INTERVIEW

"A Way Must Be Found to Broaden Our Perspective": James Ackerman in Conversation with Cammy Brothers

Cammy Brothers

Cammy Brothers: Today I'd like to talk about some of your recent thinking and also pick up on themes in your writing over many years.[1] I thought we might start by talking about more recent things. I remember seeing you at the College Art Association Conference in Boston in 2006, after you had just returned from your first trip to India. You talked about how this experience had changed your view of the field and how, if you had to teach a survey of architectural history again, you would do it differently. I wonder if you could expand on that.

James Ackerman: Although I am concerned that the effort to cover world architecture can easily reduce the treatment of all major styles to the point of superficiality, I have been moved and enlightened by recent travels to Turkey, Egypt, and especially India. I am now convinced that a way must be found to broaden our perspective, perhaps in the way that scholars of comparative literature have explored beyond the purview of English departments. My most recent essay focuses on the way the sensitivity and narrative richness of a Jain temple in Rajasthan has altered my approach to Western architecture.[2] I thought in the first place that such a richness of color and detail, which has not been valued in the West, made me see that almost all of Western architecture has been colorless. Renaissance churches and facades are gray or whitish. Even in the case of Venice, I recalled several books on the Grand Canal palaces, and the one colorful palace on the Grand Canal, the Palazzo Dario, is eliminated, except in a book where the photograph has more or less blackened out the color contrast.

Brothers: So even when the city celebrates color, architectural history has not taken that on.

Ackerman: Our architectural history rarely addresses it. Facade paintings are gone because they were outdoors, though there are instances in Rome where you can see a little bit of color or a painting. Long ago, I published a drawing of the Villa Farnesina in Rome, which had the ornament drawn in one bay, revealing that the whole surface must have been similarly treated.[3]

Brothers: One of the other things you mentioned in a recent panel at the GSD [Harvard University Graduate School of Design] concerned the bias in so much of Western architectural history toward making the story about the architect, and how looking at Indian architecture made you reconsider that bias.[4] Could you say more?

Ackerman: What excited me so much in India was the narrative. The whole interior of temples is narrative. In Western architecture, where there is a religious narrative, it has very limited possibilities. It could be in the porch, on the facade, and in the cloister, but in the interior of the church, maybe it's only in the capitals. In India, it's floor to ceiling. This fascination with storytelling makes people read buildings like books.

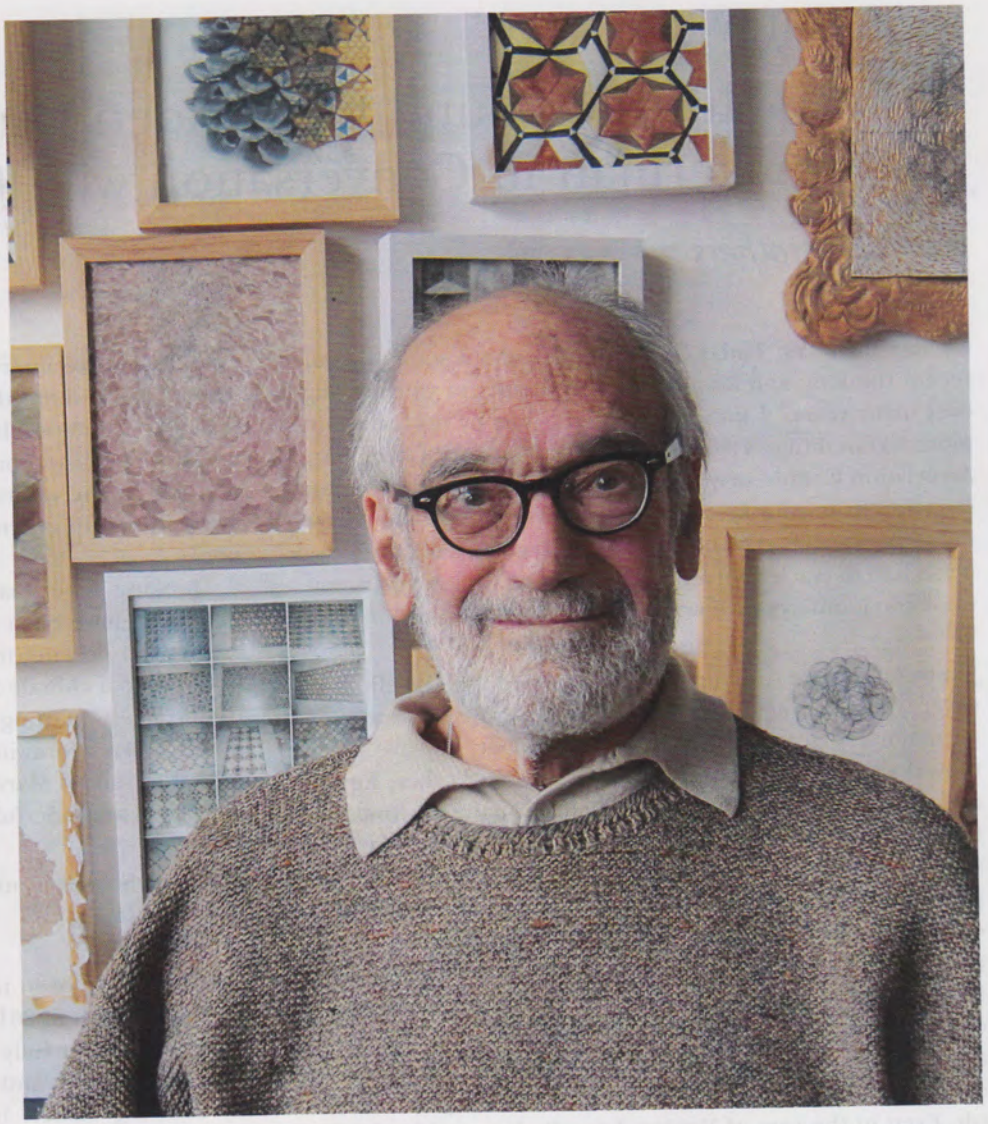
Thinking about that, I realized that the role of the craftsman must have been quite different than in Western architecture. So on entering the temple, you feel as if you were listening to a chorale in which everybody was singing a part. In the West, starting with the Renaissance, the architect would make a drawing which the craftsman would be required to follow. Marvin Trachtenberg's new book, *Building in Time,* is a wonderful guide to this change.[5]

Brothers: So you've made several trips to India, and you've also been to Egypt?

Ackerman: I've been to India twice, and Egypt we visited at the last moment in 2010. There, I was excited to see all these things I couldn't fully grasp in pictures. Now I know their scale and context, and I'm sorry I didn't go there earlier in my teaching career, because it would have helped a lot. Surveys always started with Egypt. What I remember most fondly about that trip, apart from the awesome hugeness of the pyramids and of such temples as Karnak, are the Islamic monuments in Cairo, which are wonderful, really exciting. It's a quite different approach than in Turkey, where the architecture is more like Western, particularly the great works by Mimar Sinan, and they have a particular character to them, in which the designer commands, and establishes a personal style. There, also, color—provided principally by tiles—plays an essential part.

Brothers: On another topic, I wanted to talk to you about writing—the writing of art history, different styles of writing, how one conceives of audience, and how the field has developed and changed in terms of the approach to writing. In the Getty interview you mentioned the formative influence of Henri Focillion at Yale and how he tried to integrate his use of language with his particular approach. Did you study with him as an art history major at Yale?

Ackerman: I did, though art history was only a subsection of the Department of History, Arts and Letters until the year of my graduation. The age of the permanent faculty averaged about twenty-nine years old at that time. They were all students of Marcel Aubert, who called himself a medieval ar-



James Ackerman in front of the installation *In Rome* by Jill Slosburg-Ackerman (photograph © Jill Slosburg-Ackerman, 2012)

chaeologist and approved only of documents and excavations. Henri Focillon came to teach in alternate years. The only regular faculty member who made a lasting impact on the field was George Kubler. My thesis on "Abstraction in Paleolithic Cave Painting" was rejected, so I didn't get honors.

Brothers: It was rejected because of its subject?

Ackerman: They probably dismissed it from the title. I think that they felt if something like my thesis came out as the first of the newly established Department of Art History, it would be an apple in their garden of Eden. And it probably wasn't particularly good, but I'm sure it was worthy of honors if only for its ambition.

Brothers: In a 1984 essay on interpretation and response, you wrote that "the dullness and sameness of most critical and historical writing in this country is due partly to the concentration of intellectual life in universities where imagination is constrained by a reductive ideal of scholarly objectivity supported by an obsolete ideology."[6] In the same essay and an earlier one you talked about how this relates to the Puritanism of the American tradition and in contrast, for example, to Roland Barthes and the idea of the pleasure of the text.[7]

Ackerman: I see two problems. One is the dull generality of the discussion of art, which I think is due to the effort of the humanities to imitate the sciences in order to court respect. That was the groundwork. It just deadened humanistic studies. Second is the difference between the kind of interpretation that I've done and you've done, and what I think all the most insightful work does, in interpreting works of art in terms of the ideology, the economics, the political, the social background that brings architecture in particular into being. Manfredo Tafuri revolutionized the discipline of history in Italian schools of architecture with an exemplary rigor in archival research and in intensive study of drawings and theoretical writings. These approaches are difficult to synthesize with the illumination of what the eye brings, as I found in dealing with [Andrea] Palladio in a general book. I struggled with the conflict between explaining how Palladian buildings are influenced by the ideological and technological environment, and how one is personally affected by them—you can't put these together. This dilemma was beautifully treated by

[Michael] Baxandall.[8] But I think it's really difficult. I think the problem with realizing it is almost endemic to this situation—that you have to kind of flip back and forth rather than integrate.

My ideal critic of the eye is Peter Schjeldahl, of the *New Yorker*. I just love reading his reviews. He gets it so personally, yet affectively. There's an example in a recent *New Yorker*, one column long, on Giovanni Bellini's *Saint Francis*.[9] He's right on in about fifty words. It makes you see the picture. So, I'd love to be able to write that way and to find a way to work it into an interpretative examination.

Brothers: That's something you talked about a little bit in the *Art and Archaeology* book—the distinction between the critic and the art historian. In order to point to someone who is writing about affect and response well, you need to go to a critic. I don't know how many American art historians are interested in addressing what something feels like, but your writing takes that on. That may be partly why your books have been so widely read, because they do convey the pleasure and feeling of the buildings.

Ackerman: I have a very good perspective because I've spent so many years in editing, first for the *Art Bulletin* for four years in the 1950s, and then for the *Annali di Architettura*, for over twenty years now, as editor and subsequently as a member of the editorial board. Atypically, the *Annali* requires each member to read all the submissions.[10]

Brothers: One way of thinking about the problem of academic writing is, as you said, in terms of its aspiration to objectivity and to being like the sciences. But another issue is how scholars conceive of audience. I haven't seen you write about this, but it's a striking aspect of your prose. At a conceptual level, it's very ambitious, but it's also consistently clear. I wonder if you feel that it is an ethical obligation, and if it's related to how you think of audience, or if it's just a style preference?

Ackerman: It's a complicated problem. I always have the reader in mind, and what the reader will think. It's a matter of personality, too. Unlike most scholars, I am not sensitive about criticism of my work, and I don't seek the limelight in society. I don't want people to admire me. This has given me an advantage in that, apart from occasional antagonism I have engendered by writing honest reviews, I'm always deferent to the ideas of other people. As a result, I don't have enemies, and I do have friends who sustain me (especially among my former students).

Brothers: It is interesting that you link your mode of writing to personality, and that you are constantly thinking about the reader. But who is the reader? Did you think of the Palladio and Michelangelo books as for architects, for students, or for the elusive "general reader"?[11]

Ackerman: I think of it as addressing an interested audience, in the way someone like Stephen Greenblatt does in his widely read works on Renaissance literature. My models in writing have been Edmund Wilson and George Orwell. Orwell wrote pieces on writing that influenced me a lot.[12] What I recall most fondly of Orwell is the advice to use short Anglo-Saxon words wherever possible instead of derivatives of Latin.

Brothers: One of the other themes that comes through in your writing is politics and ideology in scholarship. Do you see politics as having a role in your writing, or do you see it as an unrelated matter?

Ackerman: It's a necessary consideration. I realized that my interest in the political and the social came about in the gap between writing the book on Michelangelo and the one on Palladio. In my Michelangelo book, the background is culture. That is, I refer to the arts, and to the vicissitudes of patronage, particularly the Medici, the della Rovere, and the Farnese. Subsequently, my focus changed on account of conversations with Michelangelo Muraro, who wrote a book (which is almost impossible to find) about the family that built the villa in Campiglia by Palladio.[13] It was a Protestant family, under scrutiny by the political wing and ostracized, which had an impact on the design of the villa, at least as it appears in Palladio's *Quattro Libri*. I was close to Muraro. We talked about lots of things, like my interest in Abstract Expressionism. He also introduced me to Emilio Vedova, from whom I bought a painting.

And there was another factor. An American photographer who wrote only short essays brought these issues out for the first time that I had seen in print. Her nom de plume was Georgina Masson. It was an article in the *Architectural Review*, no longer than three pages, in which she spoke about the social, economic, and political background of the Venetian villas.[14] This was reinforced by Manfredo Tafuri, and then it became mainstream for me. The student uprisings in the 1960s brought more emphasis of this sort into the picture. I think that's how it got consolidated.

Brothers: I find that art history has so thoroughly absorbed the lessons of Tafuri, or T. J. Clark, that students now reading about social, economic, or political aspects of art have no idea that this approach had any connection with Marxism—they just think of it as context. It's so integrated into the practice of art history that it is hard to recover its ideological origins. How have you struck the balance in your own writing between the explicitness or implicitness of politics?

Ackerman: I was influenced by a certain kind of Marxist theory. The discussion of Marxism and aesthetics reveals how [Karl] Marx's early writing on the subject was congenial to non-Communist readers. As it went along, the discussion became wrapped up with the Cold War and Stalinism, and it became marginalized. But I've never been a big theory person. I don't read [Jacques] Lacan or [Jacques] Derrida, and I can't adopt the vocabulary of all that stuff. I can't think of Tafuri's Marxism without recalling the story of how when he was an architecture student in the immediate postwar period, the Fascist architecture professors still held their posts. He and a few colleagues got hold of the administrator of the architecture department of the University of Rome, sat him in a chair, strapped him in with duct tape, and left him. That event wasn't part of the recorded history.[15]

Anyhow, I felt I had been dealing with theoretical issues without an articulated philosophical background. I never studied philosophy. I tried a little bit to find out what [Immanuel] Kant had to do with the issues that interested me. It never was something that I got as engaged in as other people did. So I wouldn't say that I was moved by philosophy; I was moved by seeing what the problems in the practice of art history had been. All of my professors at graduate school had the attitude, having been expelled from Europe, that too much philosophy had led to dreadful results. They came to the new country with the idea that here is a student body innocent of philosophical thought, and it should stay that way. Every time I came up with something that was theoretical, [Richard] Krautheimer, who was my chief mentor, would say, "Don't spend your time with that stuff." He claimed not to have a theory. At one of his memorial reunions—this one was in Rome—I gave a talk called "Krautheimer's 'Theory' (in quotes), of Art History." It was basically a revelation of the gaps that these German scholars allowed in their own practice.

[Erwin] Panofsky, for example, who was close to [Ernst] Cassirer, pretended that philosophy did not enter into his teaching, though it informed everything he said or wrote. He and [E. H.] Gombrich crossed swords about the Zeitgeist, not because Gombrich disdained philosophy but because he was a friend and supporter of Karl Popper. These alliances of European art historians with philosophers were strong.

Brothers: So because of the resistance of Krautheimer and Panofsky to theory identified as such, the extent to which you did engage in questions that might be defined as theoretical was in resistance to your education?

Ackerman: I invented my persistent critique of art historical practice, particularly the failure to integrate scholarship and individual response. I think it was the same with Baxandall.

Brothers: One of the ideas that you discussed in your essay on interpretation is pleasure in the response to a work of art.[16] This fascinates me because it was taboo during my education, with the exception of Oleg Grabar, who would talk about pleasure. It stood out in your essay because of its unfashionable nature today.

Ackerman: You bring me back to when I did tutorials when I came to Harvard. Our approach in the Fine Arts Department was to assign three or four sophomores to each professor for weekly meetings to pursue some kind of project. I would take them into the graphics cabinet and bring drawings out. We would talk about what they could see before them. That's another thing that I don't think we've discussed: the particular pleasure of studying drawing, since it brings the viewer so close to the personality and to the character of the artist. In a way, it speaks more directly than painting or sculpture do because the latter two require so many manual and technical operations that the original impulse may be covered over, whereas the drawing is just straight expression. I always liked to deal with that, and I liked writing about drawing, too. This contact with the original, I think, did a good deal to bring out the things we're talking about—the pleasure of looking. At the Institute [of Fine Arts, New York], only one professor, Richard Offner, required us to go to the Metropolitan Museum, although it was only one block away. I don't think people have tackled this whole thing enough. Perhaps it would be good if art historians would do more about just getting involved with criticism.

Brothers: You mean because criticism, by necessity, depends on direct engagement—since you have to go see new things?

Ackerman: I mean criticism allows you to write without the obligation of trying to establish the historical position, the environment. It's just you and it. In the exercise of drawing and writing about drawing, I sometimes did this with classes. I would request the curators to put a drawing of my choice in a gallery and assign a short paper in which the students would describe what they saw, not thinking "art." Just record certain materials, certain sizes. Stop trying to be aesthetic. That's a different thing, but it is connected, in that it is the issue of seeing. They couldn't write about how a particular instrument is employed to make marks on a piece of paper which is of a certain consistency and surface, and has a rectangular shape in which the longer dimension is vertical, and has a frame around it. The simplest thing, and they were incapable of doing it. I think you know that students come to art classes in college with an airy dream of what it's all about. That it's something they ought to have. Their parents approve, particularly their mothers. They come with these expectations, and they don't want to see works of art in terms of material and techniques.

Brothers: It's interesting that it's so universal. I've often had students say to me, "My mother wanted me to take this course." And I certainly have the feeling when teaching both undergraduates and graduates that the thing they're worst at is description.

Ackerman: The last piece I published on Palladio begins with the definition of a facade.[17] I don't think I've ever read what a facade is. People who talk about the revival of antiquity never mention the fact that the volutes on Renaissance and Baroque church facades, which ease the transition from a high central nave with one or two lower side aisles, have nothing to do with the classical tradition. They don't even see it. Just that simple description of what's there never happens.

Brothers: I want to go back to the issue of drawing. I'm curious to know what you think the future of drawing in architecture might be. Considering what you were saying about the direct access that drawing gives to the way an architect thinks, how do you see the computer in this regard? In the book that you did with Wolfgang Jung, you write about the shift to computers in relation to Frank Gehry and Catia.[18] You frame it positively—that Gehry and his use of Catia are allowing ways of doing architecture that weren't possible before. Do you still see it that way?

Ackerman: Potentially, I think it's a great loss. Gehry doesn't work at the computer; he makes small cardboard models which his assistants interpret on the desktop. I harbor the suspicion that his drawings, mostly done with a ballpoint pen, are made after the building is finished. With others, I think the

computer just skips the feedback loop that occurs when you're doing drawings: all the unconscious convergences that happen when you put a stroke in one direction and then have to decide what the next stroke is going to be. Sometimes it just happens because your hand moves that way, and you like it, or you don't like it. You get a piece of trace out, and you change it. So it brings some soul into it that is otherwise missing.

Brothers: Speaking about drawing, I know you were involved in committees at Harvard concerned with how to integrate the practice of art. I was curious about what gave you a sense that it was important to promote studio arts in a university setting, and how you view the relationship that art history might have to practice.

Ackerman: Our committee wanted to give priority to practice. We were initially concerned with the plight of students who were highly skilled musicians. Some were juggling school with national tours—Yo-Yo Ma being one. In spite of the fact that these people had to practice hours a day, there was no way they could get credit for it. Leon Kirchner managed to devise a course that combined performance with analysis. The Fogg Museum used to have an artist in a small studio upstairs for students who wanted to learn the basics of drawing and painting. Initially, Paul Sachs had required that the work be in historical styles related to works in the museum. But I didn't consider this essential—I don't think that people with architecture degrees are better historians than those with a history background. I do admire David Summers practicing both: he makes beautiful paintings, as did Meyer Schapiro. But I felt the lack of architectural training only when I had to make a plan. My Michelangelo book has some awful plans by the author.

Brothers: I was also interested in your sympathy for studio art because there are a number of universities with studio arts and art history in the same department, and there's often tension.

Ackerman: It was this way at Berkeley. It wasn't so much animosity as it was competition for money. It was easels versus slides. But I got a great deal out of it. This is how I had my eyes oriented to Abstract Expressionism.

Brothers: I saw that you'd written an essay in the *Atlantic Monthly* about Abstract Expressionism; did it come out of contact with studio faculty at Berkeley?[19]

Ackerman: Yes, I think I wouldn't have awakened to the approach without it. It wasn't that I saw the preceding American figurative art to be desirable—it was in very bad shape in 1940. I became interested in art in my teens, and all of my early experience of it was John Steuart Curry, and Edward Hopper, and Charles Burchfield, and I never regarded that as serious competition to European art. On the other hand, I didn't have the tools to evaluate the oncoming effect of expressionism.

Brothers: It's interesting that as a Renaissance specialist you wrote about Abstract Expressionism and you were following contemporary art.

Ackerman: Well, it's become so diffused now. The thing about the 1950s was in a sense it was all focused. It was a little broader if you included women, but they never did. Brandeis had a show curated by Susan Stoops called *More than Minimal* about fifteen years ago of the work of women in the period of Minimalism.[20] There were wonderful things in it, most of which had just been brushed aside in that era of machismo. Eva Hesse appeared in a new context and Jackie Winsor's work was wonderful; as well as Dorothea Rockburne, different and rigorous.

Brothers: This is a different tack, but I was struck that you'd been editor of the *Art Bulletin,* and it made me think about how architectural history and art history have come to define themselves as different camps. It's hard for me to picture now, someone who defines him or herself primarily as an architectural historian being editor of the *Art Bulletin.* I wonder if you agree that there's been some bifurcation in the field. Why do you think this division happened?

Ackerman: I think the rise of the Venice School had something to do with it, in the sense that people began to think that architects should be the ones addressing architecture.[21] I gave courses in both, and taught the 1400-to-now all-in-one survey. The survey was more or less everything. But later architecture became a separate survey.

Brothers: How did your engagement with architecture schools begin?

Ackerman: At Berkeley, I had been hired by the Architecture School and the Art History Department. In the former, Dean Bill Wurster wanted me to design a history program.[22] When I arrived, the history course was given by a Beaux Arts–trained faculty member who was no longer in tune with his colleagues, so they told him to teach history, which he did by showing old glass slides of monuments and having students draw from them. So I started a program, and taught it alone for three or four years. Spiro [Kostof] took over when I left.

In the Art Department, I was the fourth historian. My colleagues covered ancient, Eastern, medieval art, while I taught postmedieval. In the original configuration, the entire art history section was in one room, which also housed all the slides. The slide cabinets marked off offices by organizing them in rectangles. Each of us had an office in the middle of the cabinets.

By the way, we shouldn't forget about Harvard. In the first generation of art historians there, the finest was Kingsley Porter. He didn't teach much. He was extremely wealthy and owned a huge colonial mansion off Brattle Street's "Tory Row," which he willed to Harvard, now the president's home. Kingsley Porter had almost no students, but his work (primarily on Romanesque architecture and sculpture) was more influential than I think anyone of the time in the United States, and more imaginative. He was the one that I think changed his field more than anyone else at Harvard.

Brothers: From the discussion of your training in the Getty interview, it sounded as if your undergraduate education at Yale had an important impact on your approach.

Ackerman: If I hadn't gone to Yale then I wouldn't have known Focillon, and I might have gone into the profession of architecture. Focillon, who had become almost blind in the last years, could see only portions of his illustrations simultaneously, and had to cruise around them as he lectured. When he left just before my graduation, he gave me his book on Romanesque sculpture inscribed, "Que mon cher Jim Ackerman reste fidèle à nos études pour lesquelles il est si bien fait, et à nôtre bonne amitié."[23] I applied forthwith to graduate school at NYU [New York University Institute of Fine Arts].

Brothers: And Vincent Scully was at Yale at the same time?

Ackerman: We were one year apart, and he also studied with Focillon. He is an example of someone who brings not just an appreciation of the eyes, but also a fantastic imagination.

Brothers: In addition to your contact with Focillon, were there other experiences at Yale that were important for your future career?

Ackerman: My first article was published while I was an undergraduate, in the *Yale Review*. It was on E. E. Cummings and came out of a seminar on the New Criticism, when it was really new. It was a wonderful course, taught by Andrew Wanning, who failed to get tenure, and among the students were two future distinguished American poets, Reed Whittemore and James Angleton, who founded the poetry magazine *Furioso* in 1939. Apart from this and the Focillon seminars, my Yale education was more genteel than challenging.

James Ackerman, Porter Professor of Fine Arts emeritus at Harvard, is the recipient of the International Balzan Prize (which supports a prize for younger scholars) and the Golden Lion of the Venice Biennale. His books include The Architecture of Michelangelo, Palladio, *and* The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses *[Department of the History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University, Sackler Museum, 485 Broadway, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, jamesslossackerman.com].*

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Notes

1. There have been several oral interviews with Ackerman, two of which I refer to in my questions. The most thorough is the unpublished transcript of the 1994 interview conducted by Joel Gardner as part of the Oral History Program of the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, held in the Department of Special Collections at the University of California at Los Angeles and a few institutional art libraries. I also refer to a discussion with Mohsen Mostafavi and Erika Naginski that took place in December 2010 at the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., and is available in a YouTube video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYXTf819ZRc. Finally, there is a video interview by Matthew A. Cohen on the occasion of the conference "Proportional Systems in the History of Architecture," at the University of Leiden, March 17–19, 2011; it is available on YouTube and at the Leiden University website: http://www.hum.leiden.edu/icd/proportion-conference/news/video.html.
2. Aspects of this discussion are presented in a new essay: James S. Ackerman, "My Passage to India: A Jain Temple and the Fate of Narrative in Sacred Architecture," *Harvard Design Magazine,* forthcoming.
3. James S. Ackerman, review of *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk,* by Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962): 243–46.
4. Graduate School of Design panel with Naginski and Mostafavi.
5. Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building in Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).
6. James S. Ackerman, "Interpretation, Response: Toward a Theory of Art Criticism," in *Theories of Criticism,* by Ackerman and M. A. Abrams (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1984), republished with a postscript discussing later contributions to the subject in Ackerman, *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 37–56, at 40.
7. Ibid.; and James S. Ackerman, "The Historian as Critic," in *Art and Archaeology,* by Ackerman and Rhys Carpenter (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), 144–63.
8. James S. Ackerman, *Palladio* (London: Penguin Books, 1966 and three subsequent editions). Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
9. Peter Schjeldahl, "Critic's Notebook, 'Art into Life,' " about Giovanni Bellini's *Saint Francis in the Desert* at the Frick Collection, *New Yorker,* July 11 and 18, 2011, 19.
10. Ackerman was editor of the *Art Bulletin* between 1956 and 1959. He has been on the Consiglio Scientifico of CISA (Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura "Andrea Palladio") since 1974. He recently wrote about the experience, "The 50 Years of CISA," *Annali di Architettura* 20 (2008): 9–12.
11. James S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo,* 2 vols. (London: Zwemmer, 1961; 2nd ed., Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin, 1986).
12. George Orwell, "Why I Write," *Gangrel* 4 (Summer 1946); and idem, "Politics and the English Language," *Horizon* 13 (April 1946): 252–65.
13. Michelangelo Muraro, *La villa palladiana dei Repeta a Campiglia dei Berici: Con documenti sulla persistenza del feudalesimo nel Veneto* (Campiglia dei Berici: Cassa Rurale e Artigiana, 1980). The book is rare, but there are copies at Dumbarton Oaks, the Biblioteca Berenson, the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, the Bibliotheca Hertziana, and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz.
14. Georgina Masson, "Palladian Villas as Rural Centres," *Architectural Review* 118 (July 1955): 17–20. Masson's real name was Marion Johnson (1912–1980).
15. "The Critical Legacies of Manfredo Tafuri," conference, cosponsored by Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation and the Irwin S. Chanin School of Architecture, Cooper Union, New York, April 20–21, 2006, organized by Daniel Sherer.
16. Ackerman, "Interpretation, Response."
17. James S. Ackerman, "Palladio, Michelangelo and *publica magnificentia,*" *Annali di Architettura* 22 (2010): 63–78.
18. Catia is software originally developed for the aerospace industry, which Frank Gehry's office adapted to its architecture projects. In 2002, Gehry Technologies was founded to develop its own software. Gehry is discussed in James S. Ackerman and Wolfgang Jung, eds., *Conventions of Architectural Drawing: Representation and Misrepresentation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Design, 2000). Drawings are also the subject of several essays in Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions: Representation in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002).
19. James S. Ackerman, "Abstract Art and the Critics," *Atlantic Monthly,* October 1962, 73–78.
20. The exhibition *More than Minimal: Feminism and Abstraction in the '70's* was curated by Susan L. Stoops, at the Rose Art Gallery, Brandeis University, in 1996 and was accompanied by a catalog of the same name, edited by Stoops (Waltham, Mass.: Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, 1996).
21. The Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, or IUAV, was founded in 1940 and gained prominence starting in 1967, when Manfredo Tafuri began teaching there. Many historians were trained there, but all initially obtained a degree in architectural design.
22. William Wurster (1895–1973) was dean of the Architecture School at Berkeley from 1950 to 1963.
23. "May my dear Jim Ackerman stay faithful to our studies for which he is so well endowed, and to our good friendship." Henri Focillon, *L'art des sculpteurs romans: Recherches sur l'histoire des formes* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1931).