

**Mreže izložbi
u „globaliziranom” polju
suvremene umjetnosti —
slučaj suvremenih umjetnika
iz Hrvatske**



**Exhibition Networks in
the “Globalized”
Contemporary Art Field
— the Case of Contemporary
Artists from Croatia**

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SAŽETAK

Polje suvremene umjetnosti sve je učestalije predmetom udaljenog čitanja, osobito kada se analizira globalizacija iznimno proširenog polja i složenost odnosa koji ga oblikuju. Unatoč povećanoj dostupnosti strukturiranih podataka koje takva praksa podrazumijeva, i dalje postoje praznine koje odražavaju globalne nejednakosti. Ističući to pitanje za Hrvatsku, ovaj rad istražuje utjecaj globalizacijskih procesa na suvremene umjetnike iz Hrvatske. Biografije umjetnika upotrebljavaju se kao izvor za mapiranje kretanja umjetnika te kao izvor podataka za mrežnu analizu. Analiza izložbene aktivnosti šezdeset i jednog umjetnika za razdoblje od dvadeset godina pruža uvid u geografsku i institucionalnu distribuciju izložbi, kao i u konstrukciju međunarodnih „karijera” umjetnika. Analizom mreža umjetnika i institucija razjašnjavaju se uvjeti njihovih međunarodnih sjecišta. Naposljetku, naznačuje se tijek budućeg istraživanja usmjerenog na ispitivanje čimbenika koji bi se, uz prepoznate teritorijalne i statusne, mogli ogledati u mrežnim podsustavima.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

globalizacija suvremene umjetnosti, suvremeni umjetnici iz Hrvatske, izložbe suvremene umjetnosti, mreže umjetnika i institucija

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ABSTRACT

The contemporary art field is increasingly the object of distant reading, in particular when examining the globalization of the immensely expanded field and the complexity of relations that configure it. Despite the rise in the availability of structured data that such a practice presupposes, lacunae reflecting global asymmetries remain. Highlighting the issue for Croatia, the paper examines the impact of globalization processes on the contemporary artists from Croatia. Artists' biographies are used as a source for mapping the artists' circulation, and as a data source for network analysis. The analysis of the exhibition activity of sixty-one artists for a twenty-year period brings insights into the geographical and institutional distribution of the exhibitions, as well as into the construction of artists' international "careers." The examination of artists-institutions networks sheds light on the conditions of their international intersections. Finally, an indication of future research is given, directed towards uncovering potential subsystems, beyond those which have thus far been recognized to have been created under the impact of territorial or status-related factors.

KEYWORDS

globalization of contemporary art, contemporary artists from Croatia, contemporary art exhibitions, artists-institutions networks

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UVOD

U posljednja tri desetljeća sustav suvremene umjetnosti, i u neprofitnom i u profitnom segmentu, doživio je izniman rast. Tržište se suvremene umjetnosti povećalo, a muzeji suvremene umjetnosti, bijenali i velike višegodišnje izložbe proširili su se diljem svijeta.¹ Opsežni popisi izložbi zabilježeni u biografijama umjetnika odražavaju rast, ocrtavajući kretanje umjetnika proširenim poljem suvremene umjetnosti. Izložbe su istodobno i indikator razine globalizacije umjetničkog polja. Njihove su analize pridonijele uravnoteženju slavljeničkih najava o rađanju globalnog polja suvremene umjetnosti u kojemu su stare hijerarhije i nejednakosti između zapadnih i nezapadnih umjetnika trebale biti dokinute.² Većina empirijskih istraživanja globalizacije suvremene umjetnosti pokazala je da je globalizacija tek u početnom stadiju te da je polje suvremene umjetnosti i dalje teritorijalizirano i hijerarhizirano.³ Štoviše, utvrdila su da stari obrasci priznavanja nezapadnih umjetnika, poput pripadnosti jednom od zapadnih centara, nisu destabilizirani.⁴ Međutim, fokus na Zapadnu Europu i SAD te na vrh sustava suvremene umjetnosti dugo je dominirao empirijskim istraživanjima.⁵ Stoga je utjecaj globalizacijskih procesa na nezapadne suvremene umjetnike uglavnom razmatran iz perspektive zapadnih centara, njihovih tržišta i elitnih institucija.⁶ Dakle, većina umjetničke populacije ostala je nevidljivom. Empirijska istraživanja koja bi obuhvatila nezapadna područja, decentralizirala perspektivu te se odmaknula od vrha umjetničkog establišmenta, među ostalim, zbog slabije su dostupnosti podataka bila još iznimnija. Istraživački fokusi studija, kao i vidljivost umjetnika u znatnoj se mjeri podudaraju s dostupnošću podataka. Čak i s proširenjem empirijskog istraživanja u području globalizacije suvremene umjetnosti, kojim se umnažaju i decentraliziraju izvori kako bi se uključilo nezapadna područja, studije posvećene isključivo globalizaciji suvremene umjetnosti na takozvanim europskim periferijama⁷ ostaju malobrojnima.⁸

Polazeći od opisanog konteksta istraživanja globalizacije suvremene umjetnosti, namjera je ovog rada pridonijeti proširenju empirijskog istraživanja na necentralni i nezapadni kontekst. Usredotočujući se na suvremene umjetnike iz Hrvatske, nezapadne europske zemlje koja u sustavu suvremene umjetnosti svakako ne zauzima središnje mjesto,⁹ cilj je rada pružiti uvide u utjecaj globalizacije na suvremenu umjetnost nakon 1989. godine izvan tradicionalnih centara i ispod vrha umjetničkog establišmenta. Razmatranjem umjetničke populacije takvog područja obuhvaćaju se umjetnici različitih razina međunarodnog priznanja, što omogućuje usporedni pogled na pojave na vrhu sustava i one ispod njega. Nadalje, Hrvatska je zemlja u kojoj tržište umjetnina u zapadnom smislu riječi uglavnom nije postojalo do 1991.,¹⁰ niti se poslije znatnije razvilo. Stoga ovaj rad pruža uvide u zbivanja nakon 1989. godine izvan sfere razvijenoga zapadnog tržišta umjetnina. Njih će se usporediti s onim na Zapadu kako bi se utvrdila razina konvergencije, odnosno divergencije među njihovim „međunarodnim obrascima“.

1 Belting, Buddensieg, *The Global Art World: Audiences, Markets and Museums*; Dumbadaze, Hudson, *Contemporary Art: 1989 to the present*.

2 Buchholz, Wuggenig, „Cultural Globalization Between Myth and Reality: The Case of the Contemporary Visual Arts“; Van Hest, *Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?*; Wu, „Biennials without Borders?“.

3 Osim navedenih referencija, vidi: Baia Curioni, Forti, Pietrabassa, *National Platforms and the Global Art Market: Art Basel 2005–2010*; Quemin, „Globalization and Mixing in the Visual Arts“; *idem*, „The Internationalization of the Contemporary Art World and Market“; Velthuis, „Globalization of Markets for Contemporary Art. Why local ties remain dominant in Amsterdam and Berlin“. Za cjelovitiji popis referencija vidi: Puc, *(In)visible Artists – Contemporary Artists from Croatia in the post-1989 „Globalized“ Contemporary Art Field*.

4 Posebice Queminova istraživanja.

5 To je bio slučaj s većinom studija navedenih u bilješkama 2 i 3.

6 Spomenute studije bavile su se *Art Baselom*, *documentom*, *Venecijanskim bijenalom* te rangiranjima *Kunstkompass* i *Artfacts.net* itd. Citirano Velthuisovo istraživanje o galerijama u Amsterdamu i Berlinu obuhvatilo je razinu ispod vrha umjetničkog establišmenta.

7 Zbog prostornih ograničenja, u ovome radu izostaje zasebna rasprava spornih pojmova centra i periferije.

8 Tek nakon 2013. godine (empirijski) opseg istraživanja izraženije je proširen, kao u, na primjer, Velthuis, Baia Curioni, *Cosmopolitan Canvases. The Globalization of Market for Contemporary Art* ili u nizu priloga za *Artl@s Bulletin*. Nije moguće spomenuti sve studije koje su uslijedile nakon toga, stoga se ovdje navodi svega nekoliko njih koje ukazuju na prošireni opseg istraživanja.

9 U tom se kontekstu Hrvatska izrijeком spominje u: Baia Curioni, Rizzi, „Two realms in confrontation: consensus or discontinuity?“.

10 Ovdje se misli na razdoblje socijalističke Jugoslavije.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades, the contemporary art system—both its not-for-profit and for-profit segment—witnessed an unprecedented expansion. Contemporary art market grew, museums of contemporary art, biennials and large-scale perennial exhibitions spread across the globe.¹ Documented in artists' biographies, lengthy lists of exhibitions mirror the growth and delineate artists' circulation through the enlarged contemporary art field. At the same time, they indicate the level of the field's globalization. Their analyses contributed to balancing the celebratory announcements of the birth of the global contemporary art field in which the old hierarchies and imbalances between Western and non-Western artists were supposedly erased.² Most of the empirical research on the globalization of contemporary art found that globalization is in its initial stage and that contemporary art field remained territorialized and hierarchized.³ Moreover, what was found was that old patterns of recognition for non-Western artists—rootedness into one of the Western centers—were not destabilized.⁴ However, the focus on Western Europe and the United States and the top segment of the contemporary art system tended to dominate the empirical studies for a considerable period.⁵ Thus, the impact of the globalization processes on non-Western contemporary artists was examined mostly from the perspective of Western centers, its markets and elite institutions.⁶ Hence, a majority of the artistic population remained invisible. Lesser availability of data, *inter alia*, made empirical studies that would include non-Western zones, bring in an “off-central” perspective and go beyond the top-level of the art system, more exceptional. Both the research foci of the studies and the visibility of artists correlate significantly with the availability of data. Even with the expansion of empirical research in the field of globalization of contemporary art that broadened and decentralized the sources to include non-Western areas, the studies specifically devoted to the globalization of contemporary art in the so-called European peripheries⁷ remained less numerous.⁸

Departing from the above-outlined context of the research on the globalization of contemporary art, this article aims at giving a contribution by expanding the empirical investigation into an off-central and non-Western context. It focuses on contemporary artists from Croatia, a non-Western European country that does not occupy a central position within the contemporary art system.⁹ Thus, it aims at offering a view on the impact of the post-1989 globalization of contemporary art beyond the traditional centers and below the top-level of the art system. The artists of various levels of international recognition are encompassed when the artistic population of such an area is considered, which enables juxtaposing the occurrences at the top level with the ones below. Moreover, Croatia is a country where the art market in the Western sense, for the most part, did not exist until 1991,¹⁰ and did not evolve more significantly afterwards. Thus, it offers insights into the post-1989 developments outside the sphere of the developed Western art market. They will be related to those from the Western zones to see to what extent their international patterns diverge or converge.

1

Belting, Buddensieg, *The Global Art World: Audiences, Markets and Museums*; Dumbadaze, Hudson, *Contemporary Art: 1989 to the present*.

2

Buchholz, Wuggenig, “Cultural Globalization between Myth and Reality: The Case of the Contemporary Visual Art;” Van Hest, *Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?*; Wu, “Biennials without Borders?”

3

In addition to the references given above, see: Baia Curioni, Forti, Pietrabassa, *National Platforms and the Global Art Market: Art Basel 2005–2010*; Quemin, “Globalization and Mixing in the Visual Arts;” *idem*, “The Internationalization of the Contemporary Art World and Market;” Velthuis, “Globalization of Markets for Contemporary Art. Why local ties remain dominant in Amsterdam and Berlin.” For a more complete list of references, see: Puc, *(In)visible Artists—Contemporary Artists from Croatia in the post-1989 “Globalized” Contemporary Art Field*.

4

In particular, the studies by Quemin.

5

That was the case with most of the studies given in notes 2 and 3.

6

The mentioned studies dealt with *Art Basel*, *documenta*, *Venice Biennale*, rankings of *Kunstkompass* and *Artfacts.net* etc. Cited research by Velthuis on the galleries in Amsterdam and Berlin encompassed the level below.

7

Due to space constraints, the contested terms of center and periphery are not discussed here.

8

It was after 2013 that the (empirical) scope broadened more pronouncedly, as in, for example, Velthuis, Baia Curioni, *Cosmopolitan Canvases. The Globalization of Market for Contemporary Art.*, or in a number of contributions to *Art@S Bulletin*. It is not feasible to mention all the studies that followed; therefore, only a few indicating the extended scope are given here.

9

In such a context, Croatia is explicitly mentioned in: Baia Curioni, Rizzi, “Two realms in confrontation: consensus or discontinuity?”

10

I refer to the period of socialist Yugoslavia.

Kako bi se istražili načini na koji su s globalizacijom povezani procesi utjecali (ili nisu) na suvremene umjetnike iz Hrvatske, analizira se difuzija umjetnika u međunarodnom sustavu umjetnosti, kao i njihova konsakracija. Osobito težište stavlja se na prostorni i institucionalni kontekst pojedinačnog i skupnog kretanja umjetnika te na konstrukciju njihovih međunarodnih „karijera”.¹¹ Međunarodna cirkulacija i konsakracija iščitavaju se prije svega iz izložbene aktivnosti umjetnika. Izložbe, prema Bourdieuu, indiciraju umjetničku konsakraciju,¹² budući da su distribucijski kanali istodobno i kanali prepoznavanja i vrednovanja umjetnika.¹³ Istraživanja izložbi pružila su vrijedne spoznaje o kretanju umjetnika, razvoju njihovih „karijera”, kao i o konfiguracijama mreža koje proizlaze iz veza između uključenih aktera i institucija.¹⁴ Ovaj se rad bavi svim trima aspektima.

Rad je podijeljen u četiri odjeljka. U drugom se odjeljku opisuju uzorak i podaci. Glavni rezultati istraživanja donose se u trećem odjeljku, dok se u zadnjem odjeljku daje zaključak rada i kratak pregled ograničenja te smjernica za buduće istraživanje.

UZORAK I PODACI

Za potrebe ovog istraživanja izrađena je baza podataka o odabranim suvremenim umjetnicima i umjetnicama iz Hrvatske, s obzirom na to da ne postoje javno dostupni lokalni digitalni izvori strukturiranih podataka o suvremenim umjetnicima.¹⁵ Baze podataka o globalnim aukcijama i izložbenim aktivnostima kao što su *Artprice.com*¹⁶ i *Artfacts.net*,¹⁷ kojima se empirijski istraživači često koriste kao izvorom za istraživanja, dobro pokrivaju gornji sloj umjetničkog sustava, ali su u njima „niži slojevi” znatno slabije zastupljeni.¹⁸ Osim u slučaju međunarodno najafirmiranijih umjetnika, podaci o izložbama suvremenih umjetnika i umjetnica iz Hrvatske u bazi *Artfacts.net* u najmanju su ruku nepotpuni. Stoga se *Artfacts.net* nije smatrao pouzdanim izvorom.

Fokus istraživanja prije svega su umjetnici čije je izlazak na scenu tekao usporedo sa zbivanjima nakon 1989. Ta se godina uzima kao simbolički početak razdoblja kojim se bavi istraživanje. Pad Berlinskog zida i komunističkih režima u Europi pratio je slavljenički diskurs o globalizaciji suvremene umjetnosti, dok se godina 1989. doživljavala prekretnicom u povijesti međunarodne integracije nezapadnih suvremenih umjetnika.

Za analizu su odabrani 51 umjetnik i umjetnica rođeni između 1961. i 1982.¹⁹ Uz njih, deset umjetnika i umjetnica rođenih prije 1960.²⁰ različitih razina međunarodne afirmacije pružilo je komparativni kontekst. Uzorak uključuje ukupno 61 umjetnika i umjetnicu.²¹ Njegove osnovne karakteristike prikazane su u tablici 1.

Umjetnici su odabrani na temelju sljedećih kriterija: umjetnici sa značajnom razinom međunarodne vidljivosti²² i/ili koji su se preselili u inozemstvo i/ili koji su obrazovani u inozemstvu i/ili ih je zastupala inozemna galerija i/ili su ih u

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Budući da riječ „karijera” podrazumijeva standardizaciju i napredak na hijerarhijskoj ljestvici, dok ključan trenutak početka umjetnikove karijere predstavlja zastupstvo u galeriji, upitna je prikladnost njezine upotrebe, posebice za područja kao što je Hrvatska. Zbog toga se upotrebljavaju navodnici. Vidi: Heinich, „Peut-on parler de carrières d'artistes?”.

12

Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*.

13

Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché*.

14

Među brojnim studijama koje se izložbama i životopisima umjetnika koriste kao izvorima za istraživanje, navodim tek nekoliko koje se odnose na modernu i suvremenu umjetnost. Vidi Crane, *The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: The New York Art World, 1940–1985*; Richard, *Unconcealed: The International Network of Conceptual Artists 1967–77, Dealers, Exhibitions and Public Collections*; Marcel, „Filling the Blank Space of Global Art Peripheries: Measurements of Art Mobility and their Ambivalence in Nairobi, Kenya”; Dossin, Joyeux-Prunel, „The German Century? How a Geopolitical Approach Could Transform the History of Modernism”. Vidi i projekte *Exhibitium* i *Art@s* (vidi: „Exhibitium Project”; „Art@s Project”), kao i Joyeux-Prunel, Marcel, „Exhibition Catalogues in the Globalization of Art. A Source for Social and Spatial Art History”.

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Istraživanje je provedeno kao dio doktorskog istraživanja, vidi Puc, *(In)visible Artists—Contemporary Artists from Croatia in the post-1989 “Globalized” Contemporary Art Field*.

16

Vidi: „ArtPrice”.

17

Vidi: „ArtFacts”. Vidi i Classen, „Artfacts.Net.” i povezanu prezentaciju *The Art Network: How Transparency Opens the Art Market*, gdje se postavlja pitanje pokrivenosti.

18

To se pitanje problematizira u: Stallabrass, „In conversation with Malcolm Bull, Money and Attention on the Global Art Scene”, a za *Artfacts* i u: Quemin, „The impact of Nationality on the Contemporary Art Market”.

19

Iznimka je Iva Kovač (1983.), koja izlaže s Elvisom Krstulovićem (rođenim 1982.) kao Fokus grupa.

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Odabrani umjetnici rođeni su između 1937. i 1956.

21

Za popis odabranih umjetnika vidi *Prilog I*. https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendicies.pdf (Život umjetnika, 105, 2019., Tihana Puc, Prilozi / Appendicies; pristupljeno 27. prosinca 2019.).

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Izrada baza podataka o izložbenoj aktivnosti odabranih umjetničkih institucija u Hrvatskoj te umjetnicima koji su u njima sudjelovali prethodila je odabiru umjetničke populacije za istraživanje. Od 362 umjetnika rođena između 1961. i 1982. koji su sudjelovali u izložbama, više od 80% imalo je slabu međunarodnu vidljivost ili je uopće nije imalo.

| Spol / Gender | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| | Broj / Number | Postotak / Percent |
| Ženski / Female | 22 | 36 % |
| Muški / Male | 38 | 62 % |
| Grupa / Group | 1 | 2 % |
| Ukupno / Total | 61 | 100 % |
| Godina rođenja / Year of birth | | |
| | Broj / Number | Postotak / Percent |
| '35.–'59. / '35–'59 | 10 | 16 % |
| '60.–'69. / '60–'69 | 22 | 36 % |
| '70.–'83. / '70–'83 | 29 | 48 % |
| Ukupno / Total | 61 | 100 % |

Tablica 1. Uzorak / Table 1. Sample

↑

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As the word career implies standardization and hierarchical progression, while the key moment of an artist's career entry is a gallery representation, the appropriateness of its use is questionable, in particular for areas such as Croatia. Hence the use of quotation marks. See Heinrich, “Peut-on parler de carrières d'artistes?”

12

Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*.

13

Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché*.

14

Among many studies using exhibitions and artists' CVs as a source, I mention only several related to modern and contemporary art. See Crane, *The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: The New York Art World, 1940–1985*; Richard, *Unconcealed: The International Network of Conceptual Artists 1967–77, Dealers, Exhibitions and Public Collections*; Marcel, “Filling the Blank Space of Global Art Peripheries: Measurements of Art Mobility and their Ambivalence in Nairobi, Kenya;” Dossin, Joyeux-Prunel, “The German Century? How Geopolitical Approach could transform the History of Modernism.” See also projects *Exhibitium* and *Artlas* (See: “Exhibitium Project;” “Artlas Project”), as well as Joyeux-Prunel, Marcel, “Exhibition Catalogues in the Globalization of Art. A Source for Social and Spatial Art History.”

15

The study was conducted as a part of the doctoral research, see: Puc, *(In)visible Artists—Contemporary Artists from Croatia in the post-1989 “Globalized” Contemporary Art Field*.

16

See: “ArtPrice.”

17

See: “ArtFacts.” See also Classen, “Artfacts.Net.,” and the related presentation *The Art Network: How Transparency Opens the Art Market*, where the issue of the coverage is raised.

18

The point is raised in: Stallabrass, “In conversation with Malcolm Bull, Money and Attention on the Global Art Scene,” and for the *Artfacts* also in: Quemin, “The impact of Nationality on the Contemporary Art Market.”

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The exception is Iva Kovač (1983), exhibiting with Elvis Krstulović (born 1982), as the group Fokus grupa.

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The selected artists were born between 1937 and 1956.

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For the list of selected artists, see *Appendix I*: https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendices.pdf (Život umjetnosti, 105, 2019, Tihana Puc, Prilozi / Appendices; last accessed 27 December 2019).

To examine the ways in which the globalization-related processes have (or have not) affected contemporary artists from Croatia, the paper studies artists' diffusion and consecration within the international art system. It concentrates specifically on the spatial and institutional context of artists' individual and collective movement, and the construction of their international “careers.”¹¹ It is primarily through artists' exhibition activity that the international circulation and consecration are captured. Exhibitions indicate, in Bourdieu's term, artistic consecration,¹² as circuits of distribution coincide with circuits of identification and valuation of artists.¹³ Studying the exhibitions proved to bring valuable insights into the artists' circulation, development of their “careers,” as well as into the configuration of networks arising from the connections between the actors and institutions involved.¹⁴ This study is concerned with all three aspects.

The paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 describes the sample and data. Main findings of the study are given in section 3. The final section concludes the paper and outlines research limitations and future research directions.

SAMPLE AND DATA

A dataset on the selected contemporary artists from Croatia was constructed for this study, as no publicly available local digital sources of structured data on contemporary artists exist.¹⁵ Databases of global auctions and exhibition activity as *Artprice.com*¹⁶ and *Artfacts.net*,¹⁷ often used as a source by empirical researchers, accurately capture the top layer, but offer far less certainty for the layers below.¹⁸ In the case of contemporary artists from Croatia, apart from internationally most established artists, the data on their exhibitions in *Artfacts.net* is at best incomplete. Thus, *Artfacts.net* was not considered a reliable source.

The focus of the study is primarily on the artists whose emergence paralleled the developments after 1989. The year 1989 is taken as a symbolic starting date. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communist regimes in Europe were paralleled by the celebratory discourse on the globalization of contemporary art. The year 1989 was regarded as a milestone in the history of international integration of non-Western contemporary artists.

Fifty-one artists born between 1961 and 1982¹⁹ were selected for the analysis. Additionally, ten artists born before 1960,²⁰ of varying degrees of international consecration, provided a comparative context. The sample includes sixty-one artists in total.²¹ Its basic composition is given in Table 1.

The artists were selected on the basis of the following criteria: artists with a significant level of international presence,²² and/or that moved abroad, and/or were educated abroad, and/or were represented by a foreign gallery, and/or were promoted abroad by domestic gatekeepers. In order to study the impact of given factors,

inozemstvu promovirali domaći *gatekeeperi*.²³ Da bi se ispitao utjecaj navedenih čimbenika, za odabrane su umjetnike prikupljeni podaci o prebivalištu, obrazovanju i galerijama koje ih zastupaju. Podaci o prebivalištu i obrazovanju prikupljeni su iz biografija umjetnika, dok su podaci o zastupstvu u galerijama najvećim dijelom dobiveni od samih umjetnika te putem mrežnih stranica galerija.

Podaci o izložbenoj aktivnosti umjetnika prikupljeni su za razdoblje od 20 godina—od 1991. do 2012. Prikupljeni podaci uključuju 6400 sudjelovanja na samostalnim i grupnim izložbama i festivalima²⁴ u 1905 institucija.²⁵ Podaci o izložbama prikupljeni su iz biografija umjetnika koje su u najvećoj mjeri dobivene od umjetnika,²⁶ a u manjoj su mjeri preuzeti s mrežnih stranica umjetnika, galerija te iz kataloga izložbi. Podaci su provjereni kako bi se izbjegle pogreške i dopunjeni gdje je god bilo moguće. Katalogi izložbi, članci i mrežne stranice institucija upotrijebljeni su kao izvor za dodatnu provjeru podataka.²⁷ Ako je na temelju nekog od spomenutih izvora utvrđeno da je umjetnik sudjelovao u izložbi koja nije zabilježena u biografiji, podatak je dodan, kako bi se sastavio što potpuniji i ažurniji popis izložbi. Međutim, budući da biografije nisu standardizirane niti svi umjetnici bilježe sve izložbe, nije moguće sa sigurnošću tvrditi da baza sadrži podatke o svim izložbama. No utemeljeno je pretpostaviti da se u njoj nalaze podaci o svim važnijim izložbama odabranih umjetnika. Odstupanja, međutim, mogu proizlaziti iz varijacija u broju izložbi koje umjetnici navode.

Nadalje, institucije u bazi podataka razvrstane su prema vrsti (muzej, galerija, izložbeni centar itd.) kako bi se uz prostornu ispitala i institucionalna logika kretanja umjetnika. Institucije su također razvrstane prema profilu (komercijalne ili nekomercijalne) kako bi se utvrdilo u kojoj je mjeri, u kontekstu izložbene aktivnosti, umjetnik bio prisutan u tržišnoj, a u kojoj u institucionalnoj sferi. Također, izdvojene su, „izložbe Balkana i Istoka” kako bi se ispitao utjecaj izložbi geografskog i ideološkog predznaka na kretanje umjetnika. S obzirom na to da se one povezuju s „globalnim stanjem” i fenomenom izlaganja „autentičnosti” karakterističnim za post-*Magiciens de la terre* razdoblje,²⁸ kao i uz pojam kvantitativne internacionalizacije,²⁹ smatralo se relevantnim ispitati njihove učinke. Naposljetku, izložbe koje su organizirale institucije, kustosi i umjetnici iz Hrvatske izdvojene su kako bi se ocijenio utjecaj domaćih *gatekeepera* i posrednika na međunarodnu integraciju umjetnika.

GLAVNI REZULTATI Geografije izložbi

Analiza izložbenih podataka pokazala je da je izložbena aktivnost umjetnika iz Hrvatske nakon 1989. godine daleko od globalizirane. Umjetnici su izlagali u 72 zemlje uključujući Hrvatsku.³⁰ Međutim, značajnija aktivnost zabilježena je tek u 14 zemalja, prikazanih u tablici 2.³¹ Slike 1. i 2. prikazuju distribuciju izložbi u svim zemljama, dok centralitet zemalja odražava broj izložbi održanih u njima.

| Zemlja / <i>Country</i> | Broj / <i>Number</i> | Postotak od uk. br. / <i>Percent of total</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Njemačka / <i>Germany</i> | 475 | 13 % |
| SAD / <i>United States</i> | 380 | 10 % |
| Austrija / <i>Austria</i> | 364 | 10 % |
| Italija / <i>Italy</i> | 352 | 9 % |
| Slovenija / <i>Slovenia</i> | 308 | 8 % |
| Francuska / <i>France</i> | 256 | 7 % |
| Nizozemska / <i>Netherlands</i> | 162 | 4 % |
| UK / <i>United Kingdom</i> | 149 | 4 % |
| Srbija / <i>Serbia</i> | 146 | 4 % |
| Mađarska / <i>Hungary</i> | 94 | 3 % |
| Španjolska / <i>Spain</i> | 90 | 2 % |
| Poljska / <i>Poland</i> | 85 | 2 % |
| Češka R. / <i>Czech Republic</i> | 61 | 2 % |
| BiH / <i>Bosnia and Herzegovina</i> | 58 | 2 % |
| UKUPNO / <i>TOTAL</i> | 3707 | 100 % |

23

Odnosi se na one institucionalne i izvaninstitucionalne aktere koji „kontroliraju” pristup polju suvremene umjetnosti, odnosno koji imaju ključnu ulogu u procesima selekcije umjetnika i vrednovanja umjetničkih radova.

24

Budući da su mnogi umjetnici sudjelovali na istim skupnim izložbama, broj unosa u bazu podataka označava broj sudjelovanja na izložbama, a ne broj izložbi.

25

Osnovna struktura baze podataka slijedila je dizajn razvijen za istraživanje o *Art Baselu* provedeno u Istraživačkom centru ASK, Sveučilište Bocconi, Milano. Vidi Baia Curioni, Rizzi, „Two realms in confrontation: consensus or discontinuity?”.

26

Nisam primila dulju/ažuriranu verziju životopisa Brace Dimitrijevića, Ivane Franke, Siniše Labrovića i Vlade Marteka, stoga su u njihovu slučaju moguća odstupanja u rezultatima. Za navedene su umjetnike podaci prikupljeni iz dostupnih izvora, no dio podataka i dalje nedostaje.

27

Uz spomenute izvore, pregledano je 119 brojeva časopisa *Art Magazin Kontura* objavljenih u razdoblju od 1991. do 2012., koji često sadrže najave i osvrtne na izložbe umjetnika iz Hrvatske.

28

Najcitiraniji prethodnik „globalnih izložbi”—kontroverzna izložba *Magiciens de la terre* održana je 1989. godine u Centru Pompidou te u centru Grande Halle de la Villette u Parizu. Za dodatnu literaturu vidi „Magiciens de la Terre—Bibliographie Sélective”. Vidi i Griffin, Meyer, „Global Tendencies: Globalism and the Large-Scale Exhibition”.

29

Buchholz, Wuggenig, „Cultural Globalization between Myth and Reality”.

30

3707 izložbenih sudjelovanja od ukupno 6400 bilo je izvan Hrvatske, odnosno 58 % izložbene aktivnosti umjetnika odvijalo se u inozemstvu, a 42 % u Hrvatskoj.

31

Tablica se temelji na 3707 izložbenih sudjelovanja 61 umjetnika te prikazuje 14 od ukupno 71 zemlje u kojima je izložbena aktivnost umjetnika bila najintenzivnija (više od 50 sudjelovanja). Također, distribucija je analizirana za poduzorak od 18 umjetnika (međunarodno najaktivnijih), za razdoblje od 2013. do 2017. Od ukupno 908 sudjelovanja na izložbama, 689 ih je bilo izvan Hrvatske, no distribucija po zemljama pokazala se prilično stabilnom. Osim stanovitih promjena u redoslijedu zemalja, drugih znatnih promjena nije bilo.

Tablica 2. Distribucija sudjelovanja umjetnika na izložbama prema zemlji, 1991.–2012. / Table 2. The distribution of exhibition participations of artists per country, 1991–2012.

←

22

The construction of datasets on the exhibition activity of selected art institutions in Croatia and participating artists preceded the selection of the artistic population for study. Out of 362 artists born 1961–1982 that participated in the exhibitions, more than 80 % had weak or no international visibility.

23

As many artists participated in the same group exhibitions, the number of entries into the dataset marks the number of exhibition participations and not the number of exhibitions.

24

The basic structure of the dataset followed the design developed for the research on Art Basel at ASK Research Center, Bocconi University, Milan. See Baia Curioni, Rizzi, “Two realms in confrontation: consensus or discontinuity?”

25

I have not received a longer/updated version of CV from Braco Dimitrijević, Ivana Franke, Siniša Labrović and Vlado Martek; thus, the results for these artists are biased for that reason. I have compiled the available sources for these artists, but the data remained missing.

26

Along with the mentioned sources, I reviewed 119 issues of Croatian *Art Magazine Kontura*, published 1991–2012, where the exhibitions of artists from Croatia were often announced or reviewed.

27

The most cited precedent of “global exhibitions”—the controversial *Magiciens de la terre* was held in 1989 at Centre Pompidou and Grande Halle de la Villette in Paris. For vast literature see “Magiciens de la Terre—Bibliographie Sélective.” See also Griffin, Meyer, “Global Tendencies: Globalism and the Large-Scale Exhibition.”

28

Buchholz, Wuggenig, “Cultural Globalization between Myth and Reality.”

29

3707 participations out of 6400 were outside Croatia; thus, 58 % of artists’ activity was abroad and 42 % in Croatia.

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The table is based on 3707 exhibition participations of 61 artists and includes the top 14 out of 71 countries (above 50 participations). Additionally, the distribution was analyzed for a subsample of 18 artists (internationally most active), for the period 2013–2017. Out of 908 exhibition participations, 689 were outside Croatia, but the distribution of the countries remained fairly stable. Apart from some change in the order of countries, no significant change occurred.

data on artists’ place of residence, education and gallery representation was collected. The data on residence and education was gathered from artists’ biographies, while the data on gallery representation was obtained primarily from the artists and gallery websites.

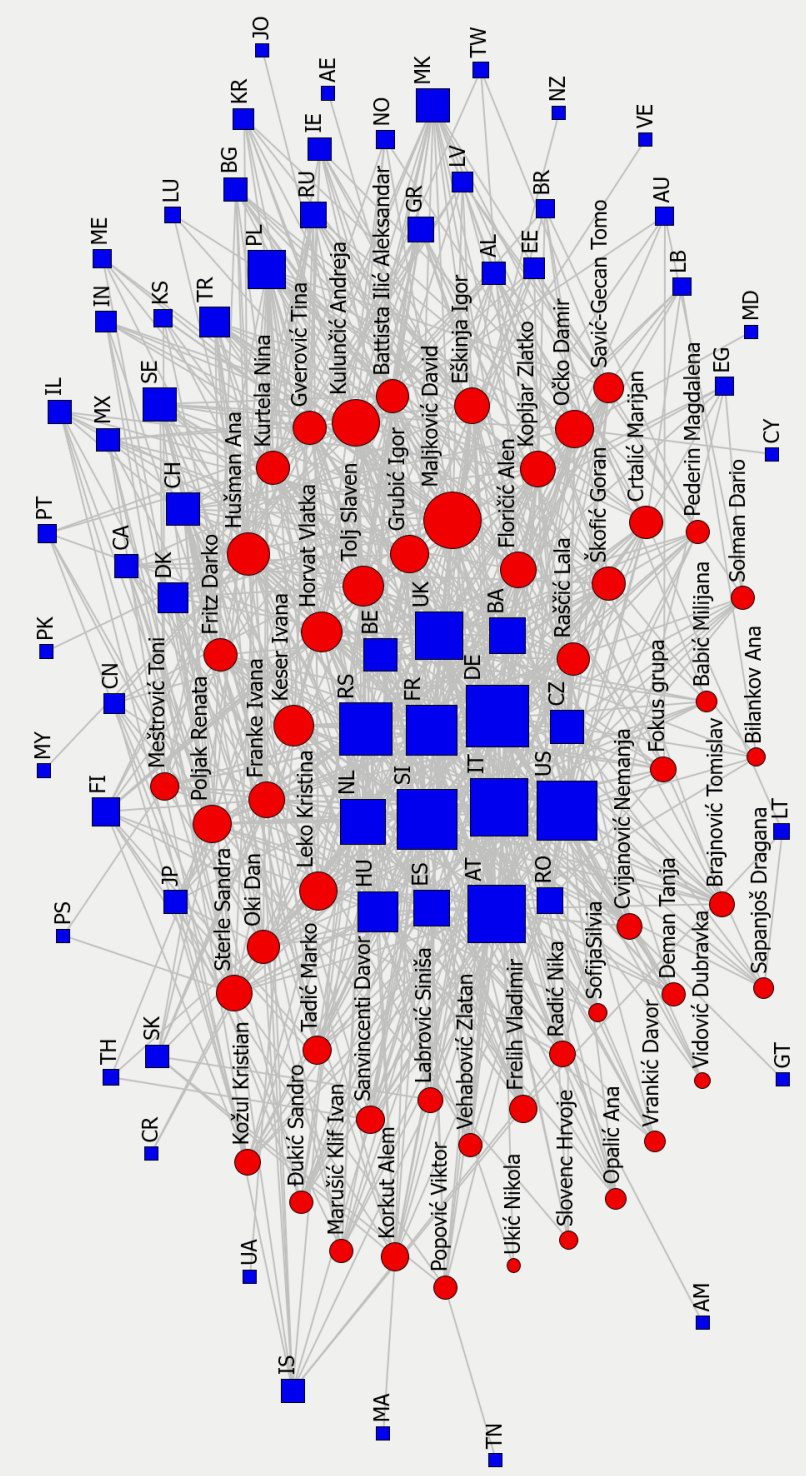
The data on artists’ exhibition activity was collected for a twenty-year period—from 1991 to 2012. The collected data includes 6400 solo and group exhibition and festival participations²³ in 1905 institutions.²⁴ The exhibition data was assembled from artists’ biographies, mainly obtained from the artists,²⁵ to a lesser degree from artists’ and gallery websites and exhibition catalogues. All data was checked to avoid errors and whenever possible completed. Exhibition catalogues, articles and institutions’ websites were used as a source to double-check the data.²⁶ Whenever noticed throughout these sources that an artist participated in an exhibition not listed in the biography, it was added. An attempt was made to have the exhibition lists as complete and up to date as possible. However, since biographies are not standardized, and not all artists record all their exhibitions, there is no certainty that all the exhibitions are included. Albeit, it is expected that all the relevant ones are. The bias, however, might come from variations in the number of exhibitions that artists list.

Furthermore, the institutions in the dataset were distinguished according to the type (museum, gallery, exhibition center, etc.) to examine the institutional logic behind the artists’ circulation, besides the spatial one. They were also distinguished according to the character (commercial or non-commercial) to see to what extent was an artist present, in terms of exhibition activity, on the art market and to what extent in the institutional arena. Additionally, the “exhibitions of the Balkans and the East” were distinguished to study the impact of geographically or ideologically framed exhibitions on artists’ movement. They are tied to the “global condition” and post-*Magiciens de la terre* exhibiting of “authenticity,”²⁷ as well as to the notion of quantitative internationalization.²⁸ Thus, it was deemed important to examine their impact. Finally, exhibitions organized by institutions, curators and artists from Croatia were distinguished to assess the impact of domestic gatekeepers and intermediaries on the international integration of artists.

MAIN FINDINGS

Exhibition geographies

The analysis of the exhibition data demonstrates that the post-1989 exhibition activity of the artists from Croatia is rather far from globalized. The artists exhibited in 72 countries, including Croatia.²⁹ However, their more significant activity was found only in 14 countries, as shown in Table 2.³⁰ Figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of artists’ exhibitions in all the countries, while the centrality of the countries reflects the number of exhibitions held in each.



Slika 1. Distribucija sudjelovanja umjetnika rođenih nakon 1960. na izlozbama i festivalima prema zemlji, 1991.–2012. Mreža se temelji na 2581 sudjelovanju 51 umjetnika u 67 zemalja. Crveni krugovi označavaju umjetnike. Plavi kvadrati označavaju zemlje. Veličina čvorišta odgovara broju izložbi. Autorica vizualizacije: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies, Harvard, MA, 2002.) / Figure 1. The distribution of exhibition and festival participations of artists born after 1960 per country, 1991–2012. The network is based on 2581 participations by 51 artists in 67 countries. Red circles represent artists. Blue squares represent countries. The size of the nodes corresponds to the number of exhibitions. Author of the visualization: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies, Harvard, MA, 2002)

Među spomenutih 14 zemalja ističu se zapadne zemlje koje su tradicionalno dominirale poljem suvremene umjetnosti i šira regija. Sudjelovanja na izložbama u tih 14 zemalja čine 80% ukupne međunarodne izložbene aktivnosti umjetnika. Primarni izložbeni teritorij umjetnika iz Hrvatske koji izlažu međunarodno i dalje je Europa, većinom njezin zapadni dio, te SAD. Specifični „regionalni podsustavi” koji su se iskristalizirali kao osobito važni—teritorij Austrije, Italije i Slovenije—ukazuju na neumanjenu važnost geografske blizine, kao i na kontinuitet utjecaja povijesno-političkog nasljeđa. Navedeno ne govori u prilog tezama o deterritorijalizaciji.

Utjecaji povezani s globalizacijskim procesima nakon 1989. uočavaju se prije svega na mikrorazini analize te za određene tipove izložbi. Kako bi se dalo i pretpostaviti, prije svega se u slučaju bijenala, u određenoj mjeri izložbi „bivšeg Istoka” te „regionalno specifičnih” institucija poput Soros centara za suvremenu umjetnost, prepoznaje formiranje alternativne putanje koja u znatnijoj mjeri zaobilazi tradicionalne zapadne centre. U tom su pogledu rezultati ovdje predstavljenog istraživanja u velikoj mjeri u skladu s rezultatima prethodnih empirijskih istraživanja koja ističu postojanu važnost euroameričkog sustava suvremene umjetnosti.³²

Unatoč tome, primjetan je stanoviti napredak globalizacijskih procesa, osobito za umjetnike rođene nakon 1970. godine. Porastao je ne samo broj umjetnika povezanih s međunarodnim prostorom nego i njihova ukupna prisutnost u njemu. Njihova se međunarodna aktivnost intenzivirala, dok je starijoj generaciji porasla međunarodna afirmiranost.

Međutim, izrazitiji utjecaji globalizacijskih procesa u znatnoj su mjeri povezani sa statusom umjetnika, a najjači učinak imaju na umjetnike koji gravitiraju prema vrhu umjetničkog sustava.³³ I u ovom su slučaju utjecaji vidljiviji na mikrorazini analize i za pojedine umjetnike, a očituju se u povećanom broju njihovih izložbi, njihovoj većoj geografskoj rasprostranjenosti, a u nekim slučajevima i u zastupstvu većeg broja galerija koje djeluju globalno, omogućujući umjetnicima da borave u zemlji rođenja. Umjetnici s najvišom razinom međunarodne vidljivosti—Sanja Iveković, David Maljković i Mladen Stilinović—izlagali su u prosjeku u 40 zemalja, a međunarodna aktivnost čini više od 70 % njihove cjelokupne izložbene aktivnosti.³⁴ Proširenje teritorija njihova izlaganja nastupilo je osobito nakon 2005., a progresija se odvijala istodobno s rastom njihova međunarodnog ugleda. Međutim, taj je učinak primjetan samo za ograničen broj umjetnika. Umjetničke „karijere” ispod najviše razine sustava pretežno su sedentarne i lokalne—bilo u zemlji rođenja bilo u inozemstvu.

Institucionalni krajolici

Distribucija izložbene aktivnosti umjetnika po institucijama pokazuje znatnu koncentraciju na nekomercijalni segment sustava, koji uvelike nadmašuje komercijalni—11% izložbi održano je u komercijalnim galerijama i na umjetničkim sajmovima, dok ih se 87% odvijalo u nekomercijalnim

Among the mentioned 14 countries, the Western ones that traditionally dominated the contemporary art field stand out, along with the region. Exhibition participations in those 14 countries account for 80% of artists' overall international exhibition activity. The prime exhibition territory of the artists from Croatia who exhibit internationally remains the Old Continent, dominantly its Western part, and the United States. Specific regional subsystems that emerged as particularly important—the territory of Austria, Italy and Slovenia—point out to an undiminished relevance of geographical proximity, along with the persistence of historical and political legacies. They all speak *contre* deterritorialization.

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Vidi bilješke 2 i 3.

33

Slijedim definiciju Baie Curionija i sur. koja određuje status kao razinu simboličkog kapitala koju je umjetnik akumulirao. Autori razlikuju status kao hijerarhijski pojam koji se odnosi na povezanost pojedinca s institucijom od ugleda koji se više veže uz procjenu stručnjaka, ali ukazuju na supostojanje dvaju pojmova u slučaju umjetnosti. Vidi Baia Curioni, Forti, Leone, „Making Visible: Artists and Galleries in the Global Art System”. Pod „gornjim segmentom”, odnosno „gornjom razinom sustava” misli se na nekomercijalne i komercijalne institucije suvremene umjetnosti koje se ocjenjuju kao vrlo značajne, poput važnih višegodišnjih izložbi ili bijenala (*documenta*, *Venecijanski bijenale* itd.), izložbenih centara i muzeja u umjetničkim prijestolnicama, umjetničkih sajmova (*Art Basel*) itd. One se u literaturi smatraju institucijama koje konsakriraju suvremene umjetnike, šaljući tako važne signale o njihovoj reputaciji. Umjetnike visokog statusa ili one koji pripadaju „gornjem segmentu” konsakrirale su neke ili sve navedene institucije. Vidi i Velthuis, Baia Curioni, *Cosmopolitan Canvases. The Globalization of Market for Contemporary Art*.

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Za omjer između međunarodne i domaće izložbene aktivnosti i broj zemalja u kojima je izlagao svaki od umjetnika vidi *Prilog II*: https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendicies.pdf (Život umjetnosti, 105, 2019., Tihana Puc, Prilozi / Appendicies; pristupljeno 27. prosinca 2019.).

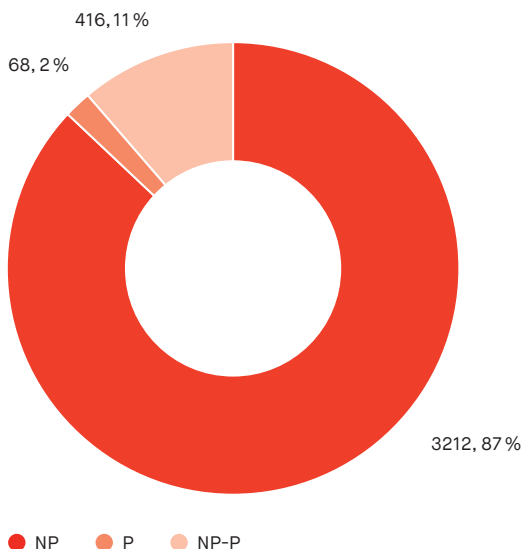
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Za drugačiji omjer u slučaju, primjerice, nizozemskih suvremenih umjetnika, vidi Van Hest, *Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?*

36

Postocima prethodi broj sudjelovanja.

institucijama.³⁵ Činjenica da neprofitne institucije dominiraju nije iznenađujuća s obzirom na porast njihova broja u posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća. Ipak, njihova je dominacija dojmjljiva s obzirom na istodobni rast komercijalnog segmenta. I dok institucionalni mostovi između Hrvatske i međunarodnog svijeta umjetnosti postoje, kad je riječ o privatnim galerijama, gotovo da ih i nema. U tom pogledu Hrvatska gotovo ne može sudjelovati u transferu svojih umjetnika, što činjenicu da je njihov međunarodni prostor većim dijelom institucionalni čini manje iznenađujućom.



Grafikon 1. Distribucija sudjelovanja umjetnika na izložbama u neprofitnim (NP), profitnim (P) i hibridnim (NP-P) institucijama, 1991.–2012.³⁶ / Chart 1. The distribution of exhibition participations of artists in not-for-profit (NP), profit (P) and hybrid (NP-P) institutions, 1991–2012.³⁵

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See notes 2 and 3.

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I follow Baia Curioni *et al.* in their definition of status as a level of symbolic capital accumulated by an artist. They differentiate status as a hierarchical notion related to an individual’s affiliation from reputation related more to the expert evaluation, but they point out to the coexistence of two notions in the case of art. See Baia Curioni, Forti, Leone, “Making Visible: Artists and Galleries in the Global Art System.” With the “top segment,” I refer to contemporary art non-commercial and commercial institutions regarded as highly significant, such as important perennials or biennials (*documenta*, *Venice Biennale* etc.), exhibition centers and museums in artistic capitals, art fairs (*Art Basel*) etc. In the literature, they are considered as institutions that consecrate contemporary artists, sending relevant reputation signals. Artists of high-status or belonging to the top-segment have been consecrated by some or all of these institutions. See also Velthuis, Baia Curioni, *Cosmopolitan Canvases. The Globalization of Market for Contemporary Art*.
33

For the ratio between international and domestic exhibition activity and the number of countries each artist exhibited in see *Appendix II*: https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendicies.pdf (*Život umjetnosti*, 105, 2019, Tihana Puc, Prilozi/Appendicies; last accessed 27 December 2019).
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For a different ratio in the case of, for example, Dutch contemporary artists see Van Hest, *Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?*
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The percentages are preceded by the number of participations.

It is primarily at the micro-level of analysis, and for certain exhibition types, that the post-1989 globalization-related influences emerge. Expectedly, it is primarily for biennials, to a certain degree for the exhibitions of “former East” and for “region-specific” institutions such as Soros Centers for Contemporary Art, that one can recognize a formation of an alternative route more significantly bypassing traditional Western centers. In that respect, my findings are fairly consistent with previous empirical investigations that emphasize the persisting importance of the Euroamerican contemporary art system.³¹

Nonetheless, a slight advancement of the globalization processes is discernible, in particular, for the generation of artists born after 1970. Not only had the number of artists connected with the international circuit grown but their overall presence within it as well. Their international activity intensified, while the older generation’s international recognition increased.

However, more significant impacts of the globalization processes considerably relate to an artist’s status, having the strongest effect on the top segment of the artists.³² It is again at the micro-level of analysis and for individual artists that the impacts are more strongly noticeable, as manifested in the increased number of their exhibitions, their greater geographical spread, and in some cases, increased representation by galleries operating globally, allowing artists to reside in the country of origin. The artists with the highest level of international visibility—Sanja Iveković, David Maljković and Mladen Stilinović—exhibited on average in 40 countries, and international activity accounts for over 70% of their overall exhibition activity.³³ The enlargement of their exhibition territories came in particular after 2005, and the progression paralleled their international consecration. However, such an effect is noticeable only for a limited number of artists. As one is descending below the top-level, artistic “careers” become predominantly sedentary and local—be it *at home* or abroad.

Institutional landscapes

The institutional distribution of artists’ exhibition activity showed a high concentration in the non-commercial sphere, which overwhelmingly outweighs the commercial one—11% of the exhibitions were held in commercial galleries and art fairs, while 87% occurred in non-commercial institutions.³⁴ The fact that not-for-profit institutions dominate is not surprising considering their growth over the past decades. Still, their dominance is striking, considering the parallel growth of the commercial sphere. While the institutional bridges between Croatia and the international art world exist, those of the private gallery system hardly do. In that respect, Croatia can barely participate in the transfer of its artists, which makes the fact that their international space is, for the most part, institutional less surprising.

Međutim, važnost tržišta umjetnina u porastu je, osobito za mlađu generaciju umjetnika (rođenih nakon 1970.), dok je broj umjetnika vidljivih na galerijskom tržištu, kao i onih koje zastupaju strane galerije veći nego za prethodne generacije. Podaci o umjetnicima koje zastupaju galerije navedeni u tablici 3. to pokazuju.

Na individualnoj razini snažniji upliv tržišta primjetan je oko 2010. godine također za umjetnike rođene prije 1970. Međutim, riječ je o ograničenom broju umjetnika u čijem je slučaju utjecaj tržišta uslijedilo tek nakon njihove institucijske konsakracije.³⁸

Nadalje, podaci o izložbama pokazuju da se odabiri aktera u institucionalnoj i tržišnoj domeni najintenzivnije podudaraju na vrhu sustava, dok se ispod njega razdvajaju te se uočava mala izravna korelacija između simboličke i tržišne vrijednosti,³⁹ što ukazuje na sferu neovisnu o tržišnom vrednovanju koju je, bez obzira na njezinu veličinu, vrijedno dodatno istraživati. U tom pogledu, različiti generacijski obrasci međunarodnih umjetničkih „karijera” odražavaju razlike institucionalne i tržišne logike — „karijere” umjetnika rođenih prije 1970., koje su oblikovane u institucionalnoj sferi i u Hrvatskoj,⁴⁰ te one umjetnika rođenih nakon 1970., u čiju je izgradnju bilo uključeno i zapadno galerijsko tržište.⁴¹ Potonje karakterizira prilično nagao porast izložbene aktivnosti te podjednako zamjetno geografsko rasprostiranje u razmjerno ranoj fazi umjetničke aktivnosti, što korelira s početkom galerijskog zastupstva. Za razliku od njih, međunarodne umjetničke „karijere” izgrađene izvan zapadnoga galerijskog sustava karakterizira manja pravilnost i neusporedivo manje nagao porast izložbene aktivnosti. U slučajevima u kojima je ekspanzija proizašla iz visoke razine međunarodnog priznanja,⁴² ona je uslijedila znatno manje iznenadno te nakon dugogodišnje umjetničke aktivnosti. Uslijed odsustva tržišnih utjecaja na izgradnju međunarodnih „karijera” umjetnika iz Hrvatske rođenih prije 1970., istodobno pratimo dva „povijesna razvoja” — „karijere” karakteristične za razdoblje 70-ih i 80-ih, koje je Raymonde Moulin opisala kao spore, te „ubrzane karijere” sve mlađih umjetnika karakteristične za razdoblje 90-ih.⁴³ Potonje obilježava mnogo brži ulazak u muzeje, paralelan komercijalnom uspjehu, za razliku od prvih, kod kojih je komercijalni uspjeh uslijedio tek nakon institucionalnog.

→

| | | Zastupa galerija / <i>Represented</i> | | |
|---|--|--|------|--|
| | | 25 | | |
| Spol / <i>Gender</i> | | | | |
| Ženski / <i>Female</i> | | 7 | | |
| Muški / <i>Male</i> | | 18 | | |
| Grupa / <i>Group</i> | | – | | |
| Godina rođenja / <i>Year of Birth</i> | | | | |
| 1935.–1959. / <i>1935–1959</i> | | 7 | | |
| 1960.–1969. / <i>1960–1969</i> | | 5 | | |
| 1970.–1983. / <i>1970–1983</i> | | 13 | | |
| Gustoća zastupanja / <i>Density of representation</i> | | | | |
| | | Ne zastupa galerija ³⁷ / <i>Not represented by a gallery</i> ³⁶ | | Jednostavna (1-2) <i>Simple (1-2)</i> |
| Spol / <i>Gender</i> | | | | |
| Ženski / <i>Female</i> | | 15 | 42 % | 6 |
| Muški / <i>Male</i> | | 20 | 55 % | 13 |
| Grupa / <i>Group</i> | | 1 | 3 % | – |
| Godina rođenja / <i>Year of Birth</i> | | | | |
| 1935.–1959. / <i>1935–1959</i> | | 3 | 8 % | 6 |
| 1960.–1969. / <i>1960–1969</i> | | 17 | 47 % | 5 |
| 1970.–1983. / <i>1970–1983</i> | | 16 | 45 % | 8 |

Tablica 3. Zastupstvo galerija / Table 3. Gallery representation
↑

37

Podaci se odnose na razdoblje do 2013. Tri umjetnika koja su prethodno zastupale galerije, ali su ta zastupstva prestala, te koje nije zastupala nijedna galerija 2013. godine uključena su u tablicu pod kategorijom „ne zastupa galerija”.

38

Takav je slučaj, iako različitog stupnja i intenziteta s, primjerice, Mladenom Stilinovićem, Sanjom Iveković (prije 1960.), Slavenom Toljem, Igorom Grubićem (1960-ih).

39

U tom su pogledu moji zaključci u skladu s empirijskim istraživanjima koja su „mjerila” podudarnost između tržišta umjetnina i umjetničkih institucija, kao na primjer, „Bull, Two Economies of World Art” ili Wuggenig, Rudolph, „Valuation beyond the Market”, dok se razlikuju od onih s tržišno-imperijalističkim pogledom.

40

Poput, primjerice, u trajektorijama Sanje Iveković, Mladena Stilinovića, Andreje Kulunčić, Igora Grubića i Slavena Tolja.

41

Kao u slučajevima Davida Maljkovića, Vlatke Horvat, Damira Očka i Igora Eškinje, premda s različitim stupnjevima uključenosti tržišta.

42

Kako pokazuje izložbena aktivnost Sanje Iveković i Mladena Stilinovića.

43

Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché*.

| <i>by a gallery</i> | <i>Ne zastupa galerija / Not represented by a gallery</i> | |
|---------------------|---|------|
| 41 % | 36 | 59 % |
| 28 % | 15 | 42 % |
| 2 % | 20 | 55 % |
| – | 1 | 3 % |
| 28 % | 3 | 8 % |
| 28 % | 17 | 47 % |
| 52 % | 16 | 45 % |

| <i>galerije) / galleries)</i> | <i>Srednja (1-5 galerija) / Medium (1-5 galleries)</i> | | <i>Visoka (>5 galerija) / High (>5 galleries)</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--|-------|---|-------|
| 32 % | 1 | 25 % | – | – |
| 68 % | 3 | 75 % | 2 | 100 % |
| – | – | – | – | – |
| 32 % | – | – | 1 | 50 % |
| 26 % | – | – | – | – |
| 42 % | 4 | 100 % | 1 | 50 % |

36

The data refers to the period until 2013. Three artists that had been previously represented by galleries, but the representations ended, and were not represented by any gallery in 2013 were included in the table under the category “not represented by a gallery.”

37

That is the case, albeit of different level and intensity, with, for example, Mladen Stilinović, Sanja Iveković (pre-1960), Slaven Tolj, Igor Grubić (the 1960s).

38

In that respect, my findings are consistent with the empirical studies that “measured” the homology between the art market and art institutions, as, for example, Bull, “Two Economies of World Art” or Wuggenig, Rudolph, “Valuation beyond the Market,” while they depart from those with a market imperialist perspective.

39

As in trajectories of, for example, Sanja Iveković, Mladen Stilinović, Andreja Kulunčić, Igor Grubić, Slaven Tolj.

40

As, though of varying degrees of market involvement, in the case of David Maljković, Vlatka Horvat, Damir Očko, Igor Eškinja.

41

As the exhibition activity of Sanja Iveković and Mladen Stilinović demonstrates.

42

Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché*.

However, the importance of the art market rises, in particular with the younger generation of artists (born after 1970), and the number of the artists visible on the so-called dealer market and represented by foreign galleries is greater than for the previous generations. The data on artists' gallery representation given in Table 3 demonstrates that.

On the individual level, the stronger involvement of the market is noticeable around the year 2010, also for the artists born before 1970. However, it includes a limited number of artists, and it followed after their institutional consecration.³⁷ Furthermore, the exhibition data demonstrates that the choices of operators in the institutional and art market realm overlap most intensely at the very top level, while they tend to separate below, where little direct correlation between symbolic and market value is found,³⁸ indicating a sphere autonomous of market valuation which, no matter its size, is worthwhile exploring further. In that respect, different generational patterns of international artistic “careers” reflect distinctive institutional and market logic—the “careers” of the artists born before 1970, which were shaped within the institutional sphere and from Croatia,³⁹ and those of the post-1970 generation whose construction saw the involvement of the Western dealer market.⁴⁰ The latter are marked by a rather sharp ascend of exhibition activity and its equal geographical spread at a relatively early stage of artistic activity and are correlated with the beginning of gallery representation. Unlike them, the paths of those artists whose international “careers” were constructed outside the Western gallery system show less regularity and an incomparably less abrupt increase of exhibition activity. In those cases where the expansion occurred, due to international recognition of a high level,⁴¹ it did so far less suddenly and after years of artistic activity. Due to the absence of the art market involvement in the construction of international “careers” of the pre-1970 generations of artists from Croatia, two “historical developments” run in parallel—the “careers” Raymonde Moulin described as a slow development characteristic of the '70s and '80s, and the “speeded-up careers” of the ever-younger artists characteristic of the '90s.⁴² The latter are marked by a much faster entry into the museums, which parallels the commercial success, opposite to the previous where the commercial success followed only after the institutional.

→

(Međunarodne) trajektorije umjetnika iz Hrvatske manje su standardizirane, u najvećoj mjeri zbog nejednake uključenosti aktera tržišta umjetnina.⁴⁴

Mreže umjetnika i institucija

Daljnji korak u anali izložbenih podataka poduzet je kako bi se utvrdili načini na koje se povezuju umjetnici i institucije, usporedile trajektorije umjetnika kroz institucije te identificirale potencijalno važne institucionalne platforme koje posreduju u protoku umjetnika kroz različite segmente „globaliziranog” polja umjetnosti. S tom su namjerom izložbeni podaci pomoću softvera za analizu društvenih mreža (engl. *Social Network Analysis*, SNA) UCINET⁴⁵ pretvoreni u mrežne dijagrame iz kojih se iščitava ukupnost kretanja umjetnika te njihovi odnosi s institucijama.⁴⁶ Mrežna je analiza ovdje primijenjena u svrhu kako ju opisuje Franco Moretti—da bi se stvorio znak koji je na prvi pogled vidljiv u dvodimenzionalnom prostoru—rendgenska snimka koja otkriva pozadinsku strukturu.⁴⁷

Izrađene mreže umjetnika i institucija prikazuju sve odnose uspostavljene između umjetnika i institucija putem izložbi.⁴⁸ Zasebno je za svaku zemlju prikazano cjelokupno razmatrano razdoblje. S obzirom na to izostala je vremenska dimenzija, ali su u jednom prikazu vidljive sve veze svakog od čvorišta u određenoj zemlji. Takvo je „rezanje” mreža bilo uvjetovano nakanom da se usporede obrasci među zemljama, detektiraju potencijalni institucionalni centri i odmjere položaji umjetnika u različitim zemljama. Mreže su također „rezane” za umjetnike rođene prije 1960. i nakon 1960.

Važno je naglasiti da sve prikazane veze imaju jednaku „težinu”, neovisno o vrsti izložbe ili umjetničke institucije. Centralitet umjetnika stoga ne treba smatrati mjerom njegova kritičkog ili komercijalnog uspjeha.⁴⁹ Dakle, prikazi ne predstavljaju rangiranje umjetnika, već skup odnosa uspostavljenih unutar javnih i komercijalnih izložbenih sustava različitih geografskih područja.

Izrađene „karte izložbi” sadrže dva tipa čvorišta: umjetnike prikazane crvenim krugovima i institucije prikazane plavim kvadratima. Veličina čvorišta proporcionalna je njihovu stupnju centraliteta—broju veza koje svako čvorište ima, tj. broju izložbi na kojima je svaki umjetnik sudjelovao. Njihovi su brojevi navedeni ispod svake vizualizacije.

U dijelu koji slijedi razmatraju se obrasci koji su uspostavljeni kao zajednički za različite zemlje. U razmatranje se prvo uzimaju razlozi rasta centraliteta umjetnika, a zatim razlozi rasta centraliteta institucija, zajedno s institucionalnim sjećanjima među umjetnicima. Odabrani primjeri prikazuju mreže umjetnika i institucija u Italiji (vidi sl. 3a i 3b), Njemačkoj (vidi sl. 4a i 4b) i Francuskoj (vidi sl. 5a i 5b). Odabrane su zemlje među onima u kojima su umjetnici iz Hrvatske izlagali intenzivnije (vidi tablicu 2) te stoga prikazuju veću gustoću veza između umjetnika i institucija. Njemačka zauzima prvo

It is by and large due to the uneven involvement of the art market actors that the (international) trajectories of artists from Croatia are less standardized.⁴³

Artists-institutions networks

A further step in the analysis of exhibition data was undertaken to see how artists and institutions connect, to compare artists' trajectories through institutions and to identify potentially significant institutional platforms that mediate artists' passage through various sections of the “globalized” art field. To that end, the exhibition data was converted, with the use of UCINET software for social network analysis (SNA),⁴⁴ into matrices from which the totality of artists' movement and their relations with the institutions could be read.⁴⁵ SNA was used in Franco Moretti's sense—to create a sign that can be seen at a glance in two-dimensional space—an X-ray that unveils the underlying structure.⁴⁶

The constructed artists-institutions networks display all the relations developed between the artists and the institutions through the exhibitions.⁴⁷ The entire period under consideration is represented for every country. Thus, the temporal dimension is missing, but all the ties that each node had in a certain country are visible in a single visualization. The networks were cut in such a manner because the aim was to compare the patterns between the countries, to detect potential institutional centers and to grasp the positions of artists in different countries. The networks were also cut for the pre-1960 and post-1960 generations of artists.

44

Za razliku od, primjerice, Francuske, gdje je Martin ustanovio da mladi francuski umjetnici prolaze kroz iste faze i karijere im se razvijaju na sličan način. Vidi Martin, „How Visual Artists Enter the Contemporary Art market in France”.

45

Borgatti, Everett, Freeman, *UCINET for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. Vidi i Borgatti, Everett, Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*.

46

Moderni i suvremeni umjetnici i institucije kontinuirano su predmetom mrežne analize. Među mnogim istraživanjima vidi: Baia Curioni, Rizzi, „Two realms in confrontation: consensus or discontinuity?”; Kienle, „Visualizing Networks: Approaches to Network Analysis in Art History”; Fraiberger *et al.*, „Quantifying reputation and success in art”. Vidi posebno projekt ARTNET (vidi: „ARTNET project”) i 99. broj *Života umjetnosti*. Vidi npr. Kolešnik, Bojić, Šilić, „Reconstruction of Almir Mavignier's Personal Network”; Tonković, Sekelj, „Annual Exhibitions of the Soros Center for Contemporary Art Zagreb as a Place of Networking”. Vidi i projekt *Exhibitium*: „Exhibitium Project”.

47

Moretti, „Network Theory, Plot Analysis”.

48

U svrhu čitljivosti nisu „otvorene” sve oznake čvorišta te stoga vizualizacije ne prikazuju sve informacije koje sadrže.

49

Slijedim formulaciju M. Bulla, danu u kontekstu rangiranja, koja govori da položaj umjetnika odražava prvenstveno količinu ulaganja u određene umjetnike u ekonomiji pažnje, na temelju broja njihovih izložbi. Vidi Bull, „Two Economies of World Art”.

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Nemanja Cvijanović, Igor Eškinja, Dragana Sapanjoš i Dubravka Vidović obrazovani su i/ili su živjeli određeno vrijeme u Italiji, Renata Poljak u Francuskoj, a Ana Bilankov, Vladimir Frelj, Kristian Kožul, Kristina Leko, Nika Radić i Nikola Ukić u Njemačkoj. Za cjelovit popis umjetnika i njihovih prebivališta vidi *Prilog 1*: https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendicies.pdf (Život umjetnosti, 105, 2019., Tihana Puc, Prilozi/Appendicies; pristupljeno 27. prosinca 2019.).

mjesto kada se u obzir uzme cjelokupna umjetnička populacija. Kada se promatraju različite generacije, Njemačka i dalje zauzima prvo mjesto za umjetnike rođene prije 1960. i umjetnike rođene 1960-ih, dok Italija postaje vodeće područje izlaganja za umjetnike rođene nakon 1970. S druge strane, Francuska je među zemljama sa znatnom prisutnošću umjetnika zauzela srednje mjesto kod svih generacija. S obzirom na to vizualizacije bi trebale otkriti moguće razlike u obrascima za različite zemlje i generacije.

No neovisno o zemlji uzetoj u razmatranje, centralitet umjetnika prije svega korelira s obrazovanjem, prebivalištem te u manjoj mjeri sa zastupstvom galerije u toj zemlji. Umjetnici s najvećim centralitetom u odabranim primjerima zemalja obrazovani su i/ili su određeno vrijeme živjeli u danoj zemlji.⁴³ Njihov se centralitet smanjuje u drugim zemljama, osim ako nisu stekli znatan međunarodni ugled. Samo je u slučaju međunarodno najpriznatijih umjetnika prisutnost snažna i ravnomjerna u različitim područjima suvremenoga umjetničkog svijeta, neovisno o obrazovanju i prebivalištu. Kao što pokazuju mreže umjetnika rođenih nakon 1960., to je prije svega slučaj s Davidom Maljkovićem.

43

Unlike, for example, in France, where Martin found that the young French artists go through the same stages, having similar career paths. See Martin, “How Visual Artists Enter the Contemporary Art market in France.”

44

Borgatti, Everett, Freeman, *UCINET for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. Also: Borgatti, Everett, Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*.

45

Modern and contemporary artists and institutions have been and continue to be the subject of network analysis. Among many studies see Baia Curioni, Rizzi, “Two realms in confrontation: consensus or discontinuity?,” Kienle, “Visualizing Networks: Approaches to Network Analysis in Art History,” Fraiberger *et al.*, “Quantifying reputation and success in art.” See in particular the project *ARTNET* (see: “ARTNET project”) and the 99th issue of *Život umjetnosti*. See, for example: Kolečnik, Bojić, Šilić, “Reconstruction of Almir Mavignier’s Personal Network;” Tonković, Sekelj, “Annual Exhibitions of the Soros Center for Contemporary Art Zagreb as a Place of Networking.” See also the project *Exhibitium*: “Exhibitium project.”

46

Moretti, “Network Theory, Plot Analysis.”

47

For reasons of legibility, not all node’s labels were “opened,” and, thus, the visualizations do not disclose all the information they contain.

48

I follow M. Bull’s formulation in the context of rankings, saying that artists’ position reflects primarily the amount of investment in particular artists within the economy of attention, based on the number of his/her exhibitions. See Bull, “Two Economies of World Art.”

49

Nemanja Cvijanović, Igor Eškinja, Dragana Sapanjoš and Dubravka Vidović were all educated and/or lived for a period in Italy, Renata Poljak in France, and Ana Bilankov, Vladimir Frelj, Kristian Kožul, Kristina Leko, Nika Radić and Nikola Ukić in Germany.

For a complete list of artists and their residences, see *Appendix I*: https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendicies.pdf (*Život umjetnosti*, 105, 2019, Tihana Puc, Prilozi / Appendicies; last accessed 27 December 2019).

50

The exception is Braco Dimitrijević, see *Appendix I*: https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendicies.pdf (*Život umjetnosti*, 105, 2019, Tihana Puc, Prilozi / Appendicies; last accessed 27 December 2019).

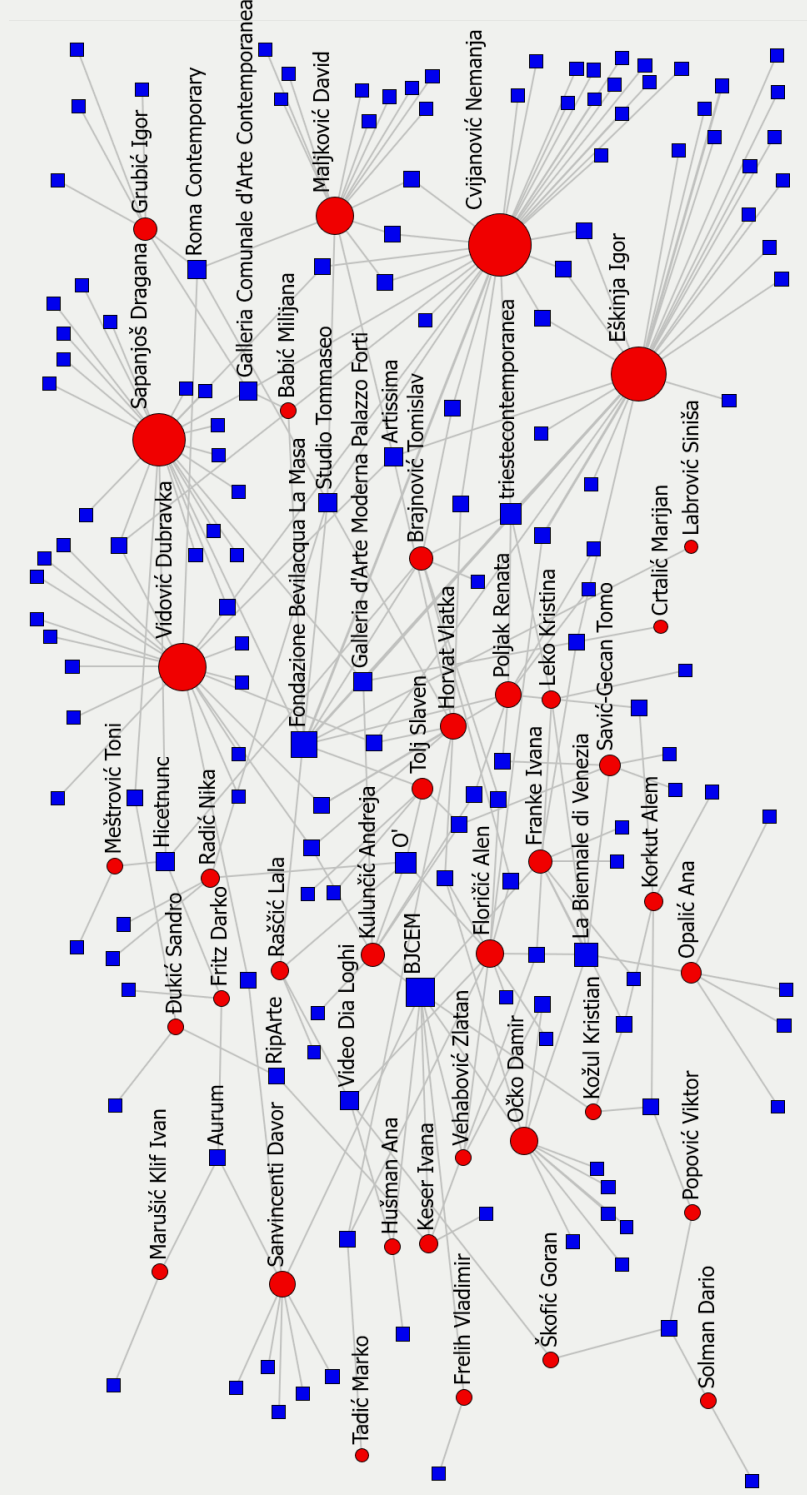
What needs to be emphasized is that all the connections displayed “weight” the same, regardless of the type of exhibition or art institution. Thus, artists’ centrality is not to be taken as a measure of critical or commercial success.⁴⁸ Hence, what is visualized is not a ranking of artists, but a set of relations they have established within public and commercial exhibition circuits of different geographical zones.

The created “exhibitions maps” contain two types of nodes: artists, who are represented as red circles and institutions, which are represented as blue squares. The nodes are sized proportionally to their degree centrality—the number of ties that each node has, i.e. the number of exhibitions in which each artist participated. Their numbers are specified below each figure.

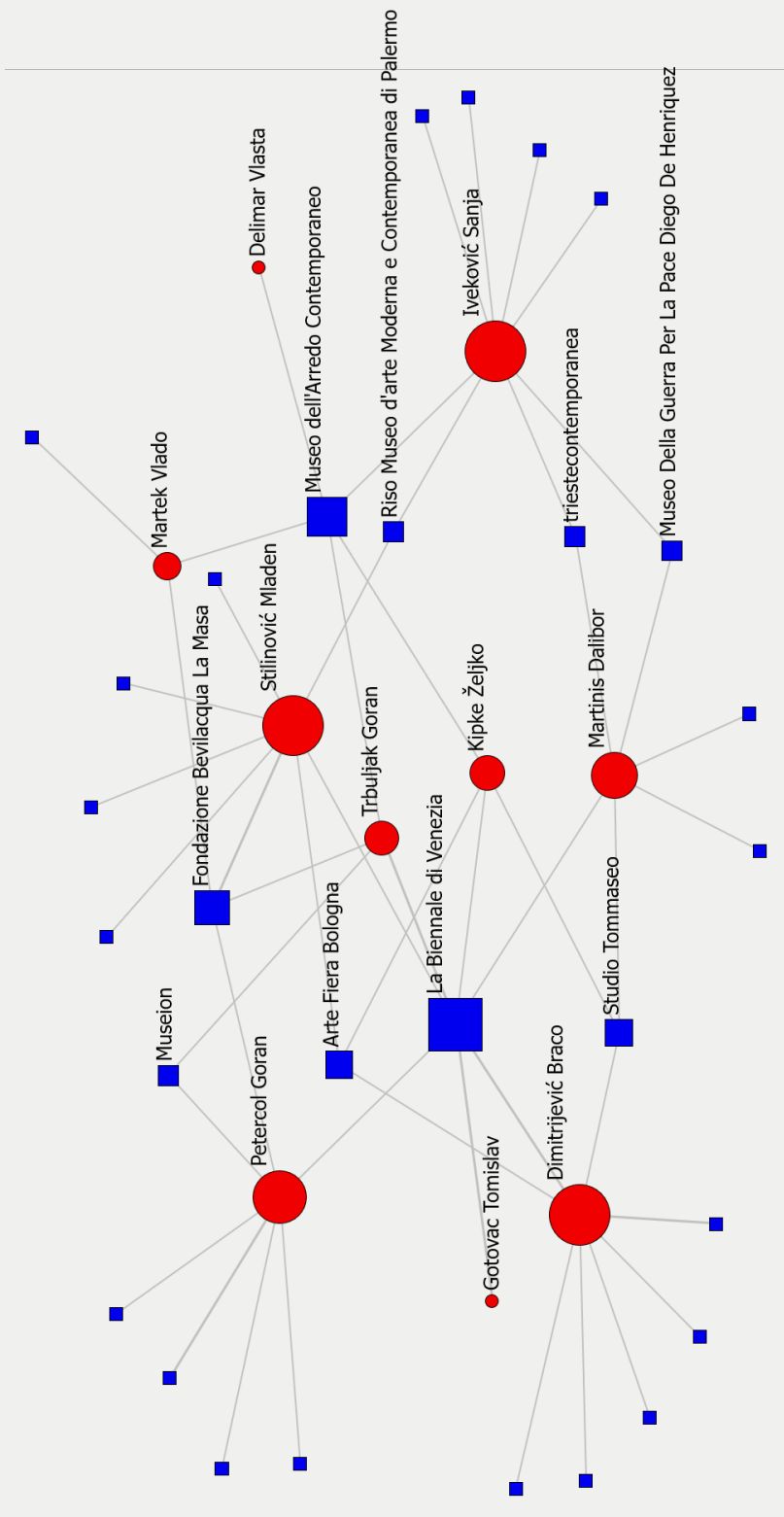
In what follows, the patterns that emerged as common for different countries will be discussed. Firstly, the reasons behind the growth of centrality of artists are considered, and secondly, the reasons behind the growth of centrality of institutions, along with the institutional intersections between artists. The selected examples include artists-institutions networks in Italy (see Fig. 3a and 3b), Germany (see Fig. 4a and 4b) and France (see Fig. 5a and 5b). The chosen countries are among the top countries in which the artists from Croatia exhibited, as shown in Table 2, and, thus, display denser connections between the artists and the institutions. Germany holds the first place when the entire artistic population is considered. When the artists are broken into different generations, Germany still holds the first place for the artists born before 1960 and the artists born in the 1960s, while Italy becomes the leading exhibition territory for the post-1970 generation. On the other hand, for all the generations, France holds a middle position among the countries where the artists’ presence was significant. Thus, the visualizations should disclose possible differences in patterns per country and per generation.

However, regardless of the country selected, the centrality of an artist correlates primarily with education, residence and, to a lesser degree, gallery representation in the country. Artists with the highest centrality in the countries shown here were all educated and/or lived during a certain period in that country.⁴⁹ Their centrality decreases in other countries unless they acquired significant international recognition. Only in the case of the internationally most established artists is their presence strong and balanced in various zones of the contemporary art world, regardless of education and residence. As networks for the post-1960 generations demonstrate, that is the case primarily with David Maljković.

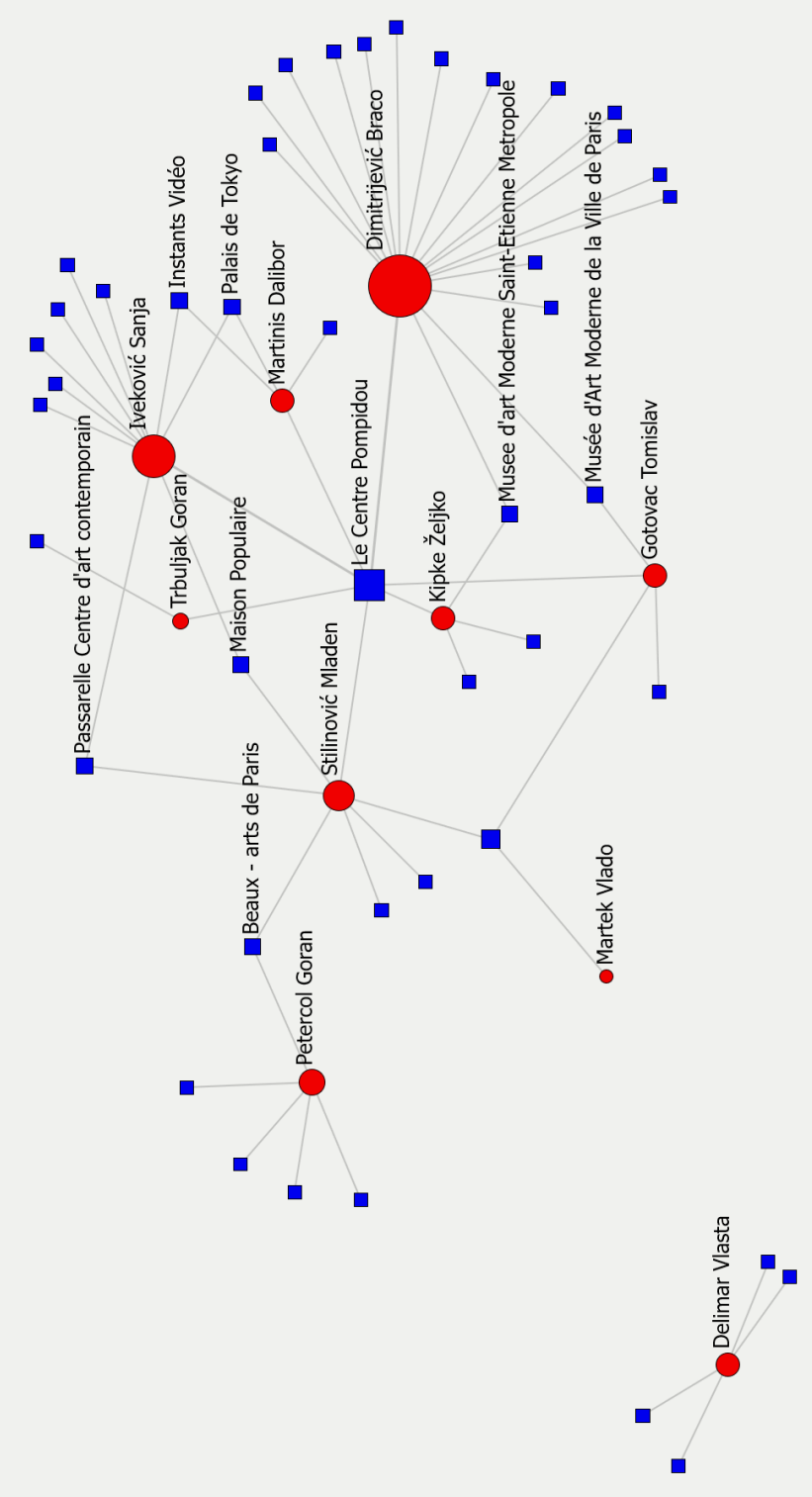
Findings for other countries are consistent with those presented here. However, what is said does not apply to the artists born before 1960. They were educated and reside in Croatia, and there is no relation between these factors and their international presence.⁵⁰



Slika 3a. Mreža umjetnika i institucija u Italiji (umjetnici rođeni nakon 1960.), 1991.–2012. Mreža se temelji na 297 sudjelovanja 42 umjetnika u 165 institucija (detalj [„Pojedinci“ (6 umjetnika) su uklonjeni iz mreže.]). Crveni krugovi označavaju umjetnike. Plavi kvadrati označavaju institucije. Veličina čvorovišta odgovara broju izložbi. Autorica vizualizacije: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA, 2002.) / Figure 3a. Artists-institutions network in Italy (artists born after 1960), 1991–2012. The network is based on 297 participations by 42 artists in 165 institutions (detail [“Singletons” (6 artists) are removed from the network.]). Red circles represent artists. Blue squares represent institutions. The size of the nodes corresponds to the number of exhibitions. Author of the visualization: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA, 2002)



Slika 3b. Mreža umjetnika i institucija u Italiji (umjetnici rođeni prije 1960.), 1991. – 2012.; mreža se temelji na 56 sudjelovanja 10 umjetnika u 29 institucija. Crveni krugovi označavaju umjetnike. Plavi kvadrati označavaju institucije. Veličina čvorišta odgovara broju izložbi. Autorica vizualizacije: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies; Harvard, MA, 2002.) / Figure 3b. Artists-institutions network in Italy (artists born before 1960), 1991–2012, the network is based on 56 participations of 10 artists in 29 institutions. Red circles represent artists. Blue squares represent institutions. The size of the nodes corresponds to the number of exhibitions. Author of the visualization: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies; Harvard, MA, 2002)



Slika 5b. Mreža umjetnika i institucija u Francuskoj (umjetnici rođeni prije 1960.), 1991. – 2012. Mreža se temelji na 78 sudjelovanja 10 umjetnika u 45 institucija. Crveni krugovi označavaju umjetnike. Plavi kvadrati označavaju institucije. Veličina čvorišta odgovara broju izložbi. Autorica vizualizacije: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA, 2002.) / Figure 5b. Artists-institutions network in France (artists born before 1960), 1991–2012. The network is based on 78 participations by 10 artists in 45 institutions. Red circles represent artists. Blue squares represent institutions. The size of the nodes corresponds to the number of exhibitions. Author of the visualization: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA, 2002)

Rezultati za druge zemlje u skladu su s iznesenima. Međutim, navedeno nije primjenjivo na umjetnike rođene prije 1960. Oni su obrazovani i žive u Hrvatskoj te ne postoji veza između navedenih čimbenika i njihove međunarodne prisutnosti.⁵¹

Porast centraliteta institucija u najvećoj je mjeri uvjetovan trima razlozima:

- a) izložbama koje su organizirali kustosi ili umjetnici iz Hrvatske
- b) izložbama usmjerenima na umjetnike s Balkana, iz Srednjoistočne i Istočne Europe
- c) izložbama održanima u institucijama „usmjerenima na regiju” — institucijama osnovanima većinom nakon 1989. s osobitim fokusom na Srednjoistočnu ili Istočnu Europu.

Istodobno, većina sjecišta umjetnika u međunarodnom izložbenom prostoru ovisila je o tim trima čimbenicima.

Mreža umjetnika i institucija u Italiji ilustrira navedeno (vidi sl. 3a). Veći centralitet Fondazione Bevilacqua La Masa u Veneciji proizlazi iz izložbe *Volume Collection* koju je 2010. kurirao umjetnik Nemanja Cvijanović, a u kojoj je sudjelovao znatan broj umjetnika iz Hrvatske. Iza izložbi *Biennale des jeunes créateurs de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée* (BJCEM) stoji nacionalna selekcija. Isti je slučaj i s *Venecijanskim bijenalom*, s obzirom na to da on označava i Hrvatski paviljon. Drugo je veće čvorište *Trieste Contemporanea*, osnovana 1995. godine u cilju stvaranja „opservatorija za aktualno stanje u umjetnosti i kulturi u Srednjoistočnoj Europi”.⁵² Prilično sličnu situacija pokazuje mreža umjetnika rođenih prije 1960. (vidi sl. 3b), uz iznimku *Venecijanskog bijenala*. Njegova veličina nije uvjetovana isključivo nacionalnim selekcijama, s obzirom na to da su Tomislav Gotovac i Mladen Stilinović 2003. godine sudjelovali na središnjim izložbama *Bijenala*.

Isti se obrazac ponavlja u Njemačkoj (vidi sl. 4a i 4b) i u Francuskoj (vidi sl. 5a i 5b), ali i u drugim geografskim područjima. Faktori koji utječu na rast centraliteta institucija ne razlikuju se znatnije s obzirom na geografsko područje.⁵³ Razlike su u najvećoj mjeri bile kvantitativne. Kustoska aktivnost kustosa i umjetnika iz Hrvatske nije bila podjednako intenzivna u svim područjima.⁵⁴ Isti je slučaj i s institucijama „usmjerenima na regiju” te s izložbama geografskog i ideološkog predznaka, koje se nisu podjednako proširile svim područjima. S obzirom na to da su se one iskristalizirale kao važne poveznice, njihova je vremenska i prostorna distribucija detaljnije razmotrena.

Izložbe koje su (ponovno) otkrivala „bivši Istok” često su u svoje nazive uključivale geografske nazivnike — Srednja Europa, Istočna Europa i Balkan ili pak ideološke — postkomunizam ili postsocijalizam. Njihovi su se kustoski koncepti uvelike razlikovali te namjera nipošto nije izjednačiti ih.⁵⁵ Njihov najmanji zajednički nazivnik, fokus na umjetnike iz regije(a), omogućuje da se one sagledaju skupno kao pokazatelj kolektivnog kretanja umjetnika poljem suvremene umjetnosti nakon 1989.

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Iznimka je Braco Dimitrijević, vidi *Prilog I*: https://www.ipu.hr/content/zivot-umjetnosti/ZU_105-2019_Puc_appendicies.pdf (Život umjetnosti, 105, 2019., Tihana Puc, Prilozi / Appendicies; pristupljeno 27. prosinca 2019.).

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Vidi: „Trieste Contemporanea”. Izložbe u Studiju Tommaseo, koji je na karti prikazan zasebno, organizira Trieste Contemporanea, što njezin centralitet čini i većim.

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Iznimku, u određenoj mjeri, predstavlja Slovenija, u kojoj je skupna prisutnost umjetnika izraženija, a institucionalna su sjecišta u ponešto manjoj mjeri uvjetovana trima navedenim čimbenicima. Uslijed prostornih ograničenja, ulogu slovenskog sustava suvremene umjetnosti za umjetnike iz Hrvatske nije moguće dodatno razmatrati.

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Izložbe koje su organizirale hrvatske institucije, kustosi i umjetnici iz Hrvatske uključile su 58 umjetnika iz uzorka te su održane u 44 zemlje. Zemlje s najvećim brojem izložbenih sudjelovanja bile su: Italija, SAD, Austrija, Njemačka, Francuska i Slovenija.

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Literatura o izložbama je opsežna. Za odabrane referencije vidi Puc, *(In)visible Artists—Contemporary Artists from Croatia in the post-1989 „Globalized” Contemporary Art Field.*, vidi i Oriškova, *Curating „Eastern Europe” and Beyond: Art Histories through the Exhibition.*

The growth in the centrality of institutions is driven, mostly, by three reasons:

- (a) exhibitions curated by curators or artists from Croatia;
- (b) exhibitions focused on the artists from the Balkans, East-Central or Eastern Europe;
- (c) exhibitions held in the “region-focused” institutions —institutions established mainly after 1989 with a specific focus on East-Central or Eastern Europe.

At the same time, the majority of artists’ intersections in the international exhibition circuit depended on those three factors.

The artists-institutions network in Italy provides an illustration (see Fig. 3a). Higher centrality of Fondazione Bevilacqua La Masa in Venice arises from the exhibition *Volume Collection* curated in 2010 by the artist Nemanja Cvijanović, which included a substantial number of the artists from Croatia. The national selection stands behind the *Biennale des jeunes créateurs de l’Europe et de la Méditerranée* (BJCEM). That is the case of *La Biennale di Venezia* as well, as it also stands for the Croatian Pavilion. The other greater node is *Trieste Contemporanea*, which was founded in 1995 with the aim of creating “an observatory on the contemporary situation of art and culture in East-Central Europe.”⁵¹ The situation is fairly similar when the network of artists born before 1960 is taken into consideration (see Fig. 3b), with the difference of *Venice Biennale*. Its size is not conditioned exclusively by national selections, as Tomislav Gotovac and Mladen Stiljinović participated in the curated exhibitions of the *Biennale* in 2003.

The same pattern repeats in Germany (see Fig. 4a and 4b) and in France (see Fig. 5a and 5b), but in other geographical areas as well. No significant difference with respect to the growth in the centrality of institutions was found for different zones.⁵² The differences were mainly quantitative. The curators and artists from Croatia did not curate equally intensely in all the areas.⁵³ The same holds true for the “region-focused” institutions, and geographically and ideologically framed exhibitions, which did not spread equally across all territories. Since they crystallized as important connectors, their temporal and spatial distribution was looked at in more detail.

The exhibitions (re)discovering the “former East” operated with geographical denominators, often included in their titles—Central Europe, Eastern Europe, the Balkans—or ideological ones—post-communism or post-socialism. Their curatorial concepts varied widely, and the intention is by no means to equalize them.⁵⁴ Their lower common denominator —focus on the artists from the region(s)—allows for them to be considered together as an indication of artists’ collective movement through the post-1989 contemporary art field.

As data shows, “exhibiting the Balkans” was an episode, territorially more limited (see Fig. 6), which started in 2000 and for the most part concluded in 2004 (see Chart 2). The

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See: “Trieste Contemporanea.” Exhibitions at Studio Tommaseo, figuring separately on the map, are organized by Trieste Contemporanea, adding to its centrality.

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The exception, to a certain level, is Slovenia, where the level of artists’ collective embeddedness appears higher and the institutional intersections depend somewhat less on the three mentioned factors. Due to space constraints, the role of Slovenian contemporary art system for the artists from Croatia cannot be detailed here.

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The exhibitions organized by Croatian institutions, curators and artists from Croatia included 58 artists from the sample and were held in 44 countries. The countries with the highest number of exhibition participations were: Italy, the United States, Austria, Germany, France and Slovenia.

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The literature on the topic of the exhibitions is vast. For selected references, see Puc, *(In)visible Artists—Contemporary Artists from Croatia in the post-1989 “Globalized” Contemporary Art Field.*, see also Oriškova, *Curating “Eastern Europe” and Beyond: Art Histories through the Exhibition.*

Kao što izložbeni podaci potvrđuju, „izlaganje Balkana” bila je epizoda, prostorno ograničenija (vidi sl. 6), koja je započela 2000. godine i u najvećoj mjeri završila 2004. godine (vidi grafikon 2). Izložbe su održane u 17 zemalja i uključile su 28 umjetnika iz uzorka. Fenomen je bio pretežno institucionalni, no tržište umjetnina ubrzo ga je integriralo.⁵⁶ S druge strane, širi je fokus na „bivši Istok”, s različitim stupnjevima intenziteta, bio kontinuiran (vidi grafikon 3). Izložbe u 29 zemalja uključile su 43 umjetnika iz uzorka (vidi sl. 7). Osim u Sloveniji i Mađarskoj, „bivši Istok” izlagan je prvenstveno u Zapadnoj Europi te u SAD-u. Izložbe su uglavnom organizirale institucije „usmjerene na regiju” i kustosi iz regije ili pak oni upućeni u nju. Nakon dva desetljeća „izlaganja Istoka” i nakon vrhunca povodom 20. obljetnice pada Berlinskog zida 2009. godine, reakcija „centara” bila je gotovo sinkrona. Oko 2010. renimirane institucije u umjetničkim prijestolnicama, kao i elitne privatne galerije organizirale su izložbe istočnoeuropskih umjetnika.⁵⁷

Uslijedilo je širenje izložbi na sjeverozapad te one umjetničke prijestolnice u kojima su umjetnici iz Hrvatske kao predstavnici „bivšeg Istoka” prethodno rjeđe izlagani, poput primjerice Londona.⁵⁸ S vremenom se fokus postupno raspršio. Izložbe „bivšeg Istoka” pripadaju kontekstu „velikih otkrića” učestalih nakon 1989. godine. Smatrane platformama za međunarodnu „regrutaciju” umjetnika, one su, međutim, najjači učinak imale upravo na one umjetnike koji su već stekli određenu međunarodnu vidljivost i priznanje. Oni su najčešće sudjelovali na izložbama, osobito onima koje su organizirale prestižne institucije.⁵⁹ Stoga je njihov utjecaj na međunarodnu integraciju umjetnika bio ograničen, zadržavajući se uglavnom u okvirima kvantitativne internacionalizacije, na što upućuje i prethodna literatura.⁶⁰

Osim navedenih čimbenika koji su uvjetovali institucionalna sjecišta umjetnika, druge izrazitije poveznice i važnija institucionalna čvorišta nisu uočena. Najizrazitija obilježja globalizacijskih procesa nakon 1989. godine na mrežama umjetnika i institucija proizlaze prije svega iz fokusa na „bivši Istok”.

ZAKLJUČAK

Najvidljivije su posljedice s globalizacijom povezanih procesa u hrvatskom kontekstu intenzifikacija međunarodne integracije umjetnika mlađe generacije te porast međunarodne afirmacije umjetnika starije generacije. Istodoban im je prodor utjecaja zapadnog tržišta umjetnina, koji se izdvaja kao još jedno obilježje razdoblja nakon 1989. godine. Premda utjecaj nije znatan, u porastu je. No na hrvatski se sustav nije znatnije odrazio.⁶¹

Kada se u obzir uzme geografska distribucija izlagačke aktivnosti umjetnika u svojoj ukupnosti, vidljivo je da pojam „međunarodno” i dalje u najvećoj mjeri znači „Zapad”. Iako podaci upućuju na prošireni obuhvat „međunarodnog”, ključni međunarodni arbitar i dalje je euroamerički sustav suvremene umjetnosti.

Grafikon 2. Sudjelovanja umjetnika iz Hrvatske na izložbama usmjerenima na balkanske umjetnike (2000.–2012.). Grafikon se temelji na 85 sudjelovanja 28 umjetnika na izložbama u 17 zemalja. / Chart 2. Participations of artists from Croatia in the exhibitions focused on Balkan artists (2000–2012). The chart is based on 85 exhibition participations of 28 artists in 17 countries.

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Grafikon 3. Sudjelovanja umjetnika iz Hrvatske na izložbama usmjerenima na istočnoeuropske umjetnike (1993.–2012.). Grafikon se temelji na 417 sudjelovanja 43 umjetnika na izložbama u 29 zemalja. / Chart 3. Participations of artists from Croatia in the exhibitions focused on Eastern European artists (1993–2012). The chart is based on 417 exhibition participations by 43 artists in 29 countries.

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Godine 2004. Harald Szeemann izlagao je „balkanske umjetnike” na sajmu *Arte Fiera* u Bologni, a godinu dana kasnije osnovan je *Viennafair* sa specifičnim fokusom na Istok.

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Kao što je *The Promises of the past: A discontinuous history of art in former Eastern Europe* u pariškom Centru Pompidou 2010. godine, *Ostalgie* u njujorškom New Museum of Contemporary Art 2011. godine. Iste godine održana je retrospektivna izložba Sanje Iveković u MoMA-i, nakon koje je uslijedila izložba *The Scenes from Zagreb. Artist's Publications of the New Art Practice*. Izložbe „s fokusom na istok” održane su u komercijalnim galerijama kao što su Georg Kargl Fine Arts i Galerie Martin Janda u Beču 2011. godine.

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Na primjer, 2011. godine održana je izložba *Rearview Mirror. New Art from Central and Eastern Europe u Power Plantu* u Torontu te je putovala u Umjetničku galeriju u Alberti 2012. godine. Godine 2012. Sanja Iveković imala je samostalnu izložbu u londonskoj Galeriji Calvert 22—neprofitnoj instituciji posvećenoj ruskoj i istočnoeuropskoj umjetnosti, osnovanoj 2009. godine.

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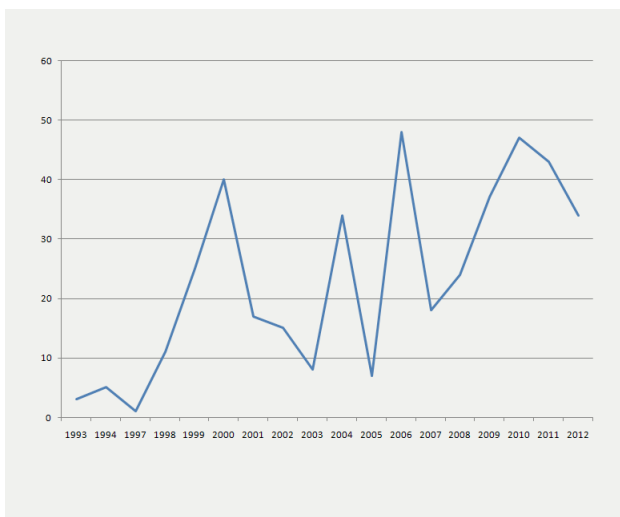
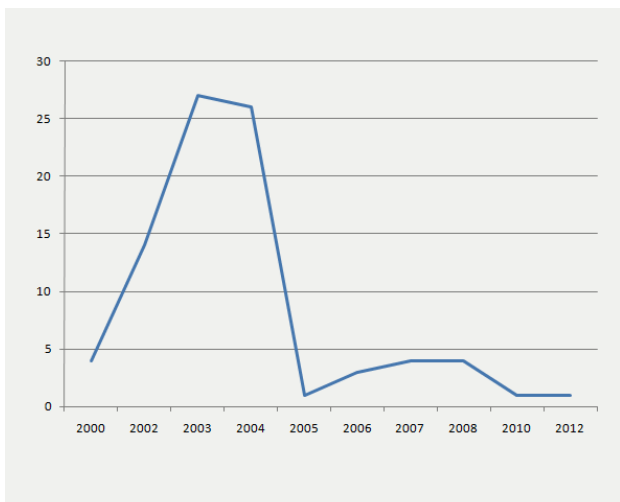
Osobito David Maljković, Sanja Iveković i Mladen Stilinović.

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Buchholz, Wuggenig, „Cultural Globalization Between Myth and Reality: The Case of the Contemporary Visual Arts”.

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To se osobito odnosi na uspostavu sustava privatnih galerija.



exhibitions were held in 17 countries and included 28 artists from the sample. The phenomenon was predominantly an institutional one, but the art market soon picked it up.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the broader focus on the “former East,” with varying degrees of intensity, was continuous (see Chart 3). The exhibitions in 29 countries encompassed 43 artists from the sample (see Fig. 7). Apart from Slovenia and Hungary, the “former East” was exhibited primarily in Western Europe and the United States. The exhibitions were predominately organized by “region-focused” institutions and curators coming from the region or having a particular interest in the region. However, after two decades of “exhibiting the East,” and after a peak on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Wall in 2009, the “centers” reacted almost simultaneously. Around the year 2010 the most renowned institutions in artistic capitals, as well as high-end private galleries organized the exhibitions of Eastern European artists.⁵⁶

In parallel, the exhibitions spread further to the northwest and to those artistic capitals where the artists from Croatia as “former Easterners” were previously more modestly exhibited, such as London.⁵⁷ The focus subsequently gradually dispersed. Inscribed into the post-1989 trend of the “discovery campaigns,” seen as platforms for the international “recruitment” of artists, they, however, produced the strongest effect on those artists that already had a certain level of international visibility and recognition.⁵⁸ They were the ones exhibited more frequently, and in particular in those exhibitions organized by prestigious institutions. Thus, their impact on artists’ international integration was restricted, and stayed mostly within the limits of quantitative internationalization, as previously suggested in the literature.⁵⁹

Besides the above-outlined factors that conditioned the artists’ institutional intersections, no specific associations or institutional hubs were found. The strongest post-1989 globalization-related imprints on artists-institutions networks arise primarily from the foci on the “former East.”

CONCLUSION

The most visible consequences of the globalization-related processes within the Croatian context are higher international inclusion of the younger generation of artists, along with the increased international consecration of the older generation. They were paralleled with the Western art market influence, another mark of the post-1989 developments. Even if not remarkable, it is growing. However, its reflections on the Croatian system are pronouncedly limited.⁶⁰

Looking at the artists’ exhibition activity in its geographic totality, it is apparent that the *international* still by and large equates with the West. The data does suggest the broadening of the *international*, but the main body of international consecration remains the Euroamerican contemporary art system.

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In 2004, Harald Szeemann exhibited “the Balkan artists” at Arte Fiera in Bologna, while a year later, Viennafair was founded with a specific focus on the East.

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Such as *The Promises of the past: A discontinuous history of art in former Eastern Europe* in Paris’ Center Pompidou in 2010, *Ostalgia* in New York’s New Museum of Contemporary Art in 2011. The same year, a retrospective of Sanja Iveković was held at MoMA, accompanied by *The Scenes from Zagreb. Artists’ Publications of the New Art Practice*. The exhibitions “focused on the East” were held in commercial galleries such as Georg Kargl Fine Arts and Galerie Martin Janda in Vienna in 2011.

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For example, in 2011, *Rearview Mirror. New Art from Central and Eastern Europe* was held at the Power Plant in Toronto and travelled to Art Gallery of Alberta in 2012. In 2012, Sanja Iveković had a solo show at the London Calvert 22 Gallery—a not-for-profit institution dedicated to Russian and Eastern European art founded in 2009.

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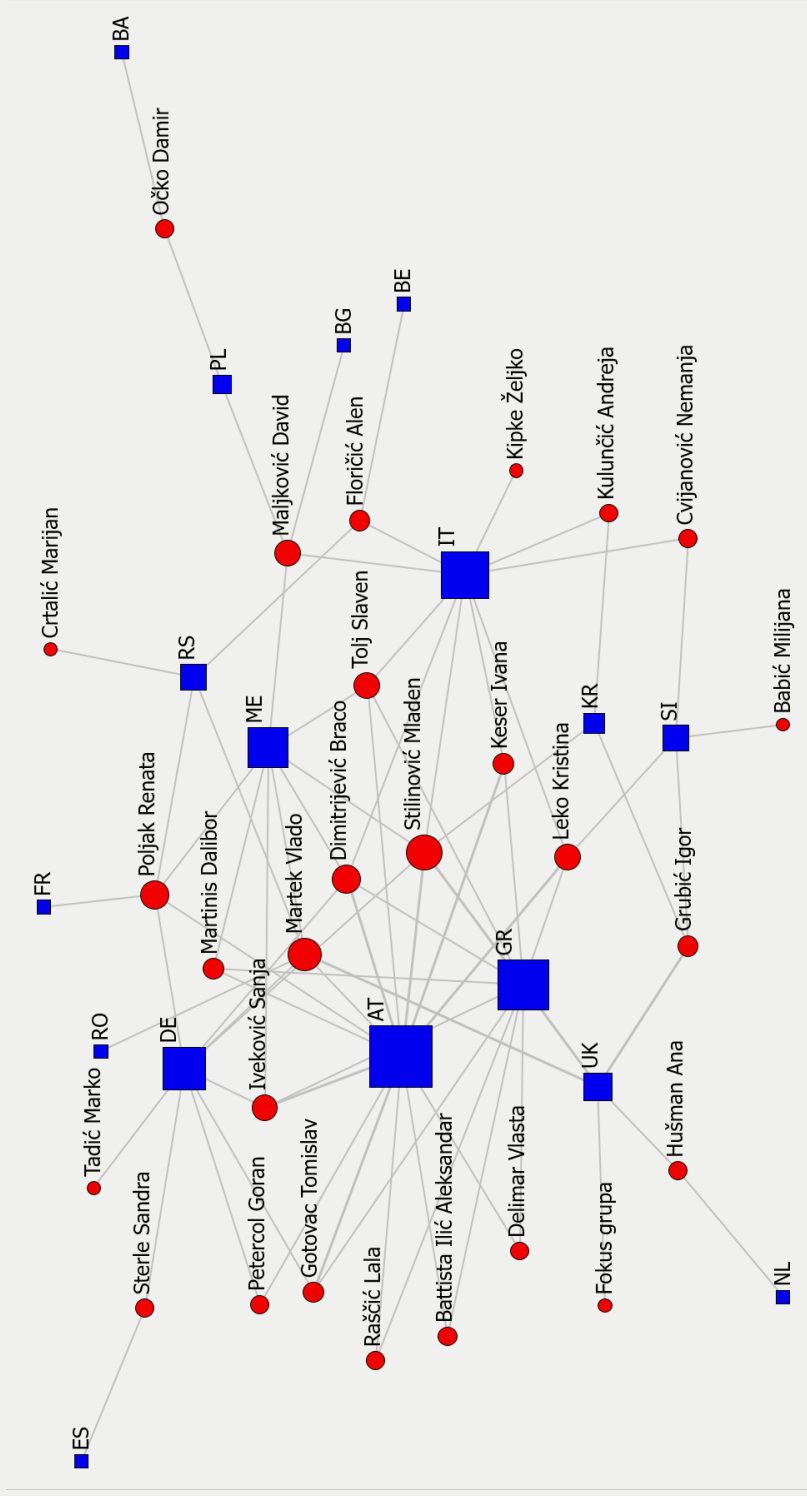
Notably David Maljković, Sanja Iveković and Mladen Stilinović.

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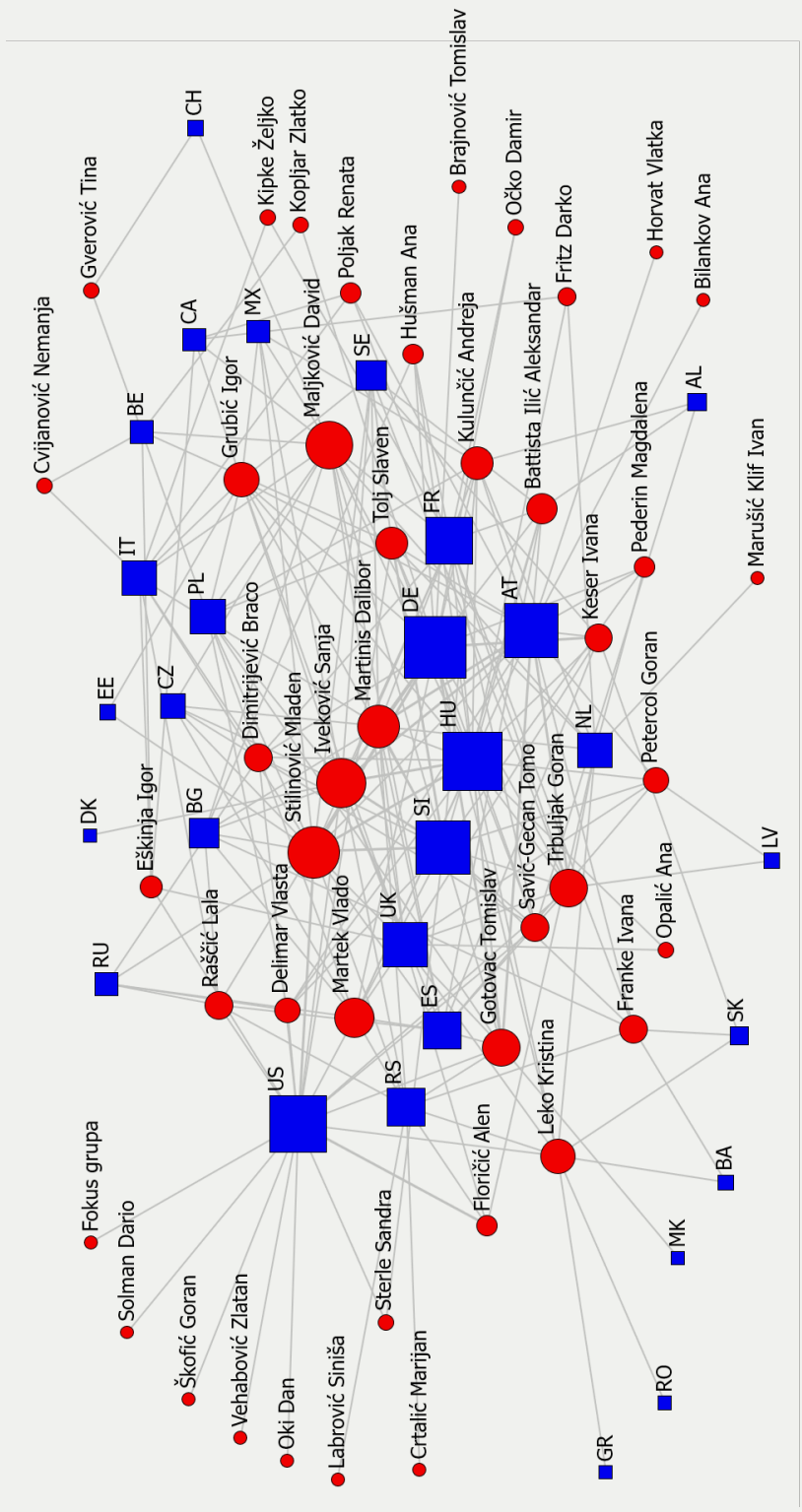
Buchholz, Wuggenig, “Cultural Globalization between Myth and Reality: The Case of the Contemporary Visual Arts.”

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In particular, with regard to the establishment of a private gallery system.



Slika 6. Distribucija izložbi usmjerenih na „balkanske umjetnike“ prema zemlji, 2000.–2012. Mreža se temelji na 85 sudjelovanja 28 umjetnika u 17 zemalja („Pojedinaac“ (1 umjetnik) je uklonjen iz mreže.). Crveni krugovi označavaju umjetnike. Plavi kvadrati označavaju zemlje. Veličina čvorišta odgovara broju izložbi. Autorica vizualizacije: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA, 2002.) / Figure 6. The distribution of exhibitions focused on “Balkan artists” per country, 2000–2012. The network is based on 85 participations by 28 artists in 17 countries (“Singleton” (1 artist) is removed from the network.). Red circles represent artists. Blue squares represent countries. The size of the nodes corresponds to the number of exhibitions. Author of the visualization: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA, 2002.)



Slika 7. Distribucija izložbi usmjerenih na istočnoeuropske umjetnike prema zemlji, 1993.–2012. Mreža se temelji na 417 sudjelovanja 43 umjetnika u 29 zemalja. Crveni krugovi označavaju umjetnike. Plavi kvadrati označavaju zemlje. Veličina čvorišta odgovara broju izložbi. Autorica vizualizacije: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, MA, 2002.) / Figure 7. The distribution of exhibitions focused on Eastern European artists per country, 1993–2012. The network is based on 417 participations by 43 artists in 29 countries. Red circles represent artists. Blue squares represent countries. The size of the nodes corresponds to the number of exhibitions. Author of the visualization: Tihana Puc (Stephen P. Borgatti, Netdraw Network Visualization, Analytic Technologies: Harvard, M.A., 2002)

Zaključci izneseni u ovom radu u velikoj su mjeri u skladu s prethodnim empirijskim istraživanjima u području globalizacije suvremene umjetnosti. Međutim, u nekoliko se aspekata s njima razilaze. Prvo, podaci o umjetnicima iz Hrvatske upućuju na to da je međunarodno priznanje povezano s preseleženjem u jedan od velikih „Zapadnih” centara u manjoj mjeri no što se to sugerira u literaturi.⁶² Standardni put: inozemni (Zapadni) obrazovni sustav—tržište—međunarodna karijera—*passage obligatoire* za nezapadne umjetnike prije 1989. ne gubi na važnosti, ali više nije isključivi način stjecanja međunarodnog priznanja. Štoviše, većina međunarodno priznatih umjetnika živi i radi u Hrvatskoj. Ipak, njihov je broj i dalje ograničen. Međunarodna se vidljivost vrlo asimetrično distribuira domaćim umjetničkim poljem. Premda 50 % umjetnika iz uzorka češće izlaže u inozemstvu nego u Hrvatskoj, oni čine tek manjinu cjelokupne lokalne scene. Kada se zbivanja na najvišim razinama sustava jukstaponiraju onima na nižima, potonja ne otkrivaju učinke koji bi se mogli dovesti u vezu s globalizacijskim procesima. Transnacionalna se kolanja intenziviraju tek prema višim slojevima sustava.

Drugo, uloga tržišnih aktera u izgradnji međunarodnih „karijera” daleko je manje važna kada se one promatraju iz nezapadne perspektive. „Definicija” međunarodnog umjetnika, koja pretpostavlja njegovu prisutnost i u institucionalnoj sferi i na tržištu umjetnina,⁶³ temeljena ponajprije na gornjem segmentu zapadnog sustava, no ponekad i dalje s univerzalnim pretenzijama, preuska je da bi obuhvatila različite scenarije stjecanja međunarodnog priznanja, kako pokazuju (nezapadni) umjetnici iz Hrvatske.

Mreže umjetnika i institucija otkrivaju ponajprije individualni karakter kretanja umjetnika velikim brojem (suvremenih) umjetničkih izložbenih prostora te ne upućuju na neki koordinirani i strateški oblik djelovanja (lokalnih institucija) koji bi stajao iza njihova kretanja. Osim nekoliko istaknutih opetovanih obrazaca, pojedinačne trajektorije znatno se razlikuju, kao i modusi ulaska i zadržavanja prisutnosti u „globaliziranom” polju.

U kontekstu ovog rada moguće je spomenuti niz ograničenja, kao i smjernica za daljnja istraživanja. Izložbama se u ovom radu pristupa kao indikatorima međunarodne mobilnosti i vidljivosti, ali ih se, dakako, ne smatra njihovim apsolutnim ili jedinim mjerama. Podaci o javnim i privatnim akvizicijama nisu razmatrani, prije svega zbog njihove nedostupnosti. Također, razmatranje kritičke recepcije umjetnika u suvremenim umjetničkim časopisima i literaturi predstavljalo bi nužno buduće proširenje istraživanja procesa vrednovanja i priznavanja umjetnika.

Nadalje, dvojbena je koliko su ovdje izneseni zaključci podložni generalizaciji te je moguće da su primjenjivi samo na hrvatski kontekst. Manjak komparativnih istraživanja, posebice za nezapadnoeuropska područja, priječio je donošenje sveobuhvatnijih zaključaka o nezapadnoeuropskim umjetnicima uopće i o određenim pitanjima posebice. Analizom reprezentativnog uzorka umjetnika, osim onih iz Hrvatske, koji

The findings presented in this paper are, for the most part, consistent with the previous empirical research in the field of globalization of contemporary art. However, they contrast with them in several points. Firstly, the data on artists from Croatia indicates that international recognition became less correlated with moving to one of the “great” Western centers than the literature suggests.⁶¹ The standard path: foreign (Western) educational system—market—international career—a pre-1989 *passage obligatoire* for non-Western artists holds its importance but is no longer the exclusive modus of gaining international recognition. Moreover, most of the internationally recognized artists live and work in Croatia. Nevertheless, their number remains constrained. International visibility distributes very asymmetrically over the domestic art field. Even though 50 % of the artists in the sample exhibit more frequently abroad than in Croatia, they form only a minority within the entire local scene. Juxtaposing their activity with the occurrences below that level revealed no significant impact therein that would relate to globalization processes. Cross-border flows intensify only towards the higher tiers of the system.

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Vidi bilješku 4.

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Vidi Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché* i Van Hest, *Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?*

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Prije svega mislim na kustoski kolektiv Što, kako i za koga / WHW, čije je posredovanje u tom pogledu najznačajnije—što je poznata činjenica koja je dodatno empirijski potvrđena, ali i na druge izvaninstitucionalne aktere kao što su, među ostalima, kolektiv Delve aktivan u navedenom razdoblju, umjetnik Nemanja Cvijanović, osnivač Galerije SIŽ u Rijeci, aktivnost umjetnika Slavena Tolja kao voditelja Art radionice Lazareti u Dubrovniku do 2012.

su sudjelovali na izložbama usredotočenima na „bivši Istok“, proširile bi se spoznaje o utjecaju izložbi geografskog i ideološkog predznaka na uključene umjetnike.

Kao što su pokazale vizualizacije mreža, institucionalna sječišta umjetnika bila su povezana prije svega s „fokusom na Istok“ te s izložbama koje su organizirale institucije i nezavisni kustosi iz Hrvatske. Internacionalizacijski kapaciteti potonjih pokazali su se daleko većima.⁶⁴ Buduće istraživanje bit će usmjereno na one aktere koji su bili relevantni transnacionalni posrednici kako bi se ispitao njihov utjecaj na konfiguraciju mreža umjetnika. Analizom veza između umjetnika koje kustosi, kustoski kolektivi i umjetnici kustosi učestalo izlažu zajedno stekli bi se uvidi u mogući utjecaj kustoskih afiniteta i strategija na izložbene mreže umjetnika. Buduće će istraživanje ići upravo u pravcu ispitivanja potencijalnih podsustava, koji bi eventualno odrazili utjecaj drugih čimbenika osim dosad prepoznatih teritorijalnih ili statusnih. Proširenjem istraživanja također će se zahvatiti komercijalni pol kako bi se analizirale mreže umjetnika koje zastupaju iste galerije te usporedili načini na koje se posredovanje kustosa i galerista odražava na izložbenim mrežama umjetnika.

→

Konačno, podaci prikupljeni i strukturirani za ovo istraživanje

Secondly, the role of the market actors in the construction of international “careers” assumes far less importance when looked from a non-Western perspective. The “definition” of an international artist, which presupposes his/her presence both in the institutional sphere and that of the art market,⁶² based mainly on the Western top segment, but at times still offered as universally valid, appears too narrow to accommodate for different scenarios of gaining international recognition, as (non-Western) artists from Croatia suggest.

The artists-institutions networks primarily disclosed the individual character of artists’ movement through a plethora of (contemporary) art exhibition spaces and failed to reveal a more coordinated and strategic operation (of local institutions) that would stand behind. Apart from several recurring patterns, individual trajectories vary substantially, as do the paths of entering and maintaining the presence within the “globalized” field.

A number of limitations and additional future directions can be outlined. The exhibitions are considered in this paper as capturers of international mobility and visibility, but cannot be taken as an absolute or only measure of it. The data on public and private acquisitions was not considered, primarily due to its unavailability. Additionally, artists’ critical reception in contemporary art magazines and literature would be a necessary future complement in investigating their consecration processes.

Furthermore, the findings presented here are of dubious generalizability and might be relevant only for Croatian context. A lack of comparative studies, in particular for non-Western European zones, presented a considerable obstacle for drawing broader conclusions about non-Western European artists in general and specific issues in particular. An analysis of a representative sample of artists, other than those from Croatia, who participated in the exhibitions focused on the “former East” would bring wider insights into the impact of geographically and ideologically framed exhibitions on participating artists.

As network visualizations demonstrated, artists’ institutional intersections were related primarily to the “Eastern focus” and the exhibitions organized by institutions and independent curators from Croatia. The internationalizing capacities of the latter showed to be far greater.⁶³ Future investigation will be directed towards those actors that were relevant transnational intermediaries to examine their impact on the configuration of artists’ networks. Analyzing the connections between the artists frequently exhibited together by same curators, curatorial collectives and artists-curators might shed light on how curatorial affinities and strategies impact artists’ exhibition networks. It is towards the exploration of potential subsystems, besides those which have thus far been acknowledged to have been created under the impact of territorial or status-

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See note 4.

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See Moulin, *L’artiste, l’institution et le marché* and Van Hest, *Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?*

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I refer primarily to curatorial collective What, How & for Whom/WHW, whose mediation in that respect is the most significant, a rather known fact which received additional empirical confirmation, but also to other non-institutional actors such as the collective Delve active during the period, the artist Nemanja Cvijanović, founder of Gallery SLZ in Rijeka, the activity of the artist Slaven Tolj while director of Art Workshop Lazareti in Dubrovnik until 2012, to mention some.

imaju potencijala prerasti u digitalni arhiv suvremenih umjetnika i izložbi u Hrvatskoj te tako pridonijeti budućim istraživanjima.⁶⁵ Upravo je stvaranje novih strukturiranih podataka ono što Nuria Rodríguez Ortega ističe kao jedan od zadataka i odgovornosti povjesničara umjetnosti.⁶⁶ Unatoč manjkavostima, biografije umjetnika bogat su izvor podataka o umjetnicima. S obzirom na posvemašnji nedostatak sustavnih podataka o suvremenim umjetnicima i umjetnicama iz Hrvatske i odsutnost lokalnih javno dostupnih digitalnih izvora strukturiranih podataka koji omogućuju istraživanja u području digitalne povijesti umjetnosti,⁶⁷ prikupljanjem i strukturiranjem podataka iz umjetničkih biografija mogao bi se premostiti jaz i povećati dostupnost podataka.

related factors that the future research will be directed. A complement would include a move towards the commercial pole to analyze the networks of artists represented by the same galleries and compare the mediation of curators and gallerists as translated into the artists' exhibition networks.

Finally, the data collected and structured for this research has the potential of evolving into a digital archive of contemporary artists and exhibitions in Croatia, contributing to future research.⁶⁴ It is producing new structured data that Nuria Rodríguez Ortega highlights as one of the tasks and responsibilities of art historians.⁶⁵ Despite their imperfections, artists' biographies provide a rich source of data on artists. Considering the overall lack of systematic data for contemporary artists from Croatia, and the utmost scarcity of local publicly available digital sources with structured data enabling research in the field of digital art history,⁶⁶ collecting and structuring the data from artists' biographies could facilitate bridging the gap and increasing the data availability.

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„Projekt u tijeku“ *Opservatorij umjetničkog rada* nastojanje je u tom pravcu. Vidi „Observatory of Artistic Work“, posebno odjeljak O PROJEKTU.

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Rodríguez Ortega, Rodríguez, „Development of technological ecosystems for cultural analysis: The case of Expofinder system and art exhibitions“.

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Koliko mi je poznato, jedini je takav izvor u Hrvatskoj baza podataka CAN_IS realizirana u sklopu istraživačkog projekta digitalne povijesti umjetnosti *ARTNET*, vidi: „ARTNET project“.

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The “project in progress” *Observatory of Artistic Work* is an attempt in that direction, see section ABOUT: “Observatory of Artistic Work.”

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Rodríguez Ortega, Rodriguez, “Development of technological ecosystems for cultural analysis: The case of Expofinder system and art exhibitions.”

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To best of my knowledge, the only such source in Croatia is CAN_IS database realized within the digital art history research project *ARTNET*, see: “ARTNET project.”

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