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Van de redactie

Dit laatste nummer van *De Zeventiende Eeuw* ‘oude stijl’ opent met een themadossier dat voortvloeit uit het jaarcongres 2015 van de Werkgroep. Dit congres, getiteld ‘Uit de Europese mal. Europese hypes in de Nederlanden’, handelde over processen van navolging en toe-eigening van Europese fenomenen door en in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden, en andersom. Ronny Spaans bijt het spits af in dit themadossier met zijn onderzoek naar de literaire representatie van *exotica* in de poëzie van de Amsterdamse drogist Jan Six van Chandelier (1620-1695). Hij analyseert de verschillende lagen in Six’ ironisch getinte lofdichten op Filips IV en zijn bruid Mariana. Niet alleen de Spaanse Contrareformatorische pracht en praal, maar ook de hype rond *exocita* in de Republiek, en Six’ eigen rol als drogist daarin, waren onderwerp van zijn ironie.

De bijdragen van Thijs Weststeijn en Trude Dijkstra en van Elmer Kolfin verleggen de grenzen naar hypes van buiten Europa. Weststeijn en Dijkstra zoomen in op de Nederlandse ontmoeting met Confucius. Zij tonen aan hoe de ‘Confucian moment’ in de zeventiende eeuw een multiconfessioneel, Europees project was met implicaties voor en vertakkingen naar allerlei intellectuele terreinen. Kolfin richt zijn blik op een derde continent en traceert in zijn artikel de ontwikkelingen in de afbeelding van zwarte Afrikanen op Europese landkaarten en in reisboeken. Aan de hand van de landkaarten van Joan Blaue, verklaart hij waarom zwarte Afrikanen pas vanaf begin zeventiende eeuw met hun donkere huidskleur werden afgebeeld.

Het tweede deel van dit nummer bestaat uit een drietal losse artikelen. Lara Yeager brengt de verbeelding van de zeventiende-eeuwse kunstliefhebber in de ‘konstkamer’ van de schilder in verband met een breder cultureel discours over *connaissance*chap. Teresa Esposito herinterpreteert het portret van Peter Paul Rubens en zijn zoon Albert in de Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Zij beargumenteert waarom dit dubbelportret Rubens’ kennis van en affiniteit met filosofische ideeën uit de antieke oudheid belichaamt. Marika Keblusek, tot slot, legt door een analyse van het niet gepubliceerde en onderbelichte toneelstuk *Acteonisation du Grand Veneur d’Hollande*

de interne en externe dynamiek van het Haagse hofleven bloot. Zij stelt zowel de onderlinge rivaliteit tussen de verschillende hoven als de botsing met de Nederlandse burgers aan de orde.

Zoals gebruikelijk sluit dit nummer af met enkele recensies en signalementen.

Exotica, ornaments and idolatry in the poetry of Jan Six van Chandelier (1620–1695)

RONNY SPAANS

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Abstract

In the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic occupied a central position in the world trade in exotica. Exotic goods were not only popular as foodstuffs, medicines, and *curiosa*, but also as artistic ornaments in Dutch art and literature. The literary representation of exotica in the poetry of drug merchant Jan Six van Chandelier (1620–1695) reveals how these exotic materials did not only promote scientific curiosity, but also gave rise to moral unease. This article analyses a series of eulogy poems Six wrote to the Royal Entry of King Philip IV and Queen Mariana in Madrid in 1649, where he over-ironizes exotic oil and incense as poetic means to apotheosis. The article shows how these poems are not just meant as criticism on Counter-Reformation Spain, but also served as a means of self-representation, with self-scrutiny as literary strategy. Jan Six articulates criticism both of the literary hype of exotica in the Dutch Republic and of his own identity as *drogist-dichter*.

Keywords: exotics, global trade, Jan Six van Chandelier, ornaments, apotheosis, emotions

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RONNY SPAANS

In the early modern period, interest in exotica permeated the European culture; it could be called a *hype* of the period. The period saw the introduction of an array of foreign goods to Europe in greater quantities and variety than before. This was especially visible in Amsterdam, which became the marketplace for Asian goods in the seventeenth century, not just for the Dutch Republic, but for all of Europe. René Descartes' comment on the circulation of goods in Amsterdam has become a commonplace in the research on the Dutch global trade: 'What place on earth could one choose where all the commodities and curiosities one could wish for were as easy to find as in this city?'¹ Exotic materials also became popular motives among Dutch artists; the representation of exotics is particularly visible in Dutch art – it is enough to mention the still life paintings of Willem Claeszoon Heda and Willem Kalf; their sumptuous *pronkstillevens* depicting rich groupings of Chinese porcelain and tropical fruit.

Although it has not been examined to the same degree, poets also incorporated references to exotic materials in their works.² An important name is the merchant poet Jan Six van Chandelier (1620–1695). Six is probably the poet who pays most attention to exotics in early modern Dutch literature. In the only collection of poems which he published, *Poësy* (1657), he included gratitude poems for exotic gifts which he received from fellow merchants, such as West Indian bezoar stone and Baltic amber, poems on foreign rarities in cabinets of curiosities, and eulogy poems on Joyous Entries and other civil festivities, which are permeated with references to exotic plants, perfumes and

¹ For the quotation, see F. Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism, 15th–18th century. The perspective of the world*, vol. III, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1992, p. 30. For the circulation of global goods and knowledge in the Dutch Republic, H.J. Cook, *Matters of exchange. Commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age*, New Haven 2007, E. Bergvelt and R. Kistenmaker (eds.), *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1992. E. Bergvelt, D.J. Meijers and M. Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum*, Heerlen 2005.

² There are statements that literary reflections of foreign goods and knowledge 'were remarkably scarce.' The editors of the 2013 edition of *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art, Netherlandish Art in its Global Context*, address this question, with relation to, what they call, the increased interconnectivity of the early modern world. Published 05.10.2014: <http://arthist.net/archive/8577>. In my view this statement is too rash, as long as the impact of exotics in the history of Dutch literature has not received a systematic inquiry. This article forms a contribution to this purpose.

frankincense. Even in a poem on his favourite classical poet, Horace, we find peculiar references to the world of exotics; he compares the Roman with the so-called bird of paradise, a sought-after object for early modern connoisseurs.³

A pressing question in this context is whether the religious background of artisans, artists and poets engaged with exotics – whether Protestant or Catholic – made them develop moral reservations against these luxurious and expensive materials. To judge by recent studies on exotics in early modern Netherlands, the answer seems to be negative. The emphasis there lies on the positive effects of global trade, and how they are expressed through objects of arts; this tells us how Amsterdam became a centre for global exchanges of tastes, techniques and knowledge, demonstrating the curiosity and the engineering of the Dutch.⁴ The representation of materials in Six' poetry has been presented in similar terms. M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen has stressed Six' conspicuous interest for the material world, his so-called realist poetics; to her, Six is a poet who writes about the everyday life of a merchant in an open, inclusive way. This attention includes love for luxury food and curiosity about foreign things.⁵

I will argue that there also were narratives about exotica as sources of moral unease in the Dutch Republic. In this paper, I will address these questions by examining the literary representation of exotics in Six' poetry. Next to the openness for the material world, the poetry of Six is characterized by a distinct ironic and exaggerated tone; this is paralleled by the large number of satirical poems in *Poësy*. These texts have been studied in the light of the so-called rhymester poetics of Six, his critical attitude towards the more pretentious, universal aesthetics of the Dutch Golden Age literature, such as the poems of Joost van den Vondel and P.C. Hoof. However, the divided view of Six as realist on one hand, and satirist on the other, does not correspond well with the fact that Six himself could be seen as representative of phenomena that were associated with abundance and immodesty. Six was a *drogist-koopman*, he traded in exotic materials and ran a drug store in Amsterdam, 'De vergulde Eenhoorn' in Kalverstraat, and bought foreign materials from the West and East Indian companies, which he sold

3 For example 'Dank, aan Isaak de Bra, voor een besaarsteen, van Rio de Plata meegebracht, en my vereert' (J467), 'Dankdicht aan Jakob Breine te Dantsich, voor een paar barnsteene hechten' (J165) and 'Verrukkinge der sinnen, aan Joannes Hoorenbeek, dr., profir., en predikant t'Utrecht: en Simon Dilman geneesheer' (J177). The number with a J in parentheses refers to the place of the poem in the commented edition of Six' collection of poetry: *Joannes Six van Chandelier. Gedichten*, ed. A.E. Jacobs, 2 vols., Assen 1991.

4 For example, recent scholarship on the introduction of Asian lacquerware, porcelain and banyan (morning gowns) into the Dutch Republic, shows how these novelties were praised and even copied by Dutch artisans, see K. Corrigan, F. Diercks, M. Gosselink, *Asia in Amsterdam. The culture of luxury in the Golden Age*, Salem, Amsterdam 2015.

5 For Six' realistic poetics, see M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and W.B. de Vries, *Zelfbeeld in gedichten. Brieven over de poëzie van Jan Six van Chandelier (1620-1695)*, Amsterdam 2007. For the representation on exotic drugs in Six' poetry, see R. Spaans, *Godenbloed te koop. Exotica, extase en verboden kennis in de poëzie van Jan Six van Chandelier (1620-1695)*, PhD-Thesis, Oslo 2014. Compare M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussens view on Six: 'Ik ervaar hem niet als een in zichzelf verzonken persoonlijkheid, maar eerder als een nieuwsgierig ronddraaiend zoeklicht'; Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and de Vries, *Zelfbeeld in gedichten*, p. 117.

to the home market or exported to other European countries. I argue in this article that Six himself is an example of the phenomena which he ridicules in his satires. I am thus interested in poems which testify to his ambiguous writing strategies towards exotics. By drawing on both literary analysis and the material and medical culture in the early modern period, I will show how exotics – both as rhetoric figures and tropes and as physical objects – are perceived as a source of moral unease and self-examination in the poetry of Six van Chandelier.

Material and figurative ornaments

Before I turn my attention to Six' poems, I wish to dwell upon the representation of exotic materials in Renaissance poetry. I argue that literary representation of exotic goods must be understood in the light of an anti-cosmetic discourse in the seventeenth century. I also argue that a physical perception of these literary ornaments was prominent in the literature of the Dutch Golden Age, especially in the case of Six, a writer with a pharmaceutical background. In this article, I will therefore include a methodology that accounts for early modern theories of physical properties of materials in my analysis. Next to rhetorical and poetical theories, I will address early modern notions on the passions and body, including such concepts as identity and ethnicity.

The latter is present in the research of Tanya Pollard into the chemical vocabulary of early modern English theatre.⁶ She demonstrates the physiological powers early modern writers attributed to language. Central to her study is the dominant medical paradigm of the early modern period, the Galenic humoral theory. Literary works exerted as much influence on the body as on the mind of the reader, she argues, because the humoral physiology made no clear distinction between the mental and physical processes, and because thoughts, emotions and imagination were perceived as parts of the human body. A change in the state of mind caused a corresponding change in the body. The emotional impact of literature on the human mind had therefore also consequences for the human body. Whether talking about material or figurative drugs, Pollard shows how pigments and aromatics were perceived as powerful transformative substances. Just like human bodies, materials were attributed humoral qualities; for example, tropical dyes and fragrances were generally considered as hot and dry. For a person with the opposite humoral constitution, however, consumption of these drugs could cause an unhealthy change in the balance of the humours, causing the arousal of immoral appetites and desires, and even alteration of the person's identity.

The transformative power ascribed to foreign drugs not only gave rise to a medical anxiety, but also to an ethnocentric and a religious fear. This is the topic of Farah Karim-Cooper's study of cosmetics in English Renaissance drama, where she states, '[t]he fear of a diminishing Englishness in an ingredient culture that thrived upon

6 T. Pollard, *Drugs and theater in early modern England*, Oxford 2005, esp. p. 1–22.

foreign commerce is quite central to the anti-cosmetic case.⁷ Here, the concept of *ethnicity* needs to be understood in the light of the early modern discourse surrounding the term. The physicality of emotions indicates that ethnicity was defined more by emotional differences than by external characteristics such as skin colour. According to Mary Floyd-Wilson and her term *geohumoralism*, ethnicity was defined through humoral-climatic theories, in accordance with what she calls a ‘regionally framed humoralism’. In the early modern period, race was a flexible concept: a change in diet and lifestyle could lead to a radical identity change.⁸ Foreign, ‘hot’ products had thus a negative impact on the ‘cold’ body of northern Europeans. In this article, I will show that, in the same way, the exotics of Six’ pharmacy were perceived as a threat to his *Dutchness*.

The theological opposition to ornaments is based on a central concept in the anti-cosmetic argument, the view of the human body as the sacred ‘work of art’ of God. Moralists argued that cosmetics such as face paint, pigments and perfumes which alter the external body, jeopardise divine workmanship. And, since there were no clear distinctions between the mental and physical, this fear also includes an anxiety about the spiritual state of God’s workmanship. Cosmetics thus undermine God’s creation and distract one from spiritual meditation and reflection.⁹

In this context, it is useful to take a look at Karim-Cooper’s definition of ‘cosmetic’. Karim-Cooper operates with a broad approach to the term: ‘it is material and symbolic; it is that which beautifies. It refers not only to makeup, but also herbs, and even aesthetic commodities such as tapestries, which ‘beautify’ a room’.¹⁰ I will use the same definition in this article; as we soon will see, this definition corresponds with the broad field of application that was ascribed to exotic drugs in the poetry of Six van Chandelier.

The juxtaposition of exotic smells and colours with literary composition is not a new device; it has been known in rhetoric since Antiquity. Classical writers define *ornatus* (adornment) as the culmination of the skills of the speaker: Cicero writes that the speaker should decorate his texts with *colores rhetorici* (rhetorical colour, i.e. tropes and figures) to win the attention of his listeners. These rhetorical ‘pigments’ make thus the text vivid for the audience. The view of rhetorical metaphors and tropes as pigments reappears in the literary theory of the Renaissance. In his authoritative poetics, *The Art of English Poetry* (1589), George Puttenham defines rhetorical devices, echoing Cicero, as ‘coulours in our arte of Poesie’. He compares writing poems with applying paint: ‘a Poet setteth [...] upon his language by arts [...] as th’ excellent painter bestoweth the

7 F. Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance drama*, Edinburgh 2006, p. 41.

8 According to Floyd-Wilson: ‘Ethnicity in the early modern period is defined more by emotional differences than by appearance: distinctions rest on how easily one is stirred or calmed – on one’s degree of emotional vulnerability or resistance – or one’s capacity to move others’; see Idem, ‘English mettle’, in: G. Kern Paster, K. Rowe and M. Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the early modern passions in the cultural history of emotion*, Philadelphia 2003, p. 130–146, quotation, p. 133.

9 Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance drama*, p. 41–42.

10 Ibidem.

rich Orient colours upon his table of pourtraire.’ The prominent position Puttenham assigns to ‘rhetorical colours’ signal their power to create vividness; in the words of Elizabeth D. Harvey, implicit in these arguments is the idea that colours are not simply ornamental to poetry but constitutive of them.¹¹

But, as Pollard and Karim-Cooper show in their studies, just as old as the linkage of language with cosmetic materials, are the linguistic, medical and religious warnings against the ‘druglike power’ of literature. Cicero warns against an extensive use of *flores*, saying that this is typical of a sophistic style. Quintilian likewise warns against an abuse of artistic ornament: it will have the effect of deception. These warnings are based on an older critical attitude to literary composition. A famous commonplace is the rejection of rhetoric in Plato’s *Gorgias*; in this work rhetoric is placed in the same category as cosmetics, cooking and sophistry.¹²

In order to understand Six’ ambiguous writing strategy, we need to study the Dutch parallel of this discourse. Like the English moralists whom Pollard discusses in her inquiry, Dutch moralists attached great importance to the senses and body organs in their explanation of the dangers of theatre. For example, the Calvinist preacher Petrus Wittewrongel labelled the theatre as a ‘schadelijk vergift’. The pernicious words of plays corrupt the senses and body of ‘beyde de Speelers ende de aenschouwers’:

Wat soude sulcken bitteren wortel, anders als een galle ende alsem der sonde kunnen voort-dringen. Sulcken boom, sulck een vrucht. De mensche werdt uytwendigh ende inwendigh besmet, de ooghen, de ooren werden daer door verontreynght, het herte tot onkuysche lusten, en de daden afghetrocken, wanneer hy alle dese nieuwe vertooninghen der sonde aenschouwt, / ende sich daer in vermaectt.¹³

The discourse of the deceptive power of poetry can also be found in the poetical works of humanist poets in early modern Dutch literature, especially in discussions of mythological decoration in poetry. Dirk Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522–1590) and later Joachim Oudaen (1628–1692) opposed fiercely the use of religious ornaments in Renaissance poetry and labelled this adornment as vicious persuasion. In his opening poem ‘Coornherts rymerien aenden rymlievenden leser’ to *Comedie van lief en leedt* (1582), Coornhert distances himself from the ‘hoge Parnasser spraken’ full of ‘gonst-zuchtige pluymstruykeryen’ and references to ‘onreine’ Roman gods as Bacchus and Venus – a ‘pronckelyc’ style, which serves ‘yemandt te behagen met logens soet’. However, Coornhert’s criticism is not aimed at all forms of poetry. He distinguishes between ‘Poetsche fabriicken’, which contains no truth, and an art of writing stripped of mythological fiction, written in good Dutch and about true things.¹⁴ That

11 E.D. Harvey, ‘Flesh colors and Shakespeare’s sonnets’, in: M. Schoenfeldt, *A companion to Shakespeare’s sonnets*, Oxford 2010, p. 314–329, esp. 322.

12 See Pollard, *Drugs and theater in early modern England* (n. 6), p. 13–14.

13 P. Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia christiana. Christelicke huys-houdinge*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1661, vol. 2, p. 1168.

14 D.V. Coornhert, *Het roerspel en de comedies van Coornhert*, ed. P. van der Meulen, Leiden 1955, p. 156–159. For a discussion of Coornhert’s poetics, see M. Spies, “‘Helicon and hills of sand.’ Pagan gods in

‘mythological ornament’ refers not only to gods and religious myths, but also to material aspects of pagan religion, is apparent from ‘Godsdienst- en het Godendom ontdekt: aan de Hedendaagsche Dichters’ of Joachim Oudaen.¹⁵ The poem attacks the representation of ‘Wierook, Ooster-kruideryen, / Oliën, en dierb're geuren’ (vss. 10–11) in early modern poetry. Through ‘het zoet vergift der woorden’ (v. 22), the Renaissance poet holds ancient paganism alive, argues Oudaen. The rhymester-poetics of Six become relevant in this context. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen has already pointed to Six’ criticism of Vondel’s notion of universal poetry, but it would also be useful to see Six’ poetics as a follow-up of Coornhert’s ‘rymerien’, and the discourse of ornamental poetry. A comparison between Six’ poetics and the literary program of these writers is not yet done and should be productive. In fact, parallels between ‘Coomherts rymerien aenden rymlievenden leser’ and one of Six’ poetical texts, ‘Het boek, aan den leeser’ (J119), are conspicuous.

An analysis of Six’ rhymester-poetics in the light of the ornamental-cosmetic vocabulary of Dutch Renaissance poetry would enlighten both Six’ relationship to Vondel’s poetics and show that Six’ own position is more ambivalent than earlier assumed. Just as Six forms a continuation of Coornhert’s Christian humanism, Vondel represents a continuation of the classical humanism, in the so-called ‘Parnassus language’ – a literary style, often composed in an epic tone and imbued with references to the sacraments and sacrifices of classical mythology. We find the style also in the writings of poets with affinity to Vondel’s aesthetics, such as Jan Vos and Reyer Anso. The view of poetry as an elevated language is also reflected in theoretical writings of the period. In his *Aenleidinge ter Nederduitsche dichtkunst* (1650), Vondel makes a distinction between the exercise of rhymesters, who study classical writers of the Antiquity, and ‘hemelsche Poëzy’ and ‘de spraek der Goden’ of poets who are filled with divine inspiration.¹⁶

The cosmetic implications of this ‘Parnassus language’ become clear for us when we study Joost van den Vondel’s poem ‘Wierook voor Cornelis en Elizabeth le Blon’.¹⁷ The theme of this short poem is simple: Vondel *performs* Cornelis en Elizabeth le Blon, with poetical ‘wierookgeur van danckbaerheit’, because they brought him a medal which he received from Queen Christine of Sweden. Naturally, Vondel does not mean a physical censuring of the couple, but he displays his gratitude to Le Bon through a metaphorical understanding of the term. In modern Dutch the figurative use of incense is still known through the Dutch verb ‘bewieroken’, which means ‘praise to the skies’. The connections with religious and spiritual rituals that exotic aromatics create, form the basis of the argument. ‘Wierook’ literally means ‘gewijde rook’, and refers to resins that release fragrant smoke when burned, especially frankincense (also called olibanum)

early modern Dutch and European poetry’, in: H. Wilcox, R. Todd, A. MacDonald (eds.), *Sacred and profane. Secular and devotional interplay in early modern British literature*, Amsterdam 1996, p. 225–236.

¹⁵ J. Oudaen, *Poëzy*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1712, p. 32.

¹⁶ K. Porteman and M.B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560–1700*, Amsterdam 2008, p. 401–403.

¹⁷ L. Simons et al. (eds.), *De werken van Vondel*, vol. 5, Amsterdam 1931, p. 472.

and myrrh, resin from trees native to the Arabian Peninsula. They equip Vondel's text with a character of solemnity and exoticism.

At the same time, I will argue that we have to take into account the physical perception of incense in this poem. A prominent feature of the literary representation of exotic ornaments is the emphasis on senses and sense impressions, apparent from the above quotations as formulations such as 'wieroockgeur van danckbaerheit' and 'het zoet vergift der woorden'. This teaches us that aromatic materials had a broader application in the early modern period. For example, incense served not only as religious sacrament, but was used as a perfume and had several therapeutic purposes. Even a staunch Calvinist as Gisbertus Voetius clutched 'holy smoke' to 'suffumigeeren' his room when the plague swept Utrecht!¹⁸ More than people today, early modern individuals had thus a sensible perception of many of the objects that figured as literary ornaments, both dyes and fragrances. Incense was thus a smell that Voetius knew just as well as his Catholic countrymen, or as well as Vondel. Taking into account Six' profession, his work as a druggist, it is even more reasonable to include early modern medical and physical theories about exotic drugs when discussing his poems. We get a demonstration of the latter if we compare the literary representation of amber in Six' 'Dankdicht aan Jakob Breine te Dantsich, voor een paar barnsteene hechten' (J165) with that of a contemporary poet, Jan Vos' 'Barnsteene koffertje door Haare Keurvorstelyke Doorluchtigheid van Brandenburg, aan Mejoffrouw Leonora Huidekoopers van Maarseveen, gemaalin van den E. Heer scheepen Joan Hinloopen, vereert'. Six' treatment includes on the one hand scientific and medical theories of amber in the early modern period, and on the other hand, the Calvinist – more or less ironically – plays on emotional and religious connotations of the exotic: 'Ik neem het aan, als soete lucht / Van wierook, uit geneegen sucht, / My opgeoffert, sonder schulden' (vss. 35–37). Jan Vos, on contrast, contents himself with a semantic pun on amber ('barnsteen' as 'brandsteen').¹⁹

This emphasis on emotions and physical perception of materials legitimates a broader approach when studying the representation of exotics in Six' poetry. At the same time, it makes Six' position as satirist more ambiguous. In fact, narratives of bodily disturbances occupy a large space in Six' poetry. As scholars have noticed, Six profiles himself as a sinner in *Pöesy*. He launches into religious meditations on vices as avarice and hubris, as well as moral musings on a spleen ailment from which he suffered. As a merchant he travelled to and traded in Spain and Italy – countries which moralists at home considered a threat to his religious and bodily health. Many poems published in Six' poetry collection are actually addressed to Calvinist pastors, the most frequent name is

¹⁸ M.J. van Lieburg, 'Voetius en de geneeskunde', in: J. van Oort et al. (eds.), *De onbekende Voetius. Voordrachten Wetenschappelijk Symposium*, Kampen 1989, p. 168–180, quotation, p. 178.

¹⁹ The olfactory impression of amber is based on both the broader application of the material in early modern Europe and the fact that amber is fossil resin; it releases fragrant smoke when heated. Among other things, Catholic rosary beads were often made of amber; the odour that they released when touched, was regarded as holy, see R. King, "'The beads with which we pray are made from it.'" Devotional ambers in early modern Italy', in: W. de Boer and Chr. Göttler, *Religion and the senses in early modern Europe*, Leiden, Boston 2013, p. 153–175.

Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617–1666), preacher and professor of theology affiliated with the University of Utrecht; he also seems to have had contact with the aforementioned Petrus Wittewrongel (1609–1662). This aspect is important, but it has not been studied systematically. Willemien B. de Vries sees the self-critical attitude of Six in a broader religious context: Hoornbeeck was associated with the so-called ‘Nadere Reformatie’, the pietism movement that focused on the reformation of lifestyle and morals, and she relates Six’ self-examination to this movement.²⁰ As mentioned earlier, these poems have been studied separately from Six’ so-called realist poetics, his interest in objects and materials. By taking account of the physical and religious theories connected to the early modern anti-cosmetic discourse, I, by contrast, argue that Six’ self-criticism is closely associated with his involvement with exotic materials.

In this article, I will confine my investigation to two specimens of exotica – oil and incense – which Six addresses in a sequence of eulogy poems he wrote on occasion of the Joyous Entry of the newlywed royal couple Philip IV and Mariana in Madrid in 1649. Six was present in Madrid during the festivities, and he probably traded in the products mentioned in the poems. Although the poems address an event that took place in Spain, as we will see, they give an indication of the reception of exotic materials in the poet’s homeland. I will examine the representation of exotics in Six’ poetry in three stages: first some facts about the political background of the royal wedding and the content of the so-called Joyous or Royal Entry, followed by an analysis of Six’ eulogy poems. Secondly, I will discuss Six’ reaction to criticism which his poem sequence awoke among Dutch readers, who obviously had misunderstood his intentions with the texts. They are important because they relate the exotics to both artistic trends in the Dutch Republic, and to Six’ person, his profession as *drogist-koopman* and his role as importer of exotics. Thirdly, I will interpret the poems in light of Six’ Calvinist belief and his relationship to the Calvinist theologians.

Deifying the king and queen of Spain

On November 15, 1649, on a business trip in Spain, Six witnessed the triumphal entry into Madrid of Mariana of Austria, daughter of the German Emperor Ferdinand III. The fledgling Mariana, from the German branch of the Habsburgs, had a month earlier been married to King Philip IV, who belonged to the Spanish branch of the family. Mariana was initially engaged to the crown prince of the Spanish Habsburg empire, Balthasar Charles. When he died in 1646, his father, King Philip IV stepped into the wedding shoes of his young son. Philip’s first wife, queen Isabella, was deceased two years before. The marriage between Philip IV and Mariana was controversial. Not only was Philip thirty years older than his Austrian bride, he was also her uncle. It was nevertheless carried through, as part of a geopolitical game. The Spanish empire was in an

²⁰ See W.B. de Vries’ comments in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and de Vries, *Zelfbeeld in Gedichten* (n. 5), p. 131–132.

economic, political and royal crisis. The commitment of Mariana and Philip IV would increase the power and position of the Spanish and German Habsburgs. The grandeur of the arrival of the fourteen-year-old queen reflected these great expectations: this was the beginning of a new era for the Spanish Empire.

The Joyous or Royal Entry was a term that designated the entirety of the ceremony and festivities accompanying a formal entry by a ruler or his representative into a city.²¹ The festivities in Spain consisted of theatre spectacles, triumphal arches and allegorical and mythological displays. The glorification of the royal couple ran like a connecting thread through the spectacle. The king and the queen were portrayed as two celestial bodies attracted to each other: Mariana as Aurora, the goddess of the dawn, who derives her light from Philip IV, who was portrayed as the sun god Apollo. The royal entry was also celebrated in literature, glorifying eulogies full of Biblical and Catholic symbolism, printed in precious, decorated books that were published in the same year. An example is *La segunda y esposa Triunfar Muriendo* of Pedro Calderón de la Barca. In this so-called *auto sacramental* (a Spanish allegorical drama genre about the mystery of faith), a spiritual reality is mixed with an earthly, political reality: the glorification of the Roman Catholic Eucharist merges with the apotheosis of the royal wedding.²²

Six' poem sequence consists of seven texts. They were published in his collection of poems, *Poësy*. Since his reactions to the criticism that these 'Spanish' poems received were included in the same book, the poem sequence was possibly disseminated among Dutch readers at an earlier stage, perhaps in manuscript form or as a pamphlet. I will discuss two poems in the text group: 'Blyde inkomste te Madrid, van Maria Anna van Oostenryk, kooninglyke bruid van Spanje' (J241) and 'Tempel, aan den kooning van Spanje' (J246).²³ Other poems in the sequence, such as 'Vraage, van een Spanjaard, aan den turkschen ambassadeur, en syne antwoorde' (J245) and 'Op de schoonheit van de kooninginne, aan de selve' (J250), clearly introduce beauty and hubris as the theme for the text group: the first poem thematises the contrast between the high costs of royal feasts and the high level of taxation in the kingdom, while the second poem includes Mariana with Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite in the beauty contest that led to the Trojan

21 For the Royal Entry in the Netherlands, see D.P. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Alphen aan den Rijn 1975.

22 For the Royal Entry of Mariana and Philip in Spain, see C. Justi, *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*, Zurich 1933, p. 664-667, and especially R. Walthaus, 'The Sun and Aurora. Philip IV of Spain and his queen-consort in royal festival and spectacle', in: M. Gosman, A. MacDonald and A. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Princes and princely culture 1450-1650*, vol. 2, Leiden 2005, p. 277-308. Walthaus moreover devotes space both on the *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyne vestra Señora*, the official report of the festivities, and on the mentioned work of Calderón. 'No costs were spared to give evidence of a wealth and power that it [the Spanish kingdom] no longer possessed', says Walthaus, p. 307.

23 The other five poems written for the event and published in *Poësy*, are: 'Vraage, van een spanjaard, aan den turkschen ambassadeur, en syne antwoorde' (J245), 'Opdracht van den tempel, aan den Kooning van Spanje' (J247), 'Op d' aanstaande wandeling van de kooninginne, na Casa del Campo, of het landhuis' (J248), 'Spanjes Heerschappye, afgebeeldt aan een der triumfboogen' (J249) en 'Op de schoonheit van de Kooninginne, aan de selve' (J250).

War, insinuating an upcoming political catastrophe for the Spanish empire. These texts give instructions of how to read the praise poems: as ironic, satirical poems.

‘Blyde inkomste te Madrid’ is written as a Pindaric ode, a panegyric poetic genre reserved for sublime topics, and written for state occasions such as a ruler’s accession, wedding, or funeral, thus the perfect genre choice for this event, and also the perfect genre for a poem following the ‘Parnassus style’. The theme of Six’ poem is how to approach a royal person – or even a divine person, in this case the goddess of the dawn. Six here instructs the Spanish ‘princes and princesses’ present at the ceremony (vss. 20–21): ‘Versuim geen mirt, noch laaten roosenhoed, / Kroon Venus, strooi haar kruiden, onder voet.’ At the same time, the Dutch poet warns the earthly worshippers from direct eye contact with the ‘Heemlsche Godin’ (v. 9). Invoking a deity is only possible through a ritualized form of rapprochement, is his message.²⁴ The idea of enchanting eyes, the so-called ‘fascie’, is well known in the literature of the Antiquity and Renaissance, it was also a component of the so-called imperial cult.²⁵

Six includes himself among the characters of the poem: he steps forward among the worshippers. The text manifests itself through Six’ words as an altar, ‘een middelmuur’, upon which the Dutch poet offers his own sacrifice to the sacred Mariana. He admits he could place ‘gold from Ofir’, myrrh and ‘smells of Arabs’ (vss. 32–33), i.e. incense, on her altar – the three sacred gifts that the three wise men from the East gave to the Infant Jesus; the apotheosis of Mariana would then become a foreshadowing of Christ. But in the following lines he rejects the idea – gold and incense are but external, superficial sacrifices, the poet explains; he offers instead his odourless soul, his soul’s ‘gum resin’ (‘zielgom’), as the druggist-poet calls it (v. 34). Then follows another modification: if outer beauty is a sign of selfless devotion, his sacrificial gifts may still shine on his literary altar to the Spanish goddess (vss. 35–40).²⁶

24 For an introduction of the Pindaric ode in Dutch Renaissance literature, see R. Veenman, “‘De Thebaensche Swaen.’ De receptie van Pindarus in de Nederlanden”, in: *Voortgang. Jaarboek voor de Neerlandistiek XIII*, 1992, p. 65–90. For the Pindaric ode and the concept of poetic frenzy in Six’ poetry, see R. Spaans, ‘Diagnosing the poetic inspiration. Medical criticism of enthusiasm in the poetry of Jan Six van Chandelier (1620–1695)’, in: J. Grave, R. Honings and B. Noak (eds.), *Illness and literature in the Low Countries. From the Middle Ages until the 21th century*, Göttingen 2016, p. 81–96.

25 Compare the Roman historian Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus’ description of the face of the emperor Augustus in ‘The life of Augustus’, 79, in: C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *The lives of the twelve caesars*, transl. J.C. Rolfe, London 1913, p. 246. For the Roman imperial cult and its significance for the idea of divine kingship in the Renaissance, see S. Bertelli, *The king’s body. Sacred rituals of power in medieval and early modern Europe*, transl. R. Burr Litchfield, Pennsylvania 2001, p. 10–34.

26 The comments of the *Statenvertaling* (the Dutch Bible translation ordered by the government of the Dutch Republic) situates Ofir in the region of the Dutch colonies: ‘Men houdt dit voor een Eylant in Oost-Indien’, comment 48, by 1. Kings 10:28. For the *Statenvertaling*, see http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_sta001sta02_01/. But as apparent from my analysis of Six’ poems, it is not the indigenous knowledge of the exotics’ homeland, Six addresses, but the use in the Christian tradition. The same goes for myrrh and frankincense: Six associates them not with the culture of their area of origin – the Arabian Peninsula –, but to Catholic, counter-reformatory practice and the use in Antiquity.