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# Landscape and Walking: On Early Aesthetic Experience

**Endre Szécsényi**

In his *Walkscapes*, Francesco Careri claims that 'before erecting menhirs . . . man possessed a symbolic form with which to transform the landscape. This form was walking, a skill learned with great effort in the first months of life, only to become an unconscious, natural, automatic action.' By means of walking man has been able 'to construct the natural landscape of his surroundings.' After the basic needs of finding food and information for survival have been satisfied, 'walking takes on a symbolic form that has enabled man to dwell in the world. By modifying the sense of the space crossed, walking becomes man's first aesthetic act, penetrating the territories of chaos, constructing an order on which to develop the architecture of *situated objects*.' So 'walking is an art' from which different artistic forms stem like 'the menhir, sculpture, architecture, landscape.'[1] In what follows, I shall not go so deep into the human soul and so far back in time as Careri did, I will only endeavour to outline a historic reconstruction of how walking, the evolving new taste of natural landscape and emerging modern aesthetic experience related to each other in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, of how the authors of this period rediscovered walking as a performative art which, at the same time, was shaping both a new landscape of prospects of rude or bare nature and a new state or disposition of mind in the beholder – since, as Solnit remarks, 'imagination has both shaped and been shaped by the spaces it passes through on two feet'.[2] Thus the experience of landscape itself can be regarded as performative art – in a double sense: on the one hand, Nature as such (or God) can be conceived as the performer who expresses herself in the ever-changing, dynamic and stream-like character of the natural prospect

1 Francesco Careri, *Walkscapes: El andar como práctica estética – Walking as an aesthetic practice* (Barcelona 2002), 19–20. – The main part of this research was supported by a Marie Sklodowska-Curie Intra-European Fellowship (2014–2016) within the Seventh European Community Framework Programme.

2 Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust. A History of Walking* (London, New York, 2001), 4.

(something always happens even in a seemingly static prospect, growing and declining, the changes of light, weather, season, etc.), and, on the other, the walker or the wanderer can be a performer who moves across the space and is embellishing or enriching the natural prospect, transforming it into a landscape with personal, emotional and spiritual significance. Walking is always an exercise, while shaping a landscape is a kind of spiritual exercise. I shall apply the latter meaning when I am speaking about the performative character of landscape experience.

In a recent article, John Dixon Hunt speaks of two crucial ideas of the eighteenth century: 'the familiar development of the picturesque' and 'the less noticed interest' called the 'art of walking' after John Gay's *Trivia* of 1716. Hunt emphasises the importance of walking, he focuses on 'what happens *during* walking', on how 'the mind respond[s] to motion in and through landscape, as opposed to an insistence on the visual experience.' Since 'motion prompted (at least) emotion', more optimistically, 'ideas and also emotions'. Traditionally, however, the picturesque is thought to rely on the visual nature of a prospect, that had produced an 'overly static idea of landscape, a notion that in its turn got unhappily transferred to making landscapes as if they were pictures.' Hunt's aim is to offer a new argument for the importance and timeliness of the picturesque through rediscovering the art of walking.[3] While Hunt's historical survey ranges mostly from the eighteenth century (after John Gay) to the present, from Denis Diderot to Ian Hamilton Finlay[4] and Georges Descombes, I am going to inquire into the prehistory of this development. By the same token, I will suggest that the rediscovering of the 'art of walking' preceded the 'development of the picturesque', and that, in a sense, the latter stemmed from the former.

Finally, in this proem, I mention Ronald W. Hepburn's posthumous article, in which he claims that 'we do often aesthetically enjoy both vast spaces and minute spaces: we enjoy resting in space and moving through space.'[5] I shall discuss mostly vast spaces and the action or performance of the 'moving through space,' and suggest that they had certain priority in forming and shaping of the modern aesthetic experience. I endeavour to exhibit seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century landscape as a (performative) art of

3 John Dixon Hunt, 'Time of Walking', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 36 (2016), 297–304, 297–8.

4 About Finlay's Little Sparta near Edinburgh, Hunt also published a book, cf. John Dixon Hunt, *Nature Over Again: The Garden Art of Ian Hamilton Finlay* (London, 2008).

5 Ronald W. Hepburn, 'The Aesthetics of Sky and Space', ed. Emily Brady, *Environmental Values* 19 (2010), 273–88, 274.

moving in nature (whose constitutive parts are walking, wandering, expatiating, or travelling), as contrasted, in a sense, with gardening as a (creative) art of dwelling in nature. I will recommend this dichotomy at least as a useful tool to understand the early developments of landscape theory, and to suggest that the modern non-architectural notion of garden or gardening could be conceived from the angle of the new model of (performative) landscape in the early eighteenth century. I consider this model as something different – even though sometimes not clearly distinguishable – from walking in a garden or in a pastoral (or georgic) countryside. In the latter cases, the walkers meet familiar scenes, and contemplate and enjoy those in ways they have earlier appropriated mostly from Classic literature, or, in the case of the *hortus conclusus* tradition, originally from the Vulgate. In the case of the emerging landscape tradition, however, we can frequently find the following key words: 'discovery', 'surprise', 'astonishment', 'novelty' and like; walking is an expedition, not only a survey, it is an encounter with the (partly) unfamiliar or even with the unknown. Walking is something which the walker is "creating", it is something which is inevitable for the landscape experience (while we can enjoy a garden standing in a single point, from *un point de vue*).[6] And walking opens new dimensions of personal or individual depths, partly because it always offers an opportunity to the walker to radically reconsider the dynamic relationship between Nature and herself. Of course, there are several parallels, both the garden and the new landscape experience appeal to all the five senses, and both require activity for the beholder-walker's part; still in the first case activity rather means a skilful application of the inherited cultural tools and schemes, while in the second it means a discovery of new spaces outside and inside, a permanent invention of new forms of grasping this complex experience. I try to show the theoretical potentials in this new, walkable landscape experience in the mirror of the "aesthetic" writings of Joseph Addison throughout this article, especially in its concluding part.

6 As, in his seminal article of 1966, Hepburn also suggests: 'On occasion [the spectator] may confront natural objects as a static, disengaged observer; but far more typically the objects envelop him on all sides. In a forest, trees surround him; he is ringed by hills, or he stands in the midst of a plain. If there is movement in the scene, the spectator may himself be in motion, and his motion may be an important element in his aesthetic experience.' Ronald W. Hepburn, 'Contemporary Aesthetics and the Neglect of Natural Beauty' in idem, *'Wonder' and Other Essays: Eight Studies in Aesthetics and Neighbouring Fields* (Edinburgh, 1984), 9–35, 12.

## 1. Gardens, landscapes, early aesthetics

In the first part of his influential *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* of 1725, Francis Hutcheson mentions the example of the garden (or gardening) only once – when not a mere element of an enumeration, such as 'architecture, gardening, dress, equipage, and furniture of houses' –, but does it in an interesting context:

> [S]ome Works of Art acquire a distinct Beauty by their Correspondence to some universally suppos'd Intention in the Artificer, or the Persons who employ'd him: And to obtain this Beauty, sometimes they do not form their Works so as to attain the highest Perfection of original Beauty separately consider'd; because a Composition of this relative Beauty, along with some degree of the original Kind, may give more Pleasure, than a more perfect original Beauty separately. Thus we see, that strict Regularity in laying out of Gardens in Parterres, Vista's, parallel Walks, is often neglected, to obtain an Imitation of Nature even in some of its Wildnesses. And we are more pleas'd with this Imitation, especially when the Scene is large and spacious, than with the more confin'd Exactness of regular Works.[7]

To be sure, gardening did not have a distinguished theoretical position in the first philosophical aesthetics of Europe, Hutcheson did not use it as a paradigmatic example of the perception of beauty. Still gardening or garden design is exhibited as an art, undoubtedly one of the noblest human arts, which can produce a special kind of blend of 'relative' and 'some degree of original' beauty. The beauty in gardens is one of the patent examples which shows that certain imperfectness can cause 'more Pleasure' than the perfection of 'original Beauty' would do in the same circumstances. There is no formula or any distinct rule of how to achieve or to judge the proper measure of imperfectness, it seems that it can be realised and justified solely by the amount of pleasure received. In the case of gardens, the irregularity of 'Wildnesses' makes us capable of tasting the deformity, or, in a sense, the chaos, within the world of order and design which is most purely manifested in the geometrical forms of 'original beauty' in Hutcheson's *Inquiry*. Since the late seventeenth century, the insight that regular works may not be so effective, though formally more

7 Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, ed. Wolfgang Leidhold (Indianapolis, 2004), 44.

beautiful, than partly irregular, wild, deformed ones has been mostly discussed in the context of the *je-ne-sais-quoi*, or in the context of the mountain experience (later: natural sublime) or immensity. It is not by chance that Hutcheson immediately associates this type of blended beauty with the experience of 'large and spacious' scenes.

Still this special (in the fashionable discourse of *délicatesse*: "secret") pleasure is understood here in the conception of the organized beauty of garden. As if the 'Imitation of Nature even in some of its Wildnesses' would simply be an increase of the variety within the framework of the familiar Hutchesonian formula of beauty as the 'uniformity amidst variety'.[8] Thus, in the case of the garden, the irrational and, in a sense, inhuman element of 'Wildnesses' would be domesticated in the blended type of beauty.

Hutcheson's Irish patron was Lord Robert Molesworth, the author of *Considerations for Promoting of Agriculture and Employing the Poor*, for whom aesthetic and political improvement was equally significant. As Michael Brown writes: 'For him, the logic of philosophical enquiry was harmonised with a desire to defend liberty, improve the country and to create an aesthetically pleasing environment."[9] Their life-long friendship began in Molesworth's Irish estate, Breckdenston. Beside its agricultural improvement (generally elaborated in his *Considerations*), Molesworth was interested in its aesthetic improvement, too. This estate was conceived primarily as a garden in the new Dutch manner, and was 'a blend of stately formalism and the informality of wilderness.' Breckdenston 'emphasised the need for a mixture of formality and natural expanses, informing the viewer of the authority of the owner over the estate and enabling the viewer to relax and meditate on the natural landscape through which he moved.'[10] On this spacious garden ground, however, 'natural landscape' was realized primarily as different spots of 'wilderness' (amongst other elements like parterre garden, cherry orchard, kitchen garden, bowling green, etc.),[11] and not as open and broad views to the wild, uncultivated (or only partly cultivated) country prospects beyond the stoned walls.[12]

8 Ibid., 28.

9 Michael Brown, *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719–1730* (Dublin, 2002), 40–1.

10 Ibid., 46.

11 For the diagram of Molesworth's landscape from John Rocque's *Map of the County of Dublin*, see Finola O'Kane, *Landscape Design in Eighteenth-Century Ireland. Mixing Foreign Trees with the Natives* (Cork, 2004), 13 (Fig. 5).

12 'Two hundred length "of walling . . . necessary for securing the ground and gardens" were built in 1709, despite the growing fashion for opening out the garden to the surrounding landscape.' Ibid., 14.

Breckdenston's wildernesses basically meant 'densely planted' places with narrow winding walks from where the 'axial effect of an avenue was more intensely appreciated'.[13] As such, it is a perfect prefiguration of Hutcheson's garden with some touches of 'Wildnesses' in his *Inquiry*. This eclectic environment shaped by various types of gardening and the similarly eclectic but inspiring social circle he found in Molesworth's house had a significant influence on Hutcheson's thought as he was working on his *Inquiry*.

Beside the example of Molesworth's inspirational gardens, there are some textual precedents of Hutcheson's remark on 'Wildnesses' in gardens, and on its association with 'large and spacious' natural scenes, even if these precedents, as we shall see, possesses more potential in the context of nature and art than that Hutcheson elaborates in the above-mentioned passage of his *Inquiry*. The closest ones can be taken from Lord Shaftesbury's and Joseph Addison's writings. The oft-cited loci are some passages of *The Moralists* (1709) and those of *The Spectator* Nos. 414, 417, which belong to "The Pleasures of the Imagination" series, and 477 (1712). Lord Shaftesbury emphasises the distinction between rude nature and formal gardens, and seems to attribute both aesthetic-moral and political significance to this, saying:

> Even the rude rocks, the mossy caverns, the irregular unwrought grottos and broken falls of waters, with all the horrid graces of the wilderness itself, as representing nature more, will be the more engaging and appear with a magnificence beyond the formal mockery of princely gardens.[14]

The violence or oppression over "nature" in formality is a clear sign of a morally and politically intolerable power whose activity results in an "aesthetically" absurd 'mockery'. Lord Shaftesbury speaks about some intrinsic values of some rude, irregular and raw elements of nature outside the man-made and man-designed gardens, and claims that '*even* the rude rocks, etc.' are better representation of nature than the absurdities of formal gardens, but it would not necessarily mean that these scenes of 'horrid graces' are the optimal

13 Ibid., 16. 'Despite its complex formality of twisting paths and geometric clearings, the wilderness was considered to be the most informal and natural part of the early eighteenth-century garden, where nature made its more determined assault upon art. Its complex patterning was thought to represent nature…' Ibid. It has hardly anything to do with the sublime landscape or the picturesque.

14 Lord Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times,* ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge, 1999), 317.

representation of nature or that of the compatibility of human beings to nature. Still, these uncustomary and inhuman scenes of intrinsic value – like, for example, a desert – can be enjoyed without domestication, without the familiar and cosy framework of a garden:

> All ghastly and hideous as they appear, they want not their peculiar beauties. The wildness pleases. We seem to live alone with nature. We view her in her inmost recesses, and contemplate her with more delight in these original wilds than in the artificial labyrinths and feigned wildernesses of the palace.[15]

In Shaftesbury's conception, these natural elements were meant to stimulate some significant experience which the beauty (of forms and/or of order) in itself could not do, not even simply to stress or to intensify the effects of beauty by contrast. They have their own rights, and they would successfully resist a Hutchesonian attempt of domestication within a garden design. The remark on the 'feigned wildernesses of the palace' might be an anticipated criticism of Hutcheson's conception of 'Imitation of Nature' in gardens (and also of Molesworth's gardens in Breckdenston). Shaftesbury insists that during the experience of a desert scene, 'we seem to live alone with nature' – nature in its 'original', untouched state, nature as a whole. This appears as an eminent occasion of the encounter with the divinity of nature.[16]

If we consider another locus of *The Moralists*[17], we can clarify the status of the above distinction between 'rude rocks' and 'princely gardens'. This is

15 Ibid., 315.

16 In his Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections of 1728, Hutcheson seems to share Shaftesbury's opinion on the intrinsic value of wilderness: 'may not a Taste for Nature be acquired, giving greater Delight than the Observations of Art?' And: 'Must an artful Grove, an Imitation of a Wilderness, or the more confined Forms on Ever-greens, please more than the real Forest, with the Trees of God? Shall a Statue give more Pleasure than the human Face Divine?' Francis Hutcheson, An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense, ed. Aaron Garrett (Indianapolis, 2002), 114–15.

17 This is a long dialogue in which the interlocutors themselves are walking in nature – as it was fashionable from Dominique Bouhours' *Enteretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* of 1671 or Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin's *Les délices de l'esprit* of 1677 to George Berkeley's *Three Dialogues* of 1713, and, of course, later in the eighteenth century. At the same time, for example, at the outset of his *Entretiens sur la Metaphysique, sur la Religion* of 1711, Nicolas Malebranche claims that we always need a study-room to hear the voice of the reason, and not a garden or a walk in nature: the enchanted places and charming sensations are disturbing to the contemplation.

another scene (as well as the desert was above) of a long imaginative, dream-like, journey from the distant regions of the universe to the familiar spheres of human life. In the middle of this trip, we enter a 'vast wood' of 'deep shades':

> The faint and gloomy light looks horrid as the shade itself, and the profound stillness of these places imposes silence upon men, struck with the hoarse echoings of every sound within the spacious caverns of the wood. Here space astonishes. Silence itself seems pregnant while an unknown force works on the mind and dubious objects move the wakeful sense. Mysterious voices are either heard or fancied, and various forms of deity seem to present themselves and appear more manifest in these sacred sylvan scenes, such as of old gave rise to temples and favoured the religion of the ancient world. Even we ourselves, who in plain characters may read divinity from so many bright parts of earth, choose rather these obscurer places to spell out that mysterious being, which to our weak eyes appears at best under a veil of cloud.[18]

The phrases 'read divinity' and 'spell out' can refer to the old metaphor of reading the book of nature, but here it is not the understanding – the clarity and light of the eye and the intellect –, but the overwhelming emotional effect of silence and obscurity that triumphs. The divine being who inhabits in nature can be more appropriately approached when experiencing privation: through vast scenes with the lack of light and (articulated) sounds. The traditional primacy of vision is also challenged here by, on the one hand, the preferred obscurity, and, on the other, by the equal stress on audible experience. This passage can serve as a more general framework for understanding the complexity of Shaftesbury's conception of nature and natural beauty: 'we ourselves, who in plain characters may read divinity from so many bright parts of earth' may refer to the human-like order, also manifested in architectural gardens, and to the intellectually comprehensible forms and regularity gained by the light of the intellect, and still there is a secret inclination in us towards 'obscurer places' where we can feel those aspects of the 'mysterious being' which would be too powerful for 'our weak eyes'.

18 Lord Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times,* 316. – I have already discussed this passage from another point of view in my 'Francis Hutcheson and the Emerging Aesthetic Experience', *Journal of Scottish Thought* 7 (2016), 171–209, 189–90.

The obscure and vast sylvan landscape offers a fuller, more profoundly emotional experience of the divine in nature, than the clear and transparent prospects of a garden or the bright pages of the book of nature. As if ancient religious practices (as, for example, of the Druids) associated with such natural scenes may overcome the mitigated rational theology (or physico-theology) of the age. Beside the triumph of the 'unknown force' over the power of intellect, it brings forward a "temporal factor", the astonishment of this sylvan experience partly comes from the encounter of the ancient past, so this imagined travel is being undertaken in both space and time. Nevertheless, in these examples from Shaftesbury's *Moralists*, we can see that certain natural prospects and views (from the rude rocks to desert and vast woods) are more appropriate occasions to encounter Nature in its genuine form or as a whole, and to feel or to relish its divine force than those designed gardens offer independently of their imitated natural elements and ingredients. Moreover, the form of imaginative journey is not accidental: it refers, on the one hand, to the indispensability of movement, and, on the other, to a special state of mind, both are needed to see and to relish these scenes.

Another textual source or reference of Hutcheson's above cited passage can be a less-discussed essay written by Joseph Addison in *The Tatler* No. 161.[19] In this we can read a long description of a dream: the dreamer is dreaming a journey in the Alps. After Shaftesbury's desert and sylvan scenes imagined in an enthusiastic state of mind, this is a dreamed series of mountain scenes[20]:

> I fancied my self among the *Alpes*, and, as it is natural in a Dream, seemed every Moment to bound from one Summit to another, 'till at last, after having made this Airy Progress over the Tops of several Mountains, I arrived at the very Centre of those broken Rocks and Precipices. I here, methought, saw a prodigious Circuit of Hills, that reached above the Clouds, and encompassed a large Space of Ground, which I had a great Curiosity to look into. I thereupon continued my former Way of travelling through a great Variety of Winter Scenes, 'till I had gained the Top of these white Mountains, which seemed another

19 Even if excerpts of this essay are presented together with passages from the more familiar ones of *The Spectator* (Nos. 37, 414, 417 and 477) in Hunt's and Willis' canonical anthology, cf. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (eds.), *The Genius of the Place. The English Landscape Garden 1620–1820* (London, 1975), 139–40.

20 To be sure, I could also cite descriptions of mountain prospects from the same imaginative journey of *The Moralists*. Cf. Lord Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times,* 315–16.

> *Alpes* of Snow. I looked down from hence into a spacious Plain, which was surrounded on all Sides by this Mound of Hills, and which presented me with the most agreeable Prospect I had ever seen. There was a greater Variety of Colours in the Embroidery of the Meadows, a more lively Green in the Leaves and Grass, a brighter Chrystal in the Streams, than what I ever met with in any other Region. The Light it self had something more shining and glorious in it than that of which the Day is made in other Places. I was wonderfully astonished at the Discovery of such a Paradise amidst the Wildness of those cold, hoary Landskips which lay about it; . . . The Place was covered with a wonderful Profusion of Flowers, that without being disposed into regular Borders and Parterres, grew promiscuously, and had a greater Beauty in their natural Luxuriancy and Disorder, than they could have received from the Checks and Restraints of Art.[21]

The last scene of a garden (a Paradise) contains that kind of "aesthetic" experience ('the greater Beauty in . . . Disorder') from 1710 to which Hutcheson would refer fifteen years later.[22] Addison is dreaming about a constellation of the 'cold, hoary Landskips' of Alpine mountains and the Paradise-like garden of 'the most agreeable Prospect'.[23] The garden is rounded by a 'prodigious

21 *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1987; 3 vols), II, 398.

22 This observation concerning gardens is not even the invention of Addison, he only popularizes Sir William Temple's opinion about the Chinese gardens and their 'disorder' introduced in his *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus* of 1685. Cf., for example, Lee Andrew Elioseff, *The Cultural Milieu of Addison's Literary Criticism* (Austin, 1963), 117–18. Already the first description of the 'natural garden' written by Henry Wotton in 1624 contained that 'Gardens should bee *irregular*'. Cited by S. Lang, 'The Genesis of the English Landscape Garden' in Nikolaus Pevsner (ed.), *The Picturesque Garden and its Influence outside the British Isles* (Washington, 1974), 1–29, 9.

23 We can find other examples of this combination of garden with some kind of natural wilderness in Addison's writings, like in his letter of 1699 to William Congreve on Fontaine-bleau's garden, and also in his *Spectator* essay No. 37 (1711) on Leonora's garden who was inspired by romances. Cf. Walter Graham (ed.), *The Letters of Joseph Addison* (Oxford, 1941), 11, and *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1965; 5 vols), I, 158. (from now own, I refer to this edition with volume and page number in parentheses) And most famously, in his *Spectator* No. 414: 'our *English* Gardens are not so entertaining to the Fancy as those in *France* and *Italy*, where we see a large Extent of Ground covered over with an agreeable mixture of Garden and Forest, which represent every where an artificial Rudeness, much more charming than the Neatness and Elegancy' of English gardens. (III, 551) This locus seems another evident source of Hutcheson's paragraph cited above, though Addison mentions 'nobler and more exalted kind of Pleasure' here, and not simply 'more Pleasure'.

Circuit of Hills', which maintains a view and a regard of that 'wonderfully astonish[ing]', 'spacious Plain' where this irregular garden is located. It has nothing to do with some imitated wilderness in a garden, mountain scenes in their raw naturalness, vastness and inhumanity are indispensable elements of the whole experience of this dreamt journey. Moreover, the movement is highly emphatic in this description. We are moving through different types of mountain prospects until we reach and 'discover' the place of beauty which is also 'spacious' in itself. The Paradise garden with its beaming colours, vividness, wonderful profusion and fecundity is very like the examples of beauty Addison takes as the third type of the pleasures of the imagination in *The Spectator* No. 412. (III, 542–4)[24] Greatness and novelty – the other two types of the pleasures of the imagination – belong mostly but not exclusively to the mountain scenes: hills with 'broken Rocks and Precipices' offer great prospect, the 'great Variety of Winter Scenes' are novel. Thus the course of experience starts off the great (sublime) mountain landscapes through the amazingly varied novel scenes to the brightness, profusion and exuberance of a spacious plain, the beautiful garden-like landscape of meadows and streams.

The movement of the perspective is not accidental, it suggests that Nature as a whole can be expressed only through all of these three aspects of natural views, that is, through all the "aesthetic" qualities which permanently strengthen each other, and which are perceived in course of time by a dreaming spectator-walker. This encounter with the totality in nature needs not the regard of a painter, but that of a wanderer, and not an ordinary state of mind, but that of a dreamer. (As in the case of Shaftesbury's sylvan and desert scenes, here 'Paradise' may also refer to an ancient or genuine state of nature, so this journey too is happening in both space and time.)

However, despite the conspicuous parallels between these two earlier texts and Hutcheson's passage of the *Inquiry,* it is telling that the systematic philosophical treatise discusses neither the intrinsic values of natural scenes, nor the inevitability of movement (walking, wandering, etc.), nor that of a special state of mind. In his *Inquiry*, Hutcheson tries to appropriate the new landscape experience in the form of imitated 'Wildnesses' of a 'large and spacious' scene within the framework of man-made garden design. His domesticating efforts

24 Addison speaks about the beauty perceived in another member of the same species (connecting this to the erotic attraction and eventually to the propagation of the species), which beauty 'work[s] in the Imagination with . . . Warmth and Violence', and the beauty of colours in which 'the Eye takes most Delight'. While he just fleetingly – as it were, obligatorily – mentions here the beauty in 'the Symmetry and Proportion of Parts', and in 'the Arrangement and Disposition of Bodies'.

may indirectly signify the new, uncommon energy arisen in the soul of a walker on the series of views of (rude, untouched) nature. Here, as in his mountain landscape dream of *The Tatler* essay, Addison too finds 'a Paradise amidst the Wildness' which, at first sight, can remind us of Hutcheson's description of the blended beauty of garden, but it is a natural or "original" garden, a Paradise, not the result of human design and cultivation, and actually it shows a different approach to the relationship of garden and landscape. While Addison considers the garden-like form as the fulfilment of his mountain experience lived intensively in his dream – in the same way as beauty 'gives a Finishing to any thing that is Great or Uncommon' (III, 542) –, Hutcheson uses the element of wilderness only as an effective tool for 'more' (not even higher) pleasure offered by man-made gardens. This 'more Pleasure' is not identical with any kind of astonishment, Hutcheson's spectators of the garden seem to preserve their ordinary state of mind before and during the experience.

Finally, the transcendental overtone is completely missing from Hutcheson's passage on the beauty of garden, while Shaftesbury associates his sylvan scene with the past of Druids and the encounter of the mysterious Being otherwise not accessible, and Addison immediately populates (and allegorizes) his 'happy Region' of 'spacious Plain' with 'the Goddess of *Liberty*'.[25] In sum, the elements of the intrinsic value of nature in her genuine state, the movement of the beholder, the special state of mind and the hints of transcendence (which is expressed neither in the visible order or design of the Creation, nor in a mystical union with the divine) are constitutive for the emergence of modern landscape.

## 2. Steps outside

Before I proceed, I want to make it clear that by landscape I mean some natural view or scene (or, more exactly, a series of views or scenes) and not a piece of landscape painting. I agree with Lang who claims, concerning the fashion of landscape gardens from the eighteenth century onwards, that nobody before Horace Walpole 'mentions Claude in connection with gardening. . . . There are

25 *The Tatler*, II, 398. – In the description of 'Greatness' (natural sublime) of *The Spectator* No. 412, Addison will already write that 'a spacious Horison is an Image of Liberty' (III, 541), which may retrospectively refer to the fact that this Paradise garden is closer to the sublime nature than to a designed garden, and may also mark the change of the usage of emblems in the explanations of natural experiences.

several more objections to the theory of an influence of Claude and Gaspard' on the design of landscape gardens at least until the middle of eighteenth century.[26] By the same token, I think that the invention of the "aesthetic" or "proto-aesthetic" experience of landscape in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was also independent of the canvasses of Lorrain, Poussin, Dughet or Salvator Rosa. It is quite telling that his much-discussed essay of *The Spectator* No. 414, Addison speaks about natural prospects, then artificial 'Landskips', finally gardens (in this linear order) in the context of the comparison and interaction between nature and art. The second point could have given a perfect occasion to him to discuss landscape painting, instead, he tells us about 'the prettiest Landskip [he] ever saw' which was the projected image of a camera obscura (probably seen in Greenwich Park, according to the editor, Donald F. Bond). Camera obscura was an intriguing technical and scientific experiment, and also a well-known metaphor of mind in philosophical texts of the time; to Addison, however, here it offers an exceptional experience of a living and moving (!) picture of the natural prospect of a 'navigable River' and 'a Park' on the wall of that dark room. Beside the 'Novelty of such a sight' which is naturally pleasant to the imagination, 'the chief Reason [of its Pleasantness] is its near Resemblance to Nature, as it does not only, like other Pictures, give the Colour and Figure, but the Motion of the Things it represents.' (III, 550–1) Neither in this essay nor in the other pieces of the Imagination series Addison has a single word about landscape painting.[27]

26 Lang, 'The Genesis of the English Landscape Garden', 6.

27 When Addison analyses the effects of literary description, earlier, in 1697, in his 'Essay on Virgil's *Georgics*', cf. Richard Hurd (ed.), *The Works of Right Honourable Joseph Addison* (London, 1954; 4 vols), I, 154–61, 158; or later in *The Spectator* No. 416, he writes: 'Words, when well chosen, have so great a Force in them, that a Description often gives us more lively Ideas than the Sight of things themselves. The Reader finds a Scene drawn in stronger Colours, and painted more to the Life in his Imagination, by the help of Words, than by an actual Survey of the Scene which they describe. In this Case the Poet seems to get the better of Nature; he takes, indeed, the Landskip after her, but gives it more vigorous touches, heightens its Beauty, and so enlivens the whole Piece, that the Images, which flow from the Objects themselves, appear weak and faint, in Comparison of those that come from the Expression.' (III, 560–1) We might apply it to landscape painting (by substituting words with well-chosen colours, touches, or skilful figuration), but probably Addison would disagree. Even if he uses extensively the metaphors of painting in this literary context, or in the explanation of the operation of imagination in general. In No. 412, he writes: 'the different Colours of a Picture, when they are well disposed, set off one another, and receive an additional Beauty from the Advantage of their Situation' (III, 544) – but this is a general remark about the effects of the dexterous disposition of colours which concerns neither the particular subject of the picture, nor the comparison between

Elsewhere, generally speaking, rather classical literary genres (georgic and pastoral) make an impact on him when he wants to formulate the landscape experience.[28]

In this section, through examples taken from two seventeenth-century authors, I am going to show that the invention of modern landscape was possible only by reducing the "allegorization"[29] of the garden and overturning the vertical structure that derived from the relatively "static" contemplation of the highest position provided mostly by Christian-Neo-Platonic discourse. In the evolution of landscape as an "aesthetic" experience it was a crucial point when the element of vertical elevation was replaced with some kind of horizontal comprehension or embrace of the natural prospect.[30]

My first example of the modern stepping out into nature, is taken from an influential and still densely allegorical novel, *El Criticón* written by Baltasar Gracián in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a pilgrimage. The second chapter of its first book tells the story of Andrenio who had been slumbering in a cavern of a mountain in the island of Saint Helena, then he was freed and awakened by an enormous earthquake. Andrenio set his eyes

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the presence of the object and its representation in art.

28 Before the *Spectator* essays, we can see that approach in his 'Essay on Virgil's *Georgics*' or in *Dialogues upon Ancient Medals* (the beginning of Dialogue III). Cf. Mavis Batey, *Oxford Gardens. The University's Influence on Garden History* (Amersham, 1982), 95–8. – In *The Tatler* No. 218, he is very explicit: 'Those who are conversant in the Writings of polite Authors, receive an additional Entertainment from the Country, as it revives in their Memories those charming Descriptions with which such Authors do frequently abound.' *The Tatler*, III, 140. It seems that literary memories (and schemes) are not the constitutive elements of the natural experience, only offer 'additional' pleasures. In the *Dialogues*, Addison reflects also on the exaggerations of poetical imagination: 'It is Cicero's observation on the plane-tree that makes so flourishing a figure in one of Plato's dialogues, that it did not draw its nourishment from the fountain that ran by it and watered its roots, but from the richness of the style that describes it.' *The Works of Joseph Addison*, ed. George Washington Greene (Philadelphia, 1867; 6 vols) II, 113.

29 Of course, lessening the significance of allegories in gardens and landscape gardens or in the descriptions of natural prospect is a very long and complicated process, cf. Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression. Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973), 19–47; John Dixon Hunt, 'Emblem and Expression in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden' in idem, *Gardens and the Picturesque. Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, London, 1992), 75–102. – Addison puts it clear: allegories, metaphors and allusions are indispensable tools for a writer to affect the readers' imagination. (III, 578)

30 About this shift, Tuveson wrote in detail in his seminal book: Ernest Lee Tuveson, *The Imagination as a Means of Grace: Locke and the Aesthetics of Romanticism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), 56–71.

on the world outside of the cave for the first time in his life. His position of seeing is not a view from a summit or a tower top. (He did not climb a mountain, on the contrary, his mountain had had to be collapsed before he could see.) In this chapter, Andrenio, as an allegorical figure of *mundo natural* is talking to Critilo, the allegorical figure of *mundo civil* about his first impressions on the newly discovered natural world. Albeit the whole initial situation is conceived and fully allegorical, Andrenio's reactions are still noteworthy.[31] Having stepped out into the world from his cave, he is astonished and shocked by the view of the 'grand Theatre of Heaven and Earth':

> I would here express, but it is impossible, the intense violence of my Affections, the extravagant Raptures of my Soul . . . I beheld . . . the Sea, the Land, the Heaven, and each severally, and altogether, and in the view of each I transported my self without thoughts of ever ending, admiring, enjoying, and contemplating a fruition which could never satiate me.[32]

In this description some elements are especially emphatic, namely the vision of the objects together as a whole and separately in themselves, the strong and rich emotional effects which stemmed directly from the natural scenes (not as the results of some later or additional spiritual reflection), the theatrical nature of this prospect (which may refer to both the inevitable position of a special spectatorship and to the performative character of the view), and the profusion and the inexhaustibility of the sensuous experience. Critilo's reflection on it is also intriguing:

> O! How much I envy thee . . . this unknown happiness of thine, the only priviledge of the first Man, and you, the Faculty of seeing all at once, and that with Observation, the Greatness, Beauty, Harmony, Stability,

31 Especially if we consider a very similar example in Boyle's *Usefulness of Natural Philosophy* of 1671 (which is far from being an allegorical fiction), in which Boyle speaks about the case of a maid who was blind in the first eighteen years of her life: the girl's vehement and emotionally strong reactions on the visible world are very like Andrenio's. Cf. *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London, 1772; 6 vols), II, 6.

32 Baltasar Gracián, *The Critick, Written originally in Spanish by Lorenzo Gracian One of the Best Wits in Spain*, trans. Paul Rycaut (London, 1681), 15. In French: *L'Homme detrompé, ou Le Criticon de Baltasar Gracián, Traduit de l'Espagnol en Française*, trans. Guillaume de Maunory (Paris, 1696), 18. – Only the first book of the three-volume *El Criticón* was available in English and French translations.

> and Variety of this created Fabrick. . . . For we enter into the World with the Eyes of our Understanding shut, and when we open them unto Knowledge the Custom of seeing hath rendred the greatest Wonders, neither strange, nor admired at the Judgments disclosure. Therefore the wise Worthies have repaired much of this defect by reflections, looking back again as it were to a new Birth, making every thing, by a search and examination into its Nature, a new subject of astonishment; admiring, and criticizing on their Perfections. Like those, who walk in a delicious Garden, diverted solely with their own Thoughts, not observing at first the artificial adornments, and variety of Flowers; yet afterwards return back to view each Plant, and Flower with great Curiosity: So we enter into this Garden of the Universe walking from our Birth, until our Death, without the least glance on the Beauty, and Perfection of it: unless some wiser Heads chance to turn back, and renew their Pleasure by a Review, and Contemplation.[33]

In and by his first vehement sensory impressions of the natural world, Andrenio possesses the theologically and morally distinguished regard of the first man, who is capable of seeing everything at once, and also separately, and of fully and deeply enjoying the order of the cosmos – not in the framework of the ancient Greek *theoria tou kosmou*,[34] but in the "proto-aesthetic" qualities of 'Greatness, Beauty, Harmony, Stability, and Variety', in which we can see perhaps the best prefiguration of Addison's above-mentioned "aesthetic" triad of 'Greatness' (i.e. sublime), 'Beauty' and 'Novelty'. Since harmony is the beauty of sounds, and stability and variety together can constitute the dynamic structure of novelty.[35]

In this discourse, albeit it is still evidently allegorical, the vertical structure of ascent was replaced by a horizontal one: by 'a search and examination into' the nature of things to discover wonders in them. Moreover, the mode of this

33 Gracián, *The Critick*, 16; idem, *L'Homme detrompé*, 18–19.

34 According to Ritter, the Christian–Neo-Platonic vocabulary of the ascent of the soul from the body to the Soul relies on this earlier Greek philosophical tradition which dealt with nature *(physis)* for its own sake, that is, tried to grasp the Whole in it, to participate in the divine in it, without any practical interests of glory or profit. Cf. Joachim Ritter, 'Landschaft: Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft' in idem, *Subjektivität. Sechs Aufsätze* (Frankfurt am Main, 1974), 141–63, 143–4.

35 As I argued elsewhere, cf. Endre Szécsényi, 'The Regard of the First Man: On Joseph Addison's Aesthetic Categories', *History of European Ideas* 43 (2017), 582–97, 595.

experience of nature, at least the reformed or regained way of it, is figured in the form of a walk in 'this Garden of the Universe'. To be sure, both 'walking' and 'garden' are metaphors here, still the description may suggest that these terrestrial, sensuous, ordinary scenes are ever-amazing and enjoyable, they constitute eminent occasions for the walking beholder to experience the presence of the divine. To reach this prelapsarian state of mind other ones need enormous efforts of reflection by the aids of the wisest, but it is not impossible. Nevertheless, Andrenio – through his regard of 'the first Man'[36] – discovers nature by her "proto-aesthetic" qualities in a horizontal structure where the beholder can and must move to gather the series of views and scenes. Andrenio's path is different from a purgatorial ascent, it is rather a winding walk among the terrestrial and sensuous things during which he is capable of 'making every thing . . . a new subject of astonishment'. Of course, walking may contain several moments when one stops and stands to "contemplate" the view, nonetheless walking (expatiating, travelling, etc.) in itself provides a new model in which nature as landscape could gradually emerge.

The movement of the beholder as a major feature of the experience offers a new mode of perception in which the walking or wandering beholder can acquire or touch the transcendence *in* and *not beyond* the view. My next example is taken from John Dennis's reports on his Alpine journey as a part of his Grand Tour, which was published in 1693.[37] In his oft-cited letter dated 21 October, 1688, Dennis writes:

36 This seems an "innocent" state of mind, and this innocence may be echoed in Addison's famous phrase of 'innocent Pleasures' in his Imagination series (No. 411). At the same time, as Picciotto writes, during the seventeenth century, innocence begins meaning 'objectivity' in the discourse of the new experimental sciences, 'the physical world itself could become an object of originary desire. As instruments of innocent perception, these observers seek to restore their readers to the world in which they already live.' Moreover, 'Addison and Steele's persona [in *The Spectator*] was identified with an ideal spectatorial body, modelled on the artificial organs of the microscope and telescope: a walking instrument of truth'. Joanna Picciotto, *Labors of Innocence in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, MA, London, 2010), 510 and 567. At the same time, the earlier interpretation of innocence also plays an important role in Addison's "aesthetic" theory, for example, in *The Spectator* No. 477, one of the most famous essay of his aesthetics of garden, Addison explicitly claims that 'the most innocent Delights in Human Life' offered by gardens can be traced back to the pleasures of the Paradise, 'the Habitation of our First Parents before the Fall.' (IV, 192)

37 It is only very probable that Addison read the French or English translation of Gracián's novel – as he remarks: 'there are very few celebrated Books, either in the Learned or the Modern Tongues, which I am not acquinted with'. (I, 2.) –, but it is quite sure that he knew Dennis's letters, as we can see, for example, in the phrases

> We entered into Savoy in the Morning, and past over Mount Aiguebellette. The ascent was the more easie, because it wound about the Mountain. But as soon as we had concque'd one half of it, the unusual heighth in which we found our selves, the impeding Rock that hung over us, the dreadful Depth of the Precipice, and the Torrent that roar'd at the bottom, gave us such a view as was altogether new and amazing. Its craggy Cliffs, which we half discover'd, thro the misty gloom of the Clouds that surrounded them, sometimes gave us a horrid Prospect. And sometimes its face appear'd Smooth and Beautiful as the most even and fruitful Vallies. So different from themselves were the different parts of it: In the very same place Nature was seen Severe and Wanton. In the mean time we walk'd upon the very brink, in a literal sense, of Destruction. . . . The sense of all this produc'd different motions in me, viz. a delightful Horrour, a terrible Joy, and at the same time, that I was infinitely pleas'd, I trembled.[38]

The traveller's aim was to pass through the mountain not to climb it for the top view (or for its own sake[39]); here the route itself at an 'unusual heighth'

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he used in the report on the round-trip around Geneva Lake in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c in the Years of 1701, 1702*, *1703* (1705; London, 1767), 258–61. See also Robert Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant* (Cambridge, 2015), 127. – Richard Steele, in *The Spectator* No. 364, appreciates the useful ends of a Grand Tour as a part of education, and, in a later omitted passage, he warmly recommends Addison's *Remarks on Italy* (cf. III, 369n) as the best guidebook, but he mentions neither the exceptional experience of Alpine mountains or countryside landscapes near Rome, nor the pieces of Roman landscape painting amongst the benefits of a Continental tour. In his classical book, Hussey claims: 'The awakening in England to an appreciation of landscape was a direct result of the Grand Tour . . . Not only did the passage of the Alps and the journey through Italy compel some attention being given to scenery, but in Italy the traveller encountered landscape painting.' Both such landscape poets as James Thomson and John Dyer, and the landowners who improved their grounds 'adopted, as a model of correct composition, the Claudian landscape.' Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque. Studies in a Point of View* (London and New York, 1927), 12. But we cannot find the tokens of this picturesque fashion in *The Spectator* essays, see also footnote 27.

38 John Dennis, *Miscellanies Verse and Prose* (London, 1693), 133–4.

39 In the scholarship, there is a deeply rooted tradition which considers Francesco Petrarca's 'for its own sake' climbing of Mont Ventoux near Avignon as a corner stone in the history of landscape or landscape painting, and also in that of modern aesthetics. I have no space here to give an account of the different interpretations of this famous expedition and its possible connections to the present topic. For Petrarca and Mont Ventoux, see, for example, Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art* (London, 1949), 6–12; Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London, 1995), 419–21;

on the mountain is the point; the ascent was 'more easie', while the emotionally demanding part of the journey consisted of the walk 'upon the very brink . . . of Destruction'. In addition, this height does not provide an open view, a visually comprehensible vastness of the horizon, not even a portion of sky (altogether it was very far from the "picturesque"). The extraordinary effects of the passage, the famous 'delightful Horrour' and 'terrible Joy' come from the very blocking of the view, the hindrance of the free prospect. The 'misty gloom of the Clouds' around the close opposite mountain, and also the 'impeding Rock' above and the only audible roaring torrent below constitute a very different position for the beholder. He is not elevated but swallowed by the experience which is unfolding before his eyes and in his ears, and is changing from the 'horrid Prospect' to the 'Smooth and Beautiful', valley-like scene. The ever-changing views and sounds amount to the most important part of the experience: it is 'altogether new and amazing'. It has nothing to do with a fixed point of view.

About a hundred and thirty years earlier, in the middle of the sixteenth century, when he returned home from Italy, Pieter Bruegel the Elder took approximately the same trip across the Alps, during which he drew a series of Alpine landscapes, necessarily always from a fixed point of view (this series is considered as a milestone in the history of European landscape painting[40]). In most of these drawings, the rude rocks and gloomy cliffs appear as parts of a dark or threatening background, and some vast and open prospect of a valley (sometimes with a river, or a distant town, or with some human or animal figures, groves, bushes, etc.) stands in the centre of the composition. Bruegel stopped and began to draw where the view opened to some peaceful, familiar and human prospect amongst the wilderness. Dennis's description shows and appreciates a completely different aspect of this passage, it reports an evolving experience in which the series of mostly bare, inhuman and closed scenes produces shocking and exceptionally astonishing but enjoyable impressions

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Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. E. C. Otté (London, 1871; 5 vols), II, 419; Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (Vienna, New York, n.d.), 153–4; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (1959; Seattle and London, 1997), 49–50; Ritter, 'Landschaft', 141–50; Ruth Groh – Dieter Groh, 'Petrarca und der Mont Ventoux', *Merkur* 46 (1992), 290–307; László Kisbali, 'A modern esztétika születése és a hegymászás szelleme [The Birth of Modern Aesthetics and the Spirit of Mountaineering]', *BUKSZ* [Budapest Review of Books] 21 (2009), 136–7.

40 See, e.g., Ludwig Münz, *Bruegel: The Drawings* (London, 1961).

on the traveller. And the continuous changing of perspectives which comes from the movement of the beholder seem to play an eminent part in transforming the merely horrid views into delightful ones.

In Dennis's letter, the traveller whose mountain experience unfolded immediately in time was swallowed by the spatial dimensions and was overwhelmed by the stimuli of the sensuous: the obscure visible and the extreme audible. Obscurity, moreover, has a potential – not yet fully exploited here by Dennis, but, as we have seen, acknowledged by Shaftesbury in his sylvan scene – to activate, to warm, to inspire the imagination, and, with this, to maintain movement and dynamism in mind and, so to speak, to avoid tranquillity. It seems that the soul needs enrichment from the terrestrial instead of getting rid of its impulses and stimuli for some more spiritual elevation or purgation.

Three days later, having mentioned the traditional contrast – a commonplace in the growing literature of Grand Tour – between the garden of Italy and the crude, uncultivated and threatening mountains of the Alps, Dennis claims that these mountains were not parts of the original Creation, so they cannot be explained within the framework of some providential plan. The mountain experience of the traveller is beyond the 'delight that is consistent with Reason, a delight that creates or improves Meditation.' This signifies the inapplicability of some traditional intellectual schemes to grasp and understand that experience: neither the traditional Neo-Platonic–Christian ascent from the sensuous to the meditative-spiritual, nor the Protestant tradition of empiricist meditation cultivated by Joseph Hall, Robert Boyle and other seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century scientists and divines[41] provide the right approach here.

> …transporting Pleasures follow'd the sight of the Alpes, and what unusual transports think you were those, that were mingled with horrours, and sometimes almost with despair? But if these Mountains were not a Creation, but form'd by universal Destruction, when the Arch with a mighty flaw dissolv'd and fell into the vast Abyss . . . then are these Ruines of the old World the greatest wonders of the New. For they are not only vast, but horrid, hideous, ghastly Ruins. . . . [Later when we] descend[ed] thro the very Bowels as it were of the Mountain, for we seem'd to be enclos'd on all sides: What an astonishing Prospect was there? Ruins upon Ruins in monstrous Heaps, and Heaven and Earth

41 Cf. Courtney Weiss Smith, *Empiricist Devotions: Science, Religion, and Poetry in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Charlottesville and London, 2016), 1–68.

> confounded. The uncouth Rocks that were above us, Rocks that were void of all form, but what they had receiv'd from Ruine; the frightful view of the Precipices, and the foaming Waters that threw themselves headlong down them, made all such a Consort up for the Eye, as that sort of Musick does for the Ear, in which Horrour can be joyn'd with Harmony.[42]

Inspired by Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1681, 1684), Dennis offers an explanation of the existence of this 'astonishing Prospect': the Alps are the results of a gigantic destruction (produced by the biblical Floods), a cataclysm which left behind an enormous ruin (of the original symmetrical Paradise-garden).[43] Thus the transcendental cause of the current view is a series of "events" in historic time, and not an eternal divine "production". The wandering beholder is literally swallowed in the 'Bowels . . . of the Mountain', and is shocked by uncommon and horrid prospects and sounds. We cannot be farther from an open summit-view associated with elevation and spiritual consummation.

Yet the transcendence is directly given: 'Ruins upon Ruins in monstrous Heaps, and Heaven and Earth confounded'. The divine in nature is not a rationally grasped order, nor even a comprehensible Whole in an open horizon, but it is an evolving experience in which we are entangled with sensuous vastness, we are experiencing the depth (not height) where the sensuous and the spiritual, earth and heaven are inseparably bound together. It is the gradually unfolding perception of an immense irregularity (which was itself the result of "historical" events: the Fall of man and the Floods), a chaos that can only be born through transporting feelings.[44] Beyond the sphere of pastoral

42 Dennis, *Miscellanies Verse and Prose*, 138–9.

43 From Gilbert Burnet's *Travels* (1687) through James Thomson's *Liberty* to Edward Young's *Night Thoughts*, there are several works containing parts inspired by the idea of the cosmic ruin of *Sacred Theory*. Cf. Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, 225 ff. – At the same time, there were critics also, as, for example, Richard Bentley who claimed that originally Eden must have been 'a land of Hills and Valleys with an infinite Variety of Scenes and Prospects' in one of his Boyle lectures. Cf. Martin C. Battestin, *The Providence of Wit. Aspects of Form in Augustan Literature and Arts* (Oxford, 1974), 37.

44 The whole description has a Longinian overtone (Dennis was one of the first critics who exploited *Peri Hypsous* in his literary criticism), this distinction between 'delight' and 'transporting Pleasures' may originate in the Greek text, especially, but not exclusively, in its section xxxv. As also, the passages of Burnet's *Sacred Theory* about the quality later called 'natural sublime' can be interpreted as an 'extended paraphrase' of section xxxv. Cf. Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant*, 86–8.

harmony, beyond the sphere of meditative elevation, Dennis offers a fresh look, a new regard: let us consider these 'monstrous Heaps' of 'Heaven and Earth confounded'. This regard transforms these uncommon, inhuman, irregular natural scenes into 'the greatest wonders' of our world: an astonishing and moving mountain landscape. It seems to me that the movement of the beholder makes these 'transporting Pleasures' possible, makes them intensively 'transporting'. Passing through this extraordinary space makes the experience deeply lived and felt, makes this "moving" in the emotional sense. Earlier the sensual or natural offered the occasion of raising lofty thoughts and considerations about the spiritual, in Dennis's case the theological or cosmological perspective of the Creation as a gigantic ruin prepares the mind of the walker to see, to hear, to taste, to feel the series of natural scenes as enjoyable landscape of divine Nature.

This regard can be considered – in Hepburn's words – a 'metaphysical thought-component [which] is *externally related* to [the] scene'; but there is another version of the exercise of 'metaphysical imagination' when 'the metaphysical imaginative schema is better described as *internal* to the appreciative experience itself, since it is concerned, perhaps, with the relation between subject and object'.[45] This will be the case with Addison when he speaks about the landscape experience in the context of polite imagination, and when he connects that primarily to the 'Great'[46] and the 'Novel' qualities of natural scenes. Being epistemologically mostly Lockean, Addison's version of the imagination is not a purely creative faculty which would be capable of fully determining the form of our experience from within,[47] yet his imagination or

45 Ronald W. Hepburn, 'Landscape and the Metaphysical Imagination', *Environmental Values* 5 (1996), 191–204, 197.

46 Tuveson claims that the 'category of the "great" . . . is a means of implementing the ideal of the horizontal comprehension of nature.' And here Tuveson refers us to the last essay of *The Spectator* written by Henry Grove, in which the universe is described as an 'immense theatre', within which man is a spectator, but his 'spiritual ascent consists in increased capacity to grasp the grandeur of the scene and to understand the "hidden springs of Nature's operation."' 'Thus comprehension of wider and wider circles of knowledge, rather than spiritual ascent in the strict sense of the phrase, is the vision of the heavenly life;' and the natural sublime offers this experience 'here on earth.' Tuveson, *The Imagination as a Means of Grace*, 105–6.

47 According to Myers, Addison, following Locke, thinks that though 'the initial reception of the [retinal] image is passive', 'we learn from experience to interpret [the two-dimensional visual idea] as having depth', that is, by means of 'Judgement' and 'an habitual custom' (Locke's words) we can perceive convex body; so this 'notion that what we perceive is partly the result of our judgements about optical data allowed Addison to present the imagination as an active and creative process,

fancy – which is closely connected to dreaming activity – must be much more than a delicate instrument, a kind of fine filter, through which we can, so to speak, mechanically discover new aspects and shades of the natural world during our walks.[48]

## 3. Addison, walking, aesthetic experience

Addison liked walking from his years at Magdalen College onwards[49] and also writing about interesting walks during which he perceived and enjoyed significant natural experiences usually associated with some other-worldly connotations. For example, in the pastoral essay of *The Tatler* No. 218, he tells about a Spring-time walk into the countryside in order to 'divert [himself] among the Fields and Meadows, while the Green was new, and the Flowers in their Bloom'; the 'unspeakable Pleasure' offered by the fields and meadows during walking accompanies with the reflection on 'the Bounty of Providence, which has made the most pleasing and most beautiful Objects the most

filling the gap between sensation and perception'. Katherine Myers, 'Ways of Seeing: Joseph Addison, Enchantment and the Early Landscape Garden', *Garden History* 41 (2013), 3–20, 7–8. I do not have space here to elaborate this topic, but I think that it is much more complicated, let it suffice to mention only the famous Lockean distinction between judgement and fancy or wit, which was exploited by Addison himself in his *Spectator* essays on wit; according to this, judgement is the means of intellect, while imagination is sharply differentiated from understanding in Addison's Imagination series.

48 Walking or the walkable landscape is not the only model to Addison for describing "aesthetic" experience of nature, he also applies, for example, the old metaphor of theatre (as we have seen in Grove's essay of *The Spectator*, No. 635 or in *El Criticón*): '[T]he whole Universe is a kind of Theatre filled with Objects that either raise in us Pleasure, Amusement or Admiration.' (III, 453) At the same time, the "performative" character is essential in this case, too.

49 Cf. Batey, *Oxford Gardens*, 91–103.; idem, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination: Joseph Addison's Influence on Early Landscape Gardens', *Garden History* 33 (2005), 189–209. – Similarly, in his inaugural lecture delivered before the community of Glasgow University, Hutcheson calls forth his fond memories of his student's years, amongst them he stresses the particular site of their 'gentle, friendly convers[ation]': 'we walked in the gardens of the university or in the lovely countryside around the city, which the Glotta [i.e. the River Clyde] washes with its gentle stream. As I recalled all these things, my departure for Scotland seemed happy and cheerful and full of joy.' Francis Hutcheson, 'On the Natural Sociability of Mankind' in idem, *Logic, Metaphysics, and the Natural Sociability of Mankind*, eds. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne (Indianapolis, 2006), 189–216, 192.

ordinary and most common'.[50] In *The Spectator* No. 110, he reports on 'a long Walk of aged Elms' to 'the Ruins of an old Abby' when already the cawing of 'the Rooks and Crows that rest upon the Tops' of the rocks is considered as 'a kind of natural Prayer to that Being who supplies the Wants of his whole Creation' (I, 453). In respect of landscape and walking or touring, some passages of his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, the report of his Grand Tour of 1699, can be connected to that mountain-feeling tradition whose major earlier proponent was Dennis.[51]

In the history of the garden and especially the landscape garden, Addison's essay of *The Spectator* No. 477 has had an eminent importance in which a new taste in gardening was influentially formulated. The same essay also proves that the garden was conceived from the perspective of walkable natural landscape: even the 'Humorist in Gardening', Addison himself, is 'pleased when [he is] *walking in a Labyrinth* of [his] own rising, not to know whether the next Tree [he will] meet with is an Apple or an Oak, an Elm or a Pear-tree.' (IV, 189 – my emphasis, E. Sz.) Despite the evident signs of reconciliation or synthesis between the conceptions of garden and landscape here and in other essays, the distinction between the two remains alive and intriguing. In *The Spectator* No. 417, for example, he gives a spectacular comparison between different writing styles and the qualities of his new "aesthetic" triad: '*Iliad* is like travelling through a Country uninhabited, where the Fancy is entertained with a thousand Savage Prospects of vast Desarts, wide uncultivated Marshes, huge Forests, mis-shapen Rocks and Precipices.' Thus the sublime (or great) natural landscape expresses best the heroic style of Homer, while '*Aeneid* is like a well-ordered Garden, where it is impossible to find out any Part unadorned, or cast our Eyes upon a single Spot, that does not produce some beautiful Plant or Flower.' The architectural garden, the man-made artificial nature represents the beautifying manner of Virgil. Finally, 'when we are in the *Metamorphosis*, we are walking on enchanted Ground, and nothing but Scenes of Magick lying round us.' (III, 564) Homer's sublime scenes and Ovid's enchanted prospects belong to some natural landscape, while Virgil's beautiful plots to the designed garden. What is telling is that we are – of course, metaphorically, still – 'travelling through' the *Iliad*'s landscape, and are 'walking' on the marvellous ground of the *Metamorphosis* – the characterization of Virgil's garden, however, is lacking the active verb expressing some passing-through of the beholder.[52]

50 *The Tatler*, III, 140 and 143.

51 Cf. footnote 37.

52 There are further similar examples in *The Spectator*, for example, in No. 160, Addison

Besides the acknowledgement of the inevitability of the movement in the cases of the sublime and the uncommon, this distinction between walkable landscapes and contemplative and/or pleasure garden can indirectly support my presupposition that the former somewhat preceded and established the new ideas concerning gardening, and this natural landscape associated with walking, expatiating, discovery, surprise, novelty, the uncustomary and the like – or in the Imagination series, with 'Great' and 'Uncommon' – meant the "engine" of the shift or transformation from the purely geometric, architectural and contemplative to the early eighteenth-century aesthetic which centres a new, live and dynamic relationship between the beholder and her object. At the same time, on a large scale, Addison as Neo-Classical critic, scholar and poet inclined towards preferring Virgil's style.

It is not without precedent in the scholarship, that the conception of garden and landscape is considered as a central issue or model in Addison's aesthetics in general. Michael G. Ketcham devotes a section entitled 'Esthetic Perception and the Metaphor of the Garden' to this topic in chapter iii ('The Psychology of Time') of his monograph. According to him, '*The Spectator* in effect dramatizes Locke's account of duration.' It can be illustrated also 'in the stream of impressions attributed to Mr. Spectator. . . . *The Spectator*'s scenes allude to our succession of perceptions as one essay follows the next in a kinematographic image of social life, but they can be lifted out of time, isolated, and moved into a form of timelessness.'[53] This dynamism (or tension) characterizes the *Spectator* project in general. 'Both the continuity and the intensity of time are elaborated in Addison's imaginary of the garden', and garden imaginary as a manifestation of this effort. 'The esthetic psychology of time, however, is characterized less by consciousness of succession than by a consciousness

speaks about two classes of poetical geniuses, in cases of Virgil or Milton 'a rich Soil in a happy Climate' is 'laid out in Walks and Parterres, and cut into Shape and Beauty by the Skill of the Gardener', while Homer's or Shakespeare's poetry 'produces a whole Wilderness of noble Plants rising in a thousand beautiful Landskips without any certain Order or Regularity' (II, 129). Or in No. 476, Addison characterizes two types of writing, the one, the 'Methodical Discourse' is associated with order, design, and 'regular Plantation', while the other, the essay-writing, with wildness, irregularity, and 'Wood': 'You may ramble in the one a whole Day together, and every Moment discover something or other that is new to you, but when you have done you will have but a confused imperfect Notion of the Place'. (IV, 186) – Tranquil contemplation of the whole prevails in the first, rambling and discovering new in the second, which, at the same time, because of its 'Irregularity and want of Method', needs more genius and knowledge for the author's part.

53 Michael G. Ketcham, *Transparent Designs: Reading, Performance, and Form in the* Spectator *Papers* (Athens, GA, 1985), 82–3.

of the moment that Addison typically represents through the image of the garden.' The garden is used as a metaphor concerning memory, composition and style, the pleasures of the wise man, and "aesthetics". 'The man in the garden . . . is no longer the man in contemplative retirement. Instead, he is the figure of the spectator whom we see in No. 206 [by Steele] – the man *who enjoys a walk* on a sunshiny day, and who attends to the movements of his mind.'[54] Ketcham acknowledges the distinctive role of movement, at the same time he dissolves the emerging conception of walkable landscape into that of 'expansive' garden. Addison's garden described in No. 414 'is laid out to provide the visitor with changing perspectives and with a variety of psychological effects that both stimulate and mirror the movements of the mind. The garden thus becomes an emblem of time not as continuity but as psychological expansion of a single moment.'[55]

In his recent book, Sean Silver sets up an intriguing parallel between Addison as a collector of medals and as a gardener, saying that these two practices 'were in his mind related.' From these activities, a dualism arises which 'makes its way into the aesthetic of the *Spectator*': 'Design and digression would appear to cross purposes with one another. The one is governed by Cartesian geometry even as it constructs a Cartesian self; the other relies on the abstracted logics of bodily movement to govern strange topographies of time and space.'[56] Based on *The Spectator* No. 447, Silver claims that 'paths' and 'walks' basically express custom and association, '[t]he mind as a whole develops channels or associative "paths" according to the single calculus of pleasure'.[57] Moreover, it appears that designed gardens and plantations have a priority to landscape walking, rambling or 'digression'. '[I]t was during the years that Addison was most thoroughly engaged in the pleasures of planting that he presented to the public his most formal aesthetic remarks'; his own garden in Bilton Hall and the 'walks' named after him in this Warwickshire garden, and in Oxford, or in the National Botanical Garden of Ireland (built by his botanic friend, Thomas Tickell), show the preference of 'straight lines' and the 'triumph of design, the articulation of method'. This traditional taste appears in his implicit and explicit allusions to the Classics: 'The most

54 Ibid., 86. – my emphasis, E. Sz.

55 Ibid., 87.

56 Sean Silver, *The Mind is a Collection: Case Studies in Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Philadelphia, 2016), 129–30.

57 Ibid., 139.

common way that a landscape can set Addison a pleasant associative task is by reminding him of Virgil's *Georgics*'.[58]

Both scholars put the conception of a garden into the centre of Addison's "aesthetic" thinking, and natural landscape is conceived from the viewpoint of a garden designer or 'Humourist in Gardening'. Their interpretations seem to have a similar structure: 'succession' is overcome by 'intense moment' (Ketcham), 'digression' by design (Silver); that is, eventually, walking and expatiating amongst (rude) natural scenes are overcome by the standards and values derived from Addison's Neo-Classical taste. Ketcham and Silver are probably right in general, even if the interpretations of Addison's conception of landscape garden show a more balanced picture in the reception from the eighteenth century onwards. Still I argue that Addison was aware of the new potential in walkable natural landscape which could undoubtedly include or absorb both the elements of the pastoral and georgic,[59] but its core was that uncustomary and astonishing experience of rude nature which were formulated in Burnet's, Dennis's and Lord Shaftesbury's writings in the framework of passing-through. The way of the appropriation of this natural experience might seem difficult for Addison, and not without ambiguities. To take only one example, the prospect of a 'desart' is either one of the eminent views of "aesthetic" great or sublime (cf. *The Spectator* Nos. 412 and 417, or the earlier No. 387), that is, it is regarded as the 'rude kind of Magnificence' which causes 'pleasing Astonishment' in the spectator (III, 540), or the sample of that bare and inhuman prospect which remains necessarily outside of the "aesthetic" or 'enchanted' sphere of innocent pleasures (cf. No. 413), it represents that bareness, formlessness, irregularity and inhumanity which is unbearable for a Neo-Classicist, as it is expressed in the retrospective view of an ignorant man's life (cf. No. 94). At the same time, 'desart' appears as a present physical reality in the former cases, while it is only a traditional metaphor in the latter cases.

The Neo-Classicist tendency, as Ketcham and Silver – and of course others, like, for example, Youngren, Saccamano, Syba[60] – suggest, is becoming domi-

58 Ibid., 144–5 and 147.

59 These two genres were built around the preference of the peace of the countryside to the turmoil of urban life: the pastoral around the life and world of a shepherd, and the georgic around the life and world of a husbandman. At the same time, there is a difference between nature as landscape (which is a modern invention) and nature as manifested in countryside or associated with rural life; in the latter, nature remains always familiar, homey, and closely related to human working and industry. Cf. Ritter, 'Landschaft', 146–7.

60 Cf. William H. Youngren, 'Addison and the Birth of Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics',

nant already in the Imagination series or in No. 477; applying to our current topic, some new features of the walkable natural landscape are appropriated in the framework of designed garden (similarly to Hutcheson's example on blended beauty), and by means of stressing the connection between these features and those of the 'Great' and the 'Novel' as the sources of the pleasures of the imagination, the new conception of landscaped garden is born. At the same time, I think, there is an intriguing affinity between walkable landscape and the transcendence which is significant in the mirror of the emerging modern aesthetic. This experienced affinity or relationship between the sensory, physical or spatial and the spiritual and eternal means something new, something which is neither the heir of the traditional mystical experience, nor a simple derivation from the contemporary natural philosophical insights on the divine order of the Creation.

As we have already seen in *The Tatler* No. 161 above, natural (mountain) landscape can preserve its own rights: besides the fact that the non-designed paradise-like garden was the final accomplishment of that dreamed journey, this prospect did not annihilate or even appropriate the experience or qualities of the series of prior mountain scenes. This series was experienced through a travel in a dream. And this dream can refer to that special state of mind which also differs from some traditional attitudes like mystical elevations or even from a Shaftesburian Platonic enthusiasm. Briefly, the original sensory impressions become more intense and more vivid in a dream, the passions more intensively felt than in the ordinary state of mind, and the soul becomes free from the mechanical constraints of the body, and deals 'with numberless Beings of her own Creation . . . She is herself the Theatre, the Actors, and the Beholder' (IV, 229) as Addison writes in *The Spectator* No. 487 on dreams.[61] During walking, the beholder's moving body in the space – partly emancipating from its inertia and heaviness – stimulates and maintains a dream-like state for the mind, and vice versa the mind is enriching the same space with intensive impressions, and altogether transforming it into an "aesthetic" landscape.[62] In *The Spectator*

*Modern Philology* 79 (1982), 267–83; Neil Saccamano, 'Force of Words in Addison's "Pleasures"', *English Literary History* 58 (1991), 83–106; Michelle Syba, 'After Design: Joseph Addison Discovers Beauties', *Studies in English Literature* 49 (2009), 615–35.

61 I have no space here to elaborate this topic, but the complex relationship between dreaming, imagination, and 'innocent delusions' can be traced back to Sir Thomas Browne's insights on dreams in his *Religio Medici* (1643) and in his posthumous essay *On Dreams*. Addison lengthily quotes and interprets Browne's *Religio Me*dici in No. 487.

62 Ross emphasizes the interaction between imagination and movement in Addison's

No. 413, this dream-like and walking state seems the general condition of an "aesthetic" spectator of nature: 'our Souls are at present delightfully lost and bewildered in a *pleasing Delusion*, and we *walk about* like the Enchanted Hero of a Romance, who sees beautiful Castles, Woods, and Meadows; and at the same time hears the warbling of Birds, and the purling of Streams'. (III, 546 – my emphases, E. Sz.)

In *The Spectator* No. 565 – its motto comes from Virgil's *Georgics*: 'since there is a god in everything, earth and the expanse of sea and the sky's depths' (trans. A. S. Kline) –, the first piece of a series of meditations (entitled *Essays Moral and Divine* ) on eternity and infinitude, Addison tells the story of a 'Sun-set walking in the open Fields' when later 'the full Moon rose at length in that clouded Majesty, which Milton takes notice of, and opened to the Eye a new Picture of Nature, which was more finely shaded, and disposed among softer Lights than that which the Sun had before discovered to us.' (IV, 529) And this sight of the walking Moon amongst the constellations of the stars entails the serious question after David (Ps. viii. 3–4): 'what is man' from the viewpoint of his Creator? This 'new Picture of Nature' means the opportunity of a new connection between the terrestrial to the celestial during a walk. (IV, 529)[63] The first passages of this essay exhibit a moving picture, so to speak: 'the Night insensibly fell upon' the beholder (this is also an allusion to the almost imperceptible nuances and shades the Moon- and stars-light offer), and gradually shows or opens a new view of nature, and it is, at the same time, a gradual shift from the earth to the sky. Spectators can experience another type of profoundness during an evening walk than the sun-light can give them. The abundance of experience after sun-set has nothing to do with, for example, the multitude of species, or the detailed contrivance of creatures, or the design of the whole creation, as it can be familiar from physico-theological discourses; instead, this expresses a new, somehow secret and inexhaustible

case, saying that 'a central feature of our enjoyment of gardens, and of other natural landscapes as well, is imagining ourselves performing some sort of action in that landscape, or in response to it, coupled with the possibility of actually going on and doing one or all of these things.' She calls this feature the 'invitation' of gardens or landscapes. 'We take up these invitations by exercising our imagination, our senses, and our bodies.' Stephanie Ross, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago and London, 1998), 166–7. This approach, however, suggests that there is no essential difference between the experience of a traditional *hortus conclusus* and that of a natural landscape.

63 Walking as a model of "aesthetic" perception is applied by other authors of the time, like Richard Steele in *The Spectator*, No. 454 on urban *flânerie*, or George Berkeley in his *Essay on Pleasures, Natural and Fantastical* of *Guardian* No. 49.

dimension, which is simultaneously outside in the immense space and inside in the depth of human soul.

It might seem that we are reading an occasional meditation in the manner of Joseph Hall or Robert Boyle. The scientifically exact, observable physical facts of the experience trigger elevated thoughts, here, thoughts on the existential status or destiny of human beings in the created universe.[64] Yet, there are some significant differences between Addison's and Boyle's empiricist contemplations. In the preliminary discourse to his popular *Occasional Reflections*, Boyle cites the very same lines of David that we can find in Addison's essay No. 565. This locus from the Book of Psalms is the starting point of a contemplation. Boyle's recommended meditative practice, 'Meleteticks', 'awakens good thoughts, and excites good motions . . . This friendly property to Devotion . . . is a very easy and genuine off-spring of the marriage of the two others: The Beams of Knowledge, acquired by such Reflections, having in them, like those of the Sun, not onely Light but Heat.'[65] Then, having cited the words of David, of 'the truly inspired Poet (who, by his omitting to speak of the Sun, seems to have compos'd this Psalm in the night)', Boyle promises a 'few short Reflections' on the theme of the Moon. Based on certain physical or astrophysical features and attributes of the Moon and its relationships to the Earth and to the stars, a series of similitudes and emblems ensue with moralizing interpretations on 'the mutability of humane things'.[66] Finally, Boyle concludes: 'even when she is at the full, is never free from dark Spots; so the Mind of Man, nay, even of a Christian, is but partly enlighten'd, and partly in dark'.[67]

In Boyle's meditation, the Moon provides, via similitudes, resemblances and emblems, different moral lessons. These were meant to be moving lessons on the inevitable imperfectness of the human mind, both in a cognitive and a moral sense. However, it is a static image of the Moon, despite the information about its changes. This Moon can be only an illustration from a book, or

64 Commenting Boyle's *Occasional Reflections* of 1665, Smith characterizes this practice as follows: 'this method of "attentive observation" to "a multitude of particulars" in nature could offer the observer "some new practical consideration" . . ., but it could also offer "Examples to imitate, *or* shew him the Danger, *or* Unhandsomeness, *or* Inconvenience of some thing that he should avoid, *or* raise his thoughts and affections Heaven-wards" . . . Close attention to nature accessed both physical facts and clues about God's will for humanity.' Smith, *Empiricist Devotions*, 33.

65 Robert Boyle, *Occasional Reflections upon Several Subjects* (1665; Oxford, 1848), 46–7.

66 Ibid., 50–1.

67 Ibid., 55.

can be a recalled memory of the meditator, its actual presence is not necessary at all. While, in Addison's passages we cannot find emblems or similitudes (only two textual allusions to Milton and David), but we can read about a real process, both in the form of the spectator's walking and that of the gradual Moon-rise. The physical and mental vividness, rendered by the poetical diction, and stimulated by the movement itself, is an essential part of this experience. The spectator meets – is walking into – the immensity of the universe (as the first, "aesthetic" version of infinitude and eternity), and he is not only thinking on it (as an intelligent naturalist), he is not only being affected or inspired by its moral lessons (as an empiricist meditator), but he is experiencing or facing the immensity with his full personality, and, at the same time, is feeling or tasting his own existential status in the Creation. This is an astonishing encounter, which could be a clear example of the primary pleasure of natural sublime from *The Spectator* No. 412; at the same time, it may remind us the anxiety of the 72. fragment of Blaise Pascal's *Pensées* of 1669, or of a very similar passage from Lord Shaftesbury's *The Moralists* of 1709.[68]

The 'new Picture of Nature' in the Moon- and star-light relates to that 'another Light' in which a 'Man of a Polite Imagination' is capable to look 'upon the World' and to discover 'in it a Multitude of Charms'. This exercise of imagination makes the spectator feel 'a greater Satisfaction in the Prospect of Fields and Meadows, than another does in the Possession' in the Imagination series. (III, 538)

> A Man should endeavour . . . to make the Sphere of his innocent Pleasures as wide as possible, that he may retire into them with Safety, and find in them such a Satisfaction as a wise Man[69] would not blush to take. Of this Nature are those of the Imagination, which do not require such a Bent of Thought as is necessary to our more serious Employments . . . but, like a gentle Exercise to the Faculties, awaken them from Sloth and Idleness, without putting them upon any Labour or Difficulty. (III, 539)

68 Cf. Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 298–9. – Eventually, the Pascalian anxiety about the loss of the individual 'amidst the Immensity of Nature' will be solved by the 'Consideration of God Almighty's Omnipresence and Omniscience' in the following reflections of this essay.

69 The reference can connect the Imagination series to both the Nos. 93 & 94 on the pleasures of the wise man and the Cheerfulness series (Nos. 381, 387, 393).

Addison emphasizes that the attentive approach to nature via the imagination is easy, it is a 'gentle Exercise', it does not require efforts and diligence of the spectator, and consequently is available to everybody in principle, just as the 'unspeakable Pleasure' of the natural beauties in the case of the countryside walk of *The Tatler* No. 218, while the empiricist meditations can be exercised only by an intellectual elite through hard labour and pertinence.[70]

In the last piece of his Cheerfulness series, *The Spectator* No. 393, in which Addison deals with this 'Habit of the Mind' (which I incline to call "aesthetic"), he acknowledges that

> Natural Philosophy quickens [the] Taste of the Creation, and renders it not only pleasing to the Imagination, but to the Understanding. It . . . considers the several Ends of Providence . . . and the wonders of Divine Wisdom . . . It . . . raises such a rational Admiration in the Soul as is little inferior to Devotion. (III, 475)

Until this point, Addison seems to follow Boyle's meletetics, as Robert Mayhew also remarks upon in his important book;[71] but Mayhew does not recognise a conspicuous shift here. Addison hastens to add to this point that '[i]t is not in the Power of every one to offer up this kind of Worship to the great Author of Nature, and to indulge these more refined Meditations of Heart' (III, 475). Then, in the last passage of this essay – and eventually of this series –, Addison recommends a 'Practice' for everyone:

> I would have my Readers endeavour to moralize this natural Pleasure of the Soul, and to improve this vernal Delight [from the season of spring] . . . into a Christian Virtue. When we find our selves inspired with this pleasing Instinct, this secret Satisfaction and Complacency arising from the Beauties of the Creation, let us consider to whom we stand indebted for all these Entertainments of Sense . . . The Apostle instructs us to take Advantage of our present Temper of Mind, to graft upon it such a religious Exercise as is particularly comfortable to it . . .

70 Even if Boyle, for example, tried to convince his readers that it is not the case in his preliminary discourse of *Occasional Reflections*. At the same time, there is some ambiguity in Addison's Imagination essays between the 'Polite Imagination' of a cultural elite and the seemingly universal availability of the pleasures of the imagination to everybody.

71 Robert J. Mayhew, *Landscape, Literature and English Religious Culture, 1660–1800* (Basingstoke, 2004), 84.

> The Chearfulness of Heart which springs up in us from the Survey of Nature's Works is an admirable Preparation for Gratitude. . . . A grateful Reflection on the Supreme Cause who produces it, sanctifies it in the Soul, and gives it its proper Value. Such an habitual Disposition of Mind consecrates every Field and Wood, turns an ordinary Walk into a Morning or Evening Sacrifice, and will improve those transient Gleams of Joy . . . into an inviolable and perpetual State of Bliss and Happiness. (III, 475–6)

In her oft-cited article, Zeitz claims that 'Addison's psychology of aesthetic perception grows out of a *shared aesthetic argument* in physico-theological thought. *The Spectator*'s observations on human responses to nature . . . are in part inspired by a similarly "affective" and "aesthetic" component in some of the period's popular "design arguments" for the existence of God.'[72] Accepting the profound influence which William Durham, John Ray, Isaac Barrow, Boyle and others could have on Addison's religious and "aesthetic" thought, I think, however, that this 'habitual Disposition of Mind' cannot be interpreted simply as the "aesthetic" version or extension of the design argument.[73] This 'habitual disposition' is conspicuously different from the 'rational Admiration' endorsed by physico-theologians and empiricist meditators of this period. The religious or devotional interest in this walkable landscape experience is not about the divine wisdom by means of which the Creation was designed and built. It requires only a general reflection upon the existence of the Author of nature by the spectator-walker; it is enough to know or rather to feel that everything around exists for our sake as a personal gift from the divine. In the first piece of the Cheerfulness series, Addison makes that clear: this 'chearful State of Mind' is 'a constant habitual Gratitude to the great

72 Lisa Zeitz, 'Addison's "Imagination" Papers and the Design Argument', *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 73 (1992), 493–502, 493.

73 According to Syba, in Cheerfulness essays, 'cheer is the emotion induced by apprehending instances of divine design in nature', then, in the Imagination series, there is 'a movement away from authorial design' which is comparable with Addison's as critic's shift from the 'Greatness of Plan' to the 'local textual beauties' of literary pieces. Syba, 'After Design: Joseph Addison Discovers Beauties', 633–4, n32. – I think, however, there is also something different from (something wider than) the apprehension of design in the experiences described in Cheerfulness and Imagination series. In a sense, Addison steps beyond the intelligent design theory, indeed, but it does not mean the end of 'the dependence of theology and aesthetics' (Ibid.). The very 'not so conspicuous' beauties and the new 'intimacy between the author and the reader' (Ibid., 628) may be associated with an "aesthetic" type of devotion.

Author of Nature.' It 'is an implicit Praise and Thanksgiving to Providence under all its Dispensations. It is a kind of Acquiescence in the State wherein we are placed, and a secret Approbation of the Divine Will in his Conduct towards Man.' (III, 430) Through cheerful mind we can contact the providential God (and not the wise designer-Creator); his Will becomes felt, not his intellect or wisdom understood and adored with delight. The divine volition becomes a felt reality for the walking beholder whose position may remind us of that of the 'Devout Man' in *The Spectator* No. 465. Here Addison discusses five methods of how to strengthen faith 'in the Mind of Man'; the fourth is 'more Persuasive' than the previous practical-rational and moral ones. This is the method of 'an habitual Adoration of the Supreme Being'[74]: 'The Devout Man does not only believe, but feels there is a Deity. He has actual Sensations of him; his Experience concurs with his Reason; he sees him more and more in all his intercourses with him'. (IV, 143) Walking in nature, in untouched nature, can be an eminent exercise to gain the series of these intercourses with the divine being. Though this experience does not contradict reason (otherwise it can run into intolerable zealotry or enthusiasm), but it is not identical with 'rational Admiration'. It is true that 'the imagination could be discussed as a God-given faculty designed by the Creator for specific ends'[75], and we can also find detailed teleological explanations of the possibility of the imaginative pleasures in the great, the uncommon and the beautiful in *The Spectator* No. 413, but these natural theological or even theodicean accounts do not play a major role, if any, in the particular, direct and immediate, "aesthetic" experience.

In No. 393, there is a direct link between the 'secret Satisfaction' of our 'pleasing Instinct' affected by the natural beauties of the spring and the 'perpetual State of Bliss and Happiness'. The gap between the two can be bridged by means of 'a religious Exercise'. The outcome of this exercise is a state of mind, cheerfulness, which is not simply delighted by certain perceptions of 'lively picture', 'gay embroidery', 'elegant symmetry' in nature – to cite these phrases from one of Isaac Barrow's popular sermons[76] –, but this state of mind actively 'consecrates every Field and Wood, turns an ordinary Walk

74 Interestingly, the last method Addison mentions is the traditional 'religious Meditation' in 'retirement from the World', he puts it in the context of court and country, but he does not compare it with the 'habitual Adoration' (cf. IV, 143–4).

75 Zeitz, 'Addison's "Imagination" Papers and the Design Argument", 495.

76 Isaac Barrow, *The Works of the Learned Isaac Barrow*, ed. John Tillotson (London, 1700; 2nd edn; 3 vols), II, 87 (Sermon vi).

into a Morning or Evening Sacrifice'; supposedly, the evening walk of No. 565 is the result of the same consecrating process.[77]

I think that in the case of No. 565 we can see the "sublime" version of an "aesthetic" walk during which the spectator creates an enjoyable and transcendentally engaging and committed natural landscape; and in the case of No. 393 we can see its "novel" version connected to spring-time natural scenes. Both the 'gentle Exercise' motivated by a polite imagination and even more the 'habitual Disposition of Mind' of cheerfulness can be easily associated with and, in a sense, modelled by the dynamism of walking through ever-changing natural prospects. Cheerfulness as a habitual state of mind is not contemplative, it is rather an agile, active, productive attitude to the world outside and inside, it can permanently re-shape or "re-create" the world as our world and can render natural scenes sanctified reality in which the 'transient Gleams of Joy' of the spatial and bodily is being improved into the perpetual state of celestial bliss of the temporal (eternal) and spiritual: it is not an elevation, but an improvement – the word which will be used in the context of building gardens and landscape gardens throughout the eighteenth century. 'The Creation is a perpetual Feast to the Mind of a good Man, every thing he sees chears and delights him' (III, 475), being 'a good Man' is the result of a permanent exercise. Walking through life in the manner of wandering in a natural – great, novel and beautiful – landscape. And this permanent activity and movement is a 'way of Life'[78] which is inseparable from the idea of 'the true Spirit of Religion', as a little bit later, in No. 494, Addison claims:

> Religion contracts the Circle of our Pleasures, but leaves it wide enough for her Votaries *to expatiate in* . . . the true Spirit of Religion cheers, as well as composes the Soul; it . . . fills the Mind with a perpetual Serenity,

77 As Norton claims interpreting *The Spectator* No 393: 'To appreciate the world's aesthetic splendours . . . is for Addison an inherently spiritual, even reverential act'. Brian Michael Norton, *'The Spectator* and Everyday Aesthetics', *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34 (2015), 123–36, 129.

78 Cf. Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, transl. Michael Chase, ed. Arnold I. Davidson (Oxford, Malden, MA, 1995). Several recent papers by Christian Maurer, Laurent Jaffro, or John Sellars discuss the Socratic-Stoic tradition of meditation in the early eighteenth century, primarily in Lord Shaftesbury's works. Here I can cite Steele's words: 'There is no life, but cheerful life . . . Whatever we do we should keep up the Chearfulness of our Spirits . . . The Way to this is to keep our Bodies in Exercise, our Minds at Ease . . . When we are in the Satisfaction of some Innocent Pleasure, or pursuit of some laudable Design, we are in the Possession of Life, of Human Life.' (II, 65)

> uninterrupted Chearfulness, and an habitual Inclination to please others, as well as to be pleased in it self. (IV, 254. – my emphasis, E. Sz.)

Walkable landscape elaborated by Dennis, Lord Shaftesbury and Addison during the emergence of the modern aesthetic opens a new dimension of the relationship between man and nature, eventually between man and God, and the encounter with wilderness during walking in nature offers opportunity to grasp the spectator's individuality and the direct presence of the divine. As such, walking in nature can be the model or at least the paradigmatic example of the modern "aesthetic" versions of spiritual exercises, everyday practice and 'habitual Disposition of Mind' as a way of life.

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