Fantastical Vision:  
An Architectural Exploration into the Spatial Mind of Alexander Pope  
by  
Jason Grant-Henley, B.Arch., M.Arch.  

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of  
the degree of  
Master of Architecture  

School of Architecture  
Carleton University  
Ottawa, Ontario  
December 1, 2002  

© 2002 Jason Grant-Henley
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author’s permission.

L’auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L’auteur conserve la propriété du droit d’auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-79742-2

Canada
Fantastical Vision

An Architectural Exploration into the Spatial Mind of Alexander Pope

Jason Grant-Henley

Masters Thesis: Design and Culture
The School of Architecture at Carleton University

December 2002
The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

Fantastical Vision: An Architectural exploration into the Spatial Mind of Alexander Pope

Submitted by Jason Grant, B.Arch.
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture

[Signatures]

Chair

Department

Thesis Supervisor

Carleton University
January 15, 2003
ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the architectural implications of the garden estate built at Twickenham, England, by Alexander Pope. The thesis argues that Pope used the design and construction (architecture) of his garden estate to bridge what he might have described as a gap between the imaginary ideas in his mind and the limits of language and to adequately manifest the essence of those ideas in the world of appearances.

Specific works from four primary sources will be examined and analysed in the thesis. Arguably, these works shaped the development of the poetic and philosophical ideas of Alexander Pope, and by extension, the architectural translation of his ideas to the various spaces and structures of his garden estate. The sources include selected works from: Homer, Porphyry's interpretation of Homer's The Cave of the Nymphs, Plato, and Joseph Addison. Addison was, for Pope, a significant mentor and exemplary model of Enlightenment theory. The most common themes that direct both the analysis of these theorists' works and the architectural analysis of Pope's garden estate are the dialogue between the imagination and reason and the subject of nature.

The thesis concludes that Alexander Pope's translation of his poetic ideas into visual and spatial experience served to close the gap between fiction and reality, and was the essential foundation enabling Pope to define the nature and character of a culture of his own making.
Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Prologue to Book XXV
Book XXV

Introduction

Chapter I

Plato and Prometheus: Their Influence on the Chora of Pope’s Imagination
The Influence of Joseph Addison
The Transition from Divine Work to Alexander Pope’s Work

Context Part 1: Prologue for Chapter II, III & IV

Pastoral Poetry: the Verbal Painting of a Landscape
Context Part 2: The Order of Events in the Garden Estate

Chapter II: The World As Lived

Pope’s Use of Metaphor

Prologue to Chapter III

Chapter III: The Grotto: A Mediating Space of the Mind

Porphyry and The Cave of the Nymphs
Plato’s Cave
Light and the presence of Phantasmata in Pope’s Grotto
The Metaphor of the Camera Obscura
The Metaphor of the Perspective Glass
The Use of the Metaphor of Inversion

A Prologue to Chapter IV
Table of Contents (continued)

Chapter IV: The Imagined World 54

The Pleasures of the Imagination 56
The Threshold between the Inner World and the Outer World 61
The Shell Temple 62
The Shell Temple as a Sanctuary 64
The Spiral Mount 66
The Secondary Pleasures of the Imagination 67
The Labyrinth as Archetype 69
The Obelisk: A Memorial to Pope’s Mother 70
The Bowling Green in relation to the Obelisk 73

Epilogue: Defining a Culture 75

The Polis 78
Continuing Influences of Homer and the Enlightenment 79
The Public and the Private 82
Self and the World 86

End Notes 89

Bibliography 102

Appendix: Metamorphosis: A Design Project 105
List of Illustrations


13. William Kent or Dorothy Boyle, Pope at work in his Grotto with Sylvhs and grotesques, (no date). In: Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City, (Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1969) 68.
List of Illustrations (continued)

14 William Kent, Head piece to volume five of Alexander Pope’s translation of Homer’s Odyssey, (n.d.).


17 John Buckler, pencil drawing of the entrance to the Grotto from the Garden, 1824.

18 William Kent, A Fantasy of Pope’s Garden (detail of the Shell Temple), 1684-1748.

19 Alexander Pope, Drawing study for the Garden from Pope’s Homer manuscripts, (1720)

20 Giovanbattista Piranesi, “Pianta di ampio magnifico collegio” (Plan of a magnificent college), 1750.


22 J.C. Buckler, Drawing of the Obelisk and urns in Pope’s garden, 1826.

23 Alexander Pope, Sketch for his garden, in Pope’s Homer manuscripts, (1720)

24 The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo, 1550.
Prologue to Book XXV

In the process of preparing this thesis, I undertook a reading of the twenty-four books that form each of the Iliad and the Odyssey (translated into English) by Alexander Pope as well as the more accessible translation by Richmond Lattimore. These works were the muse for my investigation; it was to consider the possible influence of Homer's works on Pope's ideas about the role of the imagination and the design of the garden estate he constructed at Twickenham, England.

As these readings continue to unfold (for perhaps one is never finished with Homer), I am intrigued with the architectural theme of journey as expressed through Odysseus' wanderings, articulated through the passage of time and the spatial descriptions of the events in his life. The notion of a journey resonates with several of the themes present in the garden work that Pope created: a journey of exploration into the role of the imagination, a questioning of man's relationship to nature, a discourse on the human condition in his time, and a tracing of Alexander Pope's personal life journey.

The narrative content of Book XXV is intended to invite the reader to take an imaginary journey to visit Pope's garden estate; to set the stage for the performance of the spatial experience of the world that he built. Like the many journeys of Odysseus' wanderings, Book XXV is designed to awaken the readers' senses to the interpretations presented in this thesis.
Martha Voyaged northward along the Thames from her home in London, serenaded by the lapping of the river’s water slowly lulling her into a gentle sleep, the sweetest kind of sleep with no awakening, most like death.\(^1\) Her dreams filled with fantastical pictures of His translations of Homer’s imaginary Adventures - dreaming that she was being lifted and carried [like] Odysseus out of the hollow hull, along with [her] bed linen and shining coverlet, and set down on the sand.\(^2\) It was the unfortunate stern jolt of the Ship that caused her to stir. [She] sprang and stood upright and looked about at his native\(^3\) land. Her floating Chariot was now docked against a small peninsula of Land beyond which it opened up before her into a plush green Velvet carpet-like Plot. Stone swans that appeared to be in the midst of taking flight and two reclining river gods greeted her as she stepped out onto the dry land from the strong-bowled ship\(^4\) to begin her Sojourn. The edges of the plot were defined by the specific placement of silent stone-faced busts of His mentors, Homer, Virgil, Marcus Aurelius and Cicero, and these framed by a groomed hedge along one edge, Sculpted in an ordinary way, and juxtaposed by the untamed forest across from it.

His suggestion of Wilderness, she thought. The layer of green Velvet rose ever so gradually from the river’s edge toward the looming Facade of his Villa a storey above. It was there that he had secured his possessions away from the road lest some wayfarers might come\(^5\) while making their way to the city . . .

From her vantage point at the river’s edge she could see the road that passed in a north-westerly direction behind the Villa, though beyond that, all that was visible was a dense Forest of trees tall growing,\(^6\) which provided a pleasant painterly-like backdrop. The Facade of the Villa presented a certain grandeur, a presence that is Born with scale. An even rhythm of windows punctured its Skin and a balcony jutted out from the second floor with an arched doorway centred and below; this drew her in without moving, like the feeling of falling while Gazing into a star-filled sky. But with all this came a certain flatness as though the Facade were merely a Scenographic illusion - a Screen into which she would soon enter. He observed the physical gestures of her thoughts from the balcony above.

\(^1\)The Odyssey of Homer, Book 13, line 80-81  
\(^2\)The Odyssey of Homer, Book 13, line 117-119  
\(^3\)The Odyssey of Homer, Book 13, line 197  
\(^4\)The Odyssey of Homer, Book 24, line 97  
\(^5\)The Odyssey of Homer, Book 13, line 116  
\(^6\)The Odyssey of Homer, Book 13, line 123-124
The ornate balustrade of the balcony upon which He stood defined the width of the central four-storey core of the Facade, flanked on either side by symmetrical three storey 'wings'. Removing the weight of His upper body from the balustrade, He receded from the porch, through its tall terrace doors, into the grand central Chamber. From here He surveyed the numerous guest rooms and sitting areas that appeared to unfold around Him, the most Adored of which was the Library. The wall Space of the Library was void of any Art in order to make room for His first love, Literature. [She was, perhaps, his second.] Books were stacked floor to ceiling leaving room for only his desk, a window view of the river, and the pedestals for His stone muses, Homer, Spence, Shakespeare, Milton and Dryden. From this window He could see Martha standing at the edge of the land 8 admiring the heavy rough-hewn wood doors at the base of the Villa that lead into the cave-like space of His Grotto. He wrote to her earlier that year to say that the Grotto had been built fifty feet long with doors at either end. He suggested that the doors were meant to Control the Natural light filtering into the Spaces, while providing a passage-way between the Velvety Grass Plot and the Garden behind His Villa. [She] went inside the cave and admired everything inside it. 9 Elongated halls extended away from the doorway on either side and another lay in front of her. Intermittently-spaced openings in some of the walls demarcated rooms which opened onto these paths; she would eventually count ten rooms in all, each different from the last and uniquely-defined by the Minerals that adorned the ceilings and walls. In the distance, and on axis with the entry, she could see the glitter of an oddly-shaped Lamp hanging from the centre of the main room. The Lamp illuminated the room with a light that reflected and refracted in a capricious manner casting Shadows that appeared to dance throughout the Space.

There was the sound of trickling water forever flowing 10 surrounding her, echoing throughout the tunnel-like Caverns, emitting a familiar damp odour. The streams of water sometimes followed the irregular surface of the Grotto's paths, while others disappeared into the Stonewalls like the echoes themselves. She could feel the ground beneath her feet begin to rise and the ceiling begin to drop as she left the light-filled room and made her way toward the far end of the Tunnel. This made her feel quietly claustrophobic until she reached the small room at the end of the path. Here the ceiling rose and the walls widened, making room for the soothing sounds being transmitted from a raised square basin of water, perpetually refilling itself from an Underground stream. The light at first was blinding as she opened the doors leading from this room to His Garden. But eventually she could see in the distance a clearing: at its centre was his Shell Temple.

---

8 The Odyssey of Homer, Book 9, line 182
9 The Odyssey of Homer, Book 9, line 218
10 The Odyssey of Homer, Book 13, line 109
Martha *strode into the midst of the circle*\(^\text{11}\) partially shielding her eyes from the glare of the shimmering sunlight reflecting off the Shells covering the Temple's every surface. Eight oddly-shaped Columns defined the perimeter of the structure and at its centre was *a tripod with ears*\(^\text{12}\); an Oracle from which she imagined hearing faint whispers of Prophecy being passed on to previous visitors from their Deities.

He had groomed several Paths through the surrounding dense Forest which radiated from the clearing around the Temple to link most regions of the Garden. Over the course of several visits to His estate, she would traverse many of these Paths, some leading through the dense areas of Forest to eventually emerge into clearings; others would lead her through neatly-planted Groves of fruit trees. But today Martha desired to climb to the top of the large hill enclosing the western edge of the circular clearing of the Shell Temple. The path leading to the top of the mount was on the opposite side of the hill from the Shell Temple and only visible once she had traversed through Groves of trees surrounding either side of the hill. The entrance to the path was defined by a *clear mark which [she could not] fail to notice*\(^\text{13}\). A narrow path lead her up the Mount, cyclically and clockwise, before reaching a clearing at its Summit.

From this perisopic, Voyeuristic space, she could see eastward over the top of the Shell Temple, the road to London, around the Villa and beyond to the Thames. The view to the north was filtered through the tops of thick Natural Forest into which paths appeared to weave in and out in random manner like valleys cut through the earth; they were juxtaposed with the southerly views of his Vineyards and Stoves: She thought, *there could be grapes grown there endlessly, and there is smooth land for plowing, men could reap a full harvest always in season.*\(^\text{14}\) He had built a bench for visitors to rest upon after their climb: the imprint from the weight of Voltaire's body still pressed in the soft wood. Resting upon the bench, she took the time to day-dream, to imagine his estate as a type of stage, sited in the auditorium of Nature and each of the Events that she Experienced as props or acts in the Drama of which she had become, quite Willingly, the main Actress. He was her silent audience Watching her move west, beyond the base of the Spiral Mount, to a broad walkway Framed on either side by fruit trees, thirteen rows long. The path lead through a large clearing where, at its centre, Martha felt most like she was on display - naked - exposed while being confined - outside while somehow inside. And beyond she could see what appeared to be a lone Obelisk, set in Shadow, at the edge of the forest. *Similar to the way that people cross the sea by means of ships and visit each other*\(^\text{15}\), she was attracted to this folie and was drawn to make the final journey to its resting Place.

*But come, [He said], and I will tell you of my voyage home.*

---

\(^{11}\) The Iliad of Homer, Book 23, line 685  
\(^{12}\) The Iliad of Homer, Book 23, line 263  
\(^{13}\) The Iliad of Homer, Book 23, line 326  
\(^{14}\) The Odyssey of Homer, Book 9, line 133-134  
\(^{15}\) The Odyssey of Homer, Book 9, line 128-129
THE DESIGN

Having proposed to write some pieces on Human Life and Manners, such as (to use my Lord Bacon's expression) *come home to Man's Business and Bosoms*, I thought it more satisfactory to begin with considering *Man* in the abstract, his *Nature* and his *State*: since, to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what *condition* and *relation* it is placed in, and what is the proper *end* and *purpose* of its *being*.¹
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an architectural exploration of the garden estate built by the 18th Century English poet, Alexander Pope at Twickenham, England. It has been inspired by Aristotle’s concept of an “enthyemene syllogism” described by him in the Rhetoric; it is an approach to discovery that does not seek to prove absolutes but instead present ‘plausibilities and examples’. An analogous process might be that of an archeologist who has uncovered fragments of clues, which careful reconstruction, have the potential to present a clearer picture of an unwritten story. The thesis excavations are a form of treatise about Alexander Pope’s garden estate at Twickenham: metaphorically, a form of poetry that Pope himself never wrote but instead alluded to in selected poetic works, in correspondence with friends and, most importantly, in the architectural manifestation of his ideas through the act of building.

The core argument of this thesis is based on the hypothesis that Alexander Pope used the design and construction of his garden estate to bridge what he understood as a gap between imagination and the limits of language. Architecture, expressed through the acts of designing and building, provided Pope with the vehicle to spatially develop his philosophical and poetic intentions. At the same time, through this process, the common world was offered physical access to Pope’s threshold between the imagined and the real.
This project began initially as a result of a desire to examine the dialogue between the imagination and human experience as it might be expressed both through language, in the form of poetry and philosophy, and in the making of architecture. Poetry and philosophy often express the meaning of human experience in the form of metaphorlic imagery which invariably remains confined to the chambers of the mind. Architecture, on the other hand, can sculpt, shape and form to respond to the often-fluid boundaries of the imagination and human experience as well as awaken the body's senses to ideas expressed by poets and philosophers.

As a strategy, a conceptual net has been cast over Alexander Pope's gardening work on his estate in order to focus on clues which, when unraveled, facilitate an interpretation of the dialogue between Pope's ideas as expressed in specific structures in his garden, both physical and metaphorlic, and the visitor's experience in moving through the architectural space between them. The meta-narrative that emerges reveals that the visitor’s physical and experiential journey through the spaces of the garden estate enables an unfolding interpretation of Alexander Pope's unwritten treatise.

Together with the theoretical nature of this undertaking, the exploration considers and discusses a series of themes which frame both Alexander Pope’s literary pursuits and the architectural nature of his gardening work.

Chapter I begins with an outline of the major philosophical theories that influenced the development of Alexander Pope's philosophy. Pope built upon these influences, integrating his own ideas, to create a garden estate that was complex and layered, and upon which he
painted a unique canvas. It illustrated a world where history was steeped in myth and
narrative and, at the same time, projected possibilities for a future in which the imagination
would be a powerful tool for reflection and a re-ordering the lessons of the past.

A crucial component of Alexander Pope's inspiration for this ambitious undertaking was the
theme of Nature. For Pope, man's position in relation to Nature (and by extension the
Universe) is that of interpreter and from the outset, a creative inventor. Pope writes: "the
true light that makes vision possible is Nature's: Man is dependent on the universe, which the
poet interprets". Pope's belief in the interdependence of Nature and man's imagination and
reason was central to the philosophical issues with which Pope struggled throughout his life
as he questioned the human condition in his time. Potential sources of Pope's mythopoetic
and modern philosophical inspirations are rooted in a continuing dialogue between a
Platonic world-view and influences from the emerging philosophical ideas of the
Enlightenment. The essay considers these different philosophical influences. It was,
however, the ideas of Homer and Joseph Addison that had the most profound impact on
Pope's worldview and these are discussed more fully in the chapters that follow.

Chapter I also begins to investigate the complex and conflicting overlaps that ensue in
Pope's pursuit of his ideas of the imagination. These overlaps are developed throughout the
essay and are integral to the analysis of Alexander Pope's work and his attempts to ground
them in the physical world.

The three central chapters of the essay are organized to consider the division of Pope's
garden estate into three zones of poetic expression and physical experience. Entitled, The
World as Lived, A Mediating Space of the Mind, and The Imaginary World, these chapters analyze the specific areas and ideas of the garden estate from an architectonic perspective. The interpretations of the spaces and constructions in the estate are supported in many cases by references to Alexander Pope’s writings or the ideas and influences from his chosen mentors.

The Epilogue to the essay speculates on the character of Pope’s garden as a form of ritual city – a polis. In this exploration, the concept of polis is based upon Indra McEwen’s interpretation of the reading of Francois de Polignac’s archeological mappings of the 8th and 7th Century B.C. sanctuaries of Mycenae and Knossos. In Socrates Ancestor, McEwen argues that de Polignac’s research emphasizes the idea of polis as a place “allowed to appear as a surface woven by the activity of its inhabitants . . .” In her interpretative work, McEwen incorporates Aristotle’s definition of chora (translated as “room”) to illuminate that the “chora of the polis may have been understood in earlier times as a land or territory which had been made to appear as a continual re-making, or re-weaving of its encompassing surface, just as the world itself was made to appear when the colonists’ ships plied the seas”. The Epilogue explores and discusses these concepts because they are consistent with the approach taken by Pope in creating his ‘polis’. It is hypothesized that Pope’s garden estate was, in fact, a pre-modern vision of the ancient ideal. Pope’s conception and execution of the design for his garden estate continually set his own work either in dialogue, or in opposition, to God’s work as manifest in Nature. In contrast to the Divines creation, Pope’s creation layered the visitor’s experience of the various spaces and events within the garden estate so that distinctions between the activities of Pope’s private life and public activities, characteristic of the ancient idea of the polis, were indistinguishable. The result was the creation of a single space of work and pleasure within the context of Nature. In effect, the
*polis* created by Alexander Pope defined a *culture* of his own making. This culture emanated from Pope’s views about the world, both philosophical and spiritual, and his ideas for defining a complete way of life. The term ‘culture’ will be defined in more depth, as it relates to Pope’s garden at Twickenham, in the final chapter of this work.

In the design and building of the garden estate, the human body’s inhabitation of real time and space through the architectural elements facilitated the visitor’s experience of Pope’s *culture*. The experiential journey also became the mediating device that enabled Pope to ‘see’ the world of Nature in its many dimensions. At the same time, while Nature was the essential muse for Alexander Pope’s creative inspirations, it was also at the heart of a paradox that continued to linger in his work. As the *Epilogue* summarizes; Pope contemplated and, more importantly, physically situated himself in the spatial gap between the world as it existed and the world as he imagined. It was only from within this space that Pope was able to clearly see these two realms and simultaneously understand that while each realm was distinct, it was ultimately shaped and found expression through the other. For Alexander Pope, the manifestation of these interconnections were his greatest challenge.

While this thesis draws upon a number of historical sources for both inspiration and influences concerning the gardening work of Alexander Pope, it is not intended to present a ‘historical thesis’. The intention of this exploration is to view Pope’s garden work from a contemporary perspective. As such, this thesis might be more appropriately considered as ‘a work of art’; one that respects the context of historical references but also investigates how these references can inform a work of art, and by extension a work of architecture, today.
Albrecht Dürer
from Underweysung der Messung, 1525.
Chapter I

Prometheus and Plato: Their Influence on the Chora of Pope's Imagination

Prometheus (pro-meth-e-us) foresight, having the power to anticipate the future by projecting an horizon of imaginary possibilities... a story of how man first acquired the power to shape his world, to create arts and images capable of transforming nature into culture.  

Contemplation about the role of the imagination in interpreting the world is a theme as old as the discipline of philosophy. To isolate or appropriately locate the imagination, both conceptually and physically, in the mind (particularly as it pertains to the creation of what might be understood as reality) was a central concern during the Age of the Enlightenment. Because the role of the imagination was significant for man's thinking, Alexander Pope sought to unite the faculties of reason and the imagination as the best means for uncovering universal truths. Pope believed that there was an important relationship between the faculties of reason and the imagination and the role of perception for interpreting and integrating worldly experiences. The potential influence of Platonic theory on Pope's inquiries cannot be ignored. In all likelihood Pope was familiar with Plato's discussions about the myth of Prometheus.

In this ancient myth, Prometheus was responsible for stealing the element of fire from Zeus and bestowing it upon man. By acquiring the element of fire, man was gifted the ability to "invent his own world; the ability to create the arts which in turn transmuted the order of nature (the cosmos of blind necessity governed by Zeus) into the order of culture - a realm of relative freedom where man could plan and control his own existence". The effect of Prometheus' act was to reveal man's capacity to "dismantle the harmony of nature as
established by the Gods”\textsuperscript{11} Man was encouraged through the faculty of the imagination, 
*Promethean foresight*, to form his own interpretation of the world of things.

By bestowing the gift of fire as well as the gift of “skills in the arts” (*entechnos sophia*)\textsuperscript{12}, Prometheus offered man the unique tools to build, survive and cultivate a world of his own. This act had the effect of elevating man from the level of mere animal order in Nature to that of the human order of culture. Above all, Prometheus action made it possible for man to enhance his experiences through the faculty of his imagination. It also enabled man to realize a metaphysical distinction between what happens in experience, and the interpretations that can be attached to them. The Prometheus act provided man with “consciousness as the transformation-grammar of experience”\textsuperscript{13}.

At the same time, Plato theorized that the best that humanity could hope to do was to imitate the perfection of the Gods.

In short, imagination is a power which supplements the human experience of insufficiency and sets man up as an original creator in his own right. But because the imagination deals in the realm of art rather than nature, it can never fully escape the feeling that it is merely an imitation of the original act of a divine maker (e.g. the biblical Yahweh or the Greek Demiurge) - an act which alone is deemed lawful. Imagination can never forget that its art is artifice, that its freedom is arbitrary, that its originality is a simulation, repetition, *mimesis*\textsuperscript{14}.

For Plato, *mimesis* was the foundation upon which the mental faculty of reason prevailed over the imagination in order to define man’s place in the hierarchy of the universe. Plato clearly
distinguishes between the knowing faculty of reason and the mimetic functions of the imagination (eikasia and phantasia) as they relate to the larger “metaphysical distinction between being and becoming”.

In Platonic theory, the original forms of Being, divine in origin, timeless and immutable, exist in the transcendental realm of ‘Ideas’, “crowned by the highest form of all, the good”. Divine Ideas are accessed only by way of reason, leaving the imagination in the “lower order of material becoming” banished to the “pseudo-world of imitations”.

As Plato discusses: it is through imitation of the transcendental order of Ideas that the Divine demiurge or craftsman first fashioned the material world of Becoming. As a result, the material world is a copy of original Ideas according to Plato. And further, it is through the faculty of reason that man is able to return to the original source in the Ideas: “The imagination, by contrast, simply leads man further astray; it does no more than imitate the material world of becoming, which is itself but an imitation of the divine world of being”. For Plato, only reason (nous) is capable of contemplating Truth whereas the imagination is only capable of reflecting upon the “most inferior form of human opinion - eikasia or illusion. Reason alone has access to transcendental Ideas”.

Plato reserves a positive use for the image-making character of philosophers who communicate invisible truths through the use of “similes, analogies, myths and other metaphorical tropes”. In accepting a role for the imagination, Plato emphasizes that the images must “never be treated as ends in themselves”. With this caveat the image serves as a mediating device “between our sensible experience and our rational intelligence”.
Further, "the human mind has need of metaphorical and mythic figures to mediate between the worlds of becoming and being and thereby elevate us from our lower sensory experience to the contemplation of truth." 24

Even though Plato believed that there is a significant philosophical relationship between the imagination and the revelation of truths, he also believed in the role of the imagination to facilitate ideas which, through reason, may be revealed as truths. However, Plato was careful to distinguish the mimetic character of the imagination from the mind's faculty of reason. The latter he described as timeless and enduring and specific to the shared public world of man, intended to spatially locate reason in the context of the life of the polis. In Platonic theory, the classification of the mimetic character of the imagination essentially implies that as a mental function imagination is fleeting, unreliable and ultimately subjective. As a result, the imagination is isolated to the hermetic world of private life for which no room exists in the public realm of the polis.

**The Influence of Joseph Addison**

The inspiration for Alexander Pope's enquiries into Plato's ideas concerning the connections among the roles of the imagination, reason and Nature, found its source in the theories of several political philosophers of his time, in particular Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Joseph Addison.

The empirical thinking of Thomas Hobbes was in part an important influence on Pope's ideas in respect of man's capacity to reason. For Hobbes, the quest for truth and therefore
the understanding of reality exists in physical observation monitored by the "good sense" of
modern thought.25 "Good sense" or judgment as Hobbes refers to it, and later Pope, provides
a structure for the poetic imagination to be grounded in the real world. Judgment is brought
to bear on the ideas generated in the imagination and the rational faculty of the mind
structures and filters them. It is through this process that truths may be revealed.26

Pope's preoccupation with man's perception of things, and the roles of reason and the
imagination in the poetic translation of those perceptions, was further shaped by John
Locke's ideas; the latter are most clearly articulated in An Essay Concerning Human
Understanding (1690).27

The primary argument set forth in Locke's Essay is that a "relationship [exists] between the
ideas that man has of things and the real qualities of the things themselves".28 As David
Fairer illustrates in his analysis of Locke's theories as they relate to Pope's poetic imagery:
Locke clearly differentiates between human characteristics which are, on one level,

    inseparable from the body, in whatsoever state it be ... viz. solidity, extension, figure,
motion, rest and number, and such qualities which in truth are nothing in the objects
themselves but powers to produce various sensations in us . . . as colours, sounds,
taste, etc.29

Fairer points out that Locke's division between these two categories of characteristics
inevitably isolates that which is physically real and knowable from those qualities which
"exist in our minds as we perceive the object".30 Further, Locke believed that the idea of
knowledge was not, as Plato had earlier contended, innate or tied to the notion of some
form of authority but instead “consisted of seeing relations among ideas derived from sense experience”.31

With Locke’s ideas as a framework, Alexander Pope began to embrace the philosophical ideas of Joseph Addison, a disciple of John Locke. Pope’s relationship with Addison began at an early stage in Pope’s career. In 1713, Addison reviewed Pope’s Essay on Criticism identifying it as a “a masterpiece of its kind”.32 As a result of Addison’s encouragement to broaden his background knowledge, Pope commenced a translation of Homer’s Iliad, a task which consumed him from 1713 to 1719.33 Another Addison influence was his belief that increased accessibility to the ideas of the Enlightenment would benefit the larger public. It can be argued that Pope, in choosing the poetic form over narrative prose for his writing reflected Addison’s vision. Pope states in the introduction to his philosophical work, An Essay on Man, that he chose verse over prose, even in this instance, because the “principles, maxims, or precepts so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards”.34

In terms of his philosophical theories, Addison recognized that empirical principles driving advances in the natural science in respect of knowledge about the universe could just as effectively be “applied to the understanding of man’s mental faculties”.35 In his seminal article, “The Pleasures of the Imagination” first appearing in 1712 as a collected work in The Spectator, Addison proposes that the imagination is activated in the mind of the ‘spectator’. Joseph Addison’s innovative view effectively and fundamentally changed modern man’s view about himself in relation to the world in all its forms. It was a dramatic departure from Classical thinking which had been based on knowing and evaluating the world of things as
the basis of revelation. Addison proposed that in order to evaluate the merits of things - art or scenes of Nature - man could rely upon the world of things to “catalyze the subjective pleasures of the imagination”.

Such pleasures for Addison, and Pope later adopted this theory, existed potentially in all things, Godly-made or ‘domesticated’ (including ideas about Nature and science), “trained by human artifice without concession to the classical rules of beauty”. The world for Addison, in all its frames, was essentially a “stimulus for the imagination”.

It is important to note that pleasures of the imagination, for Joseph Addison, were different from experiences that might be understood through the intellect or senses. As Addison believed, pleasures of the imagination were not “so gross as those of the senses, nor so refined as those of understanding”. Instead, pleasures of the imagination are revealed to us when detached from sensual, cognitive and possessive desires; they only materialize “when experience is non-sensual, non-cognitive and disinterested”.

Pope suggests in his poem *The Rape of the Lock*, that he too embraced a similar position with respect to sensual and intellectual pleasures. David Faire, in his analysis of the poem, writes: “Pope reveals that the imagination is inevitably falsifying, a colouring that can distort the truth by blurring its outline and dimensions, and substituting the beautiful, though secondary, qualities from within our minds”. Faire concludes that the poem is concerned with the imagination as “a beautiful, amoral, irresponsible and alluring thing”.

However, it is this very philosophical position, concerning the interpretation of the senses and the intellect as isolated entities, that forms the basis for Alexander Pope’s dilemma, and
for which he seeks to uncover truths through building work his garden estate. As this paper later explores, Pope, unconsciously or deliberately, disputed with Locke and Addison’s beliefs. Through his architectural work, Pope embraced the synergy between the senses and the intellect as the basis for spatially exploring the imagination’s potential to shape the body’s interpretation of worldly experiences and reality. Pope pursued these enquiries even in light of the potentially ‘amoral’ characteristics of the imagination.

As Mary Alice Dixson-Hinson argues in her essay, *The Discovery and History of the Space of the Imagination*, the paradox in Joseph Addison’s theory is that he never clearly articulates the full character of the pleasures of the imagination. Rather than an oversight, it may have related more to their nature - “personal, individual and private experiences”.45 Such pleasures inhabit a world outside the realm of reason, that of subjective experience, “granting the imagination its personal freedom”.44 It is interesting to realize that, for Addison, the sources of ‘the pleasures of the imagination’ were not confined to Nature but were also found in ideas, including the world of science. Addison states, “Abstract concepts engage the imagination when they become images”.45 For Addison, thought assumes visual shape in the imagination and becomes palpable, perceptible and painterly. Such pleasures are “reflected by the Imagination; we are able to see something like Colour and Shape in a Notion and to discover a Scheme of Thoughts traced out upon matter”[sic].46 In Addison’s mind, the imagination “pictures a Truth”.47

In the latter, Addison makes a fundamental and critical point: “personal freedom” is realized through its own disengagement from the traditional criteria of aesthetic judgement. Imagination, grounded in reason, is made secondary to the spectator’s personal experience of
the world. In turn, the imagination is spatially shifted into the private realm of the individual where one's visual and physical experience of the world is the stimulus for the imagination, setting the stage for a *parallacical* condition.\textsuperscript{48} In asserting the importance of personal experience, Alexander Pope released the imagination from the shackles of Platonic ideals. Unlike Plato's notion of the imagination, Pope's imagination existed in the mind of the observer in order to facilitate evaluation of the world of things so as to "catalyze the subjective pleasures of the imagination".\textsuperscript{49} In this paper, the architectural analysis of Pope's garden estate reveals how Pope, in recognizing Addison's influence in respect of individual private experience, collaged with the secrets inherent in the natural external world, supplied the crucial ingredients to 'catalyze the pleasures of the imagination'.

**The Transition from Divine Work to Alexander Pope's Work**

The struggle to uncover the meaning of man's place in the world, together with the intellectual challenge to successfully illuminate this reality, are two themes that emerge in Alexander Pope's, *An Essay on Man*. In Maynard Mack's analysis of this poem, the author suggests that Pope believed that man's imagination was essentially a gift from God that "enabled us to take account of the observed heterogeneity and conflict of things, but reconcile them".\textsuperscript{50} Based on this view, Mack illuminates Pope's recognition about the importance of the imagination in interpreting the world, and at the same time, his emphasis on man's dependency on the faculty of reason to fully make sense of his observations.\textsuperscript{51} It is important to recognize this co-dependent philosophical position: the imagination, when combined with reason, empowers man to omnipotence in his own creativity.
Mack opines that the transition from God's work to man's work "marks a concern with ethics that all traditional theodicies imply". Alexander Pope elaborated on this argument by suggesting that the "necessary framework for all ethical considerations is man's attitude with respect to the universe, his firm acceptance of the position that all things taken together are right. It is only within this framework that man is able to properly access and respond to himself and to the public-realm alike". According to Pope, man's embrace of these ethical ideals results in a degree of passion that prevents him from being "tossed (like a vessel) in contrary directions by the aimless succession of his desires: having it (passion) he goes with some stability to his objectives". Mack also believes that 'passion' is a form of creative achievement, "an artistic result", constructed from the chaos of reality, "just as God built the world".

Another theme that Pope introduces in An Essay on Man is the concept of 'seeing'. Pope argues that the creation of images in man's imagination, through the act of seeing, are necessary for acquiring a sense of worldliness and developing a critical perspective from which to ponder the human condition. For Pope, the act of seeing establishes a basis for 'knowing' potential possibilities in that which already exists. "To know", in Pope's view, is to "see the past and the present in equivalent ways and to manipulate the abstract and concrete, the general and the particular, in order to achieve understanding". Pope's basis for knowing was subject to the inherent characteristics of seeing: a fixed point of reference from which speculation, and potentially abstract thoughts, are grounded by the faculty of reason.
Alexander Pope’s philosophical approach to reconciling the separation between the imagination and reason falls somewhere between the ideas of Plato and those of Joseph Addison. To achieve harmony between these two faculties of the mind was not so much an option for Pope as a necessity; to do otherwise, man could not realize his full potential in the world of things. As Maynard Mack states: it was Pope’s intent to unite the “godlike rational and the animal-sensitive to constitute the art of being human”.

Alexander Pope is reputed to have had the ability to empower his poetry with the wisdom of the ages. As this thesis submits, Pope, in the development of his philosophical ideas, encountered limits in the medium of writing to fully explore his ideas and the changing worldview of his time. The written medium of poetry offered him a form of creative landscape upon which he sought to traverse his intellectual boundaries and the cracks and crevices in the theories that influenced his thinking. But Pope’s poetry, though expressive in its own way, seemed to be inadequate to explain conceptual gaps in his developing theories; how he was to reconcile the mechanical and mathematical universe of Newton and Galileo and the mythical and metaphysical universe of the imagination continued to challenge Pope. It was the latter that Pope trusted and embraced believing that the imagination could provide the most reflective discoveries because of its close association to the natural world as created by God. At this critical juncture in his exploration of philosophical ideas, consciously or not, Pope embraced the work of gardening. The substance of the earth offered Pope a new landscape upon which he could develop a different language, narrated by physical, spatial and sensual experiences. As this paper will theorize, Pope’s choice of gardening, to explore
and elaborate the complexities of his philosophical ideas, was an overlapping of history (mythopoetic) and modern thought rooted in the emerging philosophy of the Enlightenment.
1 Grass plot between the house and the River Thames  
2 The house  
3 Grotto and underground passage  
4 Road from Hampton Court to London  
5 Shell temple  
6 Large mount  
7 Stoves (i.e., hothouses)  
8 Vineyard  
9 Obelisk in memory of Pope's mother  
10 Small mounds  
11 Bowling green  
12 Grove  
13 Orangery  
14 Garden house  
15 Kitchen garden  

Square marks indicate urns and statues

James Sambrook  
Redrawing of John Searles plan of Pope's garden estate after 1745.
John Searle
Plan of Pope's garden estate
From Searle "Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden"
1745.
Alexander Pope settled at Twickenham, England on the banks of the Thames River in the spring of 1719. His five-acre plot of land was nestled into the village of Twickenham which was, at the time, a semi-rural community far enough away from the polluted air of London to provide ideal living conditions for Pope’s respiratory ailments and tranquil enough to tame his overly nervous system.\textsuperscript{59} The landscape surrounding Twickenham was a mixture of meadows and groves framed by rolling hills from which some of the finest views of England could be seen. It was in this idyllic landscape that Pope began transforming his garden estate.

Prior to this time, however, several people and events played important roles in shaping his future approach to gardening. In particular were the friendships and exchanges of ideas that materialized between Pope and Lord Burlington and William Kent.

Lord Burlington’s influence on Pope has been sited in many texts related to the biography of the poet’s life. Burlington recognized young talent and surrounded himself with the likes of Handel, John Gay (who, while lodging at Burlington’s house, was in charge of his music), and later William Kent who, for Burlington, had the capability to become a great history painter.\textsuperscript{60} All of these artists, including Pope, lived on Burlington’s estate during which time significant changes were being made to the gardens. Burlington was transforming his estate to incorporate Italian Renaissance style and ideas he had admired during his first Tour of
Italy in 1715. Kent, also well-versed in the nuances of Italian gardens, imposed his experiences and memories onto Burlington's garden by creating "the cascade and grotto (and) views of the surrounding countryside from elevated terraces and mounts". Kent also introduced the idea of an unfolding garden through a 'succession of scenes' which Pope took to heart by translating this technique into a design of elements that conveyed "variety and surprise." Pope writes, "Parts answ'ring parts shall slide into a whole, /spontaneous beauties all around advance"[sic]. As the exploration of Pope's garden estate will reveal, many of the concepts that Kent introduced into Burlington's garden were repeated by Pope in his own garden over the years that followed.

Pope himself never made the "grand" tour of Europe and consequently missed viewing, first hand, all the peculiar nuances of the Italian Renaissance gardening style. Pope compensated by studying landscape painting under the tutorial of Charles Jarvis in 1713. Inspired by his friend Jon Caryll, Pope used landscape painting as another tool to train his eyes to "recreate or compose pictorial scenes"; his painting became an extension of his exploration of the pictorial landscape through his writings on pastoral poetry. Through landscape painting Pope was introduced to the power of perspective as a spatial organizing device. Later in his career, Pope would exploit this device in working his own garden at Twickenham. All this training gave Pope initial insights into how the classical pictorial landscape could be transposed into an English garden. The poet supported his love of pictorial Italian art with an immersion into the studies of the ancients, particularly how they looked at nature.
Pastoral Poetry: The Verbal Painting of a Landscape

The development of Alexander Pope's philosophical position with respect to nature and language may be traced, in part, to his early pastoral poetry. Pope developed many of his ideas in these works; later these same ideas framed the building blocks Pope used in conceptualizing and constructing his Twickenham garden estate.

Two schools of thought may have influenced Pope in developing a structural framework for his pastoral poetry. The first, the "new classical" theory, owes much of its style direction to Rapin who formulated rules for writing the pastoral poem which were based primarily on Virgil's poems. Rapin states that the "pastoral should be an imitation of the action of a shepherd living in the Golden Age". The second source comes from the "rationalistic" school of thought which was established by Fontenelle in 1688. Fontenelle's theory states that the poet should let himself be guided by the self-sufficient "natural light of his own reason". Fontenelle also teaches that the pleasure of the pastoral arises from the use of illusions or half-truths. Fontenelle's ideas of the pastoral are grounded in psychological foundations which encouraged the poet to interpret and represent the "quietness and leisure of the shepherd's life".

In the work of both theorists, nature prevails as the primary setting for the pastoral poem; nature serves as the framework "into which human activity and experience are absorbed and harmonized" because it is an ordered world, and one which answers to man's needs, always
offering him “its shades of rest”.\textsuperscript{70}

The pastoral world is also structured by the idea of \textit{time} as exemplified in the metamorphosis of nature’s character as it changes with the seasons. In turn, \textit{time} and \textit{nature} exist in a synonymous relationship with human life, a concept inspired in Pope by Edmund Spencer.\textsuperscript{71}

For Pope, the world of nature was formed from many smaller worlds, each one contributing in its own unique way to configure a greater understanding of the whole. The poet illuminates this position in his \textit{Discourse on Pastoral Poetry} (1709) when he writes that in every eclogue “a designed scene or prospect is to be presented to our view which should likewise have its variety”.\textsuperscript{72}

Pope’s pastoral poetic exploration of man’s experience of time in the context of nature takes its lead from Rapin’s neo-classic reference to the \textit{action} of the shepherd. The shepherd’s act of tending his flock is the extension and perpetuation of God’s work. For Pope, the theme of \textit{passage} summarized Rapin’s reference; it implied that man’s interaction with, and inhabitation of the natural world, is that of an active participant not simply as an observer. The pastoral influences of Rapin’s neo-classical theory and Fontenelle’s rationalistic ideas on Pope’s gardening work will be discussed in the architectural analysis of Pope’s garden estate that follows in subsequent chapters.

By the mid 1730’s, the combination of Pope’s pastoral poetry and his poetic sensibility to the landscape, together with the ideas of William Kent, the painter, inspired a “national taste in
gardening, [which became known and] acclaimed throughout the world as The English Garden". These two artists, in recognizing the important links between their artistic disciplines, set the groundwork for what would eventually develop into the picturesque approach to gardening.

**Context Part 2: The Order of Events in the Garden Estate**

Alexander Pope's garden estate was physically and experientially divided into three distinct areas: first, the 'Grass Plot' which encompassed the area of the property between the Thames River and Pope's Villa; second, the Villa and in particular 'the Grotto' below it and lastly, 'the Garden' which comprised the total area of the garden estate located behind Pope's Villa.

What follows is a description of the garden estate based upon John Serles' plan-drawing of the estate at the time of Pope's death in 1744. Support sources listing Pope's personal effects are also referred to where applicable. In chapters two through four, each of the distinct areas of the estate is studied to describe and interpret specific architectonic details.

There were two avenues of approach to Pope's five-acre estate: one from the main road which linked Hampton Court to London and the other by boat from the Thames River. The road entrance bisected the property at a level and a half above the river's edge; it was hidden from the river by the main house on one side, and by a line of tall trees on the other which also obscured any view of the Garden. In contrast, the approach to the estate from the river was across the wide-open lawn of the Grass Plot; it was framed on either side by tall
groomed trees and, in the frontal distance, by the classical symmetry of the Palladian-style facade of Pope’s Villa.

The four-storey massing of the Villa was comprised of a central core with smaller ‘wings’ which symmetrically flanked either side; from the road only three of four storeys were visible. The approach from the road presented a centralized entrance that lead into a grand chamber located in the middle of the house. Opposite the entrance wall were tall terrace doors opening onto a porch which overlooked the lawn and the Thames River. The entry level of the villa comprised several small spaces surrounding the central core which were used primarily as guest rooms, sitting areas and Pope’s library.

As part of the central core of the Villa, Pope designed a wide, gradually ascending staircase which lead to the upper two floors. On the second floor there was a parlour, Pope’s bedroom, guest rooms and the main kitchen. The kitchen could also be accessed from a servant’s staircase located off the grand chamber on the ground floor. Beside it, there was a second staircase which was linked to the central chamber of the Grotto located beneath the villa.

The Grotto was approximately fifty feet in length with doors installed at either end. Pope used the doors to control the natural light that filtered into the cave as well as to provide a passageway from the Grass Plot area, next to the river, into the Garden behind his Villa. The internal space of the Grotto was divided into ten chambers, each of which contained
different minerals and precious stones; most of which had been donated by friends curious
to see what Pope might do with them, and eager to be a part of his creative work. Each
chamber was characterized by a distinct size and form and by the varieties of minerals and
stones adorning the walls and ceilings. For example, the central chamber of the Grotto is
described by Pope’s gardener, John Serle, as follows:

Many small Dice of Mundic and Tin Oar; two sorts of yellow flaky copper; one
schewing, by the different Strata of Metal, that different Masses of Copper will, tho’
concreted at different times, unite close into one Globe of Lamp. Several groups of
Cornish Diamonds incrusted, semipellucid, and shot round a Globe of Yellow
Copper. Many thick Incrustations of shot Spar of a Yellowish Cast, sprinkled with
small cubes of Mundic, Lead Ore, Kallan or Wild Iron. Many fine pieces of Yellow
Mundic, several small Cornish Diamonds tinged with blackish Water, and others with
a green Water. Several large groups of Cornish Diamonds, very transparent, from the
Rev. Dr. William Borlace of Ludgvan in Cornwall. Many fine large pieces of Red Spar
out of Colonel Stapleton’s Lead-Mine, from George Littleton, Esq; Fine Petrifactions
from Gilbert West, Esq; at West Wickham in Kent; fine incrustations from Mr. Allen’s
Quarries; and several Pieces of sparry Marble of different Colours from Plymouth,
with many large Cornish Diamonds and other Petrifactions, which form two fine
Rocks with Water distilling from them.[sic]74

The alternative approach to Alexander Pope’s estate was by boat along the Thames River.
Pope constructed a dock that protruded from the edge of the Grass Plot out into the river in
order to receive his guests. The visitor was free to expatiate over approximately fifty feet of plushly-groomed green grass before entering into the inner world of the Grotto. A prominent-arched opening marked the entrance to the Grotto which was located below the first storey, stone balcony of the Villa. Upon entry, the Grotto unfolded room by room, narrowing as the visitor moved through the central chamber and out into a long, low narrow hallway. The ground in the hall rose gradually toward the last space at the far end of the Grotto. At its centre was a square basin filled with water fed by an underground stream. The axis of the hallway continued beyond the Grotto into the Garden as a gravel path cut through the dense thicket of trees and other vegetation of the surrounding forest. The path continued to rise from the exit of the Grotto for another sixty feet until it reached a plateau and a circular clearing. At its centre was located the ‘Shell Temple’, an unusually-shaped structure completely covered with shells and supported by eight-evenly spaced columns. The location of the clearing also provided the visitor with the first views of the Villa’s facade from the roadside. At this point in the journey the visitor may have realized that the path through the Grotto not only traversed below the Villa, but also below the road leading to Hampton Court and London. Further, at this juncture the visitor had already entered deep inside Pope’s private garden.

Several paths, linking most regions of the garden, radiated from the clearing around the Shell Temple. Some of the paths lead back into dense areas of forest before emerging into other clearings, while others lead to neatly-planted groves of fruit trees. The western edge of the clearing was framed by a large hill covered in dense vegetation. Pope called this feature the
‘Spiral Mount’. The path leading up to the top of the Mount was on the opposite side of the Shell Temple and only visible if the visitor first traversed through groves of trees located on either side of the hill. The entrance to the path was marked by a statute that sat among the bushes and trees covering the surface of the Spiral Mount. A narrow, cyclical path lead the visitor up the Mount to reach a clearing at its summit. From this point in the spatial order of the Garden, the visitor could look east out over the Shell Temple, the road to London, the Villa and beyond to the Thames River. The north view was of thick natural forest with paths that appeared to weave in and out in a random manner juxtaposed with the southerly views of Pope’s Vineyards and Stoves. The view to the west revealed a continuation of a series of spaces and paths which Pope had sculpted out of the forest to extend the first path leading out from the Grotto.

Beyond the base of the Spiral Mount was a wide walkway which was framed on either side by groves of fruit trees, thirteen rows long, and which lead to the largest clearing in the Garden, the ‘Bowling Green’. The walk was continued on the opposite side of the Green, again framed by groves of trees, to lead the visitor toward an Obelisk which was situated in a second clearing surrounded by forest and located at the far end of the Garden. The Obelisk was a memorial to Pope’s late mother.
Chapter II: The World as Lived

Maynard Mack writes that . . . Pope drew amusement from considering himself a minuscule inhabitant of a world tailored to fit him. . . . "He is Homer in a nutshell," to use the phrase that he appropriated from Bishop Atterbury, who had thus described his appearance when driving his little "chariot". 76

The analysis of Pope’s garden estate work begins with the assumption that Pope imagined and designed the estate so that it would be experienced in a very specific way. It is submitted that this planned order involved a form of narrative-structure not unlike the technique Pope used, in all likelihood, in structuring a narrative poem or philosophical text. Pope believed that life was made up of a series of events that could and needed to be ordered. 77 Pope’s planning for the journey through the estate was structured as a series of theatrical-like events whereby the visitor became a participant in the creation and unfolding story of each aspect of the garden estate, visually and physically engaged in both the manifestation and animation of the experience.

The place of entry for the visitor was significant because it dictated initial impressions and set the tone for the visitor’s experience of the garden’s performance. For symbolic, metaphoric and experiential reasons set out and argued in several following paragraphs, Pope would have chosen to have the visitor arrive by boat at the edge of the Thames River.
Camera Obscura, 1646.
Pope's Use of Metaphor

Pope often imbued his poetic works with symbolic references to water. For him, the theme of water metaphorically emphasized or revealed the forces and life lessons that were at work beyond the making of mere mortals. As an example, Pope writes in *An Essay on Man*:

The virtuous mind is a peaceful lake. Self love may stir it like a dropped pebble, but the pebble produces an orderly series of concentric circles, Wide and more wide, embracing more and more of man kind.

Man must steer along the stream of Time, steering he dominates disorder.[sic]⁷⁸

Pope also used the metaphor of water to illustrate the theme of the core drama in man's existence. In his satire *Imitations of Horace* Pope writes:

I love to pour out all myself, as plain
As downright Shipped, or as old Mintage.
In them, as certain to be lov'd as seen,

The soul stood forth, nor kept a thought within;
In me what Spots (for Spots I have) appear,
Will prove at least the Medium must be clear.
In this impartial glass, my Muse intends
Fair to expose myself, my Foes, my Friends . . .
My Head and Heart thus flowing thro’ my Quill,
Verse-man or Prose-man, term me which you will.[sic]79

In this poem Pope exploits the metaphor of water as a medium that both flows and unifies ideas, and also suggests the unification of his own life and art. Further, water is used in this poem as a metaphor for reflection, referring to Nature’s capacity to reveal truths and Pope’s ongoing search for them.

Pope’s use of metaphor in poetry to explain philosophical ideas was carried into his work as a gardener-architect in constructing his garden estate; Pope used metaphor in its building to layer and enhance his ideas in order to advance the visitor’s experience and appreciation of the physical world.

In considering his garden estate, Pope extended the use of metaphor to instill an ‘emblematic’80 character to the design of the Grass Plot. He contrived a form of narrative that framed the boundaries of the area by placing artifacts at specific thresholds in order to focus the visitor’s attention when moving across the Grass Plot. A very detailed account of these props is provided by Pope’s friend, Joseph Spence:

His design of this was to have a swan, as flying into the river,
on each side of the landing place, then the statues of two river gods, reclined on the bank between them and the corner seats,
or temples with

Hic Placido fruit amne Meles

on one of their urns, and

Magnis ubiflexibus errat Mincius

on the other. Then two terms in the first niches in the grove-
work on the sides of the busts of Homer and Virgil, and
higher, two others with those of Marcus Aurelius and Cicero.[sic]²¹

Maynard Mack’s lengthy interpretation of this description reveals that the spatial narrative
“recalls the birth of Homer from Politian and the poetic conquest of Greece from Virgil”.²²
With his assemblage of props, Pope imbued the Grass Plot with a form of mythical history,
inspired by Homer, but collapsed into his own time.

All of Pope’s ‘emblematic’ design work in the Grass Plot presents an underlying order that
structures the visitor’s experience of the garden estate. This underlying order is, in essence, a
form of ‘paradeigma’: “a standard or pattern, which both measures the work and is measured
by it”.²³ In Indra McEwen’s work Socrate’s Ancestor, the author sites the roots of this
concept in Plato’s Timeaus where Plato writes: “Heaven was created in or with time after the
pattern of eternal Nature”.²⁴ Thus, the entire universe in Plato’s Timeaus is essentially an
artifact built according to a paradeigma. The Greeks refer to this concept as “the
architectural specimen that a builder copied or used as a standard” and was the pattern from
which Plato’s builders “copied when he made the world of Becoming in time”.²⁵ For Plato
In considering Pope’s design for the Grass Plot (in addition to the design of the garden which is discussed later) Pope’s concept of paradeigma should be interpreted as a “mutable rhythm or order (kosmos) that is rediscovered with each new tracing of the figure”. This interpretation is in opposition to the Platonic concept. An interpretation of order as kosmos is more closely aligned with Homeric philosophy because it suggests an “unnamed standard by which things were well according to, or not according to, order”. It is through the act of making by the artisan, as builder, poet, painter or other, that the presence of kosmos is brought into being. The notion of kosmos may also be interpreted as adornment which is linked to the Homeric word chros (skin or colour), the word for “the living body, which was understood as a surface and the bearer of visibility; in this interpretation, visibility is the guarantor of existence or being”.

Thus, Pope’s Grass Plot may be viewed as a ‘skin’ upon which Pope undertook an excavation into the use of Nature and as a canvas, upon and within which, he painted and constructed the mythopoetic and experientially-based world of his mind.

The design of the Grass Plot established a fundamental ordering-structure that would be continued throughout Pope’s garden estate. It also established that philosophical theories were necessary underpinnings to Pope’s ordering of the garden estate so that the character of the ‘culture’ of the parts in Pope’s gardening world would be defined. In particular, Pope
ordered how the parts might unfold in terms of physical experience.

To step from a boat at the bank of the Thames River onto Pope’s Grass Plot was to begin a journey across a series of metaphoric thresholds from which the visitor could begin to see and interpret a dialogue between the order of Nature as created by God and the order of nature as crafted by Alexander Pope.
William Kent
A Fantasy of Pope's Garden
1684-1748.
Prologue to Chapter III

We cannot indeed have a single Image in the Fancy that did not make its first Entrance through the Sight; but we have the Power of retaining, altering and compounding those Images, which we have once received, into all the Varieties of Picture and Vision that are most agreeable to the Imagination; for by this Faculty a Man in a Dungeon is capable of entertaining himself with Scenes and Landskips more beautiful than any that can be found in the whole Compass of Nature.[sic]91

In William Kent's illustration entitled "A fantasy of Pope's Garden", Alexander Pope is depicted standing in the Garden next to Kent, both facing towards the Thames River as they view Pope's Shell Temple.92 Kent stands on the left with his right arm on Pope's shoulder. In Pope's right hand and raised to his eye, is a 'perspective glass'. The uniquely-shaped Shell Temple that dominates the balance of the image is flanked on either side by heavy stone niches, each one enveloped in the dense vegetation of the surrounding forest. Smoke rises from a 'sacrificial altar' below the Temple. The image is framed by a bust of Homer seated and peering over Pope's shoulder. In the foreground stands an 'antique tripod' with a swan floating inside. To the left side of the picture is a classical illustration of Venus reclining on her shell surrounded by nymphs and angels. Water flows from the shell onto the ground plane of the drawing, and the rays of a rainbow radiate from behind the shell which arcs toward the top of the picture frame. These rays lead the viewer's eye back to the centre of the image above the Shell Temple before blending into the trees and eventually disappearing into the heavens. In the background, slightly to the left of the sacrificial altar is the garden access to the Grotto which is framed by two unusual leg-like columns.
One can imagine Pope recounting to Kent a story that he told to his friend Edward Blount in which Pope describes the experience of the Grotto's interior when the doors at either end are closed:

When you shut the Doors of the Grotto, it becomes on the instant, from a luminous Room, a camera obscura; on the Walls of which the River, Hills, Woods and boats, are forming a moving Picture in their visible Radiations: When you have a mind to lute it up, it affords you a very different Scene; it is finished with Shells interspersed with pieces of Looking-glass in angular forms; in the ceiling is a Star of the same Material, at which when a Lamp (of an orbicular Figure of thin Alabaster) is hung in the Middle, a thousand pointed Rays glitter and are reflected over the Place. [sic]
Alexander Pope
Drawing of the Grotto
January 14, 1740.
Alexander Pope
Drawing of the Grotto
December 29, 1740.
John Scarle
Plan of Pope's Grotto
From Searles "Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden"
1745.
Chapter III: The Grotto: A Mediating Space of the Mind

This section of the thesis explores the philosophical and spatial complexity of Alexander Pope's Grotto at Twickenham. The design of Pope's Grotto offers the potential to draw connections between the symbols Pope incorporated into the Grotto and the significant architectonic and spatial references found in some of Homer's and Plato's allegorical fictions. Two of these allegories will be explored in particular, with a view to illuminating the underlying narrative and meanings of Pope's embellishment of the interior surfaces and spaces of the Grotto. Further, the analysis will examine how the design of the interior contributed to an awakening of the visitor's imagination and bodily experience. It is submitted that the Grotto's design blended elements of Pope's poetry and philosophy with physical and spatial bodily experiences in order to immerse the visitor in a complex layered-form of allegorical fiction.

Porphyry and The Cave of the Nymphs

Some time during the late 3rd Century A.D., Porphyry wrote an analysis of a particular passage in Book Thirteen of Homer's epic poem, The Odyssey; it is known as The Cave of the Nymphs. This text is thought to be the first work devoted entirely to the elucidation of the meaning of an interpretive text. Though not recorded that Pope possessed a copy of Porphyry's text, one could strongly speculate that Pope was, at the very least, aware of its existence before embarking in 1713 on his interpretation and translation of the poem.
Further, an exploration of Porphyry's text would be important because Homer was an unequivocal source of truth for Pope's perspective. Robert Lamberton, in his Introduction to the translation of Porphyry's essay, writes: "Porphyry is concerned with Homer...as a theologian, a definitive and authoritative witness to a revelation shared by Pythagoras and by Plato and containing the key to the mysteries of the universe and the fate of souls".  

As another important influence on Pope, a second theme is highlighted by Porphyry's writing, is the allegorical nature of Homer's writings. The conclusion that Porphyry draws as to the primary focus in the allegory is summarized by Lamberton:

The poem as a whole constitutes a screen of poetic fiction masking a general truth about human experience. It is only at this point that we learn that all the episodes of Odysseus' wanderings, the stories told by narrator and protagonist as events in the world, are in fact events contained within the spiritual life of Odysseus, who is himself the symbol of man passing through the successive stages of Being.

**Plato's Cave**

The second text that this chapter considers is Plato's allegory of *The Cave* as set out in *The Republic*. In the allegory, Plato depicts man as a prisoner to his imagination because man can only know what he sees reflected on the walls of the cave; the reflections are caused by the fire burning inside the cave and the walls of the cave are all that the prisoners have ever
known. The allegorical fiction is that the prisoners' understanding of reality is limited to
their capacity to imagine the true source of such images, all of which could be mere illusions.
Plato further emphasizes how man's imagination is circumscribed when he employs the
metaphor of shackles which prevent the prisoners from turning their heads. Plato continues
to develop his theme when he recounts that the prisoners pass time in conjecture as to which
shadow will follow the last. Plato's allegory of the physical experience of the cave supports,
and re-enforces his argument that the rational mind must prevail over the imagining mind if
mankind is to be free from the corruption of illusion.

It is believed that Porphyry's observations on the meta-narrative of Homer's *Odyssey*,
"... a screen of poetic fiction ..." and Plato's allegory of *The Cave* are both highlighting the
complex issues and obstacles that man must overcome in order to be free to interpret and
understand the world of things, and to be open to truth as revealed. For Porphyry, Homer
relied on the imagination to enlighten and interpret Odysseus' physical perceptions of the
world and his Being. While on the other hand, Plato argued that the faculty of reason
ensures the prisoners' (man's) escape from the wanderings of the mind and the worlds of
myth and illusion. For Plato, through reason alone, man is able to make sense of his place in
the world.

As this chapter begins to explore, Alexander Pope was challenged to reconcile Plato's belief
in the faculty of reason to interpret and understand the world of things while balancing
Homer's belief in the importance of the role of the imagination. It is believed that Pope
undertook his work in his garden estate to reconcile certain philosophical ideas of Plato and Homer with his own. The language Pope chose to reveal his vision was the language of spatial experience manifest through the discipline of architecture.

**Light and the presence of *Phantasmata* in Pope’s Grotto**

Space and light are central to each allegory recounted by Homer, Plato and Pope.

Pope believed unequivocally that it was the duty of the poet to “restore ancient light” through a form of imitation, of the “divine act of creating”. As noted earlier, this is a theme that Pope adopted in his *Essay on Man*. In Epistle III, he writes:

```
Poet or Patriot Rose but to restore
The Faith and Moral, Nature gave before;
Relum’d her ancient light, not kindled new;
If not God’s image, yet his shadow drew.[sic]
```

As Pope points out in his description of the interior of the Grotto, Nature’s light was captured and controlled by opening or closing of entrances at either end of the Grotto space. These doors functioned like diffused portals to the sky, controlling the light that reflected and refracted throughout the ornately-covered ceiling. Pope suggests that this effect, compounded by the composition of ‘shells and angular pieces of looking glass’ embedded in the ceiling, had the potential to ‘lite-up’ the mind of the visitor who was open to it.
John Searle
Perspective View of the entry to the Grotto
View is from the Grass Plot
From Searles "Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden"
1745.
The magical character of the activities of light as they reflected over the walls and floor of the Grotto, engulfing the poet as he worked, is described as if they were the images of a film. They "formed a moving Picture in their Radiations", a fantastical cinematic vision that placed Pope, like the inner chamber of the camera, in a space of transformation.

If the reflection of light is likened to the creation of a positive image, then the responding negative image would be created from the shadows that are cast by the undulating forms in the interior of the Grotto. Pope exploited the creation of these Platonic-like shadows to reveal to the mind's eye potential truths found in what already existed. In effect, it freed the prisoners from the shackles that once limited their ability to know and to imagine. Nature, as a direct product of God's light, holds all of the potential to reveal or "lite up" the mind; only the skill of the creator is required. Pope's *techne* was to design and build the Grotto so that it functioned as a machine capable of capturing the light of the heavens. This light was transformed and transmuted into patterns and forms designed and controlled by Pope. It was for the visitor to use his imagination for translating the reflected images into ideas, words or dreams.

But note, a paradox is created here. Pope was attempting to control or mimic the Divine light within the Grotto to essentially usurp the power and mystery of the Divine. To do so, Pope had to place himself at the newly-defined centre of the light source, in his universe. It was Pope consciously taking possession of *logos*, "the silent dialogue of the soul with itself".
Perspective View of the entry to the Grotto with statues
View is from the Grass Plot
(n.d.)
To usurp the power of the gods is not unlike that of the Promethean myth, or the myth of Adam in the Garden of Eden. Both are characterized initially by an act of rebellion against the divine order of the heavens which in turn “dismantles the harmony of Nature pre-established by the Gods”. One could conclude that “the imagination from the outset is laced with ambiguity, for even though it permitted man to imitate God . . . it does so by means of an un-lawful act”.

Plato elaborated on the ‘divinatory functions of the imagination’ in his more mystical dialogues in the Timaeus and the Phaedrus. In the Phaedrus, Plato describes the mystical experience: “the idea of Beauty itself being given to certain chosen witnesses in the form of visionary images, phantasmata which the soul could never perceive in ordinary daylight”. In the Timaeus, Plato continues to expound on the character of phantasmata and eidola as divinely-inspired images that arise in the sleep of certain seers. Pope believed that the phantasmata could become visible to man through the faculty of his imagination. Thus, Pope’s creation of real space in real time in the Grotto can be viewed as the facilitator of the visitor’s physical experience of the phantasmata, the latter, in Pope’s view, the language of poetry was unable to meditate.

In Pope’s poetry, the presence and manifestation of phantasmata, in the forms of gods and other incorporeal beings, is a powerful and recurring theme and assists in understanding his belief about the potential scope of the imagination. In the Dunicad Pope writes:
Some to the Sun their Insect-Wings unfold,

Waft on the breeze, or sink in Clouds of Gold.

Transparent Forms, too fine for mortal Sight,

Their fluid Bodies half dissolv'd in Light.

Loose to the Wind their airy Garments flew,

Thin glittering Textures of the filmy Dew;

Dipt in the richest Tincture of the Skies,

Where light disports in ever-mingling Dies'

While ev'ry Beam new transient Colours flings,

Colours that change whene'er they wave their Wings.[sic]

The presence of the 'sylphs' produces a transitory imaginary vision filled with colour and light that collapses into a "brilliant insubstantial pageant". Within the Grotto's interior, the constantly-shifting play of light was like "cinematic machinery" capable of revealing Pope's allegorical materialization of the idea of these spirits as images of the imagination. The effects were further animated by the presence and gestures of the visitor's body within the space. Imagine the visitor as being only one of many surfaces upon which the reflection of light would be projected, transforming both the body's form and texture. The imaginary images that were created in Pope's Grotto were not unlike the 'duex ex machina' of the Greek theatre, a technique whereby the "invisible (gods) became materially-visible through the artificial device of the machine".
12  William Kent or Dorothy Boyle
Pope at work in his Grotto
(n.d.)
William Kent or Dorothy Boyle
Pope at work in his Grotto with slyphs and grotesques (n.d.)
The fantastical character of Pope's Grotto was also elaborated by his use of water to transform and further animate the visitor's experience of the space. Water was a recurring, important theme, initially explored by Pope in his design for the Grass Plot. In the Grotto, Pope took advantage of an existing underground water source to create three streams, the symbolic presence of which can be traced to Porphyry's interpretation of Homer's cave. As in Pope's Grotto, both ends of the space in 'Homer's' cave were opened to reflect the "sensible cosmos which the presence of constantly flowing water allegorically symbolized material existence".\textsuperscript{110} Perception by the senses was achievable because of the inherent characteristics of water to emit sound, create movement and sustain reflection. In Pope's Grotto, the visitor's sense of stability would have inevitably been displaced by the infinite spatial effects caused by the play of light upon the reflective surfaces of the water when collaged with the reflections on the surfaces of the ceilings and walls. The mirror-like surface of the water provided a 'reflection' into the visitor's own imagination so that the visitor was relocated in the abstract and boundless space of his own mind. In essence, Pope created for the visitor the circumstances to physically experience \textit{phanatasmata}.

Pope believed that water was an inherent element of Nature that encouraged man's reflection and learning. Patricia Spacks, in her analysis of \textit{An Essay on Man}, reveals that the symbolic use of water in his poetry infers the larger theme of "life as a sequence that should be ordered ... the river's flux can be controlled, uncontrolled it is incomprehensible".\textsuperscript{111} And in \textit{An Essay on Man}, Pope writes: "The virtuous mind is a peaceful lake...man must steer along the stream of Time, steering he dominates disorder".\textsuperscript{112} Pope's poetic imagery is a form of
literary reflection - a text that substitutes the physical presence of the body for philosophical reflections of the mind.

The mixing together of light, space and sound (evidenced by the presence of water) was Pope's way to reveal Homer's idea of *elementata* - the building of a universe. As described by Homer in *The Odyssey* and affirmed by Porphyry, *The Cave of the Nymphs* was essentially a mixing together of the elements of creation to form the *elementata*. Homer conveys this to the reader when he describes the activity of the Nymphs weaving and the bees moving in and out.  

**The Metaphor of the Camera Obscura**

Of potential influence on Pope's thinking, Joseph Addison argued that "Light and Colours, as apprehended by the Imagination, are only Ideas in the Mind, and not Qualities that have any Existence in Matter". John Locke held a similar position that had been conceived earlier by Galileo when he identified a distinction between "objective truth" and the "subjective imagination". Locke insisted that only measurable properties of matter can be said to be real, of which "light, colour, sound, smell, ... were unreal subjective illusions". Even with these authoritative ideas to influence him, it would appear that Pope believed these qualities could be revealed as images in the imagination through his architectonic manipulation of the space within the Grotto.
The chambers of space that Pope carved out of the earth to create his Grotto may be viewed as a ‘developing tank’ in which a process was undertaken to reveal images, the content of which are inspired by Nature, but which are molded and shaped into a spatial landscape in Pope’s hands. Pope’s metaphorical use of the ‘camera obscura’ as an experiential ordering-device for the Grotto re-enforced the poet’s desire to bridge the gap between the inhabitant’s inner world and the outer worlds, between spirit and matter, making the unreal, real. Pope’s imagining mind, and that of his visitor’s, could now physcally inhabit the abstract ideas that constituted the “pleasures of the imagination” through the body’s experience of form, space and time.

**The Metaphor of the Perspective Glass**

What first appears to be the most compelling metaphor used by Pope to describe the experience of the Grotto, the analogy to a ‘camera obscura’, fails to adequately represent the full experiential reality of the space. Unlike the static image of reality recorded by the camera obscura, the experience inside Pope’s Grotto comprised images in constant motion. The experience was multi-dimensional and fantastical in its depiction of reality. The natural exterior world, when transcribed on the inside of the Grotto, was fragmented, even shattered.
Of greater importance, it is believed that the metaphor of a 'perspective glass', described by Pope in a letter to his friend Edward Blount, illuminates a more comprehensive reading of the architectural significance of the Grotto. Pope writes:

From the River Thames you see thro' my Arch up a Walk of the Wilderness to a kind of open Temple, wholly compos'd of Shells in the Rustic Manner; and from that distance under the Temple you look down thro' a slopping Arcade of Trees (lining the walk to the grotto on the garden side), and see the Sails on the River passing suddenly and vanishing, as thro' a Perspective Glass.[sic]^{118}

The design of the perspective glass allows the user to view the image in front of him as well as obtain a view of the landscape or space from which he has just passed. (The latter was presented upside down like the image in a camera obscura). Though both objects collapse space and time into a single image, it is the unique ability of the perspective glass to capture and hold the present and the past simultaneously. The simultaneity of these events breaks the static character of the camera obscura metaphor and re-enforces a critical underlying theme present in Pope's garden estate. Pope's description of the view from both the Grass Plot through the Grotto to the Garden, and back again, visually illustrates how the placement of the Grotto in the landscape architecturally-defined a spatial dialogue between God's work and Pope's work. From an external vantage point, the Grotto, framed by God's work, blends and emerges from its natural landscape. From an internal perspective, the Grotto functioned as a filter through which God's work is re-discovered, re-experienced and then framed by the translation from Pope's imagination. Once within the space of Pope's cave,
the qualities of movement, texture, light and form, all of the sensory impressions that Addison and Locke viewed as 'sensory illusions', became the tools that Pope used to translate God's work into his fantastical vision of the real.

Pope's metamorphic use of both viewing devices suggests that the visitor is entering a threshold and crossing a boundary as Martin Heidegger has proposed. It is a journey, not in the sense of an ending, but rather an entering into a space in which something begins its presencing. It is as though Pope wanted the Grotto to function as a form of physical bridge to link the mental activities of the mind with the sensory experiences of the body. This was accomplished by presenting the phantasmata to the visitor in a real, built space. René Descartes' notion that the mind and the body exist as two distinct entities, while housed in the same container, is confounded. The body and the mind experience the world in parallel ways, even simultaneously; imaginary ideas - the 'phantasmagorie' - become physical objects.

The Use of the Metaphor of Inversion

For the process of reflection or inversion to occur, science requires both a light source and a projection surface. In Plato's cave, the philosopher spoke of two light sources: fire and the sun. In the Cave, the fire burned behind the shackled prisoners and projected the shadows of the world of appearances onto the surfaces of the walls of the cave. The images produced by the shadows became the prisoner's understanding of reality. But because they were physically restrained, the prisoners lacked control of the light source and were unable to
realize that what they thought was real was, in fact, mere illusion. (The relevance of the sun as a light source for the experience of the garden estate is discussed in the opening section of Chapter Three.)

In contrast, the light source within the Grotto was not concealed from the visitor; it was a movable alabaster lamp that Pope could put up or take down at will. To enhance the intensity and reflective qualities of the lamp, Pope embedded shards of mirror in the ceiling of the Grotto and in an oval mirror placed above the intended hanging-location of the lamp. This mirror is suggestive of Plato's metaphor for the imagination, "slavishly reflecting the world". Yet the shards of reflective glass surrounding the mirror imply that this metaphor has been de-constructed: with the reassembled mirrors and the presence of the lamp, multiple views of the inner world of the Grotto are now offered which play to the potentially limitless visions of the visitor's imagination. And within Pope's cave, the lamp arguably had the same function as Plato's fire. Because Pope could move himself about the Grotto, as well as shifting the lamp's position, he was in control for projecting his imaginings as shadows on the walls. Pope's manipulation of the ceilings and walls, serving as his projection screens, enabled him to extend even greater control over his imaginary visions. In illuminating his lamp, Pope signified the absence of Nature's light and appropriated to himself the role of divine creator.

The theme of inversion, as suggested by references to the Grotto as both a camera obscura and a perspective glass, is pervasive in the larger meta-narrative of Pope's work on his garden
estate. In the case of the perspective glass, the process of inversion is characterized by reflection. For the camera obscura, inversion is signified by the visitor’s passage through the Grotto from darkness to daylight. As suggested previously, in Pope’s Grotto the poet both desired, and physically inhabited, the metaphoric space of the anti-chamber of the camera. Ideas and visions were created inside the chamber that were, in turn, brought into the world through Nature’s light. But Pope, like Prometheus, stole the fire from the gods. Upon closing the doors to the Grotto, the poet snuffed out Nature’s light and replaced it with lamplight that was facilitated by a mortal as a means to illuminate his own inner brilliance. It is critical to note that the Grotto’s interior thus became, not only a space for the process of inversion, but an inhabitable space in which Pope’s architectural manipulations directly affected the character of this inversion. To pass through the chamber of the cave was to pass through the spatial constructs of Pope’s imagination in order to physically place the visitor’s body in a space between the imagined and the real, between Becoming and Being.

Pope’s reference to the ‘camera obscura’ and the ‘perspective glass’ were metaphors for a specific form of vision, vision that is consistent with the modern metaphor of the “eye of the painter”. Sarah Kofman, in her work Camera Obscura of Ideology argues that the painter’s eye is the “preeminently ideal eye”. For Kofman the eye is an active participant in the reading and translation of the world of appearances or Nature. Further, the eye is a symbol of the mirror of the camera and “must become conscious of that which takes shape in it”. In quoting from Leonardo da Vinci, the author writes, “The true painter must be able to invent, to reproduce via imagination and calculation, the effects of nature”.

122
123
124
125
Perhaps whether these 'effects', as images or experiences, are literally inverted or only metaphorically-inverted is not the issue. What is most poignant is the necessity of the mind to converge with the body at the point of enlightened perception. Then Pope's Grotto may be viewed as representative of the eye, or the chamber of the imagination, the belly of Mother Earth or the mirror of the universe. But without knowing for certain Pope's intended meaning for these metaphors, his actual architectural gestures reveal the construction of a world in which the unconscious may be, at the very least, awakened. The fantastical experience created in the Grotto enabled Alexander Pope to give material substance to those qualities of the imagination that John Locke and Joseph Addison viewed as subjective illusions. It is here that Pope's rational mind and his imaginary eye collide, as do the rays of light entering the pinhole of the black box.
William Kent
Head piece to volume five of Homer's Odyssey
Alexander Pope's translation
(n.d.)
A prologue to Chapter IV:

View 1
A man of a Polite Imagination is let into a great many Pleasures . . . it gives him indeed a kind of Property in everything that he sees, and makes the most rude uncultivated Parts of Nature administer to his Pleasures so that he looks upon the World, as it were, in another light, and discovers in it a multitude of Charms, that conceal themselves from the generality of Mankind [sic]. 126

View 2
The world of darkness inside [Plato’s] cave is presented as an illusionary stage where men live in ignorance, prisoners of man-made images (eidola/phantasmata). The world of light outside - to which all lovers of truth aspire by following the way of reason - is equated with the transcendental realm of being . . . The Sun, which is the original source of light beyond the cave is identified by Plato with the highest and most divine form of being - the Good. But only reason, we are told, can ‘elevate the noblest part of the mind to the contemplation of the highest being’. The good remains inaccessible to those who cling to their images thereby condemning themselves to the phantasmagoria within the cave. But those who abandon the imitations of eikasia [illusion] for the realities of nous [reason] behold ‘no longer an image (eikon) but truth itself’. 127
Janet Cardiff, in collaboration with George Bures Miller
“Muriel Lake Incident”
wood, audio-video projection, and steel
1999.
Classical philosophy considered the concept of Being as the primary source of all human knowledge. To know reality was to secure an adequate representation of Being. As a spatial model, the idea of “Being was the centre of the universe and the human mind was like a planet which revolved around it”. The galactical discoveries of Newton and Galileo further confirmed this theory. By the Age of the Enlightenment, Newton and Galileo’s ideas had provided a dramatic challenge to prevailing historical perceptions about the universe, and particularly important, man’s physical perception and understanding of himself in relation to it. In this new era of science and philosophical thought, man conceptually stood at the centre of the spatial landscape of Being - at the centre of the universe. From here, man surveyed the world as an object of his own making and under his control.

Enlightenment philosophy galvanized a re-thinking of Plato’s concept of the imagination. No longer a static entity, an act purely of imitation or “a mere reproduction of some given reality”, the imagination was re-interpreted as the “original reproduction of human consciousness”. John Locke elaborated this philosophical shift by proposing that there were no innate ideas, that the world as experienced was the truth. With this new philosophical foundation, the idea of the imagination was now viewed and understood as a projection of human subjectivity, “assigned to the role of ultimate origin”, and appropriately unshackled from the constraints of earlier philosophy. As such, the imagination assumed responsibility for defining “a world of original value and truth”.

Pope’s appropriation of Nature’s pure light into the cave exemplified his re-working of
classical philosophical ideas which he then incorporated into the design and construction of the Grotto. The contours, shape and material composition of the space fragmented and dispersed the captured light from the sun into a thousand tiny rays. This transformation of divine light unleashed the power of a mere mortal to challenge the meaning and shape of reality through the act of building. In the bodily experience of Pope’s Grotto, the visitor’s spatial understanding of the natural world was inverted into the imagination, into the inner world of the mind, to present itself as an inhabitable entity as ‘truth itself’. At this juncture, Pope had created an ‘architectonic rupture’.134
Beistegui apartment, Paris
by Le Corbusier
1929-1931.
Chapter IV: The Imagined World

Our Sight is the most perfect and delightful of our Senses. It fills the Mind with the largest Variety of Ideas, converses with its Objects at the greatest distance, and continues the longest in Action without being tired or satiated with its proper Enjoyments. The Sense of Feeling can indeed give us a Notion of Extension, Shape, and all other Ideas that enter at the Eye, except colours; but at the same time it is very much straightened and confined in its Operations, to the number and Bulk, and Distance of its particular Objects. Our sight seems designed to supply all these defects, and may be considered as a more delicate and diffuse Kind of Touch, that spreads itself over an infinite Multitude of Bodies, comprehends the largest Figures, and brings into our reach some of the most remote Parts of the Universe.\(^{135}\)

In Chapter III, it was revealed that Pope’s work in his Grotto was a spatial exploration and investigation to better understand the meaning of the human condition in his time. And while the experiencing of the space was significant, the Grotto most clearly symbolized the imaginary wanderings of the mind - man’s inner world. This chapter further considers Pope’s explorations and inquiries through an architectural analysis of the Garden located behind his Villa.

As described in the Introduction, the Garden was located conceptually and physically in opposition to the Grass Plot and linked experientially through the Grotto. The Grass Plot represented the ‘world as lived’ and in contrast, the Garden was designed to be considered as the ‘world as imagined’. The Garden portion of Pope’s estate was a metaphor for the
Enlightenment idea of the external or outer world. A discussion of the various experiences and philosophical underpinnings of the Garden leads to the conclusion that Pope created a spatial context for the sensations Joseph Addison had suggested would literally ‘touch us’; ones that would collide with the external objects that constituted man’s perceptions of reality. The Garden was an extension of the poetic canvas upon which Pope continued to ‘paint’ the spatial translations of his mind’s imaginary wanderings.

The philosophical shift during the Age of the Enlightenment replaced the metaphor of the mind as a mirror with the idea of the mind as a lamp; in effect, this implied that the bearer of the lamp was an individual with an identity and existence separate and distinct from the divine universe. With this new identity came a curiosity about one’s own ‘life history’.

The conceptual order of man’s ‘life history’ may be seen much like a conceptual ordering of the universe; both possesses a past, present and a future. It is the faculty of the imagination (as the light source of this lamp) that can stimulate man’s desire to think and know about “things that are absent, including things that no longer exist or do not yet exist”.

Alexander Pope, in focusing attention on the role of the human senses, re-enforced man’s imagination and strengthened belief in the Enlightenment’s new conceptual order. And the purely narrative vocabulary used by poets writing before the eighteenth century began to give way to the new thinking. This alternative way to view the world was possible, due in part, to a belief in the idea of seeing as a worthy form of interpretation to assess the ‘universe of things’ in their various configurations. Alexander Pope began to design and create his garden.
estate in the context of these important influences.

The Pleasures of the Imagination

Joseph Addison categorizes the ‘pleasures of the imagination’ into primary and secondary pleasures. He argues that the primary pleasures of the imagination are those which emerge entirely “from such Objects as are before our eyes”\textsuperscript{138} the sense of sight. The sense of sight or vision forms the basis for the notion of seeing. Addison contends that vision may be considered a more delicate and diffusive kind of touch. . . . The freedom of sight was hinged upon the gaze’s liberty to make immaterial contact with unbounded views and the spacious horizon. The physiological pleasures of the imagination depended on the fact that ungraspable perception spreads itself over an infinite Multitude of Bodies. . . . These wide and undetermined prospects could later be re-felt or represented in the fancy.[sic]\textsuperscript{139}

The idea that Nature’s ‘spacious horizon’ possesses answers and provides inspiration for discovering truths are recurring themes that resonate throughout Alexander Pope’s spatialization of his poetic language. In Epistle I of An Essay on Man, Pope separates man’s ability, or potential for seeing, from the powerful order of Nature. He writes:

Why has not man a microscopic eye?

For this plain reason, man is not a fly.

Say what the use, were finer optics given
To inspect a mite, not comprehend the heaven?
Or touch if trembling alive all o'er,
To smart and agonize at every pore?
Or quick effluvia darting through the brain,
die of a rose in aromatic pain?
If nature thundered in his opening ears,
And stunned him with the music of the spheres,
How would he wish that Heaven left him still
The whispering zephyr, and the purling rill?
Who finds not Providence all good and wise,
Alike in what it gives and what denies?[sic]\textsuperscript{140}

In Patricia Spacks analysis of this poem, the author argues that Pope presents "the powers of human perception, physical and metaphysical, both as subject matter and as organizing device".\textsuperscript{141} Spacks also submits that the poem's imagery "exposes the world, illustrates the meaning of perception, and defines perception's (seeing) limits".\textsuperscript{142} Pope achieved these qualities in his poetry by abandoning a purely conceptual vocabulary to focus on the sensory experience of the world of things as a means to better describe Nature as indicative of the real.\textsuperscript{143} As well, Pope uses the metaphor of Nature to poetically explore "man's struggle to understand and accept his place (as a mortal) in the universe".\textsuperscript{144}
Perception, as implied in Pope’s poem, is the human faculty most capable of steering man through this malaise. At the same time, Pope believed that perception still required the faculty of reason to interpret and explain the human condition. Pope writes:

Two principles in human nature reign;
Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain;
Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call,
Each works its end, to move or govern all:145

The link between the physical action of seeing (perception) and man’s capacity for understanding frames Pope’s quest for truths as a balance between the faculties of the imagination and reason; Pope illustrates this link in Epistle I of An Essay on Man:

Together let us beat this ample field,
Try what the open, what the covert yield!
The latent tracks, the giddy heights explore
Of all who blindly creep, or sightless sore;
Eye Nature’s walks, shoot folly as it flies,
And catch the manners living as they rise:146

A brief analysis of the subject of Epistle I and II in Pope’s An Essay On Man further illuminates the duality in this theme. Epistle I, “Of the nature and state of Man with respect to the Universe” situates man as a mortal under the guise and daunting superiority of the beauty and
complexity of Nature as created by God. He writes:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That, changed through all, and yet in all the same;
Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame;
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;
Lives through all life, extends through all extent;
Spreads undivided, operates unspent!\textsuperscript{147}

It is interesting to recall that in the context of the Grotto, Pope had conceptually situated himself between Nature and the Universe. It was from this place that Pope was capable of potentially altering the hierarchy between himself and Nature by means of his own spatial manipulations. In the act of building, Pope usurped the hierarchy of Nature and began a process for uniting his imaginary ideas with those of bodily experience.

The moral of Epistle II is concealed in the dialogue about the experiences of the Grotto and the Garden. Epistle II, \textit{"Of the nature and state of Man with respect to himself, as an Individual,\textquoteleft\textquoteright} presents the duality between the physical world and the imaginary world in order to explain the importance of the \textquoteleft\textquoteleft substantiality and the significance of the physical universe; physical reality always contradicts psychic illusion\textquoteleft\textquoteright.\textsuperscript{148} Pope writes:

Could he whose rules the rapid comet bind,
Describe or fix one movement of his mind?
Who saw its fires here rise, and there descend,
Explain his own beginning, or his end?
Alas what wonder! Man's superior part
Unchecked may rise, and climb for art to art,;
But when his own great work is but begun,
What reason weaves, by passion is undone.\textsuperscript{149}

... 
See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing.
The sot a hero, the lunatic a King;
The starving chemist in his golden views
Supremely blest, the poet in his muse.\textsuperscript{sic}\textsuperscript{150}

Epistle II also illustrates the importance for man of both seeing reality, and simultaneously identifying an escape from that reality.\textsuperscript{151} This theme predominates in William Kent's illustration of Pope as he stands next to the Shell Temple viewing the Thames River through his perspective glass.\textsuperscript{152} Kent's depiction of Pope's spatial position within the Garden, combined with the unique characteristics of the perspective glass as a viewing-device, describes Pope as capable of visually shifting or 'escaping' from the illusion of the imaginary world into the steadfast realm of reality (reason). In effect, the mirror of the perspective glass enables the convergence of the existing world into the imaginary world and, in the process, creates a new vision of reality. This is not unlike the effect produced by the mirror
situated in the ceiling of the Grotto intended to fragment Nature’s light and the image of the outer world into a thousand pointed rays.

The Threshold Between the Inner World and the Outer World

The transition from the inner world of the Grotto to the outer world of the Garden was a unique threshold for the visitor to traverse as a means to experience Pope’s garden estate. The visitor’s experience of the effect created by the contrast of brilliant daylight with the darkness of the cave was, at one level, blinding and disorientating. Equally important, it manifested as a form of memory; a memory that contained the last impressions recorded in the visitor’s mind before his egress from the Grotto’s darkness. The impressions of the inner world, still suspended in the mind’s eye as on a blank white background (like the wall of Plato’s Cave), was momentarily layered onto the new ‘reality’ of the Garden’s landscape. For that brief moment, the visitor was essentially between the inside and the outside, neither fully comprehending fiction nor reality; the inner world of the mind was collaged with the outer world of Nature. At this juncture Pope’s lamp is replaced by Nature’s light which illuminated the ‘aperture’ of man’s mind so that he could begin to see Pope’s fantastical vision. One can imagine that the light would have dissipated slowly outward from the centre of the visitor’s inner eye enabling the new impressions of the surrounding world to gradually take form.
John Buckler pencil drawing, entrance to the Grotto from the Garden 1824.
At this point in the visitor’s journey through Pope’s garden estate, the physical experience of Plato’s prisoner and Pope’s visitor are metaphorically the same. In the allegory of the Cave, Plato described the experience of the prisoner released from his chains and “reluctantly dragged up a steep and rugged ascent”. In Plato’s words, “When he approaches the light his eyes will be dazzled, and he will not be able to see anything at all of what are now called realities”.

Similarly, the visitor to Pope’s Garden, now situated in the poet’s ‘imagined world’, could peer back through the Grotto to see yet another reality - ‘a view as through a camera obscura’. But because of the drastic contrast between night and day - darkness and light - this new reality was collaged on top of the visitor’s last impressions of the Grotto’s interior. These resonating images are further juxtaposed with the events occurring beyond the Grotto, events that fill the Grass Plot (the ‘common world’) and those that flow along the Thames River. From this new vantage point, space and time are collapsed into a single spatial image. By virtue of Pope’s design, the visitor assumed the simultaneous role of audience and actor, precariously situated in a position of viewing, while being viewed, left to unravel the imagined from the real.

**The Shell Temple**

Upon emerging from the Grotto, the visitor ascended (like Plato’s prisoner) a relatively long, densely tree-covered path on axis with the Grotto and which terminated at a large clearing.
William Kent
A Fantasy of Pope’s Garden
(detail of the Shell Temple)
1684-1748.
The clearing was punctured at several points by various paths, each leading to a different area of the Garden. The Shell Temple was situated at the heart of this clearing. It was also beside this Temple that William Kent was depicted standing with Alexander Pope as he looked through the perspective glass at the Garden landscape in one direction and the world through the aperture of the Grotto in the other. Also observable in Kent’s illustration is the circular form of the Temple defined by six oddly-shaped columns evenly-spaced around its perimeter. The columns supported a partially dome-shaped roof with all the structure’s components covered by shells of varying sizes.

This material composition of the Shell Temple further reflected Pope’s exploration and thematic dialogue between the imagined and the real. From Pope’s correspondence it is learned that he personally collected many of the shells covering the building, assisted in this endeavor by his friend Aaron Hill. Hill supplied Pope with smaller shells to fill the gaps between the larger ones so that the entire surface of the structure was covered. In addition to the aesthetic qualities that the shells provided to the surface of the Temple, there was a poetic character to them. Hill eludes to this feature when he describes the effect of the shells on the surface of the Temple from a distance: “When the shells are placed in an oblique position, (in-between the larger shells) so as to lie open to the weather, they will enlighten the gravity, and catch a distant eye, with a kind of shining prosperity.” As Hill notes: when Nature’s light was reflected off the surfaces of the structure at the right angle and moment, the Temple appears magical, even sublime. At such a moment, the shells were functioning in a way that was similar to the props of the *dies ex machina*, because of Pope’s architectural
gestures, they engaged the visitor's imagination.

The Shell Temple as Sanctuary

William Kent's rendering suggests that the formal and spatial arrangements of the Shell Temple, and its surrounding context, defined the space as a sanctuary. Alberto Perez-Gomez, in commenting on the architectural significance of sanctuary, writes: "the sanctuary (temple) as a place for divination and existential orientation was therefore the paradigmatic public space, the ground for the revelation of cosmic order and thus, the seat of architecture". The key architectural element in Pope's sanctuary was a 'sacrificial altar'. (In Kent's drawing it is depicted as smoldering below the base of the Temple.) In writing about the significance of 'ritual' in primitive societies, Perez-Gomez argues that the sacrificial altar symbolized the "primary ritual act of reconciliation between man and God". It is submitted that Pope, in choosing to build the archetype 'sanctuary', did not intend that the Shell Temple would be a place to enter, as much as a sanctuary for worship and reflection, a gateway into a space for mental and physical pause. And like the Grotto, the Shell Temple provided an architectural space in which Pope was free to reflect upon God's work, and at the same time, escape from reality into the imaginary.

The Shell Temple perpetuated the fantastical character of the Grotto. The primitive myths of ritual, sanctuary and the idea of divine space created in the Temple were collapsed into Pope's imaginary visions for his garden estate. Kent captured these sublime qualities of the
Shell Temple in his illustration through his mythical references to the shell of Venus and the presence of swans, nymphs and angels. Pope, in turn, re-enforced Kent’s interpretation by architecturally-layering the Temple with such metaphoric objects as the shells, and incorporating a sacrificial altar in order to imbue it with multiple layers of meaning. In effect, the Shell Temple made manifest Pope’s imaginary vision of a truly numinous space, cast in stone and occupying real time and space.
19 Alexander Pope
Drawing study for the Garden from Pope's Homer manuscripts 1720.
Giovanbattista Piranesi,
"Planta di ampio magnifico collegio"
(Plan of a magnificent college)
1750.
Robert Smithson, "Spiral Jetty"
Great Salt Lake, Utah
April, 1970.
The Spiral Mount

A spacious Horizon is an Image of Liberty, where the Eye has Room to range abroad, to expatiate at large on the immensity of its Views and to lose itself amidst the Variety of Objects that offer themselves to its Observation. Such wide and undetermined Prospects are as pleasing to the Fancy, as the Speculations of Eternity of Infinitude are to the Understanding.[sic]159

Just beyond the clearing that surrounded the Shell Temple was a mound of earth referred to by Pope's assistant gardener, John Searle, as The Spiral Mount. Pope had apparently created the Mount with earth removed from below his Villa during the construction of the Grotto. Though the exact height of the hill is not documented, it can be assumed that the rise of the land before entering the Garden and the height of the hill made it possible for Pope and his visitors to see around the Villa, and out to the Thames River and the surrounding countryside. The following is an account of one visitor's experience of the Mount:

Among the Hillocks on the upper Part of the open Area, rises a mount much higher han the rest, and is composed of more rude and indigested materials; it is covered with bushes and trees of a wilder growth and more confused order, rising as it were out of clefts of rocks, and heaps of rugged and mossy stones; among which a narrow intricate path leads in an irregular Spiral to the Top, where is placed a forest seat or chair, that may hold three or four Persons at once, over-shaded with the branches of a spreading Tree. From this seat we face the shell temple and overlook the various distributions of the Thickets, Grass- plots, Alleys, Banks, etc.[sic]160

Alexander Pope's first knowledge about the idea of a mount in a garden-setting would have
come from his early days of 'leisure' at Lord Burlington's estate; elevated terraces and mounts were used in Burlington's gardens so that the visitor could obtain views of the surrounding countryside. The hills served as platforms to support fragments of building structures that were viewed as "monuments"\textsuperscript{161}, a technique inspired by Italian sensibility and aesthetics.

Pope's Spiral Mount, on the other hand, appears to be designed, solely, to create a spatial experience. The visitor's description states that a path wound up the Mount and cut through dense vegetation that appeared to enclose it, and then narrowed as it reached the peak. This would concur with Pope's knowledge that the use of perspective and optical illusion would enhance the experience of the shorter vistas common to some of the pathways within his Garden. It was also a technique that Pope likely adopted from his friend and painter, Charles Jarvas.\textsuperscript{162} In Jarvas' view: "you may distance things by darkening them and by narrowing the plantation more and more toward the end, in the same manner as they do in painting".\textsuperscript{163}

**The Secondary Pleasures of the Imagination Revealed**

And though the use of perspective was a strong visual design technique, it was also an architectural feature that enabled Alexander Pope to pay tribute to Joseph Addison's 'secondary pleasures' of the imagination. The latter involved the senses other than sight - smell, sound, touch - senses responsible for "awakening numberless Ideas (images) that before slept in the imagination".\textsuperscript{164} For Addison these other senses engaged certain kinds of
different experiences. He analogized the awakening of these latent images in the mind to that of a garden; he writes: "till at last the whole Sett of them (ideas) is blown up, and the whole Prospect (in one's mind) or Garden flourisheth in the Imagination".[sic] Addison also believed that the poet should cultivate his imagination in the same way that a philosopher cultivates his Understanding, in a garden taking clues from Nature, art, architecture and history. Addison states: "He must gain due Relish of the Works of Nature, and be thoroughly conversant in the various scenery of a Country Life".[sic]

It is submitted that Pope designed the Spiral Mount in order to provide a spatial experience capable of triggering Addison's secondary pleasures of the imagination and, at the same time, awakening the unknown that lay dormant in the visitor's mind. The combination of cyclical movement ascending a narrowing path sculpted through tall dense vegetation would have required the visitor to rely on the 'other' senses to both orient and ground the spatial experience. Each new turn would have revealed a different view or presented the visitor with a different visual obstruction, screened by the cloak of daylight that randomly-filtered through leaves and branches. Compare the disorienting character of the experience to walking in the dark; the body's senses become heightened in order to compensate for the inability of the eyes to accurately judge distances or comprehend form. The visitor, arriving at the top of the Mount, would have had a similar spatial experience to that upon emerging from a cave into the full view of a new horizon. This place in the Garden was arguably the only one in which the visitor was truly 'outside' the spatial confines of Pope's estate.
What may be concluded is that the similarities between the visual and physical experiences in ascending the Spiral Mount, and in occupying the Grotto, were no coincidence; the form of the Spiral Mount was essentially an inversion of the Grotto’s form. Where the Grotto was carved as a linear path below the surface of the earth, the Spiral Mount cyclically extruded from it towards the sky. The essence of the body’s movement and experience through time and space, ascending from an area of darkness to one of light and perhaps even elation, is mirrored in these two very different manifestations of space.

The Labyrinth as Archetype

With his construction of the Spiral Mount and the Grotto, Alexander Pope was symbolically returning to the mythical archetype of the labyrinth, the depiction of man’s passage through life. In contrast to the traditional character of a contrived maze-like configuration in space, Pope’s labyrinth form emerges from his sculpting and transformation of nature, and the visitor’s physical exploration of his garden estate. Similar to the network of paths represented by a maze, the visitor’s eventual passage through Pope’s labyrinth lead to the centre of the experience - into Pope’s imaginary universe. In the Spiral Mount, the centre defined a new horizon from which the visitor could survey the garden landscape with an “objective, God-like perspective” (of the outer world), “stepping out of it to look at it from the outside to see how it is constructed”. In the Grotto, the lamp represented, and was the centre (the inner world), emitting a multi-dimensional transformation of light and form to facilitate the imagination. From both these centres the visitor could view the past, present
and future simultaneously; they were metaphors for man’s newly-acquired status as the centre of the universe from which the world of appearances could be transformed. From these vantage points, mysterious and sometimes indecipherable moments of the garden spaces were revealed to the visitor, just as the secrets of the universe had been revealed to man through Galileo’s telescope. The visitor’s experience of the “moment to moment passage through space and time” is finally terminated at a single, privileged and controlled point of view, between heaven and earth, from which the body and mind mediate(s) the experience of the past, the present and anticipates the future.

The Obelisk: A Memorial to Pope’s Mother

“Homer fills his readers with Sublime Ideas.”

The Spiral Mount was one of two anchor points along an axial path that traversed two-thirds of the central portion of Pope’s Garden. The opposing anchor to this axis, located at the far west end of the estate, was a single Obelisk designed by Pope as a shrine to the memory of his mother. Upon descending the Spiral Mount, the visitor would have had to enter a broad pathway enclosed by tightly-gridded groves of fruit trees, their contrived order set in stark contrast to the randomness of the surrounding natural forest. The end of these groves was marked by statuaries on either side which formed a gateway to the outer perimeter of a large oval-shaped field referred to as The Bowling Green. The Green was enclosed by dense ‘wilderness’ except for two paths leading onto it from the farthest corners. On the far side of the Bowling Green were two small mounts which were flanked on either side by statuaries
to mark the continuation of the axial path from the Spiral Mount towards the Obelisk. From this point the ground began to rise to reach a short 'plaza' lined with a grid of cypress trees. The visitor traversed the plaza to arrive at a final circular grassy-area which defined the celebrated space for the Obelisk.

Historically, Egyptians placed obelisks in pairs to identify a gateway or entrance into a sacred or celebrated place. Pope’s placement of a single obelisk in his Garden was more in keeping with the Roman’s appropriation of this sacred object for whom an obelisk ‘commanded a centre’. The Roman obelisk signified a particular spatial location and point of origin from which things both collapsed and emerged. When on axis with the entrance to a building, the apparent solidity of the obelisk was capable of “holding” the viewer’s gaze from being distracted by other features on the facade. In this interpretation an obelisk provides a “directional foci” which orders the space in which it is placed. Both the Egyptians and the Romans used the obelisk as an object that, by virtue of its unique form, was capable of “attracting movement toward itself”.

Pope’s placement of the Obelisk in his Garden attracted movement to it by virtue of the long axial vista carved out of the natural forest beginning at the base of the Spiral Mount and continuing across the Bowling Green to a clearing. A visitor, standing at any point along this axis, would have had an unobstructed view of the Obelisk and therefore experienced the effect of the object ‘attracting movement toward itself’. Pope, using perspective technique, graded the land toward the Obelisk to both enhance and increase the drama of the visitor’s
experience in moving toward the memorial. In moving away from the Obelisk, the receding effect was re-enforced by the tall cypress trees surrounding the Obelisk, a characteristic of long uninterrupted vistas. These trees would have filtered the daylight creating shadows filled with pockets of light and shade; the effect would be to widen the experience on the one hand and on the other, darken and narrow the visitor’s journey through the space.\textsuperscript{175} The systematic placement of the cypress trees around the perimeter of the area would have created the perception that the trees were ‘moving’ closer and closer to one another because the perimeter of the space curved inward towards the Obelisk. Again, the grading of the land towards the Obelisk would enhance this sensation because the visitor’s point of view was lower then that of the base of the Obelisk; in effect, it created a shift in the scale of both the trees and the Obelisk. The effects, and therefore the drama, of the visitor’s experience of the space and the view of the Obelisk was heightened.\textsuperscript{176}

The orderly experience of the spaces and events leading to the memorial fixed the visitor’s gaze on the Obelisk so that the visitor would not be distracted by the apparent disorder of the ‘features’ of the surrounding natural forest. The Obelisk, inherent in its symmetrical form, invited movement toward and around it; its vertically-receding sides gestured the viewer’s gaze towards the heavens. In choosing the Obelisk form as a memorial, Alexander Pope achieved two purposes: as a mnemonic form (similar to other architectonic objects situated throughout his garden-estate), the Obelisk memorial referenced its Egyptian and Roman origins, and most importantly, it was a celebration for his mother’s life.
J.C. Buckler
Drawing of the Obelisk and urns in Pope's garden
1826.
The Bowling Green in Relation to the Obelisk

In terms of conceptual ordering, the Bowling Green appeared to offer a momentary pause in the visitor's journey toward the Obelisk. In sequential terms, this pause would operate in a similar way to the role performed by the Grass Plot which separated the Villa from the Thames River. The function of the spaces created by these two areas highlight the scope of Pope's imagination. The Grass Plot, in embracing the visitor's impressions of everyday life passing along the Thames, created an exterior public place. In contrast, the Bowling Green, surrounded and enclosed on two sides by 'wilderness' and the tranquil impressions of nature, was thematically suspended between a place of private work for tending the groves and vegetable gardens, and an interior place of undisturbed natural pleasure.

The assertion of imitative spatial experiences explored by Alexander Pope in his garden estate illuminates recurring themes of continuity and discontinuity, microcosm and macrocosm. An examination of the formal order of the Grass Plot and Grotto in relation to the overall design of the Garden leads to the conclusion that both areas essentially conveyed a similar ordering of events. The continual interaction between internal and external, such as the inner sanctum of the Grotto in contrast to the outer canopy of leaves creating an inside as the visitor ascended the Spiral Mount or frolicked beneath a grove of fruit trees, reveals Pope's imaginary capacity to utilize space for exploring similar ideas in very different ways. His interpretations melded and flowed uninhibited, one into the other, inviting the visitor to freely and imaginatively inhabit the spatial pleasures of Pope's imagination. The results of
Pope’s explorations challenged pre-conceived impressions of the natural world as created by God by blurring traditional lines between nature and illusion, reality and fiction.

Finally, the visitor’s journey was accentuated by the prominent location accorded to the placement of the Obelisk. Throughout the Garden, the majority of paths eventually lead to the private area surrounding the memorial; the visitor’s journey was terminated at the Obelisk regardless of the route initially chosen. When the visitor turned to leave the Obelisk, the Garden appeared to unfold in a similar ordering as the entry into it. However, what the visitor initially perceived as primarily a linear sequence of events was now understood to be a cyclical route that ordered a weaving back towards the Thames River so that another journey through the garden could begin again. Alexander Pope made manifest his own concept of the labyrinth.
Epilogue:  Defining a Culture

Pope's poetry shapes itself again and again in patterns that exhibit loss converting into triumph or, for satiric ends, triumph that is in fact loss. And always in Pope the thing that is being lost, or lost and recovered, or lost and recovered and lost again, is a vision of the civilized community, the city.\textsuperscript{177}

Nothing we see or hear or touch can be expressed in words that equal what is given to the senses.\textsuperscript{178}

At first glance it would appear that Alexander Pope saw the world from a Renaissance perspective, the object of his desire "arrayed and focused as an image for him at a geometrical point of viewing".\textsuperscript{179} However, if this were the case, Pope's preoccupation with the experience of the body, both as symbolic representation and as physical experience of real space and time, could not have been made manifest. More specifically, Pope looked at Nature, the object of his inspiration, as though it were looking back at him; in Nature, it was as though his mind and body were both image and screen. It was through this frame that Pope's perceptions and Nature's emanating character collided. This notion aligned with the philosophy of Aristotle who argued that the perceptions the body absorbed through the five senses are initially "worked upon by the faculty of the imagination".\textsuperscript{180} As Aristotle points out in De anima, the images that are formed by the imagination from these first impressions are the images that "become the material of the intellectual faculty".\textsuperscript{181} Aristotle believed that the imagination functions as the "intermediary between perception and thought".\textsuperscript{182} From this philosophical platform, Pope would have been able to see the potential in that which already exists and, even more, the potential of what Nature could become in the hands of an
imagining mortal. Similar to the gift of fire from Prometheus to man, Pope was gifted the
faculty of the imagination to enable him to ‘invent his own world’ and in turn, ‘transmute the
order of Nature into the order of culture’.

This thesis has undertaken to establish the foundation and character of the culture of Pope’s
garden estate. To this end, there is another important source of inspiration worthy of
comment. For several reasons, the culture of Pope’s garden estate, and his work to develop it,
have a reminiscent glow of the garden of Epicurus. Epicurean theory and practice rose to
prominence in Athens between 306 and 271 B.C., approximately forty years after Plato’s
death.183 And though no direct references to Epicurus were found in either Pope’s texts or
correspondence, it is speculated that Pope was aware of this philosophical movement
because of his particular association with Joseph Addison.( It has been noted that Addison
was a disciple of John Locke.) It is well documented that Epicurean theory influenced Locke
in the development of his ideas about human understanding and the senses.184 In fact,
Addison’s argument that “all knowledge was derived from sense perception and experience”,
outlined in The Pleasures of the Imagination published in 1712, was, in actual fact, a theory of
John Locke’s which he had outlined in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding over
twenty years earlier in 1690.185 A reading of Locke’s text reveals that Pope adopted a similar
position twenty years later in An Essay on Man, published in 1733 wherein he explores the
human condition in his time.

The Epicurean garden was designed to incorporate a social perspective based on friendship
because friendship “most efficiently avoided pain in favor of pleasure”, and because “the tie of friendship knits itself through reciprocity of favors among those who have come to enjoy pleasure to the full”. In addition, Epicurean practice encouraged the abandonment of the ‘normal’ life for a “appositional community”. Perhaps most importantly, Epicurean theory was founded on the belief that “all thought was derived from the senses, rather than being innate or a product of divine intervention”. The philosophies of John Locke and Joseph Addison echoed these notions which were a dramatic departure from the Platonic world-view of the time. This philosophical perspective was further re-enforced by man’s prevailing belief in nature over that of reason as the source of truth and that pleasure was the source of the good for humanity.

Strong similarities can be identified between the foundations of Epicurean culture and Pope’s ideas for his gardening work at Twickenham, England. First, the act of sharing and exchange was something that Pope pursued on several occasions during the construction of his garden estate. His friends donated minerals and fragments that were used in the making of the Grotto and Shell Temple; other objects, such as statuaries, were incorporated into his Grass Plot and Garden. Too, Pope generously donated his time in the development of other friend’s gardens. Second, Pope’s retreat from the social, political and environmental atmosphere of the city in favor of the country is consistent with the Epicurean emphasis on building an ‘alternative community’. Perhaps most importantly, Pope embraced nature and emphasized the body’s physical experience of it as the essential foundation of the culture he created.
The Polis

The apparent Epicurean influences, combined with the unique spatial arrangements of landscape and architectonic characters developed in Alexander Pope’s garden estate, presented a *culture* that signified a type of *polis*. The hypothesis that Pope’s garden estate was a *polis* in which order and experience were manifested draws upon Indra McEwen’s interpretation of Francois de Polignac’s archeological mappings of the 8th and 7th Century B.C. sanctuaries of Mycenae and Knossos. In *Socrates Ancestor*, McEwen argues that de Polignac’s research emphasizes the idea of *polis* as a place allowed to appear as a surface woven by the activity of its inhabitants: the sequential building of sanctuaries over a period of time, which at times stretched over decades, and the subsequent ritual processions from centre to urban limit to territorial limit and back again, in what can be seen as a kind of Ariadne’s dance, magnified to cover a territory that was not called *choros* but *chora*.  

The sanctuaries functioned to “anchor” the ‘uncertainty of the place’ at the strategic points of centre, middle-ground and outer limit”. McEwen further develops this idea of the *polis* by drawing upon Aristotle’s interpretation of the term *chora*. Aristotle described *chora* as “room” or “place”(*topos*), defining it as “a surface-continent (*epipedon periechon*) that encompasses its content in the manner of a vessel”. McEwen’s argues that Aristotle’s idea of *topos* and *chora* illuminates how the “*chora* of the *polis* may have been understood in earlier times as a land or territory that had been made to appear as a continual re-making or re- weaving of its encompassing surface, just as the world itself was made to appear when the
colonists' ships plied the seas.\textsuperscript{194}

McEwen's interpretation in respect of the creation and character of the \textit{polis} is reflected in much of the apparent order incorporated into Pope's garden estate at Twickenham, England. The idea that the \textit{polis} evolved from smaller zones to larger zones (centre, urban limit, territory) is the model for the overall plan of Pope's garden estate. Noted previously, he segmented the site into three zones: the Grass Plot, the Grotto and the Garden. Then Pope created pods of architectural experience and sited them within each of the larger zones. These pods functioned like de Polignac's sanctuaries. Pope grounded them within the 'uncertainty' of the place, and at the same time, constantly shifted the scale of intimacy and experience between the visitor and the spatial landscape. In addition, Pope clearly demarcated the outer limits of his \textit{polis} 'territory'; he sited the garden estate between the Thames River, a metaphor of birth, and the Obelisk, a sanctuary for meditation on the passage of life. The paths linked the extremities of this 'territory' and these, in turn, instilled a cyclical flow between the inner worlds and the outer worlds of Pope's \textit{polis} reminiscent of Ariadne's dance. Through the imaginative\textsuperscript{195} skill of the creator of this sacred place, the inner and outer worlds of nature and art were conjoined.

\textbf{Continuing Influences of Homer and the Enlightenment}

As noted earlier, Homer and his ideas had a significant influence on Pope's thinking, including the manner in which Pope approached his writing. It is also suggested that
Homer's influences were incorporated into Pope's design for building his garden estate.\textsuperscript{196}

In his preface to *The Iliad*, Pope writes:

> It seem'd not enough [for Homer] to have taken in the whole Circle of Arts, and the whole Compass of Nature, to supply his maxims and reflections; all the inward Passions and Affections of Mankind, to furnish his Characters; and all the outward Forms and Images of Things for his Descriptions; but wanting yet an *ampler sphere* to expatiate in, he open'd a new and boundless Walk for his Imagination, and created a World for himself in the Invention of *Fable.*\textsuperscript{sic}\textsuperscript{197}

Pope's "ampler sphere" was, in part, a sphere of *fiction* which implies a boundless landscape. And Pope's affirmation in respect of the power of fiction derived from Homer as well as the *empirical* character of the Enlightenment. As Ernst Cassirer writes in his seminal work, *Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, Empiricism was the "strongest escape from the strong hold of Cartesian thought and practice, evolving its postulates from the phenomena (that are being observed or experienced), and it sees the validity of the postulates as resting on the phenomena".\textsuperscript{198} However, the *phenomena* are not meant to be deduced from certain principles established prior to experience; "the principles themselves are to be formulated and constantly tested on the basis of the observation of the phenomena".\textsuperscript{199} And on the matter of poetry, Cassirer acknowledges that even empiricism was not without its 'rational' framework or 'poetic moral'. However, the poetic moral was "now to be realized not by way of reason, but by way of the imagination".\textsuperscript{200} In the case of poetry, Cassirer argues: "stimulation of the imagination ... prepares the way for rational insight and predisposes the
mind of the listener to such insight."\(^{201}\)

This unfolding, or discovery through experience was consistent with the way in which Pope ‘labored’ in his Garden. Throughout his life at Twickenham, Alexander Pope was continually building and re-building, forming and transforming nature to ensure that his imaginary visions and his philosophical musings on the human condition in his time were appropriately incorporated. Pope’s garden estate became his *ample sphere*. Appropriately, Nature served as the common thread and quintessential part of the conception and framework for the ideas of both Pope and Aristotle concerning the space of the *polis*. In speaking to the subject of Nature in his pastoral poetry, Pope writes that Nature serves as the framework “into which human activity and experience are to be absorbed and harmonized”.\(^{202}\) Pope believed that the context of Nature was formed by smaller worlds, each combining in its own unique way, in order to configure a greater understanding of the whole. Pope proposed that “in every eclogue a designed scene or prospect is to be presented to our view which should likewise have its variety”.\(^{203}\) And like the transforming character of Nature, Pope’s imagination was always dynamic. In this realm, Joseph Addison had been an ongoing influence in Pope’s life. Both philosophers (artists), Addison in his writing, and Pope in designing and building his *polis*, “locate the imagination in a subjective space whose stimulus lies in the shared world of experience but whose substance lies in the privatization of that worldly experience”.\(^{204}\)

Despite Alexander Pope’s apparent commitment to ‘harmonize’ man’s experience of the
world with Nature, his transmutation of Nature into his own imaginary visions clearly
distinguishes the character of his *polis* from the ancient’s philosophical ideal. Pope’s concept
of *polis* was distinct and enhanced because he integrated the private activities of his life into
the public realm of his garden estate.

**The Public and the Private**

John Searles’ descriptive plan of Alexander Pope’s garden estate illustrates the hierarchy of
events that defined the underlying order of the Garden. The southern portion of the estate
was occupied by gardens, essentially a place for the labors and sustenance of the body.
There was a kitchen garden, ‘stoves’ for pineapples and other exotic plants, and a vineyard.
The northern section of the Garden reflected the beauty of the natural undisturbed forest
despite a series of paths which Pope had carved out of the dense thicket of trees. The paths
visually and physically linked the semi-private perimeter spaces to the core garden areas in
which the public activities of pleasure and contemplation could be pursued. At certain
junctures, the groves and vegetable gardens appeared to overlap and blend with the core
areas for public use; for example, the groves functioned as zones of transition separating the
gardens of labor from the gardens of pleasure.²⁰⁵ (It can be presumed that the southern
location of the food gardens, unlike the dense forests to the north, was partially determined
by the optimal sun exposure of the site.) The access to, and the experience of these gardens,
were foremost in Pope’s mind, and as events, they were as important as the experiences in
the Grotto or the ascent to the summit of the Spiral Mount.
The blending of different types of garden spaces defined a paradoxical dimension of Alexander Pope's Twickenham estate. Pope sought to reveal private thoughts, reflections and experiences through his garden design and construction of architectural spaces. To realize this objective, Pope repeatedly situated himself and the visitor in spaces that defined a form of dwelling which, often, was somewhere between the world as it existed and the world as imagined. In each place, Pope endeavored to spatially demarcate the public and the private, and at the same time explore how each could function autonomously while recognizing their interdependence. The Garden, as a microcosm of the entire estate, reveals how Pope was able to manifest (in all areas of the estate) his belief that the private inner world of the mind and the outer public realm of experience could be integrated. For Pope, what was once confined to his metaphoric and mythical use of poetic language, could now be narrated by the human body as it experienced the world of his garden estate. In the sphere of Alexander Pope's Garden, the rational order of Zeus, and the imaginative disorder of Prometheus were no longer separate; they had converged. In this process, the faculty of the imagination usurped Plato's claim of mere imitation to become man's direct link to Nature.

This departure from the Cartesian model was critical for the embracing of Enlightenment philosophical ideas. As Pope would have been aware, Enlightenment philosophy taught an "original spontaneity of thought; it attributed to thought not merely an imitative function but the power and the task of shaping life itself". Consequently, the separation between Being and Becoming was narrowed because the philosophers believed that the unity of the two was
the only way to increase understanding about the nature of truth, and to interpret man’s perceptions of the world. Further, the experiential, as the primary source of reference for defining a new worldview, was consistent with the empirical character of the Enlightenment. This ‘modern’ philosophical approach, which relied on questioning the origins of Nature and the universe, was reflected in the philosophy of Newton and Galileo, among others. For Alexander Pope, the act of ‘gardening’ was his inquiry into the world of things. The imaginings, sourced in his mind, flowed into his hands and thence into the earth for their manipulation. In this process emerged an interpretation of Pope’s life and human condition in relation to the natural world. For Pope, Nature could now be “construed as immersive, penetrable, and capable of acting directly on the body with the full range of its sensory apparatus”. Pope’s actions again reflected the influence of Enlightenment theory that “thought consists not only in analyzing and dissecting, but in actually bringing about that order of things which it conceives as necessary, so that by this act of fulfillment it may demonstrate its own reality and truth”.

Yet Pope’s apparent embrace of this modern worldview was tempered by his continuing passion for Greek philosophy; he never ventured so far as to completely abandon these historical roots. Pope continued to revisit Greek ideas while simultaneously probing the skin of the future, questioning his modern vision. Perhaps the inevitability of man’s mortality forced Pope to seek the guidance of the ancient order of the gods for sources of a more ‘enduring world’ in case the guide to longevity lay within the world of fiction (myth). Certainly, Pope’s ardent embrace of the role of the imagination raised doubts that tradition
was the soul path to progress. This philosophy was consistent with Enlightenment rationalism too. The subject of 'doubt' is inseparable from the faculty of the imagination; arguably, both are required for man to understand and question the past and contemplate the future. In Plato's philosophy, "the thinking activity - the soundless dialogue we carry on with ourselves - serves only to open the eyes of the mind". Perhaps this knowledge was a crucial source of inspiration for Alexander Pope in his desire to build a garden: "that thinking eventually aims at, and ends in contemplation, and contemplation is not an activity but a passivity; it is where the mental activity comes to a rest".
The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo
1550.
Self and the World

In the ‘world’ that Pope built, the recurring theme was his desire to reconcile the philosophical conflict inherent in the dialogue about the outer world and the inner world, the rational mind and the imagination; reality and fiction; truth and falsity. In metaphoric terms it may be seen as a conflict in Pope’s life between his “imprisoned body” and his “life in the soul”. 211 This philosophical dilemma posed a life-long challenge for him. Pope sought to make sense of the world as created and emerging around him in order to uncover truths as the gods had done before him without revealing such truths as representational images. He relied on the role of experience to bridge the gap between these conflicting ideas translating them into an architecturally-spatial environment entirely of his own making. It was the philosophy of Homer and the theories of the Enlightenment that influenced Pope to embrace the role of the imagination as mediator so that man would be “enabled to think about things that are absent including things which no longer exist or do not yet exist”. 212 Experience, and man’s perception, would enable the ‘seeing’ of these thoughts as real entities to be touched and embraced in the real world. From this philosophical standpoint, Pope was able to visualize himself as part of a culture and a history, a history that he created in his garden estate.
From one perspective, the poet-architect's world was presented as "the isolated self existing in opposition to society". 213 But the spatial order of the garden estate also revealed that Pope continually sought to reconcile his relationship with the world around him, 214 with the temporality of the illusive fictions of a mythical past as interpreted through his imaginings, and his desire to build a place of collective memory. In abandoning the 'public' chaos of the city to reside in the 'private' tranquility of the country, Pope envisioned and constructed a space in which those who inhabited his 'polis' could find their own 'centre'. That Alexander Pope, in all probability, (may have) realized his vision can be found in the attestations of friends invited to sojourn in his garden estate. In correspondence to Pope, friend's testimonials about their sensate experiences reveal such effects over and over; their descriptions conveyed a type of Rousseauean state of mind: "to find the plentitude of the exterior world in the inmost aspect of being". 215 Their portrait: "the self is reduplicated in the world; one mirrors the other; the outside is the inside". 216 Arguably for Pope, the "identification of the self with the world depends upon sensation". 217 However, without this revelation to the senses, the world ultimately "remains opaque". 218

The entire landscape that Alexander Pope created at Twickenham, England was presented as a construction of the experiential reality of the unreal. It was an unfolding of Pope's fantastical and often, cinematic-like sensations and imaginings catalyzed in both his imagination and that of his visitors: "visions that are sited only when the mind is able to break free of the unknown". 219 Appropriately, Porphyry's speculation of Homer's imaginings in The Odyssey appear to summarize this thesis:
... the poem as a whole constitutes a screen of poetic fiction masking a general truth about human experience. It is only at this point that we learn that all the episodes of Odysseus' wanderings, the stories told by narrator and protagonist as events in the world, are in fact events contained within the spiritual life of Odysseus, who is himself, the symbol of man passing through the successive stages of Being. From this vantage point the whole concept of a truth about the world relies on the fact that it is no longer verified through an objective point of view but instead must be "mediated, grasped and understood by the imagination of the individual."
Endnotes


2 Aristotle, *The Rhetoric*


6 McEwen 81.

7 McEwen 82.


10 Kearney 80.

11 Kearney 80.


15 Kearney 87-88.

16 Kearney 88.

17 Kearney 88.

18 Kearney 88.

19 Kearney 88.

20 Kearney 90. In *The Republic*, Plato explains the "degrees of truth", of which reason dominates the imagination by describing a "divided line" separating the intellectual world from the visible world. The visible is characterized by "images" which reveal themselves as "shadows, reflections" verse the intellectual which reveals real things in nature such as animals and "everything that grows or is made". See Plato, "Book VI", *The Republic*, trans. by B. Jowett (New York: Vintage Books, n.d.) 249-252.
Kearney 99. Plato conveys this exception to the status of the imagination when he explains how the mathematician employs the use of drawings to convey the invisible concept of a square. Plato writes: “And do you not know also that although they make use of the visible forms and reason about them, they are thinking not of these but of the ideals which they resemble; . . . but they are really seeking to behold the things themselves, which can only be seen with the eye of the mind? That is true”. Plato, The Republic, lines 251-252.


Fairer 55.

John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690)

David Fairer, Popes Imagination, 58.

Fairer 58.

Fairer 58.


Addison qtd. from Correspondence 1:196 in Batey, 22.


Mavis Batey, Alexander Pope: The Poet and the Landscape, 23.


Dixon-Hinson 28.

Dixon-Hinson 28.


42 Fairer 61.
44 Dixon-Hinson 30.
45 Dixon-Hinson 29.
47 Addison, No. 421, qtd. in Dixon-Hinson 28.
49 Dixon-Hinson 30.
51 Alexander Pope, Introduction, XXXIV.
52 Alexander Pope, Introduction, XXXV.
53 Alexander Pope, Introduction, XXXV.
54 Alexander Pope, Introduction, XXXVI.
55 Alexander Pope, Introduction, XXXVI.
56 Harvard, p.76
57 Alexander Pope, Introduction, XXXIV.
58 Gina Crandall defines a *landscape* to be “a place deliberately created to speed-up or slow down the process of Nature”. See: Gina Crandall, *Nature Pictorialized*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University P, 1993) 4. A *landscape* is then, a form of man made device, (constructed through language or other medium), created in order to question or contemplate the world of things under the guidance of Nature. Pope’s landscapes certainly broach the issue of celerity through the larger subject of time, but his over riding concerns for the human condition are addressed essentially through a form of *parall lexical* situation.
61 Martin 25.
62 Martín 26.
63 Martín 37.
64 Martín, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures: The Gardening World of Alexander Pope. 25.
65 Martín 26. This is perhaps best exemplified by Pope's commitment to the translation of the Iliad and the Odyssey.
67 Pope, Pastorals 16.
68 Pope, Pastorals 16.
69 Pope, Pastorals 16.
70 Pope, Pastorals 53.
71 Pope, Pastorals 54. On the subject of Spencer's comparison of human life to the seasons, Pope writes: "[Spencer] exposes to his readers a view of the great and little worlds, in their various changes and aspects". Ibid 54.
75 All distances have been extrapolated from John Searles' plan dated 1744, the year of Pope's death.
76 Correspondence between Alexander Pope and Bishop Atterbury, 19 March 1722 (II, 110) qtd. in Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City, 25.
78 Spacks, 3. Perhaps Pope believed like Hannah Arendt that the use of metaphor was capable of bridging the abyss between inward and invisible mental activities of the mind and the world of appearance; that its real function was to return the mind to the space of the sensory world in an effort to "illuminate the mind's non-sensory experiences for which there are no words in any language". See: Hannah Arendt, The Life of the Mind, (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co. P, 1977) 105-6.
John Dixon Hunt, in his work Gardens and the Picturesque, provides an extensive discussion of the origins and differences in 'emblematic gardens' verse the more expressionistic gardens of the 18th C, specifically as they pertain to his arguments regarding the emergence and character of the picturesque movement in Europe. Specifically, see: John Dixon Hunt, "Emblem and Expression in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden", Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture, Part 1, Section 3, (Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT P, 1992) 75-104.


McEwen, Socrates Ancestor, 42.

McEwen 42.

McEwen 41-42.

According to McEwen, it would appear that order for Plato can be thought of as a “single, immutable template to be traced or copied”. 41.

McEwen 41-42

McEwen 41-42.

McEwen 43.

McEwen 41-42.


The Shell Temple stood at the end of the path that the visitor ascended as he/she emerged from the Grotto. See Item No. 6 on the enclosed key plan fig. 3. The Shell Temple is discussed in greater detail in Chapter III of this paper.

Mack, The Garden and the City, 44-45.


Lamberton, Introduction, 5.

Lamberton, Introduction, 7.

In Lamberton's endnotes, the author further explains his translation of Being from the Greek. He writes: being is “the entire cycle of coming to be and passing away which is the life of this world - Blake's "Eternal Death". Ibid 41.


Alexander Pope writing in a letter to Edward Blount, qtd. in Mack, *The Garden and the City*, 44.

*Techne*, was thought of by the Greeks as a form of ‘bringing forth’ or ‘coming into presencing’. It was through handicrafts and arts in conjunction with other matter or “circumscribing bounds” that contributed to the “bringing forth of a thing into being”. The arts of the mind were also thought of as *techne*. In either case “it is something poetic”. See: Martin Heidegger, “The Question Concerning Technology”, *The Question Concerning Technology and other Essays*, trans. with intro by William Lovitt (New York: Harper and Row P, 1977) Lovett XXVI and Heidegger 2-14.


Kearney, 80.

Kearney, 80.

Kearney, 103.

Plato, *Timaeus 71a*)

Plato locates the source of divination in the liver - in the lowest part of the human body “far removed from the centres of the rational (the head) or the spiritual (the heart)”. Here the paradox, which Plato was surely aware, is the “attribution of the highest form of truth to the lowest part of the physical organism”. Plato further suggests the power of “the liver to mirror divine images”. This may lead “visionaries to come upon *truth* immediately”. The location of Plato’s divination in the liver returns us to the myth of Prometheus whose liver is devoured by an eagle as the punishment from Zeus, after Prometheus stole fire from the Gods to bestow it upon man.


Fairer 64.


Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, 22.

In the *Odyssey*, Homer describes the location of the Cave of the Nymphs, in a secluded bay, in the country of Ithaka: “At the head of the harbor, there is an olive tree with spreading leaves, and nearby is a cave that is shaded, and pleasant, and sacred to the nymphs who are called the Nymphs of the Wellsprings, Naiads... and there is water forever flowing. It has two entrances, One of them facing the North Wind, where people can enter, but the one toward the south Wind has more divinity. That is the way of the immortals, and no men

111 Patricia Meyer Spacks, An Argument of Images, 3.
112 Alexander Pope qtd. in Spacks, 3.
113 In Frances Yates description of Giulio Camillo’s Memory Theatre (mid 16th C) in The Art of Memory, the author describes the design of the theatre as a “distortion of the plan of the real Vitruvian theatre”. In Camillo’s theatre, the ‘spectator’ stands on the stage looking toward the auditorium surrounded by seven “memory gates”, each divided into “seven measures of the fabric of the celestial and inferior worlds, in which are contained the Ideas of all things both in the celestial world and in the inferior worlds”. Homer’s Cave of the Nymphs occupied the Third gate in which the mixing together of the elements of the universe occurred as a significant stage in the process of Creation. This was what Homer referred to elementata. In the Odyssey Homer writes: “There are mixing bowls and handled jars inside it[the cave], all of stone, and there the bees deposit their honey”. Homer, Book XIII, The Odyssey of Homer, lines 105-106, 201.
114 Joseph Addison qtd. in David Fairer, Popes Imagination, 59.
115 Fairer 59.
116Fairer 59. David Fairer quotes Galileo, “I think that tastes, odours, colours, and so on are no more than mere names so far as the objects in which we place them are concerned, and that they reside only in the consciousness. Hence, if the living creature were removed, all these qualities would be wiped away”. Galileo, The Assayer (Rome 1623): Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo, trans. by Drake Stillman, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co. P, 1957) 274, qtd. in David Fairer, Popes Imagination, (Manchester: Manchester University P, 1984) 168.
117 As set forth earlier in this paper, Joseph Addison coined this phrase in his essay The Pleasures of the Imagination.
118 Alexander Pope, qtd. in Mack, The Garden and the City, 44, plate No.16, 45.
119 Martin Heidegger writes: “A space is something that has been made room for, something that is cleared and free and namely with a boundary. (Greek ‘peras’) A boundary is not that at which something begins its presencing . . . Space is in essence, that for which room has been made, that which is let into its bounds”. (Source n.a)
121 It was a concept of the Eighteenth Century to compare the imagination to a lamp “illuminating by its own inner brilliance that world outside on which it shines”. See: Mary Warnock, *Imagination and Time*, (Oxford: Blackwell P, 1994) 2-3.

122 Warnock 2.


124 Kofman 33.


To enter the cave is to simultaneously confront what Leonardo da Vinci reveals is both fear and desire. He writes: “Unable to resist my eager desire and wanting to see the great multitude of the various and strange shapes made by formative nature, and having wandered some distance among gloomy rocks, I came to the entrance of a great cavern, in front of which I stood some time, astonished and unaware of such a thing. Bending my back into an arch I rested my tired hand on my knee and held my right hand over my downcast and contracted eye brows: often bending first one way and the other, to see if I could discover anything inside, and this being forbidden by the deep darkness within, and after having remained there for some time, two contrary emotions arise in me, fear and desire - fear of the threatening dark cavern, desire to see whether there were any marvelous thing within it”. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. Jean Paul Ritchter, vol. 2 of 2 vols., 2: 324, qtd. in Kofman, *Camera Obscura of Ideology*, 33-34.

Of course Pope, who can be seen depicted in the drawing by William Kent (fig. 12) at work in his grotto, chose to enter into the dark chamber of the “belly” of mother earth, his desire over-coming his fear, accepting darkness as a means toward “transparency” and enlightenment.


128 Kearney 157.

129 Kearney 157.
Dixon-Hinson used this phrase in her description of the “space of the imagination that emerged in the thought of the Enlightenment”. Dixon-Hinson, “The Discovery and History of the Space of the Imagination”, 45.


Mary Warnock, Imagination and Time, 2.

Patricia Meyer Spacks, An Argument of Images, 42.


Spacks, An Argument of Images, 41.

Spacks 43.

Spacks 43. [Emphasis added]

Alexander Pope, Selected poetry and Prose, Epistle II, lines 43-46, 154.

Alexander Pope, Selected poetry and Prose, Epistle I, lines 9-14.


Spacks, An Argument of Images, 41.


Alexander Pope, Selected poetry and Prose, Epistle II, lines 267-270.

Spacks, An Argument of Images, 47.

Refer to the description of this image in the Prologue to Chapter III.

Addison writes that the Secondary Pleasures of the Imagination “flow from the Ideas of visible Objects, when the Objects are not actually before the Eye, but are called up into our Memories, or formed into agreeable Visions of Things that are either Absent or Fictitious”. [sic] Joseph Addison, “The Pleasures of the
Imagination”, Richard Steel and Joseph Addison: Selections from The Tatler and the Spectator, No. 411, 369.

154 Plato, The Republic, 516.


156 Martin 59.


158 Perez-Gomez 6.


160 A visitor to Pope’s garden estate, qtd. in the “General Magazine of Newcastle” (1748), qtd. in Peter Martin, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures, 50. The bench that is referred to in this quote was the same used by Voltaire when Pope toured him to the mound’s peak to “shew [him] the glory of my kingdom”. [sic] See: Mavis Batey, The Poet and the Landscape, 67.

161 Martin 25.

162 Mavis Batey, 70.

163 Batey 70.


165 Addison 389.

166 Addison 389.

167 Addison 389.


172 Spiro Kostof describes the use of the obelisk in the centre of the piazza of St.Peter’s as a feature that “organized the facade of the church for those approaching it, holding their attention on the entrance and thus forestalling too fine a scanning of its then rather jumbled elevation”.


173 Kostof 500.

174 Kostof 500.
Pope referred to the area from the ‘Bowling Green’ to the ‘Obelisk’ as “the little cypress walk to the Obelisk”. See: Alexander Pope qtd. in Peter Martin, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures, 59.

It is submitted that Pope’s choice of cypress trees to surround the space was as much for their scale as the similarity in their shape to that of the obelisk.

Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City, 4-5.


Frances Yates, The Art of Memory, 32.

Yates 32.

Yates 32.


Mavis Batey, Alexander Pope: The Poet and the Landscape, 23.

Lavin 21.

Lavin 20.

It is interesting to note that “although many ancient academies were situated in natural settings, Epicurianism itself, the very school of thought, was known as the garden”. Lavin 20.

Epicurian philosophy flourished during the years of 306 to 271 B.C. See: Lavin 20.

Lavin 20.

Indra McEwen, Socrates Ancestor, 80-82.

McEwen 81.

McEwen 82.

McEwen 82.

McEwen 82.

In the Introduction to Pope’s translation of The Iliad, the poet makes it very clear that the imagination is the most powerful tool in the hands of great ‘men’ and Homer was the greatest of them all. Pope writes: “Homer is universally allow’d to have had the greatest Invention (imagination) of any writer whatever. . . . It is the Invention that in different degrees distinguishes all great Genius’s: . . . For Art is like a prudent Steward that lives on managing the Riches of Nature. Whatever Praises may be given to works of judgement, there is not even a single Beauty in them to which the Invention must not contribute”. [sic]

Mack also develops this argument in *The Garden and the City* though the main thrust of Mack's study centres on two themes: first, the relationships between particular works of Pope's poetry from the 1730's and the traditional postures of 'retirement'. Second, Mack argues that these same poems contain other postures, "postures of political action and aggression". 9.


Cassirer 336.

Cassirer 336.


Pope, *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, 54.


The design of the Groves were conceived by Pope’s friend Lord Peterborough based on the *quincunx* formation, (an arrangement of five objects such that four form the corners of a square or rectangle with the fifth in the centre). Pope's groves contained many more rows; they were 5 trees wide and 15 trees deep. Cicero's plantations were apparently structured on the *quincunx* formation as well. See: Mavis Batey, 69.


Cassirer viii.


Arendt 6.


Darby 5.


Bibliography


Perez-Gomez, Alberto. “The City as a Paradigm of Symbolic Order.” (Original source not known)


METAMORPHOSIS

A design project

The images that follow document a design project completing the thesis investigation into the 'spatial mind' of Alexander Pope. The design work was approached as a physical and spatial extension of this thesis, exploring the primary paradox that formed the crux of the architectural character of Pope's estate at Twickenham: that Pope contemplated and more importantly, physically situated himself, in the spatial gap between the world as it existed and the world as imagined.

For this project, the visitor has been considered as both viewer and participant in the unfolding of the work. In this metaphoric theatre, the prescinium arch - the threshold that traditionally separates real from dream - is now a space to be explored and inhabited. Spatial constructions such as a path or arcade are contemplated as both a vista, en-framing a view, and as a bridge, linking intervals of space. These intervals are characterized by moments of pause in which the visitor might view a painting or inhabit a room of total darkness filled only with distant sounds of what could be the activities of everyday life. These constructions are essentially portals into other 'worlds', often fictional spaces, indicative or eluding to places that one might recognize without necessarily fully grasping there origin; a form of constructed memory, hallucination or dejavue. As well, the images and constructions further serve to narrate a type of visual story completing the physical experience of moving through the work.

Fundamental architectural themes are set-out as the underlying order for the work. These are similar questions that Pope and so many architects before and after him have struggled with: the themes of inside and outside, solid and void, light and darkness, the private inner world of the mind and the outer public realm of experience.

Ultimately, the spatial articulation of all these parts is really only completed by the bodies movement through the spaces.

In conclusion, I am drawn back to an earlier inspiration for this thesis, that of Boullec's Cenotaph for Newton. For perhaps it is in the condition of complete blackness that we are truly suspended between the imagined and the real - most attuned to the boundaries of our personal space while being freed from the visual stimulation of the apparent real. It is at this juncture that we begin to fully tap into "the pleasures of the imagination."