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Tilman Riemenschneider
German, 1460-1531

St. Andrew, ca. 1505
Lindenwood / Limewood

Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 58.57
St. Andrew
Tilman Riemenschneider, 1460-1531
Ca. 1505
Lindenwood / Limewood
40.5 x 13.5 x 8.25 inches
58.57

Description

Positioned at eye level in the European galleries of the High Museum of Art is a warm brown limewood sculpture of an aging man – the biblical apostle, martyr, and saint Andrew – standing 40.5 inches tall, 13.5 inches wide and 8.25 inches deep (Fig. 1). Andrew has long wavy hair that falls onto his shoulders, a curly parted beard, downturned eyes, and a slightly open mouth, as though he is beginning to speak. His head tilts slightly downward. He seems to rest his weight on his right leg, hidden by the many folds of his full flowing drapery. Despite the heavy drapery Andrew appears to be a slight figure. In his right hand, Andrew holds an open book, the gospels. In his left hand, Andrew clutches an x-shaped cross, the instrument of his martyrdom.

Provenance

Prior to its arrival at the High Museum of Art, St. Andrew had an exciting journey. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the provenance of St. Andrew before the twentieth century. The sculpture’s earliest known owner was the German art historian and Riemenschneider scholar Justus Bier. ¹ Bier acquired the sculpture from a dealer (unnamed) in the Rhineland and kept it in his Widdersberg collection. ² In the 1930s the Nazis confiscated the sculpture from Bier. St. Andrew was subsequently auctioned in Hamburg and purchased by the Hamburg Museum of Arts and Crafts (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe). ³ Meanwhile, Bier fled Germany, settling in Louisville, Kentucky. After the war St. Andrew was returned to Bier. ⁴ St. Andrew was then sold by Bier to the Paul Drey Gallery in New York City. In 1955 the sculpture

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¹ All provenance information can be found in the Kress notes within the curatorial file, St. Andrew, High Museum of Art 58.57.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
was purchased by Samuel H. Kress.\textsuperscript{5} Three years later, in 1958, \textit{St. Andrew} was given, along with a number of other works, to the High Museum, where it remains today.\textsuperscript{6}

**Tilman Riemenschneider**

\textit{St. Andrew} is placed within the \textit{oeuvre} of the renowned German sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider. Riemenschneider was born around 1460 in Heiligenstadt in the district of Eichsfeld in Thuringia.\textsuperscript{7} He most likely received his artistic training in Ulm, perhaps even in the workshop of Michel Erhart.\textsuperscript{8} Riemenschneider seems to have drawn on Netherlandish and Upper Rhenish patterns, perhaps through the engravings of E.S. and Martin Schongauer.\textsuperscript{9} Riemenschneider was also influenced by Nikolas Gerhaert von Leyden in Strasbourg, possibly through one of Gerhaert’s pupils.\textsuperscript{10} At the end of 1483 Riemenschneider is registered as a journeyman in the Saint Luke brotherhood of painters, sculptors, and glaziers in Würzburg, Germany. It was in Würzburg that he lived and worked. He married the widow of a goldsmith, Anna Schmidt, and acquired citizenship in the city, allowing him to work as a “free master” and establish his own workshop.\textsuperscript{11}

Riemenschneider was a master sculptor with a large, well-established workshop. Apprentice guild registrations for Riemenschneider’s workshop from the years 1501-1507 survive and show twelve names, a greater number than other workshops during the same period.\textsuperscript{12} He also employed specialist craftsmen to complement his workshop staff. For example, in 1508, there are three stone masons working for him.\textsuperscript{13} Riemenschneider and his workshop

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{7} For Riemenschneider’s life and works see: Justus Bier, \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider: Die frühen Werke} (Vienna, 1925); Justus Bier, \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider: Die späten Werke in Holz} (Vienna, 1978); Justus Bier, \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider: His Life and Work} (Lexington, K.Y., 1982).
\item\textsuperscript{8} Michael Baxandall, \textit{The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany} (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 1980), 18
\item\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{11} Unfortunately, Riemenschneider’s first wife, with whom he had one daughter, died sometime before 1497, the year he married his second wife. Riemenschneider had four children with his second wife, Georg, Hans, Bartholemew, and a daughter. He married a third time in 1507. After his third wife died he married one final time at around age sixty. His fourth wife survived him.
\item\textsuperscript{12} Baxandall, \textit{Limewood Sculptors}, 182; Lorne Campbell, “Early Netherlandish Painters and Their Workshops,” in \textit{Le dessin sou-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque III: Le problem Maitre de Flémalle-van der Weyden}, eds. Dominique Hollander-Favart and Roger van Schoute (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981), 47.
\item\textsuperscript{13} Baxandall, \textit{Limewood Sculptors}, 182.
\end{footnotes}
primarily completed devotional sculpture, to be part of monumental altarpieces and to stand in niches within churches.\textsuperscript{14} There are at least twelve monumental altarpieces alone, known through fragments or documents, completed by Riemenschneider’s workshop. Some of his most renowned commissions include monumental altarpieces at Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, Münnerstadt, and Creglingen (Figs. 2-4).\textsuperscript{15} Riemenschneider and his workshop completed sculptures not only in wood, but also in stone, including sandstone and alabaster.\textsuperscript{16} Among non-wood works, the most well known are the 1491-1493 sandstone sculptures of Adam and Eve completed for the south portal of the Marienkapelle in Würzburg and currently held in the Mainfränkisches Museum (Fig. 5). Among Riemenschneider’s clients were the bishops of Würzburg, Rudolph von Scherenberg and Lorenz von Bibra.\textsuperscript{17}

Riemenschneider was also a prominent citizen of Würzburg, holding public office in the city. In 1504, Riemenschneider was elected to the city council and from 1520-1521 he served as the city’s major. Unfortunately, his political career suffered after the 1525 Peasants’ War when Riemenschneider and the municipal council opposed its lord and refused to allow his troops into the city. Riemenschneider was jailed in the Marienberg Fortress for two months. There are no known sculptures between the Peasant’s revolt and Riemenschneider’s death on July 7, 1531.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Attribution}

Justus Bier was the first to attribute \textit{St. Andrew} to Tilman Riemenschneider and propose the date of 1505, based on stylistic similarities between the stone apostles from the Marienkapelle in Würzburg, the Creglingen altarpiece, and the \textit{Holy Blood Altarpiece}.\textsuperscript{19} Unfortunately, there is no extant documentation concerning the sculpture’s production or original context to confirm the attribution with certainty. Furthermore, due to the complexities of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 18.
\item \textsuperscript{15} The Münnerstadt altarpiece now resides at the Bode-Museum although a reconstruction can be seen in Münnerstadt. The Holy Blood Altarpiece still exists largely \textit{in situ} in Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Till-Holger Borchert, \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider: The Annunciation: A new addition to the corpus of works in Alabaster} (London: Daniel Katz Ltd, 2012).
\item \textsuperscript{17} Justus Bier, “Introduction,” 16.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Julien Chapuis, “Recognizing Riemenschneider,” in \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider: Master Sculptor of the Late Middle Ages} (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 36.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Bier, \textit{Tilmann Riemenschneider: Die reifen Werke}, 126, 56; Bier, \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider}, plates 49ff, figs 1, 2, 12, 11ff. Supporting Bier’s propositions is the fact that the sculpture is completed in lindenwood, a common material used for devotional sculpture southern Germany and that the wood has been dated and shown to be felled sometime in the medieval period. See, \textit{St. Andrew}, Curatorial File, High Museum of Art 58.57.
\end{itemize}
Riemenschneider’s workshop practices, establishing his exact role in the production of *St. Andrew* is informed speculation at best. However, whether or not Tilman Riemenschneider sculpted *St. Andrew* alone, with assistants, or had no hand in its creation, leaving the sculpture’s production to workshop artisans, matters little within the cultural and artistic context in which it was produced. In considering the attribution of *St. Andrew* one must first consider how late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century German workshops operated and what a patron expected from the artist. Then one can explore the attribution of *St. Andrew* further and what a stylistic analysis of the sculpture reveals.

Late medieval workshops employed a range of artisans who worked on different aspects of the same commission. Evidence of the complexity of medieval workshops can be found in the example of a contract, enunciated through nine extant letters, between Albrecht Dürer and Jacob Heller, a wealthy Frankfurt merchant, for an altarpiece. In this contract Dürer specifies that he himself will paint the central panel and “no one shall paint a stroke but himself,” suggesting that this was not the current practice and needed to be specified in this instance. Furthermore, these letters indicate the large number of artisans involved in the production of a single altarpiece. For example, Dürer notes that he has to obtain panels from a joiner before giving it to a worker whose job is to prepare it for painting. In a workshop producing sculpted altarpieces, such as Riemenschneider’s, the master would have employed numerous artisans including joiners, painters, and sculptors, each of whom would have been involved in different aspects of production. Other specialists, such as journeymen, who were fully trained sculptors, were likely entrusted with the production of entire sculpted figures. Riemenschneider himself would have been involved in commissions to varying degrees, from completing central sculptures himself to outsourcing the commission to the rest of his workshop. As Julien Chapuis notes, it is impossible to attempt to distinguish autograph works from those which assistants worked on because of the collaborative nature of late medieval workshops and because

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20 It is important to remember, however, that the contemporary quest for the “hand of the master” (and thus for autograph works) was not necessarily a preoccupation of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German artists and patrons.
22 Chapuis, 37. Heaton, 228.
23 Heaton, 227.
24 Chapuis, 37.
workshop artisans were fluent in the style of the master and adopted his repertoire of facial types, hands, and drapery patterns.\textsuperscript{25}

That \textit{St. Andrew} belongs within the workshop of Riemenschneider rather than another German master is evident from the formation of the hands and key facial features, especially the eyes. As Baxandall notes, one can identify Riemenschneider works by the presence of the so-called “Riemenschneider eyes” which are large, down-turned and asymmetrical. The lower lid is sharply marked out and underscored by S-shaped grooves that vary in number according to age (Fig. 6).\textsuperscript{26}

The question of proximity of \textit{St. Andrew}'s production to the hand of Riemenschneider himself can be further considered through a close stylistic comparison with other Riemenschneider works. \textit{St. Andrew} is currently attributed to the workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, rather than to the hand of the sculptor himself. Such an attribution is based primarily on stylistic analyses by connoisseurs and scholars of Tilman Riemenschneider and late-medieval German sculpture. Connoisseurship bases its attributions on the stylistic similarities between key areas of figural sculptures including the formation of the drapery and the modeling of the hands, face, and hair. In the case of a sculptor with a large workshop, like Riemenschneider, sculptures are placed along a continuum, from those believed to be completed solely by the artist himself to those completed by his circle.

The attribution of \textit{St. Andrew} to Riemenschneider’s workshop was confirmed in September 2012, in a consultation with the curator and connoisseur Julien Chapuis, director of the sculpture collection at the Bode Museum in Berlin, Germany. During this meeting, \textit{St. Andrew} was closely compared with the museum’s collection of Riemenschneider sculptures, particularly the predella figures from the Münnerstadt altarpiece, which are held as the gold standard of Riemenschneider sculpture (Fig. 7). Chapuis, based on a connoisseurial method and his own experience, concluded that \textit{St. Andrew} belongs to the workshop, rather than the hand, of Riemenschneider. Chapuis keyed into the modeling of the face, which he deemed more expressive in other figures, particularly in the figure of St. Luke from the Münnerstadt altarpiece (Fig. 8, 9). Chapuis also noted the formation of the hair, which has more three-dimensionality in

\textsuperscript{25} Chapuis, 38.
\textsuperscript{26} Baxandall, \textit{Limewood Sculptors}, 180.
the most highly regarded Riemenschneider sculptures, including the sculpture of a deacon saint at the Bode-Museum (Fig. 10, 11). In addition, the modeling of St. Andrew’s hands, such as the veins, is not quite as intricate and refined as on the Münnerstadt figure of St. Luke (Fig. 12, 13). The attribution of St. Andrew to the workshop of Riemenschneider, rather than to the master’s hand, however, does not hinder or diminish its cultural value. Whether or not Tilman Riemenschneider sculpted St. Andrew alone, with assistants, or had no hand in its creation does not affect how the object would have functioned for its sixteenth-century audience.

Historical Context and Subject Matter

The High Museum of Art’s St. Andrew depicts an important figure within the canon of Christian saints. St. Andrew stands out for his role as an apostle of Christ, and thus a saint with proximity to Christ himself, for his evangelization, including to other apostles, and for his martyrdom, the ultimate expression of sacrifice for the Christian faith. References to St. Andrew can be found throughout the gospels, though little is included about his life after the death and resurrection of Christ. The second-century apocryphal Acts of Andrew provides further details about Andrew’s life. During the middle ages Andrew’s life, legend, and miracles took shape and were recorded in the medieval best-seller Jacobus de Voragine’s Golden Legend from around 1265. By the fifteenth century Voragine’s version was the most readily available account of St. Andrew. The Golden Legend was translated into German in 1488 and printed by Anton Koberger, for one, as Der Heiligen Leben (printed December 5 in Nürnberg). Justus Bier argues for a close connection between Koberger’s textual description of the saint and Riemenschneider’s sculpture suggesting that the diligence, prayer, fasting, staying awake and “other good exercise” described by Koberger is visible in the sculpture.

St. Andrew appears within the New Testament as the brother of Simon Peter. While fishing with his brother, Jesus appears and calls them to be his disciples. Andrew is present throughout the gospels in the ministry of Christ. After Christ’s death and resurrection, Andrew is said to have evangelized in the north, even founding the See of Byzantium. Throughout his life

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Andrew performed many miracles, drawing believers to Christ. Ultimately, Andrew was martyred by crucifixion in the city of Patras on the Peloponnese.

Iconographically, St. Andrew is represented as an older male, usually with a beard and long hair. Andrew is almost always accompanied by the instrument of his martyrdom, the x-shaped cross, and he sometimes also holds a book, the scriptures. The specific attributes selected to represent the saint offer different inflections of his life. For example, imagery of St. Andrew bound to his cross focuses on the act of martyrdom itself, such as in an illumination in the fifteenth-century Hours of John the Fearless from Ghent (Fig. 14). In other representations of the saint, such as the High Museum of Art’s St. Andrew, the X-shaped cross functions as an identifying attribute (Fig. 1). St. Andrew also includes a book, similar to the sixteenth-century woodcut depicting the saint by Hans Baldung, constructing yet another version of the saint (Fig. 15). The inclusion of scripture may have reminded the viewer of Andrew’s role in proclaiming Christ as the Messiah to his brother and other disciples as described in John 1: 40-42: “And Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter, was one of the two who had heard of John, and followed him. He findeth first his brother Simon, and saith to him: We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ. And he brought him to Jesus.”

Although depictions of St. Andrew usually include at least the cross of his martyrdom, the inclusion or exclusion of other elements, such as the book, and the way in which the cross is incorporated indicates that representations of the saint could be flexible.

The High Museum of Art’s St. Andrew is one of four different representations of the apostle by Riemenschneider across different media, excluding narrative scenes. Between 1500 and 1506 Riemenschneider’s workshop completed a stone statue of the apostle for the Marienkapelle in Würzburg, now in the Würzburg Cathedral (Fig. 16). There was a second painted lindenwood sculpture, unfortunately now lost, completed for the chapel of Ehehaltenhaus in Würzburg. Finally, there is a representation of the apostle within an altarpiece to the twelve apostles currently in the Kurpfälzische Museum in Heidelberg (Fig. 17). According to Justus Bier, the lindenwood St. Andrew at the High Museum of Art preceded the stone version based on

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29 John 1: 40-42, Douay-Rheims Bible.
31 St. Andrew was one of fourteen statues commissioned to be placed in niches in the buttresses of the chapel. See Bier, “St. Andrew,” 215.
the drapery folds, which include the twice-folded-over end of the cloak hanging down. Bier points out that Riemenschneider’s varied depictions of St. Andrew demonstrates that the sculptor and his workshop did not feel constrained to represent the saint as a fixed type but rather that they were able to explore different ways of representing this apostle.

The High Museum of Art’s St. Andrew was likely incorporated into a no-longer-extant monumental altarpiece, likely comparable to the Holy Blood Altarpiece, the Münnerstadt Altarpiece, and the Creglingen Altarpiece (Figs. 2-4). That St. Andrew is carved on three of four sides indicates that it was not intended to be viewed in the round and would have been placed against some kind of backing (Fig. 18). Furthermore, the way the sculpture is carved indicates that it was likely placed within a narrow space, possibly surrounded by other figures, such as on the corpus or main body of an altarpiece. St. Andrew is depicted vertically (Fig. 1). The figure does not reach out into the surrounding space. This can be seen most readily in the composition of St. Andrew’s cross. Representations of the saint commonly depict his X-shaped cross facing the viewer so that the shape can be easily read, such as in Riemenschneider’s St. Andrew from the Marienkapelle in Würzburg (Fig. 19). In the High Museum of Art’s St. Andrew, rather than depicting the X-shaped cross frontally, which would cause the arms to extend to the left of the saint, the cross has been turned so that the second arm is seen behind the saint’s back. The turning of the cross allows for the sculpture to remain primarily vertical, rather than extending horizontally.

The composition of the figure of St. Andrew suggests that the sculpture was meant to be viewed from below and at some distance. Looking straight on, the face of St. Andrew appears to be slightly distorted as the upper portion of his face and forehead protrude more than is necessary for anatomical accuracy (Fig. 1). St. Andrew’s head is also slightly larger than necessary. As Julien Chapuis notes, Riemenschneider would consider the viewer’s position relative to the sculpture and adjust proportions for visual legibility. The intended way of seeing St. Andrew and the altarpiece it would have been included in has been considered by Michael Baxandall. Because such statues were part of altarpieces they were intended to be seen from what Baxandall

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32 Ibid, 222.
33 Ibid, 215.
defines as the “arc of address.”\textsuperscript{35} The “arc of address” refers to the multiple viewpoints from which these sculptures could be optimally seen. These ideal angles can be discerned through poses with implications of address in more than one direction. That is, each angle allows for a different encounter with the figure, a different version of the figure.\textsuperscript{36} In the High Museum of Art’s \textit{St. Andrew} differing viewpoints yields a different St. Andrew. For example, standing to the left of the sculpture, St. Andrew’s cross is largely obscured while the book is emphasized. Light would have also changed and affected the way in which viewer’s would have encountered Riemenschneider sculptures throughout the day as it is captured and reflected by the deep folds in drapery, glazing, and modeling of the figures. As the sun moves across altarpiece different figures would be highlighted or come into and out of the shadows.\textsuperscript{37}

Retable altarpieces were common in late medieval churches. Altarpieces functioned as backdrops and frameworks for the clergy and priests performing the liturgy and as focal points for private devotion. Such altarpieces, “proclaim the identity of the saint or mystery to which the altar was dedicated and dignified the station of the Eucharist.”\textsuperscript{38} High altar retables were usually commissioned by communities in parish churches and abbeys, while side altar retables were commissioned by well-off fraternities and families.\textsuperscript{39} The contracts for altarpieces usually named the parties involved, described the work (with the iconography defined by the patron, based on the altarpiece’s intended function), defined the delivery date, and accounted for the payment and the terms of payment.\textsuperscript{40} For example, the contract between Riemenschneider and the delegates of the City Council of Rothenburg describes the altarpiece to be completed, even specifying the scenes to be included in each portion of the altarpiece and at what size. For example, the contract details that the body of the altarpiece includes, “the Last Supper of Christ, with his Apostles and what else belongs in it, the figures to be about four feet high.”\textsuperscript{41} References are sometimes made to presentation drawings.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 86.
\textsuperscript{37} Baxandall, \textit{Limewood Sculptors}, 189.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, 67.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 62-63.
\textsuperscript{40} Stephen, Kemperdick, “A Sculptor in Würzburg,” in \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider: Master Sculpture of the Late Middle Ages}, ed. Julien Chapuis (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 79
\textsuperscript{41} Baxandall, \textit{Limewood Sculptors}, 174, Baxandall quotes the contract.
Late-medieval wood altarpieces consisted of four primary parts: the body (corpus) – the central portion of the altarpiece – the wings (flugel) often carved in low relief with narrative scenes, the predella (sarg) – below the body with painting or sculpture – and the crowning superstructure (auszug) – consisting of architectural elements and sometimes sculpture. The body, corpus, of the altarpiece usually held a narrative scene or a row of standing saints. Saints often appeared numerous and in rows, three or five being a normal number. For example, the Christ and the Virgin may be found in the corpus surrounded by key saints and apostles. The High Museum of Art’s St. Andrew was likely placed within the corpus of an altarpiece, based on the subject matter, size, and composition of the figure. The material characteristics of St. Andrew provide further information about the original context and state of the sculpture.

Material and Method

St. Andrew is a wood sculpture, a medium that is considered more difficult than stone because it is neither static nor is it homogenous. The wood of the sculpture has been identified as broad-leaved limewood or lindenwood (Sommerlinde, tilia platyphyllos). Limewood is native to southern Germany and Austria and was the preferred medium for retable altarpieces and devotional sculpture during the late middle ages. North Germans and sculptors in France tended to prefer oak and walnut. The physical characteristics of broad-leaved limewood made it desirable as a medium. The wood grows larger and faster than other varieties, is softer and lighter, resulting in slightly less shrinkage (and thus splitting), and is more uniform than hardwoods. Hieronymous Bock, a sixteenth-century south German botanist, notes that “from limewood are made the carved images that have been honoured in the churches in place of the saints.” Alberti noted that limewood is “wonderfully soft and easy under the carver’s tool for expressing all manner of forms.” The sculpture of St. Andrew reveals much about the techniques which made it. The half-rounded shape indicated that it came from a tree trunk that was split in half. Furthermore, although a flat piece of wood has since been attached to the back

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42 Ibid, 64.
43 Ibid, 69.
44 Ibid, 32.
45 St. Andrew, curatorial file, High Museum of Art 58.57.
46 Baxandall, Limewood Sculptors 27.
48 Ibid, 28.
49 Quoted in Baxandall, Limewood Sculptors, 28.
50 Ibid, 32.
of the sculpture when examining the sculpture’s underside it can be observed that the back of the sculpture has been hollowed out (Figs. 18, 20). Thus, the sculpture forms a ‘C’ shape. The wood that has been removed made up the center of the tree trunk and is referred to as the “heartwood.” Removing the heartwood helped to minimize the effects of shrinking.\textsuperscript{51} Tool marks can be seen on the back of sculptures that have been hollowed out in the form of chisel marks, although the panel adhered to the back of \textit{St. Andrew} obscures such marks.

Throughout \textit{St. Andrew} one can see evidence of sixteenth-century fills. During the sculpturing process imperfections, such as knots, in the wood were carefully removed and filled. Such fills can be seen throughout the drapery and in the brow of \textit{St. Andrew} (Fig. 6). These fills can be distinguished from later additions by the modeling and carving that extend through the fills and the identical aging of the fills and the surrounding wood.

Evidence of production can also be seen in late-medieval German sculptures in the form of marks from clamps on the base and dowel holes in the top (head).\textsuperscript{52} A plug in the top of the head is often the remnant of a wooden dowel that would have been inserted as a grip by the painter to avoid touching the sculpture.\textsuperscript{53} For example, in the Münnerstadt altarpiece, which was painted in 1503-1504 by Veit Stoss, the heads of the figures reveal sawed-off dowels.\textsuperscript{54} Unfortunately, neither of these marks can be seen in \textit{St. Andrew}. However, the lack of a dowel hole in the head of \textit{St. Andrew} is informative. In late-medieval polychrome sculpture a dowel was used to secure the sculpture while it was being painted. The lack of such a mark in \textit{St. Andrew} aids in a close consideration of the original finish of the sculpture and whether or not it was polychrome.

\textbf{Polychrome v. Monochrome}

The question of whether a late-medieval sculpture was originally colored or uncolored is complicated and, in the case of \textit{St. Andrew}, an inquiry that allows for technical analysis. The presence or lack of colored paint on Riemenschneider sculptures is an issue of debate among

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, 36.
\textsuperscript{52} Eike Oellerman, “Polychrome or Not? That is the Question,” in \textit{Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1460-1531}, ed. Julien Chapuis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 118.
\textsuperscript{53} Oellerman, 119.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
Until the end of the fifteenth century it was common practice for limewood sculptures to be painted. Riemenschneider was among the first sculptors to produce from his workshop both brilliantly colored and gilded sculptures and those which were primarily monochrome. It was once thought that Riemenschneider completed his sculptures in the natural, pale color of limewood, without treatment, causing later conservators to strip sculptures to reveal the original wood as much as possible. However, Riemenschneider did not leave his unpolychromed sculptures untreated. Riemenschneider’s unpolychromed sculptures eschewed brightly colored painting and gilding in favor glazes in brown and amber tones that would have captured light. Baxandall notes that this technique is first seen in Riemenschneider works as early as 1490 in the Münnerstadt altarpiece and is found in one altarpiece that is still in situ, the Holy Blood Altarpiece in Rothensburg (Fig. 2-3). The glaze on Riemenschneider’s Holy Blood Altarpiece has been analyzed and identified as a mixture of egg white and colored oil (ochre, black, lime and lead white) applied directly onto the wood. In addition to tinted glazes, sometimes the eyes, lips, or attributes of a figure were colored on otherwise unpolychromed sculptures. It was also possible for a sculpture or altarpiece completed in monochrome or with minimal coloring, such as on the eyes and mouth of the figure, to be fully colored and painted years or decades later as the tastes and trends of the community changed. Such is the case with the Münnerstadt altarpiece which was largely uncolored and subsequently painted in 1503-1504 by Veit Stoss, indicating a change of mind or preference within the community which the altarpiece served (Fig. 3, 7).

The shift away from primarily polychrome sculptures indicates changes in devotional practices at the turn of the sixteenth century. If St. Andrew and the altarpiece it was originally placed within was, in fact, initially conceived as an unpolychromed sculpture it would have aimed to communicate a different type of spirituality than fully painted sculptures. Figures

55 Ulrich Middeldorf, for example, claims that the sculpture has lost its polychromy. See Ulrich Middeldorf, “K2101: Figure 212,” in Sculptures from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: European Schools XIV-XIX Century (New York: Phaidon Press, 1976), 125-126.
56 Baxandall, Limewood Sculptors, 41.
57 Justus Bier, 1930, 14; Oellerman, 113.
58 Baxandall, Limewood Sculptors, 18.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid, 44.
completed in monochrome would remind the viewer of the work as a representation, as it continually reveals itself as worked material, wood. Baxandall notes that we must be “more active in our address to monochrome.”\(^{62}\) That is, the beholder must do more work in reading and connecting with the figure than in a polychrome sculpture in which the “surrogate person” is readily evident.\(^{63}\) Unpolychromed sculptures also helped to curb the potential problem of idolatry because the sculptural images of saints are easily differentiated from the saint’s themselves through their evident materiality.\(^{64}\)

Unfortunately, for most extant Riemenschneider sculpture the original finish is uncertain. Further complicating an identification of a sculpture’s original surface treatment is the fact that numerous sculptures were stripped of whatever color they had (whether late-medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque) with harsh astringents during the Victorian period and subsequently varnished or stained, removing all traces of original polychromy or finish.

Upon first glance there appears to be no trace of polychromy on St. Andrew. The 1993 conservation assessment confirms that there is no polychromy found on the sculpture.\(^{65}\) The best places to examine for evidence of polychromy are in the recesses of the drapery, places that can be overlooked when paint is stripped from a sculpture because they are unseen. During the fall 2012 examination of St. Andrew under ultraviolet light there was no evidence of fluorescing paint in even the deepest recesses of drapery. Further supporting a lack of polychrome on St. Andrew is the absence of any apparent ground layers, such as a layer of textile, and the nature of insect damage on the sculpture. Polychrome sculptures often included a layer of textile, usually linen, beneath the paint to support it, as evident in a sixteenth-century limewood sculpture from Germany, currently in Vienna (Fig. 21, 22).\(^{66}\) Even without a textile layer, the sculpture was prepared with gesso, size and hardening agents were applied in several coats, polished, and incised with details before the paint was added.\(^{67}\)

Insect damage can also provide evidence for a sculpture’s original finish. On polychromed sculptures, insect damage often occurs beneath the paint layers and horizontally

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\(^{62}\) Baxandall, “The Perception of Riemenschneider,” 94.
\(^{63}\) Ibid.
\(^{64}\) Ibid, 96.
\(^{65}\) Ibid.
\(^{66}\) Sculpture Conservation Studio Survey Form, St. Andrew, Curatorial File, High Museum of Art, 58.57.
\(^{67}\) Baxandall, Limewood Sculptors, 41.
\(^{67}\) Ibid.
Close observation of *St. Andrew* revealed numerous delicate punch marks along the edge of the drapery, aiding in an identification of the sculpture as a primarily monochrome work. Unpolychromed works often included different ways of working the surface of the wood, through various punchwork and details carved into the wood itself, not found in polychromed sculptures. Punchwork can be found primarily in Riemenschneider’s mature works, dating from 1505-1520 and coinciding with his completion of unpolychromed works. Michelle Marincola identifies three reasons for applying punchwork to unpolychromed sculptures. First, punchwork allows the imitation of other materials, such as fabric. Second, punchwork can add texture that increases the legibility of the sculpture. Third, punchwork helps to model the sculpture’s surface, heightening the play of light and shadow especially on relief sculpture. The assessment of whether or not a piece was polychrome or not can be aided by examining and determining the kind of designs on the sculpture, whether they were designed to be seen through ground and paint layers or were too delicate and meant to be seen through glazing.

The most obvious punch marks on *St. Andrew* are the crescent shapes repeating along the edges of the drapery (Fig. 25). These crescent marks are found on numerous other Riemenschneider sculptures, including a sculpture of St. Erasmus from around 1500 (Fig. 26). Such deep marks were clearly made into the wood itself, not through layers of paint and gilding. On *St. Andrew* there is also very fine punching, most easily discernible under raking light, inside of the crescent moon border. This punching takes the form of alternating large and small flowers (Fig. 27). Such delicate punch marks would likely have been invisible if covered with paint and help point to a monochrome or varnished surface. It is possible that this delicate punching was intended to be seen through glazing and ground layers, making it an important indicator of the original state of the sculpture.

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68 Of course, if original paint layers were stripped from the sculpture prior to the insect infestation, such damage provides little evidence of the original state of the sculpture.
69 Oellerman, 17.
71 Ibid, 144.
72 Ibid, 136.
punching was made through layers of gilding, however the uniformity of depth suggests that it was completed directly onto the wood.\textsuperscript{73}

A final clue to \textit{St. Andrew’s} original sculpture is the detailing in the modeling of the figure. In polychromed sculptures anatomical details, such as the veins in hands, were built up and modeled in gesso adhered to the sculpture. In \textit{St. Andrew} these details can be seen in the wood itself, as evident in the hands of the figure (Fig. 12).

Although close observation of \textit{St. Andrew} leads to a plausible assessment of the sculpture as primarily monochrome, it doesn’t exclude the possibility that the sculpture had some coloring. Even if the piece was primarily monochrome the eyes and mouth of the sculpture would have been colored, adding some life to the figure. During the fall 2012 examination of \textit{St. Andrew}, conservator Renee Stein noticed a miniscule speck of red paint inside the mouth of the sculpture – a place that could have been overlooked easily when the piece was stripped of its original finish (Fig. 28). A sample of the paint was removed with a scalpel with care not to disturb or damage the surrounding wood. In the lab the paint sample was placed on a slide and examined at twenty times magnification under a Polarizing Light Microscope in order to identify the substance. The sample was first analyzed for its color and characteristics, including shape and size. The sample consists of large red multi-faceted crystals (Fig. 29). Then, the polarizers were crossed, allowing the further identification of the substance as anisotropic or birefringent, as the crystals glowed ruby red (Fig. 30). This analysis allowed for the identification of the sample as vermillion, a common red pigment during the late middle ages.\textsuperscript{74} Along with the red vermillion a white substance was seen, likely a ground for the paint. The discovery of this minute trace of pigment indicates that it is possible that the mouth – and perhaps also the eyes – were at one time painted, perhaps as part of the original production of the sculpture. However, in the analysis of another Riemenschneider sculpture the \textit{Anna Selbdritt} in Würzburg the miniscule amount of coloring found, similar to that in \textit{St. Andrew} has been suggested to indicate not a purposeful coloring, because of the paucity of pigment remaining, but perhaps the application of glazes with

\textsuperscript{73} Marincola notes that with punching completed through the gilding the design sometimes will not even show up and, when it does, will be uneven in nature. Marincola, 136.

\textsuperscript{74} This identification was made by Renee Stein, Conservator, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, GA. Baxandall confirms this as a usual substance, Limewood sculptors, 41
A dirty brush (Fig. 31). Although the observation and analysis of St. Andrew yields few certain conclusions, the evidence points towards an identification of the sculpture as a primarily monochrome piece with the eyes and mouth of the figure colored to animate the figure.

**Current Condition and Display**

During the fall 2012 examinations of St. Andrew, the past conservation reports were compared with the sculpture’s current condition. The most recent condition report for St. Andrew was undertaken by the High Museum in 1993. This report noted problematic areas as well as areas of past treatment. The sculpture of St. Andrew is currently unpainted, but has been stained brown. The brown stain is likely not original to the sculpture and was probably applied in the late nineteenth century in order to simulate oak or another wood. Lindenwood is a naturally very light-colored wood.

The conservation reports detailed the location of post-medieval restorations on the sculpture, which can be visually confirmed. There are restorations on the bridge of the nose, parts of the upper section of the book, including the upper corners, the upper edge of the left side of the cover including the first few pages and at the top of the book’s back (Fig. 1, 32, 33). The upper portion of the back arm of the cross has been replaced as has a small section at its base. There are insect holes throughout the sculpture, some of which appear to have been filled with wood putty (Fig. 24). There is also a replacement in the fold in the drapery where the right foot should be. A corner of drapery on the left of the sculpture is currently missing (Fig. 1, 32, 34). Examination of the edge of the missing corner under ultraviolet light revealed traces of what is likely an adhesive from a past restoration of the corner. These restorations have to be distinguished from original sixteenth-century fills, as mentioned previously.

According to the Kress Foundation the sculpture underwent “slight cleaning” in 1958 and was given a coating of beeswax by M. Modestini. The beeswax polished the surface and filled in imperfections in the surface, such as holes left by burrowing insects. In the 1993 conservation report Rosa Lowinger noted that the wax, where thickly applied, has developed a “whitish

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75 Lichte, 56.
76 Unfortunately, beyond some of the areas of wax, adhesive, and dust, the examination under ultraviolet light revealed little else about the sculpture.
77 Samuel H. Kress Foundation, Art Collection Data, Condition and Restoration Record, St. Andrew, Curatorial File, High Museum of Art 58.57.
bloom,” becoming opaque and white (Fig. 35). In some areas, such as the top of the front arm of the cross, the wood appears to have no wax coating left (it is lighter and more gray in color) and feels very dry to the touch (Fig. 11).

There are numerous cracks throughout the sculpture, some of which were noted in past conservation reports. The cracks within St. Andrew are “critical” and follow the grain of the wood. In the 1993 report the crack to the left of the big toe on the left foot was measured and noted to be one-eighth of an inch wide (Fig. 36). The crack was re-measured in fall 2012 and found to be around three-eighths of an inch wide. The width of the crack appears to have grown; however, there are other factors that can yield a different measurement. Because wood contracts and expands with changes in the environment, especially humidity, the crack may shift in width throughout the year. The difference in the crack’s measurement may or may not be cause for concern, but is certainly worth noting.

The effect of humidity on St. Andrew may also be revealed in the desiccated and dry quality of the sculpture, in particular, in the face. Numerous vertical cracks, of varying widths and lengths, distort the viewer’s understanding of the modeling and expression of St. Andrew’s face (Fig. 6, 9). In future conservation discussions whether or not to treat the cracks can be considered by conservation and curatorial staff. There are numerous variables in such a conservation including the balance of restoring visual unity to the piece while not harming the work and preserving it for future generations and future treatments. Unfortunately, the sculpture’s location in the southern United States, an area of high humidity, makes the regulation of temperature and humidity in museum environments more difficult and more important.

St. Andrew is currently displayed in the High Museum at about eye level, on a display shelf, against a wall. If the museum desired to reassess the sculpture’s display, one option would be to encase the sculpture in its own display case with a regulated environment specific to the sculpture’s needs. However, such a display could impede the viewer’s experience of the sculpture and may not be desirable. The current display gives more of a sense of the medieval viewer’s experience of the sculpture.

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78 Sculpture Conservation Studio Survey Form, St. Andrew, Curatorial File, High Museum of Art 58.57.
79 Ibid.
80 Also, the cracking in the sculpture will undoubtedly continue because of seasonal changes in the environment regardless of the sculpture’s treatment.
Works Cited


______. *Tilman Riemenschneider: Die frühen Werke*. Vienna, 1925.


**Works Consulted**


Appendix I: The Life of St. Andrew, from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, c. 1265.

After the feasts of our Lord Jesu Christ tofore set in order follow the legends of Saints, and first of Saint Andrew.

Andrew is expounded, and is as much as to say as fair, or answering unto strength, and it is said of andor, that is as much to say as strength; or Andrew is said thus, as antipos of ana, which is to say high, and of tropos which is conversion, so that Andrew is to say, a man highly converted, and in heaven addressed unto his maker. He was fair in his life, answering in wisdom and in doctrine, strong in pain and converted high in glory. The priests and deacons of Achaia wrote his passion like as they had seen it with their eyes.

Andrew and some other disciples were called three times of our Lord. He called them first in the knowledging of him, as when Saint Andrew was with John the Baptist, his master, and another disciple; he heard that John said: Lo! here the Lamb of God; and then he went anon with another disciple, and came to Jesu Christ and abode with him all that day. And then Saint Andrew found Simon, his brother, and brought him to Jesu Christ, and the next day following they went to their craft of fishing. And after this he called them the second time by the stagne of Gennesereth, which is named the sea of Galilee. He entered into the ship of Simon and of Andrew, and there was taken great multitude of fish, and he called James and John, which were in another ship, and they followed him, and after went into their proper places.

After this he called them from their fishing, and said: Come, follow me, I shall make you fishers of men. Then they left their ships and nets, and followed him, and after this they abode with him, and went no more to their own houses. And howbeit he called Andrew and some other to be apostles, of which calling, Matthew saith in the third chapter: He called to him them that he would. And after the ascension of our Lord, the apostles were departed, and Andrew preached in Scythia and Matthew in Murgondy. And the men of this country refused utterly the preaching of Saint Matthew, and drew out his eyes, and cast him in prison fast bounden. In the meanwhile an angel, sent from our Lord, and commanded him to go to Saint Matthew into Murgondy, and he answered that he knew not the way. And then the angel commanded him that he should go unto the seaside, and that he should enter into the first ship that he should find, and so he did gladly, in accomplishing the commandment, and went into the city by the leading of the angel, and had wind propitious. And when he was come he found the prison open, where Saint Matthew was in; and when he saw him he wept sore and worshipped him; and then our Lord rendered and gave again to Saint Matthew his two eyes and his sight. And then Saint Matthew departed from thence and came into Antioch, and Saint Andrew abode in Murgondy, and they of the country were wroth that Saint Matthew was so escaped. Then took they Saint Andrew and drew him through the places, his hands bounden in such wise that the blood ran out. He prayed for them to Jesu Christ, and converted them by his prayer; and from thence he came to Antioch. This that is said of the blinding of Saint Matthew, I suppose that it is not true, nor that the evangelist was not so infirm, but that he might get for his sight that Saint Andrew gat for him so lightly.

It was so that a young man came and followed Saint Andrew, against the will of all his parents; and on a time his parents set fire on the house where he was with the apostle, and when the flame surmounted right high, the child took a brush full of water and sprinkled withal the fire, and anon the fire quenched. And then his friends and parents said: Our son is made an enchanter. And as
they would have gone up by the ladders, they were suddenly made blind, that they saw not the ladders, and then one of them recried and said: Wherefore enforce ye you against them? God fighteth for them and ye see it not. Cease ye and leave off, lest the ire of our Lord fall on you. Then many of them that saw this believed in our Lord, and the parents died within forty days after, and were put in one sepulchre.

There was a woman with child, joined in wedlock with a homicide who was troubled greatly upon her deliverance; and at the time of childing she might not be delivered. She bade her sister to go to Diana and pray to her that she help me. She went and prayed, and Diana said to her, which was the devil in an idol: Wherefore prayest thou to me? I may not help ne profit thee, but go unto Andrew the apostle which may help thee and thy sister. And she went to him, and brought him to her sister, which travailed in great pain, and began to perish. And the apostle said to her: By good right thou sufferest this pain; thou conceivedst in treachery and sin, and thou counselledst with the devil. Repent thee, and believe in Jesu Christ, and thou shalt be anon delivered of thy child. And when she believed and was repentant, she was delivered of her child, and the pain and sorrow passed and ceased.

An old man called Nicholas by name, went unto the apostle and said to him: Sir, I have lived fifty years, and always in lechery. And I took on a time a gospel, in praying God that he would give me from then forthon continence. But I am accustomed in this sin, and full of evil delection, in such wise that I shall return to this sin accustomed. On a time that I was inflamed by luxury, I went to the bordel, and forgat the gospel upon me, and anon the foul woman said: Go hence thou old man, for thou art an angel of God, touch me not, nor come not near me, for I see marvel upon thee. And I was abashed of the word of the woman, and I remembered that I had the gospel upon me, wherefore I beseech thee to pray God for me and for my health. And when Saint Andrew heard this he began to weep, and prayed from tierce unto nones. And when he arose he would not eat, and said: I shall eat no meat till I know whether our Lord shall have pity of this old man. And when he had fasted five days, a voice came to Saint Andrew and said to him: Andrew, thy request is granted for the old man, for like as thou hast fasted and made thyself lean, so shall he fast and make himself lean by fastings for to be saved. And so he did, for he fasted six months to bread and water, and after that he rested in peace and good works. Then came a voice that said: I have gotten Nicholas by thy prayers whom I had lost.

A young christian man said to Saint Andrew: My mother saw that I was fair, and required me for to have to do sin with her; and when I would not consent to her in no manner, she went to the judge, and would return and lay to me the sin of so great a felony. Pray for me that I die not so untruly; for when I shall be accused I shall hold my peace and speak not one word, and have liefer to die than to defame and slander my mother so foully. Thus came he to judgment, and his mother accused him, saying that he would have defouled her. And it was asked of him oft if it was so as she said, and he answered nothing. Then said Saint Andrew to her: Thou art most cruel of all women, which for the accomplishment of thy lechery wilt make thy son to die. Then said this woman to the provost: Sir, sith that my son came, and accompanied with this man, he would have done his will with me, but I withstood him that he might not. And anon the provost and judge commanded that the son should be put in a sack anointed with glue, and thrown into the river, and Saint Andrew to be put in prison till he had advised him how he might torment him. But Saint Andrew made his prayer to God, and anon came an horrible thunder, which feared
them all, and made the earth to tremble strongly and the woman was smitten with the thunder unto the death. And the other prayed the apostle that they might not perish, and he prayed for them, and the tempest ceased. Thus then the provost believed in God, and all his meiny.

After this, as the apostle was in the city of Nice, the citizens said to him that there were seven devils without the city, by the highway, which slew all them that passed forthby. And the apostle Andrew commanded them to come to him, which came in the likeness of dogs, and sith he commanded them that they should go whereas they should not grieve ne do harm to any man; and anon they vanished away. And when the people saw this they received the faith of Jesu Christ. And when the apostle came to the gate of another city there was brought out a young man dead. The apostle demanded what was befallen him, and it was told him that seven dogs came and strangled him. Then the apostle wept and said: O Lord God, I know well that these were the devils that I put out of Nice; and after said to the father of him that was dead: What wilt thou give to me if I raise him? And he said: I have nothing so dear as him, I shall give him to thee. And anon the apostle made his prayers unto almighty God, and raised him from death to life, and he went and followed him.

On a time there were forty men by number, which were coming by the sea, sailing unto the apostle, for to receive of him the doctrine of the faith. And the devil raised and moved a great storm and so horrible a torment that all they were drowned together. And when their bodies were brought tofore the apostle, he raised them from death to life anon, and there they said all that was befallen to them. And therefore it is read in an hymn that he rendered the life to young men drowned in the sea. And the blessed Saint Andrew, whilst he was in Achaea, he replenished all the country with churches and converted the people to the faith of Jesu Christ and informed the wife of AEgeas, which was provost and judge of the town, in the faith, and baptized her. And when AEgeas heard this he came into the city of Patras and constrained the christians to sacrifice. And Saint Andrew came unto him, and said: It behoveth thee which hast deserved to be a judge, to know thy judge which is in heaven, and he so known, to worship him, and so worshipping, withdraw thy courage from the false gods. And AEgeas said: Thou art Andrew that preachest a false law, which the princes of Rome have commanded to be destroyed. To whom Andrew said: The princes of Rome knew never how the son of God came and taught and informed them that the idols be devils, and he that teacheth such things angereth God, and he, so angered, departeth from them that he heareth them not, and therefore be they caitiffs of the devil and be so illused and deceived that they issue out of the body all naked, and bear nothing with them but sins.

And AEgeas said to him: These be the vanities that your Jesus preached, which was nailed on the gallows of the cross. To whom Andrew said: He received with his agreement the gibbet of the cross, not for his culp and trespass, but for our redemption. And AEgeas said: When he was delivered of his disciple, taken and holden with the Jews, and crucified by the knyghts, how sayst thou that it was by his agreement? Then Saint Andrew began to show by five reasons that Jesu Christ received death by his own agreement and will, forasmuch as he came tofore his passion, and said to his disciples that it should be, when he said: We shall go up to Jerusalem, and the son of the maid shall be betrayed. And also for that Peter would withdraw him, he reproved him, and said: Go after me, Sathanas. And also for that he showed that he had power to suffer death, and to rise again when he said: I have power to put away my soul and to take it again. And also for
that he knew tofore him that betrayed him, when he gave him his supper, and showed him not. And also for that he chose the place where he should be taken, for he knew well that the traitor should come. And Saint Andrew said that he had been at all these things, and yet he said more, that the mystery of the cross was great. To whom AEgeas said: It may not be said mystery, but torment, and if thou wilt not grant to my sayings, truly I shall make thee prove this mystery. And Andrew said to him: If I doubted the gibbet of the cross I would not preach the glory thereof. I will that thou hear the mystery, and if thou knew and believedst on it thou shouldst be saved. Then he showed to him the mystery of the cross, and assigned five reasons. The first is this: Forasmuch as the first man that deserved death was because of the tree, in breaking the commandment of God, then is it thing convenable that the second man should put away that death, in suffering the same on the tree. The second was that, he that was made of earth not corrupted, and was breaker of the commandment, then was it thing convenable that he that should repel this default, should be born of a virgin. The third; for so much as Adam had stretched his hand disorderly to the fruit forbidden, it was thing convenable that the new Adam should stretch his hands on the cross. The fourth; for so much as Adam had tasted sweetly the fruit forbidden, it is therefore reason that it be put away by thing contrary; so that Jesu Christ was fed with bitter gall. The fifth; for as much as Jesu Christ gave to us his immortality, it is thing reasonable, that he take our mortality. For if Jesu Christ had not been dead, man had never been made immortal. And then said AEgeas: Tell to thy disciples such vanities, and obey thou to me, and make sacrifice unto the Gods almighty. And then said Saint Andrew: I offer every day unto God Almighty, a lamb without spot, and after that he is received of all the people, so liveth he and is all whole. Then demanded AEgeas how that might be. And Andrew said: Take the form for to be a disciple, and thou shalt know it well. I shall demand thee, said AEgeas, by torments. Then he being all angry, commanded that he should be enclosed in prison, and on the morn he came to judgment, and the blessed Saint Andrew unto the sacrifice of the idols. And AEgeas commanded to be said to him: If thou obey not to me, I shall do hang thee on the cross, for so much as thou hast praised it. And thus as he menaced him of many torments Saint Andrew said to him: Think what torment that is most grievous that thou mayst do to me, and the more I suffer, the more I shall be agreeable to my king, because I shall be most firm in the torments and pain. Then commanded AEgeas that he should be beaten of twenty-one men, and that he should be so beaten, bounden by the feet and hands unto the cross, to the end that his pain should endure the longer. And when he was led unto the cross, there ran much people thit And when he saw the cross from far he saluted it, and said: All hail cross which art dedicate in the body of Jesu Christ, and wert adorned with the members of him, as of precious stones. Tofore that our Lord ascended on thee, thou wert the power earthly, now thou art the love of heaven; thou shalt receive me by my desire. I come to thee surely and gladly so that thou receive me gladly as disciple of him that hung on thee. For I have alway worshipped thee and have desired thee to embrace. O thou cross which hast received beauty and noblesse of the members of our Lord, whom I have so long desired and curiously loved, and whom my courage hath so much desired and coveted, take me from hence, and yield me to my master, to the end that he may receive me by thee. And in thus saying, he despoiled and unclad him, and gave his clothes unto the butchers. And then they hung him on the cross, like as to them was commanded. And there he lived two days, and preached to twenty thousand men that were there. Then all the company swore the death of AEgeas, and said: The holy man and debonair ought not to suffer this. Then came thither AEgeas for to take him down off the cross. And when Andrew saw him he said: Wherefore art thou come to me, AEgeas? If it be for penance thou shalt have it, and if it be for to take me down, know thou for
certain thou shalt not take me hereof alive; for I see now my lord and king that abideth for me. Therewith they would have unbound him, and they might in nowise touch him for their arms were bynomen and of no power. And when the holy Saint Andrew saw that the world would have taken him down off the cross he made this orison hanging on the cross, as Saint Austin saith in the book of penance: Sire, suffer me not to descend from this cross alive, for it is time that thou command my body to the earth, for I have born long the charge, and have so much watched upon that which was commanded to me, and have so long travailed, that I would now be delivered of this obedience, and be taken away from this agreeable charge. I remember that it is much grievous, in proud bearing, in doubting, unsteadfast in nourishing, and have gladly laboured in the refraining of them. Sire, thou knowest how oft the world hath entended to withdraw me from the purity of contemplation, how oft he hath entended to awake me from the sleep of my sweet rest, how much and how oft times he hath made me to sorrow, and as much as I have had might I have resisted it right debonairly in fighting against it, and have by thy work and aid surmounted it: and I require of thee just and debonair guerdon and reward, and that thou command that I go not again thereto, but I yield to thee that which thou hast delivered me. Command it to another and empesh me no more, but keep me in the resurrection, so that I may receive the merit of my labour. Command my body unto the earth, so that it behoveth no more to wake, but let it be stretched freely to thee, which art fountain of joy never failing. And when he had said this, there came from heaven a right great shining light, which environed him by the space of half an hour, in such wise that no man might see him. And when this light departed he yielded and rendered therewith his spirit. And Maximilla, the wife of AEgeas, took away the body of the apostle, and buried it honourably. And ere that AEgeas was come again to his house, he was ravished with a devil by the way, and died tofore them all. And it is said that out of the sepulchre of Saint Andrew cometh manna like unto meal, and oil which hath a right sweet savour and odour. And by that is shewed to the people of the country when there shall be plenty of goods. For when ther cometh but little of manna, the earth shall bring forth but little fruit, and when it cometh abundantly, the earth bringeth forth fruit plenteously. And this might well happen of old time, for the body of him was transported into Constantinople.

There was a bishop that led an holy and religious life, and loved Saint Andrew by great devotion, and worshipped him above all other saints, so that in all his works he remembered him every day, and said certain prayers in the honour of God and Saint Andrew, in such wise that the enemy had envy on him, and set him for to deceive him with all his malice, and transformed him into the form of a right fair woman, and came to the palace of the bishop, and said that she would be confessed to him. And the bishop bade her to go confess her to his penitencer, which had plain power of him. And she sent him word again that she would not reveal nor show the secrets of her confession to none but to him, and so the bishop commanded her to come; and she said to him: Sir, I pray thee that thou have mercy on me; I am so as ye see in the years of my youth, and a maid, and was deliciously nourished from my infancy, and born of royal lineage, but I am come alone, in a strange habit; for my father which is a right mighty king would give me to a prince by marriage; whereto I answer that I have horror of all beds of marriage, and I have given my virginity to Jesu Christ for ever, and therefore I may not consent to carnal copulation. And in the end he constrained me so much that I must consent to his will or suffer divers torments; so that I am fled secretly away, and had liefer be in exile, than to break and corrupt my faith to my spouse. And because I hear the praising of your right holy life, I am fled unto you and to your guard, in hope that I may find with you place of rest, whereas I may be secret in contemplation,
and eschew the evil perils of this present life, and flee the diverse tribulations of the world. Of which thing the bishop marvelled him greatly, as well for the great noblesse of her lineage, as for the beauty of her body, for the burning of the great love of God, and for the honest fair speaking of this woman. So that the bishop answered to her, with a meek and pleasant voice: Daughter, be sure and doubt nothing; for he for whose love thou hast despised thyself and these things, shall give to thee the great thing. In this time present is little glory or joy, but it shall be in time to come. And I which am sergeant of the same, offer me to thee, and my goods; and choose thee an house where it shall please thee, and I will that thou dine with me this day. And she answered and said: Father, require of me no such thing, for by adventure some evil suspicion might come thereof. And also the resplendour of your good renomee might be thereby impaired. To whom the bishop answered: We shall be many together, and I shall not be with you alone, and therefore there may be no suspicion of evil. Then they came to the table, and were set, that one against that other, and the other folk here and there, and the bishop entendeth much to her, and beheld her alway in the visage, and he marvelled of her great beauty. And thus as he fixed his eyes on her his courage was hurt, and the ancient enemy, when he saw the heart of him, hurt with a grievous dart. And this devil apperceived it and began to increase her beauty more and more; insomuch that the bishop was then ready for to require her to sin when he might.

Then a pilgrim came and began to smite strongly at the gate or door, and they would not open it. Then he cried and knocked more strongly; and the bishop asked of the woman if she would that the pilgrim should enter. And she said: Men should ask first of him a question, grievous enough, and if he could answer thereto, he should be received, and if he could not, he should abide without, and not come in, as he that were not worthy but unwitting. And all agreed to her sentence, and enquired which of them were sufficient to put the question. And when none was found sufficient, the bishop said: None of us is so sufficient as ye, dame, for ye pass us all in fair speaking, and shine in wisdom more than we all; propose ye the question. Then she said: Demand ye of him, which is the greatest marvel that ever God made in little space. And then one went and demanded the pilgrim. The pilgrim answered to the messenger that it was the diversity and excellence of the faces of men: for among all so many men as have been sith the beginning of the world unto the end, two men might not be found of whom their faces were like and semblable in all things. And when the answer was heard, all they marvelled and said that this was a very and right good answer of the question. Then the woman said: Let the second question be proposed to him, which shall be more grievous to answer to, for to prove the better the wisdom of him, which was this: Whether the earth is higher than all the heaven? And when it was demanded of him the pilgrim answered: In the heaven imperial where the body of Jesu Christ is, which is form of our flesh, he is more high than all the heaven. Of this answer they marvelled all when the messenger reported it, and praised marvellously his wisdom. Consequently she said the third question, which was more dark and grievous to assoil. For to prove the third time his wisdom, and that then he be worthy to be received at the bishop's table, demand and ask of him; How much space is from the abysm unto the same heaven. Then the messenger demanded of the pilgrim, and he answered him: Go to him that sent thee to me and ask of him this thing, for he knoweth better than I, and can better answer to it, for he hath measured this space when he fell from heaven into the abysm, and I never measured it. This is nothing a woman but it is a devil which hath taken the form of a woman. And when the messenger heard this, he was sore afraid and told tofore them all this that he had heard. And when the bishop heard this and all other, they were sore afraid. And anon forthwith, the devil
vanished away tofore their eyes.

And after, the bishop came again to himself, and reproved himself bitterly, weeping, repenting and requiring pardon of his sin, and sent a messenger for to fetch and bring in the pilgrim, but he found him never after. Then the bishop assembled the people, and told to them the manner of this thing, and prayed them that they would all be in orisons and prayers, in such wise that our lord would show to some person who this pilgrim was which had delivered him from so great peril. And then it was showed that night to the bishop that it was Saint Andrew which had put him in the habit of a pilgrim for the deliverance of him. Then began the bishop more and more to have devotion and remembrance to Saint Andrew than he had tofore.

The provost of a city had taken away a field from the church of Saint Andrew, and by the prayer of the bishop he was fallen into a strong fever. And then he prayed the bishop that he would pray for him, and he would again yield the field. And when the bishop had prayed for him, and he had his health, he took the field again. Then the bishop put himself to prayer and orisons, and brake all the lamps of the church, and said: There shall none of them be lighted till that our Lord hath venged him on his enemy, and that the church have recovered that which she hath lost. And then the provost was strongly tormented with fevers, and sent to the bishop by messengers that he should pray for him, and he would yield again his field and another semblable. Then the bishop answered: I have heretofore prayed for him, and God heard and granted my prayer, and when he was whole, he took from me again the field. And then the provost made him to be borne to the bishop, and constrained him for to enter into the church for to pray. And the bishop entered into the church, and anon the provost died, and the field was re-established unto the church. Et sic est finis.
Figure 1. *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57

Figure 2. *Holy Blood Altarpiece*, Church of St. James, Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, 1499-1505.

Figure 3. Münnerstadt Altarpiece, Reconstruction, 1490-1492.

Figure 4. Creglingen Altarpiece, Herrgottskirche, Creglingen, c. 1505-1510.
Figure 5. Adam and Eve, South Portal, Marienkapelle, Würzburg, sandstone, 1491-1493.

Figure 6. Detail, St. Andrew, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 7. Predella figures and wing, Münnerstadt Altarpiece, 1490-1492, Bode-Museum, Berlin.

Figure 8. Detail, St. Luke, Münnerstadt Altarpiece, 1490-1492, Bode-Museum, Berlin.
Figure 9. Detail, St. Andrew, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 10. Detail, Deacon Saint, workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1510, Bode-Museum, Berlin.

Figure 11. Detail, St. Andrew, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 12. Detail, St. Andrew, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 14. *St. Andrew*, Hours of John the Fearless, Ghent, mid-fifteenth-century, BnF ms. lat. nouv. acq. 3055, fol. 172v.

Figure 15. *St. Andrew*, Hans Baldung, Woodcut, 1485-154, Strasbourg.

Figure 16. *St. Andrew*, Marienkapelle, Würzburg, Sandstone, 1500-1506.
Figure 17. *St. Andrew*, Altarpiece of the Twelve Apostles, St. Kilian, Windsheim, c. 1509, Kurpfälzische Museum, Heidelberg.

Figure 18. Reverse, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 19. *St. Andrew*, Marienkapelle, Würzburg, Limewood, 16th century, Munich, Bavarian National Museum.

Figure 20. Underside, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.
Figure 21. *St. Peter*, Limewood, German, 16th century, Upper Belvedere, Vienna.

Figure 23. Detail, *St. Peter*, Limewood, German, 16th century, Upper Belvedere, Vienna.

Figure 22. Detail, *St. Peter*, Limewood, German, 16th century, Upper Belvedere, Vienna.

Figure 24. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.
Figure 25. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 27. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 26. *St. Erasmus*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1500.

Figure 28. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.
Figure 29. Pigment sample, 20x magnification, Polarizing Light Microscope.

Figure 30. Pigment sample, polarizers crossed, 20x magnification, Polarizing Light Microscope.

Figure 31. *Anna Selbdritt*, Tilman Riemenschneider, 16th century, Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg.
Figure 32. Diagram of major restorations, losses, and fills, Ashley Laverock, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 33. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 34. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.
Figure 35. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.

Figure 36. Detail, *St. Andrew*, Workshop of Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505, Limewood, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 58.57.