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, 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 striking 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, in the Church of the Tithe, where Ilarion could point to Vladimir’s tomb, 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. 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’. Müller 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. Little of certainty is known about the sources Ilarion might have used, other than the Bible; some possibilities have been discussed by Rozov and Müller.

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. 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, for example, sees the Slovo as an attack on the Patriarchate of Bulgaria, while Lixačev 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. 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. 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 ě 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

6. Ibid.
9. N. N. Rozov, “Iz istorii russko-češskix literaturnyx svjazej drevnejšego perioda.”
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 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 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 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 justified / the tribe of Abraham through the Tables // and the Law; and afterward through his Son he redeemed all nations, leading them through the Gospel and baptism to the renewal of regeneration unto life eternal. /

Let us then praise and glorify him whom the angels praise without ceasing, and bow down to him 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 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
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 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 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 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 and Grace, / servants to the future age of life 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 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 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 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 heterodox enemies of God, but to his very sons, // 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 through Christ. / And what did the Law achieve, and what did Grace?

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 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 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 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, 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 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, 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 bondage; / and Abraham called his name Ishmael.

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 sat / before the door of his tent at noon, by the oak of Mamre. And Abraham, running to meet him, 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 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.

In the former time, / God opened Sarah's womb, 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, 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 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 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 fattened from 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 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 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 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 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 circumcision, 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 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 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 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.

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 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 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 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 the Jews rejoiced in earthly things, // but the Christians in those things which are in heaven. And that Jewish justification was sparing because of 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.

173b 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 Ephraim, through Jacob’s blessing / he became lesser. Likewise, even though Jewry was first, yet the Christians became greater through Grace. For when Joseph / said unto Jacob, On this one, father, lay thy right hand, for he is the elder, // Jacob 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 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
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 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 to you. Sing unto God a new song, and praise / his name from the ends of the earth, ye that go down to 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.

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 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 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 drought be on the fleece only, and the dew on all // 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 incorruption. /

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 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 all the earth the Holy Trinity is praised, and / re-
ceiveth the worship of all creation. The small and 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 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 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 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 God, to those who believed on his name, / who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, 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 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?

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 he became flesh of / a pure, virginal, and immaculate maiden, having entered her womb as he alone knoweth. Having taken on flesh, he came out 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, 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.

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
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 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, and Jordan, in awe / of him as God, turned back. As 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 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 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 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, and as God he darkened the sun / and shook the 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 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 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 vinegar and gall, that by tasting of bitterness he might take away the transgression and sin of Adam's tasting of the sweetness / from the tree.

They that did these things to him stumbled against him, against the stone, and were crushed, even as / the Lord said, He that shall fall on this 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 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 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 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 criminal and nailed him to the cross. / For this there came down upon them the final wrath of God, // even as they themselves bare witness to their destruction when the Savior spake the parable of the vineyard and the husbandmen: What then will he do 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 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 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 day the things which are unto thy peace! / But now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall 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, and thy children within thee, because / thou knewest not the time of thy visitation. And again: Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and 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 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 Law waned like the evening twilight, / and the Jews 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. 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 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 / 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 thereof, to whom he sent his disciples, // saying, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every 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 you.

For it was meet that Grace and Truth should shine on new peoples. For according to the word of 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 the teaching of true Grace? / Rather (let) the new wine, new teaching, (be put) into new bottles, new peoples, and both // will be preserved. Even as it hath come to pass: for the faith of Grace hath spread over the whole world, and hath reached even our
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 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 Gentiles 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. For from the east to the west my name is glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to my name, for my name is great among the Gentiles. And David: Let all the earth worship thee, and sing to thee. And: O Lord our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the earth!

And no longer are we called idolators, but Christians, 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 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 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. For when our land was desolate and parched, dried 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 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 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 understanding, 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
when we were stumbling in the ways of destruction, which is to follow devils, and knew not 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 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.

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 / 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, 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 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 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 life. / We hide not the Resurrection, but in all our houses cry, Christ is risen from the dead! We say not that he was stolen, but that he hath arisen / to where he was. We disbelieve not, but like Peter we 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 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
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.
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
low: / and the crooked shall become straight and the
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
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,
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;
/ 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
High. And: Praise the Lord, all / ye nations, and
praise him, all ye peoples. And further: From the
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
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
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.
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
nigh, / and my salvation shall go forth as a light; the
isles shall wait for me, // and on mine arm shall the
Gentiles trust.

Now the Roman land with voices of praise prais-
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-
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,
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
Svjatoslav, / who, ruling in their years, became
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
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
nobles, our khan Vladimir, growing and waxing
strong from childish youth, and then in manhood
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
contumacious / by the sword. And when he was
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
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,
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
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 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 Christ, / he put on Christ and came forth from the font made white, having become a son of incorruption, a son 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 incorruptible Jerusalem.

20 And when this had come to pass, he did not end his act of piety therewith, / nor only in this show 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 the cities, / and that all become Christians: the small and the great, bondmen and freemen, the young and 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 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 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 idols were destroyed, / and icons of saints appeared.
The devils fled; the cross sanctified the cities. The shepherds of the spiritual sheep of Christ, the bishops, took stand before the holy / altar, offering up a bloodless sacrifice. Priests and deacons and the 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; incense sent up to God sanctified the air. Monasteries arose on the mountains; monks appeared. Men and 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 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 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 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? Seat of Understanding? Nest of Charity? / How didst thou come to believe? How didst thou burn 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 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 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?

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
without doubts / we call thee O Blessed One, for the
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
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
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
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
dead / rising. Seeing none of these things, how then
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
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-
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
others foolishness / seemed to thee the power of
God.

Yea, more: Who can recount thy many plenteous
charities and wondrous generosities 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
Nebuchadnezzar: Let my counsel / please thee, O
King Nebuchadnezzar. Atone for thy sins by alms, and thine iniquities by generosity to the poor. And 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 comfort to the sick, / redeeming debtors, and freeing slaves. For thy bounties and alms are even now remembered among men, / yea, and before God and his angels—because of which // almsgiving, pleasing to God, thou hast much boldness before him, as an eternal servant of Christ. I am helped by the words of him who said, Mercy rejoiceth / against judgment, 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. 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 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 what kind of salvation hast thou found, / O Vasilij? How great a burden of sin didst thou scatter—having turned not one // man only from the deception of idolatry, nor ten, nor a city, but this whole kingdom? The Savior Christ himself sheweth us and assureth us of what sort of glory and honor he hath deemed thee / worthy in heaven, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess 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, 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 building churches / to Christ, and leading servants unto him.

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 Council, established the law for men; and thou, frequently gathering with our new fathers, the bishops, consulted with much humility how to establish the law among these people, newly acquainted with the Lord. He among the Greeks and Romans subjugated kingship to God, and thou in Rus', for now both among them and among us is Christ called King. He with his mother Helena brought the cross from Jerusalem, sent it throughout their whole world, and strengthened the Faith; and thou with thy grandmother Olga brought the cross from the new Jerusalem, Constantinople, // stood it throughout your whole land, and strengthened the Faith. Thou art indeed of like nature to him, with whom 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, // 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 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 offerings of thy piety, but increaseth them, who 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 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 vessels, 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 the west; and he hath compassed thy glorious city Kiev with majesty, as with a crown. He hath dedicated thy people and thy city to the holy and glorious patron of Christians, the Holy Mother of
God, to whom he also hath built the church upon the Great Gate, in the name of the first feast day of the Lord, the holy Annunciation, that the greeting which the archangel gave unto the Virgin will be even unto this city. For to her he said, Rejoice, thou 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! 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 shouldest die, who didst believe in Christ, the Life of the 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! / Behold thy child Georgij! Behold thine offspring! Behold // thy beloved! Behold him whom God brought forth out of thy loins! Behold him adorning the throne of thy land, and rejoice and be glad. Yea, more: Behold / also thy faithful daughter-in-law Erina! Behold thy grandchildren and great-grandchildren, how they live, how they are preserved by the Lord, how they keep the Faith / according to thy tradition, how they frequent the holy churches, how they glorify Christ, how they worship his name. Behold, too, the city, shining with grandeur! / Behold the churches blossoming! Behold Christianity growing! Behold the city illuminated by the icons of the saints, and glistening, and fragrant with incense, and / resounding with divine praises and sacred songs. // And seeing all these things, rejoice 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 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 multiplied / bountifully.

Rejoice, thou apostle among rulers, who raised
not the dead in body, but raised in soul us dead that
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
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 igno-
nance, and through thee we came to look upon
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
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-
lace and golden jewelry. /

Thou wert, O venerable chief, to the naked
clothing, thou wert to the hungry a provider, thou
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
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-
enance, / pray for thy land and for the people among
whom thou faithfully didst rule, that He keep them
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
famine / and every distress and affliction. Pray, too,
for thy son, // our faithful khan Georgij, that he
may sail the gulf of life in peace and in health, and
195a
bring the ship of his soul to safe harbor in the lee of
heaven, / and having kept the Faith, and with
wealth in good works, having led without fault the
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
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
high, Glorious One / and Lover of man, returning
(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
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
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
/ 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
it is your Heavenly Father’s good pleasure / to give
you the kingdom.

Thou who art rich in mercy // and gracious in
charity, who hast promised to accept the repentant
and waitest the return of sinners, remember not
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
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
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
down before thee. / We beseech thee. We have
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
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 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 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! Visit us! Be compassionate! / Have mercy! For we 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 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 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 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 thee. / For we are all gone aside, we are all together 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 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 unto Jerusalem when they left thee and walked not in thy ways. But deal not with us as with them, after our works, / nor recompense us according to our iniquities, but endure us, and yet longer endure us. Restrain the flame of thy wrath which is spreading / against us thy servants, thou thyself leading us to 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 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
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
righteous. And as long as the world standeth, / bring
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
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
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
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
/ thy mercy to thy people, strengthen the peace,
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
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
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
baptist, John, and of the apostles, prophets, martyrs,
and confessors, and the prayers of all the saints. /
Show loving-kindness and mercy toward us, // that,
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 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, 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 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 Father, through whom / all things came to pass, who 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 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 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 Father, who together with the Father and Son / is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets; and in one holy, catholic and apostolic Church. I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. / I look for the resurrection of the 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 without end; in the Son, begotten, but together (with 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 in persons, / a Trinity of names, but a single God. I neither merge the division nor divide the unity.
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 without separation. For the Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Father, nor the Holy Ghost the 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 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 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 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 womb of the Virgin Mary and was conceived, as he alone knoweth, and was born not of the seed of a 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 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: 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 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 descended into hell to raise my ancestor Adam, to 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-
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
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
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
curse. And that which / they have passed down to us
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
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
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
them healing. / To the catholic and apostolic Church
I haste: with faith I enter, with faith I pray, with
faith I depart.

So I believe, and am not ashamed, / and so I
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
teachers and rulers of the Russian land. Amen. /

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
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'.
168b, 11-14: Isa. 63.9 (Septuagint only).
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.
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.
16-17: Gen. 25.5.
173b, 9: Acts 13.47, Ps. 22.27 (Ps. 21.27).
18-174b, 1: Isa. 42.9-10.
20: Praise. Read slavite in place of slavino 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 žértvy nepriatny to žértvy prestaša, 'the sacrifices ceased.'
11-17: John 4.21, 23.
175b, 1-5: Jer. 31.34 (Jer. 38.34), Heb. 8.11.
8: These things. Read si after esi. Müller, Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede, p. 76.
176a, 3-5: Ps. 115.3 (Ps. 113.3), Ps. 135.6 (Ps. 134.6).
12-13: Matt. 2.9.
15-16: Matt. 2.11.
16-17: Matt. 2.14.
20-21: Ps. 114.3 (Ps. 113.3).
177a, 1-3: Matt. 3.17, Mark 1.11, Luke 3.22.
6-8: John 2.1-9.
11-13: John 11.35-44.
177b, 2-3: Matt. 27.66.
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.
13: Matt. 9.34, 27.63.
18: Matt. 9.32-33, Mark 5.2-14.
22. *Them.* Read *nya* for *ny.*

178b, 4-9: Matt. 21.40-41.
12: John 1.11.
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.

180a, 1-4: Mark 16.15-16.
5-8: Matt. 28.19.

21: *The new wine, new teaching.* Read *novino vino* novo učenje for novo učenje.
Müller, *Des Metropolitan Ilarion Lobrede,* p. 87.

180b, 6-7: *Flooding.* Read navodniv* sija* for navodni *vsija.*
15-181a, 1: Mat. 1.10-11.
81a, 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.

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.

183a, 1: Matt. 16.16.
2: John 20.28.

5: *Further.* Read *o eže* i ešče in place of *i ešče* i ešče. Müller, *Des Metropolitan Ilarion Lobrede,* p. 95; *Die Werke des Metropolitan 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).
185b, 21: Were zealous. Read *priležat* in place of *predstojat*, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropolitan Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 103.

186a, 3: And so loved. Read i v’žijubivšu after izvolivšu, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropolitan Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 103.

187b, 5-6: Ps. 139.14 (Ps. 138.14).

188a, 11-12: Ps. 34.8 (Ps. 33.8), 1 Pet. 2.3.

189a, 14-16: 1 Cor. 1.18.


190a, 3-6: James 2.13.

191a, 21: St. Olga, the wife of Igor and mother of Svatoslav, ruled as regent for Svatoslav 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 *posluz* in place of *pastux*, according to the Gorskij text. Müller, *Des Metropolitan 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 *Slavo* 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.

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 *Slavo* (or at least part of the *Slavo*) was delivered, the *Slavo* must be dated not later than 1050.
18: The city. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 51, emends grad to xram” shift ‘this temple.’

193b. 1-2, 6-7: Matt. 5.12.
13: Raised. Read v’skresiv” shift in place of v’skrēšax, according to the Gorskiy text. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede*, p. 126.

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 tвориа.
7-8: Ps. 79.13 (Ps. 78.13), Ps. 100.3 (Ps. 99.3).
11-12: John 10.11.

196a. 7-8: Cf. Col. 2.14.
17: Gen. 18.27, Eccles. 10.9.
17-19: Ps. 143.2 (Ps. 142.2).

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).
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).

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 Metropolitan Ilarion, p. 59. The office referred to is that of metropolitan of Kiev.

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