Contemporary Art on the Peripheries
An Eastern European Perspective

Master Thesis by

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I hereby certify that this master/diploma thesis has been composed by myself, and describes my own work, unless otherwise acknowledged in the text. All references and verbatim extracts have been quoted, and all sources of information have been specifically acknowledged. This master thesis has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree.

Budapest, 12 November 2015 Réka Kovàts

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Introduction

On November 15, 2006 something happened for the very first time in the New York auction hall of Sotheby`s[1]. At the contemporary evening sale, the most prestigious sales event of its kind, in the art capital of the world, lot number 539, was the black and white photorealistic portrait of a Jewish boy named *Little Boy,* by Laszlo Feher[2]. The catalogue entry was written by the Hungarian Nobel laureate writer Imre Kertesz[3], the condition of the painting was excellent, there were no questions regarding the provenance. The painting went through the tough selection panel of the evening sale and appeared in the illustrious company of works by Francis Alÿs, Damien Hirst and Jean-Michel Basquiat. The estimate was 40.000 to 60.000 USD, which was surprisingly high for the Hungarian public, but in line with the pricing of a contemporary evening sale. The opening bid was 20.000, the last bid on the painting was 29.000, and the painting was bought in. The highest bid would have been already an auction record for any living Hungarian artist, but for Feher certainly, as the highest value he achieved until 2006 was 7.550 USD[4]. According to the collector[5], with the sales he wanted to introduce the art of Laszlo Feher to the international public and also shed some light on the contemporary art scene in Hungary. In retrospect, this hasty and not well managed sale backfired not only on the artist but

Fig. 1: Laszlo Feher: Little boy, 2000

[1] All data retrieved from the www.sothebys.com http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2006/contemporary-art-n08244/lot.539.html
last accessed 15/10/2015

[2] Laszlo Feher (1953-) Hungarian painter, he started his career in the 70s with large-scale photorealistic works, his subject was the everyday city life in the socialist Budapest. He is held as one of the most important artist from the 90s, in Hungary. His retrospective show was held at the Ludwig Museum in Budapest in 2007. He serves as the honorary cultural ambassador of Hungary since 2007. His works can be found in public collections such as the Albertina (Vienna), and private collections Ludwig Forum für Internationale Kunst (Aachen, Germany)

[3] Imre Kertesz (1928-) he received the literary Noble Price in 2002.

[4] Data retrieved from http://www.artprice.com/artist/78178/laszlo-feher/lot/pasts/4046415/by-the-fountain?p=1&sort=price_desc last accessed on 15/10/2015.

[5] Földes Andras: Record price for the Jewish boy http://index.hu/kultur/klassz/feherl1108/ last accessed 15/10/2015 Anonymous interview with the collector

on the possibility to bring any Hungarian picture to such a prestigious sale again. One can argue that the estimates were wrong, possibly they were too high, but in my understanding this failure was the result of the naive misunderstanding of the logic of the contemporary art world and the mismanagement of a sales transaction. Collectors and museums, which have vested interest in Hungarian art could have saved the day, the estimate could have been lowered and the piece could have been retracted from the sale. In sum, many things could have been done to mitigate the risk. Nine years have since passed, but no other Hungarian artist has been offered at an evening sale: it was a high price to pay, so hopefully the lesson was worth it.

This thesis is concerned with the position and value of Hungarian contemporary art in the global art market. We live in an era of an increasingly globalised art scene, where the most important artists, dealers, collectors, museums, art fairs and non-commercial biennials are still concentrated in a handful of Western countries[6] [7]. The dominant discourse about art is formed around the practices, needs and concerns of the Western artistic centres, we still see little impact or contribution coming from Eastern-Europe, let alone Hungary. In the thesis I am describing the position of the Hungarian artists and galleries in a global context. I believe the story of the *Little boy* is worth sharing because it is emblematic to how the *centrum* meets the *periphery*, and this little act results in much larger consequences.

The globalised art market is in a constant state of change on the one hand, and conserves and protects its rules and institutions on the other hand; it is always ready for the next new thing, always hungry for something fresh, yet this change and innovation impacts only the relative order of things and only rarely produces ground-breaking fundamental changes. Simply put we face reality with the need for innovation and novelty if it comes in the shape and structure that we can accept easily. These innovations normally come from the already existing artistic centres of the world, such as New York, Berlin, London and Paris[8], both on the market and on the level of artistic production. There is an exchange, there is a will and a need, but passing through these

[6] Alain Quemin (2013): International Contemporary art fairs in a `globalized`art market
[7] Alain Quemin (2015): International fame, success and concentration in the Visual arts
[8] Recognised artistic centres of the world with the scientific institutions and the market institutions and actors of the globalised market

structures of the art world seems to be a challenge even from the centrum[9], let alone from the periphery.

Fig. 2: Borsos Lörinc: Let there Be a World Famous Hungarian Contemporary Artist! (2010)

This passing of barriers becomes even more challenging when the contemporary art scene is openly claiming certain rules, but operates based on others. It describes itself as truly international, global, democratic structure that is blind of colour, gender, religion, nationality[10] and age. The institutions such as galleries, large museums, art fairs, biennials are freely crossing borders, but they halt cautiously when it comes to opening up and surveying beyond the known, it always becomes the question of judgement and risk. Nathalie Heinich[11] uses the analogy of chess for artistic freedom within the contemporary art world, one`s freedom is limited to the playing field and to the free application of the rules of the game, the success means one has solid understanding of these and mastering them cleverly and creatively. This analogy could also be used for

[9] The structures and working mechanisms of the art world leave very little room to enter the scene as a female artist, broader range of ages, or even the inclusion of certain geographies within the centrum.

[10] Alain Quemin (2006) The illusion of an international contemporary art scene without borders

[11] Nathalie Heinich (1999) The Sociology of Contemporary art; Questions of Method, She uses the analogy as one of the example of potential interpretative field from different viewpoints such as aesthetic, artistic, sociological and the perspective of the layman. Her analogy just as well could be used for the complex system of the art market itself as well.

other players and actors of the market: their success depends on the knowledge and usage of the set of rules. Behind the globally recognised exchange of branded artists, branded galleries, institutions and market players there are many others who are waiting to enter the global playing field and many others who do not even try as they are focusing on an entirely different reality, on a different game. The Hungarian market seems to exist in a different universe, seemingly not even bothered by being excluded in the global circuit, moreover not even realising what is at stake and what it is missing out[12].

In contrast to the detachment from the global market in economic terms, the creativity and innovativeness of the artistic production are not entirely disconnected from the Western standards. Yet this artistic quality is not nearly enough to enter the global market. My main statement of this paper is that without solid understanding of the rules of the global game, without the necessary elements of validating agents, business insiders and influencers, passing the barriers and entering the globalised art market is not possible. The aim of this thesis is to show how a gallerist is able to capture the attention of the power brokers of the local art world, but struggles to get across the global field, for different reasons. The goal is to describe the winning strategy, and to understand what the necessary elements are to achieve success.

One of the most important global exchange points of today's event culture is the Art Fair. I am giving a review of the globally recognised art fairs, and the recent structural changes in the art fair market. We will understand the position of Eastern Europe and Hungary on the global stage.

There is another interesting trait of today`s global art market, which is the creation of lists and rankings representing the power, the influence and the value of certain artists, curators, gallerists and dealers. These lists are a great reflection of the validating mechanisms in the art world, giving *constructed objectivity* and orientation points in today`s market. I have selected the three most important rankings to show the position of Eastern Europe and Hungary in these compilations (ArtFacts, Kunstkompass and ArtPower100).

[12] We can argue that the business practices of the art market are somewhat provincial and mostly are focusing on local needs and resources. This however is not specific to Hungary, according to Velthuis, most of the Berlin and Amsterdam galleries he interviewed during his research are also primarily focusing on local artist and collectors.

In the second part of my thesis, I am describing what it means to be on the periphery of the global market. There is a potential historical explanation for this, which is related to the delayed development of the society and its cultural institutions and of the market due to the isolation behind the iron curtain between 1947 and 1989[13].

Last but not least I am describing the Hungarian contemporary market, including the most important agents in the market, creating a catalogue of the most important artists, galleries, private[14] and public collections, publications.

What is not covered in the thesis in detail, are the intellectual networks of critics, curators and museum directors, as this is highly political and rather subjective in the current political climate in the country that is, safe to say, not a big fan of the contemporary art scene. There is no explicit danger on personal artistic freedom, but there is no support for anything that is *critical, transgressive, original or innovative* as good contemporary art should be. The Hungarian Academy of Arts that controls the majority of the country's cultural budget, led by György Fekete has very specific expectations of what constitutes acceptable and worthy of support. Fekete[15] stated in an interview in 2012 that he requires from the artist *"unambiguous national sentiment*" and tolerates no blasphemy in public institutions. There is a clear preference towards artists, curators and museum professionals who *"feel home in Hungary, who do not travel abroad and criticise the country from there[16]" T*he country and its cultural institutions are based on the ideological foundation of Christian values where there is *"no need for the constant provocation*". It is clear that a new divide is developing in the country culturally, that actually could be the last push towards an independent and self-reliant art market that is not looking for, but actually refuses to take any financial support from the Orban government. Steps towards this independence are already being taken and I am reviewing the recent development in the section related to Hungary.

Simply stating that the country is not part of the international market does not bring us forward, what is more interesting is to show a success story with similar outset situation and the possible ways and means to become the part of the global game. Luckily, great

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[13] This timeframe is especially crucial as somewhere in the middle of this period the era of contemporary art was born, with the legendary exhibition of Harald Szemann: When attitudes become Form 1969.This historical period could be split into different segments, but here my focus will remain on what happened after 1989 in the market, and how the market developed after the fall of the iron curtain and what the impact of open borders and free markets was

[14] Private collections that are mostly linked to institutions

[15] Index Video (2012) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PErD2Bm5Des

[16] Index Video (2012) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PErD2Bm5Des

examples exist: I am giving a comparison of a Romanian group of artists and the Gallery that is formed around them, who are playing this international game of chess with much bigger success than their Hungarian counterparts. My example is the successful Romanian gallery, *Plan-B*: their story should be inspirational for all newcomers whose aim is to enter the global market. The final result of the thesis should be a basic set of rules that could help to play a more successful game.

Methodological remarks

The methodology in the thesis is based on both quantitative and qualitative techniques. With regard to the situational review in the globalised market I relied more on quantitative data. I collected data about each individual art fair from the bottom up and built an extensive database, I conducted the analysis based on this data to provide a better picture of the Eastern European participation. Concerning the artist rankings, the data were retrieved, cleaned and analysed from the original resources of the Kunstkompass, ArtFacts.net and the Power 100 rankings. I conducted interviews and researched primary and secondary data sources while describing the historic development and the current stage of the Hungarian market. The interviews were face to face or via Skype with the selected galleries and art market professionals from Hungary and Romania.

Reality of a global market - art fairs and artist rankings

In this section I am reviewing and analysing two very important developments in the globalised art world from an Eastern European perspective. Here I am following the footsteps and the research of Alain Quemin, who is not only discussing the myth of globalisation, but also shows the reality of the market with empirical data. "*Globalisation, cultural mixing and the questioning of the traditional frontiers and hierarchies between forms and artistic expression are all part of the Zeitgeist, and extend well beyond contemporary art*" states Quemin[17]. There is an explicit need and desire to let loose of national borders and create real exchange and openness, but in reality this exchange is limited. As Quemin[18] points out there is great dissonance between what the values one should stand for and what is actually done[19]. Based on his previous research this could be statistically observed as well.

I am focusing on two main areas of this empirical praxis and analysed 42 art fairs from 2015, to understand the relative and absolute position of Eastern European countries in statistical terms. In addition to this I analysed the Artfacts[20] artist rankings, which is an attempt to quantify importance, and the 2015 edition of Kunstkompass[21]. I am also including the analysis of the Art Power 100 list of 2015, which does not only include artists, but other players in the globalised art market as well. This research practice is very important since it reflects the power structure in contemporary art: not only by argument but with empirical proof as well. The data not only show us the *cultural hegemony* of the Western countries in the field of contemporary arts, but with linking these data sources together we can create a better understanding of the rules of the global art market.

[17] Alain Quemin (2006) Globalisation and cultural mixing in the Visual arts, an empirical survey of high culture and globalisation
[18] Alain Quemin (2013) International contemporary art fairs in a globalised art Market
[19] Being *international* carries a positive connotation as being *local* shows lesser value
[20] www.artfacts.net
[21] Kunstkompass 2015 in Weltkunst April 2015

Explosion and extension of the international art fairs; the place of Eastern Europe

Since 1967 when the first contemporary fairs started[22] we witness a massive boom in the number and professionalization of these places of exchange. Art fairs have become, besides non-commercial biennials, strong institutions in the global art world. In 2015 there were 265[23] recognised contemporary art fairs, of course with this large number very different in territorial impact, size and quality. Fairs are increasingly important for the sellers of the market as reportedly one third[24] of the transactions of dealers are done during fairs. The role of art fairs is also important for the collectors, as Olav Velthuis[25] puts it this is a time saving device, this helps them to *"economise on search time for art"*. This economisation of time and event culture[26] took another level and in case of the most important fair locations represents itself in the form of multiple specialised fairs taking place at the same time. For example in the first week of December when Art Basel Miami is taking place, there are 11 other art fairs in and around Miami beach[27]. During the Armory show in March, New York City is hosting 6 other art shows[28]. Some of these shows are specialised to certain geographies (i.e: 1:45 African Art fair in London Frieze week) or media (photography Paris Photo). There is a strong professionalization[29] of these fairs as well, and many of them are managed by the same company, creating different franchises in different locations. Volta operates two shows: one in Basel and one in New York. Scope has three different locations: Basel, Miami, New York. Frieze is present in London (with two shows: Frieze and Frieze Masters) and

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[22] With KunstMarkt Köln 1967 established by Rudolph Zwirner and Hein Stünke, was supposed to support the local contemporary art scene of progressive artists and galleries. In 1970 Art Basel was established by three Basel gallerists, Ernst Beyeler, Trudi Bruckner and Balz Hilt already with the aim of creating and international event, attracting 90 galleries from 10 countries and 16000 visitors. The earliest fairs date back to the mid-fifteen century Antwerp.

[23] As counted in the Art Newspaper Calendar for 2015, this number in 2008 was 205 and in 2001 was 55, according to Don Thompson (2008) p 170.

[24] TEFAF Art Market Report 2014

[25] Olav Velthuis (2013) Globalization and Commercialization of the Art Market, p 370

[26] Don Thompson (2008) 12 Million for a stuffed shark

[27] Art Miami, Art on Paper Miami, Context Art Miami, Miami Projects, Pulse Miami beach, Red Dot art fair, Scoop Miami, Aqua art Miami, ink Miami, Pinta Miami, Untitled Miami beach. Nada Miami Beach

[28] ADAA Art Show, Volta NY, Art on Paper, Moving Image, Context NY, Pulse NY

[29] There is a certain criticism towards this development, as Thompson puts it "*Fair represent a culture change in art buying. They replace the quiet discussion in an art gallery with an experience akin to the shopping mall, blending art, fashion and parties in one place. Collectors become shoppers who acquire impulsively, usually purchasing only one work by an artist. They may never visit the gallery of the dealer from whom they buy at a fair."* Thomson (2008) p171

in New York. And last but not least the Art Basel Franchise that currently has three locations: Basel, Miami Beach and Hong Kong.

Besides the obvious time saving effect, there is a symbolic meaning of being approved and selected to participate in a fair, which usually comes with a label. As one of the interviewed gallerists told me, he is careful not to apply to certain fairs, because this could create a stain on his reputation. Participating in fairs became one vital form of being internationally present for galleries and the artists. This is not only an opportunity to sell, but a validation of quality and of internationality for both galleries (artists) and the collectors. Taking part in the main fair as exhibitor and VIP respectively provides reputation and validation on their positions in the art world.

Eastern European galleries in Contemporary Art Fairs

Participating in an art fair is an important strategic decision from a gallery, but entering a fair is not an obvious and simple affair. For each fair there is a selection committee, which functions as gatekeeper and validating agent, and more interestingly they are also part of the market, as most of these committee members are gallerists themselves. The majority of these groups are anonymous, but some fairs make the list of their committees public: from the 42 fairs in our sample only 15 were available.[30] This means that there were 113 galleries active in the art fair selection process. This first filter has a specific geographic as well as cultural makeup. The majority of these galleries are concentrated in the US, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France and the UK. There are only two Eastern European galleries who are in any way present: the Foksal Foundation and Galleria Gregor Podnar. There were 10 galleries involved in more than one selection committee, five among them were based in Berlin. The role of these committees is important, and it is also significant how much this selecting power is concentrated in certain geographies in the centre of the art world.

The quality is the reflection the application and self representation of the gallery which is highly linked to the represented artist and the potential collectors the gallery can bring with[31]. Art Basel, for example receives more than 950[32] applications for the

[30] See table 16 at the additional tables appendix for detailed data on the selection committee

[31] The role of the collectors was crucial in the case of Plan-B (Armory show 2007) and Kisterem (Frieze 2012). Not only the gallery could bring new collectors, but the collector could influence selection committees and propose new galleries, moreover support galleries with the costs related to the fair.

[32] FT Georgina Adams: Fair selection panels: Behind the scenes 09/06/2012 www.ft.com

approximately 300 open booths, similarly Liste Basel, receives around 350 [33] applications every year, and they admittedly only add around 16 new galleries every year. The format of these highly competitive selections by peers and competitors on the global market place are already foreshadowing the challenge for galleries trying to enter from the periphery.

Data selection

The goal was with the selection of art fairs to gain better understanding of the position of Eastern Europe and specifically Hungary, and review the international positions in today's art fair market. In order to create a general statement on today's contemporary art market, one has to create an independent sample of all fairs, weighted by the number of participants in the fair. The chance of selection in the sample is higher as the number of participating galleries increases. But as these art fairs are not homogenous in character, and there are more than 265[34] listed fairs today, the number of fairs analysed should be reduced, as many of them are not international, but serving as local fairs for a trade organisation (i.e ADAA Art show New York, Palm Springs Art Show[35]), or purely regional, and specifically focusing on contemporary art from a certain geographical region (i.e Art Singapore is mainly showcases galleries from the Asia-Pacific region, Johannesburg Art Fair). My aim is not to map global fair allocation, but to understand the representation of Eastern Europe. By selecting the analysed art fairs I have applied the following logic and criteria:

- The blueprint for my sampling was the list of 42[36] fairs originally selected by Alain Quemin, for his study on the *globalisation of art fairs*. It was not possible to create a one to one comparison with the original 2008 sample with the scope of Eastern Europe, as the structure and relevance of the fairs have changed since 2008. The original list was updated as some of these art fairs were renamed, cancelled for 2015 or simply do not exist anymore (i.e Art Forum Berlin, Moscow Art Fair, Arte Lisboa, ShContemporary). I excluded the sample fairs that had no Eastern European

[33] Interview with Peter Bläuer: A young art fair with lot of experience, 2014 Olga Stefanov , www.artslant.com
[34] See reference at footnote 21
[35] Although there are almost only local galleries, for some reason there are two Hungarian galleries participating in the show.
[36] Alain Quemin (2013): International contemporary art fairs in a `Globalised `Art market, p7.

participants, and were not in the geographical reach of Hungarian galleries (Melbourne Art fair, Art fair Tokyo). With this we need to acknowledge, that the analysed data will only be representative of the sample and not the entire population of contemporary art fairs. I had to do this selection, due to the low number of galleries in Hungary, as the very small participation numbers, would provide very low information. Consequently we cannot make general statements on the stage of all art fairs, just the selected ones. Our sample is skewed towards Europe.

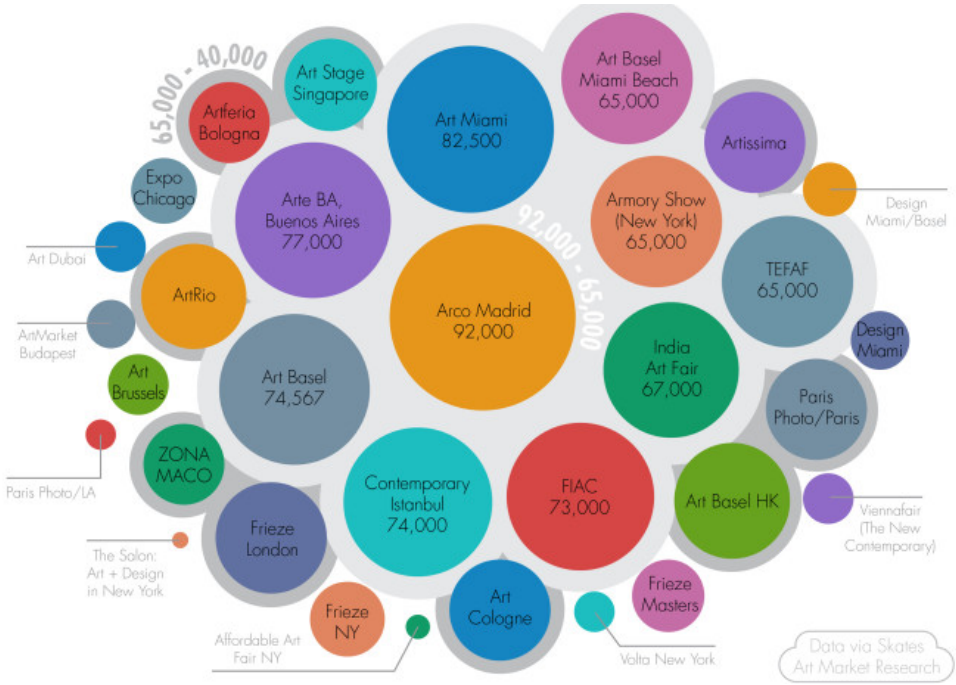

Fig. 3: Global art fair landscape 2015, based on the number of visitors from Skates Art Market

- All contemporary fairs, where Hungarian[37] galleries were participating were included: this will provide us with data on what are reachable fairs for Hungarian galleries. (Istanbul Contemporary, Vienna Contemporary, Art Market Budapest, Swab Barcelona)
- In the original study, fairs were selected based on the number of represented galleries; in this research I included the view of the visitors as well. This resulted in the addition of Istanbul Contemporary and fairs that are not large by numbers, but influential as they serve a specific function as satellite fairs linked to the most established and oldest art fairs that are still exiting today (Liste, Volta, Sunday, Start London, Independent, Positions Berlin).

[37] I was not including the Palm Springs Fine Art Fair which is a domestic fair, where only four non local galleries were present among them two Hungarian. This seemed to be more of a design and fine art fair.

- I did not include fairs, that are specific to one media (photography, video, performance art), and fairs that are not specifically dedicated to contemporary art, such as TEFAF Maastricht.

The final list of fairs included in the analysis, year of establishment and city indicated:

Basel: Art Basel (1970), Liste (1996), Volta Basel (2005), **Berlin**: ABC Art Berlin Contemporary (2008), Positions Berlin (2014) **London**: Frieze London (2003), Sunday Art Fair (2010), Start London (2014) **Cologne**: Art Cologne (1967) **Paris**: FIAC (1974), **Rotterdam**: Art Rotterdam (2004), **Vienna**: Vienna Contemporary (2015), **Moscow**: Cosmoscow (2014), **Budapest**: Art Market Budapest (2011), Brussels Art Brussels (1982), **Madrid**: Arco Madrid (1981), **Barcelona**: Swab (2007), **Torino**: Artissima (1993), **Milan**: MiArt (1995), **Bologna**: Arte Fiera Bologna (1974)
Istanbul: Istanbul Contemporary (2009), **Abu Dhabi**: Abu Dhabi Art (2009), Dubai: Art Dubai (2007), **Hong Kong**: Art Basel Hong Kong (2013), **Singapore**: Art Stage Singapore (2011)
New York: Armory Show (1994), Independent New York (2010), Volta New York (2008), Frieze New York (2012), NADA New York (2012), **Chicago**: Expo Chicago (1980[38]), **Seattle**: Seattle Art Fair (2015), **Miami**: Art Basel Miami (2002), Art Miami (1980), Context Art Fair Miami (2012), Scope Miami (2000), **Los Angeles**: Los Angeles Contemporary (2009)
Mexico City:Zona MACO (2003), **Sao Paolo**: SP Arte (2013), **Rio de Janeiro**: Art Rio (2010), **Buenos Aires**: Arte BA (1990)

Based on our selection criteria, the sampling is rather *Eurocentric*: 48.7% of the analysed fairs are based in Europe, 26.8% in the US, 14.6% in Asia and 9.7% in Latin America. In addition, there is one fair based in Johannesburg (FNB Joburg Art Fair).

	Number of fairs in sample	Number of fairs in %	Galleries from the sample	Number of galleries in %
Europe	20	48%	1370	52%
North America	12	29%	602	23%
Latin America	4	10%	264	10%
Asia	6	14%	358	14%
Africa	0	0%	16	1%
Australia	0		22	1%
Total	42	100%	2632	100%

Table 1: Basic geographic distribution of fairs and galleries

[38] The fair was canceled after financial difficulties in 2008, it has later restarted in 2012

By reviewing these 42 art fairs, we can have an insight on a total of 2,632 contemporary art galleries and their art fair participation in 2015. There are fewer North American art fairs in the sample, than in 2008, still we see increasing participation of American galleries in 2015 with 22%; this value was 20% in 2008. Germany has remained stable with 11.2% (2008: 11.3%). According to this sample Italy lost a bit 8.4% (2008: 9.4%), and France increased to 7.1% (2008: 6.4%). With its long list of countries, Eastern Europe largely remains the same as in 2008. There is no major international art fair in Eastern Europe, but there are some activities which were taken into account: Art Market Budapest and Cosmoscow were included in the sample[39]. The Art Market Budapest is a small size and more local fair, but its aim is to introduce and represent the CEE (Central and Eastern Europe) region. For this reason it was included in the sample, which resulted in an increased number of Hungarian galleries, as shown in the table below. Similarly, Cosmoscow is also mainly a local art fair, hence the relative large number of Russian galleries[40].

	Number of galleries in sample	**In percentage of the total sample**	**Number of galleries with 4+ art fairs**
Hungary	24	0.91%	3
Poland	15	0.57%	3
Romania	13	0.49%	1
Czech Republic	6	0.23%	0
Slovakia	5	0.19%	0
Slovenia	3	0.11%	1
Estonia	3	0.11%	1
Latvia	3	0.11%	0
Lithuania	5	0.19%	0
Bulgaria	1	0.03%	0
Croatia	1	0.03%	0
Serbia	1	0.03%	0
Albania	2	0.07%	1

[39] There is a smaller art fair in Prague called Art Prague, but this fair has 30 booths and only four of these are international exhibitors, the most important Czech Gallery Hunt and Kastner are not participating on this fair, consequently, I have decided to leave it out from the sample. Based on a recent announcement there will be an international art fair in Warsaw from 2016.

[40] It would require further analysis, but based on the initial data the internationally active Russian galleries are more active towards the East than the West, when they go abroad they participate in art fairs in Asia and the Middle East, rather than in the US.

Bosnia Hercegovina	1	0.03%	0
Russia	31	1.20%	3

Table 2: Relative and absolute position of Eastern European galleries in international art fairs in 2015

There is no fundamental change in the participation of Eastern European galleries, compared to 2008. What is remarkable is that we see a very low number of Russian galleries in the international scene, relative to the size, wealth and political influence of the country. We can see only a few representations on the periphery: Singapore (5), Vienna[41] (6), Istanbul and Dubai (2), with low numbers[42]. The case of Russia is not discussed further in this thesis; their respective data were grouped together with Russia and Central Asia.

We could find 82 Eastern European galleries in our sample, contributing only 3.1% to the total gallery population. These Eastern European galleries had 162 exhibition booths in 2015, also representing about 3.1% of the total, this means that 46% of the Eastern European galleries are participating in more than one art fair, respectively this number is 40% in the total population. If we further analyse where these galleries are participating we can identify a clear geographic preference.

Regional reach

Fair location (number of fairs)	Total points of exhibitions from EE galleries	In percentage of the total exhibitors on the relevant fairs from the EE region
Austria (1)	28	27%
Italy (2)	20	6%
United States (8)	18	2%
Germany (3)	12	3%
Switzerland (3)	12	3%
United Kingdom (3)	11	5%
Spain (2)	8	3%
Belgium (1)	6	3%
France (2)	4	1%
United Arab	4	5%

[41] Vienna Contemporary is financially backed by the Russian businessman Dmitry Aksenov, under the direction of Christine Steinbrecher-Pfandt.

[42] Based on their Fair representation the Galerie Iragui (Moscow), Savina Gallery (St Petersburg), Triumph (Moscow) and the Ural Vision Gallery (Yekaterinburg) were relatively active in the fringes of the international scene.

Emirates (1)		
Russia (1)	2	6%
China (1)	2	0%
Turkey (1)	1	0%
Brasil (1)	1	1%
Hungary (1)	31	62%

Table 3: Relative and absolute position of Eastern European galleries in international art fairs in 2015

There is a clear focus from the EE galleries towards Central Europe (Austria, Germany and Switzerland), primarily towards Austria. If we also take into consideration the relative level of participation in certain locations we will find that in many locations, even if they are present, these countries are grossly underrepresented. We see clearly a better position when it comes to Austria, but we need to acknowledge that the Vienna Contemporary fair, due to its geographical proximity, actually should dedicate 30% of its exhibition places to Eastern European galleries[43]. There is a relatively good position in the UK, UAE and Italy. On the flip side, presence in American fairs is on an extremely low level[44]. What we see is a very low participation paired with a low regional reach, on the *periphery*[45].

Art Fair	Total Number of Eastern European Galleries	In %
Art Basel Basel	3	1.1%
Art Basel Miami	3	1.1%
Frieze London	4	2.5%
Fiac	2	1.1%
Armory show	2	1.0%
Frieze NY	8	3.9%
Artissima	13	6.5%
Art Cologne	7	3.3%
Arco Madrid	7	3.1%

Table 4: Number of Eastern European Galleries on the top tier art fairs

[43] I have included Art Market Budapest as this as well an EE focused fair, with high local participation, due to the CEE focus, hence the participation of other EE market.

[44] If we take the 3.1% as an overall benchmark there should be at least double as much exhibition posts from EE galleries in the sample.

[45] Alain Quemin (2013) International contemporary art fairs in a globalised art market p11.

If we take into consideration the most prestigious art fairs globally, we see the low presence even more. In the total sample Eastern Europe had a level of 3.1%, only Art Cologne, Artissima and Frieze NY are exceeding this level, among the top tier fairs.

Based on this data we can identify a type of strategy or behaviour that is crossing borders and using the rules of the global art market to its advantage, even if they have started at the periphery.

Leading Eastern European galleries

In order to capture the depth of participation with simple statistical analysis, I defined the strength of internationality of a gallery based on how many fairs where they are exhibiting. Based on the data there were 5,170 points of exhibition (fair booths) in our sample in 2015, meaning if we would add all the number of galleries per fair we would count 5,170. Since our database was collected from the bottom up, we were able to count 2,632 galleries, 40% of these galleries were participating in more than one art fair. From a galleries point of view, the more fairs they are participating in the more international they are.

Number of fairs in 2015	Name	Head Quarter	Country
9	Galeria Plan B	Cluj /Berlin	Romania
7	Galerija Gregor Podnar	Kranj/ Berlin	Slovenia
5	Temnikova & Kasela	Tallin	Estonia
4	Foksal Gallery Foundation	Warsaw	Poland
4	Raster	Warsaw	Poland
4	Le Guern Gallery	Warsaw	Poland
4	Gallery On The Move	Tirana	Albania
4	Acb Gallery	Budapest	Hungary
4	Ani Molnar Gallery	Budapest	Hungary
4	Viltin	Budapest	Hungary

Table 5: Number of art fair participations of leading Eastern European galleries in 2015

There are only a handful (32) of galleries in our sample, which are participating in more than 8 fairs globally[46], and only one from Eastern Europe, which is the Cluj and Berlin Based Plan-B. It is clear that making an impact on the global contemporary art scene is only possible from the centre of the art world, or at least it should be delivered to these centres. We see the success of certain Eastern European players, who were able to enter the globally recognised and most important global art fairs - Foksal Gallery Foundation[47] (Warsaw), Plan B[48] (Cluj/Berlin), Hunt and Kastner[49] (Prague), Gregor Podnar [50](Kranj/Berlin), Temnikova&Kasela (Tallin). Representatives of the Foksal Gallery Foundation in Warsaw were part of the Frieze New York selection committee in 2015, Gregor Podnar was part of the selection committee of the Artissima 2015. Their insight and knowledge into the Eastern European art scene, might as well have contributed to the relative higher representation of the region, in both fairs, compared to others.

The fairs that these leading galleries are participating in were also strategically selected, as they focused towards the critically acclaimed fairs.

Gallery	**Art Fair participation 2015**
Plan B	Art Basel Miami, Art Basel Hong Kong, Frieze, Liste, Art Cologne, Vienna Contemporary, Fiac, SP Arte, Independent NY
Gregor Podnar	Art Basel Basel, Frieze, Frieze NY, Fiac, Arco, Artissima, SP Arte
Foksal Gallery Foundation	Art Basel Basel, Frieze, Frieze NY, Art Basel Miami
Hunt & Kastner	Art Basel Miami, Liste, Frieze New York
Teminkova & Kasela	Frieze NY, Liste, Art Dubai, Vienna Contemporary, Cosmoscow

Table 6: art fair participations of leading Eastern European galleries in 2015

It has been mentioned before that participating in the most prestigious fairs of the art world carries the sign of approval for a gallery and the represented artists. We can also see that these internationally visible players also tend to open locations in one of the major artistic centres of the world, in the case of Plan-B and Gregor Podnar in Berlin.

[46] See detailed data in the appendix at the Additional Tables; Table 18
[47] The gallery co-founded in 1997 by Adam Szymczyk, the artistic director (curator) of Dokumenta 14.
[48] Cofounded by Adrian Ghenie and Mihai Pop, two Romanian artists in 2005
[49] Founded by Camille Hunt and Kacha Kastner in 2006
[50] Established in Slovenia in 2003, in their second year they were already in Art Basel, where they have participated since then.

Costs barrier and different level of prices

Only a small number of galleries choose a strategy that involves broad international representation. This question was addressed during my interviews, and there was an underlying theme of cost and resources. Financing the presence on the fairs is not always simple: the high cost of entering a *top tier* fair serves as a filter for the galleries coming from a lower priced market. If we take into consideration the data collected and analysed by Magnus Resch[51], from German speaking Central Europe in 2008, he found that expenses related to art fairs were the second highest cost block for galleries. Compared to the data from the research of Resch, where more than 50% of the galleries were participating at least two fairs, we could find a slightly higher level (53%) in our sample for Eastern European galleries. If we take into consideration that the costs for the simple booths could go up to 40.000-50.000 USD, in the case of Art Basel[52], most of these galleries resort to exhibit in more affordable, and sometimes less prestigious fairs[53], not even thinking of applying for a top tier fair. The cost consideration is definitely a barrier, for those coming from Eastern Europe, having said that, based on my research this is not the most important one, as the initial support for the art fair cost could come from the state in the form of non-refundable government subsidies[54], and sometimes in the form of support from collectors[55] or corporate sponsors of the fair[56].

During my interviews this was a recurring issue, where the price level of a mid-career Hungarian artist tops 10.000-25.000 Euro on the primary market, it is more challenging for the gallerist to even break even on a fair[57]. Reportedly there is only one Hungarian

[51] Magnus Resch (2011) Management of art galleries, PhD Dissertation, University of St. Gallen, pages 100, 103-104. We need to take into consideration, that the data of Resch was collected during 2008, the peak of the economic crisis, hence the lower and less optimistic participation data for the future, and lower share of sales compared to a previous study in 1999.

[52] Information retrieved from the presentation of Dr Nicolas Galley at in Basel June 2014.

[53] For example the Vienna Contemporary booth could cost 5000 Euros, and Liste Basel has price of 7500 CHF in the first year of participation, in case of a solo show.

[54] The Hungarian National Cultural Found, for example supported the participation on art fairs until 2015, the subsidy would cover up to 70% of the cost of the booth, and other costs including accommodation and transportation. The budget for this yearly is a total of 55.000 Euros, knowing the prices of the most prestigious art fairs, this is only a very limited amount.

[55] This was the case with the first appearance of Plan B in the Armory show, their collector supported them both with creating interest from the side of the selection committee and then financing the participation (information retrieved from personal interview with Mihai Pop)

[56] Most fairs have corporate sponsors for example in the case of Liste Basel, the Private bank Gutzwiller and Cie, provides sufficient funds to keep the costs for galleries lower.

[57] During my interviews I also found that the gallerists are refusing to apply different price levels domestically and on the fairs. What is possible is that the galleries provide higher discounts for local collectors than international ones.

gallerist, Kalman Maklary[58], who is able to consistently bring six figure art works to the market, and that is because he mostly deals with a specific group of emigrant post war artists, who already are established and have secondary markets as well, mostly outside of Hungary. Kalman Maklary Fine Arts was the only Hungarian gallery ever to be accepted at TEFAF. This price discrepancy is the most important economic barrier: if the domestic market, with low price level, is large enough to accommodate both artists and galleries, there is less incentive to try to break through to the international market.

The working mechanisms of the art market and the platforms created to bring together centre and periphery are actually bringing them into places where these Eastern European actors in the market are locked in certain categories. We can see these galleries mostly in the less important and peripheral art fairs, hence reinforcing their marginal status year after year. Individual galleries can break out of this cycle, but it would not change the character and the order of the global hierarchy.

Artist rankings

In recent times we can witness a proliferation of rankings and shortlists in the media surrounding the art world "*top 10 collectors*," "*30 under 30 artists to watch*," *"50 most important galleries in Europe*," "*100 most powerful women in the art world*" these are just few examples, but it seems that these lists and rankings are important indicators of status of things. Besides these eye catching and attention grabbing lists, there are lists and rankings that are carefully designed and institutionalised in the art world. Ranking artists and showing a collection the most important ones are not new developments: as Quemin[59] states we can find them already at the birth of art history in the Vitae from Giorgio Vasari, or the attempt of Roger de Piles who designed a scoring system based on composition, drawing, colour and expression[60] of the artist in question. These listings and collections were based on aesthetic judgement. Today's rankings are more focused on the social structure of the art world, and they only make aesthetic judgements by proxy. Similarly to Piles the aim of Wili Bongard, creator of the Kunst

[58] Kalman Maklary Fine Arts is specialised to a group of post war artists, called the Paris school, artists who were born in Hungary, but then emigrated to France: Judit Reigl (1923-), Simon Hantai (1922-2008), Francois Fiedler (1921-2001).

[59] Alain, Quemin (2013) From `national creativity` to social recognition and success in the visual arts: a sociological perspective on rankings of the `top 100 artists in the world `

[60] Victor Ginsburg - Sheila Weyers (2009): On the Contemporaneousness of Roger de Piles`Balance de Peintres

Kompass, was to provide a systematic and objective measure when he created his first list in 1970. The KunstKompass serves since then as a guide in the art world of who are the 100 most important artists globally. Another ranking I am also reviewing is from the 2015 edition of the ArtFacts which provides us a broader view as ArtFacts has more than 100.000 artists listed in their database. And last but not least I am reviewing the recently published Art Power 100, a ranking that is not only listing artists, but collectors, curators and museum directors as well. With the review of these lists one can gain deeper understanding of what the status of different Eastern European artists are in the contemporary art world today. These rankings also create value in a way, as they not only *measure* the current status, but also reinforce the position of certain institutions in the market and other market players as well. In case of the rankings as well, I am focusing on the position of Eastern Europe and Hungary.

Kunst Kompass from a regional perspective

The Kunst Kompass is a yearly publication initially started in Germany and since 2015 is published in Weltkunst, which is a publication of die Zeit. It was the 45th edition of the ranking this year, published during the time of the Cologne art fair. This is a public and long term measurement: the creators of the Kompass think that the quality of art simply should/could not be measured, what could be captured is only the reflection and acceptance in the art world.[61] The creators of the ranking are excluding sales values coming from auction houses or galleries or presentations on art fairs. What is included is the representation of the artist in certain artistic reputable institutions, captured with a specific algorithm that is not made public by the magazine. However, they provide information on what activities they are taking into consideration.[62]

- Solo exhibitions in 270 prominent international museums and exhibition spaces (i.e. MOMA NYC)
- Group exhibitions in the 100 most prominent institutions around the world (i.e. Venice Biennial, Dokumenta)
- Review in a prestigious publication related to art (i.e Art in America)
- Acquisitions from prestigious public collections (Centre Pompidou)
- Prestigious Art awards

[61] Linde Rohr-Bongard (2015): Kunstkompass entsteht , in Weltkunst April 2015
[62] Linde Rohr-Bongard (2015): Kunstkompass entsteht , in Weltkunst April 2015

As we can see the focus is on how broadly one artist is represented throughout the year globally in the art world. Since the first year the result is a list of 100 living artists, but we know that the actual list is broader and has records of over at least 25.000 artists. As Alain Quemin[63] emphasises that the result of this calculation reflects the judgement of Western experts, as most likely their institutions are considered important in the ranking[64]. In fact Linde-Rohr Bongard admits in an interview accompanying the 45th edition[65], that the selection of institutions was initially based on the input of 106 German and Swiss experts and at the beginning did not include any Eastern European, Asian, South American or African museums, but broadly covered institutions in Germany. But as Quemin[66] states, the weights remain roughly the same, and this is still bringing a biased view of what is important in the art world today. If we take the results of the previous editions of the Kunstkompass by Quemin[67] [68]and extend it with the results of the 2015 edition, we will find that there was no major shift in 2015 compared to the previous years: what is new is the addition of China with Ai WeiWei, Spain with Santiago Sierra and Albania with Anri Sala. There are only 3 Eastern European artists present in the list (a couple from Russia, one from Serbia, one from Albania), which does not come as a big surprise if we take into consideration, that during the design of the Kompass institutions only four countries from the region were taken into consideration: Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia and Russia in 2001 and Poland, Russia, Czech Republic and the Ukraine in 2008[69]. Even then the weight of these Eastern European institutions was very low in the final results.

Country	**1979**	**1997**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**
United States	50	40	33	31	29	29
Germany	11	28	28	31	29	26

[63] Alain Quemin (2006): Globalisation and cultural mixing in the visual arts, an empirical survey of `high culture`and globalisation

[64] We don't learn the specific list of institutions nor the weights applied to certain activities. It is highly unlikely that for example the Dunaujvaros Contemporary art Museum is in this, although it is a prominent place for the contemporary Hungarian artist to exhibit.

[65] Weltkunst (2015) Ruhmesbarometer, Interview with Linde-Rohr Bongard. http://www.zeitkunstverlag.de/?p=8370 last accessed 10/09/2015

[66] Alain Quemin - Femke van Hest (2012): The impact of Nationality on success

[67] Alain Quemin (2012) The internationalisation of the contemporary art world and market: the role of nationality and territory in a supposedly `globalised`sector

[68] Alain Quemin (2013) Les stars de l'art contemporain. Notoriété et consécration artistiques dans les arts visuels

[69] Alain Quemin (2013): Les stars de l'art contemporain. Notoriété et consécration artistiques dans les arts visuels (pages 52-58)

United Kingdom	12	8	8	8	13	11
France	9	6	5	4	4	4
Italy	4	5	4	2	2	3
Switzerland	3	2	3	3	4	3
Belgium	3	0	0	2	2	2
Netherlands	2	1	1	2	1	2
Austria	1	2	3	2	3	2
Japan	1	1	2	1	1	2
Egypt	1	1	0	0	0	0
Argentina	1	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	1	0	0	0	0	0
Venezuela	1	0	0	0	0	0
Russia	0	1	1	1	1	1
South Korea	0	1	1	1	0	0
Greece	0	1	1	1	1	1
South Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1
Canada	0	1	1	3	2	2
Iran	0	0	1	1	1	1
Denmark	0	1	1	1	2	2
Mexico	0	0	1	1	1	1
Iceland	0	0	1	0	0	0
Serbia	0	1	1	1	1	1
Australia	0	0	1	0	0	1
Thailand	0	0	1	1	1	1
Cuba	0	0	1	1	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	1	1
China	0	0	0	0	0	1
Albania	0	0	0	0	0	1
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	1

Table 7: Kunstkompass rankings from 1979-2015, distribution based on the artists nationality

Quemin also states that this kind of ranking has a self-fulfilling prophecy effect[70], no wonder why German artist have in general prestigious rankings, when German

[70] This process has as well similarity to the economic term of virtuous circle, in this case the positive feedback year after year creates further positive gains, thus secure positions in the list, reinforcing both the positions of the institutions directly included, moreover the position of the artist and the galleries, representing them.

organisations are highly ranked in the construction of the score[71]. If we further analyse the galleries representing these artists, we will find that there were 24 countries present in the Kompass, the galleries are concentrated in 8 countries only[72]. In 2015 the 49% of the artists in the list are represented by German galleries[73], 21% by Americans, and 12% by British ones. This shows the concentration of the economic power in Germany, which is slightly misleading: for example it is striking that one of the most influential gallerists in the world, David Zwirner is not listed in relation to any of the artists in the list, although he in fact represents many of them in the United States[74]: by listing the German galleries as main agents, the Kompass creates the illusion of Germany's dominance. The bias in presenting the importance of Germany and the lack of transparency has been stated multiple times by Quemin[75] [76]. Although at the very beginning Bongard[77] did publish the list of institutions and publications with the different rates, after 2008 there is no information about the structure of the scoring. The Kompass was created and is sold as a tool of transparency and objectivity, in reality however it is based on a calculation that is not transparent. The only institutions from the Eastern European region represented in the weighting system in 2008 were: the Rudolfium (Prague), the Sachet - National Gallery of Art (Warsaw) and the Tretjakov Gallery (Moscow)[78]. There is only one exhibition venue from the region, the PinchukArtCentre (PAC), of which group shows are also included in the score, not only solo shows. To provide a real insight of Hungarian institutions, the list should also include exhibition venues such as the Ludwig Museum in Budapest, the Vasarely Museum in Budapest and the ICA Dunaujvaros. These venues are not only showing Hungarian artists, but have a broader focus on Eastern Europe as well. It is almost certain, that this would carry a low weight in the global playing field, and won't change the order of things fundamentally, but broaden the focus towards the periphery.

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[71] Alain Quemin - Femke van Hest (2015): The Impact of Nationality and Territory on Fame and Success in the Visual Arts Sector : Artists, Experts, and the Market

[72] See the list of galleries in the additional table 19

[73] The representing gallery is also included in the original data by the Kunstkompass. The relationship is not exclusive, so it is a question if the listed gallery is the main agent for the artist.

[74] Just to name a few: Francis Alys, Marlene Dumas, Jeff Koons, Raymond Pettibon, Neo Raucht Luc Tuymans

[75] Quemin, Alain (2015): International Fame, success and consecration in the visual arts

[76] Quemin, Alain (2013): From `national creativity` to social recognition and success in the visual arts: a sociological perspective on the `top 100 artists in the world`

[77] Kunst = Kapital Die Größten 100, 30. Ausgabe der Capital Kunstkompass (2001)

[78] Quemin, Alain (2013) : Les stars de l'art contemporain p55-56

ArtFacts ranking

The other objectively constructed ranking system of artists is the annually updated list of ArtFacts.net. The tool was created by Marek Claassen, whose aim was to show works of art to his customers through spreadsheets[79]. The ranking is designed for practical purposes mainly for investment decisions and as a valuation tool, and covers artist activity since 1996. While Kunstkompass is covering the 100 most important living artists[80], ArtFacts works with a comprehensive database of more than 300.000 artists worldwide, which also includes artists who have already passed away. Similar to the Kunstkompass, this is also a complex measurement: ArtFacts also takes into consideration institutional presence and exhibiting history. The ranking is calculated according to the number and 'quality' of shows in relationship to all other artists listed on ArtFacts.Net. The idea behind the tool is to capture the economy of attention[81]. The tool is directly linked to the idea of Georg Franck, a German economist. "*For Franck, the curator (also the museum director or the gallery owner) acts as a financial investor. The curator/investor lends their property (their exhibition space and their fame) to an artist from whom they expect a return on their investment in the form of more attention (reputation, fame etc)"*[82], this model describes the relationship between the artist and the gallerist as the relationship between entrepreneur (artist) and investor (gallerist), where the gallerist will invest time and money into those artists who will bring better income. There are important differences between the two rankings beyond the number of entries: ArtFacts takes a much broader sample of institutions (more than 31.000 of them). It also includes information from exhibitions in galleries, thus providing some reflection of activity coming from the market. And last but not least, they also include non-living artists, as they are still considered part of the market. Like the Kustkompass, ArtFacts also applies a hierarchy between regional artistic centres, but here the aim is to have a broader global coverage.

[79] NPR (2012): artefacts.net: Methodology and controversy of Marek Claassen, 30/12/2012. http://www.npr.org/sections/nprberlinblog/2012/05/24/153633324/artfacts-net-the-methodology-and-controversy-of-marek-claasson last accessed 30/10/2015

[80] They are publishing only the top 100, but they keep records of more 25.000 artists

[81] ArtFacts.net: Artist Ranking: https://www.artfacts.net/tour/artist-ranking/ last accessed 31/10/2015

[82] ArtFacts.net: Artist Ranking

Before going through the results of the ArtFacts rankings, it is very important to emphasise that the list of institutions considered in this case is a broader and more realistic basis: 18.2% or 5765 are from the US, 16.5% or 5238 from Germany, 7.7% from France and 6.4% from the UK. The Czech Republic has 250 institutions in the sample, followed by Poland with 231, Hungary 156, Slovakia 94, and Romania 75. Even though these figures are unweighted, they show the width of the scope of this measure. To create a similar view as the Kunstkompass, all non-living artists were filtered out from the initial database. If we had not applied this filter, we could see that 33% of the global top 100 artists (based on the institutional representation) are not alive. With regards to the top 100 of the living artists, we can find similar structure to the Kunstkompass.

Country	**Number of artist in the top 100 of the living**	**average age of artist**
United States	30	71
Germany	20	64
United Kingdom	10	55
France	7	65
Switzerland	6	63
Italy	4	71
Austria	4	69
Japan	3	78
Canada	2	67
Lebanon	1	63
Mexico	1	53
Colombia	1	59
The Netherlands	1	62
China	1	58
Sweden	1	86
Serbia	1	69
Thailand	1	54
Brasil	1	54
Belgium	1	56
Denmark	1	48

South Africa	1	60
Spain	1	50
India	1	61

Table 8: ArtFact 2015 top 100 living artists

The US and Germany are in the lead, but Germany has less weight than in the Kunstkompass. Also, in this ranking the leading role is switched: Bruce Nauman has the 1st place and Gerhard Richter is only the 2nd. In general, the positions are distributed more equally than in the Kunstkompass, representing more countries but not changing the basic structure as we saw it with Kunstkompass. The only Eastern European artist in the living top 100 is Marina Abramovics, who currently lives and works in New York City. We can find more Eastern European artists, if we broaden the list significantly. I took into consideration the list of the first 6,500 artists on the list, from this only the living were filtered out: the final list of living artist has 5,001 artists in it. This broader scope allows us to have an understanding of the position of different geographies: here the aim is not to capture the composition of the leading artists in terms of institutional representation, but to see the position and characteristics of the Eastern European countries.

Region	**Number of artist**	**Percentage share**
Central Europe	1079	21.6%
North America	1068	21.4%
Western Europe	869	17.4%
Southern Europe	444	8.9%
Asia	346	6.9%
Eastern Europe	305	6.1%
South America	215	4.3%
Northern Europe	180	3.6%
Middle East	147	2.9%
Central America	107	2.1%
Africa	94	1.9%
Australia & Oceania	79	1.6%
Russia and Central Asia	68	1.4%

Table 9: Regional distribution of artists in the ArtFacts.net ranking 2015

To the list of 5,001 living artists, Eastern Europe contributes with 6.1%: with this value Eastern Europe is in a relatively good position, especially if we compare it to Asia and Southern America. The representation of Russia and Central Asia as a separate entity is important, because it shows, compared to North America especially, how Russia and the non-European states of former Soviet Union are in an entirely different scale when it comes to an active and visible community of artists. The following table contains more details within Eastern Europe:

Country	Artists	Share of global	Total score	Average score	Average age
Poland	80	1.59%	166'066	2076	45
Romania	33	0.67%	76'661	2324	45
Hungary	32	0.63%	47'261	1477	57
Czech Republic	31	0.62%	55'215	1782	54
Serbia	19	0.38%	44'991	2368	52
Croatia	17	0.34%	36'154	2127	56
Bulgaria	14	0.28%	27'857	1990	45
Slovenia	13	0.25%	25'009	1924	46
Slovakia	13	0.25%	23'043	1773	52
Lithuania	12	0.24%	26'446	2204	50
Ukraine	11	0.22%	23'542	2141	43
Estonia	8	0.16%	8'976	1123	43
Bosnia Hercegovina	6	0.12%	16'428	2738	46
Kosovo	4	0.08%	6'592	1648	35
Latvia	3	0.06%	3'410	1137	35
Macedonia	2	0.04%	2'211	1106	41
Albania	2	0.04%	7'967	3984	39

Moldova	2	0.04%	2'678	1340	46
Belorussia	2	0.04%	2'566	1284	34
Montenegro	1	0.02%	773	773	45

Table 10: Position of different Eastern European countries of the top 5001 based on the Artefacts rankings

While analysing the position of the different countries, I first look at first is the number of artists in the top 5,001. In this dimension Poland is the strongest country in the region (it is also the most populous country in the region), followed by Romania, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

If we want to draw some qualitative conclusions from this data we can do this based on the scores [83]. The ArtFacts scoring should reflect the frequency and the form (solo/group/private/public) of the representation of an artist; the higher the score the better the ranking. For example Hungary, Romania and the Czech Republic has very similar number of artists respectively, but the average score for the Romanian artists is much higher, meaning the Romanian artists have higher rankings on average, due to more institutional visibility than the Czechs or the Hungarians. Besides countries (Albania, Bosnia) with limited number of artists, the two leading nations in Eastern Europe are Poland and Romania, with a younger age make up, which is showing the presence of young artists in the mix.

Artist	Age	Country	Gallery	Highest auction record in $	ArtFact ranking 2015
Marina Abramovic	*1946 (69)	Serbia & United States	Lisson/Kuntz	300'000	21
Artur Zmijewski	*1966 (49)	Poland	Foksal/Kilchmann	0	106
Nedko Solakov	*1957 (58)	Bulgaria	Kargl/Continua	79'012	120
Roman Ondák	*1966 (49)	Slovakia	Johnen/gb agency	4'801	132
Mircea Cantor	*1977 (38)	Romania	Dvir/Magazzino d Arte Moderna	13'967	134
Dan Perjovschi	*1961 (54)	Romania	Gregor Podnar/Michel Rein	17'749	150
Boris Mikhailov	*1938 (77)	Ukraine	Dvir/Dominique Levy	20'100	151

[83] As a comparison Bruce Nauman, the number 1 artist in the ranking, holds 31599 points

Sanja Ivekovic	*1949 (66)	Croatia	Espainvisor	14'681	158
Pawel Althamer	*1967 (48)	Poland	Claudio Poleschi	2'098	166
David Maljkovic	*1973 (42)	Croatia	Sprüth Magers/Kargl/Metro Pictures	3'262	172

Table 11: Top ranked living artists in Eastern Europe in ArtFacts.net

Based on this ranking, the top 10 of the Eastern European artists are within the top 200 of the global art world. Most of them have residences in both their country of origin and in one of the global artistic centres. All of them have international gallery representation, with some of the most prestigious galleries in the world. When reviewing their auction records[84], I found that there is no strong auction market for their works. Interestingly we cannot find any Czech or Hungarian artists in the top 10.

Hungarian artists in the Artfacts.net ranking

As for Hungary, we can say that the number of artists is in line with the regional trends, the issue lies in the age and the individual ranking of the artists: Hungary`s most highly ranked artists are part of the older generation, in fact the four highest ranking Hungarians in the original list (that also includes non-living artists) are Laszlo Moholy-Nagy at #178, followed by Andre Kertesz at #351, Brassai at #461 and then Victor Vasarely at #515. All these historic figures come before any of the living Hungarian artists in the list. In the extended list of 5,001 living artists, I identified 32 Hungarians.

Artist	**Age**	**Gallery**	**Highest auction record in $**	**ArtFact ranking 2015**
Dóra Maurer	*1937 (78)	Vintage/ Gutmann/Lindner	7'109	593
Endre Tót*	*1937 (78)	ACB	14'112	749
Véra Molnar*	*1924 (91)	Gutmann/ La ligne/Lahumiere	26'162	845
Attila Csörgö*	*1965 (50)	Gregor Podnar/A22	-	931
Little Warsaw	*1970 (45)	Kisterem/Erna Heye	-	1229
Rita Ackermann*	*1968 (47)	Hauser & Wirth	55'737	1240
Róza El-Hassan	*1966 (49)	Lena&Roselli	-	1577

[84] data retrieved from artprice.com

Tamás Kaszás	*1976 (39)	Kisterem	-	1690
Hajnal Nemeth*	*1972 (43)	Vintage / Invaliden1	-	1847
Tamás St. Auby*	*1944 (71)	-	-	1874

Table 12: Top ranking living Hungarian artist in ArtFacts.net

Even the most represented Hungarian artists are outside the first 500 living artists globally. The most prominent artists were part of the Hungarian neo avant-garde in the 60s and 70s, which is currently in focus in the international scene, partially thanks to the Bookmarks exhibition in the 2015 ArtCologne featuring Maurer, St Auby and Tot among others. The MoMA Transmissions exhibition, which focuses on the same artistic period, although with a broader geographical perspective, contributes to the market re-evaluation of this group of artists in Hungary as well. From the 10 highest ranking artists, only 4 of them actually live and work in Budapest, all the others (marked with *) live abroad. It is also noticeable that Hungary had the highest average age of all the Eastern European countries, which clearly shows a lack of participation of the young generation of Hungarian artists. If we also take into consideration the lower average score level, we can conclude that Hungarian artists are in fact less visible than their Eastern European peers, despite their presence in the rankings.

ArtReview Power 100

The third ranking in this review is the Power 100 from the British periodical ArtReview. Founded in London in 1949, ArtReview is one of the most important publications in the contemporary art scene. Still, the magazine was not included in the Kunstkompass calculation model[85], which shows how arbitrary the selection process of the underlying data is for that model. ArtReview has published its ranking since 2002: the list is supposed to cover the most important personalities who are shaping the international art scene[86], not only artists, but the most important agents who are defining the art world today. In this list we can find gallerists, critics, museum directors, collectors and curators as well as artists. The list is based on the judgement of an anonymous international jury with 16 members, which is supposed to cover different positions in the art world. Quemin and van Hest[87] analysed the all the Power 100 lists since 2002 and they found that there is a strong fluctuation in the personalities listed,

[85] Quemin Alain (2013): Les stars de l'art contemporain p 46.
[86] ArtReview http://artreview.com/about_us/
[87] Quemin Alain and Femke van Hest (2015): The Impact of Nationality and Territory on Fame and Success in the Visual Arts Sector : Artists, Experts, and the Market p186-188

especially compared to the other rather stable rankings like that of the Kunstkompass: according to the authors, the fluctuations do not allow to draw real conclusions. Analysing the people from all the lists since 2002 showed a more realistic picture of the distribution of nationalities: the relative order of countries was similar to the ArtFacts.net and to the Kunstkompass rankings (USA: 35%, Germany 13%, United Kingdom 12.2%). According to them the larger weight on the UK is the result of the publication being based in the UK. In fact the reasoning behind certain positions is elaborated in the publication, but the method of decision making and the list of people who form these opinions remains hidden.

In the 2015 edition of the Power 100 we see a similar line up as in the cumulated list: United States with 30, Germany with 14 and United Kingdom with 12, followed by Italy's 5, China, France and Switzerland with 4 people respectively. This is the first ranking system where we see China actually being present with more than one mention. Without going into further details, there is only one Eastern European person in the Power 100: the Polish Szymcyck is part of this prestigious group since 2014, as the artistic director of the Dokumenta 14. There are two Russians also included since 2009: Anton Vidolke, who is the co-founder of the e-fluxus (lives and works in New York and Berlin) and Dasha Zhukova, a wealthy Russian collector, who is the director of Moscow`s Garage Contemporary art centre.

Since there are no other Eastern Europeans on these lists since 2002, what is more interesting is to look at what the roles and importance of certain professions are in the art world according to the Power 100. Quemin[88] provides an overview of the different positions in the art world based on the accumulated list from 2006 to 2012. Based on the 239 people included, Quemin points out that the great share of the list are the representatives of *artistic institutions*, in his sample 27.4% (museum directors, critiques, and curators) followed by 24.9% held by artists, 20.7% by collectors and 19.5% by gallerists. The table below shows the distribution of professions on the 2015 list:

Professional activity	**Headcount on Power 100 in 2015**
Gallerists	26
Artists	24
Museum Directors	17
Collectors	15

[88] Quemin Alain (2013): Les stars de l'art contemporain p240

Curators	9
Academics	3
Biennale organiser and founders	2
Art fair founders/directors	2
Other	2

Table 13: Distribution of different professions on the Power 100 ranking

In the 2015 ranking we see a similar level for the artists as in the cumulated list, and a great increase in the value of the gallerists and decrease in the value of collectors. With the 29 people, the group of representatives of the *artistic institutions* is still the most prominent one. If we focus our attention on this list, we can see that in a list created by art world professionals, only a quarter of the people on the list are artists, the rest are those, who are responsible to facilitate, validate, preserve, document and value the contemporary art world around the artists. This review reflects on the relative importance of the infrastructure around the artists on a global scale. It demonstrates that it is not enough to focus on the artists: one should pay attention to the other 75% as well, when the aim is to create successful artists. Creating interest and drawing attention will hopefully result in the inclusion of more Eastern Europeans in this ranking as well, at some point in the future.

Magyar Power 50

The Hungarian art publication Műértő[89] publishes a list of the 50 most important people in the Hungarian art world. The list is put together by votes from selected art market professionals. Although it is done with a different methodology than the Power 100, it is worth taking a look at the self-image of the Hungarian Art market professionals.

Professional activity	**Headcount on Magyar Power 50 in 2015**
Curator	18%
Gallerist	18%
Museum director	18%
Artist	16%
Critics	8%
Collectors	6%
Publishers	6%

[89] Data retrieved from Műértő Magazin March 2015

Academics	4%
Politicians	4%
Business professionals	2%

Table 14: Distribution of different professions on the Magyar Power 50 ranking

For the first instance, it is striking how low the representation of the artists is on a list, which is supposed to represent who is the most influential in the Hungarian art scene. In addition, the weight of the official institutional actors is rather high with 44% (!) on the overall list. It is also quite remarkable that the role and weight and visibility of the collector are very low compared to their share at the Power 100 list. This list shows exactly which profession is contributing to what extent when it comes to the creation of value within the art market, according to the self-image of the Hungarian art scene. In many ways this is the result of the specific historic development of the Hungarian art market that we introduce in the next section.

Existence on the periphery

Some theorists account the lack of truly globalised consumption of art to an explanation based on cultural aesthetic differences. Velthuis[90] thinks this could be directly related to certain quality of the work, or the lack of it. According to the study these products are "missing the adequate occidental cosmology" or simply put missing the element of familiarity for Western collectors, market professionals and broader audiences. This could be more of an explanation of the lack of participation of the artists and galleries of Asian and South American art rather than artists from Eastern Europe. This model of the cultural affinities would explain why players in the centres of the art world (Westerners) — where most of the weight of the achieved scores by artists come from — don't have easy appreciation, let alone a strong will for acquisition of art coming from somewhere else other than the West. This familiarity could be extended to the structure and the practices of the market.[91] We see in all of the rankings that countries who were on the forefront of the contemporary art trade tend to shape and define what

[90] Olav Velthuis (2013): Globalization of markets for contemporary art

[91] Among these contemporary auctions are very important as they are clearly signaling price levels and reflecting the viability and success of the market.

constitutes valuable and important, both aesthetically and monetarily. This value creation and maintenance is supported by economic and business practices. Countries that fall behind market activity, paired with long established, and backed — by government or private patrons — institutional structure have a hard time to catch up with the global centre. In the case of Eastern Europe we see a strong delay in development of the support system of contemporary arts both in the market and on the level of institutions.

Local structures and historic development of the Hungarian market

We clarified the lack of presence based on the data analysis: now our aim is to understand what lies behind this development. Based on the extension of the cultural affinity model, one can identify potential development factors that could lead to lack of acceptance in terms of the artistic production and the contribution of other important agents in the field. Although geographically close to the central sphere of the art market, Hungary and Eastern Europe had a different historical path of cultural development in the last 60 years. This affected both the artistic production and the development of commercial practices in the art world. After World War II, the country became part of the Soviet area of interest. The time period we are focusing on could be divided into three distinctive periods: the Rakosi regime (1948-1956), the Kadar regime (1956-1989), the years of democracy (1989 - today). Without analysing in great depth, it is important to take a review of the historical circumstances in Hungary after WWII, because the current status on many levels is the result of the arrested development of the art market.

The Rakosi[92] Regime

After a brief interim period of quasi democratic status, in 1947 Rakosi dropped all pretence of democracy — with the backing of Moscow, he even had the nickname of Stalin`s best pupil — and forcefully ended any political form of democracy, creating a single party system and imposed a totalitarian rule over the country. In essence living under a totalitarian state means that every aspect of life is controlled and governed by the state, both publicly and privately; non-compliance had dire consequences. Most

[92] The period is named after the general secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, Matyas Rakosi (1892-1971), he was in place between 1945 and 1956.

importantly the whole system was based on fear. This had direct consequences on the cultural politics, which was based on the official communist ideology. There was a system of censorship and a very strong official iconography of socialist realism[93]. Any different style of artistic production was considered not only the matter of free artistic choice, but a clear political action, that could harshly be punished by the state with deportation and/or imprisonment[94].

Even though there were always artist, who were producing art in secret, what the system was clearly lacking was an open and free market and the free expression of criticism and intellectual discourse about this hidden production. All types of critical discourse were censored and selling art was purely a state monopoly. During the harshest period of the Rakosi regime some artists chose to stay out and strictly produce in the non-official, non-public domain, in secrecy; there was literally no community or an art scene[95]. The repression of artistic freedom and creativity and the elimination of the institutions and agents of the art scene also meant that Hungary was absent from the Venice Biennials[96] between 1948 and 1958. After the death of Stalin, in March of 1953, Moscow was steering the satellite states first towards easing, than to further strengthening of repression, which led to the escalation and resulted in the revolution of 1956. The uprising was brutally crushed by the Soviets. The Soviets put Kadar in the leader`s seat who remained in power until 1988.

The arts and cultural politics in the Kadar[97] Regime

During the Kadar era the totalitarian dictatorship "softened" down to an autocratic dictatorship. According to Eörsi[98] the cultural politics of the Kadar era should be

[93] Portraying the simple life of the true and honest worker including the mandatory heroic/wise/god, like the depiction of Stalin or Rakosi himself.

[94] Behind the officially accepted art, there was an unofficial production from the artists, sometimes even parallel, from the same artist. Szeifert writes about a "hidden" art scene that, even in the midst of the strongest repression, was existing and flourishing, in terms of production.
Szeifert, Judit (2011): PHD Dissertation, Rejtőzködő művészet, Nem hivatalos művészeti stratégiák 1949–1953 között, és a progresszív művészet útjai

[95] Szeifert Judit (2010): Rejtözködö müveszet, PhD Dissertation

[96] It should be noted that Hungary was the second European nation which was opening its national pavilion (1909), after Belgium (1907), in the time period after between 1948 and 1959 there was nothing to show and no infrastructure to support it

[97] The period is named after János Kádár (1912-1989): he was the General secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party between 1956 and 1988.

[98] Eörsi, Laszlo (2008): Ideologiai pragmatizmus és (Ön)cenzura, a harom "T" kulturpolitikaja

described as the era of the "3 T". György Aczél, the powerful state secretary of cultural affairs was the mastermind behind this classification of cultural and artistic production:

Tiltott: ("Banned") Art that was not accepted, could not be exhibited, promoted or sold, it was considered to be a threat to the regime. Artist and artist groups who belonged to the Hungarian neo avant-garde were falling under this category (European school, pop-art, op-art and performance art, basically any art that was conceptual).

Tàmogatott: ("Supported") In this category we find artists that are representing the idea of the socialist realism. It was a gradual shift from a Stalinist aesthetic towards a Marxist one. The supported artists were representing the country on the Venice Biennial, where Hungary returned to exhibit in 1958, after a ten year long break. The supported artists could not voice any criticism against the regime.

Tűrt: ("Tolerated") Being on the edge halfway between being supported and banned, based on the judgement of the censors.

The majority of the Eastern European countries had similar classification of cultural production. The factor, that was unique in Hungary compared to the rest of the region, was how the tolerated segment was managed by the censor and the decision makers. It was this grey area that was not official, but still could exist on the fringe of the official platforms of the cultural scene. Some scholars of the time say that for the decision makers in the area of visual arts it was actually very difficult to identify what should be supported or banned[99].

In the Kadar era, we see a gradual easing in the private sphere, where people enjoyed some freedom compared to the Rakosi era. There was some opportunity — although at one`s personal risk — to form artistic groups, create exhibitions, publish illegal periodicals. Artists still run the risk of being arrested for their work, but there was a real community with different movements and artistic positions

After 1968 and the introduction of the New Economic Mechanism, the economic guidelines changed; prices in general were not 100% fixed anymore, but they were reflecting some sort of economic reality. Trade and small scale business enterprises were not entirely illegal. Trading with art was again present, creating a market mostly for classic modern and old master works and antiques; the main purchases of contemporary art went through museums, official government agents and the official

[99] György Péter (2005): Kádár köpönyege, 166-167 pp

government art dealerships. In 1968, the party established the Art Foundation of the Hungarian Peoples Republic[100], which had the responsibility to take care of its members[101], to support artists with copy right issues, to operate exhibition places and artist retreats. The Foundation had different business units generating income, one of which was also involved in art trading: the Képcsarnok Vállalat. The Képcsarnok had a retail chain of 33 stores throughout the country and was generating proceeds with selling art and handcrafted products, all of which went through a jury selection, although the quality was mostly questionable.

The central government also had a specific process between 1965 and 1980 to supply contemporary art to public institutions, as they themselves had no authority over their acquisitions. There also was a well-established process regarding how the government acquiring works of art from contemporary artists. This was the system of the "*Two million*[102]" purchases, that was well documented by Adrienn Kácsor in 2009[103]. The lists of works that were bought and the purchase prices were all documented. First, the artists were able to apply for the sales four times a year, later only twice a year. The artists brought in their works and during one day an expert jury was selecting the ones to purchase. These purchases from the state were the major source of income for the artists. As Kácsor puts it, "*this is one form of the aforementioned paternalism, when the state is becoming the patron (mecenas) of all artists, and provides centralised income for all of them*[104] [105]*"*. The system of these purchases stopped in 1980: during the prior 15 years, the Hungarian National Gallery acquired more than 400 paintings at these events.

From the late 1970s Hungary was also represented at the Basel Art fair through an organisation called Artex Artbureau, Budapest. Artex was responsible for selling works of art outside of Hungary. Other than through this agency, it was difficult to access Hungarian works of art from outside of the country. In accordance with this, participation in international conferences and museum shows were not possible for the artists and intellectuals (curators, art historians, museum professionals) beyond the

[100] Magyar Népköztársaság Művészeti Alapja

[101] Every artist who applied could become a member of the organisation, this is how they become eligible for pensions as well.

[102] The yearly budget on these purchases was 2,000,000 HUF, which corresponds to approximately 35 M $ in 2015. It was directly distributed to the artists, at the rough rate of 120K per piece

[103] Kácsor, Adrienn (2009) Kétmilliós vásárlások: képzőművészet és politika a Kádár-korszakban, in Médiakutató 2009, autumn

[104] Kácsor (2009), translated by the author

[105] This kind of paternalistic problem solving style still remains in the expectation of many Hungarians.

Soviet sphere of interest. The international exchange was still focusing on countries of the Eastern Block.

In 1983 the Art Fund established the subsidiary called GENERALART which was responsible for the sales of contemporary works of art, but also provided other art related services. According to Katalin Délceg[106], an art market pioneer and gallerist, who was also working for GENERALART at the time, the aim was to open up a market for contemporary art as this was not accessible in any other official channel.

Democratic change, artistic and market freedom

Changing the political structures went fast in Eastern Europe, but changing attitudes and everyday practices takes a generation or two, as some say. After the political changes artistic production was formally free from political censorship, artists had to get accustomed to new expectations coming from the market and new institutional structures. This change also opened up the borders and provided an opportunity to participate in the international market. An opportunity, that is yet to be fully exploited.

Rebirth of the market

To demonstrate the impact of the delayed market development I am describing the particularities of the Hungarian contemporary art market, focusing on the development of some of the most important positions on the market. It is necessary to focus the attention primarily on the gallerists and collectors, leaving aside crucial players like the artists, curators and critics, who are playing an important role both in the valuation and in the value creation. In this section I am paying attention and introducing primarily issues related to galleries and secondly to collectors.

The idea is that the development of this contemporary market could be broken down into stages: these stages show how a market develops from birth to an international presence. This model is based on an abstraction of the market, and is derived from general mass marketing concepts[107], customised to the art market.

In the first stage, the domestic market is shaping up, where galleries and collectors as well as artists and museums are defining the domestic market and its basic institutions

[106] Interview with Katalin Délceg by C3; http://www.c3.hu/~ligal/tk_delceg.html
[107] Kottler, Philipp - Armstrong, Gary (2010): Principles of Marketing

(publications, exhibitions spaces, art fairs, discourse). In this stage, a clear segment of galleries and collectors are formed, which are focusing on the contemporary market and not on art in general. In the second stage many galleries are founded, individual strategies are tested and the market is going towards equilibrium. A pioneering Hungarian gallerist said if a gallery can survive the first seven years it will stand the test of time[108]. This is usually followed in further segmentation and specialisation in the market and inclusion of international artists. In the third stage the first connections are gradually made to the international market (art fairs, individual collectors, point to point exchanges). At this stage local secondary market auctions are present in the market. The real integration into the international market can be achieved if the gallery actually opens a branch in a foreign market, where the rules and institutions have already been established; the market is fully mature and integrated if it has solid auction records in the international auction scene.

Contemporary art galleries

When we review the Hungarian gallery scene what we can see is that the Hungarian contemporary art scene is at stage three without the solid domestic secondary market; but how did it get there? Since the fall of communism in 1989 trade and production of any kind of art became legal and many of the dealers who worked in the shadows, stepped out and established businesses. Already in 1990 there were two[109] Hungarian galleries present in Basel at the fair. Throughout the country there are 60 recognised commercial galleries, 14 of which is part of the Association of Contemporary Galleries. Looking at the overall market situation still today the most important and largest segment of the market remains the period of *classical modern and post war period;* there is virtually no auction or secondary market for contemporary Hungarian art in Budapest. There are two major market players dominating the auction market:[110] Kieselbach Gallery and Auction house and the Judit Virág Gallery[111]. There is an auction house also hosting contemporary art events is called Blitz Galéria[112]. In today's

[108] Topor Tünde- Gréczi Emöke (2013): Az első magyar kortárs galériás, in ArtMagazin 2003 October
[109] Galerie Rondula de Rivo (Szeged) and Galerie für Kunstsammler GMBh (Budapest) both of them are out of business by now.
[110] These two main players also taking now steps with establishing contemporary art
[111] In the early 90s Sotheby`s opened a field office in Budapest, but they have never held auctions, it was mainly a collection point, that provided transparency and legal opportunity for Western collectors.
[112] Emőke Gréczi (2013): Mire jó a kortárs árverés. in ArtMagazin may 2013

Budapest there is a sort of gallery district, for dealers focusing on this already established period around Falk Miksa Street in the 5. District of Budapest[113]; galleries for contemporary art are scattered around in the 5th, 6th, and 7th Districts, on the Pest side of Budapest.

Historically speaking the first commercial gallery to open was the Műgyűjtők Galériája[114] in 1988, but it does not exist anymore. The commercially more successful Budapest outpost of the Vienna based Galerie Knoll, was also one of the first ones to open shop in 1989. Knoll focuses on Eastern Europe, not only on Hungary; the presence of Knoll has been important for establishing a contemporary gallery scene in Budapest. They have helped to educate the market and many of its current players[115]. Knoll also brings international artists to Hungary. The connection to Austria remained important in the history of the Hungarian art trade since 1989.

From the first wave of contemporary galleries (Na-Ne, Pandora, Dovin, Vadnai, Körmendi, Eve Art, Eri, Erdesz, ArtEria) only a few exist today: one of them is Varfok 14 Gallery. Varfok 14 opened its door in 1990, and is still in business. The gallery was participating in the early 90s multiple times on FIAC, ARCO and it was the first gallery to join the Art Expo Budapest. In 1990 the gallerist Johan van Dam, the artist Ilona Keserü and the art historian Laszlo Beke founded the Budapest Art Expo: the fair was supposed to offer a platform of exchange for the artists, who at the beginning were selling their own works. For a while artists and gallerists were selling the works parallel in the fair[116]. The fair was operational until 1996, but closed due to financial difficulties in the second half of the 90s. During the turbulent economic times in the mid-90s, many galleries went bankrupt due to structural changes in the market.

The next generation of galleries has been established in the early to mid-2000s. (Deak Erika, Vintage, acb Galeria, Kisterem, Viltin, Maklary, Inda, Ani Molnar, NextArt). These are the galleries that are leading the contemporary art business today; many of them have already been specialised on certain sub-segments of the market. Many of these gallerists have business backgrounds. We can observe that this generation of galleries are actively exhibiting at art fairs. Even though these galleries are increasingly

[113] There is also a yearly open air festival called Falkart Forum, organised by the galleries and takes place on the street in the gallery row.

[114] Galerie für Kunstsammler, was participating on Art Basel as well in the beginning of the 90s

[115] The founder of Kisterem worked at Galerie Knoll, before establishing her own business in 2007. Knoll also took artist with them to the European stage, offering them opportunities to exhibit and cooperate with other galleries in Europe

[116] Gergely Mariann (2005): Tizenöt éves a Budapest Art Expo Alapítvány in ArtMagazin 2005 May

active in terms of participation on art fairs since 2009, they however fail to get in to the most important art fairs, as we saw it in the section on the analysis of global art fairs. It is worth mentioning that these galleries survived the financial crisis and established a market where both they and the artists they represent get by. However, there is still no contemporary auction market in Hungary.

The latest generation of galleries (Chimera - project, Trapéz, Flux, Horizont, Supermarket) has been established in the 2010s. They are providing representation to their own millennial generation. Many of them have curatorial experience, in some cases experience in the international art world. There is a development towards the internationalisation, but there is no breakthrough in terms of participating in art fairs of the highest prestige. Part of the gallery scene was deeply involved in the OFF Biennale, which is a financially independent project of a curatorial team in Budapest, representing artistic positions that are not acceptable at the current official cultural climate in Hungary.

The major contemporary galleries also formed an alliance working side by side on topics in common, such as the issue of the high VAT value added tax (27%!) in Hungary, which has a negative effect on the international presence of the galleries. Besides the common purpose lobby activities, galleries also form project alliances working on certain common topics, shared exhibitions together (i.e.: Bookmarks, Beyond the obvious) which is a sign of a healthy gallery scene, where we see competition, but cooperation as well.

All in all, the Hungarian contemporary art gallery structure has gone through a major transformation since 1989. It is part of the international exchange, galleries go to fairs on a regular basis, but none of the galleries have assumed a permanent role in the international scene, nor have they opened any location outside the country. Galleries tend to represent mostly Hungarian artists in their roster. Only 13%[117] of all represented artists are international, all the others are local. The only gallery where we see more international artists is Knoll, where this value in 70%.

Overall we can observe a functioning and sustainable local art market, however with only limited access to the outside world.

[117] Based in the sample of the Association of Hungarian Contemporary art Galleries, that covers 15 galleries

Collectors

As we saw above in with the case of the Magyar Power50, the role and the importance of the collectors on the market was not valued highly by the Hungarian art world. This does not come as a surprise because the development of the local collecting behaviour is also delayed. According to Gabor Ébli[118], art historian in the 90s it was still an open question whether collectors should be bothered with contemporary art. It was only in the following decade that people started to pay attention to this market, and gradually collecting pieces of contemporary art became acceptable. Here we briefly review the activities and the characteristics of corporations and private people who are involved in the art market in Hungary[119].

New and established Collectors

As we learn from Ébli[120] there were different motivations and experiences behind the collectors, similarly to any part of the world. Today there are approximately 50-100 private collectors of contemporary art in Hungary who are recognised by the market[121]. In a 2014 review of ten major contemporary collections, we can see that only three of the major collectors are focusing on local artists only, all the rest are interested in the international context as well and includes foreign pieces in their collections. Most of these collectors are actively visiting art fairs and auctions around the globe. Still, this international involvement is not substantial enough to help galleries to get into more prestigious fairs.

In 2012 two Hungarian collectors, Peter Küllői and Zsolt Somlói, became members of the Tate REEAC acquisition committee[122]. Due to their presence there is an increased attention to the 60s-70s neo-avant-garde positions in Hungary, especially to Dora Maurer and Endre Tot. Nine pieces were purchased from Maurer by the REEAC fund since 2012[123].

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[118] Ébli (2013) Múzeumoktól a műtárgypiac felé – és vissza? Kortársművészeti gyűjteményezés az ezredforduló Magyarországán http://www.knollgalerie.at/structuralset-upofcollections.html?&L=2

[119] The acquisitions from museums and public institutions are not discussed in this thesis

[120] Ébli Gábor (2008): Műgyűjtés, múzeum, mecenatúra. esettanulmányok a jelenkori magyar gyűjtéstörténetből.

[121] Ledényi (2014): Kortàrs magángyűjtők TOP 10

[122] The cost of membership is 10.000 £ yearly

[123] Tate (2015) http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/dora-maurer-1597

The collector couple Katalin Spengler and Zsolt Somlói are the most prestigious collectors in Hungary. They started their collection in the beginning of the 90s. Their focus is Hungarian art, but they also collect worldwide. Besides the Tate acquisition committee, Somlói is part of the Centre Pompidou`s Groupe des Amis de la Photographie, which is an acquisition group dedicated to photography. The couple supported the OFF Biennial in 2015 with financial resources. They represent a new type of collecting attitude that should bring forward the Hungarian art scene. Their collection has been shown to the public on some occasions[124].

Corporate collections from the mid-90s

Since the mid-90s with the political changes and international investments in Hungary more and more companies started opening subsidiaries in the country. Companies especially in the finance sector have started to build collections of Hungarian contemporary art, as documented in the 2007 publication *Vállalati gyűjtemények* [125](Corporate Collections). Many of them follow the international/HQ collection building practices: these practices are in general more structured and focused than the individual collecting strategies. Some of the companies simply want to decorate their offices with local works of art; sometimes even the employees are directly involved in these decisions. These new types of institutional collectors have provided an influx of money to the art market since the mid-90s, but they have also come with a different set of professional expectations, introducing new art market professions such as art advisors. Some of the main institutional investors are:

- BNP Paribas: with more than 300 works of art
- Erste Bank Kontakt[126]: the Kontakt collection of the Erste group is focusing on Eastern European artists in general representing 14 countries and 90 artists. Erste is relying on local purchases of the Erste subsidiaries in Eastern Europe, led by curator Walter Seidl. The group is advised by a committee of 5 art market professional, one of which is Adam Szymcyck. The collection in Hungary started in 2004 and it mainly focuses on the Hungarian neo avant-garde of the 60s-70s. There were many exhibitions organised by the Kontakt collection since 2006.

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[124] International art from the collection of Zsolt Somlói and Katalin Spengler (2012)
[125] Edge (2007) Vállalati gyűjtemények
[126] Erste Bank Kontakt Collection http://www.kontakt-collection.net/emuseum/people/view?t:state:flow=26401a2f-f8ad-4522-81bc-0565d0aa627dEdge (2007)

- Ecquilor Fine Art: the investment firm`s art collection is focusing on young talent on the market.
- OTP Bank: the collection consists of mainly office decoration of roughly 600 contemporary art pieces. OTP has opened a gallery space in 2005, where they regularly hold exhibitions.
- Strabag: a growing collection and an established art award for young Hungarian talent until 2011

The list above is just an illustration, it is also important for the market to acknowledge that the corporate art collections are here to stay and they actually contribute to the market. Corporate collections are standard fixtures in the market now in Hungary as well.

Artists and artistic movements

My role here is not to describe art history in a nutshell in Hungary in the last 60 years, but to give a brief overview of what is important on the market today. What we see in general that neo avant-garde positions from the 60s and 70s are getting attention from collectors and institutions as well. This period is interesting for Western Museums and collectors because it allows them to draw parallels with Western perspectives and positions. It was mentioned before but the neo constructivist and conceptual work of Dora Maurer (1937-) is highly regarded and now collected as well by prestigious international institutions such as Tate and MOMA. Maurer is active in the art scene and was the master of many currently active artists from the younger generation. The re-evaluation of the work of Endre Tot (1937 -) is also part of this attention to the period: the conceptual and performance artist is one of the most prominent practitioners of mail art. Important names from this period include Miklos Erdely (1928-1986) and the Indigo csoport, St Auby Tamas (1944 -), Tibor Hajas (1946-1980) a leading figure of Fluxus East, Geza Perneczky (1936 -), Jovànovics György (1939-)

During the Bookmarks Exhibition[127] in Budapest and in the Art Cologne 2015, the three cooperating galleries also included the younger generation of artists as well, demonstrating the intellectual and artistic link between the two groups of artists, placing the young artists in the spotlight of a previous generation.

[127] The original exhibition was in Budapest in 2013 September 19-28.

Fig. 4: Dora Maurer: Seven twists, 1979

Adam Kokesch (1973-) a pupil of Maurer, who was selected as a Future Greats by ArtReview in 2015; Little Warsaw (artist collective); Societe Réaliste (artist collective); Gyula Varnai (1965-). Also a prominent member of the younger generation is Istvan Csàkàny (1979-) whose large scale installation "Ghost Keeping" was commissioned and produced for dOCUMENTA (13).

These younger artists have individual successes, however since the emergence of neo-avant-garde artists there is no major internationally recognised artist group from present-day Hungary, which could create an opportunity for the market as a whole. There are talented individuals who are linked to the market, but there is no group or movement that is internationally visible.

The attempt to rebrand the neo-avant-garde and post conceptualists movement is important, because this part of art history should have a place in the global canon, this could also shed light on what is happening in contemporary Hungary. During my

interview with Mihai Pop it was clear that one of the winning points of Plan-B was that they appeared as a group, a movement, and not as individuals.

Curators, critics and museum professionals

Although highly important on a local scale, only few of the Hungarian curators and art critics are present on the global stage. The importance and influence of a curator is crucially important in the art world. We see only a handful of Hungarians appearing on the global stage, and they only do so in supporting roles.

Bencsik Barnabas[128] (director of ACAX - Agency for Contemporary Art Exchange, Budapest) is the member of the board at Musée d'Art Moderne Grand-Duc Jean (MuDAM) Foundation in Luxembourg. The MuDAM acquired the large scale installation of Istvan Csakany. Another Hungarian curator and art historian on the international stage is Lorand Hegyi (1954-), who was the director of MUMOK in Vienna between 1990-2000.

The lack of internationally acclaimed and well positioned curators and museum professionals has a negative effect on the further development of the market. Just as no Hungarian academics and intellectuals are in fact contributing these days to the international art scene, there are no international curators in Hungary's domestic institutions.

Success on the periphery

After this status description of the Hungarian art scene today, I would like to provide a great example that is showing a way out, from a starting situation that is more desperate than the situation of Hungary was in 1989. I have chosen a Romanian example because this is the most striking development above all Eastern European market transitions. In the case of Poland the size of the market and the history allows them to create a broad market strategy, also by recognising and playing by the rules. The case of Cluj is very special, because they started with such a great handicap, their success is really

[128] Bencsik was the director of the Ludwig Museum in Budapest (2008-2013)

remarkable. In the following section I am describing the development and strategies of the Cluj based on gallery Plan-B.

Case study Plan-B Cluj/Berlin

As we saw previously with the participation in art fairs, Plan-B is one of the eleven most internationally active galleries in Eastern Europe. I had the great fortune to interview Mihai Pop, the owner and cofounder of the gallery, in June 2015. By introducing Plan-B, the aim is to provide a contrasting example from a country with a similar outset situation to Hungary. In fact the success story of Plan-B is even more remarkable, given the fact that Romania and the Romanians suffered much more during the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceaușescu[129], which was the harshest and most repressive dictatorship after the 60s. Yet this group of young Romanians understood how the international art world and the art market works and turned this into their advantage as Pop put in an interview "*So I`m on a Western market because that`s super developed and evolved and so on, but I do not want to follow all the rules of that market. It`s their party; it`s not my party. We have this idea of look, that`s not our society, that`s not our party, but we have to use it. They created structures and we will use these structures.*

Fig. 5: Adrian Ghenie (2010) The trial

[129] Nicolae Ceaușescu (1918-1989), General Secretary of the Romanian Communist party 1965-1989.

But we don`t necessarily have to fit that context"[130]. In the following section I will describe their journey and review their impact on both their own artists and on the art scene in Cluj.

Starting new with the plan-b

Plan-B was founded by two artists Mihai Pop and Adrian Ghenie; the two met at the University of Fine arts in Cluj[131] where they both studied. Pop did run a gallery curating and organising exhibitions for his fellow students, during his years of study. Plan-B opened its doors in 2005, the name is rooted in the negative experience of failure. They both were coming back to Romania from abroad, living with their parents, in their late 20s. Ghenie was in Vienna trying to make it as an artist, but he came back broke to his hometown, Cluj. They decided to take matters into their own hands and open up a gallery, which is a social platform for them, a place to exhibit and of course they wanted to make money as their aim was to make a living just from art alone. It was a group of artists and friends from the University of Cluj who were the first artists on the roster of Plan-B. Their first artists were basically formed around two artistic positions

- Neo-conceptualists : Ciprian Muresan (1977 -), Gabriela Vanga (1977 -) and Mircea Cantor [132](1977 -)
- Neo figurative painters : (Adrian Ghenie (1977 -), Victor Man (1974 -)

The opening exhibition in October of 2005 was the solo show of Victor Man. According to Pop going abroad was a necessity, there was no market in Cluj itself and reaching out to Bucharest or Budapest would only retain them in a provincial context. According to Pop this aim to create their own discourse and define their own context is only possible if they are in the global market.

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[130] Interview with Mihai Pop in Contemporary art 1989 to the Present edited by Alexander Dumbadze and Susanne Hudson, pp 381-382.

[131] Cluj is the historical capital of Transylvania, and the second largest city in the country with 340.000 inhabitants

[132] Cantor already had his big debut in 2005 @MOMA in New York City, with his video work the *Departure*, and was already living in Paris at the time.

For Plan-B participating in art fairs was a strategic decision: as Pop put it, he wanted to show his artists in an international context. He was carefully selecting the fairs he was participating in. "*It is important to be on the real art scene on the real art market, and to bring the correct information back especially for the young guys*[133]"

They debuted in 2006 at the Vienna fair, where they met some important American collectors[134] who took them under their wings. It was a very important relationship: later the collector also visited them in Cluj. This provided them with enough money to go forward. The collector helped them to get in to the 2007 Armory show. The collector also offered to support them financially, so they were able to make it to the fair. By chance the image of Cristi Pogacean`s (1980 -), Abduction from the Seraglio[135], was published in the New York Times Art section[136], along with a brief description of the booth. This brought increased attention to the gallery and its artists. In the same year Pop became the commissioner of the Romanian pavilion in the 52nd Venice Biennial. Even Pop admits that this would have been impossible in the West, that the owner of a commercial gallery curates a national pavilion in Venice. This tells a lot about the development stage of the Romanian art scene, and the openness of the Romanian decision makers to let someone do it, who already has international experience with exhibitions.

Later in the very same year during the 2007 Prague Biennial, Giancarlo Politi coined the term "Cluj school of art", which he compared to the New Leipzig or the Dresden schools[137]. Although the classification of school is contested by Pop, it has proven to be very effective as a marketing tool and label[138].

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[133] Interview with Mihai Pop in Contemporary art 1989 to the Present edited by Alexander Dumbadze and Susanne Hudson, p 380.

[134] names were not disclosed during our discussion

[135] The image on the carpet depicts the image of the three Romanian journalist who were kidnapped in Iraq in 2005

[136] The New York Times (2007) http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/23/arts/design/23fair.html?n=Top%2FReference%2FTimes%20Topics%2FSubjects%2FT%2FTrade%20Shows%20and%20Fairs&_r=0

[137] http://www.praguebiennale.org/3/eng/index.html

[138] The group participated in a show called the *Cluj connection* in the Zürich venue of Haunch of Venison in 2007, curated by Jane Neal. This show had a revival in the spring of 2015 in Berlin at Galerie Judin.

Fig. 6: Cristi Pogacean (2006): Abduction from the Seraglio

Berlin and the Paintbrush Factory

In October of 2008, Plan-B opened its second location in Berlin. Pop sees the presence in Berlin as a necessity, this way the gallery is part of one of the world`s leading gallery towns. The opening exhibition in Berlin was a group show of all the original artists of Plan-B from 2005: by then they had a different position on the market. The aim of Pop was to be present in Berlin, but not move away from Cluj; the director of the Berlin gallery is Michaela Lutea.

For Pop and Ghenie, contributing to the scene in Cluj has always been very important. As art students they felt out of touch with the art world, now as they were in the middle of it, they also wanted to give something back and contribute to the local art scene. They started a project called the Fabrica de Pensule[139] (The Paintbrush Factory): an industrial building, converted into a centre of contemporary visual culture. The project started in 2009 and opened its doors in 2011. The Fabrica de Pensule is giving home to

[139] Plan-B and its circle were not the single initiators of the project, the project is financed directly from the tenants of the building, there was no central or local government resources used to finance it.

7 contemporary art galleries (Plan-B, Sabot, Baril, etc.) and off spaces (Lateral Art Space), 38 artist studios — including the studio of Ciprian Muresan and Adrian Ghenie - NGOs linked to the art scene, a library and last but not least performance studios[140]. This is a unique place in Romania. The Fabrica Pensule serves as an incubator in the Romanian art scene.

At the 2015 Venice Biennial, Pop was the curator of the Romanian pavilion, where the country was represented by a solo show of Adrian Ghenie ("Darwin`s Room")

Career overview and development of the original Plan-B artist

To see the impact of the last 10 years of the original Plan-B artists, I am reviewing their career development with the help of the ArtFacts ranking system, which as stated above reflects the broad institutional representation of the artist. Where it was possible, I am providing a review on auction records, based on the data of ArtPrice[141], to reflect on the commercial success on the secondary market as well. The secondary market is definitely biased towards certain media: painters have much more options on auctions than conceptual artists. With providing brief artist profiles, I also describe the international gallery relations of the artists.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Mircea Cantor	31633	2541	3195	1356	1119	720	456	404	324	242	189	202	183	213	185	189
Ciprian Muresan		32302	38690	14247	10785	7075	3801	2791	1882	1192	709	591	515	541	515	489
Victor Man				14025	16892	7685	5049	2027	1491	1094	1117	1167	969	926	843	783
Adrian Ghenie							52510	9738	6371	3546	2548	2273	1884	1856	1603	1318
Serban Savu							63642	13963	13338	5783	5128	3529	3336	3278	3165	3316
Gabriela Vanga		32302	38690	10427	13096	7207	6145	5739	6645	5077	5932	5960	6348	7998	9922	11891

Table 15: ArtFacts ranking development of the Plan-B artists since their first appearance in the ranking

The majority of the artists studied together at the University of Fine Arts in the class of 2000: they all started in the unknown, but their career path is not only the result of the work with Plan-B. While Cantor, Muresan and Man are leading the pack in terms of

[140] http://fabricadepensule.ro/en/
[141] ArtPrice www.artprice.com

institutional presence, Ghenie earned so far the greatest commercial success of the group. Savu is the youngest of the group: he has to emerge from the shadow of Man and Ghenie, to gain more institutional interest. Finally Vanga was not active in the recent years and this is reflected in her rank.

- **Mircea Cantor (1977 -):** Out of the Plan-B related artists Mircea Cantor has the most prominent position in the ArtFacts ranking, but he is only loosely linked to the group. Today, his main representation is the Dvir Gallery in Tel Aviv[142], the Magazzino d'Arte Moderna[143] in Rome and Yvone Lambert in Paris. Cantor`s work could be found in prestigious collections such as MoMA New York City, Walker Art Center, Centre Pompidou, The Israeli Museum, MuDAM (Luxembourg) and Nomas Foundation (Rome). He had solo shows in the Kunsthaus Zürich (2009) and was honoured with the Marcel Duchamp price in 2011. Currently lives in both Cluj and Paris. There is no auction market for Cantor, maybe due to the nature of his work: there are 10 recorded auctions, 6 of which were bought in. The highest price achieved was close to 14.000 USD in 2008 at Phillis de Pury, but even this did not reach the low estimate. Artistically speaking, Cantor is the most established artist in his peer group.
- **Ciprian Muresan** (1977 -) is also in a great position in the art world, from an Eastern European perspective. He lives and works in Cluj. Muresan`s work mainly consists of videos, performances and drawings. He is described in the group as equally loved by collectors and curators. He has broad representation worldwide: David Nolan (New York), Mihai Nicodim (LA)[144], Galerie Hussenot (Paris), Wilkinson Gallery (London) and Prometeo (Milan). His works could be found in the Zabludowicz Collection in London, in MoCa Los Angeles and in Ludwig Museum Budapest. In 2012 he had a duo show at the TATE Modern with Anna Molska. His secondary market is not established yet: there were three registered auctions of his works, one of which was bought in. Highest hammer price realised was 12.421 USD in 2013 at Tajan (Paris).
- **Victor Man** (1974 -) being the senior in the group played the role of a master, especially for the neo figurative painters. He currently lives in Berlin and Cluj. Plan-B

[142] A regular participant in Art Basel, Fiac, Frieze NY, the Israeli gallery was established in 1982

[143] Cantor is the highest ranking artist of the Rome based institution, they as well are regulars at Art Basel, Art Basel Miami and at the Artissima in Turin.

[144] Bucharest - LA based gallery, focuses mostly on US art fairs LA Contemporary, Expo Chicago, NADA. Most of the artist in the roaster are from Romanian origin. Nicodim, an artist himself, opened his LA gallery in 2006, supporting the Cluj artists on the West coast.

opened with a show of Man in 2005. His current Artefacts ranking index is 783. Besides Plan-B, he has representation with the Galdstone Gallery in New York and Brussels, with Blum &Poe in LA, Zero in Milan, Galerie Neu in Berlin. He was the Deutsche Bank Artist of the year in 2014. Man had solo shows at the MUDAM, Haus der Kunst München. Man has 17 registered auction results since 2012, with a 35% bought in rate. 52% of the auctions were in Romania, but his pictures were also sold in New York at all major houses. His auction record was achieved in 2012 with the hammer price of 42.000 USD, almost tripling the low estimate.

- **Adrian Ghenie** (1977-) is the biggest commercial success among the Plan-B artists, Ghenie is the first of the group, who has an established secondary market as well.

Year	Total Auction value $	Number of pieces
2011	38'000	2
2012	21'872	3
2013	709'911	8
2014	4'862'652	12
2015*	2'503'954	7

Table 16: Sum auction record of Adrian Genie (2011-2015) *the 2015 data does not reflect the whole year, only up to October

Three of his works fetched over a Million Dollars, works which were produced only couple years prior. There is a strong upward tendency in these prices, with no works bought in, and of course all of these auctions are in the centres of the art world with major auction houses. Besides the success on the secondary market Ghenie enjoys grand publicity, he has been featured many times in the most important publications. His solo show, Darwin`s room, is representing Romania at the 2015 Venice Biennial. Ghenie had solo shows at SMAK (Ghent), Museum of Contemporary Art in Denver. His works can be found in collections such as MOCA Los Angeles, SF MoMa and the Zabludowicz Collection. He was featured in the Palazzo Grassi`s exhibition *The World Belongs to you* in 2011. He currently lives both in Berlin and Cluj. Although he was one of the founders of Plan-B, he has now stepped down from the management of the gallery. Besides Plan-B he has broad representation worldwide. In the U.S. he is represented by Pace Gallery in New York since 2013, and Mihai Nicodim in LA since 2006. He is represented in Belgium by Tim van Laere since 2009. In 2015 he started showing with Thaddeus Ropac in Paris as well. Ghenie`s commercial success is part of a cleverly thought through career as he put it in an interview in 2011 " *Talent exists everywhere but what you also need is artistic intelligence, you need to meet the right people, who*

will tell you the right things, who will give you the right support at the right time. That is when the planets align"[145] . With this kind of consciousness of the market Ghenie at age 38 is one of the commercially most successful artist of his generation.

- **Serbian Savu (1978-)** has had solo shows in Galleries around the world, his big institutional inauguration still awaits, hence the relative lower rank compared to his Cluj peers. Savu has representation with David Nolan in New York and with Mihai Nicodim in LA and with Galerie Hussenot in Paris. Seven works of Save have been auctioned since 2012, only one of which was bought in. Majority of these auctions were in Bucharest, his auction record is $24.843 in 2013, for a piece with was sold just below the low estimate.
- **Gabriela Vanga** (1977-) she is the only female in the group and has the lowest ranking in the ArtFacts database. Her work is part of the neo conceptualists at Plan-B, Vanga`s work mostly appeared in group shows, her solo presentations were mainly at Plan-B locations. She lives and works in Paris.

Reviewing the status of the starting roster of the gallery we can say that the gallery builds on the success and brand of Muresan, Man and Ghenie. The gallery covers as well a new generation of artists, who are not necessarily Romanian. Among them Navid Nuur (1976-), who is Dutch and ranks 1121 in the 2015 ArtFacts Ranking, about 200 places above Ghenie. Nuur had solo shows at the SMAK, the Fredericianum; his gallerist in Paris is Max Hetzler. Recent addition to the roster is Achraf Touloub (1986-) the Moroccan artist: these are steps towards an international roster for Plan-B. The question is how they bring forward the "*Cluj School"* brand in the next decades, and whether there is enough new talent to keep up the business.

Understanding the main levers of the market was vital in the case of Plan-B. They had some luck on the way and also they used the support wisely. Pop created a network of associated galleries, curators, publishers both in Romania and outside of the country that helped to establish and sustain the specific context of the Cluj artists. The works of the *Cluj school artists* are also included in the collection of such important figures in the international art world as François Pinault, Susan & Michael Hort, or Blake Byrne. They also have their place in local Romanian collections, like the collection of Mircea Pine. The community aspect is very important for Pop: that is working as a catalyst in

[145] Interview with Adrian Ghenie (2011) Ginanne Brownell: The Cluj School? http://www.insidefullofcolor.com/2011/06/13/the-cluj-school/

the whole Romanian art scene, creating strong institutional presence and solid market performance, we also see this effect in the Artfacts scores of the Romanian artists.

View on the way forward, a conclusion

Based on the critical review of participation in the selected 42 art fairs and 2 artist rankings we can conclude that Eastern Europe and Hungary indeed have no meaningful presence in the global contemporary art scene. The dominance of the major countries of the art world for both the art fairs and the artist rankings is overwhelming. In relation to its economic power and population, Eastern Europe is underrepresented in the art world, similarly to any other regions besides Northern America and the German speaking countries in Central Europe. It was concluded that measured on the participation on art fairs there is a clear focus towards Central Europe and less to Northern America. Based on the analysed artist rankings, we can observe the dominance of a handful of countries: Germany, United States, United Kingdom, France, Italy and Switzerland. There are no Hungarian artists on any of the lists within the top 100.

Eastern Europe and Hungary in particular came late to the contemporary art market: when it started to enter the global market, the leading positions and power structures had already been allocated to the leading nations and cities in the art world for decades. It is these centres of the art world that define aesthetic discourses, business strategies and values. The positions are heavily guarded by gatekeepers both in the intellectual and the business fields.

The 50 year delay of forming a local art world with its economy and institutions is a historic barrier, which is difficult to overcome. It takes time for both the artists and the market to understand and define how the values are created locally. The learning process in ongoing and it is clear that the Hungarian contemporary scene is learning the fine game of the global contemporary players, although in a marginal and rather quiet way. Coming from a centralised market setup, the artists and the galleries are still looking out for the central government for support in many ways. This issue is especially dividing in today's Hungary. One opportunity for the Hungarian scene is to show their freedom from the regime. The OFF Biennale is a great start to show the artistic power and vast creativity the country has. Opening to the global art world would also ensure independence from the local political discourse.

There are various economic and business related barriers: from the plain and simple cost problems of doing business in Hungary, like the 27% VAT, to the more complex issues. The fact that Hungary is relatively speaking a low price level country makes the entry cost to the global market rather high; this contributes to the reluctance of the local players to attempt entering the global scene. Another large structural roadblock is the lack of contemporary art auctions in the local market. Auctioning contemporary art would reinforce the contemporary art scene as it provides transparency in the market.

The most important lesson from the Plan-B case is that it is possible to be present in the global art world and have an impact even from the fringes. Their clear direction was to be international, to create a global context, which could be brought back to Cluj. In their case, going to a global stage was also a necessity, because they did not see the potential in the market in Romania.

It was a very important factor that they were branded, right at the beginning, as a group or generation from somebody whose opinion matters in the art world. Having 4 to 5 leading figures of a generation in different media can create a large impact on both the institutional recognition and market success. By opening an outpost in a leading art city of the world, they ensured their status and presence in the global scene. It is also an important lesson from the story of Plan-B that it is crucial to attend only those art fairs that really matter for the crowd which the artists would like to address. They followed a strategy at the beginning to frequently participate in biennials and group shows which were relevant for them (i.e. Prague Biennial).

Plan-B did not change the structure of the global game, but they created a niche where they can grow and influence both the global art world and their own community: this could be an example for any market on the periphery.

Appendix

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Illustrations

Fig. 1: Laszlo Feher (1953 -) Little boy, 2000, oil on canvas, 200*140 cm, Private collection, Hungary

Fig. 2: Borsos Lörinc (2008[146]-) Let there be a World Famous Hungarian Contemporary Artist! tinsel on wood, 150*200*5, Institute of Contemporary Art - Dunaújváros Collection

Fig. 3: Global fair landscape infographic, www.artslant.com

Fig. 4: Dora Maurer (1937-) Seven twists , silver print, 23*23 , Curtesy of Vintage Galleria, Budapest

Fig. 5: Adrian Ghenie (1977 -) The trial , 2010, oil on canvas, 200*363 cm, SF MOMA collection, San Francisco

Fig. 6: Cristi Pogacean (1980 -) Abduction from the Seraglio, 2006, wool carpet, manufactured, 110*160 cm

[146] Borsos Lörinc is the artistic identity of the two artists Lilla Lörinc and Janos Borsos

Additional Tables

Gallery`s country of origin	Number of galleries in art fairs committees	In %
United States	30	26.5%
Germany	18	15.9%
Italy	15	13.2%
France	10	8.84%
Switzerland	9	7.96%
United Kingdom	6	5.3%
Belgium	5	4.42%
Brasil	4	3.53%
The Netherlands	3	2.65%
Austria	2	1.76%
South Korea	2	1.76%
Japan	1	0.88%
Poland	1	0.88%
Slovenia	1	0.88%
Singapore	1	0.88%
India	1	0.88%
Mexico	1	0.88%
Turkey	1	0.88%
Ireland	1	0.88%
Lebanon	1	0.88%

Table 17: Contribution to art fair selection committees from different countries, based on 15 art fairs

It was collected from the art fairs, where this information was available.

Geography	Number of galleries	In %
North America	602	22.9%
Central America	79	3.0%
South America	187	7.1%
Northern Europe	207	7.9%
Western Europe	312	11.9%
Central Europe	415	15.8%
Eastern Europe	82	3.1%
Southern Europe	354	13.4%
Central Asia	35	1.3%
Middle-East	65	2.5%
Asia	256	9.7%
Africa	16	0.6%
Australia	22	0.8%

Table 18: Regional distribution of galleries in the sample

North America: Canada & USA, Central America: including Mexico and the Caribbean states.

Northern Europe: Scandinavia and Ireland

Western Europe: France, UK, BENELUX

Central Europe: Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Liechtenstein

Number of attended fairs 2015	Name	Home town
14	GALLERIA CONTINUA	SAN GIMIGNANO
14	DAVID ZWIRNER	NEW YORK
12	LISSON GALLERY	LONDON
11	GALERIE KRINZINGER	VIENNA
11	GALERIE THADDAEUS ROPAC	SALZBURG*
11	PERES PROJECTS	BERLIN
11	JOHANN KÖNIG	BERLIN
10	MENDES WOOD DM	SAO PAOLO
10	GALERIE LELONG	NEW YORK
10	MASSIMO DE CARLO	MILAN
10	VICTOR MIRO	LONDON
10	WHITE CUBE	LONDON
10	SPRÜTH MAGERS	BERLIN
9	GALLERIA FRANCO NOERO	TORINO
9	MICHAEL WERNER	NEW YORK
9	GALERIA PLAN B	CLUJ
8	HAUSER & WIRTH	ZÜRICH
8	GALERIE NÄCHST ST STEPHAN - ROSEMARIE SCHWARZWÄLDER	VIENNA
8	KUKJE / TINA KIM GALLERY	SEOUL
8	GALERIA VERMELHO	SAO PAOLO
8	A GENTIL CARIOCA	RÍO DE JANEIRO
8	GALERIE MOR CHARPENTIER	PARIS
8	GALERIE NATHALIE OBADIA	PARIS
8	PACE	NEW YORK
8	GAGOSIAN GALLERY	NEW YORK
8	GAVIN BROWN'S ENTERPRISE	NEW YORK
8	GALLERIA LIA RUMMA	MILAN
8	KURIMANZUTTO	MEXICO CITY
8	SIES + HÖKE	DÜSSELDORF
8	CLEARING	BROOKLYN
8	EIGEN + ART	BERLIN
8	KOW	BERLIN

Table 19: Top international galleries from the sample based on the number of art fair participations in 2015

The individual values could be higher, if there should be any fairs not included in the sample

Name	Number of artists represented in the top 100	Gallery`s home town
HAUSER & WIRTH	4	ZÜRICH
GALERIE EVA PRESSEHUBER	2	ZÜRICH
GALERIE PETER KILCHMANN	1	ZÜRICH
GALERIE KRINZINGER	2	VIENNA
KUKJE GALLERY	1	SEOUL
GALERIE THADDEUS ROPAC	5	SALZBURG
GALERIE CHANTAL CROUSEL	1	PARIS
GAGOSIAN GALLERY	4	NEW YORK
MICHAEL WERNER	3	NEW YORK
MATTHEW MARKS GALLERY	3	NEW YORK
MARIAN GOODMAN GALLERIY	3	NEW YORK
GALERIE LELONG	3	NEW YORK
GLADSTONE GALLERY	2	NEW YORK
SONNABEND GALLERY	1	NEW YORK
SIKKEMA & JENKINS CO.	1	NEW YORK
PAULA COOPER GALLERY	1	NEW YORK
WALTER STORMS	1	MÜNICH
GALERIE TANIT	1	MÜNICH
GALERIE RÜDIGER SCHÖTTLE	1	MÜNICH
GALERIE VAN DER KOELEN	1	MAINZ
MEYER RIEGGER	1	KARLSRUHE
GALERIE GRÄSSLIN	4	FRANKFURT
KONRAD FISCHER GALERIE	6	DÜSSELDORF
GALERIE HEIKE STRELOW	1	DÜSSELDORF
GALERIE SIES + HÖKE	1	DÜSSELDORF
GALERIE HANS MEYER	1	DÜSSELDORF
GALERIE BUCHHOLZ	2	COLOGNE
SPRÜTH MAGERS	8	BERLIN
GALERIE JOHNEN	4	BERLIN
NEUGERRIEMSCHNEIDER	3	BERLIN
GALERIE MAX HETZLER	3	BERLIN
KEWENING	2	BERLIN
GALERIE ESTHER SCHIPPERN	2	BERLIN
ARNDT CONTEMPORARY	2	BERLIN
GALERIE NEU	1	BERLIN
GALERIE NAGEL DRAXLER	1	BERLIN
GALERIE JOHANN KÖNIG	1	BERLIN
EIGEN + ART	1	BERLIN
CONTEMPORARY FINE ART	1	BERLIN

ZERO X…	2	MILAN
WHITE CUBE	6	LONDON
LISSON GALLERY	2	LONDON
ANNLEY JUDA FINE ART	2	LONDON
SADIE COLES HQ	1	LONDON
FIRTH STREET GALLERY	1	LONDON

Table 20: Galleries representing the top 100 artist in the Kunstkompass 2015

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