

# DID BAPTISM CHANGE THE RUS?

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Horton's study of African conversion led him to conclude that 'African responses to the world religions ... are responses which, given the appropriate economic and social background conditions, would most likely have occurred in some recognisable form even in the absence of the world religions.'<sup>1</sup> Examining the 'Baptism of Rus' in 988, one discovers social changes occurring alongside religious conversion and a political environment in which a turn towards monotheistic universalism appears the 'natural' progression, but baptism transformed Russian society in numerous and unexpected ways. As well as unifying diverse peoples, encouraging trade and heralding a new era in international relations, official conversion introduced a new clerical class, liturgy, centralised worship, and new conceptions of time, transforming the legal system, kingship structures, art, music, architecture, burial practices and education. Social changes were channeled in very new directions that were not necessarily 'in the air' anyway.

## **The sources**

Determining the speed or extent of changes brought about by conversion, however, is extremely difficult due to the paucity of sources from this period, and the fact that the hero of these sources, Vladimir, the Grand Prince of Kiev (980-1015), is credited with establishing precedents for almost all aspects of mid-eleventh century Russian religious life. Influenced by princely pressure, Russian chroniclers took care to present a society that is united and closely linked to Byzantium. Dynastic fracturing and an

almost complete silence about the Rus' in Byzantine chronicles cast doubt on the Russian chroniclers' picture.

Theological stylising of history is very clear in the *Povest' Vremenniykh Let (PVL)*,<sup>2</sup> and in Ilarion's *Slovo o Zakone I Blagodati* ('Oration on the Law and Grace,' c. 1037-1050), and the myth-making becomes even clearer when compared with contemporary Western conversion accounts.<sup>3</sup> While the Russian chronicler would not have known the Western accounts, the similarities between them demonstrate the extent to which the historical narrative has been manipulated to highlight particular themes such as the importance of miracles, the rational investigation and comparison of religions, deeply theological catechisation, aesthetic beauty, the role of advisors and of women, and the radical rejection of the old for the new.

### **Vladimir's paganism**

If, using Nock's definition, conversion is the 'deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another,' then there must be a consciousness 'that the old was wrong and the new is right.'<sup>4</sup> Lotman and Uspenskij consider this way of thinking to be integral to Russian experiences of change, where 'the new [is] regarded not as a continuation but as an eschatological replacement of everything.'<sup>5</sup> Russian conversion accounts must therefore emphasise the errors of paganism to create a pagan/Christian dualism in the narrative. Both Vladimir and his grandmother Olga are depicted as cruel prior to their conversions. The *PVL* records that 'Vladimir was overcome by lust for women,' and 'was insatiable in vice. He even seduced married women and violated young girls.'<sup>6</sup> Moreover, he performed human sacrifices, a Varangian custom apparently new to Slavic paganism.<sup>7</sup>

Vladimir's paganism does reveal the social dynamism that characterised the early years of his reign. The *PVL* records him establishing idols in Kiev and Novgorod,<sup>8</sup> an action which may have been directed against his

deposed brothers, Yaropolk and Oleg, who were probably Christians, but the spectrum of deities represents diverse sections of his heterogeneous population, suggesting that religion was designed as a unifying tool and was still in a state of transition. Throughout this period Kiev was vying with Novgorod and other centres for cultural supremacy, and rejecting the pagan pantheon had cost Olga the throne in 964. Thus Vladimir's innovation in institutionalising paganism appears to have been an attempt to consolidate his own standing. Instead of turning towards a universal, macrocosmic religion to legitimise his power, the natural movement is to a microcosmic paganism, and would not involve the violent dualism found in the texts.

Sviatoslav's response to Olga's proselytising attempts is revealing in light of this choice. He refused to be baptised, claiming that 'my followers will laugh at me'.<sup>9</sup> His retainers, the *boyars*, obviously supported pagan claimants to the throne. When he did convert, Vladimir repeatedly 'summoned together his *boyars* and the city-elders',<sup>10</sup> and sent them on a fact-finding mission, thus spreading responsibility. Vladimir's subjects accept Christianity only because 'if this were not good, the Prince *and his boyars* would not have accepted it'.<sup>11</sup> *Veèe*, urban assemblies of family heads, were particularly influential in Novgorod, where Christianity was very slow to take hold, and so it can be assumed that opposition from these bodies was significant.<sup>12</sup> But if Christianity was not the logical progression, then the question arises as to why it was ultimately successful.

### **Motives for conversion**

Rambo notes the importance of personal relationships in conversion,<sup>13</sup> and these influences upon Vladimir deserve consideration. His mother, Malusha, was a concubine of Sviatoslav and a close servant of Olga, and thus was virtually duty-bound to convert with Olga. Poppe considers it plausible 'that Olga influenced the upbringing of her grandson until her death in 968'.<sup>14</sup> Vladimir also took as a concubine 'his brother's wife, a Greek woman... [who] had been a nun.'<sup>15</sup> Lastly, there is also evidence

that Olaf Tryggvason, a recent convert and ‘a longstanding friend of Vladimir’ may have been in Kiev in 987.<sup>16</sup> Other incentives for conversion might lie in the inadequacy of paganism to equip Vladimir with victory monuments or a network of sanctuaries, and the fact that Christianity was often necessary for trade.

Due to its extreme superficiality, Van Der Bercken considers the rational investigation of faiths recorded in the *PVL* to be ‘merely a stylistic device allowing the author to recommend Greek Christianity’.<sup>17</sup> Catholicism appears to have been a temporary option, but was discarded when it failed to offer any more ecclesiastical independence than Orthodoxy, and there was probably an attempt made to establish an independent church on the Bulgarian model. The Rus’ used Bulgarian missionaries, failed to venerate Greek prelates, and even attacked Constantinople again in 1043. They always gave liturgical acknowledgment to Byzantine supremacy, and Kiev had a Byzantine Metropolitan from 1039 if not before, but where Askold and Dir had relied upon Byzantine recognition as they too were illegitimate,<sup>18</sup> it appears that Vladimir’s attempt at independence had successfully consolidated his power with paganism.

Where Kiev might have benefited from conversion was in the politics of international relations. Horton suggests that microcosmic religions are normally relied upon when imposing sovereignty, but that territorial expansion often requires universal ‘world religions’.<sup>19</sup> The development of the hegemony of Kiev under Vladimir appears to reflect this pattern, as while consolidation required Vladimir to impose a new pagan pantheon, territorial and political expansion might encourage a turn to Christianity. Vladimir’s military might was sufficient to win him the hand of a Byzantine princess who had been refused to the future Holy Roman Emperor, Otto II. Vladimir threatened the Byzantine Emperor, Basil II: ‘Behold, I have captured your glorious city. I have also heard that you have an unwedded sister. Unless you give her to me to wife, I shall deal with your city as I have with Kherson.’<sup>20</sup> The Emperor wavered, however, and demanded baptism before wedlock. Whether conversion was a foregone conclusion for an expanding empire, however, is not a closed question. In 957 Olga

resisted a marriage alliance with Byzantium, and in 988 Byzantium needed military assistance from the Rus' – not vice versa. Vladimir is praised because 'he lived at peace with the neighboring Princes... and there was amity and friendship between them',<sup>21</sup> and there is never any indication in the chronicles that Vladimir was militarily insecure in 988. Russian Christians were important in the commercial treaty of 945, but no Christians are mentioned in the treaty of 911, suggesting that while Christians were useful for the signing of international treaties, they were not essential, and the 'natural' expansion of the Rus' did not lead them towards Christianity.

It has been suggested that Christianity was a means of unifying a heterogeneous empire,<sup>22</sup> but once again the evidence is doubtful. The conquest of Peremyshl and other Cherven towns brought Christian subjects into Vladimir's empire, but toleration of Christianity in pagan Rus' had always been official policy, and nothing suggests that the conquest of new territory necessitated a change. If anything, Christianity appears to have heightened dormant tensions between Slavs and Varangians. The two ethnic groupings had originally fused under Oleg (c. 878-912), and there is evidence of Slavs in the military retinue, as well as of intermarriage. Scandinavian traders were closely linked with Byzantine Christianity, and Birnbaum considers that the majority of pre-988 Christians were Varangian.<sup>23</sup> In 1071 a *volkhvi* (magician) split Novgorod between Christians and pagans, but also between Varangians and Slavs, 'for Gleb and his retainers took their stand beside the bishop, while the common people all followed the magician.'<sup>24</sup> Similarly, as most rural areas remained pagan, society was effectively split, a situation compounded by Christian taboos about eating with pagans.<sup>25</sup>

### **A baptism examined**

The rapid success of missionary activity should characterise a society experiencing the appropriate economic and social background conditions for conversion, but this occurred in some cases and not others. Vladimir

was cautious of the new faith, saying, 'I shall wait yet a little longer,'<sup>26</sup> and the chronicle records him waiting over a year before accepting baptism at Kherson. A healing miracle accompanied this event, as Vladimir was immediately healed of a mysterious blindness, and 'when his followers beheld this miracle, many of them were also baptised.'<sup>27</sup> While the Chronicle's version of events is dubious, the mass baptism of Vladimir's retainers is likely and the invocation of a miracle-story to explain this is not surprising.

What does surprise is the reaction of Vladimir's other subjects. The *PVL* records that

thereafter Vladimir sent heralds throughout the whole city to proclaim that if any inhabitants, rich or poor, did not betake himself to the river, he would risk the Prince's displeasure. When the people heard these words, they wept for joy, ... and a countless multitude assembled. They all went into the water ... [and were baptised].<sup>28</sup>

No persuasion, gospel exposition, miracle, or catechisation is recorded here, and Vlasto considers the mass baptism 'a literary fiction'.<sup>29</sup> Ilarion writes that 'not one single person resisted this pious command',<sup>30</sup> unlike the attempt to impose paganism which had resulted in two martyrdoms. Pickett's work on India suggests that closely-knit social groups will convert *en masse*, with 'human social units acting as units, the programme of education subsequent to the group's religious change, and ... indigenous leaders maintaining and propagating the group'.<sup>31</sup> Rambo also writes that 'people first *perform* religiously, and then *rationalise* the process by way of theology',<sup>32</sup> suggesting that the mass baptism probably owed more to group psychology and effective leadership than to the outworking of social changes leading people towards a macrocosmic monotheism.

The existence of a Christian community in Kiev surviving since the 860s is attested to by the mention of Christians and of the church of St. Elias in the 945 treaty. In 957 Olga had a domestic chaplain, Gregory, who was possibly a Presbyter at the church of St. Elias, and in 983 two Varangian Christians were martyred in Kiev. By 988 there were probably two churches in Kiev, with the existence of another four in doubt. Beyond this, there is

almost no evidence for the native pre-988 church in Kiev. Thus, despite the undoubted existence of Christians keeping the faith in 'quarantine', no 'mixing' appears to have taken place prior to the mass baptisms of 988,<sup>33</sup> making the popular acceptance of a foreign religion even more peculiar.

### Conversion means change

Zealous missionaries wanted a complete rejection of the 'old' paganism for the 'new' Christianity, and the pagan population must have felt the force of the dramatic confrontation between disparate cosmologies very strongly. Vladimir 'directed that the idols should be overthrown, and that some should be cut to pieces and others burned with fire. He thus ordered that Perun should be bound to a horse's tail and dragged down Borichev to the stream. He appointed twelve men to beat the idol with sticks.'<sup>34</sup> Churches were also erected on sites that had recently born pagan shrines, and no recorded effort was made to placate the religious sensibilities of unrepentant pagans.

In the Christian clergy, the Rus' were introduced to a new social class of religious specialists. Except for a few cities such as Novgorod and Rostov, East Slavic paganism had no priestly organisation or even temples. The *volkhvi* were magicians who served as healers and diviners, but had none of the institutions of a sacerdotal class. While they were not separated from the laity by the knowledge of an archane language,<sup>35</sup> as confessors and the expositors of ritual purity, priests and monks were markedly different to lay people. With confession and penance becoming necessary prerequisites for the Eucharist, clerics became increasingly vital, representing an ethical and soteriological system distinct from lay religion.<sup>36</sup> The absence of such ethical dualism in Byzantine Christianity is solid evidence that Kievan Rus' encountered the clergy as a strange new phenomenon. The *PVL* records that when Vladimir took children to be trained as priests, 'the mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead.'<sup>37</sup>

A major literary revival occurred under Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054), which would not have been possible without the education afforded these children by Vladimir, and it is likely that as they came of age they formed the nucleus of Yaroslav's educational reforms. The written word gained great importance in Kievan Rus', to the extent that Kirik fears that it might be a sin to 'tread on written letters'.<sup>38</sup> All Russian saints in their childhood were zealous and talented scholars, and of the 316 manuscripts that survive from Kievan Rus', only one is *not* of a religious nature.<sup>39</sup> Literacy and literature was closely associated with Christianity, and while a certain degree of literacy was likely prior to 988, it was not at all widespread. Education and Christianity were inseparable in the minds of the Rus'.

Not only social hierarchies, but also kinship relations were challenged by the new religion. The Slavs were patriarchal, and while Christianity reinforced the patriarchy, it had major implications for an individual's relationship to his ancestors. The kinship group (*rod*) was eternal, and it was from his connection to his ancestors that a man derived his unique characteristics. Ancestors were worshipped by the pagan Rus', and could help or hinder the living. The place of the *rod* was not completely eliminated, but was radically altered. Ten 'Parent's Saturdays' were consecrated to prayer for the dead, and ancestors now prayed for the living. In twelfth century Pomerania, which had a similar – if more established – paganism, those who converted were called 'feeble betrayers of their country, who had abandoned the laws of their fathers',<sup>40</sup> and so conversion was seen as betraying one's heritage and thus one's identity. The introduction of 'godparents' also challenged the *rod* in fundamental ways, as it broke the union between the biological and spiritual ties that one had to one's ancestors. One was expected to show the same loyalty to godparents as to one's biological parents. Even more obvious, however, were the limitations upon the number of wives that a man might have. Vladimir is said to have had 'three hundred concubines at Vyshgorod, three hundred at Belgorod, and two hundred at Berestovo,' in addition to his lawful wife,<sup>41</sup> all of whom he had to relinquish when he



married Anna, the Byzantine princess. That a major change in his marital affairs was involved is unquestionable.

Canon law also required a radical redefinition of the legal system. Vladimir did not punish bandits following his conversion, claiming that 'he feared the sin entailed,'<sup>42</sup> but reintroduced penalties when chastised by the Greek bishops. While tradition holds that Vladimir did establish some canon law, thus recognizing its importance and independence, it is almost impossible to attribute specific canons to Vladimir. Vlasto claims that Vladimir's *Church Statute* (which is very corrupted), 'lays down that ... departures from [the Christian life] must be dealt with by ecclesiastical courts.'<sup>43</sup> This covers marriage and divorce laws, illegitimacy, inheritance disputes and sexual offences as well as heresy, sorcery, sacrilege and blasphemy. Pagan survivals did creep into canon law, but by and large when the Slavic common law contradicted canon law, the slavic law became redundant. The prince nominated bishops and other church dignitaries, who in turn expected material aid, protection, and were often invited by princes to give advice in most political issues such as war and peace, treaties and new legislation. While boundaries of church and state jurisdiction were not defined clearly at first, the general trend was always of the prince upholding the rights of the church and submitting himself to its authority. Legal – and thus social – changes were introduced by the new faith, and almost always on its terms.

Vladimir not only converted his legal code, but also his purse. Tithes and offerings were not an element of Eastern Slavic Paganism. The *PVL* records that Vladimir 'gave the tithes to Anastasius of Kherson'<sup>44</sup> and praises him because 'he effaced his sins by repentance and by almsgiving'.<sup>45</sup> The chronicle recounts great feasts to which the poor were invited along with the rich. Wagons were driven throughout the city distributing food to any who could not travel to the palace. In his largesse there is almost no distinction between church and state, as the chronicle extols the generosity of providing his retinue with silver spoons as highly as that of donating to a church. No traces are preserved of any competition between the church and the military companions of the ruler. Such an

attitude towards generous largesse also generated the need for an income and standard of living that would allow this, thus intensifying the Varangian acquisitive spirit that had led them to settle in Kiev to begin with.

Christianity changed the way that people related to, and conceived of the outside world, and significant changes can be detected in the thought processes of the new converts. Of these, new conceptions of time were probably the most significant for the majority of the Slavs. Sundays meant a weekly day of rest in addition to new feast days, and while these institutions probably took some time to reach the rural areas, which remained predominately pagan until after the Mongol invasion, its speedy introduction in the cities is highly likely. On a macrohistorical level, the adoption of a complex mythology gave the Slavs new ideas about world history. The pagan Rus' experienced birth and death as being part of the yearly cycle of mother earth, and related to this through the *rod*, where regeneration and birth were part of the eternal life of the clan. Such a cosmology suggests a cyclical view of history, which was radically different to the Christian understanding. Early Russian Christianity was highly historical, and used skeletal pictures of world history as catechetical tools for introducing ideas that relied upon a completely different temporal orientation. History, for Ilarion, moved from the Law to Grace, and eschatology became a vital force in Russian religious thinking. Christian burial practices were swiftly introduced, apparently through government intervention, so that the bodies of the dead could await the resurrection intact instead of being burned in cremation.

Russians also had to reposition themselves geographically within the Christian world. Cyril and Methodius had come to the Slavs representing both East and West, and combined the Roman rite for the Mass with Eastern liturgical practices. It is not known which rite or language the pre-988 church in Kiev used, but it appears that in 988 Vladimir exploited both Rome and Constantinople. Papal embassies visited him in Kherson and shortly after his return to Kiev, he placed the church of the Holy Virgin under the control of Khersonian priests, and Greek dignitaries were sent

by Basil II to assist in the work of conversion and organization. The cults of Western saints from the Péemyslida Empire entered Russia, as did the Bulgarian saints, Paraskevi-Pyatritsa and St John of Rila. The *Annals* of Lambert refer to Russian envoys at the Reichstag of Quedlinburg in Germany in 973,<sup>46</sup> and Yaroslav and his children took partners from Swedish, German, Polish, Hungarian, Norwegian and French dynasties. Kievan Rus' was obviously comfortable dealing with her neighbours, and did not discriminate according to creed. Ilarion, too, had a very strong sense of Christian 'ecumenicity', though the *PVL* includes long passages deriding the Latin Church, accusing them of distorting the faith, worshipping 'mother earth', nicolaitism, and of selling indulgences.<sup>47</sup> That Kievan Rus' would naturally come to reposition herself internationally and historically as her horizons expanded is fairly clear, but the introduction of a seven-day week, the historicizing of religion, and the harsh rejection of Catholicism cannot be seen as developments that were 'in the air' anyway.

Worship practices were also radically transformed by Christianity. The Rus' quickly adopted most Greek practices, ignoring only the mystical revival that was occurring in Constantinople in the tenth and eleventh centuries. As Greek missionaries probably could not even speak the language properly, and 'many religious ideas required new words which were coined without becoming any more intelligible than their Greek equivalents',<sup>48</sup> sensual forms of religiosity were vital. Many Slavonic chants appear to have direct Byzantine origins, as does the Old Russian musical notation. Not only are the Slavonic hymn texts word for word translations of the Greek, but the liturgical order and accentuation are also reproduced as far as possible. Secular music was rejected altogether. After conquering Kherson, Vladimir took 'the relics of St. Clement and of Phoebus his disciple, and selected also sacred vessels and images',<sup>49</sup> recreating the Kherson church in Kiev. He 'imported artisans from Greece'<sup>50</sup> and decorated his churches in the Greek style. Those few icons that survive from the Kievan period are almost exact copies of Byzantine originals. Of the new religion, music and icons were probably what was most easily understood, and here radical changes were clearly evident.

Instead of natural sanctuaries, centres of worship now focused on churches. Thietmar says that there were 400 churches in Kiev in 1015, and that 700 were destroyed in the fires of 1017.<sup>51</sup> Many of these were probably private chapels, and Vlasto notes that 400 is often used to represent 'scores upon scores.'<sup>52</sup> Sapunov estimates that there were about 1000 churches and less than 200 monasteries in the major and minor towns of Kievan Rus' prior to the Mongol invasion, and another 5000-6000 village churches.<sup>53</sup> Considering the fact that early Russian churches architecturally resembled Byzantine buildings, and were designed to stand out, a considerable change must have overtaken the landscape. Kievan Rus' had no stone buildings in 988, and in 991 Vladimir began work on the church of the Tithe, which was 'the first stone and brick church in Russia, the first to be sumptuously decorated with marble, mosaics and fresco.'<sup>54</sup> Technological developments aside, the introduction of churches meant that worship was now centralized, communal and organised – a fact that could not help but impact the social consciousness on a wider scale.

Here, though, we find a change occurring alongside, and being facilitated by, conversion. The *PVL* records that soon after his conversion, 'Vladimir reflected that it was not good that there were so few towns round about Kiev, so he founded forts on the Desna, the Oster', the Trubezh, the Sula, and the Stugna.' He also 'founded the city of Belgorod, and peopled it from other towns.'<sup>55</sup> Christianity in the ancient world was largely an urban phenomenon, and its adoption in Russia occurs alongside an urbanisation drive by the monarch. Only with urbanisation could churches effectively dominate an area, and priests minister to a proximate congregation. All monastic communities were built on the outskirts of towns, indicating a desire for interaction with the townspeople, for whom the monks would act as confessors and the monasteries as refuges. The significance of this urbanisation should not be overrated, as the vast majority of Slavs were still rural, and the growth of towns was not extraordinary, but is nonetheless noteworthy.

So did urbanisation lead to conversion, did it merely facilitate the process, or did conversion lead to urbanisation? The latter option can be

rejected as while churches are often a focal point of urban centres, the *PVL* also makes it very clear that the new settlements were centred upon forts rather than churches. The first option can also be dismissed with a reasonable degree of confidence, as the ‘top down’ conversion derived its impetus from the Grand Prince of Kiev and his *boyars*. The possibility exists that urbanisation and Christianisation were both tools used by Vladimir in an attempt to gain greater direct control over his subject peoples, but the extent to which he surrendered himself to the dictates of Christianity in legal, political, moral and economic terms, suggests that for him at least conversion was a meaningful reorientation and not a means to an end. The second option is recommended by the fact that conversion is often facilitated by a ‘crisis’ – such as the social dislocation produced by urbanisation – which re-orientates the individual, as well as by the number of changes which could not have occurred without urban centres and institutions able to disseminate the new faith.

While major changes were occurring in Kievan Rus’ towards the end of the tenth century, as their political horizons were expanding and urbanization increasing, the magnitude and importance of the Christian impact upon society suggests that many of these changes were far from ‘natural’, and that they were the direct result of the introduction of Christianity which transformed the entire society from the top down.



**NOTES:**

- <sup>1</sup> Robin Horton, 'On the Rationality of Conversion Part 1', *Africa*, 45 (3), 1975, 324.
- <sup>2</sup> The *Russian Primary Chronicle*. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (trans. & ed.), 'Introduction', *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973, 6-23. All quotes and page numbers refer to this edition.
- <sup>3</sup> Examined in Wil Van Der Bercken, *Holy Russia and Christian Europe: East and West in the Religious Ideology of Russia*, trans. John Bowden, SCM Press, London, 1999, 80-89. For a thematic comparison with Slavic folk tales cf. N K Grudzy, *History of Early Russian Literature*, trans. S W Jones, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949, 126-135.
- <sup>4</sup> A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, Oxford University Press, London, 1933, 7.
- <sup>5</sup> JU. M Lotman & B. A. Uspenskij, *The Semiotics of Russian Culture*, Ann Shukman (ed.), Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1984, 5.
- <sup>6</sup> *PVL*, 94.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 93, 95-6; R. M. Price, 'Boris and Gleb: Princely Martyrs and Martyrology in Kievan Russia,' in Diana Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, Studies in Church History, The Ecclesiastical History Society, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1993, 109; Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750-1200*, Longman, New York, 1996, 45, 158.
- <sup>8</sup> *PVL*, 93-94.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 110
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 116. My italics.
- <sup>12</sup> Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization*, Survey of Slavic Civilization, vol. 2, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, 1959, 221.
- <sup>13</sup> Lewis R. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*, Yale University Press, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1993, 108-113.

- <sup>14</sup> Andrzej Poppe, 'St Vladimir as a Christian,' in J. Breck, J. Meyendorff and E. Silk (eds.), *The Legacy of St Vladimir: Papers presented at a Symposium commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1990, 43.
- <sup>15</sup> *PVL*, 93.
- <sup>16</sup> See the *Saga* of Olaf I of Norway; cited in R. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970, 258.
- <sup>17</sup> Van Der Bercken, *op. cit.*, 17.
- <sup>18</sup> Note that Vladimir's legitimacy was questionable due to his mother's status as Sviatoslav's concubine and not his wife, making Vladimir an illegitimate child.
- <sup>19</sup> Robin Horton, 'On the Rationality of Conversion Part 2', *Africa*, 45 (4), 1975, 375-6.
- <sup>20</sup> *PVL*, 112.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.
- <sup>22</sup> Dimitri Obolensky, 'The Legacy of SS Cyril and Methodius,' in J. Breck, J. Meyendorff and E. Silk (eds.), *The Legacy of St Vladimir: Papers presented at a Symposium commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1990, 26-7; Horton, 'Rationality Part 2,' 390; John Meyendorff, 'Universal Witness and Local Identity in Russian Orthodoxy (988-1988),' in Boris Gasparov and Olga Raevsky-Hughes (eds.), *California Slavic Studies XVI: Christianity and the Eastern Slavs Vol 1: Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1993, 17.
- <sup>23</sup> Henrik Birnbaum, 'Christianity Before Christianization: Christians and Christian Activity in Pre-988 Rus', in Boris Gasparov and Olga Raevsky-Hughes (eds.), *California Slavic Studies XVI: Christianity and the Eastern Slavs Vol. 1: Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1993, 47-8, 55.
- <sup>24</sup> *PVL*, 154.
- <sup>25</sup> 'Whoever eats with heathen unawares must accept the prayer prescribed for defiling and thus he is worthy to be accepted [in the church].' Canon 19 of Metropolitan John II (1080-89). Cf. Canon 28 on merchants: 'Great are the sins of those who for the love of property or riches defile themselves with the heathen.' Quoted in *ibid.*, 187. A similar split occurred when pagan

- Pomeriania converted in the 1120s (Robert Bartlett, 'The Conversion of a Pagan Society in the Middle Ages,' *History*, 70, 1985, 198).
- <sup>26</sup> *PVL*, 110.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 116-7.
- <sup>29</sup> Vlasto, *op. cit.*, 260.
- <sup>30</sup> Ilarion, *Slovo*, 38; quoted in Van Der Bercken, *op. cit.*, 54.
- <sup>31</sup> In Carol M. Cusack, 'Towards a General Theory of Conversion,' in Lynette Olsen (ed.), *Religious Change, Conversion and Culture*, Sydney Studies in Society and Culture, 12, Sydney, 1996, 13. The work referred to is J. W. Pickett, *Christian Mass Movements in India*, The Abingdon Press, New York, 1933.
- <sup>32</sup> Rambo, *op. cit.*, 114. His italics.
- <sup>33</sup> These are the first two phases of Fisher's thesis on the progression of conversion. See Humphrey J. Fisher, 'Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa,' *Africa*, 43 (1), 1973, 31.
- <sup>34</sup> *PVL*, 116.
- <sup>35</sup> Old Church Slavonic was liturgical. George P. Majeska, 'Russia: The Christian Beginnings,' in Albert Leong (ed.), *The Millennium: Christianity and Russia 988-1988*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1990, 28.
- <sup>36</sup> George P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind: Kievan Christianity: The Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1960, 195-6, 236-7, 274, 395.
- <sup>37</sup> The *PVL* says 'and sent them for instruction in book learning,' (117), but the consensus is that these children were trained as priests. Heppell, *op. cit.*, 254.
- <sup>38</sup> Question 65 of Kirik's 101 questions on canon law (mid-twelfth century). Quoted in Fedotov, *op. cit.*, 182.
- <sup>39</sup> This is *The First Chronicle of Novgorod (Leptopis' Nogorodskaia Pervaia)*. Zdenko Zlatar, 'The Transmission of Texts and Byzantine Legacy to Kievan Rus', in *ASEES*, II/2, 1988, 4-5.



- <sup>40</sup> Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 190.
- <sup>41</sup> *PVL*, 94.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.
- <sup>43</sup> Vlasto, *op. cit.*, 265.
- <sup>44</sup> *PVL*, 121. Anastasius was a Greek priest in charge of the church of the Holy Virgin in Kiev, *ibid.*, 119.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.
- <sup>46</sup> Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization*, Survey of Slavic Civilization, vol. 2, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, 1959, 208.
- <sup>47</sup> *PVL*, 115-6. Note that this distinction between Orthodoxy and Catholicism in the Chronicle is a post-1054 anachronism and that many of the criticisms made against the Latin church were addressed by Pope Gregory VII's reforms. N. K. Tikhomirov, 'The Origins of Christianity in Russia', *History*, 44, 1959, 210; Van Der Bercken, *op. cit.*, 25; Lotman and Uspenskij, *op. cit.*, 11-12.
- <sup>48</sup> Fedotov, *op. cit.*, 57.
- <sup>49</sup> *PVL*, 116.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.
- <sup>51</sup> Cited in Vlasto, *op. cit.*, 265.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.
- <sup>53</sup> Cited in Zlater, *op. cit.*, 5.
- <sup>54</sup> Vlasto, *op. cit.*, 262.
- <sup>55</sup> *PVL*, 119.

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