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# Copies of Famous Pictures in Tadao Andō's "Garden of Fine Art" in Kyōto

**Abstract** The "Garden of Fine Art" is a conspicuously modernist concrete garden in Kyōto. Within a spectacular architectural setting designed by Tadao Andō, the facility displays copies of eight well-known masterpieces of fine art in their original size or larger, printed with extremely durable colours on ceramic panels. Each of the images displayed in the garden raises questions, as do the selection, the staging, the size and material properties of the copies, the relationship between the copies and their respective models, the interplay of site-specific with more general features of the place, and the appropriation and recontextualisation of European and East Asian art history with the traditions of Japanese gardens. These traditions are reinterpreted within the framework of international modern architecture in a way that appears utterly transcultural and is, at the same time, uniquely Japanese, late twentieth century.

**Keywords** Ceramic copy, temporality, interpretation, ontology of art, sociology of art

## Introduction

*"Le beau exige peut-être l'imitation servile*
*de ce qu'est indéfinissable dans les choses."*[1]

The "Garden of Fine Art" is a conspicuously modernist concrete garden located in the northern part of Kyōto, Japan.[2] It was designed by the architect 安藤忠雄 Andō Tadao (b. 1941) and completed in 1994. Its full Japanese name is 京都府立陶板名画の庭 *Kyōto kenritsu tōban meiga no niwa*, that is, the "Kyōto Prefectural Garden of Famous Pictures on Porcelain Panels." (fig. 1).


Figure 1: Tadao Andō: Garden of Fine Art, Kyoto; entrance on Kitayama-Street, Kyōto Kita-ku.

Within a spectacular architectural setting, "the world's first outdoor art garden"[3] displays copies of eight well-known masterpieces of fine art in their original size, some even enlarged to four times their original size, printed with extremely durable colours on ceramic panels. Most notable—and utterly strange in this place—are the copies of two huge devotional images from the Italian Renaissance, *The Last Supper* by Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo's giant *Last Judgment*. Half of the works represented are garden or outdoor scenes by late nineteenth-century French post-Impressionists: one of Monet's later *Water Lilies*, Seurat's bourgeois leisure scene *A Sunday Afternoon* in a French park goes along with Renoir's two sisters *On the Terrace* and van Gogh's rather gloomy *Road with Cypress and Star*. This sample from a late twentieth-century Western canon of fine art is

1 Valéry 1934, 167.
2 Cf. the "Garden of Fine Arts" official staff blog. Accessed September 18, 2016 http://toban-meiga.seesaa.net/. On the architecture, cf. Klein 2000.
3 The "Garden of Fine Arts" website. Accessed March 30, 2015. http://toban-meiga.seesaa.net/category/1668031-1.html.

complemented by two equally famous works of East Asian art: a copy of the panoramatic picture scroll 清明上河圖 *Qingming Shanghe Tu* ("On the River During the Qingming Festival") attributed to the Northern-Song painter 張擇端 *Zhang Zeduan* from twelfth-century China (actually, a copy of an eighteenth-century copy of the legendary scroll), and two of four hand-scrolls from the 鳥獣人物戯画 *Choju jinbutsu Giga* ("Caricatures of Birds, Beasts and Persons") series, attributed to the erudite Buddhist head priest 鳥羽僧正 *Toba Sōjō* (1053–1140) from Kyōto and renowned today as the origin of comic drawing and animation in Japan.

Compared to the world-famous temples, palaces, gardens, and museums in Kyōto, which draw millions of tourists every year, the "Garden of Fine Art" might be regarded as a minor attraction, a bit off the beaten path. Still, thousands of people from all over the world come to see this place every year. Many of them now post photos of whatever caught their attention on their travel blogs or on photo sharing websites like Flickr. These photos, too, are copies (of copies) of famous pictures and worthy of our attention if we want to grasp the transformative power of the copy. The images illustrating this article have been copied mostly from such sources. The photos taken by garden visitors show not only how the ceramic copies of famous pictures look—or what they looked like on particular occasions and under particular daylight and weather conditions—but also how different the photographic copies of the ceramic copies actually look from each other, from the copies they depict and from the copied paintings.

The garden's architecture has been quite aptly described as "a plaza with walls of cascading water designed by Ando Tadao in his familiar style of smooth concrete."[4] Note, however, that this "plaza" is not flat on the ground but extends over three different levels and goes two storeys underground (without ever feeling like a basement). The walls, up to 12 metres high from the bottom level eastern and western sides, separate the facility from its urban environment as well as from the adjacent Botanical Garden. Significant parts of the ground on all three levels are covered by water in shallow pools, reflecting the sky, the architecture, and—from certain angles—the pictures of the exhibition (fig. 2).

As one visitor observed, "The constant sound of falling water worked to tune out all the sounds of the surrounding city, thus providing a sense of detachment; [...] more than a barrier of nature Ando utilized a barrier of sound in his design."[5] The sounds and the interplay of the architecture and the artworks with the ever-changing daylight and weather conditions create a stimulating atmosphere of focused leisure.

With a clearly-defined path for visitors to follow, the space is designed as a stroll garden, even though the straight lines, right angles, concrete walls, and glass railings or the multi-layered, three-dimensional design

4 Blankestijn 2012.
5 Angen 2012.

Figure 2: Reflection of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* on the surface of the water basin on the ground of B2 in the Garden of Fine Art, Kyoto.

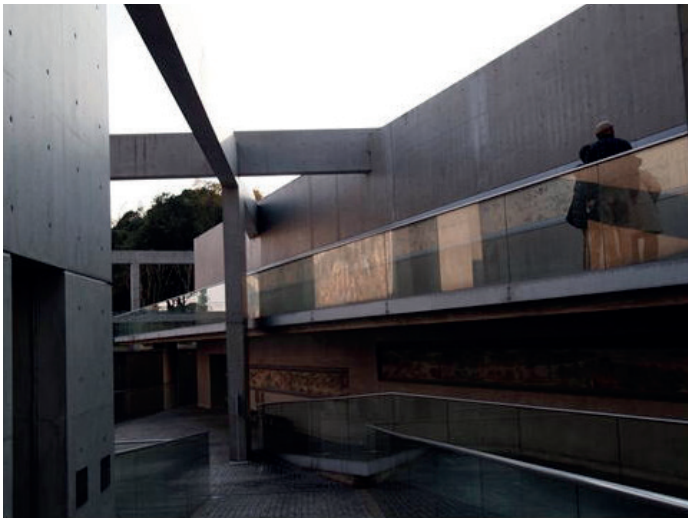

Figure 3: Garden of Fine Art, Kyoto, 2013.

with its slopes, stairs, and underpasses are not what one would expect to find in a traditional Japanese garden[6] (fig. 3).

"Every turn brings a different perspective. The facility itself makes you feel like you are inside an artwork, which makes for a much more engaging experience than in a typical museum."[7] Albeit not a typical art museum,

6 Cf. Nitschke 1991, 208–240.
7 Yzzzz 2013.

this little theme park[8] is dedicated to enabling a particular kind of encounter with a selection of well-known works of fine art through high-quality reproductions.

Each of the images displayed in the garden raises questions, as do the selection, the staging, the size and material properties of the copies, the relationship between the copies and their respective models, the interplay of site-specific with more general features of the place, and the appropriation and recontextualisation of European and East Asian art history with the traditions of Japanese gardens. These traditions are reinterpreted within the framework of international modern architecture in a way that appears utterly transcultural and is, at the same time, uniquely Japanese, late twentieth century (fig. 4).

Figure 4: Garden of Fine Art, Kyōto. A stage for the art – and a space for the audience.

## A stage for celebrating classical artworks

Occasionally, the "Garden of Fine Art" is used as a stage for musical performances or other events.[9] But mainly it is a stage for celebrating classical works of fine art, just as the nearby concert hall (designed by 磯崎新 Isozaki

8 Cf. Brumann 2008, 223–224.

9 See, for example, Kyoto Informational Circulations Co., Ltd. 2006 (documenting a "candle night" concert on June 22, 2006); more photos from this and other performances can be found at Foursquare 2015. Another major event at the Garden is, not surprisingly, a transformative copy of an American transformative copy of a traditional Celtic ritual, blended with various other elements of popular and commercial culture: the annual "Kitayama Halloween" festival at the end of October; see Kitayama Halloween 2009–2014 (with photos from last year's event and an account of the local tradition since 1998) and Marumo 2008 (with photos from Oct 29, 2008). Since 2010, the Garden of Fine Art has regularly hosted the "Kitayama Craft Garden" fair on the first (or second) Sunday of the

Arata and built almost at the same time as the Garden of Fine Art) is a stage for celebrating classical music. What does it mean for our understanding of what constitutes copies of individual works of fine art, if we assume that the copies exhibited in this art garden relate to the works they represent in a way similar to how certain musical performances present (a particular interpretation of) a work of classical music? What does this mean for our understanding of the works of fine art that are represented by these copies? And, in a more general way, what does it mean for our understanding of what a work of fine art is and what a copy of a work of fine art might be, when we assume that the copies relate to the works they represent in a way similar to how musical performances present (interpretations of) works of classical music?

At first glance, a comparison of ceramic panel pictures with musical performances must seem counterintuitive. Obviously, there are important differences, beginning with the temporality of transitory events like a musical performance in contrast to the durability of things like ceramic panels. But no one has ever claimed that things like ceramic panels resemble performances similar to playing a musical piece. One interesting claim, however, is that even in cases where it is usually assumed that a particular work of visual art—say, a painting—is identical to one (and only one) physical object, so that it would cease to exist as soon as the object was destroyed or lost, it might indeed make sense to conceive of such a singular artwork in terms that most people would usually apply not to material things but rather to abstract entities (or "types"), allowing multiple instantiations ("tokens") like, for example, the class of all piano performances that comply with the score of Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 29 in B flat, Op. 106.[10]

It might sound unnecessarily sophisticated and even confusing to talk of a painting as one (and the only one) instantiation of some mysterious "abstract entity"—the type of thing that complies with criteria specified nowhere but in the very painting itself. Wouldn't it be much more adequate to simply assume that, in singular artworks like painting, the individual work is identical to the physical thing?[11] The real thing is the real thing; everything else is something else. One difficulty with such a hands-on physicalist approach is, however, that it does not account for the normativity implied in our assumptions about what a work of art is. This becomes obvious, for example, when a physical object—say, a painting (usually, but, as we shall see, not quite adequately, spoken of as a "work of fine art")—has suffered some physical change which also affects its aesthetically relevant perceptual qualities to an extent that those who care about this irreplaceable work of art consider restoration necessary (fig. 5).

month; see the handicraft blog by Iichi, Inc. 2015 (with photos and recent news in Japanese), Kyoto Tedukuri ichi 2015 (with recent news in Japanese and recent photos), Poppins 2012 (with photos from several occasions in 2011 and 2012), and Ezy Cafe 2012 (showing an event on April 14, 2012).

10 Cf. Reicher 2003.

11 Cf. Kulenkampff 2003.

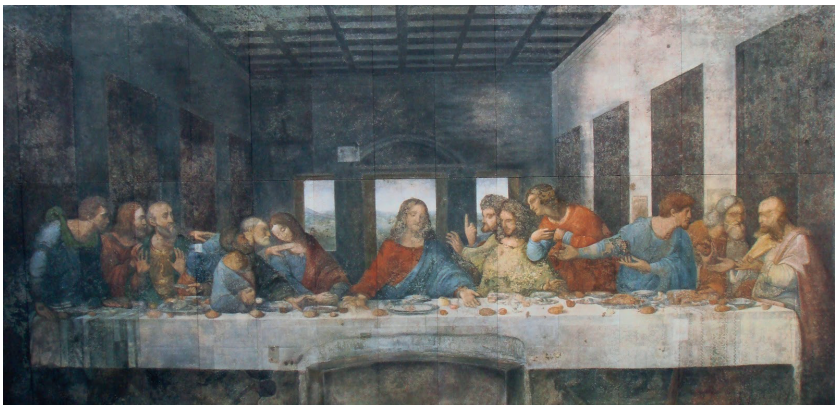

Figure 5: Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, ceramic copy (1990), 420 × 910 cm, Garden of Fine Art, Kyōto, based on a photograph showing the state of the Milan mural in 1990, during restoration.

An example of this kind of problem can be found in the mural on the northern wall of the refectory of the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, in Milan, usually taken to be Leonardo da Vinci's famous painting of "*The Last Supper*". Due to the materials and techniques used, Leonardo's painting—painted with tempera colours *a secco* onto a ground of dried plaster, which turned out to not be durable at all, given the micro-climate of the refectory hall—began to deteriorate soon after it was finished in 1498 and has been described as being in a deplorable condition since the early sixteenth century.[12] Nevertheless, the composition was highly-esteemed and the picture became was popular among art-loving circles in Europe from the sixteenth century through the production of numerous copies, engravings, prints from heavily-retouched photographs, and countless variations.[13] Had the work indeed been identical to the configuration of pigments found on that medieval wall or with the remaining traces of the colours originally applied by Leonardo (now assumed to cover only about 42 % of the surface[14]), there would be nothing one could—or ought to—do about its ongoing decay. The flaking and blurring would have to be accepted as an integral, if not intended, part of the work process. Any

12 Cf. Khan Academy 2014. The website has been changed in the meantime and no longer shows the quoted content; the URL now forwards to https://www.khanacademy.org/test-prep/ap-art-history/early-europe-and-colonial-americas/renaissance-art-Europe-AP/v/leonardo-da-vinci-last-supper-1495-98 (accessed March 21, 2015), where an educational video on Leonardo's composition shows the restored mural in Milan, accompanied by a discussion between two erudite viewers, and applying several tools of digital iconographic analysis.

13 A climax, and already a reflection, of this stream of variations was the series of paintings and prints devoted to Leonardo's Last Supper by Andy Warhol in 1985/86; cf. Haden-Guest 1999; Lüthy 1995, 66–70.

14 Khan Academy 2014.

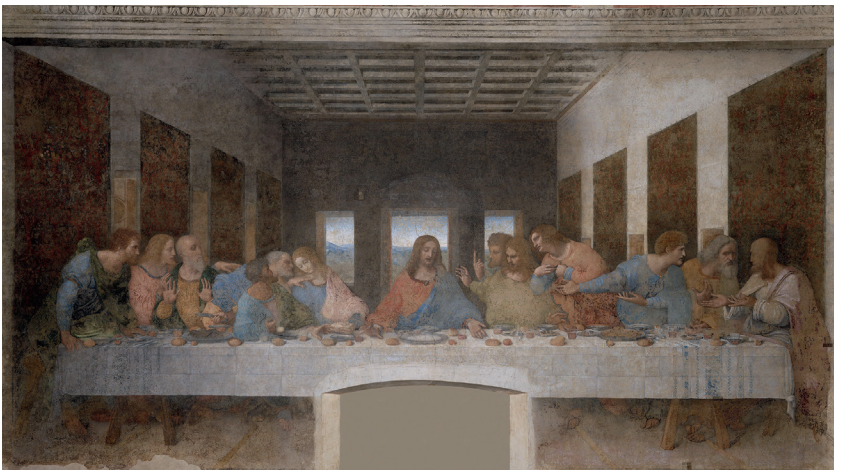

Figure 6: Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper* (1495–98), Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan; tempera on plaster, 422 × 904 cm; after the restoration was finished in 1999.

effort to stop the deterioration or repair the damage would be an attempt to replace Leonardo's venerated work with something else—legally speaking, it would be property damage (fig. 6).

Those of us who do think, however, that under certain circumstances a restoration effort might be necessary and legitimate in order to save or restore a damaged work of art, must have some idea of what the work ought to look like. Such normative ideas can be controversial,[15] but whoever enters into such a debate presupposes the objective—or at least intersubjective—relevance and validity of his or her understanding of what the work requires.

Luckily, in the case of Leonardo's ruined *Last Supper*, two early, large-scale copies, presumed to be work by Leonardo's assistants, have survived with a wealth of original detail still intact. These copies do not resemble each other in every detail, which makes things even more complicated. Nevertheless, they are an important source for our understanding of how Leonardo's painting might have originally meant to look (fig. 7).

The copy of *The Last Supper* from the collection of the Royal Academy of Art in London on display at Magdalen College in Oxford,[16] which has been attributed to Leonardo's disciple Giampietrino (active 1495–1549), is usually not considered an instantiation or a version of Leonardo's work, like there are several original instantiations of various versions of Rembrandt's etching

15 Cf. Willan 1999.

16 See the catalog of the collection of the Royal Academy of Arts (2015) and London University of the Arts 2015.

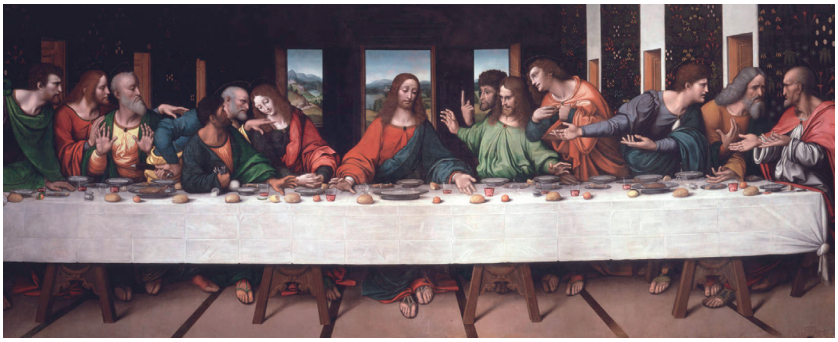

Figure 7: Giampietrino, *The Last Supper*, copy after Leonardo, ca. 1520; oil on canvas, 298 × 770 cm, Magdalen College, Oxford.

*The Three Crosses* (1653).[17] An accurate copy (or a copy believed to be accurate) like the Giampietrino canvas of *The Last Supper* can inform us about certain features of its original, even after the original may have been damaged or lost. It thus relates not only to one particular token, but to certain normative standards that are constitutive of the respective type of work.[18]

Not every instantiation of a work of art needs to be "perfect" in any sense in order to be regarded as an instantiation of the respective work, although there will obviously be, in any case, a threshold that separates the class of successful instantiations from an indefinite number of failed attempts. Perfect (or nearly-perfect) copies of instantiations of artworks might in some cases be accepted as instantiations themselves; think of cast bronze sculptures like Rodin's *Thinker*.[19] In other cases, authorised perfect or nearly-perfect copies might be demoted to mere "replica" status, while illegitimate copies may be ruled out as "pirated," "fakes," or "forgeries"—the better the copy, the worse it will be.[20] Decisions about which of these alternatives ought to be applied to such copies depend not only on certain objective qualities of the copy but rather on normative assumptions and power relations among stakeholders.

Since it is in most cases pretty difficult to produce "perfect" copies (except of digital data files and artefacts produced by digitally-controlled processes, like CDs), most copying and most copies will inevitably differ to some degree from their models. Copying produces not only likenesses, but also differences. This is one important reason for the transformative effects

17 Cf. Hinterding, Luijten, and Royalton-Kisch 2000.

18 This is not the place to go deeper into the philosophical discussion concerning the necessity and legitimacy of ontological distinctions between works of art and the material objects or events involved in their respective instantiation. See Wollheim 1980; Currie 1989; Haar 1994; Pouviet 1997; Reicher 1998; Lamarque 2010; Schmücker 2014, ch. 5, 163–270, for further discussion.

19 For an overview of the versions, instantiations, replicas, and copies of Rodin's Thinker, see Roos 2004.

20 Cf. Elkins 1973, 115.

of copying. Less than perfect copies can, under certain circumstances, be regarded as particularly interesting interpretations of the works they represent.

Painting is normally taken to be an "autographic," "one-stage," or "singular" art in contrast to "two-stage" arts,[21] such as printmaking or classical music performances, which are typically capable of multiple instantiations. Along these lines, one might argue that copies are not necessary for a work of visual art in the same way that a musical work requires performances of a certain kind in order to actually—audibly—exist for its audience. A painting can be experienced perfectly well without the intervention of any copy or other media, at least by those who have the occasion to actually see the real thing. A musical work, on the other hand, cannot be experienced without the reproductive work of the performing musicians. A painting does not need to be staged in the way a drama text or a musical work needs a stage or a place where it can be performed for an audience. This is certainly true in a sense, but it is also misleading. Viewing individual paintings as self-sufficient objects ready to fulfil their function of being looked at by someone ready to be impressed fails to account for the role of institutions like museums, art galleries, art criticism, and art markets, as well as of relevant contexts like educational materials and the histories and theories of art in bestowing essential qualities such as meaning and value to them.

Works of art have always been staged; they seem to require some kind of framing, some control of the way they interact with their surroundings and engage their audience. The way this staging may be arranged is not arbitrary. Still, certain variations are considered acceptable—or perhaps particularly exciting—at a given time, with regard to the then-known and accepted alternatives and technological possibilities. The staging of artworks in museums and exhibition spaces is subject to changing at a remarkable pace—much faster than most of the exhibited objects themselves change. Most recently, the advent of the internet and the availability of digital images have begun to exert tremendous influence on the ways originals and copies of famous pictures are staged. The "Garden of Fine Art" in Kyōto is but one example of this ongoing development.

One advantage of copies compared to their originals is that you can do things with a copy which you could never do with the original. For example, you can touch ceramic copies,[22] which is—for good reason—prohibited for paintings on silk, paper, canvas, or fragile plaster. You can place a ceramic copy under water—a particularly fascinating option for a subject

21 Cf. Goodman 1976, 114.

22 Cf. Cox 2014, 697–710, for a discussion of the desire for "tactile knowing" within the framework of "sensory vision" conceived more broadly. The display of at least some of the ceramic copies of artworks in the Kyōto Garden of Fine Art as well as in the Ōtsuka Museum of Art (see also footnote 27) encourages touch. Mind, however, that "the ceramic board surfaces of all the reproductions feel the same" (Cox 2014, 704).

Figure 8: Reflections of a Japanese winter afternoon sky on a water surface over a copy of a painting of reflections of a French summer morning sky on a water surface: Claude Monet, *Le bassin aux nymphéas sans saules, matin*, ceramic copy, 1990, 200 × 1275 cm, in the Garden of Fine Art, Kyōto.

like Monet's *Water Lilies*, which is all about the reflection of the morning sky in a moving water surface (fig. 8).

A copy also allows an image to be seen in another environment; hence it will interact with this environment. The results can, under certain circumstances, be aesthetically rewarding and/or intellectually stimulating. At least one might imagine the possibility. I guess this is why one might want to build or visit a garden of fine art in the first place.

The architecture of the place is designed to fit the works exhibited. The dominating aspect of water surfaces echoes the Monet painting. The stroll garden concept relates to the temporality of the mediaeval Chinese and Japanese handscrolls. The overall size—and height or depth (going two storeys below ground level)—of the structure was necessitated by the aim of allowing visitors to see the 1:1 copy of Michelangelo's giant masterpiece, *The Last Judgment,* as well as possible. There are three levels from which visitors of this garden can see the top, middle, and bottom regions of the

Figure 9: Visitor standing in front of the ceramic copy of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* at the Garden of Fine Art, Kyōto.

overwhelming mural. Details of the higher areas of the composition in particular can be seen much better in the copy in Kyoto than any tourist could ever see them in their original location in the Sistine Chapel. Still, it is almost impossible to grasp the entire composition—which may just be the point of the composition. Whatever the Day of Judgment may turn out to be like, it is definitely going to go beyond any individual human being's grasp (fig. 9).

Size matters. In a world where digital reproductions of famous pictures abound, it is still an impressive experience to be able to physically relate to life-sized images on such a scale as that of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.

Towards the end of the garden route, Andō designed a situation that most resembles an art museum exhibition space. The reproductions of two chamber pieces by van Gogh and Renoir are enlarged to four times their original size,[23] so that they almost reach the height of the Seurat painting that dominates the group. The enlargement of the smaller panels allows these pictures to meet at eye level, which would be impossible with the originals. It also enhances the visibility of the smaller images and thus allows for more distance between the image and the viewer. The impression, however, in particular regarding van Gogh's *Road with Cypress and Star*, is more like seeing a large poster than like seeing the actual painting. The people responsible for the design of the exhibition placed these

23 The "Garden of Fine Arts" website asserts that they are "twice the original size," but if you double both the length and height of a rectangle, the result will be not two times but four times the original size. Accessed March 30, 2015. http://tobanmeiga.seesaa.net/category/1668034-1.html.

panels in steel frames partly behind a massive concrete wall with windows in it, thus framing them a second time. The visibility of the panels is spoiled to a certain degree by reflections in the glass windows, as it often is with the most precious originals protected behind panes of glass in museum exhibitions. Since the ceramic copies in the outdoor exhibition in Kyōto would not need such a protection, however, the reasons for installing these window panes cannot have been anything other than aesthetic. Increasing the difficulties in seeing the picture can be a way to make the aesthetic experience more interesting. The difference in surface qualities between the originals and the ceramic copies seems to matter somewhat less if the copies are staged in an arrangement that would not allow visitors to see much of the texture of an original painting, either. As one can see in numerous photos posted on the internet, this framing arrangement entices many visitors and photographers to engage with particular details of these images[24] (fig. 10).

Figure 10: Nightwalkers, detail from Vincent van Gogh, *Road with Cypress and Star*, 1890, ceramic copy, 1994.

## Copies and their originals

Before we go on to discuss the works that have been deemed worth celebrating in the Kyōto "Garden of Fine Art," we should acknowledge that the famous paintings themselves are not actually in the garden. What is there, instead, are ceramic boards with large-scale photographic copies of the paintings. What, then, is the object of celebration? The absent/represented famous works of art? The present copies with their own spectacular qualities? Or rather the stage itself, the architecture by Tadao Andō

24 Cf. Hashimoto 2008; Suryomengolo 2009; Kan 2012; Linolo 2010.

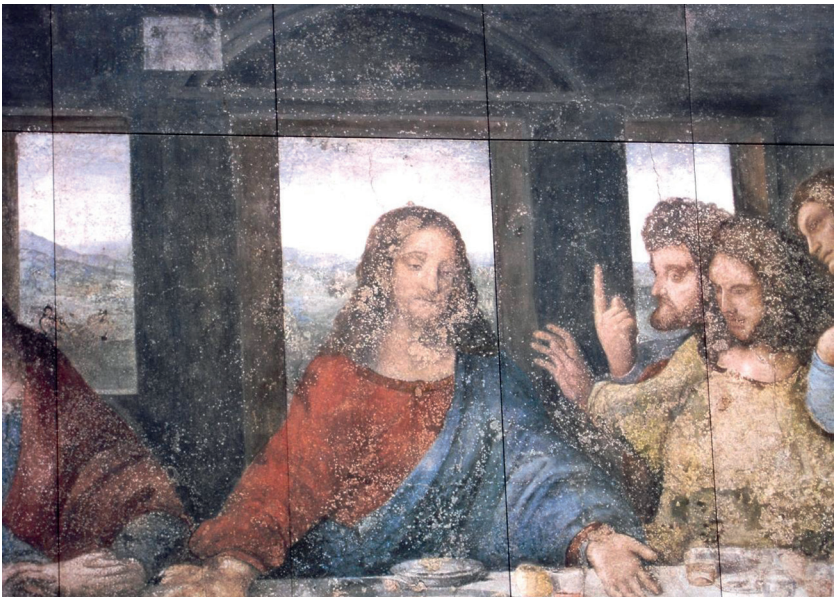

Figure 11: Leonardo, *The Last Supper*, ceramic copy, 1990; detail: centre. The huge format is made up of large rectangular ceramic panels, each measuring ca. 60 × 210 cm.

which has been appreciated, as we have seen, by many visitors as an artwork in its own right?[25] The latter is, one could argue, the only original in the place.

Concerning the copies, the garden's website explains: "A porcelain panel painting is a photoengraving from the positive film taken of the original painting. The porcelain panel on which the painting was transferred is then fired, bringing out its brilliant hues. These panels are combined to create one giant painting" (fig. 11).[26]

Ceramic copies are waterproof and extremely durable; they will not be affected by heat, humidity, sunlight, or other factors leading to the mechanical or chemical disintegration of their material substratum. The company that produced these ceramic copies[27] expects that they will retain

25 "More interesting than the copies of the paintings on their own, is the combination with the award-winning architecture of Ando Tadao" (Blankestijn 2012).

26 "What is a porcelain panel painting?" For a more detailed description of the process, see the website of the Ōtsuka Museum of Art 2010. "Garden of Fine Arts" website. Accessed March 26, 2015. http://toban-meiga.seesaa.net/category/1767603-1.html.

27 See the company's website, Otsuka Ohmi Ceramics Co., Ltd., 2015. The Ōtsuka company also funded and equipped the Ōtsuka Museum of Art, 大塚国際美術館 Ōtsuka Kokusai Bijutsukan in Naruto, Tokushima Prefecture, the largest exhibition space in Japan (and one of the largest in the world), which is entirely dedicated to exhibiting ceramic boards with copies of a comprehensive canon of art

their original appearance for more than a thousand or even two thousand years. So there is a chance that these copies might outlive the originals made from ephemeral materials such as plaster, canvas, silk, or paper. Proudly, the garden's website announces: "These porcelain panels neither fade nor erode, and so can be preserved indefinitely. Combining ceramics and fine art [sic] these porcelain panel paintings create a new genre."[28]

Steeped in an aesthetic culture which puts tremendous value on the original and tends to denigrate reproductions, we might be inclined not to take the latter claim at face value. But maybe it points to a difference that could be worth further investigation. What distinguishes ceramic copies from ordinary paintings and from other kinds of copies?[29] What kind of art-related practices might become possible to those who obtain such large-scale, high-quality ceramic copies? Perhaps there is a chance for the development of new art-related practices that no one so far has dared to think of, or will think of as long as we can only experience art under the conditions imposed upon us by the fragility of the materials in which works of art are typically produced. Maybe this development is already happening—and it is about time that philosophers of art take notice.

Surely, it is no news to the philosophy of art that paintings can be copied and that, therefore, not only paintings but also copies of paintings exist. But even though artistic practices, as well as the production and distribution of knowledge concerning art history could never have emerged and would cease to exist without the widespread use of copies, the presence and the relevance of these copies has been systematically marginalised in most contributions to the history or philosophy of art.[30]

Images have been copied ever since the first images were made—or rather the other way around: Copying came first, since representative images could hardly have been invented, had they not been derived from a mimetic behaviour originally related to objects of experience, of desire, awe, or fear.[31] Only in a secondary step can some of the traces of such mimetic behaviour attain the form of fixed images that are then taken up by ongoing mimetic behaviour, which in turn produce further images more or less like those which appeared impressive enough to occupy the mimetic attention. So images have always been accompanied by copies, but, throughout the history of human societies, different ways and

history, a lavish materialisation of the "musée imaginaire" once dreamed of by André Malraux, that was opened in 1998. C; cf. Ōtsuka Museum of Art 2010; Cox 2014.

28 The "Garden of Fine Arts" website. Accessed March 26, 2015. http://toban-meiga.seesaa.net/category/1767603-1.html.

29 For my present purposes, I am more interested in the differences related to various media technologies or materials used in copying than in conceptual specifications concerning replicas, counterfeits, or fakes in their respective relationships to originals and copies. For an analysis of how these concepts might be distinguished, see Carrara 2010.

30 Notable exceptions are Riegl 1985; Benjamin (1936) 2008; Walker 1990; Pouviet 2003; Ullrich 2009; Bartsch et al. 2010; Augustyn and Söding 2010a.

31 Cf. Taussig 1993.

techniques of copying were developed and produced very different kinds of images, be they scratches or carvings in a bone, knots in a thread, patterns on a slope, drawings, paintings, tattoos, stamps, rubbings, casts, woodblock prints, copper engravings, etchings, mezzotint, lithographs, photographs, silkscreen prints, or digital images. Depending on the technical means and also on the qualities of the copied object deemed relevant, copies allow for different kinds of use and may, in some way or other, look more or less different from their respective models.

Some copies of paintings are also paintings. They may look very much like their models, so that one might even get confused about which is which. Such confusion could hardly happen to a visitor of the "Garden of Fine Art." No one would mistake a ceramic copy of a painting for an original. Nevertheless, even if there wasn't the slightest perceptible qualitative difference between a model and its copy, there would still be a significant ontological difference—namely that the copy is ontologically dependent on the model. Its relation to its model is what makes it a copy. The model, on the other hand, may be a copy itself (of some previous model), but it is not a copy of its copy, this object which resembles it so closely. For an artefact or a kind of behaviour to be a copy of another object, some significant similarities between them—that are arguably present in the copy due to the fact that that quality was, to a remarkable degree, present in the model—are required.

The model may be an original if it is not itself a copy of a pre-existing model; or at least this seems to be implied in the way the concept of an "original" is usually understood.[32] Many copies are not direct copies of originals in the strict sense, but are in fact copies of other copies. Something that figures as a model for one or several copies may itself be a copy of a previous model, and so on, in a chain of copies that can extend over many generations of more or less faithful reproductions.[33] Not every chain of copies must eventually be derived from an original in the sense that it demands that the original must not have been a copy of any pre-existing model, as was assumed for example in the Platonic tradition of Western thought.[34] There can be a great variety of copies that differ more or less profoundly from each other, even if they are ontologically dependent on a single "ancestor" model. This is the transformative power of copying processes.

With historical paintings like the ones reproduced in the "Garden of Fine Art," matters can become even more complicated because the originals do not exist in the way that abstract entities like types, forms, or ideas do. In

32 For more technical discussions, see Elgin 2002; Elkins 1993; Augustyn and Söding 2010b.

33 Think of iconographic traditions like the image of the crucifix, classicist, Romanesque or gothic sculpture, or of the way bamboo and pine trees are painted in Chinese ink brush painting.

34 Cf. Boon 2010, 18–22.

one-stage arts[35] like painting, the original work of art is inextricably bound to a historical artefact, an individual material object which, like all material objects, is subject to change and eventual deterioration. A remarkable change in the way the "original" painting looks can be observed not only in the case of Leonardo`s *Last Supper* but also in Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* from the Sistine Chapel which was, like Leonardo's Milan mural, thoroughly restored from 1980 to 1994. Here, too, the ceramic copy documents an intermediate stage of the ongoing restoration from 1990; it shows neither the smoky grease we can see in photos taken before the restoration, nor the bright colours that surprised many viewers after the restoration was completed in 1994 (fig. 12).[36]

Figure 12: Michelangelo, *The Last Judgment*, 1535–41, ceramic copy, 1990, based on a photo documenting an intermediate state of the ongoing restoration. Detail: Charon's ferry.

A copy of a work of visual art may depict and preserve as accurately as possible the way the model looked (under certain measures of likeness) at the moment when the copying was done. Thus, as long as it exists, it will be a copy of the original at one particular time point of the original's existence. The original may change, and the copy may change, too. No physical thing can remain the same forever. Whatever similarities there were between a copy and its model or original at the time the copy was made will sooner or later be eclipsed by growing discrepancies. This is one of the reasons why we make copies and try to keep copies of valued but fragile originals.

35 For a discussion of "one-stage" and "two-stage arts," see Goodman 1976, 114–115.
36 For a photographic documentation and discussion of the restoration project, see Vecchi and Collalucci 1996.

Particularly famous pictures have been copied again and again over the centuries, so that several copies of the same picture document different temporal states of their original. Which one of these ought to be regarded as the best or "closest" to the ideal state of its intended object? Which state of the original, which perspective on the picture, which size of reproduction, which detail, which hue ought to be distinguished as "ideal" or best? By making a choice and suggesting a view on what is relevant about a picture, copies present interpretations, just like musical performances present interpretations of their respective works. There is ample space for competition between various copies, both old and new. The measure of success in these competitions cannot be restricted to technical standards of accuracy alone, but will inevitably include questions of aesthetic merit and appreciation.

## Famous pictures

Each of the pictures reproduced for the "Garden of Fine Art" had already been copied, printed, and circulated thousands, if not millions of times, even before the advent of the internet and the JPEG file interchange format made digital reproductions of almost any image available to almost everyone, everywhere. In this sense, the selection of the works displayed in the garden might seem redundant. Would it not have been better to use the space—and the funds—to display some fresh contemporary art, either from Japan or anywhere else in the world?

But this is not how the economy of attention works.[37] None of the works which have been so lavishly reproduced for this "Garden of Fine Art" would have been included in the collection had they not been copied extensively before. Never would such a sophisticated facility have been built and maintained for highly original, innovative works of fine art by more or less unknown contemporary artists.

Being copied—and being known for having been copied many times—is an important part of what constitutes the fame of these images.[38] This is not only true of images of works of art in the notorious "age of mechanical reproduction" since the nineteenth century; it was already true by the time of the late Roman Empire,[39] and probably even since the Neolithic Era.[40] Gabriel Tarde and others have argued that, for human beings, imitation and being imitated, copied, or depicted, is the most important component of fame, influence, or power.[41] Human beings pay attention to what other human beings pay attention to. What matters to others matters to us.[42] We

37 Cf. Franck 1998.
38 Cf. Ullrich 2009.
39 Cf. Riegl 1985.
40 Cf. Stockhammer (this volume).
41 Cf. Tarde 1903; Gebauer and Wulf 1995; Boon 2010.
42 Cf. Tomasello 2009.

desire what is desired by others.[43] We copy, photograph, or buy what was bought, photographed, or copied by others. We share attention, we share copies.[44] In making, acquiring, and distributing copies we acknowledge the power that puts its stamp on these representations and thus try to relate to them; we somehow take part in the accumulation and sharing of power.

The selection of the pictures displayed in the "Garden of Fine Art" was made at the heyday of Japanese economic power, later termed the "bubble economy," when everything seemed available for Japanese buyers. Japanese businessmen flooded the international art market and bought whatever canvasses they could, especially from the highly-esteemed late nineteenth-century French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists: Manet, Monet, Renoir, Seurat, and the most expensive painter of all, the legendary van Gogh.[45] The particular appreciation of French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings among the Japanese elite dates back to the Meiji-Era, in the late nineteenth century, when the long-isolated country opened itself up for contact with Europe and America and the export of Japanese 浮世絵 *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints, ink painting, lacquerware, and costumes triggered a wave of Japonism among the European avant-garde, while, in Japan (as in most European countries at the time) it was considered an asset to be familiar with the *dernier cri* of Paris.[46]

Suggestions for the artworks to be included in the "Garden of Fine Art" were made by the economist, successful writer, and politician, 堺屋太一 Sakaiya Taichi from Ōsaka (b. 1935).[47] Sakaiya is well-known in Japan. He began his career in the 1960s as an economist and bureaucrat at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), but after publishing two best-selling novels in the 1970s, he quit his civil service job to focus on writing. He went on to publish over fifty books, including historical novels as well as 日本論 *nihonron*, or essays concerning the ongoing change of Japanese society, economy, and culture—many of which became best sellers.[48] From 1998 to 2000, he served as the Minister of State for Economic Planning of Japan. Sakaiya already had some experience with successfully organizing exhibitions when, in the 1980s, he approached 栢森新治 Kayamori Shinji, CEO of ダイコク電機株式会社 Daikoku Denki Co., Ltd. from Nagoya, an electronics manufacturer known for its production of pachinko gambling machines.[49] Sakaiya also knew that the 大塚オーミ陶業株式会社 Otsuka Ohmi Co., Ltd. from Shigaraki, could produce large-scale ceramic boards and had recently made advances in photoengraving technology. He suggested that Kayamori set up a temporary "Garden of Fine Arts" as

43 Cf. Girard 1987, 283–298.
44 Cf. Hyde 2010.
45 Cf. Kurtenbach 1990; Four 2013.
46 Cf. Rimer, Takashina and Bolas 1987; Guth, Volk and Yamanashi 2004.
47 Cf. "Garden of Fine Arts" website. Accessed March 29, 2015. http://toban-meiga.seesaa.net/category/1668031-1.html.
48 Mahalo n.d. Only two of Sakaiya's books have been published in English: The Knowledge-Value Revolution (1991), and What is Japan? (1993).
49 See Daikoku Denki Co., Ltd. n.d.

the Daikoku Denki pavilion at the 1990 International Garden and Greenery Exposition (国際花と緑の博覧会 *Kokusai Hana to Midori no Hakurankai*) in *Ōsaka,*[50] with spectacular reproductions of four large-scale paintings on ceramic panels: Michelangelo's *Last Judgement, Leonardo's Last Supper*, Monet's *Water Lilies*, and Seurat's *Sunday Afternoon*. The first three of these are unquestionably extremely prominent, canonical works that Japanese art enthusiasts would have to travel halfway around the world to see in person, because these pictures would never be loaned for an exhibition abroad. The popularity of the Seurat painting in Japan was probably due to an earlier exhibition, "The Impressionist Tradition: Masterpieces from the Art Institute of Chicago," held at the Seibu Museum of Art in the fall of 1986. Obviously, the subject would seem fitting for an art garden at a garden exposition. Sakaiya's suggestion was welcomed by Kayamori, as was his suggestion to ask the Ōsaka-based star architect Andō Tadao to design the pavilion.

After the 1990 Expo was over, Sakaiya and his collaborators began to look for another way to put their ceramic copies to good use. They found this possibility in Kyōto, the ancient capital of Japan, which is visited by millions of Japanese and international tourists every year and was, at that time, preparing celebrations for its 1200-year anniversary in 1994. Kyōto prefecture offered the site, a lot between the entrance of the prefectural Botanical Garden and the prefectural archives, in an area that was already affected by large-scale construction work due to the building of the Kitayama underground station. For the permanent instalment of the Kyōto "Garden of Fine Art," Kayamori commissioned the enlarged copies of the other four works to complement the initial set and donated the entire collection to the prefecture.[51]

The rearrangement of the collection for its larger and permanent facility in Kyōto is instructive. Renoir and van Gogh do not come as a surprise, but the inclusion of copies of Chinese and Japanese mediaeval handscrolls adds a remarkable accent. It is, for one, a local accent: two scrolls from the collection 鳥獣人物戯画絵巻 *Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga emaki*, "Caricature scrolls of birds, beasts, and persons," that was probably painted in Kyōto during the Heian period, eight or nine centuries ago. The collection was traditionally attributed to 鳥羽僧正 *Toba Sōjō* (1053–1140), the forty-seventh head priest of 延暦寺 Enryaku-ji, the main temple of the 天台 Tendai sect of Buddhism, situated on the slopes of 比叡山 Mt. Hiei to the north-east of Kyōto. However, there is no evidence that the renowned cleric and astronomer actually had a hand in producing them. Modern, more critical opinion assumes that only the first two of the four scrolls may have been painted in the twelfth century at all, whereas the other two were most likely painted later,

50 I am indebted to Professor Ōhashi Ryōsuke (Kyōto) for background information.

51 No information concerning who paid for the construction could be obtained. It was probably funded by one of the Japanese Government's massive, debt-financed programs for job creation that were launched in Japan in the 1990s in order to fight the looming crisis after the crash of 1992.

Figure 13: 鳥羽 僧正 Toba Sōjō [attributed], 鳥獣人物戯画絵巻 *Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga emaki*, Caricature scrolls of birds, beasts and persons, twelfth century; enlarged ceramic copy of the first scroll, showing adventures of rabbits, frogs, and monkeys.

in the thirteenth century, and by several hands.[52] The scrolls belong to the Buddhist monastery of 高山寺 Kōzan-ji in north-western Kyōto. Since they are classified as National Treasures (国宝 *kokuhō*), the original scrolls are kept at the Tōkyō National Museum for security and conservation reasons, and for occasional exhibitions, and the Kōzan-ji holds facsimile copies that can be shown to visitors without exposing the originals to any risk.

The first two scrolls of the collection were enlarged to four times their original size and printed on ceramic plates. Many details can be seen much better in these enlarged copies than in the originals.[53] Scroll 1 is the most comic and contains the most complex narrative. The drawings on it show monkeys, rabbits, frogs, and other animals frolicking and fighting; some of them seem to behave very much like Heian-era Japanese nobles or Buddhist priests. The way the brush is mastered in these early manga scenes is absolutely fascinating (fig. 13).

Scroll 2 is more of an album, depicting the appearance and movement of various birds and beasts, some of them from the world the painter lived in, and others from mythological realms (fig. 14). The relevance of the "Garden of Fine Art" as an exhibition space and as a relay station in the global circulation of copies of the famous pictures displayed in it is underlined by the fact that a considerable proportion of the digital copies of images from

52 *Wikipedia,* s.v. "Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga." Accessed March 30, 2015. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ch%C5%8Dj%C5%AB-jinbutsu-giga; see also Köhn 2005, 115.

53 Cf. one critic's claim that "You will never see the frolicking monkeys, frogs and rabbits as clearly as here!" (Blankestijn 2012).

Figure 14: 鳥羽 僧正 Toba Sōjō (attributed), 鳥獣人物戯画絵巻 *Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga emaki;* detail from the enlarged ceramic copy of the second scroll, showing a lion.

this twelfth century picture scroll that appear on the internet today are actually photos of the ceramic copies on display at the "Garden of Fine Art."

No less popular than these early medieval Japanese manga scrolls is the Chinese picture scroll 清明上河圖 *Qingming Shanghe Tu.* Its title is usually translated into English as "On the River During the Qingming Festival." This translation is based on the understanding that the characters 清明 refer to the Chinese Memorial Day, also known as "Tomb Sweeping Day," which is celebrated every year at the beginning of April, on the 15th day after the Spring Equinox. On *Qingming* day, Chinese people visit the graves or burial grounds of their ancestors; many people go on family outings, sing, and dance, while peasants are expected to begin the spring ploughing. But the *Qingming* painting actually contains little that might be read as hinting to the particular activities related to the rituals performed at burial grounds.[54] So the usual understanding of the title might be misleading. Yale historian Valerie Hansen has argued that 清明 *Qingming* need not refer to the tomb sweeping festival, but can also—in a more general sense—mean something like "clear and bright," and as a political term also refer to a "well ordered" government or "peace and order," so that the title of the scroll could be read as something like "Peace Reigns over the River,"[55] which would seem more fitting, given much of what can be seen in the painting.

54 Cf. Hansen 1996b, 4.

55 Ibid, 5; see also Hansen 1996a, 196n24 (crediting personal communication with Wu Pei-yi for suggesting this title to her in 1995).

清明上河圖 *Qingming Shanghe Tu was originally painted* in the twelfth century by a Northern Song painter named 張擇端 Zhang Zeduan, of whom not much is known apart from the fact that he composed this impressive panorama and a couple of other landscape paintings. The painting depicts, in stunning detail, traffic on and along a river, usually believed to refer to 黃河 *Huáng Hé* (the Yellow River), and urban life and commerce in an idealised city, usually believed to refer to the Song capital 汴梁 *Biànliáng* (later named 開封 *Kaifeng*). But the painter of the *Qingming* scroll did not bother to include any of the landmark buildings of the historical city of Kaifeng and never seems to have intended his picture to be regarded as an accurate rendering of the Song capital.[56] To make things even more confusing, a large theme park featuring over fifty ancient boats in various sizes and 400-plus houses in the Song style, meant to be "a faithful reproduction of the painting *Riverside Scene at the Qingming Festival*," has recently been built in Kaifeng's Millennium City Park.[57] So if you go to Kaifeng now and see places that look similar to some of the places featured in the *Qingming* scroll, this may be so not because the scroll depicts the city of Kaifeng as it looked some 800 years ago, but because parts of the city have been turned into a copy of the legendary painting.

"Like the 'Mona Lisa,' 'Qingming Festival' is to some extent famous for being famous," an American critic remarked.[58] The painting by Zhang Zeduan "has been famous since the fourteenth century, when forgeries began to circulate." "The original was repeatedly stolen or misappropriated from the imperial collection, starting as early as the 1340s."[59] The painting "is famous partly for its involvement over centuries in palace intrigues, theft, and wars, and partly for its detailed, geometrically accurate images of bridges, wine shops, sedan chairs, and boats beautifully juxtaposed with flowing lines for the depiction of mountains and other natural scenery. It is routinely covered in courses on Chinese history, art, and culture, across China and in the West."[60]

According to some accounts, the twelfth century original was lost long ago, but several copies from the 明 Ming (1368–1644) and 清 Qing eras (1644–1911) have survived. This is what the author of the Garden of Fine Art's website seems to assume, too.[61] If this is true, the painting either ceased to exist or is instantiated in its surviving copies. But in which of the copies? There are considerable differences between them. Since the Yuan dynasty, 清明上河圖 "has been a timeless subject in painting, with more than fifty works on this subject or by this title surviving today, making it

56 Cf. Hansen 1996a, 184–190. For a defense of the traditional assumption that the city shown on the scroll was indeed meant to be Kaifeng, see Tsao 2003.
57 See Cultural China n.d.; *Travel China Guide* n.d.
58 Bradsher 2007.
59 Ibid. Hansen 1996a, 191–192, refers to Whitfield 1965, 74–75, for an overview of the history of the painting.
60 Bradsher 2007.
61 "Garden of Fine Arts" website. Accessed March 30, 2015. http://toban-meiga.seesaa.net/category/1668034-1.html.

perhaps the painting with the most numerous versions extant."[62] Even so, new copies and new versions are still being produced. A large, computer-animated 3D copy of the scroll spreading over more than 100 metres attracted immense crowds at the Shanghai Expo in 2010.[63]

What the garden's website does not tell its readers is that the Palace Museum in Beijing (故宫博物院 *Gùgōng Bówùyùan*) holds a darkened silk scroll measuring 24.8 cm × 528.7 cm *recte*, painted with monochrome black ink (and some green and reddish hues), that is widely believed to be the original (or at least a major fragment of it) painted in the early twelfth century by the elusive Zhang Zeduan.[64] An American expert quoted in a *New York Times* article in 2007 confirmed: "Art scholars agree that the Palace Museum in Beijing does indeed own the original. The style and materials of the scroll—ink on silk—are consistent with work from the twelfth century, and the many chops, or seals, of its owners over the years are accurate."[65] I am not in a position to decide this question. Certainly the placing of the seals would be the first thing a forger would do his best to copy most accurately. Because of its fragility, the scroll is seldom displayed, even in Beijing, and has never been lent for an overseas exhibition (fig. 15).[66]

The ceramic copy exhibited in the Kyoto Garden of Fine Art under the name of this famous painting is clearly a copy not of the Beijing scroll but of another scroll not nearly as old as the work it is said to represent. This scroll, painted in full colours and remarkably rich in minute details, dates from the Qing era in eighteenth century China and currently belongs to the National Palace Museum in Taipei, Taiwan (國立故宮博物院 *Gúolì Gùgōng Bówùyùan*). The Museum in Taipei hosts major parts of the former art collections of the imperial court from Beijing and holds no less than eight versions of the *Qingming* subject in its collection.[67] These versions differ from each other in many respects. One of them in particular has long been recognised as the best version—or at least the best from the Ming and Qing dynasties. This particular scroll[68] was the model for the ceramic copy displayed in Kyōto. "This version has been the subject of a

62 National Palace Museum 2013, 142.
63 For a photo of the event on July 16, 2010, see Wikipedia 2010. More about this computer animated copy and a show in Taipei in the summer of 2011 can be found at 5pit 2011 (with a video and explanations in Chinese).
64 Cf. Hansen 1996b. A high-resolution digital copy of the Beijing scroll can be found at Wikimedia 2013c; another copy, apparently digitised after a printed copy, can be compared at http://tools.wmflabs.org/zoomviewer/?flash=no&f=Alongtheriver+QingMing.jpg (accessed September 18, 2016).
65 Bradsher 2007, quoting Chinese art specialist Marc F. Wilson, the director of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, MO.
66 Bradsher 2007.
67 Cf. National Palace Museum n.d.-a.
68 The painting is identified by the accession number 故畫 *Guhua* 1100. A high-resolution digital copy of this scroll can be found at National Palace Museum n.d.-b. Another copy of the same file is also available at Wikimedia 2013c.

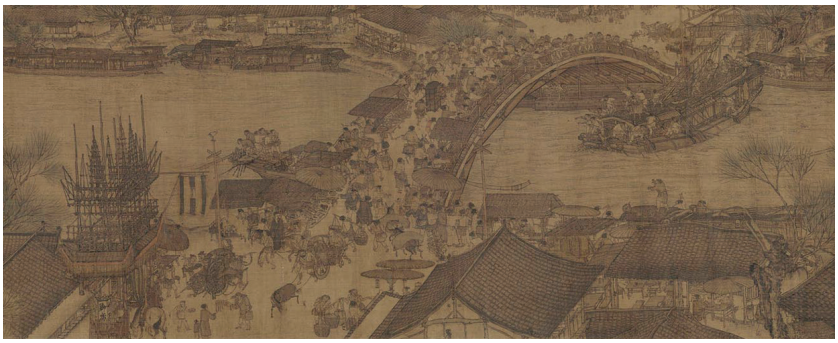

Figure 15: 張擇端 Zhang Zeduan, 清明上河圖 *Qingming Shanghe Tu*, "On the River During the Qingming Festival", Northern Song, twelfth century, Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 *Gùgōng Bówùyùan*. Detail: Rainbow bridge.

Figure 16: 清明上河圖 *Qingming Shanghe Tu*, "On the River During the Qingming Festival" [National Palace Museum, Taipei], eighteenth-century remake by 陳枚 Chén Méi, 孫祜 Sūn Hù, 金昆 Jīn Kūn, 戴洪 Dài Hóng and 程志道 Chéng Zhìdào of the famous scroll by 張擇端 Zhang Zeduan. Enlarged ceramic copy in the Garden of Fine Art, Kyōto, 1994; detail: Rainbow bridge.

documentary film, printed in postcard and jigsaw-puzzle form, published in a detailed study and as a children's book, produced as a multimedia disc, and even reproduced in full size."[69] In Kyōto, it is reproduced on porcelain panels in an even larger scale, enlarged to four times its original size—over 24 metres, altogether. Thus it enables visitors to take a closer look at the painting's details. As one visitor stated, "I've seen it once at the Taipei National Palace Museum, but this one is much easier to see clearly, for it is

69 National Palace Museum n.d.-a.

twice the size of the Taipei one, and you aren't being jostled by hordes of tourists." (fig. 16).[70]

Measuring 35.6 cm × 1,152.8 cm, the Qing court version of the legendary *Qingming* panorama was completed in the first year of the reign of Emperor 乾隆 Qiánlóng (1736 CE), through the effort and collaboration of five artists from the Qing dynasty Painting Academy: 陳枚 Chén Méi, 孫祜 Sūn Hù, 金昆 Jīn Kūn, 戴洪 Dài Hóng, and 程志道 Chéng Zhìdào: "begun under the Yongzheng emperor and completed in the early reign of the Qianlong Emperor, it took nine years to paint."[71]

Borrowing a term from the twentieth-century movie industry, the relationship of the Qing court scroll to the Beijing scroll that is believed to be the original might perhaps be labelled as that of a bold "remake" of the subject rather than of a "copy" of the original. The Qing court version is more than twice as long as the Beijing scroll and covers vast areas of the river landscape to the east of the city and, in particular, the majestic palace in the west. None of these items appear in the Beijing scroll—or at least not in the state of the scroll as it is known today, which might be just a fragment after parts of the original were cut off some time ago. But even in those features of the composition that do maintain some parallels in both versions, the differences are striking and apparently not due to any kind of negligence.

Can a picture depicting the towing of a boat be a copy of a picture depicting the poling of a boat? Maybe such technical details are not what matters to those who are able to celebrate a copy for surpassing its original in brilliance and accuracy. Who are we to censure the Chinese about what ought to count as a "copy," or how to label different kinds of copies, according to the amount and kind of similarities and differences between them?

Obviously, the Qing court painters never intended to produce an exact copy of the historical original—or whatever might have been the model that represented the famous picture to them. Their understanding of their task was much more ambitious: they wanted not only to preserve a canonical model of an ideal state of a peaceful and well-ordered urban civilisation and pass on a revered masterpiece of the traditional Chinese art of ink brush painting, but to do their best to renew this tradition at the most advanced level of insight and capability available to them.

> With exceptionally fine and lively brushwork … almost every aspect related to urban life has been rendered, ranging from tranquil countryside to raucous itinerant shows and the bustling rainbow bridge market as well as shops of every kind, crowded passageways, secluded mansion courtyards, and a grand imperial garden. The coloring throughout the scroll is spectacular, the scenery combining Chinese traditional painting methods and Western perspective

70 Yzzzz 2013.
71 National Palace Museum 2013, 142.

> to give the space a sense of depth and volume. … Many aspects of traditional life are also depicted, including street shows, a countryside banquet, and ladies going for a walk, the material for depiction here coming from the customs of the Qingming Festival practiced in Beijing at the time, thus offering a glimpse at the variety of life among commoners in the Qing dynasty.[72]

The scroll exhibits conspicuous traces—such as the use of colour and perspective techniques—that seem to indicate that the artists who painted it had encountered Western art. "Architectural elements throughout the handscroll were all done using the principles of Western perspective, the buildings and streets distinctly rendered in appropriate proportion. The distance between near and far has been accurately grasped, and there is even Western-style architecture found in the painting."[73]

The painters were acquainted with European art and painting techniques due to the presence of Jesuit missionaries at the Beijing court. Most notable among these missionaries was the Italian painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), who came to China in 1715 and served as a court artist to the three Qing emperors 康熙 Kangxi, 雍正 Yongzheng, and 乾隆 Qiánlóng, for 51 years.[74] His blend of Western and Chinese painting styles was particularly in favour with Emperor Qiánlóng (1711–1799), an avid collector and connoisseur of fine art.

The Qing court painters' version of the *Qingming* subject is a remarkable document of cross-cultural learning from a Chinese perspective at the heyday of the Qing Empire. It was a deliberate attempt to present a synthesis of the best elements of Chinese tradition with Western achievements, a synthesis that was meant to reinforce the Chinese Empire's claims of superiority.

## Conclusion

Notwithstanding the conspicuous differences between the Taipei Museum's Qing court version of the *Qingming* subject and any of its predecessors, including the Song dynasty original by Zhang Zeduan (whether this was identical with the Beijing scroll or perhaps still another painting), for the author of the Kyōto Garden of Fine Art's information website, there is no doubt that "the Taipei National Museum's copy captures (the painting's) original magnificence."[75] Two things are striking about this assertion: The author reacts to a demand to justify the choice of the copy from Taipei as model for the ceramic copy in Kyōto. Apparently it was not sufficient to

72 National Palace Museum 2013, 142–143.
73 National Palace Museum n.d.-a.
74 Cf. Barnhart et al. 1997, 282–285.
75 "Garden of Fine Arts" website. Accessed September 18, 2016. http://toban-meiga.seesaa.net/category/1668034-1.html.

praise the Taipei scroll simply for the brilliance of its colours or the plenitude of scenes from everyday Qing life, or for its delicate blend of Chinese and Western influences. The scroll was produced as a copy of a famous model, so its excellence must be that of a perfect copy. But how could the curator from Kyōto assess the relationship between the copy in the Taipei collection and its original, which he has never seen and which he even believes was lost long ago? What are the objects of such a comparison? What kind of quality or object is the "magnificence" that seems to be, for this curator (but maybe not for this curator alone), the essential point in copying famous ancient paintings—so essential, indeed, that so many differences in the technical particularities do not seem to matter very much? Is this magnificence possible to capture and transfer through digital photography and interfaces like ceramic prints or LCD-screens? Or do we have to assume that it eludes such processes of technical reproduction, as Walter Benjamin famously argued was the case for the "aura" of people, places, situations, or historical artefacts?

These are admittedly philosophical questions. They have been engendered by the experience of occasionally strolling through the Garden of Fine Art, seeing what is there to be seen and reflecting on the relationships between various moments at this garden—the pictures that are so famous that it has become really hard to actually see them, the ceramic copies in their own materiality, the arrangement of the pictures along the garden route, the interplay between the pictures and moving water surfaces, juxtapositions of paintings which could not come so close to each other at any other place than this, changing weather and daylight conditions, other visitors and how they behave, the aging of the concrete walls, the pavement, the glass railings which were all brand new just twenty years ago—and, furthermore, by reflecting on the complex relationships between the garden and the world around it, between the copies in the garden and their originals in Rome, Milan, Paris, Otterlo, Chicago, Taipei, Tōkyō, and Kyōto, taking into account the way some of the originals have changed since their former look has been fixed for long-term conservation on ceramic boards, and so on.

Thanks to the internet, and to all the people who have posted photos or videos of their encounters with this place on countless websites, it is now possible to stroll through the garden not only if one happens to be in Kyōto, but also virtually, or at least to stroll through a virtual copy of this garden, which is of course not to be confused with the actual place in Kyōto. This virtual copy is at once less and more than the actual place: It is obviously less because most of these photos and videos are less than perfect copies of the pictures depicted in them, and even the best photos or videos can never replace the actual, multisensorial experience of being in a certain place, of moving freely, following your own curiosity, and taking your own time. But it is indeed remarkable that photos covering every square inch of the entire facility, including the restrooms, can now be found on the internet and can be studied from anywhere in the world that individuals

have internet access. The experience one can have in strolling through the virtual copy of the Garden of Fine Art on the internet, following the traces of the images offered by search engines upon entering different versions of the name of the place, also surpasses what can be experienced at the site in Kyōto on any given occasion. It encompasses many different times at once. And the painful absence of the possibility to spontaneously follow your own curiosity and turn your head, take a step to your left or take a closer look to the right at an obscure detail, is more than compensated for by the possibility of following the traces of so many other people's curiosity and seeing what they found remarkable about the place. The chance to share the experience, knowledge, and thoughts of other visitors might change your own experience and your own thought.

## Figures

Fig. 1: Photo: Richard Lee (Lee Xin Li), May 30, 2011, creative commons license 2.0 (by-nc-nd). Accessed March 21, 2015. https://www.flickr.com/photos/70109407@N00/5897362642/.

Fig. 2: Photo: Yasu, September 26, 2009. Accessed April 1, 2015. http://4travel.jp/photo?trvlgphoto=17111648.

Fig. 3: Photo: momohappy, December 3, 2013. Accessed April 2 2015. http://momohappy3.exblog.jp/iv/detail/index.asp?s=20054036&i=201312%2F03%2F86%2Fd0078486_7492441.jpg.

Fig. 4: Photo: Marumo, October 29, 2008. Accessed March 21, 2015. http://blog.goo.ne.jp/marumo_chan/e/404d263d98738b735ea004cbbedf06bf.

Fig. 5: Photo: Hasnul Yakin Mohammed, March 27, 2012. Accessed March 22, 2015. http://hasnulyakin.blogspot.de/2012/03/kyoto-jurnal-keagungan-last-judgement.html.

Fig. 6: Jpeg-file from a high resolution scan produced in 2006 by http://www.haltadefinizione.com/ in collaboration with the Italian ministry of culture. Accessed March 22, 2015. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4b/%C3%9Altima_Cena_-_Da_Vinci_5.jpg.

Fig. 7: From the collection of the Royal Academy of Arts, London. Accessed March 22, 2015. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/11/Giampietrino-Last-Supper-ca-1520.jpg.

Fig. 8: Photo: Purple Cloud, December 15, 2005. Accessed March 29, 2015. http://www.flickr.com/photos/purplecloud/139750230/.

Fig. 9: Photo: Hashimoto Eiji, November 3, 2008. Accessed March 24, 2015. http://tea-time-hashimoto.cocolog-nifty.com/photos/uncategorized/2008/11/03/spb014064k.jpg.

Fig. 10: Photo: Linolo. Accessed April 5, 2015. https://www.flickr.com/photos/linolo/5832747071/in/photostream/.

Fig. 11: Photo: Tarayoro, March 7, 2009. Accessed March 26, 2015. http://4travel.jp/photo?trvlgphoto=15636636.
Fig. 12: Photographer unknown, June 17, 2008. Accessed March 29, 2015. http://pds.exblog.jp/pds/1/200806/17/56/d0143856_24628.jpg.
Fig. 13: Photo: Peconian, July, 7, 2009. Accessed April 2, 2015. http://4travel.jp/travelogue/10355408.
Fig. 14: Photo: Steve Collins, December 6, 2009. Accessed March 29, 2015. http://www.flickr.com/photos/stevenvision/4186759261/sizes/o/in/photostream/.
Fig. 15: Accessed April 1, 2015. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/86/Alongthe river_QingMing.jpg.
Fig. 16: Photo: Peconian, July 7, 2009. Accessed April 1, 2015. http://4travel.jp/travelogue/10355408.

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