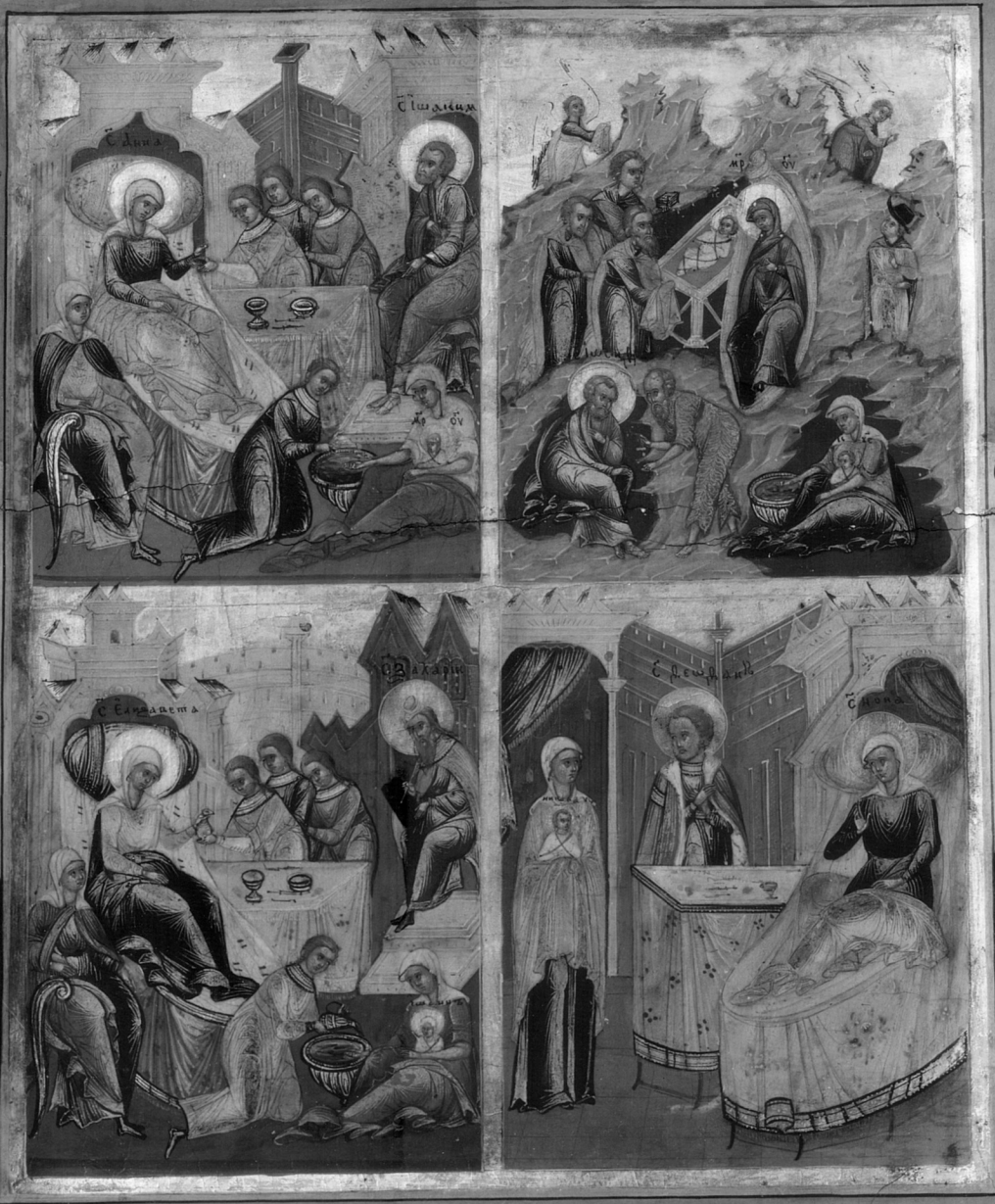


ЖИВІ ПЕРЦІ КИЇ

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ЖИВІО СІЛХЕ ІОАНИНА ПРДО ЖИВІО СІЛХЕ НИКОЛА ЧЮДО

B+/B

THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON ART MUSEUM'S
RUSSIAN QUADRIpartite ICON OF
THE FOUR HOLY NATIVITIES



Elizabeth Ratcliffe
Bibliography & Methods
Art History 507
Mrs. Sobre
Fall 1971

THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON ART MUSEUM'S
RUSSIAN QUADRIPARTITE ICON OF
THE FOUR HOLY NATIVITIES

*Where is it?
What museum?
What records?
Spaces!*

The Russian Quadripartite Icon of the Four Nativities is described by museum records as an 18th century representative from a branch of the Moscow School known as Paliekoff. It is painted in tempera on a $9 \times 10 \frac{1}{2} \times 1$ -inch wood panel, and listed as being in only fair condition when purchased from Bretano's in 1935 (several cracks across the center and a few scratches on the edges). Slavonic writing along the outer border identify the four holy births as those of the Virgin, Christ, St. John the Forerunner, and St. Nicholas the Miracleworker.¹ The back of the wooden panel is neither hollowed out nor wedged as tradition would dictate, but the panel, being small, would not be likely to warp, and icons made at such late dates departed from many of the traditional ways.

*by
in
written?*

The four scenes are very slightly sunken into the center of the panel and separated from each other by a very narrow gold line which forms, appropriately, a Latin cross. Around the outside of the scenes is a very narrow red line separating them from the wider $1 \frac{1}{2}$ -inch brown ochre border edged with a narrow dull-green, and another red, line. It is in this ochre area that the carefully written, ^{Slavonic} legends are fitted in red ink above and below their particular scenes. Within the scenes each of the parents and babies ^ais designated by a halo which carry in minute black ink their names. Names are also printed above the halos of the two saints standing midway down the ochre border, St. Peter on the left, St. Elisabeth on the right. Museum records tell us that

exact source?

they were probably the patron saints of the donor. Both are elongated and emerge gracefully slim from their pinkish backgrounds superimposed upon the ochre border. Since they are the largest figures on the panel, their faces and hands are the most individualized by careful detailing. Gold paint delineates not only the Latin cross scene-divider, the halos, and the hems of the bedspreads in three of the scenes, but appears in all four scenes as the uppermost regions of the heavens. These bright touches of gold enliven what would otherwise be a rather low-keyed collection of warm earth tones.

ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR SCENES

Looking at the central scenes what strikes one perhaps first is the stencil-like similarities of the first and third. Except for minor changes in color of figures and architectural settings, repetitions are exact everywhere with the exceptions only of the right hand corners where sit the two old men. Old Joachim sits under his architectural roof simply looking interested. Old Zacharias, wearing the hat of a Jewish priest, sits with his tablet on his knee ready to write. In these two scenes of the Birth of the Virgin and the Birth of St. John, the architectural backgrounds vary in perspective arrangement, in shifts of lavender, green and pink color, in the finial ornamentation marking the midpoints of the background walls, and in the shapes of either turkish or horse-shoe wall openings. The duplicated stock furniture and figures also vary in color so that Anna wears a red robe and blue dress, while Elisabeth wears a blue robe and red dress; their twinned companions are dressed in dark blue for the first scene, purple and red for the second. Faces and hands, again excepting the two old men, are exactly duplicated so that except for the two fathers, one could easily pass for the other iconographically.

The scene of the Birth of Christ is located in a rocky mountain

but what is your order?
I don't know
you're first
you're second
them!
This paragraph would be clearer if you began with an description.

landscape, delineated by multiple overlapping concave platelets, traditional from early times for this scene yet here the sharp corners of the forms are highlighted with white giving a flickering effect; the several narrative scenes are tied together by the greenish brown mountain color which is echoed in every scene's muted tones. Three spots of subdued red stand out from the low-keyed ochre, brown and green, scattered around the scenes in the garments of the three kings at the right, the surprised strangely-capped shepherd at the left and the angel poised above him. The three most important groups--the Virgin and child, Joseph and the furry-suited old man, and the midwife bathing the child--are set off by the three jagged yawning dark-brown caves behind them. The Christ Child lies tightly swaddled in a crib set in the center cave, before which the Virgin dominates all in her vertical mandorla-like grey-brown cloak. She is the only new mother in the four scenes not placed horizontally on the traditional upward-tilted bed, and her mandorla-like positioning reminds us that she is to become the Queen of Heaven as a result of this miraculous birth.

The scene of the Birth of Saint Nicholas is set indoors and though the stencil-like silhouettes of buildings, arched openings and furniture are reminiscent of the two lefthand scenes, the stage they delineate here is quite different, and not nearly so cluttered. Only four figures are presented--reclining nimbed mother at the far left, standing nimbed old man in the center, and at the right a standing woman holding a nimbed baby. Little or no action or inter-relationship is apparent between the figures which might tie them together.

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE FOUR SCENES

The four scenes share not only "miraculous births" but also the larger miracle of God's fulfilling His prophesies of the Old Testament in the New, and, in St. Nicholas, continuing to manifest miracles through His holy saints born to carry the Church forward. Anna and Joachim were

barren and too old to have a child, yet the Lord gave them one; Anna's child, the Virgin Mary, conceived her Holy Child through the Holy Spirit rather than through human intercourse; Elisabeth, the barren wife of Zacharias, conceived though according to the laws of nature she was too old; Nicholas, though conceived and born in the usual manner, performed miracles from the moment of his birth.

making files
The story of the nativity of the Virgin comes not from the Bible but from the Apocryphal New Testament Book of James, or Protevangelium, written in the 2nd century A.D. and consigned by later Church Fathers to a place outside the New Testament canonical books. Throughout Christian art, except for Christ himself, no holy person was so much portrayed in art as the Virgin, and the story of her birth holds a special place in the Early Church's aims of connecting the sacred Jewish books of the Old Testament with those of the Christian New Testament, for both Joachim and Anna were of the royal house of David which, of course, makes the Virgin also of that lineage.²

another window
The story of the nativity of Christ, found in both the Gospels of St. Luke and St. Matthew, is embroidered with folk legend details in the Protevangelium. In the Gospel books great stress is laid on the fact that Joseph also was of the house of David, Matthew devoting his first seventeen verses to a laborious genealogical tieup. In both books, also, stress is laid on the facts that: Mary was with child by the Holy Spirit, the Holy Child had been foretold by Isaiah³, the birth had taken place in the countryside, angels had appeared to shepherds and wisemen who then had come to worship Him. ~~Derived from Protevangelium folk legends~~
These details are represented in our scene.
the scenes of Joseph, and of the midwife, as well as the ubiquitous looming cave, here are treated as equally important.⁵ The scene at the lower left, of the nimbused Joseph talking with the strangely-garbed old man, occurs

? | often in icon representations of Christ's nativity and has been variously interpreted as representing mixtures of Joseph's dream mentioned in Matthew⁶, as Thyrsis appearing to inform Joseph that the birth has taken place⁷, as Isiah informing Joseph of the connection between the holy birth and the Old Testament tree of Jesse, or as the devil testing Joseph's none-too-strong faith in Mary's virginity.⁸ Representations of the open cave as the place of Christ's birth were replaced in Medieval Western painting by the stable during the 12th and 13th centuries. However, in the Eastern icons, the precedent seems to have been so well established from the beginning that the cave persists until the demise of icon painting in the 20th century.⁹ Its symbolism is various but in its most important aspect as Christian dogma, the cave represents the womb of the Virgin, opened to supply mankind with its means of salvation¹⁰, and in this context we see it fitting into our icon's emphasizing the Old Testament's foreshadowing the "goodnews" of the New.

It remained in Italy through the 15th century

The story of the birth of St. John the Baptist, the Precursor or the Forrunner^{sp} of Christ, is found in the Gospel of Luke, who, because of its importance as link between Old and New Testaments, treats the event in great detail.¹¹ The piously righteous old couple, Zacharias and Elisabeth, are chosen miraculously by God to be the parents of a son who is to be named John and who is to fulfill the prophecies of Isiah by preparing the way for the coming messiah. Zacharias' lack of faith is tested by his being struck dumb until after the birth so that he needs must write on a tablet what his newborn son's name should be. The upper righthand figure of our Quadripartite St. John scene represents Zacharias about to pen the name John the Precursor. Except for this important detail, there is little need to vary the figures and their equipment from the scene of the Birth of the Virgin above it. In fact, the very near-duplication of the two scenes serves to stress their close

archaic!

relationship.

The scene of the Birth of St. Nicholas the Miracleworker presents a Christian story not found in the Bible but much expanded upon in the legends of the saints who carried Christianity the next step into all the world. This patron saint of Russia, one of the most popular in both East and West, (where he becomes the familiar St. Nicholas, or Father Christmas), is one of the least historical of Christian saints. Because of his many miracles, both before and after his death, he is known as the Miracleworker. According to Voragine, who compiled The Golden Legend containing lives of all the saints in the mid-13th Century, he was born in Asia Minor around 270 A.D. on December 6. At birth he distinguished himself as especially holy by raising himself to a standing position in his first bath, and later by refusing his mother's breast on holy fast days. His parents, Epiphanius and Joanna, rich and pious citizens of Patras, "abstained from all contacts of the flesh and lived in godly love" after his birth.¹² Nicholas, following their pious example, early dedicated his life to the Church and eventually became Bishop of Myrna. Since scenes of this saint's birth usually portray his miraculous first bath or his precocious observance of holy fast days, the scene here chosen ^{to go with} other scenes of miraculous births is puzzling, for neither of the obvious early miracles is shown. Instead we see an un-^{what}explicable and somewhat unrelated group of four people simply presented in an architectural setting. Were it not for the clearly inscribed Slavonic inscriptions beneath the scene and the names penned over each nimbed head, it would be impossible to ascribe definitely its identity to the birth of St. Nicholas. Iconographically, the inclusion of St. Nicholas along with the three holiest Christian births, is not surprising however. Voragine explains that Nicholas' name, nitor (brightness), and laos (people), means Brightness of the People, "For in him was the power

the same?
artist? to make all clean and bright",¹³ and this power to make all clear could be connected with the other three births which also served to make clear the Word of God. Perhaps by the time our Quadripartite Nativity Icon was painted, the creator merely followed his own limited knowledge about this miracleworking saint by presenting a vague scene involving a pious father, mother and holy child.¹⁴

It would seem that the artist's straying from orthodox religious iconography so that he selects an ambiguous rather than an unmistakable scene to portray St. Nicholas' birth, is duplicated in his penning the names of St. Nicholas' parents. Instead of reading "Ephiphanius" and "Joanna" which Voragine and other ecclesiastic authorities give as their names, the Slavonic above their halos translates to "St. Theophan" and "St. Nona".¹⁵ The Slavonic for "Joanna" might, through local provincial pronunciation have come out "Nona", yet the name "Theophan" (which in common Slavonic usage is also "~~Theophan~~ianus") could not through any varietal pronunciation have been confused with "~~E~~phiphanius" (or "Epiphan").¹⁶ The discrepancy, then, must have come about through the artist's mixing up of his saintly figures, which during the Romanov-era breakdown of rigid religious traditions, as well as the transfer of monastic icon painting to hereditary untutored village guilds, would not have been unlikely.

In fact it seems that early in Church history a similar confusion occurred in the name of at least one holy day. Epiphany, the holy feast day closest to the birth of Christ and following the birth of St. Nicholas on December 6, Voragine tells us, is celebrated in connection with the four signs given by God on four separate January 6 dates. The first occurred when the Wise Men came to adore the thirteen-day-old Christ Child, guided thence by the miraculous ~~star~~--the second when Christ was baptised by St. John--the third when Christ performed the miracle of turning water into wine--the fourth when He fed the 5000.¹⁷ All these miracles are among the

Wise Men

favorites for illustrating the life of Christ and must have been familiar to anyone painting icons, especially those involving Holy Days as was increasingly the custom at the time our icon was painted. Of Epiphany, Voragine further says that though the Orthodox church name was Epiphany, (ēpi, meaning above and phanos appearance), the Roman Church called it Theophania, which he tells us, according to Bede derives from Christ's baptism when God appeared in the form of the holy spirit,

Thus the feast is also called Theophania, from theos, God, and phanos, appearance, for God appeared in the Holy Trinity: The Father by his voice, the Son, in the flesh, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.

This interrelatedness of the two names is carried into present-day Russia, apparently, for the names Epiphanius and Theophanius are among the very common first names and are used generically in much the same way as we would use "John" or "Bill".¹⁹

It is possible that the unlettered icon painter of the village of Paliekov simply knew that St. Nicholas' father bore a common name, one and involved in both secular/ecclesiastical usage, and confused the incorrect familiar "Theophan" with the equally-familiar "Epiphanius". This concrete example of breakdown in iconographical absolutes would serve to illustrate the changes in attitudes towards religious icons and religious icon painting in Russia during the 17th century.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically Russian icon painting began in Byzantium where prior to the Iconoclastic Controversy icons (from the Greek eikon meaning likeness or image) were painted on wooden panels as devotional pictures for church interiors. The screen separating the congregation from the sanctuary became known as the iconostasis, for it was here that icons were placed in Byzantine churches, whose walls were traditionally covered with mosaics. In 988 when Vladimir the Great imported Orthodox Christianity from

Constantinople, also imported were religious art, architecture and liturgical forms. By the 14th century there had grown up a carefully prescribed Russian iconographic protocol about the hieratic arrangement of icons on the iconostasis so that this became the focal point in Russian church interiors.²⁰

Kiev, where Vladimir the Great and his son Yaroslav the Wise ruled in the Dniepr region, was in the 10th and 11th centuries the erection of many Byzantine-style ~~cathedrals and monasteries~~ ^{center for the} ~~teries~~, under the direction of imported Byzantine artisans.

Gradually the Byzantine-style of painting was transformed as it spread throughout Russia so that by the 12th century, uniquely Russian-style centers of painting were well-established in Kiev, Vladimir, Suzdal, Yaroslav and Pskov.²¹ The best known painter of this early 12th century era, revered by the Orthodox Church as a saint, was the holy monk Alimpij who served his God- as well as his order as a painting member of the Kiev Monastery of the

Cave. Though Alimpij left no signed work, it is considered that it was his peculiar brightly colored linearly treated floating human forms with round faces, short arms and frontal positions, which gave to Russian icons their distinctive character. This character was brought to fruit in the Novgorod School which lasted approximately two centuries.²²

After 1168, when the city of Novgorod achieved its independence from the decaying duchy of Kiev, the best known school of Russian icon painting began its development, and the earliest known icons today are from 12th Century Novgorod.²³ Characteristic of this school, and partly growing out of the humanizing influences of the 14th Century Paleologic Renaissance, was a de-emphasizing of purely decorative linear qualities, so that compared to the earlier Kiev School a sort of painterliness emerged in which unmixed garish colors dominate and shaded areas are used in modeling of the figures. Special attention is given to the drawing of eyebrows and eyes, under which the shaded areas are especially noticeable. Low foreheads and small chins are given to the peasantlike figures now staged commonly in architectural or landscape sets. By the second half of the 15th Century in Novgorod the aristocratic Byzantine prototype has become humanized into a naturalized folk art whose task is to nourish the faith of the illiterate masses.²⁴ In the early years of the 13th Century the Mongol Tartars made their first incursions into Russia whose cities and countryside they devastated for more than a century. Only Novgorod and Pskov escaped conquest and it is for this reason that Novgorod icon painting was able to achieve its Golden Age in the 14th and 15th centuries.²⁵

Sum up
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as the other

Not till the end of the 14th Century, when Moscow had succeeded in finally defeating the Mongols and in reaching a position of hegemony among other Russian cities, did the most important center of icon painting leave Novgorod and come to Moscow. Partly this artistic supremacy came

Partly
about, through Moscow's becoming the center to which important artists from southern Slav countries, then being invaded by the Turks, were attracted.²⁶ The most famous among these artists was Theophanes the Greek who arrived in Moscow towards the end of the 14th century and who, along with Russia's most famous native-born icon painter, Andrew Rublev, collaborated in the 1405 decoration of Moscow's Blagoveshchensky Cathedral.²⁷ Theophanes and Rublev, like all medieval painters of both East and West, were monks. In the Eastern Orthodox Church icons came to be thought of as intrinsically holy intercessors whose holy subject matter invested them with the miraculous powers they depicted. To bring about this potent fusion of subject matter and miraculous power, creation of icons was assigned only to the most devout persons. In later times when icon painting became a secular occupation passing from father to son, these hereditary painters continued to regulate their lives in accordance with Biblical precepts, in much the same way as players of Oberammergau have carried on their tradition since the 14th century.²⁸

Not all watch it!
2 explain

It was the Moscow School of icon painting, lasting till the Russian Revolution, that gave the final stylistic stamp to this Russian national art form. In the Moscow School the styles of Russian Novgorod and orthodox Byzantium are blended with a special strength and control so that the chatty folk art of Novgorod takes on a courtly elegance. Gaudy bright colors become warm and muted; tender graceful hands and elegant oval faces add grace and charm to the still-floating bodies which now are skillfully harmonized with the rhythms of buildings or landscapes. From this final Moscow School many thousands of icons remain today.²⁹ And it is from this final phase that our Quadripartite Four Holy Nativities Icon comes.

TECHNIQUE OF ICON PAINTING

Though as many as twenty-seven schools, somewhat overlapping in style, have been isolated in the 700-some years of Russian icon painting,³⁰ the technique throughout remained in general unchanged. Carefully seasoned non-resinous woods were used--lime, birch, alder, oak, and later, cypress. To keep them light and prevent warping the panels were hollowed out in the back and fitted with wedges placed in horizontally-cut paired grooves. The surface to be painted was made rough to receive a gesso coat over which a piece of linen or canvas was placed and then covered with an alabaster-like plaster. ^{sp} When this plaster dried, it was polished to a gloss on which the composition was either drawn in cinnabar or incised with a sharp tool. A coat of white lead burnt to a greenish color was thinly applied, on which faces were painted in darkish brown with individual features then applied in reddish ochre. All modelling was achieved in these two early steps rather than through the highlights which were added later in light brown or white lead. Twenty-four basic pigments were used, their tempera medium being a mixture of egg yolk diluted with rye beer. Highlighting of draperies produced by a variety of colors, became traditional stylizations. Architectural and landscape backgrounds, as well as the golden backgrounds inherited from Byzantine times as representing heavenly realms, were filled in last. As the final step each icon was given a coating of oil which served to soften the colors and produce an all-over effect of great warmth and luminosity. In the late phase of Moscow icon painting supremacy, specialization of every pictorial element became common so that in the later Moscow workshops painters of faces, hands, draperies, and backgrounds, cooperated in producing one icon.³¹

in what are the main ones?
in gold leaf?

STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Our Quadripartite Nativity Icon belonging to the Paliekoff School represents the final stage of the developed Moscow style. This school

*This could
fit into your
historical section*

was located in the village of Palekh(or Palech) and arose in the 17th century when the Straganovs, one of Moscow's most wealthy merchant families many of whose members were also painters, joined the Romanov tsars in supporting secular local schools of icon painting. By this time a break had come between old religious and artistic traditions and the rising middle-class independence which was eager for Western contacts. In the villages surrounding Moscow, painting guilds were set up where small and quite private devotional pictures were turned out not for the large cathedrals but for the icon corners of aristocratic and merchant homes whose patron saints would be honored in the icons. Western coloristic and modelling ideas began to penetrate into the new miniatures, and as time went on,

*notes
about
artwork?*

icons of the artists' villages therefore increasingly took on the character of wholesale goods. 100 to 140 copies were made of each icon, and the work might have passed through five to ten hands. The icons from Palech were sold at the fair of Nizhniy Novgorod for from three to five rubles... so that a certain stereotyped, serial type of production resulted.³²

places?

This repeated use of stock architectural background which appears so strikingly in three of our four Nativity Icon so strikingly in three of our icon's four nativity scenes, illustrate the above development. Its miniature style and its two elegant patron saints also reflect its Palech origin. The jagged stock collection of building silhouettes with their variety of arched openings stem from much earlier icons such as the Tretyakov Gallery's Novgorod Dormition of the Virgin dated 1380, and Rublev's Annunciation dated about 1408, and in the Leningrad Russian Museum's 15th century Biographical Icon of St. Nicholas.

Our icon's separation of various scenes into framed unities of time and space is inherited from classical Byzantine tradition. The continuous narrative landscape scenes of the birth of Christ, where time and space are disregarded, was inherited from Classical Roman times, though repressed in Russia till the 14th century Paleologic Renaissance relaxed

rigid codes and it gained renewed importance in narrative icon painting.³³ The 1405 Nativity of Christ ascribed to Andrew Rublev, now in the Tret'yakov Gallery in Moscow, became the prototype for all icon portrayals of that nativity, and we see its influence transferred almost bodily to our Quadripartite scene. The artist here changes the number and placing of the angels and three kings, reduces the number of shepherds to one, shifts the Virgin from a horizontal into a vertical position in front of the cave, reduces the midwife bathers from two to one, omits the usual Isaiah iconographic ox and ass peering from the cave³⁴, and makes Rublev's rocky outcroppings more pronounced and overwhelming.

The indoor scenes of the Birth of the Virgin and the Birth of St. John find prototype in such 14th century birth scenes as the Suzdal School's Birth of the Virgin in Leningrad's Russian Museum, or the Rozdestov Bogorodicy Birth of the Virgin in Moscow's Korin Collection. In both of these the new mother rests at the left in her architectural stage-set on her tipped-up bed, attended by friends and neighbors while the midwife bathes the baby in the lower righthand corner. With minor variations, including the addition of the two holy fathers Joachim and Zacharias, the Virgin and St. John birth scenes depicted in our Quadripartite icon are nearly carbon copies of the much earlier ones, which, in turn probably took their iconographic clue from illuminated manuscripts of a still earlier time.

As stated earlier, the scene of the Birth of St. Nicholas seems to fit into no clearly developed iconographic scheme, and seems to lack coherence perhaps for this reason.

CONCLUSIONS

In the entirety of our Quadripartite Icon of the Four Nativities we see clear remembrance of classical icon tradition through use of

you should describe Rublev's icon here in full, and give a source where it is illustrated, get rid of ideas from them
same here
you should have also compared this to a Byzantine work, or perhaps a Western one

Example?
several divided scenes on one panel; we see Novgorodian warmly genre scenes, repeated until they had become traditional iconographic representations through such later Moscow painters as Rublev, whose muted colors are also those used here; we see Paliekov's influence in the personalized small icon; and finally in the village made icon we see the breakdown of prescribed iconographic prototypes and the intrusion of free choice of scene and incorrect identification of saints, both signs of changes in those who produced and those who purchased. Icons now were made for the increasing number of growingly-literate money-owning individuals who placed them in private domestic shrines dedicated to their patron saints.

In the University of Oregon's Quadripartite Icon of the Four Nativities a summation of the long 700-odd years of Russian icon painting occurs. From their impressively severe aristocratic Byzantine-style beginnings, icons have passed through the humanized Russian miracle-working panel pictures painted to fill the needs of the pious illiterate cathedral worshipper, to end finally, here in our example, in a softly appealing ground-out studio reproduction where the artists freely combine staged templates, derived from past tradition, with their own unlettered interpretations to fill the needs of a less religion-dominated growingly secular society. ✓

- 1) your comparisons of style should have been more varied and complete.
- 2) Your early descriptions too should have been clearer
- 3) your iconographical analysis is good

FOOTNOTES

¹University of Oregon Museum of Art files list the third scene as the Birth of St. John Chrysostome which, on having translations of both Slavonic legends in the wide frame and the names inscribed in pen above each of the figures, proves to be incorrect for it is clearly stated that the three figures are St. John, Zacharias, and St. Elizabeth, and that the birth represented is that of St. John the Forrunner.

²"Book of James, or Protevangelium," 3rd rev. ed., ^{sp}The Apocraphal New Testament, trans. by M.R. James (London: Oxford U. Press, 1960), Books I-VII.

³Mat. 1-2:12.

⁴Mat. 1:18-2:12; Luke 2:1-20.

⁵Protevangelium XVIII:1.

⁶Mat. 1:20-24.

⁷Tamara Talbot Rice, 2nd rev. ed., Russian Icons (London: Spring Books, 1960), p. 29.

⁸Konrad Onasch, Icons (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1963), p. 369.

⁹Ibid., 357.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Luke 1:5-66.

¹²Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, trans. by Granger Eyan and Helmut Rippergen (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941), p. 17.

¹³Ibid.

you don't need to include publisher & date if these appear in your bibliography

¹⁴Though I have searched exhaustively I could find only two scenes which might possibly be connected with this one. Both are in the Tretyakov Gallery--one a 17th century composite Birth of St. Nicholas, the other a 14th or 15th century large St. Nicholas panel bordered with 16 narrative scenes. Both of these are grouped among other small scenes of the Saint's life and show the saint as a baby with both his parents in an uncluttered architectural setting, and probably both of them represent his early observance of holy fast days. For these contexts, they are appropriate, while in our icon, such ambiguous representation when more appropriate possibilities

FOOTNOTES, cont.

²²Leonhard Kupperts, Ikone, Kultbild der Ostkirche (Essen: Fredebeul & Koenen, 1964), pp. 44-45.

²³Russian Icons From The 12th to The 15th Century, intro. by Victor Lasareff, Mentor-UNESCO Art Books, (New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1962), pp. 8-9.

²⁴Leonhard Kupperts, Ikone, p. 45.

²⁵Russian Icons, UNESCO, p. 16.

²⁶Ibid., p. 16.

²⁷Ibid., p. 17.

²⁸T. T. Rice, Russian Icons, pp. 9-10.

²⁹L. Kupperts, Ikone, p. 47.

³⁰Ibid., p. 44.

³¹^{sl}A. Dean McKensie, Greek and Russian Icons (in the collection of Mr. Charles Bolles Rogers), (Milwaukee: Department of Art History Gallery, University of Wisconsin, 1965), p. 18.

³²Konrad Ohasch, Icons, p. 27.

³³Ibid., p. 397.

³⁴Isiah ~~1~~ 1:3 reads, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib..."

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