the
 Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see the
 salvation of our God. And the word of Daniel: All
 peoples, tribes and languages shall serve him. And
 5 of David: Let the people confess / thee, O God; let
 all the people confess thee. Let the nations rejoice
 and be glad. And: Clap your hands, all ye nations,
 10 and shout / to God with a voice of joy. For the Lord
 Most High is terrible, a great King over all the earth.
 And a little afterward: Sing to our God, sing; sing to
 our King, sing, for God is the King of all the earth;
 15 / sing with understanding. God reigneth over the
 nations. And: Let all the earth worship thee and sing
 unto thee, let them sing unto thy name, O Most
 20 High. And: Praise the Lord, all / ye nations, and
 praise him, all ye peoples. And further: From the
 184a east even to // the west the name of the Lord is to
 be praised. The Lord is high above all the nations,
 and his glory is above the heavens. According to thy
 name, O God, so is thy praise to the ends of the
 5 earth. Hearken to / us, O God our Savior, the hope
 of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are on
 the sea afar off. And: Let us come to know thy way
 10 on earth, and thy salvation among all / nations. And:
 Kings of the earth, and all peoples; princes, and all
 judges of the earth: young men and virgins; old men
 with youths: let them praise the name of the Lord.
 15 And the word of Isaiah: / Hear me, my people, saith
 the Lord, and ye kings, hearken unto me: for a law
 shall proceed from me, and my judgment is a light
 unto the nations. My righteousness speedily draweth

20 nigh, / and my salvation shall go forth as a light; the
 184b isles shall wait for me, // and on mine arm shall the
 Gentiles trust.

Now the Roman land with voices of praise prais-
 5 eth Peter and Paul, through whom / it came to be-
 lieve in Jesus Christ, the Son of God; Asia and
 Ephesus and Patmos praise John the Theologue; In-
 10 dia, Thomas; Egypt, Mark. All lands and cities and
 peoples honor and glorify, / each one, their teachers
 who taught them the orthodox faith. Let us, too,
 15 praise with humble praises, according to our
 strength, the doer of great and wondrous things, /
 our teacher and mentor, the great khan of our land
 Vladimir, grandson of old Igor and son of glorious
 20 Svjatoslav, / who, ruling in their years, became
 185a famed for courage and valor // in many lands, and
 whom men now remember and celebrate for their
 victories and strength. For in no poor and unknown
 5 land they ruled, / but in Rus', of which the four
 corners of the earth do know and hear.

Born a glorious man of glorious men, / a noble of
 10 nobles, our khan Vladimir, growing and waxing
 strong from childish youth, and then in manhood
 15 perfecting himself in strength and power, / and
 increasing in courage and wisdom, came to be the
 sole ruler of his land, subjugating to himself the
 surrounding countries, some in peace, but the
 20 contumacious / by the sword. And when he was
 185b living thus in his day and shepherding his land //
 with justice, courage and wisdom, there came upon
 him a visitation of the Most High. The all-merciful
 5 eye of our gracious God looked upon him, / and
 understanding shined in his heart, so that he un-
 derstood the vanity of the deception of idolatry and
 sought the one God, the Creator of all creation,
 10 visible and invisible. / Yea, more: He was ever
 hearing of the faithful land of the Greeks, Christ-
 loving and strong in faith, how they honored and
 15 worshipped one God in three persons, / how among
 them were wrought displays of power, miracles and

20 signs, how the churches were filled with people, how
 all the cities were faithful, / all were zealous in /
 prayer, all stood before God. And hearing these
 186a things, // he longed in his heart and burned in his
 soul to be a Christian, and for his land to be also
 —which came to pass, for God so deigned, and so
 loved human nature.

5 And so our khan disrobed, / and with the clothing
 of the old man he put off corruption. He shook off
 the dust of disbelief and entered into holy baptism,
 and was born of water and the Spirit. Baptized in
 10 Christ, / he put on Christ and came forth from the
 font made white, having become a son of incor-
 15 ruption, a s^on of the Resurrection, taking the name
 which is eternal and renowned from generation /
 unto generation, Vasilij, by which he was enrolled in
 the book of life, in the most high city and incor-
 ruptible Jerusalem.

20 And when this had come to pass, he did not end
 his act of piety therewith, / nor only in this show
 186b forth the love of God which was in him, // but
 strove further, ordering that throughout the land
 men be baptized in the name of the Father and of
 the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and that the Holy
 Trinity be praised clearly and with a loud voice in all
 5 the cities, / and that all become Christians: the small
 and the great, bondmen and freemen, the young and
 10 the old, boyars and common people, / the rich and
 the poor. And there was not one who opposed his
 noble commandment. For if it was not for love that
 a man let himself be baptized, then it was for fear of
 15 him who commanded it, inasmuch as his piety was /
 joined with might. And at the same time all our land
 came to praise Christ, together with the Father and
 20 the Holy Ghost. /

187a Then the darkness of idolatry began to depart
 from us and the dawn of piety // appeared. Then the
 darkness of the service of devils passed, and the
 word of the Gospel lighted our land. The temples of
 idols were demolished, and churches were built; the
 5 idols were destroyed, / and icons of saints appeared.

The devils fled; the cross sanctified the cities. The
 10 shepherds of the spiritual sheep of Christ, the bish-
 ops, took stand before the holy / altar, offering up a
 bloodless sacrifice. Priests and deacons and the
 15 whole clergy adorned the holy churches and dressed
 them in beauty. The apostolic trumpet / and the
 thunder of the Gospel resounded in all the cities; in-
 cense sent up to God sanctified the air. Monasteries
 20 arose on the mountains; monks appeared. Men and
 187b women, / the small and the great—all people filled
 the holy churches and praised (God), // saying, Only
 One is holy, the one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory
 of God the Father. Amen. Christ hath triumphed,
 Christ hath conquered, Christ hath been crowned
 King, Christ hath been glorified. Thou art great, O
 5 Lord, and wondrous are thy works. / Glory to thee,
 O our God.

And how shall we praise thee, O venerable and
 glorious among earthly rulers, O most courageous
 10 Vasilij? How shall we marvel at thy goodness, /
 fortitude, and strength? What kind of thanksgiving
 can we render to thee, that through thee we came to
 know God, and freed ourselves from the deception
 15 of idolatry, that by thy commandment / Christ is
 glorified throughout thy land? Or what name shall
 we call thee: Lover of Christ? Friend of Justice?
 20 Seat of Understanding? Nest of Charity? / How
 didst thou come to believe? How didst thou burn
 188a with love for Christ? How wast thou infused // with
 wisdom, greater than the wisdom of earthly sages, so
 that thou camest to love the invisible and strive for
 the heavenly? How didst thou seek out Christ, and
 5 how didst thou surrender thyself / to him? Tell us,
 thy servants! Tell us, O our teacher! Whence came
 upon thee the savor of the Holy Ghost? Whence
 didst thou drink the sweet cup of understanding of
 10 the life to come? / Whence didst thou taste and see
 that the Lord is good? Thou neither sawest Christ,
 nor walked with him: how didst thou become his
 disciple?

15 Others saw him and believed not, but thou /

sawest him not, yet didst believe. Verily, upon thee
 is the blessing of Jesus Christ which was spoken
 unto Thomas: Blessed are they that have not seen,
 and yet have believed. Thus with boldness and
 20 without doubts / we call thee O Blessed One, for the
 188b Savior himself so named thee. // Blessed art thou,
 for thou hast believed on him, and wast not of-
 fended in him, according to his word, which de-
 ceiveth not: And blessed is he, whosoever shall not
 5 be offended in me. For those who knew / the Law
 and the Prophets crucified him, but thou, having
 read neither the Law nor the Prophets, didst worship
 him who was crucified.

How did thy heart open? How did the fear of
 10 God enter into thee? / How didst thou cling to his
 love? Thou sawest no apostle, coming to thy land,
 and by his nakedness, hunger, and thirst inclining
 15 thy heart to humility. / Thou sawest not devils cast
 out in the name of Jesus Christ, the sick made
 whole, the dumb speaking, fire turned to cold, the
 20 dead / rising. Seeing none of these things, how then
 189a didst thou come to believe? A wondrous // miracle!
 Other kings and rulers, seeing all these things
 brought to pass by holy men, believed not, but even
 delivered them up to torture and death. But thou, O
 5 blessed one, / lacking all these things, didst come
 running to Christ, only from good judgment and
 keenness of mind having understood that there is
 one God, the Creator of the invisible and the vis-
 10 ible, / the heavenly and the earthly, and that he sent
 his beloved Son into the world for the sake of its
 salvation. And having considered these things, thou
 didst enter into the holy font: that which seemed to
 15 others foolishness / seemed to thee the power of
 God.

Yea, more: Who can recount thy many plenteous
 20 189b charities and wondrous generousities which thou didst
 work for the poor, / for orphans, for the sick, for //
 debtors, for widows, and for all in need of mercy?
 For thou hadst heard the word spoken by Daniel to
 5 Nebuchadnezzar: Let my counsel / please thee, O

- King Nebuchadnezzar. Atone for thy sins by alms,
and thine iniquities by generosity to the poor. And
10 having heard this, thou, / O venerable one, didst
not leave this word at the hearing, but accomplished
it in deed, giving to beggars, clothing the naked,
sating the thirsty and the hungry, sending every
15 comfort to the sick, / redeeming debtors, and free-
ing slaves. For thy bounties and alms are even now
remembered among men, / yea, and before God and
20 his angels—because of which // almsgiving, pleasing
190a to God, thou hast much boldness before him, as an
eternal servant of Christ. I am helped by the words
5 of him who said, Mercy rejoiceth / against judg-
ment, and, The alms of a man are as a signet with
him. But truer is the word of the Lord himself:
Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.
10 Yet another clearer and truer / testimony
concerning thee we cite from the Holy Scriptures,
spoken by the Apostle James: That he which
converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall
15 save a soul / from death, and shall hide a multitude
of sins. And if there is so great a reward from our
gracious God for him that converteth one man, then
20 what kind of salvation hast thou found, / O Vasilij?
How great a burden of sin didst thou scatter—having
190b turned not one // man only from the deception of
idolatry, nor ten, nor a city, but this whole king-
dom? The Savior Christ himself sheweth us and as-
sureth us of what sort of glory and honor he hath
5 deemed thee / worthy in heaven, saying, Whosoever
shall confess me before men, him will I confess
10 before my Father who is in heaven. And if / he that
hath merely confessed him before men receiveth
from Christ a confession of himself unto the Father,
15 how much more shouldest thou be praised by him, /
not only confessing that Christ is the Son of God,
but, having confessed, establishing his Faith, not in
one council, but throughout this whole land, and
20 building churches / to Christ, and leading servants
unto him.
191a O thou peer // of the great Constantine, equal in

mind, equal in love, equal in the reverence of his
servants! He, with the Holy Fathers of the Nicaean
5 Council, established the law for men; / and thou,
frequently gathering with our new fathers, the bish-
ops, consulted with much humility how to establish
10 the law among these people, newly acquainted with /
the Lord. He among the Greeks and Romans sub-
jugated kingship to God, and thou in Rus', for now
both among them and among us is Christ called
15 King. / He with his mother Helena brought the cross
from Jerusalem, sent it throughout their whole
world, and strengthened the Faith; and thou with
20 thy grandmother / Olga brought the cross from the
191b new Jerusalem, Constantinople, // stood it through-
out your whole land, and strengthened the Faith.
Thou art indeed of like nature to him, with whom
5 the Lord hath made thee a partaker / of the same
glory and honor in heaven, because of thy devotion
which thou didst have in thy life.

A good witness to thy devotion, O blessed one, is
the Holy Church of the Holy Mother of God Mary,
10 / which thou didst build on an orthodox foundation,
and where also thy valorous body now lieth, awaiting
the archangel's trumpet. And a very good and true
15 witness / is thy son Georgij, whom the Lord made
heir to thy dominion after thee, who destroyeth not
thy laws, but affirmeth them, nor diminisheth the
20 offerings of thy / piety, but increaseth them, who
192a doth not undo, // but completeth, who hath finished
thine unfinished works, as Solomon did David's,
who hath built a great and holy house of God to His
5 wisdom, for the holiness / and hallowing of thy city,
which he hath decorated with all manner of beauty,
gold and silver and precious stones, and noble ves-
10 sels, which church is wondrous / and renowned in
all surrounding countries, so that another the like is
not found in all the northern land, from the east to
15 the west; and he hath compassed thy glorious city /
Kiev with majesty, as with a crown. He hath ded-
icated thy people and thy city to the holy and glor-
ious patron of Christians, the Holy Mother of

20 God, / to whom he also hath built the church upon
 192b the Great Gate, in the name of the first // feast day
 of the Lord, the holy Annunciation, that the greet-
 ing which the archangel gave unto the Virgin will be
 even unto this city. For to her he said, Rejoice, thou
 5 that hast been given joy! The Lord is with thee. /
 And to the city: Rejoice, faithful city! The Lord is
 with thee.

Arise, O venerable chief, from thy grave. Arise!
 10 Shake off thy sleep! For thou art not dead, / but
 sleeping until the general resurrection. Arise! Thou
 art not dead, for it is not meet that thou shouldst
 die, who didst believe in Christ, the Life of the
 15 whole world. / Shake off thy sleep! Lift up thine
 eyes so thou canst see how the Lord, having granted
 thee such honor there, on earth, too, hath not left
 thee unremembered, through thy son. Arise! / Be-
 hold thy child Georgij! Behold thine offspring! Be-
 hold // thy beloved! Behold him whom God brought
 193a forth out of thy loins! Behold him adorning the
 throne of thy land, and rejoice and be glad. Yea,
 5 more: Behold / also thy faithful daughter-in-law E-
 rina! Behold thy grandchildren and great-grand-
 children, how they live, how they are preserved by
 the Lord, how they keep the Faith / according to thy
 10 tradition, how they frequent the holy churches, how
 they glorify Christ, how they worship his name.
 15 Behold, too, the city, shining with grandeur! /
 Behold the churches blossoming! Behold Chris-
 tianity growing! Behold the city illuminated by the
 icons of the saints, and glistening, and fragrant with
 20 incense, and / resounding with divine praises and
 sacred songs. // And seeing all these things, rejoice
 193b and be glad, and praise our gracious God, the Maker
 of all these things. Thou hast not seen them in
 body, but the Lord sheweth thee all these things in
 5 spirit. / Rejoice over them and be glad, for thy
 faithful sowing was not dried up by the drought of
 unbelief, but by the rain of God's help was multi-
 10 plied / bountifully.

Rejoice, thou apostle among rulers, who raised

not the dead in body, but raised in soul us dead that
 15 died of the sickness of idolatry. / For through thee
 we gained life and came to know the Life, Christ.
 We were crippled by the guile of devils, and through
 20 thee we were straightened and / have entered onto
 194a the way of life. We were blinded // by the guile of
 devils in the eyes of our hearts, blinded by ig-
 norance, and through thee we came to look upon
 5 the light of the three-sunned Godhead. / We were
 dumb, and through thee we came to speak, and
 now, both small and great, we praise the Trinity
 which is one in nature. Rejoice, our teacher and
 10 instructor / in faith! Thou wert clothed in justice,
 girded about with strength, shod with truth, crowned
 with wisdom, and adorned with alms as with a neck-
 15 lace and golden jewelry./

Thou wert, O venerable chief, to the naked
 clothing, thou wert to the hungry a provider, thou
 20 wert to the thirsty a refreshment of the reins, / thou
 194b wert to widows a helper, // thou wert to strangers an
 asylum, thou wert to the homeless a shelter, thou
 wert to the offended a protector, to the poor an
 5 enrichment—through which good / deeds and others
 receiving a reward in heaven, the good things which
 God hath prepared for you that love him; and
 satiating thyself on the sweet vision of his count-
 10 enance, / pray for thy land and for the people among
 whom thou faithfully didst rule, that He keep them
 15 in peace and in the Faith given / by thee, and that
 orthodoxy be glorified among them, and that all
 manner of heresy be cursed, and that the Lord God
 keep them from every war and captivity, from
 20 famine / and every distress and affliction. Pray, too,
 195a for thy son, // our faithful khan Georgij, that he
 may sail the gulf of life in peace and in health, and
 bring the ship of his soul to safe harbor in the lee of
 5 heaven, / and having kept the Faith, and with
 wealth in good works, having led without fault the
 10 people given him by God, / that he may stand with
 thee unashamed before the throne of Almighty God,
 and for the labor of shepherding his people receive

15 from him the crown / of glory incorruptible, with all
the just who have labored for his sake.

Prayer

In this manner, O our Ruler, King and God on
20 high, Glorious One / and Lover of man, returning
195b (unto them) glory and honor for labor, // and
making them partakers in thy kingdom, remember
us also, thy poor ones, for thou art good and thy
5 name is Lover of Man. If we have not good deeds, /
then for the sake of thy bounteous mercy save us,
for we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture,
and the flock which thou hast newly begun to
10 shepherd, having wrested us from the death of
idolatry. / Good Shepherd who hast laid down thy
life for thy sheep, leave us not even if we yet stray,
turn us not away even if we yet sin against thee, like
15 / newly bought servants not in every way pleasing
their Lord. Disdain us not even though we are a
little flock, but say unto us, Fear not, little flock, for
20 it is your Heavenly Father's good pleasure / to give
you the kingdom.

196a Thou who art rich in mercy // and gracious in
charity, who hast promised to accept the repentant
and awaitest the return of sinners, remember not
5 our many sins. Accept / us who return to thee. Blot
out the handwriting of our transgressions. Curb the
anger with which we have angered thee, O Lover of
10 Man, for thou art the Lord, the Ruler / and Creator,
and in thee is the power for us to live or die. Lay
aside thine anger, O Merciful One, which we deserve
15 according to our deeds. / Ward off temptation, for
we are dust and ashes, and enter not into judgment
with thy servants. We thy people seek thee. We fall
20 down before thee. / We beseech thee. We have
196b sinned and done evil. // We have not observed nor
have we done what thou hast commanded us. Being
earthly, we have inclined to earthly things and done
5 evil / before the face of thy glory. We have given
ourselves over to fleshly desires, made ourselves

- servants to sin and to the cares of life, become
 10 fugitives from our / Sovereign, poor in good works,
 damned by reason of our evil life. We repent, we
 implore, we pray. We repent of our evil deeds. We
 15 implore thee to / send thy terror into our hearts. We
 pray that at the terrible judgment thou wilt have
 mercy upon us. Save us! Be merciful! Look upon us!
 20 Visit us! Be compassionate! / Have mercy! For we
 197a are thine, thy creation, the work of thy hands. // For
 if thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, Lord, who
 shall stand? If thou shouldest return to everyone
 according to his deeds, who shall be saved? For
 5 from thee is forgiveness, for from thee, / mercy and
 plenteous redemption, and our souls are in thy
 hands, and our breath in thy will.
- For from the time of thy gracious favor upon us
 10 we have prospered, / but if thou lookest with anger,
 we shall vanish like the morning dew. For dust
 standeth not against the storm, nor we against thine
 15 anger, but as creatures / we beg mercy of him that
 created us. Have mercy upon us, O God, according
 to thy great mercy. For all that is good cometh from
 thee to us, and all that is unrighteous from us to
 20 thee. / For we are all gone aside, we are all together
 197b become unworthy, // there is not one of us who
 striveth and laboreth over heavenly things, but all
 over earthly, all over the cares of life, for godly men
 5 on earth have grown scarce, / not because thou didst
 forsake and despise us, but because we seek thee
 not, but give ourselves over to these visible things.
- Therefore we fear that / thou wilt do unto us as
 10 unto Jerusalem when they left thee and walked not
 in thy ways. But deal not with us as with them, after
 15 our works, / nor recompense us according to our
 iniquities, but endure us, and yet longer endure us.
- 20 Restrain the flame of thy wrath which is spreading /
 against us thy servants, thou thyself leading us to
 198a thy truth // and teaching us to do thy will. For thou
 art our God and we thy people, thy portion, thine
 inheritance. For we do not stretch out our hands to
 5 a strange god, / nor have we followed some false

prophet, nor do we hold to a heretical teaching, but we invoke thee, the true God, and unto thee that dwellest / in the heavens we lift up our eyes, and unto thee we stretch out our hands.

We pray thee: Forgive us, for thou art good, a
15 Lover of man. Have mercy upon us, / thou who callest sinners to repentance, and at thy terrible judgment deprive us not from standing on thy right hand, but make us partakers in the blessing of the
20 righteous. And as long as the world standeth, / bring
198b not upon us trial and temptation, // nor give us over into the hands of strangers, that thy city not be called a captive city and thy flock wanderers in a land
5 not their own, that the heathen not say, / Where is their God? Loose not upon us grief and hunger and sudden death, fire and drowning, that the weak in
10 faith not fall away from faith. / Punish us little, and have much mercy, make us ill but little, and heal us mercifully, chastise us for a short time, and make us
15 soon to rejoice, for our nature cannot bear / to long endure thine anger, even as a straw cannot endure the fire. But be gentle, be merciful, for it is thy nature to have mercy and to save. Therefore extend
20 / thy mercy to thy people, strengthen the peace,
199a driving out our enemies, // tame the heathen, grant abundant harvests, make our rulers a terror to the heathen, make the boyars wise, make the cities
5 increase, make thy Church grow, / preserve thine inheritance, save men and women and children. On them that are in slavery, in captivity, in exile, in
10 travel, in passage, in prisons, / in hunger and thirst and nakedness—have mercy on them all, comfort them all, make them all to rejoice, creating joy for them, both of body and of soul, through the prayers and supplication / of thine immaculate Mother and the holy host of heaven, and of thy precursor and
15 baptist, John, and of the apostles, prophets, martyrs, and confessors, and the prayers of all the saints. /
20 Show loving-kindness and mercy toward us, // that,
199b shepherded together through thy mercy in the unity of faith, we may joyously and gladly glorify thee, our

Lord Jesus Christ, with the Father and the Most
 5 Holy Ghost, the indivisible Trinity, / which is one in
 Godhead and ruleth in heaven and on earth, over
 angels and men, over creatures visible and invisible,
 10 now and forever and unto ages of ages. / Amen.

Confession of Faith

I believe in one God, the Father All-sovereign,
 Maker of heaven and earth, of things both visible
 and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son
 15 of God, / the only-begotten of the Father, born
 before all ages, Light of Light, very God of very
 God, begotten, not made, coessential with the
 20 Father, through whom / all things came to pass, who
 200a for the sake of us men and for our salvation // came
 down from heaven and was incarnate of the Holy
 Ghost and the Virgin Mary, who was made man and
 5 was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered /
 and was buried, who rose the third day according to
 the Scriptures and ascended into heaven, and sitteth
 on the right hand of the Father, and cometh again
 10 with glory to judge / the quick and the dead, and
 whose kingdom hath no end; and in the Holy Ghost,
 Lord and life-giving, who proceedeth from the
 15 Father, who together with the Father and Son / is
 worshipped and glorified, who spake by the pro-
 phets; and in one holy, catholic and apostolic
 Church. I acknowledge one baptism for the re-
 20 mission of sins. / I look for the resurrection of the
 200b dead, and the life of the age to come. // Amen.

I believe in one God, glorified in the Trinity: in
 the unbegotten Father, without beginning and with-
 out end; in the Son, begotten, but together (with
 5 the Father) without beginning / and without end; in
 the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father
 and is manifested in the Son, likewise without
 beginning, and equal to the Father and to the Son;
 and in the Trinity, which is one in being, but divided
 10 in persons, / a Trinity of names, but a single God. I
 neither merge the division nor divide the unity.

15 They coexist unconfused, and are distinguished / but
undivided. For the Father is so named inasmuch as
he was not born, the Son because of his birth, and
the Holy Ghost because of his procession, but
20 without separation. For the Father is not / the Son,
nor the Son the Father, nor the Holy Ghost the
201a Son; but each hath his own // separate being, except
for Godhead, for there is a single Godhead in the
Trinity, a single Lordship, a single Kingdom, a
common "thrice holy" from the cherubim, a
5 common worship / from angels and men, one
glorification and thanksgiving from the whole world.

I know this one God and believe on him in whose
name also I was baptized, in the name of the
10 Father, and of the Son, / and of the Holy Ghost.
And as I received from the writings of the Holy
Fathers, so I came to know, and I believe and
confess that the Son, through the good pleasure of
15 the Father and the will of the Holy Ghost, / came
down to earth to save mankind, without being
divided from heaven and the Father. And through
the obumbration of the Holy Ghost, he entered the
20 womb of the Virgin Mary and was conceived, as / he
alone knoweth, and was born not of the seed of a
201b man, leaving his mother // a virgin, as is meet for
God, both in birth, and before birth, and after birth,
and laying not aside his Sonhood, for in heaven he
5 was motherless, and on earth / without father. He
was suckled and raised as a man; and he was a true
man, and not in apparition, but truly, in our flesh:
10 wholly / God and wholly man, in two natures and
wills. That which he was, he laid not aside, and that
which he was not, he assumed. He suffered in the
15 flesh as man for my sake, / and remained God in
the Godhead without passion. He who is without
death died to bring me who was dead to life. He
20 descended into hell to raise my ancestor Adam, / to
202a apotheosize him and to bind the devil. He arose //
as God. He came forth from the dead on the third
day the victor, Jesus Christ, my King, and after he
had appeared many times to his disciples, he as-

- 5 cended to heaven, unto / the Father from whom he
had never been divided, and sat at his right hand. I
await his coming again from heaven, but not in
secret, as before, but rather in the glory of the
10 Father, with the hosts of heaven. / To him shall the
dead go out, (awakened) by the archangel's voice,
and he shall judge the living and the dead, and
15 render to every man according to his deeds. /
- I believe in the seven councils of the orthodox
Holy Fathers, and whom they cast aside, even him
shall I reject, and whom they curse, even him shall I
20 curse. And that which / they have passed down to us
202b in writing I accept. The holy and most glorious //
Virgin Mary I call Mother of God, and honor her
and worship her in faith. And on her holy icon I
behold my Lord as a child upon her bosom, and am
5 rejoiced. I see him crucified / and am gladdened; I
behold him resurrected and ascending to heaven,
and I stretch out my hands and worship him. And
10 likewise, seeing the icons of his holy servants, / I
glorify their Savior. I kiss their relics with love and
faith, and proclaim their miracles, and receive from
15 them healing. / To the catholic and apostolic Church
I haste: with faith I enter, with faith I pray, with
faith I depart.
- 20 So I believe, and am not ashamed, / and so I
203a confess before the people. And for this confession //
I will even lay down my life. Glory to God for
everything, to him who gave me an office which
passeth my strength. And pray for me, venerable
5 teachers and rulers of the Russian land. Amen. /

10 I, Ilarion, through the mercy of God who loveth
man, a monk and priest, was through his good
pleasure consecrated by God-loving bishops and
enthroned / in the great and divinely protected city
of Kiev, there to serve as metropolitan, pastor and
15 teacher. These things came to pass in / the year
6559, during the reign of the pious khan Jaroslav,
the son of Vladimir. Amen.

Notes to the Translation

- 168a, 1-3: John 1.17.
 9: *Vladimir* I (St. Vladimir) was grand prince of Kiev from 978-1015. In 988 he accepted Christianity, which thereupon became the official religion of Kiev Rus'.
 13-16: Luke 1.68.
- 168b, 11-14: Isa. 63.9 (Septuagint only).
- 169a, 5-6: Cf. Mark 12.27, Rom. 14.9.
 7-8: Ps. 77.13-14 (Ps. 76.13-14).
- 169b, 12: Cf. 2 Cor. 9.1.
- 170a, 3-5: John 1.17.
 10: For the biblical basis for the following analogy, see Gal. 4.22-31. The original story is found in Gen. 11-23.
 13-14: Matt. 24.15.
 17-19: Cf. 1 Pet. 1.20.
 20-21: Gen. 11.30.
- 170b, 2-3: Ps. 50.6 (Septuagint only).
 6-7: Cf. 1 Pet. 1.5.
 7-11: Gen. 16.2.
 15-16: Gen. 16.2.
 16-17: Gen. 16.4.
 19: Exod. 19.18.
 21-22: Gen. 16.15.
- 171a, 1-2: Exod. 32.15.
 2: Cf. Heb. 8.4-5, 10.1.
 4-10: Gen. 18.1-2.
 19-20: Luke 1.38.
 22: Gen. 21.2.
- 171b, 6-10: Gen. 21.8.
 15-17: Titus 2.11.
 21-172a, 2: Cf. Eph. 1.10.
- 172a, 3-10: Gen. 21.9-10.
 7-10: Gal. 4.30.
 16-19: Acts 15.1, Gal. 2.
- 172b, 14-15: Gen. 21.14.
 16-17: Gen. 25.5.
- 173b, 9: Acts 13.47, Ps. 22.27 (Ps. 21.27).
 10-174a, 5: Gen. 48.13-19.
- 174a, 5: *Seed*. Read *sēmja* in place of *plemja*. Ludolf Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), p. 73.
 18-174b, 1: Isa. 42.9-10.
 20: *Praise*. Read *slavite* in place of *slavimo est'*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 73.
- 174b, 2-5: Isa. 65.15-16.
 5-7: John 4.20.
 8-12: Judg. 6.36-38.
 16-18: Ps. 76.1 (Ps. 75.1).

- 20-175a, 1: Judg. 6.39-40.
- 175a, 3: *The unacceptable sacrifices*. Ludolf Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1971), p. 29, emends *žertvy nepriatny* to *ž'rtvy prestaša*, 'the sacrifices ceased.'
- 11-17: John 4.21, 23.
- 175b, 1-5: Jer. 31.34 (Jer. 38.34), Heb. 8.11.
5-12: Matt. 11.25-26, Luke 10.21.
8: *These things*. Read *si* after *esi*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 76.
10: *Them*. Read *ta* after *esi*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 76.
17-21: John 1.12-13.
- 176a, 3-5: Ps. 115.3 (Ps. 113.3), Ps. 135.6 (Ps. 134.6).
- 176b, 10-11: Luke 2.14.
11-12: Luke 2.7, 12.
12-13: Matt. 2.9.
14: Luke 2.7, 12.
15-16: Matt. 2.11.
16-17: Matt. 2.14.
17-19: Isa. 19.1.
19-20: Matt. 3.13, Mark 1.9, Luke 3.21.
20-21: Ps. 114.3 (Ps. 113.3).
- 177a, 1-3: Matt. 3.17, Mark 1.11, Luke 3.22.
3-5: Matt. 4.2-4, Luke 4.2-4.
6-8: John 2.1-9.
8-11: Matt. 8.24-26, Mark 4.38-39, 41, Luke 8.23-24.
11-13: John 11.35-44.
13-14: Matt. 21.7, Mark 11.7, Luke 19.35, John 12.14.
14-15: Matt. 21.9, Mark 11.9, Luke 19.38, John 12.13.
16: Matt. 27.35, Mark 15.25, Luke 23.33, John 19.18.
17-19: Luke 23.43.
19-20: Matt. 27.48, 50, Mark 15.36-37, Luke 23.46, John 19.29-30.
20-21: Matt. 27.51, Mark 15.33, Luke 23.45.
22: Matt. 27.60, Mark 15.46, Luke 23.53, John 19.42.
- 177b, 2-3: Matt. 27.66.
5-6: Matt. 28.12-15.
9-11: Ps. 77.13-14 (Ps. 76.13-14).
11-12: Ps. 74.12 (Ps. 73.12).
13-14: Matt. 27.34.
15-16: Gen. 3.6 (Gen. 3.7).
21-178a, 1: Matt. 21.44.
- 178a, 4-6: Matt. 15.24.
6-7: Matt. 5.17.
10-12: Matt. 15.26.
13: Matt. 9.34, 27.63.
14-15: Matt. 12.24.
15: John 9.1-7.
16: Matt. 8.2-3, Mark 1.40-41, Luke 5.12-13.
17: Luke 13.11-13.
18: Matt. 9.32-33, Mark 5.2-14.
19: Mark 5.41-42, Luke 7.12-15, John 11.43-44.

- 22: *Them*. Read *nja* for *ny*.
- 178b, 4-9: Matt. 21.40-41.
 12: John 1.11.
 13-16: John 3.19-20.
 16-179a, 7: Luke 19.41-44.
- 179a, 8-15: Matt. 23.37-38.
- 179b, 4-5: John 1.11.
 6-7: Gen. 49.10 (Septuagint only).
 7-9: Matt. 2.11.
 9-10: Matt. 2.13.
 10-11: Matt. 2.16.
 13-18: Matt. 8.11.
 19-22: Matt. 21.43.
- 180a, 1-4: Mark 16.15-16.
 5-8: Matt. 28.19.
 10-16, 21-23: Matt. 9.17.
 21: *The new wine, new teaching*. Read *novo vino novo učenje* for *novo učenje*.
 Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 87.
- 180b, 6-7: *Flooding*. Read *navodniv'' sja* for *navodni vsja*.
 15-181a, 1: Mal. 1.10-11.
- 181a, 1-2: Ps. 66.4 (Ps. 65.4).
 6: Eph. 2.12.
 19-20: 1 Tim. 2.4.
- 181b, 4-8: Isa. 35.6-7.
 6: *Desert*. Read *bezvod'ně* for *bezdñě*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 91; *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, p. 37.
 17-19: Isa. 35.5.
- 182a, 4-5: Titus 3.4.
 8-10: Isa. 35.6.
 11-13: Jon. 4.11.
 18-182b, 2: Hos. 2.18, 23.
- 182b, 4-5: Cf. Rom. 5.10, Col. 1.21, Gal. 3.26.
 7-8: Matt. 27.1.
 11-12: John 19.34.
 13-14: Matt. 26.15.
 19-20: Matt. 28.13.
- 183a, 1: Matt. 16.16.
 2: John 20.28.
 3-4: Luke 23.42.
 5: *Further*. Read *o eže i ešče* in place of *i ešče i ešče*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 95; *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, p. 39.
 8-10: Cf. Luke 1.79.
 11-15: Isa. 52.10.
 16-18: Rom. 14.11, Isa. 45.23 (Isa. 45.24).
 19-183b, 2: Isa. 40.4-5.
- 183b, 3-5: Dan. 7.14.
 5-9: Ps. 67.3-4 (Ps. 66.3-4).
 9-13: Ps. 47.1-2 (Ps. 46.1-2).
 14-17: Ps. 47.6-8 (Ps. 46.6-8).

- 17-19: Ps. 66.4 (Ps. 65.4).
 20-22: Ps. 117.1 (Ps. 116.1).
 22-148a, 3: Ps. 113.3-4 (Ps. 112.3-4).
- 184a, 3-5: Ps. 48.10 (Ps. 47.10).
 5-9: Ps. 65.5 (Ps. 64.5).
 9-11: Ps. 67.2 (Ps. 66.2).
 11-15: Ps. 148.11-13.
 16-184b, 2: Isa. 51.4-5.
- 185b, 21: *Were zealous*. Read *priležat'* in place of *predstojat'*, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 103.
- 186a, 3: *And so loved*. Read *i v"zjubivšu* after *izvolivšu*, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 103.
 6-8: Col. 3.9.
 10: John 3.5.
 10-11: Gal. 3.27.
 14: Luke 20.36.
- 187b, 5-6: Ps. 139.14 (Ps. 138.14).
- 188a, 11-12: Ps. 34.8 (Ps. 33.8), 1 Pet. 2.3.
 18-19: John 20.29.
- 188b, 4-5: Matt. 11.6.
- 189a, 14-16: 1 Cor. 1.18.
 19-20: *Plenteous charities and wondrous generousities*. Read *neščad'nyja milostynja i div'nyja ščedroty* in place of *noščnyja milostynja i dñevnyja ščedroty*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 111; *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, p. 46.
- 189b, 5-9: Dan. 4.27 (Dan. 4.24).
 11-13: Cf. James 1.22.
- 190a, 5-6: James 2.13.
 6-7: Eccles. 17.22.
 8-10: Matt. 5.7.
 13-17: James 5.20.
 22: *Not one*. Read *ne edinog* for *edinog*.
- 190b, 7-10: Matt. 10.32.
- 191a, 21: St. *Olga*, the wife of Igor and mother of Svjatoslav, ruled as regent for Svjatoslav from 945 to 954. According to the chronicle (*Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* 1:61), she was converted to Christianity on a visit to Constantinople in 955, though it is likely that she was actually baptized some time previously.
- 191b, 8: *Witness*. Read *poslux''* in place of *pastux''*, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 120.
 9-10: *The Church of the Holy Mother of God*, also called the Church of the Tithe, was started in 989 and completed in 996. Vladimir's body was placed in the church upon his death in 1015.
 16: *Georgij* is the baptismal name of Jaroslav I (Jaroslav the Wise), who ruled as grand prince of Kiev from 1016 to 1054.
- 192a, 3-5: *Who hath built a great and holy house of God to his wisdom*. The Church of St. Sophia was begun in 1037. The mention of this church as well as the Church of the Annunciation (see following note) provides evidence that the *Slovo* was delivered no earlier than 1037.
 21-22: *The church upon the Great Gate*, the Church of the Annunciation, was

- begun in 1037.
- 192b, 5-6: Luke 1.28.
 14-15: John 11.25-26.
 17-18: *Such*. Read *takoja* in place of *kakoja*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 124; *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, p. 50.
- 193a, 4-5: Matt. 5.12.
 6-7: *Erina* is the baptismal name of Ingigerd, wife of Jaroslav and daughter of the Swedish king Skotkonung. She died in 1050; as she was alive at the time the *Slovo* (or at least part of the *Slovo*) was delivered, the *Slovo* must be dated not later than 1050.
 18: *The city*. Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, p. 51, emends *grad to xram* 's' 'this temple.'
- 193b, 1-2, 6-7: Matt. 5.12.
 8-11: Matt. 13.3-8, Mark 4.3-8, Luke 8.5-8.
 13: *Raised*. Read *v''skresiv''* in place of *v''skrešax*, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 126.
- 194a, 11-14: Eph. 6.14-15.
- 194b, 8-9: 1 Cor. 2.9.
- 195a, 7-8: 2 Tim. 4.7.
 8-9: 1 Tim. 6.18.
 15-16: 2 Tim. 4.8.
- 195b, 1: *Them*. Read *ja* after *tvorja*.
 7-8: Ps. 79.13 (Ps. 78.13), Ps. 100.3 (Ps. 99.3).
 11-12: John 10.11.
 19-22: Luke 12.32.
- 196a, 7-8: Cf. Col. 2.14.
 17: Gen. 18.27, Eccles. 10.9.
 17-19: Ps. 143.2 (Ps. 142.2).
- 196b, 18: *Thou wilt have mercy*. Read *pomilueši* for *pomiluet'*. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 134.
 22: Ps. 138.8 (Ps. 137.8).
- 197a, 1-2: Ps. 130.3 (Ps. 129.3).
 4-5: Ps. 130.4 (Ps. 129.4).
 6: Ps. 130.7 (Ps. 129.7).
 7-8: Cf. Dan. 5.23.
 17-19: Ps. 51.1 (Ps. 50.1).
 20-21: *Which is spreading*. Read *prostirajuščsja* for *prostirajutsja*, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 37.
 21-22: Ps. 14.3 (Ps. 13.3).
- 197b, 5: Ps. 12.1 (Ps. 11.1).
 14-16: Ps. 103.10 (Ps. 102.10).
- 198a, 4-6: Ps. 44.20 (Ps. 43.20).
 10-12: Ps. 123.1 (Ps. 122.1).
 15-17: Luke 5.32.
- 198b, 1-2: Cf. Ps. 106.41 (Ps. 105.41).
 4-5: Gen. 15.13.
 5-6: Ps. 79.10 (Ps. 78.10).
- 199a, 2: *Grant abundant harvests*. Read *plody* in place of *glady*. Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, p. 56.

202a, 3-6: Acts 1.1-11.
14-15: Rom. 2.6.

203a, 2-3: *To him who gave me an office which passeth my strength.* This translation follows Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, p. 59. The office referred to is that of metropolitan of Kiev.

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