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# Temple, Huygens and ‘sharawadgi’: tempering the passions to achieve tranquillity

YUE ZHUANG 

## Introduction

Sir William Temple (1628–1699), the eminent English ambassador to the Dutch Republic and a widely read essayist,<sup>1</sup> famously used the term ‘*sharawadgi*’ (beauty without an apparent order)<sup>2</sup> to describe the layout of Chinese gardens in his essay ‘Upon the Gardens of Epicurus’:

Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly, in some certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact Distances. The Chineses scorn this way of Planting, and say a Boy that can tell an hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in strait Lines, and over against one another, and to what Length and Extent He pleases. But their greatest reach of Imagination, is employed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observ’d. And though we have hardly any Notion of this sort of Beauty, yet they have a particular Word to express it; and where they find it hit their Eye at first sight, they say the Sharawadgi is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of Esteem.<sup>3</sup>

Later in the early decades of the eighteenth century, Temple’s comments on *sharawadgi* were repeatedly evoked in the English campaign for a new, irregular or naturalistic style of gardening.<sup>4</sup> The significance of *sharawadgi* for English gardening has been the theme of numerous modern scholarly papers — some advocate it, others reject it.<sup>5</sup> In a recent examination, Wybe

Kuitert has highlighted the Dutch dimension and the role played by the applied arts in the cross-cultural interaction underpinning the emergence of the English garden.<sup>6</sup> Kuitert notes Temple’s special garden friendship with Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), the Dutch poet, secretary to the stadholder, and an Anglophile.<sup>7</sup> Temple, during his ambassadorships to The Hague in the 1660s–1670s, visited Huygens’ garden estate, Hofwijck, at Voorburg, many times. In a letter to Temple in 1682, Huygens addressed his younger friend as *ancien Hofwijckquiste* (‘old Hofwijckist’), a kindred spirit who shared his garden pleasures over many years.<sup>8</sup> Huygens further granted Temple the privilege of visiting Hofwijck any time he wished after his death.

Notwithstanding its geometrical layout, the Hofwijck garden featured informal tree planting in blocks. These blocks of wilderness within Hofwijck’s regularity, Kuitert asserts, owed to ‘intelligence from Japan’ — namely the irregular pattern design of the symmetrical frame of the Japanese kimono, then fashionable in the Netherlands.<sup>9</sup> Kuitert thus attributes the source of inspiration for *sharawadgi* and Temple’s irregular gardening at Moor Park in Surrey to Huygens’ Hofwijck, and in turn, to Japanese clothing, without also considering Temple’s explicit references to porcelain and lacquer screens<sup>10</sup> — both were arriving in Europe from China in far greater quantities. But a more immediate issue in Kuitert’s argument, an issue that has been long-standing in scholars’ arguments supporting an influence of the Far East on the European garden aesthetic, is that he considers the role of the Far East in enabling ‘the seventeenth-century departure from the fixed frames of Renaissance

classicism towards a more enlightened understanding, including the birth of a picturesque taste in landscape art.<sup>11</sup>

Like many previous scholars, Kuitert narrowly identifies Renaissance classicism with the principles of geometry and harmonic proportion as reason and cosmic order.<sup>12</sup> This harmonious classicism of the High Renaissance had its influence on 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup>-century aesthetic doctrines,<sup>13</sup> but its importance was not so dominant as to exclude other aspects of humanist engagement with the classical tradition — literature, rhetoric, art and philosophy — in the early modern period, with all of which gardening was associated. The principles of variety and contrast, widely applied in 17<sup>th</sup>-century poems, landscape paintings and gardens, merit attention.<sup>14</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup>-century context where there was increasing recognition of the passions as being an integral part of human nature,<sup>15</sup> the principles of variety and contrast worked on the reader or viewer's senses and passions. As leading European statesmen, both Huygens and Temple were educated in the political humanist tradition and cultivated a virtuoso taste for gardens.<sup>16</sup> For both Huygens and Temple, as I shall argue, appreciating images of variety and contrast — whether in poetry and painting, or gardens and the applied arts — was a poetic technique to temper their passions to achieve a humanist ideal — neo-Stoic and Epicurean tranquillity.

This technique, it may be suggested, was an important, yet hitherto overlooked, cultural framework within which the European cultural elite received the Asian aesthetic with their structural pattern seemingly also emphasising variety and contrast. Evoking contrary passions in the reader or viewer, literature, rhetoric, and artworks that embody variety and contrast had an effect on the mind akin to the effect of *sharawadgi*, described by Lovejoy as 'irregularity, asymmetry, variety, [and] surprise'.<sup>17</sup> Probing into the intersections among gardens, rhetoric, psychology, philosophy and the applied arts in the global early modern period, we may go beyond the impasse of debate surrounding an oversimplifying question — 'did the East influence the West?' and produce new observations on political humanist gardens and their reception of Asian designs.

### *The principles of variety and contrast*

With its common appeal to critics, writers and artists in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the principle of variety is found in the classical rhetorical tradition, on the one

hand, and the tradition of Christian optimism, on the other.<sup>18</sup> A psychological dimension features in both traditions. Aristotle states in his *Rhetoric*, 'Change in all things is sweet.'<sup>19</sup> Cicero associates varied events in a plot line with pleasure.<sup>20</sup> This principle of variety is based on the notion that the human mind is naturally pleased with change. Developing Aristotelian psychology and classical rhetoric, Renaissance humanists believed that when the mind (understanding) was supplied with 'a varietie of objects whereon to worke', it was possessed with 'a strong delight', or heated 'motions' of the senses and passions.<sup>21</sup> The mission of poetry or rhetoric, for those political humanists, was to instruct virtues through delight.<sup>22</sup> A variety of images therefore were more powerful than didactic reasoning because they were capable of moving readers to 'well-doing' and to improve the world.<sup>23</sup> This view was strongly propagated in works such as the *Defence of Poesie* (1595) by the eminent writer and statesman, Sir Philip Sidney.<sup>24</sup> Both Huygens and Temple deeply admired and agreed with Sidney's view.<sup>25</sup> Just as variety characterised Sidney's popular pastoral romance *Arcadia* and produced the passions,<sup>26</sup> so it characterised Huygens's and Temple's own garden descriptions with a similar effect.

On the other hand, the tradition of Christian optimism supplies the principle of variety with more vitality and promotes its application in 17<sup>th</sup>-century creative expressions concerning natural scenery.<sup>27</sup> Consisting of a complex of ideas which were common in Christian, Neoplatonic, Stoic and Calvinist thoughts, Christian optimism holds that God made the world a beautiful dwelling place for man by making it diverse. With growing interest in the study of the visible, material world, Dutch and Flemish painters in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries painted landscapes in praise of God's grace, with its all-encompassing harmony of unity and multiplicity, yet not without contingencies and imperfections.<sup>28</sup>

As an extension of the principle of variety, late Renaissance humanists showed an increasing taste for 'contrast'.<sup>29</sup> With the influence of Neoplatonism and Stoicism, Richard Ashley, for example, in his *Of the interchangeable course or variety of things in the whole world*, translated in 1594 from the French of Louis Le Roy, observed the world order being 'maintyned by contraries'; 'in like manner is the Earth, and euery other thing is the world tempered and conserued by things of dislike and contrarie qualitie.'<sup>30</sup> In northern landscape paintings, mountains stand in opposition to valleys, as light is in contrast to darkness. Man's body was equally dominated with its contrary humours and

passions, an ancient concept that remained alive and well in the Renaissance.<sup>31</sup> Excessive and unbridled passions were understood to be harmful in daily life.<sup>32</sup> Despite overt claims for the primacy of reason at the time, many writers, artists and patrons believed that the passions could only be controlled or tempered by other passions,<sup>33</sup> which they aimed to achieve through mood-alternating techniques such as reading poetry and viewing paintings.<sup>34</sup> Developed in tandem with poetry and painting, Renaissance gardens, which were typically composed of a regular garden and an irregular grove,<sup>35</sup> had similar functions. Whereas the regular garden was often associated with ‘joy and delight’, the grove or wilderness, evoked ‘solitary reverence’.<sup>36</sup> With the balance between the wilderness and the regular garden, the overall design reflects the harmony of the universe, just as the human passions are balanced and at peace in the soul.

#### *Tempering the passions to achieve neo-Stoic and Epicurean tranquillity*

The emphasis on cultivating a calm, balanced disposition by tempering the passions to achieve the golden mean manifests the eclectic nature of 17<sup>th</sup>-century psychology and philosophy.<sup>37</sup> Absorbing themes from Aristotle’s moderation and the golden mean to the Stoic therapy of emotions, this emphasis was particularly associated with neo-Stoicism and Epicureanism.<sup>38</sup> Both the (neo-)Stoics and the Epicureans regarded the attainment of *apatheia* or *ataraxia* (both meaning ‘free from disturbances’) as the way of living a good life.<sup>39</sup> Quite contrary to the typical view held by early Stoics that the passions were all negative and must be conquered by reason, the Flemish neo-Stoic philosopher, Justus Lipsius, in his *De Constantia* (1584), following Cicero, shifted the rigid reading of Stoic *apatheia* as ‘eliminating passions’ to ‘good passions’ (*eupatheiai*), or constancy.<sup>40</sup> Resting on an even balance of the passions, ‘constancy’ of the mind is ‘an immovable strength of the minde, neither lifted up, or pressed down with external accidents.’<sup>41</sup> Constancy is thus close to the Epicurean *ataraxia*, or ‘tranquillity of mind’ as the neo-Epicurean philosopher Pierre Gassendi described: it is the tranquil motion of the mind in balance, ‘moved neither by exultant joy, nor depressed sorrow’.<sup>42</sup>

This disposition of inner calm, it is worth noting, was an ideal sought after by humanists active in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century political arena,<sup>43</sup> where the momentous events of the reformation, iconoclasm and wars created both terrible

suffering and unprecedented possibilities for individuals. Following the teaching of Lipsius’ interpretation of Seneca and Cicero, these political humanists such as Huygens, ‘the Constanter’,<sup>44</sup> and Temple who celebrated ‘tranquillity of mind’<sup>45</sup> considered that reason (practical reason) was not opposed to passion, but only sprang forth from a tranquil disposition or ‘an even balance’ of the mind.<sup>46</sup> This enabled one to find the golden mean — making prudent decisions in political affairs, as necessitated by their duties as courtiers.<sup>47</sup> Being ‘virtuosi’ or ‘*liefhebbers*’ (lovers of art) themselves, these political humanists habitually engaged with literature, poetry and art at their leisure as a productive and virtuous diversion,<sup>48</sup> which helped them practice the mastery of the passions prompted by real-life experiences,<sup>49</sup> or ‘emotional horticulture’, to borrow Richard Tuck’s phrase.<sup>50</sup> In this light, their approach to gardens with features of variety and contrast, may not have been merely for indulgence in sensuous pleasure or status symbols and ‘conspicuous consumption’, as some have assumed.<sup>51</sup> But rather, these may be seen as a mechanism for cultivating their emotional disposition to achieve neo-Stoic constancy or Epicurean tranquillity. While their country estate would allow them to be at a distance from the court under uncertain and at times dangerous circumstances, the cultivation of this inner fortress of tranquillity in a garden would contribute to the regulation of stress and thus to their mental strength to hold up to their values and stay involved in public life.

This mechanism of gardens as a poetic and psychological technique for achieving tranquillity in an active life has hitherto been overlooked in the context of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch and English gardens. Moreover, I shall contend that this mechanism functioned as a framework within which Huygens and Temple perceived the Asian aesthetic of gardens and landscapes and Temple coined his term *sharawadgi*. Despite, or because of, the seeming foreignness, images of Asian gardens and landscapes could appeal to the European humanists through the lens of the principles of variety and contrast. The irregular design from Asia may be less an ‘other’ than an ingenious device or exemplar that was located comfortably within the European cultural framework of caring for the passions. Temple’s *sharawadgi*, it may be supposed, is not separate from his perception of the parallels between neo-Stoic and Epicurean tranquillity and the Confucian discourse on the passions, and between European humanist and Chinese forms of government based on virtue.



To make this argument, I shall first, in the following, present a close reading of Huygens’ and Temple’s garden descriptions — Huygens on Hofwijck and Temple on Moor Park (not the estate in Surrey, which he was only to purchase later in 1685, but the Moor Park at Hertfordshire, created by Lucy Harington Russell (1580–1627) the Countess of Bedford, which he described in the Epicurean garden essay preceding the account of *sharawadgi*). Both gardens shared kinship with Italianate gardens having a mostly regular layout, but neither writer followed the rules of harmonious classicism exclusively to identify geometry and harmonic proportions with reason. Instead, they both showed an understanding that (practical) reason, as an ability to keep to the golden mean, only emerged from a tranquil disposition where the passions are in balance — as in neo-Stoic constancy and Epicurean tranquility. Such a tranquil disposition was cultivated in a guided stroll through the garden, where a series of programmed images of variety and contrast were encountered. Temple and Huygens’ garden stroll, raising and allaying the passions so as to achieve a tranquil balance, accustomed them to *sharawadgi*-like Asian designs in porcelain, lacquer screens and kimonos, where similar structural patterns of variety and contrast are displayed.

### Huygens and Hofwijck

Hofwijck was built as a country residence in 1640–1642 on a lot of land in Voorburg near The Hague. As the name’s double meaning indicates — both ‘a house with a garden’ and to ‘avoid the court’ — it was a place for the secretary to the stadholder to take a quick refuge from the bustling court of political affairs in The Hague. Like contemporary Dutch and European gardens in general, the estate of Hofwijck has a regular layout, consisting of woods, an orchard and a square with a house (figure 1). The proportions of the three-part garden models on that of the ‘Vitruvian’ man: the woods (the lower garden) constitute the lower part of the body; the orchard (the upper garden) represents the breast; and the small house the head.<sup>52</sup> This feature may easily be taken as evidence of Huygens’ commitment to the classicism of the High Renaissance. The then new tendency for classicism in Dutch architecture was already reflected in Huygens’ house built in the 1630s.<sup>53</sup> Yet Huygens was not a wholehearted classicist. At Hofwijck, as Boudewijn Bakker pointed

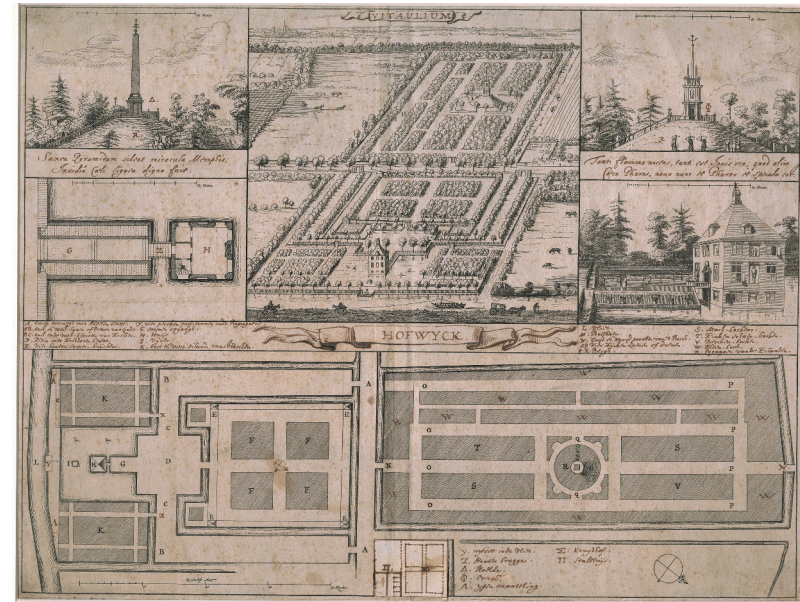


FIGURE 1. *Hofwijck* (dated 1653), by Constantijn Huygens and an unknown engraver. Courtesy: Huygens’ *Hofwijck*, Voorburg. Reuse not permitted.

out, Huygens was mediating between classical theory and the old concept of *imitatio naturae*, by which he meant the study and artistic imitation of nature as variety and vitality.<sup>54</sup> The unorthodox application of the Vitruvian man in the layout of a garden rather than as a building’s façade expressed this mediation — a matter to which we shall return.<sup>55</sup> And unlike most contemporary Dutch gardens, which featured elaborate and decorative knots, bosquets and parterres with flower-beds organized into mathematical order, the glory of Hofwijck was its trees. As Kuitert has noted, the trees were planted informally in blocks in the woods, the orchard and near the house.<sup>56</sup> This contrasting effect is captured in a set of illustrations which Huygens included in his 1653 publication about the estate, a poem entitled *Hofwijck*.<sup>57</sup> With almost 3000 lines, *Hofwijck* is one of the earliest and longest country house poems in the Netherlands.<sup>58</sup> In the poem, Huygens guided his imagined visitors on a stroll along a path through the plan of the Vitruvian man.

The stroll started from the woods, proceeded to the orchard and ended at the house on the surrounding moat. The tripartite structure of the garden is mirrored in the structure of the poem. Following Italian precedents, early modern country houses or villas in England and the Netherlands commonly consisted of a garden (in a regular shape) and a grove (mostly free-form), as in the case of Moor Park in Hertfordshire, recollected by Temple. And as in Moor Park, a typical itinerary through these villas would be from the garden to the grove. This is apparently not the case in Hofwijck, where all three parts of the estate, organised into an anthropomorphic body, were regular in their layout. Robert van Pelt argued that the particular itinerary in Hofwijck was a progression through the Neoplatonic universe, from the terrestrial to the celestial and empyrean worlds, which corresponds to a journey through the microcosm of the human: Body, Soul, and Mind.<sup>59</sup> The application of the Vitruvian man was therefore a signifier for the idea of the body as the path through Creation to God.<sup>60</sup>

Offering an apparently coherent scheme for Huygens' mind and garden, Van Pelt's reading has evident merit. But this Neoplatonist reading may be too clean-cut to fit an eclectic mind typical of a 17<sup>th</sup>-century European humanist like Huygens', and his many-sided poem, *Hofwijck*. As Thijs Weststeijn has noted, for the early modern period, it is not always possible to distinguish rigidly between the lines of argument denoted by terms such as Stoicism, Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism.<sup>61</sup> This eclectic nature is immediately reflected in the intensive quotations of classical authors in Huygens' poem, especially those by Seneca, among which the use of Stoic consolatory topoi is evident.<sup>62</sup> Hofwijck is indeed therapeutic for Huygens: 'Here do I flee for refuge, sheltered here and cool, | ... A haven now and then from stormy winds at Court | Whereby the soul's refreshed, the body is restored'.<sup>63</sup> Huygens' experience thus echoes what Lipsius described as living in a garden in the beginning of the second part of his *De Constantia*: 'tranquillity, seclusion, meditation ... and all of that in a relaxed manner, without effort'.<sup>64</sup> The Flemish philosopher's neo-Stoicism was a shaping influence on his contemporary and 17<sup>th</sup>-century intellectuals.<sup>65</sup> The very name Constanter [Constan-tijn] reveals Huygens as a like-minded man, whose endorsement of Lipsius' teaching is evidenced by his acquisition of a large collection of manuscripts and annotated books which Lipsius had left at Leiden University.<sup>66</sup> For the neo-Stoics, the garden is a refuge where one can recompose or heal

disordered passions towards a tranquil balance and constancy.<sup>67</sup> Such inner calm was not pursued without reference to outward circumstances. Rather, as Lipsius argued in *Politicorum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex* (*Six Books on Politics or Civil Doctrine*, 1589), inner calm is an active achievement of the will, a way to survive civil war and other extreme forms of political difficulty through active engagement in public life.<sup>68</sup> This neo-Stoic belief underlines Huygens' commitment as a devoted civil servant — he was the secretary to the stadholder Frederik Hendrik, a position which he continued to hold under William II and William III. As the editors of his poems noted, 'few servants of any state can have performed their duties for so long, or with such exemplary fidelity: living his name, Constanter'.<sup>69</sup>

Yet the neo-Stoic garden does not have to be tranquil all the time, for training a constant mind and tranquil heart requires exposure to strong or even violent passions as one experiences in real life. Aside from the peaceful garden, Lipsius's *De Constantia* also features 'let showres, thunders, lightnings, and tempestes fall round about thee, thou shalt crie boldlie with a loude voyce, I lie at rest amid the waves'.<sup>70</sup> Lipsius' constancy thus provided a way of compromising with the Augustinian emphasis on experiencing the passions, an emphasis central to Huygens' Calvinist belief. The combined form of Stoicism and Augustinism as an intellectual framework was by no means singular, but was commonly observed amongst Renaissance humanists.<sup>71</sup> Huygens' earlier poem *Ooghentroost* (*Ocular Consolation*, 1647), as has been shown, also combined Stoic consolatory writing and Augustine's thoughts on grace.<sup>72</sup> This way we are allowed to consider Huygens' emphasis of contrary passions (pleasure and pain), an emphasis which mainly lies in the journey through the woods (the body), as a neo-Stoic process of cultivation in order to achieve constancy or tranquillity. This tranquillity in the soul, or the heart (the breast), is symbolised by the orchard, where images of balance and harmony dominate, as shown in the poem. Through the ultimate movement from the orchard towards the house, a symbol of divine mind, the Stoic's tranquil soul seems to embrace God's grace in Augustine's vision.<sup>73</sup>

Focusing on the use of the principles of variety and contrast to manage the passions towards tranquillity, I shall confine the following analysis to the woods or the lower garden of Hofwijck and correspondingly the first third (about 1000 lines) of Huygens' long poem, *Hofwijck*. Guiding his guests

through the beautiful trees he cultivated, the poet's pleasure is deemed at once human and rational:

Don't ask me for its size in roods or feet—but stand  
 At one end and you see no ending to the trees,  
 The end is quite far off where eyes discern no end.  
 This the tame wilderness of wild civility;  
 Or so I call the wood, as Reason I love well  
 And love the balance of the Golden Mean ... <sup>74</sup>

'Reason' thus is not represented primarily by the geometrical forms of the estate imitating a human body, nor by the fine proportions of the house. Indeed, on this anthropomorphism, Huygens merely noted 'that shape is God's own work and it is therefore good', without identifying the shape with 'reason'. Huygens would certainly have known that the English author and diplomat, Henry Wotton, a senior friend of his, had credited architects by virtue of using the system of harmonic proportions as 'a Diver into Causes and into the Mysteries of Proportion,' to which Huygens alluded in *Hofwijck*.<sup>75</sup> However, to Huygens, the architect 'wins not every time' 'in such a lottery', '[a]nd draws blank all too often.'<sup>76</sup> In writing so, Huygens was, as Bakker pointed out, more consonant with his younger, sceptical self, when he had little interest in classicism and saw a world in terms of contingencies, not universalities.<sup>77</sup> The mid-aged Huygens was more accepting of classicism (universalities) as the organising principle, but humanity remained firmly as the organic centre of creation. Made in 'God's image and likeness', Hofwijck mirrored nature as variety and vitality, as conceptualised in the northern Renaissance tradition, but seen through the Vitruvian eyes of geometry.<sup>78</sup> To find the golden mean between universality and humanity, rules and real life, geometry and variety, Huygens trusted practical reason, the prudent sense of judgment, rather than any theoretical rules applied by force. That is why he could endorse a design based on disordered elements as in a Japanese robe to be applied in garden designs, but only in such topographies that were not blank and where asymmetry would provide a satisfying solution.<sup>79</sup> As he wrote:

Tailors (Planters) mending older works I can accept with mercy,  
 But I see no way to pardon cutters of new cloth.  
 My sheet was still a whole, and I would be an astigmatic fool,  
 If I would cut it up in pieces after a senile plan.<sup>80</sup>

At Hofwijck, where the land was typically flat and empty, void of hills and valleys, it was only rational (in the sense of being practical) to layout the garden geometrically. More nuanced demonstration of reason or the golden mean applied in the design is illustrated in the balance between the tameness and wilderness of the trees:

Too tame would be too formal here; too wild, too coarse,  
 So that which lies between can satisfy us best.<sup>81</sup>

But the tameness and wilderness of the trees are also images of the passions. Understanding that the passions had more than an analogical relation to liquid states and forces of nature (thanks to their close functional relation to the four humours), early modern writers commonly describe the passions as 'winds and waves of the body'.<sup>82</sup> Conversely, the variety of landscapes also matched the sense of change and variety in the human passions and soul.<sup>83</sup> The imagery of storms, for example, features in John Donne's verse letters as an example of life under the free sway of the passions.<sup>84</sup> Holding the highest respect for the English poet, Huygens had translated nineteen of Donne's poems into Dutch in the 1630s.<sup>85</sup> In *Hofwijck*, Huygens echoed Donne's analogy, 'we search the still and green depths of my waves, | My moving sea of leaves, which we hear clamouring | and moving still above us'.<sup>86</sup> Clamouring passions may be disturbing, yet for Huygens, as for Donne, they were not to be exterminated, but rather balanced, for passions were the marks of man's humanity.<sup>87</sup> As Huygens, the Dutch poet, recognised:

... we are sober and extravagant by turns.  
 Even the gravest man is human flesh and blood,  
 And moves, as all do, like the ebbing, flooding waters:  
 Our gravity still seeks a balanced levity.  
 This is my observation, my reading and my thought,  
 We are in truth no angels, Reason does its best  
 But fickleness is not the last thing to affect us.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, the Vitruvian man at Hofwijck is indeed to be taken literally — not merely as a model of ideal proportions, but as a body of flesh and blood, humours and passions (figure 2). Van Pelt was right to point out that Huygens' Vitruvian man parallels Donne's image of the body of Christ as the path through Creation to God.<sup>89</sup> Yet unlike Van Pelt's exclusive Neoplatonic reading of Hofwijck — in which woods were an image of a chaotic world, and man living in such a world, depending upon his senses, was 'blind',<sup>90</sup> at



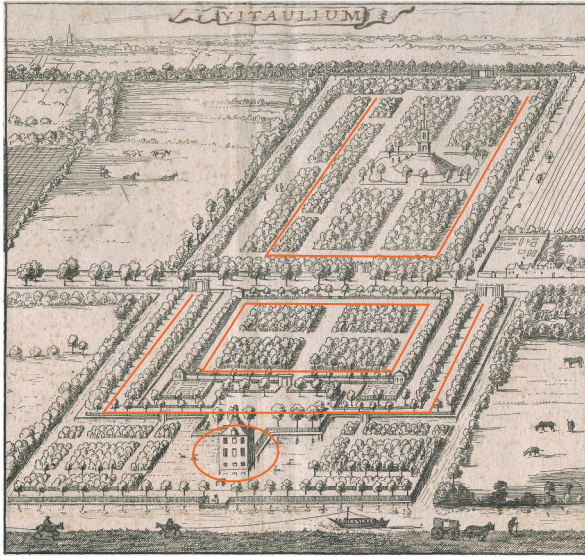


FIGURE 2. Bird's-eye view of Hofwijck (detail of figure 1). Consisted of trees throughout, the Vitruvian man, indicated by Orange lines, is a body of the passions. Courtesy of Huygens' Hofwijck, Voorburg. Reuse not permitted.

Hofwijck, Huygens was capable of tempering the passions and finding calm in the midst of turmoil. In search of 'the still and green depths of my waves', he moved through the woods (both physically and literarily), in which variety and contrast were the prevalent principles:

Man remains always Man; he accepts judgments ripe and immature  
and sensuous pleasures, young or old; how diverse we may be  
Change gives us pleasure, and stability yields pain.<sup>91</sup>

As noted earlier, changes or the quality of variety capable of producing pleasure, are long-standing themes in the rhetorical tradition. The rules of rhetoric were consciously deployed in the composition of *Hofwijck*, as Willmien B. De Vries demonstrates in his analysis of the poem.<sup>92</sup> Huygens himself also declared in his autobiography that 'among all the things rhetoric offers, is there a single thing that is more important than the ability to present the separate elements in the right order and in a pleasing composition?'<sup>93</sup> As

in the poem, variety was a guiding principle in the design of the woods.<sup>94</sup> Composed of as many species of trees as possible, the woods acquired both visual beauty and utility. A medley of varieties (poplars, birches, etc.), these trees framed views, providing elegant markers along the walks and avenues.<sup>95</sup> As there were digressions in the poem to avoid monotony and enrich pleasure, Huygens in the design of the woods also included some curved paths, deviating now and then from straight lines. 'Let us turn to right or left: or do the curves disturb | That which this world now disapproves, but times of old preferred?'<sup>96</sup> Even though our reason tells us that straight is preferable to curved, curved 'also has its virtues': the bends in a long path prevent boredom, and where a straight path would seem too short, a winding route will make it longer.<sup>97</sup>

The principle of variety in the discourse on natural scenery and landscape paintings exerted similar influence on Huygens' garden design. Having had the privilege of taking lessons in miniature painting from his famous uncle, Jacob Hoefnagel, Huygens matured into an influential lover of northern Renaissance landscapes and discussed both landscape and painting countless times in his many writings.<sup>98</sup> In those depictions of landscape such as by



FIGURE 3. Jacques de Gheyn, *Landscape with the Temptation of Christ*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Inv. No. RP-P-OB-5714, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Public domain).

Jacques de Gheyn (figure 3), Huygens saw the world — with all its variety and vitality, as well as all its imperfections and coincidences — the literal manifestation of God's power, whereas witnessing 'free, fresh, and lively' drawing was an education to the soul.<sup>99</sup> Huygens wrote:

[One can] succinctly but tellingly describe painting, the education of the eyes, the full sister of poetry, as the art of seeing. I truly regard those who are not adept in this scarcely as complete persons. I call them blind people, who look no differently at the sky, the sea or the earth than do their cattle that they let graze with their heads down. They look at those things without seeing them.<sup>100</sup>

In this kind of painterly viewing, contrary elements (e.g. hills and dales, river and sun) in landscapes and landscapes of contrary moods were perceived to affect the passions in opposite ways. The value placed on the mood of a painting with landscape may be traced back to Leonardo da Vinci and Alberti.<sup>101</sup> In the same vein, the Italian art theorist Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo divided landscapes into chief categories according to their moods such as 'places of delight' and 'sinister dens' in his artistic treatise.<sup>102</sup> Huygens owned a copy of the English translation of Lomazzo's treatise.<sup>103</sup> Such contrast representing natural forces controlled or untamed was visualised in Stuart court masques through Inigo Jones' stage design: stormy seas and dark forests representing untamed nature, whereas cultivated gardens and elegant villas implying earthy and cosmic harmony.<sup>104</sup> An admirer of English court culture, the young Huygens was mesmerised by the Jacobean masques during his diplomatic embassies to England in 1621–1622, and later was commissioned to write a masque for Elizabeth Stuart (the Electress Palatine) who took her refuge in The Hague.<sup>105</sup> When Huygens came to create Hofwijck, he was at a point in his life when the bright outlook turned grimmer: he had suffered the loss of his beloved wife, Suzanna, who died in 1637; the outbreak of the English civil war in 1641 involved him in an extremely difficult position, negotiating between the pro-Parliamentarian States and English friends like the Queen Henrietta Maria begging him to use his influence. The undulating happiness and sorrow, peace and war, would have prompted him to experiment with the principle of contrast in his landscaping and garden design at Hofwijck as a strategy for emotional modulation.

Both spatial and emotive contrasts were dominant in the narrative of the first part of Huygens' poem, that is, the journey through the woods. Unlike

in the Neoplatonic Stuart masques, where the main contrast is found between woods and garden, or chaotic reality and Edenic order, at Hofwijck, in the woods alone, the contrary passions of pleasure and pain, peace and war or suffering, as well as the contrast between light and darkness, are all violently blended together. Huygens described the beauty of the stately avenues, planted with oaks, evoking pleasures, which were then disturbed by unexpected associations with war and destruction: lines 181–200 recall movingly the Low Countries' struggle for freedom in the Eighty-Years' War against Spain; in lines 499–502 and 1235–40 he summarily condemned the Civil War in England,<sup>106</sup> upon which he maintained a position of consistent if strained civility to both sides. Whilst the thought that these trees would flourish in a hundred years and would be the financial source for his descendants gave the poet reassurance and pleasure, anxiety about future wars never stayed away: he warned his children that they should not uproot these trees, only with the exception of an intervening war.<sup>107</sup> As a neo-Stoic as well as a Calvinist, Huygens knew all too well that on this earth a garden of Eden was not possible. Rather pleasure and pain, love and death, peace and war were the real conditions of life that we should enjoy and endure. To do so, a mastery of the passions to achieve tranquillity, to remain calm in every situation, is fundamental.

As the highlight of the lower garden, a panorama was attained by ascending a watch tower on top of a hill in the centre of the woods. The tower replaced an obelisk that was dedicated to Huygens' happy years with his wife. As Bakker noted, at first this ascension appears to be about the sensual joy of simply looking out over the tree-tops at 'Holland's best parts' — for the view encompasses village, city, palace and church, as well as fields, woods, hills and the sea.<sup>108</sup> But by way of a pun on the word *overzien* (meaning 'to command a view of' as well as 'to supervise'), this panoramic view takes on political and territorial connotations: 'I am master up to the waves in the northern brine. | I call that over-seeing.'<sup>109</sup> Yet the 'master[ing] up to the waves' may also be an allusion to the mastery of his own passions — to 'the still and green depths of my waves'; or like the rocky watch tower, standing firmly against the attacks from turbulent political situations. Unlike the men who governed the country from The Hague, 'whose view was obscured by clouds of political woes',<sup>110</sup> and whose passions were uneven, Huygens could enjoy the lively view of 'the visible world' with its vitality

and variety. It was such dynamic viewing and strolling through the woods that tempered his passions to achieve tranquillity and to grasp the golden mean. In the later years, Huygens never quite recovered the assured position of mutual trust and respect which he had formerly held at court. Nevertheless, he continued to be the capable civil servant who performed his duty for six decades.

### Temple and Moor Park

The reputation of Sir William Temple suffered severely from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century historian Thomas Macaulay's Whiggish account.<sup>111</sup> The latter's accusation regarding Temple's sensuous epicureanism seems to be confirmed by the very title of Temple's own essay 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus'. The philosophy of Epicureanism also appears to contradict Huygens' austere Stoicism and Calvinism. Yet as discussed earlier, constancy, the cardinal virtue of neo-Stoicism was closely linked to *ataraxia* (tranquillity of mind), that is, the highest pleasure held by Epicureanism.<sup>112</sup> Seneca drew from Epicurus to define *tranquillitas* as an abiding stability of mind ('*stabilem animi sedem*').<sup>113</sup> The extent to which the two schools of Stoicism and Epicureanism mingled in 17<sup>th</sup> century England has been well documented.<sup>114</sup> In his garden essay, Temple made it clear that 'the difference between these two seems not easily discovered': 'the most reasonable of the Stoics made the pleasure of virtue to be the greatest happiness, and the best of the Epicureans made the greatest pleasure to consist in virtue.'<sup>115</sup> Huygens would be such a Stoic to Temple, as he credited Huygens with being the happiest man he knew — with health, longevity and free from disturbances.

Like his fellow statesman in Holland, Temple was strongly committed to a public life and was esteemed for his wisdom and prudence. To contain the ambitions of Louis XIV, he twice negotiated peace and alliance between England and Holland in 1668 and in 1674. To reinforce the Anglo-Dutch alliance, he played a key role in arranging the marriage of William of Orange (William III) and Princess Mary of England (Mary II). His early retirement was only forced by extreme circumstances: vehement party division over the Exclusion Crisis and his efforts to unite the king and parliament being betrayed by the frivolous Charles II.<sup>116</sup> Despite his withdrawal, Temple's writings continued to be public-oriented — a practice firmly in line with Seneca and Cicero, as well as Lipsius and Sidney<sup>117</sup>

— to calm the 'restlessness of minds and thought' of the public, which Temple perceived to be the root of discontent in England in the middle 1680s.<sup>118</sup>

Huygens' Hofwijck was certainly very close to Temple's heart. But when he later came to recall the perfect gardens he had ever seen 'whether at home or abroad', a seemingly very different garden was deemed the 'sweetest place'.<sup>119</sup> That garden was at Moor Park, Hertfordshire, created from 1617–1627 by Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford. Garden historians conventionally treated the Countess' Moor Park as a typical luxurious Italianate garden, with a sophisticated terrace system, elaborate parterres, fountains, statues and a grotto (figure 4).<sup>120</sup>

All these elements were extremely costly, which would confirm the Countess' reputation as being extravagant, and would contrast with the sombre and 'naturalistic' appearance of Huygens' Hofwijck. Yet that extravagance was surely not what Temple perceived of the garden. Temple defended the Countess by stating that 'greater Sums may be thrown away without effect or Honour, if there want Sense in proportion to Momy, or if Nature be not followed, which I take to be the great Rule in this.'<sup>121</sup> To live according to nature is taught by many philosophers including both the Stoics and Epicureans. Often this maxim is taken as living a life of ascetic discipline. Yet this is not the view of Epicurus and Seneca. Epicurus recommended one to 'avoid all pain.' Seneca, renowned for his affluence, said: 'At our birth, nature made us teachable, and gave us reason, not perfect, but capable of being perfected.'<sup>122</sup> It is therefore, 'unnatural', not to use good gifts as Heaven may have placed at our disposal to develop the potentialities of ours and others. Temple would have certainly known that Huygens had brought in Seneca and the neo-Stoical golden mean in the margin of *Hofwijck* to justify the propriety of his own acts of building the country estate.<sup>123</sup> In his garden essay, Temple echoed Huygens with a quotation of Lucan's lines in *Pharsalia* — describing the character of the austere Cato — '*Servare Modum, finemq; tueri, | Naturamq; sequi*'. (To observe moderation and hold fast to the limit, to follow nature.)<sup>124</sup> The point of following nature therefore is not to stick to dogmatism, but to use practical reason to find the narrow path toward responsible spending.<sup>125</sup>

Neo-Stoicism was popular in England from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially within the circle of Sir Philip Sidney and his alliance.<sup>126</sup> The Countess of Bedford, a kinswoman to Sidney (her grandmother was Mary Sidney, Sir Philip's sister) and a spokesperson of the Sidney alliance during the 1610s–1620s, continued to patronise neo-Stoic works: she was the dedicatee of John



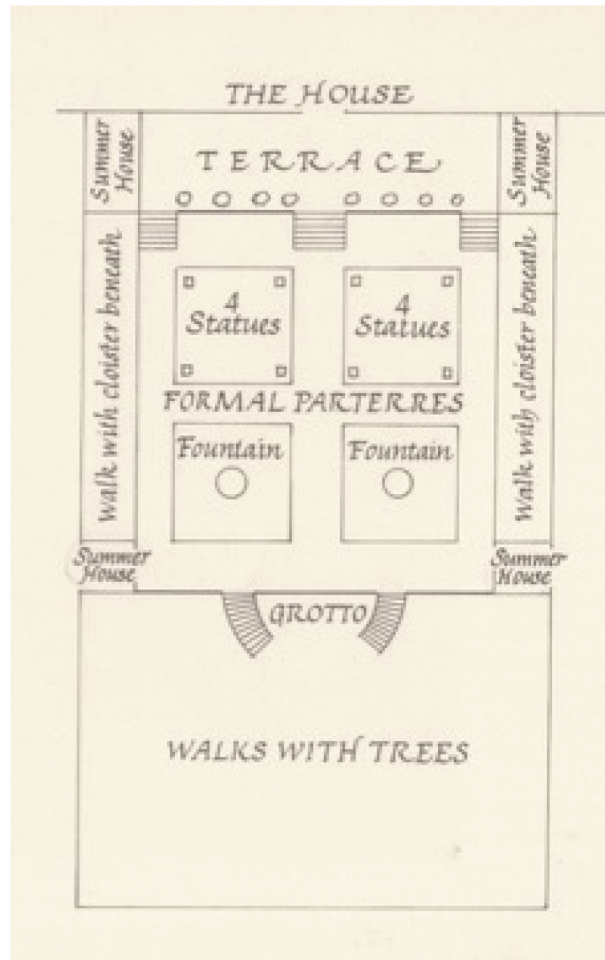


FIGURE 4. Diagram of the layout of the Countess of Bedford's Moor Park in Hertfordshire, adapted from Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p.145. Reuse not permitted.

Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne's *Essays* and Arthur Gorges' 1614 translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which Temple quoted by no coincidence.<sup>127</sup> A descendent from an associate of the alliance (Temple's grandfather was

Sidney's secretary), Temple sympathised with their neo-Stoic leaning — to achieve constancy as an aid in public life and keep to their values (limited monarchy — the monarch's will is curbed by the aristocracy's counsel). For Temple, the Countess may have been a model neo-Stoic, as he deliberately evoked the poem of John Donne,<sup>128</sup> who configured the Countess as a keeper of a 'Stoick's heart', a 'rock' that no 'wave' could undermine.<sup>129</sup> The Stoick's heart is the location for mastering the passions, whilst the imagery of the rock amidst the sea signifies the immovable inner strength of constancy or tranquillity.<sup>130</sup> This imagery had earlier been applied to heroes in Sidney's *Arcadia* in which constancy is one of the key values — 'it is a mind well trained and long exercised in virtue ... doth not easily change any course it once undertakes.'<sup>131</sup> For the alliance, like Sidney writing *Arcadia* from Wilton House, the posture of neo-Stoic withdrawal and cultivation of constancy at a critical 'country' distance from the court provided them with the mental strength to maintain a discourse on the critique of the court, against encroaching monarchical absolutism — either domestic or foreign.<sup>132</sup> Whilst retreating to Moor Park, the Countess played a key role in promoting the cause of the Palatinate in Bohemia against the Habsburgs, a cause which she shared with Huygens.<sup>133</sup> Assuming a political withdrawal himself at Sheen against Charles II's arbitrariness and party factions, Temple's recollection of Moor Park as 'the sweetest place' and the Countess as 'among the greatest wits of her time', thus, may not be separate from his appreciation of the neo-Stoic constancy or tranquillity embodied by the Countess. And we may not be too far from the truth in considering that the shared neo-Stoic and Epicurean ethos allowed Temple to recommend Moor Park as an exemplar garden in an Epicurean garden essay extolling tranquillity.

Temple described in detail the layout of the Hertfordshire Moor Park in his Epicurean essay.<sup>134</sup> As mentioned earlier, Temple, like Huygens, also used a stroll through the estate as the ordering principle. But Temple's description moves in contrary motion to that of Huygens': the former walking from the house to the garden and thence to the orchard and the wilderness. This itinerary is similar to those in some Renaissance Italian villas such as Villa Lante in Bagnaia, which consisted of a garden and a grove.<sup>135</sup> As no writing on Moor Park by the Countess and her close circle was found, and there was little physical trace of the garden, it is difficult to pin down a specific scheme of Moor Park at its conception. But Temple's description certainly speaks for

his perception of the Countess' garden. Conversant with a promoter of empirical investigation like Francis Bacon, Temple highlighted the varied and ever changing imagery on the stroll throughout the entire garden, pointing directly to a psychological experience.

Following Temple on his stroll, one stepped out of the Countess' house, experiencing a first major change of space, from inside to outside.<sup>136</sup> The terrace was spacious, a gravel walk, three-hundred paces long. As Roy Strong has noted, as a high spot, here one would have a panoramic view of the landscape in the far distance.<sup>137</sup> Back on the terrace, there were laurels at the border and orange trees further away. The descent to the parterre marked the second major change of space. In contrast to the spaciousness of the terrace, and the panoramic landscape of the countryside of Hertfordshire, here one's senses were stimulated by a greater variety of art forms, sounds and scents yielded by statues, fountains, and the quarters of a parterre. On both sides of the parterre were double layered cloisters: on the low level were 'walks of shade', contrasted by airy walks on the upper level. The cloister facing south was covered with vines, the other facing north, with myrtles. At the end of the terrace-walk were two summer-houses, which were likely used as galleries according to the convention of the time.<sup>138</sup> The descent from the parterre into the lower garden indicated another change of space, where fruit trees ranged about the several quarters of a shady wilderness. The walks here were all green, and the grotto under the staircase embellished with a variety of figures of shell rock-work, fountains and water-works. On the other side of the house, there was another garden of all greens, 'very wild, shady, and adorned with rock-work and fountains'; the location of this wilderness would have been on the extension of the lower garden, had there not been a common way going through the park.

In Temple's description, the measurement of the aesthetic or a garden's capacity to please is not determined by whether its overall layout appears regular or not (although like Huygens, Temple recommended regular shapes); rather, it depends on to what extent the garden affords a rich variety that stimulates the pleasure of the senses of visitors on their stroll, and whether it affords contrasts that keep the passions balanced. Notably, Temple's description does not include details about ornaments such as the pattern of the parterres or the hydraulic machinery in the grotto installed by Isaac de Caus.<sup>139</sup> Nor are there, as often was the case at the time, descriptions of

each of the eight statues and the two fountains, explaining their mythological and theological themes. Is this because of Temple's 'indolence', or rather because what matters for him is already there in his account — namely the features of variety and contrast on this stroll, which are all highlighted with nuance?

Early modern garden visitors were sensitised to diverse spaces and contrasting scenes to which they correspond with different moods or passions. In Italian villas, as already mentioned, it was a commonplace that a garden was associated with joy and a wood inspired solitary reverence; quick transitions provoking surprise were also practised: Alberti recommended that a high spot be created in the garden where a splendid prospect of fields, woods and streams would suddenly be revealed, an effect materialised in many villas such as Villa D'Este.<sup>140</sup> In England, such literary gardens as the lodge of Basilius, Sidney's king of Arcadia and Spenser's 'Bower of Bliss' offered a surrounding 'being diversified between hills and dales', 'The dales for shade, the hills for breathing space.'<sup>141</sup> In real gardens such as Sir John Danvers' Chelsea House, panoramic views of the Thames and the countryside of Surrey brought delight to guests in the dining hall, whereas a transition from the 'gay Paradise [garden] into the darksome, deep vault [grotto]' would affect one with 'a kind of Religious horror'.<sup>142</sup> And more generally parterre gardens would evoke pleasure and dispel grief, whereas summer houses and cloisters were the places where one might seek tranquil solitude. Thus as Temple strolled through Moor Park, from a sunny, open terrace to a shaded, private grove; from the airy walks to 'walks of shade' in the double layered cloisters; from a view of the ordered parterre to the rough wilderness, the passions would be shifting from cheerfulness towards meditation, from joy to solitary reverence.

The management of the passions was central to Temple's Epicureanism, the core teaching of which was understood as 'tranquillity of mind and indolence [health] of body'.<sup>143</sup> A Montaignian sceptic, Temple had little trust in the power of reason (as didactic reasoning) for controlling the passions and bringing tranquillity. He opened his garden essay with a charge of reason itself making men restless; it was ironic that reason must again be called in to 'allay those disorders which itself had raised, to cure its own wounds.'<sup>144</sup> Since we cannot escape the pursuit of passions in this needy, uncertain life, Temple claims, so we should divert ourselves as well as we might. Whilst some may turn to drink or play, love or business, 'the imaginations of the witty and the wise' find out ways 'how to revive [the

imagination] with pleasure, or relieve it with diversions; how to compose it with ease and settle it with safety'.<sup>145</sup> Such is Temple's belief in an art of living, that 'men should temper these passions one with another; according to what by age or condition, they are most subject.'<sup>146</sup> Temple's idea was a commonplace found in a range of early modern philosophical writings and treatises on the passions.<sup>147</sup> Robert Burton, for example, in *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) suggests the inducing of a passion opposite to the disturbing one in order to restore a balance in the passions of the mind.<sup>148</sup> It is notable that Burton included gardens as antidotes to melancholy, a mood of depression which many 17<sup>th</sup>-century Englishman simultaneously suffered from and cultivated: 'To walke amongst Orchards, Gardens, Bowres, Mounts and Arbors, artificiall wildernesses, greene thickets, Arches, Groves, Lawnes, Rivulets, Fountains and such like pleasant places'.<sup>149</sup> Temple both as a youth and during his intense political career suffered from sudden fits of 'the spleen'. In an essay 'On Health and Long Life', he remarked that 'fear, and regret, and melancholy apprehensions, which are the usual effects of the Spleen, with the distractions, disquiets, or at least intranquillity they occasion, are the worst accidents that can attend any diseases'.<sup>150</sup> Thus, gardens with their diverse and contrasting scenes, such as Moor Park, were Temple's favourite diversion. In his modest estate at Sheen, his sister, Lady Giffard, tells us, he was extremely sensible to the arrangement of his garden, bought as many pictures and statues as his moderate fortune would permit, and enjoyed 'scenes he had made pleasant about him in his garden & House'.<sup>151</sup> The varied and contrasting scenes at his own Moor Park in Surrey, made in memory of the Countess' garden, such as a regular parterre and a wilderness, serpentine paths and waterways versus an elongated recess cut in the hill, thus may similarly be understood as a way of 'mending [the] self' through tempering the passions.<sup>152</sup>

Such psychological garden sensibility conforms perfectly with Temple's view and critiques of poetry, as expressed in his essay, 'Of Poetry', published in the same volume as the garden essay. Echoing Philip Sidney in his *Defence of Poesie*, Temple could not allow poetry 'to be more divine in its effects than in its causes, nor any operations produced by it to be more than purely natural.'<sup>153</sup> To write poetry, one is required to have great imagination and practical reason arising from inner tranquillity: 'there must be a great agitation of mind to invent, a great calm to judge and correct.'<sup>154</sup> Temple indeed considered gardeners as being like the Greek poets and artists, whose vocation was to contrive images to play upon the passions: '[they] raise admirable

frames and fabrics out of nothing, which strike with wonder and with pleasure the eyes and imaginations of those who behold them.'<sup>155</sup> In accordance with his appreciation of varied and contrasting scenes in the garden, Temple extolled the power of poetry in moving the passions. 'Upon the reading or hearing of some excellent pieces of poetry', 'so many more should feel such turns or curdling of their blood.'<sup>156</sup> And true poetry 'may have the force to raise passions and to allay them, to change and to extinguish them, to temper joy and grief, to raise love and fear'.<sup>157</sup> Such an effect, Temple proposed, would rebalance the 'unequal humours' and healing 'inconstant passions' of the English people, a people who were not only affected by the uncertain weather, but who also had suffered from great civil and political uncertainty during the past fifty years.<sup>158</sup> Aiming to provide a model for his landed readers to lay out their own gardens, Temple would be minded that the garden was a therapy for the passions that would calm their 'heads and hearts' and achieve tranquillity, thus reforming the morals of society.

### Sharawadgi

In his Epicurean garden essay, Temple's description of the Countess' Moor Park immediately preceded his brief account of Chinese *sharawadgi*, the 'wholly irregular' manner to lay out a garden.<sup>159</sup> Naturally, the emphasis in the description of Moor Park on the imagery of variety and contrast being encountered on the stroll and its effects on the passions may frame his perception and conception of *sharawadgi*. To Temple, the Chinese visual form of *sharawadgi* would feature a structural pattern of variety and contrast not dissimilar to that of the European gardens. Because of its obvious foreignness, that pattern would lead to a greater effect on the senses and passions than the European norm such as Moor Park.

Examples of *sharawadgi*, Temple advises us, may be found in 'the best Indian Gowns, or the painting upon their best Skreens or Purcellans'.<sup>160</sup> As novel and polite goods, these Asian applied arts were pouring into Europe in vast quantities through European-Chinese trade. With their East India Company being a leader in this trade in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch nobility, prior to their counterparts in England, enjoyed possession and consumption of these objects.<sup>161</sup> Temple whilst in The Hague had himself painted in

a portrait, wearing a Japanese gown, following the Dutch fashion.<sup>162</sup> As for porcelain and lacquer screens, the House of Orange was among their most prominent collectors. A frequent visitor at the Dutch Palace of Huis ten Bosch,<sup>163</sup> Temple would certainly have been impressed by the porcelain collections and lacquer rooms assembled by the princesses of Orange, from Amalia van Solms to Mary II.<sup>164</sup> (Most of these Asian items, as with other European artworks, would have been sourced by Huygens who advised on artistic and cultural matters for the House of Orange.<sup>165</sup>) The collection brought by Mary II to England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was to form a sensation in Temple's home country. Looking at Mary II's collection may therefore shed light on Temple's concept of *sharawadgi*.

A Jingdezhen porcelain jardinière (figure 5(a,b)) is one such example from the collection.<sup>166</sup> Painted around the side are eight variously shaped panels, showing varied scenes of landscapes, gardens, and a camping site. These scenes would form a narrative, possibly adapted from woodblock illustrations of *The*

*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.<sup>167</sup> In the upper centre of figure 5(a) is a landscape in a fan shape: a scholar accompanied by his servant is strolling along the bank of a river; on the right are two crossed pine trees, their slender and curvy shapes contrasted with the rocky cliffs emerging out of the river on the left; some bushes dash here and there, with hills in the far background — all in a free manner. Another panel on the same jardinière (figure 5(b)) shows a pavilion in a garden setting, where several official and warrior figures and noble women are at a gathering. Multiple linear elements constituting the pavilion, its interior furniture and a terrace are balanced with a dynamism of two tall plantain trees in the garden and bulky rocks surrounding the pavilion. At the bottom left of figure 5(b) is a circular panel, showing a scholar seated in a garden, attended by servants; above his head is a tree shelter, with a solitary, stupendous Taihu rock in the foreground. The affinity between these garden and landscape scenes is that they all consist of naturalistic elements of asymmetrically planted trees and rocks, emphasising variety and contrast. To



FIGURE 5. (a, b). A Jingdezhen porcelain jardinière showing multiple landscape and garden views in separate panels. Dated 1660–90. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021. Reuse not permitted.



educated Chinese eyes, this affinity represents a common Chinese aesthetic principle, namely that the craftsmanship of heaven or nature, as shown in landscapes, should be followed when creating a garden. Or, as a Ming treatise *The Craft of Gardens* (1631) summarises, '*sui you ren zuo, wan zi tian kai*' (雖由人作, 宛自天開), meaning 'though man-made, as if created by nature.'<sup>168</sup> The Chinese cosmos is conceptualised as consisting of *yin-yang* energies (*qi*) which, in their constant movement and transformation, nurture ten thousand things. To achieve the effect of being created as if by nature as ongoing processes, Chinese garden designers commonly deploy varied elements of rocks, plants, earth and water to simulate topography as a miniature cosmos with contrasting elements and constant changes. To 17<sup>th</sup>-century European humanist eyes like Temple's, Chinese imagery of variety and contrast with elements of nature on their applied arts would have struck structural resemblances to the landscapes of a wide range of Dutch artists such as Jacques de Gheyn, Hendrick Avercamp, and Esaias van de Velde — and Huygens himself, for whom imitating nature as vitality and variety, was key in landscape paintings.<sup>169</sup> The Dutch indeed had a word to express the liveliness and diversity that one found in nature, '*schilderachtig*' (or 'as if it were a painting'),<sup>170</sup> which Huygens used in his poem:

Go stroll with them through woods and hills and dales,  
That, they say, is a *schilderachtig* view.  
Methinks they are saying: God makes ingenious copies  
Of our originals.<sup>171</sup>

The same term was also used by the Dutch to describe the attractiveness they found in curious and exotic articles like the Japanese kimono. Bakker has pointed out that Huygens' casual reference to the Japanese in *Hofwijck* was closely connected to the poet's early endorsement of nature as vitality and variety, rather than as a mathematically conceived order.<sup>172</sup> To be sure, 17<sup>th</sup>-century humanists did not and needed not understand the seemingly parallel notions of *imitatio naturae* and *wan zi tian kai*. As a general rule of cross-cultural contact, recipients would locate the other cultures within the symbolic framework of their own or the observing culture.<sup>173</sup> Huygens noted in a letter to a friend that the Japanese robe was 'one of the most agreeable personal things that I know and to which the free flow of a joyful hymn on marriage should be given',<sup>174</sup> thus revealing his approach to Asian applied arts centring on the senses and passions — and it was serene, good passions comparable to a joyful hymn on marriage. Temple

demonstrated a similar approach. Describing patterns of *sharawadgi* which 'strike the eye' and 'hit their eye', 'without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observ'd', his appreciation of Chinese garden designs was close to what he perceived in ancient Greek artworks which, as cited earlier, 'strike with wonder and with pleasure the eyes and imaginations of those who behold them.' Wonder, surprise, or 'a frisson of exotic delight' were often used by 17<sup>th</sup>-century Europeans to describe their emotional status when encountering Asian objects.<sup>175</sup> And as René Descartes, Huygens' friend, related, 'Wonder is the first of all the passions. It has no opposite, because if the object presented has nothing in it that surprises us, we are not in the least moved by it and regard it without passion.'<sup>176</sup> Robert Burton also noted that wonder can exhilarate the passions, thus restore the mind to balance from alienation and despair. The fact that Asian applied arts were so highly sought after by the European cultural elite, therefore, may not be separate from their preoccupation with the productive diversion and tempering of their passions,<sup>177</sup> rather than merely as a pastime and the display of their royal status, as often assumed. Temple, who was accustomed to use painting and statues as well as strolling through the garden to temper his passions, would naturally be intrigued by the Chinese imagery of *sharawadgi*'s capacity to modulate emotions.

Temple would have also been struck by the Chinese scholar-official figures frequenting the landscape and garden scenes on Chinese export porcelain at the time.<sup>178</sup> As illustrated in the jardinière (figure 5) — the scholar-official is either strolling in the landscape, or seated in the garden or a pavilion — all appear to be serene and tranquil. Such images would have confirmed Temple's conviction that the learned Chinese have achieved perfection of body and mind, following their sage, Confucius' teaching.<sup>179</sup> The basis of Confucian moral cultivation is the concept of harmonising the passions (*qing* 情) to achieve tranquillity — a status not void of emotions, but achieving a dynamic equilibrium and harmony (*zhonghe* 中和), so that one can keep to the path of the Mean (*zhongyong zhi dao* 中庸之道).<sup>180</sup> This concept of the Confucian Mean, similar to the Aristotelian and Stoic golden mean, was made available to Europeans through various versions of Jesuit translations of the Confucian classics such as *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis* (1669), which would have been known to Huygens<sup>181</sup>; and *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687), to which Temple explicitly referred.<sup>182</sup> In an abridged, English version of *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* appearing under the title of *The Morals of Confucius* (1691), we read:

*Confucius Teaches* ... he continually watches over ... the most secret motion of his heart, always square himself according to this just Mean ... the wicked being not restrain'd, neither by Fear, Modesty, ... their extravagant Passions do always carry them into Extreams.<sup>183</sup>

Such discussion struck an Epicurean such as François Bernier, a correspondent with Temple, who translated the Jesuit Latin version of Confucian classics into French, as being very similar to the teaching of the European political humanists.<sup>184</sup> Temple himself went even further noting that the Epicurean emphasis on tranquillity with balanced passions was derived from ancient Chinese learning.<sup>185</sup> Surely Temple would have been able to project the European neo-Stoic and Epicurean approach to the garden — as a technique to temper the passions — on to his perception of *sharawadgi* in Chinese gardens and landscapes where the figure of a Chinese scholar-official strolls while displaying an air of tranquillity.<sup>186</sup>

Based on Jesuit writings,<sup>187</sup> Temple was amongst the early European free-thinkers who propagated the discourse that China was governed by a philosopher-king who sought the counsel of the wise and learned scholar-officials — an ideal form of government which secured ‘public tranquillity’ for China.<sup>188</sup> In accordance with the Jesuits in his description of the Chinese government in the same volume as the Epicurean garden essay, Temple lauded the Chinese scholar-officials for their virtue and prudence.<sup>189</sup> To Temple, there were no best forms of government. Instead, the ‘best Governments’ were those ‘where the best Men govern’.<sup>190</sup> The virtuous Chinese scholar-officials he read in the Jesuits’ writings would naturally, in his mind, have been visualised as those tranquil Chinese scholar-official figures strolling through the scenery of variety and contrast on a Chinese object. Cultivating ‘tranquillity of mind’ in his own garden, Temple would have surely identified himself with such Chinese scholar-officials, and would have perceived many of the English ruling class as their polar opposites — troubled with restless and inconstant passions.<sup>191</sup> The evocation of *sharawadgi* would therefore be appropriate to support his idea of laying out a garden as a poetic technique to temper the passions to achieve tranquillity, the status of having a virtuous mind that would aid Englishmen to exercise prudent judgment in their public life.<sup>192</sup>

## Conclusion

By probing into the principles of variety and contrast in both rhetoric and the arts, as well as the neo-Stoic and Epicurean emphasis on cultivating a tranquil inner

disposition as an aid to an active life, this essay shows the previously neglected common approach in the early modern political humanist tradition — tempering the passions to achieve tranquillity, an approach which was also applied in the reception of Asian designs of *sharawadgi*. Developing in tandem with the rhetoric and poetical arts of the time, gardens like Hofwijck and Moor Park in Hertfordshire played a role in the management of the passions to achieve tranquillity, providing mental strength for the garden owners to be active in their public life while maintaining their values. The parallels between the European and Chinese concepts — from notions of tranquillity and *zhonghe*, to imitating nature as vitality and variety and *wanzi tian kan*, demonstrate that the early modern aesthetics of Europe and the Far East did not have to be treated as binaries, as they often have been in modern times. Rather, such parallels facilitated the European humanists to locate incoming Asian designs like *sharawadgi* within their own cultural framework of managing the passions to achieve tranquillity as an aid in public life. Despite the apparent difference in their layouts, both the irregular imagery of Chinese gardens and the regular European gardens conformed with the structural pattern of variety and contrast, and were perceived against a similar philosophical soil for neo-Stoic-Epicurean and Confucian emotional horticulture. They brought forth similar emotive effects — cultivating tranquillity, the achievement of which, as Temple perceived, would provide the English ruling class of the 17<sup>th</sup> century with a reliable psychological foundation, so that the English government could be, like the Chinese, constituted with good people who govern well.

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NOTES

1. See Samuel H. Monk, 'Introduction', in S.H. Monk (ed), *Five Miscellaneous Essays by Sir William Temple* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. vii–xlii; Richard Faber, *The Brave Courtier: Sir William Temple* (London: Faber & Faber, 1983).
2. For debates over the origin of the term, see Ciaran Murray's *Sharawadgi: The Romantic Return to Nature* (Bethesda: International Scholars Publication, 1999), pp. 34, 37; Shimada Takau, 'Is "Sharawadgi" Derived from the Japanese Word "Sorowaji"?' *The Review of English Studies*, 191/48, 1997, pp. 350–352.
3. Sir William Temple, 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening in the Year 1685', in *Miscellanea: The Second Part* (London: Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690), pp. 131–32.
4. These include Joseph Addison (1672–1719)'s 'The Pleasure of Imagination', *The Spectator* (1712), in Richard Steele and Addison, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 3: 552 and Alexander Pope (1688–1774), *Epistle IV. To Richard Boyle, Early of Burlington*, in John Butt (ed) *The Poems of Alexander Pope* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 586–95.
5. The advocating voices include, for example, Arthur O. Lovejoy, 'The Chinese origin of a romanticism', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 32/1, 1933, pp. 1–20; Yu Liu, 'Tapping into a different cultural tradition: Sir William Temple's Aesthetic Innovations', *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, 15/3, 2010, pp. 301–15. The opposing views are seen in, e.g. John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); David Jacques, 'On the Supposed Chineseness of the English Landscape Garden', *Garden History*, 18/1, 1990, pp. 180–91.
6. Wybe Kuitert, 'Japanese robes, sharawadgi, and the landscape discourse of Sir William Temple and Constantijn Huygens', *Garden History*, 41/2, 2013, pp. 157–176.
7. *Ibid.*, p.168. See also Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008), p.217.
8. Letters from Huygens to Temple dated 2 June 1682. Letter 7188, in J.A. Worp (ed), *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687), Zesde Deel 1663–87* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917), p.442, cited in Jardine, *Going Dutch*, p.217; see also Kuitert, 'Japanese Robes', p.168.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 166–68.
10. See text surrounding reference marks 161–165.
11. Kuitert, 'Japanese Robes', p.157.
12. E.g., Lovejoy, 'The Chinese origin of a romanticism', pp. 1–2.
13. For a few good examples, see *ibid.*
14. H. V. S. Ogden, 'The principles of variety and contrast in 17<sup>th</sup>-century aesthetics and Milton's poetry', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 10/2, 1949, pp. 159–82; K. Claire Pace, ' "Strong Contraries ... Happy Discord": Some eighteenth-century discussions about landscape', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40/1, 1979, pp. 141–55; John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600–1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996 [1986]), pp. 83–9.
15. Many 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century philosophers no longer treated the passions as largely perturbations of the soul whose existence bespoke abnormal and unnatural states of mind. Rather, the passions came to equal or to exceed reason as elements defining human nature. See Maureen Flynn, 'Taming anger's daughters: new treatment for emotional problems in Renaissance Spain', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51/3, 1988, pp. 864–86; Dean T. Mace, 'Dryden's dialogue on drama', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25/1/2, 1962, pp. 87–112.
16. Political humanism may be described as an amalgam of a Florentine philosophy of political engagement and active life with older chivalric ideas about the relationship between a monarch and the aristocracy, see F.J. Levy, 'Francis Bacon and the style of politics', *English Literary Renaissance*, 16/1, 1986, pp. 102–3.
17. Lovejoy, 'The Chinese origin of a romanticism', p. 2.
18. Ogden, 'The principles of variety and contrast'; Ullrich Langer, 'Pleasure as unconstrained movement', *French Studies*, 65/1, 2010, pp. 13–25.
19. Aristotle cited this from Euripides with a pejorative note, see Langer, 'Pleasure as unconstrained movement', p.18.
20. Cicero, *Ad familiares* 5.12, cited in *ibid.*
21. Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule* (London: Robert Bostock, 1640), p.18.
22. Brian Vickers, 'Philosophy and Humanistic Disciplines: Rhetoric and Poetics', in C.B. Schmitt,

- Q. Skinner, et al. (eds) *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.718.
23. Philip Sidney, *Defence of Poesie* (1595); cited in *ibid.*, p.737.
  24. Sidney synthesised and developed from the theories of both Horace and Julius Scaliger. See Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 3–22; Gavin Alexander, 'The classics in literary criticism', in Patrick Cheney and Philip Hardie (eds), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, vol. 2: 1558–1660 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 94.
  25. See A.G.H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596–1687: A Pattern of Cultural Exchange*, vol.1 1596–1619 (Leiden: At the University Press, 1962), p.106; William Temple, 'Of Poetry', in *Miscellanea: The Second Part*, p.311.
  26. Jacqueline T. Miller, 'The Passion Signified: Imitation and the construction of emotions in Sidney and Wroth', *Criticism*, 43/4, 2001, p.407.
  27. See Ogden, 'The principles of variety and contrast', pp.160–3, with several examples including an essay called 'Theologia ruris, sive Schola & scala naturae', which appeared as an appendix to G. Ashwell's *The History of Hai Eb'n Yockdan, an Indian Prince: or, the Self-Taught Philosopher* (1686). The term Christian optimism was first discussed by Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the history of an idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), chapters 2–3.
  28. See Boudewijn Bakker, *Landscape and Religion: From Van Eyck to Rembrandt*, trans. Diane Webb (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p.255. See also Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).
  29. Ogden, 'The principles of variety and contrast', pp. –173–74 noted that this change was often regarded as an important part of the shift from late Renaissance styles to Baroque styles in architecture and painting. Ogden purposely avoided the use of the term 'baroque', considering it safer and more effective to use the terms recognised and used by the critics and poets of the period being studied. I follow his precedent.
  30. Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 167–76, where more examples are included.
  31. *Ibid.* See also Stanley W. Jackson, 'The Use of the Passions', in *Care of the Psyche: A History of Psychological Healing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 201–15.
  32. For an overview of this, see Susan James, 'Reason, the passions, and the good life', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-century Philosophy*, ed. Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.1359.
  33. *Ibid.*, pp. 1380–1.
  34. Stephen Pender, 'Rhetoric, grief, and the imagination', *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 43/1, 2010, pp. 54–85; Tina Skouen, 'The rhetoric of passion in Donne's holy sonnets', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 27/2, 2009, pp. 159–88. Suzanne Walker, 'Composing the passions in Rubens' Hunting Scenes', in *The Passions in the Arts of the Early Modern Netherlands*. ed. Stephanie S. Dickey and Herman Roodenburg (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 109–24; Ulrich Heinen, 'Huygens, Rubens and Medusa: Reflecting the Passions in Paintings, with Some Considerations of Neuroscience in Art History', in *ibid.*, 151–76. See also E. H. Gombrich, 'The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape', *Norm and Form* (London, 1966; 2nd ed., 1971), pp. 107–21.
  35. Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, pp.110–19.
  36. Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, pp.120, 123, 128.
  37. A wide range of 17<sup>th</sup>-century works of meditative nature reflect this emphasis. See Skouen, 'The rhetoric of passion', pp. 174–5.
  38. For a discussion of the innovative ways the English authors interpreted Aristotle's golden mean and moderation, see Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). For the influence of Stoic therapy of the emotions in the early modern period, see M. J. Osler ed., *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquillity: Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). On the impact of neo-Stoicism in Holland and England from the late 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century, see Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neo-Stoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Adriana McCrea, *Constant minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). For a brief account of Epicureanism and its development in seventeenth-century England, see Howard Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1992), chap. 8. See also, Osler, *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquillity*.
  39. Gisela Striker, 'Ataraxia: Happiness as tranquillity', *The Monist*, 73/1, 1990, pp. 97–110.
  40. See Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 6, 59–60, 70.
  41. Justus Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constance*, trans. John Stradling (London: Printed by Richard Johnes, 1595), p.8.
  42. Cited in Lisa T. Sarasohn, *Gassendi's Ethics: Freedom in a Mechanistic Universe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.72.
  43. Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. xiv, 7–9, 52–4.
  44. See Davidson and Van der Weel, *A Selection of the Poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens*, p.45.
  45. Temple, 'Gardens of Epicurus', p. 88.
  46. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, p.54; Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constance*, pp. 14, 15–6. In his *Politiconum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex (Six Books on Politics or Civil Doctrine, 1589)*, a sequel to *De Constantia*,

- a ruler's prudence in actual practice is emphasised throughout. See Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, edited by Jan Waszink (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004).
47. For a discussion of the mean being related to prudence, see Scodel, *Excess and the Mean*, pp. 3–4.
  48. For a study of this subject in the English context, see Kim Sloan, *A noble art: Amateur artists and drawing masters c. 1600–1800*, catalogue exhibition (London: British Museum, 2000); and Ann Bermingham, *Learning to draw: Studies in the cultural history of a polite and useful art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); in the Dutch context, see Michael Zell, 'A leisurely and virtuous pursuit: Amateur artists, Rembrandt, and landscape representation in seventeenth-century Holland', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art/ Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek Online*, 54/1, 2003, pp. 334–68.
  49. Walker, 'Composing the passions in Rubens' Hunting Scenes', pp. 109–24; Heinen, 'Huygens, Rubens and Medusa', pp. 151–76.
  50. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, p. 62.
  51. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987), p. 293; Kees Schmidt, 'Hollands buitenleven in de zeventiende eeuw', *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 4 (1977–78), pp. 434–49, 5 (1978–79), pp. 91–109, cited in Willemien De Vries, 'The Country Estate Immortalized: Constantijn Huygens' Hofwijck', in John Dixon Hunt (ed), *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), p. 84.
  52. An epitome of harmonious classicism of the High Renaissance, *The Vitruvian Man* (1492) was created by Leonardo da Vinci as a study of the proportions of the human body as described by the Roman architect Vitruvius (c. 78–10 BCE). For a detailed discussion, see Robert van Pelt, 'Man and cosmos in Huygens' Hofwijck', *Art History*, 4/2, 1981, pp. 153–4.
  53. See Wouter Kuyper, 'Jacob van Campen and Constantine Huygens as Inspirers of the Classicist Era', in *Dutch Classicist Architecture: A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Architectural Relations from 1625 to 1700* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1980), pp. 57–82.
  54. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, pp. 248, 255. On *imitatio naturae*, see Anthony J. Close, 'Philosophical Theories of Art and Nature in Classical Antiquity', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 32/2, 1971, pp. 163–84; and Arne Melberg, *Theories of Mimesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
  55. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
  56. Kuitert, 'Japanese robes', p. 161.
  57. Constantijn Huygens, *Vitaulium. Hofwyck. Hofstede Vanden Herre van Zuylichem Onder Voorburgh* (The Hague, 1653).
  58. De Vries, 'The Country Estate Immortalized', p. 86.
  59. Van Pelt, 'Man and cosmos', pp. 162–168.
  60. *Ibid.* Van Pelt noted that John Donne, the English poet whom Huygens admired, had also employed the imagery of the body as the path through Creation to God in his *Hymne to God my God, in my sickness* and in his *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (c. 1623).
  61. Weststeyn, *The Visible World*, p. 40.
  62. Van Pelt, 'Man and cosmos', pp. 157–158.
  63. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 2099–2101, cited in P. Davidson and A. van der Weel eds and trans., *A Selection of the Poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), p. 137. All citations of the *Hofwijck* poem are from this source, unless otherwise stated. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 2329–2300, cited in De Vries, 'The Country Estate Immortalized', p. 95.
  64. On Lipsius and the garden, see Mark Morford, 'The Stoic garden', *The Journal of Garden History*, 7/2, 1987, pp. 151–75.
  65. Morford's *Stoics and Neo-Stoics* investigated Lipsius's humanist circle in the Netherlands, whereas McCrea's *Constant minds* explored his impact in England. See also note 38.
  66. Jan Waszink, 'Introduction', in Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, edited by Jan Waszink, (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), p. 6.
  67. Morford, 'The Stoic Garden'; see also his discussion of Rubens' garden in *Stoics and Neo-Stoics*, pp. 189–94.
  68. *Ibid.*
  69. Davidson and Van der Weel, *A Selection of the Poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens*, p. 45.
  70. Lipsius, *Two bookes of constancie*, p. 84.
  71. William J. Bouwsma, 'The Two Faces of Humanism: Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought', in Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady, Jr. (eds) *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of Its European Transformations* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 3–60.
  72. Lise Gosseye, 'Salutary Reading: Conversion and Calvinist Humanism in Constantijn Huygens' *Ooghentroost*', in Lieke Stelling, Harald Hendrix, and Todd Richardson (eds), *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 225–246.
  73. For detailed interpretations of the orchard and the house, see Van Pelt, 'Man and Cosmos', pp. 159–173.
  74. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 142–7.
  75. Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: John Bill, 1624), p. 55; Huygens, *Hofwijck*, line 362–6.
  76. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 367–8.
  77. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, p. 255; Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 89–90, 1005.
  78. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, pp. 254, 259.
  79. *Ibid.*, 255. Cf. Kuitert, 'Japanese robes', p. 164.
  80. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 1001–4, cited in Kuitert, 'Japanese robes', p. 165.
  81. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 148–9.
  82. Gail Kern Paster, *Humouring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 18, 19, 4.
  83. This theme continues into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, see Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape*, p. 48.
  84. B.F. Nellist, 'Donne's "Storm" and "Calm" and the descriptive tradition', *The Modern Language Review*, 59/4, 1964, pp. 511–15.

85. Davidson and Van der Weel, *A Selection of the Poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens*, pp. 258–59.
86. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 380–2.
87. Nellist, ‘Donne’s “Storm” and “Calm” and the descriptive tradition’, p. 515; Skouen, ‘The rhetoric of passion in Donne’s holy sonnets’, pp. 174–5, 180–4.
88. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 394–400.
89. Van Pelt, ‘Man and Cosmos’, p.167.
90. *Ibid.*, p.163.
91. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 330–332, cited in Van Pelt, ‘Man and Cosmos’, p.163.
92. De Vries, ‘The Country Estate Immortalized’, pp. 85–8.
93. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 85.
94. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, p. 255.
95. Jardine, *Going Dutch*, p. 215.
96. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 1161–2, cited in Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, p.255.
97. *Ibid.*, lines 1168–74, cited in Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, p.255.
98. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, pp. 247–73.
99. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, p.250; Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, p.107.
100. Huygens, *Ooghentroost*, cited in Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, p.83.
101. Gombrich, ‘The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape’, pp. 110–12.
102. *Ibid.*, p.120. G.P. Lomazzo, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, Caruinge, Buildinge*. trans. Richard Haydock (Oxford, 1598).
103. Cited in Bachrach, *Huygens and Britain*, p.143.
104. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The theatre of the Stuart Court* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973), vol.1, p.39. On the close relation between stage designs and gardens in 17<sup>th</sup>-century England, see Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, pp. 59–72, 110–19.
105. Nadine Akkerman, ‘Cupido en de Eerste Koningin in Den Haag: Constantijn Huygens en Elizabeth Stuart.’ *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 25/2, 2010, pp. 73–96.
106. De Vries, ‘The Country Estate Immortalized’, p.88.
107. Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 181–200, cited in De Vries, ‘The Country Estate Immortalized’, p.89.
108. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, p.258.
109. *Ibid.* Huygens, *Hofwijck*, lines 826–27: ‘Tot in het noorder silt sijn’ golven, ben ick baes. | Dat heet ick over-sien’.
110. *Ibid.*
111. T. B. Macaulay, *Essays, Critical and Miscellaneous* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1869).
112. See Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition*, chap. 8. See also note 38.
113. Cited in Letizia A. Panizza, ‘Stoic psychotherapy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Petrarch’s *de remediis*’ in M. J. Osler (ed) *Atoms, Pneuma and Tranquility: Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.46.
114. See Reid Barbour, *English Epicures and Stoics: Ancient Legacies in Early Stuart Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).
115. Temple, ‘Gardens of Epicurus’, p.86.
116. H. E. Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple: The Man and His Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 204–6.
117. Reydam-Schils, *The Roman Stoics*, p.102.
118. Temple, ‘Gardens of Epicurus’, p.75; Temple, ‘Of Popular Discontents’, in *The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart.* 4 vols (London: J. Brotherton, 1814), III, p.32. Hereafter abbreviated as *Works*. See also Isaac Kramnick, ‘Skepticism in English political thought: From Temple to Burke’, *Studies in Burke and his Time*, 12/1, 1971, p.1647.
119. Temple, ‘Gardens of Epicurus’, p.130.
120. Strong, *Renaissance Gardens in England*, pp. 139–47; Sally Jeffery, ‘The formal gardens at Moor Park in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries’, *Garden History*, 42/2, 2014, 157–77.
121. Temple, ‘Gardens of Epicurus’, p. 127.
122. Cited in Maryanne Cline Horowitz, ‘The Stoic synthesis of the idea of natural law in man: Four themes’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 35/1, 1974, p. 8.
123. De Vries, ‘The Country Estate Immortalized’, p. 97.
124. Temple, ‘Gardens of Epicurus’, p. 128. English translation from Lucan, *Pharsalia*, trans. J.D. Duff (London: 1928), Book II, line 380.
125. A similar point was also preached by the Calvinists, and was much in Huygens’ mind. See De Vries, ‘The Country Estate Immortalized’, p.97.
126. When Sidney visited Leiden in 1586, Lipsius dedicated his writings to him in a special spiritual setting, see Bachrach, *Huygens and Britain*, p. 106. The reputed leaders of the ‘Sidney alliance’ are the Earl of Leicester, Sidney, the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Pembroke, see Julie Crawford, *Mediatrix: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 8–9.
127. Crawford, *Mediatrix*, pp. 8, 130.
128. Temple, ‘Gardens of Epicurus’, p.127.
129. A protégé of the Countess from 1607–17, John Donne dedicated a series of verse letters to his patroness. For the Donne–Bedford relation, see Crawford, *Mediatrix*, chap. 4 and especially pp. – 147–48, in which the poem, entitled ‘Reason is our Soules left hand’, is discussed.
130. *Ibid.*, p.147; Nellist, ‘Donne’s “Storm” and “Calm” and the descriptive tradition’.
131. Cited in Crawford, *Mediatrix*, p. 51.
132. *Ibid.*, p.148.
133. The battle in Bohemia was between Protestant subjects who rallied behind James I’s daughter (Elizabeth Stuart) and son-in-law, the Electress and Elector Palatine, as the rightful holders of the throne of Bohemia, and the Habsburgs, who had appointed their own (Catholic) ruler. Both supporting the Palatinate, Bedford and Huygens were in close contact with Elizabeth Stuart when she took refuge in The Hague in the 1620s. See *ibid.*, p.155; Akkerman, ‘Cupido en de Eerste Koningin in Den Haag’.
134. Temple, ‘Gardens of Epicurus’, pp.128–130.
135. According to Lazzaro’s study, the grove at Villa Lante evokes an earthly paradise in the remote

- time of the Golden Age. By contrast, the garden represents the glorious classical past born again in the present time. See *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, pp. 243–69.
136. All citations in this paragraph are from Temple, 'Gardens of Epicurus', pp. 128–30, unless otherwise noted.
137. Strong, *Renaissance Gardens*, p.18.
138. Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape*, p.36.
139. Strong, *Renaissance Gardens*, p. 141.
140. Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, p.110.
141. Cited in Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.243.
142. Strong, *Renaissance Gardens*, p.178.
143. Walter Charleton, *Epicurus's Morals* (London: Henry Herringman, 1656), p.22; Temple, 'Gardens of Epicurus', p. 88. Charleton's text is largely based on the French philosopher, Pierre Gassendi's *De Vita et Moribus Epicuri* (Lyons: G. Barbier, 1647).
144. Temple, 'Gardens of Epicurus', p.87.
145. Temple, 'Of the Excesses of Grief', *Works*, III, pp. 523–4.
146. Temple, 'Heads Designed for an Essay upon the Different Conditions of Life and Fortune', in *Works*, III, p.535.
147. See, e.g., Pender, 'Rhetoric, grief, and the imagination'; Skouen, 'The rhetoric of passion in Donne's holy sonnets'.
148. Jackson, 'The Use of the Passions', p.201.
149. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1632 ed.) vol.2. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.73. Cf. Strong, *Renaissance Gardens in England*, p. 216.
150. Temple, 'On Health and Long Life', *Works*, III, p.308.
151. Clara Marburg, *Sir William Temple: A Seventeenth Century 'Libertin'* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), pp. 2–3.
152. Temple, 'Memoirs: The third part', *Works*, I, p. 569.
153. Temple, 'Of Poetry', p.283; F. Michael Krouse, 'Plato and Sidney's Defence of Poesie', *Comparative Literature*, 6/ 2, 1954, p.144.
154. Temple, 'Of Poetry', p.294.
155. *Ibid.*, p.282.
156. *Ibid.*, p.178.
157. *Ibid.*, p.286.
158. *Ibid.*, p.336.
159. Temple, 'Gardens of Epicurus', p.131.
160. *Ibid.*, p.132.
161. For a brief introduction, see Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 258–75. See also J. van Campen and T. Eliens (eds.), *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2014).
162. Kuitert, 'Japanese robes', pp. 166–169.
163. See Saskia Beranek, 'Strategies of Display in the Galleries of Amalia van Solms,' *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 9:2 (Summer 2017), p. 4; Veronica P. M. Baker-Smith, *A Life of Anne of Hanover, Princess Royal* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), p. 92.
164. For princesses of Orange's collections, see e.g. Beranek, 'Strategies of display'; Campen and Eliens, *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain*.
165. For a vivid study of Huygens's plea to Mary II for the preservation of a lacquer screen, see Willemijn van Noord, 'The "Unhappie Ruines" of Princess Mary II's lacquer screen: Sir Constantijn Huygens's plea to preserve a Chinese work of art, 1685–86', Thijs Westeijn (ed), *Foreign Devils and Philosophers: Cultural encounters between the Chinese, the Dutch, and other Europeans, 1590–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 148–204.
166. John Ayers, *Chinese and Japanese works of art in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2016), pp. 138–9.
167. Adapting from woodblock illustrations of popular novels is a common decorating strategy of Jingdezhen porcelain in the seventeenth century. See Stephen Little, 'Narrative themes and woodblock prints in the decoration of seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain', in Michael Butler, Margaret Medley, and Stephen Little, *Seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain from the Butler family collection* (Alexandria: International Art Services, 1990). In Mary II's collection, there are another four similar jardinières, which are decorated with scenes adapted from both *The Romance of the Western Wing* and *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. See Ayers, *Chinese and Japanese works of art*, p. 136.
168. Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. Alison Hardie (New York: Better Link, 2012), p. 45.
169. Bakker, 'Schilderachtig', p.154. Needless to say, Chinese cosmology is not identical with the European notion of nature as variety and vitality that underpins northern landscape paintings. But the seeming parallels did produce landscape images with similar effects of variety and contrast in both traditions.
170. For a full discussion of this 17<sup>th</sup>-century term and its relation to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century term 'picturesque', see *Ibid.*
171. Huygens, *Ooghentroost*. Cited in Bakker, 'Schilderachtig', p.153. The lines expressed sarcasm, as Huygens considered the painter to be only a humble imitator of nature as the 'vitality, variety and naturalness' created by God.
172. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, p.255.
173. Roy Wagner, *The Invention of Culture*, revised and expanded edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), p.18.
174. This letter is one of the more than forty extant letters from Huygens to Henri de Beringhen (–1603–92), a valet close to Louis XIV, cited in Kuitert, 'Japanese robes', p.166.
175. Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London: Murray, 1961), p.149; Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 75–7.
176. Cited in Katrina Grant, "'To Make Them Gaze in Wonder": Emotional Responses to Stage Scenery in Seventeenth-Century Opera', in Beaven and Ndalianis (eds), *Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses, Baroque to Neo-Baroque* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018), p.85.
177. Michael E. Yonan further suggests that the 17<sup>th</sup>-century porcelain cabinets are concerned with an educational programme for royal subjects. Yonan,

- 'Igneous Architecture: Porcelain, Natural Philosophy, and the Rococo *cabinet chinois*', in Alden Cavanaugh and Michael E. Yonan (eds), *The cultural aesthetics of eighteenth-century porcelain* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 65–85.
178. The scholar motif in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Chinese porcelain has been well-recognised, see, e.g. Julia Curtis, *Chinese porcelains of the seventeenth century: Landscapes, scholars' motifs and narratives*, Exhibition Catalog (New York: China Institute Gallery, 1995); Sarah Fayen Scarlett, 'The Chinese scholar pattern: Style, merchant identity, and the English imagination', *Ceramics in America*, 2011. <http://www.chipstone.org/issue.php/12/Ceramics-in-America-2011> (accessed 17 June 2021). In the Confucian tradition, scholars are also officials, or officials-to-be (pending their passing the civil exams). The same person may be represented in both identities in paintings on porcelain, as in the case of Mary II's jardinière. A pair of Jingdezhen porcelain bottles (cat. 239–240) mounted in gilt bronze, dated 1635–45, also in the royal collection of H.M. Queen is another example. Cat. 239 shows a scholar on a terrace, with trees and rocks. Cat. 240 shows him in a landscape setting, dressed as an official with a *gui* (an emblem of office). Ayres, *Chinese and Japanese Ceramics*, vol.1, p. 174.
179. Temple, 'Heroic Virtue', in *Miscellanea. The Second Part*. pp. 177–8.
180. This idea appears in chapter 1 of *Zhongyong (Doctrine of the Mean)* by Zisi, the second Book of the *Four Books*, the core of the Confucian canon. For an English translation of *Zhongyong*, see Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 98. This idea was developed by later Confucianists and Neo-Confucianists such as Mencius and Zhu Xi. See On-Cho Ng, 'Is emotion (*qing*) the source of a Confucian antinomy?' *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 25/2, 1998, pp. 169–90.
181. *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis*, a Latin translation of *Zhongyong* by Prospero Intorcetta was published in two halves in Guangzhou in 1667 and Goa in 1669 respectively. Intorcetta's translation was incorporated in *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (1672–73) produced by Melchisédech Thévenot. Christiaan Huygens, the second son of Constantijn, contributed to *Relations de divers voyages curieux*. See Trude Dijkstra and Thijs Weststeijn, 'Constructing Confucius in the Low Countries', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 32/2, 2016, pp. 145–6.
182. P. Couplet, I. da Costa, P. Intorcetta, et al. *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris: Horthemels, 1687). This Latin translation consists of three (*Daxue*, *Zhongyong*, and *Lunyu*) of the *Four Books* of Confucian classics. Temple, 'Heroic Virtue', p.176.
183. [Anonymous], *The Morals of Confucius* (London, 1691), p.68.
184. A.H. Rowbotham, 'The impact of Confucianism on seventeenth century Europe', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 4/3, 1945, p.229. See also Francois Bernier, *Confucius ou La science des princes*, introduction and notes by Sylvie Taussig, sinological note by Thierry Meynard (Paris, 2015 [1688]), pp. 154–5.
185. Temple, 'Ancient and Modern Learning', in *Miscellanea: The Second Part*, pp. 24–5: 'whoever observes the account given of the ancient Indian and Chinese learning and opinions, will easily find among them the seeds of all these Grecian productions and institutions.' He specifies Epicurean tranquillity as one example.
186. For the scholar-official group in China, gardens, like poems and painting, were an aid to cultivate the emotions towards tranquillity. This basic concept is evidenced in a number of expressions commonly found in landscape treatises, garden records and poems: e.g. *liqi* 理氣 ('regulating the vital energy', see Zong Bing [375–443], 'On Landscape Painting', in *Classical Chinese Literature: An anthology of translations*, vol.1, ed. John Minford and Joseph S. M. Lau [New York: Columbia University Press, 2000], p.607), *yuxing* 娛性 ('easing the heart', see Bo Juyi [772–846], 'Planting Bamboos', in *ibid.*, p. 873), and *yiqing yuexing* 怡情悅性 ('cheering the heart and composing the mind', see Cao Xueqin [1715–1763], *The Story of the Stone: A Chinese novel*, vol.1, trans. David Hawkes [London: Penguin Books, 1973], p.325).
187. For example, Martino Martini's *The Conquest of the Great and most Renowned Empire of China by the Invasion of the Tartars* (1654), Alvarez Semedo's *History of that Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* (1655), and Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (1667).
188. Temple, 'Heroic Virtue', pp.183–4; Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Novissima Sinica or Latest News from China* (1699), cited in Honour, *Chinoiserie*, p. 16.
189. Temple, 'Heroic Virtue', p. 183.
190. Temple, *An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government*, in *Works* (1751), vol. I, pp. 104–5. Temple recognised those prominent women who were active in the political life, such as the Countess of Bedford, Amalia von Solms and Mary II, all of whom he held in high esteem.
191. Temple, 'Of Poetry', p. 336.
192. Temple's idea of *sharawadgi* was to be developed by his followers — the Opposition to Robert Walpole, a circle led by Lord Bolingbroke including figures such as Alexander Pope. They continued to play upon the association between virtuous Chinese scholar-officials and Chinese gardens to criticise the perceived corruption of the Walpolean government. See Robert Batchelor, 'Concealing the Bounds: Imagining the British Nation through China', in Felicity Nussbaum (ed.), *The Global Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 79–92.