

JOSEPH MANCA: CURRICULUM VITAE

- Position: Professor of Art History, and  
Nina J. Cullinan Professor of Art and Art History  
Director of Graduate Studies in Art History  
Department of Art History, Rice University, MS 21  
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- Home Address: 2318 Blue Bonnet Boulevard  
Houston, TX 77030  
(713) 349-9237
- Education: Ph.D., Columbia University, 1986 (dissertation:  
“The Art and Life of Ercole de’ Roberti”)  
M. Phil., Columbia University, 1982  
M.A., Columbia University, 1980  
B.A., University of Rochester, 1978  
(majors: American history and political science)
- Awards and Honors:
- Winterthur Research Fellow, July 2016, Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library
  - John Staub Award, 2015, Institute of Classical Architecture and Art, Texas Chapter, for *George Washington’s Eye* (see below under publications, “Single-Author Books”)
  - John Brinckerhoff Jackson Book Prize, 2014, Foundation for Landscape Studies, for *George Washington’s Eye*
  - Prose Award, 2012, Honorable Mention in the category of Architecture and Urban Planning, Association of American Publishers, for *George Washington’s Eye*
  - Individual Research Fellowship, Humanities Research Center, Rice University, Fall 2009 (project: *George Washington’s Eye*)
  - Nina J. Cullinan Chair, Rice University (since 2007)
  - Outstanding Faculty Associate, Baker College, Rice University, 2006
  - Fellowship, Center for the Study of Cultures, Rice University, Fall 1997 (project: *Moral Essays on the High Renaissance*)
  - National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer Stipend, 1993 (for Tura monograph)

- Finalist, Phi Beta Kappa Teaching Award, Rice University, 1991 and 1993
- National Endowment for the Humanities, Travel-to-Collections Grant, 1990 (for Tura monograph)
- Grant-in-Aid, American Council of Learned Societies, 1990 (research on Leonardo da Vinci)
- Whiting Foundation Fellowship, 1983-1984
- Fulbright-Hays Grant, 1982-1983
- President's Fellowship, Columbia University, 1979-1982
- Joseph P. O'Hern Scholarship for Travel and Study in Europe, University of Rochester, 1978-1979
- Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1978
- B.A. *Summa cum laude*, 1978
- New York State Regents Scholarship for Academic Excellence, 1974-1978

## PUBLICATIONS

### Single-Author Books:

*Shaker Vision: Seeing Beauty in Early America* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press; forthcoming, under contract).

*Subject Matter in Italian Renaissance Art: A Study of Early Sources*, Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies [series: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies], 2015.

*George Washington's Eye: Landscape, Architecture, and Design at Mount Vernon*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

*Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance*, London and New York: Parkstone Press International, 2006. [Published also in French (*Andrea Mantegna et la Renaissance italienne*) German (*Andrea Mantegna: Kunst und Kultur im Italien der Renaissance*), and several other languages].

*Moral Essays on the High Renaissance: Art in Italy in the Age of Michelangelo*, Lanham, MD and Oxford: University

Press of America, 2001

*Cosmè Tura: The Life and Art of a Court Painter in Estense Ferrara*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press [Clarendon Press], 2000.

*The Art of Ercole de' Roberti*, New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Co-Authored Books:

*30 Millennia of Sculpture*, Joseph Manca, Patrick Bade, and Sarah Costello. New York: Parkstone International, 2011 [earlier published as *1000 Sculpture of Genius* (London: Sirrocco; New York: Barnes and Noble, 2007), and translated into several other languages].

*1000 Paintings of Genius*, Victoria Charles, Joseph Manca, Megan McShane, and Douglas Wigal. London: Sirrocco; New York: Barnes and Noble, 2006 [and translated into several other languages].

*Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth Century* [The Collections of the National Gallery of Art; Systematic Catalogue], Miklòs Boskovits and David Alan Brown with Robert Echols, Gretchen Hirschauer, Eleonora Luciano, Rosamond Mack, Joseph Manca, and Russell Sale (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; distributed by the Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 2003); my contributions include biographies and catalogue entries for works by Francesco del Cossa, Agnolo degli Erri, Baldassare d'Este, Francesco Francia, Ercole de' Roberti, Cosmè Tura, and two anonymous, North Italian painters (pp. 46-50, 214-229, 261-266, 283-286, 544-550, 600-611, and 655-665).

Book Edited:

Editor, and author of the introduction of *Titian 500*, Washington, D.C. and Hanover, NH, The National Gallery of Art, and The University Press of New England, 1993 [vol. 45 of *Studies in the History of Art* ]; after 1996, distributed by

Yale University Press. (Volume devoted to scholarly papers presented at the Titian symposium at the National Gallery of Art, 1990; see also below under “Articles Published”).

Single-author Books  
in Progress:

*Willem Claesz. Heda: Still-Life Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*

*Gentility: Upper-Class Culture in Europe and America, 1450-1950*

Co-Authored Book in  
Progress:

*The Art of John F. Francis: Portraiture and Still Life in Nineteenth-Century America*, Christine Waller Manca and Joseph Manca

Articles

Articles Published:

“The Unseeing Scholar in Leonardo da Vinci’s *Adoration of the Magi*,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 35, nos. 1-2 (Fall/Winter 2016), pp. 126-134.

“A Colonial-Era Masterwork by Peter Harrison in Newport: The Touro Synagogue,” *Small State, Big History: The Online Review of Rhode Island History* (smallstatebighistory.com), May 2016.

“Anti-Semitism and Vice in Spinello Aretino’s *Flagellation of Christ*,” *Notes on Early Modern Art*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2016), pp. 11-18.

“The Touro Synagogue: Peter Harrison, George Washington, and Religious Freedom in America,” *Journal of the American Revolution* (allthingsliberty.com), January 2016

“C. Peale Painted This in London in 1768’: Beauty, Sources, and Likeness in the *Boy with a Toy Horse*,” *American Art* [Smithsonian American Art Museum],” under “New Perspectives,” vol. 29, no. 3 (Fall 2015), pp. 90-103.

“British Landscape Gardening, Italian Renaissance Painting, and the Grand Tour,” *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 36, no. 71 (2015), pp. 297-322.

“The Shakers and the American Revolution,” *Journal of the American Revolution* (allthingsliberty.com), 12 August 2015.

“The Quiet Revolution in Italian Painting that Vasari Overlooked,” *Notes on Early Modern Art*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2015), pp. 1-8.

“George Washington’s Use of Humor during the Revolutionary War,” *Journal of the American Revolution* (allthingsliberty.com), 4 February 2015.

“Non-Believers, Sinners, and Converts in the Margins of Ercole de’ Roberti’s *Miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer*,” *Notes on Early Modern Art*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2015), pp. 1-10.

“George Washington’s Mount Vernon: A Landscape for the New Cincinnatus,” *Journal of the American Revolution* (allthingsliberty.com), 2 July 2014 [and published in the *Journal of the American Revolution: Annual Volume 2015*, ed. Todd Andrlik (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2015, pp. 396-403)].

“Vasari, Donatello, and Modernism,” *Notes on Early Modern Art*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2014), pp. 11-20.

“Dogs of Infamy in Lorenzo de’ Medici’s Birth Tray,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 32, no. 4 (Summer 2013), pp. 1-6.

“A Theology of Architecture: Edward Savage’s Portrait of George Washington and his Family,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 31, no. 1 (Fall 2011), pp. 29-36.

“Giorgio Vasari and Ascanio Condivi on the Iconography of Michelangelo’s Sistine Chapel Frescoes,” in *The Chapels of Italy, from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century: Art, Religion, Patronage, and Identity*, ed. Lilian Zirpolo (Woodcliff Lake, NJ: The WAPACC Organization, 2010), pp. 307-329.

“Wordplay, Gesture and Meaning in Leonardo da Vinci’s *Cecilia Gallerani*,” *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Inquiry*, vol. 24, no. 2 (April-June 2008), pp. 127-138.

“Porches of Galveston-Houston,” *Cite: The Architecture and Design Review of Houston*, 70 (Spring 2007), pp. 32-35.

“Erasing the Dutch: The Critical Reception of Hudson Valley Dutch Architecture, 1670-1840,” Ch. 2 in *Going Dutch: The Dutch Presence in America, 1609-2009*, eds. Benjamin Schmidt, Annette Stott, and Joyce Goodfriend (Amsterdam: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007), pp. 59-84.

“Moral and Moralizing Aspects of George Washington’s Death and Funeral,” in *Constructions of Death, Mourning, and Memory Conference, October 27-29, 2006: Proceedings*, eds. Lilian Zirpolo and Joanna Huggett-Gardner (Woodcliff Lake, NJ: The WAPACC Organization, 2006), pp. 133-136.

“Benvenuto Cellini and Two Memories of his Childhood,” in *Watching Art: Writings in Honor of James Beck (Studi di storia dell’arte in onore di James Beck)*, ed. Lynn Catterson and Mark Zucker (Todi: Ediart, 2006), pp. 159-166.

“On the Origins of the American Porch: Architectural Persistence in Hudson Valley Dutch Settlements,” *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture*, 40, nos. 2-3 (Summer-Autumn 2005), pp. 91-132.

"On Michael Baxandall's *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*," *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art*, 6 (2005), pp. 96-135.

"Cenni di Pepo as Cimabue: Personality, Appearance, or Activity?," *Source: Notes on the History of Art*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Spring 2005), pp. 1-5.

"A Matter of Style: The Question of Mannerism in Seventeenth-Century American Furniture" *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture*, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 1-36.

"Isabella's Mother: Some Aspects of the Art Patronage of Eleonora d'Aragona, Duchess of Ferrara," *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art*, 4 (2003), pp. 79-94.

"Cicero in America: Civic Duty and Private Happiness in Charles Willson Peale's Portrait of William Paca," *American Art* [Smithsonian American Art Museum], vol. 17, no. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 68-89.

"Morality, Criticism, and Art History," *Newsletter of the Association for Art History*, Issue 3 (Fall 2002), pp. 5-8.

"Moral Stance in Italian Renaissance Art: Image, Text, and Meaning," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 22, no. 44 (2001), pp. 51-76.

"Passion and Primitivism in Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Battle of Naked Men*," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 20, no. 3 (Spring 2001), pp. 28-36.

"Style, Clarity, and Artistic Production in a Courtly Center: Some Myths about Ferrarese Painting of the Quattrocento," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 23, no. 43 (2001), pp. 55-63.

"*Constantia et forteza*: Eleonora d'Aragon's Famous Matrons," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Winter 2000), pp. 13-20.

"Boiardo and Ferrarese Art: Comparisons and Convergences," in *Fortune and Romance: Boiardo in*

*America*, ed. Charles Ross and JoAnne Cavallo (Tempe, AZ: *Medieval and Renaissance Texts And Studies*, 1998), pp. 257-267.

"The Gothic Leonardo: Towards a Reassessment of the Renaissance," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 17, no. 34 (1996), pp. 121-158.

"Michelangelo as Painter: A Historiographic Perspective," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 16, no. 31 (1995), pp. 111-123.

"Martin Schongauer et l'Italie," *Le beau Martin: Etudes et Mises au Point*, ed. Albert Chatelet (Strasbourg, 1994), pp. 223-228.

"Sin, Sado-masochism, and Salvation in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 13, no. 3 (Spring 1994), pp. 20-26.

"Chi era Baldassarre d'Este?: Una riconsiderazione e una nuova attribuzione," *Bollettino d'arte*, vol. 78, no. 79 (1993), pp. 73-84.

"What is Ferrarese about Giovanni Bellini's *Feast of the Gods*?" in *Titian 500 [Studies in the History of Art, vol. 45]* (Washington, D.C. and Hanover, The National Gallery of Art, and The University Press of New England, 1993; since 1996 published by Yale University Press), pp. 301-314. (See also above under "Book Edited").

"Francesco del Cossa's Call for Justice," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Spring 1993), pp. 12-15.

"A Note on Cosmè Tura as Portraitist," *Antichità viva*, no. 3 (1991), pp. 17-20.

"Friedrich Vogelfrei's Ferrarese Notebook," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 12, no. 24 (1991), pp. 65-73.

"Mary versus the Open Door: Moral Antithesis in Images of the Annunciation," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 10, no. 3 (Spring 1991), pp. 1-8.



pp. 51-

“Blond Hair as a Mark of Nobility in Ferrarese Portraiture of the Quattrocento,” *Musei ferraresi*, 19 (1990-1991), 60.

“A Ferrarese Painter of the Quattro-Cento,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 132 (November 1990), pp. 157-172.

“Francesco del Cossa,” “Cosmè Tura,” and Ercole de’ Roberti,” in *International Dictionary of Art and Artists: Artists*, ed. James Vinson (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1990), pp. 191, 714, and 843-844.

“The Roverella Altarpiece,” “Hall of the Months, Palazzo Schifanoia,” and “Pala Portuense,” in *International Dictionary of Art and Artists: Art*, ed. James Vinson (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1990), pp. 145-149.

“Sacred vs. Profane: Images of Sexual Vice in Renaissance Art,” *Studies in Iconography*, 13 (1989-1990), pp. 145-190.

“The Presentation of a Renaissance Lord: Portraiture of Ercole I d’Este, Duke of Ferrara (1471-1505),” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 52, no. 4 (1989), pp. 522-538.

“Renaissance Theater and Hebraic Ritual in Ercole de’ Roberti’s *Gathering of Manna*,” *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 9, no. 17 (1988), pp. 137-148.

“Meaning in Ercole de’ Roberti’s *Pala portuense*,” *Studies in Iconography*, 11 (1987), pp. 15-34.

“Stylistic Intentions in Correggio’s *Assunta*,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 7, no. 1 (Fall 1987), pp. 14-20.

“Two Copies after a Lost *Massacre of the Innocents* by Ercole de’ Roberti,” *Master Drawings*, 25 (1987), pp. 137-149.

“A Remark by Pliny the Elder as a Source for Masolino’s Landscape Mural in Castiglione Olona,” *Arte cristiana*, 719 (1987), pp. 81-84.

“Ercole de’ Roberti’s Garganelli Chapel Frescoes: A Reconstruction and Analysis,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 2 (1986), pp. 147-165.

“An Altar-piece by Ercole de’ Roberti Reconstructed,” *Burlington Magazine*, 128 (1985), pp. 521-524.

“Ercole de’ Roberti and Baldassare d’Este: Two Portraits in Miniature,” *Antichità viva*, 23 (1984), pp. 15-20.

“Masolino architetto: un’interpretazione della Sagrestia Vecchia di Brunelleschi a Castiglione Olona,” *Bollettino d’arte*, 18 (1983), pp. 61-66.

“La natura morta di Masolino a Palazzo Branda di Castiglione Olona,” *Prospettiva*, 25 (1981), pp. 45-46.

Article in Progress:

“‘Generally Encumber’d with Piazzas’: Resistance to the Domestic Porch in Early America”

LECTURES and INTERVIEWS (selected)

Interviewed on 1540 WADK radio, Newport, Rhode Island, by Bruce Newbury, “Talk of the Town” program, on the architecture of Peter Harrison and the Touro Synagogue, 9 May 2016.

“Charles Willson Peale’s Development as an Artist,” Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 16 November 2015, for the Bayou Bend Docent Organization.

“High and Low in the Landscape at Mount Vernon,” delivered at the symposium *George Washington: Man and Myth*, sponsored by the George Washington Society, co-sponsored by the Museum of the American Revolution and the Delaware Historical Society, and supported by the Delaware Humanities Forum, 7 June 2014, Old Court House Museum, New Castle, Delaware.

“Book Talk: George Washington’s Eye,” Fred W. Smith National Library, Mount Vernon, Virginia, 6 February 2014; broadcast on C-Span, archived and available online at: [www.c-span.org/search/?searchtype=Videos&query=Manca](http://www.c-span.org/search/?searchtype=Videos&query=Manca)

Interviewed by Douglas Bradburn, Founding Director, Mount Vernon, 5 February 2014 (see [www.mountvernon.org/interviews/manca](http://www.mountvernon.org/interviews/manca)).

“George Washington’s Eye: Landscape, Architecture, and Art at Mount Vernon,” Archaeological Institute of America, Houston Chapter, 13 November 2008.

“Moral and Moralizing Aspects of George Washington’s Death and Funeral,” *Constructions of Death, Mourning, and Memory Conference*, under the auspices of *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art*, organized by Lilian Zirpolo and Joanna Huggett-Gardner, Woodland Lake, NJ, 28 Oct. 2006.

“Miss Ima Hogg of Texas: Linking North and South through Collecting Americana,” College Art Association, 19 February 2005, session on “Collecting in the South” (session chair: Prof. Linda Gigante).

“Erasing the Dutch: Opposition to Hudson Valley Dutch Architecture, 1740-1840,” for the Conference “Going Dutch: Dutch Contributions to American Culture, 1609-2009,” Dept. of History, University of Denver, 25-26 March 2005.

“Art in Context: Leonardo’s *Portrait of a Lady with an Ermine (Cecilia Gallerani)*,” Evenings for Educators Series, Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 11 January 2003.

“Vasari as Iconographer,” *Sixteenth Century Studies Conference*, session on “Vasari and Savonarola: Method, Theory, and Approach,” (session chair J. Manca), San Antonio, 25 October 2002.

“The Quiet Revolution in Italian Painting that Vasari Overlooked,” paper given at the symposium for the exhibition *The Kress Collection: Renaissance Masters at the Birmingham Museum of Art*, Birmingham, Alabama, 7 April 2001.

"A Question of Style: Renaissance and Mannerism in Early American Furniture," Deerfield, Massachusetts, Historic Deerfield Summer Lecture Series, 6 July 2000

"Some Myths about Ferrarese Painting of the Quattrocento," conference on "Renaissance Ferrara 1450-1500: Art and Culture in the Age of Ercole de' Roberti and Dosso Dossi," J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 18 June 1999.

"Isabella's Mother: The Art Patronage of Eleonora d'Aragona, Duchess of Ferrara," at the conference *Women Art Patrons and Collectors: Past and Present*, New York Public Library, 20 March 1999.

"Boiardo and the Visual Arts in Ferrara: Comparisons and Convergences," *American Boiardo Quincentennial Conference*, Columbia University, Dept. of Italian, Oct. 7-8, 1994.

"Isabella d'Este as Patron and Collector," Shartle Symposium, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Oct. 1992.

"Martin Schongauer et l'Italie," Schongauer Symposium, Colmar, France, 2 October 1991.

"What is Ferrarese about Giovanni Bellini's *Feast of the Gods*?" Symposium on Titian and Bellini, CASVA, National Gallery of Art, 26 October 1990.

"The Portraiture of Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, (1471-1505)," Portraits as Visual Language, 1400-1700 (Wendy Sheard, chairperson), *College Art Association Annual Meeting*, Houston, 16 February 1988.

"Blond Hair as a Mark of Nobility in Ferrarese Portraiture of the Fifteenth Century," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies Conference* at The State University of New York at Binghamton, 17 October 1987.

"The Sociological Origins of Ferrarese Art: Three Key Monuments," *Early Modern Culture Society*, University of

Texas at Austin, 11 March 1986.

“Artistic Style and Courtly Context: Art in Ferrara, 1450-1500,” *Conference on Medieval-Renaissance Studies*, New College, University of South Florida, Sarasota, Florida, 7 March 1986.

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

### Teaching Experience:

Rice University, Professor (2001- present); Associate Professor (1993-2001); Assistant Professor (1989-1993).

Course offerings have included:

- American Architecture and Decorative Arts before 1900
- American Art, I: 1620-1800
- Museum Internship Course
- Northern Renaissance Art
- Italian Renaissance Art and Architecture
- Leonardo and Michelangelo (seminar)
- Masters of the Baroque Era
- Early Renaissance Art in Italy
- High Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy
- Western Art History Survey, I and II
- Introduction to Humanities (HUMA 102)
- Art in Context: The Late Middle Ages and Renaissance (with Linda Neagley)
- Key Monuments and Artists of Western Art

Seton Hall University, Visiting Assistant Professor, Fall 1986

-Spring, 1988.

Offerings included:

- Survey of Western Art
- The Early Renaissance in Italy
- The High Renaissance
- Art and Architecture of Classical Greece and Rome
- Medieval Art and Architecture

University of Texas at Austin, Visiting Lecturer, Spring, 1986

Offerings included:

- Western Art Survey from the Renaissance to the Present

-Italian Renaissance Art, 1480-1600

Columbia University, 1984-1985, Department of Art History and Archaeology, Preceptor, 1984-1985.

The core-curriculum course -- Art Humanities -- an introduction to the history of art with emphasis on major monuments.

Museum Work:

Research Associate, National Gallery of Art, June 1988 to June 1989. The position involved doing research on the Gallery's Italian Renaissance pictures and writing catalogue entries for the new systematic catalogue (for paintings researched, see above under "Co-authored Books").

Positions:

-Visiting Scholar, Winterthur Library, May 2017.

-Board of Advisors for the art-history journal *Notes on Early Modern Art* (ed. Lilian Zirpolo).

-Board of Advisors, *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art* (until 2012).

-Review Panels for NEH Summer Seminars and Institutes for 2007 and 2010.

-Reviewer, fellowship applications to the American Council of Learned Societies, 2011, 2014, 2015, and 2016.

-Consultant for Carolyn C. Wilson's *Italian Paintings, 1300-1600, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston* (Houston: MFAH, 1996).

-Preservation Committee (head); Property Owners Association (vice-president and executive committee; and Old Braeswood Park Corporation (secretary; a 501(c)(3) organization), all for Old Braeswood, an historic neighborhood in Houston, Texas.

Referee and Reviews:

Review of Lydia Mattice Brandt, *First in the Homes of his*

*Countrymen: George Washington's Mount Vernon in the American Imagination* (Charlottesville, VA and London: University of Virginia Press), *Journal of the American Revolution* (forthcoming).

Review of *Architecture in the United States, 1800-1850*, by W. Barksdale Maynard (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), in *The Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 2 (2004): pp. 418-419.

Review of *Terrain of Freedom: American Art and the Civil War* (*Museum Studies* [The Art Institute of Chicago], vol. 27, no. 1, 2001) by Eric Foner et al., in *The Journal of Southern History* 69, no. 3 (2003): pp. 699-700.

Personal:

Born in North Tarrytown (now Sleepy Hollow), New York, 5 December 1956. Married to Christine Waller Manca, Senior Editor at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. Children: Camilla Elizabeth Manca, born 1995, and Marcus Joseph Manca, born 1997.