

Gardens of Happiness: Sir William Temple, Temperance and China

Yue Zhuang

Department of Modern Languages, University of Exeter, Exeter, UK

Queen's Building, Queen's Drive, Exeter EX4 4QH, email: y.zhuang@exeter.ac.uk

This work was supported by FP7 People: Marie Curie Actions under Career Integration Grant [631798]; and The Leverhulme Trust under Research Fellowship [RF-2016-215\5].

Yue Zhuang was trained in both China and Europe (1st PhD Tianjin University; 2nd PhD University of Edinburgh; Postdoc University of Zurich), specialising in landscape art and garden history. Her research projects on early modern Chinese and European interactions among landscape and garden issues have been sponsored by institutions such as EU Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions (2011; 2014) and the Leverhulme Trust (2016). She is the co-editor of *Entangled Landscapes: Early modern China and Europe* (2017).

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Sir William Temple, an English statesman and humanist, wrote “Upon the Gardens of Epicurus” in 1685, taking a neo-epicurean approach to happiness and temperance. In accord with Pierre Gassendi’s epicureanism, “happiness” is characterised as freedom from disturbance and pain in mind and body, whereas “temperance” means following nature (Providence and one’s psychophysiological constitution). For Temple, cultivating fruit trees in his garden was analogous to the threefold cultivation of temperance as a virtue in the humoral body (as food), the mind (as freedom from the passions), and the body-economic (as circulating goods) in order to attain happiness. A regimen that was supposed to cure the malaise of Restoration amidst a crisis of unbridled passions, this threefold cultivation of temperance underlines Temple’s reception of China and Confucianism wherein happiness and temperance are highlighted. Thus Temple’s “gardens of happiness” represent not only a reinterpretation of classical ideas, but also his dialogue with China.

Keywords: Sir William Temple; gardens of happiness; temperance; Gassendi’s epicureanism; Confucianism

Introduction

With his essay “Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or, Of Gardening, in the year of 1685,”¹ Sir William Temple’s garden retirement is an oft-cited example of epicureanism in seventeenth-century England.² The widespread, prejudiced image of a self-indulgent epicurean is epitomised by Thomas Macaulay’s portrayal of a disillusioned statesman retiring to his library and his orchard, “amus[ing] himself by writing memoirs, and tying up apricots.”³ But contesting this understanding, Samuel Monk and others highlighted a temperate hedonist

taste in Temple's garden essay, the pursuit of epicurean happiness—"tranquillity of mind and indolence (freedom from pain) of body,"⁴ a notion that is in sympathy with the French philosopher Pierre Gassendi's Christianised epicureanism,⁵ then popularised by Walter Charleton, Thomas Stanley and François Bernier.⁶ What Monk and others did not do, however, is to situate Temple's epicurean happiness within the seventeenth-century social and intellectual context wherein the vocabulary of "happiness" came to loom large. With improved access to ancient texts, there was increasing confidence in a good life achieved through reason based on experience of the world, contradicting to the earlier theological insistence on human depravity on this earth. Meanwhile, the original definition of happiness in ancient ethics as *eudaimonia* (human flourishing through activity in accordance with virtue) and the means to achieve it were being challenged:⁷ the conventional path of following nature and reason as God's grace, was being replaced by reason's more autonomous and instrumental form as developed in Cartesian and Hobbesian mechanistic rationalisms.⁸ As scholars have noted, Gassendi's atomistic, yet providential universe is a major opponent of Cartesian and Hobbesian mechanistic world views.⁹ Maintaining the dignity of an organismic and providential nature, Gassendi's atomic universe is contingent on divine will, thus it rejects Descartes's and Bacon's claim of total mastery, but permits empirical enquiries to attain probable and useful knowledge—a position adopted by English virtuosi like John Locke in the second half of the seventeenth-century.¹⁰ Gassendi, however, had more confidence in the certainty of moral human nature.¹¹ Advocating conditions of stability and inner peace as continual pleasure, Gassendi's epicurean happiness is attuned to the eudaemonistic tradition and points to a frugal and sober lifestyle. It differs sharply from Hobbes's stress on continual pleasure relying on external stimuli, which is readily equated in the popular minds with Epicurean teaching; it also counters the Cartesian view of happiness as internal contentment "without external assistance" through the senses.¹² A reflection of

Gassendi's epicurean ethics and the dynamics of the variant themes of happiness in seventeenth-century discourse, Temple's garden of happiness, therefore, merits close scrutiny.

Intrinsic to Temple's interpretation of Gassendi's neo-epicurean happiness,¹³ his garden essay includes some significant themes such as: the physiological¹⁴—eating fruits for their wholesomeness;¹⁵ the psychological¹⁶—the Montaignian criticism of reasoning for furnishing us with a perplexity of thoughts and passions;¹⁷ and the economic¹⁸—prioritising agriculture and inland trade as a foundation of the moral economy.¹⁹ These themes appear in Temple's other writings as well.²⁰ They suggest a degree of consistency which has so far evaded Temple scholars' scrutiny.²¹ In accordance with his notion of happiness as freedom from disturbances and pain in mind and body, Temple attributed to “temperance,” a physio-psycho virtue with a key role in maintaining both the physical and psychological well-being of the individual. He extolled temperance as: “the tutelary goddess of health and universal medicine of life,” “virtue without pride,” and “fortune without envy,” all of which lead to an “indolence of body with an equality of mind,”²² or happiness in Gassendi's epicurean conception. A political humanist, Temple typically viewed the state in terms of an organism or humoral body: “health in the body is like peace in the state.”²³ Conceptualising happiness both in “private” life and “public affairs of the government,” he further considered temperance to be a “public virtue” for maintaining the well-being of the body-politic and body-economic.²⁴

Temple's notions of happiness and temperance equally underline his writings on China.²⁵ Enjoying both modern wealth and ancient virtue in the early modern European imagination, China was deemed by Temple as having secured the “utmost or supreme Happiness of mankind” and the Chinese people exhibited “exact temperance.”²⁶ There are apparent compatibilities between: Confucian philosophy and Greco-Christian eudaemonistic

ethics;²⁷ the similar stress of Confucianists and sceptical Gassendist epicureans on enquiries of practical matters by practical reason and the rejection of dogmatic certainty;²⁸ as well as the shared stress on balance in both Chinese and Hippocratic-Galenic medicine.²⁹ These perceived parallels all facilitated a favourable reception of China from a sceptical Gassendist epicurean perspective. Encompassing themes such as the Chinese economy, the Confucian cultivation of the self, and the Chinese care of the body (diet and medicine), among others,³⁰ Temple's writings on China are not only framed by the sceptical Gassendist epicurean approach of temperance to attain happiness, but also vindicate this approach.

While temperance is predominantly a Christian and classical virtue, and generally refers to self-restraint and moderation in actions of any kind (*OED*), epicureanism stresses “that [temperance] is not to be affected and pursued for its own sake, but for the pleasure it brings with it.”³¹ It is thus stated in Walter Charleton's *Epicurus's Morals* (1656), a popular text based on Pierre Gassendi's *De Vita et Moribus Epicuri* (1647) and on ancient authors.³² Epicureanism confirms that pleasure is a good, but the greatest, or true pleasure, is not a sensory agitation, rather it is a “pleasure of rest,” a condition in which all faculties of the mind and body are functioning normally, without any previous lack or impediments.³³ Our nature (physiological constitution) only requires a little, Epicurus explained. To feed on a simple diet like bread and water is therefore pleasurable and natural, “that they should supply the wants of the body, and for the rest, enjoy a well pleased mind, without care, without fear,” whereas to desire more than what is ordained by Nature (Providence), such as eating meat and drinking, is unnecessary and unnatural.³⁴ By following what nature wants or Nature ordains, one is led to the greatest pleasure. Renaissance humanists such as Valla, Erasmus and Ficino understood and praised the nature of this true pleasure³⁵—an understanding also spread to early Stuart England.³⁶ For example, Dr Henry Hammond, Charles I's chaplain and

Temple's beloved maternal uncle, preached, "temperance is the only epicurism."³⁷ Temple similarly sought true pleasure through temperance:

The greatest Temper ... to be the state of the greatest Felicity: ... To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much; and true Pleasure in Temperance, rather than in satisfying the Senses.³⁸

In an early essay that Temple wrote in 1652, one finds an initial expression of true pleasure in terms of physiological and psychological well-being as following nature:

Content is not a thinge to bee felt as all paines and some pleasures are, I take it to bee onely such a disposition in the mind as health is in the body which consists in nothing a privation of illnesse and paine, wee commonly say I feele myself ill, never I feele my selfe well, for wee are then well when wee feele nothing ... There is health where all parts of the body without interruption or disorder performe the functions, guard the stations wherein *nature placed them* ... in the same manner there is content where all the facultyes of the mind with repose and moderation move in that spheare wch *heaven ordain'd them*...³⁹

Defining "content," a term often used in stoic discourses, as "all the faculties of the mind move with repose and moderation," Temple showed his characteristic blending of Stoic apathy (*apatheia*) and Epicurean tranquillity of mind (*ataraxia*), both of which mean "absence of disturbances."⁴⁰ Temple considered the differences between the epicureans and stoics on happiness "not easily discovered."⁴¹ As he stressed both health and content being a condition in which the faculties of body and mind function as "nature placed them" or "heaven ordain'd them," Temple demonstrated his identification of human nature (the physiological constitution) with Nature (Providence) and true pleasure as following n/Nature. This understanding of true pleasure is characteristic of an organismic and eudaemonistic

approach to happiness in Gassendi's system. While drawing heavily on ancient atomism and a mechanistic theory of contact and motion, Gassendi in his account of life processes adopted the stoic versions of epicureanism, in which nature was established on God's orderly plan and exhibited a vitalism and purpose in its behaviour.⁴² The natural desire for pleasure and aversion to pain, according to Gassendi, were providential devices implanted by God to carry out his eternal designs. Thus happiness is automatic in the sense that it obeys the laws of operation of our body, composed of organs which have an inbuilt mechanism devoted to the organismic and eudaemonistic fulfilment—what Charles Wolfe called “organic determinism.”⁴³ Advocating the highest good or happiness consisting in freedom from disturbances and pain, rather than “a continuall progress of the desire, from one object to another”⁴⁴ as championed by Hobbes, Gassendi stressed the virtue of temperance as the sure way to secure happiness.⁴⁵

In the sections to follow, I shall demonstrate that Temple, in accordance with Gassendi's approach, cultivated temperance in the humoral body, mind, and body-economic as the way to happiness. First, Temple's emphasis on a temperate diet, fruits in particular, reflects Gassendi's neo-epicurean-Hippocratic regimen that not only aims to heal the imbalanced humoral body,⁴⁶ but also the intemperate body-politic of Restoration England consumed by high living. Second, being wary of the rise of the power of reasoning, Temple cultivated temperance in the mind by combining the practical, hands-on georgical sciences (cultivating fruit trees) and the poetic georgic (the Senecan-Lucretian-Epicurean ideology of withdrawal) in his gardening, thus bridging the emerging gap between knowledge and virtue. Third, inherent in Temple's gardening is a vision of an agrarian economy based on a neo-epicurean physiological model of the natural order, devoted to an organismic and eudaemonistic fulfilment. Stressing agriculture and home trade as the foundation of national wealth, Temple's vision anticipated physiocracy and was opposed to mercantilism. I shall

also examine the three themes—cultivating temperance in economy, mind and body—in Temple’s writing on China as cross-cultural flows in the seventeenth-eighteenth century, as they entangle with the notions of nature in Gassendi’s epicureanism.⁴⁷ By clarifying the sceptical Gassendist epicurean notion of following nature as an important intellectual framework in Temple’s thought, I reveal that Temple’s regimen of temperance to attain happiness was not only a reinterpretation of European ancient wisdom, but also evolved in dialogue with his reception of China and Confucianism.

Temperance and the humoral body

Epicurus’s notion of happiness combines both physiological and psychological well-being. However, the medical connections between epicureanism and physiology only appear to have been developed during the late Renaissance.⁴⁸ Renaissance medicine largely inherits the humoral theory of Hippocrates and Galen. While their theory was challenged by the rise of chemical medicine in the work of Paracelsus and Van Helmont as well as Harvey’s circulation of the blood, the Hippocratic-Galenic tradition persisted in the seventeenth-century and was applied in discussions on health by Gassendi and his physician disciples, Charleton and Bernier. The Hippocratic-Galenic tradition holds that physical health and mental disposition were determined by the balance within the body of the four humoral fluids (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile).⁴⁹ Maintaining the equilibrium of the humours appropriate to a given person’s temperament means health; their imbalance signifies disease; the wise physician emphasises exact observation and is prudent in his interventions, setting out the proper regimen to restore the imbalance, or letting nature do its work.⁵⁰ “The English Hippocrates,” Thomas Sydenham, in his *Observationes Medicae* (1676) paid tribute to the Hippocratic methods of observation and its “fixed and complet method of cure,” which he saw as the best way to avoid empty and speculative hypotheses as the chemical medicine.⁵¹

Temple similarly identified with the Hippocratic-Galenic approach and preferred it to Paracelsus' theory.⁵² With the medical background in his family (Temple's maternal grandfather, Dr John Hammond, was physician to James I and to Henry Prince of Wales), Temple's pursuit of epicurean happiness was infused with the art of healing. In the pre-Cartesian regime of the self, as well as Gassendi's organismic, monist universe, which Temple and many writers inhabited, mind or soul did not reside in a realm separate from the body, but was in large part constituted by it.⁵³ Tranquillity of mind, therefore, depended on health. *Epicurus's Morals* states that: "to reason of Felicity, no otherwise than of Health; it being manifest, that that state, in which the mind is free from perturbation, and the body from pain, is nothing else, but the perfect Health of the whole man."⁵⁴ Similarly, Temple claimed in "Health and Long Life": "ill health loses not only the enjoyments of fortune, but the pleasures of sense, and even of imagination, and hinders the common operations both of body and mind from being easy and free." "Whatever is true in point of happiness depending upon the temper of the mind, it is certain that pleasures depend upon the temper of the body; and that, to enjoy them, a man must be well himself."⁵⁵ Temple thus disapproved some rigid stoics' approach to happiness neglecting the body, considering it "against common Nature and common Sense."⁵⁶

Importantly, Temple gave emphasis to diet, a major dictating factor for health in Renaissance medicine, which was also stressed by Gassendi.⁵⁷ The Hippocratic idea that what we are conditions what we ought to eat, and that what we eat affects how we function, is much in evidence in the early modern period.⁵⁸ Like an oven, the stomach "cooks" the food; the partially digested food is conveyed to the liver, where it is transformed into the natural spirits.⁵⁹ In a healthy individual any surplus will be excreted, leaving a slight imbalance in favour of one particular humour and, thus giving rise to a certain temperament, or humoral temperature. When the food taken in exceeds the body's digestive power, the

process is spoiled. Eating less food, a more manageable amount, actually supplies more nutrients.⁶⁰ The regulation of one's diet, or temperance, therefore, is a central strategy for the maintenance of physiological health. For example, "barley bread," is recommended by the popular *Hygiasticon*, which ran three editions in the 1630s: "He that eats daily of it, shall undoubtedly never be troubled with the Gout in the feet."⁶¹ This theme was highlighted by Gassendi: "There is nothing that contributes so much to our health as to Eat and Drink sparingly, and to be content with the plainest Diet... whereas when we glut our selves with all manner of Varieties, part turns into Cholera, Flegm and Humours, which causeth Flatus's and Indigestion in the Stomach."⁶²

In his essay "Upon the Cure of the Gout" written in 1677, Temple's meaning is thus: "that which I call temperance, ... is a regular and simple diet, limited by every man's experience of his own easy digestion, and thereby proportioning, as near as well can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our wasting bodies."⁶³ He further celebrated its merits of contributing to overall well-being, highlighting the physiological dimension:

Temperance ... the tutelar goddess of health and universal medicine of life, that clears the head, and cleanses the blood, that eases the stomach, and purges the bowels, that strengthens the nerves, enlightens the eyes, and comforts the heart: in a word, that secures and perfects the digestion, and thereby avoids the fumes and winds to which we owe the colic and the spleen.⁶⁴

Having developed gout in his forties, Temple looked into the causes and regimens of this disease. Intemperance, and especially excessive diet—like wine and meats, which were being celebrated during the Restoration as the providers of the "necessities, ease and ornaments of life"⁶⁵—he concluded, are at the roots: "the custom of so much wine introduced into our constant and common tables" may have occasioned "the great increase of that disease in England," "for this use may be more pernicious to health, than that of taverns and debauches,

according to the old stile, which were but by fits, and upon set or casual encounters.”⁶⁶

Gassendi earlier had stated that wine and meats tempted us to exceed the bounds of moderation, whence proceed fevers and other grievous distempers. He further noted that “wine makes the body heavy, and clouds the understanding, and sinks down the soul.”⁶⁷ This was resonated by Temple’s own explanation of the effect of wine on the brain:

Wine to hot brains like oil to fire, and making the spirits, by too much lightness, evaporate into smoke, and perfect airy imaginations; or, by too much heat, rage into frenzy, or at least into humours and thoughts that have a great mixture of it.⁶⁸

According to humoral theory, our brain, the seat of imagination, reason, and memory, is nurtured by animal spirits, which, via the vital spirits in the heart, are influenced by the natural spirits produced by the stomach and liver through the digestive process. Wine, in the transformed status of spirits, influences the performance of imagination and reason with great heat. As a key Galenic principle, the psychological proclivities of the soul are in large part derived from the humoral temperature of the body. The abilities of invention and great courage are often associated with heat in the heart, whereas judgment and prudence are associated coldness of animal spirits in brain and temper. Food and drink, which might be heating or cooling and generative of one humour or another, have an impact on the humoral temperature.⁶⁹ Too much wine would produce hot and sharp humours which not only damage health, but also can be a cause of desire that threatened the fundamental ability of self-control or internal stability.⁷⁰

As Gassendi stressed the link between private life style and one’s performance of duties,⁷¹ Temple similarly made plain that many public men were victims of gout which seriously affected their performance in decision making. The “vigour of the mind” decays with that of the body, and their “judgment and resolution change and languish with ill constitution of body and of health.”⁷² By relating the suffering of gout to public men and the

body politic—for “the pulse of the government beat high or low with that of the Governor,”⁷³ Temple showed how intemperance in private life style undermined the health of the government—a characteristic shown consistently in his sociopolitical writings.⁷⁴ In fact he considered temperance deserved the first rank among public virtues, as well as those of private men, for “intemperance” is “the common mother of gout, or dropsy, and of scurvy, and most other lingering diseases, which are those that infest the state.”⁷⁵

Whereas Temple highlighted the cleanness and lightness of food that country living could afford, he especially recommended fruits and plants rather than flesh which “easily corrupts.”⁷⁶ Culinary fashion from the Continent was influencing England since the Restoration. Interests in vegetables and fruits in Restoration were driven by diverse motivations from “high living” to the pursuit of intellectual knowledge.⁷⁷ Temple’s approach was simply health-focused. As a temperate diet, eating ripe fruits in summer, Temple stressed, had the benefit of relieving the body from the “hot and sharp humours” resulting from ill digestion or ingestion of the stomach, a disease from which many of his acquaintances and his whole family suffered.⁷⁸ Strawberries, common cherries, white figs, soft peaches, grapes and apples were all recommended.⁷⁹ Growing fruits and vegetables in his garden inside Athens, Epicurus had certainly recommended a vegetarian diet – but not on the ground of humoral theory, rather for their easier accessibility.⁸⁰ Conventional Galenic wisdom was against eating vegetables and fruits, perceived as qualitatively watery, cold and devoid of nourishment.⁸¹ In singing the digestive virtue of fruits, Temple echoed Gassendi: “fruits are a light nourishment. As such, they do not overburden the stomach, they are easily digested, and they form a chyle sufficient for our nourishment.”⁸² Thus, when Temple retired from London to the country of Sheen in Surrey, he started cultivating his own fruits, which he believed were most beneficial to the stomach and overall health—a point that he stressed at the end of his garden essay:

That which makes the Cares of Gardning more necessary, or at least more excusable, is that all Men eat Fruit that can get it, so as the choice is only whether one will eat good or ill, and between these the difference is not greater, in point of tast and delicacy, than it is of Health⁸³

Highlighting the health benefit of fruits, Temple presented the temperate diet as a natural regimen that restored the balance of the humoral body, and its implications for the health of the body-politic that is undermined by high living. This health benefit, is not separate from “the Cares of Gardning,” a subject on which Temple elaborated with great length in the garden essay.

Temperance in the mind

Ironically, modern readers mostly overlook the “Cares of Gardning” evident in Temple’s garden essay. The label of a voluptuous epicurean, the misunderstanding of Temple’s term “indolence (freedom from pain) of body” as idleness, as well as his criticism of natural philosophy, or sciences,⁸⁴ have hitherto obscured the garden essay’s georgical content—a genre of practical, agricultural sciences, which prospered with agricultural reformers after the mid-seventeenth century.⁸⁵ Inspired by Francis Bacon’s vision that the Fall of man may be repaired by arts and sciences, a group of intellectuals mentored by Samuel Hartlib, often known as the “Hartlib circle” of reformers (such as John Beale, Robert Boyle, Henry Oldenburg, and John Evelyn) saw agriculture as the area of applied science which could per se illustrate the value of Baconian science, namely that the Fall was not irreversible and men with reason would grasp all the knowledge of the secrets of nature and be restored to their dominion over nature.⁸⁶ As a Hartlib publication claims, all waste ground should be planted with apples, pears, quinces and walnuts “for the relief of the poor, the benefit of the rich, and the delight of all.” England should thus become “The Garden of God.”⁸⁷ Temple’s georgical

shows an empirical approach that may appear similar to that of the reformers. Yet Temple's doubts about the power of human reason and man's mastery of whole knowledge with certitude, places his georgical within the scepticism tradition of Montaigne and the probabilism preached by Gassendi which was assimilated by the more temperate virtuosi of the Royal Society.⁸⁸

From a more poetic perspective, Temple's garden dwelling celebrating "tranquillity of mind" is spiritually gratifying. Contrasting with the millenarianism which many reformers endorsed, Temple's garden dwelling was inscribed with the complex Senecan-Lucretian-Epicurean ideology of retirement, contemplation, country pursuits and self-cultivation that was uniquely the product of the seventeenth century.⁸⁹ By marrying the practical aspects of the georgical sciences with the poetic georgic, Temple's gardening illustrates an alternative to happiness through the cultivation of temperance, or living in harmony with nature.

Unlike "in the warmer regions," where fruits "are so common and of so easy production without the care of more than ordinary cultivating," in England, Temple noted, "no sorts of good fruits" ripened without "the advantage of walls or palisades." "Our gardens are made of smaller compass; ... enclosed with walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for advantage of fruits, flowers, and the production of kitchen gardens."⁹⁰ In writing so, Temple showed himself, not unlike the reformers, to be an advocate of enclosure and practical knowledge in advancing gardening. Fruit and vegetables were not traditional English gardening crops until the mid-seventeenth century.⁹¹ Their introduction then was a response to the ecological and economic crisis (falling grain prices) and Dutch agricultural success. The agricultural reformers since the Interregnum had published a large corpus of manuals on fruit tree cultivation and initiated practical discussions on sowing, rearing, cultivating, irrigating and hybridizing, all of which were echoed in Temple's garden practices. As demonstrated in the garden essay, Temple had a rich knowledge of a wide range of subjects

such as the evaluation of the soil (“a sandry gravel or a rosiny sand” being the best); the choice of which kinds of fruit trees suited the English climate (e.g. of grapes, “the Chasselas”; of apricocks, “the largest Masculin”); how to suit trees with the soil, and suit the fruits to the position of walls so that they could get as much sun and air (different kinds of fruits must be planted upon different orientations); on grafting (e.g. apricocks may be much improved by budding upon a peach stock) and preserving trees from pestilent disease.⁹² Temple’s recommendations were much in accord with those of the reformers and his successful import of four kinds of grapes to English soil was especially remarkable.⁹³

What Temple could not agree with the reformers, was the latter’s belief in man’s unfallen reason, with which they were, as Hartlib claimed, to find “the universall method of ordering the thoughts, to finde out by our own industry any truth as yet unknown, and to resolve any question which may be proposed in nature, as the object of a rationall meditation.”⁹⁴ Through such rational meditation, expanded knowledge would provide solutions to all and local conditions and natural resources placed no limitation on improvement.⁹⁵ This is the view held by many reformers such as Walter Blith and Joseph Lee, and was to be carried into the Royal Society by John Beale and his close associates.⁹⁶ For example, on the improvement of soil, Beale evoking Sir Hugh Plat’s earlier work, stated in the *Philosophical Transactions*: ‘soyles ... chiefly by lime, and the way of Denshiring; whereby the most barren lands, hills, and wasts may be converted to bear the richest burthens of corn, hay and grass.’⁹⁷ By contrast, Temple’s georgical sciences showed a non-aggressive approach which respected man’s limitation and his suggestions were circumspect. For improving the soil in general, he recommended the use of lime, sandy stone. Yet for “a Seat in an ill Air, or upon an ill Soyl,” he cited Varro’s advice, “the wisest and the best” thing to do, is to “sell it and buy another in good [air and soil].”⁹⁸ Whereas the reformers would have considered such argument as conservative and indolent, Temple saw the reformer’s

confidence in their science of certainty as naïve and presumptuous. As Clara Marburg noted, Temple read with smiling attention the reports of the Royal Society's experiments, and was occasionally moved to wrath by the attempts (such as the universal medicine and the philosopher's stone) to push inquiry beyond the limits of our human minds.⁹⁹ "We are born to grovel upon the earth, and we would fain soar up to the skies." Temple continued sarcastically, "we cannot comprehend the growth of a kernel of seed, the frame of an ant or bee; ... and yet we will know the substance, the figure, the courses, the influences of all these glorious, celestial bodies, and the end for which they were made."¹⁰⁰ For Temple, it was pride which moved such minds to overstep the obvious bounds to thought set by our own physical limitations, and pride was "the ground of most passions and most frenzies" that disturbed the mind from attaining tranquil balance.¹⁰¹

Conjoined with the Hartlibian reformer's argument for the power of science was the novel focus on wealth or profit as happiness. As Paul Slack noted, the attainment of happiness through the active pursuit of virtue and the common good was a scholastic ideal with a long history, but under the pens of Hartlib and his friends, who drew on Baconian concepts of utility, inaugurated a new set of associations for it.¹⁰² While the ideal of self-sufficiency in a sixteenth-century manorial economy became gradually identified with idleness, the accumulation of abundance, once a morally suspect activity that must be bridled with temperance, was licensed by the increased profit potential of every parcel of land as well as knowledge of nature, thus transformed into a matter of "national renewal."¹⁰³ The inventions and improvements the reformers patronised and publicised promised plenty and happiness according to Hartlib himself and "the best and surest way to wealth and happiness" according to Richard Young in 1655.¹⁰⁴ "Profit and pleasure," or "wealth and happiness," the catchphrases of these treatises in Interregnum, continued to be the leading theme of agricultural manuals of the Restoration.¹⁰⁵ In the *Nurseries* correspondence in 1677 Beale

aimed to persuade the landowners of the open field around Cambridge of the profitability of “Orchards, Gardens, Nurseries and Groves.”¹⁰⁶ John Woolridge in *System Horti-culturae* (1688) advised how planting turnips, carrots, onions or the like was four or five times more profitable to the husbandman, than an acre of wheat or barley.¹⁰⁷

Interlocked with the prevailing creed of ever expanding knowledge and ever increasing profit was the changing view of human nature and reason. As Hobbes famously claimed, human bodies could be at rest only when all motion stopped. Until that time, they would be ruled by “a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death.”¹⁰⁸ Pre-occupied by self-preservation, men use reason as the aid in their endless pursuit. Reason, once synonymous with God, and signifying conservative ideals such as community, equality, and the ability to discern between good and evil, in the works of the Baconian-Hartlibian circle, was increasingly equated with mathematical reasoning and related to reasonableness, or the logic of the market.¹⁰⁹ The influential Hobbesian view of human nature and reason that was to shape our modern understanding, nevertheless, caused discomfort to many of Temple’s contemporaries. It was precisely with this pessimistic image of human nature and neutralised “reason” that Temple took issue in his garden contemplation. He opened his essay thus:

The same Faculty of Reason, which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the rest of the Creation, seems to make the greatest Default of Humane Nature; and subjects it to more Troubles, Miseries, or at least Disquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow Creatures.¹¹⁰

Temple would have been familiar with Pierre Gassendi’s rebuttal of this mechanistic account of human nature and happiness. Drawing from Seneca and Epicurus, Gassendi argued that only when knowing the nature of true pleasure—“freedom from pain and disturbances,” the best possible state, man would use right reason (prudence) to calculate what will bring him

pleasure or pain in the long run. Without a correct understanding of the nature of happiness, men only busied themselves with calculation, or reasoning for an irrational end.¹¹¹ Echoing Gassendi, Temple extended his critique of reasoning of those who pursued “Honour and Power,” “Ambition,” and “endless increase of Riches”: “ ’Tis this furnishes us with such variety of passions, and consequently of wants and desires that none other feels; and these followed by infinite designs and endless pursuits, and improved by that restlessness of thought which is natural to most men.”¹¹² Temple later put it more succinctly: “Restlessness of mind is the great cause of intemperance, seeking pleasures when nature does not ask, nor appetite prepare them.”¹¹³ The reformers’ path of reasoning, thus, could never lead to the goal of epicurean happiness. On this front, Temple’s evocation of the Confucian cultivation of “natural reason” (meaning practical reason or prudence) as will be discussed later, supported Gassendi’s argument for cultivating temperance in the mind.

Temple told his reader that he had a natural inclination towards country living. Yet it may be suggested that infused in his retirement was an endeavour to cultivate temperance—“the virtue without pride”—that was inherent in the classical and poetic georgic as a cure for the dismal georgical fervour of the Restoration. The georgic manuals by classical writers like Cato, Varro, Columella, and Virgil on agriculture, the sources of both Temple’s and the reformers’ georgical writings, belong to the Roman tradition of self-fashioning.¹¹⁴ They represent the rural ideal of simplicity and self-sufficiency, the moral outlook of cultivation of the plant and simultaneously, cultivation of the self, the very ethical dimension that was eliminated from the reformers’ georgical writings.¹¹⁵ For the Roman Stoics, being a farmer was the best occupation for a philosopher, because it was a hardy and self-sufficient lifestyle in close contact and agreement with universal Nature.¹¹⁶ For Seneca, as well as for Marcus Aurelius, the countryside was a better training ground for temperance and simplicity than Rome with all its materialism and temptations.¹¹⁷ The seventeenth-century English readers

were familiar with their ideas that to cultivate temperance one must desire only that which universal Nature wants: to strive at every moment to live, act, will and desire in conformity with reason and with universal Nature, life is constantly renewed happiness.¹¹⁸ As such we found the country dwellers and poets like Wye Saltonstall (fl. 1630–40), free from the desperate cares that beset a reasoner: “His minde is like the Halcyon smoothnesse of the Sea, which is not troubled with the least winde of passion, but rests in a quiet calmenesse.”¹¹⁹ Intermingled with the revived stoicism was the increasingly prevalent Lucretian-Epicurean withdrawal among royalists, a poetic georgic which by 1660 had become generally accepted as a distinct favourite with the public.¹²⁰ Katherine Philips, Temple’s “matchless Orinda,” wrote of a country life with a Lucretian tone of enjoyment: “The beauteous quiet of a summer’s day, | a brook which sobb’d aloud and ran away”; similarly, John Rawlet, an Anglican clergyman of the Restoration, showed that “here with a calm and easie mind I sit, | from throngs, from bus’ness, and from passions quiet.”¹²¹ The Restoration poets thus found in the austere, stripped-down simplicity of Lucretian and Virgilian landscapes the tranquility of mind, achieved through a contemplative and physical integration with nature.¹²²

Temple’s garden practice was the practical georgical and poetic georgic combined. Unlike most of the royalist poets who praised the stoic-epicurean rural ideal of serene tranquillity without getting their hands soiled,¹²³ Temple, as we have seen, was “improving” his fruit trees with practical agricultural knowledge, and ate the fruit of his own cultivation. And yet, in sharp contrast to the agricultural reformers consumed by the endless pursuit of science and profit, Temple achieved a more spiritually gratifying existence, by raising himself above mere usefulness and enjoying the tranquillity of mind afforded by country living.

This idealized happiness is embodied in Temple’s evocation of Virgil’s image of the Corycian gardener in *Georgics* IV in his garden essay: “In the midst of these small

possessions upon a few acres of barren ground,” the Corycian gardener enjoyed true pleasures: “*Regum æquabat opes animis.*” “[H]e equalled all the wealth and opulence of kings in the ease, content, and freedom [of] his mind.”¹²⁴ Virgilian scholars have demonstrated how such freedom was an inner stability resulting from self-mastery honed in the stoic-epicurean tradition.¹²⁵ Moreover, the values of this stoic-epicurean gardener, as Christine Perkell suggested, were essentially poetic and therefore profoundly at variance with the materialism of the farmers depicted in *Georgics* II.¹²⁶ If the farmer achieved his success through a kind of war against nature, or vanquished nature through his ingenuity, the Corycian gardener triumphed without aggression as a consequence of his unique harmony with nature. Such an image of the capitalist, Virgilian farmer would have appeared to Temple as an analogue of the Restoration reformers—both were occupied by commerce, aggression and ambition. The polar opposite of the Virgilian farmer was the Corycian gardener in his contentment, who aspired to nothing other than what he was.¹²⁷ Similarly, Temple had no “anxious cares” and “raving hopes,” nor “desires of life” or “fears of death.”¹²⁸ And like the Corycian gardener who enjoyed the beauty of the flowers, a superfluous adornment, Temple confirmed the sensory pleasure of beauty in his deeper engagement with his garden. He wrote admiringly of the orange tree, which was “Noble in the beauty, taste and smell of its Fruit, in the Perfume and Vertue of its Flowers, in the perpetual Verdure of its leaves,” all of which provided “Pleasure” along with “Health.”¹²⁹ Such moments of disinterested appreciation, as moments of “involuntary attention,” are tranquil ones.¹³⁰ There was no need to remind one of temperance, because the self was, spontaneously, in union with nature.

In his own old age, Temple’s garden, we learn, was capable of producing grapes that were “as good as any ... in France on this side Fountainbleau,” and peaches as good as “in Gascony,”¹³¹ and Temple himself, the “good old man” and gardener, as a young Swiss traveller described in 1694, was “healthy and gay” and “constantly made [him] dream of the

delights of a calm and secluded life.”¹³² This is a vivid portrait of happiness cultivated through temperance in the mind.

Temperance in the body-economic

Supported by improved agriculture, the years between the end of the third Dutch War in 1674 and the outbreak of war with France in 1689 saw a great boom in English foreign trade, among which were, for example, the imports of wine, brandy, and linen from France.¹³³ With the increased consumption of luxuries, there was the emergent discourse on the virtue of consumption and foreign trade and how such growth constitutes national happiness. John Houghton, a fellow of the Royal Society, for example, celebrated in *England's Great Happiness* (1677) “a general high living” as both proof of wealth and a stimulus to acquisition.¹³⁴ Later in 1685, he extended his argument that consumption was a motor driving the “wheel” of the whole economy.¹³⁵ As early as 1673, Temple thought such opinions of consumption as an economic virtue were false, in particular the proposition that the “example and encouragement of excess and luxury ... is of advantage to trade.”¹³⁶ Consumer extravagance would ruin the nation. We have already seen Temple’s concerns about wine drinking and its detrimental effect on body and mind. What was more disturbing was the rupture between government of the economy and self-government. The quintessential link between the two in the manorial economy was much neglected by the reformers, as discussed earlier. For a political economist like James Harrington, farmers were no longer valued for their civic virtue, but for their obvious role in securing the nation’s food supply for its military forces;¹³⁷ and for a mercantilist writer like Roger Coke, goods only had value when sent abroad to create a positive balance of trade.

To be sure, some reformers like Thomas Mun and John Beale saw the celebration of consumption as a perversion of protestant morals. With accelerating “excesses, luxury, and debaucheries,” Beale argued, contemporary national welfare could not subsist without certain

“Austere Virtues”—sobriety, temperance, modesty, frugality and industry.¹³⁸ Temple could agree with the aim of such proposals, but he could not see how virtue might be effectively preached by the churchmen, and how the English, with rich natural resources, would be naturally inclined to thrift as the Dutch, whom Beale recommended as an exemplar of virtue.¹³⁹ Nor could Temple consider the prohibition of foreign imports (as the ban of French imports in 1678) as a feasible solution, as other countries would seek to do the same to England. Instead, in implementing the georgic-georgical gardening, Temple in effect demonstrated an alternative model of economics differing fundamentally from mercantilism. Deploying an organic, vegetable physiology in accordance with Gassendi’s epicurean natural order, as will be shown below, Temple’s economic model emphasised agriculture and inland trade, aiming to bridge the gap between national prosperity and individual well-being.

Whilst most agricultural reformers saw a natural logic to use agricultural products to create a favourable balance of trade to support the imperial and colonial expansion into overseas territories, Temple kept a cool temper in his observation of international trade, especially with his experience of being the ambassador in The Hague. Foreign trade, despite the lubricant profit, as Temple discussed in his shrewd and influential analysis of Holland’s politics and commerce, brought with it the ever present threat of international warfare, since all nations would be competitors in order to secure more exports than imports.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, in accordance with his foreign policy of peace,¹⁴¹ Temple’s economic vision prioritised the increase of wealth—not in the form of bullion through foreign trade, but in the form of circulating goods and materials – that were produced by agriculture and manufacture and circulated within the country, not only bringing pleasure but also perfecting imagination. Temple’s vision follows that of Gassendi, extending the application of “pleasure as the highest good,” the natural order, from the private domain to the public sphere.

For Temple, agriculture should be the very foundation of a state's economy, just as farming or gardening in an estate sustained the family and community. With human labour and practical sciences, agriculture provides the fruits of the earth, which subsequently can be circulated to workshops and other professions, aiding the unemployed and artisans, and furthering production for the artisan market and knowledge. This message was expressed when Temple, after considering the cultivation of the fruit trees, commented on the ornamental part of gardening and building:

[these] raise beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleasure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and circulate much Mony among the poorer sort and Artizans, that are a Publick Service to ones Country, by the Example as well as effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it self in some Degree.¹⁴²

In one light, the economic model Temple used here appears to resemble the one articulated by Hobbes. Using a mechanico-physiological perspective on economics, Hobbes combined the nutritional emphasis of Galenic physiology with Harvey's recent discovery of the circulation of the blood.¹⁴³ Just as living bodies are nourished by the ingestion of food, so Hobbes's economics also depended on the continual flow of materials and energetic substances extracted from the earth, an idea echoing the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*.¹⁴⁴ "For naturall Bloud is in like manner made of the fruits of the Earth; and circulating, nourisheth by the way, every Member of the Body of Man."¹⁴⁵ Hobbes's physiological model inaugurates the materials-transformation emphasis of the classical theory of production and production-based (manufacturing) prices which are subsequently developed by William Petty, the Physiocrats, Adam Smith, and nineteenth-century classical writers.¹⁴⁶ However, what differentiates Temple's model from Hobbes's was Temple's organismic and eudaemonistic vision of nature—and accordingly his vision of both human and economic

development as being analogous to the growth of a plant, a vision that is lacking in Hobbes's and Petty's mechanico-physiological perspective, but one that is congruent with Gassendi's organismic physiology. Temple's view of the productive growth of the self as a plant is best expressed in a passage below:

In the growth of a Tree, there is the native strength of the seed, both from the kind, and from the perfections of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the Plant that bore it: there is the degree of strength and excellence in that Vein of Earth where it first took root; ... May not the same have happened in the production, growth, and size of Wit and Genius in the world, or in some Parts or Ages of it, and from many more circumstances that contributed towards it than what may concur to the stupendious growth of a Tree or Animal?¹⁴⁷

This pursuit of the perfection of wit and genius was analogous to the growth of the self in a life process. It was not merely a mechanical process for Temple, contrary to Hobbes who held, "life itself is but motion, and can never be more without desire nor without feare, no more than without sense."¹⁴⁸ As discussed earlier, in accordance with Gassendi's epicureanism, Temple understood that our physiological constitution only needed a little to sustain its normal function and provide contentment. Over consumption of food and drinks, or intemperance would affect the performance of imagination and reason, rather than bringing happiness. The operation of the mind, however, as Temple recognised, was different from that of the body. As in the growth of the plant, the perfection of "Wit and Genius" required not only the sap from the earth, but also the sun and the conditions of the seasons. A commonplace of seventeenth-century psychology, as seen in Edward Reynolds's *Treatise of the Passions*, is that the faculty of imagination (wit) needs a successive and changeful supply of images to maintain its inventive power.¹⁴⁹ In other words, to allow imagination to function without previous lack or impediments, the senses need to be exposed to images, and

importantly, good ones—from the arts like poetry, painting, architecture and gardening.¹⁵⁰

Temple expressed this idea in his early essay, which followed his discussion of content being the body operating without pain, cited earlier:

[T]here is content where all the facultyes of the mind with repose and moderation move in that sphaere wch heaven ordain'd them, when senses or memory present objects to the fancy, fancy to reason or understanding these discerning betweene the good and ill passe them over to the will.¹⁵¹

The example illustrating Temple's neo-epicurean economic vision in the garden essay is his discussion of the Moor Park, Hertfordshire, the estate created and owned by the Countess of Bedford, Lucy Harington, in the 1610s–20s. The Countess was a key figure in a network in the Jacobean court which was attracted to neostoicism,¹⁵² and she was praised for her stoic virtue by John Donne¹⁵³—as Temple explicitly noted.¹⁵⁴ Containing several orchards with fruit trees, the Countess' garden was executed “with very great Care, Excellent Contrivance, and much Cost,” with terraces, fountains, statues, and a grotto.¹⁵⁵ While there have been charges against the Countess' extravagance, Temple defended her on the grounds that the expenses produced delight for wit and imagination, and thus following nature:

[B]ut greater Sums may be thrown away without effect or Honour, if there want Sense in proportion to Mony, or if Nature be not followed, which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in everything else, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments.¹⁵⁶

Differentiating between wants of body (food and drink) and wants of mind (ornamental gardening) when considering the economy, Temple's model reflects the vegetable physiology developed at the Royal Academy of Sciences.¹⁵⁷ Based on Claude Perrault's model of physical circulation of the sap, Edme Mariotte, an atomist and chemist influenced by

Gassendi, argued in 1668 that the “principles” taken from the earth by the roots were too thin and “not suited for nourishing... the plant.”¹⁵⁸ Mariotte placed the crux of nutrient preparation in the leaves, where additional materials are absorbed and the heat of the sun perfects the sap. Mariotte’s model of the circulation of the sap is especially appropriate for a model of the human economy because it put in clear relief the distinction between material nutrients and the active substances responsible for vital activity.¹⁵⁹ The plant model was to be developed by the French physiocrat thinker Pierre le Pesant, sieur de Boisguilbert in his *Le détail de la France* (1695). Conceptualising a physical circulation that starts in the fields (primary production) and provides the products (secondary production) in the workshops that nourish all the other classes, Boisguilbert’s theory, as Christensen noted, demonstrated Gassendi’s concept of nature’s active powers and pervasive role in economic operations and regulation: while the source of the flow of wealth is the land, it is the productivity of agriculture that sets the total of the other goods that can be produced.¹⁶⁰ Temple’s economic vision, albeit only rudimentary, embodies the natural order of the neo-epicurean economy: while agriculture was the root of the economy, the surplus from agriculture would be best spent on manufacture as well as the patronage of learning and the arts. This would provide convenience and pleasure as well as perfecting the imagination, rather than for export creating balance of trade, consuming luxuries, and overseas aggression.

A similar distinction between material nutrients and active substances is also present in the theory of Nicholas Barbon, a physician turned builder and an important economic writer contemporary of Temple’s.¹⁶¹ Dividing between the few wants of the body and the infinite wants of the mind, Barbon argued that the psychic goods were economically more useful to the state than external goods, because, being “infinite,” psychic wants prompted humanity to ever increasing efforts to attain them, increasing the true wealth of the nation.¹⁶² Whereas Temple may have agreed with this point, he would not have accepted Barbon’s view

of those forever variable desires as the “perpetual Spring” that kept “the great Body of trade in Motion”¹⁶³ and Barbon’s overall view of the economy which, like Houghton’s, celebrated consumption as virtue.¹⁶⁴ If Barbon’s claim seems a logical extension of the application of the mechanical philosophy of the human body used by Hobbes, Temple’s model, like the vegetable physiology of Mariotte’s and Boisguilbert’s, resembles Gassendi’s notion of nature as an inbuilt mechanism devoted to the organismic and eudaemonistic fulfilment.

As we have seen, Temple’s garden of happiness attained through temperance is underpinned by a mixed array of the ancients and their early modern interpreters—the Epicureans and the Stoics, Hippocrates and Galen, and the Roman agriculturalists, among others. Yet the investigation cannot overlook the cross-cultural milieu in which Temple operated, in particular with his reputation as a Sinophile, “the first English man of letters to be influenced by Confucian thought.”¹⁶⁵

Cultivating Temperance in China

To early modern minds with a hermetic-bent, Asiatic civilisations like India and China, were the origins of Grecian civilisation. Temple noted in “Ancient and Modern Learning”:
“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.”¹⁶⁶ But unlike the Grecian thought preoccupied with metaphysical enquiry, Confucianism represents an orientation of thought towards living a good life on the earth by cultivating practical philosophy. This position was welcomed by sceptical Gassendist epicureans such as La Mothe le Vayer, François Bernier and Temple, all of whom were versed in the practical humanist tradition.¹⁶⁷ Temple was familiar with Le Vayer’s work and friendly with Bernier.¹⁶⁸ In Confucius’ teaching the seventeenth-century humanists found natural morality, morality achieved by human efforts alone without divine aid, as was the

case in both epicureanism and stoicism. In fact, as Thijs Weststeijn noted, the first western descriptions of Chinese thought made comparisons with the ideas of ancient sceptics and atomists such as Democritus, Pythagoras, the Stoics, and Epicurus.¹⁶⁹ But it was in China that this natural morality, rather than revealed religion, was the apparent basis of a civilization, being the ethos of government and self-government.¹⁷⁰ For the rising European economic powers, the Middle Kingdom was perceived as having miraculously preserved its constant ancient virtue while attaining its modern material affluence.¹⁷¹ The Jesuit, Gabriel de Magalhães, opened the preface to his *A New History of China* with: “China is a Country so Vast, so Rich, so Fertile, and so Temperate.”¹⁷² Jan Nieuhof, the chronicler of the Dutch East India Company’s embassy to China in 1655–56 reported: “The Chinese is of an affable and peaceable Disposition, addicted to Husbandry, and loving all good Arts and Sciences.”¹⁷³ These European accounts, and in particular, the Jesuits’ are Temple’s sources on China.¹⁷⁴ Whereas he differed far from the Jesuits in their mission of evangelization, Temple nevertheless shared with them a practical interest in the Middle Kingdom’s government technology. That early modern European sinophiles sought to model on Chinese government is a theme long-recognised by modern scholars.¹⁷⁵ But it remains to be acknowledged that for sceptical epicurean minds like Temple’s, China both inspired and vindicated their pursuit of happiness based on cultivating virtue in government and self-government.

China, Temple contended, “owe[s] its riches, force, civility, and felicity, to the admirable constitutions of its government, more than any other.” “The Establishment and Preservation of their ancient Constitutions and Government,” he noted, “seems to be framed and policed with the utmost Force and Reach of Human Wisdom, Reason, and Contrivance; and in Practice to excel the very speculations of other Men, and all those imaginary Schemes of the *European* wits, the Institutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopias* or *Oceanas* of our Modern Writers.”¹⁷⁶ Temple was especially taken with “the Great and

Renowned *Confutius*' whom he described as a "very extraordinary genius" and the chief intellectual architect behind the unparalleled excellence of Chinese government.¹⁷⁷ Temple's engagement with "Confutius", of course, was not the Chinese philosopher known as Kongzi, but essentially a construction by the Jesuits whose own training in European intellectual traditions and their evangelization policies necessarily framed their reception and presentation of the Chinese philosophy.¹⁷⁸ It is, however, primarily from the Jesuit publications that Temple, with his own sceptical epicurean perspective, found keys to this ingenious Chinese government: the themes of temperance as in its agrarian economy, in the Confucian moral cultivation of the self (mind-body), and in Chinese physicians' care of the body.

Temperance in Chinese economy

An agrarian empire, China's economy enjoyed the joint strengths of improvement in agricultural production and handicrafts beginning in the tenth century. Between 1500 and 1800, the Chinese empire witnessed a similar kind of commercial expansion to that which took place in Europe. When Europeans arrived in China, they discovered a country not only with highly developed agriculture and its attendant clearance of land, but also widespread commercialisation which penetrated to the village level, technological improvements, and rural industrial expansion.¹⁷⁹ Echoing the accounts by European missionaries and travellers like Magalhães and Nieuhof, Temple praised the Chinese for their combined economy of agriculture and trade:

The number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World so full of Inhabitants, nor so improved by Agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals of incredible length, conjunctions of Rivers, convenience of

Ways, for the transportation of all sorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, so as no Country has so great trade...¹⁸⁰

The vivid description of the Chinese economy expressed more concretely the ideal of Temple's neo-epicurean economy in natural order which was only inherent in his garden essay. His stress on improved agriculture, aided by manufacture, being the source of wealth corresponds to Hobbes-Petty's anti-mercantilist vision of material goods and the ability to create them being real wealth.¹⁸¹ Temple's image of the "infinite," as in the number of villages, inhabitants, and the growth of commodities reflects his endorsement of Petty's vision that wealth is maximized through increasing the productivity of "hands and lands," which also includes the hands of handicraftsmen.¹⁸² As Temple was writing, England witnessed a fourfold increase in imports from Asia between the 1660s and the 1680s.¹⁸³ The "numerous commodities," among which porcelain, screens, and lacquer were just appearing among English upper class' possessions, provoked wonder in a Hortulan Saint like John Evelyn.¹⁸⁴ Equally admiring their craftsmanship, Temple praised the Chinese handicraftsmen's "greatest reach of imagination" in "contriving figures."¹⁸⁵ Thus the "infinite growth of numerous commodities" in China made an example of how agricultural surplus might be used to create material goods as life blood, or wealth, that would bring "Convenience and Pleasure" to life. This real wealth, as Temple perceived, much relied on Chinese inland trade, rather than foreign transactions:

till very lately, [the Chinese] never had any but among themselves, and what there is now foreign among them, is not driven by the Chineses going out of their Country to manage it, but only by their permission of the Portugueses and Dutch, to come and trade in some skirts of their Southern Provinces.¹⁸⁶

As Ashley Millar points out, in the seventeenth century, numerous European observers respected China's policy of limiting international trade.¹⁸⁷ The expansion of European

interests overseas, concurrent with wars, revolutions and the spread of disease, reminded these observers of the lessons from Ancient Rome. For Temple, China's temperance in the economy, or restraint of foreign trade, unlike the European mercantilist countries, enabled her to avoid the huge expenses of militarism, and ensured peace and prosperity—"fortune without envy"—at home. Temple was astutely aware that prosperity at home was made possible by the excellence of China's domestic transportation—canals, rivers, and ways. The highly developed Chinese river navigation and roads, was another factor which England envied and was developing for itself. As in many early modern European countries, roads and waterways in most areas of England were often neglected, unsuitably constructed, or weir-obstructed, due to the weakness of governments.¹⁸⁸ Seeing transportation as being analogous to the blood circulation that nurtures the body, seventeenth-century economic thinkers called forth state organization in the improvement of navigation.¹⁸⁹ For example, Andrew Yarranton's proposal in *England's Improvement by Sea and Land* (1677), applauded by Beale as "ingenious," included the improvements to inland navigation systems.¹⁹⁰ Similar praise of the Chinese canals and roads as Temple's will continue into the eighteenth-century as seen in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description* and William Chambers' *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, serving as stimuli to Britain's economic development.¹⁹¹

Temple did not neglect to ensure that his reader understood that this healthy economy was secured by a strong emphasis on, and protection of, agriculture by the Chinese state:

Agriculture is encouraged by so many special privileges from the Crown, and the Common Laws or Customs of the Country, that whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouched, as if they were sacred, like Priests in other places; so as no Country in the World, was ever known to be so cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of China.¹⁹²

As R. Bin Wong pointed out, the Chinese government in the early modern period, unlike the European mercantilist states, did not depend either economically or politically on the support of rich merchants for its fiscal security or its political power and legitimacy. The Chinese political economy of its agrarian empire produced different priorities, such as increasing its population, promoting agriculture, and enhancing people's economic welfare, which was conceived to be basic to the state's political stability.¹⁹³ Writing in Restoration England where the mercantilist interest was dominant, Temple would have in mind that Charles II did little to prioritise agrarian economy in the country, notwithstanding the agricultural reformers' activities: for example, Beale's *Sylva/Pomona* (1664) propagating cider-fruit trees cultivation all over England failed to generate the desired state political response.¹⁹⁴ According to H.J. Habakkuk, modest freeholders in England were driven out by indebtedness between 1660 and 1710. Rents were falling, whereas the weight of taxation borne by owners of land was rising. Smaller squires were badly hit by war taxation (Anglo-Dutch wars) in the 1660s–1670s and again from 1692 to 1715.¹⁹⁵ In 1702, Thomas Tryon observed a considerable proportion of labour shifting from agriculture to services, which left trade “overstocked” and “the generality of the people ... poor and miserable.”¹⁹⁶ Describing the privilege enjoyed by the Chinese agrarian economy, the implied message of Temple's passage resonated with the French physiocrat thinker Boisguilbert who complained about how French commerce was inconvenienced too much by taxes and one should rather imitate China.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the Chinese policy in favour of agriculture and home trade would continue to be evoked in the eighteenth century as ammunition by the physiocrats—Francois Quesnay, for example—calling for state support of husbandry as a measure of economical and moral reform, enabling society to develop according to the order of nature.¹⁹⁸

Temperance in the Confucian cultivation of the body and mind

As noted earlier, the Chinese population were renowned amongst seventeenth-century European observers for their temperance. Both divines and sceptical minds sought to understand the preservation of virtue among a heathen people. John Webb, the royal architect to Charles II, attempted to provide an account that conformed with the biblical narratives of European history.¹⁹⁹ According to Webb, the legendary Chinese ruler “Janus” (Yao), whom he identified with Noah, was “moderate in habit” and “temperate in diet,” and Janus instructed his subjects both “in the institution of gardens and groves for their devotions,” and also in “planting and husbandry.”

Operating in the realm of natural morality, Temple separated religious belief from moral behaviour and allocated the key to Chinese temperance with the Confucian cultivation of the body and mind as perfecting natural reason:

The chief Principle [*Confutius*] seems to lay down for a Foundation and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to study and endeavour the improving and perfecting of His own Natural Reason, to the greatest height He is capable, so as He may never (or as seldom as can be) err and swerve from the Law of Nature, in the course and conduct of His Life: ... That in this perfection of *Natural Reason*, consists the *perfection of Body and Mind*, and the utmost or supream Happiness of Mankind.²⁰⁰

On this oft-cited passage, previous scholars mostly read Temple’s concept of “natural reason” in accordance with Enlightenment rationalism, especially Spinozism.²⁰¹ The linking of Spinoza to Chinese thought was led by late seventeenth-century thinkers Pierre Bayle and Nicolas Malebranche, on the grounds that Spinoza and Confucius both emphasised that perfecting natural reason alone, without the aid of revelation, was the route to happiness.²⁰² Despite the seemingly resemblance with Temple’s above statement, Spinozist natural reason

is far from that of Temple's. Like Descartes earlier, Spinoza's notion of reason is a mathematic language and deductive in form; reason alone can lead to all metaphysico-scientific truths within the universe as a comprehensive, formalized system.²⁰³ Temple, the sceptical epicurean, on the contrary, as earlier discussed, was alerted by the rationalist claim of the sufficiency of reasoning leading to knowledge with dogmatic certainty and the disputes and controversies engendered by speculative reasoning. In China and Confucianism, he found empirical support for his position:

All that, which we call Scholastic or Polemic, is unknown or unpractised [by the Chinese], and serves, I fear, among us, for little more, than to raise Doubts and Disputes, Heats and Feuds, Animosities and Factions in all Controversies of Religion or Government."²⁰⁴

Temple's image of Confucianism was derived from the early Jesuit image of the Chinese philosopher: his term "Confutius" (spelled with a "t") betrays the Latin construction by Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault.²⁰⁵ As the first generation of Jesuits in China, they considered the Confucian classics mainly as practical philosophy, encompassing both moral and political philosophy, in which Confucius exhibited humility and deliberately avoided subtle metaphysical reasoning.²⁰⁶ This non-speculative stance of Confucius was appreciated by the sceptical Gassendist epicureans like Le Vayer and Bernier. For them, Confucianism implied the rejection of the prevailing ideal of knowledge as an architectonic structure, which inspired Descartes, Spinoza, and Malebranche.²⁰⁷ Le Vayer in *De la Vertu de Payens* (1642) compared Confucius to Socrates: "fit descendre aussi bien que Socrate la Philosophie du Ciel en terre, par l'autorité qu'ils donnèrent tous deux à la Morale, que les curiositez de la Physique, de l'Astronomie & de semblables speculations avoient Presque fait m'priser auparavant."²⁰⁸ Temple expressed a similar point: like Socrates, "[*Confutius*] began the same

Design of reclaiming Men from the useless and endless Speculations of Nature, to those of Morality.”²⁰⁹

To clarify further Temple’s meaning of “natural reason,” it is useful to stress that before the term “natural reason” became associated predominantly with the Enlightenment’s rationalist discourse, it had both metaphysical and practical connotations in the classical (scholastic-stoic-epicurean) tradition. The early Jesuit, Ricci, characterised Confucius as one who follows “natural reason”: “in what he says and in his good way of living in conformity with nature, he is not inferior to our ancient philosophers, but exceeds them by many things.”²¹⁰ Seventeenth-century neo-epicureans and neo-stoics like Temple, who took from the classical tradition the practical connotations of reason, while rejecting the metaphysical connotations, read Confucius’ “natural reason” as practical reason alone. This is evidenced by comparing Gassendi’s notion of prudence (the humanist form of practical reason) with Temple’s own statement regarding Chinese philosophy. Gassendi considered prudence as “a moral virtue, which moderates all the actions of our life correctly, both discerning good from evil, and useful from harmful, it prescribes what it is necessary to follow or avoid.”²¹¹ Similarly, Confucian “natural reason,” Temple asserted, “teaches Men what is good, and what is bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs; and consequently what is to be done and what is to be avoided by every Man in His several Station or Capacity.”²¹² While Gassendi considered prudence “establish[ing] men in a good and happy way of living,” Temple saw the perfection of Confucian “natural reason” as leading to “the supream Happiness of Mankind.”²¹³

It would be, of course, a simplification to equate Confucian philosophy to the moral teaching of scholasticism-stoicism-epicureanism, and Confucian moral cultivation with the European eudaemonist perfection of “practical reason,” but certain parallels do exist.²¹⁴ Not unlike the Stoic concept of universal Nature being reflected in our own rational nature, or

reason,²¹⁵ Confucianists consider human nature (*xing*) being rational endowed by Heaven.²¹⁶ And not unlike the Stoic concept of reason like a seed in need of cultivation to spring forth into wisdom,²¹⁷ the Confucian concept of human nature similarly needs care to grow and flourish.²¹⁸ In both traditions, temperance, or *keji* (to restrain oneself), to habituate the passions and train them in an orderly way is central in the process of self-cultivation.

The key message of Confucian moral cultivation is articulated in *Daxue* (or *The Great Learning*), the first book of the *Four Books*, edited by the Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi. The opening sentence of *Daxue* states:

大學之道，在明明德...

What *The Great Learning* teaches, is to illustrate illustrious virtue...²¹⁹

In an early Jesuit translation of *Daxue*, included in *Sapientia Sinica* (1662), this sentence is rendered as follows:

*The purpose of the learning of great men consists in illuminating spiritual power by means of virtue that one may receive from heaven, certainly a rational soul, so that this may be returned to its original clarity, as the animal appetites have beclouded [them].*²²⁰

In a later translation of *Daxue* by the Jesuit team led by Philippe Couplet which appeared in *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687), to which Temple made a reference, the sentence is elaborated as:

“The great plan of learning, especially for men of princely rank, consists in refining, or cultivating, the rational nature” bestowed from heaven, so that this one [the rational nature], like the clearest mirror, returns to its original clarity, by removing stains of

depraved desires. . . By this, the interpreters mean that all actions are in the most perfect conformity with a right reason.²²¹

An important change in the later translation is the alteration of “illuminating spiritual power by means of virtue” to “refining, or cultivating, the rational nature.” None of these was a strictly accurate translation of the original text. As David Mungello observes, whereas the *Sapientia Sinica* was over-spiritualised, the *Sinarum Philosophus* rendering was over-rationalised.²²² If the spiritualised reading reflects the early Jesuit strategy of a Christian-Confucian synthesis, the rationalised translation shows a reaction by the later Jesuits to the challenges from other missionaries (Domingo Navarette, for example) on Chinese classics being stained with superstitions and atheism.²²³

In England, the various versions of the Jesuit translations of *Daxue* had their respective impact. Nathanael Vincent, chaplain in ordinary to Charles II, in a sermon in 1674 evoked the Chinese as a model for the Restoration court to correct its vices. Based on the “Great Learning” in *Sapientia Sinica*, Vincent told them of “an old Pagan Empire on the further side of *Asia*, where the Religion and Learning, . . . was to study the repair of Humane Nature, the perfection of Government and the Reasons of Honours.”²²⁴ Temple would have agreed with Vincent on the purpose of “great learning,” yet he saw less dependence on the “spiritual power” in moral cultivation as the divine. That is perhaps why Temple was drawn to the translation in *Sinarum Philosophus*, where “spiritual power” was replaced by “rational nature,” which he took in the earlier sense of Ricci’s “natural reason,” namely practical reason.

Both versions of the Jesuit translations, however, agreed on the necessity of “restraining oneself” in self cultivation, which is in accordance with the Chinese classics. That “to restrain oneself” is fundamental to the Confucian cultivation of human nature comes across in the basic principle of Confucian moral cultivation—“*xiushen*” (cultivating the body)

and “*zhengxin*” (rectifying the mind-heart)—articulated in the same text, *Daxue*. The original Chinese classic states succinctly that in order to cultivate the body, one must rectify the heart.²²⁵ The translation in *Sinarum Philosophus* is more elaborative:

[W]ishing to correctly compose their own body, or the external conduct of the whole person, “they first rectified their soul,” subduing or moderating their feelings and desires, especially those which tend to turn reason away from its genuine correctness and to incline it to fall unto various vices.²²⁶

To Temple, the concept of moderating feelings and desires being the foundation of cultivation, would have appeared in parallel with the stoic virtue of temperance, as the discipline of desire. And the argument against those who “tend to turn reason away from its genuine correctness,” may be read in relation to the Jesuit phrase of “in perfect conformity with a right reason,” cited earlier, thus revealing that “right reason” is the original term from which Temple derived his “law of nature.”²²⁷ The Stoics have all along emphasised that happiness is to live in accord with nature, or reason, which is the divine law implanted in nature and human beings alike, but the Stoics did not use the term “law of nature” directly. By emphasising the Chinese conformity with the “law of nature” to attain happiness, Temple shows himself, again, to be in alignment with sceptical epicureans like Le Vayer who, following Ricci, saw the moral excellence of the Chinese in terms of their following natural law, which was observed by virtuous pagans everywhere.²²⁸ Holding up the “law of nature” as a moral discourse, yet independent from Thomist doctrines, Temple is distinct from, on the one hand, the English latitudinarians who see essential the additional guidance of revealed, divine laws on happiness, and on the other hand, the Cartesian natural philosophers and their followers—Grotius, Pufendorf and Hobbes, founders of the new natural law as a form of deductive science, a position Temple attacked in his essay on government.²²⁹

Temperance in the Chinese body

Framed by the neo-epicurean and neo-stoic thoughts in his reading of Confucius, Temple would have been reassured by abundant examples in the Jesuit translation of Chinese sages' self-control and attention to diet, that temperance in the body was also part of the Confucian moral cultivation. As related in the *Lunyu (Analects)* in *Sinarum Philosophus*, Confucius commended the Emperor Yu for being “uncommonly frugal and self-controlled in his consumption of food and drink.”²³⁰ Confucius' disciples explained in detail what food he enjoyed eating, in what manner and with what kinds of self-control he ate. It is noted that Confucius did not eat anything, like vegetables or fruits while they were unripe.²³¹ Praising his favourite disciple, Yan Hui, Confucius said, “with one basket of cooked rice to eat, and one pot of water to drink, ... [Hui] was satisfied and always cheerful.”²³² These Confucian maxims resonate with Gassendi's stress on temperance in the body in reference to diet, which, as discussed earlier, is important to maintain physiological and psychological health. The Confucian maxims underpinned Temple's stress on Confucian perfection of natural reason which consisted of the perfection of both “body and mind,” a dual focus sharply contrasting with Spinozist focus on reason or mind more than the body.

In “Ancient and Modern Learning,” Temple highlighted the link for Asians between diet and the virtue of temperance as an ancient practice. Perhaps drawing upon Bernier's descriptions of the Indian Brahmans and their diet, Temple wrote: “Their temperance so great, that they lived upon Rice or Herbs, and upon nothing, that had sensitive Life.”²³³ A similar diet of rice and herbs, as he certainly knew from writers such as Alvaro Semedo, was used in China: “They use Herbes much; they being the food of the ordinary people, almost all the year throughout.”²³⁴ Habits of diet, in early modern medicine and ethnography, like climate, were a determinant of the “fixed, bodily condition” of a people,²³⁵ as illustrated in Temple's comment on the Chinese “exact temperance in their race.”²³⁶ It was generally

understood that the herb-based Indian and Chinese diet, like those adopted by the ancient patriarchs of the Hebrews, made subjects cool-tempered, long-lived, and enduring.²³⁷ By contrast, the flesh-based diet made the European temper warmer and life shorter. Temple pointed out that he remembered “no examples of long life common to any parts of Europe, which the temper of the climate has probably made the scene of luxury and excesses in diet.”²³⁸ He elaborated on this subject in his *Observations*, where he stated that the Dutch temperance was a result of the lack of flesh in their diet, whereas the English gentry, with their chief food being flesh, were hot tempered.²³⁹

Fruits, which Temple recommended as a regimen to improve the English national temper, were part of the Chinese diet. Most seventeenth-century European accounts were filled with descriptions of the great diversity and richness of Chinese fruit. The most popular historical geography in the second half of the seventeenth century, Peter Heylen’s *Cosmographie* noted that China is “well cultivated, and sowed with all manner of grain, and planted with the best kind of fruit; which do not only come to a speedy maturity, but to more excellenice and perfection than any of these Western parts.”²⁴⁰ Samuel Purchas’s account also described China as an empire in which “all the ground that ... can yield any kinde of fruit receiuing seede, is husbanded,” and “euery one enjoyeth the fruits of his labour,”²⁴¹ which strikes a close resemblance to Temple’s own description of his epicurean garden where happiness is illustrated ultimately in the image of eating the fruits of one’s own labour. In Nieuhof’s *Embassy*, there is standard praise of each Chinese province and its countryside for the “fruitful and delightful soil” as well as its “innumerable trees and fruits.” The *Embassy* also contains detailed descriptions of the diverse Chinese fruits’ looks, tastes, and medicinal uses. For example, a fruit called *Duriones*, “which, though of an ill taste, are yet very whoesom. It is dry in Operation, causes Sweating, and is good against the Wind and Dropsie, provided it be eated moderately, for otherwise it will over-heat the Liver.”²⁴²

The Chinese making use of the health or medical effects of food was a familiar concept to Temple. Possibly derived from Smedo's *History*, Temple considered that the Chinese excelled in the knowledge of the pulse and of all simple medicines, and by the latter "they allay all heats of the blood."²⁴³ While Temple was stating a fact about Chinese medicine, this statement was framed by his Hippocratic theory. In this identification of the humoral system and the Chinese body consisting of *qi* (vital force), Temple was not on his own. Scholars have noted that many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European readers perceived Chinese physiology and psychology in accordance with Hippocratic-Galenic medicine.²⁴⁴ Chinese medicine, wherein the yin-yang balance of *qi* was stressed, appeared to be compatible with the latter with its humoral balance as the foundation. Emphasising that "the Chinese pretend to relieve all diseases that nature will allow to be cured,"²⁴⁵ Temple applied to the Chinese subject the Hippocratic conception of a natural course of diseases, causes, and treatments. The Hippocratic physician set out the proper regimen to achieve and maintain the health of the body—by not intervening at the bottom level. Temple noted that the Chinese "never let blood, but say, if the Pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it, and so they allay all heats of the blood, by abstinence, diet and cooling herbs."²⁴⁶ As the Chinese used the natural course of treatment – cooling herbs, diet and temperance – to restore the yin-yang balance, so was Temple's neo-epicurean regimen of eating fruits to cool the hot, sharp temper of the individual English body.

Conclusion

Living in the "too, too active age"²⁴⁷ of the Restoration, where "wealth and happiness" were in joint hands, Temple appreciated the epicurean idea of earthly happiness—tranquillity of mind and absence of pain in the body—envisioned as the goal for both private life and government. For Temple, temperance, or following nature, was a naturalistic scheme that

could lead to happiness: acknowledging experience depending on the integrity of the human body and its organs, temperance appealed to persons as a whole rather than mere reason; reminding one of the limitation of man's reason, temperance restrained those desires beyond the "natural bound" of human existence and reinstated the dignity of nature as Providence. Thus instead of relying on churchmen's preaching of austere virtues, or speculative schemes of utopia such as Harrington's *Oceana*, or the unhelpful policies such as banning French imports of luxuries for national welfare, Temple proposed a programme of everyday gardening for the landed class that was supposed to cultivate temperance in the body, mind, and the body-economic. In this regimen, China and Confucianism played an important role—not only for Temple's belief that "the furthest East and West may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil and Politick Constitutions,"²⁴⁸ but also because China was considered to have achieved a level of civilisation that followed nature—temperance in the body and mind and its government—a concept, for Temple, embedded in the sceptical Gassendist epicureanism.

For temperance in the body, Temple proposed a wholesome diet of eating ripe fruit from the garden that would counteract the "hot and sharp" humours caused by high living which imbalanced the physical and psychological constitution of English individuals and their body-politic. Projecting the Hippocratic theory of humoral balance onto Chinese bodies, Temple found evidence for his fruit regimen in Chinese and Indian diets based on vegetables and fruit, which he believed, had led to the characteristic Asiatic temperance. For temperance in the mind, Temple's cultivation of fruit trees embodied the empirical science aimed at improvement. However, all too aware of men's limitation and the disturbances brought to the mind by discursive reasoning, he tempered the Hartlibian empirical science with the poetic, georgic ideology of retirement, thus finding a mean between the endless pursuit of knowledge and contented repose, by the use of practical reason, which was

vindicated by his reading of the Confucian cultivation of “natural reason.” That Confucian cultivation was a foundation of the constant Chinese government further supported Temple’s belief in the value of ancient moral philosophy—that happiness of mankind lay in our knowledge of the moral nature of man and subsequently the organisation of government based on the cultivation of that moral nature. For temperance in the body-economic, the master of the estate, just as the policy-maker of the state, not only prioritised the fruits of the earth, or agriculture, but also encouraged manufacture and artisan products. The circulation of material goods as blood (wealth) in the body-economic, provided convenience and pleasure as well as perfected wit and imagination. The Chinese economy, with its joint strengths of agriculture and manufacturing, together with its emphasis on internal trade, was evoked as a model of the Gassendist epicurean natural order, as the physiocrat thinkers in the eighteenth century were to extol, a counter to mercantilist desires for ever increasing riches and territorial expansion.

Stressing temperance, Temple’s gardens of happiness illustrate how a non-theological virtue is conducive to happiness on earth, not only to preserve the inner calm of the self, but also to living in peace, harmony, and prosperity within society. Confucianism with its emphasis on self-mastery was well-received with its perceived parallel in the sceptical Gassendist epicureanism—temperance, a naturalistic, human, and holistic approach to the problems of living the good life. By allowing the English documentation of China in Temple’s time to be examined in a historical context where the conceptions of “western” and “Chinese” were not mutually exclusive categories, it is possible to enrich the understanding of the shifting notion of happiness as belonging to the history of ongoing interaction, translation, and hybridization between East and West.

Endnotes

¹ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus”.

² For an English translation of Epicurus, Lucretius, and other epicurean texts, see Gaskin, *The Epicurean Philosophers*. For a brief account of epicureanism and its development in seventeenth-century England, see Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition*, esp. chap. 8.

³ Macaulay, *Essays*, 63.

⁴ Monk, “Introduction,” vii–xlii, esp. xxi, xix; Marburg, *Sir William Temple*; Miller, “Epicurean Gardens,” 329–343.

⁵ Epicureanism had been considered anti-Christian since antiquity. The Church Fathers had attacked Epicurus’s denial of divine providence and the immortality of the soul. As a priest, Gassendi synthesised epicurean atomism with the essentials of Christian doctrines. See Brundell, *Pierre Gassendi*; Osler, *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquillity*; Sarasohn, *Gassendi’s Ethics*.

⁶ Charleton, *Epicurus’s Morals* (1655); Stanley, *History of Philosophy* (1655); and Bernier, *Philosophie de Gassendi* (1684). For discussion of Gassendi’s influence in seventeenth-century England, see Mayo, *Epicurus in England*; Osler, “Providence and Divine Will”; Wilson, *Origins of Epicureanism*.

⁷ On seventeenth-century ideas of happiness, see Braddick and Innes, *Suffering and Happiness* and McMahon, *Happiness*, 175–222. On the Hobbesian–Hartlibian approach to happiness, see Slack, “Politics of Consumption,” “Material Progress,” and “Wealth and Happiness.” On happiness as a latitudinarian theme in reaction to Hobbes’s approach, see Muldrew, “Happiness and Theology” and Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, 83–4.

⁸ Spurr, “Rational Religion”; Hill, “Reason and Reasonableness”; Chadelat, “Hobbes’s and Descartes’s Rationalism”.

⁹ Osler, *Gassendi and Descartes*; Shapiro, “Natural Philosophy,” 15–44.

¹⁰ Shapiro, “Natural Philosophy”; Osler, “Providence and Divine Will.”

¹¹ Sarasohn, *Gassendi’s Ethics*.

¹² Cottingham, *The Rationalists*, 179.

¹³ Neo-epicureanism in this essay will be used in the sense of Gassendi’s epicureanism.

¹⁴ The physiological and psychological approach is evident in Gassendi’s ethics, which appears in *De vita et moribus Epicuri* (1647), *Philosophiae Epicuri Syntagma* (1649), and the section on “Ethics” in his *Syntagma Philosophicum, Opera* (1658), vol. 2. The first is made available in English by Charleton’s *Epicurus’s Morals*. The last appears in an abridged form and French translation as Bernier’s *Philosophie de Gassendi* (1684), which is then translated into English as Gassendi, *Three Discourses*.

¹⁵ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 138–41;

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- ¹⁶ See note 14.
- ¹⁷ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 75–7.
- ¹⁸ Christensen, “Epicurean and Stoic Sources”.
- ¹⁹ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 138, 112–26.
- ²⁰ On health, see Temple’s “Gout” and “Health and long life”; on criticism of reasoning, “Ancient and Modern”; and on the economy, *Observations*.
- ²¹ On Temple’s medical interest, see Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul*, 163–174. On his Montaignian scepticism, see Marburg, *Sir William Temple and Monk*, “Introduction”. On his thought on economy, see Hont, *Jealousy of Trade*, 185–7, 195–7.
- ²² Temple, “Gout,” 270.
- ²³ Temple, “Health and Long Life,” 268.
- ²⁴ Temple, “Life and Fortune,” *Works* III, 518; “Gout,” 252; *Observations*, 180.
- ²⁵ Temple, “Heroic Virtue”; “Ancient and Modern”; “Gardens of Epicurus”. Most previous scholarship on Temple and China, such as Min, “Ancients and Moderns,” Boyle, *Swift as Nemesis* and Liu, “Aesthetic Innovations” did not engage with these two themes.
- ²⁶ Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 178; “Ancient and Modern,” 26.
- ²⁷ See, e.g., Yu, *Confucius and Aristotle*; Yearley, *Mencius and Aquinas*; Mungello, *Curious Land*.
- ²⁸ Lai, “Religious Scepticism and China”. While Gassendi’s own interests did include metaphysics and physics, his followers, La Mothe le Vayer, François Bernier and Temple, with a more radical Montaignian sceptical stance, showed considerably less interest in these subjects. For accounts of seventeenth-century scepticism and Montaigne’s influence on Gassendi and his followers, see Popkin, *The History of Scepticism*, esp. chapters 1, 4.
- ²⁹ Barnes, *Needles*, 19, 75, 87, 90.
- ³⁰ Temple elaborated on the absolute monarchy of the Chinese government, for example, a topic I shall address separately.
- ³¹ Charleton, *Epicurus’s Morals*, 67.
- ³² Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition*, 202.
- ³³ Gill, *The Structured Self*, 110; Annas, “Epicurus on Pleasure and Happiness,” 9; Sarasohn, *Gassendi’s Ethics*, 72.
- ³⁴ Charleton, *Epicurus’s Morals*, 100, 67.
- ³⁵ Allen, “The Rehabilitation of Epicurus”; Bietenholz, *Radical Erasmus*, chap 5.
- ³⁶ E.g. Lessius, *Hygiasticon*, 59. See Barbour, *English Epicures and Stoics*.
- ³⁷ Hammond, *Thirty-one Sermons*, 38, cited in Barbour, *English Epicures and Stoics*, 98.

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- ³⁸ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 86.
- ³⁹ Temple, *Essays*, 160. My italics.
- ⁴⁰ Gill, *Naturalistic Psychology*, 247; “Psychology,” 139.
- ⁴¹ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 86.
- ⁴² Brundell, *Pierre Gassendi*, 51.
- ⁴³ Wolfe, “Happiness for Organic Bodies,” 80–1.
- ⁴⁴ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 57.
- ⁴⁵ Charleton, *Epicurus’s Morals*, 30.
- ⁴⁶ On the connection between Hippocratic and Epicurean ideas re-established by Gassendi, see Duchesneau, *Les modèles du vivant*, chap. 3.
- ⁴⁷ On the debate on the Chinese political economy in eighteenth-century Europe, see, for example Millar, *A Singular Case*; on Confucian “natural reason” and natural morality, see Rowbotham, “Impact of Confucianism”; Lai, “Religious Scepticism and China”; Israel, “Spinoza, Confucius and Philosophy”; and on medicine, see Barnes, *Needles*. These previous scholarship, however, do not engage with the organismic notions of nature in Gassendi’s epicureanism.
- ⁴⁸ E.g., Pino, “Letter to Cornaro (1558/9),” cited in Cornaro, *The Sober Life*, 169.
- ⁴⁹ Siraisi, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine*, 104–6.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 5.
- ⁵¹ Cited in Crignon, “Debate about *Methodus Medendi*,” 343.
- ⁵² Temple, “Some Thoughts,” 93.
- ⁵³ Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, 60.
- ⁵⁴ Charleton, *Epicurus’s Morals*, 29.
- ⁵⁵ Temple, “Health and Long Life,” 277.
- ⁵⁶ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 87.
- ⁵⁷ Charleton, *Epicurus’s Morals*, 72–4; Gassendi, *Three Discourses*, Chap. 6.
- ⁵⁸ Wilkins, “Food in Antiquity,” 346.
- ⁵⁹ Siraisi, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine*, 106.
- ⁶⁰ Albala, *Eating right*, 105.
- ⁶¹ Lessius, *Hygiasticon*, 47. 59.
- ⁶² Gassendi, *Three Discourses*, 163. See also *Epicurus’s Morals*, 74.
- ⁶³ Temple, “Gout,” 271.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 270.

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- ⁶⁵ Thomas, *Historical account*, 5, cited in Slack, “Material progress,” 580.
- ⁶⁶ Temple, “Gout,” 272.
- ⁶⁷ *Three Discourses*, 166; *Epicurus’s Morals*, 73–4.
- ⁶⁸ Temple, *Observations*, 142.
- ⁶⁹ Wilkins, “Food in Antiquity,” 346.
- ⁷⁰ Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, 51.
- ⁷¹ *Epicurus Morals*, 14; *Three Discourses*, 166.
- ⁷² Temple, “Gout,” 249.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 250.
- ⁷⁴ See, e.g., *Observations*, 62, 68, 145, 151.
- ⁷⁵ Temple, “Gout,” 252.
- ⁷⁶ Temple, “Health and Long Life,” 280.
- ⁷⁷ Lieffers, “Ways of Knowing Food.”
- ⁷⁸ Temple, “Health and Long Life,” 307.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum*, ii.11, cited in Small and Small, “John Evelyn,” 213.
- ⁸¹ Gentilcore, *Food and Health*, 115–6.
- ⁸² Gassendi, *Epistolae*, 20, cited in Michael, “Vegetarianism and Virtue,” 64; see also *Three Discourses*, 288, 338.
- ⁸³ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 138.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 82–3. See also text surrounding notes 97–99; “Some Thoughts,” *Works*, II, 505–6.
- ⁸⁵ On the georgic and the georgical, see Barbour and Preston, “Discursive and Speculative Writing,” 472–9.
- ⁸⁶ Webster, *Great Instauration*, 327; Lasky, *Utopia & Revolution*, chap. 9–10.
- ⁸⁷ Hartlib, *A Designe for Plentie*, 4, 10.
- ⁸⁸ See note 28. For the latitudinarian attitude in the Royal Society, see Shapiro, “Humanism, Religion and Science”; “Latitudinarianism and Science.”
- ⁸⁹ Barbour and Preston, “Discursive and Speculative Writing,” 475–6.
- ⁹⁰ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 110–1.
- ⁹¹ Stubbs, “John Beale,” 332.
- ⁹² Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 118, 121, 123, 125.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, 122.

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- ⁹⁴ Cited in Lasky, *Utopia & Revolution*, 340.
- ⁹⁵ Webster, *Great Instauration*, 355.
- ⁹⁶ E.g., Blith, *The English Improver Improved*; Lee, *Vindication of Enclosure*.
- ⁹⁷ [Beale], *Philosophical Transactions* 9, 52; Palissy, *Discours Admirables* (1580), 121, cited in Stubbs, “John Beale,” 342.
- ⁹⁸ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 117.
- ⁹⁹ Marburg, *Sir William Temple*, 6.
- ¹⁰⁰ Temple, “Ancient and Modern,” 54.
- ¹⁰¹ Temple, “Life and Fortune,” *Works*, II, 539.
- ¹⁰² Slack, “Politics of Consumption,” 614–15.
- ¹⁰³ McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 18.
- ¹⁰⁴ Younge, *Prevention of Poverty*, title page, cited in Slack, “Politics of Consumption,” 629.
- ¹⁰⁵ E.g., Austen, *Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, 39; Worlidge, *Systema horti-culturae*, i, 173.
- ¹⁰⁶ Lawrence and Beale, *Nurseries*, 8, 10, cited in Stubbs, “John Beale,” 343.
- ¹⁰⁷ Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae*, 149.
- ¹⁰⁸ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, part 1, 57–8.
- ¹⁰⁹ Spurr, “Rational Religion”; Hill, “Reason and Reasonableness”; McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 161.
- ¹¹⁰ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 75.
- ¹¹¹ Gassendi, “Ethics,” in *SP, Opera*, 2: 706, cited in Sarasohn, *Gassendi’s Ethics*, 64.
- ¹¹² Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 78–9, 75.
- ¹¹³ Temple, “Life and Fortune,” 523.
- ¹¹⁴ Spencer, *Roman Landscape*, 13, 39.
- ¹¹⁵ Lowry, “Agricultural Foundation,” 84; McRae, *God Speed the Plough*.
- ¹¹⁶ Reydams-Schils, *The Roman Stoics*, 110.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 111–2.
- ¹¹⁸ Hadot, *The Inner Citadel*, 239; Røstvig, *The Happy Man*, chap. 3.
- ¹¹⁹ Saltonstall, *Picturae Loquentes*, 74, cited in Røstvig, *The Happy Man*, 123.
- ¹²⁰ Røstvig, *The Happy Man*, chap. 5.
- ¹²¹ Philips, “A Reverie”; Rawlet, “on Psalm 39. 6, 7,” *Poetick Miscellanies*, cited in Røstvig, *The Happy Man*, 355, 374.
- ¹²² Giesecke, “Lucretius and Virgil,” 3.

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- ¹²³ Scodel, *Excess and the Mean*, 256–68.
- ¹²⁴ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 106.
- ¹²⁵ Richter, *Vergil: Georgica*, ad 125ff; La Penna, ‘senex Corycius,’ 57.
- ¹²⁶ Perkell, “Corycian Gardener,” 168.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 174.
- ¹²⁸ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 87.
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 106–7.
- ¹³⁰ O’Brien, “Cultivating Our Garden,” 199.
- ¹³¹ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 112.
- ¹³² Muralt, *Lettres*, 102–4, cited in Woodbridge, 232.
- ¹³³ Slack, “Politics of Consumption,” 617, 612.
- ¹³⁴ Houghton, *England’s Great Happiness*, 7.
- ¹³⁵ Houghton, *Collection*, iv, 382–3, 389, cited in Slack, “Politics of Consumption,” 613.
- ¹³⁶ Temple, *Observations*, 120.
- ¹³⁷ Cited in Thompson, “Farming and Agrarian Philosophy,” 60.
- ¹³⁸ [Beale], “From Utopia,” fol. 3, cited in Stubbs, “John Beale,” 357.
- ¹³⁹ Slack, “Wealth and Happiness,” 141; [Beale], “From Utopia,” fol. 3.
- ¹⁴⁰ Temple, *Observations*, 180–84; Hont, *Jealousy of Trade*, 185–7.
- ¹⁴¹ Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple*, 113, 128
- ¹⁴² Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 134.
- ¹⁴³ See Christensen, “Hobbes and Economic Science,” 690.
- ¹⁴⁴ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 159; Walford, ed., *Aristotle’s Politics and Economics*, book 1, 90, cited in Christensen, “Hobbes and Economic Science,” 704.
- ¹⁴⁵ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 164.
- ¹⁴⁶ Christensen, “Hobbes and Economic Science,” 690.
- ¹⁴⁷ Temple, “Ancient and Modern,” 35.
- ¹⁴⁸ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 130.
- ¹⁴⁹ Reynolds, *Treatise of the Passions*, 18–19.
- ¹⁵⁰ On this topic, see, e.g., Rossky, “Imagination in English Renaissance,” 61.
- ¹⁵¹ Temple, *Essays*, 160.
- ¹⁵² For neostoicism at the Jacobean court, see Salmon, “Seneca and Tacitus,” 169–191. For an account of the Countess’ social and cultural life, see Lewalski, “Exercising Power,” 94–123.

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- ¹⁵³ On Bedford's relation with Donne, see Crawford, "Bedford and John Donne."
- ¹⁵⁴ Temple, "Gardens of Epicurus," 127.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 128–130; see also Strong, *Renaissance Garden in England*, 139–147.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.
- ¹⁵⁷ See Salomon-Bayet, *L'institution de la science*, 109–29, cited in Christensen, "Epicurean and Stoic Sources," 103.
- ¹⁵⁸ Mariotte, *Discours de la nature*, 92, cited in Christensen, "Epicurean and Stoic Sources," 110.
- ¹⁵⁹ See Christensen, "Epicurean and Stoic Sources," 110–1.
- ¹⁶⁰ Boisguibert, *Le détail de la France*, 624, cited in *Ibid.*, 112–3.
- ¹⁶¹ On Barbon, see Finkelstein, *Harmony and the Balance*, chap 13.
- ¹⁶² Barbon, *Discourse of Trade*, 14.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 32–33.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 5–6.
- ¹⁶⁵ Rowbotham, "Impact of Confucianism," 236.
- ¹⁶⁶ "Ancient and Modern," 47.
- ¹⁶⁷ Le Vayer, *De la Vertu des Payens*; Bernier, "Introduction à la lecture de Confucius."
- ¹⁶⁸ See Temple, "Gardens of Epicurus," 98.
- ¹⁶⁹ Weststeijn. "Asian Paragraph," 557.
- ¹⁷⁰ Leites, "Philosophers as rulers," 205.
- ¹⁷¹ Pomranz, *Great Divergence*, 17.
- ¹⁷² de Magalhães, *New History of China*, [np].
- ¹⁷³ Nieuhof, *Embassy*, 250.
- ¹⁷⁴ E.g., Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione*; Semedo, *History*; Nieuhof, *Embassy*; Kircher, *China Illustrata*; Couplet, et. al. *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, and Magalhães, *New History of China*.
- ¹⁷⁵ Robowtham, "Impact of Confucianism"; Demel, "China in Political Thought."
- ¹⁷⁶ Temple, "Heroic Virtue," 195.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 179.
- ¹⁷⁸ Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism*; Mungello, *Curious Lands*.
- ¹⁷⁹ See Wong, "Political economy," 210–221.
- ¹⁸⁰ Temple, "Heroic Virtue," 170.
- ¹⁸¹ Finkelstein, *Harmony and the Balance*, 109, n96.
- ¹⁸² Petty, *Political Arithmetick*, in Hull, *Economic Writings*1: 269, cited in Finkelstein, 119, 121.

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- ¹⁸³ Slack, “Wealth and Happiness,” 154.
- ¹⁸⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, 3: 373–74. The impact of the Chinese commodities on English imagination has received much attention. See, e.g. Jenkins, *A Taste for China*, 76.
- ¹⁸⁵ Temple, “Gardens of Epicurus,” 132.
- ¹⁸⁶ Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 170.
- ¹⁸⁷ Millar, “Beggarly Commerce!” 212.
- ¹⁸⁸ Parry, “Transport and Trade Routes,” 218.
- ¹⁸⁹ Willan, *River navigation*, 7.
- ¹⁹⁰ Yarranton, *Improvement by Sea and Land*, 161; [Beale], *Philosophical Transactions* 11, 797–8, cited in Stubbs, “John Beale,” 350.
- ¹⁹¹ Du Halde, *Description*, 214, 286; Chambers, *Dissertation*, 28, 61; Zhuang, “Fear and Pride,” 90–1.
- ¹⁹² Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 191.
- ¹⁹³ Wong, “Political Economy,” 214, 220–1.
- ¹⁹⁴ Stubbs, “John Beale,” 331.
- ¹⁹⁵ H.J. Habakkuk, “English Landownership, 1680-1740”; Cf. Beckett, “English Landownership,” 567–581.
- ¹⁹⁶ Tryon, *Brief history of trade*, 23, 43, 123, cited in Slack, “Material Progress,” 582.
- ¹⁹⁷ Cited in Jacobsen, “Physiocracy and the Chinese Model,” 14.
- ¹⁹⁸ Du Halde, *Description*, 2: 108; Quesnay, “Le despotisme de la Chine,” 660; Jacobsen, “Physiocracy and Chinese model.”
- ¹⁹⁹ Webb, *Essay*, 64.
- ²⁰⁰ Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 177. My italics.
- ²⁰¹ Rowbotham, “Impact of Confucianism”; Boyle, *Swift as Nemesis*, 72–77; Israel, “Spinoza, Confucius and Philosophy.”
- ²⁰² Lai, “The Linking of Spinoza to Chinese Thought.” Bayle’s and Malebranche’s reading of Confucius were influenced by the over-rationalised image of Confucius in Couplet et al., *Sinarum Philosophus* (1687), see text surrounding notes 253–55.
- ²⁰³ Cottingham, *The Rationalists*, 4–10.
- ²⁰⁴ “Heroic Virtue,” 179.
- ²⁰⁵ Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism*, 89–92.
- ²⁰⁶ Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione*.

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- ²⁰⁷ Lai, “religious scepticism and China,” 25. This repudiation of the ideal of system-making was a current trend in 17th-century England.
- ²⁰⁸ Le Vayer, *De la vertu des payens*, 239.
- ²⁰⁹ Temple, “Ancient and Modern,” 23.
- ²¹⁰ Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane* I, 39, cited in Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers*, 260.
- ²¹¹ Gassendi, “Ethics,” 2: 743, cited in Sarasohn, *Gassendi’s Ethics*, 146.
- ²¹² Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 177.
- ²¹³ Gassendi, “Ethics,” 2: 743; Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 177.
- ²¹⁴ See Standaert, “Transmission of Renaissance culture,” 374–8; Meynard, *Jesuit Reading*.
- ²¹⁵ Cleanthes, “Hymn to Zeus,” *Stoicorum* 1: 537, cited in Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue*, 22.
- ²¹⁶ This concept is clearly expressed in *Zhongyong*, see Couplet et al., *Sinarum Philosophus*, 40–1; Meynard, *Jesuit Reading*, 60.
- ²¹⁷ Cicero, *De finibus* 5.21.58–60, cited in Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue*, 30.
- ²¹⁸ Both Mencius and the eleventh-century Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi used vegetation analogies for moral cultivation. Zhu’s analogy, elaborated in Zhang Juzheng’s annotated Confucian *Four books*, which was used by the Jesuits for translation, is captured in *Sinarum Philosophus*. See Mencius, 2A. 6; Zhu, *Sishu zhangju jizhu*, 48; Zhang, *Sishu zhijie*, 1a; Meynard, *Jesuit Reading*, 100.
- ²¹⁹ Legge, *Chinese Classics* I, 356.
- ²²⁰ Da Costa and Intorcetta, *Sapientia Sinica*, 1. The English translation is from Mungello, *Curious Land*, 257–8. As Mungello noted, the italics was used by Intorcetta to indicate classical text, as opposed to commentary by Zhu Xi and Zhang Juzheng.
- ²²¹ Couplet et. al., *Sinarum Philosophus*. This Latin translation consists of three (*Daxue*, *Zhongyong*, and *Lunyu*) of the *Four Books* of Confucian classics. *Daxue* is presented as “Scientiae Sinicae Liber Primus” in *Sinarum Philosophus*. For an English translation of “Scientiae Sinicae Liber Primus,” see Meynard, *First Translation*, 331–422. The quotation marks were used by Meynard to indicate classical text, as opposed to commentary by Zhu and Zhang.
- ²²² Mungello, *Curious Land*, 258.
- ²²³ Ibid.; Meynard, *First Translation*, 21–42.
- ²²⁴ Vincent’s own translation of the “Great Learning” in *Sapientia Sinica* was published in 1685. See Jenkinson, “Nathanael Vincent and Confucius,” 35–47.
- ²²⁵ Legge, *Chinese Classics* I, 357–8.
- ²²⁶ Meynard, *First Translation*, 337–8.
- ²²⁷ “Right reason” is a translation of *tianli*, or heavenly principle, in the Chinese text. See Meynard, *First Translations*, 332.
- ²²⁸ Shelford, “The Defence of Pagan Virtue,” 72; Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers*, 259.

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- ²²⁹ Temple, “On the Original and Nature of Government,” *Works*, vol.1, 10.
- ²³⁰ Meynard, *Jesuit Reading*, 285; Cf. Waley, *Analects* chap 8, 129.
- ²³¹ Meynard, *Jesuit Reading*, 321; Cf. Waley, *Analects* chap 10, 140.
- ²³² Meynard, *Jesuit Reading*, 229; Cf. Waley, *Analects* chap 6, 109–10.
- ²³³ Gassendi, *Three Discourses*, 171–2; Bernier, *Travels*, 327, 354, 381; Temple, “Ancient and Modern,” 17–8. Temple praised Bernier’s memoirs of the Mogul empire in “Gardens of Epicurus,” 98.
- ²³⁴ Semedo, *History*, 4.
- ²³⁵ Chaplin, “English and Indian Bodies,” 229–252; Earle, “Diets and Bodies.”
- ²³⁶ Temple, “Ancient and Modern,” 26.
- ²³⁷ Temple, “Health and Long Life,” 279.
- ²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 281.
- ²³⁹ Temple, *Observations*, 146.
- ²⁴⁰ Heylen, *Cosmographie*, 865—in Temple’s library and reading, see Passmann and Vienken, “Library of Temple,” 198.
- ²⁴¹ Cruz, *A Treatise of China*, abridged in Purchas, *Pilgrimmes*, III: 175. Cited in Markley, *The Far East*, 79.
- ²⁴² Nieuhof, *Embassy*, 230-1.
- ²⁴³ Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 180. Cf. Semedo, *History*, 56-60.
- ²⁴⁴ Barnes, *Needles*, 19, 75, 87, 90.
- ²⁴⁵ Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 180.
- ²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴⁷ Dryden, *Poems*, 43.
- ²⁴⁸ Temple, “Heroic Virtue,” 196.

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