

The Battle of Poltava in Imperial Liturgy*

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ONE OF THE MOST DISTINCTIVE MONUMENTS to the Battle of Poltava is the full victory service that Peter I commissioned to commemorate it. Several features establish its uniqueness.

In the Russian Orthodox context, the Poltava service is the first of its kind. Although Russian armies had won notable victories in the past, the Orthodox Church marked those with simple and generic *moleben* services of thanksgiving.¹ No services were composed, for example, for Alexander Nevsky's victory over the Swedes (1242), the Battle of Kulikovo (1380), or the capture of Kazan (1552). The routing of the Poles from Moscow in 1612 was marked not by a service commemorating the battle but a service to the Kazan icon of the Mother of God, which received the credit for the victory.² While Russian victories were celebrated through iconography, sermons, and church construction, they were not so marked in full liturgical compositions.³

* This article contains the first translation of the 1711 Poltava service into English from the original Church Slavonic. This text was the "canonical" version printed in the official Synodal service books; it is this text (along with other important imperial occasions, such as the tsar's birthday) that Orthodox priests' manuals prescribed to be served every year for all churches in the Russian Empire, down to the end of Romanov rule. S. V. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia kniga dlia sviashchenno-tserkovno sluzhitelei: Sbornik svedenii, kasaiushchikhsia preimushchestvenno prakticheskoi dieiatel'nosti otechestvennago dukhovenstva*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Kharkiv, 1900), 238–39. To convey the style of the original and to maintain consistency with past liturgical practice, I have used the style favored by Isabel Florence Hapgood, the first official translator of Russian Orthodox liturgical texts into English. I am grateful to Isaac Lambertsen and Daniel Olson for their counsel at each stage of this translation. I am also grateful to the Very Reverend Boris Kizenko and Elizabeth Priebe for providing references and assistance on technical aspects of Church Slavonic.

The Byzantine tradition shows a similar paucity. Individual saints (St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki), the cross, and icons receive credit for military victory in the form of liturgical composition, but full-scale services with mentions of historical actors are remarkably rare. The only victory service proper in the Byzantine tradition is dedicated to Christ the Savior, celebrated on 1 August.⁴ The Serbs wrote a rare service marking the defeat at Kosovo, but no equivalent among the Orthodox South Slavs exists for victory.⁵

Thus, before Poltava a variety of Orthodox cultural forms—visual, material, oral, aural, and liturgical—existed to celebrate military valor, victory, and defeat, but a full-length service was not one of them. (At the onset and for the duration of military hostilities, Orthodox hierarchs conventionally called for petitions to be added to litanies and post-liturgical *moleben* services).⁶ To these religious forms one might also add a category that will be relevant in the discussion of the Poltava service: anathematization for someone deemed a traitor. In Russia this model had already been applied to the rebel Stepan Razin, and decades later, to Emilian Pugachev. Because they rose up in rebellion against the Orthodox ruler and because of their destruction of icons and churches, the church hierarchy declared such men not only traitors but also individuals who were outside the fold of the Orthodox Church.⁷ The villainy and outsider status of these rebels were solemnly reiterated in Russian Orthodox churches until 1917, in litany inserts on the Triumph of Orthodoxy, the first Sunday of the Great Lent. (Although the anathema against Ivan Mazepa was never formally lifted, the Ukrainian hetman's name vanished without explanation in 1869.)⁸

To mark the Poltava victory, Peter and his hierarchs drew on all the traditional forms of commemoration. Because the battle occurred on 27 June, the day the Orthodox Church commemorates Saint Sampson the Hospitable, Peter ordered that a church in that saint's name be built in St. Petersburg; Saint Sampson's Church went up in a year and was consecrated in 1710.⁹ The Savior Church in Poltava itself, where Peter celebrated his victory, was embellished and carefully preserved. Feofan Prokopovych's lengthy sermon on the victory launched his meteoric career. Stefan Iavors'kyi spoke more succinctly but no less eloquently before the anathematization of Ivan Mazepa on 12 November 1708.¹⁰ *Moleben* services of thanksgiving were ordered to be celebrated throughout the empire. The monks of Chernihiv showed particular enterprise in glorifying the victory; they composed a lengthy *synaxarion* (Rus. *sinaksar'*) composition meant to be read after the sixth ode during the evening vigil service.¹¹ Under normal circumstances Orthodox commemoration would have ended there.

Peter chose to go further, however. He took the unprecedented step of requesting a full-length service to mark the Poltava victory. In order to gain a fuller understanding of this step, a few words on the Orthodox all-night vigil—that is, the combination of vespers and matins—as a cultural text and performance are in order.

The Orthodox Divine Liturgy, or the morning eucharistic service, offers little creative opportunity to the hymnodist. Its two standard versions, those composed by Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil the Great, are made up largely of unchangeable texts; only a few *troparia*, *kontakia*, and *prokeimena* can provide variations, along with the choice of epistle and reading from the Gospels. But these are a minuscule part of the whole, and most of the service cannot be touched. In contrast, the services held on the eve of the Divine Liturgy, the combination of vespers and matins also known as the Great Vigil, consist almost exclusively of independent literary texts composed for the occasion. These offer a wide field to the liturgical writer, and, if one is seeking examples of original liturgical writing, it is here that one needs to look.

Compared to the earlier commemorative forms—church war memorials, sermons, brief thanksgiving services, and (for someone deemed a traitor) anathematization—what does the shift to a full (vigil and Divine Liturgy) service mean?

(1) *Breadth of coverage.* A full-length service reaches the largest possible number of people. Church buildings obviously stand fixed in one place. While an icon can travel and be copied, any given icon can be only in one place at one time. A sermon is normally meant to be declaimed only once, though it too can be printed and reread. Its audience was limited to those who heard it or to those who might read it later.¹² Whereas if a service made it into the official printed *mineia* service books, it could be performed annually in every church throughout the empire, thus reaching everyone who attended services, year after year.

(2) *Depth of coverage.* Baroque-era Russian and Ukrainian sermons and private homilies are detailed and informative; by their very nature they were meant to articulate and persuade. In the 1660s and 1670s, for example, Orthodox bishops used sermons to persuade the Cossack leaders to submit to the authority of the Orthodox monarch in Moscow and to dissuade them from aligning themselves with Muslim powers. Although such sermons could be highly elaborate, they pale next to an Orthodox all-night vigil service, which contains a variety of elements (*stikhera*, *troparia*, *kontakia*, *sinaksariia*) performed in a variety of ways (sung, read, chanted). Its complex structure offers opportunities to place texts strategically. Finally, a festive occasion—vespers and matins followed by the Hours and the Divine Liturgy—is an interactive performance as well as a text. Thus, a service offers rhetorical and participatory opportunities that the comparatively static sermon does not.

(3) *The authority lent by full-scale liturgical performance.* Before the Poltava service, victories were commemorated liturgically by brief services of thanksgiving (*moleben* services). The *moleben* service had the advantage of being short, generic, and familiar. Moreover, it was extralitururgical, and thus flexible: it could be performed outside of a church building, at just about any time of day, and independently of such longer services as the Divine Liturgy;

it could be accompanied (or not) by a cross procession. This was in fact the form of commemorative service that Peter first requested on the occasion of the Poltava victory. The versatile *moleben* was so functional that, even after the Poltava services and its epigones, it persisted as the preferred commemorative form. Russia's victory over Napoleon in the War of 1812 (also known as the Patriotic War) was hardly less significant than the Battle of Poltava, yet even that momentous occasion prompted only an annual *moleben*.¹³ Nevertheless, serving a *moleben* underscores the ephemeral and individual—the human—nature of the event. Even as it emphasizes the workings of Heaven through mortal men, and even as it thanks Heaven for its role in human events, the *moleben* paradoxically draws a distinction between what the church does on its own time and its own schedule, as it were—that is, the standard daily services of vespers, matins, the Hours, and the Divine Liturgy—and the condescension it shows to human events—that is, the services by request that appear in the *trebnik*. Even if it is performed in a church, the *moleben* is a supremely *extralitururgical* service.

By contrast, a full-length standard cycle of daily services—vespers, matins, Divine Liturgy—raises an event (such as a church feast) or an individual (such as a saint) to the level of church time. By being included in the regular-calendar service books, an event is functionally raised to the honor accorded to saints. An individual is similarly taken out of the cast of walk-ons in the religious drama and becomes one of the series' permanent characters. He or she is written into the permanent script. By remaining faithful to the *moleben* and other extralitururgical rites to commemorate wars and victories, Peter's Orthodox predecessors had tacitly continued this separation of the permanent liturgy and one-off celebrations. But, in calling for the composition of a full-scale service on the occasion of the Poltava victory, Peter signaled that the Poltava victory was not something ephemeral and ultimately this-worldly but an event in cosmic and permanent liturgical time. From a purely liturgical point of view, this was the most ambitious decision taken by an Eastern Slavic ruler after the adoption of Christianity for Rus' by Saint Volodimer in 988. It was the first significant foray of a ruler into the sphere of liturgy.

SOURCES AND MODELS

Given the unusual choice of subject and content, the Poltava service had no obvious models that might have informed its writer, the then-rector of the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow, Archimandrite Feofilakt Lopatyns'kyi (ca. 1680–1741). A thorough analysis of the service will illustrate his remarkable erudition and originality in facing this challenge. Nevertheless, even if one fully acknowledges Lopatyns'kyi's own theological and hymnodic talent, he had

another source for some of the service's vivid images and metaphors. Indeed, some of the phrases and images the service uses to describe both Charles XII and Mazepa seem to come directly from the letters that Peter sent to Aleksandr Menshikov and other military commanders.

For example, the first letter that Peter wrote to Menshikov when he was apprised of Mazepa's betrayal, dated 27 October 1708, refers to "our surprise at your letter relating the *utterly unexpected evil occurrence* of the hetman's *betrayal*."¹⁴ By the very next day Peter had already sent an ukase to all the inhabitants of the Hetmanate, which described how "Hetman Mazepa, *having forgotten the fear of God and the fealty he swore to us by kissing the holy cross*, has betrayed us and gone over to our foe, the king of the Swedes, and [Stanisław] Leszczyński, who has been chosen by the Swedes for Poland." Peter quickly elaborated upon the specifically religious nature of Mazepa's crime. Together with these enemies, as Peter claimed in his first ukase to the Ukrainian people, Mazepa had agreed "to subject the Ukrainian land under Polish rule, as it was before, and to turn the churches of God and the holy monasteries over to the Uniates." Thus, Peter explicitly presented himself as the defender of Ukraine and the Orthodox churches, which he wanted to protect from defilement.¹⁵ Peter appealed to the *starshyna* (Cossack officers) and the entire Zaporozhian Host to ignore the treachery of the former hetman, and to support the Great Russian armies in protecting the Ukrainian people.

A longer letter that Peter wrote on 30 October to the Sich otaman Kost' Hordiienko and the Zaporozhian Host developed these themes further. The tsar writes that Hetman Mazepa has not only forgotten the fear of God, he has also spurned piety (this last phrase, which recurs throughout the Poltava service, deliberately evokes references to Judas in the Holy Friday services during Holy Week). According to the tsar, Mazepa not only wanted to turn the holy churches and Orthodox monasteries over to the Uniates but also to the Roman faith. The Swedes are now explicitly called heretics, Peter writes, appealing to the Zaporozhian Host "as persons filled with zeal for Orthodoxy and their historic rights and freedoms" (*iako revniteli o blagochestii i pravakh i vol'nostiakh svoikh*). In a variety of formulations Peter restates this linkage of Orthodox piety with Cossack rights and liberties, arguing that the "damned" Mazepa's chief aim is the conversion of Orthodox churches and monasteries to the Roman and Uniate faiths, and to subject the Ukrainian land to the Polish and Swedish yoke.¹⁶

In a letter written the same day to Stefan Iavors'kyi, metropolitan of Riazan, however, Peter takes the gloves off. He now calls Mazepa "a second Judas in morals and image, and all the more so in his actions, who, having cast off Orthodoxy, has gone over to the heretics, the Swedes...instead of defending the holy churches which he was so keen to build, he has now become their accursed persecutor." Peter goes on to demonstrate this assertion in logical progression:

(1) the Swedes have been known to quarter their horses in a church near Novyi Horodok; (2) Mazepa has gone over to the Swedes; (3) therefore, Mazepa too is party to the Swedish blasphemy (and, by extension, iconoclastic heresy). "Because of this damned Judas," Peter concludes, "the heavily oppressed [Ukrainian] people have always lamented (which we did not know), and all the more so now." Peter's letter to Iavors'kyi has a clear aim: "Therefore, for this deed of his [Mazepa's]" he writes, "Be so kind as to publicly subject him to damnation in the cathedral church."¹⁷

Later missives to the Cossack officers who went over to the Swedes with Mazepa would elaborate on the good actions of both Peter and his father, Aleksei Mikhailovich, and their historic kindness and mercy to the Ukrainian people. In them, Peter stresses his unity of faith with the Ukrainians, his previous defense of their religion and rights, and his solemn vow to continue to defend them and their interests in the future in every possible way. That is the carrot, but there is also a stick: "If any of you should forget the fear of God and your oath to us, and the unity of your fatherland, and will not return from the thief and betrayer, Mazepa, and will not return back to us within the month (i.e., by 1 December), you will be declared traitors to us and our fatherland. Your ranks and possessions will be distributed to those servants who have been faithful, your wives and children will be taken and sent into exile, and those among you who will be caught will be executed as traitors without mercy."¹⁸

Similarly, later ukases to the population of the Hetmanate would stress "the tyrannical Mazepa's" wish to subject them to the *illegal* Polish yoke. Mazepa, "the apostate," had basely tricked those who went with him, placing them in a compromising position and at risk. In fact, if it were not for "the fiend Mazepa," Peter argues, Charles XII had every intention of going back to Poland, to Volyn, as all of his commanders had been counseling him to do. It was only because of the "damned traitor" Mazepa's encouragement and promises that Charles was restrained from leaving Ukraine. The risk went beyond conversion to the Roman and Uniate faiths. According to Peter, Charles had a track record for forcing both Orthodox Christians and Uniates to convert to Lutheranism, as he had done in Silesia. Charles abused his prisoners and tormented them with cold and hunger and such atrocities as chopping off their fingers and threatening to hack to pieces the wives and children living in villages that did not submit to him; Peter, as behooves Christian potentates, is kindness itself to those in his keep. He offers examples of Charles's blasphemies: quartering horses in Orthodox churches, the Swedes removing the silver cases of icons, stealing communion chalices, and letting dogs inside churches. In the cathedral church of Mahilioŭ they flung the Eucharist to the ground and stole the chalice it was in, and drank wine out of it.¹⁹

Thus, even before there was any thought of writing a commemorative liturgical service, most of the rhetoric surrounding Mazepa—a thief and betrayer,

a second Judas, an apostate and devil—was already present in the letters and manifestos that Peter was writing about him. It is noteworthy that Peter's arguments were primarily religious, not ethnic: in using them, he was implicitly acknowledging that, rather than using the arguments of belonging to a single nation, he had to emphasize the bonds of a shared faith. It fell to Lopatyns'kyi to turn Peter's polemical language into an Orthodox form that would endure for centuries.

HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

The writer of the Poltava service, Lopatyns'kyi, graduated from the Kyivan Mohyla Academy. He went on to teach philosophy and theology at the Moscow Academy, becoming its rector from 1706 to 1722. Both institutions followed the Jesuit model, with extensive training in Latin, Greek, poetics, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. The virtuosity that Lopatyns'kyi demonstrates in the Poltava service rests on this foundation.

He shares other features with his contemporaries. In the Poltava service, Lopatyns'kyi continued the tradition of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ukrainian clerics committed to *Slavia orthodoxa*, a world centered on the Orthodox faith and the Church Slavonic language.²⁰ As Zenon Kohut has shown, such predecessors of Lopatyns'kyi as Innokentii Gizel' and St. Dimitrii Rostovskii believed that the Russian tsar, as the only independent Orthodox monarch, offered the best protection for the Orthodox residents of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; it was they who had developed the ideological links linking the tsar with *Slavia orthodoxa*.²¹ Peter I valued this support. While Feofan Prokopovych caught Peter's attention with his eloquent sermon on the Poltava victory, it was the experienced Lopatyns'kyi who was charged with the more liturgically exacting composition.²²

The Poltava service shows the full range of Lopatyns'kyi's erudition. The dominant features of the service are its rich allusions to both Holy Scripture and the corpus of Orthodox hymns, its confident handling of Orthodox liturgical forms, and its daring religious imagery. Central to the Poltava service is the notion of Russia as the new Israel, which God has delivered because of the nation's fidelity to his commandments, and whose enemies he has now destroyed because of their impiety. Also key is the notion that whereas Russia's neighbors and enemies had once laughed at her, now they are forced to reckon with her.

The Old Testament readings at Great Vespers provide a handy source and guide for Lopatyns'kyi's allusions. The reading from Exodus describes Israel's escape through the Red Sea and the destruction of the Pharaoh's host; the reading from Leviticus tells Russia that "the Lord has ransomed thee from the

hand of thine enemies...I will raise her that was oppressed, and receive her that was rejected, and I will give them praise and honor in all the earth"; and the prophecy of Zephaniah makes clear what Russia has done and must continue to do in order to win God's favor ("if you keep my commandments...I will give you peace in your land and none shall make ye afraid").

Lopatyns'kyi goes beyond the comparison of Russia and Zion, however, to create a mystery-drama casting Peter I in the roles of the Apostle Peter and Jesus Christ; Charles XII as Satan and the Antichrist; and Ivan Mazepa as Judas. This kind of direct political allegory is without precedent in Orthodox liturgy, as is the service's vehement, even inflammatory, language. No previous Orthodox service, nor indeed any previous Orthodox liturgical text, had gone as far. Lopatyns'kyi recapitulates Peter's epistolary assertions that Charles XII is a blasphemer and Mazepa a second Judas, but with greater viciousness and in greater detail. The primary villain is undoubtedly Charles XII. In a constant stream of hostile images, Lopatyns'kyi's Charles is portrayed as a second Nebuchadnezzar, honoring his own clay-footed image; a false Christian "mocking holy icons and then vanquished and shamed by the power of the holy Cross."²³ Charles's Protestantism gives Lopatyns'kyi license to sneer in his service both at Charles's injury and his public shame: "The airborne blasphemer [i.e., Simon Magus], constrained by the prayer of the almighty, has fallen down from the sky and broken his knees; he who would take wing has suddenly been deprived of his legs.... By the same prayers and works, the Swedish Simon, who sought from pride not to walk on earth, has been shot down to shame his pride."²⁴ To Lopatyns'kyi, Charles is all but the Antichrist; he is all but Satan himself.

A very distant second villain, as measured both by quantity of references and their liturgical placing, is Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Mazepa is not mentioned in all of the Vespers (compared to Charles, who figures prominently). He is first mentioned in the sessional hymns (*sedalens*) and during the *kathisma* psalm readings. Admittedly, the strong language may offset the meager number of references. The first one, a direct paraphrase of the *stikhera* about Judas on Holy Friday, associates Mazepa with his historical "prototype":

A second Judas has been found, a slave and a deceiver; a son of perdition has been found...a devil in his morals, not a man, the thrice-cursed apostate Mazepa, who, forsaking the Lord's anointed, his Lord and benefactor [note that Peter is thus implicitly identified with Christ], has linked himself to the enemy.... He has returned evil for good, malice for benefaction, loathing for mercy: May God requite the second Judas just like the first for his actions."²⁵

While the first *sedalen* likens Mazepa to Judas, the second does the reverse: by deliberately inverting (in classic baroque fashion) the *troparion* to Saint Volodimer, baptizer of Rus', Lopatyns'kyi explicitly reproaches Mazepa for not emulating that national hero, comparing him again to Judas: "Thou hast not likened thyself to the merchant seeking the pearl of great price, O ungrateful

and evil servant, but instead thou has likened thyself to the rabid Judas, who sought destruction and betrayed the priceless Pearl, and with all the goods of which he deprived himself has bought unspeakable evil. This is the one to whom thou hast likened thyself, O fool; this is the one whom thou have copied, O ingrate; this is the one thou hast followed, O traitor Mazepa! This is why thou art deprived of all good things...."²⁶

These diatribes sound vicious. But to examine them only as texts while not considering their context is to miss a subtle point. They come at a point of the service when most laypeople are reentering the church (after having taken a break during the long psalm readings); most clergymen are taking their places at the altar to make their solemn entry; many of the faithful are jockeying to get a good view; and hardly anything can be heard. In short, of all the texts in the vigil, with the exception of the canon, the *sedalen* is the text least likely to be noticed. Is it possible that Lopatyns'kyi intended this out of some residual sympathy for Mazepa? For, strong as these terms are, they are far milder than those in Prokopovych's sermon, which argued in brutal language that just as the most dangerous diseases are internal ones and not those that appear on the surface, so too the internal enemy, Mazepa, was worse than Charles.²⁷

This suggestion, however, does not quite hold up to scrutiny because Lopatyns'kyi's strongest political message comes at the point in the service when most people are present: during the *stikheron* that is sung after the reading of the Gospel, when everyone who may have arrived late or been walking in and out is mustered before kissing the Gospel, the cross, and the festival icon, and being anointed by the highest-ranking cleric. Here Lopatyns'kyi's political and national credo emerges eloquently and unambiguously.

To ensure that people understood this text, moreover, Lopatyns'kyi assigned it the tone most commonly used, the easiest to understand, and the most suitable to sing as a recitative—Tone 6.²⁸ His *stikheron* begins as a hymn of praise to the apostles ("The harmonious instruments of the Holy Spirit—the choir of apostles assembled by God..."), then immediately and favorably compares their obedience to the one of their company who betrayed the Lord ("...who did not emulate Judas the traitor").²⁹ This obedience is extended to all those who "emulate [them] in faith and love toward their instructors—children to their fathers, servants to their masters." But Lopatyns'kyi singles out for praise two groups in particular: the Cossack elite and the Ukrainian people who rejected Mazepa. They are praised for being the blessed sheep who listen to their teacher and shepherd—that is, Peter I—and "earthly angels who did not cleave unto the diabolical rebel." Indeed, may they be "glorified like the apostles, for they did not follow the second Judas, Mazepa, but laid down their souls for their master." The concluding lines could not be more specific, addressed as they are to those who might harbor lingering regrets about Mazepa's dream: "Rejoice today, those who weep over the apostate, dance and make merry, those who

wail and grieve over enemies: for your loyalty and obedience ye have earned honor and heavenly wreaths.⁷

The full import of these references to the apostles becomes clear when one considers the date of the Poltava victory (and thus the date it appears in the service book). The Battle of Poltava ended and was commemorated on 27 June. But only two days later, on 29 June, Christianity commemorates the apostles Peter and Paul. In Russia this feast is preceded by the Apostles' fast (colloquially referred to simply as "Peter's Fast" (*Petrovskii post*), which begins one week after Pentecost. Thus, the references to the apostle Peter, to the apostles broadly speaking, and to the descent of the Holy Spirit, acquire far more resonance than they would have if the battle had taken place in, say, March. This didactic text conveys something of Lopatyns'kyi's central and overarching argument: the Northern War is a struggle for the triumph of the true faith; it is an apocalyptic struggle between the forces of good and evil. As the first *stikheron* on the Praises asks (twice, for greater emphasis): "Where are our enemies, who insolently invaded Russia's boundaries? Where are your weapons? Where are your battle-standards? Where is the plunder ye stole from many lands? Where now is this vainglory? It is naught but your dishonor. Truly, the word of the prophet hath now been fulfilled: the enemies of the Lord, even as they praised themselves and exulted together, have vanished, wafting away like smoke; while those who hope in the Lord shall never be ashamed."³⁰

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While it is not unusual that Lopatyns'kyi enlists the Mother of God to fight on behalf of Russia (the new Israel), the bellicose images he picks for her are. Mary is the Judith of the new Israel; the Deborah who vanquished Canaan; and the Jael who put Sisera to flight.³¹ Just as the Poltava saga has its epic villain and epic traitor, so too does it have an epic savior. If Charles is cast as the Antichrist and Mazepa as Judas, Sweden as Egypt (or Babylon) and Russia as the new Zion, it seems pretty clear who the Savior must be. Lopatyns'kyi's leap lies in his casting Peter I as Christ Himself.

Lopatyns'kyi sets the stage for Peter's exaltation by more modest comparisons: Peter is David to Charles's Goliath; Moses to Charles's Pharaoh; Constantine to Charles's Maxentius; Samson to Charles's lion; he is the second apostle Peter, on whom the rock of Russia's salvation is built. As the canon puts it, "We thank thee, O Christ our God, for 'Thou hast founded thy Church on a rock, and it hath not fallen to the winds and waves of attack, and the gates of hell, and the heretics' powers have not overcome it."

Two scriptural references are evoked here: Matthew 7:24–25 ("What then of the man who hears these words of mine and acts upon them? He is like a man who had the sense to build his house on rock. The rain came down, the floods

rose, the wind blew, and beat upon that house; but it did not fall, because its foundations were on rock") and Matthew 16:18 ("You are Peter, the Rock; and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall never conquer it"). The name "Petr," of course, is the Russian equivalent of the Greek "Petros" or the French "Pierre." Thus, in Lopatyns'kyi's service Peter I's confession of Orthodoxy becomes synonymous with the stone or the rock on which God established His Church.³² Peter's Orthodoxy is the foundation of the Russian Church. If Russia's Orthodoxy is the Church that Christ built upon a rock, then it is not too much of a stretch to conclude that Sweden marks the gates of hell. Elsewhere, according to Lopatyns'kyi, Peter works in the vineyard of God, like Orthodox bishops and like Christ Himself.

The most daring Christ imagery, however, comes in the sessional hymn after the *Polyeleos* (the high point of the vigil service, with the singing of the triumphant Psalms 134 and 135, when all the lamps and candles in the church are lit). Here Lopatyns'kyi writes of the fields of Poltava: "The Lord of Hosts came down to help us, and set Himself against our mighty enemies and confounded them, granting mercy to his anointed one, Peter...." In English this sounds innocuous. In Latin and Church Slavonic, however, the effect is stronger. In Church Slavonic, Lopatyns'kyi's phrase is "*Tvoriai milost' khristu svoemu Petru.*" True, *christus* here is spelled with a small "c," and means "the anointed one," rather than "the Christ." Nevertheless, if one is hearing the phrase rather than reading it (which would include everyone present at a Poltava service save for the lector), some confusion might well result—intentionally. Prokopovych had allowed himself a similar play on words in his Poltava sermon, referring to Peter as "the Lord's anointed one" (*sviashchenneishoi i nevredimoi chesti Khrista Gospodnia*). From here it does not seem terribly far to the Spiritual Regulation of 1721, which would frankly declare the emperor to be the "guardian of the true faith and of all good order in the Holy Church."³³

Where the vigil focused on Old Testament allusions and the path Russia had to traverse to gain victory, Lopatyns'kyi's selections for the changeable parts of the Divine Liturgy convey the blessings of divinely granted peace. As in the thanksgiving service after the routing of Napoleon, the *prokimenon* psalm verse is: "The Lord shall give strength unto his people, the Lord shall bless his people with peace."³⁴ The verses from the Epistle are: "The Lord is my strength and my song, he has become my salvation" and "Who is as great a God as our God, thou art a God who worketh wonders."³⁵ The Gospel of Luke, beginning with the words "Behold, I give unto you power," develops the imagery of divine right.

Interestingly, while the manifestos that Peter sent to the Ukrainian people and the *starshyna* explicitly engaged the Ukrainian nation and its goals and grievances, there is no trace of this in the service. It is as if now that the immediate political goal had been met, there was no need to return to it. Poltava

was a triumph for the peoples of Russia and for Orthodoxy, and that was that. Both Peter and Lopatyns'kyi seem to have understood that Ukrainians would follow Peter only if he seemed the more Orthodox of the choices facing them. The Poltava service served to remind Ukrainians—and indeed all the Orthodox inhabitants of the Russian Empire—of the ultimate authority possessed by the Orthodox emperor.

As an early modern political and liturgical monument, then, the Poltava service is highly original. From the point of view of Orthodox hymnology, however, it is less impressive, as it shows clearly that, by Lopatyns'kyi's time, some requirements of Orthodox hymnology were lost for the most part in Russia and Ukraine. There is an almost complete absence of the use of *podobny* (named melodies providing thematic and tonal templates): the only exception is the Aposticha of the Little Vespers, rarely performed in practice. Lopatyns'kyi's service thus consists entirely of free compositions without even nominal reference to the standard patterns common throughout Orthodoxy during the last millennium. His departure from convention can be seen clearly also in the canons, where the *troparia* verses are often much longer than the length of the *irmos* (the original text, which is meant to set the pattern for subsequent *troparia*) would reasonably allow—something that would persist in Russian practice.

In other respects, though, Lopatyns'kyi showed himself to be fully conscious of the demands of his genre. Because he was writing an Orthodox service, he limited himself to biblical and patristic imagery. In his 1709 panegyrics on the Battle of Poltava, however, Lopatyns'kyi (along with Archimandrite Iosif Turoboiskii) used a full range of metaphors, particularly those borrowed from classical mythology: he compared Peter to Hercules and the hubris of the Swedes to that of Niobe.³⁶ In other words, Lopatyns'kyi chose a thematic palette based on the work's intended audience and setting.

RECEPTION AND HISTORY

Given Peter I's support for the Poltava service, it is all the more remarkable that he would try to restrain Lopatyns'kyi's intemperance. Initially, Peter gave his enthusiastic approval to the service, so much so that he increased Lopatyns'kyi's salary from 200 to 300 rubles a year. His only suggestion was to limit the imagery from the Book of Revelation (the Apocalypse).³⁷ The service appeared in the *mineia* editions of 1711 and 1717, and M. I. Shiriaev set parts of it to music.³⁸ But, just as political impulses had prompted the service's creation, so they continued to affect its celebration. Its subsequent revisions reflected changing political goals. Most notably, once the Treaty of Nystad was concluded in 1721, Peter I personally sought to tone down the Poltava service.

(In this sense he acted once again as the service's co-author: his letters had provided the basis for the original rhetoric, and he became the editor when circumstances changed.) The specifically religious references to the Swedes as heretics and enemies disappeared; so did the transnational implications that the service was a triumph for all of Orthodoxy (as opposed to simply the Russian Empire). The milder and more secular tone is reflected most strongly in seemingly innocuous phrases where the new editor drops the self-abasement of Russian Orthodox Christians and makes them both less bellicose and more confident in their own (as opposed to God's) powers. Note, for example, which words were dropped (the phrases in square brackets were omitted) in the first *stikheron*: "Accept the thrice holy-hymn also from us [who are clay]...who [with befouled] mouths [of clay] cry out..."; in the last *stikheron* of "Lord, I have cried": "When we set our hope in thee, [and not on our own strength]...." The Swedes are referred to as "our foes" rather than as "the enemies of Orthodoxy" or "heretics"; Charles XII is no longer compared to Pharaoh, Simon Magus, the evil emperor Maxentius, or the devil.³⁹

In 1736 the Synod was instructed to examine the entire service and delete anything that might be hostile to the Swedes, serving only a thanksgiving service (*moleben*) in the interim. Given that virtually the entire service expressed hostility to the Swedes, however, no editing could save it; for several years, only *moleben* services were celebrated. Interestingly, though, the crown was not content to let the Poltava commemoration rest there (as it would with the commemoration of the Fatherland War of 1812). The lone annual *moleben* was deemed insufficient. A new, similarly bowdlerized version was commissioned in 1740. But, when Bishop Arsenii Matsiievych tried to expunge the hostile references to the Swedes, he threw up his hands: if all the pejoratives were purged, he wrote, "You may as well not serve it all!"⁴⁰ Ultimately, Lopatyn's'kyi's original vision triumphed: the service he wrote in 1711 appeared in all *mineia* published in the Russian Empire from 1741 to 1913.⁴¹ In early 1862, the Holy Synod issued a decree abolishing the performances of special services on the days of all military victories except for the Battle of Poltava, on the grounds that "they held significance only for their own times," whereas Poltava remained relevant.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the last time this service was performed on the territory of the Russian Empire was 1917. Given its ardently monarchical tone, its glorification of the empire, and its repeated declarations that Russia is God's chosen instrument and the new Zion, it is highly unlikely that it was served in Ukraine or anywhere in the Soviet Union after that. Although the service did appear (in a new orthography) in the sole Soviet-era edition of the *mineia* (1986), the most reliable guide to practice, the Moscow Patriarchate's church calendars indicating which services were to be celebrated, never specified the service—not even in 1959, the 250th anniversary of the

battle. (The only place where I can confirm that a Poltava service was held that year was the Holy Trinity Monastery in Jordanville, New York.) Nor did the Moscow patriarchate's calendars mention this service in 1988 or subsequent years.

The 300th anniversary of the Poltava victory in 2009 might seem to have provided an opportunity for the performance of Lopatyns'kyi's service. To my knowledge, this did not happen. In independent Ukraine, glorifying Peter and denouncing Mazepa as Judas was out of the question. Churches on the territory of the former Russian Empire handled the matter with some tact. In Russia the official church calendar of the Moscow Patriarchate specified services only to St. Sampson the Hospitable for 10 July.⁴² The calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, which had performed the service in 1959, also made no mention of the Poltava service. Given these choices, it seems highly unlikely that the Poltava service will be celebrated again in Orthodox churches. Instead, it will remain a relic of the imperial era that produced it.

Nevertheless, the Poltava victory service represents a specific moment in both the Orthodox tradition in general and in the Russian one in particular. Together with its small number of successors, it signals a shift in imperial church-state consciousness and the increasing "statification" of post-Nikonian Russian Orthodoxy. Such practices as the recitation of the names of the entire extended imperial family at the Great Entrance, litanies commemorating the Imperial House, the many new state holidays linked to the throne—these are, as Roy Robson and Ernest Zitser have argued, a new and distinctly baroque type of Russian Orthodoxy.⁴³ The services marking the peace treaty of Nystad (1721); to Saint Elizabeth, the mother of Saint John the Baptist (ca. 1740), and the draft "Divine Service for Solemn State Holidays" (early nineteenth century), all share elements in common with that composed for Poltava.⁴⁴

The Poltava service also attests to the recent rethinking of Peter I. Peter emerges here not as someone seeking to reproduce the Protestant model but as someone who understood the power of Orthodox commemoration. In a process started by Peter's father, Aleksei Mikhailovich, the liturgical sphere within its own context became part of the tsars' own message. This made perfect sense: in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Orthodox liturgy was the single place in the Russian Empire where one could reach the largest number of people with the same message. By incorporating their message into services, the tsars acknowledged that public opinion mattered. Even a divinely anointed ruler had to win his subjects' hearts and minds. In this sense, the Poltava service is more modern and imperial than it is medieval.

NOTES

1. The state thanksgiving *moleben* contained litanies, standard *troparia* hymns, solemn prayers for the health and long lives of those involved, starting with the ruler, and the *Tē Deum* hymn attributed to St. Ambrose of Milan.
2. "Sluzhba iavleniiu ikony presv. Vladychitsy nasheia Bogoroditsy Kazanskiia: Ustanovisia zhe sei prazdnik prazdnovati tsarstvuiushchem gradie Moskvie izbavleniia radi ot liakhov v lieto 1612," in *Miniia: Miesiats' oktobrii* (Kyiv, 1876), 154–63.
3. Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich composed a *troparion* to Prince Simeon Pozharskii (killed by Khan Mehmet Girei and Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyi after fighting their coalition at Konotop in 1659). However, since Prince Simeon was never canonized, it was never adopted for liturgical use. See F. G. Spasskii, *Russkoe liturgicheskoe tvorchestvo* (Moscow, 2008), 63.
4. This feast vanished from Greek service books with the adoption of the Jerusalem *ordo*, but it persisted in Rus'. See Spasskii, *Russkoe liturgicheskoe tvorchestvo*, 53–56. The only truly secular Byzantine services are those commemorating the founding of Constantinople (11 May) and the great earthquake of 740 (26 October).
5. Fr. Daniel M. Rogich, *Great-Martyr Tsar Lazar of Serbia: His Life and Service* (Platina, 2001), 25–55.
6. For the Muscovite era, see *Posledovanie molebnago pienia k gospodu Bogu nashemu za tsaria i za liudi, pievaemago vo vremia brani, protiv supostatov nakhodiashchikh na ny* (Moscow, 1677). In his 27 January 1904 manifesto announcing Japan's attack on Port Arthur and his declaration of war, Nicholas II called for "God's blessing on our valiant troops." On 28 January 1904 the Holy Synod called for Nicholas's manifesto to be read in all churches, for all churches to serve the standard *moleben* specified "during wartime against enemies," and for special petitions (which they wrote and included) to be inserted into the Great and Augmented Litanies. The Synod's manifesto also included a special prayer to be read both at the *moleben* and at every Divine Liturgy for the duration of the war. See *Tserkovnye Vedomosti*, 31 January 1904, 41–46.
7. Without their iconoclasm, their anathematization might seem to be largely politically motivated. For details on their destruction of icons, see Valerii Lepakhin, *Ikona v russkoi khudozhestvennoi literature* (Moscow, 2002), 135–38.
8. See "Posliedovaniia v Nedeliu Pravoslaviia," in *Posledovanie sie molebnykh penii* (Moscow, 1869). For a discussion of the anathematization, see Andrii Starodub, "Anafema Getmanu Mazepi: fakty izvestnye i neizvestnye," *Zerkalo nedeli*, 23–29 August 2003, 1–9, <http://www.zn.ua/3000/3150/41351>, accessed 15 November 2011. According to this article, Mazepa's name appears for the last time in 1850.
9. Peter would also commission a church to commemorate his army's 1711 deliverance at the Prut River. See Lepakhin, *Ikona*, 123.

10. Stefan Iavors'kyi, "Slovo pered prokliattiam Mazepty," in *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepty v dokumentakh*, ed. Serhii Pavlenko (Kyiv, 2007), 504–9. For a brief description of the anathematization ceremony (preceded by a *moleben* of thanksgiving at Ivan Skoropads'kyi's selection as hetman) in the Kremlin's Dormition Cathedral, see *ibid.*, 612–13.
11. *Sinaksar' v chest' i slavu Gospoda Boga Savaofa na vekopomnoe proslavlenie... o preslavnoi pobiede...na general'noi batalii byvshei pod Poltavoïu* (Chernihiv, 1710).
12. On the other hand, the translation of Prokopovych's sermon into Latin and its publication were meant to win as large an audience as possible. See Elena Pogolian, "Da ne molchalivy budem... radost' ne terpit v nas molchaniia' (k semantike triumfa v petrovskuiu epokhu)," *Trudy po russkoi i slavianskoi filologii: Literaturovedenie* 2 (1997): 51–67, here 52–53.
13. "The Office of Praise and Thanksgiving to the Lord God, sung in Russia on the day of the Birth of Our Savior Jesus Christ in commemoration of the deliverance of the Church and the Russian empire from the invasion of the Gauls and the twelve nations with them," in Isabel Florence Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church* (Boston; New York, 1906), 541–47.
14. *Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8 (June–December 1708) (Moscow, 1948), 237. These and the following emphases are mine.
15. *Pis'ma i bumagi*, 241–42.
16. *Pis'ma i bumagi*, 257–59.
17. Letter from Peter to Stefan Iavors'kyi, written by the Desna River, 31 October 1708, *Pis'ma i bumagi*, 261.
18. Letter of 1 November 1708 to the Cossack officers who defected with Mazepa to the Swedes, *Pis'ma i bumagi*, 266–67.
19. Letter of 6 November 1708 to the entire Ukrainian people, *Pis'ma i bumagi*, 276–84. For a listing of the icon-mountings, candelabra, chalices, and other silver objects that Charles XII plundered in Mahilioù, see *Arkhograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii severo-zapadnoi Rusi* 9 (Vilnius, 1870), 49–52.
20. For a linguistic analysis of imperial-era Church Slavonic, see A. G. Kravetskii and A. A. Pletneva, *Istoriia tserkovnoslavianskogo iazyka v Rossii (konets XIX–XX v.)* (Moscow, 2001). The distinction between *Slavia romana* and *Slavia orthodoxa* was coined by Riccardo Picchio. See his "Guidelines for a Comparative Study of the Language Question among the Slavs," in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 1:1–42.
21. Zenon E. Kohut, "Origins of the Unity Paradigm: Ukraine and the Construction of Russian National History (1620–1860)," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 1 (Fall 2001), esp. 71–72.
22. After Peter's death, the conflict between Lopatyns'kyi and Prokopovych came to a

- head; under the Empress Anna, Lopatyns'kyi was briefly imprisoned. See Ilarion A. Chistovich, *Rieshilovskoe dielo: Feofan Prokopovich i Feofilakt Lopatinskii: Materialy dlia istorii pervoi poloviny XVIII stolietia* (St. Petersburg, 1861).
23. The second and third *troparia* in Ode 7 of the second Canon; second *stikhera* on the *Litia*, Tone 4.
 24. Fourth *stikheron* on the *Litia*, Tone 4.
 25. After the first *kathisma*, "Glory...Both now," Tone 7. See *Miniia: Miesiats' iunii* (Moscow, 1884), 140v.
 26. *Miniia: Miesiats' iunii*, 141.
 27. "He [Mazepa] did not fear Ham's dishonor, Judas's lawlessness, or the oath-breaking of Arius. He is the foul spawn of his mother, he is a second Cain; he cast a cloud of darkness worse than the plague in Egypt: for the darkness in Egypt lasted only three days, while Mazepa's lasted eight long months." Prokopovych, *Slovo*, x.
 28. As with the eight medieval musical modes, each of the eight "tones" used in Orthodox Christian chant has its own associations and attributes. See Harold S. Powers, "Mode, §II: Medieval Modal Theory, I: The Elements, (ii) The Byzantine Model: Oktōēchos," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London; New York, 2001), 614.
 29. Referring to the apostles as "the instruments of the Holy Spirit" also evokes the language used to refer to holy hierarchs and theologians generally. See *Tainyia est' dukha truby*, the *doxasticon* for the Fathers of the Six Ecumenical Councils (*Pentekostarion*, 206).
 30. First *stikheron* on the Praises, Tone 4.
 31. The implications of this contrast are noted in Brittany E. Wilson, "Pugnacious Precursors and the Bearer of Peace: Jael, Judith, and Mary in Luke 1:42," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 68 (2006): 436–56.
 32. The *Litya stikheron* in Tone 7 makes clear that it is Peter's confession of faith, rather than Peter himself, that is the rock ("The foot of our tsar, like David's, stood on the rock of Orthodox confession and truth, so it remained unharmed by the enemy's arrows").
 33. *The Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great*, trans. and ed. Alexander V. Muller (Seattle, 1972), 8.
 34. Psalm 29:11.
 35. Exodus 15:2 and Psalm 77:14.
 36. *Politikoliepnaia apotheosis dostokhval'nyia khrabrosti Vserossiiskago Gerkulesa velikago Gosudaria nashego Tsaria i velikago Kniazia Petra Aleksievicha vseia velikiia, i malyia i bielyia Rossii Imperatora i Avtokratora : po preslavnoi viktorii nad khimeropodobnymi divami ... Na generalnoi batalii v nynieshnem 1709 godu, v 27 i 30 den'* (Moscow, 1709), 96, 36.
 37. Elena Pogolian, "I. S. Mazepa v russkoi ofitsial'noi kul'ture 1708–1725 gg.," in *Mazepa e il suo tempo: Storia, cultura, società / Mazepa and His Time: History, Culture, Society*, ed. Giovanna Siedina (Alessandria, 2004), 315–32.

38. P. Pekarskii, *Opisanie slaviano-russkikh knig i tipografii 1698–1725*, Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petrie Velikom 2 (St. Petersburg, 1862), 200.
39. The second edition exists only in a manuscript copy located since 1773 in BAN (Library of the Academy of Sciences), Petrine fund, file 33. The references here are to pp. 2, 5, 21v–22, 19.
40. I. F. Martynov, “Tri redaktsii ‘Sluzhby blagodarstvennoi o velikoi pobede pod Poltavoi,’” in *Problemy literaturnogo razvitiia v Rossii pervoi treti XVIII veka*, sbornik 9, XIII vek (Leningrad, 1974), 75.
41. See *Miniia: Mesiats’ iunii* (Moscow, 1913), 196–208v. In the 1741 Moscow edition there is no page numbering for the service. The last numbered page before the Poltava service is 230; the last pages of the service are missing; and the service to the apostles Peter and Paul (29 June) follows. The next edition, 1747, is identical to the one issued in 1741. In the 1747 edition the numeration of the Poltava service is 231–246v.
42. *Pravoslavnyi tserkovnyi kalendar’ za 2009 god* (Moscow, 2008), 69. The daily scriptural readings did not include those specified for the Poltava service.
43. For a discussion of specific post-Nikonian inserts into Russian Orthodox liturgy, see Roy R. Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia* (DeKalb, Ill., 1995), 41–52. For the use of the term “baroque” to cover the full array of Petrine church practices, see Ernest A. Zitser, *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority in the Court of Peter the Great* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004), 12–13.
44. After citing in full a flattering *stikhera* to Emperor Nicholas I modeled on one from Christmas, beginning with “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among the Russian kingdom,” Spasskii comments: “Fortunately, this creation did not come into use.” Spasskii, *Russkoe liturgicheskoe tvorchestvo*, 66.

A Service of Thanksgiving
to God, Who Is Glorified in the Holy Trinity,
for the Great Victory Granted by God
over the Swedish King, Charles XII, and His Host,
Won near Poltava, in the 1709th Year since the Incarnation
of our Lord,
in the Month of June, on the 27th Day.¹

AT LITTLE VESPERS
STICHERA IN TONE 1:

Praised unceasingly by the angels with thrice-holy hymns, O God [and] Victor, accept the thrice-holy hymn also from us who are clay, who with befouled mouths of clay cry out: Holy God, who had mercy on sinners; Holy Mighty One, who crushed the pride of the powerful: Holy Immortal One, who put our enemies to death, yet kept us from death; O Holy Trinity, our God, glory to Thee.²

What shall we bring to Thee, O Lord, who doth not require our goods, for Thou hast appeared unto us with Thy compassions unheard-of for ages; naught save this hymn prepared by Thy chosen vessel: thanksgiving to God, who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ and through the All-Holy Spirit, who proceedeth from the Father.³

The mighty have fallen by Thy power, O All-Powerful God, but they have been compelled to fall down before Thee and will not be able to stand. But we, standing upright by Thy mercy, fall down willingly before Thy majesty, crying out: O our God, who hath exalted the horn of Thy Christ and all the Orthodox, but broken that of the heretics, glory to Thee.

Who is worthily able to hymn Thy mercies, O Lord, which have been mani-

1. This translation is of Bishop Feofilakt Lopatyns'kyi's 1711 text, which was reproduced in *Miniia: Miesiats' iunii* (Moscow, 1884), 126v.–175v.
2. This *sticheron* parallels the *doxasticon* of the Pentecost service, which includes the *Trisagion* ("Thrice Holy") formulation (*Pentekostarion: Siriech Piatdesiatnitsa [Triod' tsvietnaia]* (Moscow, 1905), 243v. Its use here links the Battle of Poltava to divine rescue and to the hymnody that commemorates it.
3. Here Lopatyns'kyi emphasizes the Orthodox doctrine of the victors, as opposed to the *Filioque* (the teaching that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son) of the losing side (the Protestant Swedes and the Roman Catholic Poles).

fested to us now, neither men, nor angels; for Thou are greater than all praise, and no word is sufficient for the praise of Thy works.⁴ Do Thou Thyself, therefore, who hath trained my hands for battle, open also my lips so that, insofar as it is possible for men, they may declare Thy praise.

GLORY... BOTH NOW...IN TONE 8:

Glory to Thee, O pre-eternal Father, who hath loved and glorified these who are not worthy to be called Thy sons!⁵ Glory to Thee, O only-begotten Son, who hath redeemed Thy servants from perdition as sons! Glory to Thee, O Most Holy Spirit, who through Thy grace hath worked and doth work in all! O Holy Trinity, our God, glory to Thee!

APOSTICHA, TONE 2: TO THE MELODY OF "O HOUSE OF EPHRATHA":

Adorned with triumphant branches, O Russia, thou new Zion, sing hymns of thanksgiving unto God, who hath conquered thine adversaries.

Stichos: Hear this, all ye nations; give ear, all ye who inhabit the world.⁶

Groan, O enemy of Orthodoxy! For, lo! God hath subjected thee, who was exalted, beneath the feet of those who fear Him.

Stichos: O Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is Thy name in all the earth!⁷

All ye nations round about that desire wars, tremble at seeing that God fighteth for us.

GLORY... BOTH NOW...IN THE SAME TONE:

Let every Orthodox Christian hymn God's marvelous providence, which hath given glory to the faithful, but to the heretics, shame and perdition.

4. The reference is to the priest's prayer at the Great Blessing of Water, which takes place on the feast of Theophany, 6 January.
5. The allusion is to the words of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:19).
6. Psalm 48:2. Here and elsewhere, all biblical citations follow the Septuagint.
7. Psalm 9:2.

TROPARION IN TONE 8:⁸

Most glorified art Thou, O Lord our God, who didst grant to our right-believing king Peter strength over [his] enemies, as to David over the most proud Goliath. Thou overshadowed his head on the day of battle, didst gird the weak with power from on high, and through them didst cast down all the insolence of the enemy: O greatly merciful One, glory to Thee.

AT GREAT VESPERS
ON "LORD, I HAVE CRIED" IN TONE 6:

To Thee, the Tri-Hypostatic one, Russia sendeth up a triumphant hymn: to the Father, who crushed the power of the enemy by His omnipotence; to the Son, who scattered the counsels of the wicked by wisdom; to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who amid tribulations comforted us, who cry out with heart and lips: Holy art Thou, O Almighty Father; holy art Thou, O Son, Thou Wisdom of God; holy art Thou, O Spirit, inexhaustible grace: O our God, glory to Thee.⁹

O ye peoples of Russia,¹⁰ sing a new song to God the Victor, who hath worked a new wonder newer than all the wonders of old;¹¹ for He crushed the powerful in battle, and the weak He girded with power from on high, and He exalted the lowly.¹² To Him do we send up triumphant hymns and, falling down, cry out: O our God, glory to Thee!

Let us sing unto the Lord, for now too He hath been wondrously glorified by no means less than in times past: For He, who of old plunged proud Pharaoh

8. This is patterned on the *troparion* of the Holy Fathers, which is in the same tone and begins with the words "Most glorified art thou, O Christ our God." This *troparion* evokes that of Pentecost ("Blessed art thou, O Christ our God..."). See *Pentekostarion*, 209r and 245v. Through both word and melody Lopatyn's'kyi thus links the Battle of Poltava to previous triumphs of Orthodoxy over heresies of the fathers at the Ecumenical Councils and the gifts of the Holy Spirit bestowed at Pentecost.

9. This *stikhera* paraphrases the *doxastikon* at Pentecost. See *Pentekostarion*, 243r and 262r.

10. The phrase is *rossiitii* (not *russkie*) *narodi*. Lopatyn's'kyi thus makes a point of including all the peoples of the Russian Empire, not only ethnic, or so-called Great, Russians (or even Slavs), in his address.

11. The reference is to the Resurrection *theotokion* in Tone 2. *Velikii Sbornik v Trekh Chastiakh* (Jordanville, N.Y., 1951), pt. 1, 124.

12. The reference is to the *Magnificat*, Luke 1:46–55.

into the Red Sea, now too He hath drowned the adversary, the equal of Pharaoh in pride and ferocity, in the red sea of His warriors' blood. But we, having passed through the midst of this sea as if it were dry land, sing unto the Lord: gloriously hath He been glorified.¹³

Thou hast said, O Lord, in deed and word, why of old Thou didst raise up cruel Pharaoh against Thy people: now we too have come to know from Thy strange work, why Thou hast stirred up those who rise up against us: that the exalted might be humbled through their fall, but Thy wondrous name might be exalted higher than the heavens. O God, who art incomprehensible in Thy works, glory to Thy loving kindness!

Blessed are Thou, O Lord our God, who has trained our hands for battle, our fingers for war:¹⁴ for by Thy hypostatic wisdom our ignorance was made wise against the enemy's cunning; by Thy power our weakness was strengthened against him who was proud in his power; by Thy grace the multitude of our sins was covered, and the lion's rage was humbled.¹⁵ O our God, who knoweth all things, who art able to do all things, who didst overlook all the iniquities of Thy servants, glory to Thee!

O God, we sing a new song to Thee, who giveth salvation to kings, who delivereth Peter, as once Thou didst deliver David, Thy servant, from fierce shooting. Thou hast sent down Thy hand from on high and delivered us from many waters, from the hands of the sons of outsiders,¹⁶ whose bravery many praised and feared: But fighting with us, who place hope on Thee, and who trust not in our own power, Thou hast manifestly shown that only those people are blessed whose God is the Lord.

GLORY... IN TONE 1:

Who shall tell of Thy mighty acts, O Lord? Who shall make audible all Thy praises? For now, too, Thou hast brought the proud man low as the corpse of one slain; with Thy mighty arm hast Thou scattered Thine enemies: but, for the sake of Thine incalculable loving kindness, not according to our iniquities hast Thou dealt with us, but as a father hath compassion upon his sons, so hast

13. The reference is to the refrain in the victorious song of Moses at the parting of the Red Sea (Exodus 13:19–21), sung on Great and Holy Saturday at Vespers. *Velikii Sbornik v Trekh Chastiakh*, pt. 3, *Iz Triodi Postnoi* (Jordanville, N.Y., 1956), 563–67.

14. The reference is to Psalm 143:1.

15. The lion was the heraldic symbol of King Charles XII of Sweden.

16. The reference is to Psalm 143:7.

Thou had compassion upon them that fear Thee.¹⁷ The heavens shall confess Thy wonders, O Lord, and the earth Thy truth in the congregations of the saints.¹⁸ But we hymn Thy mercies: we shall give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, for Thou art good, for Thy mercy endureth forever.

BOTH NOW... DOGMATIC *THEOTOKION* IN TONE 1:

Let us hymn Mary the Virgin, the glory of the entire world, who was begotten of man and gave birth unto the Master, the heavenly gate, the song of the angels and the adornment of the faithful; for she was shown to be heaven and a temple of the Godhead; having pulled down the middle wall of enmity, instead she brought peace and opened the kingdom. Possessing, therefore, this anchor of the faith, we have as champion the Lord born of her. Take courage, therefore, take courage, ye people of God; for He, as All-Powerful, will conquer your enemies.

OLD TESTAMENT READINGS:

EXODUS 13:20–14:31¹⁹

LEVITICUS 26:3–25, 33, 40–41²⁰

ZEPHANIAH 3:14–19²¹

STICHERA ON THE *LITIA* IN TONE 1:

Come, ye surrounding peoples, and behold the works of God, which He wrought in our days and in our lands: He poured down shame upon the enemy, whom ye feared and praised; as a tottering rampart and a bulwark breached

17. The reference is to Psalm 102.

18. The reference is to Psalm 88:5.

19. During the all-night vigil service, as here, three Old Testament texts relevant to the saint or occasion are read. Lopatyns'kyi's choice of this Exodus text provides the source and the context for his many comparisons between the Russian army and its foe, Charles XII, to that of the children of Israel escaping from the Pharaoh.

20. The implication of this text is that victory in battle goes to the side that follows God's law correctly; thus, as Lopatyns'kyi suggests, at Poltava God rewarded the Russian side for its fidelity to Orthodoxy.

21. Lopatyns'kyi likens Russia to Zion throughout the service. Note the implication that Russia has been oppressed and rejected by Europe, but now will be universally honored.

he, in whom ye strongly trusted, hath been ruined; and he, whom ye said was invincible, fell like a common man. But we, made invincible through the power of the Most High, standing honorable and glorious, and at the same time also grateful, chant unto God a hymn of victory.

TONE 4:

He who doth not venerate the Holy Cross, the false Christian, and the mocker of divine icons, is by the power of the Holy Cross vanquished and shamed; and, not relying upon the help of the Almighty, whose veneration in icons he harmed, he fled unto the haters of the name of Christ;²² but may the Cross-bearing Orthodox tsar of the Russias, the champion of the holy icons, who chanteth unto God a hymn of victory, reign in peace forever.

The heavens rejoiced, and all that dwell therein,²³ when the serpent and his angels fell in battle with Michael; thou, too, wast glad, O earth, that the Swedish lion, who warreth with us, fell. Now salvation and power and authority are Christ the Lord's! For the deceiver of our brethren is cast down, and he who sought to annihilate us is annihilated.

Bound by the prayer of the foremost apostle [Peter], the sacrilegious flyer [Simon Magus] grievously fell from the air and broke his legs, and he who took wing was suddenly deprived of his feet. By the prayers of the same foremost apostle, and by the labors of his namesake [Tsar Peter], the Swedish Simon, presuming out of pride not to walk on the ground when shot, went lame unto the shaming of his pride.²⁴ But we, who have been accounted worthy to behold this work of God, cry out with one accord: O God, who hath humbled the proud, but exalted the humble, glory to Thy providence!

TONE 7:

The foot of our adversary stood not on righteousness, and therefore was wounded by the missile of righteousness: but our tsar's foot, like David's,

22. The first clause accuses Charles XII of iconoclasm (a charge evoking Peter's polemical correspondence with Mazepa); the second refers to his seeking sanctuary with the Ottoman Muslims.

23. Revelation 12:12.

24. For this imagery Lopatyns'kyi draws on both Acts 8:9–24 and the apocryphal Acts of Peter. The parallelism of Simon Magus and Simon Peter is particularly effective.

stood on the rock of Orthodox confession and truth. Therefore, it remained unharmed by the enemy's missiles; what Thou hast shown forth as now immovable, O Lord, do Thou establish and preserve it free unto the ages of ages.

GLORY... BOTH NOW... IN TONE 6:

Rejoice, O Russia, glorified by God in battle, thou glory of Orthodoxy, crowned by God! Rejoice, ye commanders and magnanimous warriors of Jesus Christ, and all ye assemblies of the pious! God smote your enemies and foes, and magnified His kingdom, for tranquility and gladness unto the Christian race, and salvation unto all.

APOSTICHA IN TONE 5:

Come, ye faithful, let us rejoice in the Lord with fear and joy, strewing under His feet the palms of victory that He granted unto us: with fear for the sake of God's majesty and His fierce, even if not speedy, vengeance on the impious; but with joy for the sake of His ineffable loving kindness, whereby having overlooked our iniquities, He hath granted so many things unto us, the unworthy.

Stichos: Hear ye this, all ye nations; give ear, all ye who inhabit the world.²⁵

The Lord of Hosts, who of old sent His angel and smote the Assyrian army, now too endured not the Swedish mockery of Russian sovereignty; He sent His angel, who encamped round about them that fear Him, and scattered all the armies of the enemies; but wrought salvation and immortal glory for the Russian race.²⁶

Stichos: O Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is Thy name in all the earth.²⁷

Even as the people of Israel who beheld the mighty arm of the Lord [lifted up] against the Egyptians, so we too, having now seen how many things He wrought against the Swedes our enemies, tremble and believe in Thee, O Lord, and in those pleasing to Thee, and, falling down with trembling, we cry out:

25. Psalm 48:2.

26. The scriptural references are to Isaiah 37:36 and 2 Kings 19:35. Here, the word "Russian" (*Rossiiskomu zhe rodu...*) is again used in the sense of every nationality belonging to the Russian Empire; "race" is used in the sense of "human race" (as in *angel'skii sobor i chelovecheskii rod*, from the *Evlogitaria*).

27. Psalm 9:2.

Terrible and wondrous art Thou, O Lord, who not only chastiseth, but hath mercy on men.

GLORY... BOTH NOW... IN TONE 8:

Beheld, ye, O Swedish commanders and hosts, the reigning city of Russia, not as ye wished, but as God willed: bowed down to the ground, led as vanquished, as beftteth captives, ye saw it. Yet rejoice in yourselves, having found the pious monarch a merciful victor, of whom the generations of the Orthodox reverently cry out: O Lord of Sabaoth, have mercy upon him who had mercy even upon his enemies, and confirm his sovereignty unassailed unto the ages of ages.

AT MATINS

GOD IS THE LORD, THE *TROPARION* (THREE TIMES) IN TONE 8:

Most glorified art Thou, O Lord our God, who didst grant to our right-believing king Peter strength over [his] enemies, as to David over the most proud Goliath, who didst overshadow his head on the day of battle, didst gird the weak with strength from on high, and through them hath put down all the arrogance of the enemy: O Thou who art plenteous in mercy, glory to Thee.

AFTER THE FIRST *KATHISMA*, THIS SESSIONAL HYMN IN TONE 7:

We have ordained that this notable day be kept as a festival to Thee, O merciful Lord, whereon Thou hast made us to rejoice over our enemies, that another generation might know, even the sons about to be born, that they in turn might arise and declare them unto their sons, that they might set their hope in God and not forget the works of God, but seek His commandments:²⁸ And with us glorify from generation and generation Thee, who hath been exceedingly glorified among us.

GLORY... BOTH NOW... IN THE SAME TONE:

O utter madness and wickedness! He who wickedly follows the previous Judas has now been found out; a second Judas, a slave and deceiver, has been found

28. This section alludes to Deuteronomy 6:1–7.

out; a son of perdition, a devil in manner, and not a man, the thrice-cursed apostate Mazepa has been found out, who, having forsaking the Lord's anointed, his lord and benefactor, cleaved unto the adversary, taking counsel to repay good with evil, villainy for kindness, hatred for mercy; but God rendered unto the second Judas, just as unto the first, according to their works.²⁹

AFTER THE SECOND *KATHISMA*, THIS SESSIONAL HYMN IN TONE 8:

Like the ancient building of the tower, the arrogant building of our enemies received a similar destruction: For God descended to see their works and confounded their tongues, so that they might not hear one another, nor pay heed to the voice of the leaders of their army, and He scattered them over the face of the land of the living, while the nethermost parts of the earth received their dead, and their work crumbled to dust.³⁰ But we, in the buildings of the temples of God, for which we do battle, loudly chant: Glory to Thy condescension and Thy providence, O sole Lover of man!

GLORY... BOTH NOW... IN THE SAME TONE:

Thou hast not likened Thyself to the merchant man seeking the goodly pearls, O ungrateful and wicked servant, but unto the insane Judas, who, seeking perdition and having sought diligently, betrayed the Pearl of great price, and with all the goods whereof he was deprived he bought unspeakable evils. This man hast thou become like unto, O fool; this man hast thou copied, O ingrate; this man hast thou followed, O deceiver Mazepa! Wherefore thou art deprived of all goods, and thou hast acquired comparable evils and passed over to take thy place with him.

THE MAGNIFICATION:

We magnify Thee, O Tri-Hypostatic God, who hath humbled exalted pride and granted victory to those who trust in Thee.

29. This text draws on the rich Judas imagery in the Passion service on Great and Holy Thursday Vespers. See, in particular, Antiphon 4 and the *sedalens* after Antiphons 3, 6, and 9 (*Velikii Sbornik*, pt. 3, 464–71).

30. The reference is to the Tower of Babel, Genesis 11:1–9.

SELECTED PSALM VERSES (ABBREVIATED FROM THE FEAST OF THE
EXALTATION OF THE CROSS):³¹

Judge them, O God, that do me injustice; war against them that war against me [Psalm 34:1]:

Take hold of weapon and shield, and arise unto my help. [Psalm 34:2]

GLORY... BOTH NOW...

Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. Glory to Thee, our God (Three times)

AFTER THE *POLYELEOS*, THIS SESSIONAL HYMN IN TONE 4:

Ask no longer, O David, where art the Lord's ancient mercies, which He promised to our fathers? For we have found them in the new grace. In our days, too, we have found the Lord's same ancient mercies on the fields of Poltava, when the Lord of Hosts came down to help us and set Himself against our powerful enemies and confounded them, working mercy for His anointed, Peter, and preserving by His Cross the commonwealth that He had entrusted to him.³²

GLORY... BOTH NOW (REPEAT)

HYMN OF ASCENTS, FIRST ANTIPHON IN TONE 4.

Prokeimenon, Tone 4: Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us, according as we have hoped in Thee. [Psalm 32:22]

Or: The Lord of Hosts is with us, our helper is the God of Jacob. [Psalm 46:8]

Verse: The Lord scattereth the plans of the heathen, He setteth aside the devices of the peoples. [Psalm 32:10]

Or: God is our refuge and strength, a helper in afflictions that mightily befall us. [Psalm 45:2]

Let every breath praise the Lord:

31. The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, on 14 September, glorifies Orthodox rulers and wishes them victories. For an imperial-era publication of the service, see *Miniia: Mesiat's sentemvrii* (Moscow, 1906).
32. The last phrase paraphrases the *troparion* to the Exaltation of the Cross (the melody of which Tchaikovsky used in his 1812 Overture). Lopatyn's'kyi also engages in word play by referring to Peter as "christus" (*christos*, the anointed one).

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW, §27 [MATTHEW 8:23–27]
 STICHERON AFTER PSALM 50 IN TONE 6:

Let us praise today the harmonious instruments of the Holy Spirit, the choir of apostles assembled by God, who did not imitate Judas the traitor, but served their Teacher with faith and love even unto death. O blessed sheep who hear the shepherd, O good and faithful servants who submit to your Lord, ye have entered worthily into the joy of your Lord. Ye shall sit now worthily on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Blessed are those who imitate you also in faith and love toward their instructors, as children to their fathers, as servants obedient to their masters. With you, let the earthly angels now boast, who did not cleave to the diabolical rebel. Just like the apostles, let those be honored who did not agree with Mazepa, the second Judas, but laid down their lives for their master. Be glad now, as the apostates weep; leap up, as the adversaries groan and lament! Ye are worthy of honor and heavenly crowns for your faithfulness and obedience.

CANONS OF THANKSGIVING TO GOD, WORSHIPPED IN THE TRINITY, WHO
 GRANTED THIS MOST GLORIOUS VICTORY

ODE 1

CANON 1 IN TONE 1:

Irmos: Thy triumphant right arm hath in godly manner been glorified in strength; for as omnipotent, O Immortal One, it shattered the adversaries, having newly made a path of the deep for the Israelites.³³

O thrice-splendid, only Godhead, fill our mouths with Thine All-Holy Spirit that we may chant unto Thee a song of thanksgiving for these things, which Thou hast mercifully wrought for us, O Bestower of Light.

Let the choirs of the divine ranks stand with us now and chant a hymn of victory unto God, who is marvelous and most glorious in His works, who hath wondrously humbled the lofty pride of our enemies.

Run together, ye earthborn, to the praise of the Godhead in three Hypostases, and if not in worthiness, then in earnestness, hymn the indivisible Trinity, who hath wrought such good things for us, the unworthy.

33. Most hymnographers since the fall of Constantinople have been careful to use only the *irmoi* that already exist in the *Irmologion*. Lopatyns'kyi mostly followed this practice. This *irmos* is from the *Octoechos*, the first canon of Sunday matins (*Velikii Sbornik*, pt. 1, 105). The *troparia* that follow each *irmos*, however, are Lopatyns'kyi's own compositions.

Theotokion: O Birth Giver of God, who didst contain in thy virgin womb the uncontainable Word, grant us a word of praise, that with the powers of heaven we may hymn thee, O intercession terrible and invincible in battle against enemies.

ANOTHER CANON, IN THE SAME TONE:

Irmos: Let us all sing an ode of victory unto God, who hath wrought marvelous wonders with a lofty arm and saved Israel, for He hath been glorified.³⁴

Say, O Russia, "With patience I waited patiently for the Lord, and He was attentive unto me and hearkened unto my supplication, and He ordered my steps aright, and He hath put into my mouth a new song of thanksgiving to God: and many shall see, and shall fear, and shall hope in the Lord."

O divinely-voiced David, stand now with a tuneful harp and summon all the Orthodox to solemn singing, and chant with us to God a hymn of victory.

By Thy word, O Lord, were the heavens established, and they declare Thy glory; by the same word establish our mouths with, that they too may proclaim Thy glory, which Thou hast granted unto us, O Father, and Son, and All-Holy Spirit.

Theotokion: Accept a hymn of thanksgiving, O Mediatrix of grace for those who hope in thee and ask peace for the Churches, preserving our king always undefeated, to whom thou hast granted victory over enemies.

ODE 3

CANON 1:

Irmos: O Lord, establish Thy Church, which Thou hast acquired by the power of Thy Cross, whereby Thou hast vanquished the enemy and enlightened the whole world.

A scepter of power—Thy precious Cross—hast Thou sent unto us, O Lord, and with it Thou hast blunted the sword of the enemy: we venerate this scepter of Thy power and, venerating it, we honor Thee Thyself.

Moses, having stretched out his arms in the form of a cross, vanquished Amalek;³⁵ but we, honoring the Cross of Christ, have vanquished the adversary

34. In Orthodox hymnography the first ode of every canon reflects Exodus 15:1–19.

35. The reference is to the Orthodox Christian interpretation of Exodus 14:21 and 14:26.

by the power of the One crucified upon it, to whom we chant hymns of victory.

Seeing the shining form of the Cross in the sky, Constantine the king vanquished Maxentius: with this same sign our King too, having cast down the power of the Swedish Maxentius, sends up thanksgiving unto God the Victor.

Theotokion: O Judith of the new Israel, O Mary, the Birth Giver of God, thou art our boast and gladness and honor: for thou hast strengthened our heart for the destruction of the new Holofernes.³⁶

CANON 2 IN TONE 4:³⁷

Irmos: The bow of the mighty is become weak, and the strengthless have girded themselves with power; wherefore, my heart is established in the Lord.

Truly Thy Cross is an invincible weapon, O Lord: for by it our enemy and the mocker of the power of the Cross were cast down, but we were shown to be victors.

The uplifted serpent healed those bitten by serpents; and Christ uplifted upon the Cross cured those bitten by the serpent and by the Swedish lion;³⁸ to Him be glory and thanksgiving with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

We venerate Thy footstool, O Lord, for it is holy: by it Thou hast made our enemies the footstool of our feet: but Thou hast raised up our head, which we bow to Thee, that it may always be a footstool for Thy feet.³⁹

Theotokion: Those who act lawlessly, O Mistress, did not trust in thee, but they trusted in a tongue that spake boastful words in a human tongue: wherefore, O Mistress, thou hast broken their jaws,⁴⁰ aiding those who trust in thee.

36. The reference is to the Book of Judith, which is part of the Orthodox Christian and Roman Catholic Bible.

37. Although it is unusual for a canon to shift tones, Lopatyns'kyi does so repeatedly. Spasskii suggests that this extravagant effect heightens the fulsome praise he has heaped upon Peter I. See F. G. Spasskii, *Russkoe liturgicheskoe tvorchestvo* (Moscow, 2008), 64.

38. The references are to Moses's brass serpent (Numbers 21:3–9) and to the Christological interpretation of the same passage in John 3:14. The implication is that Charles XII's victims are those healed by Christ, i.e., true Christians.

39. The quotations are from Psalms 98:5 and 109; and Luke 20:42–44. The first clause is also used as the *prokeimenon* for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

40. Job 29:17.

SESSIONAL HYMN IN TONE 5:

Let us glorify the three-sunned Light and worship now the simple Trinity for enlightening us and having mercy upon us, and rendering to our neighbors sevenfold in their bosom their reproach wherewith they reproached us, preserving the sheep of its pasture from seizure by the insatiable beast.⁴¹

GLORY... BOTH NOW... *THEOTOKION*:

Rejoice, firm bulwark for those who honor thee! Rejoice, downfall of those who venerate thee not!⁴² Rejoice, O Theotokos, thou uplifting of Orthodox people who truly trust in thee, who by thy supplications deliver from perils of all kinds and from enemies most proud.

ODE 4

CANON 1 IN TONE 6:

Irmos: When I heard the most glorious precepts of Thy dispensation, Thy knowledge was too wonderful for me; but it was strengthened by the love of Thy descent; for Thou hast not rejected my poverty.

Having most gloriously triumphed through our Lord Jesus Christ, let us not imitate the ingratitude of the nine leprous men; but let us fall down with the Samaritan at His feet, rendering praise to Him.⁴³

The heavens declare the glory of God; but we ought to exalt His most holy name higher than the heavens; for He came down from the heavens to save His anointed ones in battle.

Let us exclaim this hymn of the four living creatures that stand round about the throne of God: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty, who vanquished our enemies!⁴⁴

Theotokion: Mary, the fleece bedewed by the grace of God, wrought victory over the Swedes, just as before for Gideon over Midian. Therefore, chanting

41. Ezekiel 34:8–15.

42. In other words, the Mother of God is the downfall of Protestants, who do not recognize her unique spiritual status.

43. The reference is to Luke 17:11–19, the Gospel reading at the Service of Thanksgiving.

44. The references are to Isaiah 6:2–3 and Revelation 4:6–9.

hymns of victory, we say to her, after God: Rejoice, O help of Orthodox Christians, and the downfall of heretics!

CANON 2 IN TONE 2:

Irmos: A firm guardian and immovable confirmation art Thou, O Christ; set us on Thy firm foundation of hope and faith, establishing as unwavering those who hope in Thee.⁴⁵

Imitating the twenty-four elders, let us fall down before Him who sitteth on the throne, and let us worship Him who liveth forever and ever:⁴⁶ for through Him the Russian throne was not shaken by the plots of the enemy.

Who vanquished the Swedish lion that came out of his den, seeking to devour whom? Lo, the lion of the tribe of David hath been victorious, whose inconceivable power we glorify.

Even though Thou art a blameless lamb and humble in heart, O Christ, yet by Thy meekness was the ferocious lion brought to naught: wherefore, with the elders we fall down before Thee and say: Salvation is of our God, the Lamb who sitteth upon the throne!

Theotokion: The ark of old, carried out to the army, vanquished the aliens; an ark gilded by the Spirit—Mary, whom we honor as the Mother of God—vanquished our enemies, but defended us from fatal wounds.

ODE 5

CANON 1 IN TONE 7:

Irmos: The dew that comes from Thee, O Christ God, hath appeared as healing for the faithful; but an ungodly fall is promised unto the land of those who are impious. Wherefore, rising early out of the night, we offer a hymn to Thee.

God is known in all His works; but especially is He known in dire straits, when He cometh to help: and we, too, having come to know His help in dire straits, when He scattered our enemies, offer unto Him a hymn of thanksgiving.

They opened their mouths at us like a lion ravening and roaring; but Thou,

45. This *Irmos* does not occur in the *Irmologion*, either under the indicated Tone 2 or any of the other seven tones, and so is probably Lopatyns'kyi's original composition.

46. Revelation 4:10. Twenty-four elders may refer to the twelve tribes and Twelve Apostles, symbolizing the unity of old and new covenant peoples.

O Lord, hast not removed Thy help from us, having broken the teeth of the lions.⁴⁷

We will declare Thy name to our brethren, and in the midst of the churches will we hymn Thee,⁴⁸ for Thou hast saved us from the mouths of the lions, exalting the horn of the Orthodox like a unicorn's.⁴⁹

Theotokion: Thou art near to those who are in peril, O pure Virgin: wherefore, having recourse unto thee, we find relief amidst all tribulations,⁵⁰ O Mistress, for even now have we been saved by thee from the enemy's fire.

CANON 2 IN TONE 6:

Irmos: Pondering Thine ineffable power and Thy wisdom that maintaineth all things, I am astonished, and I cry out to Thee, O Good One: Let my horn be exalted over mine enemies, O Christ!⁵¹

In the night of craftinesses they seized us as might a lion ready for his prey,⁵² but the Lord forestalled them and tripped their heels: He sent His Samson down from heaven and tore asunder the jaws of the lions.⁵³

Ye that fear the Lord, praise Him, for He did not disdain, neither was He displeased with the prayers of the humble, nor did He turn His face from us; and when we cried out to Him, He hearkened unto us.

Glory to Thee who dwelleth in the saints, O praise of Israel; in Thee our fathers hoped, and Thou didst deliver them. And we cried out and were saved; we hoped and were not put to shame.

47. The references are to Psalm 57:6 and Job 4:10. Because the lion was Charles XII's heraldic symbol, this image is also a way for Lopatyns'kyi to refer to Charles XII's injuries.

48. The reference is to Psalm 22:23, Psalm 22:26, and Hebrews 2:12.

49. The reference is to Psalm 22:21. The image of "raising the Orthodox like the horn of the unicorn" occurs frequently in hymnody, particularly in the services of 1 August and 14 September.

50. The reference is to Leviticus 27:10.

51. This *irmos* does not occur in the *Irmologion*, and so is probably Lopatyns'kyi's original composition.

52. The reference is to Psalm 16, read at the Third Hour. See *Velikii Sbornik*, pt. 1, 43–44.

53. The reference is to the Biblical Samson tearing the lion to pieces without any weapons (Judges 14:6). The Church celebrates the memory of St. Sampson the Hospitable on 27 June, the day of the Poltava victory. Imperial-era *mineia* printed that service ahead of the Poltava service (*Miniia: Mesiat's' iunii*, 111–25).

Theotokion: Prefigured by the bush that burned but was not consumed,⁵⁴ thou hast preserved us unburnt amidst the fire of battle, O most wondrous Mother and Virgin, Birth Giver of God: for this cause we shall not cease to hymn thee from generation to generation.

ODE 6

CANON 1 IN TONE 6:

Irmos: The abyss engulfed me, and the sea monster became a tomb for me; but I cried unto Thee who loveth mankind, and Thy right hand saved me, O Lord.

Search, O ye nations: Whence cometh our strength against the powerful: Hear ye not him who leaned on the Lord's breast, who saith: This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our Faith?⁵⁵

He who said: If ye have faith as a grain of a mustard-seed, ye shall say to this mountain, move, and it shall move, and nothing shall be impossible for you—He hath now given power in battle to those who believe in His name.⁵⁶

He who gave His hand to Peter on the sea, even now, in the midst of the surges of battle, took our sovereign Peter by the hand and led him out of many griefs.

Theotokion: Judging Israel of old, Deborah the prophetess went forth to battle and vanquished Canaan, and put Sisera to flight.⁵⁷ Mary, the Deborah of the new Israel, also went down with us to battle and did the same things. May she be glorified by all generations.

CANON 2 IN TONE 2:

Irmos: In my affliction I cried out unto the Lord my God, and He sent the Savior of the world and delivered my life from corruption.⁵⁸

In her affliction Russia cried out to the Lord,⁵⁹ saying: who can overcome

54. The image comes from Exodus 3:2–6.

55. I John 5:4.

56. Luke 5:6, Matthew 17:20.

57. Judges 4–5.

58. This *irmos* does not occur in the *Irmologion*, and so is probably Lopatyns'kyi's original composition. The reference is to Psalms 17:7 and 119:1.

59. The reference here is to the Psalms cited in the preceding *irmos*, and to Jonah 2:2. All recur frequently in Orthodox hymnody (the latter on Great and Holy Saturday Vespers in particular).

this mighty enemy? But God answered, and by deed confirmed His word, that all things are possible to the one who believeth.

By faith the ancients shut the mouths of lions, escaped the edge of the sword, were strong in battle, and set the armies of aliens to flight:⁶⁰ by the same faith, the All-Powerful Lord has now also granted us to do similar things, to whom glory be unto the ages.

We thank Thee, O Christ our God, that Thou hast founded Thy Church on a rock,⁶¹ and she did not fall to the winds and the waves that attacked her, and the gates of hell—the heretical powers—did not overcome her.

Theotokion: Blessed is Jael among the women of Israel, for she shattered the head of Sisera: blessed art thou by all generations, O Mary the Mother of God, for thou hast cut off the blasphemous heads of present-day Siseras, preserving thy flock unharmed.⁶²

KONTAKION IN TONE 2:

O Thou who dwelleth in the highest and looketh down upon the lowly, who didst not allow the wild boar to ravage the grove nor the savage wilderness to encroach upon Thy vineyard: Establish, O God, that which Thou didst make among us; look down from heaven and see, and visit this vineyard, and perfect that which Thy right hand hath planted.⁶³

Ikos: Rejoice, O Holy Church, thou new vineyard of the Lord divinely planted, which the right hand of the Most High planted in the Russian land, which is subject to God:⁶⁴ Rejoice, for thou didst stretch forth thy branches unto the sea and thine offshoots even unto the rivers!⁶⁵ Rejoice, for He put a sturdy hedge around thee, and with the shelter of grace preserved thee unharmed by all the wild beasts that come forth from their dens to devour and trample thee down! Rejoice too, with the rest of the husbandmen of the vineyard of Christ, O thou Orthodox vineyard-keeper, who with the help of the Most High hast now driven off and smitten the Swedish lion, who strove to seize the fruits of

60. The paraphrase is from Hebrews 11:33–34.

61. Peter is the Russian equivalent of the French “Pierre” or the Greek “Petros”. Thus, Peter is synonymous with the stone, or the rock, on which God established His church (Matthew 16:18).

62. See Judges 4:17–23. Here Lopatyns’kyi elaborates the notion that Russia is Mary’s flock, and Russia’s enemies, most notably Charles XII, are like the blasphemous Sisera.

63. Much of this text paraphrases Psalm 79:14–16.

64. This paraphrases Psalm 79:9–10.

65. Psalm 79:12.

thy garden!⁶⁶ Rejoice, all ye trees flourishing in piety and glory, and, giving thanks unto God, again say: Establish, O God, that which Thou hast wrought among us; look down from heaven, and behold and visit this vineyard, and perfect that which Thy right hand hath planted.⁶⁷

ODE 7

CANON 1 IN TONE 4

Irmos: O God of our fathers, put us not to shame, but grant us to cry out to Thee with boldness: blessed art Thou, O God of our fathers!

Just as, long ago, Thou didst preserve the three youths unharmed for their piety, but the flame devoured their enemies; likewise Thou hast preserved us, too, standing in the midst of the enemy's fire. Wherefore with the youths we cry out to Thee: blessed art Thou, O God of our fathers!⁶⁸

Let every knee, in heaven and on earth and in the nether regions, bow down before the name of Jesus, and may every tongue confess how the Lord Jesus Christ showed mercy to us: blessed is the God of our fathers!

In the name of Jesus Christ, Peter raised the humble lame man and made him strong: In the name of the same Jesus, Peter hath now lamed the one who walked proudly, and rendered the strong one powerless.⁶⁹ Blessed is the name of Thy glory, O Lord!

Theotokion: Thy prefigured Offspring, O Birth Giver of God, saved the youths in the fiery furnace: but the One now manifested extinguished the war flame of our enemies. Worshipping Him and magnifying Thee, the author of our salvation, we say: blessed is the God of our fathers!

CANON 2 IN TONE 5:

Irmos: Most praised and most glorified is Thy name unto all ages, O Lord, the

66. Psalm 79:13.

67. Lopatyn's *kyi* follows Orthodox custom by using the same last line for the *kontakion* and the following *ikos*. Because this text is also uttered by bishops during the Divine Liturgy, this helps to underscore the image of Peter as a type of bishop—and of Christ.

68. The song of the three youths (see Daniel 1:3–3:30) is alluded to in odes seven and eight of every canon.

69. The scriptural reference is to Acts 3:1–26. The comparison between the Apostle Peter and Peter I, his namesake, is explicit.

God of our fathers, and most glorious art Thou, for righteous art Thou in all that Thou hast done unto us.⁷⁰

The most glorious youths, not honoring the golden image as God, vanquished the pride of Nebuchadnezzar: and we, piously honoring the holy icons, humbled the similar haughty-mindedness of the Swedes. Blessed is the God of our fathers.

Nebuchadnezzar fell, who commanded that his image be honored like God's: the Swedes fell, who mock the images of the saints. But we, fighters against the impiety of both, have triumphed through the power of the Most High. Blessed is the God of our fathers.

Like Nebuchadnezzar's vision in his sleep, the Swedish king bethought himself, and a stone fell on him and broke in pieces the building in his thought, and all his fantasy vanished: blessed be the God of our fathers, who has accomplished this.⁷¹

Theotokion: Thou are the mountain from whence the Stone was cut out, and it crumbled the building of the enemy's fantasy, O most blessed Mary, Birth Giver of God: wherefore unto thee, after God, in that our adversary fell, we send up thanksgiving, chanting: Blessed is the God of our fathers.

ODE 8

CANON 1 IN TONE 1:

Irmos: Hymn, ye children, God who formed all things by His wisdom and word, and delivered us from the nations and barbarians; glorify, ye priests; exalt supremely, ye peoples, unto all ages.

The lion forgot the limit of his nature—to hunt in his own habitat; he dared to intrude within the boundaries of others. For this he hath also been hunted down by the Lord: concerning this, glorify ye the Lord unto all ages.

Peter the Apostle said: our adversary, the devil, is like a lion.⁷² And Peter the Russian viewed his adversary, the lion, as the devil; for he entered into the Russian domains, but did nothing but roar: for he was cast down and driven out by our Lord, whom ye exalt supremely unto all ages.

Having been driven out, whither fleest thou, O adversary? To the fold of

70. The reference is to the prayer of Manasses, King of Judah, read at Great Compline.

71. For the biblical Nebuchadnezzar account, see Daniel 2 and 4.

72. 1 Peter 5:8.

Hagarenes, abandoning thy army to defeat and captivity; concerning this, let us hymn and supremely exalt the Lord unto all ages.⁷³

Theotokion: Having gone speedily before and standing forth ardently, O Virgin Theotokos, from affliction hast thou freed us who are held fast exceedingly by grievous circumstances; let the priests hymn and the peoples supremely exalt thee unto all the ages.

CANON 2 IN TONE 3:

Irmos: O ye heavens of heavens, earth, ye mountains and hills, and deep, and whole human race, with hymns bless God who is glorified unceasingly by the angels in the highest, and exalt Him supremely as Creator and Deliverer unto all the ages.

With the angels let us unceasingly doxologize Thy power, O Lord, whereby Thou has cast down the powers of the enemy, and they became as dust before the face of the wind, and their way became darkness and a sliding,⁷⁴ an angel of the Lord also pursuing them with a grievous fall.

Thine angels arrayed round about us, O Lord, and the enemy's forces did not succeed against us. Wherefore, falling down before Thee and giving thanks, we pray: compass us about also in future times with Thy holy angels.

How are they come unto desolation? They vanished suddenly, as the dream of one who awaketh.⁷⁵ Thou, O Lord, hast multiplied Thy magnificence over us, and, having returned, Thou hast comforted us; for their crafty dealings Thou hast appointed evils for them, when they exalted themselves.

Theotokion: Having acquired thee as a consolation amid tribulations, as an intercessor amid temptations and perils, O Mother of God, we have been delivered from our griefs. Wherefore, as is meet, we magnify thee as the Mother of God and the helper of the human race.

73. Hagarenes refers here to the sons of Hagar, more specifically the Muslim Ottoman Turks (Genesis 21:13) to whom Charles XII and Mazepa fled after the Battle of Poltava. This is a standard term for the Ottomans as enemies of Orthodox Rus'. (Lopatyns'kyi may have been evoking the *troparion* to the Pochaiv icon of the Mother of God, which uses the same term.)

74. Lopatyns'kyi is paraphrasing Psalm 33:6.

75. Psalm 72:19–20.

ODE 9
CANON 1 IN TONE 1:

Irmos: The God of Israel wrought might with His arm, for He cast down the powerful from their thrones and exalted the humble. Therein the Dayspring from on high visited us and guided us onto the way of peace.

Why lay ye down your weapons, O adversaries? Why have ye brought them into our lands? So that, just as Goliath was smitten by his own sword, ye too would suffer from your own weapons.

Ye recognized at last that your weapons would not save you, wherefore ye threw them down. Say, therefore, with us that the Lord saveth in battle; the Lord is well pleased with the humble and those who hope in His mercy.

We too, O Lord, recognized that we were not saved by our weapons, but by Thy right hand and Thine arm, whereby our vanquished enemies were subdued.⁷⁶

Theotokion: Having thee as a guileless hope and help, O Theotokos, we feared not the plots of the enemy; but they, not having thy help, were confounded. So let all tremble who call not upon thee for help, but let thy servants in nowise remain afraid.

CANON 2 IN TONE 8:

Irmos: Let the assemblies of the heretics be silent, who do not confess thee to be truly the Theotokos, for the prophets proclaimed thee in advance from on high to be the Mother of God and the Mediatress of our race. Wherefore, we magnify thee, O Virgin.

The Lord of Sabaoth was the leader of our army; He terrified our enemies, for when they, being many in number, trembled, their weapons fell from their hands, which having taken hold of, we magnify the Lord of Hosts.

Do ye bow down, O adversaries, to us, whom ye despised? Not unto us, but with us give glory unto the name of the Lord, who chose the weak of this world that He might shame the strong; and chose the despised and the things which are not, that He bring to naught the things that are.

God is with us! Understand, O ye nations, and submit yourselves, for God is with us, and be mindlessly bold no more, for if ye again strengthen yourselves, again ye will be vanquished, for God is with us!⁷⁷

76. This may be a veiled criticism of Peter's military reforms, which included the melting down of church bells for cannon shells.

77. This text is taken from Isaiah 8 and 9, read at Great Compline and during the

Theotokion: We, the unworthy, shall never cease to speak of thy power, O Theotokos; for if thou hadst not interceded, who would have delivered us from so many perils? And who would have kept us free until now? We shall never depart from thee, O Mistress, for thou ever savest thy servants from every kind of danger.⁷⁸

EXAPOSTILARION:

Thou has rendered to our neighbors sevenfold in their bosoms their reproach, wherewith they reproached us, O Lord; but we, Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture, who are preserved and glorified by Thee, shall confess Thee, O God, unto the ages, and shall proclaim Thy praise unto generation and generation.

GLORY... BOTH NOW... (TWICE):
ON THE PRAISES, FOUR *STIKHERA* IN TONE 4:

Where are our enemies, who insolently invaded the Russian borders? Where are your weapons? Where are your battle standards? Where are the spoils ye stole from many lands? Where now is this vain glory? There is naught, except your dishonor.⁷⁹ Truly the word of the prophet hath been fulfilled: the enemies of the Lord, even as they praised themselves and exulted together, have vanished, wafting away like smoke: but those who trust in the Lord shall not be put to shame forever. (Twice)

Christmas thanksgiving service for victory over the French. See Isabel Florence Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church* (Boston; New York, 1906), 542.

78. This is the second *troparion* on "God is the Lord" from the *Little Paraclesis* [Service of Supplication] to the All-Holy Virgin.
79. Here Lopatyns'kyi's cadences parallel those of Saint John of Damascus, sung at the Orthodox funeral service, especially those in Tones 1 and 4 ("What earthly sweetness remains unmixed with grief? What glory standeth immutable on earth?" and "Where is earthly predilection? Where is the ephemeral pomp of the creatures of a day? Where are all the gold and silver? Where is the multitude of household servants and their clamor? All dust, all shadows, all ashes," respectively). Lopatyns'kyi is thus symbolically burying the Swedes. For the location of these texts in the funeral service, see Hapgood, *Service Book*, 414, 416.

Tell us now, O David, inspired by God: where is he who exalted and lifted himself up? For I saw, thou sayest, the ungodly man exalted and grown tall like the cedars of Lebanon,⁸⁰ and where is he now, tell us? He vanished from Thine eyes, and ours, and I passed by, and lo, he was no more, and was not to be found. O vain imposture! O transient glory! O, Thy great truth, O God, against enemies! O unspeakable kindheartedness toward us.

Like Sisera's mother, a Swedish woman peered out, saying: Why do Charles's steps tarry in returning to his own home? The rulers answered her: Perhaps he divideth the spoils or in Russia hath sat upon the throne, and for this cause he neglecteth his lesser domain.⁸¹ But the Lord did unto him as He unto Midian and Sisera, and all who said: Let us take to ourselves for an inheritance the sanctuary of God. He made him like a wheel, as stubble before the face of the wind, as fire that shall burn up a forest; thus He pursued them with His tempest and in His wrath He troubled them.

GLORY... BOTH NOW... IN TONE 8:

The ungodly Nicanor lifted up his foul hand against the Church of God and swore to demolish the house of God: but God, the Helper of His servants, made his oath false. Thus did He also to our adversary, who stretched forth his hand against the Church of God. He gave over his chief chariots and mighty commanders into our hands, but he himself, hoping to enter the reigning city on his victorious foot, fled lamed to the barbarians and found not a place of rest.⁸² Thus let all Thine enemies perish, O Lord, and let those who love Thee shine like the rising of the sun.

AT LITURGY:

BEATITUDES FROM ODES 3 AND 6 OF THE CANON.

Prokeimenon, in Tone 7:

The Lord will give strength unto His people; the Lord will bless His people with peace. [Psalm 28:11]

80. Psalm 91:12.

81. See Judges 5:28–30.

82. Lopatyns'kyi alludes here to the Bible's "thrice-accursed Nicanor," who, having invited, out of overweening pride, a thousand slave-dealers to accompany him to buy Jewish captives, was humiliated and his host destroyed, he himself escaping "like a fugitive slave" to Antioch (2 Maccabees 8:34). The comparison to Charles XII fleeing to the Ottomans could hardly be more pointed.

Stichos: The Lord is my strength and my song, and He is become my salvation.
[Psalm 117: 14]

Alternate *stichos*: What God is as great as our God? Thou art God who worketh wonders. [Psalm 76:14]

Epistle to the Romans, §99 [Romans 8:28–39]

Alleluia

Verse 1: The Lord of Hosts is with us; our helper is the God of Jacob. [Psalm 45:8]

Verse 2: Our God is refuge and strength, a helper in afflictions that mightily befall us. [Psalm 45:2]

Gospel according to Luke, §41 [Luke 10:19–21]

Communion Verse:

Praise the Lord from the heavens, praise Him in the highest. [Psalm 148:7]