

THE VITAE OF ST. NICHOLAS AND HIS
HAGIOGRAPHICAL ICONS IN RUSSIA
PART I

by

Alexander Prus Boguslawski
M.A., University of Warsaw, Poland, 1975
M.Phil., University of Kansas, 1980

Submitted to the Department of Slavic Languages
and Literatures and the Faculty of the Graduate
School of the University of Kansas in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:

Chairman

Copyright 1982

Alexander Prus Boguslawski

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| List of Abbreviations | iv |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter I: A Historical Note | 10 |
| Chapter II: Hagiography and the Vitae of St. Nicholas | 25 |
| Chapter III: The Origins and Characteristic Features of the Hagiographical Icon. Icons Depicting the Life of St. Nicholas. The Pattern- Books (Podlinniki) | 152 |
| Chapter IV: Wonderworking and Miraculously Revealed Icons of St. Nicholas in Russia | 177 |
| Chapter V: Minor Sources Revealing the Popularity of St. Nicholas | 219 |
| Chapter VI: Catalogue of Researched Icons of St. Nicholas | 244 |
| Chapter VII: The Scenes from the Life of St. Nicholas. Their Iconography and Textual Sources | 315 |
| Conclusion | 499 |
| Bibliography | 509 |
| Appendix (Illustrations 1-111) | |

List of Abbreviations

- IORJAS -- Izvestija Otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk (till 1917, afterwards Izvestija Otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Rossijskoj Akademii nauk.
- PDP -- Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti.
- PDPI -- Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva.
- SGRM -- Soobščeniya Gosudarstvennogo Russkogo Muzeja.
- SORJAS -- Sbornik statej, čitannyx v Otdelenii russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk (also known as Sbornik Otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti).
- TKDA -- Trudy Kievskoj Duxovnoj Akademii.
- TODRL -- Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury (Puškinskogo Doma) Akademii nauk SSSR.
- VMČ -- Velikija Minei Četii sobrannyja vserossijskim mitropolitom Makariem.
- VMČD6 -- Velikaja Mineja Čet'ja mesjaca dekabrja 6 den' otca našego Nikolaja Čudotvorca, arxiepiskopa Mirlikijskago.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank four of my friends and colleagues, Professors Joseph L. Conrad, Gerald E. Mikkelsen, Stephen J. Parker, and Heinrich A. Stammler for their patience in reading (and correcting) the first draft of this dissertation, written in stylistically imperfect English. Professors Conrad and Stammler also directed my attention to certain materials and sources which otherwise would remain unnoticed. My greatest appreciation and thanks go to my wife Melissa who read the manuscript several times and always served as a good advisor; moreover, while I was engaged in my research and writing, she carried the burdens of our family life on her shoulders. Finally, special acknowledgements should go to Miss Sandra Ward who typed the manuscript devoted to a subject which was completely foreign to her.

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this work is a study of the relationships between the hagiographical or historiated¹ Russian icons of St. Nicholas and the Old Russian (translated and original) literary monuments devoted to the saint.

The great popularity of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker and the large number of his representations in Russia is well known to every student of Old Russian art. Among the icons which depict the saint, hagiographical ones form the most distinctive and fascinating group. The full comprehension and understanding of these icons can be achieved only through a study of literature, iconography, religious thought, history, language, and folklore. However, such a full-scale study of the phenomena connected with the hagiographical icons and the cult of St. Nicholas in Russia has not yet been attempted.

One of the prime reasons for the lack of such a comprehensive study was an almost complete lack of research of the Greek literary works pertaining to the saint. In 1906 the Russian scholar Nikolaj Nikol'skij, who tried to point out the sources and origins of some Nicholas texts circulating in Russian manuscripts, complained that as long as the Greek texts of the saint's vitae and miracle stories were not edited and thoroughly analyzed, it would be virtually impossible to make any justified conjectures in regard

to the provenance of Russian works.² Seven years later a German scholar, Gustav Anrich, accomplished the task so eagerly awaited by his Russian colleague. He edited in one volume all of the available Greek texts (including some which were preserved only in Slavonic versions), and in a second volume described the texts, paying particular attention to their authors, dates and places of origin, redactions and variants, literary sources, and their influence on each other.³ This unsurpassed monograph could have helped Russian scholars in determining which texts contained in Russian manuscripts were original and which might have been translated from the Greek. Unfortunately, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and subsequent turbulent events in the Soviet Union brought the studies of hagiography to a halt, and no Soviet Russian scholar undertook the task of at least comparing the most important Russian texts with the Byzantine ones.

Another prohibitive factor in the research of hagiography and iconography of St. Nicholas was the very limited number of accessible reproductions of Russian hagiographical icons of St. Nicholas. In most instances the quality of the reproductions was poor and the majority of published icons needed cleaning and restoration. This led to frequent mistakes in dating the monuments. An example of a publication full of errors and misinterpretations is A.

Voznesenskij and F. Gusev Žitie i Čudesa sv. Nikolaja Čudotvorca i slava ego v Rossii (Sankt-Peterburg, 1899). In their book the authors reproduce numerous icons of St. Nicholas, and although many of the pictures either show late monuments, or works covered with late overpaintings, they consider them to be works of the 12th, 13th or 14th century. Only in the 1960's in the Soviet Union and in the West did an interest in Old Russian painting result in the publication of icons on a larger scale.⁴ The most valuable extant icons were by them carefully restored and presented to the public. Among these published icons were numerous hagiographical images of St. Nicholas. Most often, however, these works were not described in detail. Usually the particular icon was shown in general view, or with several enlargements of the border scenes. Quite frequently there was no description of the repertory of the scenes, which left the viewer puzzled as to their meaning; instead, a brief note indicated when the icon was painted, to what school of icon painting it belonged, and in which museum it was exhibited. Only sporadically did an icon of St. Nicholas become an object of a detailed and exhaustive study.⁵ Fortunately, one can notice in recent times a certain improvement in icon publishing.⁶

Many of the existing gaps in the study of St. Nicholas can be filled today. For this reason, the present disserta-

tion attempts to analyze thoroughly the hagiographical literature and hagiographical icons of the saint, and supplement this analysis with an investigation of various cultural phenomena related to the cult and veneration of the Wonderworker in Russia. The study consists of seven chapters, conclusion, appendix, and bibliography.

The first chapter examines the historicity of the saint; the causes of the emergence of his cult in the Byzantine Empire and its spread in the 10th century; the events connected with the translation of his relics from Myra to Bari; and, the reasons for the introduction of the feast day of the translation (9th of May) in the Russian Church.

The second chapter is devoted to hagiographical literature as a genre, and to Russian texts which describe the life and miracles of St. Nicholas. Twenty-eight most important vitae and miracle stories are described and studied in detail. It should be noted here that numerous less important texts are not mentioned and the task of comparing them with the Greek texts is left to other researchers. A comparison of all the texts found in Russian manuscripts with Greek works may become a subject of another dissertation, but is not required in this study which analyzes only those texts which apparently exerted influence on icon painting. In the description of the twenty-eight texts par-

ticular stress is placed (1) on the search for the common motifs (*loci communes*) reappearing in many stories, (2) on the presentation of the development of the plot and dialogue in the miracle stories and *vitae*, and (3) on the process of absorption of oral legends and tales by the Nicholas lore.

The third chapter discusses the hagiographical icon as a genre, and the hagiographical icons of St. Nicholas. Such problems as the phenomenon of inverted perspective, representation of space and time in icon-painting, and the role of the icon-painting manuals (with a stress on information about Nicholas included in these) are presented and explained.

The fourth chapter describes the most famous wonder-working icons of St. Nicholas (not only hagiographical ones) in Russia and the tales (*skazaniija*) about these icons. These tales supply invaluable data for historians, folklorists, students of iconography and Russian spirituality.

The fifth chapter shows additional (minor) sources helpful in gaining a better understanding of the popularity of the Wonderworker in Russia; among them the apocryphal tale about Sinagripp and Akir, folk tales and legends, the heroic epic (*bylina*) Sadko, spiritual verses (*duxovnye sti-xi*) dedicated to the saint and his miracles, and Russian

broad­sides (lubki) featuring the saint.

The sixth chapter is a catalogue of eighty-four complete icons of St. Nicholas and twelve fragments. The catalogue has been based entirely on the reproductions of icons published in various albums and scholarly works pertaining to Old Russian culture, thus from the point of view of an art historian it does not pretend to be authoritative and definitive. Undoubtedly, in various museums, galleries, and private collections in the West and in the Soviet Union there are hagiographical icons of St. Nicholas which have not been reproduced or treated in scholarly editions. However, it is believed that these icons can change very little in the overall picture of hagiographical icons of Nicholas, which is drawn on the basis of the works presented in the catalogue.

The seventh chapter studies in detail all forty-four scenes found in Russian icons of St. Nicholas. The description of the compositions is accompanied by appropriate quotations from Old Russian manuscripts, and by notes on iconography of the representations. In this connection the author wishes to express his indebtedness to Professor Nancy Patterson Ševčenko who in her doctoral dissertation "Cycles of the Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art" (Columbia University, 1973) gave an outstanding analysis of seventeen most common scenes from the Nicholas cycle in Byzantine

painting. The depth and quality of her research enabled this author to determine the iconographical sources of many representations and to discover which compositions originated in Russia.

The seven chapters are followed by a brief conclusion based on the material included in the chapters.

The appendix consists of 111 illustrations. Illustrations Nos. 1-23 present general views of hagiographical icons of Nicholas, while Nos. 24-111 show particular scenes. Admittedly, the selection of the illustrations was in many cases dictated more by the availability of legible pictures than by the artistic qualities and originality of the scenes represented; it is believed, though, that the selection not only sufficiently demonstrates the material presented in Chapter VII, but also shows the complexity and richness of Russian hagiographical icons of St. Nicholas. Since the illustrations were reproduced by xerox, they had to be retouched in many instances to present the details better.

All citations and quoted passages from contemporary and 19th-century Russian sources have been translated into English by the author. Old Russian texts and all proper names have been transliterated according to the Library of Congress Transliteration of Russian, System III. The symbols of the Old Russian alphabet which were lost in the course of the centuries have been rendered accordingly with

their phonetic value. The so-called "hard sign" (jer) has been omitted, even if it represents a vowel in the beginning or in the middle of the word.

In footnotes throughout the work the author has tried to point out and correct numerous errors, misprints, misunderstandings, and misinterpretations committed by previous scholars in descriptions of hagiographical icons of St. Nicholas.⁷

It is hoped that this survey of hagiographical icons of the saint and his vitae and miracle stories in Russia will become a companion volume to the dissertation of Professor Ševčenko and will enrich the knowledge and understanding of the St. Nicholas cult in the Eastern Orthodox world.

Notes

Introduction

1. Art historians sometimes use the term "historiated" to denote an icon which depicts the saint surrounded by the scenes of his life. It was decided to use the word "hagiographical" in this work, since it better rendered the Russian word "žitijnaja".
2. See N. Nikol'skij, Materialy dlja povremennago spiska russkix pisatelej i ix sočineníj (X-XI vv.), (Sankt-Peterburg, 1906), p. 303.
3. Agios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche, 2 vols., (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1913 and 1917).
4. Particularly important was a publication in the Soviet Union of V.I. Antonova and N.E. Mneva, Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi Tret'jakovskoj Galerei, 2 vols., (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1963) and in the West of Konrad Dnasch, Icons, (New York: Barnes and Co., 1963).
5. See, for instance, N.N. Percev, "Ikona Nikoly iz Ljuboni," SGRM, IX (1968), 84-91; L.D. Lixačeva, "Ikona 'Nikola v žitij' iz pogosta Ozerevo," SGRM, X (1974), 91-96; È.S. Smirnova, "Ikona Nikoly iz Borovičej," SGRM, VII (1961), 52-59
6. See, for example, È.S. Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda: Seredina XIII--načalo XV veka, (Moskva: Nauka, 1976); G.V. Popov and A.V. Ryndina, Živopis' i prikladnoe iskusstvo Iveri XIV-XVI veka, (Moskva: Nauka, 1979).
7. Especially characteristic are errors committed by Josef Myslivec, "Život sv. Mikuláše v Byzantském umění," in his Dvě studie z dějin Byzantského umění, (Prague: Universum, 1948). They have their roots in the limited number of Russian icons investigated by the Czech art historian. His theories must be often corrected because at the time of his study numerous important icons of St. Nicholas were not published and the scholar was not able to use them in his work.

Chapter I
A Historical Note

St. Nicholas the Wonderworker (Thaumaturge), as he is known through his cult and veneration, is a composite of two persons: Nicholas, a 4th century bishop of Myra in Lycia (Asia Minor) and Nicholas, a 6th century monk, the archimandrite of the Sion monastery located not far from Myra.¹ The first is now commonly referred to as Nicholas of Myra, the second as Nicholas of Sion.

Nicholas of Myra is an enigmatic figure about whom there are no reliable historical data. His popularity was based largely on a purely legendary tale, the so-called Praxis de Stratelatis² (Action of the Generals), written between 450 and 580. According to the story, when Nicholas was still alive he once saved three unjustly accused citizens of Myra from execution and later, by appearing to the Emperor Constantine and his eparch Ablabius in a dream, saved Constantine's three generals Nepotianus, Ursus, and Herpilionus (Eupoleonis, Herpylion, Apilion³) from similar trouble.

Gustav Anrich, one of the greatest authorities on St. Nicholas, aptly characterized our limited knowledge about the saint from Myra as follows:

It would be a methodological error to question the historicity of a bishop of Myra named Nikolaos. Perhaps there was a bishop of this name, perhaps he even had great impact on his homeland. Perhaps also the 6th of December was the day of his death or burial. All of these are possibilities to which one is able to concede even some probability. Further one cannot go. (Anrich, II, p. 514)

However, even if one accepts the existence of the saint in Myra and the day of his death or burial as December 6th, one has also to consider the "mythological" connections of the saint with pagan gods venerated along the Ionian shore. Myra, a port city, "was strategically situated for developing a cult."⁴ There are indications that around December 6 the seasonal storms began and the people invoked Poseidon for protection on the sea (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 11). "If there was a founder-bishop of an important port city whose name was People's Victor, and God took the bishop's spirit on December 6, his name would inevitably be linked with Poseidon's⁵ and he would be a peculiarly suitable candidate for a maritime cult once accorded to the pagan god." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 12). It is possible that the veneration of St. Nicholas as a protector at sea had its roots in another pagan tradition, according to which in the Myra harbor there dwelled a fish named Orphus and its movements were used for making predictions.⁶ Finally, there is a link between St. Nicholas and Artemis, who was the seamen's patroness. (cf: Anrich, II, pp. 506-7). Jones gives examples of the replacement of

the Artemisium by the church of St. Nicholas (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 24) and also refers to the stories from the saint's life connecting him with the pagan goddess.

According to one of the vitae of St. Nicholas, in the sixth century there was a feast day in honor of Nicholas of Myra (Anrich, II, pp. 442-9).

The historicity of the second Nicholas, Nicholas of Sion, is an established fact. He was a pious monk, a co-founder of the Sion monastery, who became famous for his numerous miraculous healings, exorcisms, rescues at sea and his exemplary Christian piety. Later he was consecrated bishop of Pinara (also in Lycia, not far from Myra) and died on December 10, 564. The information about his life and his miracles is contained in the Vita Nicolai Sionitae, written in the second half of the 6th century.

Between the time of the appearance of the Vita Nicolai Sionitae and the beginning of the 9th century apparently no new texts pertaining to either Nicholas were written (possibly because of the Iconoclast opposition to the cult of saints), or, if they were, they did not survive. In the first half of the 9th century the cult of the saint began to grow at a very rapid pace. According to Ševčenko, "Arab raids on the coast of Lycia, so intense in the 8th and early 9th century, may have contributed to the awakening of interest in this local saint, known for his rescues at sea..."⁷ It is, indeed, surprising, that "a saint who was

not martyred for the faith, who left no theological writings, and whose name is virtually never cited in the whole body of polemical literature in the 8th or 9th centuries should have achieved such prominence in the later 9th century..." (Ševčenko, p. 8). As a possible explanation, Ševčenko gives the saint's "irreproachable Orthodoxy" and "miracle-working" (p. 9). Whatever the reasons, the 9th century brought rich literature about the saint.

Between 814 and 842 Michael the Archimandrite wrote his Vita per Michaelem, dedicated to Nicholas of Myra. It was to become a source for further lives of the saint. Shortly afterwards another vita, called Methodius ad Theodorum, appeared, which is extant today in only one manuscript. This work served as the source for the Latin Life of St. Nicholas written by John the Deacon of Naples about 880 (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 45; Anrich, II, pp. 284-5, 288). After 860 another work, Encomium Methodii, added some new motifs to Michael's story. Its fragments were translated early into Old Russian. Three miracles, the so-called Thaumata tria (Thauma de Demetrio, Thauma de Basilio and Thauma de Nicolao monacho) were described between 850 and 900. Three Encomia, by Georgios Chartophylax, Andrew of Crete and Emperor Leo the Wise also date back to the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. About the year 900 the Synaxarion, a collection of short lives of saints, was compiled and included a life of Nicholas, based

on earlier texts, but with some additional incidents mentioned, of which the most important is the story of the presence of the saint at the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 325. Probably at the same time an ingenious compiler wrote the Vita compilata, which was called by Anrich "a model of compilative work" (I, p. xi). The Vita compilata skillfully combined the stories from the Vita Nicolai Sionitae with the stories about Nicholas of Myra, creating an amalgamated saint. In the second half of the 10th century Symeon Logothetes, called Metaphrastes, wrote his life of St. Nicholas, which was to become one of the most popular and influential hagiographical works about the saint. Symeon also mixed in his work stories from the Vita Nicolai Sionitae and tales about Nicholas of Myra. Characteristically, the authors who fused the two Nicholases together used the name Nicholas of Myra for their created Wonderworker. The second Nicholas, Nicholas of Sion, was soon completely forgotten, and even his life circulated under the name of Nicholas of Myra. Before the 12th century there appeared further lives of the saint: Vita Acephala (between 980 and 1050), Encomium Procli (before the 11th century), and Praxis de tributo (a miracle story).

By the end of the 11th century the popularity of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, not only in Byzantium but in Europe and Russia, was immense. The saint was honored with hundreds of chapels, churches, monasteries, and works of art. According to the Chronicle of Nestor, there was a

church of St. Nicholas in Kiev in 882. In 972 a church of the saint was erected at Wisby (Gotland), and the city became "the earliest of the many Hanseatic cities with a pronounced cult of N." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 97). In Germany the cult proliferated after the marriage of the Byzantine princess Theophano to the future Emperor Otto II and the composition of the St. Nicholas liturgy by Reginold, later ordained bishop of Eichstatt. The saint's fame also spread widely because of his unprecedented power "to be invoked from far places while still performing his mundane duties" (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 37) and, later, because of his relics exuding a myrrh.⁸

In 1087 a group of merchants from the Apulian town of Bari undertook a mission to Myra in order to take the relics of the saint and to transport them to their hometown. The Translation, considered by most scholars "a robbery" or "a theft"⁹, was often looked upon as an event which caused the rapid growth of popularity of the saint in the West. However, "it may be possible that the Translation was the result of growing popularity, rather than the cause . . ." (Jones, The St. Nicholas Liturgy, p. 3; cf. idem, St. Nicholas, p. 94). There were other reasons for the Translation. Some scholars consider a commercial rivalry between the Norman Barians and the Venetians (Jones, The St. Nicholas Liturgy, pp. 3-4), the need of holy relics in the Western world (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 172), the occupation of Myra by the Seljuk Turks and the

fear of Turkish desecration of the relics.¹⁰

The relics were triumphantly transported to Bari on the 9th of May, 1087. Two years later Pope Urban II introduced the day of the Translation as a feast day for the Apulian Church. The feast remained only a local holiday despite wide interest in the event all over the Christian world.

It has been pointed out that the Orthodox Byzantine Church kept completely silent about the Translation, while almost every Western chronicler of that time included the description, or at least a date, of the event in his work. There is only one Greek narrative (which is extant in only two manuscripts) about the Translation and it is based on a Latin narrative written shortly after the Translation. This anonymous Greek account ends in a glorification of the deed, although "Byzantium should have expressed rancor and protested the Latin seizure of its favorite child." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 197). However, "even the emperors and patriarchs rejoiced that N had found safe haven outside the now-Turkish world..." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 197).

A certain group of Orthodox Church historians tried to explain this silence by maintaining that although the East knew very well about the action, it did not consider the Translation took place "from the Greeks to the Greeks, not to the Latins; from the people of the same faith and denomination ...; from the Greek domain destroyed by infidels to the Greek domain preserved intact by God."¹¹

However, the historical facts enable us to see that at that time almost all the churches in Southern Italy were officially subordinated to the Papal See. The Greek rite survived only in a few Apulian monasteries (Krasovskij, p. 561). The explanation given by the author of Palinodija is a prime example of the attempts made by the Orthodox historians to cover the fact that the East was ashamed of the loss of its greatest saint.

There are four written accounts of the Translation to Bari. The first appeared "in little more than a week after 9 May 1087" (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 194) and was penned by Nicephorus, a clerk from Bari. He composed his account for the so-called Byzantine party, the burghers of Bari, headed by Curcorius who commissioned the work. Very soon afterwards a rival account appeared, written by John the Archdeacon of Bari, dedicated to the Barian bishop Ursus. John's work stressed the rivalry between the Barians and the Venetians in obtaining the relics. The third account was the abovementioned Greek work. The fourth was a Russian story. The three later accounts were based on the work of Nicephorus.

It has been mentioned above that the feast of the Translation was only a local Apulian holiday, unknown outside Apulia. There was, however, one other, distant place where the feast was introduced shortly after the event. It was the Kievan Duchy. The holiday was established there

about 1091. The news of the Translation and the urge to introduce the feast probably came to Russia from the West; from Rome, Apulia, or Germany. Russia at that time had quite extensive foreign connections with many European countries. The Russians helped the Greeks to fight the Normans in Southern Italy; Russian princes married into Western families and gave their daughters as wives to Western rulers and princes. It is also possible that the Russians heard about the Translation from "Orthodox Italian Greeks (who, together with other Italians, visited Kiev during their mercantile expeditions)" and "assured the Russians that the Translation took place because they wanted it and participated in it, and that St. Nicholas wanted to rest in unorthodox Italy just for the sake of them--the orthodox people" (Golubinskij, I, part 2, p. 346). These Italian Orthodox believers must have told the Russians that the introduction of the feast day in Kiev would be quite legitimate, despite the Byzantine silence over the event. Some scholars contend that the feast of the Translation was introduced by the group of church officials centered around the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, known for its pro-Roman sympathies (Čubatyj, p. 416). These scholars, however, almost always sympathize with Catholicism, being either catholics or uniates. Their hypotheses, therefore, should be carefully weighed before being accepted.

The Metropolitan of Moscow, Makarij, in his Istorija russkoj cerkvi, gave three different reasons for the establishment of the holiday in Russia. According to him, it was an expression of the deep respect of the Russians for the saint; it conveyed news of the miracles which happened during the Translation, and also of new miracles which took place in Russia at the time of the Translation.¹² The Russian account of the event shows that the Russians believed that the Translation was a victory of the West over the Muslims. It was the rescue of the relics from the hands of the infidels into the hands of, although not Orthodox, at least Christian people (cf.: Golubinskij, I, part 2, p. 343). The Russian account, one of the oldest Russian literary monuments, could have been written by Efrem, the Metropolitan of Perejaslavl',¹³ who was at first a monk at the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, and later a deputy of the Metropolitan in Kiev (1091-1096).

There are other literary works according to which the Translation to Bari never happened. They maintain that the Barians did not succeed in taking the relics of St. Nicholas, and only the Venetian Crusaders accomplished the task. Although these accounts may to some extent reflect the old rivalry between the two towns, one should not think of them as being "nothing more than an invention of the ambitious Republic of Venice which did not want to yield the fame of the accession of the holy relics of the great

Wonderworker to the merchants of an insignificant town of unknown Apulia."¹⁴ If one realizes that in Myra there might have been the relics of both Nicholases, Nicholas of Myra and Nicholas of Sion, the Venetian stories may gain credence. An investigator of the stories about the Translation, Aleksandr Krasovskij, noted in this connection:

At any rate, we find our hypothesis, according to which in the end of the 11th century there were two Translations of two great stars of the church of Myra in Lycia who had the same name, fully grounded. The first Translation was done in 1087 by the Barians . . . and the second was done in 1096 by the Venetian Crusaders to their homeland, where this event is celebrated every year on December 8. (Krasovskij, p. 542).

The contemporary researcher sees in these various stories the typical element present in the "created" legend of St. Nicholas:

The "translators" were very apt to abscond with the wrong bones--or at least so their rivals might (and always did) maintain. Bodies of saints multiplied like loaves and fishes, for the saint's relics professedly stolen lived on to be stolen again and again. (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 174).

Accordingly, St. Nicholas' remains were said to have been translated again, in the 19th century, to Moscow or St. Petersburg.

After the Translation to Bari several new vitae of St. Nicholas were written. The most important is Periodoi Nikolaou (The Wanderings of Nicholas), composed between

the 12th and 14th centuries. It is an unusual account of Nicholas' travels in Syrian Armenia, Rome, Egypt, Arabia and Lycia. The saint does not remind us of either Nicholas of Myra or Nicholas of Sion. His deeds are of an almost apocryphal character. In Russia the story was not included into the canonical compilation of the texts, Reading Menaea, despite its great popularity among the people. Encomium Neophyti (ca. 1200), Bios en syntomoi (Life in short), dated back to the 13th or 14th centuries, and Vita Lycio-Alexandrina (about the 16th century), as well as many single tales about the saint, because of their small importance in our study, can only be mentioned here.

Countless miracles performed by St. Nicholas of Sion, St. Nicholas of Myra, and later by their amalgamation, St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, led to the veneration of the saint as the protector of seamen, sailors and fishermen, merchants and traders, children, schoolboys, scholars and unmarried girls, soldiers and prisoners, travelers, thieves and judges, carpenters and lumberjacks, peasants, the ailing, the unjustly accused, and in general, all people needing help and protection.

Of all countries, St. Nicholas was most famous and popular in Russia, were even the proverbs indicate the enormous number of churches and icons dedicated to him: "Net ikon kak Nikol" (Icons of St. Nicholas are the most

numerous of all); "Ot Xolmogor do Koly 33 Nikoly" (From Xolmogory to Kola there are 33 churches of Nicholas). The Germans in Russia called Nicholas "the Russian God" (Russkij Bog). The fame of the saint is well summarized in an Old Russian tale:

Kto ne udivitsja i slyša i vidja divnaa i nedomyslimaa čjudesa, byvajušča ne tokmo v edinoj zemli ili v edinoj oblasti, no vsja podnebesnaa ispolnisja čjudes svjatago Nikoly; ideže ašče poideši . . . uslyšiši čjudodejstva svjatago Nikoly. Idi v greky, tamo udivljajutsja, idi v sur'jane, no i tamo xvaljatsja; xodi po vsej zemli, Nikole udivljajutsja . . . Priidi v Rus' i viž, jako nest' grada ni sela ideže ne byša čjudesa svjatago Nikoly mnoga umnožena, ix že ne mošči i za množestvo ispisati . . . 15

Notes

Chapter I

The Bollandists note: "Hagiographi ad Nicolaum Myrensem magnam partem accomodarunt Vitam alterius Nicolai, Sionitae dicti, quod Sion monasterium haud procul Myra saeculo VI condiderat; qui postea episcopus Pinarensis factus est, in historiis non ignotus.": Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum: Decembris, ed. by Hip. Delehaye et al., (Bruxelles, 1940), p. 568. Further references to all works cited in this chapter more than once appear in the text.

2. In this chapter I use the names of works pertaining to St. Nicholas according to Gustav Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche, 2 vols., (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1913 and 1917).
3. The name of the third general varies greatly, depending on the text. It may be interesting that Anrich found two names, Nepotianus and Ursus, to be historical, and the third, Herpilion, unhistorical (II, p. 371).
4. Charles W. Jones, Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 9.
5. The Great Soviet Encyclopedia (Bol'shaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija) argues that the cult of St. Nicholas "was formed in the 5th century as the transformation of the cult of the Graeco-Roman water deity Poseidon-Neptune . . ." ("Nikolaj Čudotvorec", vol. 30, 2nd edn., 1954). See also Anrich, II, pp. 504-5.
6. Novyj Enciklopediceskij slovar', vol. 28, (Petrograd: Brockhaus and Efron, 1916), p. 547.
7. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Cycles of the Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art," vols. I and II (illustrations), Diss. Columbia University 1973, p. 9. All page references are to vol. I.
8. As myrrh is in Greek "myrra", "a common explanation is that the miracle results from a word play . . ." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 67).

9. See Evgenij Golubinskij, Istorija ruskoj cerkvi, vol. I, part 2 (Moskva, 1881); Mykola Čubatyj, Istorija xrystyjanstva na Rusy-Ukraini, vol. I, (Romae-Neo Eboraci, 1965), p. 415; Charles W. Jones, The Saint Nicholas Liturgy and its Literary Relationships (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries), (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 4; idem, St. Nicholas, p. 174; Anrich, II, p. 519.
10. Aleksandr Krasovskij, "Ustanovlenie v ruskoj cerkvi prazdnika 9-go maja v pamjat' perenesenija moščej svjatitelja Nikolaja iz Mir Likijskix v g. Bar," TKDA, No. 4 (aprel') 1874, 543-5. Jones thinks that the Turks had no desire to destroy the relics which were quite profitable (St. Nicholas, p. 173).
11. Zaxarija Kopystenskij, Palinodija. I quote after Krasovskij, pp. 524-5.
12. Makarij, Mitropolit moskovskij, Istorija ruskoj cerkvi, vol. II, 3rd edn., (Sankt-Peterburg, 1899), p. 213.
13. Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 198; Čubatyj, pp. 416-7; Arximandrit Leonid, ed., "Posmertnyja čudesa svjatitelja Nikolaja arxiepiskopa Myr-Likijskago, čudotvorca," in PDPI, LXXII, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1888), iii-xii. For a criticism of Leonid's assumptions see N.K. Nikol'skij, Materialy dlja povremenago spiska russkix pisatelej i ix sočinenij (X-XI vv.), (Sankt-Peterburg, 1906), pp. 303, 305-6.
14. This statement belongs to Arximandrit Antonin, "Perenesenie moščej svjatitelja i čudotvorca Nikolaja iz Likii v Italiju," TKDA, No. 5 (maj) 1870, 424.
15. A.V. Bagrij, "Kievskij spisok čuda sv. Nikolaja ob utopšem detišče," IORJAS, XIX (1914), No. 2, 276.

Chapter II

Hagiography and the Vitae of St. Nicholas

Hagiography, the description of the lives and deeds of the saints, has its roots in the literature of classical antiquity. One of its main sources are "biographies of famous men of ancient Greece, for instance, biographies written by Xenophon, the Roman historian Tacitus, Plutarch, etc. As a literary work, such a biography always consists of three principal parts: an introduction, main part, and the ending."¹ Another source of hagiographical works are the so-called "Proconsular Acts", protocols of interrogations and trials of Christians in the Late Roman Empire. Greek hagiography of the 3rd and 4th centuries is to a great degree either a translation or some kind of alteration of these Acts.²

The aims of a hagiographical work are to give an image of exemplary Christian behavior and Christian ways of life, to teach Christian morals and to present the greatness of God and his disciples, the saints. These didactic aims are usually achieved by the employment of a strict composition-al scheme. The tripartite composition, taken from the classical biography, is only a constructional foundation of the vita. In the majority of the lives one can find many more specific formulae which fill up this constructional frame.³

The typical life of a saint begins with a standard title in which a day and a month of the saint's feast, as well as his name, accompanied by fixed epithets, are given. In the rhetorical introduction the author then tries to depreciate his own literary talents, while at the same time justifying his impudence to write and substantiating the necessity of creating the account of the saint's life and deeds. The author often shows his erudition by quoting the Scriptures or re-telling an appropriate Biblical parable.

In the main part the author describes: a) the place of the saint's birth; b) the parents of the saint (usually good Christians; the saint is often their only child; the mother may be barren and the child is given the couple after years of praying to God; or the child is the last child and the mother becomes sterile after his birth; after the child is born, the parents take to strict continence; c) the saint's childhood (he is not interested in children's games, but rather spends all day in church or in meditation); d) the saint's schooling (when he reaches the proper age, he is sent to school where he learns quickly and easily how to read and write, and very soon supercedes his teacher in knowledge; sometimes he learns instantly, through heavenly revelation); e) his withdrawal from the world (the parents of the saint die and he gives away all their riches; he withdraws to a hermitage or monastery; in

the monastery he quickly ascends the ladder of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, finally being elected Father Superior); f) his further elevation (his fame as a good shepherd spreads and he is made a bishop; he usually does not want to accept the nomination, but is persuaded by other monks, church officials or the congregation); g) good deeds of the saint during his life (he takes good care of his flock and performs miracles); h) death of the saint (through heavenly signs he knows exactly when his death will come and is able to prepare himself; usually before his death he gives a lengthy prayer); i) miracles performed by the saint after his death (the first miracles occur at the saint's tomb and consist of miraculous healings; later they can take place in various cities and countries). The vita ends with rhetorical praise and glorification of the saint or with a solemn invocation to Christian people.⁴

This strict scheme of a hagiographical work, sometimes called a canon, was considered by the authors the most fitting to achieve the moralistic, didactic, and instructional goal. It was already developed in the 6th century in the works of Cyril of Scythopolis⁵, but its full realization can be best observed only later, in the writings of Symeon Metaphrastes, the famous Byzantine writer of the 10th century.⁶

The hagiographers wrote the vitae according to this canonical scheme not because they did not know how to write

independently, without set examples, or not because they wanted to make their job easier. They believed that such a scheme was the most appropriate stylistic approach to present to the reader the idea of Christian saintly behavior, an idealized, as well as stereotyped, portrait in which every trace of individuality should be extinguished. The writers believed that the reader expected and demanded exactly this kind of presentation, based on a canonically approved convention. D. S. Lixačev in several of his works described this relationship between the authors and their ideas about the work and the readers and their beliefs. He called this phenomenon a "literary etiquette."⁷ The etiquette included notions of how the action should be presented, how the saint should behave in a given situation, and with what rhetorical means (words and expressions) he should be depicted. This led of course to the relative similarity and lack of originality of many vitae. Not only did the heroes behave in the same way in similar situations, they even talked alike and were described with exactly the same stylistic devices. No wonder hagiography was for a long time regarded as a lower type of literature, having little in common with belles-lettres.⁸

However, within this canonical scheme there are elements which allow one to include, to some extent, the lives of the saints in the category of belles-lettres. Although the canon (etiquette) considerably restricted the possibil-

ities of the author to make the work interesting, original, and imaginative, many writers, well-read in secular literature, incorporated into their works elements from secular Greek novels, fairy tales, myths, chronicles, military stories and legends, presenting their hero and their didactic ideas in a more entertaining form. The plot, the driving force of the stories, played the main role in descriptions of various miracles performed by the saint. In this way secular literature was employed by the Church authors to interest the reader in Christian ideals. And the didactic goal of the lives was not compromised by the presence in the works of entertaining and fascinating details. The miracle stories, much better than the dry, rhetorical life proper, presented the saint's holiness, his outstanding Christian morality, goodness and humility, and served the aims of religious propaganda through the means of nonreligious literature. This was accomplished by a simple change of the fantastic, mythological features of a hero into Christian features. In the fairy tales, legends, epics and myths, the hero defeats his enemies by force, enormous physical strength, bravery and cunning. The saint uses his wisdom, faith, prayer, patience and other qualities of an ideal Christian. The miracles very often replace the fairy tale magic objects and miraculous helpers. The role of fate, so important in the secular hellenistic novel, is easily substituted for by God's will and providence, or

the devil's temptation (see: Istoki russkoj belletristiki, pp. 69-71).

The miracle stories can be, therefore, considered skillfully transformed secular stories, folk and fairy tales, and legends. If one includes the secular tales into the category of belles-lettres, then the miracle stories also belong to this category. Consequently, the whole vita of a saint, of which the miracle stories are a part, could be included in this category and analyzed accordingly.⁹

L. A. Dmitriev, in his book devoted to the hagiographical works of the Russian North, writes:

From the very beginning . . . in this genre, ecclesiastical and religious in its purpose, a conflict of two tendencies can be observed: on the one hand, a hagiographer strives to strictly preserve the canons of the genre, on the other hand, he is influenced by real life, other literary genres, or oral tradition. This influence tends to violate the canons of the genre, to contradict them. (Dmitriev, p. 7).

These contradictions within the genre were the main factor in the development of the vitae. In our investigation of the vitae and miracle stories of St. Nicholas we will encounter this phenomenon again and again. The main concern of this study will, accordingly, be the miracle stories so numerous in the Russian manuscripts. They will enable us to see how the painters interpreted

written sources.

Among many vitae, encomia, homilies, and sermons included in various compilations (sborniki), in Reading Menaea, Synaxaria, etc., there circulated in Old Russia numerous works about St. Nicholas. Nikolaj Nikol'skij attempted a classification and description of these texts and discovered more than forty different works devoted to the saint.¹⁰ Close investigation, however, shows that there were several basic texts, and only their variants and alterations account for this extremely high number.¹¹ Only the most important monuments will be described here (those which are relevant for the study of Russian icons and iconography of St. Nicholas).

- I) 6 dekabnja. Žitie i dejanie iže vo svjatyx (svjatago)¹² otca našego Nikolj, arxiepiskopa Mirlikijskago (Myrskia Lukija) čjudotvorca (i) zastupnika rodu xristianskomu. Beginning: "Blagovoli Bog v dni prežnjaa (V dni prežnjaja blagovoli Bog) vzyskati pisania, jaže vsja ot prorok propovedanaja o gospode našem Iisuse Xriste . . ."13

Content: In the village of Farroa there lived a pious monk, Nicholas, who founded the monastery of St. Sion. At the same time, to his brother Theophanes¹⁴ and his wife Nonna a child was born, and was also named Nicholas. Immediately after his birth the boy demonstrated his unusual powers: when a midwife wanted to wash him, he stood up in a basin and remained erect for two hours. When he was seven the parents decided to send him to school, but they did not know to which teacher. Nicholas then wrote the name of his future mentor,¹⁵ astonishing his parents. On the way to the teacher Nicholas healed a woman, Nonna, who had a with-

ered hand.¹⁶ Later he became a lector. After the death of his uncle, Nicholas took over the administration of the Sion monastery. He performed many miracles: expelled a devil from a tree, drew water from a mountain, multiplied wine, and healed a demoniac, named Nicholas. He made a trip to Palestine (it was his second journey; the first time he went with his uncle, but the vita does not give any details of it). During the journey Nicholas calmed a storm on the sea (the storm was caused by a devil), resurrected a sailor, Ammonios, who fell from the mast onto the deck of the ship, healed a blind man, Antonios, and another man bothered by his stomach. In Jerusalem the doors of the Church of the Resurrection miraculously opened before him. On the way back to Myra, Nicholas stopped the ship near Andriake which allowed him to return quickly to his flock (Nicholas forced the sailors to stop the ship when they did not want to put him ashore). Before his next journey to the Holy Land he dismissed the workers employed at the monastery and asked one of the brothers, Arthemas, not to continue the work without him. However, Arthemas summoned the workers and 75 villagers and tried to overturn a huge stone which halted the progress of the work. Their attempts proved futile, but when the saint came back, he took 12 monks from the monastery and easily removed the obstacle. Then he gave a child to a childless couple, healed a withered girl, multiplied bread, had a vision about the upcoming plague and famine in Myra, and helped to feed the neighboring churches and monasteries. When the famine was over, Nicholas performed new miracles: he multiplied the crops of a peasant and his wife, healed the demoniacs Cosmas, Paul, Zenon, another Paul, Cyriak and Mermis. He saw a vision about becoming a bishop. Three months later the archbishop of Myra, Philip, consecrated him a bishop of Pinara. One year later Nicholas had another vision in which the Holy Virgin showed him the location and dimensions of the church he was to build in her honor. After the church was erected, Nicholas healed a boy, a withered woman, a withered man Nicholas, Timothy who had worms in his head, another demoniac, Leo, and he gave a child to another childless couple and later baptized the boy. Then he at-

tended the meeting of bishops at Myra. After his return he fell sick. On his death bed he healed a woman named Eugenia, then he saw a vision in which the angels announced his death, and died. His body was buried with great ceremony.

This is the Old Russian translation (of the 11th-12th century) of the Greek Vita Nicolai Sionitae. The work became one of the most popular vitae of the saint in Old Russian literature. While Anrich knew only several Greek manuscripts and a Latin version of the work,¹⁷ Nikol'skij knew of 65 Old Russian copies.

As can be seen, in Russia this work circulated with the name of Nicholas of Myra. One can assume that the Russian translation was made from a Greek copy in which the name of Nicholas of Sion was replaced by the name of Nicholas of Myra.

In the Vita Nicolai Sionitae some elements of the canonical compositional scheme of a hagiographical work are missing. There is no depreciation of the author's literary skills in the introduction. There is no rhetorical praise of the saint in the end of the work. The information about the saint's family is scarce and fragmentary. For instance, the reader never learns what has happened to Nicholas' parents. The ecclesiastical career of the saint is also not described. From a lector he advances to a bishop, without going through the other steps of the monastic hierarchy. The Vita resembles a chron-

icle describing life in the Sion monastery from the time of its founding to the time of the saint's death. The author wants to glorify his hero, and to attract believers to visit St. Sion. His "spiritual world is the monastery with its divine services, pious exercises, its monastic traditions and the whole sphere of the supernatural in which the monastic fantasy lives. There is no trace of the literary or rhetorical education of the time." (Anrich, II, p. 220). Emphasizing the simplicity of the Vita and its contrast with the contemporary works of Cyril of Scythopolis, Anrich did not fail to notice the story-telling talents of the author (II, p. 221). The main body of the vita consists of miracle stories. Characteristically, all these miracles take place during Nicholas' lifetime. This is another deviation from the traditional scheme. Usually, some miracles in the vitae are said to have been performed after a saint's death, since they are supposed to confirm the saint's holiness. It should be underlined that the majority of the descriptions of the miracles in this work are completely unimaginative, and can be found in many other vitae. The healing miracles are not only similar in content, but are rendered with similar or even identical words. Nicholas has three standard remedies for the demoniacs: a prayer, a sign of the cross, and holy oil from the icon lamp or a censer. The miracu-

lous feedings and multiplications of food, as well as the miraculous removal of hindrances are typical elements of saints' lives and can be encountered in abundance in the Scriptures. One of the most fascinating and original stories in the Vita Nicolai Sionitae is the story of expelling the devil from a tree, probably a reflection of an old legend connected with the cult of Artemis-Eleuthera, the patron goddess of Myra. This story "was never to enjoy any great prominence in the body of Nicholas legends; it was omitted in many of the most popular later vitae; which otherwise relied heavily on the Vita Nicolai Sionitae, probably because the central theme, the triumph of Nicholas over the pagan gods, was no longer of any particular interest." (Ševčenko, p. 271). Nevertheless, it was frequently depicted in Russian and Byzantine icons.¹⁸ One can assume with a high degree of probability that this particular representation in the icon painting had exclusively as its source the Vita Nicolai Sionitae. The story of the expulsion of the devil from the tree was one of the very few stories in the Vita in which the plot played an important role, and the originality of this plot must have individuated the story from the rest of the vita, making it so attractive for the illustrators.

The reasons for the popularity of this work in Russia; which elements could have attracted the Russian

translator of the Greek work; and what is, finally, the literary value of the Vita are all difficult to determine. All assumptions one can make are highly hypothetical. Apparently the Vita Nicolai Sionitae was already in 8th century Greece (or even earlier) considered an apocryphal work. The Church decided to use this instructive and detailed description of the deeds of Nicholas of Sion during his lifetime as material for the description of the life of Nicholas of Myra, about whose life there were almost no data. For this purpose several names, dates and the name of the saint were replaced by ones fitting Nicholas of Myra. However, the "correctors" did not notice some chronological improbabilities which remained in this newly created work. For instance, the Vita tells the story of Nicholas' journey to Jerusalem to see the True Cross and the Holy Sepulcher. The True Cross and the Holy Sepulcher, according to historians, were discovered only in 327 by the mother of the Emperor Constantine, Helen. Nicholas of Sion, living in the 6th century, could easily visit the Holy Land and see the holy places, but Nicholas of Myra, who died in the first half of the 4th century as an old man would not have been able to see them when he was young. Interestingly, Symeon Metaphrastes in his vita of St. Nicholas retains the story about the miraculous opening of the doors, but attributes it to the times before the persecutions of Christians un-

der Diocletian (304-5), thus committing a similar chronological error.

The Vita came to Russia in its "corrected" form, with the name of Nicholas of Myra, and therefore it was not considered apocryphal and did not require any changes. The Russian scribes, so full of reverence for St. Nicholas, accepted this new vita with enthusiasm, especially because Russia had just introduced the feast of the Translation (it is possible that several works, among them the Vita, were written or translated to commemorate this event). The simplicity and naivete of the work also may have attracted the translator. Much more significant, however, was, I believe, the spiritual attractiveness of this work for the Russians. The visions which the saint had, particularly the one about the famine and plague, with the Archangel Michael¹⁹ appearing to him and announcing the death of many people, had to find an eager reader in the Russian translator, and find a receptive soil among contemporaries, strongly interested in eschatological subjects and exegeses.²⁰ Another possible theme which might have been attractive was the constant fight of the saint with the devil, the enemy of all good, especially of the monks. There is certainly an affinity between the pronounced demonology of this "chronicle" of the Sion monastery and the demonology of the Kiev Patericon (cf. Fedotov, p. 150). All these af-

finites, together with the description of miracles, must have contributed to the great popularity and acceptance of the work in Russia. And despite the fact that for us the Vita Nicolai Sionitae has no great literary value (with the exception of a few interesting narrative fragments), for the Old Russian translator and later, for the Old Russian reader, the work might have been a kind of spiritual revelation.

There were two Russian scholars who devoted separate studies to this important work. Archimandrite Antonin published the work in Russian translation and Archimandrite Leonid investigated the Old Russian renditions of the Vita. It should be mentioned that both scholars, following the earlier researchers (Ključevskij), called this work "the other life" (inoe Žitie), indicating its singular character and differences between it and the rest of the vitae of the saint. Leonid discovered that the vita was known in Russia in two redactions, short and long (the short redaction survived in only one copy). Leonid's main error was to consider a series of miracle stories, usually placed after the vita, a part of the work. This assumption was proven false by Nikol'skij and by the material included in Anrich's study of the Greek texts. These miracle stories, written by many authors at different times, were only placed after the Vita Nicolai Sionitae but never constituted a part of it.

The reason for the placement of these miracle stories after the Vita seems to be simple: the vita presented the miracles performed by the saint during his life, and the miracle stories described the miracles performed by the saint after his death. Together, the vita and the collection of miracle stories form an impressive set of tales glorifying the saint and demonstrating his powers and holiness, and justifying his name, the Wonderworker.

- II) 6 dekabnja (9 maja, 23 avgusta). Slovo poxvalno na prenesenie moščeij, iže vo svjatyx (svjatago) otca našego Nikoly, arxiepiskopa Myrlikijskago. Beginning: "Se nasta, bratie, svetloe prazdnestvo (prazden'stvo) predivnago otca našego (i) čjudotvorca Nikoly, eže (iže) vo vsem mire"²¹

Content: Nicholas was born to good parents, Theophanes (Feofan) and Nonna. After his birth the future saint was blessed by his uncle who also prophesied that the boy would be the wonder of all the world. Already in his childhood Nicholas performed many miracles (the author does not give any details). Because of the fame and good deeds of Nicholas, the Archbishop Philip consecrated him a bishop. Three years later the saint had a vision in which the Holy Mother showed him the location of the church he was supposed to build for Her. The church was build and the saint went on performing miracles (again, no details are given, only rhetorical descriptions, for instance: "Prezre malovremennuju siju žizn', sladost' žitija sego, ne išča zemnyx, no nebesnyx, ne išča vremennyx, no večnyx. Mesto s mesta perexodja, vzyškaja zabluz'šix, bolnyja i nedužnyja isceljaja, i pečalnyja utešaja, obidimym pomagaja, i ot smerti izimaja." (Leonid, Žitie, p. 103). He saved three of Constantine's generals from execution. (This is the last narrative part of the work. The author sums his story up: "Tako ti sut'

podvizanija sego svjatago Nikoly." (Leonid, Zitie, p. 104). The second part is a rhetorical sermon.

This Slavonic work consists of two clearly distinguishable parts. The first part describes the life of St. Nicholas and one of his miracles (Praxis de Stratelatis), the second part is a sermon glorifying the saint. Even within the first part one can notice two different styles: the beginning of the saint's life, his childhood, and the miracles performed before the saving of the generals are narrated in a quite abstract way, as if the author randomly selected his information from some source, while the Praxis de Stratelatis, despite its brevity and conciseness, is full of vigour; the action moves swiftly and dialogue plays an important role in it.

A brief glance at the content of this work shows that it was based on the Vita Nicolai Sionitae (the uncle, the names of Nicholas' parents, the story of the consecration into a bishop, the building of a church of the Holy Virgin, etc.). The story of the three generals was based on a very famous account of this deed, probably the oldest Greek story about the saint ²³ In Russia this old account was well known, but after the appearance of Slovo poxvalno, which gave a concise version of the story, it was no longer as attractive because of its length. Slovo poxvalno survived in more than 115 copies (14th-17th centuries). This

reflects its tremendous popularity and vitality in the Old Russian literary tradition. This popularity probably rested on the hagiographical material included in the first part, and on the dynamic re-telling of the story of the three generals, the only part of the work with a well developed plot. I believe that the illustrators of this deed of St. Nicholas in Russia, when they needed a literary source for the presentation of Praxis de Stratelatis, used primarily Slovo poxvalno as their reference.²⁴

After the story of the three generals and a few final rhetorical remarks, the author of Slovo poxvalno begins the second part of his work. This part can be, with all justification, called a sermon. It is a piece of oratorical prose in which the author seems to point out and criticize some pagan and folk customs and beliefs: "Da se vedušče, bratie, vsjakoja zloby oceščajtesja, studodejanija i vsjakoja nečistoty, lixoimanija, klevety, zavisti, lukav'stva, tat'by, obidy, kobenija i volš'by, pljasanija, imže besom ugod'ja tvorjat' takovii . . . My že togo ostavivše, rekam i istočnikam treb polagaem, i žrem jako Bogu tvari bezdušnej, da togo radi i byvaet nebu zatvorenje i bezdoždie, i plodom paguba, ovo slanoju, ovo gradom, ovo jazvami različnami . . ." (Leonid, Žitie, p. 105-106). This second part of the work circulated separately, without the hagiographical part, under a title 9 maja. Slovo poxvalno na prenesenie mošče

svjatago Nikoly (Nikol'skij, p. 314).

The scholars who studied this work had great difficulty in determining its origins and its author. Archbishop Filaret in Obzor russkoj duxovnoj literatury 862-1720, (Xar'kov, 1859) thought that the work "was written for some newly Christianized Slavs, but probably not for the Russians: the latter according to the chronicles, even during their pagan period, did not have the custom of eating carrion . . ." (p. 39). Archimandrite Leonid, a publisher of Slovo poxvalno, strongly believed that it was written by a Russian, Efrem, a bishop of Perejaslavl'. Leonid's arguments, based on completely subjective and unconfirmed assumptions,²⁵ were refuted by Nikolaj Nikol'skij (p. 302 -6, 316). It was Nikol'skij who found the scheme of a sermon beginning with the words "se nasta" in a collection of sermon patterns, possibly of South Slavic origin (Nikol'skij, p. 306).²⁶ Only recently a group of Bulgarian scholars involved in the publication of the works of Clement of Ochrid, a Bulgarian writer of the 9th-10th centuries, proved that Slovo poxvalno belonged among his works.²⁷ Slovo poxvalno closely resembles other works of Clement; "there is similarity in phrases, ideas, even construction . . . At the time of Leonid and Nikol'skij those works were not yet discovered, and this might have been the most important reason for Leonid's enthusiasm and for Nikol'skij's

temperance in regard to the authorship of Slovo."

(Kliment Oxridski, vol. II, pp. 94-9).

Clement's work, despite its great popularity, must have seemed "strange" to some Russian author, who in the 16th century wrote Slovo poxvalno, iže v svjatyx otca našego, premudrago vo svjatitelex irxiereja čjudotvorca Nikoly Mir Likijskix, pastyrja i učitelja, na prinesenie čestnyx ego moščeju ot Mir v Bargrad i vospomjanie preslavnyx ego i predivnyx čjudes, mesjaca maja v 9 den', beginning with "Dnes' nasta svetonosnoe toržestvo bogomudrago svjatitelja, prečesnago arxiereja . . ." ²⁸ In this purely rhetorical sermon the vita element present in the beginning of Clement's work was removed and instead there was a collection of exalted and pompous sentences glorifying the saint and the day of his feast. Neither the Translation nor any miracles were mentioned at all. About one third of the sermon was copied from the primary Slovo poxvalno word for word. It could be an indication that the pattern of Slovo poxvalno confused the Russian copyists who did not know whether they should consider it a sermon or a vita, and tried to "clean up" the genre by the removal of the hagiographical part, or by copying only the second part of the work.

It is interesting that Slovo poxvalno was often placed in various collections under the 9th of May, des-

pite the fact that this date was usually reserved for the works devoted to the Translation of the saint's relics, and Slovo did not have anything in common with the holiday (with the exception of the title). Because of the hagiographical part, however, the work was sometimes placed under the 6th of December or even the 23rd of August.

Regardless of the confusion which might have been caused by the strange pattern of the work or by its placement under May 9th, Slovo poxvalno included many elements which were attractive for the Russian reader, and the Church authorities. Especially vital was Clement's criticism of pagan customs and beliefs. Although Russia was Christianized in 988, only the upper classes converted. "Some scholars date the true conversion of the lower classes of the Russian people as late as the fifteenth century. But exact dating has no meaning because even in the nineteenth century pagan survivals were still deeply rooted." (Fedotov, p. 8). It is not surprising, then, that the Russian copyists and the Church authorities eagerly used Clement's work, written for the Bulgarians, for the holy fight with the vestiges of paganism in Russia.

III) Mesjaca maija v 9 den', pamjat' (slovo na) prenesenie mošćii svjatago otca našego Nikolj, arxiepiskopa Mur'skago v Bargrad. Beginning: "Prisno ubo

dolžni esmy, bratie, prazdniky Božija
tvorjašče v čest' deržati, podobiti že
sja svjatym ego . . . "29

Content: (The description of the Translation follows a short introduction in which the author praises St. Nicholas). In 1096,³⁰ during the reign of Emperor Alexius in Constantinople and the Russian princes, Vsevolod in Kiev and Vladimir in Černigov, the Turks devastated the Mediterranean shores from Kher-son to Antioch and Jerusalem. They also desolated Lycia where the bones of St. Nicholas rested. One night St. Nicholas appeared in a dream to a priest in Bari and ordered him to tell the citizens of Bari that his relics should be taken from Myra because he could not rest in such a desolated and empty place. The priest told about his vision and the Barians quickly prepared three ships, filled them with grain (to make it appear that they traveled for commercial reasons), and set out to Myra. They harboured at Antioch where they sold the grain and bought the tools needed for the opening of the tomb. In Antioch the Barians learned that the Venetians undertook a similar expedition. Hurriedly, they proceeded to Myra. After their arrival they found the church of St. Nicholas guarded by four monks. The Barians broke the marble floor of the church and found the coffin containing myrrh and the holy bones. The myrrh and the bones were transported to a ship. Two monks from Myra accompanied the relics to Bari. The ships set out from Myra on April 11 and arrived in Bari on Sunday, May 9. Many people came to see the arrival of the relics. The treasure was deposited in the church of John the Forerunner. The next day, on Monday, the relics healed 47 people, on Tuesday-22, on Wednesday-29, and on Thursday-12. The Barians, moved by these miraculous healings, decided to erect a church in honor of St. Nicholas. Three years later the church was finished and the Barians sent for the Pope, Germain (Urban II). On May 9 the Pope consecrated the church, the relics were placed in a new coffin, and the feast day was introduced. (The work ends with a prayer to St. Nicholas).

This Old Russian manuscript is said to have appeared in the 11th century (Šljapkin, p. 2). It is an account of the Translation of the relics of St. Nicholas from Myra to Bari in Apulia. The work came to us in more than 140 copies (it was the most frequently copied text devoted to the saint).

Charles W. Jones rightly indicated that this Russian account depended on the work by Nicephorus and Archdeacon John (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 176). The Russian author was a skillful compiler who must have known not only these two Latin accounts, but also some Greek sources.³¹ His work abbreviates the Latin sources, preserving only the most important facts: the expedition of the three ships filled with grain, the discovery of the relics under the marble floor, the arrival in Bari and the miraculous healings which followed. He ends his narrative with the consecration of the church of St. Nicholas by Urban II. In his interpretation of the sources, the Russian author at times adds information which could be of interest for the Russian reader. This type of addition can be seen in the information about the Russian princes Vsevolod and Vladimir. It must have brought the work closer to the reader, placing it in an historical frame which was well known to him. The author also changed several facts of the Latin sources. He maintained, for example, that two of the four monks from Myra accompan-

ied the relics to Bari, while the Latin sources clearly indicate that the monks did not cooperate with the Barians, and treated the Translation as a robbery of their beloved saint.³²

The reasons for the popularity of this work in Russia seem clear. It was the only frequently copied work which actually described the Translation (unlike Slovo poxvalno and other sermons which only mentioned the event in their titles). The account of the Translation had not only all the elements required for a work demonstrating the greatness of the saint (miraculous appearance, miraculous healings), but also a fascinating plot. The originality of this plot, describing "one of the most journalistic actions of the Middle Ages,"³³ should have attracted the Russian readers, unaccustomed to this kind of story.

In the Russian Synaxaria (Prologi)³⁴ under the 9th of May one can find (Slovo na) prenesenie čestnyx moščeij, iže vo svjatyx otca našego Nikolj, arxiepiskopa Mir Likijskix, beginning with: "V leto po tysjačči devjat'desjat šestoe ot voploščeniya syna Božija, pri care grečestem samoderžce Konstjantina grade Aleksii . . ." ³⁵ This is basically the same work, with several changes and alterations (see: Makarij, p. 229). The rhetorical beginning is missing, and in the end the author adds a fragment in which he tries to explain why

the relics of St. Nicholas were transported to Bari:
 "Da ne divit Źe tja ljubimiče, jako ot vostočnyx stran mnogix svjatyx telesa, ozlobleniju ot nečestivyx agarjan na pravoslavie prišedšu, izvoli Bog na zapad preseliti-sja" (Prolog, p. 362). Just as the Apostles were sent to the pagan peoples, the bodies of the saints were taken to the West. Resembling sheep among wolves, the saints remain in the West and try to appeal for the unity of faith.

Despite the great popularity of the account of the Translation in Russia, and despite its interesting plot, in the icon painting the event was usually depicted in a very canonical way, not based on any literary source.³⁶ Considering the literary value and originality of the work, such an approach of the painters is indeed surprising. Apparently the iconographical scheme was too strong to be influenced by literature.

IV) V t Źe den' (6 dekabrja). Źitie i Źizn' i otčasti (povesti) čjudes(em) spovedanie (skazanie) iže vo svjatyx (prepodobnago) otca našego Nikoly čjudotvorca, ariepiskopa Mir Likijskix. Beginning: "Mudra nekaa vešč' Źivo(to)pisec ruka i mogušči upodobitisja istine, mogušči Źe jave dejaniem predstaviti obrazy . . ."³⁷

Content: (The vita begins with an introduction in which the author demonstrates the advantages of speech over painting. Speech is more suitable to influence the minds of men and make them imitate the saint's behavior and perform good deeds). Nicholas was born in the city of Patara, in Lycia. His parents

were quite wealthy. After Nicholas' birth, his mother became sterile. On Fridays and Wednesdays the baby took the breast only once, in the evening, while on other days he nursed freely. When the boy reached the proper age, he was sent to school where he learned quickly and easily. He avoided companionship (especially women) and spent his days in the church. Soon he became a presbyter. When his uncle left for Palestine, Nicholas took over the administration of the monastery. When his parents died, the saint inherited all their wealth. At that time there was a man in Patara, who lost his riches and did not have enough money to marry his three daughters. He decided to sell them into prostitution and use the money for the wedding. But Nicholas learned about it and three times at night threw a bag of gold into the house of the poor man. On the third night the man decided to see his benefactor and caught the saint by his arm. Nicholas swore him to keep silent about the event as long as he was living. Some time later, Nicholas traveled to Palestine. On the way to the Holy Land he calmed a storm at sea and resurrected a sailor who fell down from the mast. In Jerusalem the doors of the church of the Holy Cross opened miraculously before him. On his way back he made the ship stop near his homeland. At that time the bishop of Myra died and the clergy did not know who should become the new bishop. One of the church officials had a vision in which a voice said that whoever would come to the church in the morning first, and his name would be Nicholas, should become a bishop. Early the next morning Nicholas came to the church and was asked to accept the bishopry. Although the saint did not want the honor, he was convinced by the people, and consecrated. When he became bishop, Diocletian began the persecutions of Christians. Nicholas was among the imprisoned. When Constantine the Great became Emperor, he ordered the pagan temples destroyed and the Christians freed from prisons. Nicholas was released and eagerly partook in the destruction of the pagan temples, especially one particularly famous temple of Artemis. In

325 Nicholas participated in the meetings of the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea, where he opposed Arius and his heresy. After the Council the saint returned to Myra. At one time, when there was a famine in Lycia, and Myra suffered great hunger, Nicholas appeared in a dream to a merchant sailing in a ship full of grain. The saint gave him three pieces of gold and promised that he would sell his merchandise at Myra. When the merchant awoke he found the gold, and hurried to Myra, where he sold all his grain. The next miracle performed by the saint was the saving of the three unjustly accused citizens of Myra, and of the three generals of Constantine. The saint's fame grew all the time, and when some sailors were threatened by a terrible storm, they invoked St. Nicholas, and he came immediately, calmed the sea and even helped to steer the ship. The sailors stopped at Myra to thank the saint, and saw him there performing his duties. Soon afterwards, Nicholas fell sick and died, but his body exuded myrrh. Some people who lived far from Myra wanted to sail to visit the saint's tomb. The devil, expelled by Nicholas from the temple of Artemis, disguised himself as a woman and brought a jar of oil to the ship which was to take the men to Myra. The devil explained that he (she) was afraid of sailing, but wanted the sailors to deliver the jar with oil to the saint, and pour it into lamps at his tomb. At night Nicholas appeared to one of the sailors and ordered him to throw the jar away. When the jar fell into the water, there was an enormous explosion and a stench filled the air. The waves almost sunk the ship, but Nicholas again calmed the sea.

This is a translation of the vita of St. Nicholas written by Symeon Metaphrastes. Archimandrite Leonid maintained that it was translated into Old Russian earlier than the Vita Nicolai Sionitae (Leonid, Žitie, p. 20). Another investigator of literature related to St. Nicholas, A. Ponomarev, thought that Metaphrastes' work

appeared in Russia "very early" and became especially popular in the 15th and 16th centuries in connection with the development of hagiographical ornamentalism and "word-weaving".³⁸ In Nikol'skij's list of manuscripts the oldest known copy dates back to the 15th century (Nicol'skij, p. 360).³⁹

It is easy to see how close this vita is to the canon of a hagiographical work. Only a few insignificant details are missing (there is only one miracle performed by the saint after his death, and there is no ending with praise to the saint). The rest describes an ideal Christian, the right hand of God. Symeon not only follows the canon of a hagiographical work, but also draws upon the works which existed before, and creates his portrait of St. Nicholas using fragments of the Vita Nicolai Sionitae, Vita per Michaellem, etc.⁴⁰ Explaining the reasons for Metaphrastes' reworking of the old stories and vitae of St. Nicholas, an investigator of hagiographical Byzantine literature says that the old works "did not satisfy the refined taste of his contemporaries--the court elite and learned Byzantines of the second half of the 10th century." (Popova, p. 244). According to one of Metaphrastes' contemporaries, Michael Psellus, "Symeon was exceptionally attentive to old examples and did not deviate from them, in order to avoid giving an impression

that he created something new, not compliant with these examples. Symeon altered only the outward appearance of the story, not changing the subject matter, but correcting the mistakes in the expressions. He did not introduce new thoughts, but changed turns of speech, and his narration, devoid of irregularities and confusion of the theme of the narrative, was consistent and orderly." (I quote after Popova, p. 244; cf. Pamjatniki vizantijskoj literatury, p. 81). Symeon's output was considered one of the greatest achievements of Byzantine literature of the 10th century and its popularity lasted many centuries, not only in the East, but also in the West. In Russia, Metaphrastes' life of St. Nicholas was less popular than some other works about the saint, possibly because "in the old . . . translation of the Metraphrastes the literal rendition of the text deprived the translation of the literary merits of the original . . ." (Ponomarev, p. 192). Some stories narrated by the Byzantine hagiographer (the story of the three daughters, the story of the three generals, the story of Nicholas' presence at the Council of Nicaea etc.) circulated in Russia separately, in different versions. This could have caused the relatively lesser popularity of the work.

Up to the end of the 17th century the vita of St. Nicholas by Metaphrastes was the only life of the saint

written strictly in accordance with the hagiographical canon. In the 17th century Dymitrij Rostovskij wrote his Reading Menaea, based on the Eastern and Western collections of saints' lives. Among the Eastern sources of Rostovskij's work the creation of Metraphrastes was most important; among the Western, the Lives of Saints written by the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga in the 16th century. Rostovskij's work later replaced all older Menaea and became the "classical" work of Russian hagiography.

V) Slovo iže vo svjatyx otca našego Nikoly, o žitii ego, i o xoženii ego, (i o smer-ti), i o predstavlenii or Uspenie sv. Nikoly. Beginning: "Blagoslov(1)en esi Gospodi Iisuse Xriste, Bože naš', (tože) divnaja i neizrečennaja tvoriši čudesu vo vsej zemli: proslavil esi svetlyj prazdnik svjatago Nikoly."⁴¹

Content: (The beginning is a praise of St. Nicholas and of the day of his feast, December 6 or May 9). Already in his early childhood the saint led an ascetic life, living on bread and water, dedicating his time to Jesus Christ. When he was 14 he went to Caesarea Philippi where he spent 3 years healing many people. When Caesarea was attacked by the infidels (Persians), Nicholas told the citizens to make a sign of the cross over their faces as a protection against the pagan swords. The Greeks defeated the enemy and wanted to thank the saint, but he disappeared and set out to Syrian Armenia. After a year and 9 months in Armenia Nicholas went to Syrian Apamea and spent 100 days in the church of the Archangel Michael. There he expelled a devil from a young girl and sent him to suffer in a waterless desert river. From Apamea Nicholas travelled to Cy-

prus where he healed 45 lepers. From Cyprus he journeyed to Antioch. After 12 days of prayers he went to Rome. On his way to the great city Nicholas met the devil who pretended to be an angel of light. The saint recognized the devil and sealed him under the ground. In Rome Nicholas prayed and taught people for four days. Then he went to Egypt and East Jordan where he spent 5 years healing many sick people. Then he went to Assyria and healed there a son of Nasarach, locking a demon under a stone. From the land of the Assyrians he returned to Myra and his limbs exuded myrrh which healed everyone. When the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Macarius, heard about the saint's deeds, he came to Myra to see the saint. After a conversation with Nicholas the Patriarch consecrated him a bishop of all Lycia. During the First Ecumenical Council against the heresy of Arius, Nicholas, indignant by the blasphemous words of the heretic, struck him in the face. When the Holy Fathers saw this, they wanted to take off his bishop's robes and even began to burn his beard. Then Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin appeared to the Council and handed to Nicholas the attributes of a bishop: the omophorion and a Gospel book. After the Council Nicholas returned to Myra and knowing about his approaching death, began to pray. He saw the angels coming to take his soul to heaven. After a long prayer in which the saint asked God to protect the people who believed in him and worshipped him, Nicholas died and his soul was received by the angels and transported to heaven. The citizens of Myra lamented the death of their holy father. (The final part of the work is an invocation to St. Nicholas to help and save the Russian sons and daughters from the pagan coercion (poganyx nasilija), and to make the Christian churches invincible).

The Old Russian work is an alteration of the Greek text Periodoi Nikolaou⁴² (The Wanderings of Nicholas).

The immediate source for the Russian alteration was the

South Slavic translation of the Greek original, known in Russia already in the 15th century as Žitie, i Žizn', i otčasti Čjudes, i o prestavlenii, i o pogrebenii, iže vo svjatyx otca našego, velikago arxiereja, Mirilikij-skago Čjudotvorca, izloženo vkratce or Povest' o pogrebenii sv. Nikoly, beginning with the following lines: "Blagosloven esi Gospodi Iisuse Xriste, Bože naš (iže) divnaja i nevidimaja dela tvorja, iže v rod i v rod vozveličil (vozveselil) esi vsesvetloe prazdnestvo svjatago Nikoly sobranie . . . (Nicol'skij, p. 374).

Vasilij Ključevskij called this Old Russian version "one of the most curious (kur'eznejšij) phenomena in Old Russian literature." (p. 218). Further in his study, referring to the South Slavic Povest' o pogrebenii, he said: "Being afraid of committing a mistake, we leave to the specialists the task of better determining the source of this, apparently South Slavic tale, as well as the relation of its content to the trustworthy data on St. Nicholas; for us this work is interesting only as a source of one of the Russian monuments in which the decline of the hagiobiographical (agiobiografičeskogo) style in Russian literature of the 15th-16th centuries, investigated in our study, can be observed." (p. 220). Ključevskij rightly noted that the Old Russian text is a simplified translation of this South Slavic tale with certain abbreviations

and the additions of two episodes: the story of the confrontation between Arius and Nicholas during the First Ecumenical Council, and the final invocation to Russian sons and daughters. However, the Russian historian did not know the original of the South Slavic tale, the Periodoi Nikolaou. The first to connect these works was Xrisanf Loparev, who discovered the Greek text and noticed the similarities.⁴³ Only the publication of the Greek texts by Gustav Anrich, with his commentaries to the texts, answered some questions which Ključevskij was not able to solve. Anrich demonstrated that the Periodoi Nikolaou was a singular work, reminiscent of the apocryphal Histories of the Apostles (II, p. 327). The names employed in the work were mostly taken from the Biblical works. The depiction of the saint's death resembled to some extent the depiction of Nicholas' death in the Vita Nicolai Sionitae.

Ključevskij, and all other scholars investigating this monument after him, called the work "Neknižnoe Žitie" (nonliterary life) of St. Nicholas, having in mind its popular character, the simplicity of the language and its understandability for uneducated people. This exemplified for him "the decline of the hagiobiographical style in Russian literature." The word "neknižnoe" can also denote a work which is not approved

by the authorities, not canonical, or even apocryphal. "Neknižnoe Žitie", despite its popularity in Russia⁴⁴ was not included in the canonical Reading Menaea or Synaxaria. This exclusion was due to the destruction of the hagiographical canon in the work, which was well known from the works of Symeon Metaphrastes, Paxomij Logofet (Pachomius Logothetes) or Epifanij Premudryj (Ephiphanius the Wise). There is no information about the saint's parents, schooling, or advancing in the Church hierarchy. The miracles are very schematic (healings); the only interesting feature of these miracle stories are the descriptions of Nicholas' fights with demons which have certain parallels in the apocryphal Acta Thomae and Praxis Petrou (Anrich, II, p. 330). Another reason for the exclusion of the work from the canonical collections was the apocryphal character of Nicholas' wanderings and of the deed with Arius. These stories, so attractive for the simple minds of people, must have seemed to the Church authorities inappropriate as canonical hagiographical reading. The officials, however, did not want to ban the work completely and allowed it to circulate in the collections of various content (sborniki raznogo soderžanija).

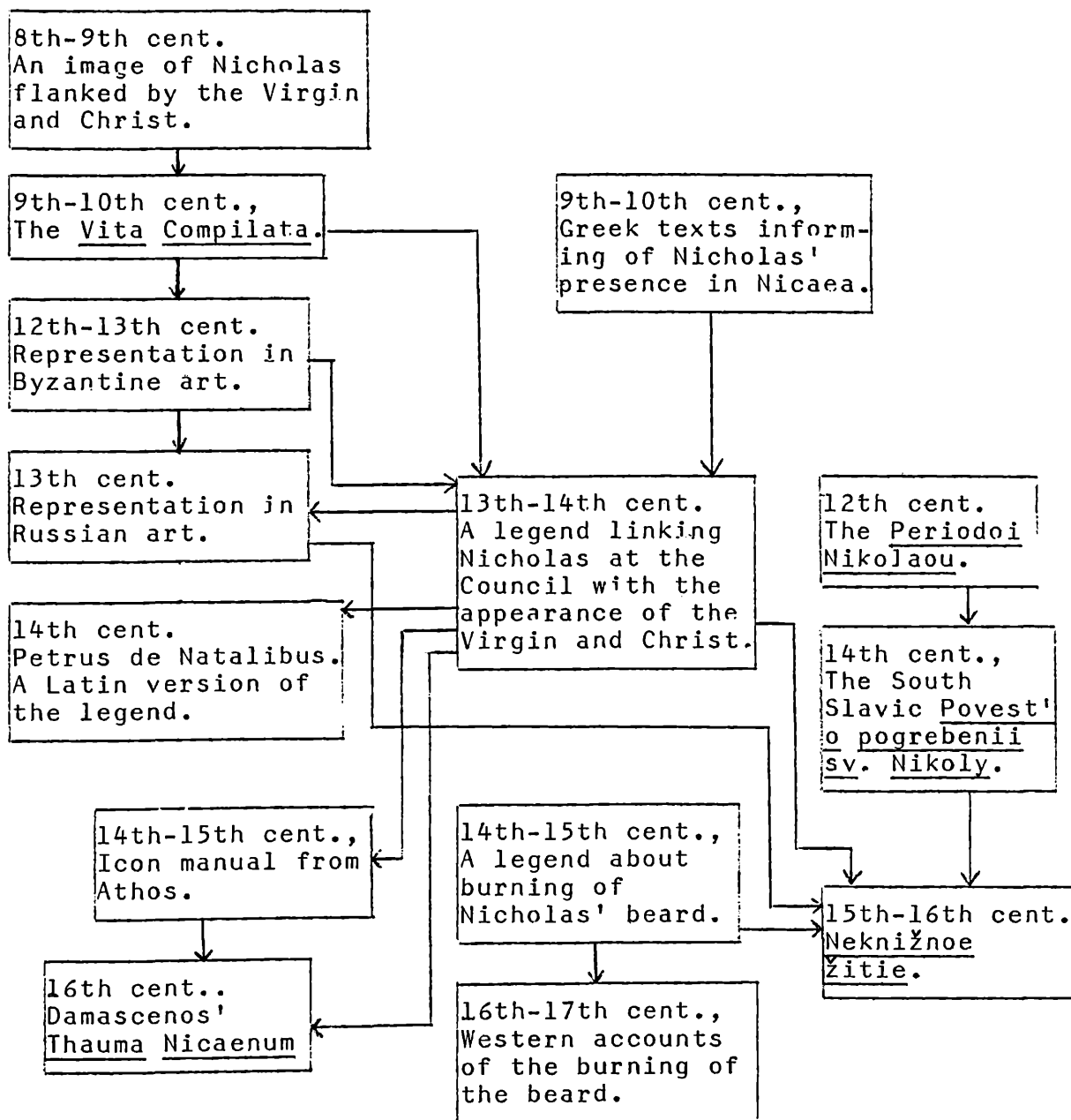
The importance of the Arius episode in Russian art and literature makes it necessary to investigate the ways in which it appeared in Russia; how it was incorp-

orated into the text of the Periodoi Nikolaou; what were the reasons for this incorporation; and what was the fate of this episode in Russian literature. Before such a study can be undertaken, the text under consideration should be presented. I quote Ključevskij (p. 457) with only minimal abbreviations:

I byst' prvyy vselen'skij sbor na okajannago i prokljatago Aria, na zlomyšlennika Xristova. Bylo tamo v Nikei na tom svjatome na prvom sbore svjatyx otec 300 i 18, a svjatyj Nikolae byl . . . v tom že cisle. Car' sel slušati, a svjati otci počali spiratisja s eretikom Ariem, pokladaa emu čjudnoe i svjatoe pisanie o Xriste Iisuse Syne Božii . . . protivu ego eretičeskix sloves, počali emu usta zatvorjati pisaniem svjatyx prorok i svjatyx apostol, a on, eretik Arij . . . neprestanno xuly glagolja na Gospoda našego Iisusa Xrista Syna Božija. I svjatyj Nikolae vstav, udari ego po licu, okajannago i zločestivago Arija. I togda vsi svjatii otci počali roptati s velikym gnevom na svjatago Nikolu o tom udarenii i počali vsim soborom snimati s nego san svjatitel'skij i razžegše plitu, počali emu bradu pripalivati, glagolja: 'Ne goditsja nam, svjatym suščim, rukoju drzku byti; držim svjatoe pisanie i božestvennoe v našem razume, tym nam godno biti zločestivyx i okajannyx eretikov.' I kak dokončavše sbora i preprevše . . . Arija, i ot cerkvi otlučili i prokljali, i za tym počali vsem sborom snimati svjatitel'skij san s svjatago Nikoly, i uže xotjat pristupiti k nemu, i v toj čas uzrel sam car' Kostjantin i vsi svjatii otci: Gospod' naš Iisus Xristos iz oblaka podaet svjatomu Nikole Euangelie, a s drugija strany Prečistaja Mati Xrista Boga našego podaet emu amofor svoj. I kak toe velikoe čjudo uvidel car' i vsi svjatii otci sbora togo, blagoslovili ego i ne snjali s nego svjatitel'skago sana ego, i sami sja blagoslovili u nego. Vidite li, bratie, i priimem v razum, kak svjatitelju ne veljat rukoju drzku byti, vinovatago ne veleno svoeju ruko-

ju biti, a kto vinovatee okannago Arija?
 Svjatyj že Nikolae za edino udarenie svjatitel'stva sana xotel ostati svoego, što by ne sam Gospod' Bog naš Iisus Xristos i Prečista- ja Ego Mati ukazali sja carju i svjatym otcem togo svjatago sbora, i dlja togo čjuda predivnago milostiju Gospoda našego Iisusa Xrista i Prečistoj Ego Materi tože on opjat' stal svjatitel'. Togo radi pišut' na ikonax obraz svjatago Nikoly i Spasov obraz vo oblance, i Prečistoj Ego Materi nad nim vo oblance.

As will be shown, this story is a curious and fascinating compilation, based not only on literary works, but also on legends and on pictorial representations of the saint. The following diagram may be helpful in understanding the complex process of the compilation of motifs into this story:



In 9th and 10th century Byzantine literature several works devoted to St. Nicholas related the saint's presence at the First Ecumenical Council. Among these works were the Synaxarion, the Vita per Metaphrasten, the Vita Compilata and others. These texts referred to the event only briefly, without mentioning the "physical" contact between Nicholas and Arius.⁴⁵ The Vita Compilata treated the event in a similar manner, but in a description of the events leading to Nicholas' ordination as a bishop it introduced another, yet unknown motif. According to the text, the Virgin and Christ appeared to Nicholas and gave him the attributes of a bishop, a Gospel book and an omophorion, predicting as it were, his upcoming consecration. The author of the Vita said that the illustration of this event, depicting Christ on the left, giving the saint a Gospel book, and the Virgin on the right, handing him an omophorion, had been long since found on venerated pictures. In this connection Gustav Anrich wrote: "Because this text dates to the 9th or 10th century, hence the discussed representations must have been spread at least since the 8th-9th century." (II, p. 393). It is impossible to determine today if these early representations (they did not survive) had any written or oral sources.⁴⁶ The oldest preserved work of this kind dates to the 11th century,⁴⁷ and the oldest Russian example comes from

1294.⁴⁸ Apparently at the same time in Byzantium the motif of the appearance of the Virgin and Christ to Nicholas and the motif of the saint's presence at the Council were joined together, giving an original compilative tale. This tale could have described how Nicholas struck Arius on the face, how the Council tried to take away his bishop's attributes, and how the Virgin and Christ interceded on behalf of the saint. In the 14th century this tale found its way to the West, where it appeared in a slightly different form in a work written by Petrus de Natalibus. Petrus wrote that when Nicholas hit Arius, the Council took his mitre and his pallium away. When the saint celebrated mass in honor of the Virgin, lamenting at the same time his great loss, suddenly two angels descended and returned his attributes to him (Anrich, I, p. 459; idem II, p. 394; Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 64; Remizov, p. 40). The same legendary tale must have influenced the compilers of the icon-painting manual from Athos. They instructed the painters that the events of the Council should be illustrated in two scenes: in the first Arius and Nicholas with his hand raised to strike his adversary, and in the second, Nicholas flanked by the Virgin and Christ (Anrich, I, p. 463; idem II, pp. 393-4).

Finally, in the late 14th century this tale was transported to Russia. At that time the South Slavic

rendition of the Periodoi Nikolaou, the Povest' o pogrebenii sv. Nikolyy must have been known in the Land of the Steppes. In the beginning of the 15th century, a native of the Kievan Grand Duchy,⁴⁹ became interested in the legendary tale and in Povest' o pogrebenii. He understood what great possibilities lay in the compilation of both narratives. The deed of the Wonderworker in which he physically attacked the heretic was for the Russian reader a sign of the real involvement of the saint in the defense of the true faith. This defense was especially needed in the 14th-16th centuries, in connection with the heretical movements of the antitrinitarians (the heresies of strigol'niki, Judaizers, and the so-called "Armenian heresy", etc.).⁵⁰ It is a tempting hypothesis that the episode with Arius was inserted by the redactor-translator into the text of the Povest' o pogrebenii as a warning, a didactic example of a punishment for heretics, and a demonstration of St. Nicholas' zeal and his instrumental role in the defense of the dogma. Such a hypothesis can be confirmed to some extent by the pronounced glorification of the Trinity in the text of the Old Russian version.⁵¹ For instance, in the beginning the text reads: "Svjatitel'stva prestol ostaviv, i vosxodit' na nebesa k Božiju prestolu poklonitisja Troice, Otcu i Synu i Svjatому Duxu."; "i edinosuščnej Troice neprestanno služil."

In the end of the work again: "I nam ty podaj tverdyj razum vo edinom krešćenii stojati do skončanija veka našego, poklonjatisja nam i slaviti edinosušćnuju Troicu, Otca i Syna i Svjatago Duxa . . ." (Ključevskij, pp. 453, 459).

The Russian redactor knew that he could experiment with the Povest' o pogrebenii without fear of an attack by the Church authorities, since the South Slavic work was of apocryphal character. Thus, he also included in his reworked version another legend, about the attempt by some Arians to burn Nicholas' beard. This legend, recorded only in the 17th century in a Western work (Anrich, II, p. 394; Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 64; Remizov, p. 41), probably originated in Byzantium in the end of the 14th--beginning of the 15th century. Today we know that his plan worked out well. The reworked opus, thanks to its pro-trinitarian stance, was allowed to circulate, and exerted considerable influence on Russian art⁵² and literature.

Finally, in the 16th century, in his Vita of Nicholas, the Monk Damascenos wrote the Thauma Nicaenum, based on the legend which linked the two motifs, and possibly on the icon-manuals and current representations of the deed in Byzantine art. According to his version of the story, Nicholas struck Arius and the heretic complained to the Emperor. Nicholas was imprisoned,

and was to be judged after the Council. At night the Virgin and Christ appeared to the saint, gave him a Gospel book and an omophorion, and broke the chains on his feet and arms. The next morning he was found in prison reading his Gospel book. The Emperor and the holy fathers asked his forgiveness (Anrich, I, p. 459; idem, II, p. 393).

Investigation of the possible sources of the Old Russian "Neknižnoe žitie" shows a very complex transition of motifs not only from one literary (or oral) work to another, but also from literature to art and vice versa, as well as from one country to another. In Russia the work remained well-known through centuries, and the miraculous deed of Nicholas found its critics and admirers. In the 17th-century Povest' o bražnike a drunkard wants to be admitted to Paradise. When St. Nicholas tries to stop him, the drunk says: "Ti esi Nikolaj, i pomniši li: egda svjati otci byli na vselenskom sobore i obličjali eretikov, i ty togda derznul rukoju na Arija bezumnago. Svjatitelem ne podobaet rukoju derzku byti; v zakone pišet: ne ubi, a ty ubil rukoju Arija trekljatago."⁵³ Nicholas goes away, discomfited, and the man is allowed to enter Paradise. It is interesting that Nicholas is here accused of killing Arius ("ty ubil"). This exaggeration was needed by the author of this satirical work which

was aimed at the 17th-century clergy and religious observances. It is also apparent that the author knew well the "Neknižnoe Žitie" (see the similarity in wording). In the same 17th century the fiery archpriest Avvakum with characteristic bluntness and sincerity admiringly said about Nicholas: "Arija, sobaku, po zubam brjaznul . . . revniv byl, milen'koj pokojnik!"⁵⁴ Of course, it is easy to understand Avvakum's admiration for St. Nicholas. Avvakum himself was a no less impulsive and zealous defender of what he considered the true faith. However, not only the archpriest praised the saint's behavior. Up to the Revolution the wandering cripples, beggars and pilgrims (kaleki perexozie)⁵⁵ had in their repertory a spiritual verse in which they recalled the events at the Council of Nicaea: "Ty bo na sobore / Arija pobori, / Mater Xrista Boga / Pred vsemi proslavi. / Tebe Evangelie / Spasitel' darova, / Daby smirilisja / Brovi gordjaščixsja. / Tebe Prečistaja / Amofor poruci, / Da nas pokryeši / I vsej sobljudeši, / Nikolae prečjudnyj."⁵⁶

VI) Dejanie svjatago otca Nikolj, arxiepi-skopa or Čjudo svjatago Nikolj. Beginning: "Byst' v(o) vremena Kostjantina (velikaago) c(es)arja mjatež' v(o) Frjugii ot Daifal . . ." ⁵⁷

Content: Three generals of Constantine: Nepotianus, Ursus, and Herpilion were sent to Phrygia to suppress the revolt there. On their way to Phrygia they stopped at Andriake near

Myra where they witnessed how Nicholas saved three unjustly accused citizens of Myra from execution. He took the sword from the hands of the executioner, hurled it to the ground, freed the men and reprimanded the praeses Eustathius for taking a bribe and accusing the innocent men. The generals sailed away from Andriake, pacified the rebellion and returned to Constantinople in glory. In the capital the Eparch Ablabius was bribed by some envious courtiers and accused the generals of treason. Ablabius told the Emperor that the generals plotted against him and Constantine ordered them immediately imprisoned. A year later the men who bribed Ablabius asked him to again denounce the generals and cause their execution. Constantine ordered that they should be executed the same night. A friendly prison guard told the generals about the execution. The men lamented bitterly and tore their robes when Nepotianus suddenly remembered how Nicholas saved the three men in Myra. The generals invoked the saint for help. At night, Nicholas appeared to Constantine ordering him to release the prisoners. The Emperor asked who Nicholas was and how he entered his chambers, and the saint identified himself as a bishop of Lycia. Nicholas disappeared and later that night came to Ablabius, identified himself as a bishop of Myra in Lycia, and ordered the Eparch to free the imprisoned men. When the Emperor awoke, he sent his man to Ablabius to tell him what happened, and Ablabius at the same time sent his servant to Constantine. The Emperor ordered the generals to be brought before him and asked them what magic trick they had used to cause such dreams to him and Ablabius. When the generals assured the Emperor that they did not know anything about the happening, and that they were innocent, Constantine asked them what they knew about Nicholas. Only then the men realized that the saint helped them. They told the Emperor how the saint saved the three men in Myra, and convinced him that the miracle was repeated. Constantine freed the men, gave them gifts for Nicholas, and sent them to Myra. They arrived in Myra, thanked the saint, and became monks.⁵⁸

This is a translation of the oldest narrative describing the deeds of St. Nicholas of Myra, the so-called Praxis de Stratelatis. It was written during the reign of Justinian and circulated separately before any of the vitae were completed. The story was known not only in Greek, but also in Latin and Syrian translations (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 29). In Russia the work was known probably before the 12th century.⁵⁹

Gustav Anrich said that Praxis de Stratelatis "offers a good example of the Greek art of story-telling." (II, p. 369). He emphasized the naturalness of the development of the story, with the culmination in the ending. Charles Jones divided the story into two parts: "The two halves of this story are marked by differences: Citizens of Myra [Jones gives this title to the first part, describing the saving of the three unjustly accused men in Myra--A.B.] is laid in Myra, is remarkably circumstantial about names and places, and tells a story which is credible despite idealization. The second half [Jones calls it Stratelates--A.B.] is laid in Constantinople, has all the marks of composition of a fable, with abstract names and unvisualized locales, and tells an incredible story." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 36). Jones thought that Citizens of Myra was composed first, and was based on a document reporting an historical incident. The second part was

added by a different author "or at least for so different a purpose as to change the form and quality of the writing." (St. Nicholas, p. 36). The complete work, with both stories complementing each other, presented Nicholas as the thaumaturge (a saint possessing miraculous power to move in an instant from place to place), as the "people's champion and victor against an overweening establishment" (St. Nicholas, p. 37), and as an ideal bishop, protector of his flock. For Jones Praxis de Stratelatis seemed to be a masterful vehicle for "consolidating the hopes of a populace" during Justinian's tyrannical rule (St. Nicholas, p. 40). Jones noticed also that the "emphasis of the story is upon three, which since Nicea was becoming the orthodox number: three stratelates, three citizens of Myra From now on, three is N's symbolic number." (St. Nicholas, p. 41). As it will be shown, the number three plays an important role in many stories describing miracles of the saint.

In Russia this story in its original form, as a lengthy composition, was not very popular. Nikol'skij listed only 6 manuscripts in which the story can be found. Although the number given by the Russian scholar in reality could have been bigger, I think that the reason for the relatively small popularity of the work was the inclusion of its variants and alterations in many

other works. We have seen already that the story was re-told in Slovo poxvalno and in Vita per Metaphrasten. It was also included in shortened versions in Synaxaria. The Russians had probably no particular interest in the political implications of the story. For them the most important element of the work was the miraculous power of the saint. Interest in the supernatural, miraculous, magical and fantastic moved most of its social and political content to the background of the story.

VII) The vitae included in Synaxaria (Prologi).

- A) Pamjat' prepodobnago otca našego Nikoly, episkopa Mirskyja Likija.
 Beginning: "V carstvo velikago Konstjantina byst' to velikyj arxierej i Ľudotvorec, episkop Mirstej Likii."⁶⁰

Content: Nicholas lived during the reign of Constantine the Great. At first he was a monk, performed many miracles and because of his good deeds he was later made a bishop. Nicholas performed many miracles: he saved three men from death when, unjustly accused and tied up, they were about to be executed. Nicholas grabbed the sword from the hand of the executioner (slugy), and let the men go. When three other men were slandered by the Eparch Ablabius who said to the Emperor that they were plotting against him, Constantine imprisoned them. When they learned that they were to be killed, they prayed to St. Nicholas and he appeared to the Eparch and to the Emperor and ordered the men released. After performing many other miracles the saint died in peace.

- B) (Mesjaca dekabrja v 6 den') pamjat' iže vo svjatyx otca našego Nikoly, velikago

Čjudotvorca, arxiepiskopa Mirlikij-skago. Beginning: "S (T v) svjatyx otec' naš' Nikola be ot Mir'skago grada."61

Content: Nicholas was born in Myra. When he was born the maid wanted to wash him, but he stood up and spent three hours standing in the basin. His father told the miracle to his brother Nicholas, a monk in a monastery. The uncle instructed the parents that the boy should be named Nicholas (Odolen) because he will be victorious (preodoleet) over many in his holy life. Once, when Nicholas was on his way to the teacher, he performed a miracle of healing a blind widow. When he was twelve he took the vows and became a monk. He possessed godly gifts: he exorcised devils and healed the sick with holy oil. When he went to Jerusalem, the devil wanted to sink the ship in which Nicholas traveled, but the saint saved the ship calming the sea and driving away the devil. Then he found a secluded place called Sion, built a church and a monastery there, and performed many miracles: he drew water from the ground, killed a dragon (zmija umertvi) which lived near a certain village, and expelled evil spirits. He was famous all over the world. He was consecrated the Metropolitan of Lycia. Nicholas lived in the times of Constantine the Great. (Here the story of the three generals begins. The story, as well as the ending of this redaction, are re-told in almost exactly the same words as in redaction A).

C) Pamjat' iže vo svjatyx otca našego Nikolaja, arxiepiskopa Mirlikijskix, Čjudotvorca. Beginning: "Sej velikij bjaše v leta carej Dioklitiana i Maksimiana mučitelej."62

Content: Nicholas lived during the reign of the tyrants Diocletian and Maximian. At first he was a monk and was famous for his good deeds, for which he was made a bishop. Since he was a Christian, he was arrested and imprisoned, together with many other Christians. When Constantine the Great ascended the throne, the Christians were re-

leased from prisons and among the released was also Nicholas. He went to Myra, and when Constantine summoned the Nicaean Council, the saint attended the meeting and demonstrated his great piety. After the Council he performed many miracles. He saved three unjustly accused men sentenced to death. The other three men, awaiting their execution in prison, remembered how Nicholas saved those three and prayed to the saint for help. Nicholas appeared to the Eparch asking why he slandered the men, and to the Emperor, telling him that the men were innocent and should be released. After taking good care of his flock, the saint died in old age.

In the Russian Synaxaria these three redactions of St. Nicholas' vita can be found. Redactions A and C are translations from the Greek.⁶³ As Anrich indicated, redaction C was the standard one, the most popular in the Byzantine literature (II, pp. 299-300).⁶⁴ According to this redaction Nicholas was imprisoned during the persecutions of Christians under Diocletian, and later was one of the bishops present at the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 325. The information about Nicholas being a confessor, and about his presence at the Council appeared in one work for the first time in this redaction of the Synaxarion. The sources of this information are difficult to establish. Anrich indicated the possibility of the Vita per Michaellem, an Encomium written by Nicetas Paphlagon, and even the Vita Compilata, all of which mentioned one of the facts. The author of this redaction of the Synaxarion connect-

ed both of them. It is possible that Symeon Metaphrastes used this redaction for his vita of St. Nicholas.

It is clear that the redactions C and A have much in common, but which redaction was primary is as yet undetermined. In the Russian Synaxaria redaction A appeared first, possibly before the 12th century. From the 13th till 16th centuries redaction B became popular, but was usually included in Synaxaria together with redaction A. Redaction C was the least popular and might have appeared in Russia only in the 14th century, after the translation of the so-called Versified Synaxarion (Stišnoj Prolog) in which every entry was preceded by a few lines of verse.

Redaction B is the most interesting. It is possible that it was also translated from the Greek,⁶⁵ but it seems more probable that the text was composed in Russia. The author knew the Vita Nicolai Sionitae, Slovo poxvalno, redaction A of the Synaxarion, and could have been familiar with the Greek originals. From the Vita Nicolai Sionitae and Slovo poxvalno he took the biographical data about Nicholas, up to the saint's installation as bishop. Interestingly, in his work the devil expelled by Nicholas from the well (Vita Nicolai Sionitae), changed into a dragon, apparently under the impact of oral tales and legends. The famous story

of the three generals, Praxis de Stratelatis, the author of this redaction copied almost word for word from redaction A. In redaction A, for instance, we read: "Svobodi že tri muža ot smerti, okleветani že byvše i svjazani, i xotjaxu usečeni byti, n sam jat za mec' i vzja ot ruk slugy i pusti ja." In redaction B: "Izba-vi že i tri muži ot smerti, iže bjaxu okleветani i svjazani i uže xotjaxu usečeni byti, no sam jat za meč', izmy ot ruku slugy, ispusti ja." There are other fragments copied from redaction A: "V carstvo velikago Konstjantina byst' to velikyj arxierej i čjudotvorec." (red. A); "Byst' že v cesarstvo velikago Kostjantina velikij arxierej čjudotvorec'" (red. B). Because of the compilative character of redaction B and the dependance of this redaction on redaction A, it should be assumed that redaction A was primary and redaction B secondary.⁶⁶

All three redactions of St. Nicholas' vita in Synaxaria were written accordingly with specific rules. A life of a saint in the Synaxarion has a tripartite composition. The exposition (introduction) is very short and mentions only the birth place or time of the hero's life. The main part describes briefly the deeds and miracles of the hero. The ending (epilogue) informs the reader about the death of the hero or about his burial.

Such a life is not a complete, detailed description of all events in the saint's life from his birth to death, it is rather a selection of these events from his life which best exemplify his virtues and merits.⁶⁷ It is not a simple, mechanical abbreviation of the original vita which has been used as its source, but a carefully selected material which presents a contrasting portrait of a saint, with no concern for the saint's inner thoughts and feelings, with no attempt at portraying the psychological motivation of his actions. The saint's outer appearance, as well as the surroundings, landscape, and concrete details are to great extent omitted (cf. Russkaja staropečatnaja, pp. 31-2, 51). It is easy to see how well the three redactions of St. Nicholas' vita fit this description.⁶⁸

The literary value of the Synaxarion's vitae should not be underestimated. Although the vitae were short and simplified, the tensivity of their plots, clarity of presentation and the diversity of motifs caused their tremendous popularity. The plots and motifs of many vitae from this gigantic, almost "encyclopedic" collection, served as a source of inspiration for many famous Russian authors.⁶⁹

VIII) The separate miracle stories.⁷⁰

- 1) Čelovek imen'm' Dimitr, ego že izbavi iz samoja glubiny mor'skyja i posadi ego v kleti ego zam'čene or Čjudo svjatao Nikolaj o Dmitree or Čjudo svjatao Nikolaja o muže utopšem v more. Beginning: "Dobro est' nam (Božie pisanie) k vam' propovedati verni, vspomjanuvše proroč'skyj on glas glagoljušč . . ."71 or "Čelovek nekij (nekto), živij v Kostjantine grade, v meste rekoem' Eleuferii, imenem' Dimitrij. . . "72

Content: Demetrios, a man from Constantinople, a strong believer in St. Nicholas, set out in a ship to celebrate the day of the saint in another town. At midnight the ship was hit by a storm and the man, after losing an oar, fell into the sea, having only enough time to shout "St. Nicholas, help me!" He sunk to the bottom of the sea. There the saint appeared to him, took him by his hand, and placed him in the middle of his locked house. Demetrios thought that he was still at the bottom of the sea, so he kept crying for help. His neighbors heard the noise and wondered why Demetrios, who left in the evening, had already returned. They took candles and went to investigate the source of the noise. Since the house was locked, they broke in and saw Demetrios sitting in the middle of the house. His clothes were soaking wet and the water dripped from his hair. The neighbors asked the man how he managed to return so fast and why salt water dripped from his hair and garments. Only then Demetrios realized that he was safe in his house and told the people how he fell into the abyss. Everybody marvelled at the miracle, praising God and Nicholas.

- 2) (Čjudo) o Agrike i o synu ego Vasil'i. Beginning: "Agrik nekto imen'm, živij v strane Antioxistej bliz' Sracin, bogat sy vel'mi . . . "73

Content: Agrik,⁷⁴ a rich man living near the Saracenes (Arabs), was a faithful worshipper of St. Nicholas and every year celebrated the feast day of the saint. One year he and his wife stayed home in order to prepare the feast, while their son Basil went to the church of St.

Nicholas which was located outside the city. The church was attacked by the Saracenes and the entire congregation was taken into captivity and led off to Crete. Basil, because of his youthful handsomeness, was given to the Saracene prince Amira⁷⁵ as a cupbearer. For three years the parents did not celebrate St. Nicholas' day, but only mourned their son. The neighbors and friends reminded the father about the miracles of the saint. They told him how Nicholas saved the three unjustly accused citizens of Myra and the three generals of Constantine. Agrik went home and convinced his wife that they should go to the church and ask the saint for help instead of lamenting and mourning and forgetting the good deeds of the Wonderworker. After the church service the parents and their guests returned home and sat down to a feast, talking about Basil and the miracles of the saint. Suddenly the dogs began to bark in the courtyard. Agrik sent his servants to investigate why the dogs were barking, but they could not see anything. Since the barking did not stop, Agrik and his friends took candles and went to see for themselves what was happening in the courtyard. In the middle of the courtyard Agrik saw a figure dressed in Arab clothes, holding a cup full of wine. The father recognized his lost son and asked how he came back. Basil explained that he was about to serve wine to the prince when something or somebody grabbed him from behind and put him in the middle of his father's courtyard. Basil was able to recognize his saviour as St. Nicholas. Agrik led Basil to his mother, and they all celebrated the feast with great joy, praising the miraculous powers of the saint and thanking him for Basil's deliverance.

- 3) Čjudo svjatago Nikoly) jako izbavi korabl' ot potopa morskago or Čjudo svjatago otca Nikolaja o Simeone.
 Beginning: "Poslušajte (mene), molju vy čada, da vy povedaju, vy že ne lenitesja (poslušati), da budet vy utexa velika. Symeon imen'm' nekto, Božij čelovek . . . "76

Content: Symeon, a pious monk, had a servant named Nicholas (also a monk) and he sent him in a ship to do some job for him. The ship sailed out on a calm day and the sailors were joyful and happy. Suddenly darkness came, clouds covered the sky, and the wind broke the oars and ripped the sails. The sailors fell on the deck and prayed to St. Nicholas for help. The monk Nicholas looked overboard and saw the saint walking on the sea (po morju idusca jako po suxu). St. Nicholas boarded the ship, asked the sailors to attend to their duties, and vanished. Immediately the sea calmed down, and the wind helped the sailors to make the 14 day journey in an hour.

- 4) Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o Xristofore
pope, (egože trikraty izbavi ot naga
meča). Beginning: "Az že vam drugoe
 Čjudo da povede, da ne mozete lenitisja,
 n jasno poslušajte: pop nektu imen'm'
 Xr'stofor ot grada Mitulina . . . "77

Content: A priest, Christopher,⁷⁸ from the city of Mytilene, used to travel every year to visit the relics of St. Nicholas and to acquire the holy myrrh. Once Christopher and 29 others were captured during their trip by the Saracenes. The prisoners were divided into three groups: one group to be executed, one group to be sold, and one to be permanently imprisoned. Christopher was included in the first group and the convicts were taken to the place of the execution where the executioner began to kill them one after another. When Christopher's order came, he prayed to St. Nicholas for help. The saint instantly appeared to the priest, encouraging him, and when the executioner was about to administer the blow, Nicholas took the sword from his hand. The executioner was puzzled because he did not see the saint. He asked Christopher where the sword was and the priest answered that Nicholas took it. The saint repeated his action twice more. Finally, the executioner asked the priest, which Nicholas was helping him. When Christopher said that it was Nicholas of Myra, the executioner told him that he heard about the saint's powers, and released the priest and the other three

survivors. After giving the men directions how to reach Myra, the executioner let them go. They went on their way glorifying God and St. Nicholas.

- 5) Čjudo o Petre, postrigšemsja v čern'ci v Rime, ego že svjatyj ot uz i temnica izbavi. Beginning: "Petr rekomyj v blagyx pamjaten (pamjatex) černec' ot voin'skago byv učast'ja . . . "79

Content: Peter, a soldier, fought the Saracenes. His detachment was defeated by the infidels; some of the soldiers were killed and some taken prisoner. Because Peter had the highest rank among the captured soldiers, he was taken to the Saracene prince who ordered him chained and put in prison in Samarra. While in prison, Peter thought about a promise he gave to God and St. Nicholas that he would become a monk in Rome. He gave this promise when he was imprisoned before, but after his miraculous release he forgot about it. Now he was afraid to pray to God again, but he decided to try to implore the Wonderworker again. After a week of fasting and constant praying to Nicholas, with promises that he would immediately go to Rome and become a monk, Peter was heard. Nicholas appeared to him and promised to try to convince God that Peter was ready to become a monk. After several days the saint appeared again and explained that they should need another intercessor, St. Symeon, who in heaven stood near the throne of God. Finally both saints came to see Peter. Symeon touched his chains with his staff and they became dust.⁸⁰ When Symeon vanished, Nicholas led Peter out of prison and walked him to Rome. He told Peter that he should go to St. Peter's Cathedral and wait there for the pope. At night the saint appeared to the pope and described Peter to him, asking the pope to make him a monk. Next morning the pope went to the Cathedral, saw Peter there, and made him a monk (cut his hair).

- 6) Čjudo jako isceli čeloveka bez nog sušča i po zemli polzajušča or Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o xromom i bol'nem.

Beginning: "Četvertoe čjudo povedati
xoščju vam (drugoe da vy skažju čjudo):
unoša be neкто imen'm Nikola, demon's-
km' (mučeniem) obderžim', ležaše mesjac
šest' . . . "81

Content: A young man, Nicholas, was for six months tormented by a devil and could not walk because all his muscles weakened and his limbs withered. Not able to find any doctor who could help him, and financially insecure because of the expenses to the medics, the man desperately needed help. One day he saw people going to the church to celebrate the day of St. Nicholas. Despite his poverty, the man also bought a candle and started crawling towards the church. On the way an old man (the saint) appeared to him and asked what was the nature of his ailment. Having heard the man's story, St. Nicholas advised him to go to the church where he would be healed. When the saint vanished the young man went to the church and saw there an icon of St. Nicholas. He understood that the old man who appeared to him was the saint, and therefore asked the saint to fulfill his promise and heal him. The people lifted the man so he could kiss and hug the icon. When he kissed the icon, his legs came alive and he was able to stand up. Then he made a sign of the cross over his body and anointed himself with holy oil. The demon left him and the young man, healed and freed from the evil spirit, again kissed the icon and together with the people praised the saint's powers and miraculous help.

7) Čjudo o triex devicax. Beginning: "V
edín že ot dnii byst' nekto bojarin v
grade bogat, i tvorja praznik i pamjat'
svjatomu Nikole . . . "82

Content: There was an impoverished wealthy man, an ardent believer in St. Nicholas, who had three daughters. It so happened that another rich man from the city sent the envoys to the father asking for the hand of one of the daughters for his beloved son. The poor father did not know how to manage the wedding without money and thought that he would be forced to reject the offer. However, at night St. Nicholas came and threw a

bag of gold through a window to the room where the father was sleeping. When the man awoke he found the gold and was able to give his first daughter in marriage. But his happiness did not last long, since another man sought the hand of his second daughter, and the father did not know what to do. The saint again came to the rescue and at night supplied the man with another bag (double amount) of gold. The father was able to marry off his second daughter. When the match-makers came for his third girl, the father decided to accept the offer, having faith in his unknown benefactor. He wanted to find out who his helper was and instead of going to sleep, he kept vigil. When St. Nicholas was throwing through the window his bag of gold (this time a triple amount), the father caught his hand and implored the saint to reveal his identity. When Nicholas did not want to answer, the man said that he would wake up all the neighbours and they all would know the name of the helper. Only then the saint had to tell the father that he was Nicholas of Myra. Astonished and terrified the man released the saint's hand and Nicholas returned to Myra. The third marriage was arranged and the family gave thanks to God and St. Nicholas.

- 8) Čjudo o nekoem' sracinine, ego Že
izbavi ot uz i temnici i so svjatym
Georgiem or Čjudo svjatago Nikolj
(i svjatago Georgija o sračinine.
 Beginning: "V Kipr'stem ostrove (Tu)
 jali bjaxu (bjaxu jali) sracinina,
 muža naročita i slav'na . . . "83

Content: A Saracene was captured in Cyprus, chained and imprisoned under heavy guard. After a short time the prison was opened, but the Saracene was gone. The guards were accused of taking a bribe and releasing the prisoner. They were chained and put into the same prison. Some time later the Saracenes came to Cyprus again, on huge galleys. The citizens of Cyprus sent their fleet to meet the enemy. From the Saracene side a small boat set out and anchored near one of the ships of the islanders. In the boat was a Saracene who inquired where the Saracene pris-

oner was. When he heard that the prisoner disappeared, the infidel explained how it had happened. When he (because it was him in the boat) sat in the prison he heard one of the guards praying to St. Nicholas. Interested in the saint, he also invoked Nicholas, and the holy man appeared to him. Nicholas asked the Saracene if he believed that he could save him from the prison. When the Saracene said that he believed, he awoke in his house and saw his wife and children. Thankful, he released a hundred Christians who worked for him, made a resolution not to fight Christians any more, and promised to convert to Christianity. Then a young man appeared to him and ordered him to sail to Cyprus to save the guards who were imprisoned as a result of his disappearance. The Saracene learned that the young man was St. George, an assistant of St. Nicholas. The Saracene boarded a galley, but the sailors wanted to sail to Thessalonica. St. George then appeared again, riding his white horse, and directed the galley to Cyprus. When the Saracene told his story and returned to his ship, the citizens of Cyprus went to the prison to release the guards. To their astonishment, they found the prison door open and the guards holding their broken chains. The guards explained that St. George released them from their chains and even healed the wound in one's leg. The guards were released and the citizens celebrated a feast in honor of St. Nicholas.

- 9) 0 kovre, ego, že kupiv i paky vzvrati vspjat' or Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o kovre. Beginning: "Poneže ubo slyšaxom Svjatago Duxa prorokom Davidom glagoljušča: kako (jako) zaždet' elen' na istočniki vodnyja, tako zaždaet' duša moja k tebe, Gospodi . . ."84

Content: There was a man in Constantinople, named Nicholas, who had great reverence for the saint. When he got old and could not work anymore, he became very poor. Because the day of St. Nicholas was near, the man asked his wife how could they get some money to buy everything necessary for the holiday. The woman showed him an old carpet and asked him to sell it at the market. The man took the

carpet and went to the market, not hoping to sell the old thing at all. When he was on his way, St. Nicholas appeared to him and asked how much the carpet cost. The man answered how much he paid for the carpet when it was new, and said that he would take whatever he could get for it. St. Nicholas bought the carpet for a good price and vanished. The people around asked the man why he talked to himself because they did not see the saint. At the same time Nicholas went with the carpet to the man's wife and gave it to her saying that her husband, his old friend, asked him to deliver the carpet. When the saint disappeared the woman became angry at her husband for not selling the carpet. The man returned home and his wife accused him of breaking the promise given to St. Nicholas that they would celebrate the holiday. She showed the carpet to her husband and he realized that the saint had performed a miracle. He interrogated his wife, and the description of the man who brought the carpet fit the description of the man who bought the carpet from him. The man presented to his wife all the things he bought for the holiday and the remaining money. The couple went to the church of St. Nicholas and notified the Patriarch about the miracle. When the Patriarch heard their story, he gave a pension to the poor man.

- 10) Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o triex družex
 or Čjudo o trex mužax, iže ot poganyx
v more izmetaemi, i sviatyi Nikola
izbavi ot potoplenija. Beginning:
 "Vo dni i leta egda carstvovasta Prov
 car' i Flor'jan, bežaščim gostem po
 morju Ponet'skomu v velicej ga-
 lei . . . "85

Content: In the times of the emperors Probus and Florianus three merchants sailed in a galley carrying five hundred pagans aboard. The pagans decided to kill the merchants, who were Christians, and to take their wares. At night they threw them overboard. The men cried for help to St. Nicholas. Because one of them could not swim he quickly sunk to the bottom of the sea. The other two tried to swim and suddenly a stone approached them, floating on the waves. The two men sat on the

stone which swiftly moved on the sea. The following morning a whale swam up to the stone and opened its jaws; convinced that the beast was about to swallow them, the men cried out in terror, but from the mouth of the whale their drowned friend emerged, carrying a heavy sack. He told his friends that when he was falling to the bottom of the sea, the whale swallowed him. Inside the whale he found a ship with many dead men aboard and with a lot of cargo. When the whale opened its mouth, the man took one of the sacks and came out. The merchants opened the sack and found it full of gold. After two days of sailing the stone neared Byzantium. The Christians were taken to the prince and told him their story. After many days the pagans who so mistreated the merchants arrived at Byzantium. The merchants notified the prince who invited the pagans to a dinner and ordered the merchants to serve wine to their abductors. When the infidels recognized their "victims", the knives fell from their hands. The prince then gave an order to throw the pagans into the sea and to distribute their goods among the three merchants. The men, however, took only what belonged to them and gave the rest to the poor.

- 11) Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o trex ikonax
(nekoego xristoljubca byvsago vo
Carigrade). Beginning: "Pri velicem
 cari Leontii i pri patriarsi Afonasii
 javl'šusja semu čjudesi svjatago
 Nikoly . . ." or "Javl'šjusja čjudo
 svjatago Nikoly v Konstjantine grade
 pri samoderž'ci Leontii, pri patriarsi
 Afanasii . . ." 86

Content: In the times of the Emperor Leontius and his patriarch Athanasius, St. Nicholas appeared to a man named Theophanes and ordered him to commission from the painter Aggeus three icons: of Christ, of God's Mother, and of the Wonderworker. After the icons were ready Theophanes notified the Patriarch, invited him to a feast, and asked him to bless the icons. The Patriarch came with the accompanying Synod. When he saw the icon of St. Nicholas he got angry and said that this saint should not be depicted on icons because his

parents were peasants, Theophanes and Nonna. The owner of the icon put it in his house and asked a monk to pray and glorify the saint. At the same time the Patriarch and the Holy Synod so enjoyed the feast that they drank up all the wine Theophanes had. Not knowing how to get more wine for the guests and remembering St. Nicholas' miracle of the multiplication of wine, Theophanes prayed for the miracle and indeed, his wine was multiplied. The Patriarch even admitted that he never drank such a good wine. After the feast the Patriarch and the Synod returned to Constantinople. Next morning a man called Theodore came to ask the Patriarch to visit his sick daughter. The Patriarch and the Synod boarded several ships and set out to the island where Theodore lived. In the middle of the sea a storm turned the ships over. The clergy invoked the Virgin and Christ for help and were rescued, but the Patriarch was drowning. He understood that he committed a sin calling Nicholas a peasant's son. The Patriarch asked the saint to forgive him, and Nicholas appeared instantly, ironically reprimanding him: "So this peasant's help is needed." (cy nadobe smerdovic na pomosc'). The Patriarch promised to venerate the saint to the end of his life and then Nicholas took him by the hand and put him aboard his ship. Athanasius returned to Constantinople and asked Theophanes to bring the icon of St. Nicholas. The icon was placed in the newly built church of St. Nicholas and many people were cured by it.

- 12) O čelovece, ego že izbavi iz želez i is temnici. Beginning: "Ino čjudo xoščju vam povedati, mne ljubimaja bratija i otci, svjatago velikago arxiereja Xristova Nikoly" or "Be nekto imenem Epifanij . . ." 87

Content: In Constantinople there lived a man, Epiphanius. One day he wanted to buy a serf and having taken enough money he set out to the market where the Russian merchants sold serfs. Since he could not find what he was looking for, he returned home and put the money somewhere, quickly forgetting the place because of the devil's plotting. The next morn-

ning he called upon his young servant and asked him to bring the money. When the terrified boy said that he did not know where the money was, the master ordered him punished and threw him into prison. The boy prayed to St. Nicholas for help. When he finally fell asleep, the saint appeared to him and took off his chains. Later he appeared to Epiphanius and explained to him that it was the devil's wrongdoing and the boy was innocent and should be released; the saint even showed Epiphanius the place where he put the money. Epiphanius awoke, found the gold and went to release the boy. The next morning the master and the servant went together to the church of St. Nicholas and told the people what had happened. Epiphanius divided the recovered money: one part he gave to the church, one to the poor, and one to the boy, whom he also gave back his freedom.

- 13) Čjudo o monastyri ego, ego že svjatyj Nikola obogati. Beginning: "Ot Kostjantina grada 10 poprišč podale monastyr' est', v nem že est' cerkvi vo imja svjatago Nikolj."⁸⁸

Content: Near Constantinople there was a monastery whose monks had a rule not to possess anything in their cells, but to depend entirely on charity given by travelers. The monks were often in great need and prayed to St. Nicholas for assistance. One day a man traveling near the monastery found a dead man's body on the road. He took the corpse to the monastery and asked the monks to bury the man, leaving enough money to cover the expenses of the burial and church services. Later the same year the same man traveled again by the monastery and at the spot where he found the corpse he saw a boy who explained that his father disappeared a year ago and he was looking for him. The man took the boy to the monastery to show him his father's grave. When the monks showed them the grave, the boy requested that he would take the body home to his mother. The monks began to dig and found the grave full of silver and gold, but when they wanted to ask the boy what was the meaning of this, they noticed that he

vanished. Later St. Nicholas appeared to the Father Superior of the monastery and explained that from now on the monks would not have to worry about money and that it was God who sent an angel disguised as a boy to reward the compassionate behavior of the man who found the corpse and brought it to the monastery to be buried.

- 14) Čjudo o nekoem detišči or Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o detišči byvšem v Kieve or Čjudo svjatago Nikoly stvor-šeesja v(o) grade Kieve. Beginning: "Vo istinu glagoly Bož'ja stvoriti i vsja xvaly ego . . ." or "V istinnu kto vzgлагоlet' sily Gospodnja ili kto uslyšany stvorit xvaly ego . . ."89

Content: A man from Kiev strongly venerated St. Nicholas and the holy "sufferers" Boris and Gleb. Together with his wife and child he set out to Vysgorod to celebrate the feast day of the first Russian saints. On the way back to Kiev, when they sailed in a boat on the river Dnepr, the woman fell asleep and accidentally dropped the child into the river. The child drowned and the parents bitterly accused St. Nicholas of not saving their child. The returned home in deep mourning. The same night St. Nicholas took the drowned child out of the river and placed it, alive and well, in front of his icon in the women's gallery (polaty) of the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. Early in the morning a sacristan (ponomar') of the Cathedral came and heard the child crying inside the church. He went to the warden (polatnik) and accused him of allowing a woman with a child inside the church, but the warden, after checking the locks on the doors, realized that they were not open. Both men entered the gallery and saw a child lying there in front of the still wet icon of St. Nicholas. Puzzled and amazed, they went to the Metropolitan Ioann who ordered his people to ask at the market place whose child it was. Many people came to see the child, and among them was the child's father. He recognized the child, but was afraid to say anything. He went home and told his wife what happened in the Cathedral. She immediately understood that it was St.

Nicholas who rescued their child, and accused her husband of not having enough faith in the powers of the saint. The woman went to the Cathedral, recognized the child and gave thanks to St. Nicholas and his icon.

- 15) Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o polovčine
(plennom). Beginning: "Povedaju
 vam, bratie, inoe čjudo svjatago
 Nikoly, vy ž ne lenitesja, no jasno
 poslušajte. V tom že prežrečennom
 grade Kieve bjaše čelovek cylomudren
 smyslom . . . "90

Content: There was a man in Kiev who had a Polovtsian in prison in his house. One day he told the prisoner that if he paid the ransom he would go free. The Polovtsian did not have any money so they agreed that he would promise under oath to an icon of St. Nicholas that he would go and return with the ransom. He was given a horse and released, but warned that he should fulfill the promise, otherwise the saint would punish him. The pagan left Kiev laughing at the stupidity of the Russian who believed in the powers of a wooden panel. When he arrived home his family encouraged him not to pay the ransom. After some time St. Nicholas appeared to the Polovtsian and urged him to take the ransom to the man in Kiev. The pagan disregarded this warning and found oblivion in drinking. One day when he rode his horse the saint again appeared to him, threw him off his mount and ordered him to fulfill the promise. The Polovtsian went home thinking about taking the ransom to Kiev, but again took to drinking and forgot about the warnings. Several days later there was a meeting of the Polovtsian nobles and princes and the pagan was among the others, sitting on his horse. St. Nicholas appeared to him for the third time, threw him on the ground and began to punish him. The Polovtsians around were astonished and terrified when they saw how their comrade was thrown up and down by some invisible force and how some invisible sticks beat on his back (they could not see the saint). When Nicholas left, the Polovtsian was barely alive. His family took him home and only after many days he was able to explain what had

happened to him. The family, afraid that something could happen to them, advised the pagan to repay his debt. He took two herds of horses and set out to Kiev. First he went to the church of St. Nicholas in which he swore before the icon of the saint, and left a small herd for the church. Then he brought the bigger herd to the man who released him. The Polovtsian explained everything to the man. When the latter heard what miracle performed the Wonderworker, he went to the church of St. Nicholas and thanked the saint.

These 15 miracle stories can be divided into four groups. The first group includes the stories which have been written in Greek and later have been translated into Old Russian. The second group consists of the stories written probably in Greek, but preserved only in Slavonic manuscripts. The third group contains the Russian stories. The last group is represented by only one story, the origins of which are difficult to establish.

To the first group belong the stories describing the following miracles: the miracle with Demetrios (Thauma de Demetrio,⁹¹ the miracle with Basil (Thauma de Basilio), the miracle with the monk Nicholas (Thauma de monacho Nicolao), the miracle with the priest from Mytilene (Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi), the miracle with Peter (Thauma de Petro scholario), the miracle with the lame Nicholas (Thauma de Nicolao claudo), and the miracle with the three daughters (Praxis de tribus

filiabus). The first three stories were written in the middle of the 9th century and formed the so-called Thaumata Tria. The fourth and fifth stories were included in the Encomium Methodii, also written in the middle of the 9th century. Soon after the appearance of the Thaumata Tria and Encomium Methodii, the three miracle stories from the latter (Thauma de Ioanne patre,⁹² Thauma de Petro scholario, and Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi) were compiled with the Thaumata Tria, forming the so-called Thaumata Sex. The Thaumata Sex was later expanded through the addition of other miracle stories. One of these later additions was Thauma de Nicolao claudo, written about the 10th century. The seventh story, Praxis de tribus filiabus, was first recorded in the Vita per Michaellem (middle of the 9th century).

The second group includes the following stories: the miracle with a carpet (Thauma de stromate), the miracle with the three Christians (Thauma de tribus Christianis), the miracle with the patriarch (Thauma de patriarcha), the miracle with a servant boy (Thauma de servo liberato) and the miracle with the monastery (Thauma de sepulcro). Because these stories survive only in Slavonic translations, it is difficult to determine the dates and places of their origin.

The third group includes two miracle stories written in Russia: the miracle with the drowned child (The Kiev miracle) and the miracle with the Polovtsian prisoner (The Polovtsian miracle). It is possible that they were written as early as the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century, although the oldest manuscripts containing these stories date back to the 15th century.

To the fourth group belongs only one story: the miracle with the Saracene (The Saracene miracle).

Gustav Anrich divided all the miraculous deeds of St. Nicholas into 8 thematic categories. The first category contained miscellaneous motives included in the biographies of the saint, the second the motives presenting the saint as a protector of his city, the third as a saviour of people from captivity and imprisonment during the war. The fourth category included motives of Nicholas being a saviour at sea, the fifth of Nicholas rescuing people from other kinds of need, the sixth of Nicholas rewarding his worshippers, the seventh of the saint performing miracles through his image, and the eighth of Nicholas as a fighter of demons and a healer of the demoniacs and the sick. I find this division too detailed because many categories strongly overlap, and suggest another division, into four broad categories. The first category would encompass all

stories in which the saint is a saviour at sea. The second would include the stories depicting the saint as a saviour from captivity and imprisonment. The third category would contain the stories presenting Nicholas as a benefactor or miraculous provider, and the fourth category would give the accounts of Nicholas' fight with demons and of his miraculous healings.⁹³ According to this division Thauma de Demetrio, Thauma de monacho Nicolao, Thauma de tribus Christianis, Thauma de patriarcha and The Kiev miracle would belong to the first category, Thauma de Basilio, Thauma de Petro scholario, Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi, Thauma de servo liberato, The Saracene miracle and The Polovtsian miracle to the second, Praxis de tribus filiabus, Thauma de stromate and Thauma de sepulcro to the third, and Thauma de Nicolao claudo to the fourth. However, because all divisions of this kind are not accurate, it would probably be the best to characterize every story separately, finding their distinctive and characteristic features.

For such an analysis the researcher should first of all try to discover the basic repertory of the common motifs included in the stories, that is, to characterize the works in their thematic content. This approach should demonstrate all the similarities and differences among the stories, and allow one to see their

originality or traditionalism.

1) The basis for Thauma de Demetrio was the earliest miracle at sea performed by the saint, described in the Praxis de nautis, a story written about the 8th century and included in the first vita of the saint. It told the story of the sailors who during a terrible storm invoked the help of St. Nicholas, at that time still alive. The saint came and calmed the sea, saving the sailors. They proceeded to Myra and recognized their helper in the bishop performing his duties at the church in the city. When they thanked their saviour, he said that it was God who rewarded them for their faith. Jones, analyzing this story, said: "Except in the one remarkable respect, that the miracle took place while N was still alive, it seems an unimaginative coinage, designed to deify by upbuilding N as a kindly patron of the sea . . . The remarkable appearance of the living N is doubtless a borrowing from Stratilat
tes . . ." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 24; cf.: Anrich, II, p. 415). The story indeed presents a standard and common motif of sea-calming, and besides the element mentioned by Jones, does not contain anything of special interest. Similar, but better developed stories about the calming of the sea can be found already in the Vita Nicolai Sionitae. It is difficult to explain why Praxis de nautis became an almost standard miracle story in the

vitae of St. Nicholas. The only plausible assumption is that the authority of Michael, the first hagiographer of St. Nicholas, and especially of Metaphrastes who also included this story in his work, was so great that the future hagiographers did not dare to omit the narrative, despite its colorlessness. It is also possible that because of Nicholas' cult as a protector of sailors and sea travelers, every miracle depicting his miraculous help was considered important.

The author of Thauma de Demetrio presented himself as an excellent and original story teller. In his tale Nicholas not only saved a drowning man at sea (a slight transformation of the basic sea-miracle motif), but also transported him in an instant to his house. The motif of carrying away or transporting from place to place was well known in Greek hagiography (Anrich, II, p. 408) and would frequently appear in the stories about St. Nicholas. These two motifs connected together would easily suffice to surpass Praxis de nautis in potential interest for the reader. However, the author did not stop there. He gave the second part of the story in the form of an anecdote, developed by means of dialogue between Demetrios and his neighbors. In this dialogue neither side realized what had happened. Demetrios thought that he was at the bottom of the sea, and kept invoking St. Nicholas. The neighbors heard his

voice and decided to investigate: "Glagol est' suseda našego Dimitra, no to v(e)čera be šel, da kako li skoro prišel; kako li v grad všel nošč'ju, a zaključen. Pojdem, da vidim v xlevine." They went to the man's house and heard him calling St. Nicholas. The lock was intact and they had to break in: "Razbiem zamok, da vidim si, bratie, čto est'?" Inside the house they saw Demetrios, and began asking him these questions: "Kako esi vlezl v klet' zaključenu, i čto li kako skoro vzvratilsja esi, večer otšed, a nošč' pride. Čto li se esi ves' mokr?" As if he had just awakened, Demetrios became alert and inquired: "Da kde esm? I vy kto este, iže mene vprašate?" The neighbors answered: "My esmy susedi tvoi, i se v kleti svoej besedueši sedja, da čto se tebe došlo?" Only then the man explained: "Se tokmo vide: iduščim nam po morju, vnezapu tuča i vetr velik pride, i obratisja korablec' nic', vnidox na dno morja. I se nyne kde esm', ili kako sja esm' sde obrel, ne vede." (pp. 34-5). After this last response the neighbors and Demetrios finally realized that the miracle was performed by St. Nicholas. This dialogue not only gives the story a certain psychological depth, but also creates a new culmination: the moment when the people understand that it was the saint who saved Demetrios from the abyss. It is worth noting here that the figure of the saint is in the story only a construction-

al frame enabling the author to spin his tale. The real heroes of the story are Demetrios and his neighbours, not the Wonderworker. This phenomenon will be seen in many other stories depicting the miracles of St. Nicholas.

2) Thauma de Basilio, another fine example of Byzantine story telling, includes one motif which we have seen in Thauma de Demetrio, the motif of miraculous transportation from place to place. In this case, however, Basil recognizes St. Nicholas who carries him away from the court of the Emir. The subject of the story brings us close to the historical events of the 9th century. The appearance of the works describing the capture of Christians and their miraculous release from imprisonment originated under the impact of the Byzantine-Arab conflict. "About 824, the strategic island of Crete was lost from the empire; for one hundred and thirty years it was the base for Arabic piracy." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 74). The Arabs also dominated Sicily and a great part of Italy. Traveling, either by sea, or by land, became extremely dangerous. It is not surprising that very soon many stories depicting the abductions of Christians by the Arabs have appeared, undoubtedly based on the accounts of eye-witnesses and survivors of the Arab raids. Shortly afterwards these stories have been connected with the names of the most

popular helpers in distress, St. Nicholas and St. George. The story of Basil, "a most popular Byzantine marvel" (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 76) not only found its way to Russia and the West (it was known in Latin in several versions) but was ascribed to St. George in a slightly different form (Anrich, II, pp. 408-9). As it will be shown the theme of imprisonment and captivity remains alive and popular through the centuries.

St. Nicholas in Thauma de Basilio, like in Thauma de Demetrio, is not the main hero of the story. He moves the action, but the reader does not even know how the saint looks. The main heroes are Basil's parents and Basil himself. The author's attention in the beginning is centered around Basil's escapade and misfortune, and later around the emotions and feelings of his parents. After losing their beloved son they forget about the celebrations of St. Nicholas' day. Reminded about the powers of the saint, they pray to him for the deliverance of their son, and their restored faith is almost instantly rewarded by the miracle. This is again an attempt of psychological motivation of the story. The author tries to say that if the parents did not lose their faith and remembered the goodness of the saint, their son might have been returned much earlier.

Thauma de Basilio is also interesting for its great emphasis on fascinating details, ranging from the brief

description of Arab clothing and the customs at the Emir's court, to the presentation of such a "realistic", everyday detail as barking dogs, uneasy in the presence of a stranger (supernatural being).

3) Unlike Thauma de Basilio, Thauma de monacho Nicolao is one of the least original stories among the fifteen miracles described above. The standard motif of the calming of the sea is connected here with another common motif--walking on the waves. The latter is well known in hagiography and may derive from the famous Gospel miracle of Christ walking on the waves (Matthew 14: 22-23). The brevity of the story makes it difficult to decide who is the real hero of the narrative, the monk Nicholas or the saint. It seems as if the author devoted equal attention to both. In this connection it can be argued that in longer stories the authors, through the inclusion of details, development of the plot, and the skillful use of dialogue, subconsciously or consciously changed the object of their attention from the person who performed miracles (the saint) to the person(s) on whom the miracle was performed (the ordinary man). In short stories, for example in Thauma de monarcho Nicolao, such a change was impossible to achieve.

4) Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi is another story devoted to the theme of the Byzantine-Arab conflict. It employs and develops in a certain way the

motif taken from Praxis de Stratelatis, of saving from execution. While in Praxis de Stratelatis the saint only grabbed the sword not allowing the executioner to administer the blow, in this story he took the sword away from the executioner's hand three times in a row. This action of the saint is described with a hint of humor. Only the priest knows that Nicholas is there because the saint encourages him to be brave; the executioner does not have any idea of the saint's presence. When Nicholas takes the sword from his hand, the man naively asks: "Kde mi meč'?", and Christopher answers plainly: "Nikolae vzja." This dialogue is repeated three times and the executioner grows more and more impatient and puzzled. Finally, he asks: "Povež' mi, kyj takoj Nikolae?" The priest says: "Iže v Murex Lukyi." When the Arab hears this explanation, he replies: "Ašče t est, t velik mužet i dobr, mnogo bo esm' slyšal eže tvorit' dobra čelovekom." Then he releases the priest and the other three prisoners (p. 13). In Praxis de Stratelatis the miracle with the three unjustly accused citizens of Myra was witnessed by many people. In Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi Nicholas was seen only by the person who invoked him. Probably such a change was caused by the fact that during the miracle at Myra St. Nicholas was supposed to be still alive, while during this miracle he was dead for many

centuries. Such an invisibility of the saint can be observed in several other stories about St. Nicholas, for instance in Thauma de stromate and The Polovtsian miracle.

The story about Christopher has also certain stylistic parallels with the story about Basil. There is a specific formula used for the description of the distribution of the captives by the Saracenes. In Thauma de Basilio the Saracenes "poloniša vsja ljudi . . . syna že Agrikova . . . daša knjazju . . . a drugija prodaša, a inyja v temnici zatvoriša." (pp. 3-4) In Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi, after the men were captured, the Saracenes "postaviša ja na troe: edinu čast' pod meč', a druguju prodati, a tretiju v temnici zatvoriti . . ." (p. 12). The latter story emphasizes the death penalty as the most dangerous fate for the captives, while the former story stresses the captivity itself, without even mentioning the possibility of death.

5) Thauma de Petro scholario is almost identical to the first part of the Vita Petri Athonitae, a curious work, written probably in the 10th century by an otherwise unknown Nikolaos. According to Anrich this vita belongs to the "weakest products of Greek hagiography" (II, p. 293). It depicts the life of the ascete Peter. Freed by St. Nicholas from prison in Samarra, Peter became a monk in Rome and later, looking for a

favourable place for his ascetic life, joined some sailors who sailed to Asia. The sailors stopped for provisions at Crete, and Peter healed a sick man there. On the sea again, the ship miraculously stopped near Athos. Peter understood the sign and asked to be put ashore. He spent all his remaining life there, fighting demons and conversing with the Virgin. After almost fifty years of concealment he was accidentally discovered by a deer hunter. When the hunter saw a naked man with long white hair, he fled, horrified. The man returned later, but Peter was already dead. The ascete's body rested in Thrace and was known for its power of exorcisms.

Anrich answered two questions which would intrigue researchers of both the works: whether Thauma de Petro scholario and the Vita Petri Athonitae portrayed the same person, and which work was primary. His investigations revealed that Peter the Scholar and Peter of Athos were two different persons and both of them could have been historical figures (II, p. 404). Thauma de Petro scholario, a part of the Encomium Methodii, appeared earlier. The author of the Vita Petri Athonitae came across the Thauma de Petro and was so moved by the consonance of the names that he ascribed to Peter of Athos the miracles connected with Peter the Scholar (Anrich, II, pp. 295, 404).

Thauma de Petro scholario includes one motif borrowed from Praxis de Stratelatis, the miraculous rescue from prison. This motif can be considered a variation of the standard motif of rescue from captivity and imprisonment, but in this case the hero is for the first time freed of his chains and led away by the saint (in Praxis de Stratelatis the generals are released by Constantine). As it will be shown, this motif appears in many stories, often connected with breaking of chains, opening of prison doors or transporting to a distant place.

As in other more developed stories, in the story about Peter the dialogue plays an important role. St. Nicholas and St. Symeon want to be assured that Peter will become a monk and fulfill his promise. Symeon is a stricter and more demanding saint and he ominously warns Peter: "Ne mozi solgati mne, jako i Nikole." Later Nicholas repeats the warning (notice the similarity of expressions): "Brate, se prišel esi v Rim, da ne mozi solgati . . ." (p. 17). It is Nicholas who arranges with the Pope that Peter will become a monk. Nicholas' appearance to the Pope derives from Praxis de Stratelatis.

It is interesting that Nicholas appears to Peter only after the latter fasts for seven days and prays to the saint. Nicholas is also not able to help Peter by

himself, but needs the assistance of another intercessor before God, St. Symeon. This fragment of the story can be treated as an attempt at using psychological motivation, saturated with strong elements of Christian morality, to depict the actions of the saints. St. Nicholas remembers the first promise Peter has given him and has forgotten to fulfill, and is not eager to commit such a mistake again. He brings St. Symeon, a representative of the highest ranks of the heavenly hierarchy who, through his authority, can help, but only if he believes in Peter's intentions. Convinced in the sincerity of Peter's promise, the saints then together, as if sharing responsibility, release the man.

6) Thauma de Nicolao claudo presents a new motif. The saint is portrayed here as a helper in need, a healer of the sick and an exorcist of demons. However, in the finale of the story a very characteristic change occurs. I believe that after the end of iconoclasm when the icons of saints spread widely and their worship was no longer restrained, quite naturally the painted images took over many functions of the saints. At that time the stories about miraculous and wonderworking icons became popular. The painted images were especially suited to perform miracles of healings and exorcisms (see chapter IV of this dissertation). Thus, Thauma de Nicolao claudo can be considered one of the earliest

tales about miraculous icons of St. Nicholas. It still lacks some elements of the fully developed icon tale, but has the miraculous appearance of the saint and the miracle performed by the icon, two most characteristic features of such tales.

Also worth noting is the way in which the sick man is healed. He uses the holy oil and makes a sign of the cross over his body. This remedy reminds us of the Vita Nicolai Sionitae, but it is common to the hagiography of all the saints.

7) As Jones indicates, Praxis de tribus filiabus "has no clear antecedents in pagan or Christian lore; it belongs to N alone . . ." (St. Nicholas, p. 53). Most vitae and encomia included this story which appeared for the first time probably in the Vita per Michaelem and became later the most popular miracle of the saint after Praxis de Stratelatis. According to the text, the miracle was performed after the death of Nicholas' parents when the saint inherited all their wealth and decided to give it away to the needy. It has been pointed out that "a purpose of the story is to depict a class of innately good and charitable youths from among whom the order of priests needs to be drawn." (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 57).

If one compares this story with the version recorded by Michael or Metaphrastes, the differences will be

quite significant and interesting. In all versions but the Russian the father decides to sell his daughters into prostitution. Symeon describes it in the following way: "Myšljaše že niščety radi na blud odati ja xot-jaščim i eže ottudu temi priobretenie sebe že i otrokovicam ot togo tvoriti . . ." (VMČD6, p. 134). In the Russian story Nicholas saves the daughters from poverty and enables them to get married, in the Greek versions he also saves them from the sin of impurity. Maybe this alteration in the Russian text was caused by the lack of prostitution (in its institutionalized, traditional form) in Old Russia. More probable is an assumption that the author of this Russian alteration did not consider it appropriate to mention prostitution in a work concerned with the charity of St. Nicholas. He emphasized the financial assistance of the saint (Nicholas throws bags of gold, each time increasing the amount, while in the Greek texts it is always an equal amount--"uzol zlata"), not his rescue of the maidens from the spiritual abyss. This motif of financial assistance or charity is connected with giving a dowry to three young girls, and gives rise to St. Nicholas' veneration as a patron of maidens and marriageable girls.

The number three plays an important role in the story. In this connection it should be mentioned that one copy of the Vita Nicolai Sionitae⁹⁴ had a very simi-

lar story in which there were only two daughters. Some other details also differed: for instance, Nicholas learned about the trouble of the family from an angel (in the Russian story the saint sensed the father's sorrow), he was still very young at the time of the miracle, and in order to accomplish his charitable deed he had to twice steal 50 gold pieces from his parents. It is possible that the story with only two daughters originated earlier and was later changed under the influence of a trend to associate the saint with the number three. According to Jones, "the appearance of three in tales of N is so especially prevalent that most commentators have regarded N as the exemplary exponent of the Trinitarian Orthodoxy . . ." (St. Nicholas, p. 63).⁹⁵

Praxis de tribus filiabus is also the main source of the tradition of giving gifts on St. Nicholas day, now remembered and celebrated only in some European countries. This custom was overshadowed by the tradition of Christmas presents (the latter probably incorporated the custom of giving presents on the 6th of January, the Epiphany, with the custom of giving gifts on the 6th of December, St. Nicholas Day.

8) The Saracene miracle, another story reflecting the Byzantine-Arab confrontation, presents great difficulty for the researcher. It was preserved in many

Russian manuscripts, but Anrich did not publish any Greek parallels which would suggest the story's Greek origin. However, to assume that the Russian author composed the story would be probably hasty and unjustified because the work does not contain any specifically Russian elements. On the contrary, the motifs employed in the story are standard motifs of Byzantine tales. The miraculous appearances come from Praxis de Stratelatis, the miraculous transportation of a prisoner from Thauma de Basilio and Thauma de Petro scholario, the breaking of the chains from the latter again.

An interesting feature of this story is that it presents two sets of miracles: one performed by St. Nicholas and one performed by St. George. The incorporation of two saints in one miracle story was, as we have already seen, used in some tales. St. Nicholas and St. George were in particular often connected or substituted for each other (see Anrich, II, p. 412). In The Saracene miracle St. Nicholas seems to play the role of a compositional frame: he performs the first miracle and is also mentioned in the end of the story. Although St. George performs more miracles (appears twice to the Saracene and to the imprisoned guards, directs the galley towards Cyprus, breaks the chains of the guards and heals the wound in one's leg), he is not mentioned in the ending of the story: "i stvoriŝa prazdnik svja-

tomu Nikole izbavl'šemu ja ot vsjakoja bedy . . . " (p. 43). It could be an indication that in the beginning the story described only St. Nicholas' miracles. For further development of the plot St. George was introduced and his miracles carried the tale to its finale. This is only a supposition, but there is a possibility that it was a St. George miracle story and St. Nicholas was added later, in order to create another example of his miraculous powers. Finally, there is the possibility of a skillful composition of two stories into one. The presence of the standard motifs and their repetition could suggest such a compilative work. It is amazing that the author, operating with these common, unoriginal motifs, created an interesting story. Similarly to other well developed miracle stories, the Saracene becomes a real hero of the work and the use of dialogue enables the author to explain to the reader how the miracles have occurred.

One of the most interesting features of the story is that the saints help a non-believer, a pagan. Before they helped only good Christians, but now they rescue a person who invoked their help because he overheard a prayer. This phenomenon will become quite common in hagiography, and is caused by the clear distinction in the stories between the good and the evil heroes. The good Christian cannot change, but the pagan can, under

certain circumstances, become a good Christian. This process of conversion of heathens into Christianity under the impact of the miracle performed on them, will be observed in several stories related to St. Nicholas.

9) Thauma de stromate was preserved only in the Slavonic manuscripts. By including it in his study, Anrich indicated its Greek provenience. It is a charming story demonstrating how the love and trust in St. Nicholas and sacrifice of the last valuable thing in order to celebrate the saint's feast day is amply rewarded by the Wonderworker. We have already encountered the motif of financial assistance in the Praxis de tribus filiabus. Here the assistance is more modest, but also leads to the financial security of the impoverished family (the man is awarded a pension by the Patriarch). The motif of a miraculous appearance of the saint is employed here two times, when the saint meets the old man and when he comes to his wife to return the carpet. The dialogue is well developed; especially convincing and dynamic is the scene in which the saint appears to the old man. The saint inquires: "Družē ljubimyj, gde idešī?" The man replies: "Potrebu imam doiti do torgu." The saint asks about the carpet: "Povež' mi na kolice xoščesi otdati kover svoj, az bo xoščju takovago kovra kupiti." The old man answers: "Pervoe dano na sem' kovre 8 zlatnik, nyne priimu eliko mi aščē vdasi."

Nicholas offers 6 pieces of gold: "Priimešiši li 6 zlatnik?" The seller can hardly believe his good luck: "Priimu s radost'ju ašče mi dasi." The saint pays the money and vanishes. The people who are near and cannot see the saint wonder why the old man talks to himself: "Eda privedenie vidišiši starče, čto se glagolešiši edin?" (pp. 21-2) The dialogue presents the situations in a certain "realistic" light and makes the events seem probable. It can be pointed out that Thauma de stromate originated at the time when the subject of captivity and imprisonment by the Arabs lost its importance while the everyday problems of the people became the leading theme of the tales. This process can be seen in such stories as Thauma de servo liberato and Thauma de sepulcro.

10) Thauma de tribus Christianis is another miracle story surviving only in a Slavonic version and included in Anrich's study. It is probably a later work, although the events depicted in it take place during the reign of the emperors Probus and Florianus (?), in the third century. Anrich noticed the fairy-tale tone of this story (II, p. 420). It is possible that we are dealing with an oral legend of provincial, maybe Crimean origin, written down at the time when the vitae and numerous miracle stories of St. Nicholas were affecting many local secular tales and legends. It is easy to imagine this story being told without the name "St. Nicholas."

The saint's name was probably added because the story, describing the event which took place at sea, fit well into the image of the saint--protector of sailors and sea travelers. The three Christians thrown overboard invoke St. Nicholas; in this we recognize the motif of miraculous rescue at sea. However, it is not the saint himself who saves the men. They are rescued by a floating stone and a whale. Both these motifs are purely folkloric and fantastic. The floating stone resembles to a certain degree the magic objects obtained by a hero of a fairy tale in order to accomplish his task or deed. The closest parallels would be the flying carpet or the seven-league boots, enabling heroes of fairy tales to move fast from place to place. One could argue in this connection that the power of St. Nicholas to move from place to place and to transport people in an instant may have its origin in such tales featuring magic objects. In our story the stone moves swiftly like an arrow: "aki strela polete pod nima . . . po morju." (p. 31). This expression also reminds one of fairy tale descriptions of rapid movement. Another very common motif is a whale, or a gigantic fish swallowing everything. The parallel with Jonah is obvious, but there are even closer parallels in folklore. There is a Russian fairy tale about Marco the Rich and Vasilij the Luckless, in which the whale swallows 12 of Marco's

ships.⁹⁶ The popularity of the motif can be confirmed even by the story of Pinocchio in which Gepetto's boat is swallowed by Monstro the Whale.

In the second part of the story the prince of Byzantium becomes the most powerful judge. He devises the scheme of the feast during which the pagans are surprised by the appearance of their "victims". The prince also administers a punishment to the pagans, throwing them into the sea, that is, acting according to proverbial "who lives by sword, dies by sword." This cunning revenge reminds us of the stories from the Arabian Nights, but is certainly unfitting as an example of Christian morality. Therefore the assumption that the story originated as a fairy tale or oral legend, secular in its content, should be accepted as the most probable.

11) Thauma de patriarcha also survived only in the Slavonic manuscripts, but was probably⁹⁷ based on a Greek original. According to the tale, the events described took place during the reign of Emperor Leontius and his patriarch Athanasius. Ševčenko, following other scholars, indicated that "these names must be corruptions of those of Emperor Leo III (717-41) and Patriarch Anastasius (730-54), since the Emperor Leontius (695-8) had no Patriarch with a name like Athanasius." (Ševčenko, p. 6). Surprisingly, the story does not reflect the Icono-

clast controversy. The Patriarch does not seem to be against painted images in general, but rather against the representation of St. Nicholas, a son of the peasants, Theophanes and Nonna. "The text is . . . a piece of propaganda on behalf of Nicholas, probably written at a time when the saint had not yet been widely accepted as a major figure in the church hierarchy. The references in the text to Nicholas of Sion suggest a further explanation: the text may have been written to counter objections to the identification of Nicholas, archimandrite of Sion, with the great Archbishop of Myra." (Ševčenko, pp. 7-8).

Ševčenko also assumed that Thauma de patriarcha was written "sometime before 900" (p. 8). However, if one interprets the story as a skillful coinage expressing the idea of the third position of St. Nicholas in the heavenly hierarchy, the dating of the work should be changed. The idea of this high position of the saint could not have originated before the 10th century, when the saint indeed became the most popular after Christ and the Virgin. Although the problem of Nicholas of Sion could have occupied the minds of some authors even after the amalgamation of both saints into one Wonderworker, the appearance of the Vita per Metaphrasten probably put an end to any objections on account of its authoritativeness and subsequent popularity.

The story can be divided into three parts. The first part describes the peripeties of Theophanes caused by the icon and the visit of the Patriarch. The second part describes the sea miracle--saving of the Patriarch by Nicholas. In the third part the author comes back to Theophanes and depicts the building of a church in honor of the saint and placing the icon in this new church. The hero of the first part is Theophanes, the second part gives the most attention to the Patriarch, and the third links the Patriarch and Theophanes again, through the icon. The saint, despite his appearance in the first part and his saving of the Patriarch in the second, plays a rather diminutive role.

I include this story in the category of sea miracles, although other motifs are also apparent in the work. The motif of the multiplication of wine is taken from the Vita Nicolai Sionitae, and the motif of an icon for which a church is built appears frequently in tales of miraculous icons (cf. chapter IV of this dissertation). The core of the story, the sea miracle, resembles Thauma de Demetrio and several other Greek sea miracles.

12) In Anrich's study, Thauma de servo liberato was retold as still another story preserved only in Slavonic manuscripts and difficult to date. The German scholar mentioned a possible parallel to this story in

one of the copies of the Vita Nicolai Sionitae (Sinaiticus 525), and indicated the influence of Praxis de Stratelatis, seen in the miraculous appearances of St. Nicholas to the imprisoned servant and his master. The master releases the boy almost identically as Constantine released the three generals. In this story, however, the saint takes off the chains of the boy (a motif known from Thauma de Petro scholario and The Saracene miracle). As it was said before, the work has certain features linking it with Thauma de stromate. Not only do both stories depict the events which took place probably after the Byzantine-Arab conflict, but also present the everyday life of the inhabitants of Constantinople. The imprisonment theme in this period acquires certain social meaning; the political insecurity of the past epoch is forgotten. The saint becomes a champion of the poor and weak, of the humiliated and insulted, a powerful defender against the devil's temptation of the Christians rather than the defender of the Christians from the infidels and pagans.

13) Thauma de sepulcro, the last miracle story of possible Greek origin, but extant only in the Slavonic version, fits perfectly into the category of tales depicting the saint's financial assistance to the needy. It is possible that the work appeared as a secular tale. Stories about discoveries of buried treasure were quite

common in the Middle Ages. Usually such a discovery is accidental. In fairy tales the motif is also very popular and appears in many forms. It would be easy to transform a tale of this kind into a miraculous deed of the saint. Characteristically, in our work the saint appears to the Father Superior and explains the miracle only in the very end of the story. This placement of the miraculous appearance seems like a later addition, which enables the author to change the secular tale into a Christian moralistic story about the goodness of St. Nicholas.

14) The Kiev miracle is the first of the Russian miracle stories. It depicts a miracle of rescuing a child from drowning in the river. This is, of course, a transformation of a "sea-miracle" theme. The Russian author, who probably never saw the sea, but was well acquainted with the dangers of river travel, used the great Russian river Dnepr as a site of this miracle of St. Nicholas. A.V. Bagrij in his article devoted to the story pointed out that the work resembles in style and manner of expression the contemporary 11th and 12th century Russian original works, for instance Nestor's Life of St. Theodosius and the Legend of Boris and Gleb, the Laurentian Chronicle, etc. He gave numerous examples of close parallels (pp. 269-70). It is also apparent that the Russian author knew very well the Byzan-

tine tradition of story-telling and employed in his work the devices and motifs common in other stories of St. Nicholas, placing them, however, on the background of Russian history and geography. The heroes of the story, the parents of the drowned child, travel from Kiev to Vyšgorod to see the relics of the first Russian saints Boris and Gleb. This is a characteristic change, because, as we remember, the heroes of Thauma de Demetrio and Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi traveled to see the relics of St. Nicholas. The drowned child is found in the famous St. Sophia Cathedral, the pride of Kiev, in front of an icon of the saint. When the child is discovered by the warden and the sacristan, the icon is wet, which suggests that the miracle has been performed by the icon itself. Such an identification of the saint with this image became common in Byzantine stories (we had seen it in Thauma de Nicolao claudio). Similarly to Thauma de Basilio the miracle is performed shortly after the parents pray for the deliverance of their only child.

The Russian tale, as Čiževskij points out,⁹⁸ has a Western parallel. This Western story appeared for the first time in a manuscript which was once at the Battle Abbey (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 227). It can be dated to about the 11th century. One of the stories there, called by Jones The Substituted Cup, closely resembles

the Russian tale. A man promises a chalice to St. Nicholas, but when the chalice is made he is so enchanted with it that he decides to keep it and orders another one for the saint. With his wife and son he travels to Myra in a ship, carrying both vessels. His son takes the first chalice, falls overboard and drowns. The parents proceed to Myra and when they try to place the second chalice on the altar, an invisible force throws it on the floor. Later their son appears in the church with the first chalice and explains that St. Nicholas has saved him from drowning. The first chalice (or both of them in some versions) is then offered to the saint. The story was popularized in the 13th century by Jacobi de Voragine who included it in his Legenda Aurea.⁹⁹

It is difficult to assume with certainty that the Russian author knew this Western tale and reworked it accordingly with his tastes and preferences, for the greater glorification of the saint in Kievan society. However, if one keeps in mind Kiev's close relations with France, Germany, Scandinavia and England (numerous matrimonial alliances, asylum given to exiled rulers, etc.) such a hypothesis is tempting.

15) The Polovtsian miracle is the second Russian story which could have appeared in the 11th-12th centuries. The theme of imprisonment was at that time as

vital in Russia (confrontations with Cumans) as it was for the Byzantines during their battles with the Arabs. It is not surprising that the Russian author tried to describe a miracle related to the events which were on the minds of many inhabitants of the Duchy. As in The Kiev miracle, the sources of this story are difficult to find. The standard motif of the miraculous appearance of the saint is employed here three times (probably a folkloric influence). There are some similarities between this story and The Saracene miracle or even Thauma de Petro scholario. The heroes give a promise to the saint and are rescued from imprisonment (the method of release is different in all three cases). In the Russian story, however, the Polovtsian gives an oath in front of an icon of the saint. We have already seen such a replacement of the saint by his icon. This process undoubtedly had some impact on the appearance of the tales about the wonderworking icons. The Polovtsian is forced to fulfill his promise after severe punishment administered by St. Nicholas for his disobedience. But the pagan does not convert, as in the story about the Saracene.

The motif of an oath given in front of an icon of the saint can derive from a tale about a Vandal who has found an icon of St. Nicholas during a Vandal raid on Calabria. Having learned about the saint's powers, the

Vandal made the icon a guardian of his house and property. Once, when he was away, thieves plundered his house. Infuriated, the pagan whipped the icon. St. Nicholas then appeared to the thieves and threatened them that if they did not return the stolen goods he would denounce them and they would be sentenced to death. The thieves returned the property, and the Vandal converted to Christianity and later built a church of St. Nicholas, spreading the cult and fame of the saint to Africa.

This tale, called by Anrich Thauma de imagine Nicolai in Africa, appeared in Byzantium around the year 900 (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 79), but was much more popular in the West, especially after it was included (in slightly different form) by Jacobi de Voragine in his Legenda Aurea.

If the hypothesis about the Western origin of The Kiev miracle is accepted, it would be equally tempting to suppose that this story about the Vandal came to Russia through the intermediacy of some Western country and was reworked into The Polovtsian miracle. More probable, however, is a supposition that the Russian author was acquainted with some oral tales which employed the motifs present in the Western stories. Fascinated by these motifs and subjects, he simply converted these tales into Russian miracles. It is possible that

both stories were known in Kiev in the 11th century, but were written down only later, in the 13th or 14th. This would explain the lack of early manuscripts containing the stories, and confirm the hypothesis that they circulated in the beginning as oral tales, possibly of Western origin.

In the 18th century The Polovtsian miracle was reworked into the story entitled "Čudo svjatitelja Nikoli, kotoroe bylo v Kieve meste o meščaninu Dobriku i Tatarinu." (Nicol'skij, p. 380). This alteration was made in order to justify the legend about the church of St. Nicholas the Good (see chapter IV of this dissertation). Of course the Polovtsian peril was already deep in the past, but the danger of the Mongol and Tartar attacks was still great in the 18th century (the Crimean Tartars were defeated only in 1788).

In Russia these 15 miracle stories usually followed the Vita Nicolai Sionitae and for that reason were treated as a part of this work (cf. Ključevskij, p. 247).

In 1881 Archimandrite Leonid (Kavelin) published his study of the Vita Nicolai Sionitae, inspired by two articles by Archimandrite Antonin in Trudy Kievskoj Duxovnoj Akademii. Leonid maintained that the Vita was "doubtless a monument of Old Russian literature of the 11th century; however, it was not original, as the most

of the scholars had thought, but with the exception of three chapters (miracles) undoubtedly written in Russia, a translation." (Žitie, p. 10). Leonid published the texts of the three stories he considered Russian: Thauma de stromate, Thauma de servo liberato and The Kiev miracle.

Seven years later, in 1888, Leonid again undertook an investigation of these miracle stories which he earlier thought to be a translation from the Greek. This time in the introduction to fifteen published miracle stories the Russian scholar said that "the posthumous miracles are all the original Russian work of the second half of the 11th century; the author is none else but St. Efrem, a monk of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves" (Posmertnyja, pp. iii-iv). The grounds for such a hypothesis Leonid saw in the fact that the feast of the Translation was instituted when Efrem, a bishop of Perejaslavl', administered the Metropolitan See in Kiev (after the death of the Metropolitan Ioann II in 1091). Another confirmation of his thesis Leonid believed to find in the fact that Efrem was in Constantinople at the time when two of the miracles took place, and that he was interested in literature. Leonid went even so far as to ascribe to Efrem the authorship of not only these 15 miracle stories, but also the of Russian account of the Translation (Prisno ubo), the sermon on the Transla-

tion (Slovo poxvalno) and the Russian rendering of the Vita Nicolai Sionitae (Posmertnyja, pp. iii-iv, x-xi).

Leonid's assumptions underwent a crushing criticism by N. Nikol'skij. He called them "unstable conjectures" (p. 302) and said that Leonid's "net of conclusions is too fragile to give it any scientific trustworthiness." (p. 303). Continuing his criticism, Nikol'skij argued: "Neither the time of Efrem's life in Constantinople, nor the Russian origin of the monuments under consideration, nor the probability of the conjecture about Efrem's literary activities are determined with sufficient definiteness. First of all, it is possible that the monuments linked with the name of Efrem will be discovered not to have originated on the Russian soil." (p. 303). Finally, later in his work, Nikol'skij proved the fallacy of Leonid's theory: "Leonid's attempt to ascribe to a Russian author all (14 or 15) abovementioned miracle stories has to be considered more than bold. It could have been important only if one could assert that in Greek literature there were no texts corresponding to the Slavonic tales; this, however, could not be done because not all Greek tales about St. Nicholas had been made known. On the other hand, in the Byzantine literature there are tales, apparently close to the Slavonic stories; the latter might have been either their abbreviations, or alterations, or go back to

their sources." (p. 354). Nikol'skij showed the close relationship between some Slavonic texts and Thauma de Demetrio, Thauma de Basilio, Thauma de monarcho Nicolao, Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi and Thauma de Petro scholario. In conclusion he said: "It is obvious that the Slavonic text goes back to some Greek original and that the narrative about the posthumous miracles of St. Nicholas cannot be considered the work of one author, all the more a Russian." (p. 355). The Russian philologist thought that only 5 miracle stories could have been written in Russia: Thauma de stromate, Thauma de servo liberato, Thauma de patriarcha, The Kiev miracle and The Polovtsian miracle. As can be seen, Nikol'skij was quite accurate in selection of the miracles with no known Greek originals. He missed only two: Thauma de sepulcro and Thauma de tribus Christianis.

From Nikol'skij's work an interesting statistical conclusion can be drawn. Counting the number of copies of every miracle story preserved in Russian manuscripts we notice that Thauma de Demetrio and Thauma de Basilio have been the most popular (36 and 34 copies respectively). The actual number of copies of these stories was much bigger because both of them were included in the Russian Synaxaria (Nicol'skij did not count the Synaxarion manuscripts). I believe that the inclusion in Synaxaria, besides their high literary value, made them so

frequently copied. Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi (also sometimes included in Synaxaria) was preserved in 25 copies, and Thauma de patriarcha in 24. The Saracene miracle (also popular in Synaxaria) survived in 20 manuscripts. Thauma de tribus Christianis appeared in 18 manuscripts, The Kiev miracle in 13, Praxis de tribus filiabus in 12, The Polovtsian miracle in 11, Thauma de stromate in 10. Thauma de Petro scholario came to us in 9 copies, Thauma de Nicolao claudo and Thauma de monacho Nicolao in 8, and Thauma de servo liberato and Thauma de sepulcro in 5. This statistical list enables the researcher to see the level of popularity of every miracle story in Russia.

The oldest Russian manuscript, including some of the stories, dates back to the 12th century. It contains, besides Praxis de Stratelatis, the following 7 miracle stories: Thauma de Demetrio, Thauma de monacho Nicolao, Thauma de Basilio, Thauma de Nicolao claudo, Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi, The Saracene miracle and Thauma de Petro scholario. It is easy to see that the manuscript presents a collection of stories selected from various sources (this explains the presence of Praxis de Stratelatis and The Saracene miracle among the stories of the Thaumata Sex). Later the copyists included in their works only those miracles which, according to them, best demonstrated the miraculous powers of

the saint and helped in spreading his cult. Nikol'skij showed that they could have included as few as 2 stories and as many as 15; some of the tales about miraculous icons were sometimes also added to the miracle stories (see pp. 355-8).

From the 14th century date first copies of Thauma de stromate and Thauma de servo liberato; from the 15th come first copies of Thauma de tribus Christianis, Praxis de tribus filiabus, Thauma de patriarcha, The Kiev miracle and The Polovtsian miracle. The earliest copy of Thauma de sepulcro is from the 16th century.

IX) Other important texts related to St. Nicholas.¹⁰⁰

- 1) Žitie i Žitel'stvo velikomučenika v carex Stefana srb'skago, iže v Dečjax, spisano Grigoriem mrixom i presviterom, igumenom toja že obiteli or V toi že den' (Noembria 11). Čjudo novejšee svjatago Nikoly o cari Stefane Serb'skom iže v Dečanex, kako darova emu oči, iže na dlani, spisano Grigorem', mrixom i prozvyterom, igumenom' byvšim' toja že obiteli. Beginning: "Beše i sej velikaago i slavnejšago srb'skago jazyka ne tokmo vojn'stvennymi silami drugix jazyk prevsxoditi i slavoju, bogatstvom, i mesta krasotoju i veličestvom, iže okrest suščix preodolevati, no i carmi blagočestivejšimi i premudrymi krasovatisja i poxvaljatisja."¹⁰¹

Content: Stephen, a son of the Serbian king Milutin, was blinded at the order of his father because of the instigations of the queen. After the blinding, when Stephen lay in great pain in the church of St. Nicholas and finally fell asleep, the saint appeared to him asking him not to grieve because his eyes were in the palm of the saint's hand. Nicholas

had shown Stephen his eyes and explained that he was the bishop of Myra in Lycia. When Stephen awoke he felt a great relief from pain. From the church of St. Nicholas the blinded prince was taken to Constantinople and imprisoned in a monastery where he spent five years leading an exemplary Christian life. Once, during the evening liturgy in honor of St. Nicholas, Stephen, exhausted after a day's work, dozed off in a chair and the saint appeared to him, made a sign of the cross over the prince's face, touched his eyes with his fingers, and vanished. Sight returned to Stephen, but he pretended to still be blind and covered his eyes with a cloth. Nobody suspected that he had recovered. When Milutin died, Stephen revealed that he was healed and shortly afterwards he became king of Serbia. He defeated his half brother, Constantine, who wanted to usurp the throne. Later the king founded the monastery at Decani and dedicated a church to St. Nicholas there. Among the other deeds of Stephen were the defeat of the Bulgarian ruler Michael and the organization of a hospital of lepers. Some time later St. Nicholas appeared to the king for the third time, predicting his upcoming death and preparing him for his journey into the Heavenly Kingdom. Stephen gave away all his riches to the monastery and to the lepers' hospital. He died, captured by his own son and strangled at his orders. Buried in the monastery, his body was later excavated, filling the air with a beautiful fragrance. Many sick people were healed from the relics.

This is a vita of the Serbian king Stephen Uroš III (known also as Stephen Dečanski) who ruled between 1321 and 1331. The work was written by the famous Bulgarian writer Grigorij Camblak,¹⁰² born in 1362-1364 and active in Serbia, Moldavia and Russia (he died in Kiev in 1419). Camblak was a Father Superior of the monastery at Dečani in the last decade of the 14th century, and could have

written the vita of Stephen, whose relics were at the monastery (Stephen was canonized in 1340). Although Camblak was acquainted with the first vita of Stephen and knew that in reality "Stephen Uroš III was a cruel and greedy ruler, a hypocritically devout Christian, etc., Camblak represented him as an ideal ruler and Christian, compassionate to the poor and the unfortunate, a donor to the churches and monasteries . . . "103

The vita was written according to the style of the Byzantine hagiographical works of the 13th and 14th centuries and the works of the school of the Patriarch Evtimiј of Trnovo, famous for its archaization of the spelling and the introduction of ornamentalism ("word-weaving") into the hagiography. The vita consists of three parts: a short introduction, the main part depicting Stephen's life and deeds, and a short didactic ending. The work employs devices and motifs popular in hagiographical literature; for example the author's depreciation of his efforts, the idealization of the hero, and the motifs of miraculous healings performed by the saint's relics (a necessary element for the canonization) and of miraculous appearances (a motif especially common in stories about St. Nicholas, and in this vita connected with the Wonderworker).

Despite some historical improbabilities, the work gives an interesting and informative picture of the

political life in Serbia in the 14th century. Grigorij is at his best when he describes the landscape and nature surrounding the monastery at Dečani (see Arkiv, p. 15). This beautiful fragment confirms to the reader that Grigorij's fame as a writer was well deserved. Camblak is also skillful in his presentation of the inner life of Stephen, of his feelings and thoughts (cf. Istorija na bŭlgarskata, p. 331).

The vita of Stephen Uroš III, because of the role St. Nicholas played in it, was included in the Russian Reading Menaea and Synaxarion, among the other stories depicting the miracles of the saint. This inclusion, however, took place only about the 15th century, and the vita became popular only two centuries later when several versions based on the original appeared (see Nikol'skij, pp. 379-80). These versions presented either an abbreviated life of Stephen, or concentrated entirely on the miracles performed by St. Nicholas: his appearances to the king and restoring his sight.

- 2) V toj že den' slovo o milostyni. (jako) dajaj (bo) milostynju ubogim Xristu dast i storiceju priimet or Slovo o milostyni (svjatago Nikolj) daja niščemu Xristu daet. Beginning: "Be žena xristiana, imušči muža ellina, uboga že besta oba. I imejasta tokmo srebrenik pjat'desjat velikix.¹⁰⁴

Content: There was a Christian woman whose husband was a pagan. The husband decided to lend their last fifty silver coins before they

spent the money coin by coin. His wife advised him to lend the money to the Christian God and He would not only preserve it, but multiply it as well. They went to a church and the woman told her husband to give the money to the beggars. Three months later, not having enough money to buy food, the man asked his wife when God would repay His debt. The woman explained that he would find his money at the spot where he had given it away. The man went to the church but could not find anyone who would give him his 50 silver coins. Puzzled, he looked around and noticed one coin laying on the marble floor. He took the coin and returned home. His wife sent him to buy food, explaining that God would repay the rest later. The man went to the market and bought bread, wine and fish. When his wife cut the fish open, she found a beautiful stone inside, but did not know what it was. The husband also did not know what the stone was, but took the stone and went to the market to sell it. He approached a silver merchant and asked him if he would buy the stone. The merchant inquired about the price and the man answered that he would take whatever the stone was worth. The merchant offered five silver coins. The man thought that it was a joke, so he asked if the buyer really wanted to pay five silver coins. Now the merchant assumed that the man was angry with such a low price, and offered 10 coins. The seller was sure that the merchant was cunning, so he kept silent. Taking the silence as a sign of disagreement, the merchant upped the price to 15 silver coins. The seller was still silent, and the merchant gave him 30, 40 and 50 coins. Only then the man realized that if the stone was not worth a lot, the buyer would not offer him 50 coins. He started bargaining, and they agreed on 300 silver coins. The merchant took the stone and the man went with the money to his wife who was convinced that the stone was not worth more than 5 or 10 copper coins. When she heard what had happened, she explained that God had not only repaid His debt, but also added interest. The husband, moved by the miracle, became a believer and a Christian.¹⁰⁵

The origins of this marvelously naive story are unknown, but the motif of a precious stone (or a ring) found in a fish is international and very popular. According to scholars, the story was included in one of the works by Ioann Moschos (7th century): the Paterikon of Sinai, otherwise known as The Spiritual Meadow, Leimonarion or Lug Duxovnyj (see Ponomarev, p. 209 ; Pamiatniki Literaturny drevnej Rusi, p. 645), or the Paterikon of Skete (see Istoki russkoj belletristiki, pp. 84-5). The motif of a treasure found in a fish appears in the Arabian Nights¹⁰⁶ and in European medieval tradition in tales of Luck and Wealth.

The story was usually placed in Russian Synaxaria under the 7th of December. It is easy to see that the story through its folkloric origin and the lack of the "spiritual" hero (a saint) was very susceptible to alterations and appropriation by some popular saint. Saint Nicholas was very close; his miracle stories were placed under the 6th of December and in many respects resembled the "parable" about the reward received by the poor man. Especially close seems to me Thauma de stromate, in which there is a very similar scene of selling and buying. Also characteristic for some tales of St. Nicholas is the conversion of the hero of the story after the miracle. All these similarities could cause the inclusion of our tale into the collection of the stories

describing the miracles of the Wonderworker. Such an inclusion really occurred. Already in the 12th-13th century Synaxarion a Russian copyist placed Slovo o milostyni under the 6th of December, after The Saracene miracle of St. Nicholas.¹⁰⁷ This phenomenon can be observed in another Synaxarion, dated back to the 14th century, and possibly being a copy of the first. In both copies the scribes were not bold enough to indicate in the title that it was a miracle of St. Nicholas. However, in the 16th century, a copyist of Reading Menaea included the story among the miracles of St. Nicholas (it is worth noting that the selection of the miracles in this work is quite unusual)¹⁰⁸ and entitled it Slovo o milostyni svjatago Nikoloy, daja niščemu Xristu daet.¹⁰⁹ Thus the process of transition of the tale from the 7th of December to the 6th, and its absorption by St. Nicholas' lore was completed.

I believe that this amazing transformation can give us an insight into the mechanism of the appearance of many miracle stories connected with St. Nicholas. Most of them probably circulated as oral tales, without the name of any saint. When the popularity of the saint grew on account of the Praxis de Stratelatis, many of these oral tales were appropriated by Nicholas, embellished with certain religious, didactic and spiritual motifs, and as such came down to us. The following

story demonstrates this process best.

- 3) Čjudo svjatago Nikolaja, napisannoe patriarxom Mefodiem, o zlate, ot židovina nekoemu xristianinu vzaim dannom.
 Beginning: "Be nekto ot xristian, iže vzja u židovina zlata nemalo; ne imeja že daby sja kto o nem sporučil, poidosta oba v cerkov' svjatitelja Nikolaja . . ."110

Content: A Christian borrowed a lot of gold from a Jew, and not having anybody to warrant the loan, he swore in the church of St. Nicholas that he would return the gold. Three years later the Jew requested the money back, but the Christian argued that he had already returned his debt. The Jew took the case to the court. When the Christian heard that he would have to testify under oath, he devised a clever scheme: he hollowed a cane, filled it with gold, and before taking the oath gave it to the Jew to hold. After swearing that he had returned the money he took the cane and left the court. On the crossroads he fell asleep and was overrun by a carriage. He was killed and the cane broke revealing the gold. The Jew came and said that he would not take his money as long as the Christian was dead, but if the man was resurrected by the saint, he would convert to Christianity. Instantly, the Christian was healed, and the Jew was baptised and glorified St. Nicholas.

This story appeared in Russia only in the end of the 17th century, in the Kiev edition of the texts devoted to St. Nicholas. Unlike other stories describing the miracles of the saint, this work in its title gives the name of Patriarch Methodius as its author. However, an investigation of Methodius' works shows that the Patriarch has not written this story. It was ascribed to him later, probably in the West, since the work was not

known in Byzantium at all. In the West it appeared for the first time in the Battle Abbey manuscript of the 11th century (Jones, St. Nicholas, p. 228) and was later popularized by Jacobi de Voragine. A Russian scholar, M.N. Speranskij, who devoted an article to this story, pointed out that it was translated into Russian in South-Western Russia (possibly from a Polish translation). The content of the story presents several popular motifs: a cunning debtor, an oath taken in the church of the saint, a conversion of the pagan after the miracle. The first motif is the most interesting (the rest we have already encountered in other stories).

The original tale (a source of the story) which Speranskij tried to reconstruct,¹¹¹ featured King David and the three magic objects: a chain, a bell and a trumpet which the king used in order to determine the right and the guilty; it could have been related to the so-called "Judgements of Solomon," popular in Old Russian letters. If such a reconstruction is correct, one can assume that the Western author who knew the oral tale, removed the name of David and replaced it with Nicholas. Because Nicholas was famous for his miracles, there was no need for the magic objects (the saint took their functions on himself). An old Eastern legend changed into a didactic story about a miracle of a Christian saint. This is why the story ends with the

conversion of the Jew and the punishment of the oath-breaker (notice that the man is resurrected, thus avoiding the punishment).

The story was ascribed to Methodius because the Patriarch was a great authority as one of the most famous biographers of St. Nicholas. In Russia the story was included only in the printed editions of the texts pertaining to the saint, published in South-Western Russia, on the territories where the pro Polish and Western sympathies and influences made the inclusion possible. In other editions, published under the auspices of more conservative circles, the story was not trusted and did not appear.

This story again enables one to see how the secular oral tales were transformed into Christian didactic stories.

In the conclusion of this chapter devoted to the study of the texts related to St. Nicholas, it would be interesting to give a table of popularity of these texts in Russia. My table is based on Nikol'skij's study and therefore the numbers presented may not reflect the actual number of manuscripts existing in Russia. However, the table will allow one to see the differences in the popularity of particular works. The table does not contain redaction C of the Synaxarion and Slovo o milostyni, for which there were no data in Nikol'skij's book. The

Periodoi Nikolaou includes the manuscripts of the South Slavic and Old Russian versions, the Vita of Stephen Uroš includes several stories based on this vita, and the miracle written by the Patriarch Methodius is not placed in the table because it survives only in one 17th century manuscript, being a copy of the printed edition.

The most interesting observation comes from the distribution of the stories throughout the centuries. The tremendous rise in popularity of the saint in the 16th century can be seen in the pronounced rise of the surviving copies of the texts written at that time.

| Title | Century | | | | | | | Total | | |
|----------------------------|---------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|-----|----|
| | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | | | | |
| Vita Nico- lai Sionitae | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 32 | 8 | 19 | 65 | |
| Slovo poxvalno | | | 2 | 11 | 3 | 58 | 8 | 34 | 115 | |
| Pamjat' na prenesenie | | 1 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 72 | 10 | 45 | 142 | |
| Vita per Me- taphrasten | | | | 2 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 14 | 29 | |
| Periodoi Nikolaou | | | | 3 | 1 | 37 | 6 | 35 | 82 | |
| Praxis de Stratelatis | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 6 | |
| Prolog (A) | | 5 | 3 | | | 3 | 1 | | 12 | |
| Prolog (B) | | 2 | 1 | | | 2 | 10 | 1 | 5 | 21 |
| Thauma de Demetrio | 1 | | 3 | | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 36 | |
| Thauma de Basilio | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | 14 | 13 | 34 | |
| Thauma de monacho Nic. | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | 3 | 2 | 8 | |
| Thauma de presbytero | 1 | | 1 | | 3 | 12 | 2 | 6 | 25 | |
| Thauma de Petro schol. | 1 | | 1 | | 5 | | | 2 | 9 | |
| Thauma de Nicolao cl. | 1 | | 2 | | | 4 | | 1 | 8 | |
| Praxis de 3-us filiab. | | | | | 1 | 5 | | 6 | 12 | |
| The Saracene miracle | 1 | | 5 | 3 | | 1 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 20 |
| Thauma de stromate | | | 1 | | | 7 | | 2 | 10 | |
| Thauma de 3-s Christ. | | | | | 1 | 7 | 2 | 8 | 18 | |
| Thauma de patriarcha | | | | | 2 | 12 | 2 | 8 | 24 | |
| Thauma de servo liber. | | | 1 | | | 2 | | 2 | 5 | |
| Thauma de sepulcro | | | | | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 | |
| The Kiev miracle | | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 13 | |
| The Polovts. miracle | | | | | 2 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 11 | |
| Vita of Stephen | | | | | 17 | 2 | | 8 | 10 | |

Notes

Chapter II

1. Xrisanf Loparev, "Vizantijskie Žitija svjatyx VIII-IX vekov," Vizantijskij Vremennik, XVII (1910), 15. Further references to all works cited in this chapter more than once appear in the text.
2. See T.V. Popova, "Antičnaja biografija i vizantijskaja agiografija," in Antičnost' i Vizantija, (Moskva: Nauka, 1975), p. 218. These Acts were the basis for the martyria. The life proper (bios, vita) developed later, after the end of the persecutions of Christians. See also Loparev, pp. 2-13.
3. For a detailed description of this canonical scheme consult Loparev, pp. 15-36. The scheme is also described in Popova, pp. 220-1 and 233-4; L.A. Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti russkogo severa kak pamjatniki literatury XIII-XVII vv., (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973), p. 4; Ja. S. Lur'e, ed., Istoki russoj belletristiki: Vozniknovenie žanrov sjužetnogo povestvovanija v drevnerussoj literature, (Leningrad: Nauka, 1970), p. 208; and Michael Klimenko, The 'Vita' of St. Sergii of Randonezh, (Boston, Houston and New York: Nordland Publishing International, 1980), pp. 59-60.
4. Such a scheme is characteristic for the life proper. The martyria (lives of the martyrs) or paterika (lives of the monastic fathers) have a slightly different composition, although they are also based on a scheme. A martyrrium, for example, usually begins with the biographical data like a vita proper, but the parents of a martyr may be pagan. The martyr refuses to offer a sacrifice to pagan gods. He is summoned to a high official, a representative of the pagan government, and enters upon a "discourse about the faith" with him. Later he is tortured and his mutilated body is thrown in prison. Miraculously healed by God, he is later executed by his captors. Some pagans convert to Christianity and the miracles occur. See Istoki russoj belletristiki, pp. 67-8.

5. See Karl Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453), München: Oskar Beck, 1897), pp. 185-7; Popova, pp. 232-3.
6. See Krumbacher, pp. 200-3; Popova, pp. 243-4; A.A. Frejberg, ed., Pamjatniki vizantijskoj literatury IX-XIV vekov, (Moskva: Nauka, 1969), pp. 80-82.
7. D.S. Lixačev, "Literaturnyj ètiket drevnej Rusi," TODRL, XVII (1961), 5-16; idem, Čelovek v literature drevnej Rusi, (Moskva: Nauka, 1970), pp. 16, 29, 35-7 and passim; idem, Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury, 2nd, enlarged edn., (Leninograd: Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1971), pp. 95-122.
8. Hippolit Delehaye even went as far as to call the legends about saints "un genre où le plagiat est la règle." I quote after Charles W. Jones, St. Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 16.
9. The miracle stories were often placed at the end of the life proper, or added to it in the course of centuries. They can be investigated separately. Whatever the approach, the miracle stories are the backbone of hagiographical works and are most important for this study of icon painting and literature.
10. N.K. Nikol'skij, Materialy dlja povremennago spiska russkix pisatelej i ix sočinenij (X-XI vv.), (Sankt-Peterburg, 1906), pp. 302-94.
11. Nikol'skij did not know all the titles and content of the works; he frequently listed parts of one work under separate headings; he also included in his catalogue the works about the wonder-working icons of St. Nicholas. In that way he came up with more than forty entries.
12. In the parentheses I include variants of the titles or the beginning lines, according to Nikol'skij. All tittles (abbreviations) are opened, and the punctuation is contemporary.

13. The Old Russian text was published in Arximandrit Leonid, ed., "Žitie i čudesá sv. Nikolaja Myr-Likijskago i poxvala emu," in PDPI, XXXIV, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1881), pp. 27-78; VMČ, vol. XI (dekabr' 6-17), (Moskva: Arxeografičeskaja Komissija, 1907), pp. 589-624. For a translation of the Greek texts into Russian see Arximandrit Antonin, "Sv. Nikolaj, episkop pinarskij i arximandrit sionskij," TKDA, No. 6 (ijun') 1869, 452-95; idem, "Ešče o svjatitele Nikolae Myrlikijskom," TKDA, No. 12 (dekabr') 1873, 246-284.
14. The name of Nicholas' father in Greek texts is Epiphanius. In the Russian works he is sometimes called Epifanij, but more often Feofan (Theophanes).
15. In the Old Russian text: "Otcju že ego tu-žašču, nevedušču koemu učitelju dati, detišče že Nikola svoemu učitelju imja naznamenaja slogami (rekše sklady)." (Leonid, Žitie, p. 29). In Greek texts this fragment was difficult to understand. Antonin deduced that Nicholas taught his teacher how to write, because the teacher was not good (Sv. Nikolaj, p. 454; Ešče, p. 247). According to Ševčenko, Nicholas "quickly learned to write syllable by syllable." (Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Cycles of the Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art," vols. I and II (illustrations), Diss. Columbia University, 1973, p. 212).
16. Cf. Antonin, Sv. Nikolaj, p. 454 and Ešče, p. 247, where the woman has a "withered leg."
17. Gustav Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche, 2 vols., (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1913 and 1917); see vol. I, p. 3.
18. I will return to this story later, in the chapter devoted to the detailed comparison of texts and particular scenes in the icon painting.
19. The Vita Nicolai Sionitae is also strongly linked to the cult of the Archangel Michael; cf. Anrich, II, pp. 254-5; Aleksej M. Remizov, Obraz Nikolaja čudotvorca: Alatyr' -- kamen' ruskoj very, (Paris: YMCA Press, 1931), p. 14.

20. On Old Russian eschatology see George P. Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind: Kievan Christianity: The 10th to the 13th Centuries, (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), pp. 166-75.
21. The Old Russian text published in Leonid, Žitie, pp. 102-7; VMČ, pp. 689-94; B. St. Angelov et al., eds., Kliment Oxridski: Sŭbrani sŭčinenija, vol. II (Sofija: Bŭlgarska Akademija na Naukite, 1977), pp. 71-130.
22. I give only a brief description of the hagiographical part of this work without attempting to retell the rhetorical part.
23. This story will be discussed later in this chapter, under the title Dejanie svjatago otca našego Nikolj arxiepiskopa (No. VI).
24. See note 18.
25. For a more detailed description of Leonid's theories see further in this chapter, in connection with the discussion of the separate miracle stories (No. VIII).
26. Apparently, such a scheme consisted of a typical beginning "se nastā", a short account of a saint's life, and a rhetorical sermon proper.
27. See note 21 for a bibliographical reference.
28. Published in E. Barsov, "Vnov' otkrytoe slovo presvitera Andreja v spiske XVI veka," Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom Universitete, No. 1 (janvar') 1883, 1-8.
29. The Old Russian text was published in I. Sljapkin, "Russkoe poučenie XI veka o perenesenii moščeij Nikolaja čudotvorca i ego otnošenje k zapadnym istočnikam," in PDP, X, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1881), pp. 3-10; Makarij, Mitropolit moskovskij, Istorija ruskoj cerkvi, vol. II, 3rd edn., (Sankt-Peterburg, 1889), pp. 327-31.
30. In most copies of this work the year of the Translation is given as 1095 or 1096. Makarij thought that in the original there was no indica-

- tion of the year and only the copyists, because of their ignorance, introduced the wrong date. According to Makarij, prince Vsevolod died in 1093, therefore the event could not take place during his reign in 1096. Consequently, it took place earlier (Makarij, p. 229).
31. Šljapkin indicated that the sources of this Russian account were Greek and that they found their way into Russia through the Italian Orthodox monasteries (p. 23).
 32. For the English translation of Nicephorus' account see Jones, St. Nicholas, pp. 176-93. For the Russian translation consult Arximandrit Antonin, "Perenesenie moščej svjatitelja i čudotvorca Nikolaja iz Likii v Italiju," TKDA, No. 5 (maj) 1870, 401-19.
 33. Charles W. Jones, The Saint Nicholas Liturgy and Its Literary Relationships (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries), (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 2.
 34. These enormous compilations through frequent copying of their content, show considerable differences in spelling and even in the selection of the material included. This selection varies in every edition, and this redaction of Slovo na prenesenie is probably of a later date (16th-17th century).
 35. Prolog: Martovskaja četvert', (Moskva?, 1910), p. 362. See also Nikol'skij, p. 373.
 36. See note 18.
 37. The Old Russian text was published in VMČD6, (Moskva: Arxeografičeskaja Komissija, 1901), pp. 131-61; VMČ, p. 695 and passim.
 38. A. Ponomarev, Pamjatniki drevnej rusškoj cerkovno-učitel'noj literatury: Slavjano-rusškij Prolog, vol. II, part 1, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1896), p. 192.
 39. J.L.I. Fennell in The Correspondence Between Prince A.M. Kurbsky and Tsar Ivan IV of Russia 1564-1579 (Cambridge: The University of Cambridge Press, 1955) maintains: "As far as is known, Sy-

meon's hagiographical works . . . were not translated into any Slavonic language before the seventeenth century." (p. 234). Fennell refers to Prince Kurbsky's statement: "Jako o sem širej svjatyj Semion Metofrast vo istorii o nem, žitie ego pišušče, vspominaet, eže, mnju, v Rusii u vas ešče ne prevedeno . . ." (pp. 233-4). Fennell may be right in assuming that Kurbsky used the Latin edition of Metaphrastes published in Venice, but trusting the Prince, commits an error. Nikol'skij's study demonstrates the presence in Russia of the translations of Metaphrastes as early as the 15th century.

40. For a detailed analysis of the possible sources see Anrich, II, pp. 311-18.
41. The Old Russian text was published in V.O. Ključevskij, Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik, (Moskva, 1871), pp. 453-9.
42. The Greek texts see in Anrich, I, pp. 312-332.
43. Cf. A.S. Orlov, "Russkoe 'neknižnoe' žitie Nikolaja čudotvorca," in Sbornik statej, posvjaščennyx Vasiliju Osipoviču Ključevskomu, (Moskva, 1909), p. 347.
44. Nikol'skij enumerated more than eighty copies of this work (including the Old Russian as well as the South Slavic versions). He was not able to determine the number of each version. My research showed that the majority of the manuscripts included the Russian redaction. Moreover, Nikol'skij listed under a separate entry 11 copies of the episode with Arius (reflecting the popularity of this fragment) and 9 copies of another part of the work, beginning with the words "I živ že svjatyj Nikolae leta bogougodna, čestna . . ." (see Nikol'skij, pp. 369-70; cf. Ključevskij, pp. 457-9).
45. Metaphrastes says: "Sbrašasja v Nikei vsi pravovernii . . . Arievu xulinuju eres' daleče otgnaša i mir vsem daša cerkvam . . . Na meste ubo sobora i sej čjudnyj Nikola byst', doblestvene že stav na Arieva bljadoslovia i razdrešiv vsja, ispravlenie vsem pravjja very izvestno predav . . ."

- (VMČD6, p. 146). In the Synaxarion (redaction C) we read: "I ne po mnoze vremeni sobran byst' Nikejskij sobor velikim carem Konstantinom, v nem že i divnyj Nikolaj, edin syj v nix byv, mnogo tšćanie i veliku revnost' o blagočestii pokaza." (Ponomarev, p. 59).
46. This question resembles a well known mind-twister: what came first, the chicken or the egg? In this connection it should be noted that the information about the early representations may be a later addition to the text of the Vita Compilata. In that case, the Vita becomes the primary source of those representations.
47. It is a mosaic icon from Patmos. Ševčenko dates it to the 11th century (p. 235), but some scholars believe it is a 12th-century work; see È.S. Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda: Seredina XIII--načalo XV veka, (Moskva: Nauka, 1976), p. 172.
48. It is a monumental icon from Novgorod, painted by Aleksa Petrov. For more information and a bibliography see Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda, pp. 170-4.
49. Cf. V.I. Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona načala XIV v. iz Kieva i 'Povest' o Nikole Zarajskom", TODRL, XIII, (1958), 381-2.
50. For a discussion of these heresies consult N. Kazakova and Ja. Lur'e, Antifeodal'nye i eretičeskie dviženija na Rusi XVI--načala XVI veka, (Moskva and Leningrad, 1955), esp. pp. 120-2; A.I. Klibanov, Reformacionnye dviženija v Rossii v XIV-pervoj polovine XVI veka (Moskva, 1960), pp. 160-6.
51. Although the praises of the Trinity are quite common in other stories and vitae devoted to the saint, here one can sense a special emphasis on glorification, which makes the work unique.
52. See a discussion of the representation of this event in Russian icons in the Chapter VI (Nicholas at the First Ecumenical Council).

53. V.P. Adrianova-Peretc, Russkaja demokratičeskaja satira XVII veka, 2nd, enlarged edn., (Moskva: Nauka, 1977), p. 162. See also another variant of this encounter in chapter V of this dissertation.
54. Ja. L. Barsov and P.I. Smirnov, eds., Pamjatniki starobrijadčestva XVII v., vol. I, part 1, (Leningrad: Akademija nauk SSSR, 1927), p. 626.
55. About the wandering cripples and spiritual verses see in chapter V of this dissertation.
56. P.A. Bezsonov, Kaleki perexožie: Sbornik stixov i issledovanie, vol. I, (Moskva, 1861), p. 749 (variant 184).
57. The Old Russian text was published in VMČD6, pp. 90-5; VMČ, pp. 660-5.
58. In the text the Emperor asks the generals to cut their hair (postrizite glavy svoja). Since the hair-cutting was a symbolic act before joining a monastic community, I assumed that the generals had become monks.
59. I. Sreznevskij in "Svedenija i zametki o maloizvestnyx i neizvestnyx pamjatnikax," SORJAS, I (1867), No. 8, p. 19, shows a 12th-century manuscript containing this story. One may assume that the work was known even earlier.
60. The Old Russian text was published in Ponomarev, pp. 192-3.
61. The Old Russian text was published in Ponomarev, pp. 193-4; VMČD6, pp. 1-2; VMČ, pp. 581-2.
62. The Old Russian text was published in Ponomarev, pp. 59-60.
63. The Greek text of redaction A was published in Anrich, II, p. 300; of redaction C in Anrich, I, pp. 205-6.
64. How popular this redaction was can be seen from its variant, preserved in the rule of the monastery of St. Sabbas in Jerusalem. According to this variant, St. Nicholas lived during the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, in the year

- 5795 (287). At first he was a monk, and because of his good deeds became a bishop. Later he was arrested, imprisoned and tortured for his faith. When Constantine the Great ascended the throne, Nicholas was released from prison and returned to Myra. He took good care of his flock and participated in the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea. He performed many miracles on earth and on sea, in a dream and in reality (vo sne i na jave), and in old age went to the Lord. For the Slavonic text of this variant see "Svjatcy: Posledovanie cerkvonago penija," Izograf, žurnal ikonografii i drevnix xudožestv, I (1882), 34.
65. In the description of the miracle of healing the blind widow the author says: "idyj k didaskalu . . ." This is a direct borrowing from the Greek word didaskalos -- a teacher.
66. Ponomarev thought that redaction A might have been a fragment of or an excerpt from redaction B. (p. 194).
67. Cf. Russkaja staropečatnaja literatura (XVI-pervaja četvert' XVIII v.): Literaturnyj sbornik XVII veka Prolog, ed. by A.S. Demin, (Moskva: Nauka, 1978), p. 51.
68. For more information about Prolog and for a short bibliography consult Russkaja staropečatnaja, pp. 17-8.
69. The plots and motifs from Prolog were employed by Puškin, Leskov, Tolstoj, Dostoevskij, Nekrasov, and many others.
70. Every story is supplied with a short bibliographical note indicating its editions. These bibliographical notes do not attempt to be complete, but allow one only to easier locate the particular work. All quotes (unless otherwise specified) are from Arximandrit Leonid, ed., "Posmertnyja čudesa svjatitelja Nikolaja arxiepiskopa Myr-Likijskago, čudotvorca," in PDPI, LXXII, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1888). The fragments cited are followed in the text by the page numbers in parentheses.

71. This fragment is not the beginning of the story, but the introduction to three stories, incorporated into the first story by a compiler. The actual beginning is given as the second variant.
72. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 33-5; VMČD6, pp. 51-3; VMČ, pp. 625-7; Ponomarev, pp. 60-2.
73. Editions, Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 3-9, VMČD6, pp. 3-8; VMČ, pp. 582-9; I. Sreznevskij, "Svedenija i zametki o maloizvestnyx i neizvestnyx pamjatnikax," SORJAS, I (1867), No. 9, pp. 23-7; Ponomarev, pp. 62-5; Russkaja staropečatnaja, pp. 206-7.
74. Agrik is a corruption of the Greek "agrikos" -- a peasant.
75. This is another corruption of the Greek text. The translator thought that Emir was a proper name, hence his "prince Amira."
76. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 1-2; VMČD6, pp. 53-5; VMČ, pp. 627-8.
77. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 12-3; VMČD6, pp. 57-9; VMČ, pp. 631-2; Sreznevskij, (1867, No. 9), pp. 28-9.
78. In most Greek redactions of this story the priest is nameless. Only two manuscripts in Greek give his name as Christopher. Since in the Russian manuscripts he is always called Christopher, the Russian translation must have been based either on one of these two manuscripts, or on some other manuscript featuring the name of the priest. See Anrich, II, pp. 101, 407; VMČ, p. 631f.
79. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 14-9; VMČ, pp. 665-70; Ivan Franko, Apokryfy i legendy z ukraïns'kyx rukopysyv, vol. V (Legendy pro svjatyx), (L'vov, 1910), pp. 249-52, 296.
80. In some manuscripts the chains become soft and melt like wax.

81. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 10-1; VMCD6, pp. 55-7; VMČ, pp. 629-30.
82. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 39-40; VMCD6, pp. 106-7; VMČ, pp. 674-6.
83. Edition: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 41-3.
84. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 19-25; Leonid, Žitie, pp. 79-84; VMČ, pp. 632-7; E.I. Demina, "Klassifikacija bolgarskix Damaskinov po redakcijam 'Čuda o kovre'," Učenyje zapiski Instituta slavjanovedenija Akademii nauk SSSR, XXIII (1962), 221-4, 234-7, 239-42; Russkaja staropečatnaja, pp. 239-41.
85. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 30-3; VMCD6, pp. 119-22; VMČ, pp. 686-9.
86. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 55-61; VMCD6, pp. 65-9; VMČ, pp. 637-42.
87. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 25-30; Leonid, Žitie, pp. 85-9; VMČ, pp. 670-4.
88. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 36-8; VMČ, pp. 642-5.
89. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 43-6; Leonid, Žitie, pp. 90-93; VMČ, pp. 676-80; A.V. Bagrij, "Kievskij spisok čuda sv. Nikolaja ob utopšem detišče," IORJAS, XIX (1914), No. 2, 276-9.
90. Editions: Leonid, Posmertnyja, pp. 47-54; VMCD6, pp. 112-7; VMČ, pp. 680-6; Graf Grigorij Kušelej-Bezborodko, ed., Pamjatniki starinnoj ruskoj literatury, vol. I, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1860), pp. 71-4.
91. For all stories mentioned in Anrich's study I retain the names given by the German scholar. For the three stories not included in his work I introduce the following titles: The Saracene miracle, The Kiev miracle, and The Polovtsian miracle.
92. This story, apparently unknown in Russia, described a miracle of saving Methodius' rich

- patrician father, John, from a storm at sea.
93. In order to investigate the miracles included in the vitae, one could add the fifth category, of miscellaneous motifs contained in the biographies. This category would encompass, for instance, the saint's bath miracle, the miracle of the multiplication of wine, etc.
94. The manuscript, known as Sinaiticus 525, was discovered by Archimandrite Antonin (Kasputin) in 1870, during his work in the libraries of the monasteries on the Sinai. For an account of the discovery consult Antonin, Ešče, pp. 244-5; the Russian scholar gives also the translation of the discovered manuscript. Anrich discusses and retells the story (using Antonin's translation) in vol. II, p. 420.
95. See the discussion of the Periodoi Nikolaou (No. V), where a relevant problem is studied.
96. See, for instance, Russian Fairy Tales, trans. by Norbert Guterman, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), pp. 213-20.
97. Ševčenko asserts that "it is doubtless based on a Greek original." (p. 6).
98. Dmitrij Tschizewskij, Der hl. Nikolaus, (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1957), p. 10.
99. See the Latin text in Jacobi de Voragine, Legenda Aurea, vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta, ed. by Th. Graesse, 3rd edn., (Vratislaviae, 1890), p. 28.
100. I include here the texts which (with the exception of the first) have not had any significant impact on the pictorial representation of the saint, but which are interesting since they demonstrate the way in which the secular legends and tales have been incorporated into the St. Nicholas' texts.
101. Editions: Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku, IV (1857), 1-29; Glasnik društva srpske slovesnosti, XI (1859), 35-94; VMC, pp. 645-60.

102. E.P. Naumov in "Kem napisano vtoroe Žitie Stefana Dečanskogo?", Slavjanski Arxiv, (Moskva: Akademija nauk SSSR, 1963), pp. 60-72, argues that the Vita should be dated about 1360-70's. As Grigorij was born in 1362-64, he could not have written the work. Naumov does not suggest any other author, instead, he only critically approaches the traditional assumption that Camblak is the author of the life of Stephen.
103. Istorija na bŭlgarskata literatura, vol. I (Starobŭlgarska literatura), ed. by Velčo Velčev et al., (Sofija: Bŭlgarska Akademija na Naukite, 1963), p. 330.
104. Editions: Prolog: Dekabr'skaja četvert', (Moskva?, 1910), pp. 474-75; Ponomarev, pp. 150-1; Russkaja staropečatnaja, pp. 208-9; L.A. Dmitriev and D.S. Lixačev, eds., Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi: XII vek, (Moskva: Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1980), pp. 128-30.
105. A very similar story is retold in Istoki ruskoj belletristiki, pp. 85-6. The amount of money given away and the price received for the stone are different; there is also an indication that the events took place in Alexandria; otherwise both narratives are identical.
106. Stith Thompson in The Folktale, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1977), connects this motif with the story of the Ring of Polycrates recorded by Herodotus (p. 142). Further details can be found in J. Künzig, "Der im Fischbauch wiedergefundene Ring in Sage, Legende, Märchen und Lied," in Volkskundliche Gaben: John Meier zum siebzigsten Geburtstage dargebracht, (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), pp. 85-103. The popularity of the motif is connected with its appearance in the Gospel story how Christ paid the tribute with the money discovered by Peter in a fish (Matthew 17:27); see M.D. Kagan-Tarkovskaja, "Legenda o perstne v sbornikax Efrosina, knigopisca Kirillo-Belozerskogo monastyrja," TODRL, XXXIV (1978), 250.
107. See D.I. Abramovič, Opisanie rukopisej Sankt-Peterburgskoj Duxovnoj Akademii: Sofijskaja biblioteka, vol. II (Sankt-Peterburg, 1907),

pp. 210, 233.

108. The author selected the following miracle stories: 1) The Polovtsian miracle, 2) Slovo o milostyni, 3) The Kiev miracle, 4) Thauma de tribus Christianis, 5-7) Miracles from the Vita of Stefan Dečanski, and 8) The Saracene miracle (see Abramovič, p. 100).
109. It is possible that the subject of the tale (charity) was associated with the charity of St. Nicholas (Praxis de tribus filiabus, Thauma de sepulcro, etc.).
110. Edition: M.N. Speranskij, "Meždunarodnyj stranstvujuščij sjužet v skazanii o čude svjätitelja Nikolaja," IORJAS, XXVI (1921 1923), 126-7.
111. The Russian scholar found variants of the story in the Talmud and in the Midrash, in an oral tale from Pskov, in Muslim and Tartar tales, even in Cervantes' Don Quixote. The oral tale from Pskov gives a folkloric rendering of the story: the judgement takes place on a mountain called Sudoma (from "sudit" -- to judge). In the Hebrew versions the legend is "rationalized" -- the cunning debtor's scheme is accidentally discovered (the stick falls out from the man's hands and breaks). Only the Western version links the story with St. Nicholas.

Chapter III

The Origins and Characteristic Features of the Hagiographical Icon. Icons Depicting the Life of St. Nicholas. The Pattern-Books (Podlinniki).

The origins and functions of the hagiographical icon have not yet been extensively studied. The arrangement in which narrative scenes appear around the central representation can be found on one of the Iliad tablets (the so-called "Tabula Tomassetti" in the Vatican), on the votive relief describing Hercules and Omphale surrounded on three sides by the scenes of Twelve Labors of Hercules (Museo Nazionale in Naples) and on the floor mosaic devoted to the same subject, but with the scenes of the Labors surrounding the central image on four sides (Madrid).¹

A central representation framed by the scenes of the life of Christ or the Virgin can be seen on Early Christian (5th-6th century) ivory "five part" diptychs (Ševčenko, p. 427). Rediscovered in the 10th and 11th centuries in Byzantium, these diptychs had a certain impact on the development of the hagiographical icon.

Another possible source of inspiration for the painters of such icons were pictures which portrayed a saint in the middle of a panel and flanked this central image with several smaller portraits of other saints.²

Finally, the so-called "calendar" icons presented in several rows on one panel all the saints venerated in a given month. These icons, filled with numerous figures of saints, obviously encouraged the artists to experiment with the complex, multi-figured compositions needed in border scenes of the hagiographical icon.³ Even the panel itself suggested such an arrangement. The middle of the board was in most cases hollowed (kovčeg) and the margins, the borders of an icon, could have been easily divided into separate small pictures (klejma) which presented events and miracles from the life of the saint.

"It is quite possible," writes Ševčenko, "that icons were first illustrated with a succession of narrative scenes in the 9th and 10th centuries, based on the long miniature cycles which were presumably a common feature in contemporary hagiographical manuscripts." (p. 430) However, neither the 9th-10th century hagiographical icons nor manuscripts containing long miniature cycles survive today.

In the 11th century, under the impact of the Menologium of Symeon Metaphrastes and the growing interest in the lives of saints, the necessity arose to illustrate these lives in a more detailed way than before. The early cycles, found almost exclusively in the martyria of the saints or on objects which came from their sanctuaries (Ševčenko, p. 23), were usually limited to several

scenes. The hagiographical icon was a more suitable vehicle to carry detailed information about the saints' lives and miracles. The earliest hagiographical icons were painted "for a church or chapel of the saint whose life they represent. . ." (Ševčenko, p. 66).

The 11th century was a time in which St. Nicholas became very popular. His hagiographical icons supply important data not only for the studies of the iconography of the saint, but also of the hagiographical icon in general. For example, the two oldest Byzantine icons of St. Nicholas preserved today, one with twelve border scenes and another with sixteen, date back to the end of the 11th and to the late 12th centuries respectively (Ševčenko, p. 4), and clearly demonstrate that the hagiographical icon at the beginning stage of its development already was able to depict saints' lives in much greater detail than did the most elaborate manuscript cycles.

It is significant that, according to Ševčenko's catalogue of Byzantine fresco cycles and hagiographical icons depicting the scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, there are extant only nine icons and forty five fresco cycles from the period between the 11th and the end of the 16th century. This indicates that in Byzantine painting the frescoes were much more commonly used for the representation of St. Nicholas' life and deeds than the icons. On the contrary, in Russia, hagiographical

icons of the saint are abundant, while there are very few fresco cycles.⁴ The oldest Russian icons were probably based on Byzantine models (icons and frescoes), particularly on works executed in Slavic countries. For instance, the earliest fully preserved monumental cycle in a Slavic country, the frescoes in Bojana (Bulgaria), painted in 1259, consisted of eighteen scenes and could have influenced the Russian painters more than any Greek work.⁵

In Russia the hagiographical icons appeared in the 12th century, but the earliest preserved monuments date back to the 13th century. The 14th century saw the rapid development of the genre of the hagiographical icon. Among many icons depicting the lives of saints, there appeared numerous icons of St. Nicholas, many of which will be discussed below. In the 16th century the hagiographical icon became the most beloved genre of the Russian icon painters. Its popularity was connected, I believe, with the cultural upheaval in the middle of the century, particularly with the publication of the monumental Reading Menaea compiled from various disseminated sources by the Metropolitan Makarij.⁶

The number of border scenes in Byzantine and Russian hagiographical icons of St. Nicholas (and, by analogy, in all others) varies from two to more than 30;⁷ icons with 12, 14, 16, and 18 scenes are most common. In the 16th

and 17th centuries the icons presenting the saints' lives became more elaborate, and the border scenes, filled with numerous figures, landscapes and architectural details, lost the simplicity and clarity of the composition so distinctive of the early icons. The number of border scenes in the late icons increased.

Every hagiographical icon can be analyzed as a genre and as a work of art. As a genre, the hagiographical icon unites in itself two different genres: the genre of the central panel and the genre of the border scenes. The former can be called "personal" or "portrait" genre, the latter the "narrative" or "miracle" genre. The "personal" genre is easily comprehended by the contemporary viewer, since it presents a simple portrait of a saint.⁸ It can be a saint's face (lik), his head and shoulders (obraz oplečnyj), his bust (obraz pojasnoj), or his full figure. In a hagiographical icon this portrait does not fill up the whole panel, but is placed in the middle, leaving the margins for the border scenes.

In the 17th century out of the "personal" genre evolved parsuna, a portrait icon depicting a historical character, not a saint.⁹ Later, under the influence of European painting, portrait painting developed out of parsuna.

The "narrative" genre appeared as a combination of the "historical and legendary" genre, used in the repre-

sentation of the events from the Bible and the Gospels (for example the Twelve Festivals: the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Raising of Lazarus, etc.). These events were depicted according to fixed rules and compositional canons which had been developed over the centuries. In the 11th century most of the iconographical schemes were worked out and approved by the Church. Events from the lives of saints were illustrated on the basis of these "traditional", accepted compositions. These scene of the birth of a saint was always based on the scene of the birth of the Virgin, etc. Sevchenko demonstrated in her dissertation that many scenes from the life of St. Nicholas were based on these early established schemes. Of course, for certain miracles and events from the saints' lives there existed no established compositional schemes. In these cases the painters either tried to adapt the existing compositions to the new contents, or created original compositions. If their creation was successful and found approval from the Church authorities, it could become canonical and accepted by other painters. The originality of the border scenes is, therefore, one of the criteria which enable us to judge the icon painter from the point of view of his artistic talent and individuality.¹⁰

This kind of evaluation brings one close to an analysis of the hagiographical icon as a work of art. Although the hagiographical icon is a two-genre work, the most skilled painters knew how to make it appear an

artistic whole. When an icon seems divided into two parts, i.e., when the border scenes do not blend well with the middle panel, the painter did not achieve an artistic unity between the two components of his work. When the central panel and the border scenes blend together into one image, the artist succeeded in this difficult task. The unity between the central panel and the border scenes could be achieved by the use of a similar color scheme in both parts of the icon. This was, however, the most common, most natural way, which did not affect the style of the representation. Another, more complicated possibility, was the presentation of the middle portrait of the saint in the style of the border scenes, or the presentation of the border scenes in a monumental style, appropriate for the middle panel. When the central image of a saint is represented in the style of the border scenes, it becomes an enlarged border scene itself. The painter tries to emphasize the narrative element in the central panel, adding details and making it almost as interesting as the border scenes. A fine example of such an approach is the icon of Elijah the Prophet in the Desert¹¹ or St. George with the Scenes from His Life.¹² When the border scenes are presented in a monumental style, the whole icon acquires monumental qualities. The border scenes are simplified, the number of figures in each scene is limited, the architectural

details are elementary, and there is no place for ornamentation and decorativeness. This approach is characteristic of the early hagiographical icons.¹³

The hagiographical icon can, in many respects, be compared to a hagiographical literary work. The central panel depicts the eternal, heavenly, idealized image of a saint. This reminds one of the rhetorical introduction to a saint's vita, which employs fixed expressions and epithets to better glorify the Christian ideal.

The border scenes are equally similar to the miracle stories. The latter in the hagiographical literature are much more interesting and dynamic than the rhetorical introduction or praise of the saint. The stories very often feature ordinary people, relegating the saint to the background. In hagiographical icons the border scenes are much more fascinating than the central panel. They are full of movement, have a complex composition, and the heroes of these scenes are ordinary people. The saint in border scenes is static and immobile in comparison with other figures. These other characters, clad in colorful vestments, expressing their emotions, attract the attention of the viewer. There are even border scenes which do not include the figure of the saint at all.

It is generally accepted that a work of art is spatial and a literary work is temporal.¹⁴ But in icon painting the differences between the spatial and the

temporal are largely eliminated. In the border scenes the painters are able to overstep the restrictions of time. In these scenes they depict the events which might have taken place not only during the saint's life, but also after his demise. The posthumous miracles described in many vitae are supposed to have happened over the course of many centuries. The representation of these miracles on the border scenes of an icon expands its "represented" time to an extent possible only in a literary work.

Thus the hagiographical icon is a unique work of art -- an art form which is able to depict actions and events taking place in different locations at various times. No realistic painting can achieve this goal. Perhaps the only contemporary art for which this "temporal" extension is possible is the motion picture. The parallel becomes closer when one considers that in the hagiographical icon even the action depicted in one border scene may be split into several temporal fragments: the beginning, culmination, and the ending. It must be noted, however, that this device was employed no earlier than in the 15th century, under the influence of manuscript painting which developed this technique in order to illustrate the texts as faithfully as possible.¹⁵

An icon does not depict objects in a direct (linear) perspective. Icon painters use a system called "inverted"

perspective, to indicate that this perspective is not the one the contemporary viewer is accustomed to.¹⁶

"The system of inverted perspective results from the use of a multiplicity of visual positions, which is to say that it is connected with a dynamic visual gaze and a subsequent summation of the visual impression . . .

As a result of this summation, the dynamics of the viewing position are carried over to the picture, thus giving rise to the deformations specific to forms in inverted perspective." (Uspenskij, p. 31). In other words, in the system of inverted perspective the icon painter places himself inside of his picture and tries to show the viewer objects as they really are, not as they appear. The painter is an "all seeing eye", he tries to depict all the sides of the object, as if he was walking around it. He summarizes his impressions, his views of the object, on the panel. For instance, if a realist and an icon painter were to represent a cube, the realist would be able to depict three sides of the cube at the most (fig. 1). The icon painter would add together his impressions conceived from many visual positions and his rendering would resemble a trapezoidal box (fig. 2).

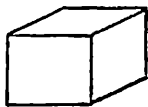


Figure 1

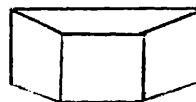


Figure 2

This dynamic point of view, comprehensible for the contemporary viewer only when the basic rules of inverted perspective are known, could cause an even greater deformation, since a desire and ability to see and convey the back side of the object would force the painter to make the corners of his box rounded.¹⁷

The painters placed the most important figures and objects in the foreground, relegating everything else to the background. Thus, the figures are much larger than the buildings behind them. Characteristically, the events which, according to the vitae took place inside the buildings, are represented as if they happened outside. This is not only because the people involved in those events are more important than the architectural settings or landscapes, but probably because of the difficulty of the icon painters in depicting human figures in proportion to architectural detail, especially in those cases which involve a human figure in the interior.

Most of the hagiographical icons were supplied with inscriptions. The inscriptions named the subject of the central representation depicted on the icon, and explained the content of the border scenes. According to D. S. Lixačev, the inscriptions "are not the fragments of texts mechanically taken from these or those vitae, but especially prepared, edited texts."¹⁸ They are "abbreviated or unfinished, laconic, and consist mostly of short phrases.

Their 'decorativeness', unnecessary in such a close distance from the colorful language of painting, sometimes disappears." (Lixačev, p. 28). The analysis of the captions may help a researcher to determine the date of the icon's appearance and the literary sources used by its author. The latter enables one to understand better the psychology, mentality, and interests of the medieval reader-painter. The captions can also supply important data for a linguist, because they often reveal dialectical peculiarities of the region in which the icon was painted.¹⁹

It was mentioned above that many of the border scenes in the hagiographical icons were based on the early established compositional canons, developed in order to represent faithfully the Biblical and Gospel events and characters, as well as the saints and their miracles. These canons had been worked out through centuries of experimentation and changes. In Byzantium, probably about the 10th century, there appeared special books containing information on how to depict the religious subjects. These first manuals were based not only on the information drawn from hagiographical literature, sermons and prayers, but also on preserved recollections of eyewitnesses. Very soon afterwards ("not later than the first quarter of the 11th century"²⁰), a new kind of manual appeared. It was a compilation of pictures, sketches and drawings of the

saints and Biblical events. The illustrations, very often copied from famous icons and frescoes, were to give the painter ready compositional schemes for his works.

The first icon-painting manuals came to Russia quite early, possibly before the Mongol conquest (Golubinskij, II, part 2, p. 371), but none were preserved. They are known as podlinniki (truthful books). The descriptive manuals (without drawings) are referred to as tolkovye or episatel'nye, and the illustrated (facial) manuals are called licevye. However, the Russian manuals or pattern-books (a term generally accepted, despite its imprecision) in the beginning were often of accidental character and the instructions included in one contradicted the other. The Church authorities, eager to put an end to the endless disputes and arguments as to which rendering of a subject was correct and "orthodox" and which was not, decided to compile the information from many separate manuals into one, common for all Russia. The first attempt to accomplish this goal was undertaken in the beginning of the 16th century. In the middle of the same century, under the auspices of the relentless Metropolitan Makarij, the illustrated manual of this kind was compiled. Finally, in the end of the 16th century the canonical texts of both the descriptive and illustrated pattern-books appeared.²¹

It was pointed out that the pattern-books had played a dual and contradictory role in Old Russian painting. On one hand they preserved not only much valuable data on iconography and the technology of old painting, but also several interesting literary monuments. On the other hand, by providing icon-painters restricted, limited, and officially approved instruction material, they lowered the importance of philosophical inquiry and subjective spiritual experience (Mastera, p. 14). However, it should be kept in mind that the Old Russian painter wanted to paint his icons according to fixed rules, to the etiquette which was present in all forms of artistic expression. He did not try to be original or to invent new compositions. The importance of the pattern-books should not be overestimated. They were used mostly by the young and inexperienced painters, or helped in introducing new, difficult or not yet commonly known compositions. For the better known subjects the painters rarely consulted the manuals, relying mostly on their memory of the icons and frescoes they had seen before.

St. Nicholas is mentioned in the Russian pattern-books several times. The first composition which includes the figure of the saint is the representation of the First Ecumenical Council. According to the Russian 18th century pattern-book (based primarily on the older texts, but with several later additions) the scene should be depicted as

follows:

Nikola svjatyj Ćudotvorec glagolet
so Ariem eretikom i s Evseviem, stoja
pred carem; Arij ukazuet sebja v per-
si, to est' v grudi; a inii mnozi
eretiki stojat, stary, sredoveki,
rusy i mladi; rizu na nix knjažeskija
ili boljarskija.²²

The 18th century Greek pattern-book, written by Dionysius of Furna and strongly influenced by European baroque painting, advised the painter to include in this scene many more figures.²³ However, the core of the composition in both manuals is very similar: the Emperor Constantine is sitting on the throne in the middle of the picture, while in front Nicholas argues with Arius.

The second piece of information about the saint is usually placed under the 6th of December (the pattern-books were arranged chronologically, like the Synaxaria or Reading Menaea). It is mainly a description of Nicholas' physical (external) appearance:

Ize vo svjatyx otca našego Nikolaja
arxiepiskopa Mir Likijских Ćudotvorca,
be v leto 5795 (287 -- A.B.); podobiem
vel'mi star, sed, brada nevelika, kur-
čevata, glavoju plešiv, na pleši malo
kudercov, riza svjatitel'skaja, bagor,
probelen lazor'ju beloju, ispod lazor's
belil(y); vo omofore, pravoju rukoju
blagoslovljaet, a v levoj Evangelie, a
v nem napisano: "Vo vremja ono sta
Iisus na meste ravne i narod učenik ego
i množestvo mnogo ljudej ot vseja Iudei

i Ierusalima i pomorija Tirska i Sidonska, i iže priidoša poslušati ego" (Luke 6:17 -- A.B.) (Filimonov, pp. 207-208).²⁴

The third time the saint is mentioned in the Russian manuals is under the 9th of May in connection with the scene of the Translation. The description of the saint's appearance is based on the earlier texts, but the Translation scene itself is a new addition to the iconography of St. Nicholas.

I prenesenie mošče^žj iže vo svjatyx otca našego Nikolaja arxiepiskopa Mir Likijskix čudotvorca, ot Mir v Bar grad, v leto 6596-e (1088 -- A.B.). Prenesenie pišitsja tako: grad Bar stoit pri more, a na more korabl' vo grade cerkvi, polaty i bašni, iz grada sretajut episkopi svjaščenniki, inoki, diakoni i ves' čin cerkovnyj, so svješčami, kadily i so kresty, i množestvo naroda, mužej, žen i detej; a grob s telom svjatitelja Nikolaja nesut svjaščenniki i diakoni, a po zemle polzajut beznogija, xvoryja i xromyja xodjat na derevjanicax i niščie s sumkami, a vsi zrjat na Nikolu čudotvorca: svjatyj Nikolaj podobiem star^žij sed vlasj, glavoju plešiv nos prōdolgujušč' brada kruglovata i kurčevata, licem morščinovat; v Minei pišet v žitii prepodobnago Iosifa Pesnopisca aprel-lija v 4-j den': "Svjatyj Nikolaj muž svjatolepen, česten, v svjatitel'skije odeždy oblečen, sed vlasj." (Filimonov, p. 340).

It is quite possible that the descriptions of the external appearance of St. Nicholas were known in Russia very early. Quite different was the case with the particular border scenes. The instructions on how to paint these became known probably only in the 16th century,

but never gained popularity. One of the best known manuals, Sijskij podlinnik, does not give a description of the scenes, only enumerates them:

Roždestvo sv. Nikolaja; krešćenie sv. Nikolaja; isceli na puti sv. Nikolae ženu suxoruku; naučenje gramote sv. Nikoly; postavljenje vo diakony sv. Nikoly; postavljenje v popy sv. Nikoly; postavljenje vo arxiepiskopy sv. otca Nikoly; služba sv. otca Nikoly; javisja sv. Nikolae carju vo sne; javisja sv. Nikolae trem mužem v temnice; sv. Nikolae izgna besa iz kladjazja; sv. Nikolae izbavi Dimitrija ot potopa; sv. Nikolae izbavi Agrikova syna ot sracin; prestavljenje sv. otca Nikoly; pogrebenie sv. otca Nikoly; perenesenie mošče; sv. otca Nikoly.²⁵

A comparison of this instruction with the captions on St. Nicholas' hagiographical icons shows that the text in this manual was copied from some hagiographical icon or from a fresco cycle known to the compiler.

In the 17th century, a little known pattern-book written by a monk Daniel mentions only 12 scenes to be illustrated on hagiographical icons of St. Nicholas: birth, schooling, Nicholas becomes a deacon, presbyter and metropolitan of Myra, Praxis de tribus filiabus, appearance of Nicholas to Constantine and Ablabius, Nicholas saves the three men from execution, Nicholas expells the devils and destroys the temple of Artemis, and the death of Nicholas.²⁶

The pattern-book of Dionysius of Furna is the only one which gives detailed instructions on the way in which every scene should be painted. He begins his selection with Praxis de tribus filiabus, omitting Nicholas' birth and schooling. The second scene is the consecration of Nicholas into a deacon. These are followed by scenes of Nicholas resurrecting a sailor, the consecration of Nicholas into archbishop, Nicholas receiving omophorion from the Virgin and the Gospels from Christ, Nicholas saving the three generals from execution, Nicholas appearing to Constantine and Ablabius, and the death of Nicholas (Erminiĵa, pp. 393-4). Characteristic is the lack of any scenes depicting the posthumous miracles of the saint. Dionysius probably used as his literary source the Vita per Metaphrasten or the Synaxarion.

The pattern-books did not play an important role in the development of the iconography of St. Nicholas. Indeed, one of the manuals did not even include a description of the saint, noting that "obraz sego velikogo Œudotvorca znajut vse pravoslavnye xristiane;" and, therefore, only informed about the saint's robes: "riza bagrova, probelen, ispod lazor', bela." (Pokrovskij 1896, p. 76).

This attitude probably resulted in the absence of a "stemma" or the fixed repertoire of the border scenes

(see Ševčenko, p. 447). While there are certain scenes which appear more often than others, there are also scenes which appear only once apparently selected by the painter because of his personal preferences. In the 16th century, when the illustrated pattern-books appeared in Russia, the icons of St. Nicholas were so popular and so numerous that they were used as patterns or examples for the new icons. It should be remembered that the icons were always more easily available than the pattern-books. If painters had any doubts as to which scenes should be depicted and how they should be composed, they selected a particularly venerated icon of the saint and copied its selection on their work, sometimes adding, sometimes subtracting individual scenes. This process brought a great variety of hagiographical icons of the saint without a fixed, canonical selection of scenes represented on their borders.

In the 16th century in Moscow, in an official workshop, a manuscript entitled Žitie Nikolaja Čudotvorca was written, based on the texts collected and compiled by the Metropolitan Makarij.²⁷ The authors were probably a group of scribes and painters who had previously seen the Nürnberg edition of Schedel's Chronicle (1493-94). At the time of the preparation of the manuscript the painters had probably returned the German book, but the strong impression it made on them can still be

seen in the illustrations. The miniatures of the manuscript show an equal amount of Russian and Western elements, especially in the landscapes and architecture. The work is also unusual in that it includes more than four hundred miniatures, which illustrate the stories from the life of St. Nicholas so faithfully that almost every word of the text has a visual rendition. Almost every picture shows several moments of the same action. Myslivec (p. 93) calls this technique of pictorial representation "a continuous manner" and gives as an example a scene of Nicholas' journey to Jerusalem, where the ship boarded by the saint is depicted twice, and Nicholas is represented on each of these ships in different moments of the action.

I believe that this outstanding manuscript could have influenced the icon painters much more than any pattern-book, since the possibilities opened for the illustrator of the life of St. Nicholas with the appearance of this work became virtually infinite. The manuscript was later copied and despite the fact that this copy is lost today, it may indicate that other, similar works existed. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries icons appeared in Russia with more than 30 border scenes. Many of these icons were not only stylistically close to the illustrated manuscript discussed above, but the selection of their border scenes which included many obscure comp-

ositions and rarely depicted miracles, could have had its basis in the manuscript or in a similar work.

Notes

Chapter III

1. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Cycles of the Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art," vols. I and II (illustrations), Diss. Columbia University, 1973, p. 426. Further references to all works cited in this chapter appear in the text.
2. See, for example, a sixth-century tapestry of the Enthroned Virgin from Cleveland and a twelfth century icon from Sinai (Kurt Weitzmann, The Icon: Holy Images -- Sixth to Fourteenth Century, New York: George Braziller, 1978, plates 4 and 26); and an icon of the Virgin and Child from the Hermitage (Alice Bank, Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums, New York: Harry N. Abrams; Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1978 plate 276).
3. An example of such an icon (from Sinai, sec. half of the 11th century) can be seen in Weitzmann, The Icon, plate 17.
4. The only well known Russian monumental cycles are the famous frescoes painted by Dionysius (Dionisij) in the St. Therapont Monastery (1501), and the frescoes in the church of St. Nicholas Nadein in Jaroslavl' (1640-1).
5. Bulgaria, the main supplier of religious literature and art objects to Russia in the beginning of Russia's Christian path, had close and strong cultural ties with Russia even later, when the Russian Church became more independent. The Russian painters could have seen the frescoes at Bojana and the large number of scenes from Nicholas' life in that cycle could have given them material for the selection of the scenes for their icons.
6. This interest in saint's lives was very similar to the interest caused by the Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes in the 11th century in Byzantium. Apparently this sort of compilative or "editorial" work on the older texts always caused greater fascination in hagiography. It is almost certain that these compilations were undertaken at the time when this type of work was eagerly anti-

cipated and needed.

7. Josef Myslivec, "Život sv. Mikuláše v Byzantském umění," in his Dvě studie z dějin Byzantského umění, (Prague: Universum, 1948), p. 176, mentions an icon from the former collection of I.K. Raxmanov, dating back to the 17th century, with 40 border scenes. I found an 18th-century work from Palex with 38 border scenes and another, painted by Simon Spiridonov Xolmogorec in 1686, with 34 scenes (see Nos. 82 and 80 of my Catalogue). These late icons, painted at the time when miniaturization of the scenes led to the rapid growth of their number, used as their sources of inspiration these texts which included as many miracle stories as possible. The detailed compositions of the border scenes on these icons are sometimes difficult to identify.
8. The central panel may be occupied by two or three figures (see Nos. 6 and 10 of my Catalogue, or the icons of Boris and Gleb).
9. The most famous parsuna, of Prince Mixhail Skopin-Šujskij, see in Tamara Talbot-Rice, A Concise History of Russian Art, (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1963), ill. 121.
10. One has to bear in mind that the icon painters believed that the accepted, "orthodox" compositions, approved by the Church, were the only true and faithful images of the holy subjects.
11. See the illustration of M.V. Alpatov, Umetničko blago Rusije, (Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, 1967), p. 51; cf. C.K. Vagner, Problema žanrov v drevnerusskom iskusstve, (Moskva, 1974), pp. 192-3.
12. See the illustration in È.S. Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda: Seredina XIII-načalo XV veka, (Moskva: Nauka. 1976), pp. 188-95, ill. 294-7.
13. Those early icons were simple in composition because the etiquette called for simplicity and monumentalism. In the beginning this could have been connected with the painters' inexperience in depicting multifigured scenes and complex compositions.

14. By "temporal" is meant the extension of time represented on the panel, not the "eternal" time present in every work of art.
15. See the discussion of illustrated manuscripts later in this chapter.
16. For a more detailed and sometimes fascinating discussion of this phenomenon consult Boris Uspensky, The Semiotics of the Russian Icon, (Lisse: The Peter De Ridder Press, 1976), esp. pp. 31-57.
17. Such a roundness of the corners can be observed frequently on the back of the throne in icons representing Paternitas or Christ in Majesty; see V.N. Lazarev, Novgorodskaja ikonopis', (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1969), ill. 31 and 45.
18. D.S. Lixačev, Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury, 2nd, enlarged edn., (Leningrad: Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1971), p. 28.
19. For instance, the captions on the icon from Ozerevo (No. 6 of my Catalogue) give a fascinating example of the vocalization of "jer" in the end of the word: "dajute" instead of "dajut'", "stavjate" instead of "stavjat'", "popome" instead of "popom'", "narodome" instead of "narodom'", etc. Together with the change of "č" into "c", this vocalization must have been characteristic for a part of the population of the Novgorod region.
20. Evgenij Golubinskij, Istorija ruskoj cerkvi, vol. II, part 2, (Moskva, 1917) p. 371.
21. Cf. A.A. Fedorov-Davydov, ed., Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve, vol. VI, (Moskva, 1969), pp. 11-4.
22. G.D. Filimonov, ed., Ikonopisnyj podlinnik svodnoj redakciji XVIII v., (Moskva, 1876), p. 5.
23. "Erminija ili nastavlenie v Živopisnom iskusstve sostavlennoe ieromonaxom i Živopiscem Dionisiem Furnoagrafiotom," TKDA, No. 4 (aprel') 1868, 381.
24. See also F.I. Buslaev, Istoričeskie očerki ruskoj narodnoj slovesnosti i iskusstva, in his

- Sočinenija, vol. II (Sankt-Petersburg, 1910), p. 228; N.V. Pokrovskij, "Sijskij ikonopisnyj podlinnik," in PDPI, CXIII, (Sankt-Petersburg, 1896), p. 75.
25. N.V. Pokrovskij, "Sijskij ikonopisnyj podlinnik," in PDPI, CXXVI, (Sankt-Petersburg, 1898), p. 176.
26. "Kniga o živopisnom iskusstve Daniila svjaščennika 1674 goda," TKDA, No. 12 (dekabr') 1867, 481.
27. Žitie Nikolaja Čudotvorca, (Sankt-Petersburg: Imperatorskoe Obsčestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti, 1878-9). The manuscript is studied in Myslivec, pp. 57 and 92-3; N. Sultanov, "Obrazcy drevne-russkago zodčestva v miniatjurnyx izobraženijax: Izsledovanie po rukopisi XVI veka: 'Žitie Nikolaja Čudotvorca'," in PDPI, VIII (Sankt-Petersburg, 1881); A.I. Nekrasov, Drevnerusskoe izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, (Moskva, 1937; rpt. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1969), p. 300; A.V. Arcixovskij, ed., Očerki russkoj kul'tury XVI veka, vol. II, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1977), p. 348; M.V. Alpatov, "K voprosu o zapadnom vlijanii v drevne-russkom iskusstve," Slavia, III (1924-5); I.E. Grabar, et al., eds. Geschichte der Russischen Kunst, vol. III, (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1959), p. 434, ill. 330.

Chapter IV

Wonderworking and Miraculously Revealed Icons of St. Nicholas in Russia.

An investigator of Russian icons of St. Nicholas will undoubtedly encounter many icons with unfamiliar names. Nikolaj Zарајskij, Možajskij, Velikoreckij, Babaevskij, Ugrešskij, Dvoriščenskij, Mokryj, Lipnyj, Židičinskij, Lukoml'skij and Krupickij -- are the most important and popular names of the miracleworking icons of the saint in Russia. Almost every Russian source dealing with icons and problems of iconography includes some references pertaining to these names (mainly Nikolaj Zарајskij and Možajskij).¹ In the Western sources, however, the icons of St. Nicholas are usually called only St. Nicholas, St. Nicholas the Wonderworker and St. Nicholas of Myra. The Russian names, specifying the particular types of St. Nicholas icons, are rarely mentioned. The origins of these names and types deserve to be explained in some detail.²

Nicholas of Zарајsk (Nikolaj Zарајskij) (see ill. 1, 3-5)

The name of the icon of Nicholas of Zарајsk is derived from the name of the city of Zарајsk, near Rjazan'. The origin of the city's name can be found in the Tale of Nicholas of Zарајsk (Povest' o Nikole

Zarazskom), which in the Old Russian manuscripts preceded the famous Tale of the Destruction of Rjazan' (Povest' o razorenii Rjazani Batyem). These works are the only surviving monuments of medieval Rjazan' literature and they form a specific compilation (svod). The Tale of Nicholas of Zarazsk was researched by two Soviet scholars, V.L. Komarovič and D.S. Lixačev.³ From a literary standpoint, it is less important than the Tale of the Destruction of Rjazan', but for a student of religion, iconography and folklore, it is an indispensable source of material.

According to the story, in the town of Kherson (Korsun') in the Crimea, there was a church (in which St. Vladimir was said to have been baptized) housing a famous icon of St. Nicholas. In 1225 the saint miraculously appeared in a dream to the caretaker of the icon, the priest Evstafij, and ordered him to take the icon, his family, (wife Feodosija and son Evstafij) and a cleric to the Rjazan' district. Although the saint appeared to Evstafij three times, the last time even "poking him in the ribs" (utykaja v rebra), the priest still hesitated to leave his native city. Finally, St. Nicholas was forced to cause Evstafij's blindness and a head ailment (bolezn' glavnuju) in order to make him promise that he would take the icon to Rjazan'. After Evstafij promised to fulfill the

saint's wish, he was instantly healed. He set out to Rjazan' taking the route indicated by the saint. St. Nicholas ordered Evstafij to go by sea instead of traveling through the Polovtsian lands (a much shorter way from Kherson to Rjazan'). Evstafij boarded a ship and after a long journey, he landed in Kes' (Cesis -- former Wenden) or Riga. From the landing place the "icon party" traveled by land to Novgorod. The great city so impressed Evstafij's wife that she decided to stay there and hid herself from her husband. Through St. Nicholas' intervention she fell sick and only after Evstafij's prayers she recovered and agreed to accompany him to Rjazan'. Upon reaching the Rjazan' district, Evstafij was puzzled because he did not know where to stop and select a place for the icon. St. Nicholas then appeared to the prince of Rjazan', Fedor Jur'evič, and asked him to "meet" the icon. The saint promised the prince, his wife and son a "heavenly kingdom." Fedor was surprised, since he was not married and did not have any children. Obediently, however, he set out to "meet" the icon with great ceremony. When his father Jurij heard about the arrival of the icon, he came to see it and built a church of St. Nicholas of Kherson, which was consecrated by the Rjazan' bishop Evfrosin. A few years later prince Fedor married Prin-

cess Evpraksija, from the imperial Byzantine family, who very soon bore him a son -- Ivan Postnik.

In 1237, while attempting to persuade Batu Khan not to attack Rjazan', Fedor was killed on the river Voronež. One of his soldiers escaped and brought the sad news to Evpraksija. When she learned about her husband's death, she took her son and jumped with him from the high tower of the church of St. Nicholas. In Old Russian the way in which the princess and her son died is rendered by the expression "sebja zaraziti" (to smash oneself to death). The author of the Tale of Nicholas of Zarazsk, in a manner typical of medieval literature, connects this suicide with the origin of the saint's name:

"I ot seja viny zovetsja velikij čudotvorec Nikolae -- Zarazskij, jako blagovernaja knjaginja Euprakseja i s synom so knjazem Ivanom sama sebja zaraziša."⁴

The author also maintains that the place of the suicide became known as Zarazsk.⁵ However, M.N. Tixomirov and D.S. Lixačev pointed out that the name of the city of Zarazsk is derived from the Old Russian word "zaraza" -- a ravine (Lixačev, Velikoe nasledie, p. 227), or a deep, impenetrable forest.⁶ Both forests and ravines surrounded the place at that time. The naming of a city after a particular landmark or topo-

graphical feature was very common in the Middle Ages, therefore one may accept this interpretation as the most probable. Only in the 16th century was the city of Zarazsk renamed Zarajsk (probably to ease the pronunciation), and Evstafij's icon and its copies subsequently became icons of St. Nicholas of Zarajsk.⁷

The original icon of Nicholas of Zarajsk (now in the Cathedral church of St. Nicholas in that city⁸) depicted Nicholas standing in "orans" pose⁹, dressed in bishop's garments, with his right hand in blessing and the left holding a Book of Gospels. Around the central panel there were 14 scenes illustrating his life, his death, and the miracles performed after his death.¹⁰ In 1513 the icon was transferred to Kolomna in connection with an attack of the Crimean Tartars (krymskix ljudej) on Zarajsk. The icon was placed in a church dedicated to St. Nicholas of Zarajsk. A copy of the icon, kept today in the Tret'jakov Gallery in Moscow¹¹, was made there and was taken to Zarajsk to replace the original. Two years later, in Kolomna, a goldsmith named Kozlok stole the precious cover (riza) from the icon. St. Nicholas appeared to Sozont Kiselev, who had been paralyzed for eight years, and asked him to summon the church officials and to go to Kozlok's house where the cover was hidden. Sozont was immediately healed

and together with church officials set out to Kozlok's. When the thief saw the approaching procession, he repented and showed them the place in which he put the cover. When the procession was returning to the church, a deaf-mute, Kliment, prayed to the icon and was healed. Several years later the copy of the icon miraculously came back from Zarajsk to Kolomna (nikem nosimyj), and at the same time the original returned from Kolomna to Zarajsk (Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 262-4). In 1608 Vasilij Ivanovič Šujskij donated a new silver cover for the icon, and in 1610 a miniature necklace (cata) to be hung on the cover and a silver border with representations of several saints (Antonova, pp. 380-1). On the cover, richly decorated with pearls and precious stones, the central figure of the saint and 16 scenes of his life and miracles were engraved. Both donations were made after the successes of Dimitrij M. Požarskij, a governor of Zarajsk, in fighting the second "false Dimitrij." The cover and the silver border completely hid the icon from the worshippers and scholars (only the faces, hands and feet of the figures painted on the icon can be seen through the openings in the cover).¹² In 1610, Prince Požarskij took the icon back to Kolomna because Zarajsk was in danger of being captured by the usurper's army. In

order to house this most venerated monument, a stone church was erected on the site of the old wooden church, in the Kolomna Kremlin, dedicated to St. Nicholas of Zarajsk. According to legend, this church was named the church of the Visiting Nicholas (Nikolaj Gostinnyj) (Antonova and Mneva, II, p.164).

The Tale of Nicholas of Zarazsk states that the descendants of Evstafij served continually (ne peremennajasja) in the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas in Zarajsk for 335 years. Evgenij Golubinskij, a prominent Russian Church historian, assumed that Evstafij, a Greek who did not have much success in Kherson, bought a good icon of St. Nicholas and set out to Russia in order to found there a church dedicated to the saint. He wanted to pass this church on as his familial succession (ktitorija). Evstafij's descendants were interested in making the story of the transfer of the icon attractive and unusual and created a typical medieval legend about a wonderworking icon.¹³ An author of one of the 17th century redaction of the tale gives an almost complete catalogue of the stories of miraculous journeys of famous icons and shows how common they were:

"O takovyx že preslavnyx čjudesax i znamenii i perexoždenii ot mesta na mesto, ot strany vo stranu i ot grada vo grad v božestvennom pisanii v različnyx povestjax mnogo o svjatyx ikonax povestvujut. . ." (Lixačev, Velikoe nasledie, p.226).

Lixačev, noticing the "legendary" elements of the Tale of Nicholas of Zarazsk, argued that it contained much more historical truth than one could immediately notice. He maintained that Evstafij set out to Rjazan' frightened by the unrest of the Kumans, who, after the battle on the Kalka river, began to move and cut off Kherson from the North. It was not Nicholas, therefore, who forced Evstafij to leave his native town, but the danger of the approaching Mongol armies. The priest chose the journey around Europe because a trip across the Kuman lands would be too risky. He chose Rjazan' as his goal, since this city had already strong mercantile connections with the Black Sea towns and with the Northern Caucasus (Lixačev, Velikoe nasledie, pp.226-7).

The Tale of Nicholas of Zarazsk, written in the beginning of the 14th century, reworked in the 16th, and expanded in the 17th, shows the popularity of Nicholas of Zarajsk in Russia. According to Antonova, when the tale was first written, it reflected a widespread tendency to russify the Byzantine images of the saints. In the Tale, the famous Byzantine saint becomes a participant in Russian events; the Byzantine bishop turns into a hero of folk beliefs. Apparently the Zarajsk icon of St. Nicholas standing with outstretched arms was considered a defender against an

attack of foreign intruders and feudal wars. This belief was inherited from the epoch of feudal partitions, when the Church, through its bishops, propagated the unity of the Russian lands and the Christian faith as the only force able to oppose the evil pagans. This feature of the cult of Nicholas of Zarajsk can explain the presence in the Tale of Nicholas of Zarazsk of the religious legend and military tale, describing the valiant fight of the Russians with the Mongols (Antonova, pp.380-1). The "Kherson episode" at first only reflected the fascination of the Russians with Byzantine culture (Antonova, p.379), but in the 16th century it served the Muscovite tendency to connect the history of Russia with world history, and to "collect" all Russian lands (Antonova, p.375, 379, 392). The war with the Crimean Tartars in the 16th century revived the cult of Nicholas of Zarajsk, and probably resulted in the appearance of the reworked version of the Tale (Antonova, p.392). The Tale and the icons of Nicholas of Zarajsk should also be considered the prototypes of such icons as Nicholas of Možajsk (14th century), Nicholas of Velikoreckoe (16th century) and Nicholas of Radonež (17th century), all of which were famous as defenders of Russia from its enemies (Antonova, p.391).

Nicholas of Možajsk (Nikolaj Možajskij) (see ill. 6)

The name Nicholas of Možajsk is derived from the name of the city of Možajsk, situated on the Moskva river, not far south-west of Moscow. The local Možajsk legend, recorded only in the late 16th century, describes the following miracle of St. Nicholas:

Long ago, when the enemies besieged Možajsk; St. Nicholas, in order to encourage the inhabitants of the city and to frighten the enemy, miraculously appeared standing in the air above the city's cathedral, holding a sword in his right hand and a model of the cathedral surrounded by fortifications in his left. The enemies, frightened by this miraculous appearance, fled, and the citizens, in gracious memory of this powerful defense, made a wooden statue of the saint depicting him as he appeared to them.¹⁴

This legend probably presents one of the episodes of the Mongol conquest. In 1293 Možajsk, belonging to the principality of Smolensk, was burnt down by the Mongols and in 1303 fell under the supremacy of the Muscovite duchy.¹⁵ In the 1320's the Metropolitan of Moscow, Peter, ordered a statue of St. Nicholas of Možajsk (probably to commemorate the incorporation of the city). The most important parts of this statue (head and hands) are still extant.¹⁶ The body was replaced by a new one in the middle of the 14th century or in the beginning of the 15th century. The Soviet art historian, A.I. Nekrasov, describes the features

of this interesting work:

The oblong head of the Možajsk statue with a long beard is quite different than the Byzantine iconographical type of Nicholas; it has a parabolic profile, a delicate frozen smile and protruding eyes with raised outer corners. In a word, we see typical features of 13th century German romanesque sculpture.¹⁷

Nekrasov, following Golubinskij's remarks about the statue (II, part 2, pp.366-7), believed that it originated in the West where representations of "fighting bishops" were common. He also pointed out that an apocryphal tale about the active participation of St. Nicholas at the Council of Nicaea in 325 (the so-called "Neknižnoe Žitie" of the saint) gave a basis for the application of Western iconography to the representation of the saint (Nekrasov, p.205).

Statues of Nicholas of Možajsk became extremely popular in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, especially in Northern Russia (Pskov, Novgorod, Volokolamsk, Perm') where wood was abundant and woodcarving and carpentry had a long established tradition. They were usually accompanied by statues of St. Paraskeva (Pjatnica).¹⁸

In 1540 the statues of Nicholas and Paraskeva were brought to Pskov. The first Pskovian Chronicle under 1540 states:

Togo že leta ko Uspen'evu dni privezoša
starcy, perexodcy s inyja zemli, obraz

svjatago Nikoly da svjatuju Pjatnicu na rezi v xramcax; i byst' pskovičam v nevedenii, čto vo Pskove takie ikony na rezi ne byvali, i mnogie nevežlivye ljudi postaviša to za bolvanoe poklonenie, i byst' v ljudex molva velika i smjatenie; . . . i te ikony svjatye ko arxiepiskopu poslaša v Velikij Novgorod; i vladyka Makarej sam znamenovalsja tem svjatym ikonam . . . i čest' im vozdal . . . i velel pskovičam u tex starcov te ikony vymeni(ja)ti . . . (Golubinskij, II, part 2, p.376).

Golubinskij thought that "starcy s inyja zemli" were monks who came from Lithuania (Belorussia). They brought with them wooden painted statues of Nicholas and Paraskeva for sale. Archbishop Makarij approved of the statues because he previously was an archimandrite in Lužeck monastery in Možajsk and knew that such sculptures were not only allowed, but quite venerated (II, part 2, p.367). Nekrasov believed that these statues, like the first statue in Možajsk, were strongly influenced by romanesque sculpture common in Poland and Belorussia.

In the 1420's Moscow conquered Mcensk, a town in Lithuanian territory, and a monumental statue of Nicholas was brought there. The attributes of the saint (a sword and a fortress-church) and the dimensions of the statue were similar to the Možajsk statue, but the style of facial representation changed. Nicholas' countenance in this Mcensk figure resembled the traditional representation of the saint in icons:

a wide face with a short beard and curls (kuder'ki) on the head (Nekrasov, p.243).

Another famous statue of Nicholas of Mořajsk comes from Volokolamsk and dates back to the 15th-16th century. This work has no traces of romanesque sculpture, nor does it reflect the attempts to transform romanesque iconography into the iconography of icon painting. The statue is completely flat, with a cylindrical head, coarsely carved with an axe. It should be considered only a schematic model, a basis for the painted decoration (Nekrasov, p.278).

The statues of Nicholas of Mořajsk were usually painted and placed in special decorative cases (xramcy, kioty) with triangular roofs.¹⁹ In the minds of the people the cases and the statues apparently were inseparable. The icon painters, absorbing the iconography of the statue, also incorporated into their pictures the image of the case. Therefore, today one can determine that the icon depicts St. Nicholas of Mořajsk not only by the saint's attributes, but also by the presence of the characteristic case. Amazingly, some artists tried to imitate the prototype of their works (a statue) and made from the material of the ground (gruntovka) the bas-relief images of the saint and the case.

The icons of St. Nicholas of Možajsk can be divided into two groups. One group presents the saint with a sword and a church in his hands, but there are no scenes from his life.²⁰ The second group depicts the saint as above, but the scenes from his life are added around the central panel.²¹

The iconographical type of Nicholas of Možajsk, which Antonova connects with the rising popularity of the saint as a defender against the enemy, could have been enforced by the popularity of one of the miracles performed by him. The Praxis de Stratelatis, one of the oldest accounts of St. Nicholas' deeds, tells how he once stopped the execution of three generals by grabbing the executioner's sword. The liturgical songs about the saint could have also strengthened the image of an armed St. Nicholas. Only in late icons of St. Nicholas of Možajsk, the sword in his hand was sometimes replaced by a cross (Voznesenskij and Gusev, p.209, ill.15). This substitution can be explained by the fact that the painters who did not remember the origin of this image considered a sword in the saint's hand an inappropriate object. A cross seemed a much more fitting attribute for a bishop.

Nicholas of Velikoreckoe (Nikolaj Velijoreckij) (see ill. 18).

The name Nicholas of Velikoreckoe is derived from the name of the village Velikoreckoe, situated on the river Velikaja in the Vjatka district.²² According to Golubinskij, the icon of St. Nicholas of Velikoreckoe "appeared" in 1383, during the reign of Dimitrij Ivanovič Donskoj (II, part 2, p. 603). There exists a written account of this "appearance", most probably created in order to add the "miraculous" element to the popular cult and to confirm the "powers" of the icon. This account, known from late manuscripts, begins with a typical introduction in which the author explains that there are no written stories about the miracle, although many ancient (drevnie) people know the tale. Therefore, the author does not dare condemn the story to oblivion (zabveniju predati) and writes it down as he has heard it.

It was during the reign of the great princes that a Christian from the village of Krutica (in the Vjatka district) was traveling from his house on some household errand (nekija radi potreby domovnyja) and he saw, near the river Velikaja, something shining like many burning candles. He waited a little, but not understanding what happened, went on his way. When he was returning he saw the same lights at the same spot.

He approached the place and noticed an icon of St. Nicholas there. The candles, in the meantime, disappeared (nevidimi byša). The man was frightened (užasesja) by the miracle, but took the icon home and placed it in a little cell (v maloј kletce).²³ St. Nicholas, however, wanted his icon to be shared, not kept in a private house. In the village of Krutica there lived a man who had been sick for 20 years. The saint appeared to him in a dream and asked him to go to the house where the icon was kept. The sick man did not believe his dream. On the second night the saint again appeared to him, this time threatening that if he did not go to the icon, he would never be healed. The man found the house in which the icon was hidden (there was a heavenly light around the house). He kissed (oblobyza) the icon and was healed. The way in which the icon was found was revealed to the people of the village. On the spot where the icon "appeared" they built a small chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas. Soon, however, it was decided that the saint deserved a church. The workers came and began to lay the foundations of the new church. After the first day they accomplished a lot. To their great surprise, the next day all the materials and the foundations were discovered in a different place. When the church was finished, a

village, named Velikoreckoe (after the river Velikaja), grew up around it (Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 301-3). In the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century the icon was transferred from the church in Velikoreckoe to Vjatka, in connection with the Čeremis' attempts to rob the church. The people of Vjatka agreed to make a procession with the icon every year from Vjatka to Velikoreckoe and back. The icon became famous for its healing powers (it is said to have healed more than 200 persons in the 16th-18th centuries). Since Vjatka until 1780 was called Xlynov, the icon sometimes bear the name of Nicholas of Xlynov (Nikolaj Xlynovskij).

The tale of the miraculous appearance of the icon has one striking feature. With the exception of the name of the Velikaja river and the village of Krutica, it is unable to give any other factual data about the early history of the icon. This fact confirms the supposition that the story was written in the 16th century under the influence of the growing popularity of St. Nicholas of Velikoreckoe. The popularity of the saint in the second half of the 16th century was due to Ivan Groznyj's special interest in this particular icon. It was the Tzar's favorite icon, and at his order it was brought in 1552 to Moscow.²⁴ One should remember

Ivan's conquest of Kazan' (1552) and Astraxan' (1554-56) to understand the ruler's interest in all icons regarded as miraculous helpers in battle and defenders against the enemy. The protection of St. Nicholas was also needed during the constant clashes with the Khanate of the Crimea (1554, 1557, 1558).

The icon of Nicholas of Velikoreckoe which was transferred to Moscow depicted the saint in the same pose as Nicholas of Zarajsk, but without added border scenes.²⁵ The icon was supposedly renewed by the Metropolitan Makarij, and a number of copies were made there between 1552 and 1556. The Muscovite artists introduced a new iconographical type of Nicholas of Velikoreckoe. The central panel presented a bust of the saint (pojasnoj) and around it there were eight scenes from his life.²⁶ The popularity of the icon²⁷ and the veneration of the saint during the Kazan' expedition is reflected in the fact that the south chapel of the famous St. Basil Cathedral (originally the Cathedral of the Intercession "čto na rvu", erected in order to commemorate the conquest of Kazan', especially the final assault of the Russians on the city of Kazan') was dedicated to St. Nicholas of Velikoreckoe (1555). The original icon traveled to Moscow again in 1614-1615 (requested by Mixail Romanov), and new copies were made

there. Antonova believes that only then a new type of icon (a bust of the saint with or without border scenes) appeared (Antonova, p. 385). However, this "new" type must have already existed in the 16th century.²⁸

Nicholas Babaevskij.

The icon of Nicholas Babaevskij was named after the steering oars (in Russian dialects -- babajki) used during the logging of lumber on the Volga river. According to legend, there was a monastery²⁹ near the mouth of the river Solonica, a tributary of the Volga (not far from the city of Kostroma). The lumberjacks used to store their oars near the monastery's wall, because they were no longer needed on the Solonica river. On one of these oars the icon of St. Nicholas appeared. The icon, and subsequently the monastery were named Nicholas Babaevskij. The legend even states that the first church or chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas in the monastery, was made of these oars.

The icon of St. Nicholas Babaevskij usually represents a bust of the saint surrounded by eight border scenes. The number of scenes and the iconographical features of the central panel, as well as the connection of the name of the icon with water, allow one to draw an analogy between this type of St. Nicholas icon and that of St. Nicholas of Velikoreckoe. Moreover,

the selection of the borderscenes not only their number, is identical in both icons. The scenes depict: 1) the schooling of St. Nicholas; 2) the appearance of St. Nicholas to the Emperor Constantine (or to the eparch Ablabius); 3) the saint saves Demetrius from drowning; 4) the saint builds the church of St. Simeon; 5) St. Nicholas rescues the sailors;³⁰ 6) the saint saves three men from execution; 7) the saint rescues Basil (Vasilij), son of Agricola (Agrik) from Saracene captivity; and 8) the death of St. Nicholas.³¹

However, despite this similarity, the icons and the cult of Nicholas Babaevskij seem to have been only a local, Kostroma phenomenon, while the cult of Nicholas of Velikoreckoe was more important and farther reaching.

Nicholas Ugrešskij (see ill. 8).

The icon of Nicholas Ugrešskij is another example of an icon which "appeared" during the reign of Dmitrij Dnoskoj. When the prince set out from Moscow against the Mongol warlord Mamaj, he made camp about ten miles from Moscow, at a beautiful, quiet spot. There an icon of St. Nicholas appeared to the prince in the air above a pine tree. Dimitrij and his soldiers prayed to the icon and it descended straight into the prince's hands. After the defeat of Mamaj, Dimitrij returned to the place where the icon appeared, and called it

"Ugreša", in order to indicate that the sight of the place and the icon "warmed his heart" (ugreša serdce). The prince founded a church of St. Nicholas there, and it became the main church of the Nikolo-Ugrešskij monastery. In the 16th and 17th centuries the monastery was nicknamed the "monastery of the tzars" (carskij monastyr'). The ceremonial marches of the tzars from Moscow to the monastery were known as "marches to Ugreša" (Ugrešskie poxody). Mixail Fedorovič Romanov undertook nine marches, and his son, Aleksej Mixailovič, thirteen (Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 285-6).

Among the chapels of the monastery, one was especially famous. In this chapel there was an icon of St. Nicholas Radonskij. According to popular belief, this icon once miraculously healed a sick child. From that time on it was considered a powerful defender of children against illness. The name Radonskij must be a derivative from the Russian word "radost'" (joy, happiness) and it was probably used for the icon in memory of the joy of the healed child's parents.

The famous icon of Nicholas Ugrešskij was preserved and now is in the collection of the Tret'jakov Gallery in Moscow (Antonova and Mneva, I, pp. 252-3, ill. 169). The icon depicts a bust of St. Nicholas with his right hand in blessing and with his left hand holding a closed Book of Gospels. Around the central

panel there are nineteen scenes representing his life and the miracles performed after his death. The repertory of the scenes is quite unusual. Antonova assumed that two of the scenes are dedicated to apocryphal details from the saint's life (Antonova and Mneva, I, p. 252). Actually, these two scenes do not have to be apocryphal. They might have been based on a particular version of St. Nicholas' life in the Synaxarion (see chapter VII) and were difficult to understand for other painters and worshippers. This probably prevented the icon from being copied and becoming more popular.

Nicholas Krupickij.

There is not much reliable information available about this icon of St. Nicholas. According to legend, the icon appeared before the Mongol invasion, near the city of Baturin, in the Černigov district. On the site of this appearance a small chapel of St. Nicholas was built and the icon was placed there. Later, the place became a hermitage. During the invasion of Batu Khan, the monks and the population of Baturin were hiding in the hermitage and suffered great hunger because of the lack of provisions. Through the prayers of St. Nicholas, God sent them manna from heaven. As the manna is called "krupy", the hermitage and the icon became known as Nicholas Krupickij.³² The hermitage grew and became a

monastery. The miraculously revealed manna was supposedly preserved in a silver vessel until the times of hetman Mazepa, when it was stolen during one of the raids on the monastery. However, after the "Times of Trouble" the monastery again gained importance. In 1682-1692 Dimitrij Savvič Tuptalo (later Metropolitan Dimitrij Rostovskij) was the head of the monastery and his fame attracted many donors to bestow money and favors. The icons of St. Nicholas Krupickij was housed in the old church of St. Nicholas and in 1812 was transferred to a new cathedral of the saint (Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 270-2). The icon depicted a bust of the saint, according to the most popular iconographical type (with one hand in blessing and the other holding a closed Book of Gospels).

The tale about the falling manna was probably written during Dimitrij Rostovskij's administration of the monastery; possibly the future metropolitan was its author. It was supposed to add authority to the story of the hermitage and monastery. However, the distortion of historical facts (for instance, the tale says that the city of Baturin existed before Batu Khan's invasion, while historical documents state that it originated in 1575 or even in 1625) proves that it was written in the end of the 17th century. The cult of Nicholas Krupickij,

boosted by Dimitrij Rostovskij, after the latter's departure, must have died out and has to be considered a strictly local phenomenon.

Nicholas of Židičín/Lukomla (Nikolaj Židičinskij/
Lukoml'skij).

Both names, Židičinskij and Lukoml'skij, are applied to the same icon. According to Golubinskij (I, part 2, p. 361), in Židičín, a small town on the river Styra, north of Luck, there was an icon of St. Nicholas, to which, as the Hypatian Chronicle under 1227 says, the princes traveled to pray. The saint was represented in the same way as on the icon of Nicholas Krupickij; a simple bust with no border scenes. In the fourteenth century, during the reign of prince Vitovt in Lithuania (1392-1430), St. Nicholas appeared in Lukomla to a certain Parfenij. Parfenij did not recognize the saint. Then St. Nicholas said that he was St. Nicholas of Židičín and came to Lukomla since he could no longer stay in Židičín because of the increasing outrages of the pagans. He asked Parfenij to tell the people of Lukomla that they should build a church dedicated to him there, on the hill. Parfenij was supposed to show the people the place. Nicholas, in the meantime, went to Polock to punish its inhabi-

tants (princes) for treason: they had kissed a cross and broken their oath. Parfenij did not tell the people what he saw and the saint punished him by causing him illness. Parfenij finally told his story and the church of St. Nicholas was erected at the spot pointed out by the saint. Later, it is said, many miraculous healings happened in the church, affected by the icon of St. Nicholas.³³

The icon of St. Nicholas of Židičín/Lukomla never became very popular. Like the icons of Nicholas of Babaevskij and Krupickij, it seems to have been of only local importance.³⁴

Nicholas the Wet (Nikolaj Mokryj).

The name of the icon of Nicholas the Wet has its roots in the story of the child, who was dropped by his sleeping mother into the waters of the Dnepr³⁵ and was later saved by the saint (see chapter II, Kiev miracle).

From the time of the miracle (1090-1100)³⁶ the icon in the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev became known as the icon of Nicholas the Wet. It depicted a bust of the saint with his right hand in blessing and with a Gospel Book in his left, according to firmly established Byzantine iconography. The popularity of the icon (the oldest miracle-working icon of the saint in Russia) grew

on account of the written legend. The latter, probably one of a few original Russian stories about the saint, was written in connection with the establishment in the Russian Church of the feast day of the Translation of St. Nicholas' relics from Myra to Bari.

Two other highly venerated icons of St. Nicholas -- Nicholas of Dvorišče and Nicholas of Lipno -- are related to this famous icon of Nicholas the Wet.

Nicholas of Dvorišče (Nikolaj Dvoriščenskij).

The tale has it³⁷ that in 1113 the Novgorodian Prince Mstislav Svjatoslavič, grandson of Jaroslav Muđryj³⁸, fell sick and could not stand up or move. He invoked the help of God, Christ and the Virgin, and finally remembered about St. Nicholas and the healing miracles which the saint performed in Bari after the Translation of his relics there. The prince also remembered the miracle with the drowned child in Kiev, and how the child was found alive, only in wet clothes, in front of the icon of St. Nicholas.³⁹ Mstislav called upon the saint with the words: "St. Nicholas, have mercy on me!" One night, when the prince, exhausted by his illness, fell asleep, the saint appeared to him in his bishop's robes, as he was depicted on icons (jakože na ikone napisan). After learning about the prince's illness,

St. Nicholas advised him to send to Kiev to St. Sophia Cathedral for the miracleworking icon of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker (that of Nicholas the Wet).⁴⁰ The saint promised the prince that if he brought the icon to Novgorod, performed the liturgy, and sprinkled the holy water over himself, he would be healed. Mstislav awoke and very soon sent one of his boyars with the clergy to Kiev. They traveled in a ship by Lake Il'men', and were stopped by an opposing wind. They harbored at the island of Lipno and waited for the storm to cease. On the fourth day, a cook went to draw some water for cooking and saw a round panel floating in the water. He was afraid to touch the panel, but told his master about the occurrence. The boyar picked up the object and discovered that it was an icon of St. Nicholas, of the exact shape given by prince Mstislav (and by the saint). The boyar, with the clergy, took the icon with great ceremony to the ship and joyfully returned to Novgorod, since the wind immediately calmed down and changed direction. The people of Novgorod and the prince "met" the icon. After the liturgy and sprinkling with holy water, Mstislav was healed. To commemorate this miracle, the prince and his wife Anna erected a stone Cathedral of St. Nicholas on Jaroslav's courtyard (dvorišče) and placed the holy icon in the cathedral. The icon became one of the most

venerated icons of Novgorod. In the 14th century the saint's robes were repainted on the icon. They were repainted again in the 16th century, this time together with the face and the background. In the 17th century the icon was restored again. Today only minute fragments of the original 12th century painting can be seen on the panel,⁴¹ kept in the Novgorod Museum. The greatest loss during all these restorations was the repainting of the saint's garments, which in the original were said to be as green as sea-weeds⁴² (the green robes were also present on the icon of Nicholas the Wet from Kiev).

The icon of Nicholas of Dvorišče is, in comparison with other icons, a unique work. Its form is archaic (a round panel)⁴³ and reflects the Christian tradition of round paintings (borrowed from the Greek "shield paintings").⁴⁴ No other round icon from the 12th century survives today. This makes the Novgorodian work a monument of world importance.

Nicholas of Lipno (Nikolaj Lipnyj/Lipenskij).

A church and a monastery dedicated to St. Nicholas was built in 1292 on the island of Lipno (near Novgorod), at the very spot where in 1113 the "miracle-working" icon of Nicholas of Dvorišče was found. Two years later, master Aleksa Petrov painted a gigantic icon of the saint for this church.⁴⁵ The icon, now a part of the

collection of the Novgorod State Museum, is one of the most interesting Russian icons of St. Nicholas. The fact that the painter signed his work may not seem unusual, but for Russian icon painting of the early period it is an exceptional thing. Icons were not signed because they were not considered works of art, esthetic objects, but symbols designed to lead the worshipper from the physical to the spiritual world. The authorship was unimportant. It is tempting to assume that Aleksa Petrov, the author of the icon, wanted to create a portrait of St. Nicholas in accordance with Novgorodian court art and with Western panel painting (a representation of completely different character than the other icons of St. Nicholas), and, by signing his work, showed a special pride in his achievement. This hypothesis may be confirmed by the research undertaken by È.S. Smirnova, who established that the icon is a Novgorodian work strongly influenced by Western art (Smirnova, Ikona Nikoly, pp. 91, 96, 98 and passim).

The icon depicts a bust of St. Nicholas, with a Book of Gospels in his left hand with his right hand in blessing. Around the central portrait of the saint the painter depicted at the top the twelve Apostles with Archangels Michael and Gabriel and the Empty Throne (Etimasia) in the middle. On each side of the

central panel there are seven small portraits of saints, and at the bottom of the panel is a long inscription. Parallel to the halo of the saint are Christ with a Gospel Book (on the left side of the panel) and the Virgin with an omophorion (on the right side of the panel).

Smirnova showed that in this case St. Nicholas' very expressive gesture of blessing, characteristic of Western art, is different from the restrained, more stylized Byzantine gesture. The linear nature and decorativeness of the composition are common in romanesque art. The colors employed in the work are not typical colors of the 13th century Novgorodian painting.⁴⁶ The poses and gestures of Christ and the Virgin also indicate Western iconography. The omophorion in the Virgin's hands and the Gospel Book in Christ's hands touch the halo of St. Nicholas. In Byzantine and early Russian works there is no visible "physical" contact of the three figures. Christ and the Virgin (if they are represented at all), are depicted quite far from the halo of the saint. However, in the icons of Western orientation⁴⁷, the figures of Christ and the Virgin "violate" the halo of St. Nicholas, as if the painters wanted to show their active participation in the saint's deeds.⁴⁸ The figures of Christ and the Virgin are also presented standing, in accordance with the

late romanesque-early gothic tradition. This is the first instance of depicting Christ and the Virgin on a St. Nicholas' icon in Russia. Afterwards, these standing figures were replaced by busts and were further removed from the halo of the saint.

On account of all these Western features as well as Novgorod's historical connections with the West, (the Hanseatic League, relations with many European nations) the sources of this particular icon of St. Nicholas should be sought in German romanesque art.

An inscription on the icon tells us that in 1556 it was restored (obnovlen byst' sij obraz velikago Ćudotvorca Nikoly, Lipenskago monastyrja) (Smirnova, Ikona Nikoly, p. 83).⁴⁹ After the Lipenskij monastery was deserted and closed⁵⁰, the icon was transferred to the Skovorodskij monastery. In 1921 it was taken to the Novgorod State Museum and underwent two restorations: in 1921 and in 1928-1932.

Other famous icons of St. Nicholas.

There existed many more miracle-working icons of St. Nicholas. Almost every well known monastery or church of St. Nicholas had a specially venerated icon of the saint. The origins of the names of these icons are, as we have seen, very often fascinating and colorful. It is impossible to describe all of them here.

Therefore only several more important icons will be presented, while the reader who needs more detailed information should consult the book by Voznesenskij and Gusev.

Nicholas the Good (Nikolaj Dobryj).

In Podol, a district of Kiev, there was a church of Nicholas the Good. The name of the church and the icon, supposedly had its roots in the fact that near the church there existed a pilgrim's boarding house in which the pilgrims received free accommodations and food. For this goodness and charity to the pilgrim's, the neighboring church of St. Nicholas acquired the name of Nicholas the Good. There is, however, another explanation of the name. According to a tale, at the site of this church -- "near the stream, at the foot of the hill" (na potoke pod gorozju) -- before the Mongol attack, there existed a church. A Christian from Kiev, named Dobryk, a strong believer in St. Nicholas once brought his prisoner, a Tartar, to give an oath in front of the saint's icon that if Dobryk released him he would go home and bring a ransom to pay for his release. The Tartar left and soon forgot his promise. St. Nicholas, however, saw to it that the pagan fulfilled his promise and brought the ransom. In order to commemorate either Dobryk's goodness to the Tartar, or St. Nicholas' goodness to Dobryk,

the church and the icon were called St. Nicholas the Good.⁵¹

Nicholas Ratnyj.

This icon became known only in the end of the 18th century. The tale about the icon states that the Belgorod region (in Kursk district) was frequently attacked by the Crimean Tartars.⁵² Once, the Tartars approached the Korenskaja hermitage (which had an icon of St. Nicholas) and tried to cross the river Korenek on a ferry. The Tartars, on horseback, loaded the ferry. When the head of the hermitage heard about the danger, he took the icon of St. Nicholas and together with the monks and the inhabitants of the neighborhood village went with their prayers towards the ferry. When the Tartars saw the procession they became confused and many of them fell with their horses into the river and drowned. The rest fled, leaving the village and the hermitage intact. For this defeat of the Tartars the icon was named the Fighting Nicholas (Nikolaj Ratnyj) (see Voznesenskij and Gusev, p. 294).

Nicholas Ryxlovskij.

The icon of Nicholas Ryxlovskij appeared miraculously to a bee-keeper on a tree. The man took the icon and hid it in his house, but it returned to the

tree. This happened three times. Finally, the bee-keeper told many people how the icon was found on the tree. They went together to see the icon and many of them were healed. A chapel in honor of St. Nicholas was built and the icon placed there. The icon represented a bust of the saint and eight scenes from his life around it. The scenes depicted: 1) birth of the saint; 2) schooling of the saint; 3) the saint rescues sailors; 4) the saint heals a demoniac; 5) the saint appears to three men in prison; 6) the saint saves the three generals from execution; 7) the saint rescues Basil; and 8) the burial of the saint (see Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 398-9, 680).

Nicholas Gostunskij.

The icon of St. Nicholas Gostunskij was found in the lake or the river Gostunka near the village of Gostuni in the Kaluga district. The icon depicted a bust of the saint with scenes from his life around the central panel. In 1506, soon after the icon's miraculous appearance, Grand Prince Vasilij Ivanovič brought it to Moscow and built a church of St. Nicholas Gostunskij on the spot where the old wooden church of St. Nicholas L'njanoj (founded by the weaver's guild) stood. In 1553, the church was rebuilt again (consecrated in 1555) (see Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 421-4).

Nicholas Radovickij.

The famous statue (Možajsk type) of St. Nicholas in Nikolo-Radovickij monastery (founded in the 15th century), in Rjazan' district, was venerated for its miraculous healing. It was said to have healed more than 250 people (see Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 350-4).

Nicholas Terebenskij.

The icon of Nicholas Terebenskij from Nikolo-Terebenskij monastery, in the Tver' district, was a late icon with the central panel depicting a bust of the saint, and with border scenes representing the miracles performed by the icon itself (see Voznesenskij and Gusev, pp. 363-73).

Nicholas Mjasnickij.

The icon was housed in the church of St. Nicholas on Mjasnickaja street in Moscow. The church was founded probably by the butcher's guild. The icon of St. Nicholas and the church were named Nicholas Mjasnicki after the street (see Voznesenskij and Gusev, p. 432).

Notes

Chapter IV

1. Many of these names were forgotten even in Russia. V.I. Antonova thinks that they were forgotten at first because of the fascination with Byzantinism, and later because of a formalistic and mystical interpretation of icons: V.I. Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona načala XIV v. iz Kieva i 'Povest' o Nikole Zarajskom'," TODRL, XIII (1958), 387. Further references to all sources cited in this chapter more than once appear in the text.
2. A very valuable material presents A. Voznesenskij and F. Gusev, Žitie i čudesu sv. Nikolaja čudotvorca i slava ego v Rossii, (Sankt-Petersburg, 1899). However, an investigator of St. Nicholas' icons in Russia should exercise extreme caution in using this book. The illustrative material employed by the authors is by no means accurate and reflects their strong religious beliefs more than a scholarly attitude.
3. V.L. Komarovič, "K literaturnoj istorii Povesti o Nikole Zarajskom," TODRL, V (1947), 57-74; D.S. Lixačev, "Povesti o Nikole Zarajskom (teksty)," TODRL, VIII (1949), 257-406.
4. D.S. Lixačev, Velikoe nasledie: Klassičeskie proizvedenija literatury drevnej Rusi, (Moskva: Sovremennik, 1975), p. 227.
5. Supposedly the old name of the city (or settlement) was Krasnyj: Voznesenskij and Gusev, p. 268.
6. M.N. Tixomirov, Russkaja kul'tura X-XVIII vekov, (Moskva, 1968), p. 356.
7. Dmitrij Čiževskij asserts that the Tale of Nicholas of Zarazsk "is a typical local 'etymological' saga, explaining the origin of the name 'Zaraz', 'Zarazsk' from 'zarazit'sja' -- to smash oneself to death (in reality an old name of a palace, probably 'Zarajsk');" Dmitrij Čiževskij, History of Russian Literature from the 11th Century to the End of the Baroque, (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), p. 126. This is a very tempting

supposition (especially if one considers the Turkish word sarai -- a palace, and the name of the capital of the Golden Horde -- Saraj). However the development of the name probably began with the word Zarazsk.

8. According to Antonova, this original icon must have been either totally repainted in the 16th century, or, what is most probable, destroyed (pp. 380 and 382). This assumption can be supported by the presence on the cover, donated by Šujskij, of 16 scenes from the life of St. Nicholas. Usually the cover reproduced the composition of the icon as faithfully as possible (see the cover of Rublev's Holy Trinity). Since the cover shows 16 scenes, the icon under it probably has also 16 scenes, and is, therefore, not the original which had only 14 scenes.
9. The "orans" pose goes back to an ancient gesture of prayer and is a symbol of piety. Applied to the Holy Virgin, it is a gesture of submission at the Annunciation, when Mary agrees to become a vessel of the Incarnation of God. The most famous representation of the Virgin Orans comes from the church of the Blachernae in Constantinople.
10. Later any number of scenes could be depicted around the central panel. There are icons with as many as 40 scenes, and with as few as 2.
11. V.I. Antonova and N.E. Mneva, Katalog drevnerusskoj Živopisi Tret'jakovskoj Galerei, vol. II, (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1963), p. 164. Further in the text the Roman numeral indicates the number of the volume, the Arabic -- the page number.
12. V. Izergin, "Otčet ob otkrytii i dejatel'nosti Rjazanskoj Arxivoj Komissii," Vestnik arxeologii i istorii izdavaemyj Sankt-Peterburgskim Arxeologičeskim Institutom, II (1885), 80-1 and appendix.
13. Evgenij Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi, vol. I, part 2 (Moskva, 1881), p. 361.
14. See Piscovye knigi XVI v., ed. by V.N. Kalacev, vol. I, (Sankt-Petersburg, 1872), p. 409. I

quote after Golubinskij, II, part 2 (Moskva, 1917), p. 368.

15. One of the priorities for the growing Muscovite state was to secure the entire flow of the Moskva river. Daniel, the youngest son of Aleksandr Nevskij, succeeded in seizing the mouth of the river and its lower course from one of Rjazan' princes. His son, Jurij, by annexing Možajsk, established Muscovite control over the entire river. See Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, A History of Russia, 2nd edn., (London, Toronto and New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 106.
16. L. Bol'šakova and E. Kamenskaja, Gosudarstvennaja Tret'jakovskaja Galereja: Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, (Moskva: Sovetskij xudožnik, 1968), p. 30, ill. 108. On Nicholas of Možajsk see also I. E. Grabar, et al., eds. Geschichte der Russische Kunst, vol. III (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1959), pp. 151, 153, and vol. IV (1965) pp. 239, 244-5.
17. A.I. Nekrasov, Drevnerusskoe izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, (Moskva, 1937; rpt. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1969), pp. 203-4.
18. Nekrasov maintained that St. Paraskeva's Catholic origin was purposely obscured by the Orthodox Church (p. 206). St. Paraskeva is an invented saint, embodying the beliefs of the people in a female deity of earth, love, and trade. Her name, the Greek word "paraskeue" (preparation), was associated with Friday, by interpreting the fifth day of the week as the preparation for Saturday. She also became a patron saint of markets and fairs which usually took place on Fridays.
19. Golubinskij gives an example of the description of one statue: "Obraz čjudotvornoj Nikoly čjudotvorca stojačej, na rezi, v kiote s dejan'em, kiot obložen serebrom . . . da u Nikoly ž čudotvorca v pravoj ruke meč, a v levoj ruke grad Možaesck . . ." (II, part 2, p. 366).
20. See the illustration in Antonova, ill. 5 between pp. 384-5.
21. See the illustration in N.V. Rozanova, Rostovo-suzdal'skaja živopis' XII-XVI vekov, (Moskva: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1970), ill. 110.

22. Because two of eight border scenes in the Velikoreckoe icon are devoted to the miracles performed by St. Nicholas at sea, S. Maslenitsyn believes that the appearance of such an icon is linked with the cult of the saint as a protector of seamen, fishermen and traders: Kostroma, (Leningrad: Aurora, 1968), p. 55.
23. A. Popov, Opisanie rukopisej i katalog knig cerkovnoj pečati biblioteki A.I. Xludova, (Moskva, 1872), pp. 454-5.
24. Ivan probably was especially impressed by the miracle performed by Nicholas in Vjatka in 1551. When the people of the city did not take the icon for its yearly procession to Velikoreckoe, St. Nicholas was said to have caused a snowfall in June (Voznesenskij and Gusev, p. 306).
25. There exists an embroidered tapestry, made in 1552, representing St. Nicholas standing in "orans" pose, with a church (fortress) in his left hand, and with his right hand in blessing. This tapestry, bearing an inscription "Nikolaj Velikoreckij", is probably an iconographical composite of Nicholas of Zarajsk and Nicholas of Možajsk, and the proof of the dependence of the Velikoreckoe type on these earlier ones. The tapestry is reproduced in Antonova, ill. 6 between pp. 384-5.
26. The icons of Nicholas of Velikoreckoe probably influenced another type of wonderworking icon of the saint -- that of Nicholas Babaevskij.
27. When in 1831 and 1848 Vjatka was not affected by the epidemic of cholera, it was considered a sign of St. Nicholas of Velikoreckoe's protection of the city and the district. This fact shows how strong the cult of the saint was in Vjatka even in the 19th century.
28. See in this connection Maslenitsyn, pp. 44-5 and 53-5.
28. Voznesenskij and Gusev give either 1375 or the beginning of the 16th century as the date of the founding of the monastery (p. 375). The authors of the catalogue of the icon collection of the Tret'-jakov Gallery believe that it was founded about 1500 (Antonova and Mneva, II, p. 166). S. Masle-

- nitsyn thinks that the monastery was built in the 13th-14th century, in order to protect the approaches to the city of Kostroma (p. 8). The earlier dates seem more justified.
30. There is one icon of Nicholas Babaevskij where the scene representing the saint rescuing sailors is replaced by the scene depicting him healing a demoniac. See Antonova and Mneva, II, p. 169.
31. In light of this similarity of Babaevskij and Velikoreckij icons, Maslenitsyn's assumption that the second scene on the Velikoreckoe icon from Kostroma represents the appearance of the saint to Stephen is not well supported. The scene probably represents the saint's appearance to Ablabius.
32. D. Rovinskij, Russkija narodnyja kartinki, vol. III, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1881), p. 655.
33. N.K. Nikol'skij, "Materialy dlja istorii drevne-russkoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti," SORJAS, LXXXII (1907), No. 4, 145-6.
34. The tale about Nicholas of Lukomla seems to reflect to a certain extent historical events: the struggle between Catholicism and Orthodoxy in Lithuania, and the struggle for power between Muscovy and Lithuania, which resulted in frequent changes of the suzerain by the small principalities, like Polock, situated at the border of the two giants ("krest celujut da izmenajajut").
35. Golubinskij does not agree with the tale's statement that the mother fell asleep and dropped the child into the river. He blames the storm for the accident. He also believes that the child was lying in wet clothes in front of the icon, and this was the reason for calling the icon Nicholas the Wet (I, part 2, pp. 357 and 358).
36. Makarij, the Metropolitan of Moscow, renders the date as 1078-1093: Istorija russkoj cerkvi, vol. II, 3rd edn., (Sankt-Peterburg, 1899), p. 213.
37. The tale was published by N.K. Nikol'skij, "Materialy dlja istorii . . .", pp. 58-61.

38. The author of this account thought that Mstislav was a son of Svjatoslav (ruled 1073-1076) and a grandson of Jaroslav Mudryj. In reality, Mstislav was a son of Vladimir Monomax, and a great grandson of Jaroslav. His patronymic, therefore, should be Vladimirovič, not Svjatoslavič.
39. This information must have been the reason for Golubinskij's belief that the icon of Nicholas the Wet acquired its name from the wet clothes of the child (see Note 35).
40. The saint gave the prince a description of the icon: "Ikona Nikolaja Čjudotvorca, kruglaja dska." This was an indication that the saint knew that such an icon would be found in the waters of the lake.
41. There is a possibility that the legend about the discovery of the icon (and consequently the icon itself) appeared only in the 16th century, when the cult of St. Nicholas reached its zenith. See S.N. Azbelev, "Novgorodskie mestnye letopiscy," TODRL, XV (1958), 366. Èlisa Gordienko, an employee of the Novgorod State Museum, nevertheless notices on the icon traces of the 12th century painting: Èlisa Gordienko, Novgorod: Muzej: Drevnerusskaja Živopis', (Moskva: Sovetskaja Rossija, 1974), pp. 12-3.
42. A.M. Remizov, Obraz Nikolaja Čudotvorca: Al-atyr' -- kamen' russkoj very, (Paris: YMCA Press, 1931), p. 51; Voznesenskij and Gusev, p. 238.
43. Later, around the icon, on added panels, the artists depicted 8 scenes of St. Nicholas' miracles (Voznesenskij and Gusev, p. 245).
44. The round shape (clipeus) in Late Antiquity was used to render the transport of the soul to Heaven. The round panels were employed in the Emperor cult. In the beginning, Christians might have understood this symbolic meaning of the roundel, but later it was forgotten.
45. "A pisal grešny Aleksa Petrov syn": È.S. Smirnova, "Ikona Nikolaj 1294 goda mastera Aleksy Petrova," in Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Zarubežnye svjazi, (Moskva: Nauka, 1975), p. 82.

46. The deep green color of the sleeves of St. Nicholas on this icon might be an imitation of the green robes of Nicholas the Wet and Nicholas of Dvorišče.
47. For example, in the famous icon from Kaktoria (Cyprus) or in two icons from Sinai, made in the workshop serving the crusaders; cf. E. Garrison, Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index, (Florence, 1949), No. 397; G. and M. Soteriou, Icones du Mont Sinai, vol. I, (Athenes, 1956), fig. 81; Kurt Weitzmann, "Thirteen Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," Art Bulletin, XVI (September 1963), 195-6, fig. 20.
48. The figures of Christ and the Virgin, handing the saint a Gospel and an omophorion, are an allusion to the apocryphal deed of St. Nicholas. According to the apocryphal tale (Periodoi Nikolaou, known in Russia as "Neknižnoe žitie"), the saint was present at the Council in Nicaea in 325 and struck Arius in the face. For this, the attributes of a bishop were taken from him by the Council officials and he was imprisoned. However, Christ and the Virgin appeared to the saint and gave him back the attributes of bishopry (see Chapter II and VII for details).
49. G. Filimonov, Cerkov' sv. Nikolaja na Lipne bliz Novgoroda, (Moskva, 1859), p. 23.
50. "Onyj monastyr' po bednosti ego davno uže upražnen . . ." (Rovinskij, vol. IV, p. 769). The monastery apparently could not compete with the richer monasteries in Novgorod.
51. The tale of Dobryk exists in one late copy and is a reworked version of the old tale about a Polovtsian kept prisoner in Kiev. In the original tale there is no mention of Dobryk or the church of Nicholas the Good (see chapter II).
52. The Khanate of the Crimea was conquered only in 1788 by the prince Potemkin.

Chapter V

Minor Sources Revealing the Popularity of St. Nicholas

In the previous chapter it was shown how the cult of St. Nicholas resulted in the appearance of numerous wonderworking icons of the saint and legends connected with these icons. In this chapter certain additional works of literature, art and folklore, which are relevant to a fuller understanding of the veneration of the saint will be briefly characterized, even though they are rarely reflected in his hagiographical icons.

The most important of these minor sources are: Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o Sinagripi cari, folk legends about Nicholas and his help to peasants, a heroic epic (bylina) Sadko, spiritual verses (duxovnye stixi) describing miracles performed by the saint, a legend about the appearance of the Virgin and St. Nicholas to sexton Juryš, and Russian popular prints or broadsides (lubki) portraying the saint.

According to the Čjudo svjatago Nikoly o Sinagripi cari, the Emperor Sinagripi set out to war in a ship and was surprised by a storm. His wise consort, Akir, advised him to pray to St. Nicholas for help. The Emperor agreed, promised the saint a mass in his honor, and was saved. When he later wanted to invite the saint to a feast and to thank him personally for the deliverance, Akir explained that the only man able to invoke the saint and invite him to a feast was the Metropolitan of Chalcedon in Bithynia,

Theosteriktos (Feostirikt, Feokterist). The Metropolitan came and ordered a church to be erected in honor of St. Nicholas, in order to hold the feast in an appropriate place. The church was built in a record time of three days. The Emperor and his guests gathered inside the church and waited for the saint to come and bless the food. But Nicholas was late. When he finally arrived, he explained to Theosteriktos that he was busy saving sailors at sea, and that he received for his help a promise of a mass and a rooster made of dough. When Theosteriktos heard about the rooster, he said with pride that for such a reward he would not even take three steps to help. St. Nicholas became very angry, accused the Metropolitan of excessive pride, and wanted to leave immediately, but persuaded by Sinagrip and his guests he stayed to bless the feast. When the feast began, the saint vanished. And the holy fathers decided that from that time on St. Nicholas, for his good deeds, should be celebrated three times each year (on August 23 -- his birthday, on May 9 -- day of the Traslation of his relics to Bari, and December 6 -- day of his death), while Theosteriktos, for his excessive pride, should be celebrated only once every four years, on February 29.¹

Scholars investigating this curious work indicated that it could have been written in Russia before the Mongol conquest and was based on the early established belief that St. Nicholas is a special protector of sailors and sea travelers (Grigor'ev, p. 544). The author probably borrowed the names of Sinagrip and Akir from the well-known Povest' ob Akire Premudrom which was translated into Old Russian from the Greek or Syrian original as early as the 11th century. This borrowing can be confirmed by the fact that the names of Sinagrip

and Akir are in both Russian works identical. If there were two separate translations (i.e. if the Čjudo o Sinagripi was not an original Russian work), the difficult and unusual name of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib, could have been rendered in both cases differently (Grigor'ev, pl 467).

The intent of this story was to explain the difference in the veneration of St. Nicholas of Myra and St. Theosteriktos (Grigor'ev, p. 467; Loparev, p. 3). It is quite natural that the "unfortunate" position of some saints in the Christian calendar (under the 29th of February) has given a reason for the appearance of the story which tries to explain this inequality through a demonstration of "vices" or "evil elements" (Theosteriktos' pride) in these saints and through the emphasis placed on the good deeds of the saints celebrated more than once a year. However, such an explanation could not satisfy the Church authorities. The story about Sinagripi and Nicholas was banned in the 17th century, despite its limited popularity.²

In Russian folk tradition we find stories similar to this apocryphal tale. They involve St. Nicholas and another saint whose feast day falls on February 29 -- St. Kassian of Rome (Kas'jan Rimljanin). One of these

folk legends says:

Once upon a time a peasant's cart full of hay got stuck in the muddy road. St. Kassian was passing by on his way to Paradise to meet God. The peasant asked Kassian for help, but the saint declined categorically and went on. Some time later St. Nicholas happened to go the same way. Asked for help, Nicholas immediately set to work and pushed the cart out of the mud, not without making his bishop's robes dirty. In Paradise, God asked both saints what they did on earth. Kassian explained that a peasant asked him for help and he declined because he did not want to dirty his beautiful clothes. Then Nicholas said that his clothes are dirty because he helped the peasant. God, angry with Kassian, punished him by giving him only one feast day every four years, and rewarded Nicholas by giving him two feast days every year.³

It is clear that a common denominator in both stories is the attempt to explain the difference in the number of feast days assigned to St. Nicholas and the saints celebrated on February 29th. The folk legend is much more democratic; instead of the Emperor and his courtly advisor it features a simple peasant. Even more important is that in the folk legend Nicholas is awarded only two feast days a year. The reason for this change was simple. The feast day of the birth of St. Nicholas (August 23rd) was a strictly ecclesiastical holiday, virtually unknown among the people (see Nazarevskij, p. 83). Therefore it may be assumed that the author of the "literary" Čjudo o Sinagripi cari was a cleric who knew well the official dates of the days of St. Nicholas'

celebrations, while the author of the folk legend was probably a simple peasant who "wrote" only about those two holidays which he celebrated every year.

Finally, it should be noted here that St. Kassian of Rome in Russian folklore is quite important, while the Metropolitan Theosteriktos is completely unknown. There are numerous folk legends in which St. Kassian is sometimes believed to be of "evil origin", to be connected with demonic forces (nečistaja sila), or to have an "evil eye" (durnoj glaz), causing misfortune and even bringing death. Thus in the legends about Kassian we are dealing with a specific combination of the popular notions about the Christian saint Kassian of Rome and notions about the forces inimical to man (see Nazarevskij, p. 85).

There are other folk legends and tales in which St. Nicholas is a helper and defender of peasants. In one legend the Prophet Elijah, angry at a peasant for not showing enough reverence, tries to destroy the peasant's crops. St. Nicholas helps the peasant outwit the Prophet and preserve his crops (Afanas'ev, pp. 79-82; Tschizewskij, p. 6). In still another legend the Archangel Michael and St. George come to visit St. Nicholas, but the saint is absent. Then St. George says: "He is probably doing some good now, you know that he is our tireless helper" (Aničkov, p. 127).

All these folk legends in which Nicholas is a protector of peasants must have had their roots in the ancient tradition of the celebration of the end of spring and the beginning of summer.⁴ The 9th of May, the holiday of Spring Nicholas (Nikola vešnij) every year preceded an important agricultural period. During the celebrations of the end of spring, people performed traditional ceremonies which were supposed to help the earth turn green and bear plentiful crops. In Russia, during the Pentecost (Rusal'naja⁵ or Troicko-Semickaja nedelja), young girls went to the birch grove and after selecting a young tree they wove garlands on the ends of their branches and sang the following song: "My zav'em venočki na gody dobrye, na žito gustoe, na jačmen' kolo-sistyj, na oves rosistyj, na grečixu černuju, na kapustu beluju" (Kravcov and Lazutin, p. 52; Aničkov, p. 70). A few days later the tree was cut down and thrown into the river or placed on a wheat field. The growing power of the green birch trees was supposed to be transferred into the water or into the earth. The feast day of St. Nicholas, celebrated almost a month before the Pentecost, must have at first been a holiday of a very similar character. The connection between the saint and these agricultural ceremonies can now be discovered only in the folk legends and tales.

One more folk legend will be described here, as it has found its way into Russian icon-painting. The legend, which appeared not earlier than in the 17th century, narrates the following events:

When the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria appeared miraculously in Tixvin, a church of the Dormition of the Virgin was erected there, in order to commemorate the miracle. After the church was finished, the inhabitants of Tixvin sent the sexton Juryš to invite the people from the neighborhood villages to the consecration of the church. On his way back to Tixvin, Juryš had a vision in which the Virgin and St. Nicholas appeared to him. The Mother of God informed Juryš that she wished "na svoej cerkvi, iže na Tixvine, postavit' krest derevjan, a ne železen, pogljaže syn moj i Bog raspjat byl na kreste derevjannom, a ne na železnom." Later, when the master who made an iron cross did not listen to Juryš and went on top of the cupola of the church to install the cross, he fell down, punished for his disobedience. Finally, the wooden cross was placed on the top of the church, and on the spot where Juryš had the vision, a chapel in honor of St. Nicholas was built.⁶

M.A. Reformatskaja, a scholar interested in the culture of the Russian North, believes that this legend appeared in the end of the 17th century, at the time when the blacksmiths began to compete with the carpenters, and the iron crosses became dominant over the wooden ones. The legend was probably created among the carpenters who wanted to prove their leading role and right to supply the wooden crosses for countless churches and chapels of the North. And who could

3
 better prove the right of the woodcarvers and carpenters to continue their work, sanctified by centuries-long tradition, than St. Nicholas, the most popular saint of the North, and the Virgin, the holiest of holies? It is very possible that the fame of St. Nicholas as patron of the carpenters and woodcarvers spread widely after the legend's appearance.

The most interesting illustration of the legend can be seen on the icon from the village of Astaf'ev in the Kargopol' region (see icon No. 83 of my Catalogue) which dates back to the 18th century. On the right side there is a representation of the Virgin Hodegetria, on the left -- St. Nicholas in his bishop's robes, and in the middle -- a small figure of the sexton on the background of a fantastic tree with leaves resembling tulips. This tree may be an allusion to the subject of the legend, the right of the carpenters to continue their work.

The legend about Jurys^v can serve as a good example of the influence exerted by a narrative (written or oral) work on painting. The legend appeared first, and must have been so popular in the North, that it influenced the icon painter who created his original composition.

It is worth noting that this legend can be compared to the other tales and legends about the wonder-

working icons (see the preceding chapter of this dissertation). The composition and the main motifs are common in all works of this kind (the miraculous appearance of saints or famous works of art, the building of the church or chapel in honor of the event, the punishment for disobedience etc.).

Another popular art form in which the representation of St. Nicholas can be found is the lubok. The lubok (broadside, woodcut, popular print) came via the Ukraine to Russia in the first quarter of the 17th century from Germany and Holland. The Russian artists used the Western examples, but rendered them in a specific way, creating a new style which was "a combination of Orthodox iconographic mannerisms together with the unsophisticated copying of West European engravings."⁷ The earliest broadsides were devoted to religious subjects and their authors were monks. The prints were supposed to replace the expensive icons, therefore their subjects in the beginning were the same as the icon subjects, and many broadsides simply presented a copy of existing wonderworking icons.

St. Nicholas occupies a prominent position among the subjects of these prints. The greatest collector and an authority on Russian lubok, D.A. Rovinskij, in his monumental study of popular prints (narodnye kartinki),⁸ listed 13 pictures representing the Wonder-

worker of Myra. Eight of these prints were hagiographical, depicting the life and miracles of the saint, three were the copies of famous wonderworking icons of the saint, and two presented only a portrait of the saint and his attribute (a ship).

Particularly valuable information can be drawn from those broadsides which include captions. The captions not only show the linguistic changes in the Russian language, but can be compared to the captions on earlier icons and reveal the literary sources used by the authors of lubok. The selection of the border scenes shows which scenes from the life of Nicholas were popular at the time of the appearance of the prints. The broadside No. 1568 presents the standing saint and around him eleven scenes from his life: 1) roždenie svjatago Nikolaja; 2) kreščenie svjatago Nikolaja čjudo-tvorca; 3) svjatyj Nikola isceli žene ruku; 4) prive-denie svjatago Nikolaja v naučenie; 5) postavljenje svjatago Nikolaja vo diakony; 6) postavlenija vo svetiteli svjatago Nikolaja; 7) svjatyj Nikolaj javisja carju vo sne; 8) svjatyj Nikolaj izbavi trex devic ot zlago pomysla; 9) svjatyj Nikola izbavi Agrikova syna; 10) svjatyj Nikolaj izbavi patriarxa ot potopa; 11) prestavljenje svjatago Nikolaja (Rovinskij, II, pp. 651-2). The lubok No. 1570 gives almost the same repertory of scenes, changing only the last one into:

svjatyj Nikolaj izbavi trex mužej ot meča (Rovinskij, III, p. 652). The picture No. 1572, instead of the fifth scene, the ordination as deacon, presents: svjatyj Nikolaj čudotvorec kako izbavi trex mužej ot meča (Rovinskij, III, p. 653). The lubok No. 1573 has one additional scene: prenesenie čestix moščeju svjatago Nikolaja ot Mir v Bargrad; and No. 1574 instead of the eighth scene has: svjatyj Nikola trex mužej nepovinnyx izbavi ot smerti (Rovinskij, III, p. 653). The most developed repertory of scenes (16) presents the picture No. 1576: 1) roždestvo svjatago Nikoly; 2) kreščenija svjatago Nikoly; 3) svjatyj Nikola na puti isceli ženu; 4) privedenija svjatago Nikoly v naučenija gramote; 5) postavljenje svjatago Nikoly vo dijakony; 6) postavljenje svjatago Nikoly v sveščeniki; 7) postavljenje svjatago Nikoly vo episkopy; 8) svjatyj Nikola javisja carju Kostjantinu o trex mužex; 9) svjatyj Nikola javisja vo sne eparxu Flavijanu o trex mužex; 10) svjatyj Nikola javisja v temnicy trem mužem; 11) svjatyj Nikola izbavi Afanasija patriarxa ot potoplenija; 12) svjatyj Nikola Agrikova syna Vasilija privede ot stracin ko otcu; 13) čelovek neki proda kover svjatomu Nikolaju; 14) svjatyj Nikola prinese kover k žene togo čeloveka prodavšago; 15) pogrebenie svjatago Nikoly; 16) prinesenie moščeju svjatago Nikoly ot Mira v Bargrad (Rovinskij, III, pp. 653-4).

On the basis of these broadsides (dating back to the 18th and 19th centuries) the following conclusions regarding the popularity of particular scenes can be drawn: the broadsides include a very canonical repertory of scenes from the saint's life, while the hagiographical icons often include unusual scenes, based on rather little known or less popular literary sources. It is surprising that the miracle of saving Demetrios from drowning, despite its popularity on hagiographical icons, is not at all depicted in the popular prints. Instead of this miracle, the authors of the prints represented the miracle of saving the Patriarch from drowning, rarely found on icons, but iconographically very similar. Apparently in the 18th and 19th centuries the miracle with the Patriarch became more popular than the story about Demetrios.

Probably the most interesting broadsides of St. Nicholas are two pictures (No. 1604 and 1604 A) which depict the story of the discovery of the famous icon of Nicholas Dvoriščenskij. On print No. 1604 we read:

"Izobraženie i podobie čudotvornago obraza svjatago Nikoly čjudotvorca iže v Novegrade na dvoriščci; meroju v kvadrat trinadcat' verškov." At the top of the central representation are the following captions: "Boljšaščemu knjazju Mstislavu javisja svjatyj Nikolae, reče: 'Posli v Kiev grad za ikonoju, i meru pokazuja, 'i otpevše molebnaja, budeši

zdrav.'" ; "Vozbnuv knjaz' ot sna, vskore posla boljarini s klirem v ladi črez ozero, i ot buri zaexali na ostrov Lipno, i tamo obrete v vode ikonu svjatago Nikolaja, i vozvratisja abie ko knjazju." At the bottom of the picture the caption continues: "I prinesoša ikonu ko knjazju, knjaz' že oblobyza ju i povele nesti v cerkov i sebja vesti za ikonoju, i osvjatiša vodu, i polučī izcelenie" (Rovinskij, III, p. 657).

The lubok No. 1604 A offers an even more detailed account of the expedition and the fate of the icon:

"Boljaščemu knjazju Mstislavu javisja svjatyj Nikola čudotvorec v sonnom videnii i reče jemu: 'Čto skorbiši zelo, knjaze i vopieši ko mne? Posli v Kiev grad za ikonoju moeju,' pokazuja emu i meru ikony toj, 'i otpevše molebnaja, polučīši iscelenie, i sice zdrav budeši, sotvori pamjat' ko ikone moej i v predbuduščie gody,' i sie rekše, nevidim byst. Knjaz', vozstav ot sna, prizval k sebe dvoreckago boljarina i povelel emu so svjaščennym klirom otpravit'sja na ladii po Il'menju ezeru v Kiev grad za ikonoju svjatago Nikoly čudotvorca, dav emu i meru toj ikony"; "Otpravivšusja že boljarinu s klirom, vdrug vstala silnaja burja i žestokij vetr, koim ladiju prineslo k ostrovu Lipno, i tamo v vode obrete ikonu bystrago i skorago pomošnika svjatago Nikoly čudotvorca, i vozvratisja v Novgrad, i sretiša ikonu iz grada so kresty, i prinese ko knjazju, knjaz' že vstav oblobyza ikonu svjatago Nikolaja čudotvorca . . . I povele nesti ikonu v cerkov' i sebja vesti za ikonoju, i osvjatiša vodu, i pokropisja, i polučī soveršennoe iscelenie . . ." At the bottom of the picture the inscription continues: "Sej čudotvornyj obraz svjateljja Nikoly obreten na ozere Il'mene u ostrova zavomago Lipno, a onyj ostrov otstoit ot velikago Novgrada za sedm' poprišč, v leto ot sotvorenija mira 6621-e (1113-A.B.), pri blagovernom velikom knjaze Mstislave Svjatoslaviče, i togož leta velikij onyj knjaz' s baboju svoeju blagovernoju knjagineju Annoju v pamjat' obretenija onago obraza i v oznameno-

vani svoego blagodarenija za polučennoe ot nego iscelenie ot ljutoj i tjažkoj bolezni, na ostrove Lipno sozdaša Nikolo-Lipenskij monastyr'; onyj monastyr' po bednosti ego davno uže upražnen i pripisan k Skovorodskomu monastyrju, i z zdaniij v nem naxoditsja nyne odna tolko kamennaja cerkov'. A v Novegrade na trgovoj storone na Jaroslavle dvore vozdvignuša cerkov' kamennu prekrasnu, kotoraja i nyne pod imenom Nikolaevskago Dvoriščenskago sobora suščestvuet v soveršennom blagoustrojstve i velikolepii molitvami svjatitelja i čudotvorca Nikolaja, emu že po Boze da budet ot nas čest' i slava vo veki vekov, amin'" (Rovinskij, IV, pp. 768-9).

A comparison of the texts of both broadsides with the text of the literary work published by N.K. Nikol'skij⁹ shows that the authors of the prints used the literary text for their inscriptions. The author of picture No. 1604 was content with the simple representation of the story of the miraculous discovery of the icon and the healing of Mstislav. The author of lubok No. 1604 A slightly abbreviated the original text, but also added several historical details which were unknown to the author of the original story; the fact that on the spot where the icon was found there was a church and a monastery of St. Nicholas, later closed and incorporated into the Skovorodskij Monastery. This addition proves that the text published by Nikol'skij was primary (the copy published by the Russian scholar dated back to the last years of the 17th or the first years of the 18th century), and the lubok's texts secondary.

Among the other sources in which St. Nicholas plays an important role is the bylina (heroic epic) Sadko, possibly one of the oldest Russian works of this kind. The content of this famous bylina should be briefly retold:

The rich merchants of Novgorod did not invite a poor minstrel, Sadko, to their feasts. Disappointed and bitter, Sadko went to the shore of Lake Il'men' and began to play his psaltery (gusli). The Sea King was so enchanted with his playing that he advised Sadko to bet the merchants of Novgorod that there were gold fish in Lake Il'men'. With the help of the Sea King Sadko won the bet and became rich. Encouraged by his success, Sadko decided to take revenge on the city and to buy all the merchandise in Novgorod. However, he could not do it. Defeated, he prepared a fleet, loaded all his merchandise on the ships, and set out to the Golden Horde to sell his goods and to profit even more. On the way home, the ships, carrying a tremendous fortune, were stopped in the middle of the sea. In the beginning Sadko thought that the Sea King was waiting for a toll, but neither a barrel of silver, nor a barrel of gold broke the spell. The Sea King wanted a human sacrifice. Sadko decided to cast lots to determine who would be given to the King. Sadko made his lot out of gold and his retinue made theirs out of wood. Of course, Sadko's lot went immediately to the bottom. Then Sadko ordered his retinue to make their lots out of gold and he made his lot out of wood. But even then his lot went straight to the bottom, and the lots of his men floated on the sea. Finally, Sadko realized that the Sea King wanted him to pay for the gold fish which made him rich. After farewells, Sadko was put on a wooden board, and the ships sailed away. Tired, Sadko fell asleep, to awaken at the bottom of the sea in the Sea King's kingdom. The Sea King asked Sadko to play for him. When Sadko began to

play, the King danced so violently, that the waves destroyed many ships on the sea, and many sea travelers were lost in the waters. The people prayed to St. Nicholas of Možajsk to calm the sea. Suddenly, Nicholas of Možajsk appeared to Sadko and asked him to break his gusli. He also told Sadko that the Sea King would like to marry him to one of his maidens, and that Sadko should select the last of them, the maiden Černava. After the first night, the saint advised, Sadko would be miraculously transported to Novgorod. Sadko took the saint's advice and was transported to Novgorod just in time to welcome his fleet returning to the city. Sadko erected a church in honor of St. Nicholas of Možajsk, and never undertook any more sea journeys.¹⁰

This Novgorod bylina might have been based on the life of a real person, Sadko Sytinic (Sytinec), mentioned in the First Novgorod Chronicle under the year 1167, as the founder of the church of St. Boris and Gleb.

Scholars believe that the work is a compilation of three themes which appear sometimes as separate stories: 1) the story of Sadko's acquisition of wealth, 2) the story of Sadko's competition with the city of Novgorod and its merchants, and 3) the story of Sadko at the court of the Sea King. V.I. Propp thought that the last story was primary and belonged to the one of the most archaic themes of bylina, the theme of match-making and marriage (see Kravcov and Lazutin, p. 164). However, the motif of Nicholas of Možajsk helping Sadko could have not appeared in this bylina before the 14th cen-

ture (see the preceding chapter, Nicholas of Možajsk), and apparently was a purely Christian motif superimposed on the traditional, even pagan content of the bylina. In the earlier version, instead of the saint there must have been some fairy-tale-like miraculous helper, who was later replaced by Nicholas of Možajsk. The motif of Nicholas of Možajsk as a helper was, I believe, incorporated into this work in the 16th century, when the statues of the saint of Možajsk became extremely popular all over Russia (in the North particularly), and the fame and veneration of the saint reached its zenith.

Nicholas was also a hero of several spiritual verses (duxovnye stixi). Spiritual verses resembled heroic epics, but "unlike the other genres of folk literature, practically all dukhovnye stikhi derived their themes from written literature -- the Bible, the lives of the saints and, above all, the numerous apocryphal works which were current in medieval Russia" (Costello and Foote, p. 168). Spiritual verses were in the beginning performed by pilgrims and later by professional singers, the so-called kaliki perexožie.¹¹

"These were beggars, usually blind or crippled, who wandered from place to place singing outside churches in return for alms" (Costello and Foote, p. 168). The verses, performed all over Russia up to the 1917 Revo-

lution, probably appeared in the 15th century and flourished in the 17th. Their performers, kaliki perexožie, were as characteristic a part of Russian landscape as the fools in Christ (jurodivye).

Among the verses devoted to St. Nicholas two are especially important ones because they faithfully follow the texts of the literary stories included in the saint's vita, thus demonstrating the popularity of these stories in Russia. They retell the Thauma de Basilio and Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi.¹² The spiritual verse about Basil shows how in the minds of the simple people the names of the places and characters from the Byzantine literary work became russified. In three variants of this verse the parents of Basil live in a place called Tiflis (Typhlis), Tinfir (probably a corruption of Tiflis), or Mirtikija (maybe a corruption of Miry Likijskija), and only in two variants in Antioch, as in the original story (in one case Antioch is spelled Antiofeja). Basil's father is named Avrik or Gavrik. The greatest difficulty, however, the singers had with the rendition of the name of the Saracene prince. In the Old Russian translation of the story he was erroneously called Amir, instead of emir. In the verses he is called Avim, Amira, Gamer, Famir or Tamera. All these changes in names demonstrate the lack of education and

knowledge among the authors of the verses. The explanation of these changes can be found in the popular game, Telephone. In this game one person whispers a correct sentence to the second person, the second player repeats what he heard to the third and so on. When the sentence reaches the last person, its sound and meaning is very often quite different. Characteristically, the greatest changes can be observed in the words unfamiliar to the participants, especially of names and places. The verses, which featured many Greek names, were orally transmitted from singer to singer, and this kind of perception of these difficult names could have easily given the results described above.

In the second spiritual verse, based on Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi, only one change of this kind can be observed: the name of the city of Mytilene is spelled Militin grad. However Bessonov published only one variant of this verse, and the verse itself had no more unfamiliar names in it.

I.I. Sreznevskij compared the spiritual verses about Basil and Christopher to the oldest translation of the original stories, contained in the 12th century manuscript, and concluded that the verses originated relatively late, probably not earlier than the 17th century. Their authors relied on the later redactions of these oldest Old Russian translations of the Byzantine stories.¹³

In one of his books,¹⁴ A.I. Jacimirskij, a renowned specialist and collector of manuscripts and objects of South Slavic provenance, published a description of a lengthy piece of fabric embroidered with the representations of several saints and with appropriate prayers to them. This piece of fabric was called Pojas Bogomateri (the Virgin's Belt) and was probably used as a body wrap to protect the bearer from evil and misfortune. Under the representation of St. Nicholas was the following apocryphal prayer:

"Va ime otca, syna, svjatago duxa, amin'. Svjatyj Nikolae, izbavi ot napasti sie raba Božia . . . jakože izbavil esi tri muži nepovini va tamnice zatvoreni nepravedno, xotešče umreti. Svjatyj Nikolae pomози rabu Božiju . . . jakože pomagal esi Dimitriju va mori i va kelii zaključenu. Svjatyj Nikolae izbavi i raba Božia . . . jakože izbavil esi Vasilija sina Agrikova ot ruki cara stragcinskago i pred roditeli ego postavil esi. Svjatyj Nikolae pomiluj i raba Božia . . . jakože pomiloval esi ubogago starca sa kovarem i ne prezrev molenia ego. Svjatyj Nikolae, izbavi raba tvoego . . . jakože izbavil esi popa Xristofora ot posečeni mača i s nim ini deset mužej. Tako izbavi i raba tvoego . . . ot vasakog napasti duševne i telesne i budi pomoščnik rabu tvoemu . . ." (pp. 214-5).

This apocryphal prayer, known only from this South Slavic work, was embroidered by a devout Christian for his personal protection, despite the Church prohibition. The prayer shows good knowledge of the miracles of the saint and possibly may be an indication of the popular-

ity of these miracle stories which are mentioned.

According to the selection given by the prayer, the most popular stories were Praxis de Stratelatis, Thauma de Demetrio, Thauma de Basilio, Thauma de stromate and Thauma de presbytero Mitylenensi. It is quite probable that similar protective belts, with prayers to St. Nicholas, also existed in Russia where the cult of the saint was even stronger than among the South Slavs.

These are the minor sources which aid in better understanding the popularity, cult, veneration and fame of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker. They all show how close the saint was to the Russian people, to the simple peasants and carpenters, merchants and monks, beggars and princes. They preferred to call him Nikola Milostivj (Gracious Nicholas) or Nikola Ugodnik (Helping Nicholas) than Nikolaj Mirlikijskij. On the 6th of December they celebrated the feast day of the saint (Nikola zimnij), literally drinking themselves under the table with beer and vodka specially prepared for the occasion of the Bratčina-Nikol'ščina. In the 17th century there appeared Skazanie o premudrom bražnike or Povest' o bražnike (The Tale of the Wise Drunk) in which this common drunkenness was satirized. The drunkard comes to the gates of Paradise and demands to be admitted inside. One after another St. Peter, St. Paul, David, Solomon, and John the Evangelist try to argue

with the drunkard, but he is able to discomfit them and to show that he is not worse than they are. Finally, St. Nicholas comes to the gates and asks: "Kto est' tolkuščijsja u vrat svjatago raja?" The drunkard answers: "Az est' grešnyj čelovek, bražnik." Nicholas replies: "Bražnikom zde ne vxodimo v raj." The drunk inquires: "A ty kto esi? Glas tvoj slyšu, a imeni tvoego ne vem." Nicholas says: "Az esm' svjatyj Nikolaj čjudotvorec." The saint's reply is strongly countered: "A pomniš li ty, svjatyj Nikolae, koli ty nam velel kanny varit', a nam, bražnikom, velel pit' dolgo, svoj prazdnik veličat'?" Nicholas goes away defeated and the drunk is finally allowed into Paradise.¹⁵ Despite the critical attitude of this tale towards the Church, a very personal feeling of the people towards the saints, and Nicholas particularly, is shown.

Notes

Chapter V

1. More detailed information about the work, its origins and redactions, as well as the Old Russian texts can be found in Xrisanf Loparev, "'Slovo o svjatom patriarxe Feostirikte': K voprosu o 29-m fevralja v drevnej literature," in PDPI, XCIV, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1893), pp. 1-31; A.A. Nazarevskij, Iz istorii rusko-ukrainskix literaturnyx svjazej: Starinnye knižnye legendy i ix svjazi s russkim i ukrainskim fol'klorom, (Kiev: Izdatel'stvo Kievskogo Universiteta, 1963), pp. 1-110; E.V. Aničkov, ed., Narodnaja slovesnost', (Moskva, 1908), pp. 126-7; A.D. Grigor'ev, Povest' ob Akire Premudrom, (Moskva, 1913), pp. 1-14, 465-71, 544. Further references to all works quoted in this chapter more than once appear in the text.
2. Among the preserved copies the oldest comes from the 15th century. It is possible that the story was written only then and not, as the scholars thought, before the Mongol conquest.
3. A.N. Afanas'ev, Narodnyja russkija legendy, (Kazan': Molodyja sily, 1914), p. 86 (No. 11); Dmitrij Tschizewskij, Der hl. Nikolaus, (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1957), p. 5; Aničkov, pp. 126-7.
4. On the celebrations of the end of spring and the beginning of summer see N.I. Kravcov and S.G. Lazutin, Russkoe ustnoe narodnoe tvorčestvo, (Moskva: Vyssšaja škola, 1977), pp. 52-3; N.I. Kravcov, ed., Russkoe narodnoe poëtičeskoe tvorčestvo, (Moskva: Prosveščenie, 1971), pp. 47-8.
5. About the connection between Pentecost celebrations and the feast day of St. Nicholas, particularly about the name Rusalii see Gustav Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche, vol. II, (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1917), pp. 443-9; V. Jagić, "Einige Bemerkungen zum 23a Kapitel des Pavlovschen Nomokanons betreffs der Ausdrücke Rousalia--Rusal'ky," Archiv für Slavische Philologie, XXX (1909), 626-9; Arximandrit Antonin, "Sv. Nikolaj, episkop pinarskij i arximandrit sionskij," TKDA, No. 6

- (ijun') 1869, 490; Aničkov, pp. 70 and 127.
6. M.A. Reformatskaja, Severnyje pis'ma, (Moskva, 1967), pp. 20-1; A.F. Byčkov, Opisanie cerkovno-slavjanskix i russkix rukopisnyx sbornikov Imperatorskoj publičnoj biblioteki, vol. I, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1882), pp. 89-90.
 7. Alexander and Barbara Pronin, Russian Folk Arts, (South Brunswick and New York: A.S. Barnes and Company; London: Thomas Yoseloff Ltd., 1975), p. 22.
 8. D.A. Rovinskij, Russkija narodnyja kartinki, 5 vols. and 4 vols. of illustrations, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1881).
 9. N.K. Nikol'skij, "Materialy dlja istorii drevne-russkoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti," SORJAS, LXXXII (1907), No. 4, 58-61.
 10. See the texts and commentaries in V.I. Čičerov, ed., Byliny, (Moskva: Detskaja literatura, 1969), pp. 231-43; A.A. Petrosjan, ed., Geroičeskij epos narodov SSSR, vol. I, (Moskva: Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1975), pp. 52-66; V.G. Mirzoev, Byliny i letopisi: Pamjatniki russkoj istoričeskoj mysli, (Moskva: Mysl', 1978), pp. 65-7; D.P. Costello and I.P. Foote, eds., Russian Folk Literature, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 61-74, 121-32, 219; Kravcov and Lazutin, pp. 162-4; Kravcov, pp. 159-60. On byliny in general see the classic M.N. Speranskij, Russkaja ustnaja slovesnost', vol. II (Byliny), (Moskva, 1919).
 11. "Kalika meant originally 'pilgrim', but later its application came to be limited to the itinerant beggars who sang dukhovnye stikhi. It is probably related to kaleka 'cripple' which sometimes replaces it in this context." (Costello and Foote, p. 168). See also Heinrich Stammeler, Die russische geistliche Volksdichtung als Ausserung der geistige Kultur des russischen Volkes, (Heidelberg, 1939).
 12. P.A. Bezsonov, Kaleki perexožie: Sbornik stixov i issledovanie, vol. I, (Moskva, 1861), pp. 559-77 (variants Nos. 126-9). See also Nos. 130-1, 183-4, and 194, all devoted to St. Nicholas.

13. I. Sreznevskij, "Svedenija i zametki o malo-izvestnyx i neizvestnyx i pamjatnikax," SORJAS, I (1867), No. 9, 19-23.
14. A.I. Jacimirskij, K istorii apokrifičeskix legend i ložnyx molitv v južnoslavjanskoj pis'mennosti, vol. I, (Petrograd, 1915), pp. 212-5.
15. V.P. Adrianova-Peretc, Russkaja demokratičeskaja satira XVII veka, 2nd, enlarged edn., (Moskva: Nauka, 1977), p. 162. See also I. Golubev, "So-branie rukopisnyx knig g. Kalinina," TODRL, XI (1955), 462.

Chapter VI

Catalogue of Researched Icons of St. Nicholas

The catalogue is divided into two parts. The first part (Ns. 1-84) presents the complete Russian hagiographical icons of the saint, and the second part (Ns. I-XII) lists separate scenes from icons which were seen by the author only in fragments. Whenever the data permit, the catalogue gives the following information: the name of the icon; the place and date of its origin,¹ the collection in which the work is kept today; the dimensions of the icon; repertory and scheme of the border scenes; and, a bibliographical note.² The icons preceded in the catalogue by an asterisk are fully or partially reproduced in the appendix.

Part One

*I. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the village of Pavlovo near Rostov Velikij. 13th-14th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 128 x 75 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | | | 5 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 10 | | | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 11 | | | 7 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 12 | | | 8 |
| 6. Nicholas sails to Jerusalem ³ | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas defeats Arius | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | |
| 14. Death of Nicholas | | | | |
| 15. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |
| 16. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |

-
- M.V. Alpatov, Kraski drevnerusskoj ikonopisi, (Moskva: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1974), ill. 11.
- V.I. Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona načala XIV v. iz Kieva i 'Povest' o Nikole Zarajskom'," TODRL, XIII (1958), ill. 3 (between pp. 384-5).
- V.I. Antonova and N.E. Mneva, Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi Tret'jakovskoj Galerei, (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1963), vol. I, pp. 205-6, ill. 118-22.
- I.Ė. Grabar, et. al., ed., Geschichte der Russischen Kunst, vol. III, (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1959), p. 14.
- N.V. Rozanova, Rostovo-suzdal'skaja živopis' XII-XVI vv., (Moskva: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1970), ill. 16-9.

*2. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the village of Bol'sie Soli near Kostroma. Beginning of the 14th century. Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 130 x 60 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 7 | | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 5. The First Ecumenical Council | 12 | | | | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas defeats Arius | 13 | | | | 15 |
| 7. Sea miracle | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 16 |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 17. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | |
| 18. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 19. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 20. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona...", ill. 2 (between pp. 384-5).

Geschichte der Russischen Kunst, vol. I, (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1957), p. 316.

S.I. Maslenitsyn, Kostroma, (Leningrad: Aurora, 1968), pp. 36-42, ill. 16-23.⁴

Rozanova, ill. 20-3.

*3. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From the village of Ljuboni near Boroviči. 13th-14th century. Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 139 x 98

cm.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 5 | | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 6 | | 7 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 8 | | 9 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 6. Nicholas celebrates mass | | | |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | |
| 8. Sea miracle | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | |

V.N. Lazarev, Novgorodskaja ikonopis', (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1969), pp. 17-8.

N.V. Percev, "Ikona Nikoly iz Ljuboni," SGRM, IX (1968), 84-91.

È.S. Smirnova, Živopis' ārevnej Rusi: Naxodki i otkrytija, (Leningrad: Avrora, 1970), ill. 1-3.

È.S. Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda: Seredina XIII -- načalo XV veka, (Moskva: Nauka, 1976), pp. 75, 184-7, 282-3.

* 4. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the city of Kievec near Moscow. Beginning of the 14th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 115 x 78 cm.

| | | | | |
|--|----|----|---|---|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 14 | | | 5 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 13 | | | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 12 | | | 7 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |

9. Carpet miracle⁵
10. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
11. Death of Nicholas
12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas
13. Kiev miracle
14. Nicholas saves the patriarch from drowning

Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona...", ill. 1 (between pp. 384-5).

Sviatoslav Hordynsky, The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries, (Philadelphia: Providence Association, 1973), ill. 32.

G. Logvin, et. al., Ukrains'kyj sredn'ovičnyj žyvopis, (Kyiv: Mystectvo, 1976), p. 9, ill. XVI.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, ill. 36-7.

5. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From the village of Videleb'e in Pskov district. 1337.

Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 101

x 77 cm.

- | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 9 | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas heals a lame man | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 10. Unidentified scene ⁶ | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 14. Death of Nicholas | | | | |

N.V. Percev, "Obsledovanie pskovskoj oblasti," SGRM, VII, (1961), 70.

Smirnova, Živopis' drevnej Rusi, ill. 4-5.

Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda, p. 154.

*6. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK, COSMAS AND DAMIAN.

From the village of Ozerevo, Leningrad district. First half of the 14th century. Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 107.5 x 75 cm.

| | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 5 | | | 6 |
| | 7 | | | 8 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | | | 10 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 11 | | | 12 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 6. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 7. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas multiplies wine | | | | |
| 13. Demetrios in his house | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 16. Death of Nicholas | | | | |

L.D. Lixačeva, "Ikona 'Nikola v žitii' iz pogosta Ozerevo," SGRM, X, (1974), 91-6.

O.S. Popova, Iskusstvo Novgoroda i Moskvy pervoj poloviny četyrnadcatogo veka, (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1980), p. 209.

Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda, pp. 199-203, 300-14.

7. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the former collection of A.V. Morozov. 14th century.

Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 102

x 77 cm.

| | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | 9 | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 12. Death of Nicholas | | | | |
| 13. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |
| 14. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

A. Griščenko, "Russkaja ikona kak iskusstvo živopisi,"
Voprosy živopisi, III (1917), 176-7.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, pp. 359-60.

Josef Myslivec, "Život sv. Mikuláše v Byzantském umění,"
in his Dvě studie z dějin Byzantského umění, (Prague:
Universum, 1948), p. 56.

A.I. Nekrasov, Drevnerusskoe izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo,
(Moskva; 1937; rpt. The Hague and Paris: Mouton,
1969), p. 164, ill. 106.

*8. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Terebužskij pogost near Staraja Ladoga. 14th century.

Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 129 x

77 cm.

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 9 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 7 | | | | 10 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 8 | | | | 11 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 13 | | | | 12 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| 7. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 9. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 16. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 17. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 18. Miracle from the icon of Nicholas ⁷ | | | | | |

M.V. Alpatov, Drevnerusskaja ikonopis', (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1974), ill. 145.

Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona...", ill. 4 (between pp. 384-5).

Rozanova, ill. 49-51.

G.K. Vagner, Suzdal', (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1969), ill. V-VI.

9. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the village of Ujma near Xolmogory. 14th century.

Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 133

x 90 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|----|---|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | | | | 7 |
| 2. Nicholas is brought to the church ⁸ | 2 | | | | 8 |
| 3. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wed- nesdays and Fridays | 3 | | | | 9 |
| | 4 | 5 | 6 | 10 | |

4. Schooling of Nicholas
5. Sea miracle
6. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning
7. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
8. Nicholas leads the three generals out of prison⁹
9. Nicholas saves three men from execution
10. Death of Nicholas

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, p. 359.

*10. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER WITH THE ROSTOV

SAINTS ISAIAH AND LEONTIUS

From the former collection of A.V. Morozov. Second half of the 14th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery. 117 x 81 cm.

- | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 11 | | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 12 | | | | 7 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 13 | | | | 8 |
| 5. Nicholas sails to Jerusalem | 14 | | | | 9 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | 15 | | | | 10 |
| | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |
| 7. Nicholas saves the three generals from prison ¹⁰ | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 9. Kiev miracle | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves the Saracene from prison | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas heals demoniacs | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 17. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | |
| 18. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 19. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 20. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

M.V. Alpatov, Sokrovišča rusckogo iskusstva XI-XVI vekov: Živopis', (Leningrad: Avrora, 1971), ill. 48.

Griščenko, pp. 176, 178-9.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, pp. 214-5.

Myslivec, p. 57.

Oskar Wulff and Michael Alpatoff, Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei in kunstgeschichtlicher Folge, (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1925), pp. 152, 154, 277, ill. 62.

*11. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From the Pogost Kargač near Grjazovec. Second half of the 14th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery. 151 x 106 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 8 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 9 | | | | 12 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 10 | | | | 13 |
| 6. Sea miracle | 14 | 15 | 16 | 18 | 17 |
| 7. Nicholas heals demoniacs | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. The three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 17. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 18. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

L. Bol'šakova and E. Kamenskaja, Gosudarstvennaja Tret'-jakovskaja Galereja: Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, (Moskva: Sovetskij Xudožnik, 1968), ill. 79.

Katalog drevnerusskoj Živopisi, vol. I, pp. 357-8, ill. 235-7.

V.N. Lazarev, Iskusstvo Novgoroda, (Moskva and Leningrad, 1947), p. 124.

M.A. Reformatskaja, Severnye pis'ma, (Moskva, 1967), pp. 19-20.

G.I. Vzdornov, Vologda, (Leningrad: Avrora, 1972), p. 55, ill. 25-8.

*12. NICHOLAS UGREŠSKIJ.

From Nikolo-Ugrešskij monastery near Moscow. Circa 1380.

Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 94

x 69 cm.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|---|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 8 | | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 9 | | | | | 12 |
| | 10 | | | | | 13 |
| 4. Nicholas draws water from the mountain | 11 | | | | | 14 |
| | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | | 19 |
| 5. Nicholas charms a dragon | | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | | |
| 15. Kiev miracle | | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | | |
| 17. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | | |
| 18. Death of Nicholas | | | | | | |
| 19. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | | |

Alpatov, Drevnerusskaja ikonopis', ill. 54-55.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, p. 252, ill. 169.
Myslivec, p. 56.

David and Tamara Talbot Rice, Icons and Their Dating, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), ill. 104.

13. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From Rostov Velikij. End of the 14th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 122 x 80 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | 5 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 7 | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 8 | | | 10 |
| 5. Sea miracle | 12 | | | 11 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 7. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 8. The three generals in prison | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | |
| 13. Unidentified scene ¹¹ | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 15. Death of Nicholas | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, pp. 217-8, ill. 130.

*14. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Kolomna. 14th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 135 x 96 cm.

1. Birth of Nicholas
2. Schooling of Nicholas

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 6. Nicholas heals a demoniac | 10 | | | | 12 |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 11 | | | | 13 |
| | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| 8. The three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 11. Demetrios and his neighbors | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | |
| 15. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 17. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 18. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Alpatov, Sokrovišča, ill. 46-7.

Geschichte der Russischen Kunst, vol. III, pp. 49-51,
ill. 31-2.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, pp. 247-8, ill.
158-9.

V.N. Lazarev, Moskovskaja škola ikonopisi, (Moskva: Is-
kusstvo, 1971), pp. 8-9, ill. 9-11.

Konrad Onasch, Icons, (New York: Barnes and Co., 1963),
p. 391, ill. 112-13.

Konrad Onasch, Russian Icons, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977),
ill. 34.

Popova, p. 210.

John Taylor, Icon Painting, (New York: Mayflower Books,
1979), p. 70-1.

*15. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Novgorod. End of the 14th -- beginning of the 15th
century. Collection of the Novgorod Art Museum, Novgorod.

147 x 115 cm.

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 6 | | | | 7 |
| | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 12 | | | | 13 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| 6. The Polovtsian takes an oath in front of an icon of the saint | | | | | |
| 7. The Polovtsian brings the ransom | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas brings Peter to Rome | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 12. The generals come before Constantine | | | | | |
| 13. The three generals thank St. Nicholas | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 15. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 17. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 18. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |

Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona...", p. 389 (note 51).

I.Ė. Grabar', O drevnerusskom iskusstve, (Moskva: Nauka, 1966), pp. 145, 148, 234.

Lazarev, Iskusstvo Novgoroda, ill. 99.

Nekrasov, p. 160.

Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda, pp. 251-3, 360-7.

*16. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the former collection of N.I. Repnikov. 14th-15th century. Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 84 x 65 cm.

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 7 | | | | 6 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 8 | | | | 10 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 9 | | | | 11 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 12 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 16. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |

Lixačeva, p. 96.

Smirnova, Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda, pp. 126, 254-5, 368-71.

17. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Rostov-Suzdal' region. 14th -- 15th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 119 x 77 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 7 | | | | 6 |
| | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 6. Praxis de tribus filiabus ¹² | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 10. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |

14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
15. Burial of Nicholas
16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas

Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona...", p. 386.¹³

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, pp. 219-20.

Onasch, Icons, ill. 70.

18. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the former collection of S.P. Rjabušinskij. 15th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 51 x 41 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 8 | | | | 9 |
| | 11 | | | | 10 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to three three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 11. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 14. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 15. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Carpet miracle | | | | | |

Fannina W. Halle, Alt-Russische Kunst, (Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth A.G., 1920), ill. 29.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, pp. 348-9.

19. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From Novgorod region. 15th century. Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 8 | | | | 9 |
| | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 7. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 15. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Tamara Talbot Rice, Russian Icons, (London: Spring Books, 1963), p. 33, ill. 24.¹⁴

20. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From Suzdal'. First half of the 15th century. Collection of the Vladimir-Suzdal' Museum of History and Art, Vladimir.
84 x 54 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 9 | | | 10 |
| 5. Sea miracle | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |

9. Nicholas saves three men from execution
10. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning
11. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife
12. Death of Nicholas
13. Translation of the relics of Nicholas
14. Kiev miracle¹⁵

S.V. Jamščikov, Drevnerusskaja živopis': Novye otkrytija, 2nd, enlarged edn., (Leningrad: Avrora, 1969), ill. 27.

S.V. Jamščikov, Sokrovišča Suzdalja, (Moskva: Izobrazitel'-noe iskusstvo, 1970), pp. 42-3, 46-7, 83.

*21. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Novgorod region. 15th century. Collection of the Dmitrov Museum of Regional Studies, Dmitrov. 103 x 70 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 8 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 7 | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 10. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 13. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |
| 14. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Alpatov, Sokrovišča, ill. 167.¹⁶

Jamščikov, Drevnerusskaja živopis', ill. 20-1.

S.V. Jamščikov, Novootkriti pametnici na drevneruskata živopis, (Sofija: Izkustvo, 1963), ill. 10.

John Stuart, Ikons, (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), ill. 66.

*22. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From the village of Meletovo near Pskov. Circa 1460.

Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 128

x 108 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 12 | | | | 13 |
| 6. Christ gives a Gospel Book to Nicholas | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| 7. An angel appears to a priest in Myra ordering him to elect Nicholas as bishop | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 10. Kiev miracle | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas, Paul of Rhodos and Theodore of Ashkelon | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 13. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 14. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | | | | |
| 15. The Virgin gives an omophorion to Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 17. The Archangel Michael appears to Nicholas | | | | | |
| 18. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |

Icons and Their Dating, p. 131, ill. 105.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, p. 196, ill. 109-10.

*23. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the village of Radruż (Poland). 15th century. Collection of the Museum of Ukrainian Art, Lvov. 123 x 96 cm.

| | | |
|---|---|----------|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 6 |
| 2. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 2 | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a demoniac | 3 | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas saves Christopher from execution | 4 | 9 |
| 5. Sea miracle | 5 | 10 11 12 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 9. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | |
| 10. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | |
| 11. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | |
| 12. Death of Nicholas | | |

M.P. Bažan, ed., Istorija ukrains'kogo mystectva, vol. II, (Kyiv: Akademija Nauk USSR, 1967), pp. 241-2, ill. 164.

Hordynsky, ill. 47.

Ukrains'kyj sredn'ovičnyj žyvopis, ill. XLIV-V.

24. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From the Rostov-Suzdal' region. Middle of the 15th century.

Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 43 x

35 cm.

| | | | | |
|--|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 6 | | | 5 |
| 3. Baptism of Nicholas | 8 | | | 7 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 11. Death of Nicholas | | | | |
| 12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. I, p. 223.

25. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Moscow region (?). 15th -- 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow (?). 61 x 48 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 6 | | | 5 |
| | 7 | | | 8 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 10 | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 5. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 7. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution ¹⁷ | | | | |
| 10. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 11. Basil at the Saracene court | | | | |
| 12. Basil at his parents' home | | | | |
| 13. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |
| 14. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Michael Farbman, ed., Masterpieces of Russian Painting,
(London: Europa Publications LTD, 1930), p. 116, ill.
29.¹⁸

Myslivec, p. 57.

*26. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the city of Dmitrov. End of the 15th--beginning of the 16th century. Collection of the Andrej Rublev Museum, Moscow. 122 x 89 cm.

1. Birth of Nicholas
2. Nicholas refuses to take milk
on Wednesdays and Fridays
3. Schooling of Nicholas

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 4. Nicholas is consecrated deacon | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | 7 | | | | 6 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 8 | | | | 10 |
| 7. Sea miracle | 9 | | | | 11 |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 13 | | | | 12 |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| 10. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 12. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 17. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 18. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Alpatov, Drevnerusskaja ikonopis', ill. 179.

Alpatov, Kraski, ill. 69.

I.A. Ivanova, Muzej drevnerusskogo iskusstva imeni Andreja Rubleva, (Moskva: Sovetskij xudožnik, 1968), ill. 42-8.

G.K. Vagner, A.S. Kukles and K.G. Tixomirova, Spaso-Andronikov monastyr', (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1972), p. 96-7.

*27. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From the village of Gorlicy. 15th-16th century. Collection of the Museum of Ukrainian Art, Lvov.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|----|---|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 2. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 3 | | | | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | 5 | | | | 6 |
| | 7 | | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a demoniac | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | |
| 5. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |

8. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison
9. Burial of Nicholas
10. Translation of the relics of Nicholas
11. Carpet miracle
12. Nicholas saves Christopher from execution

Bažan, ill. 161.

V.I. Svencickaja, "Master ikon XV veka iz sel Vanivka i Zdvýžen'," in Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Problemy i atribucii, (Moskva: Nauka, 1977), p. 285.

28. NICHOLAS OF MOZAJSK.

From the village of Voinovo, Vladimir district. End of the 15th--beginning of the 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 105 x 79 cm.

- | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | 5 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 7 | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 8 | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 13. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |
| 14. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Rozanova, ill. 109-10.

*29. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Pereslavl'-Zaleskij. 15th--16th century. Collection

of the Museum of History and Art in Pereslavl'-Zalesskij.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 6 | | | | 7 |
| | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 3. Baptism of Nicholas | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | |
| 6. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 11. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 12. Carpet miracle ¹⁹ | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 15. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

S. Maslenitsyn, Pereslavl'-Zalessky, (Leningrad: Aurora, 1975), ill. 44-8.

I. Purisev, Pereslavl'-Zalesskij, (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1970), ill. 4-5.

*30. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the former collection of L.K. Zubalov. 15th--16th century. 42 x 34.5 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 5 | | | 6 |
| | 7 | | | 8 |
| 3. Baptism of Nicholas | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | | | | |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to three generals in prison | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 11. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |

12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas

Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei, p. 173, ill. 73.

Myslivec, p. 57.

31. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the Novgorod region. Circa 1500. George R. Hann
Collection.²⁰

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 6. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 11. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 15. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Robert Wallace and the Editors of Time-Life Books, Rise of Russia, (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1967), pp. 112-3.

* 32. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Novgorod region. Circa 1500. Collection of the National Museum, Stockholm. 92 x 69 cm.

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 9 | | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 6. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 7. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 15. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Helge Kjellin, Russiske Ikoner i Norsk og Svensk Eie,
(Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 195-), ill. 160, p. 266.

33. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Novgorod region. Circa 1500. Collection of the National Gallery, Oslo. 124 x 105 cm.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 7 | | | | | 8 |
| 3. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 9 | | | | | 10 |
| | 11 | | | | | 12 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 13 | | | | | 14 |
| | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |
| 5. Schooling of Nicholas | | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to Constaine in a dream | | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | | |
| 15. Sea miracle | | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | | |
| 17. Carpet miracle | | | | | | |

18. Praxis de tribus filiabus
 19. Burial of Nicholas
 20. Translation of the relics of Nicholas
-

Kjellin, ill. XLIII, p. 274.

34. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Southern Poland. Beginning of the 16th century.

Collection of the National Museum, Kraków. 113.5 x 79
cm.

- | | | |
|---|------|-----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | 5 | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a demoniac | 9 10 | 8 7 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 7. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 8. Sea miracle | | |
| 9. Burial of Nicholas | | |
| 10. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | |
-

Janina Kłosińska, Ikony, (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe, 1973),
pp. 214-5, ill. 42.

Ukrains'kyj sredn'ovičnyj žyvopis, ill. LX-I.

35. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Rostov-Suzdal' region. Beginning of the 16th century.

Collection of the District Museum in Velikij Ustjug. 62

x 52 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 6 | | | 5 |
| | 7 | | | 8 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | 10 | 12 | 11 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | |
| 5. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 7. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 11. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |
| 12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Alpatov, Kraski, ill. 40.

Rozanova, ill. 114-6.

*36. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the former collection of S.P. Rjabušinskij. Beginning of the 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 50 x 39 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 8 | | | | 9 |
| | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Schooling of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents ²¹ | | | | | |
| 15. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Alpatov, Kraski, p. 164, ill. 66-7.²²

Gosudarstvennaja Tret'jakovskaja Galereja, ill. 67.

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. 1, p. 354-5.

Myslivec, p. 57.

37. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Kolomna. Circa 1513. Collection of the State Tret'-
jakov Gallery, Moscow. 138 x 115 cm.

| | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 7 | | | | | 8 |
| 3. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Friday | 10 | | | | | 9 |
| | 11 | | | | | 12 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 14 | | | | | 13 |
| | 16 | | | | | 15 |
| 5. Schooling of Nicholas | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | | |
| 11. Sea miracle | | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | | |
| 13. Kiev miracle | | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | | |
| 17. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | | |
| 18. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | | |
| 19. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | | |
| 20. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | | |
| 21. Death of Nicholas | | | | | | |
| 22. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, pp. 162-4.

38. NICHOLAS BABAEVSKIJ.

From Kostroma. First half of the 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 27 x 22 cm.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Schooling of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | 4 | | 5 |
| 3. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas builds a church of St. Simeon | | | |
| 5. Sea miracle | | | |
| 6. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | |
| 7. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | |
| 8. Death of Nicholas | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, pp. 165-6.

39. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Toržok. First half of the 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 85 x 65 cm.

| | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 7 | | | 5 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 8 | | | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 9 | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 10. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 12. Carpet miracle | | | | |
| 13. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |
| 14. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj Živopisi, vol. II, pp. 178-9.

*40. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Povolž'e region. Middle of the 16th century. Collection of Pavel Korin (now an affiliate of the Tret'jakov Gallery), Moscow. 141 x 112 cm.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 10 | | | | | | | 9 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 11 | | | | | | | 12 |
| | 13 | | | | | | | 14 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 15 | | | | | | | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 17 | | | | | | | 18 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained priest | 19 | | | | | | | 20 |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 22 | | | | | | | 21 |
| 8. Nicholas celebrates mass | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 28 | 30 |
| 9. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | | | | |
| 17. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | | | | | | | |
| 18. Praxis de tribus filiabus ²³ | | | | | | | | |
| 19. Sea miracle | | | | | | | | |
| 20. Sea miracle ²⁴ | | | | | | | | |
| 21. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | | | | |
| 22. Nicholas charms a devil | | | | | | | | |
| 23. Nicholas charms a devil ²⁵ | | | | | | | | |
| 24. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | | | | |
| 25. Nicholas heals a demoniac ²⁶ | | | | | | | | |
| 26. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | | | | |
| 27. An angel fortells Nicholas' death | | | | | | | | |
| 28. Death of Nicholas | | | | | | | | |
| 29. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | | | | |
| 30. Installment of the relics of Nicholas in Bari | | | | | | | | |

*41. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Rostov-Suzdal' region. Middle of the 16th century.

Collection of the Vladimir-Suzdal' Museum of History and Art, Vladimir. 93 x 75 cm.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 6 | | | | 7 |
| | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 3. Baptism of Nicholas | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Schooling of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 11. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 15. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Alpatov, Kraski, ill. 72.

Alpatov, Sokrovišča, ill. 221-2.²⁷

Jamščikov, Sokrovišča Suzdalja, pp. 63,85.

Rozanova, ill. 59-62.

Vagner, ill. X-XII.

*42. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Novgorod region. 1551. Collection of the Andrej

Rublev Museum, Moscow.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 7 | | | | | 8 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 9 | | | | | 10 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained priest | 11 | | | | | 12 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 13 | | | | | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |
| 7. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes | | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | | |
| 15. The pagans throw the merchants off the ship | | | | | | |
| 16. The whale spits out one of the merchants | | | | | | |
| 17. The merchants arrive on the stone in Byzantium | | | | | | |
| 18. Sea miracle | | | | | | |
| 19. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | | |
| 20. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | | |

Alpatov, Drevnerusskaja ikonopis', ill. 184.

Spaso-Andronikov monastyr', ill. 20-1.

43. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the former collection of I.S. Ostroukhov. Middle of the 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 127 x 91 cm.

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 8 | | | | 6 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | | | | 7 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 12 | | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | 13 | | | | 11 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 14 | | | | 15 |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 |
| 8. Nicholas heals a demoniac woman ²⁸ | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | | | | | |

10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison
11. Nicholas saves three men from execution
12. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man
13. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife
14. Nicholas heals a demoniac
15. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
16. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning
17. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma
18. Death of Nicholas
19. Nicholas saves three merchants from drowning
20. The Polovtsian miracle

Antonova, "Moskovskaja ikona...", p. 386.

Igor' Grabar', Istorija russkago iskusstva, vol. VI,
(Moskva: Knebel', 1914), p. 33.²⁹

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol II, pp. 84-5.

N.P. Lixačev, Kratkoe opisanie ikon sobranija P.M. Tret'-
jakova, (Moskva, 1905), p. 23, ill. 28 (after Katalog).

Myslivec, pp. 57, 175.

Evgenij Trubeckoj, Umozrenie v kraskax: Tri očerka o
russkoj ikone, (Paris: YMCA Press, 1965), p. 120.

44. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Moscow region. Middle of the 16th century. Collec-
tion of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 51 x 43 cm.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. An angel saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 2. An angel heals a demoniac | 1 | 2 |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, p. 144.

*45. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the city of Boroviči. 1561. Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 7 | | | | | 13 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 8 | | | | | 14 |
| | 9 | | | | | 15 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 10 | | | | | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas has a vision of the Holy Spirit | 11 | | | | | 17 |
| | 12 | | | | | 18 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | | |
| 8. The Archangel Michael ap- pears to Nicholas | | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas has a vision of the church of the Virgin | | | | | | |
| 10. The First Ecumenical Council | | | | | | |
| 11. Miracle of the three icons | | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves the Patriarch Athanasius from drowning ³⁰ | | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas multiplies bread | | | | | | |
| 14. Praxis de tribus filabus | | | | | | |
| 15. Miracle with stone | | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas gives a child to a childless couple | | | | | | |
| 17. The three generals come before Constantine ³¹ | | | | | | |
| 18. Nicholas and Simeon appear to Peter in prison | | | | | | |
| 19. Kiev miracle | | | | | | |
| 20. Three merchants are thrown overboard and rescued by the stone | | | | | | |
| 21. Punishment of the pagans | | | | | | |
| 22. Angels announce Nicholas' death | | | | | | |
| 23. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | | |
| 24. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | | |

Alpatov, Sokrovišča, ill. 225-6.³²

M.W. Alpatow, "Z problematyki wpływu Zachodu na sztuke Ruska," O sztuce ruskiej i rosyjskiej, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), p. 117 (it is a Polish translation of the article published in *Slavia*, III (1924-5), entitled "K voprosu o zapadnom vlijanii v drevne-russkom iskusstve.").

A.V. Arcixovskij, ed., Očerki ruskoj kul'tury XVI veka, vol. II, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1977), p. 332 and illustration to that page.

Geschichte der Russischen Kunst, vol. III, p. 460.

Grabar', Istorija rusckago iskusstva, vol. VI, p. 300.

Myslivec, pp. 56, 62, 63-4 and passim.

Nekrasov, p. 295.

E.S. Smirnova, "Ikona Nikoly iz Borovičej," SGRM, VII (1961), 25-6.

46. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Tver'. Circa 1560 (1561?). Collection of the Kalinin District Art Gallery. 64 x 40.5 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 9 | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 8. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 13. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |
| 14. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

G.V. Popov and A.V. Ryndina, Živopis' i prikladnoe iskusstvo Tveri XIV-XVI veka, (Moskva: Nauka, 1979), pp. 347-9, 462.

*47. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the village of Kovda, Murmansk district. 16th century.

Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 89 x
69 cm.

| | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 9 | | | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained priest | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to three generals in prison | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 10. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 12. Carpet miracle | | | | |
| 13. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |
| 14. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |

È.S. Smirnova, "Èkspedicii v Karel' skuju ASSR," SGRM, VIII (1964), 130.

È.S. Smirnova, Živopis' Obonež'ja XIV-XVI vv., (Moskva: 1967), pp. 86, 118.

Smirnova, Živopis' drevnej Rusi, ill. 43-4.

48. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS. WINGS
OF A TRIPTYCH (?).

From the former collection of N.P. Lixačev. 16th century.

Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad.

| | | |
|---|---|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 5 | 6 |
| | 7 | 8 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | |
| 6. Nicholas of ordained bishop | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 9. Death of Nicholas | | |
| 10. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | |

Myslivec, p. 57, ill. 21.

*49. NICHOLAS OF VELIKORECKOE.

From Kostroma. Middle of the 16th century. Collection of the Museum of History and Art, Kostroma.

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Schooling of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | 4 | | 5 |
| 3. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas builds the church of St. Simeon | | | |
| 5. Sea miracle | | | |
| 6. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | |
| 7. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | |
| 8. Death of Nicholas | | | |

Maslenitsyn, Kostroma, ill. 32-6.³³

50. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the village of Turundaevo near Vologda. 16th century. Collection of the District Museum of Regional Studies, Vologda. 81.5 x 64.5 cm.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 5. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 11. Sea miracle | | | | |

12. Burial of Nicholas

G.I. Vzdornov, Vologda, (Leningrad: Avrora, 1972), ill. 53-4.

*51. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the former collection of E.E. Egorov. 16th century.
Collection of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad. 128 x
97 cm (?).

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 7 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 3 | | | | 8 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 9 | | | | 12 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 10 | | | | 13 |
| 6. Sea miracle | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 14. Carpet miracle | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 16. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 17. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 18. Miracle with lame Nicholas | | | | | |

Alpatov, Sokrovišča, p. 282, ill. 166.³⁴

Nikodim Pavlovič Kondakov, The Russian Icon, translated
by Ellis H. Minns, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927),
pp. 158-9, ill. XLVIII.³⁵

Myslivec, p. 57.³⁶

A.M. Remizov, Obraz Nikolaja Čudotvorca: Alatyr' -- kamen' russkoj very, (Paris: YMCA Press, 1931), illustration before page 9.

52. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

Provenance unknown. 16th century. Collection of A. Poljakov, Paris. 49 x 73 cm.

| | | | | |
|--|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 6 | | | 8 |
| | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | | | | |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 8. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves John, Methodius' father, from drowning ³⁷ | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 11. Burial of Nicholas | | | | |
| 12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky, The Meaning of Icons, (Boston: Boston Book and Art Shop, 1952), p. 123 and illustration to that page.

Figure 8 NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Galicia. 16th century.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 5 | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | 7 | 8 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 6. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 7. Nicholas saves Christopher from execution | | |
| 8. Burial of Nicholas | | |

Hordynsky, ill. 144.

54. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Southern Poland. 16th century. Collection of the Museum of the Przemyśl Region, Przemyśl. 114 x 93 cm.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | 5 | 6 |
| | 7 | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | |
| 5. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 7. Burial of Nicholas | | |
| 8. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | |

Hordynsky, ill. 21

Państwowe Muzeum Etnograficzne w Warszawie, Ikona w Polsce i jej przeobrażenia: Katalog wystawy, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Artystyczno-Graficzne RSW "Prasa", 1967), ill. III.

*55. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the former collection of D.V. Sirotkin in Nižnij Novgorod. 16th century. Collection of the State Art Museum in Gorkij. 138 x 98 cm.

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas is consecrated bishop | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | 10 | | | | 11 |
| | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |

6. The pagans throw the merchants off the ship
7. The whale spits out one of the merchants
8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream
9. Nicholas leads the three generals out of prison
10. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes
11. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
12. Sea miracle
13. Nicholas saves three men from execution³⁸
14. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning
15. Death of Nicholas
16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas

Rozanova, ill. 92-8, and introduction (n.p.).³⁹

56. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS (WINGS OF
A TRIPTYCH).

From Novgorod region (?). 16th century. Collection of
the Andrej Rublev Museum, Moscow. 152.5 x 56 cm.

- | | | |
|--|---|----|
| 1. Nicholas is consecrated deacon | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Nicholas is consecrated bishop | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Sea miracle | 5 | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | 7 | 8 |
| | 9 | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 6. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | |
| 7. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | |
| 8. Miracle with three merchants | | |
| 9. Burial of Nicholas | | |
| 10. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | |

Ivanova, ill. 73-4.

*57. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the village of Liskowate, Poland. Second half of the 16th century.

| | | |
|---|----|------------|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained priest | 5 | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 7 | 8 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 13 | 12 11 10 9 |
| 6. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 7. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | |
| 8. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 10. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | |
| 11. Nicholas gives the carpet to the old man's wife | | |
| 12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | |
| 13. Burial of Nicholas | | |

Ukrains'kyj sredn'ovičnyj žyvopis, ill. XCV-VI.

58. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the village of Dubová. End of the 16th century.

Collection of the Museum for the Šariš District, Bardejov.

138 x 105 cm.

| | | |
|---|----|-------|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 4 | 3 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 5 | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | 10 | 9 8 7 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 7. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 9. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | |
| 10. Burial of Nicholas | | |

Heinz Skrobucha, Icons in Czechoslovakia, (London, New York, Sydney and Toronto: Hamlyn, 1971), ill. 21-2.⁴⁰

59. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Prikra. End of the 16th--beginning of the 17th century. 120 x 100 cm.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 5 | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | 7 | 8 |
| 5. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 6. Nicholas saves Christopher from execution | | |
| 7. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | |
| 8. Burial of Nicholas | | |

Skrobucha, ill. 26.

60. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Presov region. End of the 16th century. Collection of the Museum for the Šariš District, Bardejov. 134 x 99 cm.

| | | |
|---|----|-------|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 5 | 6 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a demoniac | 10 | 9 8 7 |
| 5. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 6. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 8. Sea miracle | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves Christopher from execution | | |
| 10. Burial of Nicholas | | |

Hordynsky, ill. 81.

Skrobucha, ill. 25.

61. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Grottaferrata, Italy. End of the 16th century.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 8 | | | | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 5. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 6. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife | | | | | |
| 15. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |

Munoz, L'art byzantin a l'exposition de Grottaferrata,
(Rome, 1906), ill. 36 (after Myslivec).

Myslivec, p. 57, ill. 20.

A.S. Uvarov, "Obrazcy vizantijskogo i russkogo ikonopisani-
ja," Sbornik melkix trudov, vol. I, (Moskva, 1910)
(after Myslivec).

62. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Moscow. End of the 16th century. Collection of the
State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 65 x 75 cm.

- | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|
| 1. | Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. | Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 4 | 5 | |
| | | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 3. | Schooling of Nicholas | | | |
| 4. | Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | |
| 5. | Sea miracle | | | |
| 6. | Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | |
| 7. | Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | |
| 8. | Burial of Nicholas | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, p. 58.

63. NICHOLAS BABAIEVSKIJ.

From Kostroma. End of the 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 33 x 27 cm.

- | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Schooling of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. | Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 4 | 5 | |
| | | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 3. | Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | |
| 4. | Nicholas builds the church of St. Simeon | | | |
| 5. | Sea miracle | | | |
| 6. | Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | |
| 7. | Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | |
| 8. | Burial of Nicholas | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, p. 169.

64. NICHOLAS BABAIEVSKIJ.

From Kostroma. End of the 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 57 x 46 cm.

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. Schooling of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 4 | 5 | |
| 3. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 4. Nicholas builds the church of St. Simeon | | | |
| 5. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | |
| 6. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | |
| 7. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | |
| 8. Burial of Nicholas | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, p. 169.

65. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Novgorod region. 16th century. Michael Lanza
Collection.

| | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 9 | | | | 8 |
| | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 12 | | | | 13 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 9. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 12. Carpet miracle | | | | | |
| 13. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 15. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 17. Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 18. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

don and New York: The Studio, 1946), p. 118.

Myslivec, pp. 57, 175.

66. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From Zarajsk (?) 16th century. Church of St. Nicholas
in Zarajsk.

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 8 | | | | 9 |
| | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 7. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | | |
| 13. Carpet miracle | | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 15. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

V. Izergin, "Otčet ob otkrytii i dejatel'nosti Rjazanskoj učenoj arxivnoj komissii v 1884 godu," Vestnik arxeologii i istorii izdavaemyj Sankt-Peterburgskim Arxeologičeskim Institutom, II (1885), pp. 80-1, and appendix.

Myslivec, p. 56.

A. Voznesenskij and F. Gusev, Žitie i čudesu sv. Nikolaja Čudotvorca i slava ego v Rossii, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1899), pp. 215, 256, ill. 13.

67. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER. A TRIPTYCH.

From Novgorod region. Circa 1600.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 3 | 5 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 4 | 7 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas ⁴¹ | 6 | |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | |
| 6. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 7. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | |

Bunt, p. 121.

*68. BIRTH OF NICHOLAS WITH THE MIRACLES PERFORMED
IN HIS YOUTH.

Author: Semen (Semejko) Borozdin. 1601. Collection of
the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 36 x 30 cm.

| | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Nicholas refuses to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays | 3 | 4 5 |
| 3. Nicholas stands upright in the bathtub | | |
| 4. Baptism of Nicholas | | |
| 5. Schooling of Nicholas | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, p. 306, ill. 104.⁴²

Onasch, Icons, ill. 130.

Onasch, Russian Icons, ill. 40.

69. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the village of Binczarowa, Poland. 17th century.

Collection of the Museum of Nowy Sącz. 105 x 70 cm.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 2. Sea miracle | 1 | 2 |

A postcard issued by "RUCH" in the series "Ikony polskie"
(Polish Icons), n.d., n.p.

70. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF NICHOLAS. WINGS OF A
TRIPTYCH (?).

From Moscow region (?). First half of the 17th century.

Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 30 x
13 cm. each panel.

- | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 7 | 8 | 5 | 6 |
| 3. Mother tells Nicholas about the advantages of learning ⁴³ | 11 | 12 | 9 | 10 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 15 | 16 | 13 | 14 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 10. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | | | |
| 11. Kiev miracle | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 13. Miracle with three merchants | | | | |
| 14. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 15. Death of Nicholas | | | | |
| 16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, p. 272 (cf. No. 71).

71. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS. (WINGS OF
A TRIPTYCH).

Collection? 17th century. 48.5 x 16 cm. each panel.

1. Birth of Nicholas
2. Baptism of Nicholas
3. Nicholas heals a woman with
a withered arm
4. Schooling of Nicholas
5. Nicholas is ordained deacon
6. Nicholas is ordained priest
7. Nicholas is ordained bishop
8. Nicholas heals a demoniac
9. Miracle with three merchants
10. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream
11. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison
12. Nicholas saves three men from execution
13. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
14. Angels announce Nicholas' death
15. Death of Nicholas
16. Translation of the relics of Nicholas

Russian Works of Art: June 10 and 11th, 1981: Catalogue
of Public Auction, (New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet,
Inc., 1981), No. 484.44

72. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER

From the former collection of S.P. Rjabušinskij. 17th cen-
tury.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 7 | | | 8 |
| | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | | | | |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is consecrated bishop | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |

10. Nicholas heals a demoniac
11. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
12. Angels announce Nicholas' death

Myslivec, p. 57, ill. 30.

73. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER. A VEIL (PELENA).⁴⁵

From Moscow region. Middle of the 17th century. Collection of the Zagorsk Museum, Zagorsk. 97 x 83 cm.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---------------|
| 1. Gregory the Theologian | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Schooling of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream | 7 | | | 8 |
| | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 4. Mary Magdalene | | | | |
| 5. Nicholas builds the church of St. Simeon | | | | ⁴⁶ |
| 6. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 8. Sea miracle | | | | |
| 9. Alexius the God's Man | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 11. Death of Nicholas | | | | |
| 12. Kiev miracle ⁴⁷ | | | | |

N.N. Voronin and V.V. Kostockin, ed., Troice-Sergieva Lavra: Xudožestvennye pamjatniki, (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1968), pp. 138-9, ill. 170.

74. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER. A VEIL (PELENA).⁴⁸

Second half of the 17th century. From the former collection of A.S. Uvarov. Collection of the State Historical Museum, Leningrad. 59.5 x 50.5 cm.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|----|----|----|
| 1. | Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. | Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. | Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. | Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 5. | Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | |
| 6. | Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | |
| 7. | Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | |
| 8. | Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 9. | Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 10. | Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 11. | Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |
| 12. | Death of Nicholas | | | | |

N.A. Majasova, Drevnerusskoe šit'e, (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1971), ill. 56.

75. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From the village of Bilcarewa near Grybów, Poland. 17th century. Collection of the Museum of Nowy Sącz. 105 x 70 cm.

| | | | | |
|-----|--|----|----|------|
| 1. | Birth of Nicholas | 1 | | 2 |
| 2. | Nicholas is ordained bishop | 3 | | 4 |
| 3. | Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | 5 | | 6 |
| 4. | Nicholas heals a demoniac | 7 | | 8 |
| 5. | Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | 12 | 11 | 10 9 |
| 6. | Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | |
| 7. | Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | |
| 8. | Sea miracle | | | |
| 9. | Nicholas saves Christopher from execution | | | |
| 10. | Carpet miracle | | | |
| 11. | Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | |
| 12. | Burial of Nicholas | | | |

Hordynsky, ill. 24.

*76. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

End of the 17th century.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. | Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. | Baptism of Nicholas | 6 | | | | 7 |
| 3. | Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 8 | | | | 9 |
| | | 10 | | | | 11 |
| 4. | Schooling of Nicholas | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 5. | Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | | |
| 6. | Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 7. | Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | | |
| 8. | Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 9. | Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 10. | Thauma de Petro Scholario | | | | | |
| 11. | Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 12. | Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma | | | | | |
| 13. | Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |
| 14. | Angels announce Nicholas' death | | | | | |
| 15. | Burial of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 16. | Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | | |

Adriaan D. de Groot, Saint Nicholas: A Psychoanalytic Study of His History and Myth, (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1965), ill. 3.

77. NICHOLAS OF ZARAJSK.

From the former collection of the Museum of the Emperor Alexander III. 17th century (?).

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. | Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 2. | Baptism of Nicholas | 8 | | | | | | 9 |
| 3. | Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 10 | | | | | | 11 |
| | | 12 | | | | | | 13 |
| 4. | Schooling of Nicholas | 14 | | | | | | 15 |
| 5. | Nicholas is ordained deacon | 16 | | | | | | 17 |
| 6. | Nicholas is ordained priest | 18 | | | | | | 19 |
| 7. | Nicholas is ordained bishop | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| 8. | Unidentified scene | | | | | | | |
| 9. | Unidentified scene | | | | | | | |

10. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream
11. Nicholas appears to Ablabius in a dream
12. Nicholas saves three men from execution
13. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison
14. Sea miracle
15. Unidentified scene
16. Nicholas takes Basil away from the Saracenes
17. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
18. Nicholas buys the carpet from the old man
19. Nicholas returns the carpet to the old man's wife
20. The pagans throw the merchants off the ship
21. The whale spits out one of the merchants
22. The merchants arrive in Byzantium
23. The Polovtsian miracle
24. The Polovtsian miracle
25. Death of Nicholas
26. Translation of the relics of Nicholas

Myslivec, pp. 57, 176.

Žitie i čudesá sv. Nikolaja čudotvorca, p. 213, ill. 16.

78. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

From Šemetkovce. End of the 17th century. Collection of the Slovak National Gallery, Bratislava. 140 x 125 cm.

| | | |
|---|---|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 7 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 2 | 8 |
| 3. Schooling of Nicholas | 3 | 9 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a blind woman | 4 | 10 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 5 | 11 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | 6 | 12 |
| 7. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | |
| 9. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | |
| 10. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | |
| 11. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | |
| 12. Nicholas heals a demoniac | | |

13. Nicholas saves three men from execution
14. Nicholas appears to Constantine, Ablabius and the three generals in prison
15. The three generals come before Constantine
16. Sea miracle
17. Angels announce Nicholas' death
18. Death of Nicholas
19. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
20. Nicholas saves Christopher from execution
21. Saracene miracle
22. Unidentified scene
23. Nicholas appears to Theophanes in a dream
24. Fest at home of Theophanes
25. Nicholas saves the Patriarch from drowning
26. Nicholas and Symeon appear to Peter in prison
27. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning
28. Kiev miracle
29. Nicholas appears to Stephen in a dream
30. Nicholas heals Stephen of blindness
31. Three merchants miracle (?)
32. Unidentified sea miracle (Thauma de Artemide?)
33. Carpet miracle
34. Monastery miracle⁴⁹

S.I. Maslenicyn, Jaroslavskaja ikonopis', (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1973), ill. 57-8.

M.A. Nekrasova, Palexskaja miniatjura, (Leningrad: Xudožnik RSFSR, 1978), p. 71.

Onasch, Icons, p. 405.

I.N. Voejkova and V.P. Mitrofanov, Jaroslavl', (Leningrad: Avropa, 1973), p. 143, ill. 110-1.

81. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.

First half of the 18th century. 74.8 x 64.8 cm. Private collection, Berlin.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman | 7 | | | 8 |
| with a withered arm | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |

4. Schooling of Nicholas
5. Nicholas is ordained priest
6. Praxis de tribus filiabus
7. Nicholas saves three men from execution
8. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream
9. Nicholas saves the Patriarch from drowning
10. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
11. Death of Nicholas
12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas

Thea Joksch, Ikonen einer Berliner Privatsammlung, (Berlin, 1978), ill. 75.

*82. AKATHISTOS TO ST. NICHOLAS.

From Palex. Middle of the 18th century. Collection of the State Museum of Palex Art, Palex. 123 x 88 cm.

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Let every creature praise the Lord | 2 | 3 | | 4 | 5 |
| | 6 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 9 |
| 2. Birth of Nicholas | 10 | 11 | | 12 | 13 |
| 3. Baptism of Nicholas | 14 | 15 | | 16 | 17 |
| 4. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 18 | 19 | | 20 | 21 |
| | 22 | 23 | 38 | 24 | 25 |
| 5. Schooling of Nicholas | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained deacon | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 |
| 7. Nicholas is ordained priest | | | | 37 | 38 |
| 8. Praxis de tribus filiabus | | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas sails to Jerusalem | | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas resurrects Ammonios | | | | | |
| 11. Nicholas heals the sick and the doors of the church open before Nicholas | | | | | |
| 12. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | | |
| 13. Nicholas is imprisoned | | | | | |
| 14. First Ecumenical Council | | | | | |
| 15. The grainship miracle | | | | | |
| 16. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | | |
| 17. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison | | | | | |
| 18. Sea miracle | | | | | |
| 19. Angels announce Nicholas' death | | | | | |
| 20. Death of Nicholas | | | | | |
| 21. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | | |

22. Nicholas saves Christopher from execution (?)
23. Saracene miracle
24. The Patriarch visits Theophanes
25. Nicholas saves the Patriarch from drowning
26. Nicholas brings Peter to the Pope (?)
27. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning
28. Kiev miracle
29. Polovtsian miracle
30. Nicholas heals a demoniac
31. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma
32. Unidentified scene (Thauma de Tribus Christianis?)
33. Miracle with Epiphanius (?)
34. Unidentified scene (Thauma de Artemide?)
35. Miracle with the monastery
36. Carpet miracle
37. Miracle with the lame Nicholas
38. Translation of the relics of Nicholas⁵⁰

Nekrasova, pp. 49-59, 64.

N.M. Zinov'ev, Iskusstvo Palexa, 2nd edn., (Leningrad: Xudožnik RSFSR, 1974), p. 37.

83. ST. NICHOLAS AND THE VIRGIN APPEAR TO THE SEXTON
JURYŠ.

From the village of Astaf'evo, Kargopol' district. 18th century. Collection of the Museum of Regional Studies, Kargopol'. 89 x 55 cm.

Jamščikov, Drevnerusskaja živopis', ill. 50.
Reformatskaja, pp. 20-1.

84. NICHOLAS THE WONDERWORKER.
19th century. 51 x 45.7 cm.

| | | | | |
|--|---|----|----|----|
| 1. Birth of Nicholas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Baptism of Nicholas | 5 | | | 6 |
| 3. Nicholas heals a woman with a withered arm | 7 | | | 8 |
| 4. Schooling of Nicholas | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 5. Nicholas is ordained deacon | | | | |
| 6. Nicholas is ordained bishop | | | | |
| 7. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream | | | | |
| 8. Nicholas saves three men from execution | | | | |
| 9. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning | | | | |
| 10. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents | | | | |
| 11. Death of Nicholas | | | | |
| 12. Translation of the relics of Nicholas | | | | |

Russian Works of Art: February 29 and March 1, 1980:
Catalogue of Public Auction, (New York: Sotheby
 Parke Bennet, Inc., 1980), No. 511.

Part Two

I. TWO SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon with 14 scenes, Jaroslavl'.
15th--16th century. Collection of the Museum in Jaroslavl'.

1. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
2. Nicholas heals a demoniac

Farbman, ill. XXXVIII.

Kjellin, ill. 161.

II. TWO SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon with 18 scenes in Stockholm.
16th--17th century. Collection of the National Museum
in Stockholm.

1. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison
2. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning

Kjellin, ill. 162-3.

*III. ONE SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon from the village of Boriskovo
in Rjazan' District. Collection of the Rjazan' District
Museum of Art. 16th century.

1. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma
-

Jamščikov, Drevnerusskaja živopis', ill. 40.

IV. THREE SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon in Recklinghausen. 16th century. Collection of the Museum of Icons, Recklinghausen.

1. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison
 2. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
 3. Sea miracle
-

Adriaan D. de Groot, ill. 15.

Rise of Russia, p. 112.

Tschizewskij, ill. VI, IX, XI.

V. EIGHT SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon with 22 scenes from the Pečerskij Monastery in Pskov. End of the 16th--beginning of the 17th century.

1. The Virgin appears to Nicholas in a dream
2. Nicholas heals a demoniac
3. Nicholas fells the cypress of Plakoma
4. Nicholas appears to the three generals in prison
5. Theophanes hosts the Patriarch
6. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
7. Kiev miracle
8. Miracle with three merchants

Myslivec, p. 57 and passim, ill. 22-9.

VI. ONE SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon of Nicholas of Možajsk from the village of Tipinicy, Karelian ASSR. 1667. Collection of the Karelian Museum of Fine Arts, Petrozavodsk.

1. Nicholas saves the Patriarch from drowning

E.S. Smirnova and S.V. Jamščikov, Old Russian Painting: Latest Discoveries: Obonezhye Painting 14th-18th Centuries, (Leningrad: Aurora, 1974), ill. 39.

VII. ONE SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon from the village of Padanskiy Pogost, Karelian ASSR. 18th century. Collection of the Karelian Museum of Fine Arts, Petrozavodsk.

1. Schooling of Nicholas

Old Russian Painting, ill. 56.

VIII. ONE SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon from the village of Novinka, Karelian ASSR. 18th century. Collection of the Karelian

Museum of Fine Arts, Petrozavodsk.

1. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents
-

Old Russian Painting, ill. 54.

IX TWO SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

From a hagiographical icon with 11 scenes from the Monastery of Boris and Gleb near Rostov Velikij. 16th century. Collection of the State Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow. 157 x 108 cm.

1. Nicholas returns Basil to his parents (?)
 2. Sea miracle
-

Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi, vol. II, pp. 53-4.

*X. ONE SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS. A
PLAQUE.

19th century. Collection of the Museum of Icons, Recklinghausen. 15.5 x 13.5 cm.

1. Nicholas destroys the temple of Artemis.
-

Tschizewskij, ill. XVI.

XI. ST. NICHOLAS IS ORDAINED DEACON.

Second half of the 16th century.

Fritz Nemitz, Die Kunst Russlands: Baukunst, Malerei, Plastik (Berlin: Hans von Hugo Verlag, 1940), ill. 41.

XII. THREE SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

A WING OF A TRIPTYCH.

From the former collection of S.P. Rjabušinskij. Second half of the 16th century.

1. Nicholas is consecrated deacon
 2. Nicholas appears to Constantine in a dream
 3. Nicholas saves Demetrios from drowning
-

Grabar', Istorija russkago iskusstva, vol. VI, p. 350.

Myslivec, p. 57.

NotesCatalogue

1. In several instances the only reference to the provenance of the icon is the name of its former owner (for example: from the former collection of E.E. Egorov). When the exact place of the icon's origin (village, city) is not known, a region is given. In cases when the author's name is established, the place of the origin is not indicated.
2. The notes present the sources used by the author, thus they do not attempt to be exhaustive. Where more information was thought to be necessary, additional sources are given, always with a statement where this information was found. After the first full bibliographical reference, all the works written or edited by one author are referred to by his last name. When several works by one author are quoted, a short title is added to the author's name. Only the works written by more than one author are indicated by their titles.
3. This is a variation of the Sea miracle scene. It will be discussed fully in Chapter VII.
4. Maslenitsyn commits an error in calling the scene of the appearance of Nicholas to Constantine "The Appearance of St. Nicholas to the Eparch Eulavius: (p. 38). Note also Maslenitsyn's rendering of the Russian Evlavij as Eulavius, while the correct Latin form of the name is Ablabius.
5. This title indicates that in one scene the painter depicted both episodes of the miracle: the buying and the returning of the carpet.
6. The icon is still in restoration and the over-paintings make it difficult to determine the subject of this scene. On the right side a standing figure of the saint, and on the left a group of people, are distinguishable.
7. The bottom part of the last scene is destroyed. The preserved part shows a church and an icon of St. Nicholas on its wall (i.e., the action of the scene takes place inside the church, in front of the icon). The scene probably depicted either the Kiev miracle or the miracle of healing a lame man.

8. The scene should probably be entitled the Baptism of Nicholas. See icon No. 68 of this Catalogue, and note 42.
9. It is a variation of the scene depicting the appearance of Nicholas to three men in prison. For a more detailed discussion see Chapter VII.
10. See note 9.
11. The analysis of the headdress of the figure depicted on this badly damaged scene led the authors of the Katalog drevnerusskoj Živopisi (pp. 217-8) to the conclusion that the scene represented a miracle with a maiden. Most probably it is a miracle of healing a demoniac woman.
12. This title denotes the miracle of giving a dowry to the three daughters of an impoverished man.
13. Antonova erroneously calls the icon a Northern work of the first half of the 16th century. See also Katalog, where the error is corrected.
14. On page 33 Rice writes: "The scenes show . . . an event which is difficult to identify but may well show him being received into the church . . . buying a piece of stuff from a Tyrian merchant; below, he gives the piece of stuff to a poor woman . . . he saves Basil's son Agricul from the Saracens . . ." Rice does not know the texts of the vitae of St. Nicholas and bases her description of the icon on the description given by Ellis H. Minns (see note 35). Thus instead of the carpet we have the piece of stuff, instead of the old man we see a Tyrian merchant, Agrik is called Agricul (!) and Basil is made to be his father. To paraphrase one of the first scholars of St. Nicholas, this description, coming from a respectable art historian, gives only densa nubes errorum.
15. The scheme of the scenes is only presupposed (Jamscikov does not give a scheme). Several scenes, among them the Kiev miracle, are almost totally destroyed.
16. Alpatov incorrectly attributes this illustration to an icon from the State Russian Museum in Leningrad (see No. 51 of this Catalogue).

17. The scene can also be interpreted as the saving of Cristopher from execution. A similar composition, with a figure of an old, white-bearded man bending down to be executed, can be seen on icon No. 21 of this Catalogue.
18. The author of the iconographical note (p. 116) writes that the icon depicts the following events from the life of St. Nicholas: "his baptism . . . his ordination as a deacon, his healing of a sick man . . . his commanding Constantine to release three prefects . . . his saving the life of a drowning man . . ." In reality the scene described as baptism presents his refusal to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays; the scene called ordination as deacon shows his ordination as bishop; the scene named healing of a sick man is his appearance to Constantine in a dream; the scene of commanding Constantine to release three prefects is Praxis de tribus filiabus; and the scene referred to as saving the life of a drowning man depicts a sea miracle. Note also that Agrik is called Agricus.
19. This is an example of a repetition of the same scene in one icon. A similar repetition can be observed on icon No. 40 of this Catalogue (scenes 17 and 18, 19 and 20).
20. The George R. Hann Collection was recently sold at an auction and the present owner is not known.
21. I do not have a picture of this scene, thus my attributing it to the second episode in the Basil miracle is based exclusively on the fact that this second episode (the return of Basil) is more frequently depicted on icons than the first.
22. Alpatov attributes these two illustrations to the icon from Kolomna (see No. 37 of this Catalogue). Compare with illustration 67 in Gosudarstvennaja Tret'jakovskaja Galereja, and with the description of the icon in the catalogue at the end of that work.
23. Antonova calls scenes 17 and 18 "The secret alms of Nicholas" (Tajnaaja milostynja Nikoly).
24. The poor quality of the reproduction prevents me from confirming or rejecting Antonova's identification of the scene.

25. The scenes 22-23 probably illustrate a story from the apocryphal vita of Nicholas. For more details see Chapter VII (scene Nicholas charms a devil).
26. This scene may represent the miracle with the liberated servant boy. If such an identification is correct, the next scene is a continuation of this miracle. For details see Chapter VII, Thauma de servo liberato.
27. The negative of illustration 221 was placed on the wrong side, thus Nicholas appears on the right, and the demoniac on the left. Compare to Rozanova, ill. 59.
28. The scene is difficult to interpret. The woman lies on the bed and a strange creature (resembling a black dog) stalks behind (or above) the bed.
29. Grabar' thinks that the icon comes from the Novgorod region.
30. It is possible that the scene represents the saving of Demetrios from drowning. The figure rescued by Nicholas does not seem to wear the robes and headdress of the patriarch, and the composition of the scene resembles many scenes of the saving of Demetrios. Therefore, it will be discussed among the Demetrios scenes.
31. The scene probably depicts Constantine giving the three generals gifts to be delivered to St. Nicholas.
32. Alpatov entitles illustration 225 "The vision of the Patriarch Athanasius", while it is the Kiev miracle; and illustration 226 "Nicholas and the ore-diggers", while it is the miracle with the stone.
33. Maslenitsyn entitles this scene "St. Nicholas Appearing to Stephen (?)". See Chapter IV for an explanation of my title (esp. note 31).
34. Although Alpatov confuses this icon with icon No. 21 of this Catalogue (see note 16), he gives its dimensions as 128 x 97 cm. Since icon No. 21 measures 103 x 70 cm, I accept the dimensions given by Alpatov for our icon.

35. The description given by Ellis H. Minns (p. 158) to the scene of the carpet miracle reads: "(Nicholas -- A.B.) buys a piece of stuff from a Tyrian and gives it to a poor woman (?) . . ." On the next page Minns explains: "I cannot find the story of the Tyrian nor quite read the inscription." The reasons for this difficulty could have been as follows: In the beginning the inscription had a word "starca" in it. In the course of the centuries, the paint on the icon deteriorated, and the word "starca" began to look like "tirca". Another possible explanation is that the author of the icon copied his inscriptions from some damaged icon, and understood the word "starca" as "tirca". Cf. Chapter VII, note 91 and 92.
36. Myslivec maintains that the icon has 17 scenes.
37. This is probably the scene of saving Demetrios or the Patriarch from drowning. The story of Methodius' patrician father, John, and his miraculous saving by Nicholas, was not known in Russia and could not have been represented on icons.
38. The scene could easily pass as the illustration of the saving of Christopher.
39. In the introduction to her book, Rozanova gives a very inaccurate description of scene 7, in which she assumes that the artist from the mercantile town of Niznij Novgorod purposely depicted the rescued merchants with their possessions (ne lisil ix imuscestva), and showed one of them carrying a sack. If Rozanova knew the story, she would remember that the sack was found in the whale and contained gold.
40. Skrobucha misinterprets the scene 4 (in his description 3) and calls it "He (Nicholas -- A.B.) gives gold to his poor father." Later, he adds: "The motif of charity (scene 3) is much simplified here by the confrontation of the father with the saint, who hands his father the purse of gold." Skorbucha has probably in mind Praxis de tribus filiabus, but the description gives an impression that Nicholas performs his charitable deed on his own father. I believe that this was caused by the translation of the German "der Vater" by "his father." In reality, however, the scene shows Nicholas buying the carpet from the old man.

41. Scenes 3 and 4 occupy the space provided for one scene only.
42. The authors of the Katalog call two of those five scenes Bringing of Nicholas to the church (Prinesenie vo xram) and Upbringing of Nicholas (Vospitanie). In reality the scenes depict the Baptism of Nicholas and his refusal to take milk on Wednesdays and Fridays.
43. This is possibly a scene of healing a woman with a withered arm.
44. As can be seen from the diagram, the wings of this triptych were attached together with no regard to the chronology of the events. Compare with No. 70.
45. Embroidered veils like this one were often used as procession icons (vynosnye ikony). They were undoubtedly based on some famous icons of the saint, therefore they are included in this Catalogue.
46. It may be a scene of Nicholas celebrating mass.
47. It may be a scene of Nicholas giving a child to a childless couple, but the Kiev miracle seems more probable.
48. See note 45.
49. The icon of Xolmogorec was never published with all the necessary details and enlargements. The pictures which this author had did not allow him to identify all of the scenes; thus some identifications are only hypothetical.
50. See note 49.