Illumination in the XI-century evangelarium
Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes

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The advent of Christianity ushered in a new biographical hero, the saint, as classical secular biography yielded to hagiography. This form of life-writing arose in connection with the persecution of Christians; the first stories were those of martyrs. The earliest examples were simple, unembellished dialogues between the accused and their judges. In time, however, as Christianity became the primary religion in Europe, many "Lives" were produced; a large number of them were based on legends which had grown up around martyr-saints. As the persecution of Christians abated, new saintly heroes appeared: ascetics, church-builders, monks, orators, and so on. But many of their Lives had as little basis in fact as did the passions of their predecessors. Hagiography in time had become a highly conventionalized and stylized kind of biography. It abounded in repetitious themes, commonplaces, and supernatural elements. All of these features combined to produce a work which some critics have viewed as essentially a type of "anti-biography," inasmuch as all the basic tenets of historical biography are violated. As a result, the hero of the Life lost his individuality and became a generalized type. Nevertheless, the saint remained virtually the only acceptable subject for life-writing until the time when the prestige of secular rulers began to rival that of Church dignitaries. This was the ninth century, which marked the beginning of an era that once again would appreciate secular achievements and virtues, which in turn would lead to a revival of secular biography and a new phenomenon—biographies that combined elements from the latter and hagiography.

It is perhaps not surprising that the first secular biographies of the age of Christianity had as their subjects the secular luminaries Charlemagne in the West (Einhards' Life of Charlemagne) and Basil I (the Macedonian) in the East (Life of Basil by Constantine Porphyrogenitus), and that their Lives were based as much on classical models as they were on the rhetoric of hagiography. The revival of secular learning in the ninth century affected many fields including hagiography, where it also found
some expression. New features now began to appear in hagiographical literature. In his discussion of Byzantine literature, Paul J. Alexander notes, for instance, that the *Life of Nicephorus* did not contain a single miracle performed by the saint; that many *Lives* written during this period record that the saint was instructed in secular knowledge; and that there appeared a biographical encomium with a secular hero. Thus, works like these provided the links between hagiography and secular biography which would result in a series of literary productions of mixed genre.

With regard to Medieval Slavic literature, it can be said that at its very inception a secular trend asserted itself in biographical writing. The dawn of Slavic literacy occurred in the ninth century, and Slavic biography from the outset fell under the influence of the general intellectual and cultural climate of that era. In the words of Harold Nicolson, "No branch of literature has been more sensitive than biography to the 'spirit of the age.'" Clear evidence of this "spirit" is to be found in the first biographical works written in Slavic, the Pannonian *Lives* of Constantine the Philosopher and his brother Methodius. Though the *Life of Constantine* is clearly modeled on Byzantine saints' *Lives* and contains much of the attendant rhetoric of hagiography, the hero is a "philosopher" who had studied "all the Hellenic arts," and an emissary *extraordinaire* for the Byzantine Empire. The *Life of Methodius* informs us that the hero was for many years the governor (*archon*) of a Slavic province. Subsequently the brothers were indeed canonized and immortalized as the Apostles to the Slavs. However, from a literary point of view their *Lives* are not conventional hagiographies, nor are they pure secular biographies; they fall between the two, and are works of a mixed genre which, in my opinion, can be considered semi-secular biography.

It is obvious from the foregoing that a "semi-secular biography" is understood here as a mixed genre falling between the traditional genres of hagiography and secular biography. In the simplest of terms, a work can be considered in part secular if at least some emphasis is placed on the hero's worldly achievements. A biography can be viewed as the "history" of a man's life with the focus on the individual. If the individual is not the focal point, the work ceases to be biography and becomes history. Hagiography, on the other hand, might well focus on the individual, but it purposely ignores his worldly aspect. Since its primary aim is edification within a religious frame of reference, the "individual" it depicts becomes less an individual
and more the abstract embodiment of Christian virtues. In addition, one of the primary essentials of biography is historical truth, a notion which most often is alien to hagiography. Whereas fairly clear distinctions can be drawn among such classical literary forms as biography, hagiography, and historiography, the distinctions between biographies and encomia (panegyrics) are not always as clear. It is true that their structures are different: biography normally is a chronological narrative, encomium, an enumeration of qualities arranged in categories of virtues. Also, biography tends to present an integrated story, to relate a *curriculum vitae*; encomium tends to be fragmentary, presenting often rhetorical flourishes on certain features of the hero’s character. However, both do treat individuals and do utilize many of the same commonplaces. Moreover, if encomium is expanded to include narrative, it begins to border on biography. Hence it is again possible to find works that fall between distinct genres, which as such constitute a mixed genre that can, on the basis of its emphasis, be characterized as predominantly biographical or predominantly encomiastic. Therefore, since the above-mentioned works mix elements from various genres and contain secular aspects, I have suggested the classification semi-secular biography, which calls attention to this mixture of features. Of course the extent to which particular works fit into this classification may vary; one may be more or less secular or conventionally hagiographical, or purely biographical and so on, than another.

The ninth century was an especially significant era for the Slavs, for during this period Christianity began to penetrate the immense tracts of land occupied by them. A concerted effort to proselytize these pagan inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe was undertaken in the East and West, as Byzantine and Frankish missionaries began to vie for converts. As a result of this activity the princes of the Moravians, Bohemians, Bulgars, Serbs, Pannonian Croats and Dalmatian Croats were baptized. But the single most important event of this century for the Slavs as a whole was the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius to Moravia in 862/63, the preparation for which brought about the creation of an alphabet for the “Slavic tongue.” And the creative use of the written tradition that was originated by its ingenious founders led to the composition of the Pannonian *Lives*. These served as a model for the other works contained herein, the first Slavic *Lives*: the earliest attempts among individual Slavic nations at biographical writing.

In preparing the present volume, the primary consideration
was to translate this body of work from Old Church Slavic/Slavic (henceforth OCS) into English. Though all of these works have been classified as legends and/or hagiographies—given the fact that all the protagonists were eventually canonized—they are nevertheless more correctly considered semi-secular biographies. For while the protagonists are the subjects of panegyrics and are illuminated by saintly archetypes, they are also secular personalities, and a wealth of factual, historical information is presented. And this is perhaps best exemplified by the Pannonian Lives, the Life of Constantine and the Life of Methodius (hereafter LC and LM), which highlight the cultural and religious activity of the brothers and mark the creation of Slavic literature.

The works now known as the Pannonian Lives were once also known as the “Pannonian Legends” and were so considered for a long time. In fact the Polish Slavist Alexander Bruckner found them so fanciful that he consigned their historical worth to the rubbish heap. Although the term “legend” is this context should be viewed technically, indicating the Life of a saint, it nevertheless seemed to imply the presence of fiction and fantasy—a most unfortunate and misleading suggestion considering the exceptional historical value of these biographies. For despite the initial scepticism and negative evaluation of their trustworthiness, LC and LM have been vindicated as accurate testimonials of Slavic history, and their authenticity and historical reliability—owing primarily to the pioneering work of Professor Francis Dvornik—are no longer questioned by the vast majority of scholars.

The biographies of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius serve as the basic sources for studying the Cyrillo-Methodian era—a crucial period in the rise of Slavic culture and literature. The brothers were born in Thessalonica, where their father served as a high military official. It is not entirely correct to assert that they were Greeks, as has been done in the past. Their parents are more precisely described as Byzantines, since it is difficult to determine the extent to which Thessalonica, a part of the Byzantine Empire, had been Hellenized in the ninth century. Moreover, there are scholars who maintain that their mother was a Slav. What is clear is that the brothers were bilingual, as the Emperor’s words to the brothers in LM testify: “You are both Thessalonians and all Thessalonians speak pure Slavic.” Constantine displayed extraordinary intellectual powers from childhood: while not yet fifteen, still a pupil in Thessalonica, he was able to read the most thoughtful of the Church Fathers. Word of his gifts reached Constantinople, and he was called to
the imperial court to study under the guidance of the best mentors of that day. Methodius, as already indicated, became the governor of a Slavic province, the location of which has been placed in Macedonia around the Strymon River. After forsaking his secular career, he took monastic vows on Mount Olympus.

Weak in health, full of religious enthusiasm and love of learning, Constantine was made deacon and became the Patriarch’s librarian. His profound erudition allowed him to engage and defeat the iconoclast Patriarch John VII (John Grammaticus) in a debate on the veneration of icons. In the latter part of 850 he assumed the chair of philosophy at the Imperial University and received the title “Philosopher,” which was to remain with him down through history.

When in the following year Byzantium sent a delegation to the reigning Caliph, Al-Mutawakkil, to discuss peace and mitigate the persecution of Christians in the Arab Empire, the Emperor and Patriarch chose Constantine to accompany it. In the ensuing debates with the Arabs on religious questions, he upheld the sublimity of Christian truth and demonstrated the emptiness of Mohammedan doctrine, which, as we read in LC, resulted in an attempt to poison him.

After several years spent with his brother Methodius in a monastery on Mount Olympus, in 860 Constantine received a new commission from the Emperor: to travel with an embassy, together with Methodius, to the Khazars, whose Kagan had requested a theologian capable of explaining Christian doctrine. The road to the Khazar Empire lay through Kherson, where the missionaries stopped for the winter and used the time to study Hebrew and the Old Testament, and where they made two discoveries—the Gospels and Psalter written in “Russian letters” and the relics of St. Clement, Pope of Rome—both of which have caused controversies in various places at different times.5

The Byzantine embassy was well received by the Khazar Kagan and discussions followed, touching upon, among other things, the Trinity and the Incarnation, which Constantine defended by quoting passages from the Old Testament.

In 863 the main work of the brothers began. It was then that they were sent, at the request of the Moravian Prince Rostislav (Raslislav), to Moravia in order to give religious instruction to the local Slavic population in their own language. Christianity had already been brought to Moravia and Pannonia by Latin missionaries from among the Franks. However, they
celebrated the liturgy in Latin and the teachings of the Church were poorly understood. Because of the task that awaited them in Moravia, Constantine was prompted to invent an alphabet for Slavic, and to translate Scripture into Slavic. It seems that he conceived of the whole mission not only in diplomatic terms, but also as an opportunity to spread Christianity in the Slavic language. No one before Constantine had thought to give the Slavs an alphabet and a literary language, and then to teach them to write it by setting an example with the first translations from the Bible. To paraphrase Dostal, by doing this Constantine laid the foundation for the literary activity of the Slavs in the world at large. Adopting the Bulgaro-Macedonian dialect for this purpose, he modeled this literary language on Byzantine Greek syntax and word-formation, using it for the enrichment of vocabulary, and religious and legal terminology. However, his alphabet, Glagolitic (not Cyrillic, which bears his name), was an entirely new invention and showed his keen ability to distinguish and represent the phonological structure of the Slavic language very precisely. He was not only a faithful translator of the Gospels, but a literary artist, and the language (which came to be known as OCS) of his translations was poetic and at times more vivid and plastic than the neutral Greek original. What an incredibly powerful effect it must have had on the Slavs of Moravia when from the East these two missionaries came to them bearing books written in Slavic, and in such an impressive style!

In Moravia Constantine and Methodius found immediate support from the people and their prince, but were met with unconcealed hostility on the part of the Frankish Catholic clergy. Despite this, they persisted in their work, built churches and established schools, preaching and teaching the liturgy and theology entirely in Slavic. While still in Constantinople, Constantine translated the Gospels and the other books necessary for the Divine Liturgy—the Psalter, Acts, and the Epistles. Translation activity continued in Moravia, where the brothers translated the entire Calendar, including the Morning Service, daily Hours, Vespers and Compline, which they taught to the fifty disciples entrusted to them. But it was not long before the Latin clergy leveled the charge of “trilingual heresy” against them and were busily lodging complaints with Pope Nicholas I. After forty months of intensive work, the brothers set off for Rome in order to resolve several important questions: (1) the establishment of an independent hierarchy for Moravia and Pannonia; (2) the ordination of their disciples; and (3) the
approval of the Slavic liturgy in the Latin Rite. In Rome the Pope was presented with the Slavic translation of the Gospels and other books. As a sign of his approval of the brothers’ work, the new Pope, Hadrian, had several of the Slavic disciples ordained, placed the Slavic books on the altar of the Church of St. Mary and had the liturgy celebrated with them—using the Latin Rite.

Toward the end of 868 Constantine’s health was declining rapidly. Realizing that his death was near, he decided to die as a monk and upon initiation into monastic orders took the name Cyril. On the 14th of February 869 he died in Rome and was buried in the Church of St. Clement.

Constantine’s premature death at the age of forty-two was a near catastrophe for the Byzantine mission to Moravia and Pannonia. All decisions on such important matters as the appointment of a bishop for Moravia and Pannonia were postponed. However, the situation was saved by Kocel, the Prince of Pannonia, who had manifested an interest in the Slavic liturgy and letters and asked the Pope to send back Methodius, “our teacher.” The opportunity had now presented itself to the Papacy to regain Pannonia. And they decided to send Methodius to the Slavic princes—Kocel of Pannonia, Rostislav of Moravia, and Svatopluk of Nitra (Slovakia)—to explain Rome’s plan to renew papal jurisdiction over these lands and planned recognition of the Slavic liturgy and letters. With Kocel’s approval in hand, he was soon on his way back to Rome, where he was ordained Archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia. In order to forestall protests on the part of the Frankish hierarchy, the Pope restored the ancient see of Sirmium, which had formally embraced these territories, and Methodius returned to Pannonia toward the end of 869 as Archbishop of Sirmium and Papal Legate.

The displeasure of the Frankish bishops—who for the past seventy-five years had been working at the conversion of the Slavs—was felt immediately. They set the Frankish Emperor Louis the German against Methodius. With the political situation in Moravia in their favor the following year as a result of Svatopluk’s treachery vis-a-vis his uncle Rostislav, Methodius, in Moravia on an official visit, was arrested by Hermanrich, Bishop of Passau, and treated tyrannically. In November 870, the Frankish bishops assembled in Regensburg, formed a synod, and condemned Methodius. He was exiled to Swabia, where he was imprisoned at the Monastery of Ellwangen for two and one-half years.
In May 873, through the personal intervention of the new Pope John VIII, Methodius was again granted freedom. He was escorted to Moravia by a Papal Legate and installed in his office, an act which confirmed Rome’s support of the apostolate of Methodius. But though he was received with honor by Svatopulk upon his arrival in Moravia, the relations between them were not at all as cordial as those which Methodius had enjoyed with Rostislav and Kocel; and it was not long before new accusations arose against him. It seems that Svatopluk, who had surrounded himself with Frankish priests, was not sympathetic toward the Slavic liturgy or letters and himself had initiated complaints to the Pope against Methodius. As a result, Methodius once again was summoned to Rome to answer charges of (1) using a *forbidden*, barbaric tongue to celebrate the Divine Liturgy, and (2) unorthodox teachings, for example, the hyiopateric heresy. Appearing before the Pope and the assembled bishops in 880, Methodius vindicated himself of all the accusations. The outcome of the investigation of him was a weighty Papal Bull, *Industriae Tuae*, which, in summary, assured Methodius’ orthodoxy, confirmed his appointment as Archbishop of Moravia, and approved (without great enthusiasm) the use of the Slavic liturgy, with the stipulation that the Gospel at Mass first be read in Latin. For all this, the adversaries of the Slavic liturgy nevertheless had their satisfaction: the Bull ended by saying (to paraphrase), if Svatopluk and his nobles preferred to hear the Mass in Latin, the Pope commanded that the Mass be offered in Latin.

Certain that Methodius would be condemned, Svatopluk’s candidate for the bishopric, Wiching, hastened to Rome to receive his appointment. But it was not to be. And though he managed to be consecrated Bishop of Nitra, he remained antagonistic to the arrangement and began immediately to foment trouble. It seems Wiching hurried back to Moravia (Methodius had taken the longer route from Rome so as to avoid Bavarian territory) and, in an attempt to get Svatopluk to reject Methodius, spread the rumor that the Pope had condemned and deposed him, and that he had been appointed in his place. The proof he offered was a forged Papal Bull. When Methodius returned to Moravia, he presented the authentic Bull and, upon learning of Wiching’s deception, dispatched a letter to John VIII. The Pope’s reply, dated 23 March 881, once again affirmed Methodius’ position. Unfortunately, the actual outcome of this controversy is not known because the records have not been preserved. But on the basis of the following line from *LM*, “cutting off
all accusations on all sides and stopping the mouths of the garrulous,” some researchers have concluded that Methodius excommunicated his adversaries, including Wiching.

Late in 881, Methodius, on the invitation of Emperor Basil I and Patriarch Photius, journeyed to Constantinople, where a warm reception awaited him. They were especially interested to learn of his missionary practices and expressed a lively interest in the Slavic liturgy and letters in view of its success and their desire to convert other Slavs, in particular, the Bulgarians and the Serbs. On his return trip in spring 882, Methodius was accorded an escort of honor to the borders of Moravia. He now set to work on his last great task—a translation of all the Scriptures. Previously Methodius had translated the Nomokanon (best preserved in a thirteenth-century Russian manuscript, Ustjužna Kormčaja) and Books of the Fathers (a form of the Paterikon).

Svatopluk’s political power had by now grown considerably. In 883 he invaded Pannonia and later cemented friendly relations with Bohemia. This opened the way for Methodius and his disciples for new religious “conquests,” and led to the spread of Christianity beyond the borders of Moravia and Nitra to Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland.

Methodius performed his last function on Palm Sunday in the year 885. He died three days later, as he himself had foretold, on the morning of the 6th of April, leaving his disciple Gorazd as his successor and some two hundred Slavic presbyters whom he had trained.

The need of the newly-emerging Slavic Christian states to record the Lives of the individuals who initially determined the character of their Christianity and succeeded, directly or indirectly, in inspiring a sense of national self-awareness led to the creation of national literatures. And these came into being with the Lives of Wenceslas, Prince of the Czechs, Boris and Gleb, Princes of the Russians, and Stephen Nemanja, Prince of the Serbs.

The OCS literary tradition, originally centered in the Slavic West—in Moravia, Pannonia, and virtually without interruption until the twelfth century in Bohemia—moved to the Slavic South where it spread to the territories of Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, and Serbia. From Bohemia and from Bulgaria OCS writing radiated into the Slavic East, to Kievan Russia. This interaction is especially well demonstrated by the specific works chosen for translation, which at the same time are representative of the cross-fertilization of a biographical genre that emanated from
the OCS prototype—the aforementioned Pannonian Lives.

It would be difficult to overstate the contribution Constant­
tine-Cyril and Methodius made to Slavic culture. During the
ninth century the various Slavic dialects had not as yet diver­
sified to the extent of mutual incomprehensibility. It was not
difficult for any Slav to understand the work of the brothers
from Thessalonica though presented in a Southern Slavic form.
But it is to their credit that they recognized the universality
of the Slavic language at that time and intended their work to
be utilized in all Slavic-speaking regions. This common Slavic
literary language, OCS, justifies calling the literature in this
language a common Slavic written tradition. In its earliest
stage of development OCS remained relatively free of the influ­
ences of the developing national secular languages, at times so
much so that it is hard to localize the language of certain OCS
texts. As a result of this intermixture, the cross-pollination of
Slavic cultural sources was great.

The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition not only tied the Slavs
together with a common literary language and literature, it
also left an ideological legacy. The Moravian Mission of Con­
stantine-Cyril and Methodius, as Jakobson has stated, professed
the equal rights of all peoples and the equal rights of their
languages. Since the liturgy symbolized the summit of medieval
values, the right to use the native language symbolized the
culture’s right to all other values as well. The outcome of this
precious heritage was that whole cultures became nationalized.
The Cyrillo-Methodian ideology granted the emerging Slavic
cultures and literatures the right to continue in every sphere of
activity. Thus, while this tradition created a common written
language and literature for the Slavs which fostered unity, it
also contained the potential to allow for the development of
separate national cultures and languages.

There is hardly any doubt that Bohemia received as much,
if not more, of its Christianity in Cyrillo-Methodian form as it
did in Latin. Indeed, according to Czech tradition, Prince
Bořivoj of Prague—the first of the ruling family to become
a Christian—was alleged to have been baptized by Methodius
himself. Under the protection of his wife Ludmila and grandson
Wenceslas, the Slavic liturgy flourished as Slavic priests consoli­
dated their work among the Czech populace. Yet the Cyrillo-
Methodian tradition was not destined to survive in Bohemia.
Forming, as it were, a scissors, Bavarians on the one edge and
Saxons on the other, the cord that tied Bohemia to its common
Slavic written tradition was cut. Bohemia was set adrift in
the midst of a hostile sea, battered on all sides and finally engulfed. The rights granted by its invaluable legacy were abrogated after some two centuries of life. By 1100 the Slavic Church ceased to exist, and Bohemia became a Latin preserve. The triumph of the German-Latin Church was so complete that hardly any Slavic manuscripts survived in Bohemia proper. Those that did survive—mostly fragments—are eloquent testimony, considering the chances of survival, of the popularity of the works and the extent to which the common Slavic written tradition had penetrated Bohemian life. The actual preservation of the Slavic texts, however, was largely due to their having made their way eastward to Russia and southward to the Dalmatian coast. And a prime example of this is the manuscript of the so-called First OCS Life of Saint Wenceslas.

Shortly after he was murdered by his brother Boleslav in 929, Wenceslas began to be venerated as a saint and martyr. Thus he and his grandmother Ludmila (who had been murdered some nine years earlier) were accorded the unique dignity of becoming the first Christian martyrs among the Slavs. The cult of St. Wenceslas soon spread beyond the borders of Bohemia and, after the translation of his relics (932), quickly received ecclesiastical approval. As a result Wenceslas also became the first Slavic sovereign to be canonized. By the close of the tenth century Latin Lives of St. Wenceslas were written in Bavaria, Mantua, and Montecassino. Moreover, a tale of Wenceslas’ martyrdom was also written in OCS in Bohemia. The anonymous author of this tale is assumed to have been a Slavic priest trained in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition who was an eyewitness to the events. His work lies at the base of the extant Russian and Croatian copies of it that are known as the First OCS Life of Saint Wenceslas, a work widely recognized as the oldest source of Bohemian history.

It is generally believed that this first “biography” of Wenceslas—dated around 940—recorded, in a relatively abbreviated form, the principal events of Wenceslas’ youth and reign, concentrating on his violent death, the persecution of his followers, the miracle of his blood, and the repentance of his assassin. But the original tenth-century manuscript, which, judging by the evidence of the extant versions, was written in the Glagolitic script, has not been preserved. What we know of it is derived principally from the fourteenth- and fifteen-century Croatian versions, and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Russian ones.

By the end of the eleventh century the cult of St. Wenceslas
penetrated into Russia, where Russian ecclesiastical manuscripts recorded a liturgical office for the celebration of the feast of St. Wenceslas (1095), while Russian scribes copied the original Bohemian Life. By this time the cult of St. Wenceslas and the Life had also found their way to the Croatian Glagolites on the Dalmatian coast and islands, who used OCS in the liturgy—a rite similar to that used in Bohemia—and transcribed the Life in their breviaries. Thus was one of the oldest original works of Czech literature preserved.

Since in the First OCS Life Wenceslas was referred to as "Prince" or, more commendably, as "the good and just, God-worshiping, Christ-loving ruler," it is obvious that this biography was written not only before his canonization but also before the original Latin Life of St. Wenceslas by Gumpold (the Bishop of Mantua), the fate of which was in many ways similar to that of this work. Gumpold’s Life of St. Wenceslas provided the model for an OCS translation by an anonymous author, copies of which came to be known as the Second OCS Life of Saint Wenceslas. This work will be treated in detail in a forthcoming book on Bohemian spirituality.

Whereas the First OCS Life is written in a sober, simple style through which the hero is characterized realistically, by direct quotations and virtually without any improvisation, the Second OCS Life has an extraordinarily ornate and complex style, its sentence structure complicated in the extreme, its narrative animated, and its characterization highly improvised. And the influence of the latter work in particular is clearly discernable in the Narrative and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb, whose martyrdom is explicitly compared with St. Wenceslas. The Cyrillo-Methodian written tradition had by now taken root in Russia, another outgrowth from the shoots that had spread from Bulgaria which were now being further nourished by Bohemia.

It would be fallacious to attribute any profound ecclesiastical and/or linguistic significance to Western Cyrillo-Methodian use in Kievan Russia, for, before the cult of St. Wenceslas reached here, the general character of Kievan Christianity had already been shaped under the influence of Byzantium, and Russia had already been exposed to OCS in its Southern Bulgarian form. This South Slavic written language was so thoroughly to penetrate Russian culture that it would leave an indelible imprint not only on the literary language within and outside of the ecclesiastical field but on spoken and written Russian itself. Yet it would be idle to deny the lively cultural intercourse
between Bohemia and Kievan Russia that resulted from the impact of Czech biography on Old Russian writings.

Western, in particular Latin literature, rarely reached Kiev without first undergoing Slavic translation in Bohemia. And it was the period of activity of the Sázava Monastery (1032–1096/97) that witnessed the main influx of Bohemian material into Russia, and the translation to Sázava of part of the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb. However, it was the Lives of St. Ludmila and particularly St. Wenceslas that achieved some popularity, owing in large measure to the parallelism historically between them and St. Olga and SS. Boris and Gleb. Indeed the coincidence of Russian ruler-saints, grandmother and grandson, and the tragedy of Boris and Gleb is striking.

The death of Russia's first Christian prince, Vladimir, in 1015 resulted in a struggle for power among his many sons. Goaded by ambition similar to that of Boleslav, Svjatopolk, in an attempt to wrest control of his father's princedom from his rivals, had his brothers Boris and Gleb assassinated. Soon after their death in 1015, the brothers began to be worshiped as saints and passion-sufferers. Around 1072 they gained formal recognition by the Greek Church and thereby became the first Russians to be canonized. And it was with the names of Boris and Gleb that the most popular and oldest East Slavic biography is connected.

Although the author of the Narrative remains unknown, one can assume that he was acquainted with at least one of the works dealing with St. Wenceslas and, perhaps, with other West Slavic biographical writings. It is not inconceivable that such works as the Lives of St. Ludmila and SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius were familiar to the Kievan bookman who composed the work on Boris and Gleb. That a Life of St. Wenceslas was known is confirmed by the direct reference to Wenceslas in the Narrative, and further supported by the striking parallels in theme regarding the miraculous liberation of prisoners. However, the theme of miraculously freeing prisoners is not only found in the literary tradition of the Czech saint but also in LC, where it was associated with Christ and St. Clement. It is of interest to note that liberating prisoners was not one of the miraculous services of either Christ or the Apostles, though in Acts divine aid did come to some of the imprisoned Apostles themselves (cf. Acts 5:18-19; 12:4-10; 16:23 -26). Of course it is possible that these passages served as the source for subsequent liberation miracles in Christian legends in general. Yet the parallel between the prisoner miracles
of St. Wenceslas and SS. Boris and Gleb cannot be explained by this common New Testament source alone.

Given the absence of either attested sources, one can only hypothesize about the origin of this theme. Therefore, perhaps it traces its origin to an original OCS composition on St. Wenceslas which in turn drew its inspiration from LC and was known in Kiev. The model for this theme could not have been solely provided either by Acts, the First or Second OCS Life, nor is it very likely that Kievan men of letters were able to utilize the Latin sources—Crescente fide, Christian, Oriente iam sole—which have been given credit for originating this theme. The only other source would be either an OCS translation of another Latin work or an original OCS composition which was later reworked in Latin. I, for one, favor the latter hypothesis.11

The literary production of the Moravian Mission, perpetuated in Bohemia and Bulgaria, was destined for dissemination throughout the Slavic East and South. As a result, all Slavic literary activity during the period under discussion can be considered a continuation of the tradition begun by Constantine-Cyril and Methodius and their disciples and followers. Therefore, it is not surprising to find, among other things, a considerable amount of stylistic uniformity and motifs that originate in the earliest monuments and then reappear in later works. And this situation would last as long as OCS prevailed in the literature of the Slavs, for there were no inter-Slavic literary barriers. OCS was the thread binding them with each other and their common heritage, and it remained unbroken virtually up to the twelfth century. Afterwards, OCS gradually yielded to a far less unified Middle Church Slavic. However the unifying role of the OCS tradition would continue to link the Orthodox Slavs. An important and interesting example of this linkage is provided by the last work chosen for translation, St. Sava’s Life of Stephen Nemanja (St. Simeon).

Though a product of the thirteenth century, St. Sava, as Hafner has noted,12 drew on the Pannonian Lives, when introducing his own work, for God’s plan of salvation for mankind. Moreover, this was by no means the only way in which the beginnings of Serbian letters touched base, in a manner of speaking, not only with the beginnings of Slavic literacy but also with the other works discussed above. For example, the translatio account of the remains of St. Clement in LC, echoed in a similar account in the work dealing with Boris and Gleb, seems to have exerted influence on St. Sava’s treatment of the relics of Stephen Nemanja. Furthermore, it is possible to view
the political motif found in the *Life of Stephen Nemanja* as proceeding from the Slavic biographies of Wenceslas via the works on Boris and Gleb where it appeared as a leitmotif. And this particular drift caused all the biographies under discussion to combine ecclesiastic and secular elements, that is, to mix purely hagiographic material with a political message.

As opposed to Wenceslas and Boris and Gleb, Nemanja lived long enough to designate his successor, abdicate voluntarily, and withdraw at a ripe age into monastic life (1195–1197). As the monk Simeon, he together with his son Rastko (St. Sava) founded the Serbian monastery of Hilandar at Mt. Athos where he died in the year 1200. From the time his relics were brought back to Serbia, to the Studenica Monastery (1207/08), they were reputed to have miracle-working powers, and shortly thereafter he was canonized. Thus he became the first saint in the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church when it was established in 1219. And it was the realization of an autocephalous church that precipitated the emergence of original Serbian literature.

Just as the introduction of the cult of SS. Boris and Gleb was a precursor to the ecclesiastical independence of the Russian Orthodox Church, so did the promotion of the cult of St. Simeon precede the ecclesiastical independence of the Serbian Orthodox Church. And the medium which was utilized for this purpose was biography. By infusing his hero with attributes that would complement his religious aspirations and political interests, St. Sava’s biography of his father blended into an integrated whole elements from the conventional genre of hagiography with those of historiography, monastic legend, family tradition, and so on, and thus gave rise to a type of life-writing the development of which was unique in Church Slavic literature. For whereas life-writing was a sporadic phenomenon among the Moravians, Czechs, and Russians, among the Serbs it developed into a separate, unified literary genre which gradually took on an even more secular orientation. Indeed, it was in this area, in the genre of biography, that Serbia made its outstanding contribution to Medieval Slavic literature. As Birnbaum aptly observed, one can hardly speak of an autonomous genre of secular biography independent of hagiography in Old Russian literature. Also in medieval Bohemia life-writing was practiced far too short a time to yield a new genre of biography by blending hagiographic and historiographic elements. The elaboration of this integrated literary genre was accomplished only in Serbia. Thus, St. Sava’s *Life of Stephen*
Nemanja was followed by two more Lives of Nemanja which in turn were followed by a series of Lives of St. Sava, and they by the Lives of Serbian kings.

Through a quirk of history, it was the suppression of the OCS liturgy in one region of Slavdom that led to its spread to and establishment in other Slavic regions. After the expulsion of the Slavic clergy from Moravia and Pannonia, the disciples and followers of the Apostles to the Slavs were forced to seek refuge elsewhere. They found it in Bulgaria and Bohemia, where fertile ground was provided for the transplantation of this liturgy and the growth of letters. Here they flourished and yielded a harvest that nurtured Russia and Serbia, where the OCS tradition was completely absorbed. Thus, OCS created a literary-linguistic cohesiveness among the Slavs that would never again recur. And, ironically, perhaps it was the very liturgy that was suppressed, the liturgy in the vernacular—the artistically uncreative use of OCS—more than any other single factor that prolonged Slavic linguistic unity. For there was no dissolution of linguistic unity; it has survived among the Orthodox Slavs and in the Glagolitic liturgical texts of the Croats, despite subsequent incursions by Tatar, Turk, and Teuton, even to this day. However, the end of the OCS period—that is, the end of the artistically creative use of OCS—coincides with the beginning of the end of Slavic linguistic unity in the broader sense of the term. It was about the time of the First Crusade. The Slavic Church, as mentioned above, and OCS literature disappeared in the Slavic West. Just as previously this literature had come to an abrupt end in Moravia and Pannonia, so it did now in Bohemia. It fell to the Slavic East and South to maintain linguistic unity and the OCS tradition. This was accomplished by the Orthodox Slavs, who would remain linked for many centuries by the Church Slavic literary language in spite of the process which gradually changed the various Slavic dialects into separate languages. Therefore, it is difficult to establish the terminal point of this unity. Whereas the beginning of OCS literature dates from the Moravian Mission, and the beginning of the dissolution of “Pan”-Slavic unity dates from the time this literature ceased to be productive in the Slavic West, no such specific event marks the end of the Church Slavic literary tradition among the Slavic Orthodox. Generally speaking, however, the work of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius was continued for over eight centuries, for the Church Slavic literary tradition in the Slavic Orthodox world was still productive at the end of the seventeenth century. And
in many ways the overall contribution of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius to Slavic culture in general remains influential even down to the present day.

II

The present translation of LC and LM is my revised version of these works, which were previously translated by Dr. Richard S. White and myself, and published as a separate volume entitled The Vita of Constantine and The Vita of Methodius, Michigan Slavic Materials no. 13 (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 1976). This book contained an Introduction written by Antonin Dostal. In undertaking the revision, my first concern was to correct errors and shortcomings which I myself had noticed and those which were brought to my attention by colleagues and critics. To date most of the criticism has been favorable, indeed much more so than I dared to hope. For this reason the current version does not differ substantially from the original one. However, it does take into account criticism and recent research in the area, and thus profits greatly therefrom. At least some of the more painful lapses have been rectified. I do regret that my close friend and collaborator Dr. White was unable to work with me on this occasion.

There are approximately thirty extant manuscripts of LC which can be divided into two groups, one South Slavic and the other East Slavic. The one chosen for translation is from the former group and is known as the Vladislav Grammaticus manuscript, dated 1469. It was chosen because it is preserved in remarkably complete form and thus avoids the problems connected with recensions. LM has come down to us in only eight manuscripts, all of which are of East Slavic origin. The manuscript found in the Uspenskij sbornik, which dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, was utilized in this translation. Most scholars agree that both Lives were written in Moravia shortly after the death of their respective protagonists, but the individual authorships still remain an open question. LC has been attributed now to Methodius, now to Clement, LM has been credited now to one of their disciples, now to Naum specifically. One thing is clear: the Lives are the work of at least two different Slavic authors. And what is most remarkable, whoever the authors, is the high quality of their literary output in a language that was formed in a short period
of time primarily in the process of translating the Bible from Byzantine Greek. Perhaps this is why the stylistic model for these works appears to be the New Testament, in particular the Gospels, which are also laconic and at times elliptical. Yet it is nevertheless a paradox, as Ševcenko has noted, that the peak achievements of OCS literature stand at its difficult beginnings and not at the end of a leisurely development.\textsuperscript{15}

The \textit{First OCS Life of Saint Wenceslas}, the original Czech copy of which is no longer extant, was written, as indicated above, during the tenth century. However, because of the popularity of the saint, copies of his \textit{Life} were made in the eleventh century by both Russian and Croatian clerics. As a result there exist two Russian copies representing one common archetype, and three Croatian copies, which also represent a common archetype. Despite this, reconstruction of the original text would have been exceedingly difficult were it not for the existence of a fragmentary version of the original \textit{Life}, found in the Russian calendar of martyrs—or the \textit{Prologue}—which had an entry describing the translation of St. Wenceslas' relics. This version facilitated the task of reconstruction, which was most recently accomplished by the eminent Slavist Roman Jakobson.\textsuperscript{16} His study showed conclusively that the \textit{Prologue} used "long and for the most part literal quotations" from the original Czech \textit{Life} of Saint Wenceslas, and that it developed independently from the other Russian versions and, perhaps, even directly from the Czech original. Jakobson now compared the extant copies of the \textit{Life} with his reconstructed text and noted the number of deviations shown in each of the variants. Thus, he found that one of the Russian copies, the so-called \textit{Vostokov Variant} of the \textit{First OCS Life of Saint Wenceslas}, least deviated syntactically, grammatically, and semantically from his posited original. Therefore, I have chosen this particular variant for translation because, as Jakobson has demonstrated, it is essentially a Cyrillic copy of the original Glagolitic Czech \textit{Life} with only minor stylistic changes.

For the sake of objectivity, it should be noted that Miloš Weingart also made an extensive study of the various manuscripts of the \textit{First OCS Life of Saint Wenceslas} and obtained completely different results. He concluded that the text found in the Croatian Glagolitic breviaries was the one that most resembled the lost tenth-century original.\textsuperscript{17}

There is a rather lengthy and to date unresolved controversy as to which of the works dealing with Boris and Gleb, the \textit{Narrative and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Boris and
Gleb, the *Lection on the Life and Assassination of the Blessed Passion-Sufferers Boris and Gleb* or the account in the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, served as the basic source for the others. Summarized briefly, the theories and/or hypotheses are as follows. The majority of scholars who have worked on this problem believe that the account in the *Primary Chronicle* (*Povest' vremennykh let*) underlies both the *Narrative* (*Skazanie*) and the *Lection* (*Čtenie*). However, there is a hypothesis according to which the *Narrative* predates the account in the *Primary Chronicle*. As concerns the relation between the *Narrative* and the *Lection*, there are also basically differing points of view. On the one hand there are those who believe that the *Narrative* was written by an anonymous author in the mid-eleventh century—during the last years in the reign of Jaroslav the Wise (1036–1054)—and that the enumeration of miracles was appended at a later date, around 1089–1115. On the other hand there is the view that the *Lection*, including the miracles, was written by Nestor—a monk from the Caves Monastery in Kiev—sometime between 1080–1090, and that it as well as the *Primary Chronicle* served as the sources for the *Narrative*, which was written sometime after 1115.

Given the number of extant manuscripts, the work which apparently appealed most to the ancient Russian reading public was the *Narrative*, the oldest copy of which was preserved in the *Uspenskij sbornik*. Compared to the *Lection*, the *Narrative* is not nearly as conventionally hagiographic and for this reason does not contain many of the traditional motifs and commonplaces of this genre. On the contrary, it is quite dramatic, and in the depiction of the emotional experiences of the heroes conveys a great deal of pathos. It is this manuscript, with the exception of two sections enclosed in brackets, that was chosen for translation.

With regard to the *Life of Stephen Nemanja*, it is interesting that Sava refers to his hero as “venerable” and not as “saint” as does his older brother Stephen the First-Crowned, in his *Life* of his father written around 1216. This would seem to indicate that Sava’s *Life*, dated around 1208, was written before Nemanja’s (Simeon’s) canonization, and would fix the date of his canonization sometime between 1208–1216. And this would also seem perfectly reasonable, since it would set his canonization between the time that his relics were translated to Studenica in 1207/08—where, according to tradition, they soon began to work miracles (a prelude to sainthood)—and Stephen’s coronation in 1217, by which time Simeon, again according to
tradition, was regarded a national saint. However, according to early sources, the works of the monks Domitian and Theodosius, Simeon’s canonization took place on the 13th of February 1201, one year to the day after his death. And to make matters even more complicated, more recent studies have set the date of his canonization in 1219. 

Therefore, the precise date of Simeon’s canonization in the Serbian Orthodox church is still a matter of speculation.

Sava’s *Life of Saint Simeon*, as this work came to be known, was not *per se* a separate work; rather it made up the first three chapters of the *Studenica Typicon*. The manuscript I utilized for my translation was published in Prague in 1870 by Pavel Šafařík and entitled *Život Sv. Symeona od Sv. Sávy*. It is a copy of a seventeenth-century manuscript that appeared in a collection of South Slavic literary monuments under the title *Památky Dřevnitého Písemnictví Jihošlovanů*, and was published by Šafařík in Prague in 1873. The seventeenth-century copy of the *Life* by St. Sava is now the only extant one. The *Lives* of Stephen Nemanja by his sons, Sava and Stephen, display an interesting contrast in that the latter’s *Life*, in keeping with the development of Serbian letters toward a more secular orientation, is much more political than the former’s.

In translating the preceding works, I have tried to maintain certain standards. In the first place, I was concerned with accuracy and have striven to translate as precisely as possible everything that was written in the texts regardless of how obscure and/or elliptic the passage(s) might have been. When necessary I consulted other manuscripts, and have discussed difficulties with colleagues. A second goal was to capture the essence of the originals—without sounding too archaic—by suggesting its tone and mood insofar as modern English prose and syntax will allow. Hopefully I have not taken too many liberties with any of the manuscripts and/or committed an inordinate number of lapses. The solutions I offer on the following pages are my own and I accept full responsibility for them.

For the translation of biblical allusions, paraphrases, and quotations I have utilized the King James Version of the Bible. It was chosen in order to render, particularly for the English reader, the flavor of medieval texts which abound in biblical allusions, paraphrases, and quotations. To have rendered such passages in a more modern English version of the Bible would have, to be sure, avoided certain archaisms but at the expense of the texts’ medieval essence. In so doing, however, I realize that such a distinction in style cannot be discerned in the original manuscripts. Since the vernacular was never admitted into
the literary language, and the literary language (OCS) of the first millennium was yet to develop a stylistically archaic—as opposed to "modern"—level of language, the sacred and the profane, that is, biblical quotations and literary narrative, had to receive uniform treatment. As a result, the translation does indeed create an artificial distinction in style. This course was pursued in order to avoid the two extremes—a translation into a language and style that is completely archaic or completely modern.

It should be further noted that all verbatim or near-verbatim biblical quotations are indicated in the right-hand margins, where chapter and verse are cited. References to allusions and paraphrases are confined to the Notes. Also, the transliteration of Slavic letters is handled according to the norms of the international scholarly system.

Finally, I should like to thank my colleagues, Professors Carol Avins and Henry R. Cooper Jr., for reading and commenting on my manuscript, and the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs of Northwestern University for providing funds for typing the manuscript and purchasing the facsimilies used in this work. Also, I wish to extend an especial word of thanks to my good friend, Dr. Paul F. Bakalar, for the role he played in the preparation of my work.

Notes to the Introduction

4 Ingham, p. 189.
5 See notes 33 and 34 to The Life of Constantine.
6 The Vita of Constantine and The Vita of Methodius, trans. and commentaries by Marvin Kantor and Richard S. White, Intro. by Antonin Dostal, Michigan Slavic Materials no. 13 (Ann Arbor: Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 1976), pp. x-xi.
8 It should be noted that no doctrinal works reached Russia since none
were apparently sought. The Latin Fathers were virtually unknown in Kiev. However, such Latin works in Slavic form as the Life of St. Benedict of Nursia, the Life of St. Conrad, the Life of St. Julian of Le Mans, the Life of Pope Stephen, and the Martyrdom of St. Appolinarius were transmitted.


10 Constantine-Cyril himself was never party to any such miracle. However, we do find in his Life what can be viewed as a variation on this theme. On several occasions in lieu of accepting rewards for his services, he asks that prisoners be freed. He asks this of the Khazar Kagan (Chap. 11), and of Prince Rostislav and Kocel (Chap. 15).

11 Though not connected, it is interesting to note that the oldest Life of St. Ludmila was reworked from OCS in Latin.


14 The traditional epithet for these Lives, “Pannonian,” came about because of a mistaken nineteenth-century theory that OCS was a Pannonian dialect.


18 See Světosavský sborník, I (Belgrad, 1936), pp. 131-209.
THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE
Merciful and compassionate is God, who awaits the repentance of Man and will have all to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth, for He wishes the sinner not death but repentance and life even if he be given to malice.¹ Neither does He allow mankind to fall away through weakness or be led into temptation by the Adversary and perish. Rather, in each age and epoch He has not ceased to grant us His abundant grace, even now just as it was in the beginning: at first through the Patriarchs and Fathers, and after them through the Prophets, then through the Apostles and Martyrs, and righteous men and teachers whom He chooses from amidst the tumult of this life.

¹ 1 Tim. 2:4
ты свое ныне его сожи. Видя светлое глазалого вдруга. Награждение, Нераздельный возврат. Напомнить, сделать. Надеюсь, что все пойдет к лучшему. Вечное бессмертие. Всегда так, как считает его отец. Всегда так, как считает его отец.

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For the Lord knows His own, who are His, as He has said: “My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and I call them by name, and they follow me: And I give unto them eternal life.” He did so also in our generation, having raised up for us this teacher who enlightened our nation, which did not wish to walk in the light of God’s commandments, and whose understanding was obscured by weakness and even more by the Devil’s wiles.

Stated briefly, his Vita reveals what sort of man he was, so that hearing it, he who wishes — taking courage and rejecting idleness — can follow him. For as the Apostle has said: “Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.”

There was a certain noble and rich man named Leo in the city of Thessalonica who held the rank of drungarios under the strategos. He was, as Job once was, a pious man, and kept faithfully all God’s commandments. He begot seven children of which the youngest, the seventh, was Constantine the Philosopher, our preceptor and teacher. And when his mother bore him, he was given over to a wet-nurse for nursing. However, until the child was weaned he would not take any other breast but his mother’s. This was by God’s design so that there be a good offshoot from a good root. And after this the good parents agreed not to lie with each other. They never once transgressed their vow, but lived that way in the Lord for 14 years, parting in death. And when that devout man was wanted on Judgment Day, the mother of this child cried, saying: “I am worried about nought save this one child and how he will be nurtured.” Then he said: “Believe me, wife, I place my hope in God. He will give him for a father and steward one such as guides all Christians.” And so it came to pass.

When he was seven the boy had a dream which he recounted to his father and mother, saying: “After the strategos had assembled all the girls of our city, he said to me: ‘Choose her whom you wish as your wife and helpmate from among them.’ Gazing upon them and taking note of each one, I discerned the most beautiful of all, with a radiant face, richly adorned in gold necklaces and pearls, and all manner of finery. Her name was Sophia, that is, Wisdom. I chose her.”

When his parents heard these words, they said to him: “Son, keep thy father’s commandment, and forsake not the law of thy mother. For the commandment is a lamp; and the law is light. Say unto Wisdom, Thou art my sister; and call Understanding thy kinswoman. For Wisdom shines even more than the sun. And if you then take her to yourself as your wife, you will be delivered from much evil through her.” When they sent him for instruction, he...
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surpassed all his fellow students in learning, as his memory was very keen. He was then a marvel.

As it was customary among the sons of the wealthy to take sport in the hunt, he one day took his falcon and went out to the fields with his companions. And when he released it, the wind rose by God’s design, caught the falcon and carried it off. The boy became very despondent and dejected by this, and would not eat for two days. But in His love for Man, merciful God did not wish the youth to become accustomed to things of this world and He lured him easily: Just as He lured Placidas 5 with a deer during a hunt long ago, so now He did Constantine with a falcon. Constantine thought to himself of the vanity of this life and repented, saying: “Is this life such that sorrow takes the place of joy? From this day forth I shall take a different path, a better one than this. But I shall not waste my days in the tumult of this life.”

Taking up his studies, he remained at home and committed to memory the writings of St. Gregory the Theologian 6. And making the sign of the cross upon the wall, he wrote the following eulogy to St. Gregory: “O Gregory, thou art a man in body but an angel in spirit. Thou, a man in body, appeared as an angel. For thy lips praise God like one of the Seraphim, and enlighten the universe with the teaching of the true faith. Therefore, accept me who comes to thee with love and faith and be my teacher and enlightener.” To such things did he pledge himself.

He immersed himself in numerous discourses and in lofty thought but was unable to comprehend their profundity and fell prey to a great sadness. There lived a certain foreigner who knew grammar. Going to him and falling at his feet in humility, Constantine begged him to teach him thoroughly the art of grammar. But burying his talent, the man said to him: “Young man, do not trouble yourself. I have renounced teaching this to anyone for the rest of my life.”

Again the youth begged him, saying in tears: “Take all the share due me from my father’s house, but teach me.” Since the man did not wish to listen further to him, Constantine returned home and prayed that he would gain his heartfelt desire. God soon fulfills the desire of them that fear Him. Upon hearing of the keeness, wisdom, and zeal for learning with which he was imbued, the Emperor’s administrator, called the Logothete, 7 sent for Constantine to study together with the Emperor. Learning of this, the boy joyfully set out. And on the way he knelt in prayer to the Lord, saying: “O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, who hast made all things with Thy Word, and ordained man through Thy Wisdom, that he should have dominion over the creatures which Thou hast made, give me Wisdom, that sitteth by

Psalm 145:19
Wis. of Solomon 9:1-2
Wis. of Solomon 9:4
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Thy throne, so that I might understand what is Thy will and be saved. For I am Thy servant, and the son of Thine handmaid." And in addition he recited the remainder of Solomon's prayer and, rising, said: "Amen."

When he arrived in the Imperial City he was entrusted to teachers to be taught. In three months he mastered grammar and began other studies. He studied Homer and geometry with Leo, and dialectics and all philosophical studies with Photius; and in addition to that, rhetoric and arithmetic, astronomy and music, and all the other Hellenic arts. He mastered them all just as though he were mastering only one of them. For keenness joined with zeal, the one vying with the other, by which ability studies are perfected. But more than studiousness, a newly serene countenance became him. He conferred with those who were more beneficial and turned from those who turned to malice, for he thought and acted only to acquire heavenly things in place of earthly ones and to quit his body and live with God.

When the Logothete saw that he was so disposed, he gave him control over his entire house and free entry to the royal palace. Sometime after this, he once questioned him, saying: "Philosopher, I wish to learn what philosophy is."

With his quick mind, he replied immediately: "The knowledge of matters divine and human, to what extent man can approach God and how, through virtue, man is taught to be in the image and likeness of the One who created him."

And the Logothete grew to love him even more, as he, this great and venerable man, questioned him about these things. Constantine made known to him the study of philosophy and in a few words showed great keenness of mind.

Living in chastity and pleasing God greatly, Constantine became ever more loved by all. And many desired and wished to be joined with him through love and, in accordance with their strength, to imitate as fully as possible his virtuous and godly way of life. For all simply loved his keenness of mind greatly. And the Logothete rendered him the highest honors and offered him much gold but he did not accept. Once, some time after this, he said to him: "More than anything else your keenness of mind and wisdom compel me to love you. I have a goddaughter whom I took out of the font. She is beautiful, wealthy and from a good and noble family. If you wish, I shall give her to you as your wife. And from the Emperor accept eminence, and a governorship. And expect even more, for soon you will be a strategos."

Then the philosopher answered him, saying: "This is indeed a great gift for those who have need of it. But for me nothing is
Анголу мого пребывани. Сале борыкай егоса пристало бъ глинеше. Ео. Наговье вселуку вистра пирове ема сабтнн нинд., гламот мого даше емоу. Они же не преблаше. 

Деньовое в сакратуске реце емоу. Они же не преблаше. 

Пробой рабусу мого рабусу. Они же не преблаше. 

Селам онрь вихно даше. Они же не преблаше. 

В пошу бистра преблаше. Они же не преблаше.
greater than learning. Having acquired knowledge, through it I wish to seek the honor and wealth of my ancestors.14

Upon hearing his reply, the Logothete went to the Emperor15 and said: “This young Philosopher does not love this life. Let us not exclude him from the community but tonsure him and give him over to the priesthood and service. Let him be librarian to the patriarch in St. Sophia. At least in this way shall we keep him.” And that was what they did with him.

After staying with them as such for a short time, Constantine left for the Narrow Sea and hid himself there in a monastery.16 They sought him for six months before they were able to find him. Unable to prevail upon him to accept that position, they convinced him to accept an academic chair and teach philosophy to his countrymen and foreigners with full assistance and aid. And he accepted this.

At that time John, who was Patriarch of Constantinople, started the iconoclastic heresy in the Imperial City17, saying that one should not honor the holy icons. Having convened a council, they charged him with speaking falsely and expelled him from office. He said: “They have expelled me by force but they have not convinced me, for no one can dispute my words.” And when the Emperor together with the patricians had prepared the Philosopher, he sent him against John to whom he said: “If you can prevail over this youth, you will again receive your office.” Perceiving that the Philosopher was young in body like those who were sent with him, he said to them: “None of you are worthy of being my footstool so why should I wish to dispute with you?”

The Philosopher said to him: “Keep not the ways of Man but heed God’s commandments. For just as you are created by God from earth and spirit, so are we all. Therefore, O man, when gazing upon the earth, be not arrogant.”

And John answered again: “It is not fitting to seek flowers in the fall nor to drive an old man to war, as Nestor the youth.”18

The Philosopher answered him: “You are directing accusations at yourself. Tell me, at which age is the spirit stronger than the body?”

He said: “In old age.”

The Philosopher then said: “And to which combat are we driving you, answer me, bodily or spiritual?”

He said: “Spiritual.”

The Philosopher answered: “Now you wish to be stronger. Thus do not tell us such parables, for we are not seeking flowers out of season, nor do we drive you to war.”

The old man was so shamed that he turned the conversation
неоправданы.

Философ же иже ввече Емовъ, самь наказаны брашляшами, на томъ вселенную вселенестъ да исканнить пропальше.

Онъ же рече:"Философ же рече. Даниилъ иже брашь Гонимъ шведки. Матеевъ, Нарховной. Онъ же Еремеевъ, Нарховной. Писарды, синь пѣвь синянъ ношевны итти, да ненамъ пѣвь пропальше. Ненъ вримается нѣть.

Онъ же наконецъ пѣвь Гонимъ. По странь же писарь Еремъ, Намъ Еремъ Еремъ, Еремъ Еремъ, Еремъ Еремъ.

Рече же онъ тому, брашку ратопому союхъ, нечайнѣе Ему. Многъ Земли его. Авы, Ачиновъ на Допросъ союхъ писанъ поразъ, часы и закръ.

Философъ же иже иже иже иже иже иже иже, и тебе речеси и срѣчь илать. Наше Едно честь его не будешь, оное же своя нешласть сибрава. Писаны пѣвь мосинь Шведки удалось сибрава. Побежитъ по Едномъ писанъ. Не увидашъ, увидашъ, Не вижитъ, Не вижитъ. Писарь же иже иже иже иже иже иже иже иже.

Како же писарь Еремъ, Камень кипитъ, Како же иже Еремъ, Како же иже Еремъ, Како же иже Еремъ, Како же иже Еремъ. Писарь же рече. Борь ресомъ Есмь невѣстъ, неедливо разслабленъ распахъ.

Камень вѣршесе Еремъ, писарь Еремъ. Писарь же Еремъ. Камень вѣршесе Еремъ, писарь Еремъ. Писарь же Еремъ. Камень вѣршесе Еремъ, писарь Еремъ. Писарь же Еремъ.

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to another matter and said: “Tell me, young man, why do we not worship a broken cross nor kiss it, while you are not ashamed to render honor to an icon though it be depicted only in bust-form?”

The Philosopher answered: “Because the cross has four parts, but if one of its parts is missing it no longer has its image. However, an icon of the face alone is an image and likeness of the one depicted. For whoever sees it, perceives neither a lion’s face nor a lynx’s but an image of the original.”

Then the old man said: “Why do we worship a cross without an inscription when there are also other crosses? However, if an icon is not inscribed with the name of its image, why do you not render honor to it?”

The Philosopher answered: “Because each cross has the same image as the cross of Christ, but not all icons have one and the same image.”

The old man said: “When God spoke to Moses He said: ‘Thou shalt not make any likeness.’ 19 Why then do you make them and worship them?”

And to this the Philosopher replied: “Had He said: ‘Thou shalt not make any kind of likeness,’ you would be correct. But He said: ‘Not any,’ that is, any unworthy.”

Unable to contradict this, the old man fell silent, ashamed.

Afterward the Hagarites, who were called Saracens, blasphemed the single Deity of the Holy Trinity, saying: “How is it, O Christians, that you, while holding that God is one, further divide Him into three, saying He is Father, Son, and Spirit? If you can explain clearly, send us men who can speak of this and convince us.” 20

At that time the Philosopher was 24 years of age. Having convened a council, the Emperor summoned Constantine and said to him: “Do you hear, Philosopher, what the nasty Hagarites are saying against our faith? Since you are a servant and disciple of the Holy Trinity, go and oppose them. And may God, the Accomplisher of all, Who is glorified in the Trinity, the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, grant you grace and strength in words. And may He reveal you a second David against Goliath whom he defeated with three stones,21 and return you to us made worthy of the heavenly kingdom.”

Upon hearing this, Constantine answered: “I shall gladly go for the Christian faith. For what in this world could be sweeter for me than to live and die for the Holy Trinity!”

And they assigned the court secretary, George, to him and sent them.22

When they came there they saw strange and vile things
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which the God-fighting Hagarites did to deride and mock Christians. In these places all those living in piety in Christ were caused much grief. Thus on the outside doors of all Christians they painted images of demons playing games and grimacing. And they asked the Philosopher, saying: “Philosopher, can you understand what this sign means?”

Then he said: “I see demonic images and assume that Christians dwell within. However, the demons are unable to live with them and flee from them. But wherever this sign is not present on the outside, the demons dwell with those inside.”

At dinner the Hagarites, a wise people, well versed in scholarship, geometry, astronomy and other sciences, tested Constantine and questioned him, saying: “Philosopher, perceive you the wondrous miracle, how the Prophet Mohammed brought us joyful tidings from God and converted many people; and how we all keep his law without transgressing in any way? But in keeping Christ’s law, you act and do whatever pleases each of you, one this, another that.”

To this the Philosopher answered: “Our God is like the breadth of the sea. Thus did the Prophet speak of Him: ‘And who shall declare His generation? for He was cut off out of the land of the living.’ For the sake of this search many set out on this sea: And with His help the strong in mind sail across and return, receiving a wealth of understanding. But the weak in mind, some sink like those attempting to cross in rotten ships, while others flounder in impotent idleness, barely breathing from exhaustion. However, your sea is deceptive and self-serving, so that anyone, great and small can leap across. For it is not beyond the wonts of man but something one can easily do. Now Mohammed forbade you nothing else. Since he did not restrain your anger and lust but allowed them, do you know into which abyss he will cast you? Let the sensible understand: Christ is not that way. Rather, He raises up what is difficult from beneath through faith and divine action. As the Creator of everything, He created man between the angels and beasts. For man is distinguished from beasts by his speech and intelligence, and from angels by his anger and lust. And he shall participate either in higher or lower realms in accordance with the realm he approaches.”

And again they questioned him: “Since God is one, why do you glorify Him as three? If you know, explain this! For you call Him Father, Son, and Spirit. If this be so, give Him a wife as well, so that many gods might be sired by Him.”

To this the Philosopher answered: “Do not speak such despicable blasphemies. For well have we learned from the prophets and fathers and teachers to glorify the Trinity, the Father, the Word
гнать гневный похоть, в згопоустинь. Б косте в
ического нмать в золотом сокроплать. Самоельник, какозоумяется.
хрещ. неето ве. нв змйцу
тым скино геро возмож. В поконже неглупели вжено
предтенебловий взвяястели, от во унгтели несторовы
глаз не отърталь. Слово незмилое словучное неяется
еще врагами, на шлюе. Ч ежесе седели, сады
томинож, пшут пшесе приусят. В въшних Хаи,
нанмиш жиньех.
Благословен же его письма. Како
бы египомоуюшую, впреда врабьтит. Сисахон
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к в, дыниаюему, охвать. Асево он
в."
and the Spirit, three hypostases in one being. And the Word became flesh in the Virgin and was born for the sake of our salvation, as your prophet Mohammed bore witness when he wrote the following: ‘We sent our spirit to the Virgin, having consented that She gave birth.’ From this I apprise you of the Trinity.”

Defeated by these words, they turned to another matter, saying: “As you say, O friend. But if Christ is your God, why do you not do as He commands? For in the Gospels it is written: ‘Pray for your enemies, do good to them that hate you and persecute you, and unto them that smite you turn your cheek!’ You are not like that but, on the contrary, you sharpen weapons against those who treat you in such a manner.”

In answer to this the Philosopher said: “If the law contains two precepts, who appears to fulfill the law? He who keeps one precept, or both?

They answered: “Obviously he who keeps both.”

The Philosopher then said: “God said: ‘Pray for them which despitefully use you.’ And He also said: ‘Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.’ We do this for the sake of friends, lest their souls be captured together with their bodies.”

And again they questioned him, saying: “Christ paid tribute for Himself and others. Why do you not do as He did? And if you keep yourself from it, why do you not at least pay tribute for your brethren and friends to the great and powerful race of Ishmael? We ask little, only one piece of gold. And for as long as the entire earth endures, we shall keep peace among ourselves as no one else.”

The Philosopher answered: “When Christ paid tribute which Empire existed, the Ishmaelite or the Roman?”

They answered: “Obviously the Roman.”

Constantine said: “Therefore you ought not scorn us for we all pay tribute to the Romans.”

After this they asked him many other questions, testing him in all the arts that they themselves knew. He explained everything to them. And when he had convinced them, they again said to him: “How do you know all this?”

The Philosopher said: “A certain man drew water from the sea and, carrying it in a bag, boasted to strangers, saying: ‘See this water? No one has any except me!’ To him came a man who lived by the sea and said: ‘Are you not ashamed of what you are saying, boasting merely about this stinking bag? We have a sea of it!’ You are acting the same way. All the arts have come from us.”

And afterwards, playing games, they showed him a cultivated garden in which some of the things appeared to have at once
Женщина, в зеленом, сидела на краю леса.

Философ, шевелясь, слушал ее.

- Что вы здесь делаете, Луна? Чем вы занимаетесь?
- Я размышляю о жизни, о сущности вещей.
- Это интересно, Луна. Но вы не боитесь одиночества?
- Нет, я люблю быть один. Это помогает мне понимать мир.
- Но ведь вы одна. Как вы справляете с собой?
- Я справляюсь, благодаря своему внутреннему свету.
- А вы верите в Бога?
- Да, я верю, что есть некая сущность, которая управляет всем.
- А если бы она не была?
- Тогда я бы продолжала размышлять о этой непознанной сущности, чтобы понять, что будет.

Философ смотрел на Луну, улыбаясь.

- Вы правы, Луна. Понимайте, что мир - это не просто окружающая вас суета.
- Да, это понимание помогает мне жить.

Философ встал и ушел, оставив Луну один.

- До свидания, Луна. Пусть ваше размышление будет успешным.

Луна смотрела ему вслед, улыбаясь.

- До свидания, Философ. Пусть ваша жизнь будет успешной.

Философ ушел, неся с собой свет, который он не заменил бы ни за что.

Луна сидела, размышляя о том, что она увидела.

- Я понимаю, что есть некая сущность, которая управляет всем.
- И это значит, что у меня есть смысл жизни.

Луна улыбнулась. Она знала, что ей предстоит еще много размышлений, но она была готова к этому.

- Итак, Луна, продолжай размышлять.

Луна улыбнулась еще больше. Она знала, что это будет ее следующим шагом в поиске смысла жизни.
sprung from the earth. And when he explained to them how this came about, they further showed him all manner of wealth, and houses adorned with gold and silver and precious stones and pearls, saying: "Philosopher, behold the wondrous miracle! Mighty is the power and great the wealth of Amerumnin, lord of the Saracens."

Then he said to them: "This is not wondrous. Glory and praise be to God who has created all these things and given them to man for his consolation. For these things are His and no other's."

And when they heard this from him, they became angry and resorted to their usual evil ways. Intending to poison him, they mixed a deadly potion and gave him to drink of it. But merciful God, who said to all who truly believe in Him, "And if you drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt you," preserved Constantine from harm from that fatal drink and returned him again to his native land in good health.

A short time after this Constantine renounced this life entirely, settled in a place away from the tumult and heeded himself alone. He kept nothing for the next day even for bodily nourishment but, upon receiving something, distributed it all to the poor, and placed his hope in God who cares for everyone every day. Once, when his servant was downcast on a holy day and said, "we have nothing for this holy day," Constantine said to him: "He who once nourished the Israelites in the wilderness shall also give us food here. Therefore, go and summon at least five poor men who are awaiting God's help."

And when the dinner hour came, immediately a certain man brought a great quantity of food and ten pieces of gold. And Constantine rendered praise unto God for all this. He then went to his brother Methodius at Olympus and remained there, praying incessantly to God and conversing only with the Scriptures. For he and his brother always, day and night, devoted themselves to this. And thus, exalting in his heart, he conducted his life honorably, adding labor upon labor and excelling greatly in godly virtues. But enough of this for now.

And then to the Greek Emperor came emissaries from the Khazars, saying: "From the beginning we have known one God who is above all, and worshipped Him facing east. However, we keep other shameful customs. The Jews exhort us to accept their faith and ways, while on the other hand the Saracens, offering us peace and many gifts, press us, saying: 'Our faith is better than that of all other peoples.' Maintaining our former love and friendship, we therefore have come to you. For you are a great people

Mark 16:18
and your empire is from God. And in requesting your counsel, we ask of you a learned man. Should he prevail over the Jews and Saracens, we shall accept your faith."

Then the Emperor sought the Philosopher and, after finding him, told him of the Khazars’ words, saying: “Philosopher, go to these people, preach and answer for the Holy Trinity with Its help. For no one else is capable of doing this properly.”

He said: “If you command, lord, on such a mission I shall gladly go on foot and unshod, lacking all the Lord forbade His disciples to bring.” 31

The Emperor answered, saying: “Well spoken; were you to do this! But bear in mind the imperial power and honor, and go honorably and with imperial help.”

He immediately set out on his way. After coming to Kher­son, he learned the Hebrew language and scriptures and translated eight parts of the grammar,32 from which he acquired understand­ing. A certain Samaritan living there would come to Constantine and debate with him. And he brought Samaritan scriptures and showed them to him. The Philosopher asked him for them, locked himself in his room and gave himself up to prayer. And having ob­tained understanding from God, he began to read the scriptures without error. When the Samaritan saw this, he cried out in a loud voice and said: “Verily, those who believe in Christ quickly re­ceive Grace and the Holy Spirit.” His son was baptized immedi­ately and he himself was baptized after him.

And Constantine found there the Gospels and the Psalter written in Russian letters.33 And he also found a man who spoke that language. And having conversed with him and acquiring the power of his speech by comparing it to his own language, he distin­guished letters, vowels and consonants, and offering a prayer to God, he soon began to read and speak. And they were amazed at him and praised God.

And when he heard that St. Clement was still lying in the sea,34 he prayed and said: “I believe in God and place my hope in St. Clement, that I shall find him and take him from the sea.”

After persuading the Archbishop, they boarded a ship with all the clergy and pious men and set out for that spot.35 A great calm came over the sea and they arrived and began to dig, chanting. And immediately a strong fragrance arose as if there were many censers, and then the holy relics appeared. To the glory of all the towns­men, they raised them with great reverence and carried them into the city, as Constantine writes in his Discovery. 36

A Khazar commander came with his troops, surrounded a certain Christian city, and laid siege to it. Upon learning of this, the Philosopher went to him without hesitation. Conversing with
Тривожні дані небезпечних газів
Аліпієнко О. В. інженер-геофізик;
Загребельський В. В. викладач;
Іванов В. П. викладач.

Крім відомих газів, є ще інші, які занурюють вочі.

Якщо відчуваєте неприємнічі хімічні або фізичні
впливи, дайте відчуттям здоров'я.

У випадку острівного отруєння, зверніться до
медичного персоналу.

Місцеві органи виконавчої влади мають
держатися наведених рекомендацій.

Загалом відносяться до групи особливість
впливу на здоров'я, особливо на дитинство,
також інші групи особливість впливу на
здоров'я, особливо на дитинство.

Важливо вмітати, що не кожен випадок
отруєння потребує медичної допомоги.

Враховуючи особливості впливу на
здоров'я, особливо на дитинство,
та хімічні впливи, дайте відчуттям
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him, he imparted his edifying words and calmed him. He promised Constantine to be baptized.

The Philosopher continued on his way. And while he was reciting the prayer of the first hour, Hungarians fell upon him howling like wolves and wishing to kill him. But he was not frightened and did not forsake his prayers, crying out only, "Lord, have mercy!" for he had already completed the office. Seeing him, they were calmed by God's design and began to bow to him. And upon hearing edifying words from his lips, they released him and his entire retinue in peace.

Having boarded a ship, Constantine set out for the land of the Khazars by way of the Meotis Sea and Caspian Gates of the Caucasus Mountains. The Khazars sent a cunning and resourceful man to meet him, who entered into conversation with him and said to him: "Why do you follow the evil custom of replacing one emperor with another of a different lineage? We do this only according to lineage."

The Philosopher said to him: "Yet in place of Saul, who did nothing to please Him, God chose David, who was pleasing to Him, and David's lineage."

And furthermore the Khazar said: "Why is it you hold the Scriptures in hand, and recite all parables from it? However, we do not do so, but take all wisdom from the heart as though it were absorbed. We do not pride ourselves in writing as you do."

And the Philosopher said to him: "I shall answer you in regard to this. If you meet a naked man and he says: 'I have many garments and gold,' would you believe him, seeing him naked?"

He said: "No."

Then Constantine said to him: "So I say unto you. If you have absorbed all wisdom as you boast, tell me how many generations are there from Adam to Moses, and how many years did each generation endure?"

Unable to answer this, the Khazar fell silent.

When Constantine came for the feast at the Kagan's and they wished to seat him, they questioned him, saying: "What is your station so that we may seat you according to your rank?"

And he said: "I had a great and very renowned forefather who stood close to the Emperor. But he voluntarily rejected the great honor granted him and was banished. He became impoverished after going to a foreign land, and there he begot me. Though I have sought my forefather's former station, I have not succeeded in obtaining it, for I am Adam's scion."

They then said: "O guest, you speak worthily and rightly." And from that moment they began to confer honor upon him.
последними соблуждениями. Всё это делается по мере.
никем не устанавливается. Все это делается в виде
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Taking up his cup, the Kagan said: "Let us drink in the name of the One God who made all creation."

Taking up his cup, the Philosopher said: "I drink in the name of the One God and His Word, who by His Word made all creation and through Whom the heavens were established; and in the name of the life-giving Spirit through Whom all their power exists." 43

The Kagan answered him: "We say the same but maintain the following difference: you glorify the Trinity, while we, having obtained Scriptures, the One God."

Then the Philosopher said: "The Scriptures proclaim the Word and the Spirit. If someone renders honor unto you but will not honor your word and spirit, whereas yet another will honor all three, which of the two renders greater honor?"

He said: "The one who honors all three."

And the Philosopher answered: "Thus, we do more by revealing it in deeds and obeying the prophets. For Isaiah said: 'Hearken unto me, O Jacob and Israel, my called; I am the first, I am for ever. And now the Lord, and His Spirit, hath sent me.' " 44

Then the Jews standing around Constantine said to him: "Tell us now, how is it possible for a woman to bear God in her womb upon whom she may not even look, let alone give birth to."

And pointing his finger at the Kagan and his first counsellor, the Philosopher said: "If someone says: 'The first counsellor cannot entertain the Kagan'; but furthermore says: 'The latter's lowest slave can entertain the Kagan and render honor unto him,' what are we to call him, tell me, insane or sensible?"

And they said: "Very much insane."

Then the Philosopher said to them: "Which of the visible creatures is the most honored of all?"

They answered him: "Man, for he was created in the image of God." 46

And again the Philosopher said to them: "Indeed, are they not raving who say it is not possible for God to be contained in man, since He was contained in the bush and in the cloud, in the whirlwind and smoke, having appeared so to Moses and Job. 47 Otherwise how can the sick be healed? For when mankind comes to perdition, from whom can it further await renewal if not from the very Creator Himself? Answer me! If a doctor wishes to apply a plaster to the sick, would he or would he not apply it to a tree or to a stone? And will he be able to heal a man by this?"

"And how could Moses in his prayer through the Holy Spirit say with outstretched arms, 'In the thunder of stones and in the voice of trumpets reveal yourself unto us no more, merciful Lord, but having removed our sins, abide inside us.' " For thus
надеялась, почувствовав, что, едкая смесь, навсегда оставит
в ненависти. За тем, как это бы следовало поступать,
было непонятно. Единообразные певчие, подняв голос,
нагнетившись, слышали мелодию. И все же,
нечто в глубине души, в самом себе, в сердце, в душе,
оказалось, что это было нечто другое. Это было нечто,
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и что было в глубине души, в самом себе, в сердце, в душе,
speaks Aquila. And thus they departed from the feast after setting a day when they would speak about all this.

When he sat down again with the Kagan, the Philosopher said: “I am the only man among you without kin or friends. We are debating about God in whose hands all things are, even our hearts. While we are speaking, let those of you who are strong in words say, of what they comprehend, it is so, but of what they fail to comprehend, let them ask and we shall explain.”

The Jews then answered and said: “We observe both the Word and Spirit in the Scriptures. Tell us, which law did God first give to man, the law of Moses or the one you observe?”

The Philosopher said: “Do you ask this because you observe the first law?”

And they answered: “Yes, for one should observe the first.”

Then the Philosopher said: “If you wish to observe the first law, then totally reject circumcision.”

Then they said: “Why say you so?”

And the Philosopher said: “Tell me truthfully, was the first law given with circumcision or without circumcision?”

They answered: “We think with circumcision.”

Then he said to them: “After the commandment to Adam and his apostasy, gave not God first the law to Noah, calling the law covenant? For He said unto him: ‘Behold, I establish my covenant with you and with your seed, and the entire earth,’ which is contained in three commandments: ‘Eat everything as the green herb, as much as there is in the heavens, upon the earth and in the waters. Only ye shall not eat flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof.’ And, ‘whoso sheddeth man’s blood, let his own be shed in his stead.’ What say you? Do you observe the first law?”

The Jews answered him: “We observe the first law of Moses which God did not call law but covenant, just as at first to man in Paradise He called one thing a commandment, and another thing something else to Abraham, that is, circumcision and not law. For one is law while the other is covenant, and the Creator called the two by different names.”

Then the Philosopher answered them: “But I would give the following explanation concerning this. The law is called covenant, for God said unto Abraham: ‘I give my law in your flesh,’ and He called it a token, ‘and it shall be betwixt me and you.’ And He also cried out unto Jeremiah: ‘Hear this covenant and speak,’ He said, ‘unto the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and say unto them: Thus saith the Lord God of Israel; Cursed be the man that obeyeth not the words of this covenant which I commanded your fathers in the day I brought them
Мохито не видно моих глаз, не видно его глаз.
Но не видно моих ног, не видно его ног.
Птицы не видно моих крыльев, не видно его крыльев.
Но не видно моих лап, не видно его лап.
Я не виджу его, я не виджу его.
Но я не хочу видеть его, я не хочу видеть его.
Мои руки не видят его, мои руки не видят его.
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Но я не могу не писать об этом, я не могу не писать об этом.
And the Jews answered him: "We too maintain that the law is also called covenant. And of the many that have observed the law of Moses, all have pleased God. We who also keep the law think the same applies to us. But you are trampling God's law, having established another Law."

The Philosopher said to them: "We do rightly. For had Abraham not accepted circumcision but observed Noah's covenant, he would not have been called the Friend of God, nor would have Moses, rewriting the law afterward, had he not observed the first law. Thus, we too follow their example. And having received the law from God, we observe it so that God's commandment remains firm. For when the law was given to Noah, He did not say unto him, 'I will give another law,' but said that it shall remain forever in the living soul. Likewise, having given Abraham the promise He did not proclaim unto him, 'I shall give Moses another law.' Do you then observe the law? And God cried out through Ezekiel: 'I will change it and give you another.' For Jeremiah clearly said: 'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Judah and the house of Israel: Not according to the covenant that I made with your fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; because they abide not by my covenant and I began to hate them. But this shall be my covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws within their minds and write it upon their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people.' And again the same Jeremiah said: 'Thus saith the Lord: Stand ye in the ways, and see the true path and walk therein, and ye shall find purification for your souls. But they said, We will not walk therein. I set watchmen over you saying, Hearken to the sound of the trumpet. But they said, We will not hearken. Therefore hear ye nations and pastors of the flock among them.' And then, 'Hear, O earth: behold I will bring evil upon this people, the fruit of their apostasy, because they have not hearkened unto my words; and my law, that the prophets proclaimed, they have rejected.' Indeed, not only by this alone shall I show that the law has ceased, but clearly by other proofs as well."

The Jews answered him: "Verily every Jew knows that it shall be so, but the time for the Anointed One has not yet come."

And the Philosopher said to them: "How can you declare this, seeing that Jerusalem was destroyed and that sacrifices have ceased, and everything the prophets prophesied about you has come to pass? For Malachi cried out clearly: 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going..."
down, my name shall be glorified among the Gentiles; and in every
place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering:
for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of
Hosts.’ ”

Then they said: “You are saying: All Gentiles wish to be
blessed and circumcised in the city of Jerusalem.”

The Philosopher said: “Then why does Moses say: ‘If ye
shall obediently obey and in every way keep the law, your borders
shall be from the Red Sea to the Philistin Sea, and from the wil­
derness to the River Euphrates.’ But we Gentiles are blessed in
the seed of Abraham, having come forth from a shoot of Jesse,
and in the one called the hope of the Gentiles and light of all lands
and islands. Illuminated by the glory of God, the prophets cry
out loudly but not according to the same law nor place. For
Zechariah said: ‘Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion: behold thy
king cometh unto thee, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a
colt the foal of an ass.’ And furthermore: ‘He shall destroy the
arms from Ephraim and the warhorse from Jerusalem, and he shall
speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from the
ends of the earth to the ends of the universe.’ And Jacob said:
‘The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from
between his feet, until he comes who is predestined, and he shall
be the hope of the people.’ Since you have seen all this accom­
plished and fulfilled, whom else do you await? For Daniel, who was
instructed by an angel, said: ‘There shall be seventy weeks until
Christ the Vicar, that is, four hundred and ninety years to seal
up vision and prophecy.’ Of whose iron kingdom, in your
opinion, did Daniel think in the vision?”

They answered: “The Roman.”

Then the Philosopher asked them: “Who is the stone that
was cut out from the mountain by no human hand?”

They answered: “The Anointed One.” And they said fur­
ther: “If it be interpreted according to the prophets and other
things that He has come already, as you say, why does the Roman
Empire still retain its dominion?”

The Philosopher answered: “It does not retain it, for it is
gone just as the others according to the image in the vision. Now our
kingdom is not Roman but Christ’s, as the prophet said: ‘The God
of Heaven shall set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed:
and His kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall
break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand
forever.’ For is it not a Christian kingdom that is now called by
Christ’s name? The Romans, however, revered idols. But they
— now from one nation and tribe, now from another — rule in the
name of Christ, as the prophet Isaiah reveals speaking to you:
'Ye have left your name in plenitude unto my chosen: for the Lord shall slay ye, and call His servants by a new name, which will be blessed over the entire earth. For they shall bless the true God, and those who swear upon the earth, shall swear by God in heaven.'

Have not the prophecies of all the prophets who have spoken plainly of Christ been fulfilled already? For Isaiah announces His birth from a virgin saying thus: 'Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel: which, being interpreted, is, God with us.' And Micah said: 'And thou, Bethlehem, the land of Judah, art not the least among the rulers of Judah, yet out of thee shall come forth a ruler unto me that shall tend my people Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. Therefore will he give them up until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth.' And Jeremiah said: 'Ask ye now, and see whether a man doth travail with child? Alas! that day is great, so that none is like it: it is even the time of Jacob's trouble, but he shall be saved out of it.' And Isaiah said: 'Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a manchild.'

And again the Jews spoke: "We are of the blessed seed of Shem, blessed by our father Noah, but you are not."

Explaining this to them, Constantine said: "The blessing of your father is nothing more than praise to God, neither does it pertain to Shem. For it is thus: 'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem.' But to Japheth, from whom we descend, he said: 'God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.'"

And explaining to them from the Prophets and other Scriptures, Constantine did not leave them until they themselves said: "It is just as you say."

And they spoke: "Why, having hope in man, do you pretend to be blessed when the Scriptures curse the like of you?"

The Philosopher answered: "Is David cursed or blessed?"

They said: "Most blessed."

And the Philosopher said: We also have hope in the One in whom he hoped. For it is said in the Psalms: 'The man of my peace, 66 in Him have I hope.' And that man is Christ, and God. But he who has hope in an ordinary man, we also consider him cursed."

And again they put forth another example, saying: "How can you Christians reject circumcision when Christ did not reject it but performed it according to the law?"

The Philosopher answered: "But He who once said to Abraham: 'Behold, this is a token betwixt me and you, 67 having come, fulfilled it and maintained it from that time to this. 68 However,
He did not allow it to continue henceforth, but gave us baptism."

And they said: "Then why were there once others who pleased God, and yet did not accept this token but Abraham's?"

The Philosopher answered: "Because none of them, it appears, had two wives save Abraham. Therefore He circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, setting a boundary not to be transgressed further; however He set an example for others to follow in accordance with the first period of Adam's life. And He did the same unto Jacob, having shrunk the sinew of his thigh for taking four wives. He named Jacob Israel, that is, the mind that sees God, after he understood the reason for which this was done unto him. For, it appears, he was no longer to have relations with a woman. But Abraham did not understand this." 69

And again the Jews questioned: "How can you who worship idols pretend to please God?"

The Philosopher answered: "Learn first to distinguish the nouns, what an image is and what an idol, and considering this, do not assail Christians. For in your language there are ten nouns for this term. Therefore, I now ask you: Was the tabernacle which Moses carried down the mountain an image or an image of an image, a comparable image which he skillfully made with taches and skins and twined linens and extraordinary cherubim? 70 And since he made it in this way, do we say that you for this reason render homage and worship wood, skins and twined linens rather than God who at that time had given such an image? The same is true of Solomon's temple, since it had figures of cherubim and angels and images of many other things.71 Thus, we Christians also make images of those who pleased God, distinguishing good from demonic images, and thereby render like honor. For the Scriptures condemn those who sacrifice their sons and daughters to devils. 72

And the Jews said: "How is it that by eating the meat of swine and hare you do not oppose God." 73

He answered them: "Because the first covenant commands, 'Eat all things even as the green herb.' For unto the pure all things are pure; but unto them that are defiled, even their conscience is defiled. And God speaks in Genesis: 'Behold, everything is very good.' 74 But because of your greed, He withheld some things from you. 'For Jacob ate,' he said, 'and was sated, and His beloved forsook Him.' 75 And furthermore: 'The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.'"

Thus, having condensed this from much, we set it down briefly for remembrance sake. And he who wishes to seek the actual discussions in their entirely can find them in Constantine's writings, which our teacher, Archbishop Methodius, translated and divided into eight discourses. 76 And there one shall see the power

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57

Genesis 9:3
Titus 1:15
Genesis 1:31
Exodus 32:6
всем полюблюшим Ксения, моя маленькая дочь, осторожно
вмешившись в нашу жизнь, будьте прижкнуты к нам.

Вим принадлежит слово матушки, и мы должны осознать,
что в этом мире нет ничего, что не имеет места.

Признание жизни, в которой мы живем,
дает нам возможность чувствовать и оберегать друг друга.

Жизнь - это то, что мы создаем сами,
и только мы можем ее изменить, если захотим.

Ксения, моя маленькая дочь, будьте сильными
и смелыми, чтобы не потерять себя в этом мире.

Мы с тобой, наша семья, будьте счастливы и
радостны в этой жизни, которую мы создаем.

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дает нам возможность чувствовать и оберегать друг друга.

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of words inspired by God’s grace, which like a flame burns opponents.

Hearing his sweet and seemly words, the chieftains said to him: “You were sent here for our edification by God, and from Him learned all the Scriptures; you have spoken properly, delighting each of us in full with the mellifluous words from the Holy Scriptures. But we are an illiterate people and believe you are from God. Moreover, if you wish to bring peace to our souls, explain everything to us with parables in the order we ask them of you.”

And thus they parted in order to rest.

When they gathered on the following day they spoke to him, saying: “O venerable man, demonstrate to us through parables and reason which faith is best of all.”

The Philosopher answered them: “Two newly-weds lived in high esteem with a certain king and were much loved. However, because they sinned, he banished them, and sent them away from the land. Living in exile for many years, they begot children in poverty. The children gathered together and took counsel concerning the way in which they could regain their former station. One of them spoke this way, another that, and still another gave different counsel. Therefore, which counsel is worthy of support? Ought it not be the best?”

And they said: “Why say you this? Surely each considers his own counsel best, the Saracens too, and others theirs. Tell us, which of these is the best opinion?”

The Philosopher then said: “Fire tests gold and silver; but through reason man distinguishes a lie from the truth. Therefore tell me: What was the reason for the First Fall? Was it not for beholding the sweet fruit as well as craving divinity?”

And they said: “That is so.”

The Philosopher then said: “And if harm befell someone who ate honey and drank cold water, and a doctor came and said to him: ‘Eat more honey and you will recover.’ And to the one who will have drunk the water he says: ‘Drink your fill of cold water and stand naked in the frost and you will recover.’ But another doctor speaks otherwise and prescribes the opposite treatment: ‘Instead of honey drink something bitter, and fast; and instead of cold, drink something tepid and warm yourself.’ Which then of these two treats more skillfully?”

They all answered: “The one who prescribes the opposite treatment. For it is fitting to destroy lustful sweetness with the bitterness of life, and pride with humility, treating everything with its opposite. And we also say: ‘The tree which is first to put forth a thorn will be last to bear sweet fruit.’”
Заповідь. Господи є серцем нашим, почніть від серця, молитвою, проханням, відкриттям схильності нас. Нам не слід глядіти на блисківці, але глядіти на чоловіків. Не слід глядіти на присутність, але глядіти на землю. Не слід глядіти на світ, але глядіти на Бога.

Дай нам силу, глядіть на землю, глядіть на Бога.
And again the Philosopher answered: "Well spoken. For Christ's Law reveals the austerity of a godly life which afterwards, in the eternal dwellings, brings fruit one hundredfold."

Then one of them, who knew well the malice of the Saracens, asked the Philosopher: "Tell me, O guest, why do you not support Mohammed? For he praised Christ highly in his writings, saying: 'He was born of a virgin, a sister of Moses, the great prophet,' and that, 'He resurrected the dead and with great power healed all sickness.'" 79

And the Philosopher answered him: "Let the Kagan judge between us. Tell me though, if Mohammed is a prophet, how can we have faith in Daniel? For Daniel said: 'Unto Christ all vision and prophesy shall cease.' How can he who appeared after Christ be a prophet? For if we call him a prophet, we reject Daniel."

Then many of them spoke: "What Daniel said was said through the spirit of God. As for Mohammed, who spewed forth his greatest deceptions from malice and dissoluteness, we all know him to be a liar and the bane of everyone's salvation."

And the first counsellor among them said to the friends of the Saracens: "With God's help this guest has dashed all the pride of the Jews on the ground, but yours has he cast to the other side of the river like filth."

And now Constantine spoke to all the people: "Just as God gave the Christian Emperor power over all nations and consummate wisdom, so He entrusted also to them the faith without which none can live eternal life. Glory be to God forever!" And in tears the Philosopher said to all: "Brethren and fathers, friends and children! Behold, God has given all understanding and an appropriate answer. And if there is still someone who is opposed, let him come forth and be convincing, else he be convinced. And he who heeds this, may he be baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. He who does not desire this, from his sin am I removed; but he himself will see Judgment Day when the Ancient of Days shall sit in judgment of all nations as God."

They answered: "We are not our own enemies; but gradually, he who can, for thus do we command, may he be baptized voluntarily, if he wishes even from this day. But those among us who bow to the west, or pray in the manner of Jews, or keep the Saracen faith, shall soon be put to death by us."

And thus they parted joyfully.

At that time about two hundred of these people were baptized, having cast off heathen abominations and lawless marriages. And the Kagan wrote the following epistle to the Emperor: "Lord, you have sent us a man who in word and deed has shown us that the Christian faith is holy. We are convinced it is the true
мрь, сотворенные ими, в ненасытном жаждущем огне. Написано,
чтобы они были засвидетельствованы, чтобы они были показаны,
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faith and, in the hope that we too shall attain it, we have commanded all to be baptized voluntarily. We all are friends of your Empire and are at your service wherever you require it."

Seeing the Philosopher off, the Kagan offered him many gifts, but he did not accept them, saying: "Give me as many Greek captives as you have here. That means more to me than all your gifts."

Having gathered about two hundred captives, they gave them to him. And he went on his way, rejoicing.

When they reached a waterless, barren region, they could not endure the thirst. Though they found water in a salt marsh, they could not drink of it for it was like gall. And when they all separated to search for water, Constantine said to Methodius, his brother: "I can endure the thirst no longer. Scoop up some of this water. For He who once turned bitter water into sweet for the Israelites shall also bring us comfort." 83

Scooping it up, they found it sweet like honey, and cold. And they both drank, praising God for accomplishing this for His servants.

While supping with the archbishop in Kherson, the Philosopher said to him: "Pray for me, Father, as my own father would." And when some of them asked him in private why he had done this, the Philosopher answered: "Verily, on the morrow he shall leave us and depart unto the Lord."

And so it was; these words came to pass.

In the land of Phoullae stood a great oak which had grown together with a cherry tree, and under it sacrifices were offered. 84 It was called Alexander, and women were not permitted to approach it or the sacrifices. When the Philosopher learned of this, he did not hesitate to betake himself to them. And standing among them, he said to them: "The Hellenites inherited eternal torment for having worshiped as God the heavens and the earth as well as all creation. How then shall you who worship a tree, a worthless thing intended for burning, escape the eternal fire?"

And they answered: "We have not just begun to do this, but have taken it from our fathers. All our requests are fulfilled by it, most of all rainfall, and much else. How can we do that which none has dared to do? For if someone were to dare this, he will then see death, and furthermore, we will not see rainfall until the end."

The Philosopher answered them: "God speaks of you in the Scriptures. How can you deny Him? For Isaiah cried out in the name of the Lord, saying: 'Behold, I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come, and see my glory. And I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of
неизвестно, что эта фраза начинается с нувольца "глубоким".
them unto the nations, to Tarshish, and to Pul and Lud and Mosch, and to Tubal and Javan, and to Helladas, and to the isles afar off, that have not heard my name, and they shall declare my name among the Gentiles.’85 says the Lord Almighty. And again: ‘Behold, I will send many fishers and hunters, and they shall hunt you from the hills, and out of the holes of the rocks.’86 Brethren, know the God who created you. Behold the Gospel of God’s New Covenant in which you too were baptized.”

And thus, having persuaded them with sweet words, he commanded them to cut down and burn the tree. Their elder bowed, came forth and kissed the Holy Gospel, as did all the others. Upon receiving white candles from the Philosopher, they walked toward the tree, chanting. And seizing an axe, Constantine struck the tree thirty-three times. Then he commanded all to chop and uproot it, and burn it. That very same night God sent rain and watered the earth. And with great rejoicing they praised God, and God rejoiced greatly over this.

The Philosopher then went to the Imperial City. After seeing the Emperor, he took up residence in the Church of the Holy Apostles and prayed to God. In St. Sophia there was a chalice, the work of Solomon, made of precious stone. On it were inscribed words in Hebrew and Samaritan letters which none were able to read or explain. Taking it up, the Philosopher read and explained. It was as follows: “Prophesy thusly the while, O star: Be a drink unto the Lord, the First-Born, during His vigil at night.” And after this, other words: “For the Lord’s tasting of His creation from another tree, drink, be drunk with joy and cry out ‘Hallelujah!’” And after this, a third part: “Behold the Prince, and the entire assembly shall see His glory and David among them.” And after this, a number was written: “Nine hundred and nine.” Calculating precisely, the Philosopher discovered that from the twelfth year of Solomon’s reign to the birth of Christ is nine hundred and nine years. This is a reckoning about Christ.87

While the Philosopher was rejoicing in God, yet another matter arose, and a task no less than the former. For Rastislav, the Prince of Moravia,88 through God’s admonition, took counsel with his Moravian princes and appealed to Emperor Michael, saying: “Though our people have rejected paganism and observe Christian law, we do not have a teacher who can explain to us in our language the true Christian faith, so that other countries which look to us might emulate us. Therefore, O lord, send us such a bishop and teacher; for from you good law issues to all countries.”

And having gathered his council, the Emperor summoned
дневных братьях. Епископ Иоанн паломничал в Святую землю. Среди прочих посвященных были и философы. Несмотря на то, что они были в пути, они не унывали.

Святой мудрец Иоанн Златоуст говорит: "Если хочешь, чтобы твоя мудрость возросла, то иди в паломничество. Если хочешь, чтобы твоя вера была сильна, то иди в паломничество. Если хочешь, чтобы твое сердце было укреплено, то иди в паломничество."
Constantine the Philosopher and had him listen to this matter. And he said: “Philosopher, I know that you are weary, but it is necessary that you go there. For no one can attend to this matter like you.”

And the Philosopher answered: “Though I am weary and sick in body, I shall go there gladly if they have a script for their language.”

Then the Emperor said to him: “My grandfather and my father, and many others have sought this but did not find it. How then can I find it?”

And the Philosopher answered: “Who can write a language on water and acquire for himself a heretic’s name?”

And together with his uncle, Bardas, the Emperor answered him again: “If you wish, God may give you this as He gives to everyone that asks without doubt, and opens to them that knock.”

The Philosopher went and, following his old habit, gave himself up to prayer together with his other associates. Hearing the prayer of His servants, God soon appeared to him. And immediately Constantine composed letters and began to write the language of the Gospel, that is: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,” and so forth.

The Emperor rejoiced, and together with his counsellors glorified God. And he sent Constantine with many gifts, after writing the following epistle to Rastislav: “God, who will have all men come unto the knowledge of the truth and raise themselves to a greater station, having noted your faith and struggles, arranged now, in our time, to fulfill your request and reveal a script for your language, which did not exist in the beginning but only in later times, so that you may be counted among the great nations that praise God in their own language. Therefore, we have sent you the one to whom God revealed this, a venerable and pious and very learned man, a philosopher. Thus, accept this gift which is greater and more valuable than all gold and silver, precious stones and transient riches. And strive zealously with him to strengthen his work, and with all your heart to seek God. And do not reject universal salvation. Convince all not to be idle, but to take the true path. so that, having led them to divine understanding through your struggles, you too shall receive your reward — both in this age and the next — for the souls of all who wish to believe in Christ our God now and evermore. Thus shall you leave your memory to future generations like the great Emperor Constantine.”

When Constantine arrived in Moravia, Rastislav received him with great honor. And he gathered students and gave them over to
Constantine for instruction. As soon as all the church offices were accepted, he taught them Matins and the Hours, Vespers and the Compline, and the Liturgy. And according to the word of the prophet, the ears of the deaf were unstopped, the Words of the Scriptures were heard, and the tongues of stammers spoke clearly. And God rejoiced over this, while the Devil was shamed.

Because God's Word was spreading, the evil envier from the days of creation, the thrice-accursed Devil, was unable to bear this good and entered his vessels. And he began to rouse many, saying to them: "God is not glorified by this. For if this were pleasing unto Him, could He not have ordained from the beginning that they should glorify Him, writing their language in their own script? But only three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, were chosen as appropriate for rendering glory unto God."

These were the cohorts of the Latins speaking, archpriests, priests, and their disciples. And having fought with them like David with the Philistines, Constantine defeated them with words from the Scriptures, and called them trilinguists, since Pilate had thus written the Lord's title.

And this was not all they were saying, but they also were teaching other impieties, saying: "Underground live people with huge heads; and all reptiles are the creation of the Devil, and if one kills a snake, he will be absolved of nine sins because of this. If one kills a man, let him drink from a wooden cup for three months and not touch one of glass." And they forbade neither the offering of sacrifices according to the ancient custom, nor shameful marriages.

Cutting all this down like thorns, Constantine burned them with the fire of Scripture, saying: "Offer unto God a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. Send not away the wife of thy youth. For if having begun to hate her, thou send her away, wickedness covers not thy lust, saith the Lord Almighty. And take heed to your spirit, and let none leave the wife of thy youth; and that which I hated ye have done, because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, whom thou hast forsaken: Yet is she thy companion and the wife of thy covenant. And in the Gospel the Lord says: 'Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.' And furthermore: 'But I say unto you: That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery.' And the Apostle said: 'What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.'"
Constantine spent forty months in Moravia, and then left to ordain his disciples. On the way Kocel, Prince of Pannonia, received him and took a great liking to the Slavic letters. He learned them himself, and gave him about fifty students to be taught them. He rendered him great honor, and accompanied him. But Constantine took neither gold nor silver nor other things from either Rastislav or Kocel. He set down the word of the Gospel without sustenance, asked only for nine hundred captives, and released them.

When he was in Venice, bishops, priests and monks gathered against him like ravens against a falcon. And they advanced the trilingual heresy, saying: "Tell us, O man, how is it that you now teach, having created letters for the Slavs, which none else have found before, neither the Apostle, nor the pope of Rome, nor Gregory the Theologian, nor Jerome, nor Augustine? We know of only three languages worthy of praising God in the Scriptures, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin."

And the Philosopher answered them: "Does not God's rain fall upon all equally? And does not the sun shine also upon all? And do we not all breathe air in the same way? Are you not ashamed to mention only three tongues, and to command all other nations and tribes to be blind and deaf? Tell me, do you render God powerless, that He is incapable of granting this? Or envious, that He does not desire this? We know of numerous peoples who possess writing and render glory unto God, each in its own language. Surely these are obvious: Armenians, Persians, Abkhazians, Iberians, Sogdians, Goths, Avars, Turks, Khazars, Arabs, Egyptians, and many others. If you do not wish to understand this, at least recognize the judgment of the Scriptures. For David cries out, saying: 'O sing unto the Lord, all the earth: sing unto the Lord a new song.' And again: 'Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the earth: make a loud noise, and rejoice, and sing praise.' And likewise: 'Let all the earth worship Thee, and sing unto Thee, let it sing to Thy name, God on High.' And furthermore: 'O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise Him, all ye people. Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.' And in the Gospel according to John it says: 'But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the children of God.' And again in the same Gospel: 'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in Me through their word, that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee.'

And Matthew said: 'All power is given unto Me in heaven, and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
Если у вас есть замечания или вопросы по поводу содержания этого документа, я с радостью помогу вам с ними. Пожалуйста, оставьте комментарии или вопросы ниже.
Ghost; Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of time. Amen.’

And Mark says again: ‘Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues.’

And unto you also is said, teachers of the law: ‘Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.’

And furthermore: ‘Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in, ye hindered.’

And Paul said to the Corinthians: ‘I would that ye all spake with tongues, but rather that ye prophesieth: for greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying. Now, brethren, if I come unto you, speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine? And even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds. how shall it be known what is piped or harped? For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air. There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification. Therefore, if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh, a barbarian, and he that speaketh, shall be a barbarian unto me. Even so ye, forasmuch as ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church. Wherefore, let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, pray that he may interpret. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also. Else, when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: Yet in church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand
Письмо. Несомненно, очевидно, иной пруд — в нашем обычном смысле этого слова. Просто, согласно нашему понятию, это нечто большее, чем просто письмо. Пишем мы не просто словами, а смысли, которые мы хотим передать, и притом так, чтобы они были понятны другим. Значит, письмо — это нечто большее, чем просто ряд слов.

Для нас же, как для живых существ, письмо — это нечто большее, чем просто ряд слов. Письмо — это не просто сообщение, а что-то большее, что мы хотим передать другим. И это нечто большее, что мы хотим передать, это нечто большее, чем просто ряд слов. Письмо — это не просто сообщение, а что-то большее, что мы хотим передать другим.
words in an unknown tongue. Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men. In the law it is written, With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord. Wherefore, tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not; but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe. If therefore, the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad? But if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all: And thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so, falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth. How is it then, brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying. If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church: and let him speak to himself, and to God. Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. For God is not author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints. Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. What? came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only? If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord. But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant. Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues. Let all things be done decently, and in order.'

And again he says: 'And that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.' Amen.'

And with these words and many more, he shamed them and went away, leaving them.

Upon learning of Constantine, the Pope of Rome sent for him. And when he came to Rome, the Apostolic Father himself, Hadrian and all the townspeople came out to meet him, carrying Phil. 2:11
о, чтоб вам не было грустно и темнота не мешала вам видеть свет.

Теперь, когда вы знаете, что я думал, вы понимаете, что я хочу сказать.

Итак, если вы хотите, чтобы я помог вам, скажите, что вы хотите.

Я готов сделать все, чтобы помочь вам.

Если у вас есть вопросы, я с радостью отвечу на них.

Обязательно приходите ко мне, если у вас возникнут какие-то проблемы.

Я всегда здесь, чтобы помочь вам.

Вернитесь ко мне, если у вас есть вопросы.

Я всегда готов помочь вам.

Если у вас есть вопросы, я с радостью отвечу на них.

Будьте здоровы и счастливы.

Если у вас есть вопросы, я с радостью отвечу на них.

Я всегда готов помочь вам.

Будьте здоровы и счастливы.

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Я всегда готов помочь вам.

Будьте здоровы и счастливы.

Если у вас есть вопросы, я с радость
candles. For he was carrying the relics of St. Clement the Martyr and Pope of Rome. And at once God wrought glorious miracles for his sake: a paralytic was healed, and many others were cured of various maladies. And even captives were at once liberated from the hands of their captors when they invoked Christ and St. Clement.

Accepting the Slavic Scriptures, the Pope placed them in the Church of St. Mary called Phatne. And the holy liturgy was celebrated over them. Then the Pope commanded two bishops, Formosus and Gauderich, to consecrate the Slavic disciples. And when they were consecrated they at once celebrated the liturgy in the Slavic language in the Church of the Apostle Peter. And the next day they celebrated in the Church of St. Petronilla, and on the following day in the Church of St. Andrew. And then they celebrated the entire night, glorifying God in Slavic once again in the Church of the Apostle Paul, the great universal teacher. And in the morning they again celebrated the liturgy over his blessed grave with the help of Bishop Arsenius, one of the seven bishops, and of Anastasius the librarian.

The Philosopher and his disciples did not cease to render due praise unto God for this. And the Romans did not cease to come to him and question him. And if someone wished to ask about these things, they received double and triple explanations to their questions from him, and would joyfully return to their homes again. Then a certain Jew, who would come and debate with him, said to him once: “Christ has not yet come according to the number of years when the One, of whom the prophets speak, shall be born of a virgin.”

Calculating for him all the years from Adam by generations, the Philosopher told him precisely that He has come, and the number of years from then till now. And having instructed him, he dismissed him.

And his many labors overtook him, and he fell ill. Enduring his illness for many days, he once had a divine revelation and began to chant the following: “When they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord, my spirit rejoiced, and my heart was gladdened.”

Having put on his venerable garments, he thus spent that entire day rejoicing and saying: “Henceforth I am neither a servant of the Emperor nor of anyone else on earth, but only of God Almighty. I was not, and I came to be, and am forever. Amen.”

On the following day he put on holy monastic dress and, receiving light to light, called himself Cyril. He spent fifty days in that dress. And when the hour to repose and remove to the eternal dwellings approached, he raised his arms to God and, in tears, prayed, saying thus: “O Lord, my God, who hast created

Psalm 122:1
Алгачные два страничка книги написаны на русском языке. Ожидается, что текст содержит информацию, важную для дальнейших исследований или анализа. Однако, без более детальной обработки, точное содержание текста не может быть ясно представлено.
all the ranks of angels and incorporeal powers, stretched out
the heavens and founded the earth, and brought all things into
being from non-being, who hast always heeded those that work
Thy will, fear Thee and keep Thy commandments, heed my
prayer and preserve Thy faithful flock which Thou appointed to
me, Thy useless and unworthy servant. Deliver them from the god­
less and heathen malice of those speaking blasphemy against Thee,
and destroy the trilingual heresy belief. Increase Thy church to a
multitude, gather all together in unanimity, and make a chosen
people of those who are of one mind in Thy true faith and just
confession. And inspire in their hearts the Word of Thy Son,
for it is Thy gift. If Thou hast accepted us, unworthy ones, to
preach the Gospel of Thy Christ, then those who are striving
for good deeds and doing what pleases Thee, whom Thou hast
given to me, I return to Thee as Thine. Guide them with Thy
firm right hand and shelter them with the cover of Thy wings, so
that all might praise and glorify Thy name, the Father, Son and
Holy Spirit. Amen.”

He kissed everyone with a holy kiss and said: “Blessed be
God, who hath not given us as prey into the teeth of our invisible
enemies, but hath smashed their snare and saved us from their cor­
ruption.” And thus he reposed in the Lord at 42 years of age, on
the 14th day of the month of February, of the second indiction,
the 6370th year from the creation of this world.110

And the Apostolic Father commanded all Greeks residing
in Rome, as well as Romans, to gather with candles, chant over him
and join his funeral procession, as they would for the Pope himself.
And this they did. Then Methodius, his brother, entreated the
Apostolic Father saying: “Our mother adjured us that the one of
us first to pass away be brought to his brother’s monastery to be
buried there.”

And the Pope commanded that he be put into a coffin and
that it be nailed shut with iron nails. He kept him this way for
seven days, preparing for the journey. But the Roman bishops said
to the Apostolic Father: “Though he travelled through many lands,
God led him here, and here He received his soul. Thus, it is proper
that he be buried here as a venerable man.”

Then the Apostolic Father said: “For the sake of his saint­
liness and charity I shall transgress Roman custom and bury
him in my tomb, in the Church of the Holy Apostle Peter.”

And his brother said: “Since you do not heed me and do not
give him up, let him, if it pleases you, rest in the Church of St.
Clement, for he came here with him.”

And the Apostolic Father commanded that this be done.
Gathering again with all the people who wished to join the proces­
Translation of the Relics of St. Cyril to the Basilica of St. Clement in Rome
(XI-century fresco)
sion of honor, the bishops said: “Let us unnail the coffin and see whether anything has been taken from him.”

After much effort, they were unable to unnail the coffin, by God’s command. And thus they put him with the coffin into a tomb to the right of the altar in the Church of St. Clement, where many miracles began to occur. When the Romans saw these miracles, they became even more attached to his saintliness and honor. Painting his icon over the tomb, they began to light candles over it day and night and praise God, who thus glorifies those who glorify Him. Unto Him glory, honor, and reverence forever. Amen.

Notes to the Life of Constantine

1 The initial passage is a paraphrase from Paul's first epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. 2:4).

In the Vitae of Constantine and Methodius the influence of the particular school of spirituality to which the author belonged is seen in the frequent use of scriptural quotations, paraphrases, and allusions. This is a common stylistic device in hagiographical writings.

Cf. also Ezekiel 33:11.

2 The clause, “and I call them by name,” is an emendation to the quoted passage from John 10:27. Cf. Revelation 21:24.

3 During the first half of the ninth century the area of Thessalonica constituted a Byzantine administrative division called a theme (thema). A theme was ruled by a strategos who possessed supreme power in both military and civilian matters. (See George Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, 95–97, 193–95.) Drungarios was the title of a high-ranking military officer. He was subordinate to the strategos.

It is curious that the name of Constantine's mother is not given. We assume, however, that it was Mary, the name by which she is called in later legends.

4 This passage paraphrases the Wisdom of Solomon 7:9, which reads: "For she [wisdom] is more beautiful than the sun,..."

5 The reference to Placidas is perhaps best explained by summarizing the Legend of Saint Eustathius. It is set during the reign of the Roman Emperor Trajan (98–117) and deals with Placidas, a wealthy nobleman and general widely known for his military prowess. Once while hunting deer, Placidas noticed a large stag standing at a distance and began to stalk it. Moving in for the kill, he discerned a cross and the figure of Christ in the stag's antlers and heard a voice, questioning why he was stalking Christ whom he unconsciously revered. He fainted. When he came to his senses, he heard the same voice again, which now commanded him to be baptized with his wife and two sons and to return in order to learn of his fate. Taking
the name Eustathius, he is baptized and returns to the stag from which he learns that he will be tested severely, lose everything, but in the end gain glory. His tribulations begin at once. Plague descends upon his house and destroys his servants and livestock; his home is looted; he is separated from his wife and sons—his wife is taken away by a sea captain and his sons are carried off by wild beasts. Fifteen years hence, the Emperor dispatches men to search for Placidas, whom they find and recognize by a distinctive scar on the neck. Reinstated to his former position, he leads the Roman army to victory against the barbarians, is miraculously reunited with his wife and sons, and returns to Rome. To celebrate the victory, the Emperor wishes to make a sacrifice to Apollo, but Eustathius refuses, admitting that he is a Christian. For this he and his family are condemned to death and perish in a furnace. The unconsumed bodies of the martyrs are then buried with honor.


It is difficult to say why the biographer compared Constantine to Placidas. Perhaps it was because both heroes were party to incidents which occurred during a hunt and marked an important turning point in the life of each. Placidas rejected paganism and was converted to Christianity, i.e., to a new way of life, while Constantine rejected mundane pleasures and began to contemplate the vanity of this life. Both became committed to Christ, Placidas through a stag, Constantine through a falcon. However, it is curious that the hagiographer should draw an analogy for his spiritual hero from a myth based on a popular Greek secular tale.

6 Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (?330–395) earned the appellation “Theologian” after delivering five discourses on the Trinity. He is considered one of the founding fathers of the Eastern Church. Under his leadership Orthodoxy prevailed over the Arian heresy (see notes 26 and 27 to the Vita of Methodius). Perhaps it was his poetic works which inspired Constantine to compose his eulogy.

7 Logothete was an important administrative post corresponding to a modern-day member of the cabinet. Theoctistus was the Logothete of the Drome under Empress Theodora who ruled from 842–856 in place of her underaged son, Emperor Michael III. There is an obvious anachronism in the biographer’s assertion that Constantine was sent for in order to study with the Emperor, since in 842, the year Constantine arrived in Constantinople, Michael was three years old. Perhaps they had the same teachers.

For the sake of clarity, the name Constantine is inserted at times for the third-person singular pronoun.

8 The clause, “so that I might understand what is Thy will and be saved,” is an emendation of the quoted passage from the Wisdom of Solomon 9:5 and Psalm 116:16. At the beginning of this quotation the Slavic
text substitutes “our” for “my,” viz.: “O God of our fathers” instead of “O God of my fathers” (see Wisdom of Solomon 9:1).

9 The traditional Slavic name for Constantinople was *cesar’ grad’*, which translated verbatim means the Imperial City.

10 It is clear from other manuscripts of the *Vita* that the form *diaćice* is a distortion of the word *dialektika* (dialectics). Indeed, the distortion of foreign words is one of the most frequently encountered errors in medieval texts.

11 Leo was the Archbishop of Thessalonica. After the defeat of the iconoclastic movement (842), he came to Constantinople where he gained the appellation “Mathematician” and a teaching position in the church. In fact, his fame as a mathematician spread beyond the borders of Byzantium, for it is reported that Caliph Mamun invited Leo to visit Bagdad. When Emperor Michael III came to power (856), his uncle Bardas reorganized the Imperial University and placed Leo at its head.

Photius was a brilliant scholar and theologian. He became Patriarch of Constantinople after Ignatius was deposed and held this position from 858–867 and again from 878–886. The biographer is able to lend weight to his statements concerning Constantine’s genius by mentioning that as a young man he studied with Leo and Photius.

The studies mentioned here usually made up the curriculum of the trivium and quadrivium of medieval schools.

12 The personal pronoun and verb “He conferred” are omitted in the original. The correction was made on the basis of other manuscripts of the *Vita* (see Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 42).

13 The phrase *ot kr’ stila izex’* (I took out of the font) seems to be a circumlocution meaning “be godparent to” or “sponsor at baptism.” The Logothete apparently was a eunuch and had no children of his own.

14 The meaning of this statement is not entirely clear. Of what honor and wealth is Constantine speaking? Perhaps he is referring to regaining Paradise after the expulsion of Adam and Eve. This assumption is based on Constantine’s subsequent reply to the Khazars concerning his rank, “Though I have sought my forefather’s former station, I have not succeeded in obtaining it, for I am Adam’s scion” (see p. ). Thus, “honor and wealth” perhaps symbolizes the state of grace before Original Sin.

15 This statement is inaccurate historically because the Emperor Theophilus died in 842. The Logothete undoubtedly spoke with Empress Theodora (see note 7). It is possible, however, that this “inaccuracy” is the result of a scribal error—perhaps due to an unclear abbreviation—since other manuscripts of the *Vita* have Empress (cesarica) instead of Emperor (cesar’).

16 The Narrow Sea (*Uskoe more*) seems to be the Slavic circumlocution for strait. Indeed, Constantine had left for the Bosporus. The Greek word translates literally as “ox ford” and is derived from the mythological tale about Io, who crossed the Bosporus of Thrace in the form of a heifer.

It is possible that Constantine hid at the Kleidion Monastery, where the iconoclast patriarch John was later imprisoned.
17 John VII, known as John Grammaticus, was Patriarch of Constantinople from 837–843. He was a confirmed iconoclast and played an important role in composing the acts of the Synod of 815, which repudiated the Second Council of Nicaea (787) and accepted the decision of the iconoclast council of 754. As a result icons were ordered destroyed. John was also tutor to Theophilus who became emperor and an ardent iconoclast. However, after Theophilus’ death, his wife Theodora and her supporters, Logothete Theoctistus and Bardas (see note 7), deposed John and restored the veneration of icons. John was exiled to a monastery on the Bosporus.

Dvornik has pointed out that the disputations between John and the youthful Constantine may be imaginative, since there was still a strong iconoclastic movement in Constantinople and it is unlikely that they would be given an opportunity to defend their position in a debate (see F. Dvornik, “The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclase,” Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 7 [1953], 69–97). However, there are others (Vasica et al) who feel that this disputation is a faithful echo of such an event, and similar “echoes” are found in Byzantine literature dating from the time of the iconoclastic controversy.

18 It is not clear which Nestor is being referred to. The passage seems to allude to the figure of Nestor mentioned in the Odyssey and Iliad, who in his old age exhorted young warriors to battle. However, it is also possible that it may refer to the Christian martyr Nestor, of whom mention is made in the Life of Demetrius (see Note 74 in the Vita of Methodius). Here Nestor engages and defeats in single combat the gladiator Lyacus (see Dvornik, Byzantine Missions, 340–41).

19 This passage alludes to Exodus 20:4, which reads: “Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.”

20 As used by the Christians, Hagarite is a pejorative designation for the ancestors of Hagar, the Arab peoples. According to the Bible (Gen. 16:2–15; 21:2–14), Sarah was barren and Abraham lay with her slave woman Hagar, who bore him a son, Ishmael. However, after Sarah bore Isaac, Hagar and Ishmael were driven out. Thus, Hagarites are also outcasts.

The term “Saracens” is of unknown origin. It was another medieval designation for the Arabs as well as for all others who professed Islam.

By the ninth century the Arabs had succeeded in whittling away extensive portions of the Byzantine Empire and were advancing toward Sicily. Apart from their military campaigns, they also waged a polemical war against basic Christian doctrines, especially the Trinity, which caused considerable concern in Constantinople about Christians living under Arab rule. This resulted in a proliferation of apologetical literature directed against Islam, an echo of which is found here.

21 According to I Samuel 17:40, David “chose him five smooth stones out of the brook...” In the present context the three stones are meant apparently to symbolize the Trinity.

22 The translation of this passage follows a correction suggested by Dummler
and Miklosich, i.e., instead of Priposlaže že s’nim’ assigkrita i Georgia polašu, translate Prisstaviše že k’ nemu asikrita Georgija i poslaše ja (see E. Dummler and F. Miklosich, Die Legende vom hl. Cyrilus [Vienna, 1870], p. 217). The exact meaning of this passage as recorded in the manuscript is unclear because of the word polašu. It is obvious from the above correction that his word was not considered a proper noun. On the other hand, Dvornik in his book Les Legendes de Constantin et de Methode, Vues de Byzance (Prague, 1933), 93—97, viewed as similar the words polasa (?) and polaca (palatine), and concluded that a palatine, perhaps Photius himself, may also have taken part in the mission to the Arabs. However, Dvornik rejected this interpretation in a later reprint of this volume (Hattiesburg, 1969, xiv) as well as in another work, Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs: SS Constantine-Cyril and Methodius (New Brunswick, 1970), p. 287, where this passage is translated: “They attached to him the asecrete George and sent them.” Since the word polaša has never been attested, it is possible that it resulted from a scribal error or interpretation.

23 This passage consists primarily of paraphrases from Matthew 5:39 and 44, and Luke 6:29. However, the opening words, “Pray for,” is a Slavic emendation. In both Matthew 5:44 and Luke 6:27 we read: “Love your enemies…”

24 Constantine is referring to the fact that Greek culture nurtured other cultures, since it was one of the first to develop the various arts. Besides, the Arabs themselves emulated the Greeks: they studied Greek philosophy, mathematics, science, and medicine, and copied Greek architecture.

25 The form amerumnin is evidently a corruption of the Arabic appellation for the caliph, amir al-mu'minin, or “commander of the faithful.” This title was first accepted by Omar II (717—720) and its usage was continued by subsequent caliphs. At the time of Constantine’s mission to the Arabs the reigning caliph was Al-Mutawakkil (847—861). He was intolerant of other religions and persecuted Jew and Christian alike. For example, he is known to have forced Jews and Christians to live within pales and adopt distinctive dress (see The Encyclopaedia of Islam (London, 1963), III, p. 786.

26 This is not a verbatim quotation from Mark 16:18, which reads: “And if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.”

The attempt on Constantine’s life indicates that the mission was a failure. This contention is supported by the fact that there was a war between the Greeks and Arabs from 851—853.

27 Judging by another manuscript of the Vita (cf. Lvov) where instead of nadezdq v’žlagae (place hope) we find pecal’ v’žmetae (cast care), this passage seems to allude to I Peter 5:7, which reads: “Casting all your cares upon Him; for He careth for you.” (See Lavrov, Materialy, p. 48.)

28 The allusion here is to Exodus 16:2-15. The political upheaval of 856 gave Bardas (see Note 91) control of the government after the Empress Theodora was removed from the throne and forced into a convent, and the Logothete Theoctistus—Constantine’s friend—was murdered.
Perhaps this occasioned his withdrawal into solitude and apparent financial difficulties.

Mount Olympus was one of the many monasteries in Bithynia, located in the inaccessible mountainous districts of northwest Asia Minor. Such monasteries were referred to as “Holy Mountains,” and were important religious centers for Byzantium.

The Khazars were a Turkic people who lived north of the Caucasus Mountains in the region between the Azov and Caspian Seas. Little is known about them. They are first mentioned in sixth-century historical works and thought to stem from the East Turkic people, the Uigurs, who migrated westward and settled in Eastern Europe around the fifth century. There they founded the Khazar Empire which lasted for several centuries before being overrun by the Russians (see D.M. Dunlop, The History of the Jewish Khazars [Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1954]).

It is generally assumed that Khazar royalty converted to Judaism around the year 800. However, they did not force their religion on their subjects and tolerated a variety of religions. As concerns Constantine’s missionary work, no historical corroboration of his mission to Khazaria has been found. Nevertheless, there is little reason to doubt the possibility of such a trip, even though the epistle from the Khazars to Michael III can hardly be considered authentic. It is most unlikely that the Khazars would admit to having “shameful customs,” or that the Jews would be engaged in converting the Khazars at that particular time (ca. 860), since Judaism had already been accepted. Perhaps the biographer was aware of accounts dealing with the disputation preceding the conversion to Judaism of Khazar royalty and simply embellished his own work with a similar occurrence. In fact the tradition of religious disputations at the Khazar court is well attested. A rather detailed account of such a disputation is given by the Spaniard Bakri (see Dunlop, p. 90). Since religious disputations were common in Khazaria, the author of the Vita may be describing what actually took place in a confrontation between a Christian, Jew, and Muslim. Additional information concerning the Khazars can be found in Imra Boba’s Nomads, Northmen and Slavs (The Hague, 1967), and in M.I. Artamanov’s Istorija Xazar (Leningrad, 1962).

Constantine’s words allude to Matthew 10:9–10: “Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, in your purses; nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves.”

Constantine undoubtedly would have been interested in learning Hebrew before confronting the Khazars. The grammar which he translated consisted only of eight parts. The reference is probably to a translation of a Hebrew grammar into Greek.

There are a number of theories concerning the actual meaning of this passage, but opinions remain divided. When the Vita was first published by Dobrovský, scholars were rather surprised by the statement that Constantine found Scriptures written in “Russian letters.” To accept it as valid would have necessitated a complete reassessment of Russian linguistic history, since it would mean that the Russians had an orthography preceding and independent of either the Glagolitic or Cyrillic
scripts. It would also mean that there were Christian converts among the Russians—who converted to Christianity in 988—before the Moravian mission. Thus, scholars began to question the meaning of the enigmatic phrase “Russian letters.” One of the earliest hypotheses had Gothic as the possible point of reference. However, the French Slavist André Vaillant refuted the Gothic interpretation by noting that Constantine referred to the Goths (Gotfy) while in Vienna. Indeed, why should the biographer refer to the Goths by two different names (see “Les ‘Lettres Russes’ de la Vie de Constantin,” *Revue des Études Slaves*, XV [1935], 75-77). Vaillant in turn advanced his own theory, explaining that the “letters” were Syriac, a name which was simply inverted to Russian by a copyist: cf. the roots sur’/rus’ in the words sur’ skimi (Syriac) and rus’skimi (Russian).

This theory was rejected by the Russian historian George Vernadsky who suggested instead that the Russians may have adopted Armenian or Georgian script to their language. He argued that according to the *Vita*, Constantine acquired the language in question quickly and compared it to his own, i.e., the Slavic dialect spoken in Thessalonica. This would explain why he was able to converse with the man who spoke Russian but still had to study the writings (see *Ancient Russia* [New Haven, 1943], 347-50).

Subsequently the eminent Slavist Roman Jakobson (see “Saint Constantin et la Langue Syriaque,” *Annaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, VII [1939—1944], 181-86) accepted Vaillant’s hypothesis and reinforced it by indicating another work in which this inversion is found. Thus, in a twelfth-century Bulgarian copy of Khabr’s treatise, “On Russian Letters,” the word Asyrrian (assur-) is replaced by Russian (rus-) (see Lavrov, p. 165). Furthermore, in a prologue version of the *Vita* of Constantine, the fact is mentioned that Constantine knew four languages—Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Hebrew (see Lavrov, p. 101).

More recently another American Slavist Horace Lunt pointed out still another example of the inversion sur’sk- to rus’sk- in the *First Chronicle of Novgorod* (see “Again the rus skymi pismeni,” *Cercetări de lingvistică*, III [1958], 324-26).

It is interesting to note that the authors of the two standard reference sources on Constantine and Methodius, Franz Grivec, *Konstantin und Method: Lehrer der Slaven*, and Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs*, accept the Syriac hypothesis. However, it has not been accepted by a number of East European Slavic scholars. The Bulgarian Slavist Emil Georgiev believes the form rus’skimi pismeni is correct as it stands and does not necessitate further theorizing on other linguistic possibilities (see *Kiril i Metodij, osnovopoloznici na slavianskite literaturi* [Sofia, 1956], 60-62). The Polish Slavist Tadeusz Lehr-Spławinski favors the Gothic hypothesis but considers Emil Georgiev’s theory possible (see *Zywoty Konstantyna i Metodego* [Poznań, 1959]). The Russian Slavist V.A. Istrin rejects all hypotheses which argue in favor of an inversion. He points out that all the extant copies of the *Vita* contain
the expression “Russian letters.” Istrin’s major argument for accepting the text as it stands is based on historical sources. He sees nothing surprising in the possibility that there were Russian converts to Christianity living in the Kherson area before the Moravian mission. Moreover, he points out that neither Gothic nor Syriac are mentioned in the *Vita* as languages which Constantine knew. In fact he finds the Syriac hypothesis most objectionable because this language, in his opinion, cannot be connected with the Crimea of that time. Finally, he finds it hard to believe that Constantine would be interested in Syriac Scriptures, since the Syrian Church was largely heretical. Constantine’s interest in “Russian letters” can be explained as resulting from his knowledge of a second Slavic language. Consequently Istrin accepts Georgiev’s view that the Gospels and Psalter were written in an early Slavic script which is no longer extant. To bolster his argument, he introduces several historical sources including the Russian Chronicles (see *1100 let slavjanskoj azbuki* [Moscow, 1963]).

In the present work the phrase is translated as it is found in the manuscript.

34 According to his *Life* (circa 5th century) St. Clement, the Pope of Rome, died a martyr’s death in the Crimea. Thus was engendered a tradition concerning St. Clement that became well known in the East and West. And when Constantine made his discovery on 30 January 861, he sincerely believed that he had found his relics. However, the author of the *Vita* confused Clement with another saint, and the entire tradition is legendary.

35 Dvornik points out that the relics of St. Clement were thought to be hidden in the ruins of a church on a small island near Kherson (see *Byzantine Missions*, 66–67).

36 Constantine wrote a work entitled *Discourse on the Discovery and Translation of the Relics of Saint Clement*. The main source of information about the *Discourse* is a letter written by Anastasius, who was personally acquainted with Constantine in Rome, to Gauderich, Bishop of Velletri (see note 105). In the letter Anastasius speaks of Clement’s martyrdom and mentions Constantine’s work, which he translated from Greek into Latin (see *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Epistolae*, VII, 435-38).

Curiously the Slavic and Latin translations of the *Discourse* have survived but the original has been lost. Unfortunately the Slavic text, which presumably was translated from the Greek, is very difficult to decipher. Indeed, it would be nearly unintelligible if not for the Latin translation. In this regard, the renowned Slavist Nicholas Van Wijk concluded that the unintelligibility of the Slavic text was largely due to the translator’s lack of skill and poor knowledge of Slavic (see “O jazyke na prenesenie mošće sv. Klimenta,” *Byzantinoslavica*, I [1929], 10-15).

The Latin and Slavic texts of the *Discourse* can be found in J. Vašica’s “Slovo na prenesenie moštem preslavnego Klimenta neboli legenda Chersonska,” *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, XIX (1948), 38-80. Because of the lexical information contained in the *Discourse*, Van Wijk
believes that it represents one of the earliest Slavic translations.

The Church Slavic form of the word for Hungarians ogri (Old Russian u gri) forms the basis for the name of a people who called themselves Magyars. Professor Imra Boba traced the Slavic word to the Altaic tribal name of the Onogurs. The Onogurs and Magyars were separate peoples of Altaic origin who merged only at the end of the ninth century. Since both the Onogurs and Magyars lived in the Pontic Steppe, it is quite possible for either to have attacked Constantine.

The Meotis Sea is today's Sea of Azov, and the Caspian Gates is the pass at Derbent (Derbend). It is not known where Constantine actually met the Khazar Kagan. Dvornik believes that they met near Derbent at Semender, the summer residence of the Kagans (see Byzantine Missions, 65–66). Girvec also places the meeting at Derbent (see Konstantin und Method, p. 50).

Apparentely among the Khazars succession was determined by heredity, whereas in Byzantium political and military power often superseded blood lines.

To avoid ambiguity, "the Khazar" has been inserted for the third person singular "he."

The Slavic text reads: n'ot pr' sei v' se mudrosti, jako pogl' sce se, iznosim' ie..., which, translated verbatim, means "We take all wisdom from the chest as though it were swallowed."

Kagan was the title given to Khazar rulers. It was widely used among Altaic peoples and later adopted by Russian princes. For example in Hilarion's Sermon on Law and Grace, both Vladimir and Jaroslav are given this appellation. The title itself was first found in an inscription dating back to 293 A.D. Numerous examples of its usage can be found in Orkhon Turkic inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries. The Mongol version of it is Khan (xan).

This passage loosely paraphrases Psalm 33:6: "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth."

The phrase, "I am for ever," is a Slavic emendation of Isaiah 48:12, which reads: "Hearken unto me, O Jacob and Israel, my called. I am he, I am the first, I am also the last."

"Let alone" is omitted from the original manuscript, but added on the basis of other manuscripts of the Vita (see Lavrov, Materialy, p. 51).

This is an allusion to Genesis 1:27: "So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he Him..."

The biblical passages referred to here are: Exodus 3:4: "God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, 'Moses, Moses...'; Exodus 34:5: "And the Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there..."; Job 38:1: "The Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind,..."; Exodus 19:18: "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire..."

Aquila was a Jew who translated the Old Testament into Greek (circa 11th century A.D.). Constantine is apparently quoting from Aquila's translation of Exodus 19:16 and 34:9 (see Grivec, Konstantin und Method, p. 50), which does not correspond with the text in the King James
Version of Exodus.

49 These are not verbatim quotations from Genesis 9:3—4, 6.

50 The translation here expands on a highly elliptical passage which reads: *Jako že pr’vée zapoved’ ělk’ v” rai i k” Avraamu inanko obrézanie a ne zakon*.

51 The biblical allusion in this passage is to James 2:23: “And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness: and he was called the Friend of God.”

Cf. also II Chronicles 20:7, Isaiah 41:8, and Genesis 9:16.

52 There is no such quotation in Ezekiel. However, the passage perhaps alludes to Ezekiel 16:19: “I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you;...” See also Ezekiel 36:26.

53 These are not verbatim quotations from Jeremiah 31:31—33.

54 These are not verbatim quotations from Jeremiah 6:16—19.

55 The Philistine Sea is a medieval designation for the Mediterranean.

56 This quotation is perhaps an allusion to Deuteronomy 11:22—24: “For if ye shall diligently keep all these commandments which I command you, to do them, to love the Lord your God, to walk in all His ways, and to cleave unto Him; then will the Lord drive out all these nations from before you, and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than yourselves. Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread, shall be yours: from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.”

57 This passage seems to allude to Isaiah 11:1: “And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots.”

58 These are not verbatim quotations from Zechariah 9:9—10.

59 Since this passage paraphrases Genesis 49:10, the more figurative phraseology of the King James Version has been retained. A more literal rendering of the Slavic would be: “The prince shall not disappear from Judah nor the leader from his thighs.”

60 If Constantine is referring to Daniel 9:24, as he seems to be, the passage in the Bible reads: “Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision of prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.” It seems that Constantine interpreted the passage to mean seventy weeks (or years) until Christ is Vicar.

61 The reference to the “iron kingdom” is from Daniel 2:40: “And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron...”

62 Constantine is alluding here to Daniel 2:45: “Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king, what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.”

63 The reference seems to be to the Christian emperors from the various dynasties that ruled the Empire.

64 This passage is not a verbatim quotation from Isaiah 65:15—16.

65 Though Constantine claims to be quoting from Isaiah and Micah, he is
actually taking passages from Matthew 1:23 in the first instance, and Matthew 2:6 in the second, and mixing them together with passages from Isaiah 7:14 and Micah 5:2-3 respectively.

It would appear that this passage alludes to Psalm 37:37; “Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: For the end of that man is peace.”

See Genesis 17 for an account of the renewal of the covenant.

That is, from Abraham until Christ.

The biblical references in this paragraph are to Genesis 17:24, 30, and 32:22–32.

See Exodus 25–27.

See Kings 6: 23–32.

This passage apparently refers to Leviticus 20:2, where we read: “…who­soever he be of the children of Israel or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel; that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death…” Cf. also Psalm 106:37.

This reference is to the dietary law as set forth in Leviticus 11:6–8: “And the hare, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you. And the swine, though he divide the hoof and be cloven-footed, yet he cheweth not the cud; he is unclean to you. Of their flesh shall ye not eat…”

The passage from Genesis reads: “And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good.”

It is assumed that reçe (he said) in the sentence s’hést bw, reçe, lakwy’ i nasytise, i otrv’žese v’žljubljenyi refers to Moses and that the passage itself alludes to Moses’ song in Deuteronomy (here Deut. 32:15): “But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness; then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.” Therefore, “His” and “Him” have been added to the elliptic Slavic phrase, i otrv’žese v’žljubljenyi (and His beloved forsook Him).

It can be assumed from this statement that these discourses existed at one time in Slavic, since the biographer’s admonition is addressed to Slavic readers. Unfortunately, however, no Slavic texts have been found to date.

Since this passage refers to the counsel given by the Jews and Saracens (cf. page ), it would seem that a specific reference to the Jews has been omitted. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that other manuscripts of the Vita include such a reference (see Lavrov, Materialy, p. 22).

The sentence: “And again the Philosopher answered: ‘Well spoken’” is omitted in the original manuscript, but added on the basis of other manuscripts of the Vita (see Lavrov, Materialy, p. 57).

For references in this passage see The Koran, Sura 3:35, 3:48, and 19:27.

See reference to Daniel 9:24 in Note 60.

The word “power” is omitted in the original manuscript, but added on the basis of other manuscripts of the Vita (see Lavrov, Materialy, p. 57).

The “Ancient of days” is mentioned in Daniel 7:9, 7:13, and 7:22.

Vernadsky (*Ancient Russia*, p. 352) places Phoullae in the northeast part of the Crimean mountain range. Since the Crimea was populated by a multitude of peoples, little specific information is available on the people of Phoullae. As concerns the worship of trees, this phenomenon was very common in primitive religious observance. For example, it is mentioned several times in Frazer’s *The Golden Bough*. Furthermore, the Greek Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (913–959) notes that Russians made animal sacrifices before a huge oak on an island named after St. Gregory (see *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R.J.H. Jenkins [Budapest, 1949], 56–63). Apparently this tribe had been christianized but still retained some of its pagan customs.

In his nearly verbatim quotation from Isaiah 66:18–19, Constantine cleverly connects the land of Pul (*Ful*) with Phoullae. From this connection, E.H. Mins concluded that Constantine knew Hebrew so well that he could use it brilliantly in his polemics. Hence, Constantine chose the homophonous Hebrew name (Pul) over the Greek (Phud) in order to force a connection between the two lands (see “S. Cyril Really Knew Hebrew,” *Melanges P. Boyer* [Paris, 1925], 94–95).

The text has the Greek form *fud* (Phud), which seems to indicate that is was subsequently brought into line with Greek Scriptures. The translation is based on the form found in King James, which is attested in other manuscripts of the *Vita* (see Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 59).

The quotation from Jeremiah 16:16 is somewhat abbreviated and altered.

The Byzantine scholar Ihor Sevcenko has identified what he believes to be the Greek source for the text on the chalice (see “The Inscription on Solomon’s Chalice,” *To Honor Roman Jakobson III*, 1806–1817). Cf. also Ezekiel 34:24.

It has been pointed out by Grivec that this calculation is inaccurate and should read 960. Besides, there was no such prophecy about Christ.

Rostislav, the Prince of Moravia, ruled from 846–870. There is little doubt that both Rostislav and Emperor Michael III (842–867) saw political advantage in the spread of Byzantine Christianity to Moravia. Rostislav saw Byzantium as a political ally against the Franks and Bulgars whom he feared, and Michael wished to spread Byzantine influence to a country which lay outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

Josef Bujnoch explains that the phrase “to write on water” is a Greek expression meaning “to do something useless” (see *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, [Graz, 1958], p. 171).

The meaning of the passage in which the Emperor refers to the search for a script (alphabet) is obscure. It would have been very easy for him to determine whether such a script existed simply by asking the delegation.

This passage reads as follows: *otvešća emu paky crb, i s’" Vardoju i umom svoim..."* The word *umom* (mind, reason) not only strains the intelligibility of this passage but appears to be out of place, given the fact that other manuscripts of the *Vita* have the word *ujem* (uncle), and historically Bardas (*Varda*) was the Emperor’s maternal uncle. Evidently the fifteenth-century copyist misunderstood the word for uncle. In fact, one manuscript distorts both this word and the proper noun *Varda* which becomes
pravda (truth) and reads: “Again the Emperor answered him truthfully and wisely” (see Lavrov, p. 27).

Bardas, the uncle of Michael III, was a powerful political figure during his nephew’s reign. He seems to have been instrumental in planning the murder of the Logothete of the Drome, Theoctistus, and the abduction of Michael’s mother Theodora. Ostrogorsky states categorically that during Michael’s reign Bardas was “the real ruler of the Byzantine State” (see History of the Byzantine State, p. 223).

The Emperor’s words to Constantine paraphrase loosely Matthew 7:7—8: “Ask, and it shall be given to you: seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.” Cf. also Luke 11:10.

That is, the first Byzantine Christian ruler, St. Constantine the Great.

It should be noted that several manuscripts of the Vita have the word “translated” (prélož’) instead of “accepted” (priem’) in the passage about the church offices. This would make more sense given the nature of Constantine’s mission. The meaning of “accepted” is not at all clear. Dvornik mentions that the form “accepted” has been taken to indicate that Constantine accepted the Latin rite after his arrival in Moravia. However, this should not be used as proof thereof (see Byzantine Missions, p. 107).

The Scriptural reference is to Isaiah 35:5: “Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped…” and 32:4: “…and the tongue of the stammerers shall be ready to speak plainly.”

The reference here is to the Frankish clergy who were naturally opposed to Constantine’s mission to Moravia. They objected most vigorously to his use of the vernacular for the translation of Scripture and holy books. Besides, they feared the consequences of Constantine’s success in a land where they themselves had largely failed as missionaries.

See I Samuel 17.

In other manuscripts of the Vita, Constantine refers to the cohorts of the Latins as “Pilatists (pilat’ny) and trilinguists,” which qualified more clearly the following reference to Pilate. Since “Pilatists” is omitted from the text, the passage contains a non sequitur.

In John 19:19—20, there is a reference to the inscription on the cross written in three languages: “And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was, Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews…and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin.” Those who opposed the use of the vernacular used this inscription as a biblical corroboration of their view, viz., that God should be worshipped in three languages only, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

The quotation from Malachi 2:14—15 is inverted and somewhat altered.

The last line of this passage contains a quotation from Matthew 19:6 that is attributed to the Apostle. These words, however, are those of Christ.

Kocel, the son of the Slavic Prince Pribina, was the ruler of Pannonia,
a country bounded on the north and east by the Danube, on the west by the Alps, and on the south by Croatia. It covered territory now occupied by Austria and Hungary. He was killed in 876, fighting off an invasion from the south led by the Croatian Prince Domagoj.


101 The reference here is incorrect and should read Gregory the Dialog (Gregorios Dialogos), the other name for Pope St. Gregory the Great.

102 Both Dvornik and Grivec have noted that the list of peoples quoted by Constantine is arbitrary. It includes nations which possessed writing systems and praised God in their own language as well as nations which did not. For example, Armenia was converted to Christianity in the third century and worked out a written language by the fifth century; the Iberians (Georgians) embraced Christianity in the fourth century and developed a system of writing in the following one; the Goths (i.e., the Crimean Goths) accepted Christianity in the third century and had their own written language by the sixth century. Of course, the Persians have a long history of script. The oldest inscriptions in Persian date from around 500 B.C. The sacred writings of the Zoroastrians, the Avesta, represent the codification of Persian from the fourth through six centuries A.D. The Arabs and Egyptians certainly praised Allah in their own language. Sogdian, the one-time lingua franca for the whole of Central Asia, was an Iranian language (now extinct) spoken on the territory of modern-day Samarkand and Bukhara. It also had an ancient written tradition and is preserved in numerous inscriptions, the majority of which date from the eighth and ninth centuries (see A. Meillet and Marcel Cohn, eds., Les Langues du Monde [Paris, 1952], p. 29). However, Abkhazian, a language still spoken in the Caucasus, has no attested written tradition. Books were first published in this language during the nineteenth century in a modified Cyrillic alphabet (see Les Langues du Monde, p. 242). There is no linguistic evidence to support Constantine’s assertion of literacy among the Avars. Indeed, very little is known about this people, its language or culture. Only a few proper names and titles of Avar origin have survived. As regards the Khazars, practically nothing is known of their language (see Note 30). It is unclear which Turks Constantine had in mind. If it was the Turks who lived in the Crimea, his reference would again be inaccurate, since no written tradition was known among these people. Constantine could not have been aware of the so-called Ujdur script developed by the Turks of Central Asia, since the earliest manuscripts in this script date from the tenth century.

Cf. Matthew 5:45.

103 It is interesting to note that the author of the Vita of Constantine does not indicate which pope invited the brothers to Rome, whereas the Vita of Methodius and the so-called Italian Legend mention Pope Nicholas (858–867) as the source of the invitation. Curiously, it is not made clear in the Vita of Methodius that it was not Pope Nicholas but Pope Hadrian II (867–872) who received the brothers in Rome, while in the Vita of Constantine mention is made of the fact that Pope Hadrian received them, which leads one to assume mistakenly that he was also

104 See Note 34.

105 The Latin name of this church is S. Maria ad Praesepe. Curiously, the biographer used the Greek designation Phatne (Manger), which led Dvornik to conclude that while the brothers and their disciples were in Rome, they lived with Greek monks (see *Byzantine Missions*, p. 141).

106 Gauderich was Bishop of Velletri. He seems to have received the brothers well and did not object to their missionary work among the Slavs. Very different were the feelings of the Bishop of Porto Formosus, who was known for his hatred of Greeks. In fact, he played an important part in Rome's attempt to convert Bulgaria (see Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* [London, 1930], 109–113). Formosus was also a bitter enemy of Hadrian II. It must have been particularly distasteful for him to have had to consecrate the disciples of the Greek brothers Constantine and Methodius.

107 Arsenius was Bishop of Orti. Dvornik has pointed out that the mention of Arsenius is important for dating the ordination of the Slavic disciples. It is known that Arsenius left Rome shortly after 10 March 868, so that the ordination took place sometime before his departure and after Hadrian became pope on 14 December 867 (see *Byzantine Missions*, p. 139).

Anastasius the Librarian was actually secretary to the pope. He seems to have been an admirer of the brothers.

108 There is some controversy in regard to this passage. The translation retains the form svet' (light) and assumes that the reference is to the Byzantine Christian tradition in which the Sacrament of Baptism and monachal vows were considered "light" (phos). Thus, by becoming a monk, Constantine received another "light." However, Dvornik feels that this word should not read svet', but s'vet' (counsel), which would change the meaning to indicate that Constantine took two monachal vows (see *Byzantine Missions*, 143–144).

Previously Constantine was tonsured and made librarian (*chartophylax*) to the patriarch, a position that was usually filled by a deacon. He was not ordained a priest at that time, since ordination into the priesthood during the ninth century could not take place until age 30 (see Chap. 4).

109 It seems that Constantine died fifty days after becoming a monk.

110 That was 862. The biographer is using a calendar based on the number of years from the Creation. Under this system the Nativity took place in 5508. By subtracting this number from the number in the text (6370), one arrives at the above date. Note, however, that the text inexplicably omits the last numeral, (3) from the date. Constantine died on the day and month stated in the text, but in the year 6377 (869).

111 Since the verb pris'd' (came) hardly makes sense in the present context,
it is assumed to be a scribal error and should read *prēs'd'* (transgress) instead.

Evidently they wished to learn whether Constantine's body had begun to decompose. It is typical of many Vitae that the body of a saint would remain intact after death.

It is of interest to note that the mystical numeral "seven" or its multiples have played a rather conspicuous role in this work. It will be recalled that Constantine's father had seven children; that he himself was the seventh; that his parents lived in sexual abstinence for 14 years; that at age seven he had his dream which symbolized his mystical espousal to Sophia (Wisdom); that his father died when he was 14; that he himself died at age 42 on the 14th of February, in the year 6370/7 (910/11); and finally that his body was kept by the pope for seven days. It would seem therefore that this numeral should be accepted with caution.

The Church of St. Clement was ravaged by the Normans in the eleventh century. The fresco or icon that the biographer refers to was found in the nineteenth century, and relics of the saint were discovered in 1963 by Leonard Boyle. "The Fate of the Remains of St. Cyril," *Cirillo et Methodios i santi Apostoli degli Slavi Rome* (1963), 159–94.

†
THE LIFE OF METHODIUS
THE MONTH OF MAY ON THE TENTH DAY
Commemoration and *Vita*
of Our Blessed Father and Teacher
Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia.

Bless us Lord, Our Father.

Gracious and almighty is God, who from non-being called into being all things visible and invisible,
and adorned them with all beauty, so that he who contemplates it with reverence might in time perceive and recognize the One who called forth such abundant and wondrous works. For in reflecting upon the greatness and goodness of the works, one senses their Maker, whom the angels praise in thrice-holy voices, and all we Orthodox glorify in the Holy Trinity, namely, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that is, in three hypostases—which can be called three Persons—but in one Deity. Thus, before any hour, age, or time, beyond all understanding and incorporeal perception, the Father himself brought forth the Son, as the Proverbs say: “Before all the hills was I brought forth.” And in the Gospel the Divine Word, which later became flesh for the sake of our salvation, was spoken through His most pure mouth: “I am in the Father, and the Father in Me.” The Holy Spirit also proceeds from that same Father, as the Son himself said in a divine voice: “The Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father.” This God perfected all creation, as David says: “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth. For He spake and it was done; He commanded, and it stood fast.” Before all else He created man. Taking the dust of the ground, He breathed a soul into it from His life-giving breath, as well as understanding of the Word, and free will, so that he might be led into paradise. As a test a commandment was commanded unto him: If he kept it, he would remain immortal; if he transgressed it, he would die through death by his own will, and not by God’s command. Now, when the Devil saw man so honored and urged to the place from which he had fallen through his own pride, he caused him to transgress the commandment. And God drove man out of paradise, condemning him to death.

Henceforth the Adversary began to ply and plague mankind with his many wiles. Nevertheless, in His great mercy and love, God did not abandon man totally, but in every age and time He chose men and revealed their deeds and struggles to people,
that all might imitate them and be drawn to the good.\(^5\) Such was Enoch, who was first to have faith and call out the name of the Lord. And then Enoch pleased God, and was translated.\(^6\) Noah was found righteous in his generation,\(^7\) and was delivered from the Flood in the ark, that the earth might again be bountiful and adorned with God’s creatures. Abraham recognized God after the division of nations when all were in error. And he was called His friend and received the promise: “In thy seed shall all the nations be blessed.” Isaac, foretokening Christ, was brought up the mountain as an offering.\(^8\) Jacob destroyed the idols of his father-in-law; and he saw a ladder from the earth to heaven on which the angels of God were ascending and descending. And in the blessing of his sons he prophesied about Christ.\(^9\) Joseph nourished the people in Egypt, having shown himself to be godly.\(^10\) The Scriptures tell that Job of Ausitis was righteous, truthful, and blameless. Having experienced temptation, he endured and was blessed by God.\(^11\) Moses was with Aaron among God’s priests to be named a god to Pharaoh.\(^12\) And he plagued Egypt, and led God’s people out by day in a bright cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire.\(^13\) He divided the sea and they passed through it upon the dry ground; but he drowned the Egyptians.\(^14\) And in the waterless wilderness\(^15\) he gave the people water to drink, and sated them with birds and the bread of angels.\(^16\) Then, having spoken with God face to face — in so far as it is possible for a man to speak with God — he gave the people the law, which was written with the finger of God.\(^17\) Jesus the son of Nave warred against the enemy, and distributed land to God’s people.\(^18\)

The judges also gained many victories. Receiving God’s grace, Samuel anointed the king, and established him according to the word of the Lord.\(^19\) David shepherded the people with gentleness, and taught them God’s songs.\(^20\) Solomon, receiving more wisdom from God than any other man, composed many good proverbs with parables, though he himself accom-
Elijah punished the malice of the people through hunger, and resurrected a dead youth. And by his word he brought fire down from heaven, which burnt many, and consumed the offerings in a miraculous fire. Then, having killed the abominable priests and given his disciple a double spirit, he ascended to heaven in a chariot of fire with horses of fire. Elisha, having received the mantle, wrought double miracles. Other prophets, each in his time, prophesied miraculous things that would come to pass.

After these came John, the great mediator between the Old and the New Covenants, the Baptist of Christ, witness and preacher for the living and the dead. The Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, together with the other disciples of Christ, passed through the whole world like lightning and illuminated the entire earth. After them the martyrs washed away defilement with their own blood, while the successors of the Holy Apostles baptized emperors and destroyed paganism through their many struggles and labors.

Just as Abraham once destroyed kings with three hundred and eighteen youths and received a blessing, bread, and wine from Melchizedek, King of Salem, so the venerable Sylvester, taking the Emperor Constantine the Great as his aid and convening the first Council of Nicaea, defeated Arius with three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and condemned him and the heresy he began against the Holy Trinity. For he was a priest of God On High. Then Damasus and Gregory the Theologian, along with one hundred and fifty Fathers and the great
Emperor Theodosius confirmed the Holy Creed in Constantinople, that is, “I believe in one God.” They excommunicated Macedonius and condemned him and the blasphemy he was speaking against the Holy Spirit. Celestine and Cyril along with two hundred Fathers, and another Emperor defeated Nestorius at Ephesus and all the lies he was speaking against Christ. Leo, Anatolius and the Orthodox Emperor Marcian along with six hundred and thirty Fathers condemned the foolishness and falsity of Eutyches at Chalcedon. Virgilius and the pious Justinian along with one hundred and sixty-five Fathers convoked the Fifth Council investigated and condemned... The Apostolic Pope Agatho along with two hundred and seventy Fathers and the venerable Emperor Constantine suppressed many rebellions at the Sixth Council. They condemned and drove the rebels out, that is, Theodoret of Pharan, Sergius and Pyrrhus, Cyrus of Alexandria, Honorius of Rome, Macarius of Antioch, and the rest of their followers, along with all those who were at the council. However, they strengthened the Christian faith, basing it on Truth.

And after all these, merciful God, who will have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth, roused our teacher, the blessed Methodius, to a good deed in our age for the sake of our people about whom none had ever cared. And we are not ashamed to compare all his virtues and struggles one by one with those of these pious men. For he was the equal of some, less than others, but greater than still others, surpassing the eloquent in his energy, and the energetic in his eloquence.
Кесталегасау подобь ки сих образъ наслѣдуй шесть рабъ ежинъ. Запокъ ея нахраненья плащегоуния. Течеють пріѣзъ жень его. Молятъ въ нѣй яко слезо апострофъ боясь. Священныя непротивныя. Акротъ ки сонь нарицателья. Машень миѣстъ нѣхъ. Машень дитя на нѣхъ. Ньче нестъ. Кулечъ нѣя афаиръ въ тинъ непрестывая. Машень ки добръ. Тыръ. Машень ки шиженъ. Нишь дѣлъ нѣя вѣкъ. Женъ кутилъ вѣкъ нистъ. Непрестъ. Клѣтъ въ тыръ. Тыръ въ нѣтѣкон. Нескасъ йѣнъ нѣйъ. Нишь скинъ нѣя. Акъ ныхъ прикилъ шиженъ. Крѣдма такъ сло. Нисафра датакъ рѣку коза. Ры. Дапогатъ нѣбесбую, дыолу. Славо балу божию. Докъ докъ. Илъ докъ. Илъ всекую. Крѣдма то. Реръ. Галла крестнымъ мосоу. Крѣдма учитъ. Илъ всекую. Шакъ. Нышъ. Докъ докъ. Реръ. Крѣдма то. Мышъ. Докъ докъ. Реръ. Крѣдма то.
Being similar to all, he revealed in himself the image of all: fear of God, observance of commandments, zealous prayers with purity of the flesh, and piety, forceful and gentle speech—forceful for opponents, gentle for those accepting instruction—fury, mildness, mercy, love, passion, and patience, being all things to all so that he might gain all.  

He was not of mean origin on either side, but of a very good and venerable one, which was known first and foremost to God and the Emperor, as well as to the entire region of Thessalonica, and which was also revealed in his physical appearance. Therefore, the notables who loved him from childhood spoke reverently of him, until the Emperor, having recognized his keen mind, gave him a Slavic principality to rule. And I say that he, as if foreseeing that he would send him as teacher and first Archbishop to the Slavs, wished him to learn all the Slavic customs, and gradually become accustomed to them.

After spending many years in that principality and witnessing the excessive, disorderly tumult of this life, he exchanged his inclination toward earthly darkness for heavenly thoughts. For he wished not to disturb his precious soul with transient matters and, upon finding the opportunity, he left the principality. Going to Olympus where the holy fathers live, he was tonsured, and he put on the black habit. He obediently submitted to and fulfilled completely all the monastic rules, and applied himself to the Scriptures. And when the right time came, the Emperor sent for the Philosopher, his brother, that he might take him along to Khazaria as an aide. For Jews were there who were blaspheming the Christian faith beyond measure. Then Methodius said: “I am prepared to die for the Christian faith.” Thus he did not refuse but went, serving his younger brother, obeying him like a slave. And they defeated and shamed them, he through prayer, the Philosopher through eloquence.
Seeing his righteous struggle for God's way, the Emperor and Patriarch tried to convince him to be consecrated archbishop of an honorable place where such a man was needed. Since he did not agree, they forced him, making him hegumen of the monastery called Polychron, which had a value of twenty-four measures of gold, and more than seventy fathers.36

And it came to pass in those days that the Slavic Prince Rostislav together with Svatopluk sent emissaries from Moravia to Emperor Michael,37 saying thus: "We have prospered through God's grace, and many Christian teachers have come to us from among the Italians, Greeks and Germans, teaching us in various ways. But we Slavs are a simple people, and have no one to instruct us in the truth, and explain wisely. Therefore, O kind lord, send the type of man who will direct us to the whole truth."

Then Emperor Michael said to Constantine the Philosopher: "Do you hear this matter, Philosopher? None other than you can do this. Here then are many gifts. Take your brother, the Hegumen Methodius, and go. For you are both Thessalonians and all Thessalonians speak pure Slavic." 38

Then they dared not refuse God or the Emperor, following the words of the Holy Apostle Peter, who said: "Fear God. Honor the king." Having eagerly listened to the matter, they began to pray with those who were of the same spirit as they. And then God revealed the Slavic script to the Philosopher. And immediately after forming an alphabet and composing the text,39 he set out for Moravia, taking Methodius along. Once again he began to serve the Philosopher in humble obedience, and to teach with him. And when three years had passed, both returned from Moravia, having trained disciples.40
Здесь текст написан на государственном языке России. Содержание текста может быть связано с историческими, политическими или религиозными темами. Текст написан с использованием византийской кириллицы, что указывает на временную рамку его создания или воспроизведения. Определение точного контекста может потребовать дополнительных знаний по истории или грамматике этого периода.
When he learned of these two men, the Apostolic Father, Nicholas, sent for them, wishing to see them as much as the angel of God. He consecrated their teachings, placing the Slavic Gospel on the altar of the Holy Apostle Peter. He also consecrated the blessed Methodius to the priesthood. But there were many other people who reviled the Slavic Scriptures, saying: "Except for the Jews, Greeks, and Latins, it is improper for any people to have their own letters, according to the inscription which Pilate had written on the Lord’s cross." Calling them Pilatists and trilingualists, the Apostolic Father condemned them. He commanded a bishop, who was afflicted with the same disease, to consecrate three of the Slavic disciples as priests, and two as lectors.

And after many days, the Philosopher, nearing Judgment, said to Methodius, his brother: "Behold, brother, the two of us have been yokemates, plowing the same furrow. Now my days are ending and I am falling on the field. Though you have great love for the mountain, still leave not your teaching for the mountain’s sake, for you can sooner be saved through it."

Then Kocel sent to the Apostolic Father, asking him to delegate our blessed teacher Methodius to him. And the Apostolic Father said: "Not only to you alone but to all the Slavic lands do I sent him, a teacher from God and the Holy Apostle Peter, the first successor and keeper of the the keys to the heavenly kingdom." And he sent Methodius after writing this epistle: "Hadrian, Bishop and servant of God to Rostislav, Svatopluk, and Kocel: Glory to God in the hightest, on earth peace, goodwill toward men. We have heard of your spirituality and eagerly
desire and pray for your salvation; and how the Lord moved your hearts to seek Him, and showed you that it is fitting to serve God not only through faith, but also through good works. For faith without works is dead, and they fall away who profess to know God, but deny Him in works. You have asked for a teacher not only from this Holy See, but also from the pious Emperor Michael. And he sent you the blessed Philosopher Constantine together with his brother before we managed to. But when they learned that your lands belonged to the Apostolic See, they did nought against canon, but came to us bearing the relics of Saint Clement. Deriving threefold joy there-from, we considered the matter and decided to send to your lands our son Methodius, an Orthodox man accomplished in mind, whom we consecrated with his disciples in order to teach, as you requested, and to explain fully in your language the Scriptures and holy Mass, that is, the liturgy, as well as Baptism according to the entire Church Office, just as Constantine the Philosopher had begun through the grace of God and the prayers of Saint Clement. Likewise, if there be someone else who is able to explain properly and faithfully, may this be holy and blessed by God, by us, and by the entire Catholic and Apostolic Church, so that God’s commandment be easily learned. But keep this one custom: during Mass read the Apostolos and Gospel, first in Latin, then in Slavic, that the word of the Scripture might be fulfilled: ‘Praise the Lord, all ye nations;’ and elsewhere, ‘all the different tongues shall proclaim the greatness of God as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance.’ But if one of the teachers called to you, or one of those who tickle the ears and who turn from the Truth to lies dares, and begins in another manner to corrupt you, reviling the writings of your tongue, may he be cut off not only from communion, but also from the Church until he rights himself. For they are not sheep but wolves whom you shall know by their fruits and avoid. And you, O beloved children, obey God’s teaching and reject not the Church’s instruction, that you might be true worshipers of God, our heavenly Father, and all the Saints. Amen.”

Then Kocel received Methodius with great
honor. And he sent him again, and twenty men of venerable descent, to the Apostolic Father in order to be consecrated to the bishopric of Pannonia, to the seat of Saint Andronicus, an Apostle of the seventy. And so it came to pass.

And after this, the old enemy, the envier of good and adversary of truth, inclined the heart of the Moravian King and all the bishops toward the enemy and against Methodius. And they said to him: "You are teaching in our territory."

But he answered: "If I had known it was yours, I would have remained far away; but it is Saint Peter's. Verily, if you, out of jealousy and greed, transgress canon for the old boundaries, and prohibit God’s teaching, beware, lest you spill your brains in wishing to pierce an iron mountain with a skull of bone."

They said to him sternly: "You shall come to evil."

He answered: "I speak the Truth before emperors and am not ashamed. But work your will upon me. For I am no better than those who lost their lives through many torments for speaking the Truth."

And when they had exhausted many words and could no longer answer him, the King said deviously, "Do not trouble my Methodius, for he is already covered with sweat as though he were next to a stove."

He said: "Yea, O lord. Once some people met a sweating philosopher and said to him, 'Why are you sweating?' And he replied, 'I have been debating with crude people.'"
After quarreling about this remark, they parted. However, they banished Methodius to Swabia, and detained him for two and a half years.

News of this reached the Apostolic Father. Having heard of it, he sent an interdict against them that all the King’s bishops could not celebrate the Mass, that is, the liturgy, for as long as they detained Methodius. So they released him, saying to Kocel: “If you keep this man with you, you shall not escape easily from us.”

But they did not escape the judgment of Saint Peter, as four of these bishops died. And it then came to pass that the Moravians drove out all the German priests who were living among them, sensing that they did not accept them but forged discord against them. And they sent to the Apostolic Father, saying: “Since our fathers once received Baptism from Saint Peter, give us Methodius as archbishop and teacher.”

And the Apostolic Father sent him at once. And Prince Svatopluk and all the Moravians received him. They entrusted to him all the churches and clergy in all the towns. And from that day forth, God’s teachings grew greatly and the clergy multiplied in all the towns. And for that reason the Moravians began to grow and multiply, and the pagans to believe in the true God, casting aside their lies. And the Province of Moravia began to expand much more into all lands and to defeat its enemies successfully, as they themselves are always relating.

Methodius also possessed the gift of prophecy, for many of his prophecies came to pass. We shall relate one or two of these.

A very powerful pagan prince settled on the Vistula and began mocking the Christians and doing evil. Communicating with him, Methodius said: “My son, it would be better for you to be baptized of
your own will in your own land, so that you will not have to be baptized against your will as a prisoner in a foreign land;\(^{62}\) and remember me." And so it came to pass.

Again, another time: When Svatopluk was warring without success against the pagans and faltering, and Saint Peter’s Day Mass, that is, the liturgy drew nigh,\(^ {63}\) Methodius sent to him, saying: "If you promise me that you and your soldiers will celebrate Saint Peter’s Day with me, I trust God will soon deliver them to you." And so it came to pass.

A certain very wealthy friend and councilor of the Prince\(^ {64}\) married his fellow godparent, that is, his brother’s wife.\(^ {65}\) After much explaining, instructing and comforting, Methodius was unable to separate them; for others, pretending to be God’s servants, secretly corrupted them, deceiving the couple for their property and, in the end, separated them from the Church. And Methodius said: "There will come a time when deceivers will not be able to help you; and you will recall my words, but there will be nothing to do." Suddenly, after God abandoned them, calamity befell them, and their place was not to be found. But as the whirlwind raises the dust, they were scattered.\(^ {66}\)

And there were many instances similar to these which he explained through parables.

Unable to bear all this, the Old Enemy, the Envier of Mankind, incited certain people—some overtly, others covertly—against Methodius as did Dathan and Abiram against Moses. Being afflicted by the hyiopateric heresy, they turned the weakest toward themselves and away from the true path, saying: "The Pope empowered and commanded us to drive out this man and his teaching."\(^ {67}\)

And upon assembling all the Moravian people,
they ordered the epistle read in their presence, that they might hear of Methodius' expulsion. And as is man's wont, all the people — save the weak whom deceit moves as wind the leaves — were grieved and mourned the loss of such a shepherd and teacher. But when they read the Apostolic Father's epistle, they found written: "Our brother Methodius is blessed and Orthodox, and is doing the work of the Apostolic See. And from God and the Apostolic See are all the Slavic lands in his hands. Thus, whomever he curses is cursed; but whomever he blesses, may he be blessed." Having been shamed, in shame they dispersed like the mist.

But their malice did not stop at this alone, for they spoke, saying: "The Emperor is angry with Methodius, and if he finds him, he will lose his life." Not wishing His servant profaned, merciful God stirred the Emperor's heart, for the Emperor's heart is always in God's hand. And he sent an epistle to Methodius:

"Venerable Father: I wish very much to see you. Be so kind as to trouble yourself to come to us, so that we might see you while you are still in this world, and receive your prayer."

He went there at once, and the Emperor received him with great honor and joy. And he praised his teaching, and retained a priest and a deacon from among his disciples, and books. And he fulfilled whatever Methodius desired, refusing him nothing. Then the Emperor embraced him and gave him many gifts. And he accompanied Methodius again with honor to his see, as did the Patriarch.

On all his journeys he met with many perils because of the Adversary: in the wilderness with robbers, at sea with windblown waves, and on rivers with imminent death. Thus, the words of the Apostle were fulfilled in him: "Perils of robbers, perils in the sea, perils on rivers, perils among false
brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst often," and other cares which the Apostle mentions.

15 Afterwards, rejecting all the tumult and placing his sorrow upon God, he first took from among his disciples two priests who were excellent scribes and translated quickly from the Greek language into Slavic—in six months beginning with the month of March to the twenty-sixth day of the month of October—all the Scriptures in full, save Maccabees. And upon finishing, he rendered due thanks and praise unto God, Who grants such grace and success, and performed together with his clergy the elevation of the blessed Mystery, celebrating the memory of Saint Demetrius. For previously he had translated with the Philosopher only the Psalter, the Gospel together with the Apostolos, and selected church liturgies. And then he translated the Nomocanon, that is, the Rule of the Law, and the Books of the Fathers.

16 When the King of Hungary came to the lands of the Danube, Methodius wished to see him. And though some were assuming and saying: "He will not escape torment," Methodius went to him. And as befits a sovereign, he received him with honor, solemnity, and joy. Having conversed with him as befits such men to converse, he dismissed him with an embrace and many gifts. Kissing him, he said: "O venerable Father, remember me always in your holy prayers."

17 Thus, after cutting short all accusations on all sides and stopping the mouths of the garrulous, he completed the course of life, keeping the faith and awaiting the crown of righteousness. And since he was so pleasing to God, he was loved. The time drew nigh for accepting respite from suffering,
Народні хоругви здають
казаки оружию до шляхів.

Видимо, текст содержится в древнерусском языке.
and reward for many labors. And they asked him, saying: “O Father and venerable teacher, whom of your disciples do you consider the successor to your teaching?”

He pointed out to them one of his trusted disciples named Gorazd, saying: “He is a free countryman of yours who is Orthodox and well versed in Latin letters. May this be God’s will and your desire, as it is mine.”

When all the people gathered on Palm Sunday, he entered the church a sick man. And after instructing that blessings be given to the Emperor, the Prince, the clergy, and all the people, he said: “My children, watch over me until the third day.” And so it came to pass. And when the third day dawned, he further said: “Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.”

And he passed away in the arms of priests on the sixth day of the month of April, in the third indiction, 6393 years from the creation of the whole world. After laying out his body, his disciples rendered due honors: They celebrated the church service in Latin, Greek and Slavic, and placed him in the cathedral church. And he was laid to rest unto his Fathers, unto the patriarchs and prophets, unto the apostles, teachers and martyrs. An innumerable crowd of people gathered — men and women, great and small, rich and poor, freemen and slaves, widows and orphans, foreigners and countrymen, the ailing and the healthy — and accompanied him with candles, mourning their good teacher and shepherd, who was all things to all, so that he might gain all.

O holy and venerable Head, look thou from on high in thy prayers upon us who desire thee, deliver thou thy disciples from all danger, spread thy
АНФИС ПРОГРОНА. ДАДОСТОН НЕЗАЛЕШКИХШЕЖИЕ ЖНКЗ
ШЕСЯДО СТАРЖЕСТУЕБО.
Ю ЧЕХОСЛАВОДО АСЕНОУМ
СТРАНУХАПАЛАШЕТО
СТЪИОУЖИЗНПРИ
МАЛИШЕШИЛОЧОУБ.
НЕШЕЛАВАНТАЖУ. КАК
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МЧАТУГЪКъ.
СЛАВЕНОККАЛИНОКАЛАМУ
СТЦИХМЕРСЛАВАНИЗАЛА
ОУТНИСЕЛМАСОЉЕМЕСКУ
ПАЛАСОУ. СГ ТЕРОШЕЛАГУ
ПИМЕНИШЕМОК ПРОЛОЖЕ
ШЕМАНОВ ДИНЕТОТ ВКІН
ЗАКОНЗВАПАСЗИКЕХ".
БЛАЖЕНОЦЮКУРНАЮ НАРХИ
ИПОГПАМОМСКЮ НАЛЕ ФОМ
И. БИЕЛЕНОТЪ.

ЮНБСОУМНАШЕМОУИ ХОУ.
АЛОРЦИИЛНУНЕЗДРЕТО
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ПЕРЕШЕВДЕЗАЛЯНУ
СЕВЕРО ЛЕШИОДАИО
ШДУЖИА КИЗАЛО ОЖ
СЕБРСОШЕПЕНИКОБ
МЕС НЕЗПАШОЛОТ"I
СЫГДАХА. НЯПО"ТИСТУГЪ.

АНШЕЛАВАНШЬАЛЪУ ПРИ
СНДЭЦИПАЛАНИ КАЗЕ
ПАЛАН ПЕЛАЕРЕЗУКЪ.
ПОЖА СЬОКО БОБРЫБЪЗ
ВАШЕЛЕНАШАМОУ ШОУ
АНУШХА ПАВИНОБОКЮ.
ДАУРУНПАСИШНУДА
КАЛУЖОУЩУЧУ. ЦОБО
СТЪИ ДАР НАША СТЬКО
ЗИМОБОГЕНПАПАПР ГРА
ЖИВИЕЙ ГРЯБАЗО РУ
ШВЪ ЛАМУБУБИЛАЛАБЯ
ДУН ЛАРЖЕЦИБЕЗЧИ.
НИЗАКРУСИЗУ СОКОЮ
НАПЛАВЕЛАЛАБУТЬ НА
НЕНСТАЛТУНЯН ПОТЪ.

КАШЪДЖЕНАНСЕС ЕДС ЕВ
ДЕНСУЮ ПРЪСТОЛБЕН
ТЫТОНКИОАКЪЈОКЪЗАХ.
ЗАПОКЪДДАВАНСКОУБЪЮ
РОДОВЋАТУЮ ОТЪ ТАМБЗЮ
ЕДАЛИА ДАРТАЛАПАНР
ТН СОУДАНЦКБАНАЛ
МЕРЪЗИАЛА НЗЗАА
НИЦОРОУЖА ДОПОДА ЗО
АЛЪЕГО РАСПОРАДАНЗИ
НИСОУДАННИХШИ ТЮСБ.
МАС ТИГШАННЮН. НЗО
БРАШЕННЫЕГОПОКАЗАНН
Ю. АСВЕНАЛЫС ПИРАЕЖ
ТНАЗДАБОУКАЖАДОТАКЪ
НЕШУЛЕБООЗЗАЛЯНДА.
teaching and dispel the heresies, so that, having lived here worthy of our calling, we, thy flock, might stand with thee at the right side of Christ Our God, receiving eternal life from Him. And unto Him glory and honor for evermore. Amen.

Notes to the *Vita* of Methodius

1 This passage appears to be a paraphrase of the Wisdom of Solomon 13:5: "For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the Maker of them is seen." In the original Slavic text this sentence reads: Ot" velikoty bo i dobroty dél" po razmyslu i roditel'ix" m'rtv" est'..., which would translate verbatim as, "For in reflecting on the greatness and goodness of the works, their Maker is dead." Obviously some error has occurred which renders the sentence rather senseless. The translation, therefore, follows the correction suggested by Bodjanskij, i.e., replacing m'rtv" est' with mudr' stvujet' sé (see Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 67).

2 The Slavic text employs the Greek term hypostases (*oupostas*). In theological terminology the hypostases are the three real and distinct subsistences in the one undivided substance of God.

3 The term "incorporeal perception" probably refers to the Heavenly Host. The author is presenting a hierarchical arrangement, i.e., that the Son was brought forth before all time, which is incomprehensible to man and angels alike.

4 The description of man's creation is taken from Genesis 2:7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and man became a living soul." Cf. Genesis 2:15—17.

5 The format for the ensuing praise of certain holy men, viz., Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Jesus the son of Nun, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah (Elias) and Elisha (Eliseus), seems to be based on Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Chapters 44—48.


10 Cf. Genesis 41, 47:12.

11 In the King James Version of the Bible, Job is referred to as "a man in
the land of Uz.” The place name in the Slavic text is derived from the Greek Septuaginta, viz., Ausitis (cf. Job 1:1, 42:12).

12 In Exodus 7:1 we read: “And the Lord said unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh; and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.”


15 The expression “in the waterless wilderness” (в пустыни безводне) is translated literally. This obviously is a Slavic circumlocution for desert. Note that Slavic pustyni can mean both ‘desert’ and ‘wilderness’ (see Miklosich, Lexicon, p. 755).


17 Cf. Exodus 31:18, 33:11.

18 Cf. Sirach 46:1. Note that Jesus the son of Nun is synonymous with Joshua the son of Nun (see Numbers 27:18, Deuteronomy 34:9 and Joshua 12:7).


23 Cf. II Kings 2:13—15.


26 The First Council of Nicaea was convened in 325 by Constantine the Great in an effort to put an end to the Arian controversy, which was raging in the Eastern Church. Arius (250—336), a priest from Alexandria and the founder of Arianism, professed that Christ was not divine, since He was created by the Father. Arius believed that God the Father was unique in that He was immutable and self-existent. However, the Son was brought into being by the Father and was mutable, since He grew and changed as a man. Thus Arius concluded that Christ was not divine, since He was not coeternal with the Father but rather a creature created by the Father.

There is no extant account of the proceedings of the Council of Nicaea but the Nicene Creed and twenty canons have been preserved. It is thought that 200 bishops attended the Council and that the number in the Vita, though frequently associated with the Council, is fanciful and based on the biblical reference cited therein. Pope Sylvester (314—335) did not attend the Council but delegated two Roman priests to it. In all, no more than five bishops from the Latin West were present.

The Nicene Creed attempted to answer the charges that the Arians had advanced against the Son as a divinity. It stated that the Son was “of one substance with the Father” (homoousion toi patri). In clear reference to the Arians, anathemas were added to the Creed: “But for those who say, There was when he was not, and, Before being born he was not, and that He came into existence out of nothing, or assert that the Son of God is of a different hypostasis or substance, or is created, or is subject to alternation or change—these the Catholic Church anathematizes.”
The first Council of Constantinople was convened by Emperor Theodosius I (379–395) in 381 and, according to historical sources, was attended by 150 church figures, as the author of the *Vita* indicates. At this Council the Nicene Creed (more properly, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed) was promulgated. It put to rest the arguments concerning Trinitarian teachings. In answer to the Arian belief that the Son, Christ, was not divine but mutable, not eternal but called into existence, the Creed declared: “I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten from the Father before all ages, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father . . .”

Pope Damasus (366–384) did not attend the Council nor was he represented. However he accepted the Creed. Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (?330–395), “the theologian” (see note 6 in the *Vita* of Constantine), was elected President of the Council. Macedonius was elected Patriarch by the Arian bishops in 341, deposed in 348, and reinstated in 350. Indeed, his up-and-down career is representative of the struggle between the Arians and the adherents of the Nicene Creed. In 359 the Arians split into two groups: the pure Arians and the Homoiousians. Macedonius adhered to the latter group and as a result was deposed again in 360. Later he led a sect called Pneumatocampi (Fighters against the spirit), which is also referred to as the Macedonian sect. They believed the Holy Spirit was on a level with angels and therefore subordinate to both Father and Son. The Macedonians were answered directly in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, which declared the doctrine of equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and Son: “. . . and in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and Son is together worshiped and together glorified, who spoke through the prophets . . .”

The Council of Ephesus (431) was convened by Emperor Theodosius II (408–450) in order to deal with the Nestorians. Immediately after being consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople (428), the Syrian-born Nestorius began to suppress the Arian and Macedonian heresies. He was also against the common use of the title *Theotokos* (‘Mother of God’) in reference to Mary. In a sermon obviously influenced by Nestorius, one of his followers, Anastasius, remarked: “Let no one call Mary the mother of God, for Mary was a human being; and that God should be born of a human being is impossible.”

The dominant figure at the Council of Ephesos was Cyril of Alexandria, the city’s Patriarch from 412–444. In a transparent bid for power, he encouraged those who opposed Nestorius and wrote to Pope Celestine I (422–432) about the latter’s views. Celestine decided in favor of the title *Theotokos* in 430 and ordered Nestorius to cease his erroneous teachings or risk excommunication. Cyril met with some 200 bishops at the Council before Nestorius’ supporters, the bishops of Antioch, even arrived, and presented extracts from Nestorius’ writings as well as his own exposition on the hypostatic union of the two natures of Christ. As a result, Nestorius was deposed and exiled.
As concerns the doctrinal debates on the nature of Christ and the relation of manhood and the Godhead in Christ, the Council of Ephesus was not nearly as important as the Council of Chalcedon (451). It was convoked by Emperor Marcian (450–457) and attended by 520 bishops or their representatives. Pope Leo I (440–461) was represented by three bishops and two priests. Anatolius was Patriarch of Constantinople at the time of this Council, and an avowed enemy of Eutyches for the role he played in deposing his predecessor, Patriarch Flavian. Eutyches was Archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople and maintained that Christ had one nature, that is, adhered to the theory of Monophysitism. Because of his adamant anti-Nestorian views, he refused to accept the compromise worked out by Cyril of Alexandria in 433, which reconciled the Alexandrine views with those of the Antiochian Fathers. Now the former accepted the term “union” in reference to the two natures of Christ, while the latter accepted the term Theotokos. Eutyches was condemned at the Synod convened in 448 by Patriarch Flavian after admitting that: “...our Lord was of two natures before the union, but after the union of one nature...” The following year he managed to affirm his views and depose Flavian at the so-called Robber Synod. However he was re-condemned at the Council of Chalcedon. This Council approved the Nicene Creed as well as Cyril’s letters against Nestorius and Pope Leo’s work on the two natures of Christ, Tome, which was a direct rebuttal of Eutyches. Furthermore, it affirmed a Confession of Faith, which itself was, at least in part, a reply to the views of both Nestorius and Eutyches. For example, Mary was identified by the epithet Theotokos, and Christ described as: “...One and same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, made known in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation, the distinction of natures being in no way removed by the union...”

The “fifth council” (historically known as the Second Council of Constantinople) was held in 553 under the leadership of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Eutychius, and attended by 165 bishops. After the Council of Chalcedon, the adherents of the Confession of Faith were unable to suppress the growth of Monophysitism. Emperor Justinian (527–565) attempted to make compromises with the Monophysites but failed. He then published an edict condemning them and their writings. At this point there is a lacuna in the manuscript; however we could insert the names of the condemned as Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyprus, and Ibas of Edessa.

Though the author of the Vita insists upon naming the Pope of Rome as leading each council, the fact is that none of the Eastern councils were attended by him. Indeed, Pope Vigilius (537–555) took sanctuary in a church at Chalcedon and refused to attend the Council. He, along with sixteen bishops, also refused to condemn Theodore of Mopsuestia. Only in 554 did Vigilius accept the proceedings of this Council.

Because Monophysitism continued to flourish, the Patriarch of Constantinople Sergius (610–638) attempted to compromise with the dogmata promulgated at Chalcedon by introducing the doctrine of the single will of Christ, i.e., Monothelitism. It was approved in an edict issued by
Emperor Heraclius (610—641) who wished to bring the Monophysites back into the Byzantine fold. However, the new doctrine was rejected on all sides—by the Orthodox, the Monophysites, and the Romans. Though Pope Honorius (625—638) had supported the Monothelitic doctrine—he believed the human will of Christ was sinless and therefore not in conflict with the divine will—his successors rejected it.

In 680 Emperor Constantine IV (668—685) convened the “sixth council” (historically known as the Third Council of Constantinople). He and Pope Agatho (678—681) now hoped to put an end to Monothelitism. At the Council the Monothelitic view was presented by Macarius, the Patriarch of Antioch. It was declared in error and condemned; Macarius was excommunicated along with a number of other proponents of Monothelitism including Theodoret, Bishop of the monastery of Pharao, Sergius and Pyrrhus, Patriarchs of Constantinople, Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Pope Honorius. Going even beyond the Confession of Faith at Chalcedon, the Council affirmed: “We also preach two natural wills in Him and two natural energies, without division, without change, without separation, without partition, without confusion . . .”

31 This passage seems to allude to I Corinthians 9:22: “To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.”

32 Though the principality which Methodius ruled has not been ascertained, there is no particular reason for disregarding the biographer’s statement. Being the son of a drungarios (see Note 3 in the Vita of Constantine), he was certainly of the proper station to receive such an imperial appointment. In this regard, Grivec (p. 26) states that Methodius was archon of a Slavic province on the Bulgarian frontier, while Dvornik (p. 58) maintains that he became archon in the region around Thessalonica.

33 The reference here is to Mount Olympus in Asia Minor (see Note 29 in the Vita of Constantine). After forsaking his secular career, Methodius became a monk. In fact we find the following statement in a Liturgy to Methodius (see Lavrov, p. 123): “Having forsaken thy people and fatherland, thy wife and children, O blessed teacher, thou chose to live in the wilderness with the holy fathers...” Grivec (p. 26) states that Methodius entered the monastery in 840 for reasons related to the Iconoclastic movement. It would seem that Grivec’s date is incorrect. The Vita relates that Methodius spent “many years” as archon before entering the monastery. Since in Byzantium most young men of rank received instruction until their twenties (see “Byzantine Education,” Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization) and Methodius (7815—885) was approximately twenty-five in 840, he could not very well have spent “many years” at his administrative post. Methodius was probably closer to forty when he was tonsured. Indeed, it was not unusual at that time for married men with families to retire to monastic life.

34 It is curious that Methodius, as opposed to Constantine-Cryil, is known only by his monastic name. Undoubtedly his secular name also began with an M (?Michael or Manuel), since at that time custom required that the first initial be retained upon becoming a monk.
For the sake of clarity, at times the name Methodius is inserted for the third-person singular pronoun ‘he.’

Polychron was one of the monastic institutions at Mount Olympus (see Note 33). The fact that the author mentions the monastery’s worth and number of resident fathers indicates that it was in a “position of honor.”

The word “value” has been added to this passage, which in the original contains the term “measure” (s’méra). A measure of gold consisted of approximately nine liters, which made the worth of the monastery rather extraordinary.

See Note 88 in the Vita of Constantine. Svjatopolk (Svatopluk) was the nephew and successor of Rostislav. He ruled Moravia from 870–894.

Note that this passage contains information about the contents of the message to Michael III, which is absent from the account in the Vita of Constantine (Chap. 14), viz., the reference to teachers from Italy, Greece, and Germany.

Though their native language was Greek, both Constantine and Methodius knew Slavic since the region around Thessalonica was settled by Southern Slavs. Furthermore, Methodius must have been acquainted with the language of the Slavic principality he ruled. It should be remembered that in the ninth century the various Slavic dialects were mutually intelligible. It is for this reason that the brothers could translate the Scriptures into their South Slavic dialect and take their work to Moravia where it was understood.

It is not clear what the author is referring to in this passage. The Slavic word beseda has a variety of meanings. Perhaps it is a reference to the “Prologue to the Gospels” which Constantine wrote or to the actual composition of the Gospels.

Little is said about the disciples of Constantine and Methodius in either of their Vitae. However, we read the following in the Life of Saint Clement of Ochrid: “And with great zeal they passed on the divine teachings to the most able of their disciples. And not a few people drank from the fountain of their teachings. The principal disciples and leaders of the entire group were Gorazd, Clement, Nahum, Angelarius, and Savva” (see F. Miklosich, Vita S. Clementis Episcopi Bulgarorum, p. 3).

See Note 102 in the Vita of Constantine. Thus, the “He” in the following sentence refers to Pope Hadrian II.

Pilate’s inscription refers to the title placed on Christ’s cross: “Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews” (see Note 98 in the Vita of Constantine), which was written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. Those who opposed translating the Scriptures into languages other than Hebrew, Latin, and Greek took this passage as proof that only these three languages could be used for Holy Writ. Since Pilate wrote this inscription, those who advocated the use of these three languages only were called “Pilatists.” Cf. John 19:19–20, and Luke 23:38.

This passage indicates that Methodius may have intended to return to the monastery at Mount Olympus. Obviously Constantine believed that service and teaching were more important for one’s salvation than monasticism.
See Note 100 in the *Vita* of Constantine.

The reference here is to Pope Hadrian II. Though the original Latin text of this letter is not extant, there is little reason to doubt that such a letter existed. Note, however, that the Slavic text does not quite follow the Latin salutation of papal epistles. Compare *rab*" boz' with the usual papal appellation, "servus servorum Dei." This letter was translated into Latin on the basis of the Slavic text by Franz Miklosich. A more readily available Latin translation can be found in Grivec, 257—58.

This passage seems to paraphrase Titus 1:16, which reads: "They profess that they know God; but in works they deny Him; being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate."

Obviously the Pope felt that Moravia and Pannonia belonged to the Latin Church.

Several times during the narration the author explains the meaning of the word "Mass." Thus we read: s" svatojo m'sejo rek'se službojpo. The author probably explains the meaning of the word m'sa to his readers, since it is of Latin origin. Yet it is strange that such an explanation should occur in a papal letter.

The *Apostolos* is a book of readings that contains some of the Epistles of Paul and parts of the Acts of the Apostles.


Cf. II Timothy 4:3—4.

This passage lends itself to different interpretations depending on which manuscript and set of corrections of the original Slavic one follows. In this text the sentence reads (according to one interpretation): *Da boudet' ot' loucen' n' t'k' mo v' souda ny crkve...*, which was corrected to read: *Da boudet' ot' loucen' ne t'k' mo v' souda n' i crkve....* The translation is based on this correction (see Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 74).

In the original Slavic the sentence reads: *ti bo sout' v' lci a ne ov' ce jaze dostoit' ot plod" izg' nati i xranitise ix"*. This makes no sense unless *izg' nati* is changed to read *ix" znati*. Our translation reflects this correction (see Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 74). Also, cf. John 4:23.

Saint Andronicus was the legendary founder of the city of Sirmium, the seat of the Roman prefect of Illyricum. Pannonia was a part of Illyricum. According to the legend, he was the city's first bishop, which gave Sirmium an "apostolic" origin because Saint Andronicus was considered a disciple of Saint Paul (see Romans 16:7).

The Slavic text simply introduces the quotation with the adverb *jako*, a form commonly used to introduce direct speech. Therefore, the sentence "And they said to him" has been added.

The king is question is Louis the German (855—875).

The expression "old boundaries" may refer to the areas in which the Franks were proselytizing. For a long time the Franks were attempting to convert the Slavs in Moravia and Pannonia. By ridding themselves of Methodius and his disciples, they would again be able to proselytize in these areas. Of course they would be transgressing canon law by depositing a papal legate.

The Slavic text simply reads *doide k" apostoliku*. A subject has been
added in the English (“News of this”), since the passage refers to the fact that the Pope learned of Methodius' imprisonment.

58 In 873 Pope John VIII sent a special legate, Paul the Bishop of Ancona, who was empowered to suspend the guilty bishops in the Pope's name.

59 The four bishops were: Hermanrich (d. 874), Bishop of Passau; Arno (d. 875), Bishop of Freising; Adalwin (d. 873) and Adalbert (d. 874), Bishops of Salzburg. They were probably responsible for Methodius' imprisonment in Swabia.

60 The meaning of the statement “Since our fathers once received baptism from Saint Peter” is not clear. Dvornik (p. 383) suggests that it may refer to Methodius’ mission to Moravia, i.e., being sent there by a pope, a successor of Saint Peter.

61 The Slavic text reads: *ot' togo že načat' rasti i množit'se i pogani věrovati...* It appears from the context that it was not the pagans who began to grow and multiply but “they,” i.e., the Moravians. Therefore in the English translation “the Moravians” has been added as the subject of the finite verb.

It should be noted that in answer to the request from Moravia, Methodius was appointed Archbishop of Moravia after he had been consecrated in Rome as Bishop of the See of St. Andronicus. This information is confirmed by a letter written in 879 by Pope John VIII, which makes mention of this appointment.

62 Mention of the Vistula river seems to indicate that Methodius or his disciples had begun to proselytize among the Poles on the Vistula, i.e., in an area outside of Moravia. Dvornik (p. 169) points out that the author of the *Vita* undoubtedly had in mind the territory of Cracow, which Svjetopolk (Svatopluk) annexed after capturing and baptizing its Duke. This passage may also allude to the Frankish practice of forcibly converting to Christianity those they conquered. For example, this was the fate of the Saxons and their leader Widukind (Wittenkind) after surrendering to Charles I in 785 (see Josef Bujnoch, *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz* [Graz, 1958], 184–85).

63 It is not clear to which expedition this passage refers. However, since Svjetopolk (Svatopluk) was extending his power to the east, it is possible that it refers to his campaign against either the Bohemians, Sorbs, or Vistulanians.

As Vasica has pointed out, the original translation of the Roman-rite Mass into Slavic was not made from Latin but from Greek. The Greek version of this Mass dates from the first half of the ninth century and is called the Mass (or Liturgy) of St. Peter. What is of special significance is that this is the only work which indicates clearly that this liturgy was in use in Moravia.

64 There seems to be a lacuna in the text at this point. We are not sure whose “very wealthy friend and councilor” this is. Our translation follows Miklosich's suggestion according to which the unnamed person is “consiliarius regis,” i.e., Svjetopolk (Svatopluk); (see Lavrov, *Materi­aly*, p. 76).

65 For lack of a better word, the Slavic *koupeta* is translated as “fellow godparent.” More accurately this word means ‘godmother.’ However,
this translation would be misleading, since she is not the councilor's godmother but the godmother of a child whose godfather is the councilor. At the same time she is also the councilor's sister-in-law.

66 This passage seems to allude to Psalm 103:16: "For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more." Cf. also Isaiah 41:16.

67 The "hiyipateric" heresy refers to the addition of the word Filioque 'Son' to the Nicene Creed. This Creed originally stressed the single principle of spiration and defined the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father, viz., qui ex Patre procedit. In the sixth century the Spanish Church modified the Creed to read qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, which introduced a Second Person in the spiration. Though this addition was not officially accepted in Rome until the eleventh century, the Spanish practice was soon adopted by the Franks and interpreted radically. The Greeks rejected this addition emphatically and considered the unauthorized word inadmissible and heretical. Cf. Numbers 16.

The reference in the last sentence of this paragraph is to the forgery of a papal letter by Wiching, the most vehement of Methodius' opponents.

68 Several letters of Pope John VIII (872—882) have been preserved. The reference here appears to be to the bull, beginning with the words Industriae tuae, that was issued by him in July 880 and addressed to Prince Svatopluk. It clearly vindicated Methodius.


70 It is curious that the Frankish clergy should be spreading rumors that "The [Byzantine] Emperor is angry with Methodius and if he finds him, Methodius will lose his life" at a time when the Western and Eastern Churches were, for a change, enjoying good relations. Had a state of hostility been in existence then between the Churches, Methodius' acceptance from the Pope of the Archbishoric of Moravia and Pannonia would have been viewed as an act of treachery in Byzantium.

The invitation to visit Constantinople was sent to Methodius in 880 by Emperor Basil I and Patriarch Photius (858—867; 877—886). Both Constantinople and Rome considered Methodius' visit good diplomacy. On the one side, it was in the Pope's interest to cement relations with Constantinople now that the Churches were reconciled, while on the other, it was in the Patriarch's interest, now that he was rehabilitated, to demonstrate good will and solidarity with Rome. Besides, Emperor Basil was especially interested to learn of Methodius' missionary practices in Moravia in view of its success and his (as well as Photius') desire to convert all the Slavs.

The "epistle" contains a passage which is elliptic: to dobro s"tvori potroudisce do nas" da te vidum". The omitted verb 'to come' has been added to the translation.

71 Methodius left for Constantinople late in 881 and returned to Moravia the following year accompanied by the Emperor's envoys. By sending envoys, Basil was able to re-establish friendly relations with Svjatopolk (Svatopluk) and enhance Methodius' prestige in Moravia.

72 This is not a verbatim quotation from II Corinthians 11:26—27.

73 This is an obvious miscalculation and should read "eight" months.
Demetrius is the patron saint of Thessalonica. His feast day is celebrated in the Orthodox Church on the 26th of October.

Methodius' translation of all the books of the Old Testament has not been preserved. The *Nomocanon* is a compendium of Orthodox ecclesiastical laws. Methodius translated the collection of John Scholasticus entitled *Synagoge of Fifty Titles* (see Dvornik, 176–79). The question of what should be understood by the statement "the books of the Fathers" is still unresolved. N. van Wijk believed that these "writings" were a translation of the Greek *Paterikon*, while R. Nachtigal felt that they were the homilies of the Fathers (see Grivec, 135–37).

The king is Charles III (Charles the Fat), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 881–887, whom Methodius met in 884 near Túln. Methodius had accompanied Sviatopolk (Svatopluk) to his meeting with Charles to conclude peace.

Cf. Psalm 63:11.

The words "cutting short all accusations on all sides and stopping the mouths of the garrulous" have been interpreted to mean that toward the end of his life Methodius "excommunicated" his adversaries, i.e., Wiching, the Bishop of Nitra, and his supporters. Cf. also II Timothy 4:8 and Revelation 14:13.

See Note 40. Gorazd was a wise choice. By selecting as his successor a native Moravian nobleman versed in Latin letters, Methodius expected his candidate to win the support of the Moravians as well as the Latin clergy. However, this was not to be. His nomination was not recognized by Rome and the Diocese of Moravia was entrusted to Wiching.

Methodius died on the morning of 6 April 885.

The "cathedral church" is thought to have been located in Staré Město, a part of the present-day city of Uherské Hradiště in Czechoslovakia.


See Note 31.
THE LIFE OF WENCESLAS
The Month of September on the Twenty-Eighth Day:
THE SLAYING OF SAINT WENCESLAS,
PRINCE OF THE CZECHS

Bless us Lord, Our Father!

Behold, the prophetic word, which spake Our Lord Jesus Christ, hath now come to pass: “For it shall be,” quoth he, “in the last days,” which we believe have come, “that brother shall rise against brother and son against father, and a man’s foes shall be they of his own household. For men shall be at variance one against the other,
and then God shall reward them all according to their works."  

And there was living among the Czechs a prince of great renown by the name of Vratislav, whose wife was Drahomira. And they had a son, their first-born, whom they baptized and gave the name Wenceslas. Now when the boy attained the age for the shearing of his hair, Prince Vratislav summoned a bishop along with the entire clergy. And while celebrating the Mass in the Church of Saint Mary, he, raising the boy, placed him upon the steps before the altar and blessed him, saying: "O Lord Jesus Christ, bless this boy with the blessing with which Thou blessed all Thy righteous men."

And, we believe, other princes were tonsured in this manner. Thus, with the blessing and pious prayers of that bishop the boy began to grow, sheltered by God’s grace. And his grandmother Ludmilta entrusted him to the guidance of a priest, to be taught Slavic
letters. And he learned their meaning well. Then Vratislav sent him to Budeč, where the boy began to study Latin letters. And he learned them well.

But at this time Prince Vratislav died and Prince Wenceslas was placed upon the throne of his forefathers. And from that day forth Boleslav became subordinate to him. Since both were young, their mother Drahomira fortified the land and ruled the people until her sons were of age. Then Wenceslas began to rule the people.

Now Wenceslas had four sisters. And they were given in marriage to various princely houses and provided for. And God bestowed such grace upon Prince Wenceslas that he came to understand Latin letters like a good bishop or priest. And taking up Greek or Slavic letters, he would read clearly and without error. Yea, not only did
he fathom letters but he fulfilled his faith as well. He rendered good unto all the needy, and fed and worked for the sake of the poor, according to the teachings of the Gospel: He fed sick slaves, defended widows, and had mercy upon all people, both the wanting and the wealthy. And he adorned all the churches with gold, believed in God with all his heart, and did all manner of good in his life.\textsuperscript{15}

But Czech men waxed proud and rose against one another, for their prince was young, being 18 years of age when his father died.\textsuperscript{16} And when he came of age and his brother attained his maturity, the Devil entered into the hearts of his brother’s evil counselors, as once he did into Judas the traitor.\textsuperscript{17} For it is written: “Whosoever rises against his lord is like unto a Judas.”\textsuperscript{18}

And Wenceslas was incited, being told: “Boleslav wishes to slay you and has taken counsel with his mother and his men.”\textsuperscript{19}
Evil dogs! Without cause they instructed Wenceslas to betray his mother.  

But knowing the fear of God, Wenceslas remembered the words of the Apostle, who said: “Honor thy father and thy mother as thyself: and, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.”  

Wishing to fulfill all God’s Truth, he restored his mother, wept bitterly, and repented, saying: “O Lord God, lay not this sin to my charge. For I shall remember the words of the prophet David, ‘Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my ignorance, O Lord.’”  

Thus did he honor his mother. And she was gladdened by her son’s faith and his benevolence toward the needy: If infirm, he fed him; if an orphan, he defended him; if strangers, he did them a good turn; For it has been said: “I was a stranger, and ye took me in.”  

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Matthew 19:19
Acts 7:60
Psalm 25:7
Matthew 25:35
And if he happened upon God's servants, or household bond-servants, or foreigners, or happened somewhere upon those exposed to the cold, he would clothe and feed them all. If some priest were sold, he came to him and would ransom him with all he had.

Next he gathered God's servants from all the nations and built churches in all the towns. And by the decree of the good and just ruler Wenceslas, divine services were held continually on all days, just as in all great nations. Thereupon God inspired his heart and he built the Church of Saint Vitus, bearing malice toward none.

However, the Devil sowed Boleslav's heart, and he was set against his brother so that his soul would not be saved for all eternity. Now came the Feast of Saint Emmeram, to whom the holy Wenceslas had vowed, and he rejoiced in God.

And then the evil devils summoned Boleslav and plotted fiend-
ishly against Wenceslas, like the Jews against Christ in early times. At this time churches were being consecrated in all the towns. And Wenceslas rode through all the towns and then came to Boleslav’s town. On Sunday a Mass in honor of Cosmas and Damian was celebrated. And after the Mass, Wenceslas wished to go home to Prague. But Boleslav, pleading mournfully, implored him, saying: “How can you wish to depart! I have the finest ale.” Yea, he refused not his brother; he departed not for home. And upon mounting his horse, he began to sport and make merry with his friends in Boleslav’s courtyard. Then, we believe, in the courtyard was he informed and told: “Boleslav wishes to slay you.” But he did not believe this, and placed his hope in God.

That very night enemies gathered in Hněvysa’s courtyard. And
they summoned Boleslav and plotted this fiendish wickedness. Like those who thronged to Pilate to conspire against Christ, so they took counsel, the evil dogs, to slay their lord. And they said: “We shall catch him when he goes to Matins.”

When morning came, Matins were rung. Hearing the bells, Wenceslas said: “Glory to Thee, O Lord, that Thou didst preserve me unto this morn,” and rising, he set off for Matins. But Boleslav overtook him at the gates. And Wenceslas looked back and said, “You were a good host to us last evening.”

Thereupon the Devil inclined Boleslav’s ear and corrupted his heart. And, drawing his sword, he replied thus: “I wish to be a better one,” and he struck him over the head with his sword. And
Wenceslas turned around and said, “What have you plotted?” And seizing hold of him, he lunged forward and fell against him, and said, “May God forgive you this, brother.” 35 Now Tuža came running and struck him on the arm, and Wenceslas released his brother and ran toward the church. 36 And Hněvysa came running and pierced his ribs with his sword, and Wenceslas gave up the ghost, saying, “Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.” 37

And in that town they slew along with him only Mstina, 38 for the other men had quickly fled. Afterwards more were slain while others dispersed throughout the lands. And Wenceslas’ youths were slain. And they plundered God’s servants, drove them out of the town, and gave their women to other men. 39 And they perpetrated every fiendish excess: even slew their prince.

Then Tira said: “Let us march against his lady, and you will have vanquished at once your brother and your mother.” But

Luke 23:46
Boleslav replied, “She shall not escape ere we intercept her with the others.” And they hacked Wenceslas apart and left him unburied.

Raising him up, the priest Krastej placed him in front of the church and covered him with a thin shroud. Upon hearing about the slaying of her son, his mother came running in search of him. And when she espied him, she fell upon his breast, and weeping, began gathering the parts of her son’s body. After all had been gathered, she dared not take him to her home. Thus, having washed and clothed him in the priest’s lodging, they placed him in the middle of the church. And his mother was frightened by his death and fled to Croatia, for she was terrified and wished not to suffer at the hands of strangers. And Boleslav pursued but did not overtake her.

And the priest Paul was summoned to pray over him. Then they buried the venerable body of Wenceslas, a good and just,
God-worshiping, Christ-loving ruler: For he served Him in reverence and fear. And when after three days his blood still remained on the ground, on the third evening, while all looked on, a church rose over him. And all who were there marveled. And we too place our hope in God to work an even greater miracle through the prayers and piety of the good Wenceslas. For, verily, his suffering may be likened to the suffering of Christ and of the Holy Martyrs, since counsel was taken against him as the Jews did against Christ. And they hacked him apart and killed his youths.

Verily, all mankind repented and mourned him. Thus Prince Wenceslas was slain in the year 6337, in the second indiction, the third cycle, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of September. May God repose his soul in eternal rest with all the
Elect, for His sake without sin, in Whom repose all the righteous in Thy world of life, O Lord.

And God left not His chosen one to be profaned among unbelievers, but visited His grace even upon the heart of stone and turned it to repentance and understanding of its sins. Thus, Boleslav recalled the Lord and the number of sins he had committed, and he prayed to God and to all the saints. And having dispatched his servants, he brought the body of his brother Wenceslas from the town of Boleslav to the glorious town of Prague, saying, "I have sinned and my sin and my transgressions I acknowledge." And Wenceslas was placed in the Church of Saint Vitus, on the right side of the altar of the Twelve Apostles, where he himself had said: "Here shall I build a church."
And Prince Wenceslas was translated in the month of March on the third day. May God repose his soul in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, wherein all the righteous repose, awaiting resurrection from Our Lord Jesus Christ. Unto Him be glory forevermore. Amen.
Notes to the *Life* of Wenceslas

1 The first part of this passage seems to allude to the beginning of Acts 2:17: “And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God . . .” The second part of the passage paraphrases loosely the beginning of Mark 13:12: “Now the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son . . .” With its allusion to the present in the opening lines, this passage has been interpreted as a definite indication that this work was written soon after the saint’s death. See Václav Chaloupecký, *Na úsvitu křesťanství* (Prague, 1942), p. 257.

2 This passage is very elliptic in OCS and simply reads, “i vrazi domašnii,” which translated literally means “and foes of the household.” I have embellished my translation by following Matthew 10:36 literally.

3 The first half of this passage paraphrases Matthew 10:35: “For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.” The second part of the passage paraphrases Matthew 16:27: “For the son of man shall come in the glory of his father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works.” Cf. also Psalm 62:12; Jeremiah 25:14; Romans 2:6; II Timothy 4:14. Indeed the entire opening paragraph (see notes 1 and 2) is made up of paraphrases of biblical texts, which confirms the author’s familiarity with the Bible and speaks in favor of his mastery of the style of the ancient Cyrillo-Methodian usage.

4 Vratislav I was Prince of the Premyslide dynasty and his brother Spytihněv’s successor. He is believed to have been born around 883; however, the dates of his rule are uncertain, since Spytihněv’s death is placed variously within the ten-year period 905—915. He is a very vague figure in Czech tradition, which has him as a Christian, a great prince distinguished in glory, and builder of the first Church of Saint George in Prague. After the death of Louis III (899—911), he, taking advantage of the decline of the Eastern Frankish Empire, extended his power over a good deal of former Moravian territory. It is generally assumed that he died while defending his country against a Magyar invasion in 920—921. He was succeeded by his son Wenceslas I (see note 6).

5 Drahomira (Dragomira/Drahomir) was the daughter of a Veletian chieftain. The Veletians were a Baltic Slavic tribe who were known as *Ljutici* (Wild or Fierce Men) and for their long and vehement resistance to Christianity. Curiously however, Drahomira was given in marriage to the Christian ruler of Prague. Upon the death of Vratislav, the government as well as the children were entrusted to Ludmila, the latter’s grandmother (see note 10), which gave rise to the ensuing conflict between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. In the opinion of the Czech chronicler Cosmas of Prague, Drahomira remained a pagan even while living among the Czechs (see Česskaja khronika [Moscow, 1962], p. 58). She is also described as a hardened pagan by Gumpold. On the other hand,
there are sources that attest to her being a Christian (see V. Novotny, *Česke dějiny* [Prague, 1912], p. 450). Attributed to her is the murder of her mother-in-law Ludmila and the building of Saint Michael’s Church in Tetín.

6 According to tradition, Wenceslas I (Saint) was born around 906–907 at Stochov near Libušín. Some sources give his date of birth as early as 904. It is a generally accepted practice in translating from Slavic to use the Latin version of his name rather than the Czech, Václav, or Russian, Vjačeslav.

7 Two interpretations exist on the significance of the “tonsuring” of young Wenceslas. On the one side it has been understood to indicate that Wenceslas was intended for service to the church. Seven or eight was the usual age for dedicating a boy to a monastery, a practice that was known among the Slavs and other European peoples. Hence, the ceremony of hair shearing was a form of commendation (see A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* [Cambridge, 1970], p. 93). This interpretation would be quite plausible were it not for the fact that Wenceslas was the eldest son and, by virtue of primogeniture, the successor to his father’s throne. And if he were the younger brother, as is suggested by one source, how are we to explain why Boleslav (see note 13) was passed over for succession. On the other side, this act has been viewed as a ritual which marked a boy’s transition from boyhood to adolescence, a practice that was known among the Western and Eastern Slavs but not known in the West (see *Skazanija o načale českogo gosudarstva* [Moscow, 1970], p. 56). It has also been pointed out that as described in this work, the tonsure was administered according to the Eastern Rite (see V. Chaloupecký, p. 257).

8 According to the Croatian Glagolitic variant of this work, the bishop’s name was Notar. No bishop of this name is known from any other source; however he could have been a bishop of the Slavic Rite in the Archdiocese of Moravia. The name itself does not appear to be of Slavic origin. It is also possible that Notar is a misconstrued form of the noun for “notary” (notar’).

9 This church is no longer extant. According to historical sources, it was located in Prague between the city gates and the Church of Saint Vitus (see note 28). It is the words, “in the Church of Saint Mary”—which appear only in the *Vostokov Variant*—that have been regarded by many scholars as proof that the *First OCS Life* was of Czech origin. Only someone intimately familiar with tenth-century conditions in Bohemia could have written about this church (see V. Chaloupecký, pp. 257-58).

10 In the tradition Ludmila (Ludmilla/Ljudmila) appears as an ardent Christian. Unfortunately for her, she was the victim of Drahomira’s abortive bid for power. Encouraged, it seems, by a powerful party of semi-pagan nobles, Drahomira had her mother-in-law assassinated during a palace revolt immediately following Vratislav’s death. On 16 September 920/21 Ludmila was strangled. Her death made a deep impression on the people and she was soon considered a martyr for the faith. It is not
known to which Slavic priest Ludmila entrusted her grandson. Speculation has him as Paul, Ludmila’s confidant and confessor (see note 41).

The ancient site of the town of Budec, located northwest of Prague, is preserved remarkably well until this day. Also preserved are the ruins of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul to which was attached the school in which Wenceslas was educated. The Second OCS Life of Wenceslas mentions the name of the saint’s tutor at Budec. It is given as Učen, which could be an epithet applied to him meaning “learned.” It is of interest to note that mention of Wenceslas’ knowledge of Greek seems to confirm that the Greek language was indispensable to the Slavic ecclesiastical circles as long as the Cyrillo-Methodian literary tradition was fostered in Bohemia.

11 Apparently the principle of primogeniture, which was not universally followed at that time, was invoked in this case by the reigning prince on behalf of his eldest son. In this act it is possible to see the influence of Constantinople.

12 Boleslav I of Bohemia (Boleslas I) was the younger brother of Wenceslas. See also notes 30 and 48.

13 Vratislav and Drahomira had seven children, three sons— Wenceslas, Boleslav, and Spytihnev—and four daughters. Of the latter only the name of one, Pribyslava, has come down to us. She was given in marriage to a Croatian prince. It should be noted that there are scholars who consider this statement erroneous (see V. Chaloupecký, p. 258).

14 The precise cause of conflict between Wenceslas and Drahomira is a...
matter of speculation. It might have been because Wenceslas, upon ascending the throne (924/25), had the property appropriated by Drahomira from Ludmila's priests returned to them (see V. Novotny, p. 463); or that Drahomira was fomenting trouble between the Christian and semi-pagan factions in the country—a charge that was leveled against her by Wenceslas' friends. Whatever the reason, Wenceslas had his mother banished to Budeč.

21 As indicated, this is a verbatim quotation from Matthew 19:19. However, the words are not those of the Apostle but of Christ himself. The first part of the quotation is given in the words of the Apostle Paul in Ephesians 6:2: "Honor thy father and mother; which is the first commandment with promise." Of course the source of the quotation is the Old Testament, Exodus 20:12: "Honor thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

22 In attributing this thought to his hero, the author takes only a small relevant portion from Acts 7:60, changing only "their" to "my." The entire passage reads: "And he kneeled down and cried with a loud voice, 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.' And when he said this he fell asleep." It might be useful to observe that Stephen, who spoke these words, was the first martyr of the primitive Christian Church.

23 The Slavic passage substitutes "ignorance" for "transgressions" from Psalm 25:7: "Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions: according to thy mercy, remember thou me for thy goodness' sake, O Lord."

24 This is only a fragment from Matthew 25:35, which was spoken by Jesus to his disciples. The entire passage reads: "For I was hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in."

25 The term "God's servants" is a metaphor for the clergy or clergymen, a dignity by which the Catholic clergy was known in the West. Household bond-servants, as the name suggests, were the last category of bondsmen to survive of an institution which by the tenth century was rapidly disappearing among the Czechs (see Skazanija o nacale, p. 57). In my translation I have added the verbal phrase "happened upon" because the Slavic original lacked a verb.

26 The original OCS sentence reads: "а́сте ли же кото́рий попи́ть прода́нь пріде к нему онъ иску́па́се всєм."
The specific reference of "всєм" is difficult to determine; it is assumed here to be an instrumental singular (expected form ' всємь'), since it apparently made sufficient sense by itself. I have translated it accordingly. It is interesting to note that the M-enology Variant of the manuscript has this word as the dative plural ind. obj. of a verb), viz., "i dobro tvorese vsem" 'and did good unto all.'

27 It seems that it became customary in Moravia from the time of Rostislav to assign priests from "all nations" to serve the newly-founded churches. More precisely, however, "all nations" can be reduced to three in particular, Germany, Italy, and Greece, as indicated in The Life of Methodius (see M. Kantor and R.S. White, op. cit., p. 75).

28 The Church of Saint Vitus (Saint Guy)—the patron saint of Saxony, who
became the national patron of Bohemia—was built in Prague between the years 926—929. The remnants of this ancient church were discovered during the archeological excavations in 1911 and 1928. The original church was built in the form of a rotunda, a shape inspired by Carolingian architecture, and was rather widely imitated in Bohemia (see J. Cibulka, “Václavova rotunda sv. Vita,” Svatováclavský sbornik [Prague, 1933], pp. 344-48; and H. Weidaas, “Zur Frage der Przemyslidischen Rundkirchen,” Kyrios, 11 [1937], pp. 279-312). Today at this location stands the Gothic Cathedral of Saint Vitus, which dates from the reign of Charles IV (1347—1378).

The line “bearing no malice” refers to Wenceslas’ substitution of patron saints (see note 29).

29 Saint Emmeram’s Day was celebrated on the 22nd of September. He was the patron saint of Bavaria and Regensburg, to which Bohemia was ecclesiastically subordinated. The vow to Saint Emmeram is connected with events which followed the deaths of Vratislav and Ludmila. Uncertain about the direction which Bohemia would take under Drahomira’s regency, Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, made a trip to Bohemia where he was assured by young Wenceslas that all would remain unchanged. As a gesture of good will Wenceslas promised to dedicate the church he proposed to build in Prague to Saint Emmeram. As we know from the foregoing comment, Wenceslas, despite this promise, dedicated the church to Saint Vitus (see F. Dvornik, The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization [Boston, 1959], pp. 106-107).

30 The conflict between Boleslav and his brother may be traced to a number of causes which developed as a result of their differing personalities and differing preferences. Whereas Wenceslas was pious and inclined to the ascetic life, Boleslav was worldly and ambitious to rule. Furthermore, Wenceslas, at least according to the sources, had identified himself with the Saxons and personally supported Latin priests, but Boleslav favored the Slavic Church. All sources attest to Wenceslas’ Christian virtues, none to his virtue of command. Since political needs had not in themselves changed with the acceptance of Christianity, Slavic rulers had also to be military leaders, a capacity which Wenceslas apparently lacked and Boleslav had. Thus, Boleslav was pushed into leadership of the anti-Saxon party, and was an accomplice in his brother’s assassination (see A.P. Vlasto, pp. 94-96).

31 Boleslav’s town is present-day Stara Boleslav, a town situated northeast of Prague.

32 The feast days of Saints Cosmas and Damian are celebrated on June 30th and November 1st in the Orthodox Church but on September 27th in the Roman Catholic Church. The church dedicated in their honor in Stara Boleslav no longer exists. In its place now stands Saint Wenceslas Church, which some believe incorporated sections of the old church, an opinion which is not shared by all the sources.

33 A comparison of this passage with a similar one in the Second OCS Life, chap. 18, reveals that in this work the event takes place at Boleslav’s town
with friends as opposed to taking place in Prague with his retinue. Furthermore, whereas here the expression *naca igrati* ‘began to sport’ indicates the engaging in sport, perhaps a knight’s game, the same expression in the *Second OCS Life* seems not to refer to sport but rather some military exhibition.

34 It is interesting to note that this is now the third time counsel has been taken against Wenceslas by the conspirators. This number of occurrences can hardly be taken literally, given the mystical significance of the numeral 3, and the fact that “‘trebling’” is a literary cliche in works of this type.

35 Since this passage is elliptic and reads simply *to ti Bg, brate* (verbatim: May God this to you, brother), I have added the verb ‘forgive.’

36 Apparently Boleslav had ordered the priest to lock the doors to the church in order to prevent Wenceslas from seeking sanctuary. Indeed, an account of a traitorous priest, who on orders from the conspirators locked the church doors, is found in Christian’s work.

37 The words of Jesus taken from Luke 23:46 serve as a formula in *Vitae*, both East and West, for the dying words of a saint.

   There is a scribal error in the word “‘gave up’” *ispusti* which reads instead *nepusti* ‘did not give up . . .’ (!)

38 The *Croatian Glagolitic Variant* of the *Life* refers to Mstina (Mastina) as *etera častna mů vávestes’ lava* ‘an honorable man of Wenceslas.’ Perhaps he was a nobleman who supported Wenceslas, or one of his retinue. Whichever, his is the only death which is mentioned specifically.

39 The persecution of the clergy after Wenceslas’ death was limited to those clergymen who were closest to the saint. It was not a resurgence of paganism on the part of Boleslav and his followers. The phrasing of this passage makes it appear as though the “‘wives’” of God’s servants (i.e., priests) were given to other men. What is undoubtedly meant is the wives of the members of Wenceslas’ retinue.

40 Drahomira fled to the Duchy of Croatia and, apparently, found refuge among the White Croatians, a tribe living north of Prague.

41 According to several legends dealing with Saint Wenceslas (e.g., Christian’s), Paul was priest and confessor to Ludmila and Wenceslas. It is to him that Jakobson attributes *The Life of Ludmila*, one of the oldest Czech historical legends (see Roman Jakobson, “Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church,” *Harvard Slavic Studies*, II (1954), p. 57.

42 A verbatim translation of this line would read, “his blood did not want to go into the ground” (*kroviz ego ne xotesti . . . v zemlju iti*). The exact meaning of this passage has been a point of controversy among scholars. For a discussion of this see V. Chaloupecký, pp. 262-63.

43 Compare John 2:19. It appears as though this is an allusion to Christ’s remark: “‘Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.’” There is also the legend of Saint Therapon and the great oak tree that grew up from the ground his blood had soaked (see Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* [New York, 1962], pp. 30-31).

44 There is some controversy concerning the significance of this passage.
In the opinion of some researchers the expectation of more miracles attests to the great antiquity of this literary monument. Therefore, J. Kalousek assumed that the Vostokov Variant of the Life came into being before the year 967, the specific year that Widukind (the Saxon chronicler) dated Wenceslas' first miracles. On the other hand, O. Kralik believed that the author of this work simply lacked sufficient information about the saint's miracles in order to enumerate them in a separate section. For further details see Skazanija o načale, p. 58.

Wenceslas died in the year 929, a date that is generally accepted on the basis of Christian's Legend (see F. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs [New Brunswick, 1970], p. 402). The date 6337 (sic—should actually read 6437) attests to the use of the Byzantine system of chronology, which was introduced to Bohemia by the disciples of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. This system is based upon the number of years from the Creation. Accordingly, the Nativity took place in 5508. By subtracting this number from the one given in the text, one should arrive at a date which corresponds to the calendar used in the West. In the present case we arrive inexplicably at the date 829.

An indiction was a fiscal period of fifteen years. The third cycle (or arc of the sun) refers to the sun's orbit, hence autumn.

The veneration of Wenceslas increased greatly after his death, which was soon accounted a martyrdom. He became a national hero, the national saint and celestial protector of the Czech nation—a dignity which endures in the hearts of many Czechs even to this day.

The image of a stony heart is found in Ezekiel 11:19: "And I will give them an heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh.” This passage is repeated again almost verbatim in Ezekiel 36:26.

This passage is a paraphrase of Psalm 51:3: "For I acknowledge my transgressions and my sin is ever before me.”

In 932 Boleslav, who succeeded to power, had the relics of his brother brought to Saint Vitus Church in Prague. The actual date of the translation was the 4th of March, as attested by the Prologue, The Second OCS Life, and other sources. The confusion of the numerals 3 and 4 resulted from the differing numerical values of the letter G, in Glagolitic (4) but in Cyrillic (3). Obviously, in copying the text from the Glagolitic, the scribe failed to substitute the numeral into its proper Cyrillic equivalent.

It should be noted that Boleslav, like Wenceslas before him, had to accept the overlordship of the King of Saxony, Henry the Fowler (919-936), and the same political status. With the death of Henry in 936, Bohemia was again relatively free and continued to prosper through Boleslav's reign. Christianity spread from town to town under the hegemony of Prague, which was constituted a bishopric shortly before Boleslav's death in 967 (A.P. Vlasto, pp. 96-99).

There is a curious omission of the preposition "from" (ot) in this passage, without which the sentence reads "awaiting the resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (čajuste vaskršenię gą nasego iča xă).
THE NARRATIVE, PASSION, AND ENCOMIUM OF BORIS AND GLEB
ON THE SAME DAY

The Narrative and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb

Bless us Lord, Our Father

The generation of the righteous shall be blessed, said the prophet, and their seed shall be blessed. Thus, these things came to pass before the time when the autocrat of the entire land of Rus’ was Volodimir, son of Svjatoslav

Boris and Gleb (XIV-century icon)
Да не восслава нисволодда, 
лоть ведется дославаньй 
стислава, лоть ве дагары 
нот крона млады. Ниса 
жаслана поро бла брода 
ящих оня нисволодда. 
Нись 
сева божи ъо ъо. Они ха 
нлпокоть. Сое 
осето сань нисволодда. 
Аисволодда, нисволодда. 
Накто 
же дю, борында, ростовъ артъ 
е, моролда, ниссства 
ноть нисволодда. 
Да не ведется дославаньй 
тебля, нись 
жите ахдес сиская 
косы. Millionen же 
деньшан ве вославан 
никос кон башлага 
володанъ. Оу же ловну 
вашемъ воланъ. От 
стехли, чинихн. Воп 
ваннога, табы 
тежеря мях бище 
вированъ жерестова. Пе 
теновь же ону 
къи 
русь, къисньт пеудан 
божи володанъ. Кор 
вославла. Нисволодда
and grandson of Igor, he who enlightened this entire land of Rus' with holy Baptism. Of his other virtues we shall speak elsewhere, there is not time now, but of such things we shall speak in due course.

Now this Volodimir had twelve sons, not by one wife, but by their several mothers. Among these sons Vysheslav was the eldest, and after him came Izjaslav. The third was Svjatopolk, who conceived this evil murder. His mother, a Greek, was formerly a nun, and Jaropolk, Volodimir's brother, took her, and because of the beauty of her face he unfrocked her, and begot of her this accursed Svjatopolk. But Volodimir, who was still a pagan, killed Jaropolk and took his wife, who was pregnant; and of her was born this accursed Svjatopolk. And he was of two fathers who were brothers, and for this reason Volodimir loved him not, for he was not of him. And by Rogneda he had four sons: Izjaslav, Mstislav, Jaroslav, and Vsevolod; and by another he had Svjatoslav and Mstislav, and by a Bulgarian woman, Boris and Gleb. And he placed them all in different lands as rulers; of this we shall speak elsewhere. We shall now tell of those whom the story concerns.

He placed the accursed Svjatopolk as ruler in Pinsk, and Jaroslav in Novgorod, Boris in Rostov, and Gleb in Murom. But I will cease speaking of this at length, lest we lose ourselves through prolixity in forgetfulness. But let us speak about what I began.

Now after many days had passed and Volodimir's days were drawing to a close—for twenty-eight years had passed since the holy Baptism—he fell gravely ill. At that same time Boris was coming from Rostov. The Pechenegs from that region were waging war against Rus'. And Volodimir was in great sorrow because he could
not march against them, and he sorrowed much. And summoning the blessed Boris—who was named Roman in holy Baptism and was quick in obedience—and turning over many troops to him, he sent him against the godless Pechenegs. And rising with joy he went, saying, “I am prepared to do before your eyes as much as the will of your heart commands.” For of such did the author of the Proverbs say: “I was my father’s son, obedient and beloved in the sight of my mother.”

But after setting out and not finding his adversaries, he turned back. And a messenger came to him, informing him of his father’s death: How his father Vasilij—for such was the name given him in holy Baptism—had passed away, and how Svjatopolk had concealed the death of his father, and at night in Berestovo, after taking up the floor and wrapping him in a rug, they had lowered him to the ground with ropes, took him by sledge and placed him in the Church of the Holy Mother of God.

And when the saintly Boris heard this he grew weak in body, and his entire face was covered with tears. And being choked with tears, he could not speak, but in his heart he began to speak thusly: “Woe unto me, light of my eyes, radiance and dawn of my face, bridle of my youth, admonition of my foolishness! Woe unto me, my father and lord! To whom shall I turn, to whom shall I look, where shall I sate myself with the good instruction and admonitions of your understanding? Woe unto me, woe unto me! How could you vanish, my light, while I was not there? If only I myself had prepared your venerable body for burial with my own hands and committed it to the grave. But I neither carried the manly beauty of your body, nor was I worthy of kissing your resplendent gray hair. But, O blessed one, remember me in your peace! My heart burns, my soul confuses my mind, and I know
not to whom to turn, and to whom to extend this bitter sorrow. To the brother whom I would have in place of a father? But he, methinks, has learned worldly vanities and contemplates my murder. If he sheds my blood and attempts to slay me, then a martyr shall I be unto my Lord. For I shall not resist, because it is written:

'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.'

And the Apostle says: 'He who says, I love God, and hateth his brother, is a liar.'

And again: 'There is no fear in love; perfect love casteth out fear.' Therefore, what shall I say or what shall I do? Lo, shall I go to my brother and say, 'Be a father to me. You are my brother and elder. What is your command, my lord?'

And musing thus in his mind, he set off to his brother, and he said in his heart: "Were I at least to see the face of my younger brother Gleb, as Joseph did Benjamin." And considering all this in his heart, he said, "Thy will be done, my Lord." And in his mind he thought: "If I go to my father's house, many tongues there will incline my heart toward banishment of my brother, just as my father acted before holy Baptism for the sake of glory and princely power in this world, all of which passes away, being less than a cobweb. So whither must I go upon departure from this place? And how shall I return then? What will an answer be for me?

Where shall I conceal the multitude of my sins? For what did my father's brothers or my father heretofore acquire? Where are their lives and their worldly glory, the purple robes and silks, the silver and gold, the wines and meads, the fine food and swift steeds, the great and beautiful homes, the many possessions, the tribute and countless honors, and the pride in their boyars?
All this already is for them as though it had never been. Everything has vanished with them, and there is no help from any one of them nor from their possessions, from a multitude of slaves nor from the glory of this world. For Solomon, having passed through all things, having seen all things, having acquired and accumulated all things, did say after casting his eyes about: 'Vanity of vanities; all is vanity!' Help comes only from good deeds, from true belief, and from unfeigned love.”

Continuing on his way, he considered the beauty and goodliness of his body and was completely choked with tears. And wanting to restrain himself, he could not. And all who saw him thus wept for his virtuous body and the venerable understanding of his age. And each in his soul groaned with heartfelt grief, and all were troubled in their sorrow. For who would not bemoan that grievous death upon drawing it before the eyes of his heart! For his countenance and gaze were downcast, and his holy heart was broken. For this blessed one was just and compassionate, serene, gentle, humble, merciful to all and solicitous of all. And the divinely blessed Boris meditated in his heart and said: “I know my brother is incited by men of evil intent to slay me, and he will destroy me. If he sheds my blood, then a martyr shall I be unto my Lord, and the Lord will receive my spirit.” Then, forgetting his deathly sorrow, he comforted his heart with the divine words: “Whosoever shall lose his soul for My sake and for the sake of My words, shall find it and keep it in life eternal.” And he went on with a joyful heart, saying: “O most merciful Lord, despise not me, who trusts in Thee, but save my soul.”

Now after his father’s death, Svjatopolk had settled in Kiev. Upon summoning the people of Kiev and giving them many gifts, he dismissed them. Then he sent to Boris, saying: “Brother, I wish there to be love between us and shall add to your share of father’s possessions.” But he spoke deceitfully and not the truth. He came secretly at night to Vyšegorod, summoned Put’sa

Ecclesiastes 1:2
штём. нёв шласлашамоу.
такосткоин. ойклюви.
какор укрокийскорнеоут.
крывапраунитисеофак.
дя. схопришвяютам.
крыванесенриотьосєрагам.
м. снєпютнеоутєннад.
генетизаконинмететн.
нильвоюазиновкимаут.
Бажнэйнедробнекакожео.
какорунатытэлажн.
на.
ларшатьяшоптахн.
мо уроунна новадей.
кнэпкттестовгтит.
ошенконен бароуку.
кенсурт. юнженеловт.
кывавашше.
уокуннал.
барантросшинераташ.
своюм ишечхин накъ.
ншамен.
яожежихаш.
нашаксциона.
секшшаш.
boxingвонраундоасайм.
гол. ласмєсъпъраун.
бочки.
баранувотенантов.
ун печалмоу.
дровни.
мюлерфешь.
науку.
шатъском плацкеше.
роу шилерчыл.
а.
шюродостно жалест.
наасеноу шала.
ва.
выпухувожеостаранладко.
and the men of Vyšegorod, and said to them: "Tell me in truth, are you loyal to me?" And Put'ša said: "We all are ready to lay down our lives for you."

But the Devil, that hater of man's goodness from the beginning of time, upon seeing the saintly Boris had placed all his hope in the Lord, began to be even more active. And as once before he found Cain ablaze with fratricide, so now he found in truth a second Cain in Svjatopolk, and snared his thought, that he should kill all his father's heirs and seize all power for himself alone. Then the thrice-accursed Svjatopolk summoned to himself the counselors of all evil and the chiefs of all untruth, and upon opening his lips most foul, he emitted a evil voice, saying to Put'ša's people: "Since you promise to lay down your lives for me, go in secret, my friends, and where you find my brother Boris, watch for an opportunity and slay him." And they promised to do so. For of such the prophet said: "They make haste to shed blood unjustly; for they pledge blood and gather evil unto themselves. Their ways are those of gathering iniquity; and they embrace their souls with impurity." 21

Now, upon returning, the blessed Boris pitched his tents on the L'to.22 And his retinue said to him: "Go, settle in Kiev on your father's throne, for all the troops are in your hands." But he answered them: "It is not for me to raise my hand against my own brother, and especially against an elder one whom I would have as a father." And when they heard this, the troops departed from him, and he remained with only his retainers.

On the Sabbath day he was in distress and grief, and his heart was oppressed. And he entered his tent and wept with a broken heart but a joyful soul, sorrowfully lifting his voice: "Despise not my tears, O Lord. For
as I have my hope in Thee, so shall I, together with Thy servants, accept my portion and lot with all Thy holy ones, for Thou art a merciful God, and unto Thee shall we render praise forever. Amen.” He thought of the martyrdom and passion of the holy martyr Nikita and of Saint Vjačeslav, whose murders were similar to this, and how the murderer of Saint Barbara was her own father. And he thought of the word of the wise Solomon: “The righteous live for evermore; their reward also is with the Lord, the care of them is with the Most High.” And only with this word was he comforted, and he rejoiced.

Then evening came. And he commanded that Vespers be chanted, and he himself entered his tent and began to say the evening prayer with bitter tears, frequent sighs, and much groaning. Afterwards he lay down to sleep. And his sleep was troubled by many thoughts and a great, heavy, and terrible grief: How to give himself up to the martyr’s passion; how to suffer and end the course and keep the faith so as to receive the predestined crown from the hands of the Almighty.

Upon awakening early, he saw it was the time of morning; it was holy Sunday. He said to his presbyter, “Arise, begin Matins.” And having put shoes on his feet and having washed his face, he himself began to pray to the Lord God.

But those sent by Svjatopolk had arrived on the L’to during the night, and drawing near they heard the voice of the blessed martyr chanting the morning psalter. And since he had knowledge of his murder, he began to chant: “Lord, how are they increased that trouble me! Many are they that rise up against me,” and other psalms in their entirety. And he began to chant the psalter: “Many dogs have compassed me and fat bulls have beset me round”; and also, “O Lord my God, in Thee do I put my trust: save me.” After this he chanted the canon in the same way. And when he finished Matins, he began to pray, gazing upon the icon of the Lord and saying:
“O Lord Jesus Christ, Who in this image didst appear upon earth, having by Thy will chosen to be nailed to the cross, accepting Thy passion for the sake of our sins, make me worthy of accepting my passion.”

And when he heard evil whispers near the tent, he was atremble, and began to shed tears from his eyes, and he said: “Glory be to Thee, O Lord, for all things; for Thou hast made me worthy of accepting this bitter death, prompted by envy, and to suffer all things for the love of Thy word. I desired not 26 to seek for myself alone, and have chosen nought for myself, according to the Apostle: ‘Charity beareth all things, believeth all things, and seeketh not her own’; 27 and also: ‘There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear.’ Therefore, O Lord, my soul is ever in Thy hands, for the law I have not forgotten. As it pleaseth the Lord, so be it.” And when the priest and the retainer who served him looked and saw their lord downcast and overwhelmed by grief, they began to mourn greatly and said: “O dear and precious lord of ours, how filled with goodness you are that for the sake of the love of Christ you desired not to resist, though many were the troops you held in your hands.” And having said this, they were saddened.

And at that moment he saw those running toward the tent, the flash of weapons and the unsheathing of swords. And the venerable body of the most merciful Boris, Christ’s holy and blessed martyr, was pierced without mercy. Those who stabbed him with lances were the accursed Put’ša, Tal’ts, Elovič, and Ljaš’ko. Upon seeing this, his retainer threw himself upon the body of the blessed one, saying: “I shall not leave you, my precious lord; where the beauty of your body withers, there too will it be granted me to end my life.” He was a Hungarian by birth named George, and upon him was placed a golden necklace; and he was loved by Boris beyond measure. And they ran him through on that spot.

And as he was wounded, Boris ran out of the tent
in haste. And those standing around him began to say: "Why do you stand gazing? Let us end what was begun and do as we were commanded."

Hearing this, the blessed one began to pray and ingratiate himself to them, saying: "My dear and beloved brethren, grant me a little time that I may at least pray to my God." And upon glancing tearfully up at the heavens and sighing bitterly, he began to pray with these words: "God of many mercies, my merciful and most merciful Lord! Glory be to Thee, that Thou hast made me worthy to flee from the deception of this deceitful life. Glory be to Thee, most compassionate Giver of life, that Thou hast made me worthy of the suffering of the holy martyrs. Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Lover of man, that Thou hast made me worthy to fulfill the desire of my heart. Glory be to Thee, my Christ, to Thy great compassion, that Thou hast directed my worldly feet onto the right way, running to Thee without fault. Look down from Thy holy heights and see the sickness of my heart, which I caught from my kinsman, that for Thy sake I am killed this day. I am counted as a sheep for the slaughter. For Thou knowest, my Lord, that I shall neither resist nor speak contrarily. Though I had all my father's troops in my hands and all whom my father loved, yet I plotted nought against my brother. But he has found it possible to rise up against me so greatly. If an enemy reproached me, I could have borne it; if he that hated me did magnify himself against me, I would have hid myself. But, Thou, O Lord, behold and judge between me and between my brother; and, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, but receive my spirit in peace. Amen."

Then, looking at them with tender eyes and a downcast face, and bathed in tears he said: "Brethren, end the service you have begun; and peace be unto my brother, and unto you, my brethren."

And all those hearing his words were unable to utter a single word because of tears and fear, and bitter grief,
and much weeping, but with bitter sighs they wept, and each groaned in his soul and said mournfully: "Woe unto us, our dear and precious prince, guide for the blind, clother of the naked, staff for the aged, teacher for the untaught! Who will do all these things now? For surely he did not desire the glory of this world; he did not desire revels with venerable nobles; he did not desire the grandeur found in this life! Who does not marvel at his great humility; who is not humbled, seeing and hearing of this humility!"

And at that moment he passed away and delivered his soul into the hands of the living God, in the month of July, on the twenty-fourth day, the ninth day before the calends of August.32

And they also slew many retainers. But since they could not remove the necklace from George, they cut off his head and tossed him aside, and for that reason his body could not be recognized later. Upon wrapping the blessed Boris in a tent flap and laying him in a wagon, they drove off. And when they were in a pine forest, he began to raise his holy head. Learning of this, Svjatopolk sent two Varangians, and they pierced him through the heart with a sword. Thus he expired and received a crown everlasting. After having brought him to Vyšegorod, they laid his body in the earth and buried it near the Church of Saint Vasilij.33

And the accursed Svjatopolk stopped not with this murder, but rabidly began to crave even greater ones. And as it was evident his heart's desire had been gained, he immediately forgot his evil murder and great offense and did not, therefore, give himself over in the least to repentence. But it was at this moment that Satan entered his heart36 and began to spur him to commit greater, crueler, and more numerous murders. For he said in his
Δεν μπορείτε να διαβάσετε την ελληνική γλώσσα από αυτή την εικόνα.
accursed soul, "What shall I do? If I abandon the matter of this murder of mine now, I must expect two things. If my brothers find me out, then they, anticipating me, will deal with me even more bitterly. And if not this, they will drive me out, and I will be a stranger to my father's throne, and the sorrows of my land will devour me, and the scorn of the scorners will fall upon me; another will receive my principality, and none will dwell in my courts, for I have persecuted the one the Lord did love, and added a wound to grief. Thus I shall add iniquity to iniquity. Let not the sin of my mother be expiated, and let me not be recorded with the righteous, but let my name be expunged from the book of the living." 37

And so it came to pass, as we shall relate later; there is no time for this now. But let us return to the foregoing.

Having put this in his mind, that evil counselor the Devil summoned the blessed Gleb, saying: "Come quickly, your father summons you and is very sick." He quickly mounted his horse and set off with a small retinue. And when he came to the Volga, the horse beneath him stumbled over a rut in the field and slightly injured its leg.38 And he came to Smolensk, and went on from Smolensk, and within viewing distance therefrom he boarded a small vessel on the Smjadin'.39

At that time news of his father's death reached Jaroslav from Predsla.40 And Jaroslav sent a message to Gleb, saying: "Do not go, brother, your father has died, and your brother has been murdered by Svjatopolk."

Upon hearing this, the blessed one cried out with bitter weeping and heartfelt grief, saying: "O woe unto me, my Lord! With twofold weeping I weep and moan, with twofold grief I grieve and groan. Woe unto me, woe unto me! I weep greatly for my father, but I weep even more and have despaired for you, my brother and lord Boris. How is it that you have been run through! How is it
that you have been delivered to death without mercy! How is it that you have received your ruin not from an enemy but from your own brother! Woe unto me! Better it would have been for me to die with you than to live on in this life, alone and orphaned without you. I thought soon to see your angelic face, and behold, such distress has o'ertaken me. In hopeless grief I would have died with you, my lord! And now what shall I do, wretched and separated from your goodness, and from the great wisdom of my father? O, my dear brother and lord! If you received courage from the Lord, pray for me in my grievous hopelessness, that I may be made worthy to receive the same passion and to abide with you rather than in this deceitful world."

And so, as he was groaning and weeping, and wetting the earth with his tears, and calling upon God with frequent sighs, those sent by Sviatopolk suddenly arrived — those evil servants of his, merciless bloodsuckers, the fiercest of fratricides, having the souls of savage beasts. The saintly one had set off in a small vessel, and they met him at the mouth of the Smjadin'. And when he saw them, he rejoiced in his soul; but they, upon seeing him, were covered with gloom and rowed toward him. And he expected to receive greetings from them. But when they drew alongside, the evil ones began to leap into his boat with bared swords in their hands, which glittered like the water. And immediately the oars fell from all hands, and all were numb with fear.

When the blessed one saw this, he understood they wished to kill him. He gazed at them with tender eyes, his face bathed in tears, broken in heart, humbled in mind, frequently sighing, choked with tears and weakened in body, and he lifted his voice in sorrow: "Let me be,
my dear and precious brethren, let me be, for I have done you no evil! Leave me alone, brethren and lords, leave me alone! What wrong have I done my brother and you, my brethren and lords? If there be some wrong, take me to your prince, to my brother and lord. Have mercy on my youth, have mercy, my lords! You are my lords, I your slave. Reap me not from a life unripened; reap not the ear of grain still unripe but bearing the milk of innocence! Cut not the shoot still less than fully grown but bearing fruit. I implore you and humble myself before you, fear that spoken from the mouths of the Apostles: ‘Be not children in understanding: howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men!’ I, brethren, both in malice and maturity am still a child. This is not murder but butchery! What evil have I done? Witness to it, and I shall not complain. If you wish to sate yourselves with my blood, I am in your hands already, brethren, and my brother’s, your prince.”

But not a single word of this shamed them in any way, and like savage beasts they seized him. Seeing they did not heed his words, he began to speak thus: “Save yourself, my dear father and lord Vasilij! Save yourself, my mother and lady! Save yourself also, brother Boris, elder of my youth! Save yourself also, brother and helpmate Jaroslav! Save yourself also, brother and enemy Svjatopolk! Save yourselves also, brethren and retinue! All save yourselves! I shall no longer see you in this life, for I am parted from you by force.”

And weeping he said: “Vasilij, Vasilij, my father and lord! Incline your ear and hear my voice, look and see what is happening to your child, how I am being slaughtered
without guilt. Woe unto me, woe unto me! Hearken, O heaven, and attend, O earth! And you, brother Boris, hear my voice! My father Vasilij have I summoned and he obeyed me not. Do you not wish to obey me as well? See the sorrow of my heart and the wound of my soul! See my tears flowing like a river! And no one heeds me. But you remember me and pray for me to our Lord as one possessing courage and standing by his throne.”

And bending his knees, he began to pray thus: “Most compassionate and most merciful Lord! Turn not from my tears, but have pity on my grievous hopelessness, see the crushing of my heart. For lo, I am being slaughtered and know not why, nor understand for which wrong. Thou knowest, O Lord, my Lord! I know Thee, Who to Thy Apostles said: ‘For My name, for My sake, they shall lay their hands on you, and ye shall be betrayed by kinsfolk and by friends; and brother shall betray brother unto death, and they shall cause you to be put to death for My name’s sake.’ 43 And also: ‘In your patience you possess ye your souls.’ See, O Lord, and judge! For behold, my soul is prepared before Thee, Lord, and we lift up our praise unto Thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and always and forever more. Amen.”

Then, looking at them, he said with a dejected voice and choking throat: “You have already done this in your thoughts; now that you have come, do what you were sent for.” 44 Then the accursed Gorjaser ordered them to slay him quickly. Gleb’s cook, Torčin by name, drew a knife and, seizing the blessed one, slaughtered him like a meek and innocent lamb. It was in the month of September, on the fifth day, on Monday. 45 And a pure and fragrant sacrifice was brought to the Lord; and he entered into the dwelling-places of heaven, and came to the Lord, and saw the brother whom he desired, and both received the
heavenly crown they had desired, and they rejoiced in the great ineffable joy which they had attained.

But they, the accursed murderers, returned to the one who had sent them, just as David said: "Sinners shall be turned to hell, and all those that forget God." And again: "The sinners have drawn out the sword and have bent their bow, to slay the upright of heart. And their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken, for the sinners shall perish." And they told Svjatopolk, "We have done what you have commanded"; and hearing this he exalted in his heart. And that which was said by the psalmist David came to pass: "Why boastest thou in mischief, O mighty man? Thy tongue deviseth lies and iniquity all the day long. Thou lovest evil more than good, lying rather than to speak righteousness. Thou lovest all devouring words, and a deceitful tongue. For this reason God shall destroy thee forever, He shall take thee away, and pluck thee out of thy dwelling place, and root thee out of the land of the living." 48

After Gleb had been slain, he was cast in a deserted place between two hollowed-out tree trunks. But the Lord does not forsake His servants, as David said: "The Lord keepeth all their bones: and not one of them is broken." And though the saintly one lay there a long time, he remained entirely unharmed, for He left him not in oblivion and neglect but gave signs: now a pillar of fire was seen, now burning candles. Moreover, merchants passing by on the way would hear the singing of angels; and others, hunters and shepherds, also saw and heard these things. It did not occur to anyone to search for the body of the saintly one until Jaroslav, unable to bear this evil murder, moved against that fratricide, the accursed
...
Svjetopolk, and fought many battles with him and was always victorious, with the aid of God and the help of the saintly ones. And as many battles as he waged, the accursed one always returned shamed and defeated.51

Finally this thrice-accursed one attacked with a horde of Pechenegs. And having gathered troops, Jaroslav went forth against him, to the L'to River, and he halted at the place where the saintly Boris was slain. Lifting up his hands to heaven, he said: “ Behold, the blood of my brother crieth out unto Thee, O Lord, just as the blood of Abel did in times past. Avenge him too; afflict him with sorrow and fear, just as Thou didst the fratricide Cain.65 Yea, I beseech Thee, O Lord, may they receive accordingly. And though ye are departed in body, yet in grace ye live and stand before the Lord: Help me with your prayer.”66

After this was spoken, they advanced against one another, and the field of the L’to was covered with a multitude of troops. As the sun rose, they met in battle, and the fighting was extremely fierce.67 They clashed three times, and fought throughout the entire day.68 Toward evening Jaroslav triumphed and the accursed Svjetopolk fled. A demon fell upon him, and his bones became weak so that he was unable even to sit on his horse; so they carried him on a litter. They fled to Brest with him, but he said: “Flee! O behold, they are pursuing us!” They sent out troops to meet them, but there was no one pursuing or chasing after him.69 And lying in a faint, he would start and say, “Let us flee, they are still pursuing, O me!” And he could not endure being in one place, and fled through the land of the Ljakhs, pursued by the wrath of God. He fled into the wilderness between the lands of the Czechs and Ljakhs and there forfeited his life in an evil manner. And he received his reward from the Lord. And just as the fatal
wound was visited upon him, so after death eternal torment. Thus was he deprived of both lives. Here he lost not only his princedom but also his life; and there he was not only bereft of the kingdom of heaven and life with the angels, but was given over to torment and fire. And his grave exists even to this day, and from it issues an evil stench for the edification of men.\textsuperscript{70}

Whoever acquits himself so after hearing of such things will receive the same, and even more than this. Just as Cain, who knew not the retribution he would receive, received one wound, but Lamech, because he knew of the punishment visited upon Cain, was punished seventyfold.\textsuperscript{71} Such are the retributions for evildoers. For just as the Emperor Julian,\textsuperscript{72} who spilled much blood from the holy martyrs, received a bitter and inhuman death, stabbed in the heart with a lance, not knowing by whom he was run through, so too did this one, fleeing, not knowing from whom, receive a vile death. And from then on discord ceased in the land of Rus', and Jaroslav assumed all power over it.

And he began to inquire about the bodies of the saintly ones, how and where they were placed. And about the saintly Boris he was informed that he was placed in Vyšegorod; but about the saintly Gleb they knew nothing, as he had been slain in Smolensk. Then they told him what was heard from those coming from there—that they had seen a light and candles in a deserted place. And upon hearing this, he sent presbyters to Smolensk to search, saying: “That is my brother.” And they found him where these things were seen. And they came with crosses and many candles and censers, and with great reverence placed him in a vessel. And upon arriving, they laid him in Vyšegorod, where also the body of the most blessed Boris lay. And after they had dug up the earth, they laid him
ножек плохого представлеи. Всегда ожидать, что вы делаете естественно.

Если что-то не ясно, обязательно задайте вопрос.

Спасибо за внимание.
thus to rest, amazed by the honor most fittingly shown. For lo, it was most miraculous and wondrous, and worthy of memory, that though the body of the saintly one had lain for many years, it was harmed by no beast of prey, nor had it turned black as bodies of the dead usually do. Rather it was radiant, and beautiful, and whole, and it had a pleasing fragrance. Thus had God preserved the body of His martyr.

And though many did not know the bodies of the martyrs lay there, yet the Lord had said: "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and cover it with a bushel, but place it on a candlestick; and it giveth light to darkness." Thus did He place these saintly ones to give light in the world through many miracles, and to shine in the great land of Rus', where a multitude of sufferers have been saved: the blind gain their sight; the lame run faster than a chamois; and the hunch-backed are righted.

But can I relate everything or tell of the miracles which occur? In truth, the entire earth cannot hold the most wondrous miracles which take place, for they are more numerous than the sand of the sea. And not only there, but in all the countries and in all the lands through which they pass, they cast out disease and illness, and visit those in prison and in fetters. And at the place where they were made worthy of the crowns of martyrs, churches were built in their names, and there too they do good and work many miracles.

Therefore, I know not how to praise you, nor am I capable, and am at a loss for words. Shall I call you angels, for you were briefly at the side of the sorrowing? But you have lived on earth as flesh among men! Shall I call you men? But you surpass all human understanding by the multitude of your miracles and visitations to the infirm.

Matthew 5:14-15
Именнина святого Никиты. Написалъ архимандритъ Серафимъ Симеоновскій.
Shall I speak of you as rulers or princes? But you have gained in humility even beyond that of a simple and humble man, even as you have established yourselves in the high places and dwellings. Verily, you are rulers of rulers and princes of princes, for through your help and protection our princes triumph mightily over those who rise up against them, and they can boast of your succor. For you are their arms and ours; you are the defense and support of the land of Rus', the double-edged sword with which we lay low the insolence of the pagans and trample into the earth the arrogance of the Devil. Verily, can I say without doubt, that you are heavenly men and earthly angels, the pillars and the support of our land! Therefore you fight for and succor your fatherland, just as Dimitrij the Great did for his fatherland, saying: “I was with them when they made merry, so also shall I die with them when they perish.” However, the great and merciful Dimitrij proclaimed this about a single city, whereas you care and intercede not for one city, nor for two, but for all, for the entire land of Rus’. O blessed are the graves that received your venerable bodies like a treasure most valuable! Blessed is the church in which the holy coffins containing your blessed bodies were placed!

O righteous men of Christ! Blessed in truth and exalted more than all the cities of Rus’, the most exalted city is the one that holds such a treasure; the whole world is not its equal. Verily, it is called Vyšegorod: an exalted, the most exalted city of all; a second Selun has appeared in the land of Rus’ possessing the power of bountiful healing. Not only to our people was salvation given by God, but also to the entire earth, for they come there
from all countries and obtain healing there, just as in the holy Gospels the Lord said to His holy Apostles: “Freely ye have received, freely give.” For of such things the Lord Himself said: “Believe in Me, the works that I do shall He do also, and greater than these.”

But, O blessed martyrs in Christ, forget not the fatherland where you lived in the body; and never in your compassion abandon it! So pray for us always in your prayers, that evil may not come to us, and that plague may not afflict your body and that of your servants. To you has grace been shown, so pray for us. For God has granted that you might pray for us and intercede on our behalf. Therefore we hasten to you, and falling before you in tears, we pray that the foot of the proud shall not trample upon us, nor the hand of the sinner destroy us, and that no pestilence shall befall us. Drive hunger and misfortune far from us, and deliver us from every sword of war; and make internecine wars foreign to us, and defend us, who put our hope in you, from all sin and transgression. And carry without wearying our prayer to the Lord God, as we have sinned much, we have committed numberless outrages, and we have raged beyond measure and in the extreme. But we have hope in your prayers, and cry out to the Savior saying: “O Lord, Thou alone art without sin! Look down from Thy holy heavens upon us, wretches that we are. Though we have sinned, Thou hast cleansed us; and we have committed outrages, and Thou hast mitigated them; we have strayed at times, but like harlots Thou hast cleansed us, and like publicans Thou hast absolved us. May Thy mercy come upon us, and may Thy love of mankind be instilled in us. Weaken us not, that we should be betrayed by our sins, or fall to sleep or die a bitter death, but redeem us from earthly evil and grant us time for repentance, as our iniquities are many before Thee,
O Lord! Deal with us according to Thy grace, O Lord, for Thy name will be invoked among us. Have mercy upon us and be compassionate. And defend us by virtue of the prayers of Thy venerable martyrs. And make us not contemptible, but shed Thy grace upon the sheep of Thy pasture, for Thou art our God, and we shall lift up our praise unto Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and always, and forever and ever. Amen.”

About Boris and How He Looked

Now this pious Boris, being of a good root, was obedient to his father and submitted to his father in all things. In appearance he was handsome and tall, with a round face, broad shoulders, narrow hips, kind eyes, a happy expression, and a small beard and mustache, as he was still young. He shone in a regal manner, and was of a strong constitution. He was beauteous in every way, like a flower blooming in its youth: brave in war, wise in councils, and reasonable in all things. And the grace of God blossomed upon him.

Narrative of the Miracles of Christ's Holy Martyrs, Roman and David.81 Bless us Lord, Our Father.

“Man cannot utter it: the eye is not sated with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing,” said the Preacher. Thus, our understanding is unable to state, nor can the tongue express, nor words relate, the miracles of the holy martyrs, inasmuch as they received a reward for their labors directly from the Lord as sons and companions of God. And as John the Theologian said: “But as many of them as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God.” And David said: “To the saints that are in His earth, the Lord manifests all His will among them”;82 and again, “God is wondrous among His saints; He alone wrought miracles.”83 And the venerable John of Damascus wrote as follows about such men in his book called Faith:84
телурийнюкью вехкахнале
нациелау дукранин носла ше
лв. снхпампатахран нуд
тутенвеселующе надо
вано. празднуемъ въ нь
железобитного. пре
липого неблагодати нундери
сэй. микожененастрето
тарпцанвсестранкруо
сэйтнзелан. слялаже
некаем. дуоланознвпнч
городв.лежашьстополчесок
остростратотарпную вво
рэлананеда. нэгнеда
дамышетывоулуолреиро
вншкурытнебакусалан
оводаболакустнедеже
лежаста. вдамахоуст
апхонзаместнщь. ново
рэдланвийвасаслышаль
хоньтослышашеннам
шеледикв. рэннанпв
хоньнелавалахорка.
н приходашепокланахау
слядйтетв. толлнпншна
лцнанов. прихоныхоу
отвьнхузелал. новивк
рэлкайвслышашенадро
нинезерольв. дуонкайв
лжсявала. ховь. мьжжапо
столтаяшэкрэст. нек
рфванныялпогвзашин
"Men such as these are alive even after death, and stand before the Lord. The Lord Christ will give to us through their relics the wellsprings to our salvation, drawing fragrant myrrh from their martyred bodies." And also: "Those who believe in God and in the hope of the resurrection we call not dead, for dead flesh, O Lord, can work miracles": 85 For demons are exorcised by them, diseases are driven out, infirmities expelled, the blind given sight, lepers cleansed, and injury and sorrow ended. Every good thing given by the Father of Light through them shall come to those who ask with faith and without doubt. 86 How much labor will it cost you to find a defender to come before a mortal emperor and to speak on your behalf, or other kinds of protectors who would also render prayers to God for us! 87

Therefore, is it not fitting for us who pay homage to honor the names of all those who bore fruit for the Church and for God, to revere their memories and to rejoice spiritually? 88 We celebrate those whom God glorified with abundant grace and miracles, like these two martyrs in this country, the land of Rus'. And as many did not know that in Vysegorod lay the holy martyrs Roman and David, Christ's holy martyrs, the Lord did not allow such a treasure to be concealed in the earth. For in the place where they lay a standing pillar of fire was sometimes seen, and sometimes the singing of angels was heard. And upon hearing and seeing this, the faithful marveled and glorified God, and came to worship in that place. And many foreigners came from other lands, and some hearing these things believed, while others did not believe but thought it a lie. Verily, it is as the Apostle said of the Cross: "To them
Чтение текста на представленном изображении невозможно без знания древнерусского языка и алфавита. Текст не соответствует современной русской норме и может содержать искажения или ошибки в передаче содержания.
that perish by disbelief it is foolishness, but unto us which are saved by faith it is the power of God." And the Lord said in the holy Gospels: “Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.” And, “whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed.”

Once Varangians came close to the place where the saints lay buried beneath the ground. And as one of them passed by, at that instant fire issued from the grave and set his legs afire. Leaping up he began to exclaim, showing his burned and scorched legs to his retinue. And thenceforth they dared not approach closely, but bowed down in fear. A few days after this the Church of Saint Vasiliy, near which the saints lay, caught fire. People flocked to the sight and, as the church was burning from the top down, they carried out all the icons and chalices, and nothing was consumed save the church itself. Jaroslav was told of this. And he summoned the Metropolitan John and told him everything concerning the holy martyrs, his brothers. And he was in great fear, and in doubt, and then filled with courage and joy in God. And upon departing from the Prince, he gathered the clergy and the entire priesthood and commanded them to go to Vyšegorod with crosses. And they came to the place where the saints lay. Prince Jaroslav was also with them. And they erected a small cell in the place where the church had burned down. The Archbishop arrived with crosses and arranged the evening service in that cell.

On the Disinterment of the Saints

The day arrived when the Archbishop came with crosses to the place where the venerable bodies of the saints lay. Upon offering a prayer, he ordered that the earth over the grave of the saints be removed. Then those digging noticed a fragrant aroma issuing from the grave of the holy ones. After removing the earth, they took them out of the ground. And the Metropolitan John came forward with presbyters, and with fear and love he opened
the coffins of the saints. They saw a most glorious miracle: the bodies of the saints were not corrupted but were entirely whole; and their faces were as radiant as those of angels. So the Archbishop was greatly amazed, and an abundant fragrance filled all the people. And they carried them into the shelter which had been placed on the site of the burned-out church, and placed them above the ground, on the right side of the place.

The First Miracle: About the Lame Boy

There was a man, Mironeg by name, who was a townsman of Vyšegorod. He had a boy whose leg was withered and bent, and he could not walk on it or feel it in the least. But, having attached a wooden peg beneath it, he could walk after a fashion. And he came to the saints, fell at their coffins and prayed to God, begging for healing from the saints. And he remained day and night, praying in tears. And one night the holy martyrs Roman and David appeared to him and said: "Why do you cry out to us?" Then he showed his leg and begged for healing. And they took the withered leg and made the sign of the cross over it three times. When he awoke from his sleep, he found himself healthy and he jumped up, praising God and the saints, and explaining to the people how they had healed him. And he said that with them he had seen George, Saint Boris' servant, walking with them and carrying a candle. And upon seeing this miracle, the people praised God for that which had come to pass and for the son of the townsman Mironeg.

The Second Miracle: About the Blind Man

A certain man was blind. And he came, fell down at the graves of the saints, kissed them lovingly, touching his eyes to them, and begged for healing. And immediately he received his sight. And all the people praised God and the holy martyrs. Then Mironeg told the Prince about the miracles. Upon hearing this, Prince Jaroslav praised God and the holy martyrs; he then summoned the Metro-
综合素质与文化素养

1. Написать письмо своему другу, рассказав о своем дне.

2. Подготовить презентацию по теме "История русской литературы".

3. Изучить основы программирования на Python.

4. Провести исследование по теме "Анализ социальных сетей".

5. Подготовить проект по теме "Технологии машинного обучения".

С уважением,

[Подпись]

(Ответ на предыдущую задачу)

1. Описать процесс распознавания изображения на изображении.

2. Подготовить рабочую область для тестирования алгоритма распознавания.

3. Изучить основные алгоритмы машинного обучения.

4. Провести тестирование алгоритма на наборе данных.

5. Подготовить отчет по результатам тестирования.

С уважением,
The Third Miracle: About the Lame Man

While the Prince and the Metropolitan were still in the church for the holy liturgy, there was a lame man there. He had come, dragging himself with great difficulty. And he came into the church and prayed to God and the saints. And immediately his legs were strengthened by the grace of God and the prayers of the saints, and he arose and walked in the presence of all. Now pious Prince Jaroslav himself saw the miracle, as did the Metropolitan and all the people; and they lifted their praise to God and the holy martyrs. After the liturgy, the Prince hosted everyone at dinner, the Metropolitan as well as the presbyters. And they celebrated the holiday and, as was fitting, he distributed many of his possessions to the poor, to orphans, and to widows. After these events Jaroslav passed away, having lived a good thirty-eight years after the death of his father. He left the heirs of his father and the successors to the throne, his sons Izjaslav, Svjatoslav, and Vsevolod, having established them as was proper: Izjaslav the eldest in Kiev, but Svjatoslav in Černigov, Vsevolod in Perejaslav', and the others in different districts.92 And after twenty years had passed, the church became dilapidated, and Izjaslav made plans to erect a new church to the holy
On the Translation of the Holy Martyrs

This came to pass at the time of the translation of the holy martyrs Roman and David. And when all the brothers had gathered, Izjaslav, Svjatoslav, and Vsevolod, the Metropolitan George of Kiev and another, Neofit of Černigov, and the bishops Peter of Perejaslav, Nikita of Belogorod, and Michael of Gurgev, and the hegumens Theodosius of the Cave Monastery, Sofonia of Saint Michael's, and German of the Holy Savior, and all the other hegumens arranged a solemn holiday. And having first raised Saint Boris in his wooden coffin, the princes raised the coffin to their shoulders, and preceded by venerable monks with candles, and after them deacons, and then presbyters, and after them the metropolitan and bishops, they followed after them with the coffin. They carried it into the church and set it down. Upon opening the coffin, the church was filled with a fragrance and an aroma most wonderful, and all who saw this praised God. But terror overcame the Metropolitan, for he did not firmly believe in the saints, and he prostrated himself to beg forgiveness. Kissing the relics, they put them in a stone coffin. Afterwards, having raised Gleb in a stone coffin and placing him on a sledge, they began in this way to move him. And when they were in the doorway, the coffin would not move from that spot; and they commanded the people to cry out, “Lord, have mercy!” And they prayed to the Lord and the saints, and immediately they moved him. And they kissed the head of Saint Boris and the hand of Saint Gleb. Taking his hand, the Metropolitan George blessed the princes Izjaslav and Vsevolod. And again Svjatoslav took the hand of the Metropolitan and, while holding the hand of the saint, pressed it to his injury, for he had pain in his neck, and to his eyes, and to his forehead, and then placed the hand back into the coffin. Then they began to celebrate the holy liturgy. Now Svjatoslav said to B'rn, “Something is piercing
my head." And B'rn removed the Prince's cap and saw the saint's fingernail. He removed it from his head and gave it to Svjatoslav. And he praised God for the good gift from the saints. After the liturgy, all the brothers and everyone else dined together and celebrated the solemn holiday. And they arranged much in the way of alms for the poor, kissed one another, and parted peacefully, each to his own. And from then on this holiday was established on the twentieth day of the month of May, to the glory and honor of the holy martyrs, through the grace of our Lord, Jesus Christ.

The Fourth Miracle: About the Lame and Mute Man

There was a certain man who was lame and mute, and whose leg had been cut off at the knee. Making a wooden peg, he walked on it out of necessity. And he remained at the saints' church with other beggars, receiving from Christians according to his need, as someone would always give him something: this one clothes, and that one whatever he wanted. And there was a man in Vysegorod, the town elder, whose secular name was Ž'dan but who was called Nikola in Baptism. Throughout the entire year he observed the holiday of Saint Nikola. On one of those days the following happened to him. The beggars went there, and the lame man also went, hoping to recieve something. And having entered the yard, he was sitting in front of the house. However, it happened that they gave him neither to eat nor to drink, and he remained hungry and thirsty. And all of a sudden he was in a trance and saw a vision. And it seemed to him, sitting in mind by the church of the saints, that he saw the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb apparently emerging from the altar and coming toward him. He was terrified and prostrated himself. And the saints took him by the hand, and it was as though they had seated him and begun speaking about his healing. And then they made the sign of the cross over his mouth, and took his lame leg, and seemingly anointing it with ointment, they stretched out his knee. And the ailing one saw all this as though in a dream, for he had
prostrated himself in that yard. The people who saw him prostrated so turned him this way and that. But he lay as if dead, unable to move either his mouth or his eyes; but his soul was within him, and his heart was clamoring. And everyone thought that he was possessed of a demon. Lifting him up and carrying him, they laid him before the doors of the church of the saints. And many people stood near him, watching and marveling. And a glorious miracle was to be seen, as a small leg, like a young child’s, appeared from his knee and began to grow until it was like his other one, not over a long time but in a single hour. Upon seeing this, those who were there praised God and His virtuous men and martyrs Roman and David. And together with the prophet they cried out, saying: “Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord, and shew forth all His praises?” And again: “God is wondrous among His saints; He alone has wrought miracles.”

The Fifth Miracle: About the Woman with the Withered Hand

There was a woman in the city of Dorogobuz, a servant, who knowingly did something on Saint Nikola’s day at the command of her mistress. And suddenly the holy martyrs appeared to her, stopped her, and said to her: “Why are you doing such a thing on Saint Nikola’s day? Now we shall have to punish you.” And having said this, they destroyed that house and caused the woman to be as one dead. She lay for a month, unable to do anything; and when she rose she was weak and her hand was withered. She remained that way, unable to work or to serve her mistress. Upon seeing her that way, her mistress drove her away, but enslaved her boy who was freeborn. However, those sitting in judgment did not permit the boy to be enslaved, and ordered her mistress stripped of that payment. And they deemed them worthy of freedom, because she had received punishment after being forced to do something. And after three years had passed, the woman with the withered hand heard about a man whose arms and legs were bent, and how he had received forgive-
ness at the church of the holy martyrs, Roman and David. And she arose and went to Vyšegorod. She arrived on the Sabbath day—it was also the Vigil of the Holy Mother of God—and notified Lazor, who was the Presbyter of the clerics of that church. He commanded her to remain at the church overnight. And the following morning, the woman with the withered hand came up to those who were walking with crosses toward the icon of the Holy Mother of God, and related her dream to Lazor in this way. "Last night, while I was sitting in the church, two handsome youths came and said to me: 'Who seated you here?' And I answered: 'The priest Lazor commanded me.' He said, 'Sit down here, perhaps God and the prayers of the holy martyrs will heal you.' When I said this, the elder of the two immediately took a ring from his hand, gave it to me, and said: 'Place this on your hand and cross yourself, and you hand will be healed.'" Upon hearing this, Lazor commanded her to stand by the church doors for the liturgy so that when they finished, they would make a prayer for her and anoint her hand with wood oil. And they began to celebrate the liturgy; and when they had finished chanting, "O Holy God," and after the chanter had performed the chant to the Mother of God and the prokymen, "My soul shall be joyful in the Lord," the woman with the withered hand suddenly ran toward the altar, her hand trembling and shaking. And all the people and clerics who saw this thought her possessed, and drew her to the graves of the saints. Lazor saw her and, upon recognizing her, was frightened. And immediately her hand was whole. And all those who saw that praised God for this miracle, and marveled at God's rapid ministration, and at the power of Christ's holy martyrs.

The Sixth Miracle of the Holy Martyrs
Roman and David and Saint George: About the Blind Man

Once there was a blind man somewhere in the city. And having gone to the Church of Saint George, he prayed to Saint George and begged that he might see. And the following happened to him. One night, while he was sleeping, the holy martyr George appeared to him, saying: "Man, why do you cry out to me so? If you need your sight returned, I say to you, go to the holy martyrs Boris
and Gleb, and they, if they wish, will be able to give you the sight which you need. Grace has been given them by God to forgive and heal all suffering and infirmity in this country, the land of Rus'.” And after he had seen and heard this, and had awakened from his sleep, he set off, as he had been commanded. Upon arriving, he remained in the church of the holy martyrs several days, worshiping and praying to the saints until he was shown mercy: and he gained his sight. And he was able to see and praised God and the holy martyrs, for he had received health. And he announced before all that he had seen them as the holy martyrs had come to him, made the sign of the cross over his eyes three times, and immediately his eyes opened. And everyone thanked and praised God for all those glorious and most wondrous and ineffable miracles, which were wrought by the saints. For it is written: “He will fulfill the desire of them that fear Him; and He also will hear their cry.” And again: “He shall give all their desires.” 100 And after these things, the miracles of the saints continued spreading and blessings were multiplied; as it is written in the Holy Gospels: “The entire world cannot contain that which should be written.” 101

Thus, after such things had occurred, Svjatoslav, the son of Jaroslav, planned to build a stone church for the saints. And when he had built it to a height of eighty cubits, he passed away. Now Vsevolod assumed supreme power in the land of Rus’, and he completed the church. And when it was completed, on that very night its top suddenly collapsed and everything was smashed. Thereafter Vsevolod passed away in peace, having lived well and ruled that which was entrusted to him by the Lord. Then Svjatopolk Izjaslawič assumed rule in Kiev, and David and Oleg in Černigov, and Volodimir in Perejaslavl’. 102 And in those times the pagans had strengthened them-
намыкоусолмана. Навда. В
многого, что ределен нанентован
быть эхнатонпретеревия
нардабадевтейрантузу. И
лишества им пронизидаст
этах (эта трап) пять.
Мы не предпримем нятьса
нашает пору паяуша. Ипоко
еетвоожшавжестанала. С
эльвовокбрашхалдыр
алквовшемлпогре бенн
далклюш튼алх. Ембра
гутрезпышеллапаналм
пагерал. Летянжэн же в
тележашину властя. Вз
номнванлуапой. Маны
аневынжестанапоре
всем. Оукоу жжекслан
диспртотвэйовь. И
къеретвэнат желаражже
къашанелла. Наполо
немокорвааманале жаша
окрытого. Нобрууан же
эногонененталкашбуо
же. Нвтебяралсляна
неаталкруу галмика. И
сполианоу вагже вэбэнат
лв. Нпрнрузваветражайно
карчаналозысекий. Иш
на ведефалякест
кунпреславьанохую
энкүу нпрншадже.
selves considerably against us, doing much violence to us because of our sins. The church of the holy martyrs was neglected, and no one could do anything, either about the building or all this, or about recording the miracles, or about the many things still taking place. For people would tell of these things, people who had been witnesses to miracles happening in this manner.

Prince Svjatopolk had imprisoned two men who were cruelly put in chains for no reason. And without investigating, he listened to slanderers and forgot that spoken by David the Prophet: "A froward heart shall depart from me: I have not known a wicked person. Whoso slandereth his neighbor, him have I driven out." And having imprisoned them, he left them to be forgotten.

Now being in such misfortune, they prayed much to the holy martyrs, and for weeks on end gave money to the guard to buy communion bread and to carry it to the church of the holy martyrs, Roman and David. And after much time had passed, these two still remained there in sorrow and distress. And they prayed and called upon Christ’s holy martyrs not to neglect them but to save, defend, and assist them. And it happened in this way. While the prison doors were locked and these two and many others were sleeping inside, the ladders lying outside were drawn out. During the night, one of them was suddenly outside, sleeping on top of the prison. And upon awakening, he found himself free of his fetters, and looking up he saw the irons which had been on him and on his friend broken and lying near him, and the rings that had been on his legs twisted like a rope. Rising, he praised God and His holy servants. And when he remembered whom he had seen, he summoned the guard, showed him all that had happened, and said: "Take me to the church of Christ’s most glorious martyrs." Upon coming to the church
during Matins—it was on a Thursday—and worshiping before the sepulchers of the saints, he announced before all the clerics and the people in the church, speaking thusly: “While we and many others were sleeping inside the prison, suddenly it was as though the roof were removed and we saw the saints, who entered and said: ‘Why do you remain here?’ And we answered: ‘Such is the will of the Prince, for we have been slandered.’ And the saints said to them: ‘This we command you: Go you to the church and proclaim what you have seen, but this friend of yours we leave inside.’ Moreover, we have made him blind as proof to the others, should they not trust you. We ourselves are leaving for the land of the Greeks and, upon returning after three days, we shall visit him and restore his sight. And then the two of you go and say to the Prince: ‘Why do you do this? You torment and torture without investigating. But if you do not repent this, and cease acting so, be you informed, remain on guard, lest you be not saved.’ And when they finished saying this and other things to them, they disappeared from our sight. Therefore, my brethren, these things that I saw I have told you: but if you wish to see or hear, let us go to the prison.” And upon going to the prison, they saw the keys undamaged and the lock, and the ladder by which they descended and left lying outside. And they were amazed and praised the Lord and the saints.

When they opened the prison and entered, they saw that friend of whom we have spoken, sitting and so blind that neither his eyelids nor his eyelashes could be distinguished; and he was unfettered. And he related these things to those who asked. Then they were freed, and did not leave the church day or night. Moreover, the blinded man, as one who was brought before the saints, as one begging for a debt, he fell to the graves and prayed, saying: “O holy servants of Christ! Do not overlook, do not
корышенпрлагомехвьшего
родуустопрехозамятель.
хоташеженироккындатышстететожеро
кынаккерестерекоусто.
глядешведрупоинемен
шалстаналгено. неклоо
жизуйдкишенинксезиз
яшаклекишофяроиннинпо
көннетоколайксой. волонд
кинреженженялохадзяна
реткын. сыъвесволож. ву
ттареленаарожерекоолол.
предражалышоукоперемеда
исессукэсоволость. negócio
кынканованалкнешек
стэлала. наногопронншо
кынкводалашенала. татеш
керишкасантборнтаий
коустьбекалянуолота
мактараш. тостанбюн
шуююобаункоу. ноншш
дашотпрелонгорораска
павжжетсекербритьян
поселений. нпакытакаже
приншаношнинглажен
искалутдедежнандастьо
хылынаметтатжрабостра
синтралекобулаткую
кокунаста. нтакожонор
отдан. ннагучуранпышн
дхышерадестнокоулдыкым
not forget, since you have promised. Grant me the vow that is due me." And thus he did three times every day until Sunday. Coming as usual, he prayed at Matins in this manner until his wailing disturbed those who were chanting. They were angered and said: "We ought to remove this blind man, as it is not possible to chant because of him." And he continued lamenting and prostrating himself before the saints and crying out: "Have mercy on me, for you have promised me!" And suddenly he turned and said: "Cry out, Kyrie eleison! Do you see the glory of God and the saints? Lo, I see!" And his eyes were healthy, as though they had not been afflicted nor had ever been blinded. Then everyone praised God and the holy martyrs, and they went and announced to Prince Svjatopolk all they had seen and heard. And from that time forth he did not oppress the people in much, and at times he let much pass. He established in Vyšegorod a holiday which comes often during the year. And he wanted to begin to build a church on the old wooden place near the graves of the saints, but said: "I dare not move them from place to place."

However, this intention was not realized through God’s design and the will of the holy martyrs. Volodimir, who was also called Monomakh,108 the son of Vsevolod, held the region of Perejaslavl’ during those times of which we have spoken. And he had a great love for the saints and made many offerings to them. Then he thought of doing the following: To adorn the holy coffins of Christ’s venerable and holy martyrs with silver and gold. And after night fell, he measured the graves. He then removed the silver slabs and gilded them. And again he came at night, and having covered them, he adorned the miracle-working and praiseworthy holy graves of Christ’s sufferers and martyrs, Boris and Gleb, and then left that same night. And the following morning, having come and joyfully
seeing the people worshiped and lifted their praise to God and the holy martyrs,\textsuperscript{109} as such a thought had been placed in the heart of the pious prince. Thus, in unison and with many words they praised the nobility, and high-mindedness, and love which pious Prince Volodimir had for the saints; the meekness, and humility, and zeal which he had for God and the holy churches; and even more, that which he was doing for these saints. He had first done this in the year 6610,\textsuperscript{110} then, after the translation, he completed much more over the holy graves. For after he had forged the silver slabs, made a likeness of the saints on them, and gilded them, he adorned a fence with gold and silver, and decorated it with large crystal openwork, having an abundance of gold on top, and gilded candlesticks; and he placed burning candles in all of them. And he so beautified them that I cannot express the artistry fittingly enough. Many would come from among the Greeks and other lands and say: “Nowhere is there such beauty, and we have seen the coffins of many saints.” He adorned them in this manner as a remembrance of his good works. Thus, first blessings and praise from the Lord, Who said: “Lay not up treasure upon earth, but in heaven”;\textsuperscript{111} second, from the saints, for they have been revered silently; and third, from man, and from all who see and hear.

But we have paused and shall go on again. Thus, after Volodimir had adorned the holy coffins, Oleg, the son of Svjatoslav, planned to restore the stone church, which had collapsed in Vysegorod. Upon bringing builders, he ordered them to build, having given them an abundance of everything that was needed. And when it was completed and decorated with frescos, they urged and entreated Svjatopolk many times to translate the holy martyrs to the church that had been built. But again, as though
scorning his work, he did not wish to translate them because he himself had not built that church.

And after a short time had passed—in the second year after the building of the church—Svijatopolk passed away, and there was much rebellion and discord among the people, and no small amount of uproar. And then, when all the people had gathered, even the great and notable men, they went as an assembly of all the people and entreated Volodimir to go and put an end to the discord among the people. And he went and put down the rebellion and riot among the people, and assumed rule over the entire land of Rus’ in the year 6600 and 21.

When Volodimir gained all power, he made plans to translate the holy martyrs to the church that had been built. And he informed his brothers David and Oleg, since they were always speaking of the translation of the saints, and were urging Volodimir. And then, after Volodimir had gathered his sons to himself, they came to Vyšegorod along with David and Oleg and their sons. And Metropolitan Nikifor assembled all the bishops, Theokist from Černigov, Lazor from Perejaslavl’, Mina from Polotsk, Daniel from Gurgev; and all the hegumens, Prokhor from the Cave Monastery, Sava from the Holy Transfiguration, Sylvester from Saint Michael’s, Peter from the Holy Mother of God of Lakhemitis, Gregory from Saint Andrew’s, and Theophil from Saint Dmitrij’s; and all the other venerable hegumens, and every rank of clergyman and monk, and all the clerics, and the entire priesthood. A great multitude of people came together there from the entire land of Rus’ and from other countries: princes and all the boyars, all the elders and military commanders from the entire land of Rus’, and rulers of entire countries. Simply speaking, every group was there, and every province, and all the rich and the poor, the healthy as well as the infirm, so that the
And on the first day of the month of May, on Saturday, two weeks after Easter, they consecrated the church. On the following morning, on holy Sunday, the second day of the month, the myrrh bearers were praised in song, and they began to celebrate Matins in both churches. And upon placing the saints on separate sledges, which were made for that purpose, they took Boris first. And Volodimir walked beside him with great reverence, as did the Metropolitan and the priests with candles and censers. And the nobles and all the boyars walked, pulling the sledge with great ropes, crowding and pressing. A fence had been built on both sides where they were pulling the holy coffins, but it was possible neither to move nor to pull because of the multitude of people. Then Volodimir ordered marten furs, and skins, and brocades thrown to the people. Upon seeing this, the people there turned back, but others remained and hastened to the holy coffins that they might be worthy to touch them. And as great as was the multitude of people, not one was without tears of happiness and great joy. And thus they were scarcely able to move forward. And Saint Gleb was placed in the same manner on another sledge behind Boris. And David walked beside him, as did the bishops and the clerics, as well as monks and boyars, and people and an innumerable multitude, all chanting kyrie eleison and tearfully calling out to God. And lo, there was a glorious miracle. For when they were taking Saint Boris, they went along unhindered, except for the crowding of the people.

But when they took Saint Gleb, his coffin became immovable. As they pulled with force, the ropes, which were so large that a man could scarcely put both hands around them, snapped; and they snapped at once, while the people were crying kyrie eleison. And throughout the entire town, and along the walls, and along the parapets of entire city was filled and there was no room along the city walls.
the city, there was a great multitude, just like bees. The voice of the people rose from everyone: "Lord, have mercy!" It was like thunder. And thus they were barely able to transport the relics to the church in the time between Matins and the liturgy. Glory now to our God together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.
Notes to Boris and Gleb

1. Many variants of this manuscript give the "Month of July, on the 24th day" as the date preceding the title of the work; see D. Abramović, *Die Altrussischen Hagiographischen Erzählungen und Liturgischen Dichtungen über Die Heiligen Boris und Gleb* (Munich, 1967), p. 27.

2. The introductory sentence seems to refer to Isaiah 65:23: "They shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them."

3. The date of Volodimir's (Saint Vladimir) baptism is given variously as 987 or 988. It is not known who performed the baptism, nor is there any certainty as to the place where it first occurred. According to the *Primary Chronicle* (entry under the year 988), "Vladimir was baptized in the Church of Saint Basil [Vasilij], which stands in Kherson... Those who do not know the truth say he was baptized in Kiev, while others assert this event took place in Vasilev, while still others mention other places" (see *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, trans. Samuel H. Cross, p. 201). However, it is nevertheless quite possible that the baptism in Kherson was indeed a second ceremony insisted on by the Greeks as a condition for marrying Anna, the sister of the Greek Emperor Basil, and that he had already been baptized (? by the Bulgarians) in one of the previously mentioned places. In baptism, Vladimir assumed the name Vasilij (Russian for Basil). Baptism of the people of Kiev began early in 990, after his return from the Crimea.

Svjatoslav I (964—972), the son of Igor and Olga, was the first Norse ruler of Kiev. He was an indefatigable campaigner, who, it seems, planned to found a great Slavic empire that would comprise, apart from Kievan Russia, a considerable portion of the Balkans (see F. Dvornik, *The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization* [Boston, 1956], p. 204). On his way home after a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Byzantines, he was ambushed and killed by the Pechenegs.

4. Perhaps because of an oversight on the part of the author, only eleven sons are identified. More curious, however, is the fact that the names given in this work do not agree with those that are found in the *Primary Chronicle* (Cross, p. 207), where we read, "For he [Vladimir] had twelve sons: Vysheslav, Izyaslav, Yaroslav, Svyatopolk, Vsevolod, Svyatoslav, Mstislav, Boris, Gleb, Stanislav, Pozvizd, and Sudislav."

That Vladimir had been a polygamist before his conversion there is no doubt. He is believed to have had at least seven wives before his marriage to Anna and, after her death in 1011, to have remarried. The ensuing conflict among the many sons of Vladimir after his death was in part due to the lack of brotherly ties among them, and the considerable tension in the relations among the differing family groups.
As concerns Boris and Gleb, it would seem that they were illegitimate, since strict chronology would have Boris and Gleb born after around 990, hence after Vladimir's Christian marriage. However, it is possible that their youth may have been exaggerated in the legends. It is interesting to note that there is a tradition which has Gleb as the son of Anna.

5 The Pechenegs—also called Patzinaks in Byzantine sources—were a nomadic people of Turkic extraction. During much of the tenth century they controlled the lands between the Don and the Lower Danube, and commanded the trade route from Rus' to the Crimea. In their relations with the Russes they were at times allies, but more often enemies and a continual menace. According to the chronicles, they first attacked Rus' in 915. As a result of the rapprochement between Rus' and Byzantium in 988, a protracted and bitter war ensued between them and Rus'. In 1036 they were routed by Jaroslav the Wise of Kiev, and moved off to the lower reaches of the Danube from where they mounted raids against Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Byzantium. Growing gradually weaker, they were soundly defeated by the Byzantines at the gates of Constantinople in 1091. This marked their downfall. In the twelfth century they merged partially with the Polovtsy (Cumans), and in the thirteenth century with the Mongols (Tatars).

6 This is not a verbatim quotation from Proverbs 4:3.

7 On 15 July 1015 Prince Volodimir (Vladimir/Vasilij) died. Since the date of his birth is uncertain—assumed by some to be around 954—his age at death remains unknown. There is hardly any doubt as to Vladimir's personal devotion to Christianity once baptized. Despite his pagan beginnings and pre-Christian excesses, he accepted his new faith with the greatest sense of responsibility: He saw to the christianization of the people, built churches, promoted education, and practiced charity. Indeed, his banquets and hospitality became legendary, and were recorded for posterity by the popular imagination in the byliny, where he is the “beautiful/dear sun” (krasnoje solnysko; see D. Ciževskij, History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the Baroque [The Hague: Mouton, 1960]. p. 73). To the new Christian nation as a whole he was their baptizer, their great preceptor, who brought the Russian people to regeneration in Christ. For this the Russian Church bestowed the dignity of sainthood upon him.

8 Berestovo, an estate near Kiev that belonged to Prince Vladimir.

9 Conveying the body of a deceased person on a sledge was a part of the burial ritual of ancient Russia.

10 The entire passage from James 4:6 reads: “But he giveth more grace. Wherefore he saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.”

11 The Slavic text refers only to a fragment of I John 4:20, which reads: “If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?”
This passage contains only a part of the first sentence from 1 John 4:18. The entire biblical verse is: “There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love.”

The allusion here is to Genesis 43. In verse 29 of this chapter we read the following: “And he [Joseph] lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother’s son, and said, Is this your younger brother, of whom ye spake to me? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son.”

This passage is elliptic and omits the verb “said,” which I have added: cf. *i t a vse pôlgaja vë šrdci si volja tvoja* (verbatim: “and considering all this in his heart this Thy will”).

It would appear that there is a confusion of grammatical number in this passage, all the more so since several variant readings give the expected form. Cf. *Užë vse se imë aky ne bylo nikoli že všja së nîmë isçeoša* (verbatim: “All this for them is as though it never had been. Everything has disappeared with him”). The variant readings, which I have followed in this case, have *së nîmi* (“with them”); see D. Abramovič, p. 30.

The entire passage from Ecclesiastes 1:2 reads: “Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity.

The allusion in this passage appears to be to 1 Peter 1:22: “Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently.”

Part of this quotation of the words of Christ is taken from Mark 8:35, and part from John 12:25: “For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.” Compare also Luke 17: 33.

The Slavic passage is elliptic and reads simply: *brate, xočju së toboju ljubovë imëti i kò otb çju ti pridamë* (verbatim: “Brother, I wish to have good relations with you, and shall add to you to father’s”). For the sake of clarity, I have made the additions that are found in the translation.

Vyšegorod (Vyšgorod), a town just north of Kiev.

This passage refers to Isaiah 59:7-8: “Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: Their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not; and there is no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace.”

The L’to (Al’ta), a river that flows into the Trubež River southeast of Kiev.

The martyr-saint Nikita (Nicetas) was, as was Boris, a soldier. Because he was preaching Christ among his fellow Goths at a time of fierce persecution of Christians, he was seized by the Visigothic chieftain Athanaric—one of the most zealous of the persecutors—tortured, and burned at the stake. He died in the year 372. The martyr-saint Vjače-slav (Wenceslas), the Prince of the Czechs, died at the hands of his
brother Boleslav in the year 929. Like Boris, he fell victim to a brother's political ambitions (see the First OCS Life of Saint Wenceslas in this volume). According to the legend, the martyr-saint Barbara converted to Christianity against the will of her pagan father. For this he turned her over to the Roman Governor of Bithynia, Martianus, to be dealt with by the law. Unable to make her renounce Christianity, he returned her to her father, who had offered to strike off his daughter's head. She died on 4 December 306. It is of interest to note that, according to the legend, as soon as she was beheaded, her father was struck by lightning. As a result, she is prayed to in storms; and she became the patron saint of artillery.

This passage seems to be alluding to II Timothy 4:7: “I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.”

Boris is actually chanting the opening lines from Psalm 22:16 and from Psalm 22:12. Cf. “For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and feet.” And, “Many bulls have compassed me: strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round.”

There is a confusion of grammatical number in this sentence, viz., a first-person plural form (v'bsxotexomь) rather than the first-person singular. Cf. Ne v'bsxotexomь v'bsiskati sebe samь, nьcto zе sebe izvoliy (verbatim: “We desired not to seek for myself alone, and I have chosen nought for myself”). Several variants of this manuscript have the expected form, xotexь (“I desired”); see D. Abramovic, p. 34. My translation incorporates this change.

The reference in this passage is to I Corinthians 13:7 and 13:5: “[Charity] beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.” and “[Charity] Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil . . .”

The biblical connection between the passages from I Corinthians 13:7 and 5 and I John 4:18 is strengthened by the semantics of the Slavic word ljuby, which means both charity and love.

This is not a verbatim quotation from Psalm 44:22. See also Romans 8:36.

This passage alludes to Psalm 55:12: “For it was not an enemy that reproached me; then I could have borne it: neither was it he that hated me that did magnify himself against me; then I would have hid myself from him . . .”

In my translation I have added “against me” in the sentence “did magnify himself against me,” on the basis of another manuscript (see D. Abramovic, p. 36).

The repetition of prepositions—in the present case, “betweeen” (mezju)—is a type of tautology which is more frequently found in the oral tradition.

This is not a verbatim quotation from Acts 7:60.

The first day of each month in the Roman calendar was called calends. From this day, the days of the preceding month were counted backwards to the Ides, which were on the 15th of March, May, July, and October, and the 13th of every other month. In this system both the
calends itself and the day in question were counted when calculating time. Counting the 1st of August as the first day of calends, the 24th of July—the day of Boris’ death—was the ninth day before the calends (the 1st) of August. Boris died in the year 1015.

33 On pages 250-51 (at the conclusion of this section of notes) are the Church Slavic original and an English translation of a passage which occurs at this point in several manuscripts of the Narrative but not in the text found in the Uspenskij sbornik. The passage is taken from the published version edited by Dmitrij I. Abramović (pp. 37-38).

34 The King James Version of the Bible phrases this passage from I Kings 22:20 and 22 as follows: “And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramothgilead; And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner.” And, “And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so.”

It is interesting to note that the Slavic version contains the supine prelistitś (to entice)—as opposed to “persuade”—which is the very verb used in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

35 This is not a verbatim quotation from Psalm 58:1-4.

36 Compare this phrase with Luke 22:3.

37 In this monologue, Svjatopolk is paraphrasing various verses from Psalm 69. After saying “they will drive me out,” the following two lines paraphrase verses 8-9: “I am become a stranger into my brethren, and an alien unto my mother’s children. For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up; and the reproaches of them that reproach thee are fallen upon me.” The remainder is a paraphrase of verses 25-28: “Let their habitation be desolate; and let none dwell in their tents. For they persecute him whom thou has smitten; and they talk to the grief of those whom thou hast wounded. Add iniquity unto their iniquity: and let them not come into thy righteousness. Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous.”

38 In the oral tradition, particularly the byliny, a horse stumbling beneath its rider appears as an ill omen. It is curious that such an element—considered by many to be a mythological pagan survival—should have found its way into a work of this type. The origin of this symbolism has been traced back to the role of horses in divinations. Jakobson notes that before a war, a horse was made to stride across crossed spears; if it did so without catching its hooves on the spears, the future promised well. See Roman Jakobson, “Slavic Mythology,” Funk and Wagnells Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Vol II, 1025-1028.

39 The Smjadin’ is a river in the Smolensk region.

40 Jaroslav (1036—1054), who became known as Jaroslav the Wise, was to be the only survivor among the sons of Vladimir of the fraternal struggle which lasted from 1015 to 1036. His reign was one of the most brilliant periods of Kievan Russia, which saw the blossoming of Russian spirituality and culture. He was a great builder (churches,
monasteries, the golden gate of Kiev) and played a significant role in the artistic, cultural, and literary development of Russia. He proved also to be a capable military commander and wise lawgiver.

Predslava (Peredslava) was the daughter of Vladimir and Rogneda, hence Jaroslav’s sister.

I am using an alternate reading (viz., imejusče) in translating the phrase “possessed of souls of savage beasts” (svéřepa zverí dusjü izimajušče), since izimajušče makes little sense in this context. See D. Abramović, p. 40.

In the original text this sentence reads: se nestb ubiistvo no syrorézanie, which was translated as “this is not murder but butchery.” However, the meaning of the word syrorézanie (?) butchery) is uncertain. My dictionary source for Old Russian, I.I. Sreznevskij, Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkago jazyka po pis’mnym pamjatnikam, has a question mark next to this entry (see Vol. III, p. 876). Etymologically this word is connected with “raw cutting” and it has been suggested that it means “cutting of green timber.” The image it suggests is obvious in Slavic; unfortunately I have not been able to find a precise English equivalent.

This passage paraphrases parts of Luke 21:12 and 16 respectively. Cf. “But before all these, they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name’s sake.” And, “And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to death.”

In order to make this passage clearer, I have added the words “in your thoughts” to refer to the commitment the assassins had made once they located Gleb. The Slavic is rather elliptic and simply reads, to uže ststvorivšče, pristuplsšče, ststvorite na neže posdbani este.

Gleb met his death approximately six weeks after his brother.

This is not a verbatim quotation from Psalm 9:17.

This is not a verbatim quotation from Psalm 37:14-15.

This is not a verbatim quotation from Psalm 52:1-5.

The Slavs customarily buried their dead in hollowed-out tree trunks.

This is not a verbatim quotation from Psalm 34:20.

On pages 252-55 (at the conclusion of this section of notes) are the Church Slavic original and an English translation of a passage which occurs at this point in several manuscripts of the Narrative but not in the text found in the Uspenskij sbornik. The passage is taken from the published version edited by Dimitrij I. Abramović (pp. 44-46). It should be noted that to a large extent this section is similar to the account in the Primary Chronicle (under the years 1015–1026) of the conflict between Jaroslav and Svjatopolk.

Rek (Rok or Rakomo) was Jaroslav’s estate that was located not far from Novgorod.

Such an enigmatic passage as “It is no more in my power to resuscitate them,” may well attest to pre-literary Varangian influence. In all probability, as Čizevskij states, “this passage signified the declaration of bloody vengeance which abolished all moral standards, including
the laws of hospitality.” See D. Čizevskij, pp. 15-16. The same phrase is found in the *Primary Chronicle* (year 945), where it is uttered by Ol’ga before her vengeance on the Drevljane. It is obvious that the Slavs did not understand the Varangian formula for the declaration of bloody revenge.

54 Ljubeč, a town in the Černigov region located at the point where the Bolgača River flows into the Dnieper.

55 That is 1016. See note 45, *First OCS Life*.

56 Jaroslav was indeed lame. I have translated the Slavic *xromcem* as “hobbled one” in a feeble attempt to capture the word play in the original with *xoromov* (houses); cf. *čto pridoste sâ xromcem têm? A vy plotnici susče, a pristavime vy i xoromovu rubiti.*

57 A common feature of the chronicle style is the use of rigid, constant formulas in the description of set situations. Thus, a battle/fighting (*seca*) is almost invariably fierce/furious (*zla*). As a result this phrase becomes a cliche to describe the battle situation. See D. Čizevskij, pp. 57-58.

58 Ljakhs are an ancient designation for the Poles.

59 The meaning of this passage is uncertain. In his translation of the *Primary Chronicle*, Cross interprets it as, “Jaroslav had been in Novgorod 28 years” (p. 220). However, given the elliptical nature of this phrase, it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty to what it actually refers.

60 That is, 1018.

61 Boleslav I (Bolesław Chrobry) was King of Poland (992–1025). During his reign Poland conquered eastern Pomerania, Silesia, and Moravia. He also fought the Holy Roman Emperors Otto III and Henry II for the possession of Lusatia, which he received as a feif by the peace of Bautzen. In 1018 he concluded an alliance with Svjatopolk and together they managed to recapture Kiev from Jaroslav. Now Svjatopolk, convinced that Jaroslav was no longer a threat, quarrelled with his Polish allies and Boleslav returned home, taking hostages and annexing the Červan cities to Poland. At the time of Boleslav’s death, Poland was one of the strongest states in Europe.

62 The town of Velyn’ (Volyn’) was located at the point where the Guĉeva River flowed into the Western Bug.

63 By the eleventh century the *grivna* was a monetary unit in Rus’. Originally it was a weight measure.

64 That is, 1019.

65 Compare this passage to Genesis 4. Note that the first part of it paraphrases verse 10: “And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto me from the ground.” It should be noted that the part which is translated as “sorrow and fear” takes some license with the Slavic *stonanie i trjasenie* (verbatim: “moaning and trembling”).

66 Other manuscripts of this work begin the concluding sentence with an apostrophe to Boris and Gleb, “O my brothers!” which makes the shift of appeal from the Lord to Boris and Gleb much smoother. See D. Abramović, p. 46.
The number of “clashes” should not be taken literally since trebling is a common device in works of this type.

For the sake of clarity I have added the noun “troops” to the translation. The original omits the object of the verb; cf. *i posylaxut pro-tivu, i ne bë gonjašcago, ni ženuščaago v sledõ ego*.

For the description of Svjatopolk’s persecution complex, the author is obviously drawing on the curse of Cain according to Genesis 4:12: “When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.”

The concluding sentence is also a stylistic formula (cf. note 57), which is reserved for the death of pagan or impious princes. Invariably mention is made of the grave that still exists, and the evil stench issuing therefrom.

The allusion here is to Genesis 4:24: “If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.”

Julian or Flavius Claudius Julianus was Roman Emperor from 361-363 AD. He was surnamed the Apostate because of his renunciation of Christianity. In an expedition against the Persians in March 363 he was fatally wounded in battle.

In order to avoid confusion, I have added the words “his body” for the omitted noun: *I raskopavše zemlju, i tako ze položiša i, nedo-umějušče jako že bë lepo, prečštěně.*

This is not a verbatim quotation from Matthew 5:14-15.

Compare Isaiah 35:5-6.


I am not certain which Dimitrij (Demetrius) is being referred to here. There is hardly any doubt that the city in question is Thessalonica. Perhaps the reference is to the patron saint of that city, the martyr-saint Demetrius, who died during the reign of Maximian (286–305 AD). Following the edicts of his friend and superior Diocletian (284–305 AD), Maximian burned the Scriptures, closed churches, and persecuted Christians. A number of legends grew around the figure of the martyred soldier-saint and ruler of Thessalonica, Demetrius. They were compiled by the Metropolitan of Thessalonica John during the first decades of the seventh century (circa 620) and became known as *The Miracles of Demetrius of Thessalonica* (*Čuda Dimitrija Solunskog*). In them Demetrius is credited with saving Thessalonica from the attack of 5,000 Slavs (circa 584), from a seven-day seige by the combined forces of Avars and Slavs (circa 586), and from civil war and famine (circa 602). However, it is possible, as Benz suggests, that the Demetrius in question was a seventh-century bishop of Thessalonica (see Ernst Benz, *Russische Heiligenlegenden* [Zurich, 1953], p. 500).

This passage contains a word play with the name of the city, Vyšegorod: *Blazeni po istine i vysokže pacе вsèх gradь rusьskyích i vysiж gradь. imyj vž sеb takove skroviščе, etu že ne tснъ ni vьb mirś!* Po
...Since I am forced to retain the name of the city (Vysegorod), which in itself could be translated as “Exalted City” (bearing in mind the etymology of the English verb ex = out/up + altus = high, and the Slavic adjectival root vys- = high), the word play is lost in translation.

Selun is the Slavic designation for Thessalonica, the one-time second city of the Byzantine Empire after Constantinople.

This quotation is a loose paraphrase of John 14:12: “Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father.”

At the beginning of this work mention is made of the fact that Boris was named Roman in holy baptism. It is curious that no mention was made prior to this of Gleb’s baptismal name, David.

It would appear that the reference here is to Psalm 16:3: “But to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight.”

Perhaps this passage alludes to Psalm 86:10: “For thou art great, and doest wondrous things: thou art God alone.”

John of Damascus (Johannus Damascenus, ? 700–754) was considered one of the ablest philosophers of his day. He was known as Chrysorrhoas, meaning “stream of gold” because of his oratorical ability. Before his retirement in 730 to the Monastery of Saint Sabas near Jerusalem, he wrote in defense of the worship of ecclesiastical images in defiance of Emperor Leo III the Isaurian’s edicts against image worship. After his retirement to the monastery, he was ordained a priest and spent the remainder of his life in religious study. He is perhaps best-known as the author of The Fount of Knowledge, the standard textbook of dogmatic theology in the early Greek Church. This book is divided into three parts: Heads of Philosophy, Compendium of Heresies, and An Exact Exposition of Orthodox Faith. It is to the last part that our passage refers. This part contains a complete theological system based on the teachings of the early Greek Church Fathers and Church synods from the fourth to the seventh centuries.

A variant reading of this sentence has: mrtva bo plť, vladýko, čjuda tvoriti ne mozet (“For dead flesh, O Lord, cannot work miracles”); see D. Abramović, p. 52.


In the text this sentence reads: koliko sja imasi potruditi, da zastupnika obrjasčesi, ko se znanimu cesarju privodjačju, i tebe radi otvetv tvorjačju, ali na pristavniki vsego roda, iše k Bogu za ny i molitvy tvorjats. According to variant readings, the participles privodjačja and tvorjačja, which in this text are datives, appear as accusatives (modifying appropriately zastupnika), privodjačja and tvorjačja. Furthermore, na (but), which makes no sense here, according to other variants should read iny (other). See D. Abramović, p. 52. My translation reflects these changes.

The prepositional phrase vš sikh (in these) seems to be out of place
in this sentence: Ne li ny ubo počstie tvorjašče, tvorjat crkvi i Bogu v six imena priplody prinosjašem ... Part of this very sentence is used to explain one of the meanings of the entry priplod (benefit/use) by Sreznevskij (Vol. II, p. 1445) where we read: Vsex imena priplody prinosjašem ... (“the names of all those who were of benefit ...”). I have incorporated this change in my translation.

This is not a verbatim quotation from I Corinthians 1:18.

Compare also Romans 9:33.

In another variant of the manuscript, this section is entitled “On the Discovery of the Venerable Relics of the Holy Passion-Sufferers Boris and Gleb.” See D. Abramovič, p. 53. In translating the title of this section as “On the Disinterment of the Saints” (O iznesenii svjatoi), I have taken some liberty with the noun iznesenie, which means literally “carrying out.”

Jaroslav had five sons. He gave each of them a principality, keeping for the eldest, Izjaslav, Kiev and Novgorod. In order to avoid feuds among his successors, he adopted the Germanic system of “tanistry.” According to this system, the father is not succeeded by his son but by his younger brother, and the youngest brother is followed on the throne by the eldest of his nephews (see F. Dvornik, p. 213). At first this system was observed with some regularity: Izjaslav I (1054—1073) was followed on the throne of Kiev by his brothers Svjatoslav (1073—1076) and Vsevolod I (1078—1093). Succession then fell to Izjaslav’s son Svjatopolk II (1093—1113), and after him to Vsevolod’s son Vladimir Monomakh (1113—1125). After Jaroslav’s death a period of trouble followed nevertheless, and Izjaslav was forced to share his power with his brothers.

Of all the people (and places) mentioned here, the most important one is Theodosius of the Cave Monastery. Saint Theodosius was to become the founder of Russian monasticism, and the Cave Monastery in Kiev (Kievo-Pečerskaja Lavra), the most important literary and spiritual center in medieval Russia.

For the sake of clarity, I have added the words “his hand.” The original omits the object of the verbal participle: Vbzbmb ze, Georgij mitropolit ... (verbatim: “Taking, the Metropolitan George”).

See note 83.

In order to make the passage more clear, I have substituted “enslaved” for the non-specific “this”: Sudjašči že ne poslabisa tomu takomu byti ... (verbatim: “However those sitting in judgment did not permit that one to be this ...”).

For purposes of clarity, I have added the noun “icon” to the text. The original simply translates “walking with crosses toward the Holy Mother of God” (idusčem s krstky k svjatei Bogorodiči).

Prokymen (Greek prokeimenon) is a verse chosen from the Psalms in accordance with the feast, and sung before the reading of the Epistles.

The saint in question appears to be the Martyr-Saint George, who died around 303. His life is obscured by legend, but his martyrdom at Lydda (in Palestine) is generally considered a historical fact. The most
popular of the legends that grew up around the figure of Saint George
has to do with his encounter with a dragon which he killed. In the
fourteenth century he became the patron saint of England. His feast
day is celebrated April 23rd.

100 This passage seems to allude to Psalm 37:4: "Delight thyself also
in the Lord; and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart."

101 The allusion in this passage is to John 21:25: "And there are also
many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be
written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not
contain the books that should be written. Amen."

102 See note 92. David and Oleg are the brothers of Volodimir (Vladimir II
Monomakh), the sons of Vsevolod.

103 This is not a verbatim quotation from Psalm 101:4-5.

104 I have added an object to the verb "give"—"money." In the original
the sentence reads: . . . i po všia nedělia vždavasta straževi tomu da
kupív . . . (verbatim: "and for weeks on end gave to the guards
to buy . . ").

105 Since this passage contains no verb, I have added one, "happened."
Cf. sicitn ubo obražm (verbatim: "and in this way").

106 In the narration of the miracle, we find now indirect speech, now
direct speech—a type of speech which is rarely met in Old Slavic
manuscripts. Perhaps because of the confusion of speech, errors
found their way into the account. For example, compare the follow­
ing sentences: . . . idì ty na cýrskov i povež sice, jako že esi vidèts, a
sego podruga ego ostavljave utrb . . . (verbatim: "You, go to the
church and tell what you have seen, but leave this friend of his inside"). Since the reference is to his own friend (his fellow prisonmate), it
would seem that "his" (ego) should be "your" (tvoego). I have made
this correction in my translation.

107 This passage simply reads, Otvržiše i všdše (verbatim: "When they
opened and entered"). I have added the omitted object of the verb,
"the prison," to the translation.

108 See note 92. Volodimir (Vladimir) Monomakh became ruler in Kiev
because of popular dissatisfaction with Svjatopolk, and his resound­
ing victories (1103 and 1111) over the Cumans (Polovci), a nomadic
people of Turkic extraction who had invaded the steppes in the sixties
of the eleventh century. The Byzantine name Monomakh was assumed
by Vladimir through his mother, Maria, who was a Greek princess.
He was a benevolent ruler (at least toward Christians) who displayed
a good understanding of social problems. Hence, he enacted legisla­
tive measures which favored the lower classes, an action which showed
not only enlightened statesmanship but also revealed his Christian
spirit. And this was displayed even more clearly in his famous Testa­
ment (Poučenie) to his sons in which he admonished them to fear
God and love their fellow man. Because of his great popularity, his
eldest son, Mstislav I (1125—1132) was able to succeed him to the
throne of Kiev.

109 In order to be more clear, I translated this sentence "the people
worshiped and rendered praise to God”; cf. *pokljanjusija, xvalu vəzdasa Bogu . . .

110 That is, 1102.

111 This passage paraphrases only a small portion from Matthew 6:19-20. Cf. “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through or steal . . .

112 “His” in this sentence refers to Svjatoslav. See note 92.

113 That is, 1113.

114 In the original this sentence reads, *I vəstavivəše na sani na rosnь . . .* (verbatim: “And upon placing on sledges on separate . . .”). Since the direct object of the verb is omitted, I have added “the saint.” Note also the repetition of the preposition na (see note 30).

115 For the sake of clarity I have added the noun “sledge” to this sentence. Cf. *I idaxu vlekusce uži že velikymi təsnjašćesja i gnetusče velmože i vse boljarstvo* (verbatim: “And the nobles and all the boyars walked, pulling with great ropes, crowding and pressing”).

116 In translating this sentence I have added the word “them.” The Slavic simply reads: . . .*da byša dostoini byli prikosnutisja* (verbatim: “that they might be worthy to touch”).

117 In order to avoid confusion, I have substituted “Boris” for the ambiguous pronoun “him”, cf. *Takože i svjataago Glęba po nemь vəstavivəše na drugyja sani* (verbatim: “And Saint Gleb was placed in the same manner on another sledge behind him”).

118 Since this sentence contains no verb, I have added “walked”, cf. *I Davidb sъ nимь i episkopi* (verbatim: “And David beside him, and the bishops’).
понеже впдпть человѣка Богомъ почтена, и завидяще ему, не злое шамп и скори суть. Рече бо Богъ: кто пдеть прѣльстпъ Ахава? — и рече бѣсъ: се азъ пду. Эълъ человѣкъ, тѣщасъ на злое, не хужеши есть бѣса. Бѣси бо человѣка боится, а эълъ человѣкъ ни Бога ся боить, ни человѣка ся стыдить?; бѣси крѣты боится Господня, а человѣкъ золъ ни крѣста ся боить. Тѣмже и глаголаше Давидъ: "асъ воистину право глаголете, правду судите, О ye sons of men? Yea, in heart ye work wickedness; your hands plait injustice on the earth. The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they are born, speaking lies. Their fury is like that of a serpent."}

Заутра же събра прокъ 41 Новгородецъ Ярославъ, рече: «люба моя 42 дружиню, иже вчера изпѣхъ, а вынѣ быша надобѣ» 42! И утре слезъ, и рече мнѣ на 44 вѣчъ: «отецъ 44 мой умерлъ, а Святополкъ сѣдѣ в Кыевѣ, избивалъ 5 братию свою» 43. И рѣша 47 ему Новгородцы: «ище, княже, братия наша изѣчена, можемъ 48 по тобѣ бороти». И сообра Ярославъ Варлы тыщищ, а прочиѣ вон 40 49 тысяч, и пойде на 50 Святополка, нарекъ Бога, река 1: «не 2 азъ почахъ избивать братию, въ онѣ. Да будеть отмѣстникъ Богъ кровь 3 братья 4, зане 5 безъ вины пролы кровь Борисову и Глѣбову правѣдную 6. Еда 7 мнѣ 8 то 9 же створить 10? Нѣ 11 судь, Господи 12, по правдѣ, да скочится злоба грѣшнаго» 13. И поида 14 на Святополка. Онь 15 же, слышавъ идуща Ярослава, престрои 16 бещисна 17 Русь 18 и Печенѣгъ, язиле противу Любчио 19. Въ лѣто 6524 20 приде Ярославъ. И сташа противу себѣ 21 оба 22 полы 23 Днепра, и не счѣяхъ ни они сихъ 24 начати, ни си 25 опѣхъ 26, и стояла за 27 з месяци противу собѣ. И нача воевода Святополчы, здыл вѣззъ 28 берегъ 29, укарати Новгородцы, глаголя: «что при- досте съ хромцемъ тѣмъ? А вы 30 плотищ ихъ суще, а 31 приставимъ вы и хромовъ рубятъ». Се 32 слышавше, Новгородцы рѣша Ярославу, яко заутра перевеземся на нь, аще кто не поведетъ на нѣ 33 с нами, самъ 34 потнемъ. Бѣ 35 бо уже въ заморозъ. И Святополкъ же стояше между дѣвъ озерамъ, вы- сѣдѣ на брегъ 36 и всю 37 ночь упився бѣ 38 съ дружиною. Противу 39 свѣту перевезеся, высѣдѣ на брегъ, и отрѣшина 41 людъ отъ берега, и походъ противу собѣ, и соспалися на мѣстѣ, и бысть, сѣча зла 42, и не бѣ лѣ Печенемъ озеромъ помагати. И приступиа 43 вон Святополчъ къ озеру, и вступиа 43 на ледь, и обломиа 44, и одолѣвати 45 нача 46 Ярославъ.

Видѣв же, Святополкъ побѣже въ Ляхы. Ярославъ же сѣдѣ въ Кыевѣ, на столѣ отни 47; бѣ же тогда Ярославъ лѣтъ 28. Въ лѣто 6526 приде Болеславъ съ Святополкомъ на Ярославу съ 48 Ляхы. Ярославъ же, съкупиа Русь 49, Варлы, Словѣни, пойде противу, и приде Вельяно 50, и сташа оба полы рѣкъ Бута 51. И бѣ у Ярослава 6 52, воевода 53 Буты 54, и
нача Буды укоряти Болеслава, глаголя: «еда троскою ти прободемъ чрево твое толстое» 1. Въ бо Болеславъ великъ и тяжекъ, одна на конь мога сѣдѣт. И рече Болеславъ другимъ своимъ: «аще вы сего укора не жаль, азъ едино погубишу» 9. И всѣдъ на 2 конь, вѣбрѣдѣ 3 в рѣку, и по немъ воп его. Ярославъ же не утягнувъ 4 исподится 5, и побѣдя Болеславъ Ярослава. Болеславъ же винде в Киевъ съ Святополкомъ. Ярославъ же побѣжъ 6 с четырьми мужи к Новугороду. Ярославу же прибѣгши 7 к Новугороду 8, хотя 9 бѣжати за море. Посадникъ Коснятинъ 10, сынъ Добрынъ, с Новгородци расѣкоша лодию Ярославлѣ, рекуще: «можем ся и еще бити 11 с Болеславомъ и с Святополкомъ». И 12 начаша скотъ брати: отъ мужа по четыры куны 13, а отъ старостъ по девяти гривенъ, а отъ бояръ по осмидеять гривенъ. И приведош а Варягы, и вдаша имъ скотъ, и съвкупи Ярославъ вой многыи. Безумный же Святополькъ рече: «елико же Ляховъ по городомъ избивалите» 14. И 12 бысть тако. Болеславъ же побѣжъ 6 пе Киева, вземъ 10 имѣние и боары. И приде Ярославъ па 17 Святополка, и побѣди и. И бѣже Святополкъ въ Печенѣгы. В лѣто 6527].

[And the accursed Svjatopolk began to rule in Kiev. Now Jaroslav did not yet know of his father's death. Jaroslav had many Varangians under his command, and they did violence to the men of Novgorod and to their women. And the inhabitants of Novgorod rose and killed the Varangians in the court of Pomoron. Jaroslav was greatly angered, and going to Rek 52 he established himself in the court there and sent a message to the inhabitants of Novgorod, saying: "It is not in my power to resurrect them now." 53 And he summoned before him the notable men who had massacred the Varangians, and having deceived them, he massacred them. That same night news came from Kiev, from his sister Peredslava: "Your father has died, and Svjatopolk is established in Kiev. He has killed Boris and is after Gleb. Be most wary of this one." Upon hearing this, Jaroslav was grieved about his father and his retinue.

The next morning Jaroslav gathered the remnant of the men of Novgorod and said: "My beloved retinue whom I was killing yesterday but have need of today!" He wiped away his tears and spoke to those in the assembly: "My father has died, and Svjatopolk is established in Kiev and is killing his brothers." And the men of Novgorod said to him: "Even though our brothers have been massacred, O Prince, we can fight for you."
And Jaroslav gathered one thousand Varangians and forty thousand other soldiers and marched against Svjatopolk, having called upon God, saying: “It was not I who began killing our brothers, but he. May God be the avenger of the blood of my brothers, for Svjatopolk has shed the just blood of Boris and Gleb without cause. Perhaps he will do the same to me? But judge, O Lord, according to justice, so that the malice of the sinner may end.” And he marched against Svjatopolk. When he heard that Jaroslav was coming, he prepared an innumerable force of Russes and Pechenegs, and marched out toward Ljubeč.

Jaroslav arrived in the year 6524. They stood facing one another on both banks of the Dnieper, and neither the one nor the other dared begin. And they remained facing one another for three months. Then Svjatopolk’s commander, while riding along the shore, began to taunt the men of Novgorod, saying: “Why have you come with that hobbled one? You are carpenters and we shall put you to work on our houses.” When the men of Novgorod heard this, they said to Jaroslav: “Tomorrow we shall cross over to them, and whoever will not go with us against them, we ourselves shall kill.”

It was already beginning to freeze now. Svjatopolk was camped between two lakes and, having disembarked on the shore, was reveling with his retinue all night long. Toward dawn Jaroslav crossed over. He disembarked on the shore and they pushed the boats from the bank. And the two forces advanced against one another and met upon a field. And the fighting was fierce. Because of the lake the Pechenegs could not help, and Svjatopolk’s troops came to the lake and went out onto the ice, and it broke and Jaroslav began to triumph. Upon seeing this, Svjatopolk fled to the Ljakhs. And Jaroslav was established in Kiev upon his father’s throne. Jaroslav was then twenty-eight years old.

In the year 6526 Boleslav, together with Svjatopolk and his Ljakhs, attacked Jaroslav. After gathering Russes, Varangians, and Slavs, Jaroslav advanced against them. When he came to Velyn, they camped on both sides of the river Bug. Now Jaroslav had with him his mentor and general named Budy. And Budy began to taunt Boleslav, saying: “We shall pierce your fat belly with a stake.” For Boleslav was big and heavy, and could barely sit upon a horse. Then Boleslav said to his retinue: “If you are not insulted by this reproach, I shall
perish alone." And mounting his horse, he rode into the river and his troops followed him. But Jaroslav had no time to marshal his troops, and Boleslav defeated Jaroslav. And Boleslav entered Kiev with Svjatopolk.

Jaroslav now fled to Novgorod with four men. After Jaroslav had come to Novgorod, he wanted to flee overseas, but Mayor Constantine, son of Dobrynja, together with the men of Novgorod, destroyed Jaroslav's boats, saying: "We can still fight with Boleslav and with Svjatopolk." And they began to collect money: four marten skins from each freeman; ten grivny from each elder; and eighteen grivny from each boyar. They brought in Varangians and gave the money to them. Thus did Jaroslav gather many troops.

Then the mad Svjatopolk said: "However many Ljakhs there are in the cities, kill them." And so it came to pass. But Boleslav fled from Kiev, taking property and boyars. And Jaroslav attacked Svjatopolk and defeated him. And Svjatopolk fled to the Pechenegs. The year was 6527.
THE LIFE OF STEPHEN NEMANJA
(ST. SIMEON)
ON HOW OUR VENERABLE FATHER AND FOUNDER
Lord Simeon 1 Inherited This Holy Monastery, 2
and On How His Life Was Before God and Man.

Bless us, Father!

This, our holy monastery, as you know, was once a hunting
ground for wild animals, as it was a wilderness. And coming
here for the chase, our lord and autocrat, and ruler of the whole
Serbian land, 3 Stephen Nemanja 4 would hunt this ground.
And he liked it here in this wilderness, and built this monastery

Stephen Nemanja (Peć Serbia 1345)
наказанна архимандриту ироня
трехученому постригу
глухоньку. Длек до нее, бывши велеть
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for the preservation and growth of a monastic order.

Now let it be known to all of us and to others, that God, guiding man to the better and wishing man not death,⁵ established this: that our truly thrice-blessed lord and father called Stephen Nemanja be autocratic lord, to rule over the whole Serbian land. And after he had recovered his ancestral patrimony, and with God’s help and his God-given wisdom had fortified it even more and restored this patrimonial loss,⁶ he acquired Zeta and its cities from the coastland; and from Rabno, both parts of Pilot,⁷ and from the Greek lands, Patkovo and all of Hvostno and Podrimlje, Kostrac, Drškovina, Sitnica, Lab, Lipljan, Dubočica, Reke, Uška and Pomoravlje, Zagrlata, Levče and Belica.⁸ He acquired it all by wisdom and work: all that had been taken by force from his patrimony, which was due him of the Serbian land. And with God’s aid, his dominion enjoyed peace and harmony on all sides.

For, verily, he was admired and feared by all who lived near him; and his dominion endured for thirty-seven years,⁹ inviolate and unharmed by anyone.

Yea, what shall we call this man? Shall it be lord, or even more, teacher? For he fortified and edified the hearts of all, and taught us how Orthodox Christians should keep the true faith before God. First he revealed piety in himself, and then he taught others. He consecrated churches, built monasteries, listened to holy men with delight, respected priests and treated monks with great love and humility. He brought hope to the hopeless, defended the needy, and sustained the poor. He took the naked to his home and clothed them, he fed orphans, protected widows, and was truly like a mother to the blind and the lame, the infirm, the deaf and the dumb. Put simply, he lent out all his possessions, for he was a second Abraham, a hospitable man, an angel on earth, and a man from heaven:¹⁰ “Wherefore God also hath exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name.” And before his name all nations shall bow.¹¹
Нёсется творение святого великомученика и царя полководца Георгия Великого, в оном из числа мучеников, которые по величайшей любви своему к Богу и искреннему желаю исправления душевых и телесных страданий, в пророческих словах притча:

Царь, у которого есть дочь, была захвачена врагом и в его плену. Царь послал молодого воина, чтобы освободить свою дочь. Воин пришел в плен и увидел свою дочь. Он хотел ее освободить, но враг запретил. Воин сдался в плен и стал жертвой врага. Враг начал мучить его и хотел убить. Воин не сдался и сказал: "Я не сдаюсь, я хочу вернуть свою дочь". Враг был поражен и сказал: "Ты сердечный человек, я дам тебе возможность вернуть свою дочь". Воин вернулся домой и освободил свою дочь. Дочь была очень рада и благодарила его. Враг остался в своем плену и погиб от страданий. Воин стал большим героем и был поставлен в высокий пост. Все его люди были очень восхищены его мужеством и отвагой. Отныне он защищал свою страну от врагов и освобождал людей из плену. Все люди были благодарны ему. Он жил долго и счастливо, и его дочь стала его верной подругой и помощницей.
And he built monasteries himself, at first in Toplica in honor of Saint Nicholas, and then a second one in honor of the Holy Mother of God. Then he built another monastery in Ras in honor of Saint George. And he established an order for all these monasteries as was fitting. And after these, he built our holy monastery, which he consecrated in the name of the Most Holy Lady, Our Benefactress, the Mother of God. Having built it from start to finish, he granted this monastery villages along with other properties: icons and holy chalices, and books and vestments and tapestries. And what he granted was written in his gold-sealed charter as well as on the wall in the church, with a vow and assurance that no one would violate his donations. And you shall hear about these words further on in these writings.

II

Thus with the help of God and by his own labors he accomplished all this. And after his dominion was at peace and in harmony with everyone through God’s help, he was moved by a desire to be related by marriage to the great Greek Emperor, crowned by God, His Majesty Alexius Comnenus. And he obtained his daughter for his noble and beloved son Stephen, whom he designated his successor. And this pious and Christ-loving lord, our venerable patriarch, strove to be counted on Judgment Day among those who please God. Thus he sought the way to gain that heavenly and ineffable dwelling, in the striving for which he desired even the more to receive the angelic and apostolic station. And he strove zealously to follow the words of the Lord: “Take my yoke upon you, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light.” For the Scriptures say: “The love for God is established in the faithful.” And surely that which has been spoken refers even the more to the faith of this blessed patriarch: “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh
not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. And every one that hath forsaken house, or villages, or possess-
sions, or wife, or children, or brethren, or father, or mother, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.” 21 Thus he, our God-loving father and founder, desiring to gain this, addressed his supplication to the all-merciful Lord, that He not deprive him of his desire.

And though many years of his reign passed, to wit thirty-
seven years, he was able to keep his dominion and forces un-
defeated and unharmed everywhere, and to rear his noble chil-
dren in piety and purity. But we have written about his reign
and dominion not in the order that we heard about it and wit-
nessed it lest we be verbose.22 For God alone knows, though it was not concealed from men, how great was his struggle
on our behalf and against man's ignorance, the struggle of this blessed man, our lord and teacher who possessed the wisdom of Solomon, the gentleness of David, and the righteousness of Joseph. Yea, he was admired and feared by all, being a ruler of rulers and a lord of lords. Put simply, no one could be likened to him.23 Therefore I shall tell about this in brief lest this writing be verbose.22

III

And after the thirty-seventh year of his reign had passed, the all-merciful Lord, Receiver of labors and Giver of rewards to all who wish to be saved, scorned not his supplication which issued from the depths of his heart, and was compassionate. For clearly, when the time had come, this obedient man thought nought of the glory and honor of this world, and considered the beauty of this life as smoke. But love for Christ grew in him and ignited his heart, which was like a temple prepared for Him, and a vessel most pure for His Holy Spirit. And by some inclination Christ inclined his mind and instructed him.

And so he sent to gather his noble children and all his chosen boyars, both the high and low in rank.24 And having gathered them to himself, he began to instruct them, saying:
правду ясную ведет святая книга, ибо в ней говорится о пастырях и архиереях, о святых обителях и монастырях, о том, как они должны управлять своими народами и людьми. Пастырь же должен быть примером для всех, чтобы люди следовали его примеру и следили за своим поведением. Монастырь — это место, где учится истинной вере и мудрости, где люди могут найти утешение и спасение.

Петр Павел, апостол: Пастырь же должен быть примером для всех, чтобы люди следовали его примеру и следили за своим поведением. Монастырь — это место, где учится истинной вере и мудрости, где люди могут найти утешение и спасение.

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"My beloved children whom I have reared! Behold, all of you know how in His wisdom God appointed me to rule over you, and how our land was ruined when first I acquired it. And all of your know how as long as I had strength with the help of God and Our Holy Lady, the Mother of God, I was neither indolent nor allowed myself rest until I set everything in order. And with God’s help I added to this land for you, both in length and breadth, as all of you know. And I have reared all of you as my own children, even to this day, and I have taught you how to keep the Orthodox faith. Many foreigners have risen against me and swarmed over me like a bee hive, yet I resisted them and overcame them. Therefore, my beloved children, forget not your instruction and the Orthodox law, which I have established.

For he who keeps this will have God as his helper, and Our Holy Lady, the Mother of God, and my prayers, though they be sinful. Let me, your lord, now depart in peace, so that mine eyes may see the salvation which He has prepared before the face of the whole world as a revelation to all nations, and to your glory as well, my flock. For I see how all that is of man is vanity, that nought remains after death; neither wealth remains nor is glory attained. For death comes and all this is lost. Thus our restlessness is in vain. Short is the path which we walk, and our life is but smoke, vapor, decay, and dust. It appeareth for a little time, and then quickly vanisheth away. Verily, all is vanity. For life is but shadow and dream, and our restlessness over everything earthly is for nothing, as it is written: ‘When we gain the whole world, we then settle in our grave where together lie both king and knave.’ Therefore, my beloved children, release me forthwith, that I may go to see the Consolation of Israel.’

And with these admonitions the good lord and gentle shepherd admonished them. And they all wept much and said: “Leave us not as orphans, O lord, for you have illumined us, and you have instructed us, and you have enlightened us, O gentle
Головное просвещение нынешнего соборного престола в святынях церкви и церковной жизни.

Пасхи и Спасо-Явлец Даниила.

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Пасхи и Спасо-Явлец Даниила.
shepherd, who lays down his soul for his sheep! For never during your days has the wolf carried off a lamb from the flock which God entrusted to you, O shepherd. And throughout all your thirty-eight years were we sheltered and nurtured, and we have known no other lord and father save you, O master.”

IV

Now he, the venerable patriarch, with words most wise entreated them like a father to desist from weeping and tears, for it was God’s will. And he chose his noble and beloved son Stephen Nemanja, the son-in-law of the Greek Emperor Alexius, who was crowned by God, and handed him over to them, saying: “Take him in my place: A good root who issued from my loins. I am setting him on the throne of the dominion granted me by Christ.”

And having crowned him himself and blessing him abundantly just as Isaac blessed his son Jacob with ample blessings, he began to instruct him to concern himself with every good deed in his dominion, and to be kindhearted to the Christian community, the God-sheltered flock which he entrusted to him; and he said: “O my beloved child! Shepherd them, my Israel, give heed to them, and lead them like Joseph the lamb.”

He commanded him to look after the churches and those serving therein, to listen willingly to the prelates and church servants, to respect the priests, and to protect the monks, “so they may pray for you, and you will be ashamed of nought in the sight of God and man.”

Now he blessed his other noble and beloved son, Prince Vukan, appointed him Grand Župan, and turned over sufficient land to him. And upon giving him the same commands, the good father placed them both before himself, and he said to them: “My sons, forget not my laws, but let your hearts preserve my words: For length of days, and long life, and peace shall they add to you. Let neither mercy nor faith forsake you; bind them about your neck and write them upon the table of your heart. So shall you find favor and good understanding in the sight of God and man. Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and be not proud of your own understanding. Be mindful in all your ways that your way be the
right one, lest your feet stumble. Be not wise in your own eyes: Fear the Lord, and depart from all evil. Then it shall be health to your body and marrow to your bones. Honor the Lord with your righteous deeds, and give Him the first fruits of your righteous crops: So shall your barns be filled with abundant grain, and your presses shall burst forth with wine. My sons, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord: For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and He scourges every son whom He receiveth. Then it shall be health to your body and marrow to your bones. Honor the Lord with your righteous deeds, and give Him the first fruits of your righteous crops: So shall your barns be filled with abundant grain, and your presses shall burst forth with wine. My sons, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord: For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and He scourges every son whom He receiveth. 

Happy is the man who finds wisdom, and the mortal who acquires understanding. For better to gain that than a treasure of gold and silver; it is dearer than a precious stone. Nothing evil withstands her, and it is sweet for all who draw nigh unto her. 

Every other valuable loses its worth, for length of days and long life is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor. From her mouth issue justice and law, and on her tongue she bears mercy. Her ways are the ways of goodliness, and all her paths are peace. She is the Tree of Life to all who cleave to her and are guided by her as by the mighty Lord. Thus I give you this command: Let brother love brother, and let there be no enmity between you. Submit yourself and be obedient to him who was placed upon my throne by me, just as by God. And you who are to rule, insult not your brother, but show him respect. He that loveth not his brother loveth not God: God is love. Thus, he that loves God, let him also love his brother. For this is the essence of the entire law: the Apostles taught this, the Martyrs were crowned for it, and the Prophets extolled it. Therefore, if you are willing and obey me, you shall eat the bounty of the land; but if you are unwilling and disobey me, you shall be devoured by the sword. Peace be unto you, my beloved sons, from the Lord God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and may the spirit of God rest upon you, strengthen and protect you from all enemies visible and invisible, and guide you to the way of peace.
“And peace be unto you, my lords and boyars; peace also be unto the youth, you whom I have reared from the birth of your mothers. Peace be unto all of you, O flock of the spirit in Christ, you who were entrusted to me by God, you whom I preserved from harm, having tended you like a good shepherd who lays down his life for you. Thus I implore you, my beloved children, rich and poor, young and old: Keep my, your father’s teachings: Fear God, honor the Tsar, praise the churches so they may praise you, listen to the prelates, have respect for priests, and be humble toward monks so they may pray for you. May you who have justice and love among you not forget charity. And the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.”

V

After this, as we have already written, he handed over to them his beloved son Stephen Nemanja to rule among them, and he made the people retire. But they cried and wept seeing they were parting with such a master and shepherd; and there was crying and weeping such as once was heard in Rama when Rachel wept for her children and would not be comforted. For what shall I call him? Yea, I know not! A good lord? A teacher of Orthodoxy? A good father? A shepherd who through faith tended the flock entrusted to him? An enlightener of churches, a teacher of morality, and a man of unceasing prayer? The most diligent of servants and lover of the poor? A preceptor of Orthodoxy, teacher of piety, and luminary of universal purity? One of the truly faithful, a paragon of forbearance, and preceptor of abstinence? A preceptor of wisdom, and counselor and teacher of the thoughtless? A protector of his flock and the wisest of oracles to all who lived near him? Yea, he was all of these, for he was filled with wisdom and understanding, and the grace of God was upon him.
And after he accomplished all these things—so that the work of this most wise and wonderful of men should be revealed to all—and blessed his community, he left the dominion given to him by God and his special and sundry accumulations, for it was the will of Christ the Lord and the Most Holy Lady, the Mother of God, to fill him with an unutterable and sacred desire. He gave all his possessions to the poor, took leave of his dominion, his children and his God-given wife of the first marriage (for he did not marry twice\(^46\)) and joined himself to that ineffable and honorable, holy angelic and apostolic station of the upper and lower form.\(^47\) And he was given the name Simeon on the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, on the Feast of the Annunciation, in the year 6703.\(^48\) On that same day his God-given wife Anna, the former lady of the the entire Serbian land, also assumed this holy station. And she was given the name Anastasia.

After this was accomplished, our father and lord came to our monastery\(^49\) of the Holy Mother of God, Our Benefactress, which he had built; and our Lady Anastasia went to the Holy Mother of God Convent in Ras.\(^50\) And Lord Simeon, our truly wonderful and blessed father and founder, abided among us in piety and purity, helping and teaching all by his spiritual struggle, and saying to us who were near him: “Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden light.”

Matthew
11:29-30

Verily, our father Lord Simeon did as was written in the Gospel: He sold all that he had and acquired the priceless pearl of Christ,\(^51\) for whose sake he had done all this. And he was worthy of the command of that young man whom the Saviour commanded, saying: “If thou wilt be saved, go and give all thy possessions to the poor and take up the cross and follow me.”\(^52\)

After this blessed patriarch had accomplished all these things and abided in this our monastery for two years, he increased Christ’s flock of monks and was moved by the desire to ascend to a higher plane of spiritual life, having reflected on
...
the words of the Holy Scriptures: “Turn away from your places and people, for no prophet is accepted in his own country.” Luke 4:24

Thus was God-loving Lord Simeon moved by a desire to leave this place and to journey forth, so that he might accomplish in himself all that had been spoken, having also found the saying: “Those who trust in the Lord are like unto the Holy Mountain that can in no wise be moved by the attacks of the Devil.”

And so he was moved by a desire to leave, first because of the holy place; the second reason I will make known to you in brief.

VI

He, our blessed Lord Simeon, had three sons. One of them, the youngest, whom he loved the most (I cannot call him a son, but rather a servant), toiled tirelessly for him. Put simply, as the least among his brothers and as the youngest, and being aware of the weakness of his nature and the multiplication of his sins, he acted like the Prodigal Son. Thus, having left his good father and lord, and his blessed mother and lady, and—I will not say brothers but rather his noble masters—he exposed them all through his thoughtlessness. And I departed to a distant land, fed with swine, and could not be sated with their fodder: “He was dead and would not be revived, he was lost and would not be found.”

Thence was the blessed father Lord Simeon moved by a desire to go to the Holy Mountain to search for his stray lamb like a good shepherd and, upon laying it on his shoulder, to bring it home to its father and its hope. Then would he receive his reward from God for leaving his people, and accomplish the other desire of his heart—to find his beloved lost lamb. And with his heart enkindled he prayed to God, saying: “O King of glory, Eternal One, Father of heaven and might, Who by Thy good providence desires for man not death but salvation, leave me not to perish. For I know how great is Thy mercy toward me. And now, O Lord, I beseech Thee, let me live out my days.”

And when he had said this, he sent for his God-given sons.
After meeting with them and with all the lords and boyars, and giving them his blessing for a second time, he set off from here for the Holy Mountain in the month of October, on the eighth day, in the year 6706.60 And he ordered the lord his son, who remained in his God-given domain, to carry out all his commands, as well as to look after our monastery and see to its completion. And in leaving, our blessed father and founder Lord Simeon appointed a hegumen for this holy place. He chose a venerable man in the person of the monk Dionysius, and charged him with looking after and protecting Christ’s flock in this holy place.

VII

And he, the blessed one, came to the Holy Mountain61 in the month of November, on the second day.62 And the divinely inspired venerable fathers residing on the Holy Mountain received him with reverence and great joy. But he had rejoiced previously at the Vatopedi Monastery, for there he had found his desire, his lost lamb.63 He kissed him, took him upon his shoulders, as was fitting, and placed him in his service.

After spending a short time here,64 he, the blessed one, was seized by longing. And just as he had justified his reign here, so too was he moved by a desire to acquire there 65 a place of salvation for all who would come from near and far. And he obtained from his in-law, the Emperor Alexius,66 an open place for building a monastery on the Holy Mountain.67 And he took me, sinner that I am, from Vatopedi to this place, and the two of us settled there. And our venerable father spent one year and five months with me on the Holy Mountain.68

Yea, who can proclaim the struggles and strife of this blessed one?69 For verily all who lived in the neighboring lands marveled at him, perceiving the ineffable grace shown him by God, and they came to him to be blessed. And the reverend, God-fearing, Christ-loving monks of the Holy Mountain and the entire ordained clergy of the Church were inseparable from him. They marveled at his great humility, and at the model forbearance and abstinence of the preceptor and follower of the teachings of the Holy Gospels, to wit:70 “If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all”; and, “Ex-
cept ye be as innocent children, ye shall not enter into the
kingdom of heaven”;

Matthew 5:3

and again: “Blessed are the poor in spirit:
for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that
mourn here, for ye shall be comforted there. Blessed are the
meek here, for ye shall be the heirs of the kingdom of heaven
here. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst here, for
they shall be filled there. Blessed are the merciful here, for they
shall obtain mercy there. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they
shall see God.”

Matthew 5:6-8

For all this did our blessed father and founder Lord Simeon
accomplish, and in no wise was he ashamed; rather he gained
salvation together with those who lived for the sake of Christ.
Thus he acquired a pasture of peace with its beautiful, full-
grown, fruit-laden trees and sweet-singing birds. There he
listened and lived a peaceful, calm, and pious life, rooting
himself well in Orthodoxy and shining brightly like a wondrous
tree standing in a sheltered harbor, that is, the Holy Mountain.

And amidst all this he found, like a sweet-singing bird and a soli-
tude-loving dove, that particular, sought-after monk, the tender
consolation of this Christ-loving patriarch, the lamb that was once
nurtured by him, the branch of his fruit and blossom of his
root. Here also was a gentle fragrance, and it was indeed what
he desired. And he rested in this beautiful pasture in which
a bird sang with various voices, and he delighted in the five
wise senses, in the sight, sound, smell, tone, and touch of
the bird.

He had set out from his fatherland to this holy pasture,
that is, to the Holy Mountain, and found the previous monas-
tery, that is, Mileje, in honor of the Presentation of the Holy,
Glorious Lady, the Mother of God, destroyed completely by
godless adversaries. And he undertook another, even greater
task, and he troubled his old age, having taken me, though I
was unworthy, to serve him. And just as he renewed and put
everything in order here, so also did he erect this holy place
in order not to deprive us of renewal, commemoration, and
a refuge. Now, upon gathering a sufficient number of monks,
нечисты матери
образа тврдой и
чистой.

праставильное
преклонение наш
всякая святость
творит, как
помощь и
покаяние.

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покаяние.
he appointed a venerable man in the person of the monk Methodius. And after all had been put in order for the monastery and those living therein, he abided there for eight months, performing tasks and great acts of penance, which the human mind cannot express. And not only here at this monastery, but also throughout the Holy Mountain and to all the monasteries there did he give copious alms, that he and all his heirs might be remembered.

VIII

On the seventeenth day of the month of February his venerable old age began to weigh in some measure upon him. And the blessed patriarch Lord Simeon summoned me immediately, though I be unworthy and wholly base, and he began calmly to speak holy, worthy, and sweet words to me: “My dear child and consolation of my old age, my son, attend to my words; incline your ear to my sayings, and keep them in your heart, so the sources of your life will not run dry.

For they are life to all who find them. Preserve your heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life. Put away from you a froward mouth, and keep perverse lips far from you. Let your eyes look rightly, and let your eyelids look straight. Bring your feet to the right path, and establish your ways. Turn not to the right hand nor to the left, for God knows the ways on the right side, but those on the left are corrupt. See that your instruction be right, and let your journeyings be in peace. My son, attend to my wisdom, incline your ear to my sayings, and keep my good thoughts; I proclaim to you the feeling of my lips. My son, keep the law of your father, and forsake not the instruction of your mother. My son, obey me now and you will be blessed. For blessed is the man who obeys me, and the person who keeps my ways. Mingle not with the foolish. Seek wisdom and live. Convert learning
гораздо учени́я чты́нных ей весть душею душе́ кого разу́чались все. Были у них как у всех. Их учени́я нёбь разу́чались и не́ман упрёкну́т вон. И поло́жив в глаза́ он глазе́ бе́лые постигнешь глубоко́е в него. Ёщё ей ве́ленье. Пости́пдение томе в ней разу́ченым. И разу́чивают вельское весть вольно бить и помо́юсь. Чуравное свои́е приятные поуть пещерное его. Ниже ши́пёнка. Они́й по́пие че́м и́нтен неразу́чную ласкою да. И гла́с звано кь введение...
into understanding. For he that reproves the wicked brings to himself shame: and he that rebukes an impious man brings himself a blot. Reprove not the wicked, lest he hate you; rebuke a wise man, and he will love you. Give blame to a wise man, and he will be wiser yet; give instruction to a just man, and he will increase what he has received. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the counsel of the holy is understanding, since to understand the law is right thinking. For by this merit your days shall be multiplied, and the years of your life shall be increased.”

Lifting his hands, the blessed one placed them upon my sinful neck and began to weep sorrowfully, giving me his sweet kisses. And he began to speak: “My beloved child, light of my eyes, consolation and protector of my old age! Behold, the time of our parting is already at hand; behold, the Lord has already released me in peace according to His word, so that the word shall be fulfilled: ‘for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.’ And you, my child, be not grieved seeing my departure, for this fate is shared by all. For if we are parted here, then shall we be joined again there, where there is no further parting.”

Lifting his most reverent hands and placing them upon my head, he said: “I bless you with my blessings. The blessed Lord God will hasten your salvation. And in place of the earthly, may He grant you grace and mercy and the kingdom of heaven. May He make straight the course of your way, the heading of which you took from me at the beginning, having with you always my constant, though sinful prayer.”

And I, falling down at his most worthy feet, said in tears: “I have found joy in your numerous and abundant gifts, my blessed Lord Simeon, but I have forgotten everything, being wretched and unregenerate. I have consorted with senseless beasts and have become like them. I have been poor in good deeds and rich in passions. I have been filled with shame and deprived of God’s trust. I have been condemned by God, mourned by Angels, ridiculed by the Devil, denounced by my conscience,
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Если оставить в стороне некоторые старые русские письмена, то можно сказать, что это текст на русском языке.

Однажды бывает невероятно, каким образом человек несмотря на большие трудности и невзгоды продолжает жить.

Буквы же старых, хотя и не были вычтенные, все же видны и читаются.

Однако, в этом мире, в котором мы живем, время непрекращающееся, изменяющееся, как бы, в нас самих, и мы до конца не можем понять, что такое настоящее время.
and shamed by my evil deeds. I am dead before death, con-
demned before judgment, and tormented by despair before eternal torment. Therefore I fall at your most worthy feet, prostrating myself: Perchance I, incorrigible as I am, might obtain a measure of forgiveness at the terrible coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ in answer to your most worthy prayers.’”

And when the eighteenth day of the month had come, he said to me: “My child, send for my spiritual father and all the venerable elders of the Holy Mountain. Let them come to me, for already the day of my departure is approaching.”

And when his command had been fulfilled, there came a multitude of monks like fragrant blossoms, blooming in this holy wilderness. And when they came to him, they received one from the other peace wishes and blessings; and he did not allow them to leave him, saying to them: “Stay by me until you have performed the funeral service over my body with your holy and venerable chants, and have buried it.”

And from the seventeenth day to his repose, the blessed patriarch partook not of bread or water, receiving daily only the Eucharist, the holy and most venerable Mysteries of the Body and Blood of Our Lord God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

IX

On the twenty-second day of the month I saw that he was preparing for his departure, and I said to him: “O blessed Lord Simeon, behold, your blessed departure to your repose is already prepared. And though I have already heard how you blessed your heirs, give them now your final blessing.”

And he lifted his hands and began to speak with tears: “O Holy Trinity, Our God, I glorify Thee and bless Thee; I beseech Thee and call upon Thee, for I am giving a third blessing to my heirs. O Lord Almighty, God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the seed of the righteous, protect them and strengthen the power of my former dominion. And let the help of the Most Holy Mother of God and my, albeit sinful prayer be with them now and forever. And I give both of them my previous command: Let there be love between you!
Whoever of them departs from what I have set down for them, may the wrath of God devour him and his seed.” And to all this I said, “Amen.”

When the twenty-second day of the month had come, he said: “My child, bring me the icon of the Most Holy Mother of God, for I vowed that I would give up the ghost before Her.” After this command was fulfilled and evening fell, he said: “My child, be so kind, put on me that monk’s habit intended for my burial, and prepare me exactly in the holy manner, just as I will lie in the grave. And spread a bast mat on the ground, and place me upon it. Put a stone beneath my head so that I may lie here until the Lord visits me to take me from here.” Then I fulfilled everything, and did as he commanded.

And while all of us watched, we wept bitterly, seeing God’s ineffable solicitude for this blessed patriarch. For just as he here called upon God and was aided in his dominion, so now in this hour he wished not to deprive himself of any spiritual possession, and God fulfilled all things for him. Yea, my beloved brethren and fathers, he was a wonder to behold: He whom all feared and who caused trembling everywhere could now be seen as one of the foreigners, poor, wrapped in a monk’s habit, lying on the ground on a bast mat with a stone beneath his head, prostrating and humbling himself before all, and begging forgiveness of all.

And when night fell, having received his blessing, all took leave of him and repaired to their cells to pray and take some rest. But I and one priest whom I retained with me, we remained by him that entire night. By midnight the blessed patriarch grew quiet and left off speaking to me. When morning broke and they began chanting in the church, the blessed patriarch’s face at once became radiant, and he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said: “Praise God in His sanctuary: Praise Him in the firmament of His power.” And I said to him: “Father, whom did you see when you spoke?” But he looked up at me
and said: "Praise Him for His mighty acts: Praise Him according to His excellent greatness." And upon saying this, he immediately gave up his divine soul and reposed in the Lord.

And I fell upon his face and wept bitterly for a long time. Upon rising, I thanked God for having witnessed the death of this venerable man.

X

And when they all learned of this, they came and marveled at the radiance of his face, saying: "O blessed Simeon, you have made yourself worthy of such a vision—the Holy Lord has bestowed grace upon you for the struggles of your labors. Therefore did you speak in a sweet voice, rejoicing as you gave up the ghost: 'Praise God in His sanctuary: Praise Him in the firmament of His power. Praise Him according to the excellent greatness of His might.' For everywhere shall you be blessed. Therefore did you also speak in a holy voice."

Afterward we took his venerable body and placed it in the middle of the church, as is the custom. And after Matins were ended and a countless number of monks had gathered, they began solemnly to chant the customary dirges over his venerable body. Thus was fulfilled what was spoken: "Ye that fear the Lord, praise Him." And thereafter a multitude of people came to pay him homage, and with great solemnity to perform the dirges. First the Greeks chanted, then the Iberians, and then the Russians; and after the Russians, the Bulgarians, and then again did we, his assembled flock. And when some time had passed after the liturgy and all the customary services were ended, everyone kissed his venerable body. And I, sinner that I am, having enfolded his venerable body, I placed it in a new grave. As I was commanded, so did I fulfill his command. And until the ninth day I did not release the multitude of monks that had gathered, celebrating a holy service for him every day.

XI

And when he, our blessed father, passed on to his eternal rest, by his will he bequeathed the monastery and those remaining few to me, sinner that I am. Accordingly, to my charge came a venerable man, the monk Methodius, fifteen in all. I was in distress and much afraid, first, from sadness and, second, from fear of godless robbers. But it pleased the Mother of God, Our
мнитным монами гианы сие смещена примечание сило тислеополине полагание его пантеем пил. джир индекого же является прокоров ибо то не планинет по виду экономического места. начертатии носить выповновкрытого переряовая переряовая пишущая въяженного старца. шарская тиха. тело еговек генерал мо. сущее злое вышее постижение ил. та посредством уродов винии ки нисхождение салатин прославления

суеть долгосрочному его святоломия. житель стоящее сущее здешествия въяженной въяженной стихи святости нисхождение въяженной сущее нисхождение святости прерывание мое скрещенья иногда утка искренняя империя внутри сущее итимнымымоими
Preceptress, to show Her love—and also through the holy prayers of Lord Simeon—and this house grew from its inconspicuous and humble beginnings into a magnificent establishment. And after a short time I assembled a brotherhood of two hundred,\(^9\) and I arranged for all of the monastery’s needs.

Now, after being here for eight years, much turmoil broke out in that region,\(^{96}\) for the Latins came and took the Imperial City which was formerly Greek land.\(^{97}\) And they came even to us here, to this holy place, because there was great turmoil. And when news of this turmoil reached near and far, a message came to me from the Christ-loving, devout, and God-appointed Stephen Nemanja—who was blessed by the blessed father Simeon and whose dominion he ruled—and from his brother, the Grand Župan Vukan. I received their request which said: “Behold, the people have risen in that region, and our blessed father Simeon, our former lord and teacher, lies there. Therefore, we beseech you\(^{98}\) that you not ignore us.

Take the venerable relics of our Lord Simeon and bring them here to us, so that his blessing shall be fulfilled upon us.”\(^{99}\)

Upon considering their cherished request and the necessity of fulfilling it, and rousing my weakness to the task, I began to act. Finding an appropriate time, I went and opened the grave of the blessed patriarch and found his venerable body whole and intact, though he had been in the grave for eight years. For this is fitting for those who have pleased God, that even after death they are extolled; and He works the will of those who fear Him and hears their prayer: “He keepeth all their bones: not one of them is broken.” Taking his venerable relics, I set off on my way. And though there was much turmoil in those lands, with the help of God and the Most Holy Lady, the Mother of God, and the prayers of our blessed and venerable and worthy lord and father Simeon, I came, so to speak, through fire and water whole and intact and unharmed in any way.

And I arrived in Hvostno\(^{100}\) with the venerable relics. And
Могилев близ горы, где жили апостолы, где был Симон, папа. Величественное место, где была молитва. Писалось на месте, где был охвачен ростом креста. Изображенное место, где был Симон, папа. Величественное место, где была молитва. Писалось на месте, где был охвачен ростом креста.
when his son the ruler, Stephen Nemanja, and his brother, Prince Vukan, heard of this, they assembled dignitaries and priests and hegumens with many monks, and together with the boyars and all the others they rejoiced with joy, and made merry with merriment.\textsuperscript{101} They came with great reverence, took the relics of Lord Simeon, and thanked God with spiritual hymns. For just as the good Joseph took the body of his father Jacob from Egypt and brought it to the Promised Land,\textsuperscript{102} so also did these, his God-loving sons, together with the entire nation, receive him, rejoicing with joy and making merry with merriment, themselves bearing the venerable body of their father. And with great honor they placed him in this holy church, in a grave reserved for him, which the blessed one had prepared for himself at the beginning. And this came to pass in the month of February, on the nineteenth day.\textsuperscript{103}

\textbf{XII}

And you ought to learn about him, our blessed father and founder Lord Simeon, from his birth right up to his death. He was born in Zeta on the Ribnica,\textsuperscript{104} and there he received holy baptism. When the child was brought hither,\textsuperscript{105} the bishop of the Church of the Holy Apostles\textsuperscript{106} received him. And upon giving the child his blessing, he anointed him with myrrh, and he received a second baptism.\textsuperscript{107} For wondrous things came to pass with this man, receiving two baptisms as a child. And again, when he received the holy angelic station, here too he received two blessings, the upper and the lower form.\textsuperscript{108} And thus, after his death, his venerable body received two burials: First at the Holy Mountain where he died and from whence he was taken and brought here; and with great honor and solemn glorification a second interment of his venerable relics took place. After forty-six years from his birth had passed, he received thereupon, by God’s will, his dominion. And he remained in his dominion for thirty-seven years, and then received the holy angelic station in which he spent three years, living in all eighty-six years.\textsuperscript{109} And the blessed father and founder Lord Simeon
died in the year 6708,\textsuperscript{110} in the month of February, on the thirteenth day, and passed on to eternal bliss.

And may Thou, O God and Lord of all, and Glorious Mother of the Lord God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, make that which is written become deed. May we and those following us to the end of eternity, with the help of the venerable prayers of our father and founder, hearken to what is being said; and in emulation may we do all that is pleasing to God, being mindful of our venerable father’s struggles and life, in which there is delight and joy, mindfulness of God, and rejoicing in God.

Thus, may our spirit contemplate the heavenly, the beauties of paradise, the eternal abodes, the angelic jubilation, and the life beyond; may it contemplate where and how the souls of the righteous and those of sinners abide, and how the mighty God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ will appear, the Enlightened One from Whom the word proceeds: “The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up”; and how each soul will receive its mortal body; how that assembly of the multitude of mankind will be from Adam unto the end; how the face of Christ will appear, terrible and more brilliant than the sun; how His voice will be heard. Will He receive us as the righteous into the Kingdom of Heaven, or as sinners banish us to eternal torment? Therefore, my beloved brethren, it is fitting for us to be concerned in this life, and to think as those who are outside that world, as those who will have life in the heavens, passing through this life peacefully, fostering hope of acquiring the future eternal good in Christ Jesus Our Lord, through the intercession of Our Most Holy Lady and Benefactress, the Mother of God, and through the prayers of our venerable and blessed father and founder, Lord Simeon.
Notes to the *Vita* of Stephen Nemanja

1. Simeon is the monastic name of Stephen Nemanja, the Grand Župan of the Serbian State from ca. 1168–1195. On 25 March 1195, Simeon of his own accord abdicated to his son Stephen in order to withdraw to monastic life. The name Simeon was taken in honor of the “devout man in Jerusalem” mentioned in Luke 2:25: “And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him.” See also note 18.

2. Stephen Nemanja’s greatest foundation was the Monastery of Studenica, which was built in the late eighties of early nineties of the twelfth century. It was his *zadužbina*, that is, his personal foundation, for the good of his soul, where he expected to be buried and commemorated in perpetuity (see A.P. Vlasto, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-16). Hence, it was to this place that his relics were translated. Furthermore, Saint Sava was Heguman of Studenica from ca. 1205–1215; and this monastery was soon to become a principal, if not the preeminent institution in medieval Serbia. Today Studenica is located twenty kilometers from the town of Ušća.

3. By “whole Serbian land” is meant the medieval Serbian State which Nemanja succeeded in extending—as a result of successful military expeditions—from the Adriatic Sea to the outskirts of Sophia in present-day Bulgaria. See also note 6.

4. See note 1. Nemanja is the Serbian form of the biblical name Nehemiah. It is the first biblical name to be attested among Serbian overlords who traditionally bore old Slavic pagan names such as Ćaslav, Miroslav, Tihomir, and so on. The origins of the Nemanja family are obscure; and Stephen Nemanja has been considered, depending on the source, the son of Zavida, Uroš II, and Desa. He was born in Zeta (see note 7) in the town of Ribnica, near the modern-day city of Titograd in Montenegro. The date of his birth is also uncertain, though tradition places it in the year 1114.

5. The line, “. . . that God, guiding man to the better and wishing man not death,” is a paraphrase of the opening lines to the *Life of Constantine* (see *The Life of Constantine* and *The Life of Methodius*).

6. The territory originally apportioned to Nemanja was the easternmost quarter of the Serbian principedom from Ras to Niš. The remaining three quarters were divided among his three brothers, Tihomir, Strazimir, and Miroslav. It seems however that none of the brothers was content with his portion and conflict ensued. In the end Nemanja defeated his brothers: Tihomir was killed, and Strazimir and Miroslav pledged their allegiance to him. Thus the tetrarchy ended and there emerged a unified Serbian State (see *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, I [Belgrad, 1953]).
Zeta (or Dioclea until the end of the tenth century) is the old designation for an area which today makes up the greater part of Montenegro. The unnamed cities on the coastland are Budva, Kotor, Skadar, and Ulcinj. Rabno is modern-day Albania. The two parts of Pilot are Upper and Lower Pilot, an area located between the cities Prizren and Skadar.

The present-day corresponding place names are: Patkovo, an area around Đakovica; Hvostno is Metohija near Peć; Podrimle, an area around Prizren; Kostrac, an area near Peć; Drškovina, an area near Peć; Sitnica, Lab, and Lipljan are all in the Losov region around the rivers Sitnica and Lab, and the town of Lipljan; Dubočica, an area around Leskovac; Reke, an area around Aleksinac, Uška, an area between Nišava and Vlastina; Pomoravlje is the Južna Morava valley; Zagrlata, an area around Đunis near Krusevac; Levče and Belica are Levac and Temnič near the Morava River (see Stara Srpska Književnosti, [Novi Sad—Belgrad, 1966], p. 415).

According to tradition Nemanja ruled for thirty-seven years. However, it was he who brought about the independence of the Serbian State and inaugurated the two centuries of its greatness.

The notion of causing “fear” or “trembling” on all sides is a typical hyperbole of the panegyric style of writing. This notion is repeated again in Chapter IX.

The metaphorical allusion to Abraham’s hospitality originated in Genesis 18:19. Often this metaphor is used to encourage the faithful and persuade them to exercise hospitality. For example, compare Paul’s use of it in Hebrews 13:2. This metaphor can, as it does here, also serve to emphasize the hero’s ascetic life style. Moreover, the motif of Abraham’s hospitality appears in apocryphal literature; cf. The Legend of Abraham, which is preserved in Serbian manuscripts beginning with the fourteenth century, though translated earlier (see Stare Srpske Biografije [Belgrad, 1968], p. 267). It is curious to note that Sava’s phrase “an angel on earth and a man from heaven” is also found in the Narrative and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb.

If taken out of context this passage could be considered blasphemy for the obvious reason that it should only refer to the Lord. Of course this is not the case here. Such a passage is not uncommon in Serbian vitae, where it is used as a literary cliche and is a stereotyped phrase characterizing the pious ruler.

The Saint Nicholas Monastery was built sometime between 1165—1170, and became the seat of the bishopric of Toplica. The monastery was located near Kursumlija and survived for over five hundred years. Today only its ruins remain (see V. Petković, Pregled crkvenih spomenika kroz povestnicu srpskog naroda [Belgrad, 1950], p. 214).

The Convent of the Holy Mother of God was built at approximately the same time as the Saint Nicholas Monastery, and was located in the same general area. It also survived for a long time, about five hundred years. Now only some ruins remain (see V. Petković, p. 33).

Saint George Monastery was built in the 1180’s just northwest of Ras
near the present-day city of Novi Pazar, Architecturally, the style of the church at the monastery—and the churches at the monastery and convent mentioned in notes 12 and 13—was a blend of East and West, that is, it incorporated both Byzantine and Dalmatian features (see G. Millet, ed., L’Art byzantin chez les Slaves, I [Paris, 1930]). The ruins of this structure are today known as George’s Columns (Đurđevi stupovi).

15 See note 2. The Church of the Mother of God is a part of the monastery of Studenica.

16 This inscription has not come down to us.

17 Alexius III (Angelus) was the Emperor of the Byzantine Empire (1195—1203). He chose to call himself Comnenus because Angelus, in his view, was not a name sufficiently eminent for him.

18 Stephen was the second of Nemanja’s three sons (the eldest was Vukan [Vlkan], the youngest, Rastko [Sava]). He was married in the early 1190’s to Evdokia, the youngest daughter of Alexius III. For reasons connected with the complex political struggle between East (Byzantium) and West (Rome) for ecclesiastic allegiance, Stephen soon repudiated his Greek wife (ca. 1202—1205) and married a Venetian. He pursued a pro-Roman policy, which culminated in his coronation by a papal legate in 1217 as King of Serbia, despite the disapproval of his younger brother and the Serbian Orthodox clergy. As a result he is known as Stephen the First-Crowned (Steven prvovenčani).

19 To receive the “angelic and apostolic station” meant to become a monk. Since it is common for a monk to strive to attain a high degree of spirituality, early Christian literature often compared monastic life to the angelic way of life. The reference to “apostolic” undoubtedly refers to the Apostles who like monks strove to achieve incorporeity. Monkhood had two degrees, the lower and upper forms or schema. Full monkhood was achieved only in the upper form. The lower form was merely vows. See Stare Srpske Biografije, p. 267.

20 This is not a quotation from the Scriptures. However, the passage paraphrases the essence of I John 4:12: “No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and His love is perfected in us.”

21 The passage which is taken from Matthew 19:29 is not a verbatim quotation.

22 It may actually be that Sava is concerned that the Life he is writing might occupy too much of the Typicon’s limited space. More likely, however, this statement is nothing more than a “brevitas” formula, a favorite medieval rhetorical device.

23 This is another common literary cliche, much like the one mentioned in note 11.

24 Whereas the term boljare (boyars) is rarely met in Old Serbian literary monuments, it is frequently found in Old Bulgarian and Old Russian ones.

By the end of the twelfth century two classes of nobility began to emerge in Serbia: the upper, who were the great lords (velbmoz or
velmužь) and the lesser, who were the military men (voins or voinikov).

25 Perhaps this passage alludes to Psalm 118:12, where a similar image is found: “They compassed me about like bees; they are quenched as the fire of thorns; for in the name of the Lord I will destroy them.”

26 This passage is a paraphrase of Luke 2:29-31: “Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;” . . .

27 See note 1; here Sava likens Simeon to his namesake in Luke 2:25.

28 Compare this passage with the words of Jesus in John 10:11-17.

29 The number of years of Stephen Nemanja’s rule before abdicating and withdrawing to monastic life is more likely twenty-seven, and the manuscript should probably read: “And throughout all your twenty-eight years . . .” Such an error could have resulted from the confusion of a letter’s numerical value.

30 That is Stephen the First-Crowned. See note 18.

31 Compare Genesis 27 and 28.

32 The lands which Vukan administered were the coastal provinces, that is, the region of Zeta (see note 7). Since Zeta had formerly been a kingdom, Vukan now had it restored with the aid of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), and assumed the title of its former royal rulers, viz., Rex Dalmatiae et Diocliae. He then allied himself with Emmerich, King of Hungary (1196–1204), and conquered Serbia. With the aid of the Bulgarians, Stephen soon re-established himself and Vukan was forced to submit. However, the brothers were reconciled by Sava, who returned to Serbia from Mount Athos in 1207.

33 It is interesting to note that the thought behind Simeon’s address to his sons mirrors the Book of Proverbs, specifically Chapter 3.

34 In the original the last sentence reads: i obrešteta blagodět i pomyšljaita blagaa prešu bogom i človėky. My translation follows Proverbs 3:4 verbatim. In this rendition the finite verb pomyšljaita is changed into a noun modified by the plural adjective blagaa, which in the Slavic lacks a noun. If translated verbatim, the Slavic would read: “So shall ye find favor and think ye good before God and man.”

35 Beginning with this sentence there is a personification of mudrosti (wisdom), which in the Slavic is a noun of the feminine gender.

36 The passages from Proverbs 3:1-18 are not entirely verbatim.

37 These words refer to Stephen and are, of course, addressed to Vukan.

38 To this quotation from I John 4:8 the Slavic had added “his brother,” which takes in the sense of I John 4:20: “. . . for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen”; and I John 4:21: “. . . That he who loveth God love his brother also.”

39 Cf. the words of Jesus in Matthew 22:37-40. The Slavic passage is somewhat elliptic and simply reads: apostoli naoučiše, moučenici věncani byše i proroči vystě” (verbatim: The Apostles taught, the Martyrs were crowned, and the Prophets extolled).

40 The wording of this passage from Isaiah 1:19-20 is changed somewhat in the Slavic.
This passage alludes to the words of Christ in John 10:15: "As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father: and I lay down my life for the sheep."

The allusion in this passage is to Matthew 2:18: "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation and weeping and a great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not." Cf. also Jeremiah 31:15.

Rhetorical questions are a common feature in medieval literature in general and in the panegyric style of writing in particular.

The "piling up" of attributes is a stylistic device that is frequently found in the panegyric style of writing.

This passage quotes only the last line from Luke 2:40. The entire biblical passage reads: "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him."

It seems that in this passage Sava is alluding unapprovingly to the divorce and remarriage of his brother Stephen.

See note 19.

That is, 1195. See note 45, First OCS Life. The author is using the Byzantine calendar which is used in all Old Serbian manuscripts.

There is some question as to the accuracy of the year given by Sava when his father, Stephen Nemanja, became a monk. A contradiction arises upon closer consideration of the other dates given by him. If the year of Nemanja’s death is 1200—about which there is no doubt—and he spent three years as a monk, then the year he became a monk would have to be 1197.

The monastery is Studenica; see note 2.

That is, the Convent of the Holy Mother of God near Kursumlija; see note 13.

The image of the pearl is found in Matthew 13:45-46: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: Who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it."

The reference to the young man alludes to Matthew 19:20-21: "The young man saith unto him. All these things have I kept from my youth up: What lack I yet? Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me." Cf. also Jesus’ words to his disciples in Matthew 16:24.

The only part of this quotation that is from the Scriptures are the words from Luke 4:24: "...No prophet is accepted in his own country."

This quotation is from a Church song entitled The Holy Mountain. The "Mountain" referred to in the song is Mount Sinai upon which, according to Exodus 19, the Lord descended.

In this passage Sava speaks about himself now in the third person, now in the first.


That is, Mount Athos, which in Greek is known as Hagion Oros (The Holy Mountain). It is located in northeastern Greece and has
been the seat of a number of monasteries since the Middle Ages.

58 This passage repeats the image found in Luke 15:5: "And when he hath found it [the stray sheep, cf. Luke 15:4], he layeth it on his shoulders rejoicing."

59 The quotation is only a part of I Timothy 2:4, which reads: "Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."

60 That is, 1197.

61 See note 57.

62 The fact that no year is given here has led some researchers to conclude that originally only the day and month was mentioned, a convention which is attested in numerous other manuscripts. Indicating the year is believed to be a later addition (see S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter*, [Graz, 1962], 140-41).

63 Vatopedi was one of the Greek monasteries on Mount Athos. Rastko first went to the Russian Monastery of Saint Panteleimon and there was tonsured and took the name Sava. Afterward he moved to the Vatopedi Monastery, where he lived until the arrival of his father.

64 According to R. Novaković (see S. Hafner, p. 141), father and son were in Vatopedi from 2 November 1197 until September 1198.

65 This passage is somewhat elliptic because the specific referent of "here" and "there" is no longer as obvious as it was at one time. "Here" refers to Serbia, i.e., one could add "in this land"; "there" refers to the Holy Mountain, i.e., "on the Holy Mountain" could be added. All further references in this text to "here" and "there" in this context have the same meaning.

66 See note 17.

67 The monastery built on that "spot" was the Serbian Monastery Hilander.

68 The period of the year and five months would be from September 1198 until his death on 13 February 1200.

69 Hyperoche is yet another stylistic feature of the panegyric style of writing.

70 The phraseology, depiction, and notion of "God's ineffable condescension" toward the hero is typical of the panegyric style of writing.

71 This passage is a paraphrase of Matthew 18:3: "And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

72 Only the first part of this passage follows Matthew 5:4. The remainder of it seems to paraphrase a portion of the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 5:5: "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth."

The adverbs "here" and "there" in this passage and the succeeding ones from Matthew 5 are Slavic emendations. Note that the quotation from Matthew 5:6 omits the words "after righteousness."

73 Trees, fruit, and birds are fixed images in medieval Byzantine and Latin descriptions of an ideal landscape. Here the description functions as an allegory for monastic life (see S. Hafner, p. 141).

74 That is, his son Rastko (Sava).
Mileje (Mileon) is the Greek name of the place on which stood the Greek Monastery of Chilandari. According to tradition, it was built in the second half of the eleventh century and named after its founder Chelandarios. It was destroyed by brigands at the end of the twelfth century.

See note 65. For the sake of clarity I have omitted the adverb “there.”

The “spot” which Emperor Alexius III gave Simeon and Sava for building a monastery was the ruins of the former Greek monastery Chilandari (see note 75). This monastery was rebuilt by father and son (circa 1199) and named Hilandar (Chilandar) after the original monastery. It soon became the most important Serbian literary center, a position it retained until the fourteenth century. Even today Hilandar retains its importance and is a focal point of Serbian spirituality.

Apparently Simeon appointed the monk Methodius as hegumen of the monastery.

In Slavic this sentence in Šafarik’s text reads: в в -h- дынь месеца феврара нacetь нэctо мало oслабеваtи чстnаa стaroстъ ego, which translates literally as “On the seventh day of the month of February his venerable old age began to weaken a little.”

The greater part of this address is taken from Proverbs 4:20-27: “My son, attend to my words; incline thine ear unto my sayings. Let them not depart from thine eyes; keep them in the midst of thine heart. For they are life unto those that find them and health to all their flesh. Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life. Put away from thee a forward mouth, and perverse lips put far from thee. Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eyelids look straight before thee. Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established. Turn not to the right hand nor to the left: remove thy foot from evil.”

There is a curious reversal in this quotation from Proverbs 1-8: “My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother.”

This passage paraphrases the essence of Proverbs 9:6: “Forsake the foolish and live; and go in the way of understanding.”

The quotations from Proverbs 9:7-11 are not entirely verbatim.

The original Slavic simply reads: blagoslove blagoslovju te (verbatim: blessing I bless thee).

That is, February 1200.

In other manuscripts this date is given as the 22nd. The date given in this text (the 12th) represents a correction made by Šafarik.

It is questionable whether this number of occurrences can be taken literally given the mystical significance of the numeral 3, and the fact that “trebling” is a literary cliche in works of this type.

That is, his sons Stephen and Vukan.

For the sake of clarity I have added the words “the icon of.” The Slavic reads: prenesi me прeсветоuju bogородиcou (verbatim: Bring me the Most Holy Mother of God).

See note 9.
The words “his eyes” have been added on the basis of the context. The original simply reads: i vîzdvîgî na nebo i reçe (verbatim: And he lifted up to the heavens and said).

This quotation is a mixture of Psalm 150:1-2, which is quoted verbatim in the text.

The Iberians are the modern-day Georgians, whose monastery on Mount Athos, Iveron, was founded in the year 980. The Russian monks were from the Panteleimon Monastery, while the Bulgarian monks were probably from the Zographos Monastery.

It has been pointed out that Simeon’s bequest appears in the Hilander Typicon, where it is stated that Methodius was the first hegumen of the monastery and the number of remaining monks was ten (see S. Hafner, p. 144).

There is an interpretation of this passage by L. Mirković which has it that Methodius left the monastery with fourteen monks (see Stare Srpske Biografije, p. 269).

In another variant of the manuscript the size of the brotherhood is given as ninety, which is a more likely count. This discrepancy is due to the differing numerical values of the letters ĉ = 90 and s = 200 (see Stare Srpske Biografije, p. 269).

The region referred to is that of Mount Athos.

The Imperial City—the traditional Slavic name for Constantinople—was taken by the Latins during the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The alleged purpose of this Crusade—initiated by Pope Innocent III—was to drive the Moslems from the Holy Land. However, its leaders, primarily Enrico, the Doge of Venice, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, abandoned their purported objective and instead attacked the Dalmatian city of Zara—a leading rival of Venice in the maritime trade—and sacked it (1202). Though the Crusaders were at first excommunicated en masse by the Pope for perpetrating such a crime against Christians, they were subsequently pardoned. And now the Crusaders marched on Constantinople, which they seized and pillaged in 1204. This brought about the so-called Latin reign in Constantinople which lasted until 1261.

In Slavic this passage reads: o sem molimb tvoju molitvou, which translates literally as “Thus, we pray thy prayer.”

There was a good reason for Stephen and Vukan to be concerned about the safety of Simeon’s grave on Mount Athos. After the fall of Thessalonica (1205), the entire region remained in a state of turmoil for some thirty years owing to the alternate succession of Frankish, Greek, and Bulgarian suzerainties.

Tautologies of this type are another common device found in the panegyric style of writing.

Compare the story of Joseph in Genesis 50.

Though the year of this event is not given, from all indications it is not unreasonable to assume that it took place sometime between 1207–1208.

See notes 4 and 7; the Ribnica is, of course, the river.
That is, to Ras, near the present-day city of Novi Pazar.

The church in question is the Orthodox Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Ras.

Supposedly Stephen Nemanja was first baptized according to the Latin rite in Zeta—which had been attached to Rome—by a Catholic priest. He was baptized a second time according to the Orthodox rite (note anointment) in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul by the Bishop of Ras, Leontios. The date of his second Baptism is given as 1142—1144, a period which would make his age at the time approximately thirty—if the traditional date of his birth (1114) is accepted—and hardly a “child” as Sava states in the Life. However, it is possible to assume that Nemanja accepted Orthodox Baptism at approximately thirty years of age (whatever the date), because of his political ambitions in an area of strong Orthodox temper.

See note 19.

There is a great deal of disagreement and ongoing polemics among historians on the accuracy not only of these dates but virtually of all the dates given by Sava in this Life. For further discussion, see: V. Corović, “Pitanje o hronologiji u delima sv Save,” Godišnjica Nikole Cupića, XLIX (1940); S. Novaković, “Kad se rodio i kad je počeo da vlada Steven Nemanja?” Istoriski Glasnik, 3/4 (1958); and P. Popović, “O hronologiji u delima sv. Save,” Glas Srpske Akademije Nauke, CXII (1924).

That is, 1200, the only date which is certain among all the dates given in this work.