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Wine, Rice, or Both?

Overwriting Sectarian Strife in the Tendai *Shuhanron* Debate

This article examines the *Shuhanron emaki* (The illustrated scroll of the wine and rice debate) as not only a reflection of late Muromachi-period cultural trends, but also a reworking of its sixteenth-century historical setting. The work ostensibly features three men who each argue their various positions: one extolling wine, the other rice, and the third a balance of both. Yet its references to the Lotus school (also the Hokke or Nichiren school), the Nenbutsu school (the True Pure Land school), and the supremacy of the Tendai school with its belief in the Three Truths and the Middle Way, point to the Tenbun Hokke Uprising of 1536. This conflict featured these three religious parties in brutal violence that devastated the capital, already ravaged by famines and unending warfare. In playfully representing a utopian, yet realistic world full of food and merriment, the makers of this work urge sectarian reconciliation by showing what peace could potentially bring.

KEYWORDS: *Shuhanron emaki*—*Tenbun Hokke no ran*—food—*chanoyu*—*tea*

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THE 27TH DAY of the 7th month of 1536 (Tenbun 5) was a particularly bloody and destructive day in the Japanese capital, even in the context of the Period of Warring States. Forces from Enryakuji of the Tendai school 天台宗 burned twenty-one temples of the Hokke school (*hokke* 法華 meaning “lotus,” a popular designation for members of the Nichiren school of Buddhism, which preached sole belief in the *Lotus Sutra*). These fires eventually consumed more than half of northern Kyoto, as well as most of the southern half. A diarist estimates that three thousand people may have been slaughtered, though he fears many more may have perished.¹ This day of violence marked the end of the Tenbun Hokke Uprising (*Tenbun Hokke no ran* 天文法華の乱) that had its beginnings in 1532.

For four years, a confederacy of Hokke commoner sectarians had maintained an autonomous government in Kyoto. In the power vacuum of the capital in late Muromachi Japan, various warlords, the essentially impotent Ashikaga shogunal house, and sectarians of the Hokke, Ikkō, and Tendai persuasions crafted shifting alliances to defend, to regain, or to increase their prerogatives in new configurations of authority only possible in an age of such turmoil. In 1532, the Hokke sectarians were briefly allied with the Hosokawa and even Enryakuji in a coalition of erstwhile foes to defeat the Ikkō movement, burning down the True Pure Land headquarters of Yamashina Honganji.² By 1536, however, the monks of Mount Hiei turned their eyes to the increasingly powerful and independent Hokke sect as a threat, just as they had targeted the Ikkō school only four years earlier. The episode that allegedly provoked the Enryakuji monks to strike so violently against the Hokke in 1536 was, many said, an embarrassing loss of face at a lecture on the *Lotus Sutra* by a Tendai prelate who could not answer a lay Hokke adherent’s interjected challenges (STONE 1994, 242). Yet Mount Hiei provided more substantial grounds, accusing the Hokke sectarians of damaging private property, exercising their own judicial authority, usurping taxation rights, and

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1. Quoted in BERRY 1994, 165–66. My discussion of the Tenbun Hokke Uprising and its historical context relies heavily on Berry’s work. See also TSANG (2007, 184–89) for a comparison between the Ikkō ikki 一向一揆, rebellions by peasant leagues affiliated with the True Pure Land school (Jōdo shinshū 浄土真宗), and those by the Nichiren adherents.

2. BERRY 1994, 152. For a concise version, see SOUYRI 2001, 198–99.

expressing hostility toward believers of other sects. These various accusations were for the most part true, and boiled down to the fact that the Hokke Uprising catapulted into power its followers—a new, wealthy class of Kyoto denizens called the *utokunin* 有得人 (“profit makers” or “virtuous people”)—by legitimizing their activities ideologically.³ As BERRY observes, “Fueling sectarian feeling was political and social antipathy to commoners who had assumed the governing privileges of the old elite” (1994, 166). Thus, Enryakuji ultimately moved with such shocking viciousness to protect its own vested interests in maintaining the traditional balance of power—a balance that the Hokke school had severely disrupted on multiple fronts, politically, doctrinally, and economically.

The topic of this article, the *Shuhanron emaki* 酒飯論絵巻 (The illustrated scroll of the wine and rice debate),⁴ does not initially seem related to these sectarian and socio-political battles of the early sixteenth century. Indeed, neither the illustrations nor the text explicitly refer to the violence of this age. The paintings depict the world of late Muromachi Japan, yet the lively banquets show us its boisterous, prosperous side, rather than its bloodshed. As for the text, it lacks any historical details that would tie the narrative to a specific time. The introduction sets forth an indeterminate age:

The benevolence with which our emperor today rules over the realm should not be compared to the sagacious emperors of the Han dynasty, so long ago in the past did they reign. In this respect, the Engi or Tenryaku eras of our court are also too distant for comparison. The wisdom and beneficence of His Majesty make the plentiful hearth lively. No one is without a smile and songs of laughter and prosperity fill the ears.⁵

If we take this description at face value, no medieval era in Japanese history seems suitable—especially not the early sixteenth century, when the emperor himself was essentially homeless and destitute. The language stylistically places the work in the Muromachi period, but the link to the Tenbun Lotus Uprising is founded upon the three poems that end each section of the work. These

3. SOUYRI 2001, 156. Unlike other, older Buddhist schools, the Hokke approved of making money, thus appealing to many urban tradesmen, craftsmen, and anybody who had made a profit in the uncertain times. The Ikkō school, on the other hand, consisted mainly of agrarian believers.

4. This work is also known as the *Sanron ekotoba* 三論絵詞 and *Geko jōko ekotoba* 下戸上戸絵詞, among other titles (TOKUDA 2002, 297).

5. MJMT 7: 243 (all page references to the MJMT in this article are from volume seven). Several textual variants exist, though the differences are minor. Since the text uses a preponderance of *kana*, the orthographical discrepancies can lead to varied meanings. For this paper, I use the version typeset in the MJMT from an illustrated scroll in the National Diet Library. Another textual variant which I have consulted is found in NAKANO 1986. Below, I discuss the variations in its painting tradition.

poems identify the sectarian affiliations of the three protagonists: Nagamochi, a Nenbutsu-shū 念仏宗 (True Pure Land or Ikkō school) adherent; Kōhan, a Hokke monk; and Nakanari, a believer in the Middle Path, and hence a Tendai faithful. With these sectarian identifications, the festive scenes of the early sixteenth century take on an urgent message.

Namiki Seishi, the art historian who has done the most research on this work, observes that the *Shuhanron emaki* can be seen as asserting the ideological (and hence political) supremacy of the Tendai sect by affirming the Middle Path. In allowing Nakanari to have the final word, the work extols the moderate partaking of both wine and rice, a position based on Tendai doctrine that supersedes the extreme and exclusionary beliefs of the Hokke and Ikkō sects, which Mount Hiei sought to destroy.⁶ I will argue, however, that this work adopts a somewhat more conciliatory tone, especially in its visual representation, where food and wine lubricate social relationships across various groups into a harmonious realm, unlike much of the reality of the Tenbun era that it seeks to overwrite.

General Structure and Dating

Aside from their sectarian affiliations, which are only finally made clear in the poems that end each section devoted to them, the three figures introduced above are distinguished by their gastronomical proclivities, which also serve to structure the work as a whole. As his name implies, Nagamochi 長持 (“lasting long”) can hold his drink. His status is underlined by the references to wine in his title, Director of the Saké-Brewing Office (*Miki no kami* 造酒正). On the other hand, the monk Kōhan 好飯 (“rice lover”) adores his rice, as his name literally states. Besides these two is Nakahara Nakanari 中原仲成, whose name twice includes characters for “middle.” He is a *chūko* 中戸 who likes both rice and wine.⁷ The *Shuhanron emaki* consists of a brief introduction followed by three episodes in which the three characters make their cases for their respective inclinations. Each section is accompanied by paintings that illustrate the men indulging their preferred tastes.

The basic tripartite form of this debate dates back to as early as one of Kūkai’s earliest major works, the *Sangō shiiki* 三教指帰 (Demonstrating the goals of the three teachings, 797), in which Kūkai, through a fictional frame with autobiographical elements, expounds the superiority of Buddhism over Confucianism and Taoism.⁸ More closely related are other works of medieval “debate literature”

6. NAMIKI and SANO 2004, 207. See also TOKUDA 2002, 297.

7. The three are also identified as a *dai jōko* 大上戸 (Nagamochi), a *sai geko* 最下戸 (Kōhan), and a *chūko* (Nakanari). These terms originally referred to the size of land grants in the eighth century, but through their connection to a household’s wealth, came to facetiously designate a person’s ability to consume alcohol.

8. TOKUDA 2002, 297; YAMAGISHI 1972, 426. For an analysis of *Sangō shiiki*, see ABE 1999, 83–95.

(*ronsōmono* 論争物), particularly those that pit wine against tea (*Shucharon* 酒茶論), or wine against rice cakes (*Shubeiron* 酒餅論). The *Shucharon*, or *Wine and Tea Debate*, exists in two versions, one naming Furuta Oribe 古田織部 (1543–1615) as a famed practitioner of tea, placing the work in the early seventeenth century. The other version has a colophon dating it to 1576, with the author as Ranshuku Genshū 蘭叔玄秀, an abbot of a Myōshinji branch temple in Mino province with close ties to Oda Nobunaga.⁹ The former *Shucharon* parallels the *Shuhanron* in its tripartite organization based on the *jōko*, *geko*, and *chūko* characters.

From a purely textual standpoint, the sequence in which these related works were produced is unclear. However, examination of the paintings accompanying the *Shuhanron* indicates its earlier birth, pointing to its circulation before 1576, which led to the spawning of these other, later works. Versions of the *Shuhanron emaki* can be divided into two distinct lineages, each produced by the foremost painting ateliers of their age, the Kanō and the Tosa schools. The Tosa school version is represented by two examples, one in the Seikadō Library in Tokyo and another in the National Diet Library (the text of which is reproduced in the MJMT). The Tosa paintings depict scenes that are analogous to the Kanō version, but they are composed differently, both exhibiting the respective styles of their schools.¹⁰ The Tosa scrolls are also about ten centimeters narrower than their Kanō counterparts, which are about thirty centimeters wide, the standard size for *emaki*.

The Tosa versions come with noteworthy attributions. The Seikadō scrolls have a 1684 colophon in which Tosa Mitsuoki 土佐光起 attributes the painting to Tosa Mitsumoto 光元 (1530–1569). Although not many works of Mitsumoto survive, this attribution is supported by scrolls in the National Diet Library, on the cover of which Sumiyoshi Naiki 住吉内記 identifies the painter as Mitsumoto.¹¹ Naiki also states that Inawashiro Kensai 猪苗代兼載 (1452–1510), a prominent *renga* poet and Tendai monk, was the calligrapher of the text. Scholars do not accept this attribution, for their productive years lay too far apart. The Tosa *Shuhanron* is thus judged to have been produced in the mid-sixteenth century, before 1569.

9. For general information about *Shucharon* and *Shubeiron*, see TOKUDA 2002, 291–93 and 298. Both works are found in the MJMT, and Ranshuku's *Shucharon* is also available in a modern Japanese rendition with commentary in the *Chadō koten zenshū* (SEN 1967, 2:215–70). For the *Shucharon*, the *Chajiulun* 茶酒論 (The tea and wine debate), a Song dynasty manuscript copy of a Tang work discovered in Dunhuang, China, would seem to be a significant precursor, yet direct textual connections are elusive (WATANABE 1986, 324–72).

10. At this time, I have not had the opportunity to examine the Tosa versions of *Shuhanron*, and my comments are based on NAMIKI 1994b, 66–67.

11. Since almost all of the Sumiyoshi school painters went by the appellation “Naiki” at one point or another during their careers, without examination of the manuscript, it is difficult to discern which Sumiyoshi painter wrote this inscription.

Most of the extant copies of the *Shuhanron emaki* belong, however, to the Kanō school version. Namiki's meticulous visual analysis of this type has led him to designate one example of this work now owned by the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Japan, as the original, from which all the other copies of at least this version derive (NAMIKI 1994b, 68–70).¹² (The photographs reproduced in this article are from this scroll.) Furthermore, Namiki revives an attribution of the *Geko jōko monogatari* to Kanō Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476–1559) found in the nineteenth-century Kokugaku scholar Kurokawa Mayori's 黒川真頼 (1829–1906) survey of Japanese paintings and illustrated scrolls, *Teisei zōho Kōkogafu* 訂正増補考古画譜 (NAMIKI 1994b, 66). Through detailed stylistic comparisons with Motonobu's other, securely identified illustrated scrolls, such as the *Shakadō engi* 釈迦堂縁起 and the *Shuten Dōji emaki* 酒吞童子絵巻 (Suntory Museum of Art), NAMIKI further dates the *Shuhanron emaki* to Motonobu's style in the early 1520s (1994a, 91).¹³ The attribution of the *Shuhanron emaki* to Kanō Motonobu, the founding father of the Kanō painting lineage, would be a major addition to his corpus and to the history of the early Kanō school. Yet, perhaps because of the gap between its creation and Kurokawa Mayori's attribution, other artists' possible involvement, and the ingrained resistance to changes in the traditional canon, Japanese art historians do not seem inclined to accept the *Shuhanron emaki* as Motonobu's work at this time.

Another point Namiki emphasizes concerns the place of the *Shuhanron emaki* in the origins of the sixteenth-century rise of genre painting (*fūzokuga* 風俗画) in Japan (NAMIKI and SANO 2004, 205–9). As mentioned, the text is not set in any specific period, yet the paintings represent the fashions and social customs of the early sixteenth century, contemporaneous with Motonobu's life. Even if we doubt the attribution to the forefather of the Kanō school, the depiction of sixteenth-century life does fall early in the history of the *fūzokuga*, which scholars usually trace to the *rakuchū rakugai zu* 洛中洛外図 (scenes in and around the capital).¹⁴ Its plentiful

12. At the time of his writing, the scroll was in a private collection, designated as the “N family, A edition.”

13. Sakakibara Satoru has also drawn stylistic connections between the *Shuhanron emaki* and the *Shinnyōdō engi emaki* 真如堂縁起絵巻, which is dated 1524 and signed by an otherwise obscure Kamonnosuke Hisakuni 掃部助久国. While acknowledging the similarities to Motonobu, Sakakibara believes that Hisakuni, or someone of his circle, may have been the painter of the *Shuhanron emaki*, of which the true original may no longer be extant (SAKAKIBARA 1994). Namiki argues, however, that Hisakuni copied those comparable sections from what he considers to be Motonobu's *Shuhanron emaki*, a view Sakakibara still seems unwilling to embrace (NAMIKI 1994a, 89–91, 94; SAKAKIBARA 2002, 2:107).

14. MCKELWAY 2006, 3–4. McKelway also underlines some of the problematic issues in the rendering, “scenes in and around the capital” (2006, 12–14). He does not, however, use his title term, “capitalscapes,” in the body of his book.

copies and the incorporation of its scenes into other paintings, most notably the *Taiheiki emaki* 太平記絵巻 attributed to Kaihō Yūsetsu 海北友雪 (1598–1677), suggest that the *Shuhanron* served as a model, especially for scenes of banquets.¹⁵

The history of the *fūzokuga* is, however, a modern, nineteenth-century invention, generally traced to Mori Ōgai, who was attempting to replicate Western artistic classifications (SATŌ 1996, 68–73). Rather than ask how the *Shuhanron* fits into the early development of an anachronistic, artificial genre, we would be better served in inquiring as to what historical and cultural conditions led to this attention to everyday, contemporary life in the early sixteenth century.

Who was, then, behind this representation? Namiki believes that Motonobu probably corroborated with a “producer,” who suggested and designed the composition of the paintings, since they are not directly based on the text. From Motonobu’s background in working with distinguished Tendai clerics for the *Shakadō engi* and the *Shuten Dōji emaki*, as well as from the content of the *Shuhanron* itself, Namiki proposes that a Tendai monk would have been most likely involved (NAMIKI 1994b, 68).¹⁶ Whether this concern with daily life lay with the artist, a corroborator, or both, the later profusion of art depicting the contemporary world suggests that it was not an isolated interest, but one that seized the imagination of both artists and viewers.

Introducing the Debate

The *Shuhanron emaki* opens with the previously quoted passage. It continues by introducing the three central figures, who have gathered together for a party (*yori ai* 寄合), the setting for many of the Muromachi-period communal arts such as *renga*, as well as political meetings by sectarians.¹⁷ The stage is thus set for the debate that would ensue between Nagamochi, Kōhan, and Nakanari regarding wine and rice. The painting follows the initial prose section. As we move

15. For the scene in the *Taiheiki emaki*, see SAITAMA KENRITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1997, 15. NAMIKI (1994a, 87–88) argues that the prevalence of copies demonstrates that the *Shuhanron emaki* (and other works such as the *Shuten Dōji emaki*) served as foundational painting textbooks for the members of the Kanō atelier, who had to master Motonobu’s style.

16. Nevertheless, the Kanō family traditionally belonged to the Hokke sect (MCKELWAY 2006, 137). The Kanō family temple is Myōkakuji (Kyoto), where Motonobu rests.

17. The *emaki* I have examined firsthand is a copy of the Kanō version found in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library. It is not listed in Namiki’s survey of all the extant copies of the *Shuhanron* (including those without illustrations) that he has traced. However, it has a distinguished pedigree if we accept the signature and seal of Kanō Tanshin 探信 (1653–1718), a son of the famous Kanō Tannyū. Although it lacks the vivid coloration, the vigor, and the detailed brushwork of the “Motonobu” original (as designated by Namiki), I have used it to study the *Shuhanron emaki* since it is compositionally analogous. The images in this article are reproduced courtesy of the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Japan, which currently owns the “Motonobu” scrolls.

from right to left, we first see the attendants with two of the guest's horses. There are only two horses, because, as we find out in the third segment, the guests are gathered at Kōhan's residence at a temple, which is also the setting for Kōhan's serenade to rice (the third segment, counting the introduction as the first). As we move inside the gate, we see some other bored attendants, chatting, nodding off to sleep, or peering over at the residence to try to catch a glimpse of the happenings inside. None of these details are found in the written text. While these attendants are hardly of a low social class, the depiction of a wide variety of people is notable throughout the *emaki*. The work thus immediately displays its attention to the contemporary world.

Inside Kōhan's residence, the three main characters sit in a triangular, more or less equal configuration. Besides Kōhan, who is dressed in a monk's habit, it is difficult to distinguish the other two, a warrior and possibly an aristocrat. In other scenes, warriors are distinguished not by dress, but by the sword that they carry at their waists. The blurring of the warrior and courtier classes in terms of wardrobe is, as Butler points out, a notable development that shows the reduced finances of the aristocracy in the Muromachi period (BUTLER 2002, 89–97). In a side room to the bottom left of the main room, two monks are playing go, while in the back, a monk grinds tea leaves into a powder which he will gather with a feather and place in the tea caddy to his left. This preparation of tea in a back room by an unseen, lower-ranking person illustrates the early stages of tea culture, before its transformation into *wabicha* 侘び茶 (*wabi*-style tea) by seminal practitioners such as Takeno Jōō 武野紹鷗 (1502–1555) and Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522–1591). Outside, three men are preparing rice to make saké. The detailed depiction of these activities and various figures, not mentioned in the text, again testifies to this work's concern with current social and cultural trends of the early sixteenth century.

Intoxication, Celebration, and the Aftermath

The next section features Nagamochi and his extended paeon to wine, recorded in his own voice. He opens: "All that is splendid about wine has not changed in the past or present." He proceeds to observe how wine has long been used to mark vows and partings, evoking Bai Juyi's 白居易 poetry (MJMT 244). Nagamochi continues in this vein with references to the classics (*Sagoromo monogatari* 狭衣物語 and Ariwara no Narihira's 在原業平 poems, for example), lyrical descriptions of those special moments in which wine is drunk, and the almost magical properties of this elixir. Nagamochi extols, "When the peach blossoms flower at their peak, the drunken revelry reaches even the heavens. Under the flowering tree, wine flows liberally from the casks. The spring winds blowing, the wine warming over the burning fall leaves in the grove: this is the epitome of elegance" (MJMT 244).



FIGURE 1. Drinking party at Nagamochi's residence. *Shuhanron emaki*, attributed to Kanō Motonobu, early sixteenth century. Courtesy of the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Japan.

Reminiscent of flower-viewing parties of medieval and more recent vintage, Nagamochi's words evoke a special, fleeting world induced by intoxicated revelry. Under the special powers of spring blooms and wine, class distinctions and mundane restrictions fall to the wayside. Indeed, the sixteenth century in Japan was an analogous age, when warfare severely disrupted traditional class distinctions. New kinds of gatherings—centered on tea, *renga*, dance (*fūryū odori* 風流踊り), or theatrical performances, and set in liminal settings such as the two-mat tea room, the shadows of flowering, weeping cherry trees (*hana no moto renga* 花の下連歌, “Linked verse beneath the cherry blossoms”), the riverbanks, or the bathhouses—created fluid social networks that bonded enemies together in play, and suspended vertical, hierarchical relationships into horizontal, more equal associations.¹⁸ So text and image partly reflect the emergence of unprecedented social networks that energized sixteenth-century arts. At the same time, the work also attempts to preserve the positive face of these newer communities, which in other analogous forms, such as the *Ikkō ikki* movement, threatened to slip into deranged violence.¹⁹

As befits the oral tone of this work, Nagamochi occasionally changes his rhythm. In listing celebrations in which wine is naturally featured, he launches

18. SOUYRI 2001, 172–78 and 98–99; IKEGAMI 2005, 85–92, and 102–26.

19. Sometimes the members of the two groups overlapped. For example, an *Ikkō ikki* alliance in Yamato province was composed almost entirely of the same people as a local *renga* party (Yasuda Jirō, discussed in IKEGAMI 2005, 116). The *Ikkō ikki* were bands of True Pure Land sectarians who seized control of regions in the face of ineffective warrior protection and authority (see footnote one). Moreover, the sessions of *hana no moto renga* were usually led by monks of the True Pure Land school. The Nichiren school, too, had many participants in the arts of the medieval age (see footnotes three and sixteen).



FIGURE 2. Someone is sick after drinking too much. *Shuwanron emaki*, attributed to Kanō Motonobu, early sixteenth century. Courtesy of the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Japan.

into a staccato: “In myriad celebrations, too, bringing out the wine ensures their success. Coming-of-Age ceremonies, building-completion rites, poetry parties, adoption of a son-in-law, welcoming a bride, entering service, victory celebrations: what would we do without wine for all of these occasions?” (MJMT 244).

Nagamochi then assigns special powers to wine: “It has the virtue of drawing people closer, the ability to make one stand out, and a way of making the mind at ease. However beautiful, however tasty a dish may be, without wine, they are all for naught” (MJMT 244). Nagamochi’s claim about wine’s capacity to draw people closer echoes the observations of Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好: “I am happy when some man I have wanted to make my friend is fond of liquor, and we are soon on intimate terms” (KEENE 1967, 152; NAGAZUMI 1971). In sections like these, the *Shuwanron* takes inspiration from Kenkō’s *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (1310–1331?), namely section 175, in which Kenkō discusses the positive and negative characteristics of drinking alcohol. Such connections tie the work closely to the medieval cultural consciousness, and lead MIYAKOSHI to view the *Shuwanron emaki* as a repository and transmitter of lore and knowledge about food in the medieval age (2008, 232). Nagamochi then shifts his rhetorical strategy from praise to humor, proceeding to poke fun at those who abstain:

When one has guests who cannot drink, they lack words or spirit. They’re not terribly friendly, their laughter hollow. Drowning in seriousness, their expressions mad, they grind their teeth in frustration, you see. In the event they do drink, either they fall fast asleep, or they look wiped out, tottering on a cane, collapsing with the knee propped up, appearing neither here nor there.

(MJMT 244–45)

Near the end of his soliloquy, Nagamochi makes a reference to the chanting of the Buddha’s name as a way of redeeming oneself from excessive inebriation,

which is forbidden, strictly speaking, in the Buddhist precepts. While Buddhist vocabulary appears sporadically throughout his speech, this is first time that Nagamochi overtly advocates a Buddhist ritual practice. He then closes with a “poem” (which does not follow the syllable count of a traditional *waka*, but is clearly set apart from the rest of the text):

Nagamochi, drunk with new wine or old,
believes deeply in the faith of the Buddha’s name, the *Nenbutsu-shū*

*Nagamochi ga atarashiki sake mo furuzake mo yoinureba
nenbutsu-shū o fukakutanomeru*

長持が新酒も古酒も酔いぬれば念仏宗をふかくたのめる (MJMT 245)

It is unclear whether Nagamochi here refers to himself, or whether the poem presents some other narrative voice. From the perspective of the overall work, which valorizes the Tendai faith, we might interpret this poem as articulating a mild condemnation of the Nenbutsu (Ikkō or True Pure Land) and the Hokke (Nichiren) schools, which relied exclusively on single practices (the chanting of the name of Amida Buddha or the title of the *Lotus Sutra* respectively), acts perhaps akin to drunken mumblings from an outsider’s perspective. Yet this reading would go against the rest of the section, in which alcoholic inebriation is represented as a higher calling. As I have mentioned, this poem (and the others that end each section) constitute the only definitive signs of the characters’ sectarian affiliations. The sudden mention of the Nenbutsu sect, as well as this mild friction between the poem and the rest of the section, suggest that someone, perhaps a Tendai monk as surmised by Namiki, might have added the closing poem later. If so, this addition had the effect of transforming the *Shuhanron* into a political statement, though the paintings remain neutral, interested as they are in depicting the pleasures of social interaction with good wine and food.

There is nothing particularly negative about the painting that illustrates Nagamochi’s segment on wine (FIGURE 1). Indeed, in scenes such as this one, we see monks, warriors, and aristocrats preparing and enjoying meals together, a quintessential way in which people celebrate friendship. The scene of Nagamochi’s banquet is not based on any specific part of the *Shuhanron* text, but is representative of its overall theme, and we see glimpses of various comments, such as those regarding the non-drinkers at a party. At the edge of the room to the left, a monk with a hand to his head looks dizzy from drinking and dancing, while a man sitting in the top corner has clearly fallen asleep. Nagamochi himself is probably the man with the large wine cup, sitting toward the right (MIYAKOSHII 2008, 228). Another monk and a man dance with their torsos exposed. This half-naked monk, not described specifically in the textual portion, recalls lines from section 175 of *Tsurezuregusa*: “Sometimes an old priest ... strips to the

waist, revealing grimy, sallow skin, and twists his body in a manner so revolting that even those watching with amusement are nauseated” (KEENE 1967, 151; NAGAZUMI 1971, 231). Again, while suggestive, such parallels do not prove any direct links between this painting and *Tsurezuregusa*, but show how the painter borrowed from his cultural memory in imagining the world of the *Shuhanron* (MIYAKOSHI 2008, 228). That this representation resonated with its viewers is evinced by its numerous copies. For instance, this boisterous banquet is reproduced almost exactly in the *Taiheiki emaki*, demonstrating the appeal of the *Shuhanron emaki* to later painters for the vivaciousness with which it captured sixteenth-century social life.

The historian Sakurai Eiji uses the *Shuhanron emaki* to discuss the drinking customs of Muromachi Japan, exemplified by Nagamochi’s lively party. To the left of the main room, we see men pouring the saké into smaller servers, and further down the veranda, we see two men: one clasping another’s head as he vomits onto the ground below, where a dog sniffs with interest (FIGURE 2). The man helping the drunken man peers over to the merrymaking, presumably eager to rejoin the fun. According to Sakurai, these kinds of rowdy drinking banquets occupied much of the ruling class. The Ashikaga shoguns and other military houses were known for being strong in drink, while members of the aristocracy seem to have been poor drinkers. In the diaries of the time, we read of courtiers suffering at these festivities, which sometimes ran for several days consecutively (SAKURAI 2000, 240–41).

While those who could not hold their drink could not have enjoyed these banquets very much, the consequences of over-drinking became a topic of interest, as we see in the regurgitating man in the *Shuhanron emaki*. Vomiting at these parties was encouraged or observed with much hilarity. In *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記,²⁰ among other Muromachi-period diaries, the term *tōzae* 当座会, which refers to vomiting at banquets, appears frequently. The Regent Nijō Mochimoto 二条持基 (1390–1445) even made it a special talent of his, performing upon request (SAKURAI 2000, 241). Of course, as there are today, there were those who disapproved of this drinking practice, especially insofar as memories of the famine of 1461, when as many as eighty thousand people were said to have died, were neither too distant nor impossible for future replay.²¹ Yet the image of the vomiting man in the *Shuhanron emaki* is not a basis for a sustained critique. Unlike the Kamakura period, in which the military rulers and the old aristocracy occu-

20. Covering the years 1416 to 1448, *Kanmon nikki* is the diary of Go-Sukōin 後崇光院.

21. SAKURAI quotes a passage from the diary *Hekigan nichiroku* 碧巖日録 (241). A brief mention of the 1461 famine is found in BERRY 1994, 20.

pied entirely separate geographical spheres, the Muromachi period saw the arrival of the Ashikaga *bakufu* 足利幕府 in Kyoto, where the elites sometimes clashed in their respective ways. Even in the unpleasant residues of their differences, laughter could arise, as in the *tōzae*. The plentiful food and drink with much rowdy amusement suggest one positive vision that harnesses the energy of this tumultuous age, when in fact it so often showed its negative face: the unruly, destructive force of conflict.

Rice, not Wine; Quietude, not Revelry

The next section turns to Kōhan and his homage to rice. Kōhan opens with a rebuttal: “Though you make the drinkers virtuous and the teetotalers bad, when one compares those who drink to those who do not, criticism mounts for the *jōko*” (MJMT 246). He refutes Nagamochi’s self-serving interpretation of the Buddhist precepts, and draws examples from Chinese and Japanese sources in which alcohol led to mishaps, such as Hikaru Genji’s affair with Oborozukiyo in *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語. He then moves to generalities, describing the abject misery of those dependent on drink—the moodiness after days without wine, the loss of one’s wife and children. In particular, Kōhan delights in giving us the details of a sorry drunkard’s state:

It is the habit of the partying drinker, staggering to and fro after a night of revelry. One wrong step lands him in a ditch by the lavatory. His hands and feet are dirty, his footwear and things soiled and beyond reach. A mess, he grins bitterly. What a scene, not only painful, but filthy. Then, in trying to get on a horse, palanquin, or carriage, he stumbles and falls over, scolding his underlings. As he groans, his face is flush. The only thing he remembers is to drink. His face splotched with red and topped with a white nose looks just like a comic mask.

(MJMT 246)

Kōhan continues with his comic act, describing the drunkard vomiting, the hangover he suffers, the fights he gets into, all with much gusto. Only then, over halfway through his speech, does he launch into his praise of rice, which has a place of honor in every celebration. In the same manner as Nagamochi, Kōhan goes through the calendar, underlining how rice, in its various preparations, accompanies the observances of every season. As offerings to one’s ancestors, the gods, and the Buddha, rice takes on a holy aura in Kōhan’s vision.

These arguments do not differ from those used by Nagamochi in tribute to wine, but as he draws to a close, Kōhan makes a distinction. “Chinese things, domestic things, all the various ceramics from the Ming and beyond, we line them up and play quietly in a tea gathering. Such pleasures go far beyond those offered at a drinking party” (MJMT 248). Just as the paintings illustrate contemporary, early sixteenth-century practices, Kōhan’s observations about tea culture



FIGURE 3. Kōhan serves rice to his guests. *Shuhanron emaki*, attributed to Kanō Motonobu, early sixteenth century. Courtesy of the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Japan.

hint at the transformations it was then undergoing from banquets of excess at Ashikaga palaces to the austere aesthetics of *wabicha*. Upon reframing the debate as contemplation for rice and revelry for wine, Kōhan makes an analogy to the Ikkō recitation of the *nenbutsu* and the Hokke belief in the *Lotus Sutra*: “Only by quietly reading the *Lotus Sutra* can we rescue sentient beings from the burning house, leading them to the vehicle drawn by the large, white ox, reaching the Land of Permanent Tranquil Light (*jōjakkōdo* 常寂光土). *Namu-myōhō-rengyō* 南無妙法蓮華經.” As in the previous section with Nagamochi, the religious affiliation thus comes to the fore only at the end, where the Hokke (Nichiren) sect is deemed superior to the Nenbutsu (Ikkō) sect. The section concludes with Kōhan’s poem:

The joy of learning the Buddha’s law—
this Kōhan partakes after years of ripening his discernment of the five tastes.

*Kōhan wa gomi no chōjuku kotofurite
nao ajiwaan hōki zen’etsu*

好飯は五味の調熟ことふりてなを[は]あちははむ法喜禅悦 (MJMT 248)

The painting moves from Nagamochi’s banquet back to Kōhan’s residence, where we see two monks eating huge bowls of rice (FIGURE 3). The monk with a rotund figure sitting in the left corner is Kōhan, though neither Nagamochi nor Nakanari are present in this section. While the monks’ faces are not drawn specifically enough for firm identification, the third, feminine figure, a *chigo* 稚児,²²

22. “Adolescent males who were given room, board, and education in exchange for their companionship and sexual services, which they were obliged to provide to high-ranking clerics or elite courtiers” (ATKINS 2008, 947).

precludes the presence of any warrior or courtier, in contrast to the presence of all three classes in the other scenes. Because eating together creates a sense of communion, the partaking of someone's food also involves a debt, a sense of reciprocal obligation between host and guest. The absence of Nagamochi and Nakanari may signal their unwillingness to respect the Hokke tenets, or it could reflect the Hokke sect's own unwillingness to entertain people of other faiths. In any case, the painting subtly underlines the isolation of the Hokke sect in its extremity, perhaps doubly so in the excessive quantity of rice on Kōhan's tray.

While the portions of rice are amusingly large, Yamaguchi identifies this scene as an illustration of a *tenshin* 点心, a light meal taken before tea (YAMAGUCHI 2004, 42). Indeed, we see a monk in the back room kindling a fire to boil water for tea. The white tea bowls atop the lacquer stands are appropriate to the style of tea then current in the early sixteenth century. Further to the left, in the kitchen area, men are busily preparing red beans and rice for sweets to go along with the tea. Dishes brimming with various sweets line the shelf behind the man kneading the rice. While Kyoto was no longer in the grips of a severe famine, the painter's attention to cuisine throughout the *Shuhanron emaki* might speak to the deprivation of earlier decades, and casts the world that the scroll depicts as an alternative, yet contemporary utopia where food is bountiful and strife is limited to friendly debate.

The Middle Path

In the final segment, Nakanari expounds his taste for both wine and rice, advocating a middle path rooted in Tendai doctrine. He begins: "One hears the many virtues of being either a drinker or an eater, but there is nothing comparable to making one's way in the world than by doing both—a *chūko*" (MJMT 248). Nakanari then goes on to denounce excess, both in wine and food, including the teetotaler lacking in mirth and the drunkard behaving wildly. Recapitulating many of the arguments made by Nagamochi and Kōhan, Nakanari describes the benefits reaped by the moderate, pronouncing: "to be gluttonous makes one full and sick, whereas to be drunk with wine is also very bad. So in thousands of things, nothing is better than the medium" (MJMT 249).

With these points, Nakanari broadens his argument to extol the middle in all things. "In terms of wealth or poverty," he observes, "in youth, middle age, or old age, the best years, when one feels most secure, are the ones in the middle." In health and in mind, too, Nakanari points to middle age as the ideal. Neither too fat nor too thin, neither too tall nor too short, he declares, the middle in all is best. As for the seasons, it is spring and fall, when temperatures are moderate, that earn the highest praise. While many courtiers may have disagreed, the middle ranks also receive his pointed favor (MJMT 249).



FIGURE 4. Nakanari's bustling kitchen. *Shuhanron emaki*, attributed to Kanō Motonobu, early sixteenth century. Courtesy of the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Japan.

Nakanari caps his speech with examples from Buddhism. Some of his arguments are facile, such as the fact that the *Seiryōji Shaka*—a famous wooden statue of Śākyamuni imported to Japan from Song China in the late tenth century—stands in the middle, both physically (in the hall) and conceptually (in the middle of paradise). The Yakushi at Tennōji 天王寺 and Tenbōrinji 転法輪寺 are placed, he observes, in the Middle Hall (*chūdō* 中堂). Yet his main point about the Middle Path is based on orthodox Tendai doctrine, as Nakanari mentions in passing. The concept of the Three Truths (*santai sokuze* 三諦即是) teaches that all things are empty (nonexistent), yet also have a provisional existence. These two truths lead to the third, the Truth of the Middle Way: the simultaneous emptiness and provisional existence of all things. Nakanari concludes:

Neither the drunkard nor the glutton (the *jōko* and the *geko*) deviate from the Middle Path. While wine makes us intoxicated, while the sight of rice makes us feel empty, without our physical bodies, there is no enlightenment. Outside our minds, there is no Buddha. All bodies possess the nature of the Buddha, so do not doubt becoming a Buddha in this very body. Great are the three jewels, *namu sanbō* 南無三宝.

In his very mind the middle path lies—
has he who lives amidst this world, Nakanaru, mastered this truth?

*Yo no naka ni sumu nakanaru ga shinchū ni
chūdō no kotowari o satorinuru kana*

世の中にすむ仲なるが、心中に中道の理をさとりぬるかな (MJMT 250)

The painting for this section illustrates a banquet at Nakanari's residence. Compared to Nagamochi's party, or even that of Kōhan, the scene at Nakanari's gathering is subdued and refined. There is both wine and rice, but the bowls of

rice look more manageable and a variety of dishes compliment the meal. In the side room, a monk arranges fruit on a raised tray, and others prepare the warmed saké for serving. In the kitchen to the far left (FIGURE 4), a flurry of activity is taking place. Fowl and fish are being carved, while soup simmers on the hearth. By the eaves, a man cleans the slaughtered chickens while a woman, presumably his wife, suckles her baby. Although the taking of life is strictly prohibited in Buddhist teachings, the concept of the Middle Path seems also to be at work here, allowing the host to serve meat, hence nurturing new life, symbolized by the infant. This view into Nakanari's kitchen is arguably one of the most detailed visual sources for Muromachi culinary culture.

The *Shuhanron emaki* ends with this scene. While Nakanari's party looks the most appetizing and elegant of the three gatherings, all show people of various backgrounds (in terms of class as well as faith) either preparing or enjoying meals together with copious wine and food. If Namiki is correct in seeing the hands of a Tendai monk and Kanō Motonobu (from a Hokke family) in this artistic production, not only the content but the actual making of the *Shuhanron emaki* itself overwrites the sectarian violence that was gathering force in Kyoto during the 1520s.

While the text employs a simple analogy to illustrate the superiority of the Tendai teachings of the Three Truths and the Middle Path, which actually accept the fundamental beliefs, if not the exclusivity of the Hokke and Ikkō sects, the paintings appear more placatory, despite hints at Kōhan's isolation as a rice fanatic. Indeed, the weariness over war may also be seen in other late Muromachi-period works that express the sentiment of "black and white, not two [but one]" *koku-byaku funi* 黑白不二 (TOKUDA 2008, 33). In a structure conceptually comparable to the *Shuhanron*, the *Aro monogatari* 鴉鷺物語 (The tale of the crow and heron; traditionally attributed to Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良, 1402–1481) pits a family of crows against a family of herons. Eventually, they see the errors of their ways through the Buddha's blessings, and they all take the tonsure. "Their robes are gray, neither white nor black. Black and white, not two, but one—so did the oneness of their hearts, the crow and heron as one, reveal itself" (quoted in TOKUDA 2008, 37). Whether as a result of the Tenbun Hokke Uprising or the Ōnin War (*Ōnin no ran* 応仁の乱, 1467–1477), both works, beneath their lighthearted veneer, express a yearning for peace among the Kyoto populace. Such artistic and literary endeavors, besides their roots in Buddhist doctrine, might thus be seen as part of the late Muromachi political and cultural trends (Ikkō ikki, tea practice, or *renga*, to name a few) in which the populace reconfigured—or if not in actuality, reimagined—new, more harmonious social relationships.

In this respect, the *Shuhanron emaki* represents a serious endeavor, the weight of which may be seen in the high quality of the "Motonobu" production. By presenting a vivid vision of a bountiful realm, the producers of this work urged its viewers to recreate that ideal world with their very bodies, a possibility made

plausible by the realistic details of contemporary life. The earthy emphasis on eating, drinking, and regurgitating, shared by all human beings, was intimately tied to the pressing issues confronting those who made Kyoto their home. Theirs was not simply an academic battle. The very survival of the city and its people to eat and drink in peace and merriment was in danger without this reconciliation of belief.

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- NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. Vol. 27. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1971.

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