On the Formation of Canons:
The Dynamics of Narratives in Art History

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Abstract

The paper illustrates the formation over time of the late 20th century canons of two schools that dominated all other European schools in their time: Italian Renaissance and Flemish Realism. Since most artists were discussed, some 400 years ago, by Vasari in the second edition of his *Vite*, and by van Mander in his *Schilder-boeck*, narratives by art historians can be followed over a long period of time. To explore the dynamic process of canon formation, we collected data on the presence and the greatness of a large number of artists in narrative works written by important art scholars at time intervals of roughly 75 years, so that the 400 years elapsed between 1600 and 2000 are spanned as best as possible. At least half of the artists in the two canons were already there 400 years ago. There are several cases of wrong attributions or of new technical discoveries that prevented some names to be canonical any sooner. There are also artists who art historians learnt to appreciate or to understand better, and who entered at much later times. Finally, the number of names that entered or were moved up in the canon because their works acquired new properties in the light of works by artists that followed them is not very large. This appears to be in contradiction with the frequent suggestion that canons are continuously moving and that no artist can survive forever.

In her paper on canon formation, Silvers (1991, p. 212) suggests that "understanding how evaluative critical judgment evolves might be supposed to require detailed empirical study more properly pursued in disciplines other than philosophy because the nature of the process which forms canons is sociological, political or economic, rather than autonomously aesthetic."

In this paper, we try to contribute by illustrating the formation of the late 20th century canons of two groups of artists (Italians and Flemish) who, according to Panofsky (1971) dominated all other European schools during the Renaissance. Since most of them were discussed, some 400 years ago, by Vasari (1981, [1568][i]) in the second edition of his *Vite*, and by van Mander (1604) in his *Schilder-boeck*, narratives by art historians can be followed over a long period of time. To explore the dynamic process of canon formation, we collected data on the presence and the greatness of a large number of artists in narrative works written by important art scholars at time intervals of roughly 75 years, so that the 400 years elapsed between 1600 and 2000 are spanned as best as possible.

Though the choice of art scholars as "true judges" may be "embarrassing" (Hume, 1965, p. 17, [1757]) we shall consider them as our trustworthy (though fallible) indicators of the *best* artworks, or artists, whose identification emerges as a consequence of the passage of time and leads to canonical status.

How Do Artists (or Works) Attain Canonical Status?

Silvers (1991, pp. 212-213) describes several paths that may lead to canonical status. A work (or an artist) may qualify in one of the following three ways:
(a) Failing, despite systematic scrutiny, to reveal defects or disagreeableness sufficient to be disqualified, or (b) Revealing previously unnoticed meritorious or agreeable properties sufficient to qualify, or (c) Acquiring valuable properties sufficient to qualify it. She points out that (a) and (b) account for this process in terms of permanence or changes in the opinions of art scholars (traditionalism), while (c) accounts for events that took place *after* a work was produced and change its properties (revisionism).

According to *traditionalist* art theorists, all properties are present when the work is conceived and realized, though their importance may have been overlooked. Leonardo da Vinci's oeuvre is an example that satisfies criterion (a). According to Grove's *Dictionary* (1996, vol. 19, p. 196) "there has never been a period in which Leonardo's greatness has not been acknowledged." A similar argument can be invoked when attributions are revised. Duccio appeared in the canon after Berenson gave him the *Madonna di Ruccellai*, previously thought by Cimabue. The Master of

Flémalle has benefited from both a rediscovery and attributions of works thought by the young van der Weyden. In such cases, changes in canonical status are due to epistemic reasons.

Revisionists advocate that some properties or attributes may be added to existing works by newly created works, or that earlier works "acquire salience in relation to the proper understanding of [new works], which they naturally didn't have before" (Levinson, 1996, p. 268). Silvers (1991) illustrates what happened with Rubens' figures after Renoir and Picasso. Rubens himself considered his figures to be coarse, and this was accepted for centuries after he painted them. Today, writes Silvers "when art's history embraces treatments of the human figure such as those painted by Renoir and Picasso, Rubens' treatments are transfigured to become fluently refined and elegantly vital… the composition of Rubens' paintings remain[s] the same, but the works' aesthetic attributes change, develop, transmogrify or evolve" (p. 217). Junod (1995) similarly suggests that Vermeer was rediscovered in the mid-19th century due to the closeness of his work to pre-impressionist sensitivity. Whether such situations change the properties of the work itself is hotly debated among art philosophers. Levinson (1990, p. 194) for example argues against revisionism, and brings the revisionist argument to an extreme with another example: After Cubist painting came into existence, "the non-Cubist mode of depiction of, say, Holbein's *Ambassadors* suddenly appears as an artistically relevant attribute of this painting," though the painting was produced in 1533.

Both traditionalism and revisionism are present in the narratives of art historians who, by continuously provoking our attention, are among the most important contributors to the formation of canons. That traditionalism is present is obvious, since historians evoke what occurred *before and during* the creation of the artworks that they describe. Revisionism comes into narratives because art historians also take into account what happened *after* the creation of the works. Discussing Goya's influence on Bacon in an article devoted to Bacon qualifies Bacon. But Bozal's (1997) observation in his monograph on Goya that the "horribly open devouring mouth in *Saturn* is a prelude to the howling mouths of Bacon," may be an addition, even if only second-order, to the fame of Goya. However, one can argue whether this changes Goya's *Saturn* itself, or whether it merely changes our vision of the work.[ii] Therefore, as we shall see, it is often difficult to decide whether a work qualifies by criterion (b) or (c).

The above analysis of canon formation implies that artworks are endowed with properties, a view that is not shared by all art theorists. Bourdieu (1983, 1996; see also Hutter & Shusterman, 2006, p. 193) argues that evaluation, and thus value, is arbitrary, even if it stands the test of time, because it is based on motivations imposed

by the social and political structures of the cultural hierarchy. It is objective but *only* as a social fact: the artistic field is contained within the field of power, which is itself situated within the field of class relations (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 319). Accordingly, there are no criteria that allow determining the intrinsic quality of a work, but only professional judges who "possess the socially accepted authority to ascribe specific properties to a work ... and how it should be ranked" (Van Rees, 1983, p. 398; and see Rajagopalan, 1997; Van Peer, 1996).

Method

To describe the process of canonization, we follow over time the presence of artists (measured by the length of the entry or the number of citations devoted to each of them; length of entries and citations are always transformed into ranks) in a certain number of art histories, encyclopedias and art dictionaries. Such an approach had already been suggested by Teyssèdre (1964, p. 187), the expert of the French art critic de Piles (1635-1709), who writes that "even if ratings are difficult to assess, one could just look at whether artists are quoted or not." Milo (1986) uses the length of entries in encyclopedias and dictionaries over time, to study whether 17th century French painters who are praised today were already so between 1650 and 1750. See also Verdaasdonk (1983, 2003), Simonton (1998) or Ginsburgh and Weyers (2006) who perform similar analyses for literary works, operas or Italian Renaissance painters.

Using such a method, without any appeal to the details of the narratives of art historians may seem unusual, and it happens that the length of an entry devoted to an artist may be due to criticizing him instead of praising him. One such example is that of Félibien's lukewarm comments on both Veronese and Tintoretto, since they were both colorists, while he considered *disegno* to be superior. Félibien nevertheless devotes more space to Veronese than to Andrea del Sarto and Leonardo (two Florentine artists) , and Tintoretto gets almost as much space as Leonardo. The opposite can also happen: Vasari had a very favorable opinion of Corregio, but does not rank him very high in terms of the length of his *vita*.

However, we take comfort in the fact that writing takes time and effort, and it is likely that "professionals will not devote labor and attention, generation after generation, to sustaining [artworks] whose life-functions have terminated" (Coetzee, 2002, p. 18). The alternative is using hermeneutics. These make it difficult, and often subjective, to decide who is part of the canon. Consider for example the following description given in Giorgione's entry by Grove (1996, vol. 12, p. 677): Giorgione received "the highest praise from Vasari, who, although disapproving of his method of painting without drawing, regarded innovative softness and suggestiveness of his

handling admirably natural…and placed his Life close to the beginning of Part III of the *Vite*, between those of the other great pioneers of *maniera moderna*, Leonardo and Corregio." Still, the entry devoted to Leonardo is 2.6 times longer than the one devoted to Giorgione, and Corregio's is much shorter than Giorgione's. The more quantitative approach that we take produces clear-cut answers that also have the advantage of allowing comparisons over time. The ranking that we base on entries or citations (2 for an artist ranked among the top 50; 1 for an artist who is described without being among the top 50; 0 for the one who is only mentioned or even ignored) is a way of representing what Westphal (1993, p. 436) describes as the degree of canonicity:

> "Status as a classic is not an either/or matter, but a matter of degree. At any given time, the canon is represented by a series of concentric circles. At the center are texts with the highest degree of canonicity, while at the periphery are those whose classical status is most tenuous. This means that historical changes in the canon are not simply matter of inclusion and exclusion, but also matters of location between the center and the periphery."

The Italian Renaissance and Flemish Realism Canons at the End of the 20th Century

For the sake of illustration, and without going into the aesthetic versus socio-political debate of defining the canon, we assume that the late Twentieth Century canons are defined by the names that appear in Grove's (1996) entries for the Italian Renaissance (vol. 16, pp. 654-668) and for Flemish painting (vol. 3, pp. 551-562). This generates two lists of 125 and 129 names, respectively. In both lists reproduced in Tables 1 and 2, artists are ranked according to the length of their individual entries in Grove's *Dictionary*. Here are some examples that illustrate how the tables should be read. For Italian art, Michelangelo is the artist whose entry is the longest (Grove Rank 1), Leonardo and Giotto come next and Paolo di Giovanni is ranked 125th. Rubens is first in the Flemish canon, followed by Breughel and Van Dyck, while Clara Peeters has rank 129. Further details are given in Appendix 1.

Each list provides dates of birth and death, or the period during which the artist flourished. This is especially useful in the case of Flemish painters who were born too late to be known by van Mander. For Italians, we also give some information on the city or region in which they were active (Central Italy, Florence, Northern Italy, Siena and Venice) since their different styles are known to have influenced Vasari's writings, who preferred Florentine to North Italian and Venetian painting.

This approach is different from Cutting's (2006a, b) for the following reasons: (a) Cutting's purpose is to construct a canon (for Impressionist painters), while we

take it as given by Grove; and (b) he looks at different sources (number of images, presence in museums and collections, writings of scholars, etc.) to determine *who* and *what* was influential in defining the canon; we only look at narratives by selected scholars and, given the 400 years that is embraced in our paper, we are rather concerned with the dynamics (*when*) and the *why*s of its formation.

[Inset Tables 1 and 2 about here]

On Narratives

Scholarship guided our list of art historians whom we consider as our "true judges." They were also chosen for their overall coverage of Italian or Flemish painting (which led us to discard historians who deal with local or regional issues, as well as monographic works).

For Italy, the 20th century canon is formed by painters whose names appear in the entry on Italian painting in Grove (1996, vol. 16, pp. 654-668). For each of them we collected the entries (or number of citations) in Vasari's *Vite* (1981, [1568]), Félibien's *Entretiens* (1967, [1725]), Lanzi's art history of the Quattrocento (1824, [1789]), Burckhardt's *Cicerone* (1855), Berenson (1926, [1894, 1896, 1897, 1907]), Chastel (1995, [1956]), and Grove's *Dictionary* itself.

Vasari's *Vite* appear an undisputable choice, though, as has often been pointed out, the work is biased towards Florentine artists, and gives less credit to Venetians, like Giovanni Bellini or Veronese. Félibien (1967, p. 40), who writes one hundred years after Vasari, is considered the father of art history and art criticism in France. He mentions that "as far as modern painters are concerned, I merely follow what Vasari, Borghini, Ridolfi, the cavaliere Baglione and a few others have amply described, and with whom I agree," though he discusses at great length Venetians. Under the influence of Winckelmann, Lanzi makes art history into a discipline that does more than describing the lives of artists. His work encompasses Italy as a whole. He classifies artists according to schools, including a large number of local schools, and tries to convey an impartial view of history, putting aside his personal neo-classical tastes. According to Bazin (1986, p. 91), Lanzi's work contains 3,000 names of artists. Lanzi is proud to claim that he makes no selection but also discusses mediocre artists, who, given their relations with the "great," do also participate. Burckhardt is almost unanimously considered to be one of the greatest historians of the Italian Renaissance, and is representative of *Kulturgeschichte,* a movement, which suggests that art produced in an era, cannot be separated from the society by and in which it is produced. He was also deeply influenced by Vasari. In *Kultur der*

Renaissance in Italien, Burckhardt mentions having copied over 700 excerpts from Vasari's *Vite*, and inserted them at the right places in his own book (Gombrich, 1969). By choosing Berenson to represent the views of the early 20th century, we privilege connoisseurship. Berenson's choices were, nevertheless, very influential on the whole century. To represent the mid-20th century, we selected Chastel's celebrated work on the Italian Renaissance. Chastel is considered the most influential art historian in France after World War II. We end with Grove's encyclopedic *Dictionary* narratives.

We followed a similar procedure for Flemish painting, picking all the painters mentioned in the entry on Flemish painting in Grove (1996, vol. 3, pp. 551-562). For each artist, we retrieved the length of the entry in van Mander (1604), Sandrart (1675), Descamps (1753, 1760-1764), Fiorillo (1815), Immerzeel (1842, 1855), Wurzbach (1906-1911), van Puyvelde (1953, 1962; van Puyvelde & van Puyvelde, 1970) and Grove's *Dictionary*. Max Friedländer (1924-1937) could have been an obvious choice as representing the early 20th century, but his writings are essentially concerned with old Netherlandish painters and do not cover the second half of the 16th century.

Though van Mander is considered as important as Vasari, he wrote his *Schilder-boeck* at a time where great Flemish painters such as Rubens (born in 1577), Jordaens (1593) or Van Dyck (1599) were very young and could hardly have been known by him. Therefore, not surprisingly, van Mander missed many great names of the Golden Age of Flemish painting who belong to the Flemish canon. The painter Sandrart who represents the late 17th century is famed for his biographical writings, inspired by Vasari and van Mander. Descamps, a French painter and dealer, was also the very successful writer of *La vie des peintres flamands*, though, according to Grove (1996, vol. 8, p. 788), his work contains many inaccuracies. Fiorillo, a painter and professor of art history in Göttingen, was influenced by Lanzi, who emphasizes the "compilation of information at the expense of interpretive synthesis" (Grove, vol. 11, p. 118). Immerzeel, a Dutch art and books dealer wrote his *Levens* on the basis of existing biographies, but also used unpublished manuscripts and documents. Wurzbach, an Austrian art historian, produced his *Niederländishes Künstler Lexikon*, considered a standard dictionary of Flemish (and Dutch) artists. Van Puyvelde was chief curator of the Royal Museums of Fine Art of Belgium in Brussels from 1927 to 1948. His three volumes on Flemish painting represent the views of the mid-20th century, though Bazin (1986, p. 502) considers his judgments too personal, and always taking a view opposite to generally accepted ideas. Grove's *Dictionary* closes the list of our narrators.

In both cases, three art historians or art histories represent the Twentieth Century, while the two or three hundred years between Vasari (or van Mander) and

Berenson (or Wurzbach) are spanned by four names only. This is due to two main reasons. First, we are obviously more interested in how our era evaluates art created during the Renaissance. Secondly, if, as suggested by Junod (2002), the past can be rediscovered through contemporary works, it may be useful to examine who and what has been rediscovered in the wake of the largest possible set of narratives, and have a finer grid for more recent years. Table 3 gives a summary view of the database that was set up.

[Inset Table 3 about here]

The Dynamics of Canonization

We now concentrate on artists who are ranked 1 to 50 in Grove's *Dictionary* and try to understand how the two late 20th century canons were formed. For each artist, we compute the rank (based on length of the entry, or number of citations) given by previous art historians (Vasari to Chastel for Italians, and van Mander to van Puyvelde for Flemish painters). Each artists is assigned code "2" if he is ranked among the top 50 by a given art historian. If he is discussed at sufficient length, but is not part of the top 50, his code is "1." If he is ignored or only very briefly mentioned (for example in passing in the life or entry devoted to another painter), his code is "0." Consider for example (Jacopo) Bassano in Table 4. Lanzi and Berenson rank him among the top 50, he therefore is assigned a "2." Félibien, Burckhardt and Chastel, discuss him, but none of them ranks him among the top 50 (code "1"). He has no *vita* or notice in Vasari's *Vite*, and is thus assigned code "0." Michelangelo is always among the top 50 (code "2"). Tables 4 (Italians) and 5 (Flemish) are also constructed in such a way that they make the dynamics more transparent. For Italians, we rank first those among the top 50 by Vasari, though some may disappear and reappear again later (Fra Angelico or Verrochio, for example). Then we move to those who were not ranked as such by Vasari, but introduced later by Félibien (starting with Tintoretto), and we keep going that way for Lanzi, Burckhardt, Berenson and Chastel. The first column in the table (Grove Ranks) gives the order in which Grove ranks artists. Michelangelo, for example is first, Mantegna is seventh, etc. Table 5, devoted to Flemish painters, is constructed in the same way. Drawing mainly from Grove's (1996) "critical reception" or "posthumous reputations" remarks, we now turn to the analysis of the two canons using Silvers' criteria.

[Inset Tables 4 and 5 about here]

The choice of 50 as the number of painters in Westphal's first circle of the canon may look arbitrary and large when compared to the seven names that Cutting

considers as the first circle of the Impressionist canon. This choice is discussed in Appendix 2.

Italian Painters

To begin with, it is worth pointing out that Vasari devotes a *vita* to 45 out of the 50 canonic painters; two Venetian artists (Tintoretto and Giorgione) have notes that are however longer than many *vite*, the names of two others (Bassano and Tura) are at least mentioned in other lives or notes. Only one of them (Paolo Veneziano) is not referred to at all. We follow the stages set up in Table 4, in which artists enter the canon with Vasari (1981, [1586]), Félibien (1967, [1725]), Lanzi (1824, [1789]), Burckhardt (1855), Berenson (1926, [1894, 1896, 1897, 1907]), Chastel (1995, [1956]), and Grove (1996), at various moments in time.

Vasari. Eight artists from the Italian Renaissance (Michelangelo, Leonardo, Giotto, Raphael, Titian, Mantegna, Perugino and Andrea del Sarto) are always among the top group of 50. These are canonized in terms of Silvers' (a) criterion. A second group of 17 artists (Botticelli, Bramante, Giulio Romano, Masaccio, etc.) are among the 50 first artists in Vasari's *Vite*, but disappear from the top group at some point after Vasari and reappear later. However, with the exception of Carpaccio and Bartolommeo della Porta (ignored by Félibien), Parmigianino (ignored by Burckhardt) and Salviati (ignored by Berenson), they are always present even if not among the top 50.

These dynamics of being present, leaving and reappearing in the top group are not surprising, and are evoked by many art historians. With the exception of some (Leonardo, Giotto), most artists had darker periods. The case of Botticelli has often been underlined, but is far from being unique. Even Michelangelo was subject to negative criticism. Ludovico Dolce (1508-1568) "unfavourably compared his narrow expertise in depicting the male nude with the greater variety displayed by Raphael and Titian" (Grove, 1996, vol. 21, p. 459); some 150 years later, the critic Milizia thought that he did not understand anatomy (Junod, 1995). Even Raphael was mistreated at some point, as the "normative status that Poussin and Ingres and their followers gave to his art has certainly done much to diminish his popularity" (Grove, vol. 25, p. 910). Here are some other examples. Masaccio who had "laid the groundwork for what Raphael perfected" was in Raphael's shadow from which Berenson finally removed him (Grove, vol. 20, p. 537). There has been "a quickening of interest in [Uccello's] work in the 20th century, mainly because of its appeal to modern sensibilities" (Grove, vol. 31, p. 517). Carpaccio "stood in the shadow of the Bellini brothers, and it was not until John Ruskin's passionate appraisal of his work in the 1860s that [he]

emerged as a fully autonomous artistic personality" (Grove, vol. 5, p. 822). Bronzino's reputation declined with the reaction against *maniera*. *"Only since World War II has he been recognized as the most sophisticated and technically accomplished Italian painter to embody the ideals of *maniera*"* (Grove, vol. 4, p. 859). Parmigianino's "reputation declined as his works became of less interest to practicing artists. There has been a new appreciation of his work in the 20th century" (Grove, vol. 24, p. 202). Cimabue temporarily lost some of his reputation after the *Madonna di Rucellai* which had been attributed to him by Vasari, was reattributed to Duccio by Berenson. All of those who were singled out by Vasari can therefore also be considered to have qualified in terms of criterion (a), failing despite scrutiny, to reveal defects sufficient to be disqualified. This makes for 25 out of 50 artists who are present in first circle of the late 20th century canon since 1568.

Félibien. The next group of nine artists entered at the time of Félibien. Recall that Vasari found North Italian and Venetian artists less perfect than Florentine painters. This is why Tintoretto, Veronese, Giorgione, Bellini, and Corregio were only introduced by Félibien, though Vasari devoted to each of them sometimes long and favorable (in the case of Tintoretto, Giorgione and Corregio) *vite* or notes. Five among these nine artists (Tintoretto, Veronese, Giorgione, Piero della Francesca, and Corregio) never disappeared from the top group. The four others (Giovanni Bellini, Simone Martini, Antonello da Messina and Castagno) left the canon at some moments (Castagno, in particular, was considered vulgar by Cavalcaselle and Berenson), but were never omitted from the various narratives. One may consider that all nine entered the canon following Silvers' criterion (b): previously unnoticed meritorious or agreeable properties sufficient to qualify them were discovered, or at least better underlined.

Lanzi. Lorenzo Lotto and Jacopo Bassano -- both from Venice, the second is simply cited by Vasari, but discussed by van Mander and praised by Ridolfi, who "placed him among the great Venitians" (Grove, 1996, vol. 3, p. 351) -- were introduced by Lanzi, but disappear again with Burckhardt. Both found the acclaim they deserved thanks to Berenson and Venturi (1967, [1901]), but none of them is a new discovery since Vasari and Félibien knew them. Silver's criterion (b) seems to apply again.

Burckhardt. Similar arguments can be invoked for the three artists (Francesco di Giorgio, Luca Signorelli and Pollaiolo) introduced by Burckhardt.

Berenson. Berenson introduces six additional artists at the dawn of the 20th century. Duccio appears obviously because of the famous *Madonna di Rucellai* that was attributed to him by Berenson. Domenico Veneziano has a *vita* (coupled with that of Castagno), but did not make it to the canon before Berenson. The Ferrarese artist

Tura, who was forgotten 50 years after his death in 1495, is one of the rare artists who has neither a *vita* nor a note in the *Vite*, appears quite late with Lanzi, thanks to the Ferrarese art historian Baruffaldi (1675-1755) who restored his reputation, and considered him as the founder and greatest representative of the Ferrarese school. He became part of the canon with Berenson, after art historians Campari (1821-1887) and Venturi (1856-1941) rediscovered his lost works through archives (Grove, 1996, vol. 31, p. 433). Together with him, appears Ercole di Roberti, also from Ferrara and Pisanello who used to work in Ferrara, Verona, Mantua, and Milan. Gentile's case is somewhat different. He was "perceived as the consummate master of the late Gothic style [as] Masaccio alone was credited with the introduction of space and of light and shade into Renaissance painting" (Grove, vol. 12, p. 302). His role as a "progressive artist" was recognized only in the early 20th century. With the exception of Tura, all others are present in narratives since Vasari's time. Here we may be getting to the borderline between Silvers' criterion (b) of accessing the canon because of previously unnoticed meritorious properties, and criterion (c) of acquiring valuable properties sufficient to qualify.

Chastel. Though they were present in almost all narratives since Vasari, Masolino, Lorenzo Monaco and Pietro Cavallini are canonized by Chastel, because new works by them were discovered or reattributed to them. This obviously qualifies them according to Silvers' criterion (b) of unnoticed, but existing, properties. Masolino's work had often not been distinguished from that of Masaccio, and it was only in the mid-19th century that his independent fresco cycle in Castiglione Olona was recovered, while one hundred years later the frescoes and *sinopie* of another cycle were discovered in Empoli (Grove, 1996, vol. 20, p. 553). Likewise, in the mid-19th century, Crowe and Cavalcaselle reattributed to Lorenzo paintings that were thought by Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi and other 14th century painters (Grove, vol. 19, p. 683). Cavallini, finally, was thought a pupil of Giotto, and this view prevailed until the early 20th century. It was reassessed after the discovery of the *Last Judgment* in Santa Cecilia in 1900, followed by more works attributed to him later (Grove, vol. 6, p. 107).

Grove. The two last cases are Jacopo Bellini and Paolo Veneziano. Bellini's Venetian works were lost very early, and neither Vasari nor his team could have seen them. An important addition to Bellini's work "came with the reappearance of the volume on parchment that was bought by the Louvre in 1884, which was followed by a wide range of critical writings. His high standing as an artist and his fundamental historical role were continually debated until the late 20th century when he received the recognition that is his due" (Grove, 1996, vol. 3, p. 654). Paolo Veneziano's very late appearance with Chastel (though Chastel does not rank him among the top 50) is

due to the very recent realization that he was instrumental in merging Gothic and Byzantine art by quoting from both: "Understanding Paolo's art and that of Venice as a whole in this period has been hampered by a false dichotomy between Gothic and Byzantine influences and by the failure to appreciate the progressive role of Byzantine painting...[Paolo's] influence on later Venetian painters of the 14th century seems to have been fundamental and almost universal" (Grove, vol. 33, p. 33). Bellini is again clearly a Silvers' (b) case. Paolo's entry in the canon is more difficult to qualify, and could fall under Silvers' (c) criterion.

It is remarkable that Vasari gave birth to half of the late 20th century first circle's canon, with artists satisfying Silvers' criterion (a). Narratives made them being, almost always, part of the canon. Félibien, who was keen to take on board North Italian artists, added nine names. Lanzi and Burckhardt added five; Berenson made room for six, of which Tura may have entered because of newly discovered properties, Silvers criterion (c). Chastel added another three to the list. For reasons described in some detail before, Silvers' criterion (b) is likely to apply to all of them, as well as to Jacopo Bellini. Paolo Veneziano should probably benefit from having entered the canon, thanks to Silvers criterion (c).

There are thus two accessions to the canon for which criterion (c) could in principle have played a role: Tura and Paolo Veneziano, though it is hard to decide whether the reason is more ontological than epistemological. One may also appeal to criterion (c) for Uccello and Piero della Francesca who were praised for their "Cubist" manner. The French painter and art critic André Lhote (1930, cited by Del Buono, 2006, p. 169) thinks of Piero as the first cubist artist, and Clark (1983) "compares Uccello's achievement to that of George Seurat and likened his methods to those of the Cubists" (Grove, 1996, vol. 31, p. 517).

Flemish Painters

A similar picture emerges for the Flemish canon in Table 5, for which we follow the same presentation as the one for the Italian Renaissance, starting with van Mander (1604) and Sandrart (1675), following up with Descamps (1753, 1760-1764), Fiorillo (1815), Immerzeel (1842, 1855), Wurzbach (1906-1911), van Puyvelde (1953, 1962; van Puyvelde & van Puyvelde, 1970) and ending with the Grove *Dictionary* (1996).

van Mander and Sandrart. Six names (Pieter Breughel, Jan Van Eyck, Gossart, Metsys, Mor van Dashorst and Floris) appear with van Mander, and are there to stay. Van der Weyden should also be part of this group had he not been attributed many unworthy pictures during the 18th and 19th centuries (Grove, 1996, vol. 33, p.

127). Similar comments apply to Joos van Cleve following the confusion between him and his son Cornelis. Four additional painters (Rubens, van Dyck, Jordaens and Brouwer) could hardly have been singled out by van Mander, since they were too young in his time, but they are added by Sandrart, and do not leave the first circle of the canon. So is Vos who was already known by van Mander. Abraham Janssen leaves the canon during the 19th and 20th centuries, with a comeback in Grove's *Dictionary*.

By the time of Sandrart, 26 names -- that is, like in the Italian case, half of the contemporary canon's first circle -- were already there in 1675. It may also be worth pointing out that out of the 23 artists of Lampson (1956, [1572]) canon, who wrote 30 years before van Mander, and 100 years before Sandrart, 13 are present in the Flemish contemporary canon. Some disappear from time to time over the centuries: Sandrart fails to mention Aertsen. Neither Sandrart nor van Puyvelde mention Vredeman de Vries; this may be due to the fact that he was mainly involved in trompe l'oeil wall paintings and architecture and fortifications engravings. Little is known about his paintings. But narratives kept going for all the others and they are part of today's canon, most of them qualifying according to Silvers' criterion (a).

Descamps, Fiorillo and Immerzeel. Sandrart already mentions five of the seven names (Memling, Snyders, Teniers the Younger, Thulden, Breughel Velvet, Crayer and Heem) that enter next with Descamps. Thulden's work was dismissed in the beginning of the 19th century, but is "beginning to be accorded [its] rightful place in the history of art." (Grove, 1996, vol. 30, p. 789).

Van Mander and Sandrart very briefly mention Hemessen, but "van Mander gave little information about him and failed to appreciate the avant-garde aspects of his work, characterizing him as an archaizing painter" (Grove, 1996, vol. 14, p. 381). He and Diepenbeek are rediscovered by Fiorillo in the early years of the 19th century only. So are Quellinus and Frans Francken II who appear somewhat later with Immerzeel in the mid 19th century.

Wurzbach. A group of so-called Flemish primitives enters only in the beginning of the 20th century, some because more art historic research discovered them, some because their work had previously been misattributed. Friedländer's important essays on early Netherlandish painters (1903, 1924-1937, 1956) are obviously no less important here than were those of Berenson.[iii] He introduces Petrus Christus, Gerard David, Dieric Bouts, Justus van Gent and The Master of Flemalle. Petrus Christus, for example, suffered from the lack of evidence concerning his artistic origins. David's fame diminished after his death for unknown reasons. Dieric Bouts' work was attributed to Memling until 1833, Justus van Gent's to Pedro Berruguete (see Ainsworth, 1992). Though most of them were also known by Vasari,

they were forgotten until the beginning of the 19th century, where they started to be collected by Melchior and Sulpiz Boisserée from Cologne, and later studied and published by James Weale, who played a significant role in the rediscovery of Flemish painters, organizing large exhibitions in Bruges in 1867 and 1902. This rehabilitation, explains Sulzberger (1961), "is the consequence of a more general interest in the Middle Ages which develops jointly in Germany, France, England and the Low Countries. The cause has enthusiast defenders, but also powerful detractors whose opposition is based on their prestige; the conflict is fuelled by a conflict of generations, since those who are in favor of the gothic are young people, anxious to oppose to well-established values" (p. 9).

Van Puyvelde. Finally, seven names enter the first circle during the 1950s only. The most important is the Master of Flémalle, so christened by von Tschudi in 1898 from three surviving parts of a lost panel. He was obviously "unhelped by a personality cult" (Grove, 1996, vol. 20, p. 672). Today, he is identified with Robert Campin, to whom Wurzbach devotes some space, and does also very briefly mention Flémalle. Pieter Brueghel II's works were merely "recognized as copies and imitations of his father's most famous compositions" (Grove, vol. 4, p. 910; Friedländer, 1956, p. 133), and his oeuvre was neglected in the 18th and 19th centuries. Finally, Isenbrandt's works were thought to be by David, and reattributed in 1902 only.

Grove. The three last introductions are due to the Grove *Dictionary*. Paul de Vos is mentioned by Descamps, Cornelis de Vos, much later, and Benson only in the beginning of the 20th century, probably in the wake of the exhibitions organized by Weale in Bruges in 1867 and 1902.

Except for those artists who have been the object of misattributions, it is hard to say whether their late rediscoveries (that is after the time of Sandrart) are due either to their merely technical rediscovery, for example by von Tschudi or Weale, or to revealing previously unnoticed properties, that is, Silvers' criterion (b) or to the acquisition of properties in the light of later artworks, that is, Silvers' criterion (c).

Conclusions

Half of the artists in the two contemporary canons that we study had already been introduced 400 years ago [Silvers' criterion (a)]. Wrong attributions (Duccio or the Master of Flemalle) or of new technical discoveries (Cavallini thought for long to be a pupil of Giotto, while he preceded him) prevented some names to be canonical any earlier. Some artists entered the canon at later times, given that art historians learnt to appreciate or to understand them better [Silvers' criterion (b)]. The group of

artists who entered or were moved to the first circle because their works acquired new properties in the light of later works [Silvers' criterion (c)] is small (Paolo Venezianoto, Uccello, Piero della Francesca, and to some extent, Tura). One may argue that changes of attributions and new discoveries (the Flemish primitives) are contextual and should be included in the latter group. Even this would not make their number very large.

Though criteria such as invention, originality, newness and progress, and their relative weights in evaluating artists change over time, it is surprising that half of the canons were there almost from the beginning. This appears to be in contradiction with the suggestions made by Junod (1976), Genette (1994) and many others that canons are continuously moving and that no artist can survive forever. One reason for this apparent discrepancy may be that we examine two "closed" canons, that is, canons that make no room for artists who appeared after 1600, and for rather small (even if artistically important) regions of Europe. A contemporary canon that would be devoted to "European great painters of all times" would probably include Manet, Duchamp, Picasso, and Pollock, and certainly exclude Botticelli, not to speak about Pietro Cavallini, Thulden, Mostaert and van Coninxloo. But Leonardo, Michelangelo, Van Eyck and Rubens would probably be there to stay forever. Our finite memory gives more importance to newness and forces out "those whose classical status is most tenuous" (Westphal, 1993).

The closed character of the canons that we examine, as well as appealing to well known historians may explain why we witness less discoveries or rediscoveries and shifts than those that Haskell (1976) describes. His celebrated work is mostly based on the behavior of art collectors and much less on the opinion of art historians, and changes of taste to which well-trained art historians such as those on whom we based our research should be less prone. Botticelli never left the canon. He became indeed peripheral during 200 years after Vasari's description, but regained centrality with Burckhardt in his 1855 *Cicerone*. And so did many other Italian and Flemish painters who are the subject of this paper.

Acknowledgments

artists to describe the Flemish canon.

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Table 1 The Italian Canon

Grove Rank	Name	Active in	Born	Died	Grove Rank	Name	Active in	Born	Died
1	Michel Angelo (Buonarroti)	F	1475	1564	64	Pontormo Carrucci Jacopo da	F	1441	1496
2	Leonardo da Vinci	F	1452	1519	65	Rosso Fiorentino Giovanni	F	1494	1540
3	Giotto di Bondone	F	1267	1337	66	Dossi Dosso	N	1490	1542
4	Raphael Sanzio	C	1483	1520	67	Gaddi Taddeo	F	1320	1366
5	Tiziano Vecellio	V	1485	1576	68	Bellini Gentile	V	1429	1507
6	Tintoretto (Robusti) Jacopo	V	1519	1594	69	Coppo di Marcovaldo	F	1260	1276
7	Mantegna Andrea	N	1460	1506	70	Crivelli Carlo	V	1430	1495
8	Bellini Giovanni	V	1431	1516	71	Vecchietta Lorenzo di Pietro	S	1410	1480
9	Veronese Paolo	V	1528	1588	72	Daddi Bernardino	F	1320	1348
10	Giorgione da Castelfranco	V	1477	1510	73	Foppa Vincenzo	N	1427	1515
11	Botticelli Sandro	F	1445	1510	74	Tito Santi di	F	1536	1602
12	Bramante Donato	N	1444	1514	75	Abate (Abatti) Niccolo dell	N	1509	1571
13	Giulio Romano	C	1499	1546	76	Francia Francesco	N	1450	1517
14	Masaccio Tommaso	F	1401	1428	77	Zuccaro Federigo	C	1540	1609
15	Angelico Fra Giovani	F	1395	1455	78	Melozzo da Forli	C	1438	1494
16	Piero della Francesca	C	1415	1492	79	Menabuoi Giusto de	N	1349	1390
17	Duccio du Buoninsegna	S	1278	1319	80	Moroni Giovanni Battista	N	1520	1574
18	Correggio (da) Allegri Antonio	N	1260	1276	81	Pordenone Giovanni Antonio	V	1483	1539
19	Francesco di Giorgio Martini	S	1439	1501	82	Vivarini Antonio	V	1440	1484
20	Verrocchio Andrea del	F	1435	1488	83	Baldovinetti Alesso	F	1425	1499
21	Perugino (Vanucci) Pietro	C	1450	1523	84	Pesellino Francesco di Stefano	F	1425	1457
22	Martini Simone	S	1284	1344	85	Gaddi Agnolo	F	1369	1396
23	Bellini Jacopo	V	1400	1470	86	Jacobello del Fiore	V	1400	1439
24	Ghirlandaio Domenico	F	1448	1494	87	Schiavone (Meldolla) Andrea	V	1433	1504
25	Lippi Filippino	F	1457	1504	88	Altichiero di Domenico da Zevio	N	1369	1393
26	Domenico Veneziano	F	1405	1461	89	Master of the St Francis Legend	C	fl 1290	
27	Salviati Francesco	F	1510	1563	90	Pitati Bonifazio dei	V	1487	1553
28	Sarto Andrea del	F	1486	1530	91	Vivarini Alvise	V	1442	1503
29	Lotto Lorenzo	V	1480	1556	92	Rosselli Cosimo	F	1439	1507
30	Masolino da Panicale	F	1383	1435	93	Taddeo di Bartolo	S	1362	1422
31	Lippi Filippo	F	1406	1469	94	Muziano Girolamo	C	1532	1592
32	Uccello Paolo	F	1397	1475	95	Colantonio Niccolo	C	1420	1460
33	Sebastiano del Piombo	V	1485	1547	96	Matteo di Giovani	S	1430	1495
34	Bartolommeo Fra della Porta	F	1472	1517	97	Maso di Banco	F	1335	1350
35	Antonello da Messina	C	1430	1479	98	Allori Alessandro	F	1535	1607
36	Tura Cosimo	N	1430	1495	99	Torriti Jacopo	C	1270	1300
37	Gentile da Fabriano	N	1385	1427	100	Domenico di Bartolo (Ghezzi)	S	1400	1445
38	Signorelli Luca	C	1450	1523	101	Daniele (Ricciarelli) da Volterra	C	1509	1566
39	Carpaccio Vittore	V	1460	1525	102	Sano di Pietro	S	1405	1481
40	Bassano Jacopo	V	1510	1592	103	Andrea da Firenze	F	1346	1379
41	Bronzino Agnolo	F	1503	1572	104	Landi (del Pogio) Neroccio	S	1447	1500
42	Lorenzo Monaco	F	1370	1425	105	Berlinghieri father and son	C	1228	1274
43	Roberti Ercole de	N	1455	1496	106	Apollonio di Giovanni	F	1416	1465
44	Parmigianino Francesco	N	1503	1540	107	Angu(i)ssola Sofonisba	N	1532	1625
45	Castagno Andrea del	F	1419	1457	108	Lorenzo Veneziano	V	1356	1379
46	Cimabue Cenni di Pepo	F	1240	1302	109	Giunta Pisano	C	1236	1254
47	Paolo Veneziano	V	1333	1362	110	Barna (Berna) da Sienna	S	1330	1350
48	Pisanello (Pisano) Antonio	N	1395	1455	111	Rusuti Filipo	C	1297	1317
49	Pollai(u)olo Antonio	F	1432	1498	112	Pulzone Scipione	C	1544	1598
50	Cavallini Pietro	C	1240	1330	113	Squarcione Francesco	N	1395	1468
51	Sassetta Stefano di Giovanni	S	1400	1450	114	Cione Nardo	F	1320	1365
52	Lorenzetti Ambrogio	S	1317	1347	115	Master of 1419	F	fl 1419-30	
53	Bordone Paris	V	1500	1571	116	Scheggia Giovanni	F	1406	1480
54	Moretto (da Brescia) Alessandro	N	1498	1554	117	Be(o)rgognone Ambrogio	N	1453	1523
55	Gozzoli Benozzo	F	1420	1497	118	Santi Giovanni	N	1435	1494
56	Lorenzetti Pietro	S	1306	1345	119	Pino Paolo	F	fl 1534-65	
57	Pollai(u)olo Piero	F	1441	1496	120	Zelotti Battista	N	1526	1578
58	Cione (Orcagna) Andrea di	F	1315	1368	121	Avanzi Jacopo	N	1363	1384
59	Guido(ne) da Siena	S	1262	1270	122	Cavalori Mirabello d'Antonio	F	1535	1572
60	Pinturicchio (di Betto) Bernardo	C	1452	1513	123	Macchietti Girolamo	F	1535	1592
61	Piero di Cosimo	F	1461	1521	124	Erri Agnolo + Bartolommeo	N	1442	1497
62	Cossa Francesco del	N	1435	1476	125	Giovanni Paolo di	S	1345	1441
63	Beccafumi Domenico	S	1484	1551					

Notes. C: Center; F: Florence; N: North; S: Sienna; V: Venice. See also text. fl = floruit.

Table 2 The Flemish Canon

Grove Rank	Name	Born	Died	Grove Rank	Name	Born	Died
1	Rubens Pieter	1577	1640	66	Provoost (of Mons) Jan	1465	1529
2	Breughel Pieter	1525-30	1569	67	Lombard Lambert	1505	1566
3	Dyck Anthony van	1599	1641	68	Balen Hendrik I	1575	1632
4	Weyden Rogier van der	1400	1464	69	Rombouts Theodoor	1597	1637
5	Eyck Jan Van	1381	?	70	Massys (Metsys) Cornelis	1511	1557
6	Bosch Hieronymus	1450	1516	71	Boeckhorst Jan	1604	1668
7	Goes Hugo van der	1440	1482	72	Rijckaert David III	1612	1661
8	Gossart (Mabuse) Jan	1478	1532	73	Loon Theodoor	1581	1667
9	M. of Flemalle	fl 1420-40		74	Cock Jan Wellens	1490	1527
10	Jordaens Jacob	1593	1678	75	Siberechts Jan	1627	1703
11	Memling Hans	1435	?	76	M. of Legend of St Lucy	?	?
12	Bouts Dieric I	1415	1475	77	Craesbeeck Joos	1606	1654-60
13	Metsys Quinten	1466	1530	78	Seghers Daniel	1590	1661
14	Orley (Von Brussel) Bernard	1488	1541	79	M. of Frankfurt	1460	1533
15	David Gerard	1460	1523	80	Bouts Albrecht	1452	1549
16	Vos Maarten De	1532	1603	81	M. of Legend of St Mary Magdalena	?	?
17	Justus van Gent (Wassenhove)	fl 1420-40		82	Schut Cornelis I	1597	1655
18	Janssen Abraham	1575	1632	83	Flémal Bertholet	1604	1675
19	Mor van Dashorst Antonis	1516	1576	84	Gassel Lucas	1495-00	1570
20	Snyders Frans	1579	1657	85	Key Willem Adriaens	1515	1568
21	Brouwer Adriaen	1605	1638	86	Backer Jacob	1555	1585
22	Cleve Joos Zotte	?	1540-1	87	Oost Jacob I	1603	1671
23	Patinir Joachim	1480	1524	88	Cleve Maarten	1527	1581
24	Teniers David the Younger	1610	1690	89	Reymerswaele Marinus	1490	1567
25	Thulden Theodoor	1606	1676	90	Dalem Cornelis van	1530	1573
26	Hemessen Jan Sanders	1519	1556	91	Grimmer Jacob	1526	1590
27	Vos Cornelis de	1584	1651	92	M. of Legend of St Barbara	fl1420-40	
28	Vredeman de Vries Hans	1527	1606	93	M. of Legend of St Catherine	fl1420-40	
29	Vellert (Velart) Dirk	1480	1547	94	Mostaert Gillis	1528	1598
30	Breughel Jan Velvet I	1568	1625	95	Pepyn Maarten	1575	1642
31	Floris Frans	1519	1570	96	Sellaer Vincent	1538	?
32	Quellinus Erasmus	1607	1678	97	Grimmer Abel	1570	1618-9
33	Franken Frans II	1581	1642	98	Valckenborch Maarten I	1534	1612
34	Breughel Pieter II	1564-5	1637-8	99	Beert Osias	1580	1624
35	Christus Petrus	1410	1475-6	100	Boudolf Jan (Jean de Bruges)	1368	1381
36	Vos Paul de	1591	1678	101	M. of the Joseph Sequence	fl 1420-40	
37	Isenbrandt Adriaen	?	1551	102	Bol Hans	1534	1593
38	Crayer Gaspar	1584	1669	103	Sallaert Anthonis	1580	1650
39	Veen Otto	1556	1629	104	Steenwijk Hendrik Van I	1550	1603
40	Massys (Metsys) Jan	1509	1575	105	Coene Jacques	fl 1420-40	
41	Benson Ambrosius	1500	1550	106	d'Arthois Jacques	1613	1686
42	Aertsen Peter	1507-8	1575	107	Es Fopsen Van	1596	1666
43	Fyt Jan	1611	1661	108	Francken Ambrosius 1	1544	1618
44	Diepenbeeck Abraham	1596	1675	109	Mandijn Jan	1500	1559
45	Eyck Hubert Van	1385-90	1426	110	Francken Frans I	1542	1616
46	Heem Jan Davidsz	1606	1683	111	Del Monte Deodaat	1582	1644
47	Valckenborch Lucas I	1535	1598	112	M. of 1499	1499	?
48	Coecke van Aelst Pieter	1502	1550	113	M. of the Morisson Triptych	1525	?
49	Mostaert Jan	1475	1555	114	Thielen Jan Philips	1618	1667
50	Coninxloo Gillis	1544	1604	115	M. of Legend of St Ursula	fl 1420-40	
51	Uden Lucas	1595	1672	116	Thys Pieter	1624	1677
52	Hoecke Jan	1611	1651	117	Huys (Hus) Pieter	1520	1584
53	Stockt Vrancken Van	1420	1495	118	M. of the Baroncelli Portraits	1489	?
54	Coter Colijn	1480	1520	119	Heuvel Antoon Van den	1600	1677
55	Beuckelaer Joachim	1534	1574	120	Veerendael Nicolaes	1640	1691
56	Weyden Goswijn Van der	1465	1538	121	Minderhout Hendrik	1632	1696
57	Momper Josse	1564	1635	122	Janssens Jan	1590	1650
58	Coques Gonzales	1618	1684	123	Liemacker Nicolaas	1601	1646
59	Coxcie Michiel	1499	1592	124	Eertveld Andries Van	1590	1652
60	Blondeel Lancelot	1488	1581	125	Utrecht Adriaen Van	1599	1652
61	Bles Herri met de	1480	1550	126	Luyckx Frans	1604	1668
62	Vermeyen Jan	1500	1559	127	Eyck Lambert Van	fl 1420-40	
63	Wildens Jan	1584	1653	128	Neeffs Pieter I	1578	1656
64	Peeters Bonaventura I	1614	1652	129	Peeters Clara	1589	1657
65	Pourbus Pieter	1523	1584				

fl = floruit
M. = Master

Table 3 Overview of the data				
Approximate period	Historian (author)	Life of historian	Publication date of book	Form of data used
Italian artists				
1550	Vasari	1511-1574	1550, 1568	Lenght of entry
1650	Félibien	1619-1695	1659-1689	Lenght of entry
1775	Lanzi	1732-1810	1789	Lenght of entry
1850	Burckhardt	1818-1897	1855	Citations
1900	Berenson	1865-1959	1894-1907	Citations
1950	Chastel	1912-1990	1956	Citations
2000	Grove		1996	Length of entry
Canon	*Grove*		*1996*	*Cited in Grove article*
Flemish artists				
1600	Van Mander	1548-1606	1604	Length of entry
1675	Sandrart	1606-1688	1675	Length of entry
1750	Descamps	1715-1791	1753	Length of entry
1800	Fiorillo	1748-1821	1815	Length of entry
1850	Immerzeel	1776-1841	1842, 1855	Length of entry
1900	Wurzbach	1845-1915	1911	Length of entry
1950	Van Puyvelde	1882-1965	1953-1970	Length of entry
2000	Grove		1996	Length of entry
Canon	*Grove*		*1996*	*Cited in Grove article*

Grove Rank	Name	Active	Born	Died	Vasari 1550, 1568	Félibien 1658-1689	Lanzi 1789	Burckhardt 1855	Berenson 1894-1907	Chastel 1956	Grove 1996
1	Michel Angelo (Buonarroti)	F	1475	1564	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2	Leonardo da Vinci	F	1452	1519	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	Giotto di Bondone	F	1267	1337	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
4	Raphael Sanzio	C	1483	1520	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
5	Tiziano Vecellio	V	1485	1576	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
7	Mantegna Andrea	N	1460	1506	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
11	Botticelli Sandro	F	1445	1510	2	1	1	2	2	2	2
12	Bramante Donato	N	1444	1514	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
13	Giulio Romano	C	1499	1546	2	2	2	2	1	2	2
14	Masaccio Tommaso	F	1401	1428	2	2	1	1	2	2	2
15	Angelico Fra Giovani	F	1395	1455	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
20	Verrocchio Andrea del	F	1435	1488	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
21	Perugino (Vanucci) Pietro	C	1450	1523	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
24	Ghirlandaio Domenico	F	1448	1494	2	1	1	2	1	2	2
25	Lippi Filippino	F	1457	1504	2	2	1	2	1	2	2
27	Salviati Francesco	F	1510	1563	2	2	2	1	0	1	2
28	Sarto Andrea del	F	1486	1530	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
31	Lippi Filippo	F	1406	1469	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
32	Uccello Paolo	F	1397	1475	2	1	1	1	2	2	2
33	Sebastiano del Piombo	V	1485	1547	2	2	1	2	1	2	2
34	Bartolommeo Fra della Porta	F	1472	1517	2	0	2	1	1	1	2
39	Carpaccio Vittore	V	1460	1525	2	0	1	1	2	1	2
41	Bronzino Agnolo	F	1503	1572	2	1	1	2	1	2	2
44	Parmigianino Francesco	N	1503	1540	2	2	1	0	1	2	2
46	Cimabue Cenni di Pepo	F	1485	1547	2	2	2	1	1	2	2
6	Tintoretto (Robusti) Jacopo	V	1519	1594	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
8	Bellini Giovanni	V	1431	1516	1	2	1	2	2	2	2
9	Veronese Paolo	V	1528	1588	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
10	Giorgione (Ziorzi)	V	1477	1510	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
16	Piero della Francesca	C	1415	1492	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
18	Correggio (da) Allegri Antonio	N	1489	1534	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
22	Martini Simone	S	1284	1344	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
35	Antonello da Messina	C	1430	1479	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
45	Castagno Andrea del	F	1419	1457	1	2	1	1	2	2	2
29	Lotto Lorenzo	V	1480	1556	1	1	2	1	2	2	2
40	Bassano Jacopo	V	1510	1592	0	1	2	1	2	1	2
19	Francesco di Giorgio	S	1439	1501	1	0	1	2	1	2	2
38	Signorelli Luca	C	1450	1523	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
49	Pollai(u)olo Antonio	F	1432	1498	1	0	1	2	2	2	2
17	Duccio di Buoninsegna	S	1278	1319	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
26	Domenico Veneziano	F	1405	1461	1	0	1	1	2	2	2
36	Tura Cosimo	N	1430	1495	0	0	1	1	2	2	2
37	Gentile da Fabriano	N	1385	1427	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
43	Roberti Ercole de	N	1455	1496	1	1	1	0	2	2	2
48	Pisanello (Pisano) Antonio	N	1395	1455	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
30	Masolino da Panicale	F	1383	1435	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
42	Lorenzo Monaco	F	1370	1425	1	1	0	1	1	2	2
50	Cavallini Pietro	C			1	1	1	1	0	2	2
23	Bellini Jacopo	V	1400	1470	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
47	Paolo Veneziano	V	1333	1362	0	0	0	0	0	1	2

Note. All artists to whom Vasari devotes a vita or a note, who are discussed by Félibien and Lanzi, cited by Burckhardt, Berenson, Chastel or in Grove's article on the Italian Renaissance are coded 2 (if among the top 50) or 1 (if present). Others are coded 0 (if absent).
C: Center; F: Florence; N: North; S: Sienna; V: Venice. See also text. fl = floruit.

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Grove Rank	Name	Born	Died	Mander 1604	Sandrart 1675	Descamps 1753	Fiorillo 1815	Immerzeel 1842-55	Wurzbach 1911	Puyvelde 1953-70	Grove 1996
	Table 5 Entry of Flemish artists into the canon, 1604-1996										
2	Breughel Pieter	?	1569	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
4	Weyden Rogier van der	1400	1464	**2**	**2**	1	**2**	1	2	2	**2**
5	Eyck Jan Van	1381	1441	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
6	Bosch Hieronymus	1450	1516	**2**	**2**	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
7	Goes Hugo van der	1440	1482	**2**	**2**	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
8	Gossart (Mabuse) Jan	1478	1532	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
13	Metsys Quinten	1466	1530	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
14	Orley (Von brussel) Bernard	1488	1541	**2**	**2**	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
19	Mor van Dashorst Antonis	1516	1576	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
22	Cleve Joos Zotte	?	1541	**2**	**2**	1	1	1	**2**	**2**	**2**
23	Patinir Joachim	1480	1524	**2**	1	1	1	1	**2**	**2**	**2**
28	Vredeman de Vries Hans	1527	1606	**2**	0	**2**	1	**2**	1	0	**2**
31	Floris Frans	1519	?	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
39	Veen Otto	1556	1629	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	1	**2**
42	Aertsen Pieter	1508	1575	**2**	0	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
45	Eyck Hubert Van	1385	1426	**2**	**2**	1	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
48	Coecke van Aelst Pieter	1502	1550	**2**	**2**	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
49	Mostaert Jan	1528	1598	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	1	**2**	**2**	**2**
50	Coninxloo Gillis	1544	1604	**2**	**2**	1	1	1	1	**2**	**2**
1	Rubens Pieter	1577	1640	0	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
3	Dyck Anthony van	1599	1641	0	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
10	Jordaens Jacob	1593	1678	0	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
16	Vos Marten	1532	1603	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
18	Janssen Abraham	1575	1632	0	**2**	**2**	**2**	1	1	1	**2**
21	Brouwer Adrian	1606	1638	0	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
47	Valckenborch Lucas	1535	1598	1	**2**	1	1	1	1	1	**2**
11	Memling Hans	1435	?	0	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
20	Snyders Frans	1579	1657	0	0	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
24	Teniers David the younger	1610	1690	0	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
25	Thulden Theodoor	1606	1676	0	0	**2**	1	1	1	1	**2**
30	Breughel Jan Velvet I	1568	1625	0	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
38	Crayer Gaspar	1584	1669	0	1	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
46	Heem Davidsz. Jan	1606	1683	0	1	**2**	1	**2**	**2**	1	**2**
26	Hemessen Jan Sanders	1519	1556	0	0	0	**2**	0	1	**2**	**2**
44	Diepenbeeck Abraham	1596	1675	0	1	1	**2**	1	**2**	1	**2**
32	Quellinus Erasmus	1607	1678	0	1	1	1	**2**	**2**	1	**2**
33	Francken Frans II	1581	1642	0	0	1	1	**2**	**2**	1	**2**
12	Bouts Dieric I	1415	1475	0	0	0	0	0	**2**	**2**	**2**
15	David Gerard	1460	1523	0	0	0	0	0	**2**	**2**	**2**
17	Justus van Gent (Wassenhove)	fl1420-40		0	0	0	1	1	**2**	**2**	**2**
29	Vellert (Velart) Dirk	1480	1547	0	0	0	0	0	**2**	1	**2**
35	Christus Petrus	1410	1476	0	0	0	1	0	**2**	**2**	**2**
43	Fyt Jan	1611	1661	0	0	1	1	1	**2**	1	**2**
9	Master of Flemalle	1375	1444	0	0	0	0	0	1	**2**	**2**
34	Breughel Pieter II	1565	1638	0	0	0	1	1	1	**2**	**2**
37	Isenbrandt Adrian	?	1551	0	0	0	0	1	1	**2**	**2**
40	Massys (Metsys) Jan	1509	1575	0	0	0	1	0	1	**2**	**2**
27	Vos Cornelis de	1592	1667	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	**2**
36	Vos Paul de	1591	1678	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	**2**
41	Benson Ambrosius	1500	1550	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	**2**

Note. All artists discussed by Van Mander, Sandrart, Descamps, Fiorillo, Immerzeel, Wurzbach, Van Puyvelde, and cited in Grove's article on Flemish painting are coded 2 (if among the top 50) or 1 (if present). Others are coded 0 (if absent).
fl = floruit.

Appendix 1 Defining the two canons

Italy

Our interest centered on the parts of entry on Italian Art in Grove's *Dictionary*, devoted to the following subsections of vol. 16, pp. 654-668: "Late medieval painting, c. 1100-c. 1400," "Early Renaissance painting, c. 1400-c. 1500," "High Renaissance and Mannerist painting, c. 1500-c. 1600." We collected all the names cited in these subsections. They appear in Table 1.

Baldassare Peruzzi, Cima da Conegliano, and Federico Barocci have entries in the *Dictionary* whose length would qualify them to appear among the top fifty. They are not cited in the entry on Italian Art and therefore do not appear in the tables. Others, such as Pellegrino Tibaldi who are not cited either also have rather long entries, though they would not be ranked among the top fifty.

Some names were excluded from our lists for the following reasons: (1) artists but not painters (Pietro Aretino, Leon Battista Alberti, Poggi Braccioloni, Brunelleschi, Leonardo Bruni, the della Robbias, Ludovico Dolce, Donatello, Marcilio Ficino, Francia, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Christoforo Landino, Nanni di Banco, Andrea Palladio, Angelo Poliziano, Marcantonio Raimondi, Jacopo Sansovino, Sebastiano Serlio, Vespasiano da Bisticci); (2) painters born less than 20 years before the publication of the *Vite* in 1568 who could hardly be described there (Michelangelo Caravaggio, Agostino, Annibale, and Ludovico Carracci, Lavigna Fontana, Galizia Fede, Marietta Tintoretto); and (3) others who were not artists, but supported them, such as the Medici, Niccolo Niccoli, etc. Lazzarro Vasari who has a *vita* was excluded since he is not cited by any other historian. So was Giorgio Vasari, mainly because in his *Vite*, he devotes 31 pages to Raphael's life and 42 to his own.

Flanders

The sections of interest in Grove's entry on Flemish Art are "Before 1400," "1400-c. 1550," and "c. 1550-1600." We ignored names of artists quoted in the subsections devoted to "manuscript illumination," (p. 552-553 and p. 555) and "graphic arts" (p. 555-556). See Table 2.

Barthelemy Spranger, Karel van Mander, Gérard Horenbout and Jan Kessel II have entries in the *Dictionary* whose length would qualify them to appear among the top fifty. They are not cited in the entry on Flemish Art and therefore do not appear in the tables.

Some names were excluded for the following reasons: (1) in spite of being in the general entry, they have no personal entry in Grove's *Dictionary* (Lucas

Achtschellinck, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, Jan van der Asselt, Dieric Bouts II, Pierre de Bruxelles, Pieter van Coninxloo, Lodewijk De Dijster, Jehan de Gand, Anselm van Hulle, Godfried Maes, Theodoor Roeyermans, Jan van der Asselt); (2) they were artists but not painters (François Duquesnoy, Artus Quellinus); (3) they are cited in the general entry, but were mainly active in a foreign country (Jean de Beaumetz, Melchior Broederlam, Juan de Flandes, Master of Moulins, Master of the Parement de Narbonne, Michel Sittow, Justo Suttermans); (4) they are cited but are not Flemish artists (Maarten van Heemskerck); and (5) they were not artists (Justus Lipsius, etc.). We also attributed to Master of Flemalle the lengths of possible entries devoted to Robert Campin, since according to recent research, they are the same person, though there is also a small entry for Campin in Grove's *Dictionary*. Since he is cited in the entry on Flemish painting, he nevertheless appears in the lists.

Note that we introduce in the Flemish canon some painters, such as Aertsen, Mostaert and Heem, who were born in the North, because they were attracted to Flanders, in the same spirit that made us discard Flemish painters who left for Italy or Spain.

Appendix 2 The canons' first circles or Why 50?

In this appendix we justify our choice of including 50 painters as first circle in both canons. We certainly do not want this first circle to become too large, since then, almost all the painters who are in the two Grove articles would be canonical. We decided to follow Cutting's (2006a) suggestion and try to find a cutoff value using Zipf's law, based on an empirical regularity observed in many fields (for the many domains of application, see http://www.nslij-genetics.org/wli/zipf/), including the arts as shown by Cutting. The "law" shows that the frequency or absolute number of occurrences of a certain category of *N* items (words in a language or in a given text, populations in cities, number of citations of artists, etc.), is related to the their ranks (1, 2, 3, etc.) in the category. The mathematical form that relates the two series of numbers can be written

$$y_i x_i^\alpha = C, \tag{1}$$

where y_i is the frequency, or the number of occurrences of item *i* in a list, x_i represents its rank, α and C are two parameters of the law that can be determined empirically by running the following linear in logarithms (log) regression:

$$\log y_i = -\alpha \log x_i + C. \tag{2}$$

Figures 1 (Italian painters) and 2 (Flemish painters) illustrate the relations between length of the entries in Grove's *Dictionary* (on the *y*-axis) and ranks (*x*-axis). The upper part of each figure illustrates equation (1), while the lower part illustrates equation (2). As can be checked, the upper parts of the two figures show that the relations are very non-linear. This is no longer the case in the lower parts of the two figures, at least up to a certain rank (represented on the horizontal axis). In both figures, it can be seen that the relation is roughly linear for ranks that are smaller than 1.70 (which happens to be the logarithm of 50), and drops afterwards.

[Insert Figures 1 and 2 about here]

The choice of the cutoff point, that is, the number of artists who belong to the first circle of the canon, can be determined by searching for the approximate rank after which (2) ceases to be linear. The intuition is therefore to run regressions of model (2), by varying *M*, the number of observations (here, the number of artists), and looking for the highest fit, measured by the coefficient of correlation (R^2). Here we chose $M = 10, 20, 30, \ldots, N$, where $N = 125$ for Italian and 129 for Flemish painters.

Table A shows the values of the correlation coefficients associated to different choices of *M*. As is readily seen, the choice of *M* is 50 for Italian painters ($R^2 = 0.966$) and should be M = 70 ($R^2 = 0.977$) for Flemish painters if we followed strictly our choice criterion. To keep things symmetric, and since for Flemish painters, the correlation coefficient increases only slightly when going from 50 to 70 painters, we also chose $M = 50$.

Table A Determining the Number of Artists in the "First Circle"

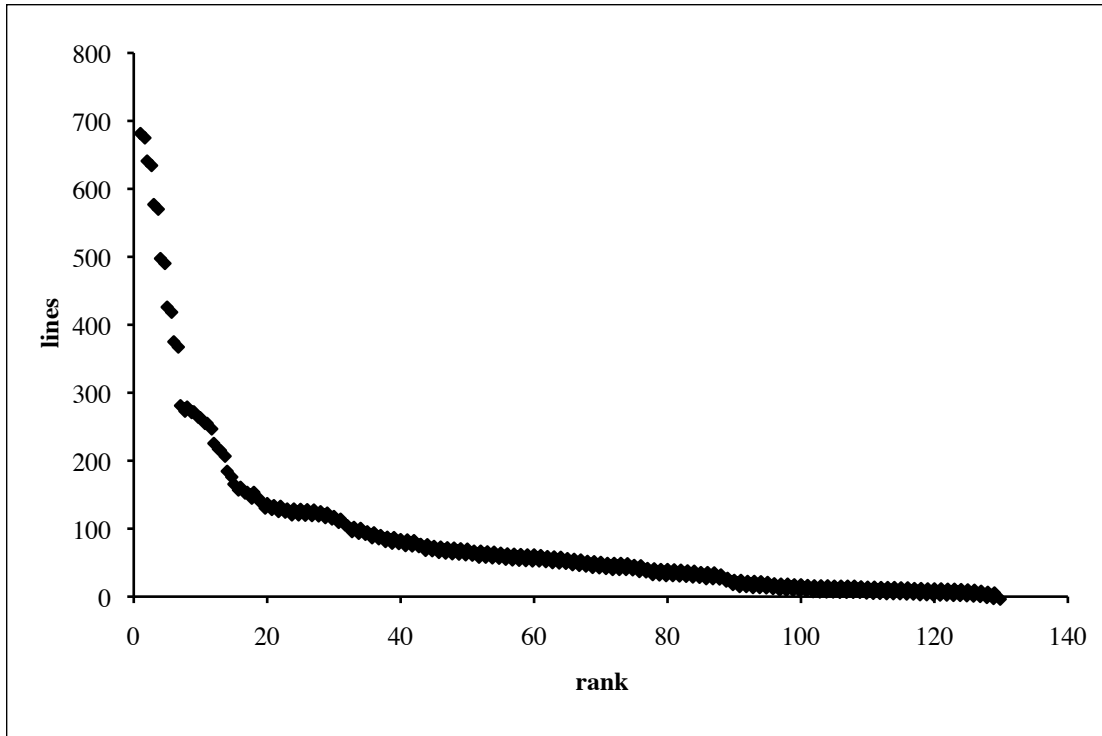| Number of artists	Coefficient of correlation of Eq. (2)	
	Italian painters	Flemish painters
10	0.944	0.885
20	0.948	0.932
30	0.958	0.957
40	0.962	0.967
50	0.966	0.971
60	0.954	0.975
70	0.943	0.977
80	0.940	0.974
90	0.936	0.960
100	0.911	0.916
125	0.819	-
129	-	0.861
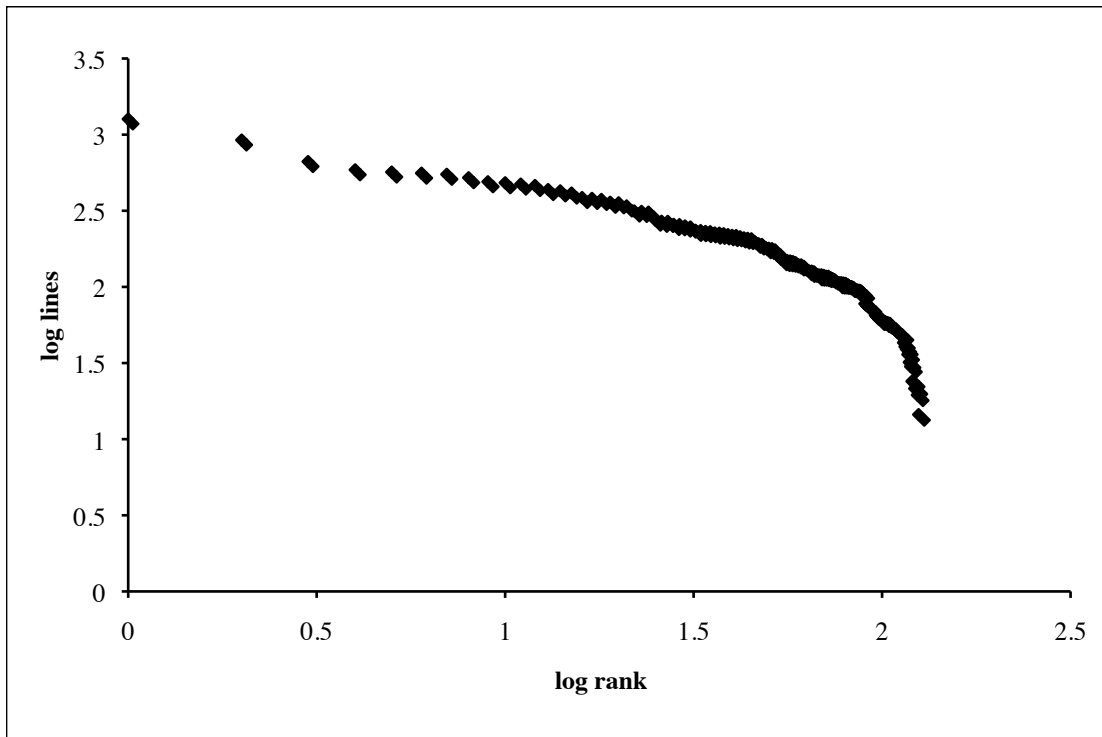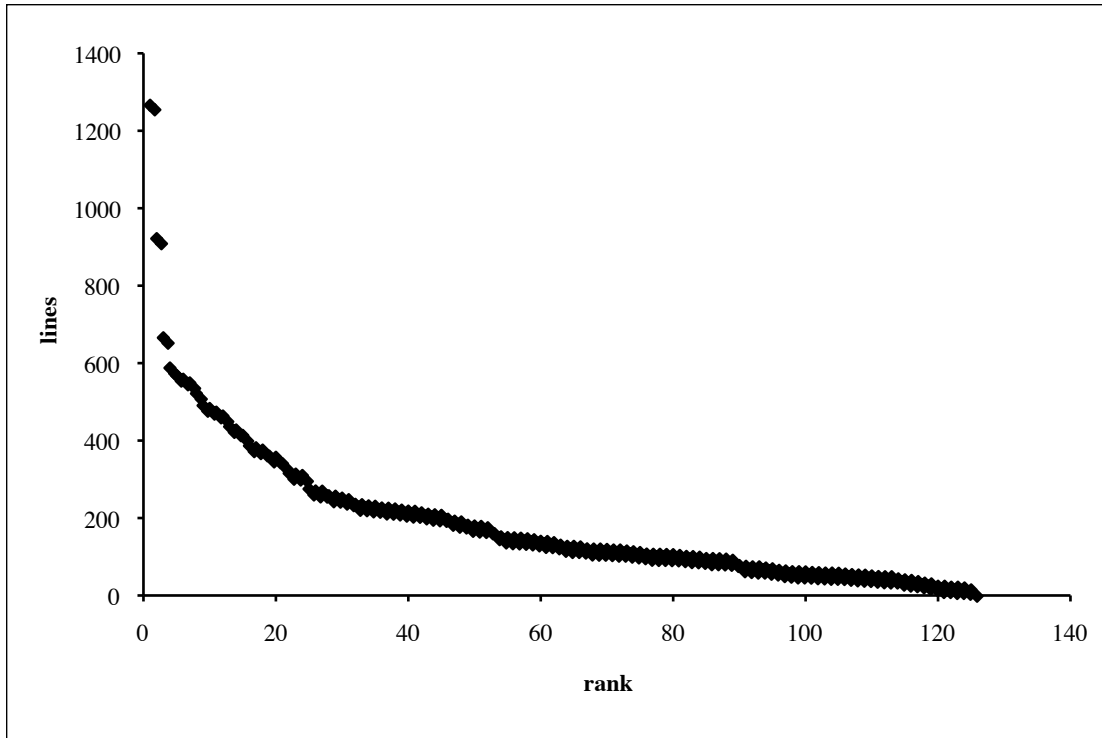
Figure 1. Zipf charts, Italian Painters
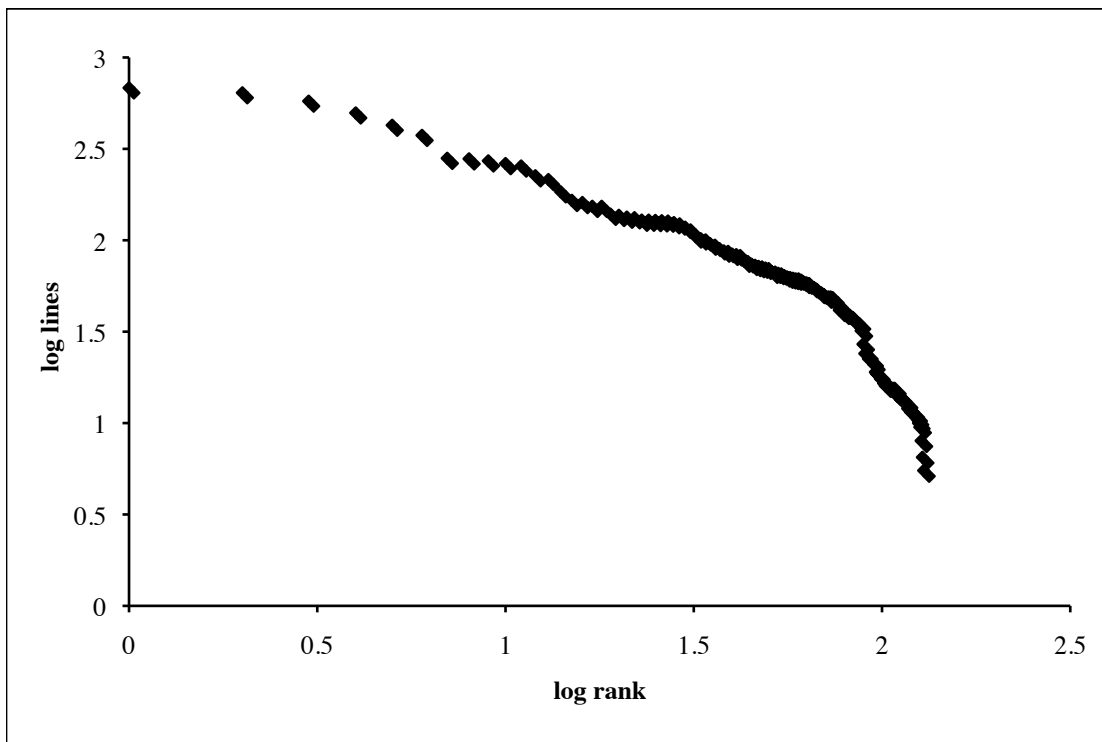
Figure 2. Zipf Charts, Flemish Painters

Footnotes

[i] The dates between square brackets refer to the original publication date. This indication is given only when the work is cited for the first time.

[ii] Note that, in some interviews, the Spanish art historian Junquera, author of a monograph on Goya's black paintings (Junquera, 2003) casts doubt about Goya being their author.

[iii] They were both considering themselves as privileging connoisseurship and enjoyment of art rather than art history. Here is what Friedländer (1956, p. vi) writes about art historians: "The ability to attribute and check attributions will then follow automatically from study and enjoyment. Yes, from enjoyment! Many art historians, it is true, make it their ambition to exclude pleasure from art, in which, for obvious reasons, some of them succeed too well… Reasoning based on calculations and measurements is presented as the true method. A dry approach stands high in favor. Abstruseness, involved terminology, which makes the reading of art-historical books such torture, derives from that very ambition. Sometimes there are depths, but so obscure as to be worthless for the reader, generally all is shallow but cunningly troubled so as to suggest depths."

[iv] The dates between square brackets refer to the original publication date.