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WYBE KUITERT

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JAPANESE ROBES, SHARAWADGI, AND THE  
LANDSCAPE DISCOURSE OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE  
AND CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS

*Dutch state secretary, diplomat and poet Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) saw his garden Hofwijck as the embodiment of a comprehensive philosophy. It departed from Vitruvius as a classic, geometric foundation that framed the irregularities he observed in human life as well as in free natural growth. In his poem on the garden he illustrated these ideas by pointing to the irregularity of design within the symmetrically cut Japanese robe. English statesman and essayist Sir William Temple (1628–99), of the generation of Huygens's son, Christiaan, was a regular visitor to Hofwijck and elevated the appreciation of irregularity in the garden to a personal judgement, a taste for which he introduced an aesthetic term 'sharawadgi', again of Japanese origin. This paper introduces their discourse in relation to the Dutch fashion for the Japanese robe, and demonstrates how observations of nature and incoming arts from the Far East played a role in 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.*

At the origin of a voluminous discourse on Nature and Landscape in eighteenth-century England stands an essay by Sir William Temple (1628–99) in which he defined a taste for irregularity in landscape design under the 'Chinese' concept of *sharawadgi*.<sup>1</sup> The true nature of this idea can only be understood from its context, which was the practice of landscape design as an applied art with a complex discourse in wider Europe, including a growing understanding of the Far East. *Sharawadgi*, in fact a Japanese term, was associated with Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) and his contemporaries.<sup>2</sup> Huygens was in search of harmony between the strict geometry of classic architectural rules and the inherent irregularity of nature. As an aesthetic problem of design for his garden Hofwijck, the topic is extensively treated in his poem *Hofwijck*. At the end of his life, about forty years later, he became a good friend, and major source of garden inspiration, for Temple, who took up a similar aesthetic question. Both men found theoretic inspiration for their design dilemma in the Far East. Whereas Huygens grasped it with reference to Japanese kimono design, Temple proposed his *sharawadgi* to tackle a more advanced idea on taste in landscape design. His experiences in Holland formed a major context for his ideas.

HUYGENS, WESTERBAEN AND IRREGULARITY: THE JAPANESE ROBE

In Northern Europe, men of letters, widely learned and erudite, maintained their networks by writing letters and exchanging books and other gifts, in return inquisitive

*Department of Landscape Architecture, Graduate School of Environmental Studies, #82-416 Seoul National University, 1 Gwanangno, Gwanak-Gu, 151-742 Seoul, South Korea. Email: goedemorgen@snu.ac.kr*

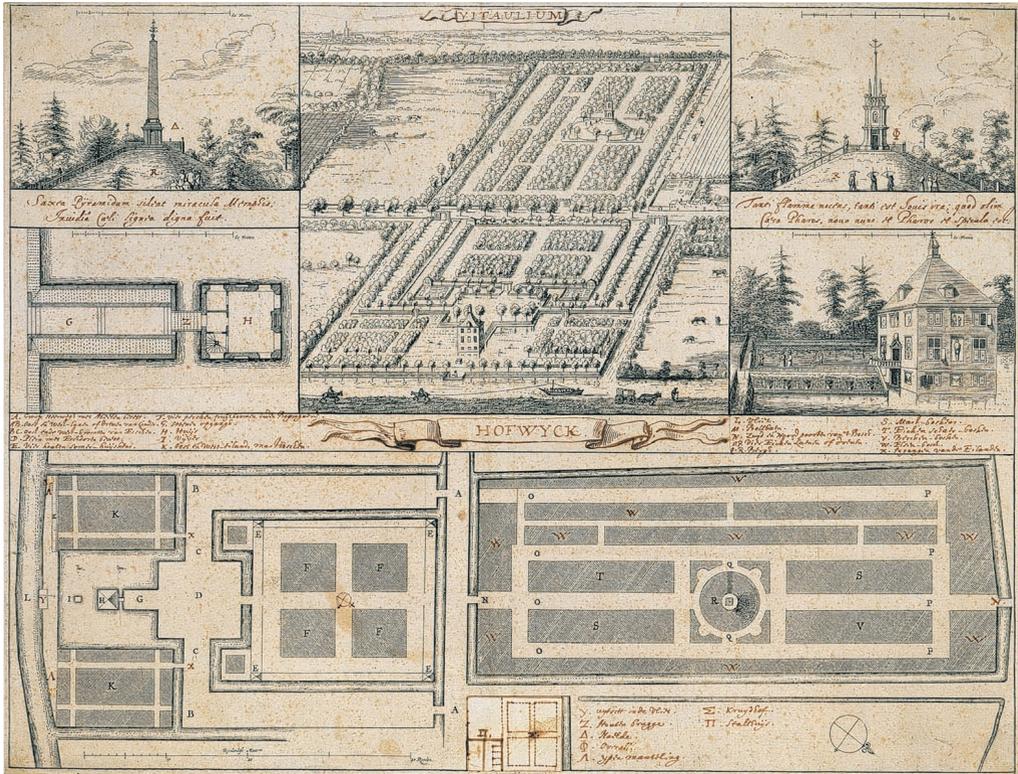


Figure 1. *Hofwijck* (dated 1653), by Constantijn Huygens and an unknown engraver; proof print with Huygens's handwritten captions. Courtesy: Huygens Museum Hofwijck, The Hague

and eager to get the most recent news on developments in the world of learning. It was within this discourse that Temple's thought arose; it can be reconstructed as a reaction to an extensive practice and set of thoughts on landscape, nature and art in the Netherlands. Here a peculiar intellectual community moved quickly on from a late Northern Renaissance culture into an early form of enlightenment spurred in part by the awareness of great civilizations in the Far East. In many spheres of society existing firm beliefs and ideas based on classical books were exchanged for more flexible views on the world derived from observation. Central to this changing world view stood the young self-conscious nation of the Netherlands that was in the making spiritually and literally. New landscapes were reclaimed from the sea; space was appropriated by surveying and parcelling the land with novel mathematics. Evidently, garden art too found new ways to represent mindscape in the form of landscape where the most central position was taken by Hofwijck, the garden of Constantijn Huygens.<sup>3</sup> Intelligence from Japan helped him to define irregularity, leaving the straight roads of accepted classical rules.

The groundwork for Huygens's garden was completed between 1640 and 1642; improvements and renewed planting were frequent in later years (Figure 1). The landscape and ideas behind it are easily accessed through illustrations and the *Hofwijck* poem that Huygens published in 1653.<sup>4</sup> The poem alternates between the cultivation of stubborn soil, seeding, and grafting and spiritual qualities such as Nature, Creation and aesthetics. At first sight the architectural design of the garden seems simply to be relying on classical ideas as proposed by Vitruvius and revived from the Renaissance. Before defining the outlines of the garden, Huygens looked at himself, the most perfect creation of God, and decided that the design for his house and garden should be in symmetry:

The one who mocks proportion, despises first of all himself  
 The most beautiful that God created. Before I dared to delve  
 I took the lesson of the wise as guidance to my action:  
 I looked at myself. More than this one shouldn't do.  
 Two windows for the face, two for smell, two ears,  
 Two shoulders in the cross, two hips where they should be,  
 One thigh on each side, one knee, one leg, one foot:  
 Is that, I said, God's work, than all is fully perfect.<sup>5</sup>

God's work places each particle and every member in an equal and perfect position to its opposite. Shoulders are precisely placed on the cross, as in Vitruvius' *Corpus homini*.<sup>6</sup> The garden's basic plan, designed by architect Jacob van Campen (1596–1657) and draftsman Pieter Post (1608–68), was a layout of planting blocks, rigorously geometric though not fully symmetric; it is framed by paths and ditches that were simply dug in the soft and resilient soil of the site. Calculated with Vitruvian precision, proportions of width and length followed human proportions: the house and the pond aligned with the head, a public road running through the property aligned with the navel; the garden beyond the road had the length of the legs (Figure 2).<sup>7</sup> Surveying a large area and cutting it up into parcels by intersecting roads and canals laid out with these classical proportions had already proved successful for such enterprises as the reclaiming of Lake Beemster.<sup>8</sup>

The road bisecting the site was an ancient road along firm, old, sandy formations where these abutted on the narrow river plain now in use as pasture. This road divided the garden and gave the two parts a different soil. The main part with the house in the south-east had a clay soil, whereas the part beyond the road in the north-west had a

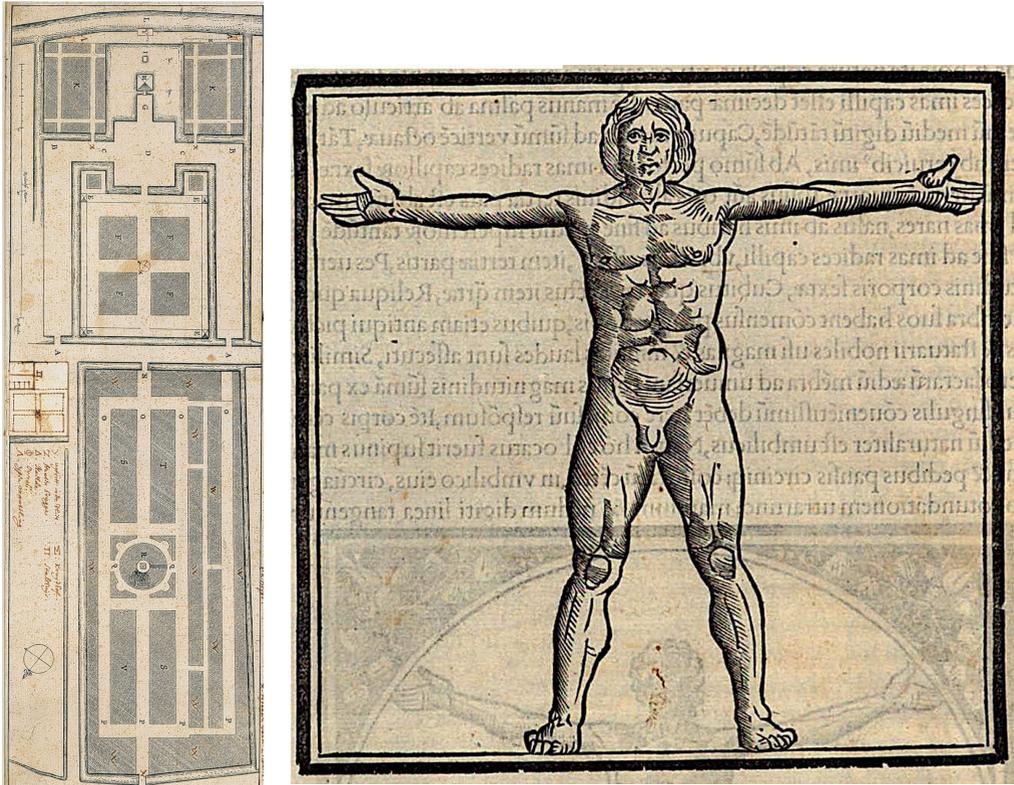


Figure 2. Huygens's plan of Hofwijck (left; detail of Figure 1) compared to the Vitruvian man, *Corpus homini* (right; from M. Vitruvius, *Vitruvius per Iocundum ...* (Venice, 1511), bk III, 22)

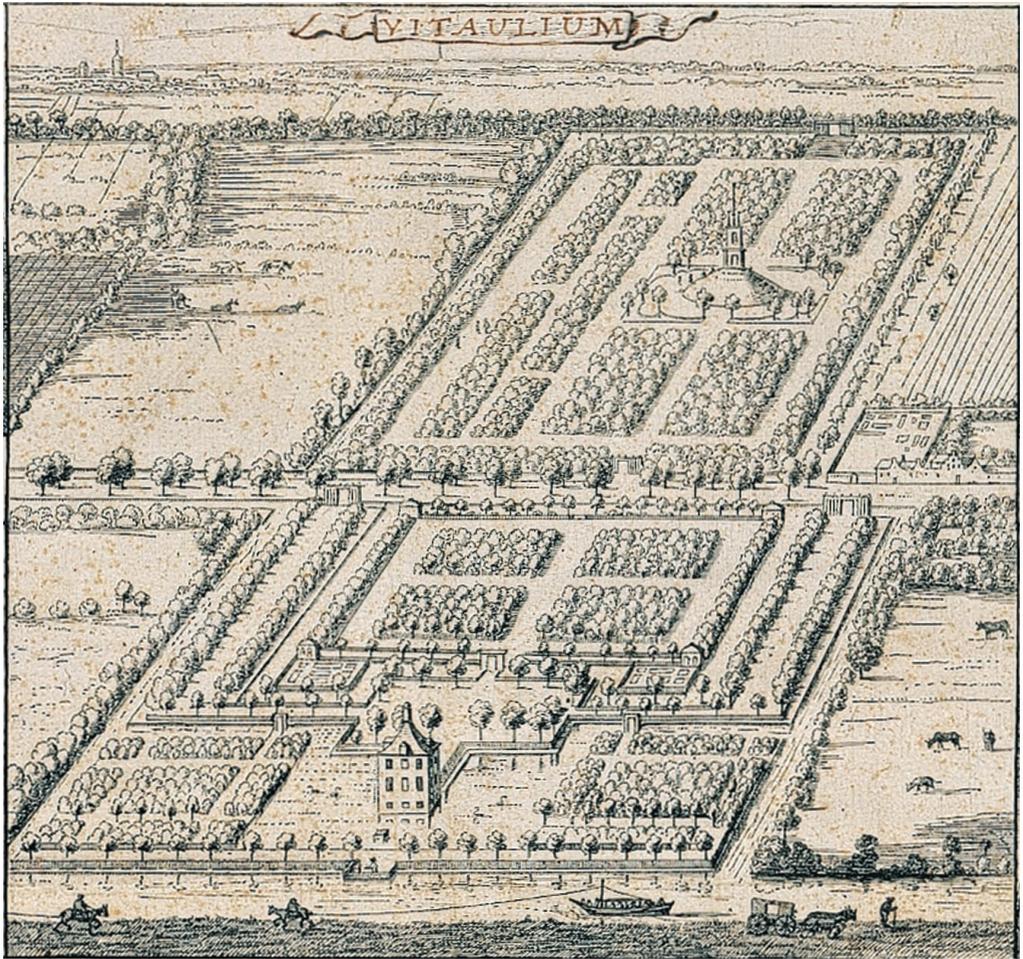


Figure 3. Bird's-eye view of Hofwijck (detail of Figure 1)

sandy soil. It dictated the major conceptual decision to separate the garden into a wild and a tamed section and must be valued as one of the first attempts in the Low Countries towards soil-landscape planning. The tamed section was assigned to the fertile clay: it was a cultivated garden that bore fruit. The dry sandy soils beyond the road were set aside for 'fruitless' trees enclosed in mighty windbreaks of black alder. It was conceived as a wild garden. Huygens's bird's eye view shows the whole sequence of this natural topography as a basis for his efforts to improve it by mathematics (Figure 3). The lower end shows a horse-pulled barge on the River De Vliet; on the horizon can be seen the church towers of The Hague and the undulating landscape of the dunes, where his garden friend Jacob Westerbaen had his estate.<sup>9</sup>

The spiritual qualities of the garden as suggested in Huygens's poem are more varied and complex than this division into two. At that time the Netherlands, Nature was read as the 'Book of Books' and Huygens kept to that pattern.<sup>10</sup> Ideas of Paradise, the Biblical Garden of Eden, were reflected in fruit trees that were planted in abundance. Huygens spoke of 'kitchen-wilderness' or just 'wilderness' when it came to certain sections of the garden.<sup>11</sup> For him this was not an untamed jungle, but rather it was seen as a more practical kind of informal utility: plants to enjoy as food stand in opposition to the formal geometry of reason. Huygens was a keen and open-minded naturalist observer of

the growth of his trees, but also of his visitors who came with critique and comments. All these observations and garden pleasures were non-geometric and had their place in Hofwijck: it was the rhythm and structure of the phrasing that frames it all in the poem, whereas it was the geometry of the architectural design that gave everything its place in the garden, but which was never strict or dogmatic.

Elms were planted in straight lines at the top end of the garden along the straight edge of the De Vliet, in part also as a technical measure to reinforce the soft embankments. The river was a major transport route for travellers in the horse-pulled barges that were popular at that time. In Huygens's poem he imagined the curious looking at his estate as if it were a landscape painting: the elms served as the frame for the wilderness. Framing the wilderness, or boxing in irregularity, was in fact one of the major themes of the garden. The wilderness behind the elms was formed by blocks on each side of the house planted with pine trees with wild roses underneath (Figure 4, top).<sup>12</sup> The roses were not pruned but left to wither and serve as compost for the pines, all vividly expressed in charming verses that see the decomposing roses as fertilizer and as *memento mori* for the damsels of The Hague.

The section of the garden on sandy soil at the far end, beyond the public road, had belts of alder on the western edge, the usual windbreak in Holland at the time. Within this frame, informal planting was set up in four central blocks with a central circle on which there was a small mound with a tower (Figure 4, middle and bottom). This small watch tower was installed after the original wooden pinnacle fell down in a storm. Two of the four blocks were again planted with pine, one with birch, the other with coppiced oak. This suggested the typical semi-natural, coppiced oak woods of the inner dune landscape.<sup>13</sup> Studied informal planting was a striking achievement in Huygens's garden and important as one of the earliest experiments as such in the Netherlands.<sup>14</sup> Much of the appreciation of Hofwijck's garden beauty relied on these sylvan parts, planted asymmetrically with trees as in an Italian *bosco*, and signalling the birth of an appreciation for the picturesque, as is seen in drawings made by two of Huygens's sons, Christiaan and Constantijn Jr (Figures 5 and 6).

Jacob Westerbaen (1599–1670) was a fellow poet and garden friend of Huygens. The two exchanged letters and poems on their gardens, some in Latin, in which Westerbaen was clearly Huygens's master. One year after the Hofwijck poem appeared in print, Westerbaen published his verses on his estate Ockenburgh.<sup>15</sup> He took an even more extreme position in his garden towards naturalness, stating that no architect was needed because the existing natural and irregular landscape was beauty in itself.<sup>16</sup> Only the vegetable garden and his walled orchard had some geometric design, for the rest geometry was not required as there was the pleasure and virtue of utility, which was about enjoying things like healthy, home-grown fruits.<sup>17</sup> Westerbaen chose the applied arts to laud the beauty of the peach and apricot flowers in espalier forms as embroidery on the walls; for his flowerbeds he took the imagery of the grand salon where furniture was laden with porcelain from the East Indies decorated with flowery patterns:

Between house and gate, square within its walls  
 Where Peach and Apricot add fancy stitching to the inner walls  
 Not with foreign decoration made of silken gossamer  
 But with enticing fruit that Eve can not withstand.<sup>18</sup>  
 Who speaks of bouquets, garlands, buttonholes  
 That dress and decorate cupboards and consoles ...  
 Of East-Indian pottery with flowers manifold ...  
 What does that give compared to the beauty of my garden chamber,  
 Where Earth is flower pot and every tree bouquet?<sup>19</sup>

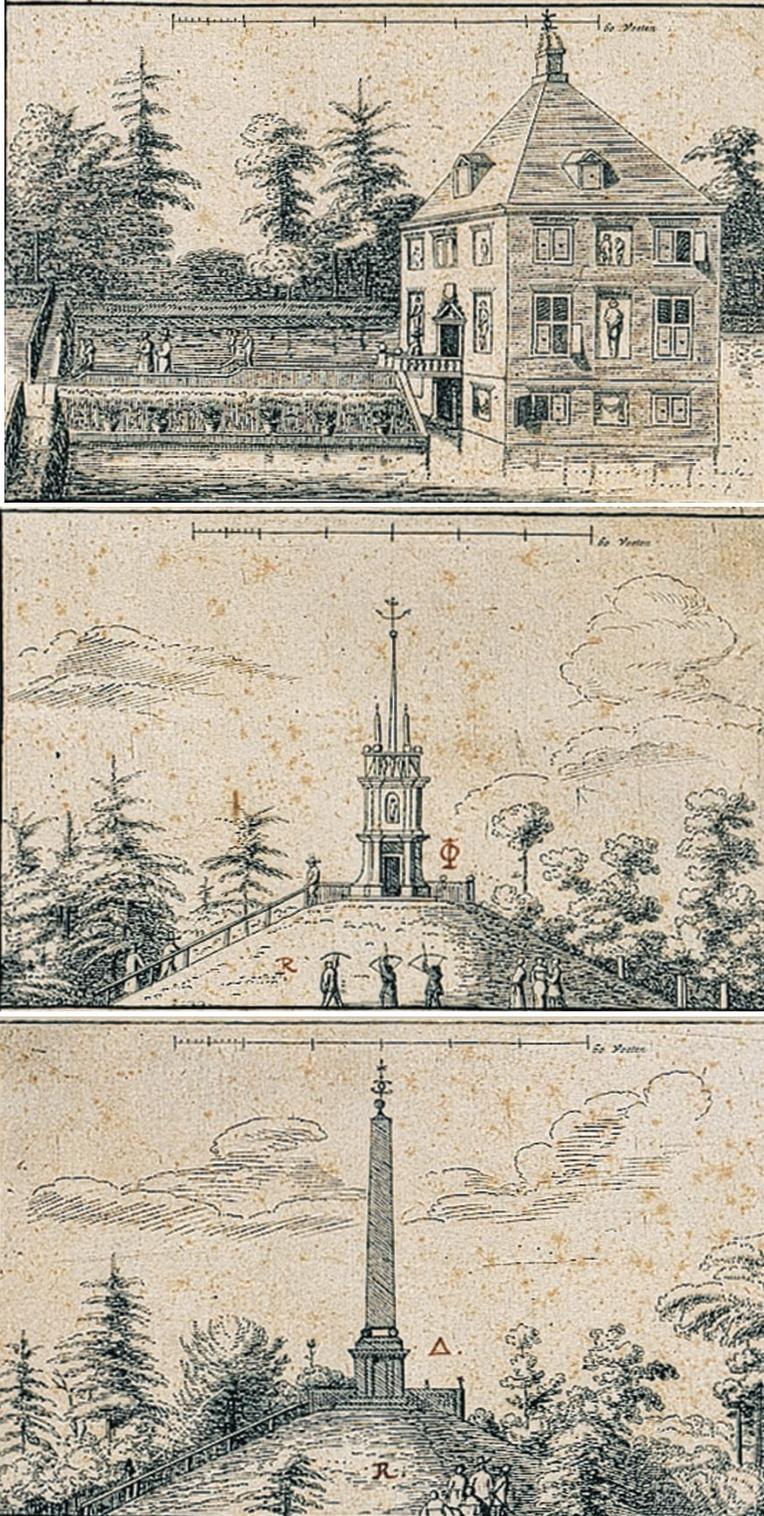


Figure 4. The wilderness with pines and roses, seen behind the house (top), and other informal planting mixed with conifers in the wild garden (middle and bottom) (details of Figure 1)

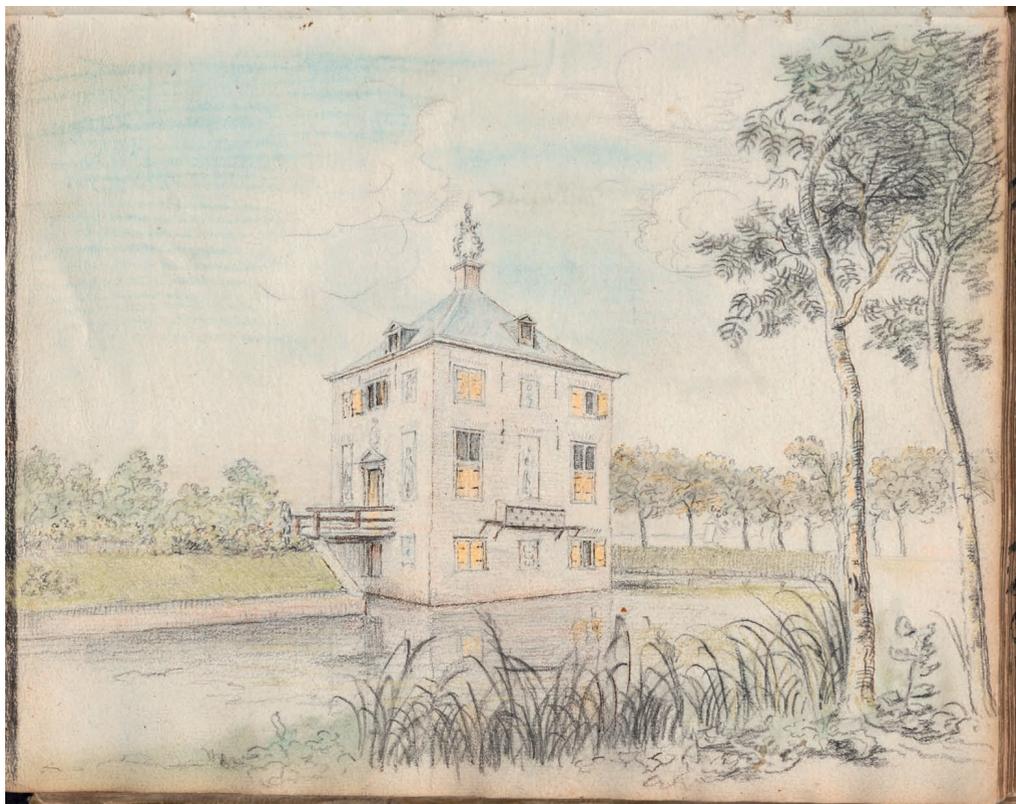


Figure 5. Drawing (c.1658) of the wilderness and Hofwijck's main play house by Huygens's son, Christiaan. Courtesy: Leiden University Library, MS HUG 14, f.5r

Westerbaen's estate was a house set in the undulating micro-topography with its natural woods of the coastal dunes at Loosduinen, close to The Hague (Figure 7).<sup>20</sup> These woods were, most likely, coppiced oak woods.

Westerbaen and Huygens were men of the world and self-conscious about it; in a typical, congenial bragging fashion they distanced themselves from the narrow-minded court of The Hague and were ahead of their critics by criticizing their own efforts; at the same time they elevated perception of their estates by references to the Seven Wonders of the World or the ancient Greeks and Romans. Huygens, in the perception of his garden, looked to distant lands: on calm days he would enjoy the reflection of his house on the still surface of the water of his pond, boasting that he possessed two houses, while each tree or person would appear inverted in the water, as though in Japan on the other side of the globe:

I see trees, foot on foot; and I see people with their feet  
 And without stumbling each and other meet;  
 I see, or think I see, the other side of the globe  
 As if, beyond Banda in Japan I stood.<sup>21</sup>

After his section on God's universal laws on perfect symmetry Huygens described how people in antipodean Japan had such different ideas that they came to illustrate the opposite – informality:

And wherever I looked, I could not find another law  
 That can meet to this: away with all the slanting angles,

And inequality, and unruly tilting,  
 As nobody enjoys having his nose, his throat,  
 His mouth, his chin, his belly, his whatsoever,  
 Being placed far from the center line, leaning to one side.  
 And when I pondered whereto a thing like this resembles  
 I ended up with the unequal of the Japanese robe  
 The incomprehensible of its staining so bewildered  
 That makes the dress a decoration, but makes me ill at ease;  
 And if I would happen to tread such paths,  
 Me thinks it would be like a gamble, or whatever,  
 Where this tree would stand, or where that path would end.  
 I would be discomfited, and where I came to turn,  
 There would my head be turning, just like the planter did  
 Who carelessly had everything diverged from its correct position.<sup>22</sup>

The ultimate expression of asymmetry for Huygens was seen in the outlandish design of the *Japonsche rock*, a Japanese garment with its bewildering dye that decorated the textile without Vitruvian reason. If Huygens walked along similar, asymmetrically designed garden paths, he would, he said, be thinking that these had been laid out by chance, as if dice had been rolled to position a tree or trail. At first sight it seems that he was denying asymmetry, but Huygens never took such a simple black-and-white position. His point of departure was the typical flat meadows of inner Holland, seen from

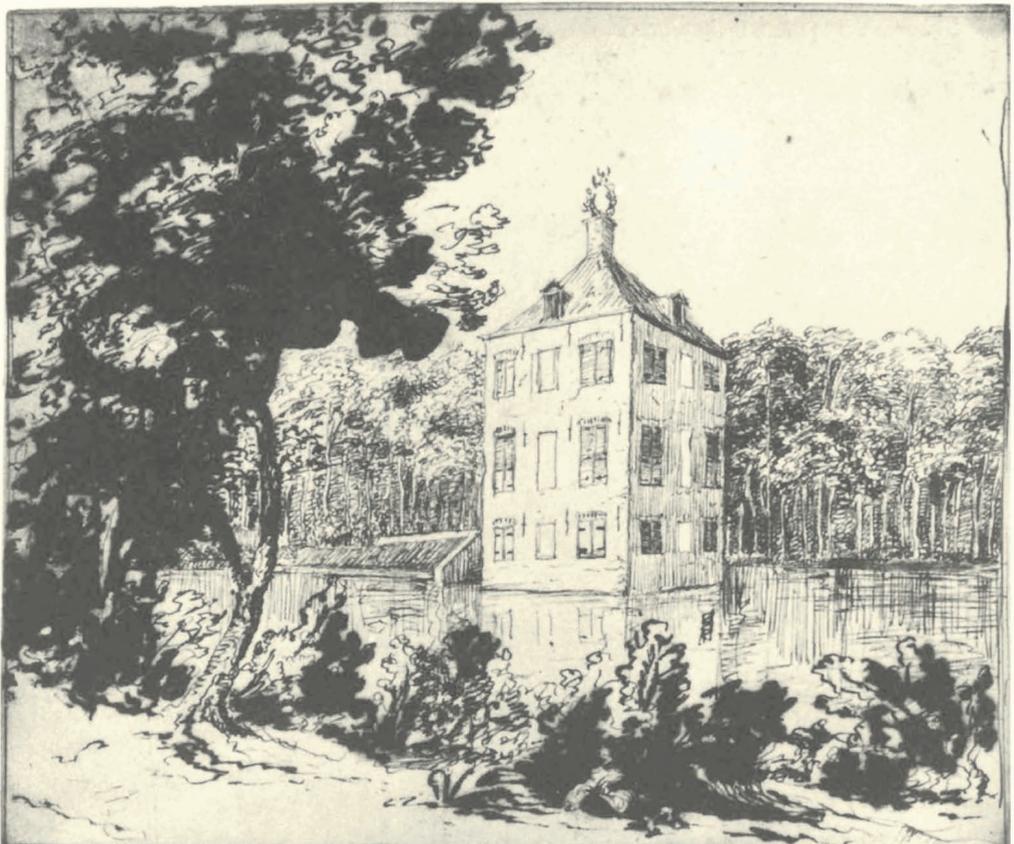


Figure 6. Drawing (c.1660) of the wilderness and Hofwijck's main play house by Constantijn Jr; from Constantijn Huygens, *Hofwijck, Historisch-kritische uitgave met commentaar* (Ton van Strien en Willemien B. de Vries), band 2, deel 3; repr. (Amsterdam: KNAW Press, 2008), p. 238

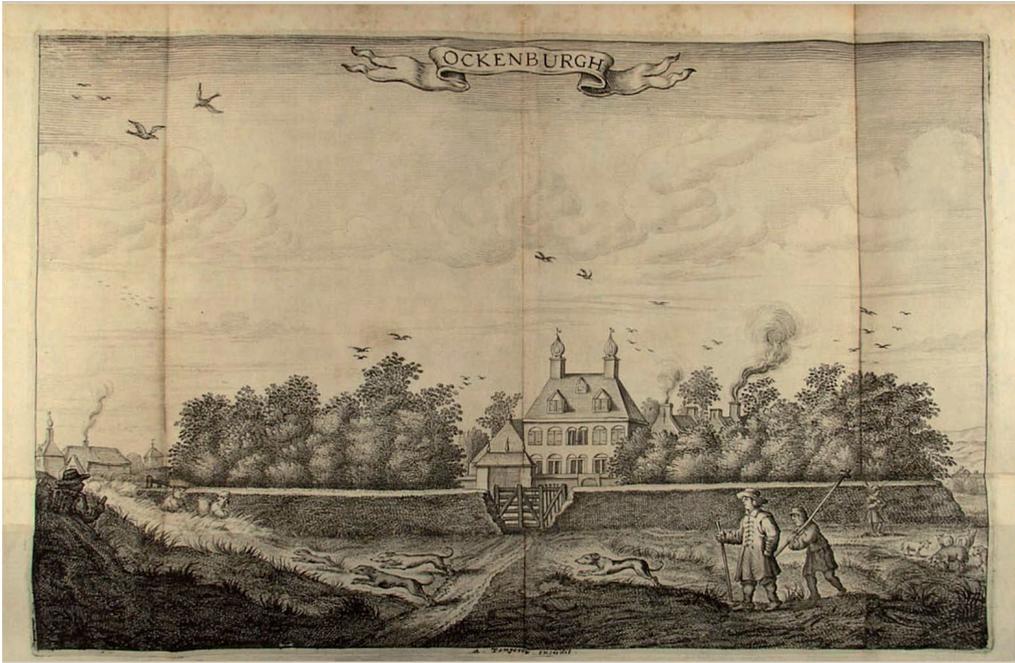


Figure 7. Jacob Westerbaen's estate Ockenburgh was set in the natural landscape of the inner dunes, close to The Hague; *Ockenburgh*, from Jacob Westerbaen, *Arctoa Tempe Ockenburgh* (Graven-hage: Anthony Tongerloo, 1654). Author's collection

the sea behind the undulating dunes of his friend Westerbaen (Figures 3 and 7). A few decades of experience with large-scale reclamations of lakes had shown the practicality of parcellation as an approach in landscape design for situations where the landscape was a blank canvas. With mathematical precision and aesthetic consciousness founded on Renaissance ideas of proportion, squares and rectangles were drawn on a map to subdivide a piece of land for further use. As Huygens had no demanding topography to accommodate – his land was flat and largely empty – this also appeared the right approach for him. But, continuing the allegory of textile and clothes, he could excuse an asymmetric mending of old clothes where a different piece was used to repair a hole:

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>23</sup>

In landscape situations that were not blank, asymmetry would provide a satisfying solution, as Westerbaen demonstrated in the hills and valleys of his Ockenburgh. In his manuscript, Huygens layered *Verlappers*, 'menders' with *Verplanters*, 're-planters': tailors mending old clothing and planters mending old landscapes.<sup>24</sup> In Huygens's case the land for Hofwijck was the typical flat pasture of western Holland: devoid of trees, streams or hills. And although he enjoyed asymmetry in itself, he wrote that he could not allow a new and blank sheet to be spoiled by carelessly cutting a design with irregularity:

I did not find straight uncomfot laudable,  
 But would it be possible – the easy and the pleasant  
 Mix together with the proper and efficient.

Then utility would be coupled with reason ....  
So that is that, now nothing further to be said about straight or slanted.<sup>25</sup>

Straight or square might not be very practical and therefore not particularly laudable. Rather, Huygens wanted to combine the pleasant and easy (his wilderness) with the proper and efficient (Vitruvius' reason) in order to combine utility and reason. Again, utility is about his wilderness: fruits and pleasant parties with friends. With the help of draftsman Post and architect van Campen, Huygens prepared a design that formed the start of the works: nothing more was to be said about straight or slanted lines. Design of the Japanese kimono in those days was indeed perfectly symmetrical in the cutting of its sheets of cloth, but fully asymmetrical and irregular in the colourful designs placed within this strict geometry (Figures 8 and 9). As an image, the original imports of Japan fitted precisely what Huygens was aiming at in his garden with its symmetric blocks of wilderness. In the years that he was developing his garden and its verses, he was in the proud possession of, and very pleased with, the Japanese robe. Its comforts feature in a letter to a young man who was about to marry; the letter ends as follows, recommending a married housewife:

That her warmth may flatter and rejoice you  
That she responds to you supple and convenient  
That she doesn't weigh too heavy on your arms, in short  
That she in all may serve you like a garment from Japan  
– which is 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. The comparison should be pleasant in various respects, not in the least because the entry is a little difficult and the way out is easy, with other remarks of importance that we rather leave to the discretion of the benevolent reader.<sup>26</sup>

#### ASYMMETRY IN JAPANESE ROBES

The 1630s and 1640s were the early years of the Dutch monopoly of European trade with Japan, where textiles were a major commodity. Important partners in business were plied with presents and firm relations were established with men in textiles from Kyoto.<sup>27</sup> Extraordinarily precious and rare textiles were brought to Japan as presents for the high elite in power in order to facilitate agreements on import and trade. In return the Dutch often received sets of Japanese robes.<sup>28</sup> Clearly, textiles were a major issue for the Dutch merchants and their investors, the stock holders of the East India Company. A large number of robes from Japan came to Amsterdam with the Dutch ships, not only the ones presented but also as new, profitable merchandise. From the late 1640s these were no longer straightforwardly Japanese, but fashioned after Dutch requirements in a single colour.<sup>29</sup> The Japanese robe, referred to as *Japonsche rock*, became a much-desired fashion item used indoors and outdoors, and sought after by the mercantile, artistic and political elite of the Netherlands (Plates II and III).<sup>30</sup> Eager to get hold of the newest imports, men like Huygens would visit the store houses of the East India Company in Amsterdam to get news of, see, or even acquire the latest novelties.<sup>31</sup> Fashionable men liked to have their portraits painted of themselves dressed in Japanese robes and many Dutch painters had a *Japonsche rock* for sitters in their studio. Temple also took the opportunity to have himself depicted in the showy new vogue by a painter who had painted Huygens's son, Christiaan, a few years before. Both young men are shown against a background of a landscape garden: Temple against a picturesque backdrop; Christiaan in front of classical scenery (Plates IV and V).<sup>32</sup>

Huygens's observations on irregularity in Japanese robe design date from the 1650s and are also seen in Arnoldus Montanus's *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der*

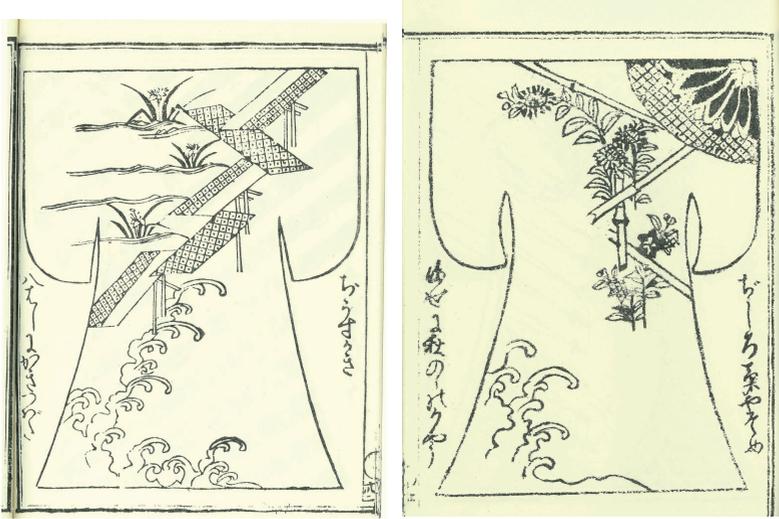


Figure 8. Asymmetric motifs on symmetrical sheets of textile are typical of Japanese kimono design throughout the seventeenth century, here seen in a kimono pattern book, *Onhinagata* (1667).  
 Courtesy: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto



Figure 9. Asymmetric motifs in Japanese kimono design; from Arnoldus Montanus, *Gedenkwaardige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland, aen de Kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs, 1669), p. 321. Courtesy: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto

*Oost-Indische Maetschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland, aen de Kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam, 1669), which gave an imaginative description of asymmetry in the design of the dress of a Japanese prostitute (Figure 9).<sup>33</sup>

#### HUYGENS, TEMPLE AND IRREGULARITY

Another classical idea that pervaded Huygens's garden was the contradiction between the urban and the rural; the name Hofwijck actually refers to the escape from the obligations at the court in the capital.<sup>34</sup> Huygens shared this impulsive desire to retreat with Temple, who arrived in The Hague as Ambassador to England for a first term in December 1667.<sup>35</sup> Temple visited Hofwijck many times when in The Hague and letters to Temple from Huygens, already in his seventies, bear witness to the thorough garden friendship of the two men.<sup>36</sup> Huygens's Hofwijck was always open to friends – even in the absence of its owner – and was often the stage for festivities and social parties. In his old age, in 1682, Huygens – addressing Temple kindly as *ancien Hofwijckquiste* (good, old Hofwijckist) – wrote that he had ordered those in charge of his affairs after his death to hand over the keys of Hofwijck any time he wanted to visit the place.<sup>37</sup> Temple was an important statesman and embraced the idea of the garden as a retreat from the busy politics of everyday. But whereas Huygens was in good-humoured hospitable retreat, Temple was bitter. His clever and successful negotiations as a politician were abused by others and, suffering increasingly from gout, he had asked the king to be relieved of his duties. From 1686 he was able to start a second life in retreat among his books surrounded by the gardens of an estate in Surrey by the River Wey that he named Moor Park (Plate VI). He took this name from an older Moor Park in Hertfordshire. This first garden is described in detail in Temple's essay 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening in the Year 1685' and is depicted as a perfect example of a Dutch classicist garden, a kind of mini Het Loo. Temple emphasized that he had made his Moor Park in memory of this earlier Moor Park. This first garden had, according to Temple, a forest behind the house that was 'all of that Sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains', with a second wilderness in the lower garden, planted with fruit trees similar to Huygens's kitchen-wilderness.<sup>38</sup>

Temple started developing his retreat shortly after Huygens's death in the early spring of 1687, more than forty years after Hofwijck was finished, but his Moor Park was clearly inspired by it in its straight canals, geometric layout, and utility and reason in combination; indeed, Temple's garden exemplifies the beginning of a taste for the Dutch garden in England.<sup>39</sup> After French and Dutch fashions Temple took pride in his orange trees, and in his essay he named the varieties of peaches, grapes, figs, pears and apples pruned in various forms, free standing or trained on walls. A contemporary watercolour drawing of Moor Park shows a natural forest behind the house forming part of the landscape of the estate; it seems deliberately planted with a variety of trees, including conifers (Figure 10, left). In the foreground of this picture is a more Italianate expression of wilderness as demonstrated by a cut in the hill with a cascading water staircase springing from a well in a nymphaeum-like cave (Plate VI). The wilderness in the lower garden featured purposeful serpentine lines for the design of paths and waterways (Figure 10, right).

Part of the water was drawn from the natural stream in the valley. This closely followed the ideas of another Dutch garden owner, Willem Bentinck, much admired by Temple. Bentinck was a loyal assistant to William III, who became King of England after the Glorious Revolution in 1688.<sup>40</sup> In Holland, Bentinck enjoyed a little natural brook at the back of his estate and wrote: 'The most beautiful and rarest sight in Holland is

to have a lively rivulet. One should let this run its own natural course ... crooked as it may be, since straight lines are not always pleasant.<sup>41</sup> Temple's crooked garden stream, following Bentinck, enhanced the beauty of the natural landscape in an even more studied fashion with contrived bends and curves that also typified the garden paths. Appreciating the non-geometric, Temple, too, struggled with the reconciliation of irregularity and prescribed Vitruvian geometrics in garden design. This is clear from a passage in 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus':

What I have said of the best Forms of Gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of Nature in the Seat, or some great race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing parts into some Figure, which shall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable.

Whereas Huygens understood irregularity in older, regular landscapes, as opposed to his blank sheet, Temple made up for it by 'Dispositions of Nature in the Seat' or 'Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance'. The 'seat' referred to the physical geography of the site, as the dunes in Westerbaen's Ockenburgh or Bentinck's Sorghvliet with its stream that by its own nature invited irregular design, whereas 'fancy' and 'judgement' in design ('contrivance') emphasized the point that Temple wanted to make. He continued:

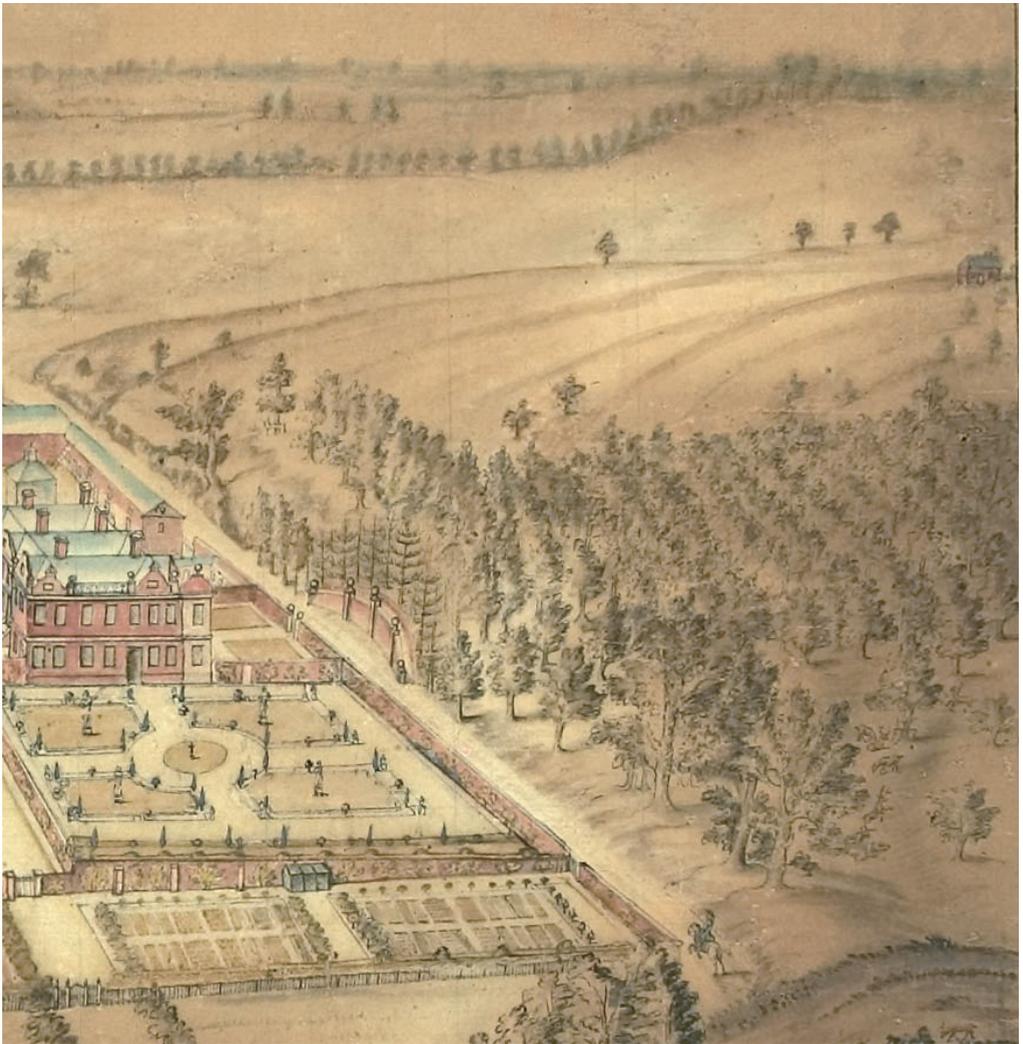
Something of this I have seen in some places (that is, in Holland, wk), but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineses*; a People, whose way of thinking, seems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed 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 other, 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 strik 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 admirable, or any such expression of Esteem. And whoever observes the Work upon the best Indian Gowns, or the painting upon their best Skreens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order.<sup>42</sup>

Temple's *sharawadgi* was an extension of the discourse by Dutch garden lovers; in a similar way he legitimized irregularity as a beauty without Vitruvian order by pointing to applied arts imported from the East Indies. Strikingly, he elevated lack of order to the level of a taste in beauty, whereas for Huygens the discussion was not much more than a kind of explanatory apology for a design idea. For Temple, liking or disliking the irregular was a faculty of discerning, it was a judgment, which brings it to the level of intellectual, literary discourse. To support his statements he introduced the Chinese who had a word for it, *sharawadgi*, as if it were a Greek philosophical concept. The crooked design of the wilderness in the lower garden of Moor Park demonstrates that its owner had mastered this taste for purposeful irregularity.

#### TEMPLE: PERCEPTIONS

Temple stated that his *sharawadgi* was Chinese, though it stems from the Japanese *shara'aji*. Some background is needed to understand Temple on this point. England, since

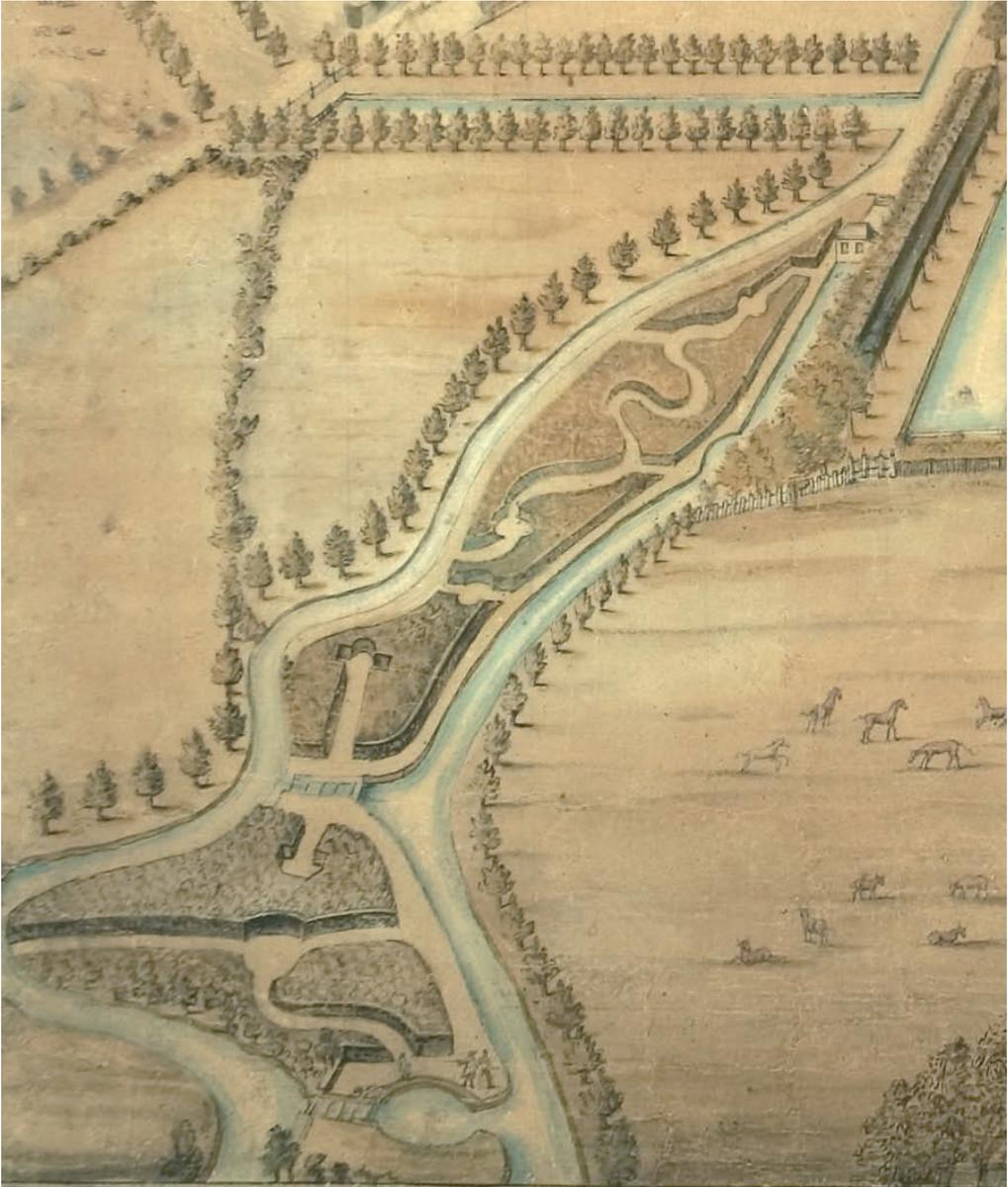
the Renaissance, had witnessed an unusual enthusiasm for gardening, with many books on horticulture and pamphlets on gardening published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was part of a general discourse on Art and Nature, in which Nature meant God, and Art automatically touched upon the question of whether it was possible to improve the works of God by human efforts towards Art.<sup>43</sup> In the Netherlands, in the course of the seventeenth century the discourse on gardening became an intellectuals' pastime at the level of writing poetry on the bucolic pleasures of the seasons, harvests of fragrant fruit, and lush and shady, tree-lined walks.<sup>44</sup> In England it evolved into a genteel, at times political, field for proposing elevated statements, sometimes quite pompous or full of scathing understatement addressed at literary or other adversaries. When Temple withdrew from the world of factional strife and intrigue, he had, as a matter of course, to produce some written statement legitimizing his retreat. A fine, erudite solution, fitting the frames of the times was the Epicurean garden that formed the theme of 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus', where he justified his turn away from the polemic and argument of



ABOVE AND OPPOSITE Figure 10. The two sections of wilderness in Sir William Temple's garden at Moor Park in Farnham, Surrey; from a bird's-eye view of the garden shown in a watercolour painting (c.1690) attributed to Johannes Kip (details of Plate VI). Courtesy: Surrey County Council, SHC ref. PX/64/163

politics, so contrary to tranquillity of the mind that is the only true happiness for man, as the Epicureans had demonstrated.<sup>45</sup> As a non-Biblical, classical philosophy, Epicurus backed up pleasures enjoyed in works of Nature improved by Art. Temple referred to classicists such as Horace and Varro as his teachers on the fruit garden, although all his fruits were imported from the Continent. Obviously, Temple's inspiration was the Dutch gardens, and their Italianate touch, but the irregularity of wilderness in Huygens's garden, Westerbaen's hillocks and valleys, or Bentinck's irregular, crooked rivulet were not taken up by him as examples.

In England, after war with the Dutch, it was deemed safer to distance oneself from these drunken and profane merchants living on an 'indigested vomit of the Sea'.<sup>46</sup> Neither did Temple want to associate his deviation from the classics of Vitruvius by referring to



something as light-hearted as a robe from Japan. The image of Japan was paradoxical: brutally cruel but very civilized, its women graceful and delicate, but with fabled immorality. Following European admiration for China's government systems, Temple was impressed by Chinese statesmanship and Confucianism; these were the things he liked to associate with his understanding of *sharawadgi*.<sup>47</sup> Japan was for Temple perhaps not much more than on the outskirts of China and part of that huge and respectable country. But most of all, and somewhat forcibly perhaps, he wanted to raise irregularity from the lowly level of a simple design idea, as did Huygens: it should be taste. Taste – in the social psychology of Europe of those days – would raise the whole endeavour of studied irregular garden-making into something above the rest of his social and political environment. He must have realized that advocating irregularity was opportune, given the English landscape, which was not flat as a piece of cloth as in inner Holland. Irregularity had to be praised so that anyone could retreat to the countryside of England in its enhanced understanding as paradise on earth. His 'Boy that can tell an Hundred', and 'may plant Walks of Trees in straight Lines' referred to Louis XIV, who, as a child, had never been taught to read and write, but in spite of his illiteracy was planting kilometres of trees in straight lines for his park at Versailles.<sup>48</sup> Of course, an Englishman of taste could do better than that. Therefore, he presented *sharawadgi* as 'fine or admirable' and stated that it was an 'expression of Esteem' of a 'Notion of this Sort of Beauty'.<sup>49</sup>

Now this was the real fertile ground in which irregular beauty in landscape design could grow into a taste for the picturesque, as is clear from a first public statement based on Temple's ideas. It came from Joseph Addison in 1712 in a critique on geometric clipping and other expressions of the gardenesque:

Writers who have given us an Account of China, tell us the Inhabitants of that Country laugh at the Plantations of our Europeans, which are laid out by the Rule and Line; because, they say, any one may place Trees in equal Rows and uniform Figures. They chuse rather to shew a Genius in Works of this Nature, and therefore always conceal the Art by which they direct themselves. They have a Word, it seems, in their Language, by which they express the particular Beauty of a Plantation that thus strikes the Imagination at first Sight, without discovering what it is that has so agreeable an Effect.

From Addison on, irregularity in design and the picturesque, including the modest role of *sharawadgi*, became increasingly established as the foundation for one of the great garden styles of Europe: the English landscape garden.<sup>50</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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#### REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> For the eighteenth-century English discourse centring on *sharawadgi*, see, for example, Ciaran Murray, *Sharawadgi: The Romantic Return to Nature* (Bethesda: International Scholars Publ., 1999). However, Murray's reports on the meaning and origin of the term '*sharawadgi*' do not consider seventeenth-century sources and lack conviction.

<sup>2</sup> As an aesthetic term attached to incoming works of Japanese art, *shara'aji* (Temple's *sharawadgi*) was introduced by Ernst van Hogenhoek, an experienced traveller in Japan

and one of Huygens's circle. For a detailed discussion of the history, Japanese linguistics, provenance, context and meaning of *shara'aji*, see Wybe Kuitert, 'Japanese art, aesthetics, and a European discourse: unraveling *Sharawadgi*', *Japan Review (International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto)*, 26 (forthcoming), which was inspired by an essay by Nakamura Makoto, 'Sharawaji ni tsuite', in *Zoen no rekishi to bunka* (Kyoto: Yokendo, 1987), pp. 243–57.

<sup>3</sup> On the central position of Huygens's garden and poem within a changing attitude

of observations in nature, see Eric Jorink, *Het Boeck der Natuere* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2006), pp. 12–15, 22–3.

<sup>4</sup> Quotations are from the poem's annotated edition: F. L. Zwaan (ed.), *Constantijn Huygens, Hofwijck* (Jeruzalem: Chev, 1977). A first printed version of the poem appeared in 1653. On the original manuscript and bibliography, see *ibid.*, pp. xiii–xvi, xxiii. Ton van Strien and Kees van der Leer, *Hofwyck – Het gedicht en de buitenplaats van Constantijn Huygens* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002), give the poem in modernized language with annotations and an overview of the history of the garden. The present translation in English tries to capture the meaning of the poem first, rather than Huygens's rhythm.

<sup>5</sup> 'Wie die verdeeling laeck, veracht voor eerst sijn seluen,/ En 'tschoonste dat God schiep. Eer ick bestond te deluen,/ Nam ick des Wijsen less tot richtnoer van mijn doen;/ 'Kbesagh mijn seluen; meer en had ick niet van doen./ Twee vensters voor 'Gesicht, twee voor den Reuck, twee Ooren,/ Twee Schouderen in 'tkruis, twee Heupen daer sij hooren,/ Een' Dij van wederzijds, een' Knie, een Been, een Voet;/ Is, seid ick, dat Gods werck, soo is't volkomen goed'; Zwaan, *Constantijn Huygens*, pp. 106–7, ll.977–84.

<sup>6</sup> Zwaan, *Constantijn Huygens*, does not give the cross a footnote; van Strien and van der Leer, *Hofwyck*, omit it entirely. The cross relates to the Christian cross.

<sup>7</sup> For an analysis of the proportions of the plan, see Robert J. van Pelt, 'Man and cosmos in Huygens' Hofwijck', *Art History*, 4/2 (1981), pp. 150–74. Measurements derive from the length of the house, the Vitruvian *modulus*, of 30 Rhineland feet, or just under 9.5 metres. Huygens became acquainted with Vitruvian architecture during his trip to Venice c.1620; he had many studies and translations of Vitruvius' *De Architectura* (1st century BC) on his bookshelves, including M. Vitruvius, *Vitruvius per locvndum ...* (Venice, 1511), as an auction catalogue (1688) of his library shows (website Ad Davids, Breukelen: <http://adcs.home.xs4all.nl/Huygens/varia/catal-a.html/>). On Huygens's Vitruvius studies, see Koen Ottenheym, 'De correspondentie tussen Rubens en Huygens over architectuur (1635–'40)', *Bulletin KNOB*, 1 (1997), pp. 1–11 (pp. 3–4).

<sup>8</sup> Clemens Steenbergen, W. Reh and Steffen Nijhuis, *De Polderatlas van Nederland* (Bussum: Thoth, 2009), pp. 488–9.

<sup>9</sup> On the history of planning, design and execution of the works, see van Strien and van der Leer, *Hofwyck*, pp. 77–84.

<sup>10</sup> Zwaan, *Constantijn Huygens*, p. 175, l.1677: 'dit Boeck der Boecken'. Observing and studying weather, soil, water, plants or animals all testified to the Creator. See also, Jorink, *Het Boeck der Natuere*.

<sup>11</sup> Zwaan, *Constantijn Huygens*, p. 144, l.1359: 'keucken-wilderniss'.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 208–10, ll.2033–60: 'Treedt

inde wilderniss ten oosten of ten westen.'

<sup>13</sup> In Huygens's handwriting the term *Eicken schaer-bosken* is written on the proof print of the etching. *Eicken-schaer* is coppiced oak, in the form of a *bosken*, a little wood. It carries the imagery of lush undergrowth and mossy, withered stumps of coppiced oaks.

<sup>14</sup> Florence Hopper, 'The Dutch régence garden', *Garden History*, 9/2 (1981), pp. 118–35 (on p. 125).

<sup>15</sup> Jacob Westerbaen, *Arctoa Tempe Ockenburgh* (Graven-hage: Anthony Tongerlo, 1654). It has a set of poems on Ockenburgh by Westerbaen's friends, including Huygens, followed by the about 4000 Alexandrine-like lines of Westerbaen's *Ockenburgh*. Turning to the garden now and then, it is a mixed text with sarcasm about The Hague, comments on recent politics, human love, history, and descriptions of the landscape in and around his estate. See also an amiable letter by Westerbaen to Huygens where he discussed his publication in J. A. Worp (ed.), *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–87), Vijfde Deel 1649–1663* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), pp. 207–8 (27 April 1654), No. 5350.

<sup>16</sup> Westerbaen, *Arctoa*, p. 4: 'Ick wierd, al waer ick scheef, behoet voor yders schampen, Als ware ick na de kunst van Post, de Bray, of Kampen, En niemand quamper uyt die misstand aen my sagh.' 'Scheef', slanting, leaning, becomes 'without order', irregular in the Vitruvian context. Post and his master Van Campen were employed by Huygens. Salomon de Bray (1597–1664) was a third famous architect. It was a robust statement, but the lack of an architect could also have been a financial matter; he was less wealthy than Huygens. The Noord Hollands Archief keeps a photograph of a lost painting of Groot Bentveld 'naar Salomon Ruysdael' (dated c.1660), similar to the picture of Westerbaen's Ockenburgh, suggesting that a house, surrounded by natural woods, was a common form for an estate in the dune landscape.

<sup>17</sup> Westerbaen, *Arctoa*, p. 92: 'Ick spreek niet nae de roe waer mee het is gemeten,/ Maer neemt voor dese mael nae maete van de deughd,/ Daer so een brockje sands den landheer mee verheugt.'

<sup>18</sup> 'En tusschen poort en huys legt vierkant in zyn muyren,/ Daer Pers en Armenier de binne-wand borduyren/ Niet met uyt heemsch cieraed van't zyde spinne-webb./ Maer met bekoorend fruyt, daer Eve sin in hebb'; *ibid.*, p. 57. Other sections have similar comparisons of garden beauty with decorated textiles.

<sup>19</sup> 'Wie spreeckt van ruyckeren, van tuyltjes en bouquetten/ Tot fraeyheyd en cieraed van haerden en buffetten, .../ Van Indisch aerde-werck met bloempjes velerhand .../ Wat hebben sy by't schoon van myne tuyn-saelet,/ Daer d'Aerde bloem-pot is en elcke boom bouquet?'; *ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>20</sup> At the time of the publication of this print, the owner was still dreaming of four

classical tree-lined avenues that were installed later; *ibid.*, pp. 52, 87–8, 92–3.

<sup>21</sup> 'Ksie boomen voet aen voet, 'ksie menschen met de voeten,/ En sonder struijckelen, malkanderen ontmoeten,/ 'Ksie, of ick meen te sien, de weder-zij van 't Rond,/ Als of ick in Japan aen geen' zij Banda stond'; Zwaan, *Constantijn Huygens*, p. 279, ll.2725–8 of the poem. Westerbaen, *Arctoa*, p. 154, has a similar observation. On the common perception of the Japanese as antipodes, see also Ian Littlewood, 'Japan', in Hugo Dyserinck and Joep Leerssen (eds), *Imagology – The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 200–2.

<sup>22</sup> 'En, waer ick henen sagh, ick wist geen wett te soecken/ Die bij dees gelden moght: wegh, riep ick, scheeue hoecken,/ En oneenpaerichheid, en ongeregelt scheel,/ Dat niemand en vermaectt dan die sijn' neus, sijn' keel,/ Sijn mond, sijn kinn, sijn' buijck, sijn alle dingh, kan lijden/ Verr vande middel-lijn slimm uijt gestelt ter zijden./ En, als ick ouersloegh waer sulcken stell op trock,/ Soo viel ick op 'ton-eens van een' Japonschen Rock./ Op 'tonbegrijpelijk van die verwerdde plecken,/ Die 'tkleedsel voor cieraet en mij voor onlust strecken./ En, als ick bij geuall door sulcke paden trad,/ Soo docht mij, 'twas om 'tjock gedobbelt of om 'twat./ Waer dese boom sou staen, waer die steegh sou belenden;/ Ick wierd'er koortsigh af, en waer ick quam te wenden,/ Daer draeijsch mij het hoofd, gelijk des planters dé/ Die alles onverhoeds gedraeijsch hadd uijt sijn' sté'; Zwaan, *Constantijn Huygens*, pp. 107–8, ll.985–1000 of the poem.

<sup>23</sup> 'Verlappers (Verplanters) van oud werck kost ick genadigh duldén;/ Maer snijders van nieu' stoff en sach ick niet t'ontschulden./ Mijn laken was geheel, en ick een schele geck,/ Soo ick t'versnipperde met een versuft besteck'; *ibid.*, pp. 108–9, ll.1001–4 of the poem.

<sup>24</sup> Zwaan saw naming both *Verlappers* and *Verplanters* as a slip of the pen, choosing *Verlappers* for his edition, but the context makes it clear that Huygens deliberately meant both; *ibid.*, *tekstkritische noten*, p. 108.

<sup>25</sup> 'Recht-zijdig ongemack en vond ick niet prijs-waerdigh;/ Maer, waer het mogelick 'tgemackelick en 'taerdigh,/ 'Tgeschickt' en 'tdienstighe te menghen onder een./ Soo was de nuttigheid verhijscht aende re'en .../ Dat's uijt; en nu niet meer van recht of scheef te melden'; *ibid.*, p. 109, ll.1005–8, 1013.

<sup>26</sup> 'Que sa douce chaleur vous flatte et resjouisse,/ Que commeode, que souple elle vous obeisse,/ Qu'elle ne pese pas sur vos bras; tout de bon,/ Qu'elle vous serve en tout de robe de Japon,/ qui est des plus agreables meubles que je cognoisse et à qui pourroit se donner carriere au chant nuptial. La comparaison en seroit plaisante en divers esgards, n'y en eust que celle cy, que l'entrée en est un pen difficile et la sortie aysée, aveq d'autres remarques d'importance que nous lairrons à la discretion

du benevole lecteur'; from one of the more than forty extant letters from Huygens to Henri de Beringhen (1603–92), a valet close to Louis XIV; J. A. Worp (ed.), *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687), Vierde Deel 1644–1649* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915), p. 267 (1 January 1646), No. 4235. The following year Huygens presented two Japanese robes to Anne of Austria, widow of Louis XIII and regent for Louis XIV; see his poem in J. A. Worp (ed.), *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens, Naar zijn handschrift uitgegeven, Vierde Deel 1644–52* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1894), pp. 119–20 (18 January 1647). Béatrix de Cusance, Duchesse of Lotharingen, asked Huygens for a Japonsche Rock, fashioned after the one she had seen in his presence somewhere else in a letter of 2 October 1652; Worp, *Briefwisseling, Vijfde Deel*, Nos 5246, 1549, 5252 and others, pp. 154–6, *passim*. Appreciating Huygens's expert opinion in matters of East Indian art, she addressed him as *Monsieur mon Intendant des Indes*. In a letter (25 April 1664) from Christiaan Huygens sent from Paris to his brother, Lodewijk (1631–99), in The Hague he asked that one of his father's Japanese robes be sent to Paris; CKCC Database: *Circulation of Knowledge and Learned Practices in the 17th-Century Dutch Republic* (available at: <http://ckcc.huysgens.knaw.nl/No.huuyg003/1227/>) (accessed February 2013).

<sup>27</sup> *Dagregisters gehouden bij de opperhoofden van het Nederlandsche Factorij in Japan*, Vol. 4 (Tokyo: Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, 1981), pp. 173, 176, gives names of textile merchants from Kyoto, such as the powerful Chaya Shinkuro and Chaya Shirojiro.

<sup>28</sup> *Dagregisters gehouden bij de opperhoofden van het Nederlandsche Factorij in Japan*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, 1974), p. 244; twenty Japanese robes in the name of the *shogun* in 1635. January 1636, another twenty as presents (*ibid.*, p. 156); 1650, thirty pieces received directly from the *shogun* (*ibid.*, p. 421); January 1654, thirty pieces from the *shogun*, as well as several privately presented ones (*ibid.*, p. 708). Kaempfer received fifty-three coloured and twenty-three black robes at his first audience in 1691, and thirty in the following year; Kornelis van Outhoorn received 123 robes; A. M. Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder, 'Japonsche Rocken', *Oud Holland*, 62/1 (1947), pp. 137–52 (on pp. 142–3).

<sup>29</sup> *Japonsche rocken* were ordered by the East India Company in Amsterdam in 1642; *Dagregisters gehouden bij de opperhoofden van het Nederlandsche Factorij in Japan*, Vol. 6 (Tokyo: Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, 1986), p. 181. After 1645 these were in 'eenpaerige couleur', a single colour; Lubberhuizen, 'Japonsche Rocken', pp. 143–8. Two portraits by Michiel van Musscher in the Strasbourg Museum, one of Amsterdam

Mayor Hudde and one of an unknown man, show the sitters dressed in what seems to be original imports from Japan. The latter's dress even has a Japanese family crest and must have been a present. Not many robes from this early period have survived.

<sup>30</sup> On the Japanese robe fashion in the Netherlands, see Lubberhuizen 'Japonsche Rocken'. Jan Commelin (1629–92) was Director of the Amsterdam Physic Garden, where he grew the Japanese camphor tree and other novelties. On the Japanese camphor tree of Commelin, see Dirk Onno Wijnands, *The Botany of the Commelins* (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1983), pp. 59, 120. Cornelis Munter (1652–1708) was a lawyer and later mayor of Amsterdam and commissioner for the physic garden. Munter's robe seems to have a colourful design interpreted by painter Maes as 'staining so bewildered' as in Huygens's poem.

<sup>31</sup> Huygens, in a letter to Johan de Knuijt, mentioned that he had visited the warehouses of Amsterdam, but that there were no longer any *Japonsche rocken*; he met with De Beringhen also on an errand, and in search of exotics; Worp, *Briefwisseling, Vierde Deel*, pp. 213–14 (September 1645), No. 4127.

<sup>32</sup> The portrait of Temple (dated 1675) is in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3812. Christiaan Huygens's portrait of c.1671 is in the Haags Historisch Museum, The Hague, Object No. 1926-0012-SCH. Both are by Caspar Netscher. Inventories of twenty-one contemporary painters indicate the presence of a *Japonsche rock* for sitters; Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 158. Netscher also painted a portrait of Constantijn Huygens.

<sup>33</sup> Dress of various levels of Japanese society is described in detail by Arnoldus Montanus, *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland, aen de Kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs, 1669). On the asymmetric dress of prostitutes, see p. 321. Montanus's illustration and description seem to refer to the fashionable *kanbun kosode* style of design.

<sup>34</sup> *Wijcken* means to escape, from the *Hof*, the Court. *Wijck* is also a refuge, a *locus* with a *hof* (garden). *Vitaulium* Huygens's Latin name for Hofwijck has an even more intricate wordplay; van Strien and van der Leer, *Hofwyck*, p. 82.

<sup>35</sup> For a short biography, see the Notable Names Database (<http://www.nndb.com/people/492/000098198/>) (accessed November 2013); Temple left Holland in June 1671, to return later for a second term from summer 1674 to summer 1677. For an analysis of his political role, see Murray, *Sharawadgi*, pp. 7–34.

<sup>36</sup> Letters from Huygens to Temple; J. A. Worp (ed.) *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn*

*Huygens (1608–87), Zesde Deel 1663–87* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917), pp. 380–1 (14–24 September 1676) No. 7032; pp. 417–18 (18–28 May 1679) No. 7119; p. 426 (2–12 September 1679) No. 7134; p. 428 (12 January 1680) No. 7144; p. 433 (12 October 1680) No. 7158; p. 442 (2 June 1682) No. 7188. To his friend Huygens Temple dedicated his 'An Essay Upon the CURE of the GOOUT', in *The Works of Sir William Temple* (London: T. Osborne, 1731), pp. 134–46.

<sup>37</sup> Worp, *Briefwisseling, Zesde Deel*, p. 442 (2 June 1682) No. 7188.

<sup>38</sup> William Temple, 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening in the Year 1685', Essay II in *Miscellanea The Second Part. In Four Essays* (London: Simpson, 1690), pp. 53–6.

<sup>39</sup> On the friendship of the two men and their gardens, see E. J. Potgieter, *De werken. Deel 14; Kritische studiën. Deel 2*, ed. Johan Carl Zimmerman, 3rd print (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1898), pp. 38–41; and on Moor Park as the start of the Dutch taste, see Hopper, 'Dutch régence garden', pp. 118ff.

<sup>40</sup> Adolphus William Ward, *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900*, Vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press online) (accessed 11 November 2012), s.v. 'Bentinck'. Bentinck became the privy councillor and superintendent of the king's gardens. Temple was much impressed by Bentinck's loyalty, after witnessing how he cared for his master who fell ill from small-pox, to the extent that Bentinck, having contracted the disease himself, also fell seriously ill; William Temple, 'Memoirs Of what pass'd in Christendom, From 1672, to 1679', in *Works of Sir William Temple*, p. 401. King William was one of Moor Park's visitors.

<sup>41</sup> Vanessa Bezemer-Sellers, 'The Bentinck garden at Sorgvliet', in John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), pp. 99–130 (on p. 107), translating a quote from the original Dutch in *Consideratien op Sorghvliet* (1679). The winding channel of water at Moor Park was the first serpentine of its kind in England, and became one of the idiosyncrasies that marked the English garden between 1700 and 1740; John Harris, 'Is Chiswick a "Palladian" Garden?', *Garden History*, 32/1 (2004), pp. 124–36.

<sup>42</sup> Temple, 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus', pp. 57–8. Italics and capitals as in the original; it comes after the description of Moor Park.

<sup>43</sup> On the state of affairs in Temple's time, see Nicholas A. Salerno, 'Andrew Marvell and the *furor hortensis*', in *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900, The English Renaissance*, 8/1 (1968), pp. 103–20.

<sup>44</sup> On the bucolic poetry of the so-called *hofdichten*, see P. A. F. van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buyten-levens, vergheselschapt met de boucken* (The Hague: Van Goor Zonen, 1960).

<sup>45</sup> Temple, 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus'.

The introduction to Colin Amery, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or Of Gardening in the Year 1685* (London: Pallas, 2004), points to the borrowing by Temple of Montaigne's Heraclitus. Westerbaen, *Arctoa*, took Epicurus as an illustration of a life of satisfaction with the fruits and vegetables of one's garden; *ibid.*, p. 96. See also Eric Miller, 'Epicurean gardens in William Temple and John Wilmot', *Dalhousie Review*, 86/3 (2006), pp. 229–344.

<sup>46</sup> 'This indigested vomit of the Sea/ Fell to the Dutch by Just Propriety', from Andrew Marvell, 'The Character of Holland' (1653), in Mary Marvell (ed.), *Andrew Marvell, Miscellaneous Poems* (facsimile of the 1681 edn; Menston: Scolar, 1969). His poem came at a time of increasing tension leading up to the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1653; other wars followed.

<sup>47</sup> Jesuit missionaries' reports on the moral virtue and organization of government and society of the Chinese are seen reflected in William Temple, 'Of Heroick Virtue', in *Works of Sir William Temple*, pp. 198–211. This essay was published in the same set as his 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus' and touches upon gardens in China, however without any mention of irregularity or *sharawadgi*. On perceptions of China and Japan in Europe, see Irmi Schweiger, 'China', and Ian Littlewood, 'Japan', both in Dyserinck and Leerssen, *Imagology*, pp. 126–31 and 200–2, respectively.

<sup>48</sup> The capital 'H' in the phrase 'a Boy that can tell an hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in strait Lines, and over against one other, and to what Length and Extent He pleases' gives an overt clue, but was changed to lower case in later editions of Temple's text.

<sup>49</sup> An even more open and outspoken critique on Versailles is found in the words of the German gardener Georg Meister, who visited Japan in the 1680s. In the foreword of his book he wrote: 'There can be no doubt that the present French tyrant wants to set an example for the world with his Versailles and wants to possess the most beautiful of all with his wonder-garden wrung from nature' (*Kein Zweifel ist, daß der izige Französische Tyrann sein Versailles mit seinen auch der Natur abgenöthigten Wunder-Gärten aller Welt fürgehen und sie prächtigsten haben wollen*); Georg Meister, *Der orientalisich-indianische Kunst- und Lust-Gärtner* (Dresden: Johann Riedel, 1692), Foreword, unnumbered, p. 13; see also Wybe Kuitert: 'Georg Meister', *Japan Review*, 2 (1991), pp. 125–43; and 'Nagasaki gardens and Georg Meister (1653–1713)', *Genesis*, 3 (1998), pp. 94–102.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph Addison, 'On the Pleasures of the Imagination', *The Spectator* (25 June 1712), No. 414, Paper IV; Mavis Batey, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination: Joseph Addison's influence on early landscape gardens', *Garden History*, 33/2 (2005), pp. 189–209.



Plate II. Amsterdam high society in *Japonsche rock*: portrait of Jan Commelin (last quarter of the seventeenth century), by Gerard (I) Hoet (1648-1733).  
Courtesy: Amsterdam Museum, Inv. No. SA 41466 in depot AM.



Plate III. Amsterdam high society in *Japonsche rock*: portrait of Cornelis Munter (dated 1679), by Nicolaes Maes (1634-93). Courtesy: Amsterdam Museum, Inv. No. SA 946 in depot



Plate IV. Portrait of Sir William Temple (dated 1675), by Caspar Netscher. Temple is dressed in a Japanese robe. Courtesy: National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3812



Plate V. Portrait of Christiaan Huygens (c.1671), by Caspar Netscher. Christiaan (1629–95), who was a year older than Sir William Temple, was painted by Netscher in the same robe as that worn by Temple some years later (shown in Plate IV).  
Courtesy: Haags Historisch Museum, The Hague, Object No. 1926-0012-SCH

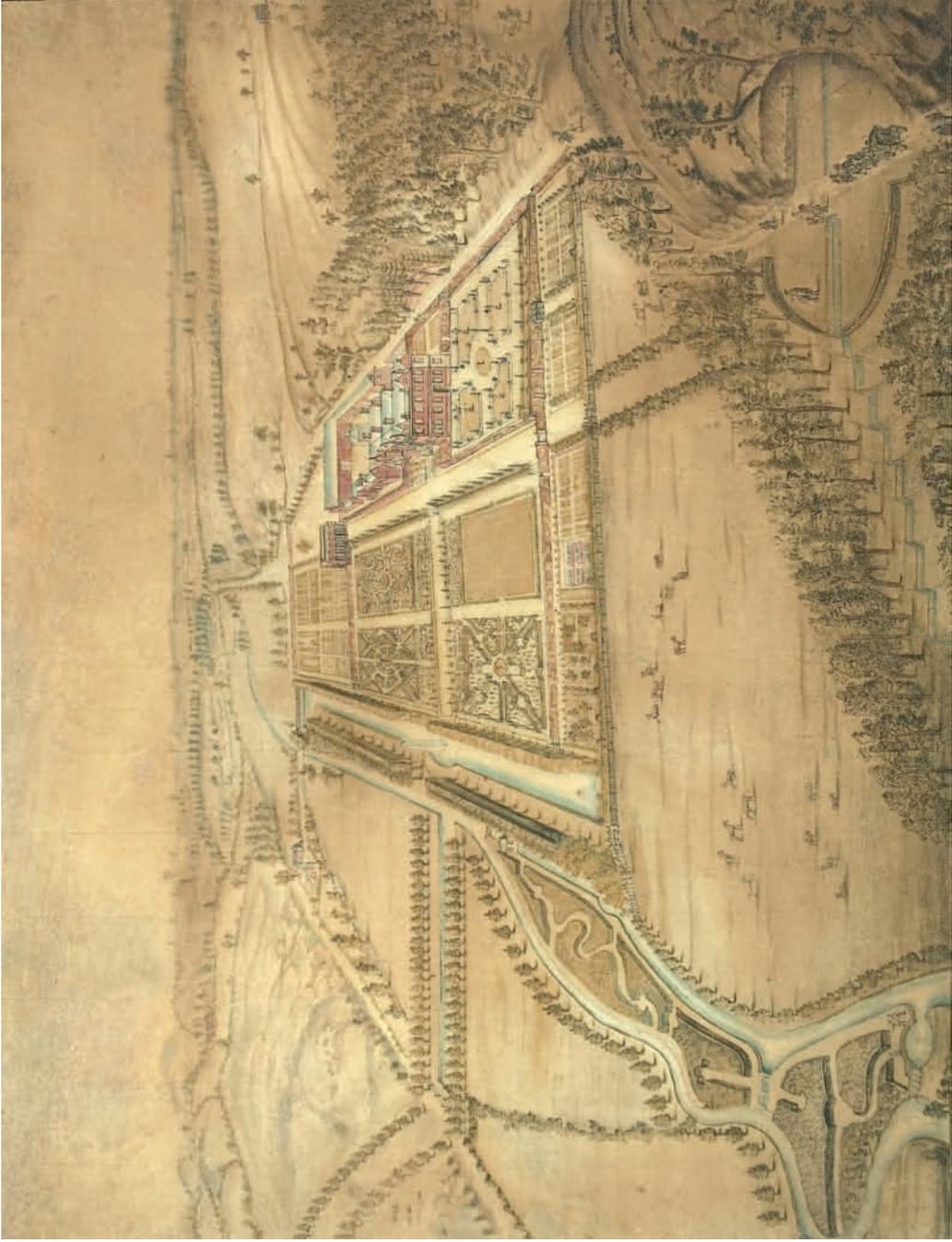


Plate VI. Bird's-eye view of Sir William Temple's garden Moor Park in Farnham, Surrey, shown in a watercolour painting (c.1690) attributed to Johannes Kip. Courtesy: Surrey County Council, SHC ref. PX/64/163

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- \* (2013) ["Exchange of Landscape Ideas Between Japan and Europe in the 17th Century: on the History of Interculturality"](#) (Conference paper) C. Newman, Y. Nussaume & B. Pedroli (Eds) *Landscape & Imagination: towards a new baseline for education in a changing world*. UNISCAPE, Florence / Bandecchi & Vivaldi, Pontedera. pp.161-164
- \* (1997) ["Nagasaki Gardens and Georg Meister \(1653-1713\)"](#) *GENESIS*. 3: 94-102
- \* (1991) ["Georg Meister, A seventeenth century gardener and his reports on Oriental garden art"](#) *Japan Review* (Kyoto) 2: 125-143