国外建筑理论译丛

THE ARCHITECTURE OF HUMANISM:
A Study in the History of Taste
Geoffrey Scott

人文主义建筑学

——情趣史的研究

[英] 杰弗里·斯科特 著
张钦楠 译

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[VI]

作者初版说明

对本书的范围需作稍许解释，因为它从简单目标开始，而发展成为相当复杂的主题。我最初的意图是构成古典建筑学设计的主要原理。不久我就发现，在我们当今的思想状态下，任何艺术理论都不能使人信服或理解，倘若他还没有接受其为真理。当今，我们或许是缺少建筑学的情趣，但不幸的是，并不缺少建筑学的意见。人们说：建筑必须“表现它的意图”或“表现它的真实构造”，或“表现它所采用的材料质感”，或“表现民族生活（不论是否高尚）”，或“表现高尚生活（不论是否民族性的）”；或表现艺匠的素质，抑或业主或建筑师的素质，或者相反地，必须是“学院性”的，有意地回避以上各种因素，人们告诉我们，它必须是对称的，或者说必须是如画的，也就是说，必须是非对称的。它必须是“传统”的及“学者风度”的，也就是说，应当和在希腊、罗马、中世纪或乔治王朝中建筑师所做的类似，或者说，它必须是“独创的”及“自发的”，也就是说，必须处心积虑地与它们不类似；也有人主张在两者中取得妥协；如此等等，不胜枚举。

[VII] 如果说以上这些原理都显然失真，也就很容易地可以打发；如果说它们都有富有理性的理论为基础，倒也可以容易地至少加以讨论。然而它们两者都不是。我们很少见到“富有理性”的理论，即使有，也可以发现与它们要解释的事实大相径庭。我们现在赖以生存的是一系列建筑的习惯，片断的传统、幻想与偏见，尤其是大量有些似是而非的原理，半真理，相互无关的、未加批判的并且经常是互相矛盾的观点，通过它们造起的建筑物，既没有坏到能被证明为全无新颖之点，也没有好到不能受似若公平的谴责的程度。

在这种环境下，讨论也无从进行，并且自然而然地，评论就变为教条式的了。然而，教条式的评论是贫乏的，于是建筑史，由于被剥夺了价值标准，也成为贫乏的了。

在我看来，如果想要澄清此类问题，我们就不得不回到情趣史的先验美学，从情趣史走向观念史。我认为，我们当今存在的混乱正是由于未能理解到情趣与观念的真实关系，以及它们相互之间的影响所致。

因而，我试图，在本书涉及的狭窄领域之内，跟踪我们意见的自然历史，发现它们在各自的前提下有多少是真实又有多少是错误的，并且解释为何即使在错误的场合下，它们仍然对很多人来说显得是说得通的，有力的，并且是使人信服的。 [VIII]

这样就与原来提出的问题离开得较远了。然而我相信这种探讨是必不可少的，而我尽力把它保持在单一论据的严格限度之内。读者可对这些观点作出裁决。

由于本项研究涉及意大利文艺复兴的文化，我和其他所有这一方面的学生一样，首先受益于布尔克哈特。我也受益于沃尔夫林的《文艺复兴与巴洛克》一书。此外，伯纳德·贝伦斯先生的友谊所赋予我的推动力与鼓励，这是只有亲身与我一样体验过的人才能领会的。大英帝国博物馆的法兰西斯·杰克尔先生友好地帮我校对了清样。

写于佛罗伦萨，1914 年 2 月 14 日

作者再版说明

本书后记中包括了我在再版中要添加的话。文本中作了某些修改，但不影响原书中的论点。

G. S.

1924 年 3 月

FOREWORD For Chinese Version

The aim of Geoffrey Scott in writing *The Architecture of Humanism* was to promote humane and beautiful buildings in conformity with the conditions required by the ancient Roman architect, Vitruvius, in *De Architectura*, the only theoretical treatise on architecture to survive from antiquity. The three principal conditions of Vitruvius were 'firmitas, utilitas, venustas', often translated as firmness, commodity, and delight, grace or beauty. Vitruvius also showed how the columns in classical architecture are related to the proportions of the human body, a point echoed by Michelangelo (1475 – 1564), greatest of Renaissance artists, who stressed that 'Whoever has not been or is not a good master of the figure and likewise of anatomy cannot understand anything of architecture.' Giorgio Vasari (1511 – 1574), known as the father of art history, similarly related architecture to human life when he suggested that a building seems 'not built but born', in his *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects.*

Geoffrey Scott, the heir to this tradition, believed that 'The whole of architecture is, in fact, unconsciously invested by us with human movement and human moods ··· *We transcribe architecture into terms of ourselves.* This is the humanism of architecture.' Scott's vision was related to his reaction against the High Victorian Gothic architecture of the nineteenth century, many of whose products he believed were frequently lacking in the qualities of firmness, commodity, and delight. He sought a more humane architecture, just as today we are again seeking an architecture of firmness, commodity, and delight, with humane values and sustainable materials, in reaction against the alien Modernist environment often created by glass and steel tower blocks. Paola Sassi, author of *Strategies for Sustainable Architecture*, recognises this in pointing out that 'Our new concept of quality of life is no longer materially dependent but rather focuses on the fundamental ingredients of happiness including health and well being.' Sassi goes on to show how 'the built environment does after all form the stage for life and we should not underestimate its impact ··· but shape it a way that is both sustainable and improves the quality of life.' Here is a welcome updating of the vision of Geoffrey Scott for the modern world.

DAVID WATKIN

16 February, 2012

中文版序言

杰弗里·斯科特撰写《人文主义建筑学》一书的目的是按照古代罗马建筑师维特鲁威在《建筑十书》（De Architectura，该书是古代留传下来唯一的建筑理论著作）中提出的推进人文和美丽的建筑的条件。维特鲁威提出的三个基本条件是“firmitas，utilitas，venustas”，通常翻译为“坚固、方便、愉悦、端庄或美丽”（我国通常译为“坚固、实用、美观”——编者注）。维特鲁威还显示古典建筑中的柱子如何相应于人体比例。这一点也得到米开朗琪罗（1475—1564年，文艺复兴最伟大的艺术家）的共鸣，他强调：“任何不能良好掌握人体及其相应解剖知识者就不可能对建筑学有些微理解。”乔治·瓦萨里（1511—1574年），公认的艺术史之父，同样地将建筑与人的生命相联系，他在《画家、雕塑家和建筑师生平》一书中提出：一栋建筑物“不是建造的，而是诞生的”。

杰弗里·斯科特继承了这一传统，他相信：“事实上，整个建筑都被我们不自觉地赋予人的运动和人的情绪。……*我们把自己改写成建筑的术语了*。”斯科特的观点与他对19世纪维多利亚时代哥特式建筑的反对相关，很多该类建筑在他看来经常缺少“坚固、方便、愉悦”的品质。他寻求一种更为人文的建筑学，正如今日我们针对那些由玻璃和钢的塔楼所制成的异化的现代主义环境而再一次寻求一种坚固、方便、愉悦的建筑学一样。保拉·萨西（Paola Sassi）在他所著的《可持续性建筑的策略》（Strategies for Sustainable Architecture）* 一书中指出：“我们对生活质量的新观念已不再取决于物质，而聚焦于包括健康和安乐在内的快乐的基本要素。”萨西进一步指出：“归根结底，建筑环境形成生命的舞台，我们无可轻视它的影响……而必须以某种方式把它筑成既是可持续的又能改善生活质量。”这是一种在现代世界中对杰弗里·斯科特观点的值得欢迎的新版本。

戴维·沃特金

2012年2月16日

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* 此书中文版已由中国建筑工业出版社于2011年1月出版。——编者注

FOREWORD

David Watkin

GEOFFREY SCOTT wrote this brilliant book in Florence on the eve of the First World War under the influence of Bernard Berenson and the gifted circle that surrounded him at the Villa I Tatti. *The Architecture of Humanism* is thus not only of permanent importance as a contribution to architectural aesthetics, but also as an expression of that vanished world of cultivated Anglo – American connoisseurship. So before we look at the book let us look at the talented young man who wrote it and the dazzling cultural ambience he moved in. His bizarre and glamorous life is all the more intriguing in the light of his surprising exclusion from the *Dictionary of National Biography* until 2004.

Scott was born in 1883, the son of Russell Scott, a manufacturer of a floor covering known as courtesine, the predecessor of linoleum, and received a Unitarian religious upbringing of which every detail of his subsequent career could be interpreted as an emphatic rejection. He was educated from 1898 – 1902 at Rugby School in an atmosphere which he did not find especially congenial, having a marked lack of interest in games of every kind. He was in the same house as the author Arthur Ransome; Rupert Brooke was a slightly junior contemporary elsewhere in the school. In 1903 he went up to New College, Oxford, as an Exhibitioner. Scott achieved only a Second Class in Classics in 1907, but in the previous year had won the Newdigate Prize for a poem on 'The Death of Shelley', and in 1908 won the Chancellor's Prize for an essay on 'The National Character of English Architecture'. He may have inherited his literary flair from his uncle, C. P. Scott, the distinguished proprietor and editor of the *Manchester Guardian* from 1873 – 1929.

On coming down from Oxford he toyed with the idea of a position in the Ministry of Education, but accepted an invitation from Bernard Berenson to stay at I Tatti in the summer of 1907. It seems that his introduction to Berenson came about through Bertrand Russell's first wife, Alys, sister of Logan Pearsall Smith. Early in 1906 she had suggested to her sister Mary, who had taken Berenson for her second

husband in 1900, that Maynard (later Lord) Keynes (1883 – 1946) and Geoffrey Scott should spend Easter with the Berensons at I Tatti. Mrs Berenson took the two young men, both aged twenty – three, on a sight – seeing tour in Tuscany, though they managed to spend some time alone together in Siena. Scott and Keynes might have been chosen to exemplify the popular notions of the contrast between Oxford and Cambridge. Scott the aesthete and hedonist from the Oxford of Pater; Keynes, the Cambridge – born economist, a classic product of the Liberal donnish culture of late – Victorian Cambridge. Indeed, Keynes complained in a letter to Lytton Strachey written from Italy in April 1906 that 'Scott is dreadfully Oxford—a sort of aesthetic person; and of course his point of view seems to me a little shocking; but we are quite happy together... I have never seen the aesthetic point of view so close. I find I object to it on high moral grounds—though I hardly know why. It seems to trifle deliberately with the sacred reality. But isn't this rather cant?'.[1]

Despite the tone of this letter, the two men became close friends; indeed, there seems little doubt from the surviving letters of Scott to Keynes[2], that their relationship was actively homosexual. Mrs Berenson was frequently in England at this time where she saw a good deal of both Scott and Keynes. In the spring of 1907 she received an anonymous letter written in violet ink in a female hand. Its authoress complained that Scott's unsavoury sexual reputation in Oxford made him no fit companion for Mrs Berenson's children. Mrs Berenson did not take the accusations too seriously and seemed more upset at Scott's suggestion that her daughter, Ray Costelloe, then one of the women students at Newnham College, Cambridge, might have written the letter as a joke.

A more favourable picture of the young Scott comes from William Rothenstein (1872 – 1945), the artist and intimate friend of Max Beerbohm. Rothenstein came out to Florence in the autumn of 1907 to paint a portrait of Berenson and was shown round the galleries by Scott. He wrote of Scott that 'Dark – eyed and pale, he looked strikingly like a Botticelli portrait; indeed, he was more Italian than English in appearance. Scott had come to stay at I Tatti for a week; but after several months he was still there, and no wonder; he was the most inspiring and entertaining of guests... A wonderful talker, his talk at the Berensons' was something to be remembered'.[3]

Rothenstein became a close friend of Scott. In Florence Scott also met Cecil Ross Pinsent (1884 – 1963), a young architect who was to become an even closer

friend. After a brief period at school at Marlborough from 1897 – 1900, Pinsent studied at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in Tufton Street, Westminster, from 1901-1903[4] and settled permanently in Italy in November 1906. When Scott arrived in the following year he worked in informal architectural partnership with Pinsent: as Sir Harold Acton has put it,[5] 'their names were always linked like Chatto and Windus'. By 1933 Pinsent had built seven new villas and altered or extended nearly thirty more, his many English and American clients including Arthur Acton at La Pietra and Sir George Sitwell, Bart., at Montegufoni.

Scott filled the somewhat tenuous role of secretary – librarian to Berenson for about two years from the autumn of 1907 during which time he began, but never finished, a book called *Greek Myths in Renaissance Art*. Berenson allowed him a good deal of liberty: for example, we learn in some letters from Mrs Berenson to Maynard Keynes that Scott spent much of the spring and summer of 1908 on a tour of Italy and France as the paid companion of the twenty – year – old son of Henry White Cannon (1850 – 1934). Financier, collector and President of the Chase National Bank of New England, the millionaire Cannon had recently bought the Villa la Doccia not far from I Tatti. Scott was in London from January to March 1909, spent the spring at I Tatti and went to Berlin later in the year to learn German. At about this time he began to share a small flat with Cecil Pinsent in an old palace in the Via delle Terme in Florence.[6]

Scott was always fatally attractive to women, though according to Harold Acton,[7] 'his features were more intellectual than handsome, and he never looked quite clean'. Mrs Berenson, who had by now fallen madly in love with him, helped obtain for him the commission to remodel I Tatti. With Pinsent's help he carried out various improvements in 1909 – 1915 including the addition of the cool Florentine library and the layout of new formal gardens. It was also Mrs Berenson who urged him to set his ideas down in print, though he dedicated *The Architecture of Humanism* not to her but to Cecil Pinsent. Meanwhile Pinsent designed and built in 1912 his most important early work, the impressive Villa le Balze at Fiesole for the American philosopher Charles Augustus Strong; after the war he elaborated the formal gardens which were well illustrated in the *Architectural Review* in 1932.[8] Opposite the Villa le Balze stands the Villa Medici which, according to Vasari, was designed by Michelozzo for Cosimo de' Medici's son, Giovanni. This enchanting house with its historic terraced gardens was acquired in 1911 by

the widowed Lady Sybil Cutting (1879 – 1943) . A rich and languid bluestocking gifted with a nervous intelligence—she used to faint on every possible opportunity—she was born Sybil Cuffe, the second daughter of the future 5th Earl of Desart. In 1901 she married William Bayard Cutting of Long Island, New York, Secretary at the American Embassy in London, who died in 1910. In 1912 she invited Scott and Pinsent to make alterations to the Villa Medici and its gardens.

From 1915 Geoffrey's war – work took the agreeable form of acting as honorary attaché and later Press Secretary to the British Embassy in Rome where the Ambassador was the scholar and poet, Sir James Rennell Rodd (1858 – 1941), later 1st Lord Rennell. In the Embassy Scott enjoyed the amusing and congenial company of dilettanti like Lord Berners (1883 – 1950) and Lord Gerald Wellesley (1885 – 1972), later seventh Duke of Wellington, and sent dispatches which were, apparently, much enjoyed by Lloyd George. [9]Also at the Embassy was William Heywood Haslam who was to become a life – long friend. Haslam had been an undergraduate at King's College, Cambridge, from 1908 – 1911 where he had met Maynard Keynes. In 1916 Scott and Haslam shared a flat on the second floor of the House of the Four Winds at the top of the Spanish Steps in Rome. In the meantime, Lady Sybil Cutting had fallen in love with Scott, and in 1917 they were married. According to Haslam, their decision to cling together was made in the face of their common fear that the war would bring their world to an end. Scott now moved into the Villa Medici at Fiesole where he and Lady Sybil pursued a life of great comfort, intellectual cultivation and neurotic instability. The marriage caused a rift with the Berensons, and Mary Berenson suffered a nervous breakdown which lasted for a year and a half. Despite her love for Scott she had intended him to marry Nicky Mariano who succeeded him as librarian to Bernard Berenson. However, as Iris Origo, Sybil's daughter by her first husband, wisely observed, Geoffrey 'was not, by temperament, a husband' . [10]The marriage soon began to fall apart and in 1923 he fell in love with Vita Sackville – West, the strange bisexual wife of Harold Nicolson. Their passionate and bizarre relationship, doomed to failure, lasted into 1924, and within two years Geoffrey and Sybil were divorced. In December 1926 Lady Sybil took for her third husband Percy Lubbock (1879 – 1965), an Etonian protégé of Arthur Benson and a charming essayist but scarcely a likely candidate for marriage. They lived at Gli Scafari near Lerici, a villa which Cecil Pinsent built for Lady Sybil in 1931. [11]

Geoffrey had already returned to England in 1925, abandoning not only his wife but his ambition of writing a sequel to *The Architecture of Humanism*. Iris Origo wrote: 'I still possess a large piece of foolscap which lay for many weeks upon the centre of his desk, bearing in his fine scholar's hand, the following words and these only:

"A HISTORY OF TASTE
Volume 1
Chapter 1
It is very difficult..."

So far as I know, the work progressed no further'.[12]

He published a small volume of poems in 1929 and another, posthumously, in 1931 from which W. B. Yeats included extracts in *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse* in 1936.

When he settled in London, Geoffrey found a characteristically elegant pied-à-terre with his old friend William Haslam, who had left the Embassy in Rome in 1922. Haslam acquired a fine Nash house, 8, Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park, which was extensively redecorated for him in 1923 by his friend, the stylish architect Clough Williams-Ellis. Scott soon moved out of the house itself into the coach-house at the end of the garden which was remodelled by Williams-Ellis into 'a little classical pavilion'[13] with a cast of the Parthenon frieze surmounting its principal façade. In the year of his return to England, Scott published *The Portrait of Zélide*, a study of Madame de Charrière, the extraordinary eighteenth-century blue-stocking with whom James Boswell fell in love. Based on the extensive collection of Zélide's correspondence published in 1906 by Philippe Godet, this was a subtle and beautiful essay in the new art of ironical biography ushered in by Lytton Strachey. It was also extremely popular and been through two editions and six reprintings by 1931. Dedicated to his wife, who fully shared his interest in Zélide, it had been his principal link with her in the final unhappy period of their marriage.

Scott saw a good deal both before and after the war of Edith Wharton whom he had first met in Italy. She became one of his greatest admirers and in her autobiography, *A Backward Glance* (1934), described *The Architecture of Humanism* and *The Portrait of Zélide* as two 'wellnigh perfect' books. More passionate than his

relationship with Edith Wharton was that with the daughter of the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Dorothy Warren, who ran a small antique shop off St James's Street in London. Had it not been for her, Scott would have accompanied Haslam on a tour of Mexico in 1927. In that year Haslam acquired a beautiful William and Mary house in Buckinghamshire, Great Hundridge Manor, which Clough Williams – Ellis carefully modernised for him. DorothyWarren helped find suitable antique fittings while Geoffrey Scott designed Haslam's bedspread as well as some of the furniture. [14]

His study of Madame de Charrière had helped direct Scott's thoughts towards James Boswell whose life Sir John Squire now invited him to write for the *English Men of Letters* series. He deferred his labours on hearing of the rediscovery and possible sale of an important collection of Boswell's papers in Ireland at Malahide Castle near Dublin. In 1927 these were bought by the American Colonel R. H. Isham who, on the strength of Scott's reputation as Madame de Charrière's biographer, invited him to edit them. Scott was overjoyed at this offer and sailed to New York to begin work in October 1927. Jane Ross, his secretary in Isham's sumptuous house, said of him in 1975: 'I always felt that Scott was miserable over here, and particularly at the Isham's. He felt like an alien, and a poor one ... He smoked constantly, had yellow stained fingers. Was very nervous and ill at ease in the situation'. According to her, he was not at home in the glittering society which surrounded Isham, but escaped to a Bohemian world in New York where he had his last passionate affair: with the interior decorator, Muriel Draper. Jane Ross recalls that he 'stood about six foot two inches, a lanky, large – boned man, with sallow skin, yellowish teeth, near – sighted and with a kind of unkempt look. He seemed aloof and not a warm, friendly person, and we got off to a bad start. He disliked everything American, would casually remark: "before I came among the barbarians", and once told me he fully expected to see Indians on the streets on New York. He was surprised also to find a conformity of dress among women'. [15]

Scott returned to England in May 1929 for a brief holiday. The devoted Cecil Pinsent accompanied him on his return journey during which he contracted a fatal chill which turned to pneumonia. Three days after their arrival in New York on 4 August, Scott took to his bed and died of pneumonia on 14 August. Jane Ross observed: 'I thought it was tragic that this brilliant, useful man had not been given

the then new sulfa drugs which most certainly could have saved him. I often wondered how he managed to dress himself, he was so absent – minded and preoccupied with literary matters, on many levels other than the papers'. Boswell's papers were eventually published in eighteen privately printed volumes as the *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Gastle.* It is a remarkable tribute to Scott's industry that he had carried out the editorial work for these in 1927 – 1929. Finely printed on exquisite paper interlaced with facsimiles of the original manuscripts, and protected from the outer world within handsome scarlet boxes, these splendid volumes, each containing a sensitive introduction by Scott, can appropriately be described in the words with which Scott himself was summed up by his obituarist in *The Times*: 'the finished product of a high civilisation'.[16]

The same obituarist also wrote of Scott that he 'was at his best in a congenial society of four to six people. He would then, with his own food untouched and unnoticed on his plate, either strip some subject of the *clichés* and ready – made opinions which obscured its true outlines, or he would tell some story with the arts of the *raconteur* and a gift for mimicry which made his audience roar and rock with laughter'. Other visitors to I Tatti remember an affected young man waving in the air an elaborate pair of horn – rimmed *pince – nez* on the end of a long velvet ribbon. But whatever his gifts for public gaiety his brief and brilliant career was haunted by private unhappiness. His step – daughter, Iris Origo, found him 'a disturbing human being, an inconoclast who had begun by destroying his own idols, a mocker filled with self – mockery'.[17] Jane Ross tells how 'He confided once, that if it were not for the curse of association, he would be a Catholic'. Desmond MacCarthy described him as 'a very tall, black – haired sallow man, rather saturnine in appearance', and emphasised 'a strong streak of melancholy'.[18] Certainly there was no still centre to the endlessly revolving wheel of his quest for intellectual and romantic perfection: he found no true religion, no peace of mind.

Scott died intestate. His estate was administered by his sister, Anna Dorothea Scott, with the active assistance of W. H. Haslam on whose initiative a plaque was placed over his ashes in the cloisters of New College, commemorating Scott as 'Humanist & Boswellian Scholar'.

The Architecture of Humanism is Geoffrey Scott's greatest memorial. Its special significance can be summed up under four headings: first, its striking demolition

of the 'Fallacies', principally ethical, mechanical and biological, by which it had become customary to explain and justify architecture in the nineteenth century; secondly, its introduction to an English audience of an approach to architectural aesthetics based on the psychology of *Einfühlung* (empathy); thirdly, the persuasive eloquence of its plea for an understanding of *Baroque* architecture as the perfect expression of ideal 'humanist' principles in architecture; and finally, its interpretation of architecture in terms of space: 'Architecture alone of all the arts', Scott claimed, 'can give space its full value... it uses space as a material and sets us in the midst'.[19] This sensitivity to architectural space, which Scott derived from German art-historians such as Schmarsow and Riegl, did not become widely familiar in England until the publication of Pevsner's *An Outline of European Architecture* in 1943.

Scott's intensely aesthetic approach, like that of Roger Fry (1866-1934), undoubtedly reflects the impact of the connoisseur and critic Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) in whose circle in Italy the theory of *Einfühlung* was especially popular around 1900. Eloquently defined by Theodor Lipps in his *Aesthetik* (2 vols., Hamburg and Leipzig 1903 and 1906), it was adopted by the brilliant and eccentrically masculine Violet Paget (1856-1935), who wrote under the pseudonym of Vernon Lee. In 1900, when Berenson came to live at I Tatti, Violet Paget was living at the nearby Villa Palmerino with her inseparable companion, 'Kit' (Clementina) Anstruther-Thomson. Miss Paget derived much profit from her conversations with Berenson, so much so that their friendship became strained when he accused her of plagiarism in some of her writings. A serious and influential student of aesthetics, she published with Miss Anstruther-Thomson *Beauty and Ugliness and other studies in Psychological Aesthetics* (1912), which consisted basically of her collected papers from 1897-1910. This drew on the aesthetic theories of Lipps, Hildebrand, Vischer and Schmarsow, and must be accounted as a strong source of influence on Geoffrey Scott's *The Architecture of Humanism*. Scott states the Lippsian theory of empathy clearly in his chapter on 'Humanist Values', where he argues that the 'excellent—because unconscious—testimony of speech, [in which] arches "spring", vistas "stretch", domes "swell", Greek temples are "calm", and baroque façades "restless",' confirms that 'The whole of architecture is, in fact, unconsciously invested by us with human movement and human moods... *We transcribe architecture into terms of ourselves*'.[20]

Jacob Burckhardt (1818 – 1897) and his successor as Professor of Art History at Basel University, Heinrich Wölfflin (1864 – 1945), were also powerful influences on Scott: the former for his vision of the Renaissance as an ideal civilisation, the latter for pointing the way to an appreciation of Baroque and for writing of architecture in terms of empathy.

We should not overlook the specific influence on Scott of Berenson's own approach to architecture. The limited extent of Scott's understanding of architecture before it had been formed by contact with Berenson can be gauged from the essay on 'The National Character of English Architecture' with which he won the Chancellor's English Essay Prize in 1908. At this date his outlook was still very largely the product of influence from William Morris and Reginald Blomfield. He quoted Morris's celebrated description of England which begins with the words, 'The land is a little land ...'; and it is clear that he believed, with Blomfield, in an 'essence' of Englishness expressing itself in 'permanent forces' which *ought* to be reflected in English architecture, but were all too frequently absent from it: the offending periods for Scott included Perpendicular, the work of Vanbrugh and of Adam, Strawberry Hill Gothick and Victorian architecture. Of Perpendicular he wrote: 'The delight in stained glass led to another defect which was less characteristic. The monumental nature of architecture which, usually, we so jealously safeguarded, was sacrificed;[21] the walls became transparent, and the church a lantern',[21] and of Vanbrugh: 'Scrupulousness in the treatment of material had led us to the faults of the Perpendicular style; here it was the excess of another national quality which spoilt Blenheim. Vanbrugh aimed at emphasising the solid'.[22] He dismissed Adam because he 'had no more touch with permanent forces than the grotesque Gothic of Strawberry Hill'.[23]

'Mr Berenson', Kenneth Clark recalls,[24] 'always said that he had written *The Architecture of Humanism*—not true, but he had certainly inspired it'. Scott himself was essentially an amateur with a gift for theoretical exposition which Berenson lacked. He had profited not only from the aesthetic approach on which Berenson based his studies of Italian painting, but also from a little – known paper called 'A word for Renaissance Churches' which Berenson had written in about 1890. Declaring himself impatient with an approach to architecture which concentrated on builders or craftsmen or on a religious standpoint, Berenson was anxious to define the aesthetic experience of architecture. He did this by isolating as espe-

cially characteristic of the Renaissance aesthetic the domed and centrally – planned, or Greek – cross, church, of which one of the loveliest examples is the Bramantesque Sta Maria della Consolazione at Todi of 1504. Berenson wrote of this church that he found it difficult to believe that 'the purpose of the building was other than the realization of a beautiful dream of space. It suggests no ulterior motive... Such a building sings indeed not the glory of God, but the Godhead of man'.[25] This was music to Geoffrey Scott's ears and it undoubtedly helps explain his own hedonistic approach to a centrallyplanned church like Bramante's Tempietto in Rome, which he describes as 'save in a few details, a pagan temple merely.'[26] So baldly stated, this interpretation is clearly wrong, though it is followed by Pevsner in his *Outline of European Architecture* where he claims that in such buildings 'the religious meaning of the church is replaced by a human one'.[27]

The years between the two world wars saw the impact of German scholars like Aby Warburg (1866 – 1929) in defining a new field of iconographical study into the meaning of artistic forms. For our purposes at the moment, the most significant flowering of this tradition was Rudolf Wittkower's learned study, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949), in which he brilliantly elucidated the precise and complex symbolism which the centrally – planned building held for the Renaissance mind. Since then other scholars such as Peter Murray have enlarged on the religious significance of centrally – planned churches in terms of the *martyrium* tradition. It is easy to assume that these new apprehensions have superseded, indeed demolished, Scott's approach. But attempts to explain away style as the predictable expression of economic, social, technical or liturgical determinants can never in themselves be adequate or satisfactory. It would be interesting, for example, to analyse the different kinds of explanations that could be adduced for the astonishing difference in appearance between two great monasteries built to serve Benedictine communities following an identical liturgy: for example, in Austria the Baroque Melk, begun in 1702, and in England the Victorian Gothic Downside.

Scott's reaction against Ruskin led him to adopt a hostile attitude to the Gothic Revival which few architectural historians would now share. However, no one would question the wisdom of his passionate admiration for the Baroque. The pioneering work here had been carried out from the 1880s by German, Swiss and Viennese art historians like Gurlitt, Wölfflin and Riegl, and was especially associated with a new awareness of space in architecture. The impact of this scholarship