

Jan Emens Menneken of Raeren: Auf der Pfau and far off?

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SUMMARY

In obscurity since its undocumented excavation from 1878–85, the probable workshop site of the master potter Jan Emens Menneken has recently been rediscovered at Raeren-Neudorf, Belgium. An assemblage of signed and dated waster sherds still remaining on site hints at Emens' activity there from at least 1566 until about 1586/87. The remarkable absence of any wasters assignable to his so-called late work of the period c. 1588–1593/94, the year of his alleged death at Raeren, is explained here by Emens' possible emigration to the Westerwald region. Supported by archaeological data, art-historical and technological aspects and a reassessment of the archival records, it is suggested that Emens established several consecutive workshops in neighbouring Westerwald villages. Under the name of Johann Mennicken from Raeren, from 1588 until well into the 17th century, he hypothetically became influential in the development of Westerwald-style cobalt-blue stoneware.

INTRODUCTION

The detailed study of stray finds from an extensive waster deposit surrounding number 24/26 Pfaustrasse in Raeren-Neudorf, Belgium, and the recent discovery of possible 16th-century structures in the building itself, have now led to the probable rediscovery of the tenement and workshop area of Raeren's eminent 16th-century master potter, Jan Emens Menneken.

The wasters, c. 1.5 cu.m. from layers which had originally covered at least 700 sq.m., have been collected by the author since August 1998, after extensive road-work, and during garden and construction work (see also Giertz 1999).

As indicated by contemporary sources referring to Jan Emens as *Johan Mennekens Emontz son*, or *Jan Emontze up de ffauwe* (Kohnemann 1991, 17, 44–8 and fig. 9) the site is indeed located in the field *Auf der Pfau* (Fig. 1, top right). Reputedly, this area was also the source of Laurenz Heinrich Hetjens' comprehensive collection of waster sherds and moulds by Jan Emens, recovered during his annual, officially approved excavations from 1878–85, probably following previous diggings on the site encouraged by the local priest Schmitz, from 1874 (Solon 1892 I, 127–9; von Falke 1908 II, 3; Koetschau 1924, 4; Hellebrandt 1977, 46 and endnote 48). Although more than 120 years of continuous and undocumented turning-over of the ground by local people, antiquarians and collectors,

and massive construction work, have resulted in an almost complete loss of original stratigraphy, as well as in the serious loss of moulds and decorated, signed and dated sherds, not to speak of intact vessels, the redeposited, left-over material remaining on-site still provides valuable information about the development, life-span and production range of the workshop, and technical and stylistic features of the wares produced. Not least, it clearly hints at a Menneken family residence, possibly from c. 1540, when Emont Menneken, Jan's father and an active potter himself, upon his marriage received a house in Neudorf from his father-in-law, or from 1561, when Jan Emens in turn received part of a house *Auf der Pfau* from Emont (Kohnemann 1991, 7 and 16). The location of both houses might be identical, or close-by.

Recent construction-work in 24/26 Pfaustrasse, which had been completely modified during the 18th and 19th centuries, revealed remnants of a probable 16th-century building, about 16 m by 6 m, probably half-timbered and divided into three zones (Fig. 1, bottom). To the west, above a vaulted cellar with a deep well, it has a typically raised room, which was, from two sherds found in another context, perhaps furnished with a green-glazed tile-stove. The distinctive type of stove-tile is tentatively associated with production c. 1500–25 at neighbouring Hauset, in which context a large domestic assemblage was found (cf. Mayer 1977, 190 and fig. 21; see also Gaimster 1997, 224 for a short description of the

Hauset *Wüstung*). The central room had a clay floor with an open fireplace at ground level; the workshop might have been situated in the uninvestigated eastern part of the house, next to the road where the original layer of wasters must have been the thickest. Finds in the surrounding area suggest the house had glass windows and a slate roof, showing a standard which is comparable to that of contemporary residential houses of master potters in Siegburg (Ruppel 1991a, 25; Korte-Böger 1995, 336–8). The presence in the floor of the central room, of a heavily-used spindle-whorl of the first half of the 16th-century and the nature of the corresponding levels of occupation layers inside and outside of the house, suggest that the building already existed when industrial activity and the deposition of wasters began, about the mid 16th century.

THE WASTER DEPOSIT

The sequence of wasters starts with a limited range of utilitarian, undecorated stoneware jugs, bottles and mugs with high, internally-hollowed frilled footrings, together with lamps and spindle-whorls, which are commonly dated to the later 15th and first half of the 16th century, but might well still have been produced after the middle of the century (e.g. Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986, 196–7; cat. nos. 300, 301 and 303; Gaimster 1997, 56–7; Fig. 3.11–12; 106–7, Fig. 3.69). It may be chronologically relevant that no early vessels within the group, that is those bearing primitive applied faces, were found. A major part of these relatively well-preserved wasters with a typical multi-coloured mineral stain (Fig. 2) had perhaps originally been deposited in a trench, found on the site (Fig. 1, bottom), which had been excavated in the 19th century and back-filled with a mixture of 16th- and 17th-century wasters and 19th-century rubbish. This trench (*Scherbengraben*) is presumably one of those exploited by Hetjens, or his precursors, above. Most likely, it was originally covered by layers of evenly distributed, highly fragmented and walked-over sherds of the later 16th and earlier 17th centuries, the concentration of which appears to be thinning out with distance from the house.

Probably not before the 1560s, a series of typologically similar, but more carefully finished vessels emerges, which were shaped with the help of templates and display cordoned pedestal bases and zones of multiple and single cordons around the shoulder and neck (e.g. von Falke 1908 II, fig. 139 left). At least part of this group, which includes globular and ovoid jugs (e.g. Solon 1892 I, fig. 117), spouted jugs, three-handled jugs and beakers, small tankards and conical handled bowls, shows the same mineral stain and seems to originate

from the same ditch. These vessels (Fig. 2) might even be contemporaneous with the majority of the typologically earlier group. Only a few sherds bear mould-applied decoration in the form of Cologne-style rose- and oak-leaf ornament, prunts, bands of vine-foliage around the neck and body (the latter with pendant acanthus leaves), elaborate bearded face-masks, portrait roundels and running arcades with portrait busts (Col. Pl. 1a). In addition to the obvious stylistic influence from earlier and contemporary Cologne/Frechen-type ware, the output of the phase *c.* 1565–70 also shows strong influence from Siegburg, characterised for example by the style of large biblical roundels, the earliest dated '1567' in the mould (for a fine, undated vessel by Jan Emens, which consistently combines various elements of the period see Gaimster 1997, cat. 87).

It may be more than coincidental that Jan Emens did not sign his moulds with the IE initials until 1568, the year after his father had moved to neighbouring Eynatten, together with his second wife and Jan's younger brothers and sisters (Kohnemann 1991, 7). Fragments of the earliest-known products certainly made by Jan Emens, the series of tall *Schnelle* tankards dated and signed '1566', '1567' and '1568 IE' in the moulds (von Falke 1908 II, 7–9; figs 141–3; pl. X) are present among the Pfaustrasse wasters (Col. Pl. 1a, top right). This might indicate that Jan as the family's oldest son, now in his mid-twenties and old enough to have become a master potter himself, had, after his father's removal, taken over Emont's workshop and now concentrated on the production of quality pottery, which he decorated according to his own taste and confidently signed with his initials.

If also located at *Auf der Pfau*, he possibly maintained and used Emont's Neudorf kiln site, which he sold only in 1585 (Kohnemann 1991, 22). As early as 1561, however, Jan is known to have had his own property *Auf der Pfau*, to which he added more land and houses in the area in 1570, 1571, 1581, and 1585 (*ibid.*, 16). Prospection of the neighbouring fields shows indeed a sparse yet even distribution of mid 16th- to earlier 17th-century surface finds. These cover a wide area of once arable land, which was possibly owned by Jan Emens. His actual kiln-site might be identified as an isolated findspot of *c.* 70 sq.m., which is scattered with a substantial quantity of kiln debris and wasters *c.* 1540/61–1630. Situated within sight of the house, its precise location is not mapped here, in order to protect it from illegal diggings. The associated waster sherds are parallel with the Pfaustrasse assemblage in their chronological range as well as style. Decorated sherds of the phase *c.* 1568–87 are exclusively by Jan Emens. It remains possible therefore that at least part of the typologically earliest group of wasters (with frilled bases) is by Jan Emens, made

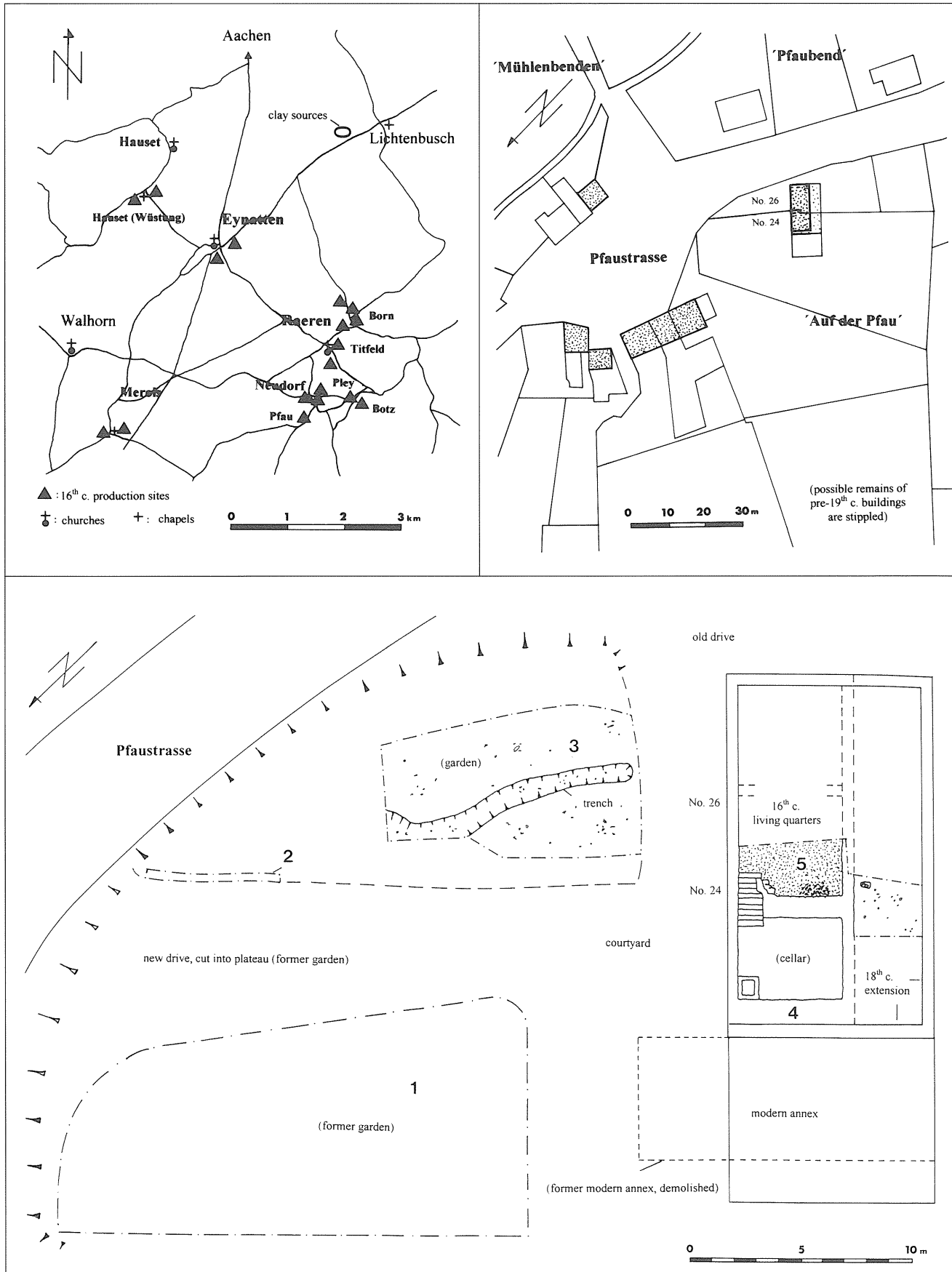


Fig. 1 Location maps: top left, Raeren area with 16th-century stoneware production sites; top right, Raeren-Neudorf, Pfaustrasse area; bottom, 24/26 Pfaustrasse with waster deposit. Wasters by Jan Emens are from areas 1–5; findspots 4 and 5 are 18th-century levelling layers with residual finds.

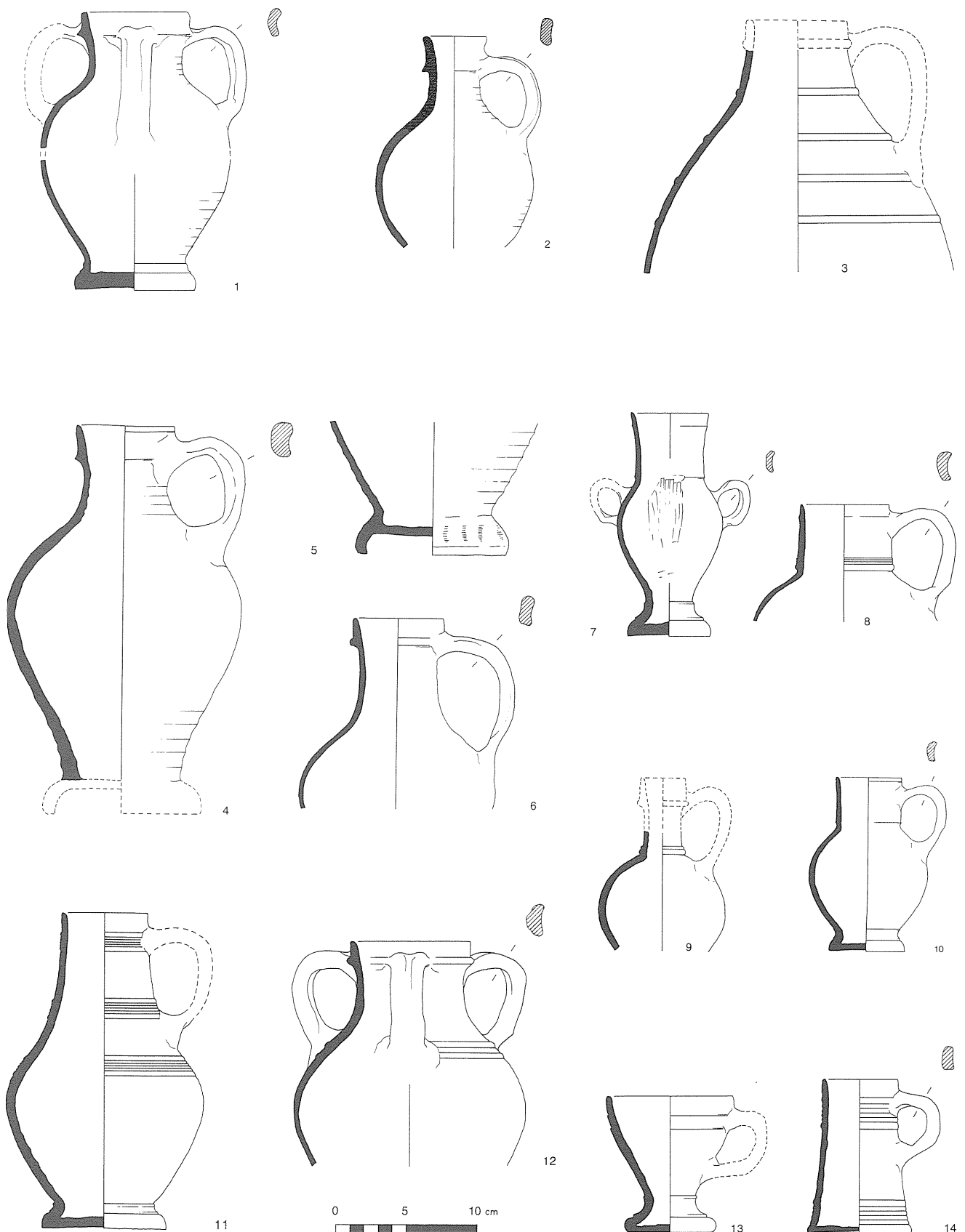


Fig. 2 Raeren, Pfaustrasse deposit: A coherent group of 'stained' wasters c. (1540)/1561–70. (One handle of the three-handled beaker Fig. 2, 7 was scraped off before firing). Scale 1:4.

from c. 1561 in his own workshop and kiln, and partly dumped around his kiln-site, on the surrounding fields, and in a deposit next to his house, all situated *Auf der Pfau*.

In the Pfaustrasse sequence some 'IE'-signed and dated wasters of the period c. 1570–75 are followed by a group of sherds from Jan's extensive production of newly-developed, strip-applied panel-jugs, usually signed and dated 'IE 1576' in the mould (Col. Pl. 1b; see also von Falke 1908 II, 15–20). Fragments of several individual vessels with the famous Centaur frieze were found, which could, perhaps, all derive from a single, largely failed, firing (cf. Solon 1892 I, 177). The sequence continues with an 'IE 1577' signed and dated series of large heraldic medallions (Col. Pl. 1b, bottom right), and a considerable group of fragments with applied oval medallions, some bearing his trademark (*Hausmarke*), which are often signed and dated 'IE' or 'IEM 1578' (Col. Pl. 2a; cf. Gaimster 1997, cat. 88 and col. Pl. 18). Equally numerous are sherds showing a variety of medallions and panels, some signed 'IE' or 'IEM', with dates in the mould from 1583–85, for example the earliest-known panels with Cavaliers, the 'Arms of the Magi' and Susannah and the Elders (*Susannenwerk*) (Col. Pl. 2b, top). The latest dated sherd which can be securely attributed to Jan's work as a mould-cutter is a fragment dated '1586' in the mould, most likely bearing the upper part of Jan's own trademark (Col. Pl. 2b, middle).

The class of Jan's early cobalt-blue-painted vessels (*Blauwerk*, likely to have been introduced to Raeren by Jan Emens), and mentioned by documentary evidence for the year 1583 (von Falke 1908 II, 28–9) is not clearly represented. Although one sherd has mould-applied decoration from the '1576'-dated version of one of his moulds with peasant scenes and text (Col. Pl. 2b, bottom middle; cf. Gaimster 1997, cat. 92), it rather dates to the 17th century, because of its use of a stamped cordoned band. A few sherds resemble the type of carved and gad-rooned shoulders typical of some fully signed large panel-jugs with the 'Life of Joseph' dated '1587', preserved in several public collections (e.g. von Falke 1908 II, pl. XIII). Some of these fragments suggest an early use of stamp-impressed decoration, a feature occasionally employed by Jan Emens in a primitive form as early as the 1560s, possibly prior to other workshops in Raeren. However, in these cases, too, the regular combination with stamped cordons and, occasionally, post-1597 moulds suggests their attribution to the second phase of *Blauwerk*-production on the Pfaustrasse site, during the first third of the 17th century (Col. Pl. 2b, bottom right).

Positive and negative moulds, some merely chips of the reverse, are extremely rare, while original moulds are completely lacking. This is possibly due

to the known predilection of Hetjens for such artefacts, of which he owned nearly 2000, as claimed in his last will of 1902. A fragmentary negative mould of a lion mask by Jan Emens was perhaps used in his production series of c. 1578 (Gaimster 1997, Col. Pl. 18).

With the exception of some sherds and a fragmentary negative mould with the same Pomerania-Stettin arms, signed and dated 'GE 1580' (by Jan's brother Gilles?), and several fragments of the dated and signed '1584 ENGEL KRAN' copy of Jan's 1583 *Susannenwerk* (the latter with stamped diaper decoration and suspected to have been produced at a much later date) the entire assemblage of signed and dated, as well as stylistically related unsigned, undated and undecorated wares attributed to the years c. 1568 to 1586/87 can exclusively be assigned to production by Jan Emens, employing only moulds which were likely cut by himself. Many of these have not yet been recorded in the literature (e.g. Col. Pl. 2a, middle right, with a grotesque foliate mask in a medallion, after an engraving by Cornelis Floris).

The location of the deposit in the immediate surroundings of a contemporary, relatively isolated 16th century building, situated on a slight plateau in the field *Auf der Pfau*, together with the occurrence of wasters only by Jan Emens within the closely dated sequence of c. 1568–1586/87, does suggest a close connection between the temporary owner and function of the house, and the waster deposit in this period. It is therefore plausible that this unfortunately much-reduced but important waster assemblage still represents the overall development at, perhaps, Emont Menneken's and, more probably, Jan Emens' workshop, spanning the period c. 1540, or, rather, 1561 to 1586/87. From the apparently continuous development of vessel forms, template-shaped rim and base profiles, and their association with a sequence of dated moulds, it may be assumed that, usually, within the period of Jan's presumed single-ownership, c. 1568–1586/87, there was no prolonged use of moulds, that is for more than about five years. The noteworthy concurrence of the same deficiencies, and distinctive features of fabric, slip and glaze, observed in the waster assemblage and among related vessels in museum collections, even hints at a very limited total number of kiln-firings for certain production series, for example panel-jugs with the Centaur frieze (cf. Solon 1892 I, 177). This was certainly the result of the master's unsurpassed inventiveness, productivity and ambition, both as a potter and mould-cutter. Yet, it was possibly also due to sustained difficulties in the marketing process, or extraordinary risks proven during a previous firing, especially for oversized and highly decorated vessels. Such misfirings, and the heavy demands made on his own work, may

account for Jan Emens' increasing financial troubles (Kohnemann 1991, 20), escalating after 1587 (see below p. 121).

JAN EMENS' 'LATE WORK'

The loss of finds caused by extensive construction and road work and earlier diggings on the site may distort the picture to a certain degree, and there is a slight possibility that not all the firings and production series produced wasters, which, in turn, might not anyway necessarily have been spread around 24/26 Pfaustrasse as hard-core. Still there is as yet a remarkable lack of evidence for wasters decorated with well-known signed and dated moulds of Jan Emens' highly-praised 'late period' c. 1587–93/94 (von Falke 1908 II, 26–36; figs. 165–76; pls. XIII–IV). This applies too to undecorated sherds assignable to the same period. Indeed, activity in the area appears to have ceased from c. 1586/87 until possibly well into the 17th century, when a range of rather standardised, unsigned and mainly stamp-decorated *Blauwerk* emerges, alongside the more traditional brown ware, often in the widely adopted style of the so-called Jan Baldems workshop. Technically and stylistically these 'Westerwald-style' and brown products are not directly related to Jan Emens's pre-1587 work and do not generally use his moulds. This latest production phase ultimately ends during the second quarter of the 17th century, when pottery production on this site comes to a full stop.

The rather surprising lack of even the slightest evidence for Jan Emens' activity *Auf der Pfau* after c. 1586/87, until his assumed death in Raeren c. 1593 (Kohnemann 1991, 11) naturally raises questions about the location of his workshop during that crucial period, which must have been responsible for the production of the fully signed and dated, impressive *Blauwerk* vessels in major public collections (e.g. von Falke 1908 II, figs. 165–6; Pls. XIII–IV).

In his invaluable work, von Falke in 1908 already states that the success of Jan Emens' late products, marking a second high point in quality after 1576–78, largely depended upon the introduction of a 'new', light-grey, 'sometimes almost white' and finer fabric by 1587, clearly in addition to the master's earlier invention of reduced, cobalt-blue painted ware, still in the typical grey fabric of Raeren-type, a couple of years before (*ibid.*, 26). Von Falke further hints at the fact that apparently only a part of this post-1587 group, mainly represented by large panel-jugs and the newly-developed standing costrels and apothecary jars, appears to consist of Raeren products, of course believed to be made there by the master himself (although the present author is not aware of any waster finds in Raeren attributable

to this group). The other, possibly larger, part was suggested to be the nearly identical work of Jan's supposed successor and heir, a certain Johann Mennicken known from written sources related to the Westerwald region, whom von Falke believed to have been trained in Jan's workshop at Raeren. In this explanatory model Johann would have managed to secure the possession of Jan's post-1587 moulds, perhaps after the latter's supposed, but entirely unproven death in Raeren by 1593/94. Soon after, Johann would have moved to the Westerwald region to set up a workshop, where he made extensive use of his late master's moulds, until 'long after his death' (*ibid.*, 29). This was also thought to explain the fact that in the Westerwald village of Grenzau Raeren-style wasters were found with applied decoration from dated moulds 1588–98 (e.g. Reineking-von Bock 1986, cat. 449; cf. Gaimster 1997, cat. 109 for an identical panel from a mould signed and dated 'IE 1590'). One of these wasters mentioned by von Falke is said to bear a signature and date 'IM 1595', for Johann Mennicken. Furthermore, the neighbouring village of Grenzhausen produced wasters in the same style, which von Falke from art-historical and archival evidence attributed to a newly-established workshop of the same Johann Mennicken, after he had moved from Grenzau, c. 1598, together with other potters of the Menneken and Kalf families, who had originally emigrated from Raeren (von Falke 1908 II, 71 and 83). Had this group of people been inspired by the example of the former leading master potter from Siegburg, Anno Knütgen, who had also left his workshop under obscure circumstances several years before, finally to settle down and work in the neighbouring Westerwald village of Höhr (both now constituting the town of Höhr-Grenzhausen), where he died around 1593 (Treptow 1991, 38–40 and 50)?

Regarding the emigrants from Raeren, we can still only speculate about their motivation (Gaimster 1997, 251), and it seems that since von Falke's survey the picture has not been modified substantially by new evidence.

THE WESTERWALD CONNECTION

Combining the available information from Raeren, Grenzau and Grenzhausen it is cautiously suggested here that, first, it was in fact Jan Emens himself, who around 1587, at least temporarily, left Raeren, curiously in the year when he sold property in Neudorf next to his father's former house (Kohnemann 1991, 16), and possibly in a hurry to escape financial rather than religious or military trouble at home (see below p. 121). If so he possibly joined a group of Raeren potters, who moved to the Westerwald village of Grenzau. The hypothetical products of his new workshop should naturally be

characterised by a 'new', 'almost white', typically Westerwald-type of fabric, rather than the grey Raeren-type of fabric with its typical reddish (haematite?) inclusions, which turn blackish, melt out and leave cavities, if the fabric is fused. Secondly, if the highly skilled Westerwald potter using the IM initials is not believed to have been just a close follower of Jan Emens, it might even be that the Raeren master potter Jan Emens Menneken, who maintained his workshop *Auf der Pfau* until c. 1587, and Johann Mennicken from Raeren, who appeared at Grenzau possibly as early as 1588, are one and the same person.

An assessment of the identities of the IM initials is, however, complicated by their usage also on Raeren-type brown ware, likely by several potters of the Menneken family from c. 1578 until at least 1589 (von Falke 1908 II, 47–8; 62–3 and fig. 205). To avoid confusion with other family members bearing the same first name, Jan Emens initially might have chosen to include his father's name (E for Emens = Emont's son) into his IE signature and IEM *Hausmarke* (Kohnemann 1991, 29). After 1583, on some moulds he added an M for his family name to the IE signature, and occasionally combined both versions on one vessel. He continued also to use the IE initials, found for example on a 1587-dated mould decorating a fragment in the Trier Landesmuseum (Seewaldt 1990, 126 and fig. 362). This sherd is among the handful of Jan Emens' latest signed and dated products in Raeren-type brown ware currently known to this author.

Significantly, von Falke, who was extremely familiar with the great collections of his time, was able to assign a mere four vessels of brown ware to Jan Emens' work of 1587 and later, two of them fragments (von Falke 1908 II, 35–69). One vessel in the Kunstgewerbemuseum at Berlin is said to be signed and dated 'YE 1587', but the most recent discussion of it by Klinge (1979b, 95–7 and fig. 96) again states that the date in the mould is incomplete and reads '158'. A small fragment, probably from the same inscription panel, is found among the Pfaustrasse wasters (Col. Pl. 2b, above scale). The second vessel, an undated panel jug, given a date c. 1590 by von Falke (1908 II, fig. 178), is stylistically similar to his production series of c. 1583–5, for example the panel jugs with medallions in running arcades bearing the 'Arms of the three Magi', which are represented in the Pfaustrasse assemblage (Col. Pl. 2b, top right). A third example consists of sherds decorated with the 1587-dated frieze of the 'Life of Joseph', then in the collection of L. H. Hetjens and therefore possibly recovered from the Pfaustrasse deposit. Finally, von Falke discusses an undated fragment then in the Figdor collection (von Falke 1908 II, fig. 167), which he, and later, but also not convincingly, Walcher von

Molthein (1909, 14 and fig. 14), assigned a 1589 date on historical grounds; since the same type of *Hausmarke* is already found on a '1586'-dated sherd from the Pfaustrasse deposit (Col. Pl. 2b, bottom centre), the mould might as well be from the period c. 1586–7, which is not contradicted by the cited historical evidence. Both latter panels otherwise are much better known in their *Blauwerk* versions, and in the 'new' fabric. The same applies to the stylistically related panels with the 'Peasants' Wedding' (Gaimster 1997, cat. 112) and the 'Seven Works of Mercy' (von Falke 1908 II, figs 238 a and b). Sherds of brown ware from these moulds are found at Pfaustrasse (Col. Pl. 2b, bottom left). They were probably made by Jan Emens shortly before, or in, 1587, during one of his latest kiln-firings there.

In conclusion, there appears to be no certain production of brown ware by Jan Emens after 1587. This is in marked contrast to the substantial number of 'IE'-signed, post-1587 *Blauwerk* vessels, not to speak of the mass of stylistically related 'IM'-signed products. That pattern might be the result of a possible shift of Jan's workshop to the Westerwald region, where the immigrants from Siegburg and Raeren, according to documentary evidence, fully concentrated on the more profitable and privileged production of *Blauwerk* (von Falke 1908 II, 67). On the other hand, the main bulk of contemporary, late 16th-century products from Raeren workshops still consisted of the traditional brown ware, made well into the 17th century as can be seen on the Raeren waster heaps.

The hypothetical introduction of a new IM signature by Jan Emens after 1587, and its frequent combination with the more familiar IE monogram on the same vessels, would be consistent with the practice in Jan Emens' Pfaustrasse workshop before 1587, where he gradually developed, simultaneously used and often combined the monograms and *Hausmarken* IE, IEM, YE and YEM. The omission of the initial E for his father's name in the IM monogram (if we follow our second hypothesis that Jan Emens and Johann Mennicken were identical) could be explained by the absence of any other potter bearing the same initials among the immigrants in his new environment at the Westerwald.

It is, however, possible that Jan Emens occasionally used the IM signature even before 1588. A very large brown jug with armorial medallions, once in the von Oppenheim collection, bears a Nassau coat-of-arms, which is signed and dated 'IM 1578' in the mould (Pabst 1889, fig. 4). The central part of the medallion appears to be identical with an unsigned and undated version of the same arms, which is found on a coherent group of wasters from the Pfaustrasse deposit. These vessels had originally been incorporated in a kiln wall, and, after its demolition or repair, were deposited with kiln

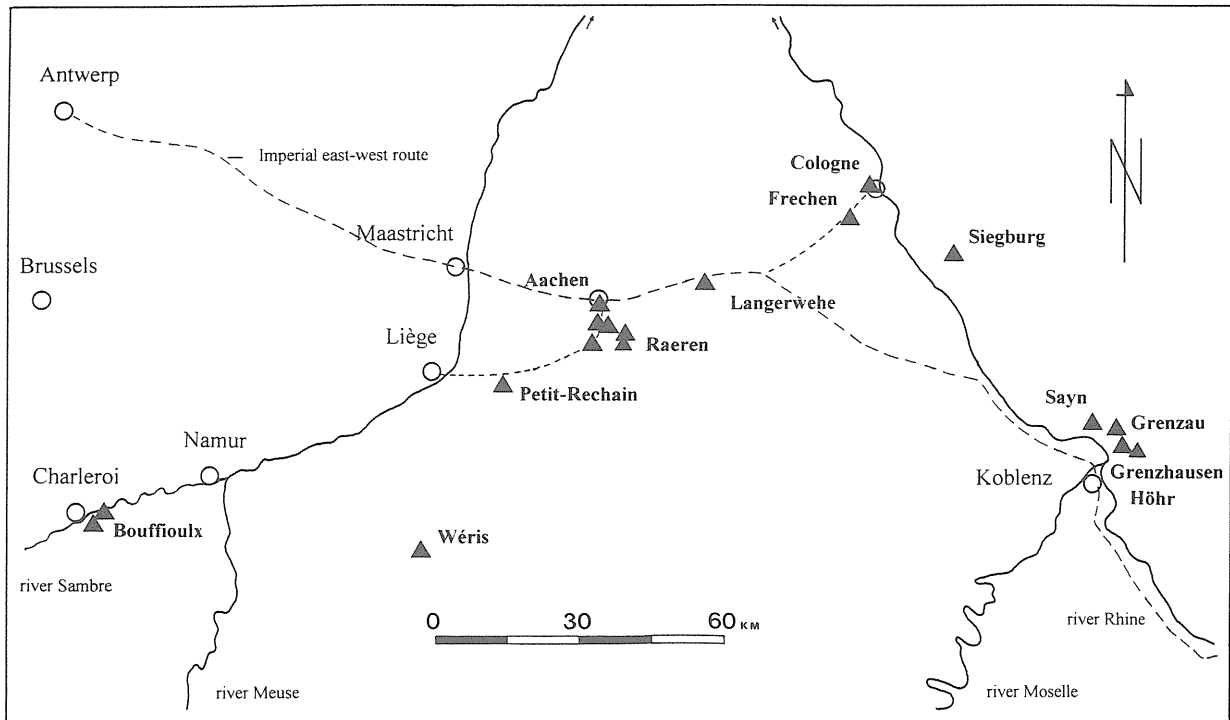


Fig. 3 Map of related stoneware industries of the late 15th to early 17th centuries in the Rhine and Meuse regions, marked by triangles.

debris. The group is characteristically decorated with armorial medallions from moulds mostly signed and dated 'IE 1575' and '1577'. As to the Nassau arms, it can be assumed that to an original mould, c. 1575–77 and by Jan Emens, has later been added a surrounding text, an 'IM' signature and a date '1578', probably in the same workshop and during one of the stages required for the manufacture of moulds (see below, p. 121). While the distinctive form and decoration of the 'IM'-signed von Oppenheim jug, and especially the lion mask with 'turban' on its neck, are already indicative of the general style of Jan Emens, it is important that the same mask is also found on a stylistically related giant jug then in the same collection, which is signed and dated 'IE 1574' in the mould (*ibid.*, fig. 3; also von Falke 1908 II, fig. 145). Therefore, a common provenance from Jan Emens' Pfaustrasse workshop of both giant jugs is highly probable, as is the common identity of their IM and IE signatures (but see below p. 121 for the prolonged use of the mould with lion mask). Jan Emens' practice of adding to, modifying and 'updating' constituent elements of large composite moulds, as in the example of the Nassau arms given above, can also be detected in the two known variants of a large relief with two facing portrait roundels in the centre of a diamond lozenge. One of the variants, found on a large pitcher in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is signed and dated 'IM 1573' in the mould (Gaimster 1997, cat.

86; here the date is erroneously read as 1575). The other variant, for example on a large *Schnelle* tankard and with the portrait roundels reversed, has a signature and date 'IE 1575' (Klinge 1979a, cat. 68). Although both variants show completely different arrangements of the monograms and dates, it is obvious that for the corresponding letters and ciphers identical single stamps have been used. This was probably done after the original, constituent matrices (*Urmatrizen*) had been rearranged and transferred to a composite die impression (*Patrizie*), which in turn was copied in a negative mould (*Abdruckmatrizie*) that could now be stamped or incised with a monogram, a date and so forth (see Ruppel 1991b, 85–91 and fig. 13 for the process). Both variants of the relief, probably designed by the same hand and in the same workshop, offer additional evidence for the identity of the IE and IM monograms. The seemingly unsystematic use of various signatures by Jan Emens, including IM, in a way reflects the pattern found in the archival records, where numerous versions of his name occur and, eventually, he is simply referred to as *Jan Menneken* (= IM) (Kohnemann 1992, 35–6).

The argument, put forward here, that Jan Emens left Raeren around 1587, is supported not least by a series of court records related to affairs at Raeren, which were recently edited by Kohnemann (1991). According to these, in 1587 Jan Emens' wife (*frou*), who, strangely enough, in the same year is

mentioned as his widow (*widwe*), although from later sources her (disappeared?) husband appeared to be still alive, was forced to allow the Aachen pot-merchant Peter Becker to recover his losses from the contents of two kilns, presumably not-yet emptied (*ibid.*, 13 and 51). Reportedly, Becker had also been Jan's supplier of salt, an essential compound, and needed in great quantities, in the production of Raeren-type salt-glazed stoneware (Kohnemann 1992, 82–3). In 1588 Jan promised Becker and another party to pay his debts (*ibid.*, 1991, 20), but in that same year, and again in 1590, he was not able, or willing, to attend the competent court at Walhorn, close to Raeren, when several parties had complaints because of Jan's debts, and applied for the seizure of his property: Jan Emens sent representatives in both cases (*ibid.*, 11). There are even more court proceedings after 1590, still covering unsettled financial issues (*ibid.*, 20).

Equally significant in this context might be Jan Emens' production of a number of elaborate costrels in the 'new' fabric, decorated with unusually large armorials from signed and dated moulds 'IE 1588', and again '1589', which bear the arms of Bentheim-Tecklenburg, and Wied (von Falke 1908 II, 29–32; pl. XIV; fig. 170). To these can be added a spouted jug, also decorated with the mould-applied arms of Wied, which is signed and dated 'IM 1588', and attributed to Johann Mennicken by von Falke (*ibid.*, 62). This group of vessels could indicate a recently acquired clientele, or the desired patronage, in the Westerwald region itself: the Counts of Wied actually had control over Grenzhäuser, the probable future place of residence for Johann Mennicken from Raeren. Could Johann even be the same person, bearing the same name, who is mentioned as a new resident near Sayn in the Westerwald, bestowed with the Meisenhof estate around 1617, where, strangely, (or, perhaps not?) 'Raeren' moulds have been found (*ibid.*, 65 and 71)? Recent finds from the author's prospection of the Meisenhof site indeed prove the use of at least one mould also employed by the Pfaustrasse workshop. If these three persons mentioned in the texts were indeed identical, master *Jan Emontze Mennicken* a.k.a. *Johann Mennicken von den Roren* would have been in his mid-70s in 1617, still going strong 'long after his death'. The working hypothesis of a prolonged activity of the pioneering Jan Emens in the Westerwald, together with that of the Knütgen family in a neighbouring village, might help to explain the dominant stylistic influence of Raeren-type panel jugs, in the style developed by Jan Emens, as well as the immediate and continuing success of the Westerwald *Blauwerk* industry, from its very beginnings in the late 16th into the 17th century, in contrast to the gradual decline at Raeren and Siegburg, where the established 'Westerwald-style' was extensively copied around 1600.

Finally, the strange fact that Jan Emens in 1589 and 1590 produced nearly identical, 'IE'-signed variants of his own moulds of 1576, that is those with the procession of the Four Seasons (Col. Pl. 1b, bottom right), and with the peasant scenes, above, deserves further attention. Why didn't he re-use the original versions? New moulds were frequently employed for a series of elaborate *Blauwerk* jugs, which are usually attributed to the Westerwald region, and to Jan Emens' 'close follower' with the IM signature (e.g. Koetschau 1924, pl. 61). At least one of these vessels, according to the results of chemical analysis, is unlikely to have been produced at Raeren (Gaimster 1997, cat. 108). Had Jan Emens been forced to leave some of his original moulds back at Raeren, where they had possibly continued to be used by other workshops? It is suggested here that the evident circulation in Raeren of moulds by Jan Emens post-dates his hypothetical emigration to the Westerwald c. 1587, rather than reflecting a common practice of exchange between contemporary workshops before that event. Without a doubt, several of Jan Emens' pre-1587 moulds were still available in Raeren around 1600, such as the one with lion mask mentioned above (cf. Solon 1892 I, Pl. XII, with Seven Electors panel of c. 1602), but apparently did not reach the Westerwald. Their suspected use by workshops other than Pfaustrasse is supported by the recent find of an 'IE'-signed negative mould with Cavaliers, c. 1583, among a group of 17 identifiable, partly misfired, being glazed, moulds c. 1583–95/1600, from a stratified waster deposit next to No. 12 Grachtstrasse at Raeren-Born (all probably made or in use in the 1590s, including a misfired original clay-mould). As in the case of Pfaustrasse above, here too moulds and corresponding wasters attributable to Engel Kran (*Susammenwerk*) and GE (Gilles Emonts?) have been discovered.

Interestingly, the Grachtstrasse layers, as well as the extensive dumps at neighbouring Merols, produced a type-series of mainly undecorated, 'transitional' ware c. 1560–70, which closely resembles the contemporary output of the Pfaustrasse workshop (cf. Fig. 2). The notable exceptions from this standardised, regional repertoire are those highly decorated vessels, especially large *Schnelle* tankards and pitchers, which obviously required unusual artistic and technical skills, because of their elaborate mould-applied decoration. This category, indeed, appears to be the young Jan Emens' invention at Raeren, and his specialty, until other talented masters such as Baldem Mennicken appeared on the scene, resulting in the well-known golden age of the industry during the 1570s and 1580s.

It is, however, likely that around 1600, if not before, several (successful) workshops in Raeren

were merely led by 'copy-artists', who were unable, or lacking the motivation, to design all of their matrices themselves, and instead acquired and recycled old moulds by established masters, especially when these represented still popular subjects. The dissemination of moulds (not necessarily original moulds), and the development again of a general, rather than personal or workshop-specific, style, may have been stimulated by certain wholesale merchants and entrepreneurs anxious under increasingly difficult political and economic conditions, to receive marketable, unpretentious items, rather than works of art. An economically important and doubtlessly influential role in the marketing process of Jan Emens' (and others) products, whether still at Raeren or indeed in the Westerwald, was obviously played by the Dutch merchant Jan Allers. According to documentary evidence, he had traded Emens' pots from at least 1583, notably his then expensive *Blauzwerk*, and it can be assumed that it was Allers, too, who supplied Jan Emens with cobalt, almost certainly coming from mills established by the Dutch in Saxony (Gaimster 1997, 41). Quite frequently, Allers had his name or trade mark placed on Raeren, Westerwald, Frechen and Bouffloux ware made well into the 17th-century (von Falke 1908 I, 27–30), thus linking up major industrial centres in distant regions (Fig. 3). Did he actively encourage potters to concentrate on specialised production lines and, eventually, to shift their workshops? Around 1600 his trade mark and name are ubiquitous also on those anonymous, mass-produced 'Westerwald-style' wares which were supplied by Jan Emens' successors at the Pfaustrasse workshop in Raeren (van Loo 1984, figs. V A–B and VI; cf. figs. 7–9). The importance of entrepreneurs like Becker, Allers and Cornelis de Wall, Jan Emens' *komper*, or partner, agent and financier in his early days around 1570 (Hellebrandt 1977, 138–9; Gaimster 1997, cat. 87), still appears to be underestimated (but see Treptow 1991, 33–5 for Siegburg).

We are fortunate that the entire assemblage of waster sherds and moulds from L. H. Hetjens' excavations at Pfaustrasse is apparently still preserved in a store-room of the Hetjens-Museum, Düsseldorf. These finds will be thoroughly examined and studied to provide a more complete assessment of the workshop's production range and history. It must, however, be emphasised that the questions raised here can hardly be answered by archaeological fieldwork and pottery research alone. A new evaluation of the apparently rich archival sources related to both Raeren and the Westerwald region is urgently needed. Art-historical analysis of post-1587 *Blauzwerk* with the IE, IEM and IM signatures and *Hausmarken* might be helpful in the assessment of identities. Not least, a hopefully extended

programme of chemical analysis would be most suitable to determine the origin of the questionable *Blauzwerk*-group (cf. Gaimster 1997, 30, and cat. nos. 108 and 110 for promising results), against a background of chemical fingerprints already established for the respective production centres, with databases at the British Museum and the University of Bonn. Any future activity in these specialist fields would be much appreciated by the author of these interim notes.

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Résumé

Resté dans l'obscurité depuis sa fouille non documentée en 1878-85, le site probable de l'atelier du maître potier Jan Emens Menneken a récemment été redécouvert à Raeren-Neudorf, en Belgique. Un groupements de tessons de rejets signés et datés qui restaient encore sur place, témoignent des activités d'Emens en ce lieu à partir au moins de 1566 jusqu'à environ 1586/ 87. L'absence remarquable de tous rejets attribués à son travail dit "tardif" de la période 1588 à 1593/ 94, l'année présumée de sa mort à Raeren, est expliquée ici avec l'émigration possible d'Emens dans la région du Westerwald. Soutenu par les données archéologiques, les aspects historiques et technologiques et une ré-examination des enregistrements archivés, il est suggéré qu'Emens établit plusieurs ateliers consécutifs dans les villages avoisinant cette région. Sous le nom de Johann Mennicken de Raeren, de 1588 jusqu'au XVII^e siècle inclu, il est devenu hypothétiquement influent dans le développement de la faïence bleue de cobalt de style Westerwald.

Zusammenfassung

Seit seiner undokumentierten Ausgrabung in den Jahren 1878–85 in Vergessenheit geraten, konnte der vermutliche Werkplatz des Meistertöpfers Jan Emens Menneken erst kürzlich in Raeren-Neudorf, Belgien, wiederentdeckt werden. Eine Anzahl auf dem Grabungsgelände verbliebener signierter und datierter Fehlbrände weist auf die Tätigkeit Emens an diesem Ort spätestens seit 1566, bis ca. 1586/87 hin. Das bemerkenswerte Fehlen jeglicher Fehlbrände, die seinem sogenannten Spätwerk der Periode von 1588–1593/94, dem Jahr seines angeblichen Todes in Raeren, zugeschrieben werden könnten, wird hier erklärt mit Emens möglicher Auswanderung in den Westerwald. Gestützt auf archäologische Daten, kunsthistorische und keramik-technologische Merkmale sowie eine Neueinschätzung der archivalischen Quellen ist darauf zu schließen, dass Emens in benachbarten Orten des Westerwaldes mehrere aufeinanderfolgende Werkstätten gegründet hat. Unter dem Namen Johann Mennicken aus Raeren nahm er dort hypothetisch von ca. 1588 bis weit ins 17. Jh. hinein stilprägenden Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des regionalen Blauwerks.