Through pots and pans: culinary and cultural bonds between China and Japan, 1868-1980s

Zhentian Xie

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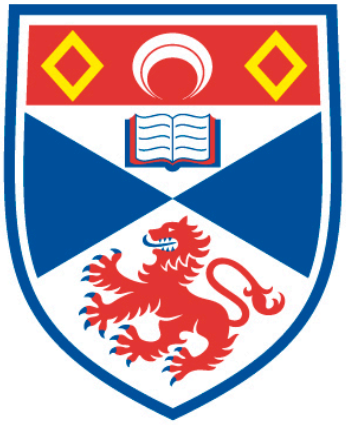

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Abstract:

Since the late 19th century, the ways of eating in China and Japan have become more similar than at any other time in history. Numerous shared elements have reshaped both countries' culinary culture. New dishes, skills and ingredients were created due to cultural interaction and mutual inspiration. Culinary exchange offers an often-overlooked perspective on the Sino-Japanese relationship and the development of East Asian regional bonds in modern times. While existing studies have explored the introduction of Chinese cuisine into Japan and its associations with empire and a post-war economic boom, this dissertation discusses how Pan-Asianism, and the Sino-Japanese relationship at its foundation, played a role in two-way culinary exchanges before and during the Second World War. Figures such as Zhou Zuoren, Marumoto Shōzō and Yamada Masahira attempted to use cuisine as a tool to recreate connections between China and Japan. This dissertation argues that, from 1868 to the 1980s, Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges helped formulate a foundation of shared experiences among a growing number of people from different groups on each side. The culinary bond formed by this common experience continued after the collapse of wartime Pan-Asianist ambitions, and, in turn, significantly reshaped the development of modern Chinese and Japanese cuisine in a postwar context marked by divergent paths in relation to the relative impact of women's cooking role and domestic cuisine as key agents in this culinary interaction. Furthermore, this dissertation has demonstrated that both cuisines exhibited a process of internalizing each other's culinary elements, which contributed to their uniqueness within the global expansion of mid-cuisine. Using cuisine as the agent, this dissertation provides a reconsideration of the Sino-Japanese relationship alongside its political, economic, and military dimensions, focusing on people's daily life and ideas under the intense communication between China and Japan in the early and mid-20th century.

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Part 1:

Introduction

In 1923, when Japanese journalist and scholar Tsuji Chōka 辻聴花 (1868-1931) returned to Tokyo after his long stay in Beijing, he was surprised to discover serious criticisms of Chinese cuisine from common Japanese people, included many of his friends. 'To many of our countrymen,' he wrote, 'Chinese cuisine reeks of pork, and the pork oil is (disgustingly) dripping and flowing on it.' As a sinologist and a connoisseur of Chinese traditional culture, Tsuji was shocked by this fact and began to compose a book about Chinese culinary culture in which he made no effort to hide his disgust at this bias against Chinese cuisine. He recalled:

それで前申したやうに、支那料理と一口にいひましても、 少し吟味して見ますと、 様々な内容や、種類がありまして、 ただ豚臭いとか、油濃いとかいつて、一概に批判したり、排除するばかりでは、役に立たないばかりではなく、それが却つて自分の馬鹿であるといふこと、又一種の僻み根性を暴露するのにすぎないのだと思ふのであります。

[many people] take only one bite of Chinese cuisine and think just a little bit about it, then from this conclude that Chinese cuisine's various contents and types are nothing more than something like pork stench and oiliness. Thus, they just criticize it and exclude it [from consideration]. I think this behaviour is not only useless, but shows their stupidity and reveals a kind of prejudice.[1]

[1] Tsuji, Chōka, *Shinaryōri no hanashi*, 支那料理の話, (Beijing, 1925), p 1.

Tsuji Chōka was not the only one who recognised the negative and possibly prejudiced image of Chinese cuisine in Japan. In most Japanese cookery books about Asian food published after the first Sino-Japanese war, culinary experts frequently raised concerns about the fact that Chinese and other continental cuisines might be terribly misunderstood by the Japanese general public. From the late 19th century to the early Showa era (1926-1989), Chinese cuisine, which was previously a luxury reserved for the higher classes and even the emperor, came to be regarded as a typical unhealthy fast food for many common Japanese people.

Through the rapid modernization of the Meiji era (1868-1912), Japan successfully replaced China as the greatest power in East Asia. Japan's traditional 'cultural reliance' on the Middle Kingdom was thus easily and naturally abandoned by the general public in the Japanese empire that was eager to construct a new national identity. Chinese culinary culture was obviously a victim in this process. Yamagata Kōhō, a Japanese social commentator, openly admitted in 1907, 'Previously, there was a period when we learned from China but that relationship has now reversed and currently what we need to learn from them has been reduced to virtually nothing.' Yamagata acknowledged that China had obviously contributed to the culinary world and Japanese cuisine thanks to its 4,000 years history; nevertheless, it was not worthy of imitation any more. Chinese cuisine was seen as having failed to change; it was too complicated, time consuming, and the food was not hygienic for the needs of a modern country.[2]

At the same time, Chinese eateries in Tokyo were, surprisingly, welcoming more Japanese customers than ever. From a high-class dining house in Tokyo's Kyōbashi district to the small noodle bars of Yokohama, different types of Chinese cuisine were rapidly entering into the lives of urban Japanese people. Despite the negative reactions, Chinese cuisine had never

[2] Yamagata, Kōhō, *Ishokujū* 衣食住, (Tokyo: 1907), pp. 438-440

been so omnipresent in Japanese society. Elements of Chinese cooking were absorbed into Japanese cuisine and contributed to the birth of some of the most significant modern Japanese dishes and beverages, such as Ramen, Gyōza, Shabu-shabu and the beverage Calpis. At the same time, unrestricted travel to major Chinese cities provided direct access to the cuisine, and subsequently gained a considerable number of admirers. One extreme example was Dan Kazuo, who thought eating pig feet with Chinese Baijiu liquor was the happiest thing a human being could do.[3]

Meanwhile, for the Chinese elites and general public, the rising economic power of Japan and rapidly changing geopolitics in East Asia also provided access to a historically ignored Japanese cuisine. Chinese people, being proud of their culinary culture for thousands of years, held an extremely complex attitude to dishes coming from their neighbouring archipelagic nation. In the early 20th century, many Chinese students had left Japanese universities and returned to China claiming that they could no longer suffer the intolerable food.[4] However, in earlier times, Chinese diplomatic musings on Japanese cuisine had been much more sympathetic. Huang Zunxian, one of the late Qing dynasty's first diplomats posted to Japan, waxed poetic about the epicurean delights of sushi, writing that it, "melts in your mouth like ice and has an absolutely wonderful flavour!"[5] Also, Japanese culinary influences were spread among Major cities under Japanese rule, typically Dalian and Xinjing, created culinary innovations.[6] Undoubtably, Japanese eating habits

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[3] Arashiyama, koshiro, *Bunshi no Ryouriten* 文士の料理店, (Tokyo, 2013), pp. 102-110.

[4] Sanetō, Keishū. *Chugokujin Nihon Ryugakushi* 中国人日本留学史, (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 126-164.

[5] Richard John Lynn, "'This Culture of Ours' and Huang Zunxian's Literary Experiences in Japan (1877–82)," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, Vol. 19, (December 1997), p. 137.

[6] The English name of the cities of Dalian and Xinjing were transliterated using the Chinese Pinyin system, the same cities might also be written as Dairen and Shinkyo using the Japanese system in some parts of this dissertation, especially when directly quoted from Japanese materials.

and culinary culture were actively promoted to Chinese people in late 19th and 20th century.

In many academic works on the region, the modernization of Asian countries is frequently viewed as a product of direct or indirect contact with western powers over the last few hundred years. This often critiqued approach is known as the 'Response to the West' perspective on East Asian history. However, whatever we decide to say about the impact of the West on the emergence of modern culture of Japan and China, it is clear that we still have much to learn about the internal interactions between these two countries and how it had contributed to the culture we find in each today. Specifically, in the realm of culinary culture, what elements did Chinese cuisine and Japanese cuisine absorb from each other? What drove this process and how did political factors play a role?

When Pan-Asianism became a major ideology in Japan in the early 20th century, Chinese culinary influence also became a common feature of Japanese kitchens. The two culinary systems of China and Japan had a significant historical bond, but the true bi-directional exchange between them came only in modern times, under the influence of monumental economic, political and ideological changes. Both countries were facing significant external threats and undergoing significant reflection over the nature of their national identities, with culinary culture occupying an important place. Some Japanese cultural elites called for the replacement of Chinese culture, including culinary culture, which they saw as representing a traditional Sinocentric East Asia, in order to make way for a superior new order created by Japan. At the same time, the historical connection with China was too strong to ignore or deny. The newly forming modern Japanese culture actually absorbed numerous elements from its continental neighbour.

As we may see, the Sino-Japanese culinary bonds from the 1890s to 1980s could represent a hidden line of Sino-Japanese relations that ran parallel to the mainstream one dominated by the political and military events.

When the mutual understanding on eating and drinking between Chinese and Japanese people was gradually increasing through late 19th century to 20th century, scholars and politicians were using cuisine to construct and express their views of the Sino-Japanese relationship. In 1930s and 1940s Manchuria, which constituted a frontier of Sino-Japanese interactions, different modes of urban cultural developments based on a Manchurian ideology of Pan-Asianism contributed to the birth of new culinary elements. In post-war China, the legacy of pre-1945 culinary connections between China and Japan survived in the former as a coexisting culinary system during the socialist reshaping of people's daily life. Meanwhile in Japan, Chinese culinary elements were well integrated into post-war Japanese popular food culture. This history of Sino-Japanese cultural connection has significant continuities and has not been severed by war and empire.

Aims and Key Arguments

This dissertation will use mainly Chinese and Japanese sources to provide a new perspective on modern East Asian cultural and political history. Throughout the 19th and 20th century, the day-to-day life and living culture of Chinese and Japanese people has been significantly influenced by a fast-transforming Sino-Japanese relationship, politics, and wars, but these occupy a relative ambiguous position in the histography. Despite their apparent centrality in our understanding of the cultural history of the region, many sources in this area have been entirely ignored. By far, works on the modern Sino-Japanese relationship have focused on political events, war crimes and well-known figures by studying official documents and the memoirs and dairies of victims and perpetrators. Yet these approaches cannot tell the full story of the broader cultural engagement through this turbulent period. Menus, cookery books, recipes and other sources on culinary culture paint an alternative picture of people's lifestyles during nearly a century of complex interaction between China and Japan. Macroscopic factors such as politics,

war and economy certainly affected people's diet, but it is no exaggeration to note the powerful importance food and culture have in their own right.

By revealing the story of culinary exchanges between China and Japan from the Meiji restoration to the 1980s when both countries were in a process of modernisation and reconstructing their national identities, this dissertation will argue that there was a rich process of exchange and mutual influence between Chinese and Japanese culinary cultures in this period, which had significant continuities beyond the 1945 fall of Japanese empire. Although Japanese imperialism and military conquests in China, as well as China's post-1949 revolutionary process certainly obstructed the exchange of culinary culture between the two countries, a parallel route of interaction and connection remained in the Sino-Japanese relationship, which was less glamorous but important. This process offers another perspective on the global expansion of middling cuisine and French domination of high cuisine at the time highlighted by the work of Rachel Laudan, and demonstrates the importance of intra-regional exchange to the development of culinary culture.[7] A large number of old traditions were abandoned, and new elements were introduced. These changes did not only come from a global process of industrialization and the rise of middle class, but also regionalization and the connection created by a shared culture history. Thus this dissertation does not merely offer a new perspective on the Sino-Japanese relationship, but offers a challenge to leading frameworks in the global history of food.

This dissertation also argues that cultural pan-Asianism ideology played an important role in the process of forming a Sino-Japanese culinary bond before the end of the war in 1945, and its legacy remained significant in the post-war era. From the culinary works of intellectuals to the culinary innovations to be found in Dalian and Xinjing (Changchun), culinary culture reflected a critical part of Sino-Japanese relationship. In keeping with Yoshino

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[7] Laudan, Rachel, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in world history*, (LA, 2013), p 491

Sakuzō's vision of a 'cultural Pan-Asianism', mutual understanding was the key to successful cultural integration. Of course, the culinary exchange of the two countries shows the longer lasting and fundamental transformative capacity of the otherwise short-lived Pan-Asianist ideologies. Although the political, economic, and military Pan-Asianism of Japan's imperial ambitions faltered in the face of its failed expansion, 'cultural Pan-Asianism' was actually successful and growing in both countries. What could not be achieved by power and force was achieved by noodles and sake. When Pan-Asianism faded away in the post-war era, we can see that the culinary cultural connection between the two countries continued, and formed a significance part of each other's daily life.

Nevertheless, as will be shown in the final chapter of this dissertation, the differences in China and Japan's attitude towards women's culinary role and the centrality of domestic cuisine as a consequence of the two countries post-war politics became a decisive factor of their contemporary culinary development. The socialisation of people's daily eating significantly decreased the growth of domestic cuisine in China. In cities like Dalian, Japanese culinary influences survived as a legacy of an urban culture parallel to the city's new socialist culture. In Japan, pre-1945 culinary exchanges continued influencing the development of domestic cuisine, and were increasingly well integrated into modern Japanese culinary culture. Thanks in significant measure to these elements of postwar developments, Sino-Japanese culinary bonds survived, and kept flourished in the coming decade after the violent clash of these two East Asian giants.

From kitchens to the dining table, this dissertation will emphasise the complex interplay of contested visions of food culture between many actors in the story. This dissertation will record this process and explore the driving forces behind it. To understand its development, we will focus on four stages: The early model of culinary exchanges in the Meiji era (1868-1912) and its earlier roots, inter-war exchanges during the Taisho period (1912-1926), the

wartime exchanges in Japan's utopian state experiment of occupied Manchukuo, and the continuation of culinary connections in the post-war era. These four stages reveal different aspects of Sino-Japanese relationship on a broader cultural spectrum between China and Japan. That is, from late 19th century to the 1980s, Chinese and Japanese culture were experiencing a continuing interaction which significantly influenced the daily life of the people in both countries. The ideology of cultural pan-Asianism has been presented in different ways in multiple regions of China and Japan, which was represented on culinary development.

Literature Review

Food Matters in History

Despite being a captivating field with significant historical, social and cultural significance, food history's academic value was surprisingly ignored by many historians before the 20th century. Based on half a century's high-quality academic works by pioneering historians in this field, the history of food is, of late, finally being given the professional respectability it deserves, and it is widely studied by historians from varying backgrounds.[8] However, the question 'why do you study food as a historian?' was still frequently asked by many professional scholars and non-professionally related personnel during the research process of this dissertation. Thus, this section will provide a brief overview of the historical development of culinary studies and discuss this question, while recognising the contributions of early scholars in the field.

Although the importance of food history was unrecognised by most professional historians until the late 20th century, human society has always produced abundant sources to demonstrate its significance. Classical Chinese philosophy and imperial period elites acknowledge chefs and butchers as critical and noble members in the court. Many ancient thinkers used cooking

[8] Jeffrey M. Pilcher, (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, (Oxford, 2012).

skills to demonstrate their ideas to their emperors.[9] Similar approaches can be found worldwide.[10] The earliest systematic culinary historical research began in the Enlightenment era, when national food histories such as d'Aussy's *Histoire de la Vie Privée des François* (History of the Private Life of the French, 1782) and Richard Warner's *Antiquitates Culinariae; or Curious Tracts on Culinary Affairs of the Old English* (1791) were written.[11] Subsequently, the dominance of Leopold von Ranke's professionalised history marked a whole century of relative silence on the western study of food history. Yet, the 17th to 19th centuries saw the Chinese Qianjia textual school inspire a new generation of East Asian historians define philosophy, political and social concepts through the development of cuisines. A typical work from this period is the *Suiyuan Shidan* (随园食单, *Recipes from the Sui Garden*) by Yuan Mei, which reproduced several ancient recipes and discussed why they were fading away. This book became one of the most essential Asian works on food history and inspired many later Chinese and Japanese researchers.[12]

The rise of the Annales school rebooted food history as a serious academic topic. The concept of 'total history' allowed historians in the mid-20th century to include food in their studies. Although only a few of them went deep into

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[9] Boileau, Gilles. 'Some Ritual Elaborations on Cooking and Sacrifice in Late Zhou and Western Han Texts.' *Early China* 23 (March, 1998), pp. 89-123.

[10] David Knechtges, 'A Literary Feast: Food in Early Chinese Literature', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, no. 1 (January, 1986), pp. 49–63

[11] Jean-Baptiste-Donaventure de Roquefort *Le Grand, Histoire de la vie privée des François*: depuis l'origine de la nation jusqu'a nos jours (1782; repr., Paris: Laurent-Beaupré, 1815); Richard Warner, *Antiquitates Culinariae; or Curious Tracts on Culinary Affairs of the Old English* (London: R. Blamire, 1791); Jeffrey, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*.

[12]Mei, Yuan, and Zhou Sanjin. "*Suiyuan shidan." Recipes From the Sui Garden*. In Suiyuan Sanshiba Zhong (Shanghai, 1892).

the social and cultural meanings of cuisines, contents of historical diets like nutrition started to be widely revealed in related to other topics.[13]

From the 1970s, food started to occupy the heart of historical studies. Anthropologists and social historians from around the world were the main driving force of this progress. In 1977, the Chinese archaeologist Kwang Chih Chang published his collection of *Food and Chinese Culture*, which charted the importance of the systematic and historical development of Chinese cuisine.[14] This work was possibly the first, significant published academic work regarding modern Asian culinary history. Following this, Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power* linked the European consumption of sugar with Caribbean slavery and modern industrialisation, which was viewed as a model for commodity studies. Inspired by Mintz, Chinese historian and linguist Ji Xinlin published Zhong Hua *Zhe Tang Shi* 中华蔗糖史 (*A History of Sugar*). In this book, Ji adopted the unique approach of combining linguistic study and culinary history. Studying the verbal changes of the word for 'sugar' in Chinese, Sanskrit, Arabic and other related languages, Ji traced the flow of this core ingredient through trade routes and in recipes; thus, he painted a new image of cultural, social and economic communication between China and the rest of the world.[15] On the other hand, Annales historians used quantitative methodologies to explore the significance of food and drink in history as well as how industrialisation and further social development influenced them. This approach was followed by several other European

[13]Theodore Blegen, *Grass Roots History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947); Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, vol. 1 of *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York, 1979)

[14]K. C. Chang, ed., *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven, 1977)

[15]Ji Xianlin, *Wen hua jiao liu de gui ji : zhong hua zhe tang shi* 文化交流的轨迹:中华蔗糖史, (Beijing, 1997)

historians.[16] At this stage, food matters started to become an independent area of historical study. However, most scholars still focussed heavily on historic diets, nutrition and health, and studied them as a part of the economic and demographic history. In other words, historians still paid significantly more attention to the question of 'what did people eat?' instead of 'how and why did people eat what they eat?'

After the 1980s, the historical study of food began to diversify, and the initiating point of this development was the birth of the cultural and political history of food. Historians started to rethink the relationship between food distribution and people's diet. Did people eat less simply because there was not enough food? Were there any further complex political or cultural reasons behind it? These questions became the core of food history during this period. Sen demonstrated that hunger in history was, in certain particular cases, a result of distribution failures rather than food shortage. Lih researched food politics in revolutionary Russia and pointed out that political factors were a more critical driving force behind wartime hunger than low food production.[17]

The study of the political history of food soon went beyond the topic of distribution. Historians began to focus on specific kinds of dishes or food and outlined their social, political and cultural meanings. Warren Belasco's 1989 work, *Appetite for Change,* used various forms of 'yuppie chow' as examples to show how food and the food industry contributed to the hegemonic rule.[18] Some scholars also viewed food as the front where marginalised people were engaged in struggles over the hegemonic dominance of traditional society. For

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[16]Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Food and Drink in History: Selections from the Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, Elborg Forster and Patricia Ranum (trans). (Baltimore, MD, 1979)

[17] Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford, 1984); Lars T. Lih, *Bread and Authority in Russia, 1914–1921* (Berkeley, 1990).

[18] Warren J. Belasco, *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry, 1966–1988* (New York, 1989).

instance, in the above work, and a separate piece by Assmann in the collection *The Globalisation of Asian Cuisines,* gender roles in cooking were specifically examined as well as Japanese women's struggle in its history.[19]

In her 1977 article, 'Philosophy in the Kitchen,' Joan Owen argued that the kitchen was involved in the more general cultural debates in the 18th century, including those between art and nature or high culture and popular culture. To illustrate these debates, she used examples of cookbooks by E. Smith and H. Glasse, which demonstrated a patriotic insistence on plain English fare and implied a rejection of the ethos of luxury or, in other words, of high culture.[20] A more recent work by Melissa Caldwell (2004) considered how post-socialist Muscovites cultivate and express nationalist sentiments through their food choices. She argued that Muscovites classified food as 'nash' (ours) and 'ne nash' (not ours) and described local goods as superior to those from foreign countries. This phenomenon was not observed in the Soviet era, which showed an even more complex collaboration between food culture and nationalism.[21]

The political importance of culinary culture is also illustrated through governmental intervention, which have also been widely studied by food historians. Assmann's article The Remaking of National Cuisine, explores how the Japanese government used its education system to create a new culinary system which better fitted its vision for the Japanese national image. The so called 'Shokuiku' campaign not only changed the ways of cooking but also eating and tasting habits. More importantly, Assmann's work highlighted the state's ability to shift long-term developed culinary traditions for political

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[19] Stephanie Assmann, "The Remaking of a National Cuisine: The Food Education Campaign in Japan," in *The Globalisation of Asian Cuisines* (New York, 2015), pp. 165–185

[20] Judith Hildreth Owens, 'Philosophy in the Kitchen', *Eighteenth-Century Life* (March, 1977), pp 77–79.

[21] Melissa L. Caldwell, *Not by Bread Alone: Social Support in the New Russia* (California: University of California Press, 2004).

proposes.[22] A similar argument was brought up by Guthman, who identified a relationship between Californian's agro-food activism and the neoliberal project of the state.[23] On the other hand, the contents of one's platter can be considered posing a threat to governance. Sengupta, in his article on Bengal food during the colonial period, claimed that food and cuisine had strong symbolic meanings and could transform into a vibrant front, where various rhetorical disputes between colonialism and nationalism took place.[24] Sengupta's research recalled the importance of culinary systems in the emerging of domestic ideology in former colonies worldwide, and how politicians and patriots used this highly effective tool for their political interests. Atsuko Ichijo and Ronald Ranta's book *Food, National Identity and Nationalism,* provided a wider discussion on food politics as a global phenomenon. They employed ideas of 'gastrodiplomacy' and 'food war' to highlight the critical significance of food in modern politics, international affairs and global conflicts. Governments from various parts of the world have used culinary culture as a more stable and unthreatening route to achieve diplomatic goals and promote their national reputation. This trend also contributed to the birth of many 'national foods', which, in fact, diverged substantially from the existing variety of foods consumed.[25]

Apart from political history, more themes and approaches were explored by food historians in the late 1990s and into the 21st century. *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, published in 2012, summarised five primary areas in the historical research of food, which are political history, cultural changes over time, food and identity, industrial transformations and nutritional

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[22] Assmann, 2015

[23] Julie Guthman, *Agrarian Dreams: The Paradox of Organic Farming in California*, vol. 11 (California: University of California Press, 2014).

[24] Jayanta Sengupta, "Nation on a Platter: The Culture and Politics of Food and Cuisine in Colonial Bengal," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 1 (November, 2010): 81–98.

[25]Ichijo, Atsuko, and Ronald Ranta, *Food, National Identity and Nationalism: From Everyday to Global Politics* (New York, 2016).

health.[26] In each of these fields, a considerable amount of high-quality academic work has been conducted, covering multiple regions and time periods. Crosby's famous *The Columbian Exchange,* interpreted the spread of old-world food to the new world as a cultural conquest. He mentioned the Spanish conquers' insistence on eating familiar food items, and their refusal to embrace the local cuisine. Crosby's claims have been revised and discussed by many scholars in the past 30 years and has inspired much research on the previously ignored culinary history of Latin America.[27] On the connections between food and identity, a typical work is Caroline Bynum's *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*. This book noted that food imagery played a critical role in impacting Medieval female saints using charity and miracles to feed the community.[28] In terms of ethnic and national identities, food acted in two very different ways. On one hand, it created social differentiation and distinguished one group from another. Research on American ethnic minorities and their cuisine has provided plenty of support for this aspect.[29] On the other hand, eating and cooking can always create a safe and independent bridge to connect ethnic groups and transgress racial boundaries, which may possibly be impenetrable in other fields. A classic work on this phenomenon is the collection *The Globalisation of Asian Cuisines,* which examines how Asian cuisines spread all around the world and connected Asian

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[26]Jeffrey, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*.

[27]Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972).

[28] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

[29]Harvey A. Levenstein, 'The American Response to Italian Food, 1880–1930', *Food and Foodways*, no. 1 (January, 1985), pp. 1–23; Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); Tracy, Poe, "The Labour and Leisure of Food Production as a Mode of Ethnic Identity Building Among Italians in Chicago, 1890–1940," *Rethinking History*, vol 5, issue. 1 (Marchpalat, 2001), pp. 131–148.

ethnic groups, within and outside Asia, through 'culinary contact zones'.[30] The themes of industrial transformation and nutritional health were, in most of the academic works, related to contemporary history under the topic of the green revolution and modern health issues – such as obesity. Both of these themes, however, have been widely studied in recent years.

At this point, it should be clear that food history is valuable and has experienced rapid growth since the 1950s. The reason behind historians increasingly studying food is quite evident. That is, food matters have affected and were affected by almost every aspect of human development. It provides a unique perspective for the study of political, economic, cultural, scientific and social history. Of course, the potential of food history goes far beyond the five themes discussed above. After all, the historical study of food was a relatively young area which was relatively snubbed until the past several decades.

Interlocked Twins: Interaction Between Chinese and Japanese Cuisines

As two of the most important culinary cultures of the world, Chinese and Japanese cuisines are widely studied by food historians all over the world, including the interactions between them. Chinese cuisine is, as the result of a thousand years of evolution, an extremely complex and fascinating network of food processing and composition which, more than any other, radiates and influences other countries' catering cultures within the region. Nowhere is this influence better established than in the case of Japanese cuisine. Imbued with heavy Chinese influences, there are several elements of Japanese modern cooking that can be traced to a continental ancestry. However, Japan's culinary system, akin to many other dimensions of Japanese culture, developed unique features during the process of rapid westernisation and

[30]James Farrer, ed., *The Globalisation of Asian Cuisines: Transnational Networks and Culinary Contact Zones* (New York, 2015).

modernisation in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the aftermath of the first Sino-Japanese war, there emerged an unexpected opportunity for mutual understanding between the two countries. The deepest level of contact between the two, since the Tang dynasty, brought about cultural communication in every dimension, including food and cooking. Before addressing the broader histography, it is first necessary to explore the nature of this culinary contact.

The history of culinary culture is actually a history of movement and transformations. We can never exactly know when or where a type of cuisine originated, because modern cuisines are extremely complex systems. Starting with simple local ingredients and several basic cooking methods, culinary cultures are influenced by the changing environment, philosophy, social development, military conflicts and various other factors. Far from being static and locked in place, even small population flows to other corners of the world can produce new distinctive cooking styles. Tomlinson, in his work *Globalisation and Culture,* first coined the term 'traveling cuisine', which has since been employed by several food historians in their works.[31] However, as one might suspect, food and cuisine are often identified with reference to their perceived geographical origins. A Scottish man, walking on the streets of Edinburgh and past a hotpot restaurant, is likely to identify it as Chinese food, despite the fact that this, originally Mongolian method of cooking, is common to all East Asian countries and even to many South-East Asian countries.[32] Similarly, an average Shanghainese might moan about how dreadful fish and chips is and use it as evidence of the poverty of the English cuisine. However, he would be mistaken, for he could not possibly know that this popular British dish actually came from the Iberian Peninsula – a place that is today lauded in

[31] John Tomlinson, *Globalisation and Culture* (Chicago, 1999), p. 106.

[32] Wang, Meng & Yi, Degang, Woguo huoguo de lishi yuanliu 我国火锅的历史源流, *Nongyekaogu*, (March: 2022), pp 189-194.

East Asia, and elsewhere, for its culinary culture – and did not show up in Britain until the 1860s.

These examples reveal two important points. First, the contact between culinary cultures is more frequent than we might be inclined to acknowledge; food culture is always in circulation and subject to influence. Second, even these 'traveling cuisines' can usually still be identified by places of origin, even as they are re-grounded in new settings – through indigenisation, rebranding, and other processes of adapting to local circumstances. Some scholars have highlighted this phenomenon, and it can especially be found in a collection of ten essays edited by James Farrer. In the introduction, Farrer noted that there is no placeless food. The object of the work's research, according to Farrer, is to characterise 'these simultaneous processes of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation in the production of Asian cuisines'. He and his co-authors explored two forms of culinary travel: Culinary travel within Asia and contacts between Asian cuisine and the rest of the world.[33] For example, Wank and Farrer, in their chapter on Japanese cuisine in the United states, discussed how Chinese immigrants and Chinese-run small Japanese restaurants contributed to the popularity of Japanese food in North America.[34] Conversely, Rath explored how Japanese local food and national cuisine system were actually 'reinvented' in the post-war era, which has evolved into the globally popular Japanese cuisine we know now.[35] Doing so, they not only successfully broke down the traditional conception of Asian food as a whole

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[33] Farrer, James. 'Introduction: traveling cuisines in and out of Asia: toward a framework for studying culinary globalization.' *The Globalization of Asian Cuisines: Transnational Networks and Culinary Contact Zones*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2015. pp. 1-19.

[34] Wank, David L., & Farrer, James. 'Chinese immigrants and Japanese cuisine in the United States: A case of culinary glocalization.' *The globalization of Asian cuisines: Transnational networks and culinary contact zones.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2015. pp. 79-99.

[35] Eric, Rath. 'The Invention of Local Food' in *The globalization of Asian cuisines: Transnational networks and culinary contact zones*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2015. pp. 145-164.

but also illustrated how different Asian cuisines cooperated to boom Asian culinary influences in western countries.

Overall, Farrer's opinions on food and culture are still heavily concentrated on locality and regionalisation. He and his fellow scholars highlighted the uniqueness of Asian food as a whole and the sub-branches within it and focused on how this special culinary system communicates with western cuisine. Davis Inglis and Debra Gimlin, however, put more effort on food globalisation itself. Many of the essays in their edited work note the impact of economy, social structure and politics on what and how people eat.[36] By frequently connecting global issues such as obesity, environmental problems and fair-trade market to communication among different cuisines and regional tastes, their work better explained the role of food as an indicator of cultural, social and economic trends. Although differing on many aspects, a majority of the existing work on food history had already showed the value of studying the development and communication of culinary cultures and how well it can reflect broader histography.

While most of the work on culinary history in English is unsurprisingly Eurocentric, there is a growing body of study that focuses on the interaction between contemporary Chinese and Japanese cuisines. The most common method of research is to focus on one particular food or cooking style. In a large amount of research has been conducted using this approach, Barak Kushner's book is a good contemporary example for this, specifically as it focuses on the Sino-Japanese culinary bond.[37] Kushner provided the history of the famous soup noodle and its linkage to Japanese society even as he showcases the Chinese influence on both. Undeniably, ramen was a Japanese food with Chinese ancestry and has been viewed by Japanese people as

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[36] Inglis, David, and Debra Gimlin. "Food globalizations: ironies and ambivalences of food, cuisine and globality." *The globalization of food* ,2009, pp. 3-42.

[37] Kushner, Barak. *Slurp! A Social and Culinary History of Ramen-Japan's Favorite Noodle Soup*. Global Oriental, 2012.

Chinese food for a long time; Kushner confirmed this fact by tracing the origins of the noodle, pork bone soup, miso and shōyu in Japan, and also illustrated how Japanese people transformed these to exclusive Japanese cultural elements during the Taisho era's 'Chinese heat'. More fascinatingly, Kushner discussed the evolution of Japanese attitudes toward Chinese food in the age of disputes and conflict, and illustrated the close relationship between national politics and culinary culture. In his chapter about the Japanese empire and food, he pointed out that the rapidly evolving Japanese society after the Meiji restoration had created great gaps within the country's national culture. Kushner opines that the attempts by the Japanese elites (and consumer) to fill these gaps using exotic Chinese and other foreign products (and culture) could be the best explanation for the 'Chinese heat' in the 1920s to the 1930s which provided the nurturing soil for ramen and other modern authentic Japanese food with Chinese roots to grow.[38] A similar approach was used by Katarzyna Cwiertka, who identified the relationship between gyōza and Japanese militarism in east Asia. Her investigation showed that returnees from Manchukuo, the former colony of Japanese Empire in Northeast China, introduced the Chinese dumpling to Japan after defeat. While Japanese people showed no respect for these 'signs of failed imperialism' and their Manchurian food, the lack of rice and the rapid increasing number of hungry customers finally made wheat skin pork dumpling one of the most popular dishes in Japanese cuisine.[39]

Both Kushner and Cwiertka's studies show us how modern Japanese cuisine is related to Chinese cuisine, as well as how some of the most important and influential interactions took place. Both ramen and gyōza, as major representatives of Japanese food worldwide, were the product of a new wave of Sino-Japanese contact in the recent decades. If we include Japanese

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[38] Ibid, p 162.

[39] Cwiertka, Katarzyna. *Modern Japanese cuisine: Food, power and national identity.*(London, 2006), pp. 138-155.

and Chinese literature, more academic works sharing similar views can be found. It could be easily determined that many core elements in the Japanese cuisine emerged only in recent times, and under more continental impacts as well as deeper social motivations.

However, one question remains. It is not difficult to notice, perhaps unsurprisingly for many east Asian food lovers, that most of the current findings only showed Chinese influences on Japanese food instead of the converse. Traditionally, histography within China has viewed the international engagement of Chinese cuisine as a generally outward movement. Classic works by Dai Yifeng, Xu Hairong or Wang Xuetai, all posited a universal pre-modern Asian culinary sphere and emphasised the core position of Chinese food within it. While they admitted the existence of foreign influences on Chinese culinary history, they generally saw this influence as limited and primarily represented by imported ingredients.[40]

However, recent historians have begun to explore an alternate direction of influence. David Wu and Sidney Cheung offer a typical example of academic work on this topic. They used the example of the 'bird nest and five spices' concept originating from Indonesia to illustrate the global features of Chinese food dating farther back. By exploring these two cases, they painted a different picture of 'Chinese food' and the 'Chinese world', which altered over time as it came into contact with 'local others' and trade networks. Cooking skills and ingredients from many unexpected locations were key to the development of Chinese cuisine.[41] E. Anderson's essay on Chinese *Dongbeicai* (North Eastern

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[40] Xu, Hairong 徐海荣, *Zhongguo yinshi shi* 中国饮食史, Beijing: Huaxia Press, 1999; Xu, Hairong 徐海荣, Lun zhongguo yinshi zai zhonghua wenmingshi ji shijieshang de diwei yu yingxiang 论中国饮食在中华文明史及世界上的地位与影响." *Zhejiang Academic Journal* 3 (March, 1999); Dai, Yifeng 戴一峰. Yinshiwenhua yu haiwaishichang: Qingdai zhongguo yu nanyang de haisheng maoyi 饮食文化与海外市场: 清代中国与南洋的海参贸易, Chinese economic history study 1 (January, 2003): pp. 83-91.

[41] Cheung, Sidney, and David YH Wu. *The globalisation of Chinese food*. Routledge, 2014.

food) explored Chinese Han culinary customs, which were frequently shaped by historical ties with Mongolia. The core of this work is the cookbook *Yin-shan Zheng-yao* (*Necessary Knowledge for Drinking and Feasting*), compiled by Yüan's court nutritionist Hu Ssu-hui in 1330. As a Turkic-speaking scholar, Hu wrote this book in Chinese for a Mongol elite and recorded not only Chinese, Mongol and Sinkiang Turkic recipes but also those from Kashmir, Persia, Baghdad and elsewhere. According to Anderson, this cookbook reveals, 'a society even more global and transnational than ours today'. In his essay, and subsequent research, historical culinary contact was used as crucial evidence for an 'often forgotten fact' that China has been a multi-cultural society since the Han-dynasty, where vast exchanges of people, knowledge and arts took place.[42] Historians from mainland China are relatively silent on this issue. However, Qiu Pangtong's essay about Chinese cooking methods in the South-North dynasty describes how nomad culture influenced Han cooking styles, particularly food decoration. Presenting food in terms of geometric shapes became common in the formal customs of Sinofied Xianbei nobles, and would go on to become part of the culinary discipline in later Chinese cuisine.[43] Interestingly, this practice was eventually abandoned in most Chinese cooking styles after a further nomadic conquest by the Mongols of the Yuan dynasty; however, chefs in Japan and Korea have retained this tradition in their cooking cultures up to the present day.

As the only major world power near China from late 19th century to mid-20th century that also ruled considerable parts of Chinese territories for more than 50 years, is it possible that the Japanese culinary culture had left no remnants in China? Very few scholars have tried to answer this question.

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[42] Anderson, Eugene, Northwest Chinese cuisine and the Central Asian Connection, in *The 6th Symposium on Chinese dietary culture* 中國飲食文化學術研討會論文集 (September, 2000), pp. 171-194.

[43] Qiu, Pangtong, Weijin nanbeichao caiyao shi 魏晋南北朝菜肴史, *Yangzhou University culinary study journey* 18, no. 2 (February, 2001), pp. 23-33.

Kushner pointed out that the Japanese success on producing MSG was soon matched by the Chinese. Chinese entrepreneur and chemist Wu Yunchu managed to formulate Japanese mass production of MSG which had already been popular in Shanghai's restaurant and patrons. This was of course due to the high demand of MSG in China between the two Sino-Japanese wars.[44] Jordan Sand has offered a more detailed history of MSG, and showed how the concept of umami, or Xianwei (鮮味), became a significant part of Chinese cooking.[45] Imai Shoko, however, provided an alternative view which stated that this fifth taste of umami had already existed in many Asian cuisines and even western cooking systems and that Japanese scientists just found a way to purify it and enlarge it in the cooking process. The spread of umami abroad was more likely a political move similar to many other cases in the development of modern Japanese national food culture.[46] Obviously, these studies only contribute to the history of MSG but did not answer the question raised above. Generally speaking, this is a significant gap in the histography of Sino-Japanese culinary contact, one which this dissertation aims to help fill.

Food and Cultural Pan-Asianism

One key concept which will appear a lot is cultural Pan Asiansism. Although the political history of food is one of the most researched areas in culinary history, historians have had less to say on the association between culinary culture and a specific political ideology. Scholars like Melissa Caldwell noticed that cuisines have been given significant symbolic meanings by people, and ideological changes placed significant influences on such

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44 Barak, Kushner, 'Imperial cuisines in Taishō Foodways', in Eric, Rath & Stephanie Assmann (eds), *Japanese Foodways: Past and Present*, (Champaign, 2010), p. 153.

45 Sand, Jordan, "A Short History of MSG: Good Science, Bad Science, and Taste Cultures," *Gastronomica* 5, no. 4 (May, 2005), pp. 38–49.

46 Imai, Shoko. "Umami Abroad: Taste, Authenticity, and the Global Urban Network." In James, Farrer. (eds) *The Globalization of Asian Cuisines*, (New York, 2015), pp. 57-78.

meanings.[47] Undoubtedly, Japanese cuisine absorbed new elements owing to the increasing communication with other Asian cultures between the late 20th century and the end of World War II, under the influence of its pan-Asianism campaign, but how, in practice, did this process take place? What role did the Japanese government, if any, play in it? These questions remain unanswered. In contrast, there is plenty of evidence that shows how Chinese nationalism was closely linked to 'food pride' in this period.[48] However, research in related areas have rarely explored these aspects in detail or linked it to other rising ideologies in China during this period.

Perhaps another obstacle in connecting culinary culture and pan-Asianism together is the difficulty in defining pan-Asianism itself. The ideology does not have a clear starting point but becomes influential during the modernisation process in Asian countries, especially in China and Japan. Most supporters and researchers of Asianism agreed that regionalisation of Asia was a critical part in this ideology, and debates on the reasons for it and the methods to achieve it were many. The concept of 'Asia' itself was also vague. Many theorists and thinkers from both China and Japan insisted that their 'Asianism' should only include East Asian countries, while other elites tried to find connection with Indians and Arabs to redefine a pan-Asian culture. Japanese sinologist Takeuchi Yoshimi, who was one of the first researchers of Pan-Asianism, concluded that Pan-Asianism has 'as many definitions as there are dictionaries'.[49]

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47 Melissa. Caldwell, 'The taste of nationalism: Food politics in post socialist Moscow', *Journal of Anthropology*, 67: 3 (December, 2002), pp. 295–319.

48 Zheng, Changji9ang, Guanyu woguo chuantong yingshiwenhua de jidianfanci 关于我国传统饮食文化的几点反思 in *Canyinshijie* 餐饮世界, 2011 (2), pp 64-66; Zheng, Li, Zhongcan zaishijieshang de diwei shifoubei women kuadale 中餐在世界上的地位是否被我们夸大了, in Zhongguopengren *中国烹饪* , 2015 (7), pp 60-63

49 Yoshimi, Takeuchi, 'Ajiashugi no Tenbō', in Takeuchi Yoshimi (ed), *Ajiashugi* (Tokyo, 1963), p. 12

Torsten Weber's work on *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan* provides a full discussion of the categories of Asianism in Japan and China between 1912 and 1933, and one of them – 'cultural Asianism' – sounds particularly familiar. Weber mentioned this term was used by Dick Stegewerns as a reference to Yoshino Sakuzō's stand of liberal and cosmopolitan Asianism. Instead of taking up the dichotomous view of civilisation to contrast 'east' with the 'west', Yoshino called for the promotion of the study of Asia among Japanese, who had almost exclusively turned to western culture and knowledge since Meiji restoration. He pointed out that Japanese lacked 'Asian experience' when facing both westerners and other Asian races, which means Japanese people were more 'western' in front of the Chinese, Korean and other people in East Asia. Yoshino claimed that Asianism could not be achieved if this situation continued and called for a relearning of how to be 'Eastern' again among Japanese intellectuals.[50] Weber also referred this type of ideology to literature, particularly Kodama Kagai's *Collected Poems on Socialism* (Shakai shugi shishū 社会主義詩集). Similarly, cuisine too provided a certain angle to reflect the Japanese elites' attitude towards pan-Asianism on cultures and, more importantly, showed how they tried to spread it to the general public. Meanwhile, Kodama's poems had encouraged confrontation between the east and the west to a certain degree, while Yoshino's Asianism tried to avoid anti-westernisation. Both moods could be found in culinary publications of the early 1930s. Many of the scholars, such as Tsuji Chōka, did not attempt to hide their delight when they talked about how popular Chinese cuisine was in western countries. For some Japanese Asianists, Chinese food was, as written in a Japanese guidebook of Shanghai, 'the pride of Asia and the concentration of a thousand years of eastern history'.[51]

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[50] Weber, Torsten, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, (London, 2018), p 132-134

[51] Matsui, Suisei, *Matsui suisei no Shanhai an'nai* 松井翠声の上海案内, (Tokyo: 1938), p. 133.

One method which not many historians have used, even in food history, is examining the flavours and features of a cuisine to explore ideology and society. This is, however, an extremely valuable approach based on huge number of primary sources about tastes of, flavours of and opinions on certain food. As discussed in the opening section, Tsuji Chōka, an important Japanese journalist and sinologist who lived in Beijing for over 20 years, wrote an entire chapter about Beijing's seasonal vegetable dishes in his research on Chinese cooking, which discussed the elegance of delicate Chinese dishes and suggested that it fits the Japanese sense of taste.[52] Marumoto Shōzō also pointed out that dense flavours in Chinese cooking was due to the extremely wide range of available ingredients throughout history. He mentioned that Chinese dishes could also be light, clean and healthy if needed, while the diversity of cooking skills and flavours was the key reason for Chinese cuisine's success worldwide.[53] Meanwhile, Japanese society was by no means ignorant of the fact that Chinese food could be mild and fresh.

From the Taisho era to the early Showa era, general introductory works on Chinese customs and travel guides for Chinese cities became more and more popular in Japan. In many of them, the author recommended Cantonese cuisine to Japanese readers and suggested that the freshness and slight sweetness of it would indubitably satisfy the tongues of Japanese people. As an example, Inoue Kōbai wrote about *Shundeyushen*, which was a type of raw river fish dish that originated in south Guangdong province. Today, 21st century medical science states that eating uncooked river fish is a terrible idea which should never be recommended. However, for many 20th century Japanese people who knew this dish, *Shundeyushen* was believed to be healthier and safer because of the dipping sauce made from strong rice vinegar, red pepper, garlic, ginger and spring onion. It was widely believed

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[52] Tsuji, Chōka, *Shinaryōri no hanashi*, pp. 1-14

[53] Marumoto Shōzō, *Shinaryōri no kenkyū: Sono ryōri-hō no kenkyū to zuienshokutan* 支那料理の研究 : その料理法の研究と随園食単, (Tokyo, 1938), pp. 1-3.

that these ingredients could kill bacteria and parasites.[54] Unsurprisingly, a Japanese person who learned a lot about Chinese dishes would have a very different definition of Chinese cuisine from those who did not. As Marumoto Shōzō admitted, Chinese cuisine had a special connection with Japanese culinary culture, but it was seen as far more complex, developed and even advanced. Learning from Chinese cooking was depicted as possibly the fastest way to improve contemporary Japanese cuisine and might also be the most important one. These experts of Chinese cuisine usually had a strict specification for the term 'Chinese style' based on Chinese culinary theory. For them, 'Chinese foods' popular in Japan were not authentic at all and was a product of the lack of Chinese culinary knowledge. Particularly, these perspectives were usually articulated in the preface of their research.

Both groups mentioned above were, unquestionably, lovers of Chinese food. Even a feast in Japanese Chinese restaurants would be very different from those in mainland China or even other overseas Chinese diaspora communities, and there was no need to doubt the popularity of Chinese tastes in pre-war Japan. In an early Showa cooking book written by Li Heting – a Hebeinese chef who worked in the Tokyo Imperial Hotel – it was recorded that even a little hint of Chinese spices in the dishes could boost the attractiveness of an Izakaya in Tokyo.[55] For many modern Asians, discussing the Taisho and early Showa 'Chinese fever' might be awkward because it is well-known that diplomatic relationships between the two countries was not in the best status after several major conflicts took place. However, the booming culinary exchange was related to the peak of Asianism ideology since the Taisho era.

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[54] Inoue Kōbai, *Shina Huzoku* 支那風俗 (Tokyo, 1921), pp. 2-77

[55] Marumoto, 1938

Gender and food: Women in the Sino-Japanese culinary exchange.

Gender is an unavoidable topic in the discussion of culinary history, as well as most of areas in cultural history. Elisabeth LaCouture's work on the Chinese middle class analyses the gender spaces of urban Chinese in the city of Tianjin, and pointed out that pre-modern East Asian elite women did not usually utilise the domestic culinary spaces.[56] On the other hand, Jordan Sand looked into Japanese housewives' usage of kitchen space in their families, and suggested that Japanese women had used kitchen as a place to practice their newly educated scientific domestic knowledges. They 'acquired a bourgeois cultural identity grounded in universal forms of knowledge and a rational, scientific disposition toward domestic work'. As Sand pointed out: 'educated women made themselves scientists of the home and turned the kitchen into their laboratory'.[57] In the global prospective, Carole Counihan in her work on Tuscan dining culture argued that, in 20th century Italy, cooking was still a critical part of women's identity. As she explained: 'Men were able to feel fully men simply by working outside the home, but women were in deep conflict between their traditional role of housewife and their modern role as salaried worker'.[58]

I believe women's culinary role in Sino-Japanese context merits a broader analysis. The role of women and domestic cuisine can go beyond the social class dimension which has been explored well by LaCouture and Sand in their work of China and Japan, respectively. I will argue that it was a decisive factor in the differentiation of culinary developments in China and Japan. In the century between the 1880s and 1980s, the spread of domestic cooking by

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[56] LaCouture, Elizabeth. *Dwelling in the World: Family, House, and Home in Tianjin, China, 1860–1960*, Columbia University Press, 2021, p 9.

[57] Sand, Jordan. *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930,* Harvard University Asia Centre, 2005, pp 55-94.

[58] Counihan, Carole. *Around the Tuscan table: Food, family, and gender in twentieth-century Florence*, Routledge, 2004, pp 153-171.

women had actually become one of the most important and stable medium of Sino-Japanese culinary cultural interaction. Why did this trend continue even after post-war political tensions significantly increased the difficulty of culinary cultural exchange between China and Japan? Meanwhile, China's post-war campaign of 'socialised cuisine' showed an extremely different status for domestic cuisine compared to that in Japan. With the massive decline on women's involvement in cooking and domestic cuisine, Japanese influence in particular cities like Dalian had to rely on another route to survive.

In the case of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange covered by this research, the emerging importance of women in the culinary arena played a critical role. As we will see in Chapter 5, women were associated with the rapidly growing domestic cuisine and followed a rather distinct route of development compared to the broader trends in both countries, which were in most part dominated by male chefs in restaurants in both countries at the time.

More importantly, as I will discuss in the final chapter of this dissertation, the differing attitudes towards women's culinary role and domestic cuisine in the post-war era led to significantly different post-war culinary developments in China and Japan. While China's campaign of 'socialised cuisine' seriously damaged the existence of domestic cooking and interrupted the heavily Japanese influenced process of women's culinary education, Japan's domestic cuisine saw a significant growth after the end of war, and profoundly contributed to the preservation and integration of pre-1945 Chinese culinary influences into Japanese modern food culture.

Sources

The sources used in this dissertation include a wide range of materials as the story of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange and interaction was extremely complex. In Chapter 1, I made extensive use of Meiji era cookbooks available

in Japan's National Diet Library. This was supplemented by consulting Chinese republican era cookbooks in my personal collection. In Chapter two, the main sources are the published works of key Chinese and Japanese figures of the early 20th century, included Zhou Zuoren's essays, Aoki Masaru's Sinological research and other published writings by so-called Kyoto school Sinologists and culinary experts. Chapter 3 and 4 makes heavy use of travel guidebooks, Mantetsu research reports,[59] Chinese government documents and the memoirs of former residents of Japanese occupied Manchukuo. In Chapter 5, the major sources used were Chinese government documents in Dalian's official culture and history documents series, Japanese government reports and an extensive collection of women's magazines from the archive of the Ajinomoto foundation of dietary culture in Tokyo.

Dissertation Structure

Chapter 1 uses early Meiji Chinese cookbooks in Japan to explore the origins of the modern development of Chinese cuisine in Japan. The historical bonds between these two cuisines can be traced to 7th century, but was heavily influenced by the changing geopolitics in the region. From the late 19th century, Chinese cuisine was systematically introduced to the broader Japanese populace. This process was by no means smooth and was initially marked by chaos and contradiction. The early conception of Chinese cuisine, or 'Shina Ryōri' in Meiji Japan included many elements from non-Chinese sources. This chapter argues that 'Shina Ryōri' was a floating concept which only gradually came into closer correspondence with its nominal object, Chinese cuisine. 'Shina Ryōri' (Chinese cuisine) in the early Meiji era did not mean 'Shina no Ryōri' (China's cuisine). It was a mixture of various tastes, cooking ideas and conflicting conceptions of Japanese people in an era of imperial restoration. However, these circumstances would shift, especially

[59] Details of Mantetsu will be discussed in chapter 3.

through several key works produced by some of Japan's most prestigious culinary experts and political elites. By the last decade of the Meiji era, the knowledge of Chinese cuisine in Japan had advanced significantly, establishing the foundations of its next stage of development.

In Chapter 2, I argue that the culinary bonds between China and Japan were an important material expression of what Yoshino Sakuzō called 'cultural Pan Asianism' in the eyes of leading intellectuals and other elites in both countries who supported this ideology. Through a focus on Zhou Zuoren, Kyoto school Japanese sinologists, so-called Shina-tsū and culinary experts' writing on Sino-Japanese culinary interactions, I suggested that a mutual understanding on each other's life styles, included culinary culture, was an essential element for the creation of 'Asian experience' seen by Yoshino as critical to making 'Pan-Asianism' a reality. Within this process, aconception of an 'East Asian cuisine' was formulated and seen in contrast with the growing popularity of western cuisine in Asia.

Chapters 3 & 4 focuse on Sino-Japanese culinary exchange in Manchukuo, a site of experimentation for Japan's Pan-Asianism ideology and the frontier of Sino-Japanese interaction from 1930s to 1945. Full-scale war from 1937 was destructive, but it did not cut other forms of contact between Chinese and Japanese people. One of the main stages for this contact was an already occupied Manchukuo, where different groups within the Japanese empire experimented with varying conceptions of pan-Asianism. In order to achieve the concept of 'Five Races Under One Union' (五族协和), Japanese authorities made attempts to integrate Chinese and Japanese culinary cultures. Despite the fact that racism, nationalism and their negative impacts pervaded Manchurian society, the culinary cultures nonetheless began to integrate. Japanese leaders began to appreciate everyday culture as a tool to achieve their diplomatic and political goals. Two approaches to this could be seen in the Japanese occupied Manchuria: in the cities of Xinjing and Dalian,

respectively. Chapter 3 argues that an organic growth of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange under a rather liberal political environment contributed to a unique culinary culture which belonged to the city of Dalian and its people. The shared culinary space and the creation of a 'Dalian taste' represented this change, and significantly influenced the daily life of Dalianese people. Xinjing, however, represented another mode of culinary exchange under the framework of Japanese Pan-Asianism. The capital of Manchukuo was itself a divided city. Using the example of Chinggis Khan pot, I argue that in Xinjing, a state-driven Pan-Asian ideology was a critical driving force of this city's culinary development. However, it was expressed through a process of recreation and Japanese internalisation. Xinjing's unique mode of culinary cultural development reflected a superficial harmony, but also a fitting symbol of the failed ambitions of cultural Pan-Asianism in Manchukuo.

The following Chapter 5 focuses on the turning point of China and Japan's sharing modern culinary history. In the postwar era, a certain legacy of Pan-Asianism survived in culinary terms into early 21th century. However, diverging paths around the roles of women's cooking and domestic cuisine created two distinct routes for Sino-Japanese culinary exchange in these two countries. In China, the lack of domestic cuisine and the shift of national attitudes towards cuisine prevented further enhancement of exchange. In Dalian's case, local official organizations and chefs of old Dalian played a more important role, and made the city's old urban culinary culture parallel to the city's new socialised cooking and eating. In Japan, In Japan, an increasingly important role for women's cooking and domestic cuisine in the development of Japanese culinary culture preserved the pre-1945 Chinese culinary influences, and allowed its further integration with Japanese cuisine.

Chapter 1: Chinese cuisine or 'Shina Ryōri'? A study of Chinese cookbooks in Meiji-era Japan

From the 7th to mid-19th century, Chinese cuisine symbolised civilisation in most parts of East Asia, Japan was no exemption. However, a rapid cultural transformation that accompanied Westernisation in Meiji Japan led to a dramatic change in views towards Chinese cuisine in Japan. Japanese and Western food historians looking back on this period – such as Tanaka Seiichi, Tsuguchi Kiyoyuki and Katarzyna Cwiertka – have observed a significant drop in Chinese cuisine's importance in Japan. For most of them, the explanation is to be found in an emerging Japanese discrimination towards China and Chinese culture. How exactly did this process take place, and specifically how did it influence the Chinese cuisine in Japan in the Meiji era? Cookbooks offer a more revealing perspective.

The content of early Meiji cookbooks suggests that Japanese chefs and culinary researchers in the late 19th century were attempting to recast Chinese food as an intermediary compromise between Asian and Western cuisine. The result is 'Shina Ryōri' (Chinese cuisine), a hybrid cuisine that was different from any Chinese cuisine found in Japan in earlier periods. Among Japanese chefs and culinary experts, the content, and the meaning of Shina Ryōri was constantly changing.

This chapter argues that Shina Ryōri was a floating concept that allows us to trace a gradually increasing understanding of Chinese cuisine and its spread in Meiji Japan. This process started from a negligible point, but had developed to a considerable degree by the late Meiji era. In other words, Shina Ryōri

(Chinese cuisine) in the early Meiji era was not the same as 'Shina no Ryōri' (China's cuisine). The early stage of Japanese Shina Ryōri was a chaotic experiment to create a different type of foreign cuisine, which contained culinary elements from Japan, China and also the West.

Background

After the early 1870s, Japan witnessed a dramatic drop in the publication of Chinese cookery books. The popularity of Western food, on the other hand, spread like wildfire throughout the country. Moreover, throughout the entire Meiji era (1868–1912), only nine books had a specific section dedicated to Chinese cooking:

1. *An Exclusive Cooking Guide: Japanese, Chinese and Western Ways of Eating with Table Manners* 『料理独案内 日本支那西洋附礼式及び食事法』(1886)
2. *An Exclusive Cooking Guide: Guide to Western, Korean and Chinese Cuisine* 『料理独案内 西洋朝鮮支那料理案内』(1887)
3. *Banquets in Three Cuisines: Japanese, Western and Chinese* 『三風料理味の飧奏 日本西洋支那』(1892)
4. *Guide to Japanese, Chinese (han) and Western Cuisine: For the Benefit of Wives who Cook Alone*『和漢洋料理案内 一名仕出いぁず女房気転』(1892)
5. *Western Cuisine and Chinese Cuisine* 『西洋料理と支那料理』(1906)
6. *Domestic Chinese Cuisine* 『家庭支那料理法』(1905)
7. *Chinese Cooking Methods for Japanese Family Use* 『日本の家庭に応用したる支那料理法』(1909)
8. *Practical Domestic Chinese Cooking Methods* 『実用家庭支那料理法』(1912)
9. *New Practical Cooking Methods: Japan, China and the West* 『実用新料理法 日本支那西洋』(1912)

Eight out of the nine Chinese cookbooks referred to Chinese cuisine as 'Shina Ryōri' or 'Shina cuisine' in their title, something that would hold true for most such references in other Meiji publications. It is well-known that from 1820 onwards, the term 'Shina' gradually replaced the Japanese name for China – 'Chūgoku' or 'Chūka'. The nature of the word aroused much controversy among the Chinese and Japanese elites during the mid-19th century and beyond. Scholars generally agree that the term had become a derogatory one by the time the first Sino-Japanese war broke out.[60] Until the early post-Second World War era, 'Shina Ryōri' was used as the name for Chinese cuisine, and it is still the most commonly used term in rural Japan today.

The Meiji period marked a turning point in the influence of Chinese cooking in Japan. In the early Meiji era, Japanese chefs and customers appeared to a large extent to have suddenly forgotten about cuisine with a Chinese origin. Official and diplomatic banquets no longer included Chinese dishes.[61] In rapidly urbanising areas, not many new Chinese restaurants were opened outside of Yokohama Chinatown. In contrast, the culture of Western-style restaurants began to flourish following the Meiji restoration in 1868.[62] Department stores in cities such as Tokyo and Osaka served Western meat and Japanese-style fish rather than Chinese food, which could hardly be found on their menus.[63]

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[60] Yang, Aiqin, 'Riben Guanming Shiyong Zhina Yici de Tedian Ji Yuanyin Fengxi' 日本官，民使用"支那"一词的特点及原因分析. In *Journal of Hebei Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, 30: 6 (November, 2007), pp. 118–122; Johnson, Chalmers. 'The patterns of Japanese relations with China, 1952-1982', *Pacific Affairs*, 59, No. 3, (January, 1986), pp. 402–428.

[61] Akiyama, *Tokuzō, Meijitaishōshōwa ten'nō-ka Gobansankai no okondate* 明治大正昭和天皇家午晩餐会の御献立, (Tokyo, 1977), p 2-5.

[62] Ishii Gendō, *Meiji jibutsu kigen* 明治事物起源, (Tokyo, 1944), p. 414.

[63] Cwiertka, Katarzyna J. 'Eating the world: Restaurant culture in early twentieth century Japan', *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol 2, No. 1, (March, 2003), pp. 89–116.

As we will find in the following discussion, the Sino-Japanese culinary exchange was not a modern concept. Rather, it has a long history based on cultural interactions. Scholars from both countries have never attempted to deny that Chinese culture contributed to the early development of Japanese culture. These cultural bonds, however, can barely be found if one looks at the early Meiji culinary contexts. Given that Chinese and Japanese culture had a long history of contact through close proximity and the influence of the classic Sinosphere in East Asia, many scholars have attempted to explain a decline that was too glaring and rapid to be ignored. Katarzyna Cwiertaka argues that Japan's popular embrace of Fukuzawa Yukichi's call to 'leave Asia' was the cause of delay in the growth of Chinese cuisine in the country.[64] Similarly, Yu Qingqing, a Chinese scholar, argues that Japanese discrimination towards Chinese culture in general led to a decline in the latter's cuisine.[65] However, some questions central to the issue remain unresolved. A close examination of Chinese cuisine cookbooks in the early Meiji period shows that the process of preparing Chinese food was extremely, if not completely, different from the processes detailed in earlier, pre-Meiji Japanese works on the topic. The question arises, what was the relationship between 'Shina Ryōri' and the customary culinary offerings of China? This chapter will evaluate Chinese cookery books in the Meiji era and the role of Chinese culinary culture in the emerging Japanese identity of Meiji Japan. It could be concluded that Shina Ryōri in the early Meiji period was created as a compromise for those Japanese who desired foreign food, mostly Western, and its nutrition, but who had not yet developed a taste for non-Asian cuisine. This situation changed dramatically in the late Meiji period, after 1904, when a series of more practical and professional cookbooks for Chinese cuisine were published. From this point on, Shina Ryōri, as an unusual hybrid of Japanese and

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64 Cwiertka, 2003

65 Yu, Qingqing, *Riben mingzhishiqi laihua youji Zhong de zhongguo xingxiang* 日本明治时期来华游记中的中国形象, PhD thesis, Yangzhou University, 2020

Western cuisines, disappeared. In the years that followed, China's 'superior' culinary system was lauded as an important model for Japanese people to study. As we will see, this would help to establish a scholarly connection between the culinary cultures of China and Japan that would eventually set the stage for 'Taishō China fever' in the culinary sector, which we will examine in the next chapter.

Early and mid-Meiji Chinese cuisine: What was 'Shina Ryōri'?

To understand what Shina Ryōri was among Japanese chefs and consumers in the first half of the Meiji period, we can consult the range of publications on Chinese cooking found during the period. The first cooking guide related to Chinese cuisine was *An Exclusive Cooking Guide: Japanese, Chinese and Western Ways of Eating with Table Manners*, published by Yoshida Shōtarō in 1886. The following year, Iizuka Eitarō, a low-tier Samurai from Shizuoka, published a revised version of the book at Yenya Tokyo under the title *An Exclusive Cooking Guide: Guide to Western, Korean and Chinese Cuisine* (below, this will also be referred to as the *Exclusive Cooking Guide*). Comparing the two editions, the latter included a wider range of dishes and excluded some content about table manners. However, it is pertinent to note that the recipes and cooking skills remained the same in both books. In both of these, the earliest cookery books published in modern Japan, the description of dishes was extremely concise. The process of preparing a complex dish was generally explained in fewer than three Japanese lines.

More importantly, and curiously, most of the recipes labelled 'Shina Ryōri' in this book were not Chinese at all. A dish recorded in the Shina Ryōri part of the *Exclusive Cooking Guide* was called iryū maruni (飛龍丸煮) or

'Whole Boiled Flying Dragon' in English. Its process of cooking is described thus:[66]

Place two pieces of paper beside the carp's eye to absorb extra water. Pour enough oil into a wok which can hold the whole fish and deep fry for four hours. Cut the white radish into thick slices. Boil the fish with the sliced radish, Mirin and Bonito for a proper period of time. Finally pour soya sauce and add some Sansho powder before serving.

鯉の目邊ふ紙片を張り廻し水を乾かし魚の尾と鰭ともを入る可き程の鍋に油を十分に入れ遣ふ前に四時間許し揚げて置き偖そ宮重大根を厚く輪切りにして味淋と鰹節とを澤山に入れて鯉と一緒に一所に煮上げ能き時に醤油を入れて煮而て後ち山椒粉を散るりかけるなり

In spite of its unique name, I have not been successful in finding the recipe in any other existing sources. An experienced chef, however, can immediately tell that it is boiled carp. The consumption of carp is one of the most ancient of foods recorded in East Asia and was widely popular, especially in northern China.[67] However, the basic Chinese seasoning and spices are not to be found in this dish. Moreover, the particular flavour came from a local Japanese sauce of Mirin rice wine and Bonito, which was exclusively used in Japanese cooking. The final spice, Sansho powder, made from berries of the prickly ash, cannot be found in any well-known Chinese cookery books; indeed, in (southern) China, it was most commonly used as a medication for gum swelling.[68] Beyond this, the cooking skills described were generally

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[66] Īzuka Eitarō, *Ryōri dokuan'nai: Seiyō Chōsen Shina Nihon* 料理独案内 : 西洋朝鮮支那日本, (Tokyo: 1887).

[67] 'Must the fish one sups on / Needs be carp from the river?' see The Airs of Chen, 138 'The Town-Gate' in Waley, Arthur, trans. *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry* (New York: Grove Press, 1996), p. 108.

[68] Hu, Ximing et al., *Zhong Hua Ben Cao* 中华本草, Shanghai Scientific and Technical Publishers, (Shanghai, 1999), p. 4344.

considered problematic. According to *Dreams of Splendour of the Eastern Capital*, an 11th century memoir, it was very likely that Chinese chefs had stopped using boiling as a major way to cook carp for centuries due to its fishy odour.[69]

'Whole Boiled Flying Dragon' is not the only example of a Chinese dish in early modern Japan whose Chinese roots cannot clearly be found. The differences between many early Meiji Shina Ryōri dishes and authentic Chinese dishes recorded in Chinese cookbooks were so significant that they could hardly be explained by localisation. Similar problems appeared in most of the Shina Ryōri recipes recorded in the early Meiji era. In all eight (considering the two versions of *Exclusive Cooking Guide* as one work) Meiji cookbooks mentioned above, different types of Miso were added to over half of the dishes, undermining the clarity of ingredient combinations underlying Chinese cuisine.[70] In addition, these works did not include basic Chinese spices combined with ginger and spring onion, which were crucial in then-contemporary standard cuisine in China. Furthermore, important skills required for Chinese cooking, such as wok frying and roasting, were not found in these books. Only three cooking methods in the Chinese part of *Ryōri dokuan'nai* – steaming, boiling and deep-frying – were recorded. In stark contrast to the elite Chinese cuisine of Japan's Edo era, which was even served at the banquets of local daimyō lords, the recipes of Chinese dishes mentioned in these books represented an extremely different concept.

Moreover, a considerable part of the early Meiji-era recipes for Chinese cuisine appeared to be invented or modified by the authors based on their interpretation of the cuisine without direct contact with the gastronomy in

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[69] Meng, Yuanlao, Dong Jing Meng Hua Lu 东京梦华录, vol.7, in Chinese text project https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=712358&remap=gb

[70] Yuan, Mei, *Sui Yuan Shi Dan* 随园食单, Jiang Xian Dan 江鲜单, in Chinese text project https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=689294&remap=gb#%E6%B1%9F%E9%B2%9C%E5%8D%95

China. Although Izuka Eitarō insisted that he had collected these recipes from local families in the Kantō region, rarely is anything similar to be found in culinary guides of the Edo era that recorded popular cooking methods in this area.[71] Izuka's cookbook did not even mention particular kitchen utensils such as the wok and clay casserole, which were clearly critical to Chinese cooking skills. It is not surprising to learn that these modifications to the culinary system were not usually successful in terms of tastes. Tanaka Seiichi, a food researcher of Taishō- and Shōwa-era cuisine, wrote possibly the only comment on the taste of this Shina Ryōri:

There are no delicious dishes recorded in this book at all, and from this fact, we may see the [low] standard of Chinese cuisine in early Meiji era Japan.

この本に出る料理の全体を通じていえることは、おいしそうなものがないことであり、このことから、明治時代初期の中国料理の水準を知ることができる．[72]

An ironic feature of the *Exclusive Cooking Guide*, however, was the unexpected appearance of elements of Chinese cuisine found in the Japanese cuisine sections of the work. For example, a dish was found in the 'Nihon Ryōri' (Japanese cuisine) chapter in the second edition:

First, mince a sea bream fillet with a wood stick, then put an egg in it and mix them well. Using a scoop to place the mixture into a wok, then roast it until it can be put in an amigasa (a bamboo woven hat or basket)

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[71] Kikuchi, Masumi, 'Kaiseki ryōri keishiki no keisei to henka' 会席料理形式の形成と変化, in *Kaishi-shoku bunka kenkyū* 会誌食文化研究, No. 13, (March, 2017), pp. 43-54

[72] Tanaka Seiichi, *Ichi I Tai Sui: Chūgokuryōri denrai-shi* 一衣帯水：中国料理伝来史, (Tokyo, 1987), p. 189.

先づ鯛の身をそぎ摺古木にて摺り後鶏卵を入れて能く融う志杓子にてヒひ擧け而後鍋にて程ふ焼きを編笠の中に合せるなり.[73]

Almost the same recipe can be found in the Qing dynasty cookbook *Recipes from the Garden of Contentment* and earlier gazetteers in south-eastern Chinese counties.[74] This 'Japanese dish' was called Chūka egg in the *Exclusive Cooking Guide*, but the word 'Chūka' – the traditional honorific name for China – was not used even once in the chapters on Chinese cuisine. The *Exclusive Cooking Guide* was one of the only cookbooks in which 'Chūka' and 'Shina' were used within the same material. Here, Chūka became a sign of Chinese cooking characteristics, independent from Shina Ryōri.

In 1892, two other books on Chinese cookery were published in Meiji Japan. Written by professional chefs of famous restaurants in Tokyo, these books included more detail on Chinese cuisine. Specifically, *Banquets in Three Cuisines: Japanese, Western and Chinese* included the recipes for Chinese luxury dishes such as bear knuckle, cubilose soup, deer tendon stew, dry-aged ham, and fish fin soup. Additionally, in the same section, the book introduced nine kinds of Chinese tea, which resemble the popular Chinese tea sold in China at the time. However, problems like those of the *Exclusive Cooking Guide* continued to appear in these works. Luxury Chinese dishes in *Banquets in Three Cuisines* came from the ancient *Bazhen*, or the emperor's eight treasures – a concept of the Zhou Dynasty. Tao Wentai, in his 1982 research, explained that most of the *Bazhen* cooking became extremely rare after the Tang dynasty.[75] By the 19th century, only a few Chinese chefs were making dishes such as bear knuckle or deer tendon stew due to the emergence of

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[73] Īzuka, *Ryōri dokuan'nai,* p. 63.

[74] Mei, Yuan. *Recipes from the Garden of Contentment: Yuan Mei's Manual of Gastronomy*. Berkshire Publishing Group, 2018.

[75] Tao, Wentai, 'Zhongguo Gudai Bazehn Tanwang' 中国古代八珍谈往, *Food Science and Technology*, 1 (1982), p. 6.

cheaper and more delicious substitutes. The 1892 *Guide to Japanese, Chinese (han) and Western Cuisine: For the Benefit of Wives who Cook Alone* was the first cookery book in the Meiji era that specifically focused on Chinese cooking and food processing skills, including the use of pork, ways of drying shells and the possibility of using Chinese medicine in Japanese Miso. Despite the unusual names given to some of the dishes, this cookery book is considered by Tanaka Seiichi to be the most advanced one concerning Chinese cooking in the early and mid-Meiji era.[76]

We can clearly see that the Shina Ryōri of the early Meiji era was in no way the heir to the highly developed Edo-era Chinese cuisine in Japan. Instead, it can be considered a product of intentional design, conjecture and modification. What was the reason for the abrupt termination of this legacy? Why did Japanese chefs develop this new but awkward fusion? These questions might not be as difficult to answer as they appear. The eight Chinese cookery books of the Meiji era had one important feature in common: they all claimed that Chinese cuisine was a kind of culinary system that represented something between the delicate Japanese cuisine and meaty, powerful Western cuisine. In *Ryōri dokuan'nai*, Īzuka Eitarou introduced Shina Ryōri as a compromise between Japanese cuisine and Western or Korean cuisine.[77] Similar statements appeared in a lot of cookery books with a Shina Ryōri section in early Meiji era.

Comparing the Western cuisine sections with the cooking advice in the Shina Ryōri category shows that there are few distinct differences between the cooking skills required. For example, if one were to replace Mirin rice wine, daikon radish and dried tuna in 'Whole Boiled Flying Dragon' with Dutch cheese (yes, Dutch cheese, possibly old Amsterdam cheese), bread crumbs and onion the resulting recipe would correspond to a 'Seiyō Ryōri' (Western dish)

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[76] Tanaka Seiichi, *Ichi I Tai Sui*, p. 191.

[77] Īzuka Eitarō, *Ryōri dokuan'nai*, pp. 1-3

found in the same book given the name Mutsugyoyuni (陆奥鱼油煮).[78] In *Banquets in Three Cuisines*, the process of making Chinese ham is almost like that of Western ham – with the exception of a difference in the amount of salt.[79] On the other hand, the authentic Chinese ham or Huo Tui was a type of processed meat and much closer to the Spanish jamón iberico. A famous poet and chef of the Song dynasty stated in his note that, in the Chinese way, the ham was prepared by boiling and using an animal organ for the removal of extra oil (pork organ will absorb the extra oil).[80] Many places within these publications offer comparable examples.

It comes as no surprise that the food researchers of the early Meiji period chose Chinese cuisine as their model in developing a compromise or fusion between Japanese food and rapidly advancing Western food. As a critical cultural force based on the self-identification of Japan since the Tang dynasty, China had long since been a role model for the country. Despite its identification as the most independent member of the Sino-centric tributary system, the various cultures and traditions of Japan were built on a foundation of its neighbour's culture. The difference between China as the Middle Kingdom (华) and Japan as the external nation (外夷) was visible throughout the Edo era. As Western civilisation took centre stage as a new player, the differences became ambiguous and fluid. Post-Meiji restoration, national pride and the power of Japan grew and prompted an urgent need to reconsider its position in Asia and the world. While Fukuzawa Yukichi's call to 'Leave Asia' and, contrastingly, Katsu Kaishū's early pan-Asianism were supported by many Japanese elites, it was the former that laid the foundation for the modernisation of Japan. However, the majority of pro-Western

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[78] Ban, Genhei, *Nihon seiyō Shina, Sanpuryōri Aji no Kyōsō* 日本西洋支那三風料理滋味之饗奏, Osaka: Akashi Chūgadō, 1887, p. 43.

[79] Īzuka Eitarō, *Ryōri dokuan'nai*, p. 30.

[80] Su, Shi (1037-1101), Ge Wu Cu Tan 格物粗谈, Ying Zhuan 饮馔, in Chinese text project https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=489382&remap=gb

thinkers, such as Tokutomi Sohō, in the early Meiji era had a complex position when it came to the identification of Japan as part of East Asia. Fukuzawa and his followers brought to the fore their belief that the final aim of the Japanese nation was not to adapt to Western culture but to use it as a way to achieve an even 'higher level of civilisation'. Recent works – for example, Minhyuk Hwang's 2020 book on Fukuzawa's bourgeois liberalism – have suggested that Fukuzawa was using Japanese tradition as a source to promote the idea of liberalism as well as Japan's own route of modernisation. It was, at the same time, motivated by strong nationalist sentiment against the threat of Western imperialism. Hwang also stated that Fukuzawa attempted to prove that Japan was a far more powerful and civilised nation than China at this time.[81] To this end, the idea of becoming a sort of new Middle Kingdom can be traced in the work of these intellectuals from the late-Edo era and through to the end of the Pacific War. A collection of Edo-period bakufu regime letters, *Kaihentai* 华夷变态, from 1644–1724, are viewed as the beginning of a 'Japanese oriented Hua-Yi order'. This philosophy continued to influence Japanese politics after the Meiji restoration in the form of the 'respect the emperor, expel the barbarians' ideology (Sonnō jōi).[82] Saigō Takamori and Kuroda Kiyotaka were

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[81] Hwang Minhyuk, *Fukuzawa Yukichis Bourgeois Liberalism: The Betrayal of the East Asian Enlightenment*, 2020, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 3–10.

[82] Chen, Wenshou, 'Jingshi riben huigui huayizhixu de nuli yu cuozhe' 近世日本回归华夷秩序的努力与挫折 in *Ribenxue* 日本学, vol. 11, (November, 2002), pp. 21–45; In the original classical Chinese and Japanese texts, Yi means the tribes from four directions (Yi usually represented eastern tribes) that surrounded the Middle Kingdom of China. It has been always used with Di (狄, northern tribes) as a term to refer to those from the outside tribes. From the age of Spring and Autumn, Chinese classic philosophers started to use this concept to show China's supremacy on culture. Confucius' idea explained that Chinese elites used Li (礼: ritual and etiquettes) as the standard to distinguish civilised Chinese citizens and Yi Di. Later thinkers of the neo-Confucius period extended this idea by saying: 'If Chinese citizens lose some Li (礼), they would become Yi, if Yi keep losing more Li (礼), they would become animals.' In contrast, the names Hua (华: great ritual and manners) and Xia (夏: beautiful clothes and customs) were given to the civilised Chinese. From the 17th century, many Japanese politicians and philosophers reversed the Hua-Yi order and identified Japan as the

among the leaders of the restoration who attempted to change the target of the motto 'expel the barbarians' (jōi) from a focus on Western countries to their neighbours in East Asia, since the new empire was primarily aiming to become the leader of an East Asian alliance. It was not necessarily an odd idea for late Edo and early Meiji Japanese elites to view Japan as the new civilised 'Hua' to which neighbouring countries such as China and Korea should present tribute. Takigawa Shūgo's research provided more evidence for this idea following his analysis of 'Korean conquering policy'.[83] An essay by Han Dongyu also argues that the Meiji-period Japanese foreign policy was primarily aimed at reforming the old East Asian order with the use of modern Western diplomatic treaties.[84]

A reflection of these ideological contradictions can be seen even in cookery books of the early Meiji period, where most distinctively Chinese cooking techniques and use of the term 'Chūka' are to be found under the Japanese cuisine category. Simultaneously, while Western-oriented culture and cuisine were gaining popularity as a symbol of modernity, health and civilisation, Chinese cuisine with an Asian style remained the cuisine of choice among many Japanese people. In 1904, the *Yomiuri News* reported a significant rise of pork consumption and a decrease of beef consumption in central Tokyo due to the spread of Chinese cuisine.[85] In an early Meiji satirical post, 'Japanese people who prefer bread over rice' were referred to as the most ignorant people in the country.

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civilised 'Hua'. The discussion around Hua-Yi order is a popular topic in the histography of East Asia.

[83] Takigawa Shūgo, Bakumatsu haigai, 'yūi shugi-teki shisō yōshiki ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu' 幕末排外、優位主義的思想様式についての一考察, *The Japanese Journal of Law and Political Science*, 2 (March, 2006), p. 26.

[84] Han, Dongyu, 'Dongyashijie de luocha yu quanli', 东亚世界的"落差"与权力, in *Economic and Social History Review*, 2 (2016), pp. 1–21.

[85] Yomiuri Shimbun, 1904.11.30.

Figure 1: An early Meiji satirical post (the specific date could not be found)[86]

In a similar way, the emergence of Shina Ryōri in the Meiji era represented the ideological paradoxes of modern Japan in that many Japanese

[86] Hashimoto, Manpei, Futatsu no baka no banzuke 二つの馬鹿の番附, in *Nihon kosho tsūshin* 日本古書通信, 45, 10, (October, 1980), pp 2-4.

people could never completely accept the goal of fully adopting a Western identity, despite their attempts to absorb elements of Western culture. After the beginning of the Meiji restoration, many Japanese people would have had to ask themselves a critical question: Should we become a Western nation? For many of them, the answer was no. Fukuzawa Yukichi, in his 1879 book, clearly expressed his criticisms on the matter of total Westernisation, and pointed out that it was the technologies and political practices that made the differences between the progresses of civilisations. Fukuzawa directly opposed cultural Westernisation and suggested that credulity on the problematic Western civilisation was horrific.[87] In 1872, ten priests broke into the royal palace in Tokyo and tried to assassinate the emperor for his adoption of Western cuisine and the habit of eating red meat. Four of them were killed and five were arrested in this incident.[88] There is nothing to suggest that the birth of Shina Ryōri in early Meiji cookbooks has any connection to this event, but from the hybrid nature of early Meiji Shina Ryōri, we can see the effort put into the Shina Ryōri by the chefs in this period to create a more acceptable intermediary option for Japanese people. A Shina Ryōri recipe, like those mentioned above, could include both Western and Japanese culinary elements and still be labelled as Chinese cuisine. Similarly, Western cuisine in the early Meiji era could also borrow Chinese culinary elements. In fact, we can hardly find any 'authentic cuisine' from China in the early Meiji recipes. Barak Kushner, in his work on the history of Ramen, has already pointed out that many 'Western dishes' served in the restaurants in early Meiji Japan could be referred to any previously unknown cuisine, even if it was distinctly Chinese in origin.[89] The sources analysed here further support that finding.

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[87] Fukuzawa, Yukichi, *Minjō isshin* 民情一新, (Tokyo, 1879), pp. 14–17.

[88] Okada, Tetsu, *Ton katsu no tanjō: Meiji yōshoku kotohajime* とんかつの誕生：明治洋食事始め, vol. 179. (Tokyo, 2000), p. 229.

[89] Kushner, *Slurp*, p 116.

Overall, essential compromises to be made between Japanese and foreign culture and the approach to make these compromises emerged at a key moment of transformation in identity in modern Japan. From this point of view, the invention of early Meiji Shina Ryōri did not differ from the Teaism of Okakura Tenshin. Both could be perceived as 'a tender attempt to accomplish something possible in this impossible thing called life'.[90]

Late Meiji Chinese cuisine: Setting the stage for the Taisho-era culinary exchange.

The Russo-Japanese war in 1904 brought a significant change to the geopolitical environment in East Asia, and left a powerful mark on Japanese intellectuals. The idea of Japan emerging as a potential new leader of Asia was progressively replacing the old 'Leave Asia' discourse as the guiding political theory for a rising empire. Many publications reflect this change, including those in the culinary field. For the Japanese elites and thinkers, China and Korea, the East Asian neighbours of Japan, became 'brothers' who must be studied and understood rather than a 'bad friend' who must be abandoned in a turn to the West. While the term 'Shina Ryōri' remained in use, the fusion recipes for Chinese cuisine of the early Meiji period were slowly but steadily disappearing.

Practical cookbooks and the changing meaning of Shina Ryōri

In the late 1890s and 1900s, a change in the content of Shina Ryōri for Japanese chefs and culinary experts occurred. One of the most significant signs of this was the emergence of more practical cookbooks for Chinese cuisine. As a 2008 work by Higashiyotsuyanagi and Ehara on modern cookbooks in Japan suggests, Edo and early Meiji cookery books, primarily

[90] Okakura, Kakuzo. *The Book of Tea*. Jazzybee Verlag, 2012, p. 1.

written for experienced male chefs, appeared more in a journal format filled with a specialised language and abstract metaphors for an experienced target audience. According to Higashiyotsuyanagi Shoko, they were voyeuristic hobby books that are full of playfulness rather than practicality and specialized books published for chefs' (Figure 2).[91] These 'hobby books' were, as we have mentioned in the previous section, an important media for the early Meiji Shina Ryōri. However, a new type of cookery book emerged that included practical cooking tips and culinary analysis targeted at female students and housewives, and these increasingly resembled Western cookery books of the 19th century.[92] This change was also noticeable in the culinary books related to Chinese cuisine in Japan. This change, at the same time, incorporated a changing meaning of Shina Ryōri – from a simple symbol to a practical cuisine.

[91] Higashiyotsuyanagi, Shoko, The history of domestic cookbooks in modern Japan, in Assmann & Rath, eds., 2010, *Japanese Foodways, Past and Present*, pp. 129-142

[92] Ibid.

Figure 2. *Banquets in Three Cuisines: Japanese, Western and Chinese*, 1892, a typical early Meiji 'hobby book' type of cookbook with hand-drawn pictures and empirical cooking instructions.

Three other new books were published by the end of the Meiji era in 1912. Minami Kiji, the owner and chef of the biggest Chinese restaurant in Tokyo, authored the first. In 1905, he recorded a collection of 298 Chinese dishes in his books of *Domestic Chinese Cuisine*.[93] Four years later, in 1909, *Chinese Cooking Methods for Japanese Family Use* by Shibata Hazaburo from the Women's School of Art (the modern Joshibi University of Art and Design) and Tsugawa Chiyoko from Seijō Women's College was issued. The structure of the book has a lot in common with modern Western cookbooks with specific units labelled, and offered a broader discussion of Chinese cuisine as a whole along with recipes for 88 Chinese dishes.[94] Furthermore, the *Practical Domestic Chinese Cooking Methods*, published in 1912, the final year of the Meiji era, built on the foundations of the previous book. Written by food scholar Okumura Shigejirou and later revised by Akahori Mineyoshi, a famous master chef, this book was based on textbooks of the well-known Akahori culinary school. Apart from a large collection of recipes and a list of teas, it discussed the serving and eating orders of Chinese food at a banquet accross about 31 pages.[95] These were particularly common affairs in the Edo era but suddenly disappeared thereafter.

By this point, despite the emergence of these practical cookbooks on Chinese cuisine, Japanese people still retained a negative image of the early Meiji Shina Ryōri. For example, Yamagata Kōhō claimed that 'none of the

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93 Minami, Kiji, *Katei shinaryōri-hō* 家庭支那料理法, Tokyo: Daigaku-kan, 1905.

94 Shibata & Tsugawa, *Shinaryōrihō*.

95 Okumura Shigejirō, *Jitsuyō katei shinaryōri-hō* 実用家庭支那料理法, Tokyo: Seirindō, 1912, p. 2.

Japanese housewives have any memories of Chinese cuisine now', as 'it remained dirty and oily despite the need for a lot of ingredients'. In the 1907 book *Clothing, Eating and Living: Daily Life*, Yamagata offered five reasons behind the unpopularity of Shina Ryōri:

1. The sauce is too thick. 羹汁の濃厚に過ぎたること

2. The taste of some luxury ingredients found in Chinese cuisine, such as swallow's nest and shark's fin, are not appreciated by the Japanese people. Also, the main ingredient of Chinese cuisine is pork, which is even harder for Japanese people to accept than beef. 燕窠魚翅の如きは邦人よりして珍味なれども美味ならず、又支那食の主たる物料の豚肉は、牛肉程邦人に賞味せられず

3. There are no published cookbooks like those available for Western cuisine. 洋食の如く割烹に関する著書なし

4. As a result of the absorbing of Western culture, [it is thought that] the Chinese [have] much to learn from us, but we [have] little to learn from them. 西洋の文物を吸収するに勉めたる結果、その風俗をも吾に取入れたれども、支那は吾に学ぶべきもの多く、吾の彼に学ぶべきもの少きこと

5. The fact that China is viewed with contempt. 支那を侮蔑する観念あること[96]

It comes as no surprise that later culinary experts of the Meiji period realised this fact. The authors of late Meiji Shina cookbooks considered the first two reasons as the major failures of earlier Shina Ryōri that need to be removed to achieve their goal. Tsugawa Chiyoko and Akahori Mineyoshi have pointed out three major biases of Japanese people toward Chinese cuisine: the smell of pork, thick oil and poor hygiene.[97] Minami had a more direct attitude towards early Shina Ryōri. He used 'Nagasaki Ryōrihō' (Nagasaki cooking

[96] Yamagata, *Ishokujū*, pp. 438–439.

[97] Shibata & Tsugawa, *Shinaryōrihō*, Preface, pp. 1–2.

methods) rather than 'Chinese cuisine' to address this specific cooking style. As the main access port for Chinese traders during the Edo period (along with the Dutch), Nagasaki was associated with the Chinese. Moreover, in all of his writing before 1905, he put Nagasaki Ryōrihō into a more general Western cuisine category.[98] This was not to say that these biases were directly associated with discrimination on Chinese food, but rather it was ignorance around what cuisine in China really was at the time.

Late Meiji Chinese cookbooks used 'authentic Chinese cuisine' as the weapon against early Shina Ryōri and its negative image. In other words, late Meiji Japanese culinary experts considered borrowing a systematised and well-developed cuisine as an effective way to improve the 'problematic culinary system – Shina Ryōri'. One direct outcome of this approach was that late Meiji Chinese cookbooks were becoming more 'Chinese' in comparison to earlier books. In 1905's *Domestic Chinese Cuisine*, Minami Kiji claimed that his book was based on Yuan Mei's recipes and 'Chef Lin, who travelled around China and knows Chinese culture well'. This was the first cookery book by a Japanese author claiming a specific Chinese origin.

A significant difficulty faced by the readers of Early Meiji Shina Ryōri recipes was the names of dishes. It is worth noting that Chinese characters were a key element in the Japanese compound writing system, especially in the published materials of the early Meiji period. This enabled communication between educated Japanese and Chinese people on paper through a unique and interesting writing conversation method called 'brush talk' (笔谈). Nevertheless, the shared characters also added a complicating factor. The dish names and cooking instructions in early Meiji Shina Ryōri frequently contained Chinese characters with totally different meanings in China and Japan, Japanese local ingredient names, as well as words borrowed from both

[98] Minami, Kiji, *Katei shinaryōri-hō*, pp. 1–4.

Chinese and English. A typical example is Imoazukasumasu 薯預スマス, found in the Shina Ryōri section of the *Exclusive Cooking Guide*. The name of this dish has two components. Imo 薯預 is the classical Chinese term for a Chinese yam, which is called Tororo とろろ, Nakaimo 長芋(ながいも) or Yamaimo 山薬 (やまいも) in Japanese. The second component, Sumasu スマス, is the Japanese Katakana transliteration of the English word *Smash*. Simultaneously, one of the key elements written in the recipe of the Yam Smash dish was Domyojisei, a Kansai local specialty with the name originating from a Buddhist temple in Osaka. Furthermore, as with other dish names in the works of the early Meiji period, the cooking method was placed at the end in the form of a verb that fits into the agglutinating grammar of the Japanese language.

Polish the skin of the yam with salt, and boil it in salt for about four to five minutes, and coat it with boiled Domyoji.

皮の儘長芋を塩にて能く磨き塩煮にして焼目を付け四五分程切りすましたざ川と煮道明寺精を掛れいよし

In 1909, Tsukawa Chiyoko offered a dramatic solution to this chaotic methodology of naming. Firstly, only Chinese characters and not Japanese syllabaries were used to write all the names that appeared in this book. Secondly, although the main author, Tsugawa Chiyoko, did not declare the origin of dish names in the book, they followed a specific morphological rule. Based on the analysis of all 88 dishes in this book, it is clear that the names conform to three specific approaches:

Type A – cooking method + main ingredient.

Examples: Fried 炒 + tenderloin 里脊片, deep fried 炸 + twisted biscuits 麻花, dry roasted 干烹 + chicken 鸡 ...

Total number: 47

Type B – auxiliary ingredient + cooking method (might be omitted) + main ingredient.

Examples: baby prawn 虾子+ bamboo 笋片, shrimp 虾仁 + braise 焓 + yellow vegetables 黄菜, clean soup 清汤 + boil 汪 + dry scallops 瑶柱 …

Total number: 24

Type C – Proper name

Examples: 酥糖饼(Sutang pancake), 东坡肉 (Dongpo meat), 八宝饭 (eight treasures rice) …

Total Number: 17

Today, Chinese speakers are likely to be familiar with most of the dishes on this list. However, how do they compare with a Chinese menu from the early 20th century? A menu from the Guan Zhen restaurant in Shanghai during China's republican period (1911–1949) is shown in Figure 3. In this menu, every single dish name follows the same morphological rules as the *Chinese Cooking Methods for Japanese Family Use*, and this was also the case for the *Recipes from the Garden of Contentment*.

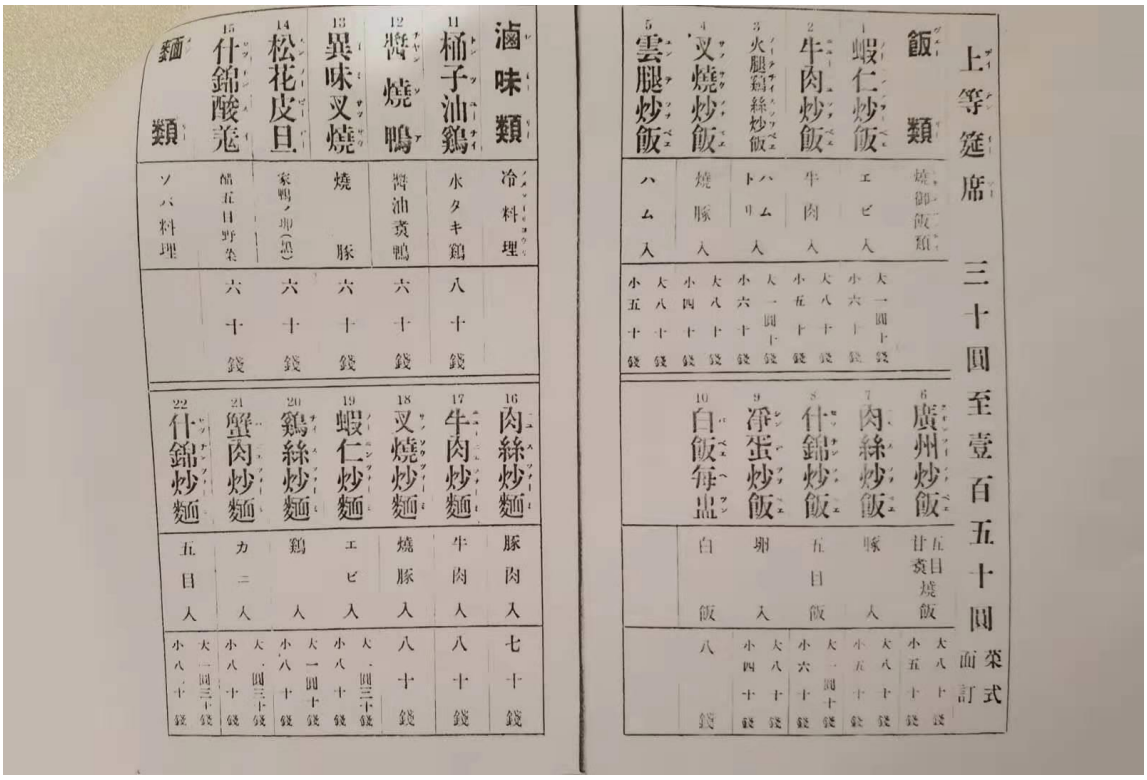

Figure 3: A menu from the Guan Zhen restaurant

Additionally, these Sinologised names identified the specific cooking style of different dishes. It is nearly impossible, certainly difficult, to precisely compare the Shina Ryōri of these two books with the cuisine served in Chinese restaurants at the time. However, their styles were considered to be close to Chinese culinary books of the early 20th century. A Chinese culinary skills dictionary, in its 2014 version, lists 26 basic cooking skills.[99] Every one of these cooking methods can be found in all three late Meiji Chinese cookbooks.

Evidently, the improvements seen in dish naming was not the only change made in late Meiji Chinese cookbooks. Traditionally, it was not an easy task to understand the instructions provided in a cookery book and cook Chinese dishes. For the recipes of East Asian food, the quantity of ingredients and the cooking time were mostly recorded in descriptive phrases such as 'a

[99] Li, Zhaoxia, *Zhongguo pengrenjifa cidian*, 中国烹饪技法辞典, Shanxi Science and Technology Press, 2014, pp. 1–4.

few', 'a lot', 'some', 'several pieces' or a 'suitable amount'. The following is an example of the entirety of a recipe found in the famous *Recipe of the White Door* – one of the most valuable works on Nanjing cuisine in the republican era of China (the specific publication date is unknown):

The wife of the Marquis cut the dry mushroom into two square pieces, put some ham in between, then tied them together. [She made] a few dozen (tens) of these, put them into clean water and started to boil with weak fire. After a proper period of time, she poured the mixture into a bowl and eat it. Every part of this dish tastes good.

黑廊侯府主妇把肥冬笋，切二方片。片中夹金腿一二片，外以海带丝扎好，约有一二十扎，放下清水一大碗，文火炖制相当时，约汁一碗，食之，笋与金腿味 大佳，汤尤佳。

In contrast, *Practical Domestic Chinese Cooking Methods* provided a specific quantity for almost all the ingredients in its dishes. Although the units to quantify these ingredients did not follow Western units of measurement in their modern standard, they may be converted accurately. For example, 1 Monme (一匁) = 3.759g, 1 Gō (一合) = 140g, 1 Sen (一銭) = 3.75g (this is mainly used for measuring medical herbal ingredients). On the other hand, Akahori adopted time units that use the Western time divisions of hour/minute/second – rarely found in Asian cookery books at the time. *Practical Domestic Chinese Cooking Methods* was most likely the first cookery book to introduce specific units of measurement into Chinese cooking, as the 1917 work *Domestic Recipes* 家庭食谱 by Li Gonger 李公耳 is the earliest extant culinary work of Chinese cuisine to take this approach.[100]

[100] Li, Gonger, *Xiating Shipu* 家庭食谱, (Beijing, 2017), p. 1.

In addition to the development of a standardised measuring system, the late Meiji Shina cookery books invalidated the unnecessary hybrid that caused confusion in the earlier Shina Ryōri. Western and Japanese ingredients such as cheese, Miso, Dutch cheese and Mirin were excluded. Therefore, the recipes in these books became more similar to Chinese recipes in terms of cooking skills, orders and ingredients:

A: *Exclusive Cooking Guide*

Mantou: Stuff the doughs with minced fish and put them into a steamer. Then roast them with kaoru oil to a certain degree.

饅頭: 通常の饅頭の上粉を魚の摺り身に混交て能く摺り合せ小倉餡を詰め蒸籠して榧の油にて揚げて焼き目を付ける者なり

B: *Chinese Cooking Methods for Japanese Family Use*

Manjū:

Ingredients: 1. Malt 2. Wheat flour 3. Pork 4. Green beans, spring onion, soy sauce, sesame oil

Soak Japanese malt in hot water, leave it for a while, and when it becomes soft, squeeze out the liquid, use the liquid to harden the wheat flour, put it in a warm place until it swells, then knead the dough, add a little bit of soda, and knead it to the right hardness of Japanese Manju, then fill the dough with pork and pinch it round [the edges]. Put a wet cloth on the top of a steamer, put the Manjū in and steam for 25 minutes.

For the stuffing, beat a pork thigh until it becomes minced, cut green beans into thin pieces, mix them with the spring onions and minced pork, season with soy sauce, add a little bit of sesame oil, and mix them well.

Serve 4 to 5 Manjūs per person before they get cold.

通天饅頭:

材料　一、麹、一、メリケン粉、一、豚肉、一、さやいんげん、ねぎ、醤油、胡麻油

日本の麹を湯につけ、しばらくおきまして、柔くなりました時分に、其汁をしぼりまして、その汁でメリケン粉をかためにといて、暖かいところに置きまして、膨らんで来ましたら、それにメリケン粉をまぜて、それにソーダ、ほんの少しを入れて日本の饅頭位のかたさ位までめりまして、充分ねりましたらば、団子位にちぎりとつて、丸くまるめてうすくのばしまして、其中に肉を入れ、丸くつまみ、蒸籠にぬれ布巾をしき、其上にかさならぬやうならべ、二十五分程むします。

中に包みます、肉は豚のもも肉をよくたたいてさやいんげんを細くきつて肉にまぜねぎも細くきつて醤油にて味をつけ、胡麻油少しを入れて、よくまぜておくのであります。

此はさめないうちに、一人前に四五箇位を盛つて出します.

C: *Domestic Recipes* (1917)家庭食谱 民国 6 年 [101]

Crab Mantou

Ingredients: Crab meat (or Pork) 1 bowl, three litres of dry flour, alkaline water, a glass of Baijiu (clear liquor), some salt and sugar, rice wine, soy sauce, spring onion, ginger, and garlic.

[101] Li, Gonger, *Zhonghua Shipu*, p. 13.

Pour Baijiu and three glasses of water into the wok and start to boil. Then mix them with sugar and salt. Mix this liquid with alkaline water and flour to make the dough. Cut the dough into pieces and stuff them with meat and seasoning. Serve after steaming.

蟹肉馒头

材料：蟹肉一碗（或猪油猪肉均可）。白干面三升。碱水少许。白酒脚一茶杯。盐糖各少许。黄酒酱油葱姜蒜各少许。

制法：将白酒脚一小茶杯。清水三大茶杯。倾入锅中烧之。和以白糖及盐。烧之微热。便即盛起。即以碱水洒就，即将面搓成长条如棍。用刀切断。以掌扁之。然后将蟹肉作心包就。即可上甑。蒸之极透。便可以食矣。

In many aspects, these cookbooks developed a norm for Chinese cookery books in Japan and replaced the old format as a key carrier of 'Chinese cuisine' in the country. More details with a clear Chinese source were provided in these books, which revealed an increasing similarity between Chinese cuisine in China and Japan. In fact, the Shina Ryōri cooking guides in the Edo and early Meiji style that as hobby books were never to be published again. Here, the emergence of works claiming to represent 'authentic Chinese cuisine' or 'Chinese elements' represented the essential stimulus and basis for the next stage in the development of Chinese culinary influence in Japan, as we will see in the later part of this thesis.

Late Meiji Shina Ryōri as a luxury cuisine

Well-developed Chinese recipes, along with a practical description and standardised measuring units, in late Meiji publications were better suited for

less experienced household cooks (considering the relatively recent appearance of modern domestic cooking in China and Japan). However, the specific features of late Meiji cookbooks did not result in the spread of common domestic Chinese cooking. While every author of these books claimed that their key objective was to introduce Chinese cuisine to the family kitchen, especially in Japan, their books were not entirely 'domestic cooking books'. Late Meiji Chinese cuisine was less expensive compared to Western cuisine, but it was still difficult for most Japanese to cook daily. Let us consider an example:[102]

Steamed carp

Ingredients: a whole carp, a piece of lard, rice wine 25g, half of a spring onion, fresh ginger, salt, table sugar 10g

Clean the carp and remove the scales and organs. Slice the surface of the fish. Dice the lard and mince the spring onion and ginger.

Put the carp into a steaming bowl, fill the diced lard into the fish and then sprinkle some ginger and spring onion on it.

Mix rice wine, sugar, salt and water in another bowl to create the sauce, pour it on the fish, and then steam it for 20 minutes with strong fire power.

Eat with ginger and vinegar to achieve the best flavour.

清蒸鲤鱼

鲤鱼一尾，猪脂油一块，酒 25 克，葱半棵，鲜姜少许，盐适量，白糖 10 克。

将鲤鱼洗净，去鳞去内脏，然后在鱼身上划十字花刀。将猪脂肪油切成手指肚大的丁。葱和鲜姜各切成末。

[102] Asingioro, Hao, *Shi Zai Gong Ting* 食在宫廷, (Beijing, 2020), pp. 83–86.

把鲤鱼放在蒸碗内。将猪脂油丁填入鱼腹中，撒上葱姜末。

在另一碗内倒入酒，白糖，盐和适量水，搅匀后浇在鱼上，用大火蒸 20 分左右即可出笼供膳。。。吃的时候，蘸姜汁醋，味道格外鲜美。

This is the recipe of a fish dish in *Eating in the Court*, a cookery book written by Aisingioro Hao, the sister-in-law of the last Emperor of the Qing dynasty, Puyi. Published in 1961, this book recorded the recipes of all the court dishes that Princess Hao had witnessed, tasted and cooked for both the emperor and for her husband Prince Pujie from 1937 to 1966. After every recipe, she also indicated a well-adjusted cooking time as the key to present the dishes in their tenderest form. As discussed previously, cooks for many years had given up on steaming as a skill to process carp because of the inability to reduce the fishy odour. However, in the recipes of Hao's court, lard is put inside the fish belly to mitigate this issue to the greatest extent possible. It also makes use of a ginger vinegar sauce from Zhejiang cuisine to add another layer of flavour. Considering the price of fresh carp and the steps required, it is clear that steamed carp was not easy to cook as a daily dish. Moreover, the use of fish as the main ingredient was risky and the contents inside the fish belly led to unbalanced heating. However, the result is rewarding when one follows Hao's recipes. Most surprisingly, a recipe similar to this one is recorded in all late Meiji cookbooks about Chinese cuisine.

Apart from steaming carp, various Chinese luxury ingredients represented by *Eight Treasures in the Mountain* 山八珍 and *Eight Treasures in the Sea* 海八珍, – including shark fin, sea cucumber, abalone, bear knuckle and deer tail – frequently appear in the recipes of late Meiji Chinese cuisine publications. There was no major difference between these dishes and those included in the Chinese imperial court menu. Akahori suggested that a

normal, medium-size Chinese meal for at least four people must include five to six main dishes (particularly meat dishes), seven to nine small plates, and 24 tea deserts. A list of the daily food that Masaoka shiki mentioned in his 1901 book of *Gyōgamanroku* is given below. It could also be treated as a typical daily family menu of the emerging Japanese bourgeoisie:[103]

Breakfast:

Three bowls of rice and vegetable soup with Tsukudani (simmered and salted seafood or seaweed) and dried plums.
0.18l milk with chocolate or sweet bread.

Lunch:

Tuna sashimi, three bowls of rice porridge (Congee), miso soup with tsukudani, two pears, a glass of wine.

Afternoon tea:

Red bean dessert, barley porridge, three salty pancakes, a bowl of tea.

Dinner:

Three bowls of rice soup, half dried tuna, cabbage dish, a pear.

朝 雑炊三椀 佃煮(つくだに) 梅干

牛乳一合（0.18l）ココア入 菓子パン二個（牛乳と菓子パンは午前の間食と思われる。）

昼 鰹ノサシミ 粥三椀 ミソ汁 佃煮 梨二ツ 葡萄酒(ぶどうしゅ)一杯

[103] Masaoka, Tsunenori, *Gyōgamanroku* 仰臥漫録, (Tokyo, 1983), pp. 21–25.

間食　団子アン付三本焼一本　麥湯(むぎゆ)一杯　塩煎餅(しおせんべい)三枚　茶一椀

夕 粥三椀　ナマリ節（カツオを半干しにしたもの）　キャベツノヒタシ物　梨一ツ

Cost remained the key factor limiting the spread of Chinese cuisine into the normal daily lives of Japanese people. The Shina Ryōri of the late Meiji period was not only expensive but also time-consuming to cook. One specific restaurant that was mentioned and quoted in all Chinese cookbooks of the late Meiji period was Kairakuen, owned by Minami Kiji. It was the biggest and most successful Chinese restaurant in Tokyo since 1879. Based on the currently available primary sources, it was also the first large Chinese restaurant established in Tokyo, the capital of Japan. Food historian Higashiyotsuyanagi, on the other hand, has argued that the cooking in Kairakuen was emblematic of Shina Ryōri in post-Meiji era.[104] It was believed by her that the menu of Kairakuen supplied the most contributions to the 1905 *Domestic Chinese Cuisine*. According to an advertisement for Kairakuen in an 1883 issue of the *Yomiuri News*:

Curious people in Tokyo are tired of Western cuisine. This restaurant cooks its dedicated Chinese food to the best of its flavour. It is founded by wealthy individuals in the government and managed by the Kōyōkan in Shiba (one of the top restaurants in Japan at the time)… The price of the dishes ranged from 12 Yen to 0.5 Yen.

[104] Higashiyotsuyanagi, Shoko, ‘Meijiki ni okeru chūgokuryōri no juyō’ 明治期における中国料理の受容, *Baika Women's University, Research bulletin-Faculty of Food Culture*, vol. 3, (March, 2015), pp. 33-46.

新奇を好むハ人の常ながら、西洋料理にも最う飽きたといふ連中が、此ごろ頻りに支那料理をもてはやし、料理の妙味ハ是に止まるとまで擔ぎ上げ、此ごろ朝野の金満家数名が発起となり、芝の紅葉館の組織に倣ひて、株券を頒ちて社員を募り、資本金ハ三萬圓にて、八丁堀亀島町十九番地へ大厦高楼を建設し、料理人給仕とも総て支那人を雇ひ、上等ハ十二圓より、下等ハ五十銭までの数等を設くる積りだといふ.[105]

This piece of text placed a high value on Kairakuen. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the prices in this restaurant were much higher than average. Eating out would certainly come with a higher price tag than domestic cooking and these prices give a vague idea about the cost of cooking a proper Chinese meal in Japan. In 1886, Natsume Sōseki, Japan's most famous novelist, earned 5 yen a month as a schoolteacher, while his monthly wage later as an assistant professor was 12 yen. In the Meiji period, a congressman in Tokyo earned a monthly wage of 67 yen.[106] These data suggest that the consumption of Chinese food was still a part of elite culture in Japan, even by the end of the Meiji era. The emerging Japanese middle class could hardly afford to eat or cook Chinese cuisine frequently in their families. In other words, domestic Chinese cuisine did not really exist, at least in the Meiji era.

Redefining 'Shina Ryōri'

As seen before, Shina Ryōri of the early Meiji period is a product of creativity and hybridity, as well as spontaneous innovation, that significantly transformed the Japanese culinary works of the late Meiji period. However, its meaning changed on account of the development of cookbooks and cooking

[105] Yomiurishinbun, 1883, 10. 21.

[106] Arashiyama, koshiro, *Bonshi no Ryouriten* 文士の料理店, Tokyo: Shichobonko, 2013, pp. 36–42.

skills. As this section will show, from the 1900s, Japanese culinary experts redefined Shina Ryōri as the term for Chinese cuisine and provided it with a higher degree of acceptance. Chinese cuisine suddenly emerged as the 'most suitable food for Japanese people' according to some Japanese elites.

Japanese food experts at the time showed the most significant change in attitude towards Chinese cuisine, and such change was clearly backed up by Japanese social elites from different areas. Yamane Masatsugu, as one of the most important Japanese medical scientists at the time, admitted the value and even supremacy of Chinese food. He declared Chinese cuisine to be the world's best in that it balanced taste and nutrition to the highest degree. In the preface to *Chinese Cooking Methods for Japanese Family Use*, he wrote: 'Chinese cuisine is the most hygienic, healthy, and delicious cuisine in the world 支那料理は、衛生的にも、滋養的にも、味の点からも世界一の料理 …'[107] Yamane highly admired Chinese cuisine's idea of always processing food with a high temperature for a relatively long time; he believed this to be healthier than Japanese and Western cuisines, which frequently use raw material. Being the most prestigious doctor in Meiji Japan and the founder of Nippon Medical University, Yamane considered Chinese cuisine to be a better way to improve the health condition of Japanese people in comparison to Western and local Japanese cuisine. In his speech in Kanagawa Medical School in 1906, he described Chinese cuisine as the ultimate and most important form of all Asian cuisines.[108] Japanese aristocrat and educationist Kaetsu Takako, who was viewed as the mother of Japanese women's education, also commented on Chinese food in the Meiji era.[109] Unlike Yamane, Kaetsu was not an advocate of Chinese cuisine before trying a

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[107] Shibata & Tsugawa, *Shinaryōrihō*, 1910, pp. 8–9.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Fengming, Sun, 'Fujoshinbun ni miru Meiji Nihon no kaseigaku' 『婦女新聞』に見る明治日本の家政学, in *Issues in Language and Culture* , No.9, (March, 2008), pp. 127–146.

Chinese restaurant in Akasaka in the mid-Meiji period. Surprised by the beauty of the Chinese banquet, she increased her input on Chinese cuisine education. Contributing to the varying perspectives, she hired Chinese chefs in her women's commercial school, which later became the Kaetsu University nearly a century later. Additionally, this could explain the development of this school as one of the Chinese culinary study centres in Japan in the Taisho era. Okumura Henjirō's opinion, on the other hand, was focused on practical challenges faced by Japanese people while cooking Chinese cuisine. According to Okumura, Chinese cuisine was definitely not easy to cook. However, he has removed the luxury and ceremonial elements in Chinese cuisine and introduced a type of cuisine which could be done without rare ingredients and specific tools. The target of him was to form a cuisine which fits domestic life perfectly.[110]

With greater awareness of misconceptions around Chinese cuisine among many Japanese people, culinary experts provided detailed explanations for it. Okumura clarified at the very beginning of his writing that anyone who had ever taken a bite of Chinese cuisine would not say that it was a oily cuisine with pork stunk.[111] According to Kaetsu Takako, the majority of the Japanese chefs were unlikely to follow the right way to clean the cookware used for cooking Chinese food, thereby resulting in Chinese cooking having an oily and dirty image. Kaetsu provided a simpler answer: 'you don't have to eat all of the oil on the plate!'[112]

From the investigation of late Meiji culinary materials, it is quite clear that Japanese culinary scholars did not consider Chinese cuisine as a pure 'foreign' cuisine. Moreover, a connection was seen between Chinese and Japanese cuisine, which existed among at least some of the Japanese culinary

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[110] Okumura Shigejirō, *Jitsuyō katei shinaryōri-hō,* pp. 1-3.

[111] Ibid

[112] Shibata & Tsugawa, *Shinaryōrihō,* p 14

experts and gourmets. What exactly made this connection? Kaetsu in the 1907 women's magazine *Jokan* 女鑒 suggested a preference among the Japanese for Chinese food based on similar fundamental taste and culinary conceptions. As evidence, she indicated the use of most of the Chinese food ingredients in Japanese cooking.[113] The famous author Tanizaki Junichirō claimed that a pure sense of intimacy existed between Chinese and Japanese food. He wrote in a 1919 article in the *Asahi* newspaper that he could naturally memorise the flavour of Chinese food better than Western food.[114] Yamane Masatugu, on the other hand, saw this connection as boiling down to the question of race. His theory suggested that Chinese food was a rich source of nutrition for the Japanese. Additionally, the methods of cooking Chinese meat dishes were relatively suitable for East Asian races to derive protein and other nutrition.[115] However, Ishigurō Tadanori suggested a slightly different meaning for the Sino-Japanese culinary connection. Being the Surgeon General of the Japanese army, a founder of Japan's modern medical system and a famous Confucian scholar, Ishigurō commented that 'Chinese cuisine has much more to offer to the Japanese people than Japanese cuisine'. More specifically, he referred to the salubrious benefits of the cooking process of Chinese cuisine. Ishigurō was a critic of raw food culture in Japan, and it is unsurprising to see him considering Chinese food as a perfect solution for Japanese people to abandon existing unsafe eating habits while being satisfied with the taste. Furthermore, he demanded the addition of a more decorative Japanese-style food display to Chinese cuisine for a perfect cuisine. For Ishigurō, both Chinese and Japanese cuisine were the most advanced culinary systems in human society, which could not only complement each other but also create a true masterwork.

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[113] Katsue, Takako, 'Shina Ryōri', in *Jokan* 女鑒, 9 (1907), pp. 36–37.

[114] Tanizaki Junichirō, 'Shina no Ryōri' 支那の料理, on *Osaka Asahi Shinbun,* 1907, Oct.

[115] Shibata & Tsugawa, *Shinaryōrihō*, pp. 8–9.

From the perspective of culinary anthropology, how might we view the redefinition of Shina Ryōri over this period? In the 1982 work *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, Jack Goody explored the difference between 'ordinary cuisine' (farmers' cuisine) and 'high cuisine' (elites' cuisine). The former corresponded to large-scale ecological models while the latter represented a social and political model. It was essential to reintegrate these two models to form a modern national cuisine.[116] Martin Jones specifically explained this concept by suggesting that in Europe, the culinary network of high cuisine remained reliant on the connection arising from marriage and bloodlines.[117]

In East Asia, this network was heavily based on the Sino-centric political structure. Chinese cuisine, in particular, was considered as a sign of civilisation and high culture from the Asuka era to the Edo era, until the late 19th century. Moreover, Shina Ryōri of the early Meiji period banished Chinese cuisine from the 'high cuisine' section in Japan, a sign of the much-complicated Sino-Japanese relationship after the Meiji restoration. With the replacement of the word 'Chūka' (the chū here indicating centrality) with 'Shina', the Japanese weakened the political and geographical central position of Chinese cuisine and opposed the Sino-centric traditional order of East Asia. Many culinary scholars related this shift to China discrimination in their explanation of the failure of Chinese cuisine in this period. Nevertheless, Chinese food was still a key element of transition between the brand new Western culinary culture and the Asian identity of Japan. In other words, it has never disappeared. Conversely, the Shina Ryōri of the late Meiji period marked, ironically, the return of Chinese cuisine as high cuisine. After the Russo-Japanese war, a rising national confidence raised the possibility of a new Japan-centric East Asian order where the Sino-Japanese connection

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[116] Goody, Jack, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*, Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 97–153.

[117] Jones, Martin, *Feast: Why Humans Share Food*, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 291–294.

played a crucial role. Therefore, to replace the former infamous image, late Meiji culinary experts tried to develop a new concept of Shina Ryōri by combining ceremonial cuisine and daily cuisine. While this attempt shifted direction from the original intention, the meaning of Shina Ryōri saw a change from a compromise to a fuller national cuisine.

However, it is imperative to note that the relationship between Chinese and Japanese cuisine would still have much capacity for further development, even by the end of the late Meiji period. The impact of politics and ideology, specifically the idea of pan-Asianism, on culinary exchanges between China and Japan had not yet reached its peak. However, some of the key differences between early Shina Ryōri and the foods which followed the principles of some of the key Chinese culinary classics begin to disappear in the early Meiji period. Using 'authenticity' as a weapon, a new attention to Chinese cuisine began to emerge, at least among Japanese culinary experts. The appearance of professional culinary study of Chinese cuisine in popular cookery books replaced the early Meiji concept of Shina Ryōri. Additionally, it offered early signs of what was to come: the Taisho era's culinary ideas on Chinese cuisine among Japan elites, which aimed to form a Sino-Japanese culinary connection under the framework of pan-Asianism.

Chapter 2: Inter-war Exchanges: Cuisine and the Intellectuals

The appreciation of Chinese cuisine spread rapidly in Japan after Japan's Taishō era (1912-1926). As Katarzyna Cwiertka has argued, Chinese cuisine became, alongside Washoku (Japanese cuisine) and Yōshoku (western cuisine), one of three dominating parts of the culinary culture in Japan. Iwama Kazuhiro has described the Taishō era and early Showa era (1926-1989) as the developing and peak periods of Chinese cuisine in Japan.[118] At the same time, some Chinese food experts and intellectuals, including the prominent intellectual Zhou Zuoren (1885–1967), turned their attention to Japanese cuisine for the first time in history. Although culinary exchange between the two countries had not yet reached its historical peak, it is safe to say that the early twentieth-century elites of the two countries were beginning to better understand each other's culinary culture. The people of China and Japan were now able to access the culinary experience of each country in multiple ways.

So, what was the reason for these suddenly emerging interests in each other's culinary culture? Both Cwiertka and Iwama related the phenomenon to the beginning of Japan's imperialism and military aggression towards China. As Cwiertka puts it, 'Chinese cuisine (Shina ryōri) stood for Japanese imperialist expansion into Asia.'[119] This chapter, nevertheless, provides an answer from an alternative perspective. First, we will consider the important example of Zhou Zuoren, who as a Chinese scholar and believer of East Asianism used a Sino-Japanese culinary connection as a way to make their view of the Sino-Japanese relationship more concrete. Then we will turn to

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[118] Iwama Kazuhiro, *Chūgokuryōri to kin gendainihon: shoku to shikō no bunka kōryū-shi* 中国料理と近現代日本　食と嗜好の文化交流史, (Tokyo, 2019), p. 60; Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, p. 21, pp. 129–131.

[119] Cwiertka, K. (2006), *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, p. 139.

examine how Kyoto school sinologists represented by Aoki Masaru, and their attempts to practice Yoshino Sakuzō's claim of 'cultural pan-Asianism' by studying the history of cuisine and ingredients. Both Zhou Zuoren and Japanese scholars like Aoki Masaru (1887–1964) believed in a shared destiny between the two countries. As we will see, they had used culinary elements to create a supernational relationship between China and Japan.Then we will look at the Shina-tsū, a group of experts on Chinese affairs who contributed greatly to Japan's imperial expansion. They tended to use the connection between these culinary cultures to support their call for understanding China in depth. Finally, I focused on those elite Japanese chefs who aimed to create what they believed to be an ideal ryōri, which combined elements from China and Japan, while the Shina-tsū, Scholars, on the other hand, aimed at finding a sense of belonging for East Asian people through researching the two countries' cuisines.

These groups mentioned above, including liberalist scholars, Shina-tsū, chefs and culinary experts, had different ideas and aims but were linked by the anxieties around rapid Westernisation in both China and Japan. Driven by the love/hate relationship that East Asian people had with Western culture, they had somehow started to form a vague concept of 'East Asian culture' using the culinary connection as a tool. Barak Kushner, in his work on the history of Ramen noodles, has argued that Japanese elites (and consumers) in the 1920s sought to replace what they believed lost with exotic Chinese products and used this as an explanation for the China boom of the late 1920s and early 1930s, when Japanese consumers began to exoticise and favour Chinese-themed goods.[120] The situation was not exactly the same in China, but we can also observe a fast developing study of Japan and a call to better understand

[120] Barak, K. (2012), *Slurp!*, pp. 162–163.

their neighbour among Chinese intellectuals.[121] But what exactly did they believe had been lost and what did these elites consider to be the 'true nature' of China and Japan? This chapter provides a possible answer: a type of experience of being East Asian, and the connection with other East Asian people formed by it. Zhou Zuoren tended to find China's past in Japan, and Japanese elites also used China's ancient culture to define the nature of Japan. Both sides saw risks in becoming part of the West or 'the orphan of Asia' (アジアの孤児), as post-war Taiwan was described in Wu Zhuoliu's (1900–1976) famous novel.[122] For them, culinary connections based on thousands of years of exchange could be an efficient way to change the situation by regaining the East Asian experience.

Half-foreign land, half as the past: Zhou Zuoren and Sino-Japanese culinary exchange

'No Chinese literati other than Zhou Zuoren had such a close relationship with Japan and Japanese culture.' This statement was written by Japanese scholar Kiyama Hideo in a postscript to Zhou's work *Ri Ben Tan Yi Ji* (日本谈义集) or *Nihondangishū* (日本談義集).[123] Zhou Zuoren was an important figure and contributor to China's May Fourth Movement. Yang Haosheng's 2016 work on modern Chinese writers referred to him as one of the founding fathers of modern Chinese literary prose (sanwen). However, this reputation was damaged by the political blemish of having collaborated with the

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[121] Huo, Yaolin, Mingoku jidai ni okeru Nihon kenkyū zasshi no ranshō: Kuroshio ni okeru Nihon ninshiki 民国時代における日本研究雑誌の濫觴 ー『黒潮』における日本認識, *Wakumon*, vol 15, No. 31, (February, 2017), pp. 15–30.

[122] Wu, Zhuoliu (1973), *Ajia no Koji* アジアの孤児, Shin-Jinbutsuoraisha: Tokyo.

[123] Zhou, Zuoren, *Nihondangishū* 日本談義集, Trans. Kiyama, Hideo, (Tokyo, 2002), p. 3.

Japanese-controlled puppet state in China during the second Sino-Japanese War. From 1941–1943, Zhou was the head of the Ministry of Education in Beijing under Wang Jingwei's leadership. Although the motivation for his decision to work with Japan was controversial, he was arrested after the end of war and labelled a 'cultural traitor' (文化汉奸) by the Communist government in 1949.[124]

There is no need to doubt Zhou Zuoren's complexity and uniqueness in terms of his status and ideas. Despite being educated in Japanese universities, he was by no means a typical twentieth-century 'Chinese student in Japan' (留日学生) – a frequently studied group in the history of modern East Asia. Zhang Yiwen's work has shown that Chinese students in Japan were starved for funding. Shimizu Minoru's research on late Qing dynasty Chinese students in Japan suggested that most students were disappointed with Japanese education and were more interested in the Western contexts they could access outside the classroom.[125] Zhou Zuoren, however, had neither experience during his stay in Japan. In contrast to his more famous brother Lu Xun, he had always felt a cultural intimacy with Japan. He married a Japanese wife, founded Japanese Studies at Peking University and maintained a rather Japanese lifestyle even in 1950s mainland China (an aspect explored further later in this section). Korean historian Hong Seukpyo viewed Zhou as a typical proponent of pan-Asianism and thus an important example of the 'pro-Japan traitors' (亲日附逆). Hong claimed that Zhou Zuoren contributed significantly

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[124] Yang, Haosheng. *A Modernity Set to a Pre-Modern Tune: Classical-Style Poetry of Modern Chinese Writers*, (Leiden, 2006), pp. 102–103.

[125] Zhang, Yiwen, Chūkaminkoku Tome-bi gakusei no keihi fusoku to nichijō seikatsu: 1923–1937 中華民国留日学生の経費不足と日常生活－一九二三~ 一九三七年, *Ajia kyōikushi kenkyū*, 28, (March, 2020); pp. 61–84; Shimizu, Minoru, Chūgokujin ryūgakusei to Nihon no kindai. Ajia no naka no Nihon 中国人留学生と日本の近代. アジアのなかの日本, *Bukkyōdaigaku sōgōkenkyūsho kiyō*, vol. 2, (March, 1995), pp. 119–138.

to Japan's propaganda about its military expansion and betrayed the Chinese people.[126] Nevertheless, Susan Daruvala has clearly suggested that 'politically, Zhou was no Pan-Asianist'. Instead, Zhou tried his best to warn his contemporaries about Japan's ambitions. Nevertheless, the construction of Zhou's view of the Sino-Japanese relationship was much more complex, with many factors involved.[127] This section, however, does not aim to answer the question of whether Zhou Zuoren was a traitor or supporter of Japanese militarism. Rather than focusing on Zhou's political views, I will draw on his discussion of food and drink to explore his efforts to connect the Chinese and Japanese culturally in order to performatively build a shared concept of 'Eastern' culture. Furthermore, with the political tension continuing between China and Japan in the century in which Zhou Zuoren lived, why was this cultural connection important to him?

Despite being viewed as a pro-Japanese elite figure and a Chinese pan-Asianist, Zhou Zuoren was actually far more rational in terms of his attitudes to Japanese culture than other famous Chinese scholars with ties to Japan, such as Guo Moruo and Yu Dafu.[128] He defined himself as 'Nipponophilos', a 'friend of Japan', but he was, at the same time, a critic of Japanese culture. In some of his writing, Zhou sought to find China's past within Japan and tease out the 'The shared elements of the eastern' (东洋共有之成分) in both cultures. In other writing, Zhou tried to emphasise the uniqueness of Japan, and how this contributed to both its successes and its failures.[129] As Zhou

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[126] Hong Seukpyo, 'Zhou Zuoren de Dong Ya Wen Ming Yishi' 周作人的"东亚文明"意识, (Cui, Lihong, Trans.) in *The Cultural Review*, vol. 55, (September, 2019), pp. 327–349.

[127] Daruvala, Susan. *Zhou Zuoren and an alternative Chinese response to modernity*, Harvard University Asia Center: Cambridge, 2000, pp. 82–84.

[128] Zhou, Zuoren, *Nihondangishū*, pp. 365–388.

[129] Zhou, Zuoren, 'Riben zhi zairenshi' 日本之再认识, in *Zhi Tang Yi You Wen Bian* 知堂乙酉文编》, (Shijiazhuang, 2002), pp. 134–136

pointed out himself, he had never been a pessimist like many of his fellow pan-Asianists, such as Okakura Tenshin and Tanazaki Junichiro, whose works illustrated a doomed racial antagonism between East Asian races and European races. However, he still believed in the shared destiny of Asian people, and that only the integration of Chinese and Japanese culture could prevent Asian people from becoming an 'inferior race'.[130]

Zhou Zuoren's complex attitude towards Japan and pan-Asianism was, more than anything, best reflected in his views on culinary culture. His perception of Japanese cuisine was a combination of Oriental revivalism, pan-Asianism and an anti-Western mood. Zhou attempted to identify the common elements between Japanese cuisine and Chinese cuisine and translated them into a unique set of East Asian characteristics. He saw these East Asian characteristics as distinct from Western ones and, for him, they were superior. Cuisine, as we will see later in this section, was used by Zhou to argue that Japanese culture represented a purified version of Chinese culture, an alternative possible future of China's past. For Zhou, the connections between Chinese and Japanese culinary culture were valuable, and he claimed that it represented a material manifestation of 'The East' (东方).

Zhou was one of the few twentieth-century Chinese scholars to have carried out relatively in-depth research on Japan's culinary culture. Like many other Chinese students in early twentieth-century Japan, Zhou's first impression of Japanese food was that it was 'Light, extremely thin and lacking any oiliness' (清淡，枯槁，没有油水); however, these features did not prevent him from enjoying Japanese cuisine: 'I don't think (eating Japanese food) is unpleasant, but rather, it gives one a unique sensation' (但是我自己却不以为

[130] Zhou Zuoren, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, (Beijing, 2017), p. 67.

苦，还觉得这有别一种风趣).[131] His love of Japanese food lasted to the end of his life. Even in the 1960s, Zhou still wrote frequently to his friend Bao Yaoming in Hong Kong for Japanese food and alcohol.[132]

Zhou Zuoren viewed Japanese cuisine as a good example of the so-called 'Eastern culture' (东洋文化) based on a solid Sino-Japanese connection. When writing about Japanese food or drink, he always compared them with their Chinese roots: 'Like Miso soup and Dried leaf soup, Kinzanji Miso and Chinese bean sauce, Fukujin Zuke and Chinese pickles, Udokobau and Asparagus, salted salmon and Lebie, are all similar foods. Daitokuji Natto is salty Dōchi, Takianzuki is soil pickles in Fujian, Kusuri Renkon is Black Tofu in Sichuan' (如味噌汁与干菜汤，金山寺味噌与豆板酱，福神渍与酱咯哒，牛蒡独活与芦笋，盐鲑与勒鲞，皆相似的食物也。又如大德寺纳豆即咸豆豉，泽庵渍即福建的黄土萝卜，药藕即四川的黑豆腐). 'There are histories of cultural communication among these foods, they were not only edible, but also worth deeper reflection' (此其间又含有文化交通的历史，不但可吃，也更可思索). From here, we can see that for Zhou, eating and researching Japanese culinary culture was not a process of experiencing a completely foreign culture, but one of recollecting and rethinking a lively, glorious past for China. As his statement about Japan suggested: 'Half-Foreign Land; Half as the Past. This past is completely alive in this foreign land; it is not illusory, and it is not a stiff imitation like that in Korea and Vietnam' (一半是异域，一半却是古昔，

[131] Ibid., p. 64.

[132] Ibid., pp. 391–396; Bao was one of the founders of Taiwan's national library, and later the vice manager of Mitsubishi Hong Kong. He travelled frequently between Hong Kong and Taiwan, so it was difficult to confirm if he had sent these products from Hong Kong or Taiwan. However, the interaction between mainland China and the rest of the Sinosphere certainly still existed even during the Cultural Revolution.

而这古昔乃是健全地活在异域的，所以不是梦幻似地空假，而亦与高丽安南的优孟衣冠不相同也).

However, Zhou's attitude towards Chinese culture was contradictory. Within his discussion on the differences between Chinese and Japanese culinary cultures, Zhou showed a strong will to maintain the independence of Chinese traditions. On the other hand, he frequently mentioned the Westernisation of Chinese culinary culture in his essays and other writings in all periods. Despite being a prestigious scholar in Greek studies in East Asia, Zhou showed a strong will to use Japanese culture to counter a Western cultural 'invasion' in many areas, including the realm of the culinary. In one of his diary entries in 1937, Zhou scathingly satirised those Chinese and Japanese worshipers of Western cuisine: 'Because the Westerners eat eggs, so we too will eat eggs' (因为西洋人吃鸡蛋，所以兄弟也吃鸡蛋). Zhou pointed out that most of the believers of Western cuisine in China and Japan did not love it for its taste: 'Beside the problem of eating or not eating it, we should still ask if it was delicious. I'm afraid we would not be able to reach much agreement with the Westerners' (不过在该吃之外还有好吃问题，恐怕在这一点上未必能与西洋人一定合致).[133]

Throughout his life, Zhou always positioned himself as an apologist for a broader East Asian culture, a position fully supported by his memoir and collection of letters. The following paragraphs will use examples from Zhou's essays and diary to examine his two aspirations for a closer Sino-Japanese culinary connection through two examples: tea and tea food, as well as his attempt to link such a connection to a broader East Asian cultural integration.

[133] Ibid, p. 16

Zhou Zuoren did not leave much material concerning his private life during his six-year stay in Japan (1906–1912). What we know now about his life in Japan and his views on Japanese cuisine come from his later writing and dairy entries, especially after 1920. The specific area in Japanese culinary culture in which Zhou engaged the most was tea, or more accurately, *chadō* (茶道).[134] In his *Book of Tea*, originally written in English, Okakura referred to the broader aesthetic behind this concept as 'Teaism'. In his own words, he defined 'Teaism' as 'a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful among the sordid facts of everyday existence. It inculcates purity and harmony, the mystery of mutual charity, the romanticism of the social order. It is essentially a worship of the Imperfect, as it is a tender attempt to accomplish.'[135] Like most Chinese and Japanese elites in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Zhou Zuoren was a tea lover who was extremely strict about the quality of tea leaves, tea preparing and tea food. In a 1924 jotting, Zhou complained that he had never tasted any good tea food in Beijing, and then angrily asserted: 'The life in China now is so dry and inelegant!'[136]

Zhou believed that a tie formed with Japanese tea culture could potentially prevent the Westernisation of Chinese tea culture, which he viewed as culturally damaging for both China and Japan. Specifically, Zhou's understanding of Japanese teaism was an extension of Okakura Tenshin's interpretation of the Japanese way of tea as described in the *Book of Tea*, for

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[134] The term '茶道' has been translated more frequently as *chadō* in modern research. However, this research uses 'Teasim', the original term used by Okakura Tenshin, generally because Zhou's discussion on the Japanese way of Tea almost exclusively referred to Okakura's conception and philosophy of tea in his *Book of Tea*.

[135] Okakura, Kakuzo. *The Book of Tea*. (New York, 1964), p. 1.

[136] Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, pp. 4–5.

the Chinese version of which he wrote a preface. Zhou Zuoren called it a part of Japan's 'symbolic culture'.[137]

Through the comparison of Chinese and Japanese tea, Zhou attempted to form a Zen–Confucianism relationship between the two tea cultures, which were different, equal and closely connected. He summarised this relationship as 'understanding the meaning (of each other) but acting differently' (心知其意而未能行).[138] Zhou's first discussion on Japanese tea culture was in his essay about Okakura Tenshin's *Book of Tea*. In this discussion, Zhou agreed with Tenshin's attempt to define post-Ming dynasty Chinese tea culture as 'naturalistic tea'. Differing from the Western combination of 'black tea and toast', the Chinese way of drinking unprocessed green tea focused not on the seizure of 'sensual pleasure' but on 'the fantastic taste of natural' (自然之妙味). What he meant by this concept was a complete and avid appreciation of all flavours carried by the tea leaves, including bitterness, sweetness and all other tastes. As a metaphor, Zhou suggested that people should enjoy the tea 'as if they had just come back from the desert', without any affectation, in order to receive the natural 'meaning of drinking tea'. In contrast to the Chinese 'naturalist tea' (自然主义的茶), Zhou viewed Japanese *chadō* as a representative art within Japan's 'symbolic culture'. As Zhou mentioned later, it used the strictest regulation and etiquette to form an unnatural sense of ritual. In his own words, the spirit of Japanese tea culture should be defined as 'Snatching leisure from heavy work, seizing happiness from a painful life, enjoying a tiny bit of beauty and harmony in the imperfect reality, feeling eternity in a flash' (忙里偷闲，苦中作乐，在不完全的现世享乐一点美与和谐，

[137] Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, pp. 9–11.

[138] Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, p. 9.

在刹那间体会永久). This spirit, in Zhou Zuoren's opinion, could be conceptualised as 'the way' (*dao* 道).[139]

In both his pre-war and post-war writing, Zhou referred to the *dao* as a unique Japanese feature, which Chinese culture in his time lacked. Behind the birth of *dao*, Zhou found two key elements in Japanese society that he believed had disappeared in China: religious sentiment and class consciousness. A full discussion of such a broad topic in Japanese and Chinese history is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, one thing that was clear for Zhou Zuoren was that the idea of *dao* created a branch point for the cognate Chinese and Japanese culture. Recent work by Morgan Pitelka has already questioned the consistency of the Zen–tea connection in Japan's teaism. As he puts it, 'for some, drinking tea from a bowl may indeed trigger satori, but for others, a bowl is just a bowl'.[140] Pitelka rethought the relationship between tea and religion, but Zhou's usage of teaism here clearly adopted Okakura's argument, which formed a strong Zen–tea relationship, or 'Dao'. This does not mean that the Japanese way of tea was necessarily a religious practice. Instead, what Zhou and Okakura meant by religious tea was a way of drinking tea that was influenced by and related to religious ideas. Similarly, Zhou formed a Confucian–tea connection with the Confucian-influenced Chinese way of tea, which emphasised a more direct absorption of tea's natural flavour and features. It then produced two parallel tea cultures: the civilian, naturalist Chinese tea culture, as well as the supermundane and yet religious Japanese way of tea. Zhou made this point clear in the preface he wrote for Okakura Tenshin's *Book of Tea*: '(Japanese) Teasim is religious, which has a nature of surpassing (the reality) and originated from Zen. The Chinese way of tea drinking was secular, or Confucian, just like the Cha Jin

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[139] Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, pp. 160–163.

[140] Winfield, Pamela, and Steven Heine (eds), *Zen and Material Culture* (New York, 2017; online edn: Oxford Academic), pp. 70–101.

said: Tea drinking is just experiencing the bitterness and sweetness' （茶道有宗教气，超越矣，其源盖本出于僧禅。中国的吃茶是凡人法，殆可称为儒家的，茶经云：啜苦咽甘，茶也）.[141]

Of course, it needs to be emphasised that Zhou Zuoren was by no means an expert on tea and tea culture. Many of the more recent studies have come to very different conclusions from Zhou's claims. For example, Patricia Graham has pointed out the connection between the Chinese style of tea drinking and Confucianism. However, she also mentioned that the Chinese tea way of *Sencha* (煎茶) was also popular during the Tokugawa era due to the Shogun's appreciation of Confucianist rituals and ideas.[142] Also, Yu-Chih Lai's work on tea and artists suggested that by the end of the first Sino-Japanese war, Sencha and its ceremony were still an important element in Japan's tea culture, representing China's importance within Sino-Japanese cultural interaction. In other words, it was China's defeat in the war that ended China's cultural significance among Japanese cultural elites.[143]

Nevertheless, both the Chinese and Japanese ways of drinking tea shared a significant feature of hazy beauty, and were superior to Western tea drinking, according to Zhou Zuoren. In his 1924 article 'Tea drinking' (喝茶), Zhou offered his view of the ideal East Asian way of tea drinking, which applied to both the Chinese and the Japanese:

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[141] Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, p. 162.

[142] Graham, P. J. Karamono for sencha: Transformations in the taste for Chinese art, in Pitelka, M. (Ed.).. *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, history and practice*, (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 112–114.

[143] Lai, Yu-chih, Tea and the art market in Sino-Japanese exchanges of the late nineteenth century: Sencha and the Seiwan meien zushi. In Joshua, Fogel, *Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, (LA, 2013), pp. 50–51.

One should drink tea in a traditional house and under a window covered with paper. Drink green tea with spring water, using delicate China teaware, with one or two of your friends, enjoying half a day's rest, which is better than ten years of secular life. After drinking, keep your daily job one by one for fame and your own interest, nothing would be unproper.

喝茶当于瓦屋纸窗之下，清泉绿茶，用素雅的陶瓷茶具，同二三人共饮，得半日之闲，可抵十年的尘梦。喝茶之后，再去继续各人的胜业，无论为名为利，都无不可.

In the same paragraph, he did not neglect to disdain the Western way of drinking tea by writing: 'Putting sugar into black tea is extremely vulgar' (红茶加糖，可谓俗已).[144]

Unsurprisingly, Zhou strongly criticised the Westernisation of tea culture in urban China. Just as Susan Daruvala has argued, Zhou, in contrast to many of his contemporaries, refused to accept the assumption that Chinese civilisation was inferior to the modern civilisation of the West.[145] This attitude could also be reflected in his view on food. Some tea houses in Beijing, mentioned by Zhou, had become 'too Westernised and have lost their true nature. As a result, they all actually turn into [a] third-class bistro' (过于洋场化，失了本意，其结果成为饭馆子之流). The tea food served in these places was thus called 'Manchurian Chinese Bobo' (a kind of Chinese steamed bread 满汉饽饽) by Zhou, which was basically the same as 'A Dou' (阿阿兜) (a disrespectful name for Western culture in south China). Given the background of diplomatic conflict between China and Japan in 1924, when he wrote this

144 Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, pp. 10–11.

145 Daruvala, *Zhou Zuoren and an alternative Chinese response to modernity*, p. 11.

piece, Zhou only obscurely advised that learning from Japan could be a way to counter Western cultural infiltration: 'Although the Japanese desserts are all also products of beans and rice' (日本的点心虽是豆米的成品), he remarked, 'the elegant shape and outlooking, as well as their simple and pure flavour, make them meet the qualification of perfect tea food' (但那优雅的形色，朴素的味道，很合于茶食的资格).[146] In one of his later essays, Zhou became more straightforward on this point. He called Westernised Yang Geng (a traditional East Asian red bean dessert 羊羹) with cream and vanilla on the Chinese market an 'unrecognisable' member in 'the team of Western dim sum'. He could not hide his sadness about this change, as well as his yearning for the simplicity of Japanese Yang Geng and the delicate fragrance of red bean (小豆的清香).[147]

Yang Geng (羊羹) was a perfect example of Zhou Zuoren's aspiration for a Sino-Japanese culinary connection. Okakura claimed, in his 1903 book *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, that Japan was a museum of Asiatic civilisation – and yet more than a museum because the singular genius of the race leads it to dwell on all phases of the ideals of the past.[148] Similarly, Zhou had always thought that Japan preserved many ancient Chinese traditions, which was something precious to China during his time. Cuisine was, for him, a good example of this claim. Yang Geng literately means lamb stew. According to Ueda Kyosuke's research, Yang Geng was originally called Yang Gan Bing (羊肝饼) in China and was brought to Japan

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[146] Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, p. 11.

[147] Ibid., p. 373.

[148] Okakura, Kakuzo, *The Ideals of the East: With special reference to the art of Japan* (London, 1903), p. 5.

by monks during the Tang dynasty.[149] Zhou Zuoren believed that Chinese Zen monks created this dish as one of many fake Buddhist dishes at the time. It looks like meat but tastes like delicate red bean paste. From the Meiji era, Yang Geng re-entered China and became the 'perfect tea food' and the 'symbol of Zen culinary culture' for Zhou Zuoren. Similarly, in his 1924 jotting, he wrote that 'Sashimi was the ancient fresh raw fish dish in Guang dong, as recorded in the Song dynasty classic *Qi Min Yao Shu* 刺身即广东的鱼生，寿司（《杂事诗》作寿志）即古昔的鱼鲜，其制法见于《齐民要术》. In another work, in 1965, Zhou further linked the history of Japanese sashimi with the Kuai 脍 in sixth-century China, this being the classic Chinese term for raw meat. However, raw meat-eating habits faded away around the mid-Ming dynasty period due to, according to Zhou, the influence of Mongolian rule. In the same article, he called the loss of raw meat-eating a pitiable 'decline of the sense of taste' (味觉的没落) and viewed it as a great loss for the 'Han nation'. Obviously, Zhou rejoiced to see that Japan still retained this old East Asian ritual, which allowed him to see 'the atmosphere of the ancient time' (古时的风气).[150]

Zhou was, however, by no means ignorant of the differences between the current Chinese and Japanese culinary culture. However, he interpreted the domestic development of Japanese cuisine in terms of its divergence from a Chinese origin. Besides sashimi and Yang Geng, Zhou also mentioned many dishes that were either lost or totally changed in China, but still alive in Japan. For example, bitter tea (苦茶), dried perilla plum (紫苏梅干) and the so-called eight Chinese desserts (八种唐果子). However, Japan had selectively changed

[149] Ueda Kyosuke, *Shumi no shina sōdan* 趣味の支那叢談, (Tokyo, 1940), p. 6.

[150] Zhou Zuoren, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, p. 373, pp. 464–466.

or, in Zhou's opinion, purified these food items based on their understanding of ancient Chinese culinary culture. While Chinese cuisine had been totally changed by various external factors, Japanese cuisine, Zhou claimed, had started a process of 'turning from complexity to simplicity, from thickness to mildness' (由华丽转向简素，由浓厚转向清淡) since the twelfth century. He indicated in one of his later essays that the Japanese small plates 'do not contain animal products in most cases, and use only a small amount of oil unlike Chinese desserts' (般不用荤腥，也绝少用油，就是像中国点心那种起酥翻毛的皮也是绝没有的).[151]

For Zhou Zuoren, Japanese culinary culture was more comfortable to enjoy as an Asian person, and more in line with his perception of an ideal ancient East Asian culture. In his 1935 essay 'Japan's clothing, food and housing' (日本的衣食住), Zhou expressed his unique feelings about his Japanese life from 1906–1912:

I was a believer in national revolution, and nationalism always has a revivalist ideology. We were against the (Manchurian) Qing dynasty and thought everything before the Qing or (Mongolian) Yuan dynasty was wonderful.

我那时又是民族革命的一信徒，凡民族主义必含有复古思想在里边，我们反对清朝，觉得清以前或元以前的差不多都好，何况更早的东西.

In the same essay, he was also more specific on his concept of cultural purification:

[151] Zhou Zuoren, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, p. 59.

The Chinese and Japanese both belong to the yellow skinned Mongolian race, and have a shared cultural origin, but the two countries have evolved with divergent outcomes today. Japan gave up the Eunuch system in the Tang dynasty, foot-binding in the Song dynasty, the eight-legged essay exam in the Ming dynasty and Opium in the Qing dynasty… I deeply respect Japan's ability to selectively adopt Chinese culture, and wish China could someday clean up the dirty parts of its own culture.

中日同是黄色的蒙古人种，日本文化古来又取资中上，然而其结果乃或同或异，唐时不取太监，宋时不取缠足，明时不取八股，清时不取雅片，又何以嗜好迥殊耶。。。我固深钦日本之善于别择，一面却亦仍梦想中国能干将来荡涤此诸染污，盖此不比衣食住是基本的生活，或者其改变尚不至于绝难欤.[152]

From what has already been shown in earlier chapters here, we can easily demonstrate how Zhou Zuoren's descriptions of Chinese and Japanese cuisine were biased and untrue. For example, Yang Geng, the symbol of Chinese and Japanese Zen cuisine for Zhou, was by no means a Buddhist food when it was in China. Medieval Japanese religious texts such as the 'Zenrin ko-uta' (禪林小歌) and 'Teikun ōrai' (庭训往来) clearly prove that by the early Muromachi era, Yang Geng still only meant lamb stew in both China and Japan.[153] However, looking at his views on the Sino-Japanese culinary connection gives us a valuable example of how a member of the Chinese cultural elite and a pan-Asianist used cuisine as a tool to build his thought, as well as a kind of Sino-Japanese bond beyond political reality, formed with historical interaction and mutual understanding of the two peoples.

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[152] Zhou, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, p. 67.

[153] Tanaka, *Chūgokuryōri denrai-shi*, pp. 125–135.

Earlier in this section, I cited Susan Daruvala's claim that Zhou was no pan-Asianist politically. At this point, it is important to clarify that the discussion and reading above on Zhou's view on culinary culture does not contradict this claim. In the same book, Daruvala provided a comparison between Zhou and the French scholar Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893) in terms of his view of race and nation. Through this comparison, she concluded: 'culture, by which he means the material culture of everyday life, is being privileged over nation, which even has not been mentioned.'[154] For Zhou, the essence of the Sino-Japanese relationship, as well as all relationships between civilisations, was cultural. Political reality changes, but an 'unbreakable' relationship could be founded upon exchange. In his 1935 essay, Zhou claimed that: 'The cultural relationship between Japan and China should be like that of Rome and Greece' (日本与中国在文化的关系上本犹罗马之与希腊), but now, through the misfortune of accident, it had become 'Germany and France in the East' (东方之德法).[155] This trend was tragic for Zhou and he believed it should be reversed, but it also showed his view that even if the international relationship changed, the cultural relationships would not disappear. Hong's work criticised Zhou for his sudden change of thoughts after the beginning of the war and his support for the theory of 'East Asia is a whole', which had been used by Japanese militarism. He suggested that Zhou was 'drawn' by Japan's pan-Asianist idea.[156] Nevertheless, Zhou's faith in the idea of 'East Asia is one' might have started far earlier, but not within the realm of politics. Zhou might have never believed in a political unification of East Asia in any form, but he viewed cultural connection between East Asian civilisations as a more important and realistic target to achieve. From this prospective, Zhou never changed his attitude. Just as Yan Haosheng's work on Zhou's poetry has

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[154] Daruvala, *Zhou Zuoren and an alternative Chinese response to modernity*, p. 64.

[155] Zhou Zuoren, *Zhi Tang Tan Chi*, p. 67.

[156] Hong Seukpyo, '*Zhou Zuoren de Dong Ya Wen Ming Yishi*', pp. 347–348.

shown that he never stopped criticising the authorities for mandating patriotism, even as a prisoner after the end of the war, he kept writing about his views on Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges through discussion on cuisine even in the last three years of his life, when he faced the most serious of political restrictions.[157]

Between China and Japan's culinary cultures, Zhou Zuoren wanted to recreate a link that should be beneficial to both of them. Of course, from Zhou's perspective, China would gain more by learning from Japanese cuisine, but the relationship between the two cuisines, as well as the relationship between the two cultures, should be equal and interactive. The fate of 'Asian people', for Zhou, was heavily dependent on the connection between China and Japan: 'I still clearly see that the Chinese and the Japanese were both Asian. Although they are now in a different situation, the two countries will eventually share the same destiny' (我仍明确地看明白日本与中国毕竟同是亚细亚人，兴衰祸福目前虽是不同，究竟的命运还是一致). He continued: 'The Asian people would finally become the inferior race (if the Sino-Japanese relationship is not justified)' (亚细亚人岂终将沦于劣种乎，念之偶然). The meaning of Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges for Zhou Zuoren was not simply that one might improve Chinese culinary culture using Japanese cuisine, but that it could create a route to a broader or 'purer' East Asian culture to confront the threat of Western civilisation and show its true value.

China as a 'homeland': Aoki Masaru's Meibutsu study and Kyoto school sinologists

In the early twentieth century, few would have doubted that Tokyo had replaced Beijing as the cultural centre of the region. Chinese elites, such as Zhou Zuoren and his more famous brother Lu Xun, were all educated in

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[157] Yang, *A Modernity Set to a Pre-Modern Tune*, p. 337.

Japan, and were heavily influenced by Japanese culture. At the same time, Japanese culture itself was rapidly developing and evolving. Nevertheless, during this process, Japanese scholars and cultural elites had inevitably faced a serious question: How should Japan view China in terms of culture? Even the most nationalist and chauvinist Japanese scholar had to admit the fact that Chinese influences existed in almost every single corner of Japanese culture. Some Japanese historians in the early twentieth century, represented by the famous Tokyo school, attempted to separate such a connection from Japan's story of success by highlighting Japan's Westernisation. Founded by Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942) and Ichimura Sanjirō (1864–1947), these Tokyo University scholars aimed to use strict Rankean school doctrines to re-study China and East Asia's history.[158] Others, however, still insisted that the Chinese elements, especially the ancient ones, were a vital part of Japan's academic world and identity, and that the Chinese way of researching should be adopted by Japanese historians. This confrontation led to the emergence of a unique group of scholars: the Kyoto school oriental historians or Kyoto school sinologists. This section focuses on the attempt by Kyoto school historians such as Aoki Masaru and Naitō Konan to use their academic work on culinary ingredients to emphasise the cultural connection between China and Japan. We will find that, for them, the bond formed by historical exchange between the two countries was solid, but in a controversial status. China was 'advanced' but at the same time 'feeble'. However, by any measure, Chinese and Japanese cultures were undividable.

Who exactly are the Kyoto school sinologists? The answer to this question is quite diffuse. Liu Zhen's 2009 work on scholars of the Kyoto school pointed out that this term is sometimes replaced by 'Kansei school' nowadays, as many

[158] Shih, Chih-Yu & Yeh, Hong lin, The classic contexts of Shiratori Kurakichi's oriental historiography: The origin of scientific China research in Japan, in *Wenti Yu Yanjiu*, vol 5, No. 45, (September, 2006), pp. 1–14.

of the universities in western Japan have adopted Kyoto University's ideas on East Asian historical study. However, a widely accepted beginning for the Kyoto school was 1909, when Professor Kano Naoki (1868–1947) gave the first Chinese language and literature lecture. Two more lectures on oriental history were added in 1907 and 1908, when Naitō Konan (1866–1934) and Kuwabara Jitsuzō (1871–1931) became lecturer and professor, respectively. With their huge influence and academic networks, these three figures were viewed as the founders of the Kyoto school of oriental study. In 1930, Chinese scholar Guo Moruo (1892–1978) published his famous research on Oracle bone script in his book *A Study of Ancient Chinese Society*, receiving significant criticism from sinologists and historians at Tokyo University, but simultaneously wide support from Tokyo University. He then became the first to use the term 'Kyoto school sinologists' in writing.[159] Generally speaking, Kyoto school sinologists/oriental historians supported the view of understanding China using the Chinese way. Most of the Kyoto school scholars, apart from Kuwabara, thought that Chinese history should be researched as a part of an independent sinology, together with Chinese philosophy and literature. They did not used the term 'oriental history' to describe their work to elaborate the importance and uniqueness of Chinese study. Kyoto school sinologists, especially Naitō and Kano, used a methodology based on China's Qing dynasty Qianjia school's (乾嘉学派) textual criticism, which encouraged the cross-validation of historical sources from different ages, as well as archaeological findings. As a result, Kyoto school scholars usually had a close relationship with Chinese academia and relied heavily on fieldwork in China to conduct their studies. Most Kyoto school scholars did not appreciate the Westernisation of Japanese academia and tended to keep Japanese sinology up to date. To reach this target, Kyoto school scholars, including Kuwabara, frequently studied the latest Chinese knowledge to increase their ability to

[159] Liu, Zhen, *Jing Du Xue Pai* 京都学派, (Shanghai, 2009), pp. 10–33.

understand Chinese society at the time. This attitude brought them a wide and friendly connection with Chinese intellectuals including Hu Shi, Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, Qian Xuantong and Huang Kan.[160] As a result, it was not strange to find that these scholars were mostly steady supporters of pan-Asianists and did not deny the critical importance of Chinese culture as the origin and representer of Eastern civilisation. China was their spiritual homeland. Just like Zhou Zuoren, most of the Kyoto school scholars, with perhaps the exception of Kuwabara Jitsuzō, embraced a revival of Chinese culture. The compatibility of their ideas could be observed in the 1919 book of *Hinmaiki* (品梅記), or 'A review of Mei Lanfang'. It was a collection of reviews and comments from almost all Kyoto school sinologists after seeing the Chinese Peking opera master Mei Lanfang's performance in Kyoto in 1919. The co-authors included Kanda Kiichirō (1897–1984), Naitō Konan, Kano Naoki and Aoki Masaru. In this book, most Kyoto scholars appreciated Mei Lanfang's attempt to revive the ancient Chinese opera of Kun Qu (昆曲) and to integrate it into Peking opera.[161] Naitō wrote: '(Mei's effort on Kun Qu) reminded us that he might be a sign of the rebirth of China's declining art.' His student Naba Toshisada (1890–1970) suggested that the symbolism of Chinese opera was the key to its value, and its simplicity compared to Western opera did not mean backwardness. Kanda concluded: 'through Mei Lanfang people can know that Eastern dramatic art had values that [the] Western one did not.'[162] These scholars' view of China and the Sino-Japanese relationship were based on their deep understanding of Chinese culture and knowledge, and they

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[160] Qian, Wanyue, 'Riben zhongguoxue jingduxuepai chuyi' 日本中国学京都学派刍议, *Journal of Peking University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, issue 5, No. 37, (February, 2000), pp. 126–133.

[161] Li, Liwei, 'Cong pingmeiji kan jingduxuepai dui jingjurenshi de gaibian' 从《品梅记》看"京都学派"对京剧认识的改变 in *Cultural heritage*, vol 5, (January, 2015), pp. 45–55.

[162] Ibundō, *Hinmaiki,* (1919, Kyoto), pp. 61–62, 93–97, 161–162.

naturally discriminated any opinions on China without enough understanding.[163] To a certain degree, they were the perfect examples of Yoshino Sakuzō's 'cultural Asianism', which suggested that learning East Asian knowledge was a critical condition to connect East Asian countries together. In other words, there was a need to recreate and study the experience and understanding of 'being East Asian' among Japanese people.

Among those Kyoto school scholars who had written in *Hinmaiki*, Aoki Masaru was a particularly special one. He was the only one who had not watched Mei Lanfang's performance in person due to illness. He wrote an article reviewing Mei's efforts on reviving Kun Qu, with a comparison between Kun Qu and Peking opera. Li Liwei's research, however, suggested that Aoki's review was the most valuable one as he was the most prestigious expert on Chinese dramatic art among Kyoto school sinologists, or even in the whole of Japan.[164] Aoki strongly opposed Peking opera, which in most cases utilised existing novels as scripts and had fixed background music. He criticised Peking opera as a vulgar art and a throwback to the primitive form of drama. Aoki claimed that the renaissance of Chinese drama should be based on the elegant ancient art of Qun Qu, which for him had significantly higher literary value.[165] Such a view changed after his three visits to China in 1922, 1925 and 1926. After watching living Peking opera, he finally admitted its historical importance and beauty and changed his academic view. He started to criticise the documentary approach in Chinese study and emphasised the actual experiencing of Chinese culture.[166] Much of Aoki's research focused on the 'Literati's interest' (文人趣味), as well as the history behind it: food, music, art,

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[163] Ibid., pp. 46–47.

[164] Li, Liwei, *Pingmeiji*, p. 53.

[165] Ibid., pp 54–55.

[166] Li, Liwei, Aoki Masaru's view on Peking opera 青木正儿的京剧观, in *Xi Qu Yan Jiu*, vol. 4, (May, 2016), e-journal: http://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTotal-OXQY201604006.htm

domestic items… His later work covered a significant part of the exchanges of daily life and culture between Chinese and Japanese people.[167] Although he rarely mentioned political affairs directly, Aoki was a firm supporter of Sino-Japanese cultural connection. In 1927, he established the idea of 'Kanbun chokudoku' (漢文直読), to encourage Japanese scholars to read Chinese characters directly. He was opposed to Kunyomi as he claimed it would lose the 'aroma of China'.[168]

Aoki's efforts towards strengthening the Sino-Japanese cultural bond could also be reflected clearly in food and culinary culture, where a significant number of intense exchanges took place. The work of scholars helped trace the historical exchanges between China and Japan, which to a certain degree defined the coherence of East Asian culture. One of the most typical examples was his creation of *Meibutsu study* 名物学, which we will discuss in detail in this section.

Firstly, it is important to explain what the study of Meibutsu Gaku is. In Aoki's own words, his study was 'An undivided part of classic Confucian exegetics … The critical part of this study was to exegete the name and the subject under that name, as well as conducting textual research of the relationship between the name and the subject under that name' (訓詁学の一部分として、一体不可分の密接な関係を保ちつつ発生してきたものと考えられる。。。要するに斯学は端を名物の訓詁に発し、名物の考証をもって窮極の

[167] Gu, Chenyao, 'Aoki masaru no meibutsu-gaku kenkyū to sono hyōka ni tsuite' 青木正児の名物学研究とその評価について, *Annual Bulletin of Kansei University Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies*, 51 (April, 2008), pp. 228–229.

[168] Wu, Jun, Qingmuzhener de hanwenzhidulun yu zhongguozhixinxiang 青木正儿的"汉文直读论"与"中国之馨香", *Chinese Culture Research*, vol. 2, (January, 2015), pp. 166–173.

目的とする).[169] Aoki highlighted the relationship between Meibutsu study and traditional Confucian textual criticism, which started in the Eastern Han dynasty and reached its peak in the Qing dynasty. In Confucian classics, this approach was called Zheng ming (正名), which literally means 'the rectification of names' or 'name correction' in English. Timothy O'Neill's work on the East Han dynasty (1st century BC) *Shuowen jiezi* (说文解字) showed to English audiences that the significance of Zheng ming had been emphasised by ancient Chinese scholars since 121 BC. Qing dynasty scholar Duan Yucai (1735–1815) wrote in his review of *Shuowen jiezi* that: 'the sages established meaning by making words correct—following from the fact that was so, Xu Shen thus made the Shuowen' (聖人正名之義也，然則[許]作說文).[170] Modern Chinese, Korean and Japanese scholars more frequently used *Kunko* (訓詁) to describe a similar but more developed method, which means 'tame the ancient items'. Kin Bunkyo's *Literary Sinitic and East Asia: A cultural sphere of vernacular reading* provided a more specific explanation: 'kun (訓) refers to explaining difficult sinographs in easier, plainer words and ko (詁) refers to the elucidation of ancient words using more current language.' He also pointed out that it had become the basis for a subsequent tradition of commentarial scholarship since the 3rd century.[171] Qing dynasty Chinese and Edo-era Japanese Confucian scholars usually practised *Kunko* by comparing the definition of a particular item from multiple classical texts, in order to find the contradictions within. On the other hand, Aoki combined the traditional Chinese method with Western philology to create a new way of textual

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[169] Aoki, Masru, *Chuka Mebutsu Kou* 中華名物考, (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 5–6.

[170] O'Neill, Timothy. Xu Shen's Scholarly Agenda: A New Interpretation of the Postface of the Shuowen jiezi. *Journal of American Oriental Society*, , 133.3, (July, 2013), pp. 413–440.

[171] Kin, Bunkyo. *Literary Sinitic and East Asia: A cultural sphere of vernacular reading*. (Leiden, 2021).

research. Originally, Kunko was usually used as an efficient tool to help scholars read Chinese classics. Aoki, in his Meibutsu study, had a similar but more progressive goal: to help researchers understand classic history between China and Japan.[172] What the Meibutsu study showed was not simply terminology or etymology, but a unique way to form connections between Japan and ancient China. A large part of Aoki's Meibutsu study was on culinary culture, which explored how Chinese and Japanese culinary elements under the same Chinese characters developed in the process of exchanges.

One significant point of view on which Aoki focused is the importance of Chinese food culture for the completeness of Japanese culture. He argued that Japanese history could not be studied alone without reference to Chinese history; if it was, embarrassing mistakes would be made. For example, in Aoki Masaru's article 'To refute Dr Tanaka's arguments on the orange', he pointed out that, without looking at ancient Chinese texts, Japanese people would not even be able to correctly identify some basic foods in their daily lives. In this article, he mentioned that the Chinese character 橙 (pronounced 'cheng' in Chinese and 'daidai' in Japanese) was usually used to denote the orange fruit in Japanese. However, most Japanese people did not realise that the fruit they thought of as 橙 (which is Daidai) was actually another type of bitter and almost inedible citrus fruit in Japan. At the same time, the real orange was called Yuzu 柚子 in Japanese, which in Chinese characters means Pomelo in China. From the Kamakura era, the Japanese had been so unsure about the meaning of 橙 that biologists and historians in the Taishō era and early Showa era often argued with each other on the matter. In 1925, Shiroi's work even indicated that the Chinese orange had been extinct since the Tang dynasty while the Japanese Yuzu was the only real orange in East Asia. Aoki

[172] Ibid.

suggested that such a mistake could have been avoided if they had just had a look at Zhu Shunshui's diary or any ancient Chinese context.[173] Through such exploration of the fluid meanings during the process of Sino-Japanese interaction, Aoki did not deny the local development of Japanese culture, but indicated the importance of knowing what the original Chinese content was.

Another example would be plum blossom, which contained more well-defined cultural or literal symbolism for Chinese and Japanese literati. As an important element of East Asian literature, the plum and plum flower can be frequently found in both Chinese and Japanese poems. In most cases, the aroma of plum was viewed as a symbol of winter. However, Aoki claimed that in Japanese literature, anything concerning the plum and its aroma before the Genroku (元禄) era (1688–1703) was, in fact, self-deception. The local Japanese plum variety was not aromatic at all. From the era of Manyōshū, Japanese poets, under the influence of Chinese romantic literature, were admiring a fragrance that they had never personally smelled – until the Chinese green plum was imported to Kyoto in the seventeenth century. Aoki used this example to illustrate how important Chinese culture was to Japan. 'Most valuably,' he wrote, 'we don't have to lie in front of the plums.'[174]

For Aoki, studying China and Japan's culinary history was not a unidirectional move. He was one of the first historians to use Japanese classical texts to make arguments about Chinese history. His Meibutsu study began in 1919 but was flourishing by 1943. Almost 100 kinds of food or ingredients were studied by Aoki and his students, with their unique methodology, which provided a relatively full picture of culinary exchanges

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[173] Zhu Shunshui was a late Ming dynasty Confucian scholar who fled to Japan after the Manchurian conquer of China. He was an important figure on the interaction between Chinese and Japanese intellectuals. Zhu provided a chance for Japanese scholars in the Edo era to get access to the latest Chinese culture as well as Confucian ideas.

[174] Ibid., pp. 151–153.

between China and Japan from ancient times to the modern era. One of the main purposes of their works was, of course, to show that the Chinese and Japanese cultures were interconnected and could be understood directly without obstacles. In many of these works, Aoki not only identified how Chinese food affected Japan's culinary culture, but also used Japanese classical texts to support arguments in Chinese history. For example, in his 1946 work on sugar cane, Aoki pointed out that the earliest textual evidence for China's sugar production was actually from the Japanese classic medical book *Compendium of Materia Medica* 本草和名, written by the emperor's personal doctor, Fukue Sukehito. He thus proved that the Chinese had produced granulated sugar since the Tang dynasty, which was an argument that could previously only be supported by myth in Chinese texts. In contrast, Aoki did not intentionally split Chinese and Japanese culture into two diverse parts. When discussing the history of garlic in East Asia, he started from the Northern Song dynasty's story *Qi Min Yao Shu* (齐民要术) of the Zhangqian mission to the West, comparing the Edo Japanese work *Komo-dan (*紅毛談) and the Han dynasty Chinese romantic poem *Nan Du fu (*南都赋), and then moving to Kojiki's (古事记) record on the Shinbu emperor's conquests. He finally drew the conclusion that 'food that originated in the west seems all smelly, and did not fit our taste'.[175] From 1943–1962, he completed his research on 74 culinary items in relation to Sino-Japanese connections, ranging from ingredients to cooking and eating ware.

Overall, it was not difficult for the audiences to find Aoki's extremely complex, sometimes contradictory feelings towards Chinese culinary culture in some aspects of his work. In a 1948 article, he enthusiastically praised the Chinese for their mastery of the use of spices in cuisine. 'In Beijing, people

[175] Ibid., p. 98.

created an amazing fragrance using only five spices,' he recalled, 'not to mention those complex seasonings which combined over ten spices, my mouth is watering even by imagining it.'[176] However, at the same time, he also proposed that the Japanese cuisine's mild taste and lack of flavour was an advantage. He wrote that 'our nerve focused on one aroma and one taste, [and] concentrated our sense to enjoy one flavour'. Aoki thought that for Japanese people, even a single piece of ginger has natural beauty. He suggested that 'the use of spices should be avoided if the ingredients were, even only a little bit, aromatic'. Interestingly, he quoted a Song dynasty Chinese tea book to support his argument: 'In Jian'an, people never add spices (herbs, fruit or other seasonings) in the tea due to the fear of covering its true flavour' (建安民间试茶皆不入香，恐夺其真).

For Aoki, Chinese and Japanese cuisine should be linked, prosper and at the same time different with their own characteristic. On the one hand, he admired the 'Japanese spirit' of 'loving pure and delicate fragrance'; on the other, he felt sad about some simplified Chinese seasoning formulas when he was in China in the last year of the Taishō era and saw it as a sign of China entering the so-called 'period of cultural declining' (文化衰老期). In his earlier book *Kakoku Humi* (華国風味), Aoki claimed that he was more familiar with Chinese taste than with Japanese, due to his father's preference, but he still argued that Japanese Shiokara (塩辛) was the best drink food ever.[177]

Aoki's attempt to use culinary elements as a tool to connect Chinese and Japanese history was shared by other Kyoto school historians. Although it was only rarely that any of his colleagues systematically worked on this topic like Aoki did, many of them utilised food in their studies. Naito Konan, one of the

[176] Ibid., pp. 172–174.

[177] Aoki, Masaru, *Kakoku fūmi* 華国風味, (Tokyo, 1949), pp 121-137.

most significant historians in the pre-war Kyoto University, also discussed the history of spices in East Asia and the role they played in Chinese and Japanese culture. Through researching ancient spice-producing areas in Chinese and Japanese classics, Naito claimed that most of the Japanese cultural elements relied on output or re-export from China. Although a few exceptions did exist, most of them would eventually develop along a similar path. Naitō used the example of agarwood (伽羅 or 沉香) to illustrate this argument. The mixture of resin and wood of agarwood was one of the most important and expensive material for appreciating incense in East Asia, it entered China and Japan separately through trade with South East Asia around the tenth century. However, when the Japanese monks Kokan Shiren and Gene went to China during the late Northern Song dynasty, they were surprised to find that this plant also existed in China and was enjoyed by Chinese people using almost exactly the same cooking method as was the case in Japan. The use of agalloch in both China and Japan was regarded as the beginning of the 'Art of fragrance' (香道), which Naito described as an interesting circumstance of fundamental 'culture similarity' between China and Japan.[178] In his 1921 book, he stated:

I think Japanese culture was just like Tofu. The ground soya juice needs an external force (or factor) to become Tofu. For Japan, Chinese culture is the nigari (滷汁) that concentrates Japanese cultural elements and makes it what it is now.[179]

余の考へるところでは、例へば豆腐を造る如きもので、豆を磨つた液の中に豆腐になる素质を持つてはゐたが、之を凝集さすべき他の力が加はらず

[178] Ibid., p 180-186

[179] Nigari (滷汁) is the salt solution that should be added into soya juice when making tofu.

にあつたので、支那文化は即ち其れを凝集さしたニガリの如きものであると考へるのであ.

Although Naito used tofu as a metaphor, it is not difficult to tell that his view on the Sino-Japanese relationship was not that dissimilar to Zhou Zuoren's Greek–Roman comparison.

Naito Konan, as possibly the only 'publicist' among the Kyoto school sinologists, had presented a more direct statement. When Naito saw the coastline of Shandong from the Japanese steamboat *Sendai Maru* in 1899, he observed: 'two thousand years of county system makes my homeland desolated like this, how pitiful!' （故国荒凉如此，皆二千年郡县制之余弊也，实令人无限痛惜也).[180] Although critical of China's political system, Naito used the word 'homeland' to refer to this country in both his diary and his academic writing in this period. In that whole year, Naito communicated with Chinese intellectuals in perfect classic Chinese, discussing China's revolution, felt angry about the discrimination to Chinese locals in Shanghai, and even wrote the first plan about renewing Beijing's terrible sewage system. As Qian Wanyue, the top Chinese researcher on Naito Konan, has suggested, Naito observed China as a Japanese scholar but thought about China from the perspective of a Chinese intellectual – positions that were undoubtedly contradictory.[181] Similar to Aoki and Kano Naoki, Naito believed that Chinese culture and Japanese culture were indivisible and that both belonged to a universal East Asian civilisation, but he went further by claiming that Japanese culture was an extension of Chinese culture. In his opinion, just as the centre of Chinese civilisation moved to the south over the course of

[180] Naitō konan, *Enzan sosui* 燕山楚水, (Tokyo, 1900), pp. 19–22.

[181] Qian, Wanyu, A review of Japanese Kyoto school sinology 日本中国学京都学派刍议, *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, vol. 5, (January, 2000), pp. 126–133.

history, the centre of East Asia in his era moved to Japan.[182] By saying that, Naito actually showed his idea that China was not a foreign land to Japan, just like soya beans and nigari would eventually integrate and become Tofu.

Comparing this to Zhou Zuoren's Japanese view and the Kyoto scholars' Chinese view, we can easily identify both the similarities and the differences. Neither side initially saw the other as simply a foreign nation. Zhou's Japan was a familiar 'foreign land' (异域) full of China's past, while Naito and Aoki's China was an unfamiliar 'homeland' (故乡) critical to Japan's present. When they looked at each other's history, they clearly did not have that biased eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western orientalist stand, described by Edward Said, of prejudiced outsider interpretations of the Eastern world. Instead, they were more often trying to find common elements between the two countries' history of cuisine, and to construct a cultural community between the two countries.

The new phase of East Asian political order created a circumstance in which understanding each other correctly had become an increasingly difficult target for both countries' elites. However, what became obvious was that the concept of a sense of shared cultural identity between Japan and China was arising from both sides. Throughout the discussion and research on culinary culture, both Zhou and the Kyoto school Japanese scholars mentioned a 'Greek–Roman' relationship between China and Japan, which reflected Yoshino Sakuzō's 'cultural Asianism'. Although Yoshino's pan-Asianism was still operating within the context of Japanese Empire, it was still a more liberal approach, emphasising the interconnection between East Asian nations. However, in contrast with Yoshino's view, this alternative vision of pan-Asianism was built on the basis of an anti-Western mood. Discrimination

[182] Qian, Wanyue, *Naito Konan research*, (Beijing, 2004), pp 126-159.

towards Western cuisine were ubiquitous in both Chinese and Japanese culinary studies in this period.

Why did many Kyoto school scholars choose food as an important area to study? With Naito Konan and Kuwabara Jitsuzō as two exceptions, according to Joshua Fogel's work, most of Kyoto School sinologists tended to reduce their frequency in making public political statements after entering Kyoto University as professors.[183] From many angles, Kyoto school historians were similar to Qianjia school Chinese scholars, whose individual thoughts were obscurely hidden under complicated textual research. The influential Kyoto school historians and philosophers in the Taishō and early Showa Japan used classic Chinese academic methodology to explore and admire every corner of China's past, but at the same time were heavily worried that this culture had already entered its final stage. Culinary culture thus became a perfect topic to explore this idea. Scholars like Aoki who had mastered Chinese classics were undoubtedly familiar with Chinese food, but still had a lot of content to discover. More importantly, they could insert their opinions on the new 'East Asian order' comfortably into these textual works without being criticised for issues related to politics, just as the early and mid-Qing dynasty Chinese scholars had done decades previously. For many pre-war pan-Asianist Japanese scholars, the culinary connection between China and Japan demonstrated a sense of belonging – a universal East Asian culture. China and Japan shared many ingredients and even culinary ideas through cultural communication, which formed perfect topics for Kyoto school sinologists, who adopted Qianjia school criticism as one of their key methodologies. Tea, spices, herbs, fruits – there were plenty of culinary elements that connected China and Japan's cultures. In the meantime, for them, even a simple mistake

[183] Fogel, Joshua. Kyoto University and the Importance of the Ch'ing in Chinese History. In *Politics and Sinology: The case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)*, 1st ed., Vol. 114, (1984, Harvard), pp. 111–162.

in a translation might be able to reveal an interesting piece of history within the process of adopting each other's culture.

Another side of the 'Shina-tsū': Tsuji Choka, Mihara Minpei and Gotō Asataro

Since the late nineteenth century, booming curiosity about China and Chinese culture among Japanese society inspired several generations of sinologists with wide academic influence. However, the professors in the imperial universities were not the only Japanese researchers who were interested in its biggest continental neighbour. The so-called 'experts on Chinese affairs', or Shina-tsū (シナ通), was another important group in Sino-Japanese history at the time. Broadly speaking, the term 'Shina-tsū' could be used to describe any Japanese people who spoke the Chinese language and were familiar with Chinese culture. The community of Shina-tsū was made up of many sub-groups including journalists, military attachés in China and politicians as well as some famous scholars. Western historians rarely focused on this group, but East Asian scholars tended to give it more attention. Literary historian Aida Yutaka described Shina-tsū as 'people who were attracted by China's charm' (シナに魅せられた人々).[184] Mitsuishi Zenkichi, in contrast, described the Shina-tsū as a group of intellectuals who were connected by the 'Great East Asian dream' and tried to influence Japan's China policies using their knowledge on Chinese affairs.[185] However, the image of the Shina-tsū was not always that positive from the perspective of the Sino-Japanese relationship.

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[184] Aida, Hiroshi, 'Kitai no kyōgeki-kyō Tsuji Chōka shina-tsū' retsuden (1)' 稀代の京劇狂（戯迷）辻聴花--「シナ通」 列伝（その 1)." *Sō bun* 創文, issue 532, (July, 2010), pp. 10–13.

[185] Mitsuishi, Zenkichi, 'Gotō Asatarō to inoue kōbai' 後藤朝太郎と井上紅梅, in *Asahi journal* 朝日ジャーナル, vol 14(32), (July, 1972), p 40-47

We are usually told, especially in Chinese language historiography, that the Japanese Shina-tsū played an extremely destructive role in the relationship between the two countries by acting as the pioneers of Japan's military aggression. Sha Qingqing's work about this particular group illustrated that most of the Shina-tsū expressed derogatory views about the Chinese nation in their public writings, and contributed to anti-Chinese sentiment.[186] Further, Du Xunchen claimed in his recent work that the Shina-tsū and their research outputs had, though sometimes unintentionally, euphemised and rhetorised Japan's war crimes towards China and other Asian countries. Japanese historians have also noted frequent anti-Chinese attitudes among the Shina-tsū. Tobe Ryōichi's 2015 book focused on the Shina-tsū in the Japanese army between the first and second Sino-Japanese wars. In this work, he specifically explored how the Japanese army used these experts as spies and military consultants in both peacetime and wartime.[187]

There is no need to doubt that the Shina-tsū were closely associated with Japan's imperial expansion in China. Nevertheless, their ideas and roles in Japanese imperialism were complex, as was Japanese chauvinistic rhetoric of affinity and superiority. While Karen Thornber's famous 2009 work has explored the multifaceted, conflicting and intense internal literature exchanges within the East Asian region under the domination of the Japanese Empire, Shina-tsū's opinions on culinary cultures can provide historians with further understandings of the Sino-Japanese relationship at the time.[188] A Shina-tsū like Tsuji Choka could criticise China's national character in his report on Chinese education to the Japanese government, but at the same

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[186] Sha Qingqing, *Baozou Junguo: Jindai riben de Zhanzhenjiyi* 暴走军国：近代日本的战争记忆, (Shanghai, 2018), pp. 169-189.

[187] Du Xunchen, *Riben zai jindai zhongguo de touzi* 日本在近代中国的投资, (2019, Beijing), p. 379.

[188] Thornber, Karen Laura. *Empire of Texts In Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese transculturations of Japanese literature*. E-book, (Harvard 2009).

time advocate the idea of 'same culture, same race' (同文同种) in his book *Shina Ryōri no Hanashi* (支那料理の話). Inoue Kōbai (1881–1949) condemned the 'lazy nature' of the Chinese in many of his articles, but this did not prevent him saying, in *Shina Fūzoku* (支那風俗), that the characteristics of Chinese and Japanese people were not that different, and the two civilisations shared a similar origin.[189] Different Shina-tsū could show this contract in different ways, but in common, as we will see, almost all of them pointed out an urgent need to know China better.

Shina-tsū tended to view the Japanese lack of knowledge on China as a sign of stupidity and ignorance. Culinary culture then became a typical example of such an accusation. They could not be more willing to correct the negative impression and bias among Japanese people towards Chinese culinary culture. The Shina-tsū used Chinese food, together with its historical influence on Japanese cuisine, as an agent to express their ideal Sino-Japanese relationship. Perhaps the Shina-tsū did not care about specific food and cooking skills that much compared to professional scholars and culinary researchers. Nevertheless, the messages behind their comments on food should not be ignored. Generally, there are three messages that we can find from the Shina-tsū's research on Chinese cuisine. First, China and Japan's national characters complement each other. Although different individuals had different understandings of the term 'national character' (国民性), they were generally agreed that learning from each other was critical for China and Japan's future development. Second, communication on the cultural dimension, particularly in the culinary area, was essential for a long-term harmonious Sino-Japanese relationship. Finally, East Asian culture has

[189] Inoue, *Shina Huzoku*, pp. 2–77.

fundamental differences from Western culture. Thus, all Japanese people should be vigilant towards the danger of total Westernisation.

'China was a world rather than a nation state,' claimed Tokutomi Sohō, one of the leading right-wing thinkers and politicians in pre-war and war time Japan, in his book of 1918.[190] This kind of view was dominant among Japanese intellectuals in the Taishō era. After the first Sino-Japanese war, the Chinese were usually considered by Japanese scholars and politicians to lack *the concept of nation* (国家观念). This idea encouraged Japan's aggressive diplomatic acts towards China, as many of the Japanese elites believed that it was Japan's duty and manifesto to help China build a modern nation state. We can see this through the example of Gotō Asataro who was a sinologist and professor at Tokyo Imperial University. After graduating from TIU in 1907, Gotō visited China more than 20 times in eight years. His research covered a wide range of China's history, language and culture, but his best-known feature was his Chinese lifestyle. From 1920 to his death, Gotō always wore Chinese clothes in public and described himself as a Chinese man. This made him probably the most famous Shina-tsū in Japan before 1945; it also gained him attention from Tokkō, the Japanese secret police organisation. It is believed that he was assassinated by the Japanese government in 1945 after constantly criticising Japan's aggression towards China. Gotō believed that an important part of China's national character was individualism and the sense of autonomy, which Japanese culture lacked. In his book *Shina Ryōri No Maeni* 支那料理の前に, Gotō used China's banquet etiquette as an example. 'A Chinese man,' he pointed out, 'will not hesitate to take his shirt off at a banquet if the weather is too hot.' Gotō observed that Chinese people, regardless of their class and wealth, were all able to fully enjoy themselves at the dining table. In other words, the 'idea of society' seemed to disappear

[190] Tokutomi Sohō, *Shina manyūki,* (Tokyo, 1917), p. 8.

when they were having their food. In the same book, Gotō listed 12 characteristics of Chinese people and combined these 12 contradictory descriptions into one sentence: 'The enlarged and deepened self' (自ら大なる我、深刻味のある我).[191] Such individualism contributed to one of the most significant attributes of Chinese people: optimism (楽天). Gotō believed that this feature was the 'key to the Chinese spirit' and should be learnt by Japanese people. In one of his later works, Gotō even predicted that the individualism of Chinese people reflected at the dining table would actually allow them to build a 'supranational organisation' and form a new type of state.[192] In some ways, he was right. At the same time, he criticised his fellow countrymen from the angle of eating. 'When eating their dinners, Tokyoites were still worrying if they could catch the metro.' Furthermore, Gotō suggested that Japanese people had to learn the ability of integrating from Chinese people. After years of experience in China, Gotō observed that most of the Japanese settlers in China did not have any connection with the local community at all. They 'lived together, ate together and drink together', and the vast majority of these migrants were heavily reliant on government subsidies and the identity of being Japanese to survive in China. When he was visiting Taiwan in 1921, he was surprised by the inefficiency and incompetence of a local Japanese firm. 'After 30 years of integration,' he complained, 'I still can only find Japanese food in a soya sauce store, [people] who gained their jobs just because of their nationalities.' He used the term *eating together group* (共食集団) to refer to these Japanese citizens in China, satirising Japanese people as an xenophobic and self-isolating group who always ate

[191] Gotō Asatarō, *Shinaryōri no mae ni* 支那料理の前に, (1922, Osaka), p. 22.

[192] Ibid., p. 23.

together with their own people in a foreign country. For Gotō, this was the shadow of Japan's international image.[193]

Gotō's example has already shown how a Shina-tsū used investigation of Chinese and Japanese culinary culture to illustrate his view on the Sino-Japanese relationship. In particular, he expressed his opinion on how Japanese society could and should learn from China. Gotō's idea was shared by Tsuji Chōka, who was himself a Japanese educationist and famous Shina-tsū. Tsuji was the first scholar to introduce Peking opera to the Japanese public. At the same time, he was also famous for his anti-Western attitude. Although Tsuji was by no means against Japan's military expansion in Asia (he called Korea a free nation in 1900, and showed off Japan's growing power), he put more effort into raising awareness of Western threats in China.[194] In his book *Ryōri no Hanashi* (支那料理の話), Tsuji Chōka frequently criticised the Japanese public for their ignorance about their biggest neighbour. For Tsuji, China's 'continental character' made Chinese cuisine a complex system, consisting of multiple elements, and this allowed it to become a 'global cuisine'.[195] He suggested that the core of Chinese cuisine was the harmonious mix of five flavours. Chefs from different provinces adjusted the balance of the five flavours and created distinctive and charming features for every regional Chinese cuisine. Japanese people, instead, were unable to process that kind of complex combination of flavours.

A more straightforward message that can be found in the Shina-tsū's culinary research is an aversion to Western cuisine. Gotō Asataro not only complained that there were far too many Western restaurants in Tokyo, but also expressed his concern about the Westernisation of Chinese cuisine in

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[193] Gotō Asatarō, *Otonari no Shina お隣の支那*, (1928, Osaka), pp. 295–332.

[194] Tsuji, Takeo, *Shinpen Tōa Mikuni chishi* 新編東亜三国地誌, vol. 2, (Tokyo, 1900), pp. 74–76. Tsuji Takeo is the original name of Tsuji Chōka

[195] Tsuji, Chōka, *Shinaryōri no hanashi*, p. 10.

China. He insisted that for Japanese people, Chinese cuisine would bring much more enjoyment than Western cuisine. Tsuji Choka pointed out that Chinese cuisine was becoming more popular even in Western countries. Miyahara Minbei, another famous Shina-tsū and one of the founders of the Oriental Society (東洋協會),[196] provided a more direct claim. He wrote that the Western world, which had been damaged by the World War, viewed Japan and China as the 'Bright East'. As a result, now was the time to reverse the Western assimilation of the East. Specifically, Miyahara and his student Matsuura Shurō advocated the replacement of Western food with Chinese food in Japanese domestic kitchens.[197]

Both messages discussed above led to one overarching emphasis: the critical importance of daily cultural interaction to Sino-Japanese friendship, and for Miyahara, even cultural integration. The culinary exchanges created a bridge for direct communication. Although being extremely romantic, it seems Tsuji and Gotō both believed that if Chinese people and Japanese people could eat together, they would be able to achieve a deeper understanding of each other. According to their experience, culinary culture was the best representative of national character. Miyahara, instead, had a more specific idea. In his 1926 investigative report for the Oriental Association, he called the culinary exchanges between China and Japan the 'concretisation of Sino-Japanese friendship'. For Miyahara, political slogans such as 'Rely on each other like lips and teeth' (唇齿辅车) and 'The same culture, the same race' (同

[196] The Oriental Society, or Tōyō Kyōkai, was an organisation founded in Taiwan by a group of Japanese political and business elites to cooperate with the imperial government's colonial policy. From the late nineteenth century, it has conducted hundreds of investigations and published reports related to East Asian countries. The main target of this organisation was to train administrators for Taiwan and other Japanese colonies in East Asia, in order to support Japan's imperial rule in this region.

[197] Tōyō kyōkai gensei chōsa-bu 東洋協会現勢調査部, *Shinaryōri no tabe* 支那料理の夕べ, (Tokyo, 1924), pp. 1–5.

文同种) were no more than useless propaganda, unless the integration of daily life took place. Having the cuisines of China and Japan on each nation's dining tables should be treated as a pioneering facet of national diplomacy in order to reach a real and completely integrated East Asian culture. The latter part of this book describes an image of Chinese and Japanese literary scholars sitting together at an octagonal table, drinking rice wine, eating Chinese cold plates, talking happily and playing a Chinese drinking game called *Jiu Lin* (酒令). This would obviously be an ideal image for Miyahara and many other Shina-tsū who had spent their happiest times in China with Chinese people.[198]

Japanese chefs and the emergence of East Asian culinary identity

As we saw in Chapter 1, since the late nineteenth century, Western cuisine was increasingly consumed in major cities and entered the dining rooms of social elites, reflecting the growing connections between Japan and the modern Western world. Similarly, as we saw above, a growing appreciation for Chinese cuisine in Japan paralleled an evolving Sino-Japanese relationship. In this period, as we will find later in this section, Chinese cuisine was increasingly capturing the attention of Japanese chefs, largely male chefs who inherited the legacy of traditional Japanese chefs as well as some members of the emerging group of female chefs. French food historian Alain Drouard has shown that from the beginning of the nineteenth century, French cuisine emerged as a system of relationships between three interdependent groups: the cooks, the gourmets and the consumers. These three interconnected groups together led to the birth of modern French cuisine and culinary culture.[199] Early twentieth-century Chinese cuisine in Japan experienced a similar process. According to Drouard's definition, gourmets are the masters

[198] Ibid., p. 37.

[199] Alain Drouard, 'Chefs, gourmets and gourmands: French Cuisine in the 19th and 20th centuries', in Paul Freedman ed, *Food: The History of Taste*, (Berkeley, 2007), p. 263.

of gastronomy, which refers to the art of fine food and anything related to eating. This definition included almost all of the food researchers discussed in the earlier sections. Japanese chefs, however, offer a different perspective from which to explore how Chinese cuisine was evaluated in Taishō Japan. Compared to scholars, intellectuals, thinkers and politicians, chefs were the most direct contributors to establishing standards for the cuisine. With much wider knowledge of global cooking styles, Taishō Japanese chefs started to compare Chinese and Western cuisine, as well as their relationship to Japanese culinary culture. Despite many controversies, some Japanese chefs realised that the connection between Chinese and Japanese cuisine went well beyond historical and geographical ties. Although it was still vague, an idea of a common East Asian culinary culture (comprising its primary representatives of Japanese and Chinese cuisine, largely excluding Korea), in contrast to a Western one, was beginning to emerge. In general, Taishō chefs and culinary experts had a complex view on Chinese cuisine composed with anti-Westernism, pan-Asianism, nationalism, racism and culinary multiculturalism. However, what they had in common was the attempt to connect Chinese and Japanese cuisine to show the privilege of the East Asian culinary culture while accurately keeping the independent features of the two cuisine.

Unlike the earlier Meiji period, when most of the Japanese chefs of Chinese cuisine were restaurant owners, Taishō masters of the art of Chinese cooking could be found in a wider range of places, including new cooking schools in Tokyo and Osaka, famous European hotel restaurants and among a growing Japanese diaspora in mainland China and Taiwan. Compared to their forerunners, these well-trained chefs clearly had more knowledge of both Chinese and Japanese cuisine, and sometimes even Western cuisine. Some of them, such as Nagano Torasuke, a lecturer at an Osaka cooking school, kept working on the spread of domestic Chinese cuisine in Japan. With unknown

dates of birth and death, Nagano published his first book in 1926, and subsequently became a popular writer of culinary articles in Osaka. Nagano published most of his writing in *Kaji to Eisei* (家事と衛生), which was a magazine founded by the Osaka government as an important part of the city's urban improvement plan.[200]

Another significant chef who became famous in the Taishō era was Akiyama Tokuzo (1888–1974), the grand chef for the Japanese emperors from the Meiji to Showa eras. Akiyama was one of the few Japanese chefs at his time who had experienced a complete Western education. Before 1913, when he returned to Japan aged 25, Akiyama studied in Berlin, Paris and Nice, and worked in some of the most prestigious European hotels and restaurants, like the Café de Paris and Hôtel Ritz. Despite being a master chef of French cuisine, Akiyama was not unfamiliar with Chinese cuisine, and was the first person to introduce Chinese dishes to the Japanese royal family. In contrast to Akiyama, Yamada Masahe, one of the most influential chefs of Chinese cuisine in Japan's culinary history, had not experienced any professional training in cookery. Working as a postal officer in Manchuria, Yamada had become an expert in Chinese culinary culture in the Taishō era through self-study. He taught in various cooking schools and universities in Tokyo and served as a lecturer in the Japanese army during the war. He was the first chef to translate *Suíyuán Shídān* into Japanese and systematically analyse China's culinary history.

These chefs all had different understandings of Chinese cuisine. However, one common aspect shared by many of them was the attempt to form a connection between Chinese and Japanese cuisine. Many chefs started to realise that Japanese cuisine was a cuisine of a more broadly understood

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[200] *Kaji to eisei* 家事と衛生 (1925–1949), Osaka shiritsu eisei shikenjo 大阪市立衛生試験所

'orient', just like the Chinese cuisine. The most unique feature of oriental cuisine in their eyes was, of course, rice eating. It was not difficult at all for a Japanese chef to realise that rice played an important role in both Chinese and Japanese cooking. In a 1925 collection of recipes, Osaka chef Dekiba Tasaburō suggested that the prime reason for Japanese people to keep studying Chinese cuisine was its adaptability to rice, the main element in both cuisines. In some cases, the rice eating habit played a vital role in the symbolic realm and could be associated with race and nation. By the late 1920s, there were still a lot of chefs in Japan who believed that bread was not suitable for the Japanese race. The most direct statement appeared in Nagano's 1925 book:[201]

It is actually an unimageable phenomenon that Chinese cuisine, which was most ancient and using the greatest variety of ingredients in history did not enter our country's families. How strange it is to see that western cuisine, which belongs to bread-eating races, can freely spread among our nation's families, while Chinese cuisine, which belongs to a race that is the same as ours and similarly developed with rice as the main food, has not been massively introduced in Japanese domestic kitchens.

世界最古で、多種多様の材料を使用するに長じた支那料理が我国の家庭へ余り多く入って居らぬと言う事は、実に不思議な現象で、主食物の違うパン食民族の西洋料理が、比較的多く我国の家庭へ入っているに拘わらず、同民族の同じ米を主食とするに適した様に発達して来た支那料理が我家庭に入らぬと言うことは勘だおかしいことである。

Some chefs, especially those who were themselves experts on Western cuisine, went for a more metaphysical link between two countries' culinary cultures. Akiyama, for instance, compared the naming techniques in Sino-

[201] Nagano Torasuke, *Kateikō no shinaryōri* 家庭向の支那料理, (1924, Osaka), pp. 1–4.

Japanese cuisine and Western cuisine. He described the Western style of naming dishes as just 'a statement of raw materials and cooking method'. For example, baked crabmeat in a shell, and *sauté de faisan au sauce banane*. Chinese cuisine and Japanese cuisine, however, usually put more effort into this aspect. Akiyama used the example 'Jelly of marinated wing of phoenix' (卤凤翅冻) and 'belt noodle' (裙带面) from Chinese cuisine and 'The stew of seasonal rain' (时雨煮) and 'Red leaves mix' (红叶和) from Japanese cuisine. Designers of Eastern cuisine tended to give extra meanings, sometimes even philosophical ones, to their works.[202] This feature was shared by both Chinese and Japanese culinary cultures. He also criticised some awkward attempts to adapt the Western food-naming strategy. 'A curry rice was called 'rice with spicy sauce',' Akiyama complained. 'This made me lose my appetite.' Interestingly, Akiyama might not have noticed that in most cases, as we have discussed above, the naming of Chinese dishes followed a similar discipline to that of the boring Western naming methods he described. However, his opinion at least proved that Japanese culinary elites were reconsidering the rapid culinary Westernisation within Japanese society. In many aspects, they started to put Japanese cuisine and Chinese cuisine into a single category.[203] In an early Showa collection of recipes published by Shufu no Tomo Press, Miyata Takeyoshi (宮田武義, 1891–1993), one of the first Japanese chefs to have learnt Chinese cuisine, reminded readers that China was the origin of Eastern civilisation and that most aspects of Japanese culinary culture had been directly taught by Chinese people over thousands of years of communication between the two countries. 'For example, the method of making miso, soya sauce, tofu, pickles, dried food and many more foods like

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[202] Akiyama Tokuzō , *Aji no Sanpo* 味の散歩, (Tokyo, 2015), pp. 18–19.

[203] Ibid., p. 20.

these… ,' he pointed out, 'were all taught by Chinese people to us at the beginning.'[204]

Not all the chefs and gourmets agreed on the special relationship between the two cuisines. For example, Yamada Masahira pointed out that the bond between Chinese and Japanese cuisine was due to the geographical factors. A comparable natural environment and active social communication between the two countries explained the similarity in terms of ingredients, which led to inevitable influence on each other. However, he also claimed that Chinese cuisine was more like Western cuisine in terms of cooking skill to a certain degree. Yamada wrote: 'Japanese cuisine is the cuisine for eyes, Western cuisine is the cuisine for nose, and Chinese cuisine is the cuisine for tongue.'[205] According to Yamada, both Chinese and Western cuisine focused on direct stimulation through seasoning and spices, while Japanese food tended to put more effort into visual beauty.

Some experts tried to provide an explanation for this phenomenon. Kinoshita Kenjirō (1869–1947), a famous Japanese politician, cooking expert and gourmet, wrote in his 1925 book *Pursuing the Nature of Deliciousness* (美味求真) that 'In the Western Han dynasty … Chinese culinary skills entered Europe through the western regions, and indirectly contributed to the birth of Roman cuisine'.[206] Kinoshita mistakenly believed that all the Western cooking styles were based on Roman culinary culture, which he believed was itself significantly influenced by Chinese cuisine. Interestingly, Kenjiro's

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[204] Shufu no tomo Press editing bureau (ed), *Shinaryōri no Koshiraekata* 支那料理の拵へ方, (Tokyo, 1929), p. 11.

[205] Yamada Masahe, *Shirōto ni dekiru shinaryōri* 素人に出来る支那料理, (1927, Tokyo), p. 127.

[206] Kinoshita Kenjirō, *Bimikyushin* 美味求真, (Tokyo, 1925), p. 135.

opinion was shared by Akiyama. The emperor's chef himself determined that French cuisine was a modified version of Romanised Chinese cuisine.

From the mid-1910s, the concept of combining Chinese and Japanese cuisine in order to create a better cuisine for Japanese people started to emerge in the press. On 1 January 1923, the Japanese National Institute for Nutrition Research (国立栄養研究所) published a set of recipes in almost every major Japanese newspaper, using the name Chokudai ryōri (勅題料理). Chokudai (勅題) literally means 'Named by the emperor', a term that was usually used to describe the poetry topic that the Japanese emperor raised for the new year poetry party. Chokudai ryōri was a kind of Japanese court cuisine served at the emperor's new year party, which was also widely cooked among upper-class Japanese families. In this recipe, elements from Chinese cuisine were not hard to find. We can find many dishes here that had been viewed as Chinese food in the Meiji era. For example, fish roe dishes, grilled fish dishes and the boiled pork soup dish in part two, which also frequently appeared in Chinese cuisine cookbooks in previous decades.[207] Moreover, using salt and soya source together as seasoning was viewed as a traditional Chinese technique,[208] and in this recipe it was widely applied. However, most of these Chinese features could be found in previous Edo and early Meiji era texts. The more important change here was that, for the first time, Chinese elements were integrated seamlessly into a recipe published in the modern Japanese press, which would be read by a substantial proportion of the Japanese people.

It is worth mentioning that Kinoshita Kenjirō also cited this recipe in *Pursuing the Nature of Deliciousness*, and even criticised it for using too

[207] Ibid., p. 247.

[208] Ibid., p. 263.

much sugar, like Westerners did. Kinoshita's comments on this recipe were largely composed of an anti-Western perspective that celebrated Asia. He believed that a cuisine using the emperor's name should be viewed as 'model food' for Japanese people, just like the pre-Qing Chinese Holy Kings 'published their banquet menu to teach their people the way of eating'.[209] Kinoshita's ideal cuisine was a combination of classic Japanese style and Chinese cooking theory. He suggested that the Japanese National Institute for Nutrition Research should learn from *Recipes from the Sui Garden* (随园食单) and the Zhou dynasty imperial recipes to form a more suitable 'model food' for Japanese people. He used a whole chapter to discuss how Zhou dynasty China and Japan shared a philosophy that chefs should be responsible for people's health. The top food experts should serve the country in order to lead the people towards eating in the right way. This was the first time that the term 'model food' (模範食) appeared in either Japanese or Chinese texts; it would become an important culinary concept in a later period.[210] Kinoshita's modified version of Chokudai ryōri could be viewed as the earliest version of 'East Asian cuisine', as it was no longer a foreign cuisine that has been adjusted for local taste, but a carefully designed fusion that combined both Chinese and Japanese cuisines' unique features with a shared cooking philosophy. In other words, Kinoshita's Chokudai ryōri, unlike any previous recipes, did not emphasise the identification of its Chinese feature or Japanese feature. Instead, it highlighted East Asian cuisine's opposition towards Western cuisine.

Along with the growing awareness of Eastern food culture, worries about Westernisation in the culinary field also began to appear as another side of the story. For some chefs and gourmets, the 'Eastern vs Western culinary

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[209] Kinoshita, *Bimikyushin*, p. 247–264.

[210] Ibid., pp. 279–292.

antagonism' became a significant concept and an urgent problem that needed to be solved. As explained above, Kinoshita attempted to avoid a Western cooking approach in the 'model food' of Japan. Similarly, Nagano criticised the spread of Western cuisine among Japanese families. In Nagano's 1924 book, Chinese and Japanese cuisine were believed to be closely linked by two elements: first, the common usage of rice as the key ingredient; second, a similar sense of taste due to the same racial belonging. Western cuisine, on the other hand, does not have such connections. Nagano used 'The remaining drawbacks of foreign (Hakurai) worship' (舶来崇拝の余弊) to describe the spread of Western cuisine among Japanese families, which is worth pondering. The term Hakurai (舶来) in Japanese literately means 'from the boat', and it was widely used to describe imported products. Interestingly, in the Edo era and early Meiji era, this term was more frequently used about Chinese products; for example, in 1886's *Yūbinhōchi Shinbun* (郵便報知新聞), Hakurai was used to describe Chinese weft threads (其織物は経糸は上晒しの皐(からむし)、緯糸は唐糸と称する舶来物にて).[211] Of course, both Western cuisine and Chinese cuisine were foreign to the Japanese. However, it seems that Nagano suggested that love from the Japanese people towards the latter was justifiable. He summarised the reason for Chinese cuisine's unpopularity among Japanese families, and pointed out that this was due to bias and ignorance. At the same time, he created a distinction between the 'rice using' Eastern cuisine and the 'bread and butter using' Western cuisine:

Recently, the royal palace started to frequently serve Chinese cuisine, and since then it has become an unusual trend. Today, Chinese restaurants existed in most of the important metropolises in our country, but even so, it has only small intuition among domestic kitchens because some people said (that

[211] Yūbinhōchi Shinbun, 1886.04.25

Chinese cuisine) was uneatable, had heavy oil and pork stink. However, many people started to hate Chinese cuisine because the comments of those who had never actually eaten or seen it… Compared to the bread-dominated Western cuisine that did not even have methods to cook rice, our rice-eating people who lived in the country with the biggest fish production would of course enjoy the rice-dominated Chinese cuisine better. I would say that Western cuisine spread among our country's family earlier (than Chinese cuisine) because of the remaining Hakurai worship after the Meiji restoration…

最近我が宮中に於て支那料理を時時お用いになるようになって、以来支那料理は非常な勢の如く、今日我国では重要都市には大抵支那料理店が出来たようであるが、それでも家庭へは勘だ僅かしか入ってない主な原因は食わず嫌いであるか、油濃いとか、豚臭いとか、料理を見た事なくて人の噂でそう思いこんで、嫌になっている人が大部分であって、一度食べてみれば案外な思いで急にすきになる人が非常に多く… 米食に調和しないバター、チーズの西洋料理よりも、世界一の豊魚国であって、米を主食と居る我国民には、米食に合う支那料理の方が口に合うのは言うまでもない話である。西洋料理の方が先に我が家庭に入ったと言うことは、明治維新後の舶来崇拝の余弊が料理にまで及ぼして来たもので少し玩味すれば …[212]

Summing up, he sought to remind Japanese people of the success of Chinese cuisine on the international stage: 'Nowadays, how many countries' cities have a lot of Chinese dishes? How great prosperity it is having? It is not at all exaggerated to say that the Chinese cuisine has already become a global cuisine.' (今日では欧米各国、何国の都市に行っても数多くの支那料理が、何

[212] Nagano Torasuke, *Kateikō no shinaryōri* 家庭向の支那料理, (Osaka, 1924), pp 2

れも大繁昌してる点からみても、支那料理は世界的な料理であると言ってもほとんど過言ではないと思われる(下略).[213]

Nagano was not alone. Navy chef and Statistics Major Marumoto Shōzō agreed on separating East Asian food and Western cuisine. He was the first person to introduce Chinese cuisine into the military and achieved great success. Marumoto believed that both Chinese and Japanese culinary culture were designed for the Easterners, or Tōyōjin 東洋人. He also wrote a long study on *Recipes from the Sui Garden* in order to integrate the culinary ideas of the two cuisines.[214] A perhaps more aggressive statement was from the army. Itō Kurachi, an army official, food lover and part-time writer, expressed his feelings on Western and Eastern cuisine: 'I hate the spread of western cuisine (in Japan) … and would rather choose Chinese cuisine.' He thought Western cuisine was boring and contained 'barbaric dishes which directly use animal corpse'. The reason why it was popular in Japan was, again, Hakurai worship 舶来崇拝.[215] Ironically, when the noble samurai chef Kawakami Shichirō Saemon 川上七郎左衛門 introduced Western cuisine in his 1928 articles, published in the magazine of the Osaka Brewing Association, he admitted that, compared to Japanese and Chinese cuisine, Western cuisine was monotonous.[216]

While we have primarily focused on the influential writings of male Japanese chefs, we must note that during the Taishō era, females have been

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[213] Ibid.

[214] Marumoto Shozo, *The Research of Chinese Cuisine: A study of its cooking methods and Suiyuanshidan*, (Tokyo, 1938).

[215] Itō Kōji, *Okorau ka nakau ka Emi wa fuka* 怒らうか泣かうか笑はふか, (Tokyo, 1920), p. 39.

[216] Shichirō, Saemon, 'Wagakuni no shokumotsu to ryōri to kyōen ni tsuite' 我が国の食物と料理と饗宴に就いて, *Jōzōgaku zasshi*, vol. 5, issue 12, (July, 1928), pp. 942–950.

playing an increasingly important role in the development of Chinese cuisine in Japan. From 1910–1926, almost every Japanese cookbook and encyclopaedia aimed at females included the cooking and serving methods of Chinese cuisine. In terms of quantity, educational publications directed towards women were undoubtedly the most important source of Chinese recipes in Taishō Japan. Moreover, female chefs who were able to independently publish cookbooks started to appear. For example, Sashihara Itsuko (指原乙子) from Waseda, Kitahara Misako (北原美佐子), who was the first female author of Chinese cookbooks in Japanese text, and Kaetsu Takako – who appeared in our discussion in the previous chapter. Many of these recipes made impressive contributions towards restoring Chinese cuisine as authentically as possible among Japanese families. As an example, Kitahara's recipes of Chashao (叉焼) encouraged readers to use a professional Chinese cooking station instead of domestic cookware to obtain maximum flavour.[217] Despite the fact that most of the works from female chefs and culinary researchers in this time period were purely documentary, the growing number of women who demonstrated excellent skills in Chinese cooking nevertheless illustrated the widespread nature of Chinese cuisine in Japan.

We may observe another interesting contrast with male chefs. Compared to their male peers, female writers of cookbooks usually included a larger proportion of Chinese recipes in their works. For example, in Sashihara's *Cooking Textbook*, which was actually the primary textbook of Tokyo's Women's Cooking School, almost half of the contents were dedicated to Chinese cooking. Furthermore, Sashihara has clarified the usage of an iron wok in most of her recipes in the textbook, which was another important moment of progress for Japan's Chinese cuisine education. The wok was used

[217] Kitahara, Misako, *Kateimō no shinaryōri* 家庭向の支那料理, (Tokyo, 1924), pp. 40–41.

for frying, boiling, deep frying and even for grilling in some Western cuisine recipes. It could then be concluded that Chinese kitchenware was common in Japan's cooking school and even domestic kitchen by 1920s.[218] In fact, Chinese cuisine was so popular among Japanese housewives that Kitaōji Rosanjin, a famous Japanese gourmet and artist, even wrote a series of articles in Fujin Gahō (婦人画報) to persuade these housewives to cook some Japanese dishes in their homes. Although he thought that Japanese cuisine was as delicious as Chinese cuisine, he pointed out that the nutrition and oil use in Chinese cuisine made it one of the best cooking styles in the world for the last 300 years. Ironically, it seems that as an East Asian cuisine, it could be accepted and appreciated by Western people.[219] More interestingly, Kitaōji believed that most of the Japanese housewives could not even tell the difference between Japanese cuisine and Chinese cuisine. He claimed that they were so ignorant that he had to explain some very basic rules of Japanese cooking, for example, not using animal fat.[220]

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed how culinary culture had been understood and used by different groups in China and Japan in the early twentieth century. Instead of looking at a particular kind or category of food, I have discussed and read the culinary exchange between these two countries from an intellectual perspective. One can easily find out that cuisine could be much more than just a part of people's daily lives, acting as an agent for ideological expression with significant symbolic meanings. While Zhou Zuoren attempted to solidify and clarify the Sino-Japanese cultural connection using culinary culture, Aoki and Naitō put their efforts into improving Japanese

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[218] Sashihara, Itsuko, *Kappō kyōzai* 割烹教材, (Tokyo, 1924), pp. 27, 32–34.

[219] Kitaōjirosanjin, Nihonryōri no honshitsu to sono ketten 日本料理の本質とその欠点, *Fujingahō*, 1925.09.01

[220] Ibid.

scholars' ability to improve Sino-Japanese cultural communication with the study of historical culinary exchange. Shina-tsū called urgently for understanding China better among Japanese people, and culinary experts viewed the bond between Chinese and Japanese cuisine as an important part of the East Asian culinary cultural identity. All of these groups, however, shared a sense of unbreakable cultural relationship between China and Japan, as well as the urgent demand to use this relationship. Here, let us bring in Yoshino Sakuzō's 'cultural Asianism' again, which emphasised the necessity of recreating and studying the experience and understanding of 'being East Asian' among Japanese people in order to achieve the real 'pan-Asianism'. Torsten Weber's outstanding analysis had pointed out clearly that 'many Japanese, including many of those who advocated Asianism, lacked a profound understanding or experience of 'Asia' and Asians. This shortage of knowledge of Asia posed a formidable obstacle to Japanese dealings with the 'East' and consequently also to the realization of Asianist policies.'[221] This 'shortage of knowledge' is exactly how all these groups in this chapter wanted to overcome using different approaches. However, while Torsten Weber categorises Yoshino's idea as a 'liberal and cosmopolitan Asianism', we may find that an anti-Western mood and the East–West confrontation that Yoshino tried to avoid still existed among many of the figures who believed in a mutual understanding between China and Japan. However, it could still be summarised that Yoshino's idea of cultural pan-Asianism not only existed in the academic area, but also influenced the dimension of daily life. To be precise, Zhou Zuoren, Kyoto school sinologists, chefs, culinary experts and Shina-tsū were all practising a type of Sino-Japanese bond that formed with a common 'experience', which could be effectively 'understood' between different groups and classes. This bond, as Zhou Zuoren hoped, was supposed to go beyond political reality, and continued in the future, even when the

[221] Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, p. 132.

political attempt of pan-Asianism failed. It was, not only for Zhou but for the many other parties we discussed in this chapter, far more stable than those connections between East Asian countries created by geo-politics and military expansion. It is worth mentioning that many of the figures we have discussed above had changed their attitude and view on pan-Asianism rapidly, especially after the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese war. However, the cultural connections that they have created on the material culture of everyday life, specifically culinary culture, did survive. In the next chapter, we will discuss how culinary exchange and connection took place in wartime Manchuria, a puppet state controlled by the Japanese empire in north-east China and a front line of Sino-Japanese interaction during the war.

Part 2:

Chapter 3: Dalian, a city of culinary integration

Introduction

'Dalian aways has great food which will surprise you.' said Cai Lan, one of the most famous gourmets in China.[222] Indeed, Dalianese cuisine was possibly the most impressive and important culinary style in north-east China. Distinct from its neighbouring provinces, Dalian's rich maritime resources enabled local chefs to create various high-quality seafood dishes, while the inland agricultural zones nearby ensured that the continental elements remained strong. However, what makes Dalian's food world really unique is its history of multicultural culinary exchanges. Even some of the most professional food researchers might be unaware of how many foreign influences Dalianese cuisine had absorbed from other countries, particularly Japan. From 1905–1945, Japanese colonisation in the city of Dalian totally changed local eating and cooking habits. Nowadays, Dalianese cuisine is usually categorised as a branch of Shandong cuisine, but features like its raw seafood tradition, wide usage of MSG, dairy products, tomato and Tanpura powder makes it a virtually independent style.[223]

In the history of Dalian's culinary world, it is the city's relatively organic development that stands out, especially in contrast with Manchuria's capital Xinjing, let alone many other cities in early 20th century China. The term 'organic development' refers firstly to a process of growing and changing with relatively limited external intervention, particularly from the government and the politics of ideology. In contrast, Lian Linlin, in work on Shanghai consumer culture, has highlighted the political appropriation of eating spaces

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[222] Cai, Lan, *Cai Lan Lvxin Shiji* 蔡澜旅行食记, (Qingdao, 2016), pp. 30–33

[223] Han, Zheng & Qiu, Wei, 'Qiantan Daliancai de chuancheng yu Fazhan' 浅谈大连菜的传承与发展, in *Grain Distribution Technology*, issue 23, (June, 2018), pp 179-181

in republican Shanghai, including department stores and restaurants. In wartime, these spaces were used to express Japan's military might (a photo exhibition of Japanese airplane carriers) and imperialist ideology (showing special products from other parts of the Empire).[224] Much earlier, Ulin Robert analysed the political manoeuvring of French wine producers in arguing that 'Bordeaux's paramount reputation follows from a social history and a hegemonic, invented winegrowing tradition that enabled winegrowing elites to replicate and profit from the cultural capital associated with the aristocracy'.[225] Similarly, in French culinary history, Terrio's (2000) examination of the history of French chocolate also notes the ways in which chocolatiers romanticise their history through an 'ideology of craft' expressed in memoirs, public histories, lectures and window displays that are integral to selling their chocolate.[226] However, despite the fact that restaurants in Dalian were by no means entirely free from political influences in some ways, the city's culinary spaces were functioning more as a centre of communication for both ideas and tastes from different culinary cultures which was not dominated by a single voice. The changing cooking styles and the creation of new culinary cultural elements was a result of such communication, which contributed to modern Dalianese cuisine.

It is important to mention that neither the culinary exchanges nor the emergence of Dalianese identity was a sudden process. By 1906, a Japanese map of Dalian still only included a tiny, limited region around the 'Big square', mentioning only Japanese shops, restaurants and hotels in this area (see figure). However, as we have seen in the previous part of this chapter, the

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[224] Lian, Lingling, *Dazao xiaofei tiantang: Baihuogongsi yu jindai Shanghai chengshiwenhua* 打造消費天堂：百貨公司與近代上海城市文化, (Beijing, 2018), pp. 152–156.

[225] Ulin, Robert, Invention and representation as cultural capital: Southwest French winegrowing history. *American Anthropologist*, 97 (3), (September, 1995), pp 519-527.

[226] Terrio, Susan, *Crafting the Culture and History of French Chocolate*, (Berkeley, 2000).

process of integration gradually weakened the physical and cultural margin between the ruling Japanese and local Chinese in this city, in terms of culinary culture, from the early 1900s to the end of the war. This fact did not mean that Dalian in the 1940s had already become a city with ethnic equality. Instead, it proved how difficult it was to achieve this status in a colonial settler city like Dalian. Nevertheless, Dalian's Sino-Japanese culinary exchange showed the twilight of a mixed daily culture, regardless of the colonial nature of a Pan-Asian metropolis within the Japanese Empire.

This chapter will briefly introduce Dalian's history as a Pan-Asian metropolis between 1899 and 1945, and then examine the association between Dalian's culinary space and Sino-Japanese interactions. Using guidebooks, newspapers, recipes, and published investigations, I argue that an organic growth led of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange became a key component of Dalian's culinary innovation, and as a result, contributed to the formation of a unique culinary culture for the city as well as its people.

Additionally, this chapter looks into how food-related memories connected the former residents of Dalian with what they perceived to be their spiritual homeland, and then discusses the formation of a Dalianese identity. It argues that the reshaped Dalian tastes has produced common experiences for both the Japanese and Chinese residents of the old Dalian. Mark Swislocki's famous work *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai* has provided the most specific analysis of the connection between the birth of a regional cuisine and people's memory. He associated the development of regional cuisine with two types of nostalgia: restorative nostalgia, which represents an ideal world of the past; and reflective nostalgia, which represents a commonly desired but unmaterialised Utopia.[227] However, in Dalian's case, it is found that both types of nostalgia

[227] Swislocki, Mark, *Culinary nostalgia: Regional food culture and the urban experience in Shanghai*, (Stanford, 2008), pp. 3–6.

existed, but at the same time overlapped. When Dalian's 400,000 Japanese settlers were expelled from their recent homes 1945–1947, some of their memories about the old 'taste of Dalian' actually become the most effective, if not the only, bond between Dalian and themselves. Similarly, for the Chinese, Dalian's food also provided a connection to the past, which in a certain way presented a goodness and uniqueness they wanted to preserve. Food memory was a critical part of the local pride of Dalianese people, regardless of their ethnicity. For Dalianese people, there was no clear division between an idealistic past and an unrealistic future utopia. The Dalianese cuisine represented both of these at the same time.

Both of these attributes pointed to a relatively unique model of cultural exchanges in Dalian. As Elizabeth LaCouture's has done in the case of Tianjin, this chapter privileges a focus on the materiality of everyday life over the politics of ideology.[228] Firstly, it will show how restaurants became a space for relatively liberal Sino-Japanese communication, as well as an important agent of culinary innovation based on different culinary cultures. Secondly, it explores how a variety of tastes in the city come to represent a distinctive Dalian culinary culture. Although there were still conflicts between the local Chinese and Japanese rulers, Dalian city's culinary cultural exchanges indicated a relatively ideal model, which would be similar to the expectations of the supporters of a more integrative Sino-Japanese relationship like Tsuji Choka, Yoshino Sakuzō and Zhou Zuoren, as we have discussed in Chapter 2.

The history of Dalian as an economic, cultural and political centre

Since the late 19th century, Dalian has always been a unique city in north-east Asia. Originally known as 'Qingniwa' (which literately means 'blue mud

[228] LaCouture, *Dwelling in the World,* p. 9.

pool'), the city that we know today as Dalian was a tiny fishing town before 1899. The history of this metropolis began with the imperialist competition between Russia and Japan. In 1898, Tsar Nicolas II's decision to develop an ice-free port in Russian-occupied Chinese territories allowed the construction of the twin cities of Dalny and Port Arthur. Russian engineers put much effort into designing the urban structure of Dalny, in order to make it the commercial centre of Russian Far East territories. In 1905, victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese war gave Japan the rights over the formerly Russian-owned railway in north-east China and the administration of neighbouring territory. Later in the same year, the Japanese government changed the name of the city to Dalian, using the Chinese name for the gulf beside the city. From this point, Dalian become one of the most important cities in northern China, and even in Asia. According to Owen Latimore, a leading scholar and observer of the Manchuria region at the time, Dalian was 'far ahead of Peking and Nanking' in terms of urban development and modernisation.[229] Chinese, Japanese and Western communities maintained a subtle balance in the metropolis of Dalian. Different cultures integrated and influenced each other, as well as their cuisines.

Some historians, such as Annika A. Culver, argue that Dalian was one of the most important and unique cities in the growing Japanese empire in the early 20th century. Emer O'Dwyer's more recent work has highlighted the critical political importance of Dalian and Port Arthur for the Japanese Empire. In fact, Dairen and Port Arthur were the first cities in the empire outside of the metropole to be granted a municipal code, largely due to the constant invocation by Dairen citizens of constitutional governance that

[229] Owen Lattimore, *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict*, (Rock hill, 1935), p 260, cited in Hess, Chrisitian, in "Colonial port to socialist metropolis: imperialist legacies and the making of 'New Dalian'". *Urban History*, *38*(3), (November, 2011), pp. 373–390.

mirrored what was occurring in Tokyo during the 'era of crowd politics'.[230] Both studies have revealed that the identical significance of Dalian city was not only created by its geographical location, but also its unique political and economic status. A more important contribution by O'Dwyer was that her work constantly reminds us that Dalian was increasingly separated from the portfolio of the whole Japanese Empire through its history. In her own words, 'Japanese residents of the Kwantung Leasehold and South Manchuria Railway Zone increasingly defined their political identities around protection of their corner of the empire, which they consistently preferred to view through a domestic rather than colonial frame of reference'.[231] O'Dwyer conducted an excellent analysis on the Japanese government, Mantetsu and Japanese settlers in Dalian to support her claim. However, it invites the question of the extent to which the Chinese community in Dalian was involved in this replacing local identity as Dalianese.

Since 1905, Japan's extraterritorial rights in the region north of Dalian adjacent to the 885km South Manchurian Railway were passed to the corporation known as the South Manchurian Railway Company (Mantetsu), which was headquartered in the city of Dalian. Ten years later, the 1915 treaty between the Chinese Beiyang government and Japan officially turned the twin cities of Dalian and Lüshun (Port Arthur) and the land around them into a long-term leased territory, which was renamed Kantō-shū. Thereafter, the city of Dalian and the whole of Kantō-shū became a relatively independent and free space from the political map of Tokyo, Xingjing and Beijing. O'Dwyer reminds us that Kantō-shū was never incorporated into the puppet state of Manchukuo, and popular political participation in Dairen's government continued to grow through the early 1920s.[232]

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[230] O'Dwyer, Emer, *Significant Soil: Settler colonialism and Japan's urban empire in Manchuria*. (Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), p. 78.

[231] O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, p. 5.

[232] O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, p. 351.

There was an obvious Japanese domination over the city but a range of agents, including the Chinese community, Mantetsu, the Kwantung army and even the Russians, all played an important role in the administration of the cities. Despite the existence of discrimination, the Chinese community in Dalian was, unsurprisingly, still a powerful group, which participated in the running of the city. This fact allowed the emergence of culinary exchange. Before Japan's full-scale war of conquest in China begins in earnest in 1937, there were around 500,000 Chinese residents and over 200,000 Japanese residents in the urban area of Dalian. The so called 'Manchurian' group in the city was facing inequality in education, health and many other areas.[233]Nevertheless, Chinese elites were still able to influence even the top decisions from Tokyo. Using the 1921 'gold standard' incident as an example, the Japanese government in Dalian was unable to make any major change to economic policy without the cooperation of Chinese society. In April 1921, the Japanese government changed the original Dalian currency system of silver standard to gold standard, and replaced all the silver Yuan with notes issued by the Japanese Bank of Korea. This policy change angered all the Chinese merchants and officials in Dalian and Lüshun. Top Chinese businessmen in Dalian organised a strike, closed the Dalian trade house and stopped any programmes involving Japanese firms. The chairman of the Chinese Merchants Association, Guo Jingyi, led a delegation to Tokyo and raised their complaint directly to the Emperor himself. The Japanese government in Dalian did not risk trying to, however, do anything to counter these activities by the Chinese. After a failed assassination attempt in Tai Hua Lou restaurant, the change from silver standard to gold standard was cancelled, and the chief

[233] Local Japanese authority usually used 'Manchurian' to be described ethnical Chinese group, and 'banner man' for ethnical Manchurian group

executive in Dalian had resigned.[234] This event shows that Chinese society in Dalian might be much more powerful than most historians have acknowledged, and had the ability to directly influence the policy making process in Tokyo.

Restaurants as 'the centre of tastes'

In traditional Chinese opera and modern Chinese movie culture, Japanese restaurants were, in many cases, stages for heroic anti-Japanese stories. In many of these stories, Japanese Izakaya and restaurants were linked to the invaders who were defeated by patriots or spies. Nevertheless, Dalian might be an exception. The 2019 Chinese drama *Lao Jiu Guan* (老酒馆), or 'old bistro', tells a story about a Dalianese bistro run by a traditional Chinese gentleman and his son who was educated in Japan. Although the main story of this drama is still somehow related to defeating an evil Japanese spy, what makes it interesting is the scenes involving the operation of the restaurant, the ideological conflicts between the Chinese father and the Japan-influenced son and the involvement of Sino-Japanese culinary cultures. The actors and actresses show us how a Japanese family gradually fell in love with Chinese Baijiu, and how compromises were made to balance tastes among different groups in the city. This drama was made by the top team in the country and achieved significant success in China. So, what kind of places were the eating spaces, including restaurants, bistros, Izakaya and cafés, actually like? The answer might be complex.

The founding history of Dalian's restaurant culture is itself a story of multicultural exchanges and integration. The city's first formal restaurant was

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[234] Tai Dong Ri Bao, 5 May 1921; 'Jingjian wenti jishi'; Dalian archive, Wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 文史资料委员会, *Dalian Wenshi Ziliao* 大连文史资料, vol 5, (Dalian, 1988), pp 67-68

born in a corner of a theme park, from a Mantetsu commercial experiment. Before 1904, there were only a limited number of shops serving food in Dalian city. According to a 1903 tax report by Russian local government, seven restaurants and hotels were operating in the city.[235] After the Russo-Japanese war, some Japanese restaurants were established in Naniwa Street, the centre of Dalian. However, most of these restaurants were only small bistros or Izakaya targeted at workers and expatriates from the Japanese mainland.[236] The turning point came after 1910. In 1909, the first modern park called Denki yūen (電気遊園) or 'electrical park' opened in Qing Ni Wa Qiao, Dalian. The amusement park, built and run by Mantetsu, was given this name due to the various electrical facilities within it. In 1914, Mantetsu decided to build the first large-scale dining place in Dalian inside the park. After intense discussion, the construction plan of a Chinese-style restaurant was agreed, which was later called 'Deng Ying Ge' (登瀛阁). The Mantetsu company employed a former Chinese Pro-Qing Dynasty royalist official, Zhong Huicheng, as the manager of this restaurant. Using his personal connections, he soon hired several famous chefs from Shandong province to work in Deng Ying Ge.[237] Nevertheless, Zhong never included the word 'Shandong' in any of the restaurant's newspaper advertisements. Looking at the details of Deng Ying Ge's operating concept, it is not difficult to find that his target was not to run a decent Shandong-style restaurant in Dalian, but to create a new cuisine for the new identity of the Dalianese people. This phenomenon led to an important feature of many restaurants in Dalian: interplay of different tastes.

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[235] *Yinshidian Yingyeshui (Shishui) zhengqiuguihua* 饮食店营业税（市税）征求规划, Russian Kwantung territory government, 1903, Dalian archive collection.

[236] Fu, Liyu, *Dalian Yaolan* 大连要览, (Dalian, 1918), p. 72.

[237] Dalian archive, *Xigangqu wenshiziliao huibian* 西岗区文史资料汇编, vol. 4 (1997), by Dalian xigangquzhengxie wenshiziliao weiyuanhui 大连西岗区政协文史资料委员会, pp. 44–50.

Places like Deng Ying Ge, with such a complex background, had the perfect environment for culinary innovation, particularly in mixing elements from different culinary cultures. Zhong and his chefs Zhao Wenzao and Zhao Jiming's innovations may have included one of the most famous Chinese dishes in present-day China: Xi Hong Shi Chao Dan (西红柿炒蛋), or stir-fried tomato and scrambled eggs. As many food historians might observe, tomato was not a traditional food ingredient in China. In 1914, Zhao Wenzao and Zhao Jiming, who had worked in Beijing, brought the idea of eating tomato to Deng Ying Ge. At this stage, the tomato served in the restaurant was mainly raw sliced tomato with table sugar. The consumers of this salad-like dish were almost exclusively Japanese, who actually liked it very much. Zhong and his chefs also noticed that Chinese guests did not accept the taste of raw tomato very well.[238] In 1916, inspired by a Western cuisine chef from Beijing, Zhao Wenzao found the idea of using flour to dry the tomato, which allowed him to use Chinese techniques to cook it with other ingredients. The first dish he created was called Guo Ta Xi Hong Shi He (锅塌西红柿盒), or Guo Ta tomato box. Guo Ta is a traditional Shandong cuisine technique that uses a large amount of egg yolk to stick minced meat with the main ingredient, and grill-frying with a large amount of oil. Later, other tomato dishes using simpler frying techniques were also introduced, achieving great success among Chinese customers.[239] Traditionally, the earliest record of Xi Hong Shi Chao Dan was in the famous Chinese scholar Wang Zeng Qi's 1989 essay 'Kun Ming Cai' (昆明菜), where he described from memory a dish he had eaten in 1940.[240] By the 1930s, eating tomato was still not common, even in the country's most advanced and international city, Shanghai. In the 1932 official

[238] Yu (2019), *Shi Lue*, p. 45.

[239] Yu (2019), *Shi Lue*, p. 120.

[240] Wang, Zengqi, *Ren Jian Cao Mu* 人间草木, (Nanjing, 2016), pp. 62–63.

annal of Funing county (阜宁县), it was mentioned that edible tomato had been introduced recently, and that not many people were actually planting them.[241] As a result, Deng Ying Ge's case was possibly the first time when the classical tomato and egg combination was cooked and became popular in a major city in China. Further research will be required, but culinary experts might not be surprised if they discover that this way of cooking tomato and egg spread through the Japanese-occupied Dalian to the rest of China, especially the areas around Beijing.

The whole process was full of coincidences, but also a consequential result of Dalian cuisine's organic growth on a suitable platform. At first, an ingredient was brought and used to satisfy Japanese tastes. Then, Chinese chefs, inspired by Western cooking techniques, creatively used that ingredient to meet the requirement of Chinese customers. Finally, a new and balanced creation in Dalian's culinary culture was born. The customers of Deng Yin Ge ranged from widely known figures such as like Wang Jingwei, Kaneko Setsusai, Zheng Xiaoxu and the leaders of Mantetsu to Chinese and Japanese bourgeoisies. Dalianese local historian Li Guanglu has gone so far as to state that Deng Ying Ge was the birthplace of Dalianese cuisine.[242]

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[241] *Funingxian Xuzhi* 阜宁县续志, 1932.

[242] Li, Guanglu, 'Dengyinggeli de Dalianlaocai' 登瀛阁里的大连老菜, cited from *Xing Shang Bao* 新商报, 26 January 2018, Dalian Daily Corporation.

Figure: A photo of the west side of Deng Ying Ge on a postcard.

From the late 1910s to 1920s, Dalian's culinary area experienced a boom. Deng Ying Ge's success inspired both Chinese and Japanese chefs and businessmen. In 1916, the Gong He Lou (共和楼) restaurant was founded by a Hebeinese factory owner in Dalian. In 1917, a businessman from Shandong opened Qun Ying Lou (群英楼), which was the biggest single restaurant in Dalian at the time. It is interesting to note that Qun Ying Lou survived several waves of political crises in the area, and even opened its Japanese branch in Osaka. Nowadays, dumplings produced by Qun Ying Lou are still available in many of the cities in west Japan. In 1919, a local businessman in Dalian founded Tai Hua Lou (泰华楼), located in a three-level Western brick building. Apart from these three 'huge restaurants' (大酒楼), there were hundreds of relatively small dining places in almost all of the main commercial areas of Dalian.[243] From the 1920s, Chinese restaurants owned and run by Japanese

[243] Yu, *Shi Lue*, p. 13.

private companies began to appear. The 1929 Fu Sang Xian Guan (扶桑仙馆), owned by Takeda Masao, a Japanese scholar of Manchurian studies, and the 1930 Liao Dong restaurant (辽东饭庄) were the two largest. At the same time, new Japanese cafés and bistros also started to appear. By the end of the war in 1942, there were 406 Chinese restaurants and 405 Japanese restaurants in Dalian, an almost equal number.[244]

The rapidly enriching tastes of Dalianese residents allowed chefs to further combine Chinese and Japanese styles into a new form. Through their access to a wide range of ingredients and cooking techniques, restaurants in Dalian became a centre of new flavours, which amalgamated the culinary cultures of different ethnic groups. In 1922, Deng Yin Ge restaurant was temporarily closed due to a Mantetsu internal policy change. Although the chairman of Mantetsu, Yamamoto Jōtarō, as a committed fan of and expert on Chinese cuisine, decided to reopen it in 1928, most of the young chefs in Deng Yin Ge had already moved on to its competitors. These chefs, who had been well trained in Deng Yin Ge, carried on its culinary ideas. Many of them were experts on Japanese cuisine, and eager to reshape the Dalianese people's culinary world.[245] From 1917 to the end of the war in 1945, almost none of the new restaurants that opened in Dalian served only one type of cuisine. Looking at the advertisements that appeared in the two most significant newspapers in pre-1945 Dalian, *Tai Dong Ri Bao* and *Man Zhou Ri Bao,* most of the eating places in Dalian viewed food variety as an important advantage. In this time period, Sukiyaki was the most popular Japanese dish among Chinese people and it appeared in Chinese newspapers most frequently.[246] Meanwhile, Chinese chefs adjusted their way of cooking and ingredients to fit the Chinese taste. From 1935, Meiji corporation opened its canteen to the

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244 Fu, Liyu, *Dalian Yaolan*, p. 16.

245 Yu, *Shi Lue*, pp. 119-120.

246 Tai Dong Ri Bao, 1923-1943; Man Zhou Ri Bao, 1927-1935

general public, where the combination of Qingdao salted beef and the Japanese way of Nabe cooking was invented. Specifically, processed beef from Qingdao was cooked in a pot with vegetables, mushrooms and Japanese seasoning.[247] At the same time, Japanese desserts produced by Morinaga and Meiji were being widely served as after-dinner treats in the restaurants and the domestic dining table of families in Dalian.[248] As for Japanese Dalianese, the Beijing- and Shanghai-style Chinese cuisine gained the most admiration. Many restaurants and cafés placed advertising in both Chinese and Japanese newspapers, and most of them stated that both Chinese and Japanese citizens were welcomed and would be served perfectly.[249] Dumplings and Baozi were also widely served in different kinds of eating places, including formal restaurants of both Chinese and Japanese cuisine. Meanwhile, the edges of the definitions between Chinese, Japanese and Western restaurants was becoming increasingly blurred. Using Fu Sang Xian Guan as an example, this Japanese-owned fine-dining Chinese restaurant served authentic Chinese food and Japanese fusion, but at the same time offered German snacks and tea food.[250] Chefs then had the chance to totally reshape the city's culinary map by innovations, which will be discussed in detail in the later sections of this chapter.

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[247] Tai Dong Ri Bao, 20 February 1937; Man Zhou Ri Bao, 9 July 1935.

[248] Ibid.

[249] See the figure below.

[250] Tai Dong Ri Bao, 21 January 1937.

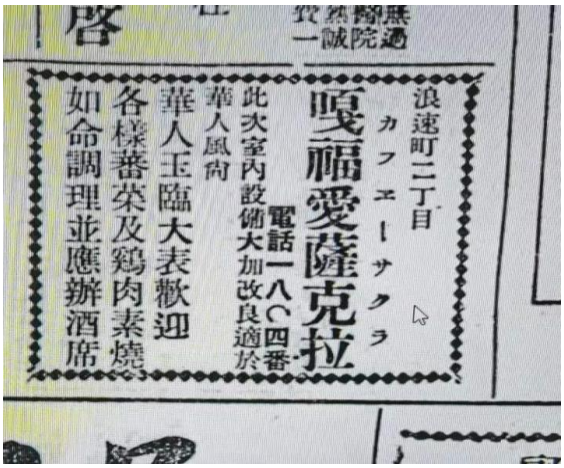

Figure: Advertisements that appeared in *Tai Dong Daily* and *Manchu Daily* from 1935–1937

Although there is not much direct evidence remaining, we can also tell that these culinary interactions affected not only the restaurant level of Dalian's food world. Indeed, the fruits of creativity and integration that took place in the restaurants have clearly influenced Dalianese people's daily lives and caused long-term influences. Fortunately, evidence of this can be found through an examination of the circumstances of the post-war period. After 1950, when most of the Russian and Japanese population had been driven out the city, the Dalianese government still secretly opened one Japanese restaurant and one Russian restaurant in response to citizens' requests, which we will discuss in Chapter 5 with more details. In 1956, the state-owned Dalian Culinary Company opened He Feng restaurant (和风饭店) in the

original building of Niwai Sushi (浪花鮓), the most famous Sushi shop in old Dalian. Interestingly, the manager of the company soon found many experienced Chinese people who used to work as chefs in Japanese restaurants. Due to political pressures, He Feng restaurant described itself as a Chinese fast-food shop, but in fact served Sashimi, Roast Unagi, Sushi and other typical Japanese food on the second floor secretly. In 1958, the Dalian local government opened the first state-owned fine-dining restaurant, Hai Wei Guan (海味馆), in Tianjin street. We can clearly tell from the menu that though the word 'Japanese' is not mentioned anywhere, Japanese dishes with Dalianese fusion could be found in many parts of it.[251] Sashimi was called Shen Yu Pian (生鱼片) (the Chinese for raw fish slices) and Onigiri was named Zi Cai Fan Tuan Zi (紫菜饭团子) (the Chinese for seaweed rice roll).

From the early to middle 20th century, Dalian might have been the only city in China where even middle-class citizens could regularly enjoy Japanese culinary elements in their daily life. Thirty years later, when *Dalian Caipu* (大连菜谱) (the text book of Dalianese cuisine) was edited by all those famous chefs who experienced the long Japanese occupation in Dalian, Japanese culinary elements were well preserved. For example, a whole section of Sashimi dishes was included, but with Chinese fusion. Also, the tomato dishes we have discussed in the case of Deng Ying Ge still existed. Although these culinary elements cannot be categorised as Japanese cuisine, the obvious mark of organic culinary exchanges still makes Dalianese cuisine unique in the north China region. We will revisit this in the later parts.

[251] Yu, *Shi Lue*, p. 67.

The restaurant as a space of cultural Sino-Japanese communication

A restaurant in Dalian was not just a space for eating. If we look into the memories of customers, it would not be difficult to find that it also provided a unique bridge for cross ethnic communication. Major restaurants in Dalian worked as important centres for academic and cultural communication, which were viewed as the most important elements of Yoshino's traditional conception of cultural Pan-Asianism between China and Japan. From the 1920s onward, Japanese and Chinese poets in Dalian founded four poetry clubs in the city, and held various poetry events called Ya Ji (雅集) in the famous restaurants in Dalian. The one with the most significant influence was Da Su Sheng Ri Ya Ji (大苏生日雅集), which celebrates Su Dongpo's birthday on 8 January.[252] From 1926–1942, Deng Ying Ge became the regular host of such events. Famous literary minded figures from both China and Japan, including Wang Jingwei, Duan Qirui, Taoka Masaki and Kaneko Setsusai, communicated with each other by writing poems on the banquet. These poems were usually required to be related to the banquet, but at the same time highly political. These Ya Ji, however, sometimes resulted in confrontation between Chinese and Japanese intellectuals, as culinary space was one of few places where Chinese people could express their political thoughts with relatively lower risk. At a 1927 poetry dinner in Deng Ying Ge, Japanese poet Sugihara Ken began with his poem: 'Literates from the two nations sit around in the shape of the moon, Enjoying wine and creating poems to make this half

[252] Su Dongpo or Su Shi (1037–1101) was one of the most famous Chinese poets in the Northern Song Dynasty. He was a leader of the Songci poem and at the same time a culinary expert who invented some of the most important Chinese ways of cooking today.

day entertaining (两邦文士团栾坐，酌酒题诗半日娱).'[253] However, the Chinese attendees obviously had different moods. Chinese politician Huang Yanpei (黄炎培) answered: 'Who was the happiest person in the western hill? Certainly not me who missed the moon shine on east mountain. What I am seeing became a lethargic dream, while people of the world (in the country) suffered like grilling beans (西埯人家谁最乐，东山月色我无缘．眼前了了成蕉梦，天下汹汹苦豆煎).'[254]

Despite many veiled disputes, Chinese and Japanese intellectuals used these restaurants well as a space for communication, especially when many of the Chinese attendees would be strictly monitored after they stepped out of the gate of the restaurant. The attendees of poetry banquets usually had a clear intention to solidify the cultural bond between the two countries. For example, Fu Liyu, in his preface for Taoka Masaki's *The collection of mellow wind and bright moon* (清风明月集) (a 1922 collection of poems on the poetry banquet), wrote: 'If (one) wants to achieve the friendship between the two countries (China and Japan), (one) must first try to integrate the thoughts of the two countries; if (one) wants to integrate the thoughts of the two countries, (one) must let the intellectuals of the two countries get closer (尝谓凡欲谋两国之亲善，必先图两国思想之融合；而欲图两国思想之融合，尤必先谋两国文人学士之接近).'[255] In pre-war and wartime Dalian, the space where such integration took place was the dining room of Deng Ying Ge and Tai Hua Lou.

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[253] Suguhara, Ken, Xi Yuan Si Ji Shi 西园亭即事, in *Liaodong Shitan* 辽东诗坛, vols. 21–30.

[254] Ibid.，黄炎培《宗风浩然两社中日诗人观月西园亭招游不果往》.

[255] Qing Feng Ming Yue Ji 清风明月集, p. 3.

Of course, eating spaces in Dalian belonged not only to the Chinese and Japanese elites, or the communication of elite culture. By the beginning of the war in 1937, a Chinese construction worker in Dalian city earned 1–1.5 Yen monthly, while a Japanese worker earned about twice as much.[256] The monthly wage of a higher income group such as engineers, including those from both races, could easily pass 15 Yen.[257] Meanwhile, a basic lunch in Dalian's most expensive hotel, Yamato hotel, cost 1 (Japanese cuisine) to 2 (French cuisine) Yen.[258] The price of a dinner in a Chinese restaurant ranged from 0.2 Yen to 5 Yen depending on the orders. Although eating outside was not as regular as it is now, it could be concluded that dining in a restaurant was relatively affordable to many of the registered citizens in Dalian, especially when compared with the situation in other cities at the time. Hata Genji, son of a Japanese cloth merchant in pre-war Dalian, remembered that his family went to a fine-dining restaurant once every three months. Cheaper eateries were visited much more frequently. Also in his memoir, Haneda described a scene of Chinese, Japanese and Russians sitting in the same space and having food together. Cuisine erased racial differences temporarily as admiration for good food was a common and natural language for all people. 'I haven't felt any inconvenience brought on by [the] linguistic issue at all (言語の不便は全く感じられませんでした),' wrote Hata.[259] In early 20th century Dalian, there were few eating places exclusive to a certain race.

The multi-ethnic usage of Dalian's eating spaces seemed to be one of its most significant attributes. As the two biggest ethnic groups, the culinary spaces of the Chinese and Japanese were twisted and mixed. Again, in

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[256] *Dalian*, Mantetsu Dalian investigation, 1935, guidebook, no page number available.

[257] Ibid., p. 39.

[258] *Dalian*, Mantetsu railway bureau, 1937, guidebook, no page number available.

[259] Hata, Genji, Ichi shōnen no dairen kioku 一少年の大連記憶, in *Manshū no kioku* 満洲の記憶, vol. 5, (October, 2017), pp. 11–12.

Haneda's memoir, some different ways in which Chinese and Japanese food places were distributed were mentioned. In Shinano street market, which was a large complex for small food traders, Haneda and his family bought meat and vegetables in Chinese food shops at the first floor, and then turned to Japanese dessert shops on the second floor. In the west railway station square, Hata left a Japanese public bath and walked straight to some Chinese Baozi stalls to eat.[260] Both of his statements showed the mixed status of Dalian's Chinese and Japanese eating spaces. A more typical example is *the Chain streets* (连锁街), which was the latest American-style modern shopping district in Dalian, constructed in 1930 as a response to the rapidly increasing population in late 1920s Dalian. In this district, Fu Sang Xian Guan (the Chinese restaurant we have discussed above) was obviously the biggest culinary space, and was surrounded by smaller Japanese food shops and stalls. Such attributes of space encouraged communication to a certain degree. Kyōka Takuyuki, a famous Japanese novelist born and raised in Dalian, recalled that the only chance he had to talk to a white person was in the Victoria restaurant in Qing Ni Wa. The Victoria was, however, a Russian-style restaurant run by a Chinese businessman and serving Russian, Chinese and Japanese food at the same time.[261] Another Dalian-born Japanese writer, Tominaga Takako, wrote in her memoir that dining in Victoria restaurant was viewed as a symbol of wealth among Chinese, Japanese and Russian middle-aged men in Dalian.[262]

A reshaped 'Dalian flavour'

Being an ethnically diverse city, not many residents in Dalian were able to speak each other's languages. While some Dalian-born Japanese children could speak basic-level Chinese and some Chinese people learned simple

[260] Ibid.

[261] Yu (2019), *Shi Lue*, p. 140.

[262] Ibid., p. 139.

Japanese in school, not all of them mastered these languages. According to Li Suzhen's 2007 book on Japanese linguistic education in Manchuria, although the Japanese authority built a decent Chinese language education and test system in Manchukuo and Dalian, most of the Japanese in Manchukuo were not able to advance to the highest level. By the Taisho era, most of the Chinese language tests in both Manchukuo and Dalian had a pass rate of less than 50%.[263] As for Russians and Koreans, verbal communication would be even more difficult. However, food and drinks worked as a soundless method of communication here. Memories of Dalianese people belonging to different ethnic groups connect and overlap through common restaurants, dishes, eating experiences and food. Although written in a different language, we can find a shared conception of 'the taste of Dalian' or 'Dalian flavour' in many of their descriptions of life in the city. This was undoubtably an important part of the old Dalianese identity, which many historians have struggled to define and prove. In people's memories of Dalian flavour, an emerging native consciousness could be observed, which seemed to cover their ethnic identities.

So, what is 'the taste of Dalian'? What was its original form and how was it reshaped? Prior to the Russians founding the twin cities of Dalny (Dalian) and Port Arthur (Lüshun), there are few records on how local people in the area actually ate. Considering the historic context, migrants from Shandong might have been the major population in this early time period. As a result, Shandong cuisine was most likely to be the primitive form of Dalianese food. It would then be unsurprising to find that by 1918, most of the restaurants in Dalian were still run by Shandong chefs and owners, despite Dalian being a city in north-east China.[264] Shandong cuisine was one of the eight main

[263] Li, Suzhen, *Kyūmanshū chūgokugo kentei shiken no kenkyū*, *旧「満州」中国語検定試験の研究*, (2013, Tokyo), pp. 61–72.

[264] Fu, Liyu, *Dalian Yaolan,* (Dalian, 1918), pp. 14–16.

culinary styles in China and famous for its usage of rich sauce and frying meat dishes. It was viewed as the royal cuisine in the Qing Dynasty. Overall, Shandong cuisine had a rather heavy cooking style focusing on different frying skills. In recent days, there have still been many famous chefs in China who have argued that Dalianese cuisine is actually a variant of Shandong cuisine, as it was not complex enough to form its own category.

However, like the situation in other port cities, such as Nagasaki and Singapore, it was almost impossible for Dalianese people to maintain a homogeneous culinary culture. With a hybrid ethnic society, Dalianese chefs needed to find a unique method to mix culinary elements from China, Japan and the west to create dishes that fitted all ethnic groups' tastes. By the 1920s, the cuisine in Dalian was almost totally differentiated from the traditional Shandong style culinary system. The term 'Shandong cuisine' (山东料理) can only rarely be found in both Japanese and Chinese language advertisements in the media of the period. One possible explanation for such a phenomenon is that pure Shandong cuisine was obviously too heavy and oily for the Japanese residents of the city.

Like other port cities, Dalian's multicultural nature and position gave its chefs the chance to use ingredients that were totally unknown to chefs in their hometowns. Unique shellfish and fish from Hokkaido, Helieb (Russian black bread), tomato, Japanese soya sauce, butter and miso were all brought to the new Dalianese cuisine. Although most of the chefs in Dalian before the 1930s, typically those in Deng Yin Ge, were from Shandong province themselves, they began to use local materials like sea cucumber, fish from Dalian harbour and local vegetables.

After Deng Yin Ge's temporary closure in 1922, the new generation of Dalianese chefs dispersed to other restaurants all over the city with the new culinary ideas they had developed in Deng Yin Ge, creating more acceptable

cuisine for more groups based on different culinary cultures. Yu Guo Zhen was undoubtably the most famous of them. As a student of Deng Yin Ge's second chief chef Liu Xue Xin, Yu was a culinary legend who wrote a series of books called *Cuisine of Lüshun and Dalian* (旅大美食), which were widely viewed as the standard works of Dalianese cuisine. Yu later became the chef for the Communist government in Shenyang and was given the Medal of Labour Glory (the highest honour for a Chinese civilian after 1949) in 1985 for his contribution.[265] When Yu Guo Zhen worked as the chef of Fu Sang Xian Guan (扶桑仙馆) in 1936, this Japanese-owned Chinese restaurant had the ability and equipment to serve fine-dining Chinese cuisine, Chinese hot pot, Sukiyaki and Teppanyaki. Yu Guo Zhen was soon inspired by this diversity and then created a dish that mixed Chinese and Japanese elements. This dish combined traditional Japanese Sukiyaki with the Shandong style technique – heavy frying (爆炒).[266]

Fry Sukiyaki 炒鸡素烧

Main ingredients: Pork, Chicken breast, Beef

Other ingredients: Matsutake, Japanese bunching onion, Konjac, Cabbage

Cooking: Slice the meat and slightly cook with warm oil in a wok-pan. Process the other ingredients.

Heat the oil in wok-pan, fry the bunching onion, add cooking rice wine. Heavy fry with other ingredients, and then add soya sauce, MSG and white sugar for seasoning. Finally, mix with the main ingredients by gently frying, serve with pepper oil.

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[265] Yu, *Shi Lue*, pp. 94-99.

[266] Yu, *Shi Lue*, p. 40.

– *Cuisine of Lüshun and Dalian* 旅大美食, 1975

Yu claimed that this dish gained incredible popularity among both Chinese and Japanese customers, and he later included it as one of the 200 classic Dalianese dishes in the book *Cuisine of Lüshun and Dalian*. By the end of the war, there were plenty of such fusions that enriched the diversity of Dalianese cuisine. Yu Guo Zheng's master chef Liu Xue Xin invented the technique of using bread to decrease the oiliness of dishes.[267] In Café Victoria, creamy roasted prawns started the trend of using dairy products in cooking, and became popular among all Dalianese people.[268] Yu Guo Zhen emphasised that this phenomenon was unique and could not be found anywhere else in China at the time. Meanwhile, the innovation from the chefs was not the only evidence for Dalian's organic development of culinary exchanges.

Japanese culinary influences had been implied in the domestic cooking and eating of Chinese families, or at least, some of the Chinese families. From the beginning of the 1930s, advertisements of Japanese domestic food products started to appear in *Tai Dong Daily*. A very early example is an advertisement for Aji no moto MSG. By the late 1930s, Japanese food and drinks promotions, such as those of Kirin beer, Meiji sweets, bread and fish cans from Japanese Naichi, had already become a regular part of the contents of this Chinese-language newspaper.[269] After 1935, the *Tai Dong Daily* introduced a new structure and added an occasional family sub-section every week, in which we can find some of the cases that showed deep integration between Chinese and Japanese culinary culture in Dalian. In a 1938 article, in the family section of *Tai Dong Daily* that discussed the cuisine specially for breastfeeding women, the author suggested the usage of several ingredients

[267] Ibid., p. 55.

[268] Ibid., p. 51.

[269] Japanese Naichi is the term used in the pre-1945 Japanese Empire for Japanese metropole.

from Japan, specifically Ayu, as well as other sea fish and vegetables from different parts of Japan, particularly in the eastern part of the country.[270] Many of these ingredients were exclusively Japanese, which means they could hardly be found in a Chinese cookery book. Although this article was obviously not written by a culinary expert, it may suggest that typical Japanese ingredients were actually common in the domestic kitchens of Dalianese people. By the late 1930s, some Dalianese families could even get access to the most unique Japanese culinary ingredients. On 20 May 1939, an article in *Tai Dong Daily* suggested that even whale meat had begun to be introduced to Dalianese families. The piece, named 'House gospel', suggested that it was an official policy of Kwantung Fishing Society to provide whale meat to common families in Dalian. The author claimed that the whale meat was extremely delicious, and greatly beneficial to every family in Dalian.[271] The unique whale-eating tradition in Dalian as a product of Japanese culinary influence actually lasted until the late post-war era. From 1967, the Dalian Fishing Corporation owned the first and only whale fishing ship in China; its operation ended in 1971.[272]

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[270] Tai Dong Ri Bao, 19 October 1938.

[271] Tai Dong Ri Bao, 20 May 1939.

[272] Dalian fishing bureau, *The record of Dalian's fishing industry*, (Dalian, 1994), p. 239.

為緩和獸肉類之飢饉
獎勵海產鯨魚
既富滋養價額特別低廉
家庭之福音
肉類饑饉之今日必須謀求代用品。現正從事計劃的在大連附近捕獲之鯨魚可供給一般家庭之食膳。關東州水產會已行提唱。苦於肉類昂騰之市民。對此已成爲熱烈之話題頗有非常之美味。而滋養之點亦勿庸論。鯨肉將出現於市場果能實現則實爲各家庭之一大福音
捐獎協運會
本報與滿洲帝國協和會大連事
市參事會議
定於廿二日
大連市定於月之廿二日自午前十一時假市役所會議室中參事
△安召棠捐金十元△天成號捐金五元△同泰興捐金五元

The Japanese-adjusted tastes and cooking methods were gradually influencing Dalianese people's domestic cooking and eating choices. From the beginning of the 1930s, the Fujiyama canning factory based in west Dalian produced several types of Japanese canned food, ranging from beef Yamatoni to sautéed fish. All of these cans utilised Japanese-style cooking. For example, a Yamatoni was a Japanese way of stewing meat using soya sauce, sugar, mirin and other spices. It was a direct response to the failure of Western boiled canned food in Japan by entrepreneur Maeda Michikata in 1881. The Tamatoni beef can appeared in Dalian in 1938. By 1939, traditional Western-style salted cans could no longer be found in *Tai Dong Daily*'s advertisement section. In a product list from Dalian's Shitamura food shop, even the sardines were canned with tomato seasoning. Another obvious consequence of the exchanges between Chinese and Japanese tastes in Dalian was the adoption of the raw-eating culture. Long before other cities in China, Dalian had a widespread tradition of eating raw fish and other ingredients. On 15

September 1939, the Kwantung territory (or Kantō-shū) health bureau announced a serious pandemic of typhoid fever in Dalian, which caused over 300 hospital cases within several days. Local government officials stated clearly that the pandemic was caused by raw eating in the city, and urged all citizens to properly cook all food items before eating them.[273] In a post-war local cookery book, raw dishes could still be found, uniquely so in the region to which Dalian belongs. Raw seafood eating in China was almost exclusively found in the south or south-east coast of the country, particularly in west Guangdong, Fujian and south Zhejiang. Also, these Chinese-style raw dishes required curing for a long period of time in specially made sauce. Dalian's raw fish and raw shellfish were completely different. Here is a recipe recorded in *Da Lian Cai Pu*:

Main Ingredient: 200 grams of Hirame fish.

Sub Ingredients: Cucumber, carrot, Daikon, coriander leaf.

Method: 1. Remove the head and organs and clean the fish, cut the fillet off though the bone, remove the skin and tendon, cut the fillet into slices and place them in order to form a circle.

2. Cut the sub ingredients into 5 cm slices, roll them together, cut again, place them beside the fish slices. Put Ginger and Coriander mince into soya sauce and add a little bit vinegar as dip.

– Da Lian Cai Pu, 1983.[274]

Obviously, the Dalian version of raw fish is similar to Japanese white fish sashimi, with a little adjustment on the cutting method and dips. Wasabi is replaced by ginger mince, while spring onion is replaced by coriander. However, the main idea of this dish remained the same as that of the Japanese version – to highlight the original flavour of the fish meat itself.

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[273] Tai Dong Ri Bao, 15 September 1939.

[274] Dalian Shi Yinshi Gongsi, *Dalian Caipu* 大连菜谱, (Dalian, 1978), pp. 36–37.

Except for the taste itself, a bond was built between Chinese and Japanese culinary ideas through the common origin. In late 1930s editions of *Tai Dong Daily*, articles about learning the Japanese eating philosophy and table manners could occasionally be found. An example was in the family section of the 23 September 1939 edition, when Tie Han (literately, Iron Man in Chinese), a domestic issues expert, encouraged people to regain the Chinese tradition of 'Don't sit if the seat was not correctly placed, don't eat if the food was not correctly cut, don't speak when eating and don't speak when sleeping' (席不正不坐，割不正不食，食不言寝不语) from learning the Japanese culinary culture. Such an article showed the common impression of Japanese culture among the Chinese bourgeoisie. This impression was not necessarily true, but it showed that learning from Japanese culinary culture could be viewed as a restoration of traditional Chinese culture for the Chinese people. In post-war Dalian cookbooks, we can see a number of dishes with specific instructions on presenting and garnishing, which is relatively rare in the north-east region of China.


家庭
家庭問題解答
家庭中的吃飯問題（中）
未婚夫一去不返 儂可否另找婆家

Figure: *Tai Dong Daily*, 23 September 1939

Following the transformed tastes, a transformed identity was also created. It was an identity that differed from both the Chinese and Japanese one, which only belonged to the city of Dalian itself. A direct reflection of this shift was part of a Dalianese people's food memory.

Figure: *Tai Dong Ri Bao*, 22 September 1938

Figure: *Tai Dong Daily*, 15 September 1939

Ahh, this flavour (あ-この味): Dalianese cuisine and memory

Things related to taste and flavour comprise a major part of Dalianese people's memories, which show a strong sense of belonging to the city and nostalgia. Not only can we find them in the memoirs of the old Dalianese citizens, but also in novels and in the post-war events related to former Dalianese. The relationship between food and memory is a relatively new but growing field in both anthropology and history. There are plenty of works that have proved that the sensuality of eating transmits powerful mnemonic cues, principally through smells and tastes. David Sutton emphasises how the smells and tastes of a lost homeland formed a temporary return for diasporic

individuals to a time when their lives were not fragmented. He used the example of Greeks from the island of Kalymnos and studied their process of organising sophisticated banquets.[275] Hasia Diner's study of 19th and early 20th century immigration to the United States showed another interesting side of the story by pointing out how the common memories of tastes in hunger, instead of ethnic foods, structured the ethnic identities.[276] Holtzman (2006) instead pointed out that food as a powerful and defuse locus of memory goes far beyond the body experience. Food could be researched as a rather unique movement between the most intimate and the most public with its frosted symbolic power.[277] In this study's case, both kinds of connection between Dalianese food and Dalianese people's memories took place.

The taste of Dalianese cuisine and the experience of consuming it firstly formed a connection between old Japanese Dalianese and their lost homeland in the memory. Former citizens of old Dalian came from different backgrounds and ethnic groups, but many of them mentioned one thing in common: 'The flavour of Dalian'. This term was written in many different languages and ways of presentation, but has always been associated with pride, deliciousness and happiness. When Dalian-born Japanese primary school principals Morida Yoshiko 森田芳子, Yoshino Ayako 吉野绫子 and Otani Asako 尾谷晨子 revisited Dalian in 1976, they found that the city was totally different. Nevertheless, the flavours of the food they ate had not changed a lot. Norida missed the taste of street food a lot, while Kajitani found the formal welcoming dinner prepared by the Chinese school they were visiting was particularly adorable. However, one food they all mentioned in

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[275] Sutton, David. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, (New York, 2006), pp. 159–60

[276] Diner, Hasia, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish foodways in the age of migration*. (Harvard, 2003).

[277] Holtzman, Jon. 'Food and memory'. *Annual review of anthropology*, vol. 35, (June, 2006), p. 361.

their diary was Baozi. The Dalianese Baozi was a variant of Tianjin Baozi, which was sweeter and juicier. In some eateries, this typical Chinese soul food was fused with Russian Pirozhki, which was baked or fried yeast-leavened boat-shaped buns with a variety of fillings.[278] All three of them agreed that these Baozi could represent Dalianese cuisine, which for them was 'the most delicious cuisine in the world'. Kajitani recalled that after they had tasted Baozi with some boiled dumplings, all three of them sighed, 'Ahh, this flavour (あ- この味)'.[279]

Eating in Dalian also created a connection between ethnic groups in the memory. Intentionally or unintentionally, youths who were raised in Dalian developed much more varied and colourful eating habits than their peers in Japanese Naichi. There were almost no major catering styles among them. Haneda Genji, who was much older than Morida, Yoshino and Otani when he left Dalian, viewed Baozi as an important part of Dalian's culinary world too. 'Eating Baozi bought from a Chinese shop when lying in the bath was the most luxurious enjoyment,' said Haneda. In his memoir, he mentioned that his family hired a Chinese kid as the chef, who told them how to make dumplings and Baozi. His whole family, together with Zhang, happily sat around the pot to cook and eat every weekend. However, Haneda was more impressed by Fu Sang Xian Guan and Deng Yin Ge's formal dining. Different from other former Japanese Dalianese, the key element of the 'Flavour of Dalian' for Haneda was its diversity. Eating in Dalian represented the city's multiculturalism and inclusiveness. 'French courses ate by knife and folk', 'Barbecued pork serve on a silver plate', 'Sugar and chocolate by Morinaga and Meiji' – Haneda Genji described so many different culinary elements in just a short piece of writing. At last, he proudly concluded that the culinary life in Dalian was even yearned

[278] Morida Yoshiko et al., *Dairen no tsuchi o funde* 大連の土を踏んで, (Tokyo, 1979), p. 74.

[279] Ibid., p. 83.

for by people from Japanese Naichi. Like most of the Dalian-born Japanese kids, Haneda Genji did not hide his pride in Dalian and what had been produced in the city. 'I was not interested in things in Japanese Naichi at all before the end of war. When I first stepped on the land of Japan at the age of 17,' he complained, 'I thought I had come to the countryside.' Here, we can see the Dalianese identity has to some degree replaced Haneda Genji's identity as a Japanese. Similar to Morida, Yoshino and Otani, Haneda never mentioned his experience of eating pure Japanese cuisine in a restaurant in Dalian, except for buying sushi from the famous shop of Niwai Sushi.

Consuming Dalianese culinary culture then became an effective way to strengthen the bond between the city and its expelled old members. In this case, instead of specific experiences and flavours, what had been consumed was the more symbolic side of Dalianese cuisine. As a result, eating Dalianese food has become the most common parts of the memorial events of Japanese Dalianese in the post-war era. Many of these events are held in a Dalianese restaurant in contemporary Japan. In 2010, the Dalian cuisine menu of the Japanese Dalian Association and Dalian Sino-Japanese Friendship Alumni Association's (日本大連会と大連市中日友好学友会) dinner to welcome Chinese scholars from Dalian was:

Deep fried needle fish, Seaweed soup, steam scallop, Fried Kinoko mushroom, Sea food and potato cuisine, Pork stew, Deep fried yellow croakers, Vegetable temaki, Grilled Taro and Steams potato, Chinese cabbage boiled gyoza, Deep fried Baozi.

サヨリの唐揚げ、のりのスープ、蒸帆立貝、きのこの炒め、海鮮と薩摩芋料理、豚肉の甘煮、キグチの唐揚げ、野菜の手巻き、焼き芋と蒸ジャガイモ、 白菜の水餃子、蒸パンの油揚げ[280]

What can easily seen in this menu was that many of these dishes appeared frequently in the memoirs of Haneda, Morida, Yoshino, Otani and many other people. At the same time, they were also not difficult to find in post-war Chinese cookbooks， and this again shows the extent to which Dalian's culinary culture has a lasting legacy both in Japan and the city itself. Most importantly, the taste of Dalian was the most stable element in their memory while everything else of the city had changed. It represented the past of the city more successfully than anything else.

As for the ethnic Chinese citizens in Dalian, the flavour of Dalian represented something more unique. On one hand, some chefs and culinary experts did realise that the Dalianese cuisine had already been heavily influenced by the taste of the Japanese and other foreign populations. They were, however, proud of such a fact. Yu Guo Zhen was, of course, one of these open-minded chefs, but it was his colleague and classmate Wang Xue Yi who pushed culinary integration in Dalian to the next level. Wang was once the head chef of Tai Hua Lou restaurant, but in 1930 he decided to go to Japan to learn more cooking skills. He came back to Tai Hua Lou in 1942, and soon became one of the most famous chefs in the city. Wang was possibly the first chef who systematically combined China and Japan's cooking styles. He concluded that the secret to satisfying both Chinese and Japanese taste was 'Using sugar in every dish, without showing the sweetness' (逢菜必糖，糖而不

[280] The menu of '*Dai nikai Dairen kyōdo ryōri o tanoshimu tsudoi*' held by Japanese Dalian Association and Dalian China-Japan Friendship Association of Scholars, 2005, 28th May.

甜). Wang's new style impressed many Chinese customers and heavily influenced the overall style of Dalianese cuisine. He succeeded Deng Yin Ge's attempt to introduce tomato into the cooking process and lowered the salty taste in his cooking. His tomato fried fish and other fish dishes became the lifetime favourites of celebrities such as the famous Peking opera master Cao Yibin and are still served in some of the most famous Dalianese restaurants.[281] Although most of the Chinese people in old Dalian did not seem to realise that the uniqueness of Dalianese cuisine was a result of culinary cultural exchanges, they did know that after several decades of Japanese rule, Dalianese cuisine had become different to the culinary systems in the rest of China. From the 1930s, most of the Dalianese cuisine stopped promoting itself with titles like Shina Ryōri, Shandong cuisine or Peking cuisine in both the Chinese and Japanese media in the city.

By the end of war in 1945, one can confidently claim that the city of Dalian already owned its own culinary culture, which was a mixture of ingredients, cooking styles and culinary ideas from multiple cultures. This culinary culture could be found in the memories of Dalianese people from this era, who were proud of the unique diversity Dalian had, even through an extremely cruel occupation. So, what is, if indeed it is definable, the 'flavour of Dalian' before the structure of this city was totally changed in 1950? The answers might differ among the many present or former inhabitants of the city. It could be the juicy and meaty Baozi for Morida and her colleagues, diverse international cuisine for Haneda or the creative invention of Fried Sukiyaki for Yu Guozhen. However, all these flavours were products of organic development rather than some state-driven plan of the occupiers, which was based on the preference of the tastes and food of different groups in the city. There might not be a single famous dish in Dalian that, by itself, encapsulates

[281] Yu, *Shi Lue*, p. 54.

these culinary exchanges, but instead, food undoubtedly created bonds and connections between people in this city.

Conclusion: An organic growth

By the end of war in 1945, a Dalianese cuisine had already been completely formed. This process took less than 40 years – an extremely short period. While Shanghainese cuisine is still under the shadow in the Ben Bang Cai (本帮菜) and Hai Pai Cai (海派菜) division, hardly any local people would question the range of Dalianese cuisine. The 'Ahh, this flavour (あ- この味)' in Dalianese people's memory was clear and solid. Mark Swislocki suggested that the spread of Ben Bang Cai was associated with restorative nostalgia, which represented an ideal world of the past, a sense of cultural continuity in a period of rapid change, and the modern and Western-influenced Hai Pai Cai was bonded with reflective nostalgia, which represented a possible world that is commonly desired but has not materialised.[282] In Dalian, both of these nostalgias existed, but to a certain degree they overlapped. On one hand, Dalianese cuisine offered a bridge between the Japanese Dalianese and their utopian homeland in the past, while the remaining Chinese citizens of the city were also preserving the heritage of Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges in Dalianese cuisine. On the other hand, Dalianese people were proud of the diversity of Dalianese cuisine, and of course the city behind it. Compared to Shanghainese cuisine, Dalianese cuisine had significantly less internal margin, which means the process of multicultural integration was relatively smooth and natural.

The discussion and finding in this chapter reminds us of the question of the de facto segregation as well as the nature of Japanese rule in Dalian. In her comparison between Shanghai and Dalian, Emer O'Dwyer suggested that 'the market dictated that residential districts remained a case of de facto

[282] Swislocki, *Culinary nostalgia*, p. 226.

segregation by nationality. In both places Chinese were frequently subject to exclusion from private spaces. Using Robert Bickers' claim about Shanghai, "'Cosmopolitanism' had cold, sharp limits".'[283] These claims were accurate historical fact. However, when we shift our attention from politics and urban construction to the cultural dimension, it is impossible to ignore that integration between Chinese and Japanese culture played a rather important role within the city's emerging urban culture. The culinary cultures of both China and Japan were in fact 'neutralised'. Eating spaces encouraged cultural communication without any side of the exchanges dominating the whole process. The 'Dalianese taste' was reformed based on the preference of both Chinese and Japanese people. On the other hand, the characteristic of 'authenticity' in both cuisines in Dalian was becoming more irrelevant to people's choices of what to eat. From fried Sukiyaki to people's shared memory of culinary elements, Dalian's own culinary culture, or 'culinary identity', did not belong to any one of the ethnic groups in the city. The cuisine of Dalian was created with contributions from both Chinese and Japanese culinary cultures, which had an enormous influence on the city's post-war cuisine (as discussed in Chapter 5).

[283] O'Dwyer, *Significant Soil*, pp 358; Bickers, Robert. *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai,* (New York, 2003), p. 43.

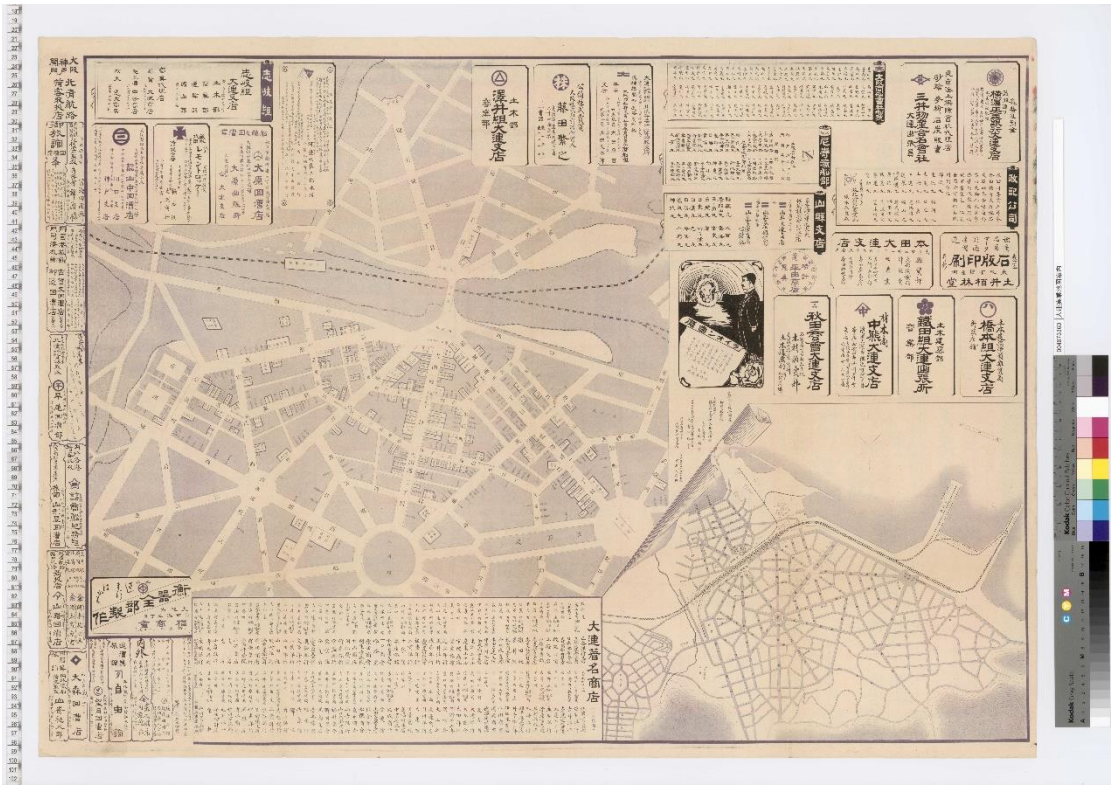

Figure: *Dairen jitsugyō chizu an'nai* 大連実業地図案内, Jujiya, 1906

The development of Dalian's culinary world represented a rather 'ideal' model of a Sino-Japanese relationship within the Japanese Empire based on a rather liberal Pan-Asianist ideology. The eating culture in Dalian was built through organic development among people and a relatively equal relationship between the Chinese and Japanese in terms of cuisine. Increasing and shared knowledge between both groups were boosted by culinary space and culinary culture, which was obviously closer to Yoshino's expectation of how Pan-Asianism should be achieved. This model, however, did not take place in all parts of Manchukuo, let alone the whole of the Japanese Empire. In the next chapter, we will a model which stands in stark contrast with Dalian in the capital of Manchukuo: Xinjing (Changchun). In Xinjing's model, Pan-Asianism was a clear driving force behind culinary exchanges. However, political demands and the ambitious expectations of this model played a much more significant role, which resulted in total failure.

妊·產婦的幾種食物

若想乳汁充足要加精神要素

吃所願意吃的東西避免過勞

魚和青菜等最好

吃什麼東西能够出乳」這是對於妊產婦非常重大的問題但由於地理的關係從古來各地皆留下獨特的方法、每年由全國各府縣選拔的集結到赤十字社的看護婦及婦長候補生約一百名數年間每年作連續的質問調查、「河魚」河魚之中有鯽魚、鯉魚、泥鰌、香魚四種、東北、中部、關東、東京和有幾處別的地方都以這四種魚爲擢乳的食物、據設很有効果、還有兩三縣以金魚、紅鯉魚、大眼賊魚爲擢乳的食物、再說到「海魚」用大頭魚的最多、千葉、茨城方面用敷丁魚、三陸地方用「山馬魚」、日本產（譯音）土佐地方用鰹魚、大体上說什麼地方出產最豐富的魚、就以這種魚爲擢乳的食物、「野菜」東北用豆、黑豆關東用馬鈴薯、鶉瓜乾中部地方用山藥、和蘿蔔、胡蘿蔔、地瓜、菠菜、洋葱等「其他」餅、豆腐、年糕、麵條、麵包、雞蛋、麵條子、或手製的甜酒、紅飯、牛乳、山羊乳等總而言之都是有地理性的、什麼地方出產什麼就以什麼爲擢乳的食物的居多

在上述的各種擢乳食物中多多用的要喫着鯉魚、鯽魚、餅、燉紀湯湯、其次就是菠菜、用黑豆煎的東西和別的豆類、因爲這些東西實際上含有充分的蛋白質、脂肪、灰分、維他命等榮養成分、因爲熱量也多、吃了以後、就可以從体中分泌很多的乳汁、至於用金魚、大眼賊、紅鯉魚、等都是按迷信的傳說而用的、並且乳汁分泌減少的原因也有由於睡眠不足過勞、操心等食物以外的影響也很大、而各人的嗜好也能左右乳汁的分泌、決不是簡單的事情、由於胃弱、若是何的乳汁不好、或者是停止了、那麼決不要吃澤庵鹹菜了（一種蘿蔔鹹菜、爲澤庵和尚所創故稱爲澤庵鹹菜－註）吃肉喇魚喇等好菜、也不能出乳的例子也很多所以乳汁的分泌應該先知道要加上精神的要素、應該的願意吃的東西、再避免過勞和心勞、好好的眠然後再吃所謂好東西、這是很重要的

種種的考察

裝

服

於

關

蛟・卿・

一、先從衣服的原料上說起、在普通的原料中、占在第一位的就是綿布了、第二位需要羊毛的問題是最使我們不幸的、就是我國羊毛的缺乏、所以在最近發明出來的人造、毛可以替用羊毛的使用、再是在服飾上不可缺的就是人々愛穿的綢子了、然而看起我國的現狀、只有綢子是自給自足的、剩下的全是輸入品了、因爲這樣我們衣服的購入及整理等、不要認錯、要深々的考慮方合算呢！第一

Figure: *Tai Dong Ri Bao*, 19 October 1938

Figure: *Tai Dong Ri Bao*, 14 April 1939

Chapter 4: Xinjing: A divided culinary culture in a divided city

'Xinjing is a city for the rulers,' said Sakuma Akira, a famous Japanese animator and former settler in Manchukuo. The capital of Manchukuo was to be a microcosm of five races in harmony and Japan's Pan-Asianism ideology, yet it has been an extremely divided city. The Seventh Street (七马路) located in the north-east part of the city provided a physical border between the areas of two major ethnic groups: Japanese and Chinese. In the meantime, more serious division existed in people's daily lives. While existing historical academic works about Manchukuo have already pointed out the great gap between the living standards of these two parts of the city, the details of Xinjing people's daily lives have remained a relatively unfamiliar area for many historians. How did the Chinese and Japanese people live in this booming city of Manchukuo? More relevant to this research, what and how did they eat in this new land while most of the members in both groups could hardly be called locals? Through an exploration of these questions, we can easily find Xinjing's significant uniqueness compared to other areas in Manchuria during the era. The city's culture was split but there were efforts to construct ties through some made-up bonds between the cultures of its race. Bill Sewell, in his book *Constructing Empire*, suggested that even in remote Manchuria, the Japanese recreated much of the lifestyle that characterised contemporary Japan, demonstrating a closer allegiance to Japanese customs and society than to anything broadly Pan-Asian. 'Although Chinese and Japanese shared Xinjing,' he suggested, 'they lived in parallel worlds.'[284] Using Westerners' observations on the city's urban construction, Sewell has pointed out that there was a physical separation between the living spaces of the Japanese and the locals. While Japanese elites enjoyed their modern-

[284] Sewell, Bill. *Constructing Empire: The Japanese in Changchun, 1905–45*. (Vancouver, 2019), p. 131.

designed, advanced metropolis, 'not much had changed for Chinese'. The local population lived among the 'almost impassable roads' and still suffered from violence, poverty, the drug trade, and sometimes even military crimes from the Japanese army.[285]

The finding in the first part of this chapter supports Sewell's conclusion and provides further evidence from the angle of everyday culture. Then, using Chinggis Khan pot as an example, I argue that in Xinjing, Pan-Asian ideology remained a critical driving force of this city's culinary development. Japanese Pan-Asianism was expressed through a process of reformulation and internalisation, instead of integration and communication. New culinary cultures were made and manipulated intentionally by political factors and demands, instead of a process of organic growth. In Chinggis Khan pot's case, its Chinese origin was deliberately obscured, replaced by a more general Pan-Asian composite of a Manchurian identity, Mongolian historical glories, and claims of East Asian superiority. Unsurprisingly, the reformulation represented by Chinggis Khan cuisine did not form a strong connection with the city and its people. Xinjing's unique mode of culinary cultural development reflected a superficial harmony, but also a fitting symbol of the failed ambitions of cultural Pan-Asianism in Manchukuo.

Two culinary worlds

'I think it is delightful to have Tempura and Sushi in Xinjing,' wrote Yokoyama Toshio (1906–1944), a Japanese left-wing intellectual and agriculturalist, 'but if we Japanese people can't fix our incompetence on integrating (other cultures) and narrow-minded nostalgia, I really expect that it will be difficult for us to conduct our development on the continent.' Saying that, he complained that eating non-Japanese food in Manchukuo for a long

[285] ibid, pp, 170–171.

time was extremely painful and it was a significant enjoyment to have fresh sushi in a place far from the coast.[286] Yokoyama is famous for his liberal views and support for ethnic equality. His comments on Japanese people's eating habits here captures a feature of Xinjing culinary culture, namely that most Japanese people in Xinjing still lived with the culinary culture of their homeland, regardless of the geographical environment and the existence of local cuisine. Yokoyama also mentioned that many of the customers in the expensive Itamae restaurants were locals of Chinese ethnicity, but that does not affect his observation that people in Xinjing did not share one culinary culture. Just as in the case of the physical living spaces, Chinese and Japanese people had their own culinary worlds in Xinjing, which were separated and non-interfering. Of course, the idea of Japanese Pan-Asianism still had a significant influence on Xinjing's culinary culture. However, integration of cultures did not exist in the 13-year history of the capital city. Chinese and Japanese cuisine had, by the end of the war, generally kept their authenticity.

Xinjing was by no means a city with long history. After the birth of Manchukuo in 1932, the tiny town in Ji Ling province called Changchun suddenly became one of the most important places in Manchuria and even the whole of north-east Asia. The city was given the name 'Xinjing' (Xinjing in the later Pinyin system of Latinisation), or 'Shinkyō', which literally means 'the new capital' in both Chinese and Japanese. From 1932, the Kwantung army and Mantetsu started one of the largest construction projects in Asian history – 'The Great Xinjing metropolis plan'. A massive 100km^2 city had been planned with even more administrative areas, which was even bigger than the great London metropolis at the time. It was to have an extremely complex and advanced water supply network and drainage system was designed as well as a 120km highway and underground transportation network. By 1937, most of the first stage of construction had been completed. The Japanese government

[286] Yokoyama Toshio, *Shinkyō yūbshin* 新京邮信, (Tokyo, 1942), pp. 46–47.

viewed this city as the materialisation of its 'Great East Asia co-prosperity' idea.

In the wake of this urban construction, the population structure of the city rapidly changed. By 1944, 153,614 Japanese people lived in the city of Xinjing, which was over 20% of its population. In the centre of the city, the proportion was even higher.[287] In 1942, the Japanese population accounted for over 60% in four central districts in the city. In Shun Tian district (顺天区) and An Min district (安民区) the figure rose to over 80%.[288] While Japanese propaganda claimed this city as a model of the so-called 'Harmony of the Five Races' (五族共和) and 'Great east Asia new order' (大东亚新秩序), it is not difficult to see that the reality was very different. The city was clearly divided into two parts: the modern, clean and beautiful Japanese streets (日本町), and the crowded and traditional Manchurian streets (满洲町), where most of the city's Chinese citizens lived.

This division was directly reflected in its culinary sector. During the whole of the 1930s, the culinary industry in Xinjing experienced a major boom, despite this prosperity only appearing in the Japanese areas of the city. Japanese people lived in their massive and modern 'Japanese streets' and still ate in a similar way to their countrymen in the Japanese metropole. Meanwhile, the extremely diverse Chinese society in Xinjing was generally isolated from the city's exciting urban life, living with their own eating culture in the tiny old city on the east side. In 1936, the Japanese government officially cancelled the extraterritorial jurisdiction in Xinjing, unifying the administration of the capital city. This event was claimed by the Japanese government to represent great progress in Manchu-Japanese relationship,

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[287] Fukutomi Hachirō, *Manshūkoku nenkan* 满洲国年鉴, (Fengtian, 1945), p. 389

[288] Shinkyo Shōkō kōkai, *Shinkyō no gaikyō,* (Xinjing, 1942), pp. 18–19

and marked a difference between Japan's policy and Western colonialism. Nevertheless, for the city itself, almost no significant change had been made. In 1938's Xinjing guide, published in the Chinese language, most sectors of the capital city were still divided. [289]From education and medicine to hotels, cinemas and tourism, almost every area of Xinjing had been separated into two parts: the Japanese side (日本側) and the Manchurian side (満洲側). The culinary industry was no exception. Although there is no evidence for any official policy that banned particular races from entering certain eating places, Xinjing's culinary worlds actually existed in two isolated parts.

The Japanese side of the city's divided culinary world was, like all other rapidly developing city on the world, growing with prosperity. In January 1940, an article in the *Osaka Daily News*, one of the most important newspapers in Japan, described the life in Xinjing as 'boring' (無趣味だ) and ' pitiful' (殺風景だ).[290] This was, however, this does not appear to justice to the culinary scene. Japanese residents in Manchukuo actually created a copy of the Japanese culinary world in the city. By the end of Xinjing's first stage construction programme in 1937, a well-developed and booming Japanese culinary industry had emerged in the capital city. Advertisements for eating places started to appear in the local media. In the 31 February 1937 edition of *Shinkyou Daily News*, 9 of 12 pages included at least one advertisement related to the culinary industry, ranging from Chinese snack shops to Korean pot cuisine.[291] On the Japanese side, the most common style of restaurant was 'Formal cuisine (お料理)', which focused on professional Japanese cooking. Restaurants only had 'individual rooms (個室)' and provided a prostitution

[289] Ji, Wen, *Xinjing Zhinan* 新京指南, (Xinjing, 1938), pp. 87-92.

[290] Osaka nichi-nichi shinbun, 3 January 1940.

[291] Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 31 December 1937.

service at the same time, called ‘cuisine pavilions (料亭)’, which were usually utilised by the Japanese military and political elites as private meeting places. Cafés serving simple lunch or dinner were called ‘Tea drinking shops (喫茶店)’, and a large place serving simple food was called a ‘Canteen (食堂)’. Meanwhile, there were also plenty of bistros, which focused on one particular dish or drink, such as soba house (蕎麦屋), places serving alcohol (酒場) or Sushi (鮨).[292] All these eating places differed little from those in Japan proper.

What has become obvious here is that in contrast with Dalian, the Japanese population in Xinjing seemed to still prefer food and drink from their homeland. Restaurants and ingredient suppliers promoted their products by highlighting their Japanese origins. This led to several confusing fusions. Some typical Japanese products were described as ‘The famous product of Xinjing (Shinkyō Meibutsu)’, while their Japanese places of origin were still mentioned.

Figure: *Hitotsuya, Famous product of Xinjing, Beppu spring and cuisine*[293]

[292] Shinkyo nichi-nichi Shinbun, 8 May 1937.

[293] Shinkyo nichi-nichi Shinbun, 30 June 1937.

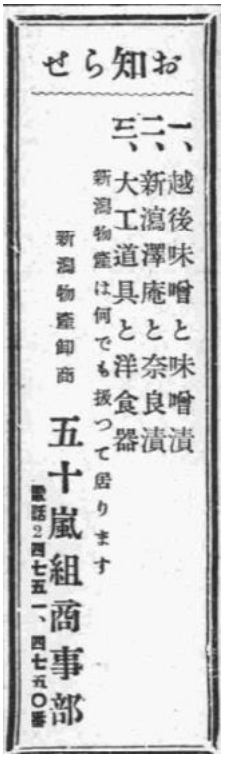

Figure: Advertisement for sauces from Echigo and Nigata (East Japan)[294]

Figure: *Pure Edo mae (Tokyo) style Tempura, Prawns, oil and chefs are all the same as those in Tokyo, opened on 17th September*[295]

294 Ibid.

295 Shinkyo nichi-nichi Shinbun, 19 September 1937.

Figure: *Local specialty, Famous product of Xinjing, Amaguri Taro*[296]

Evidently, what made Xinjing's Japanese districts more similar to those in the Japanese metropole was the extraordinary nightlife, which was generally based on eating, drinking and prostitution. In a 1935 travel note, 'Stories of Manchuria (Manchu Ibun)', Japanese poet Kato Ikuya wrote: 'In the past, the local specialty (Meibutsu) of Changchun (the old name of Xinjing) was its dark streets at night.'[297] With a few exceptions, most of the Chinese stores or eating places closed relatively early, at 5pm or 6pm, mostly before the sunset. This phenomenon did not take long to change. For Katō, night eating and prostitution within the restaurants were the 'Parameter of prosperity (景気のパロメーター)'. He recorded a rise in the number of restaurant shops from 47 to 176 in the city after the birth of Manchukuo, as well as a dramatic increase in the number of restaurant prostitutes from 109 to several thousand. All of these changes took place before the completion of Xinjing's first stage of construction. According to the travel guide, Japanese night clubs, prostitution providers and dancing halls could be found in every district in the downtown area except for the Chinese entertainment zone,

[296] Shinkyo nichi-nichi Shinbun, 29 June 1938.

[297] Kato Ikuya), *Manchu Ibun*, (Xinjing, 1939), p. 73.

Huan Le Di, on the east side of the city.[298] Following the rapid Japanimation of night life in the city, traditional Japanese cuisine and way of eating spread into the Japanese parts of Xinjing. Eel grill, high-end drink food and many other Japanese dishes were always associated with prostitution.[299] By 1938, there were over 50,000 prostitutes in Xinjing from almost every part of the Japanese Empire, most of them working in the so called 'Ryōriya', which was a type of shop serving sex, food and drinks at the same time.

A 1971 memoir written by the famous Japanese Animists Sakuma Akira and Toyama Ei on life in Manchukuo described the life in Xinjing like this:

'Every night, the lights illuminated the city just like it was daytime, the street was full of youths with endless energy, what a shiny prosperity of Xinjing!'[300]

Sakuma and Toyama were former residents of Dalian and Fengtian. When they visited the capital, Xinjing, what they found most impressive was still the night life. Different Geisha places, Japanese restaurants and cafés occupied the central part of the city. The Chinese sector of the culinary world, however, was not a significant part of Japanese people's lives. Sakuma mentioned that Japanese people only utilised a few Chinese cuisine restaurants in the city. 'As far as I am concerned,' claimed Sakuma, 'Xinjing was really a city for the rulers.'[301] This impression, of course, only and entirely applied to the Japanese side of the city.

If we limit ourselves to looking at what is advertised in contemporary guides, the Chinese population did not have as much to choose from when it came to Chinese cuisine. Records of the Chinese culinary world in Xinjing are relatively rare. On the 1937 Xinjing tour guide given to Japanese tourists from

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[298] Nagami, Buntaro, *Shinkyō an'nai*, (Xinjing, 1938) advertisement part, pp. 1–96

[299] Ibid.

[300] Sakuma & Toyama (Tokyo, 1971), p. 222.

[301] Ibid., pp. 224–225.

the homeland, seven fine-dining Chinese restaurants, or 'Jiu Lou 酒楼', were recommended. The Central restaurant 中央饭店, the Capital restaurant 国都饭店, Bin Yan Lou 宾宴楼, Gong Ji restaurant 公记饭店, Song Zhu Mei 松竹梅, Wu Xiang Ju 五香居 and Yi Xing Lou 益兴楼. In another guide book published two years later, two restaurants were added. In 1937's Chinese-language Xinjing guide, the recommendation of restaurants remained almost the same, suggesting that these were possibly the only formal Chinese dining places in the city. These 'Jiu Lou' were well organised and backed up by powerful financial support. More like their Japanese competitors, most of these restaurants did place advertisements in the media. Nevertheless, their advertising appeared much more frequently in Japanese newspapers then in the Chinese ones. In Xinjing's mainstream Chinese newspaper *Kangde News* 康德新闻, there was rarely any specific information about the Chinese culinary sector.[302] The most detailed advertisements of these formal Chinese restaurants were in Nagami Buntaro's *Xinjing Guide* published in 1938. In the advertisement section of this guide book, three pages of information on the Central restaurant 中央饭店, the Capital restaurant 国都饭店, Bin Yan Lou 宾宴楼, Gong Ji restaurant 公记饭店 and Wu Xiang Ju 五香居 were provided along with photos. All these restaurants were located in Western or Japanese-style buildings. No Chinese architectural elements were apparent from the outside.[303] From 1935, a few advertisements from these Chinese restaurants could also be found in newspapers, but most of them were fully in Japanese.

[302] Kangde Xingwen, 1943–1945.

[303] Nagami, (Xinjing, 1938), pp. 75–78.

Figure: Nagami Buntaro, *Xinjing Guide* (1938), p. 76

It is thus unsurprising to find the geographical separation of this city's culinary practice. By 1938, none of these restaurants mentioned above were distributed in the Chinese area of the city. While the Central restaurant and the Capital restaurant, the two biggest Chinese restaurants in Xinjing city, were both located in the modern and newly-designed commercial areas close

to the royal palace, most of the other Chinese restaurants evident from available historical sources were in 'Shang Bu Di'. This was the commercial district just next to the border between the centre of the city and the Chinese-oriented 'Jiu Chen 旧城', literately meaning 'the old city'. The old city, or 'Chang Chun District' according to the new urban administration of Xinjing, was made up of six main roads. The vertical Grand Street (大马路) intersected with five horizontal roads named from Second Street (二马路) to Sixth Street (六马路). For the Chinese residents living in this district, who accounted for over 25% of the city's population, the closest choice for them among these high-end Chinese restaurants was Lu Ming Chun, which was located near Sixth Street right to the south to the Japanese area of the city. All other options required a bus journey or other public transportation tools, if available for them.

These 'Jiu Lou' were, of course, not free from political influence. Reflecting the nature of 'the harmony of five races' itself, the food served in these restaurants was designed in an extremely complex way. In one of the few remaining menus of Xinjing's Chinese restaurants, Liu Renzhai, the owner of the Xinjing Central restaurant, wrote: 'It is our habit to welcome all Easterners (東洋人) who have the same language and culture (同文同种) with the best food.'[304] This menu, however, is written mostly in Japanese, especially in the explanation parts. Liu was the dominant figure in Xinjing's culinary industry during the 1930s and 1940s. 1938's Xinjing guide, published in Chinese, showed that Liu owned five of the seven biggest Chinese restaurants in the city. Such success was very likely achieved by his close relationship with Manchukuo's political leaders. Liu's first restaurant, Yi Xiang Lou, held the

[304] Xinjing Zhongyang Fandian 新京中央饭店, Menu, 1934, Preface (no page number before main content), Personal collection

first celebration for the foundation of Manchukuo. Also, he shared ownership of the Central restaurant with Xu Zhiqing, the seventh wife of Manchukuo's second prime minister, Zhang Jinghui.[305] Liu was obviously a supporter of Japan and Manchukuo's official ideology, and such support was reflected in his philosophy of running restaurants. In the preface to his restaurant menu, Liu pointed out that the first priority of his restaurant was 'to achieve harmony among different tastes of us Easterners'. One of the attempts he made was to add over a hundred seafood dishes to the menu, while in an inland city like Xinjing, even the Japanese middle-class complained about the high cost of fish.[306]

Another element Liu mentioned was the balance between tradition and modernity: 'we carefully did research to present you the dishes which are the most modern and civilised, but at the same time strictly followed the ancient tradition (遵古庖嗜).'[307] The restaurant itself was located in an art deco building designed by well-trained Japanese engineers. Looking into the menu, we can find that what was meant by Liu was the usage of new cooking techniques. In the shellfish section, the cooking skill of Japanese tempura was widely used on ingredients such as oyster, shrimps and crabs. Meanwhile, Western cooking skills such as deep frying with bread crusts were adopted frequently. Dish names such as 'Grilled minced shrimps' (吉列虾饼) and 'Western style deep fried oysters' (西炸蛎蝗) appeared frequently. Some combinations of a traditional Chinese ingredient and a modern way of cooking could also be found. 'Yu Du', or fish belly, an expensive traditional Chinese ingredient, was cooked with creamy sauce, which was a popular way of

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[305] Song, Hongwei, *A Hundred years of history in Changchun*, (Changchun, 2015), pp. 324–325.

[306] Omoiteno Manchu.

[307] Xinjing Zhongyang Fandian, Dishes list, 1934, Preface (no page number before main content).

localised western cooking in Japan. The restaurant also served commodities ranging from cigarettes and brandy to European wine for those customers who needed an after-meal break. Other than these attempts at combining culinary elements from China and Japan, the dishes recorded in the menu were generally the same as high-end Chinese restaurants in major northern Chinese cities like Beijing. The traditional northern sea cucumber dishes were fully preserved, as well as the traditional lamb dishes in the Manchuria region.

Of course, neither 'modernity' nor 'tradition' was without expense. The most luxuriant set meal for around eight customers in the Central restaurant cost 100 Guobi (国币), which was more than the annual income of a Manchurian worker in the country (as shown in page).[308] In fact, it was very likely that these 'Jiu Lou' were not even parts of daily life for most of the Japanese citizens in the city. One of the most specific sources recording the Japanese working class in Xinjing was *The Letters of Xinjing* (新京邮信) by Yokoyama Toshio, a Japanese Marxist who worked in the capital of Manchukuo from 1939 until his death in 1944. In the first section of this selection, Yokoyama showed his observations of Japanese workers' and the bourgeoisie's struggles against the high living costs and house prices.[309] Even compared to the Japanese cuisine in Xinjing, the prices at the Central restaurant were still extremely high. In 1938, a luxury Kaiseki set meal in a traditional Japanese restaurant in the city cost five Guobi, which was a lower price than the Central restaurant's cheapest set meal in the same year.

[308] Xinjing Zhongyang Fandian, Menu, personal collection

[309] Yokoyama, *Shinkyō yūbshin*, pp. 39–46.

Figure: Advertisement for a luxury spring banquet in *Japanese cuisine Xinjing. Sukiyaki: 3.5 Guobi, Yosenabe: 4.5 Guobi, Kaiseki 5 Guobi.*[310]

Unsurprisingly, Liu's changes to his menu did not have a long-term impact on the city's culinary domain after the end of the war. In 1945, like many other shops that had cooperated with the Japanese and Manchukuo government, the Central restaurant kept operating after the defeat of Japanese Empire with a different owner. The connection with the Manchurian government was erased. Liu Renzhai, the former culinary tycoon of Xinjing, simply disappeared from historical sources. Nevertheless, the chefs who worked in the restaurants were generally unchanged. In 1950, the restaurant, now under Communist rule, was renamed Changchun State-Owned Canteen (Changchun Guoying Shitang 长春国营食堂), and kept running as one of the most prestigious restaurants in the whole Jilin province. Liu Renzhai's attempt to connect his restaurant and Pan-Asianist ideas did not seem to leave much influence over the later development of local cuisine. From the 1950s to 1980s, the canteen published several recipes based on its 1938 menu. The general structure was almost the same, but with several obvious changes. First, the seafood section had shrunk significantly from over 150 dishes to 72.[311] Second, almost all of the non-Chinese cooking elements, such as

[310] Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 10 May 1938.

[311] Changchun fandian, *Caipu jijin* 菜谱集锦, (Changchun, 1981), pp. 1-3

tempura and the use of cream, were absent. Western or Japanese names for dishes and ingredients were also removed.[312]

These facts lead us to ask the question: what was eaten by most of the Chinese population in Xinjing? Undoubtably, neither the Central restaurant, nor other eating places owned by Liu Renhai and other culinary tycoons, could fully represent the city's eating culture, as most of the Chinese population could not afford to eat there. When looking at the advertisements from the culinary industry, the old city of Xinjing was just blank. No promotions or information pertaining to food places in this area could be found. While few Chinese sources include relevant information, Japanese memoirs about Manchuria do provide us with a picture of culinary worlds in the Chinese 'old city'. In Yokoyama Toshio's *The Letters of Xinjing*, he listed these dishes in the Chinese regions of the city: Grilled pita 烧饼, chestnut porridge 栗粥, pork mantou 豚馒头, baozi 包子 and dumplings 饺子. Yokoyama was not a fan of authentic Chinese cuisine. He found it unbearable to eat only Chinese cuisine every day in Manchuria. However, even he believed that the food served at the Central restaurant and other high-end Chinese restaurants in Xinjing was adjusted too much for Japanese tastes. The food listed above was the real daily food for Chinese people in Xinjing, and he occasionally went to Chinese streets in the city for this authentic Chinese taste.[313]

It is not difficult to find that in the Chinese old city, traditional foods were cooked and sold in the most old-fashioned way. Yokoyama's description of food shops showed that the eating-out culture in the Chinese part of the city relied on street vendors and tiny food shops run by two or three staff. By looking at the list of surviving traditional food shops (Lao Zi Hao 老字号) in the city's old town on the modern Changchun city governmental website, we

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[312] Changchun fandian, *Pengreng jishu* 烹饪技术, (Changchun, 1962), pp. 1-4.

[313] Yokoyama, *Shinkyō yūbshin*, pp. 42–43.

can tell that even the major eating places in Xinjing's Chinese area were still run in the manner of a family workshop. Zheng Yang Lou (正阳楼) restaurant on the Fourth Street of Changchun district, one of three biggest restaurants in the area, only employed two or three staff to keep operating. Islamic food stops serving halal food such as Hui Bao Zhen (回宝珍) remained active around the biggest mosques in the city, but were also run on a rather small scale. Fewer than five employees maintained the operation of the whole restaurant.[314] In the Chinese diaspora of Xinjing, eating and drinking was not significantly influenced by the rapid development of the city. While the modern culinary industry presented prosperity in the other parts of the city, the old town to a large extent preserved a relatively isolated traditional Chinese culinary world.

Figure: The modern day *Hui Bao Zheng* (回宝珍) dumpling house.*

[314] 长春市人民政府门户网站 (changchun.gov.cn), http://www.changchun.gov.cn/zjzc/mlzc/ls/index_10.html

Chinggis khan cuisine: An example of political influence on cuisine

While Japanese migrants enjoyed their copied version of Tokyo's culinary world from day to night, eating and drinking in the Chinese diaspora maintained its mostly original form. Nevertheless, this situation did not mean that the culinary development in the city was suspended. Politics and ideology acted as an agent that connected different cultures together in Xinjing. The Japanese and Manchurian government viewed Xinjing as the most important symbol of the Pan-Asianist ideology of the harmony of five races, and this harmony did not exclude the realm of eating and drinking. Besides the extremely limited organic growth and integration, the Japanese version of Pan-Asianism and modernity also added new elements to the cuisine. Ideology started to make people think about the food they were eating, as well as the type of food they were supposed to eat. How did this process take place? How could culinary innovation be made in the city of Xinjing? A good example to answer these questions will be 'Chinggis Khan cuisine' or 'Chinggis Khan pot'. It was a product of Xinjing's model of Pan-Asianism, as well as a direct cultural result of Japan's imperial expansion under the guise of East Asian unity.

In the 1930s, a tourist visiting Xinjing, the capital city of Manchukuo, would find that many of the local restaurants were serving a type of hot-pot dish called Chinggis Khan pot. It had a Mongolian name, a significant Chinese element, and was served mostly among Japanese communities in the Manchurian capital. After the end of the Second World War, it became a local specialty in Hokkaido (Japan's main northern island), while people in the Manchurian region of northeast China have today barely heard of it. Chinggis Khan cuisine presented extremely complex cultural interactions embodied in a pot, which not many other cuisines in the region have been able to do. The case of Chinggis Khan cuisine offers and alternative interpretation to the

popular opinion that source of Chinese influences in Japanese cuisine as part and parcel of colonialism and the expansion of Japanese empire.

So, what is Chinggis Khan cuisine? For visitors to Japan in the present day, it is not difficult at all to find restaurants serving this lamb dish in most parts of the country. Although the presentation, seasoning and sub-ingredients of this dish vary from place to place, the modern Chinggis Khan cuisine usually refers to a type of lamb barbecue dish including vegetables and grilled on a specially designed iron plate heater, which is called a Chinggis Khan 'nabe', the Japanese word for 'pot'. In most places, the lamb meat is served raw and customers are able to cook the contents on the iron plate in their preferred way. As a result, this dish is sometimes also called 'Chinggis Khan pot'. For most Japanese people today, Chinggis Khan cuisine was an important symbol of local cuisine in Hokkaido, although some Kyūshu restaurants in the southern part of the country have also claimed the invention of this popular dish.[315]

Most of the Chinggis Khan cuisine chefs, however, agree that they share a common origin: Manchuria. In Kyūshu, Chinggis Khan cuisine restaurants, represented by the famous Iroha restaurant, have claimed that the inventor of Chinggis Khan cuisine was Miyamura Shizuo, who was working in Dalian's Yamato Hotel and later went back to Japan as the chef of Fukuoka's Imperial Hotel. Miyamura's students believed that he was inspired by one of his Mongolian friends in Manchuria and redesigned the cuisine to satisfy the Showa Emperor's personal taste.[316] In Hokkaido, there are several versions of the story, but what they have in common is that this way of eating lamb came, without doubt, from the 'wide land of Manchuria'.

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315 Watanabe, Takahiro, 'Chingisuhan ryōri saikō 成吉思汗料理再考', *Animal Husbandry* 畜産の研究, vol. 65, no. 12, (November, 2011), pp. 123–129.

316 *Introduction of Miyamura Shizuo*, https://iroha-jingisukan.com/

Nevertheless, the true root of Chinggis Khan cuisine seems to be somewhere else. The most unfavourable evidence for Chinggis Khan cuisine's Manchurian and Mongolian origin is the fact that such cuisine had never previously been found in these two areas. Mongolian scholar Oonos Chokt, or Yang Haiying (杨海英), has already pointed out in an interview that Mongolian migrants in Japan during the 1990s felt angry about the so-called 'Chinggis Khan cuisine' and viewed it as a cultural aggression.[317] A 1919 Japanese book, *My View on China* (Shina Wakan 支那我観), by entrepreneur Matsunaga Yasuzaemon, had included an article about Chinggis Khan cuisine. Matsunaga enjoyed this dish in Beijing's Zheng Yang Lou (正阳楼) restaurant following a recommendation from his local host Watanabe. After eating, he wrote: 'Imagine 2,000 years ago, the great hero Chinggis Khan ate nobly in his night camp on the frozen and snowy land after a tremendous long march. How heroic!'[318] The dish Matsunaga recorded in the book was not that different to the modern-day Japanese Chinggis Khan cuisine. Although he had not described the specific ingredients, the manner of eating is generally the same. More importantly, Matsunaga viewed the Chinggis Khan cuisine as a traditional Beijing local specialty. 'The '2,000-years cuisine',' he wrote, 'is extremely popular and praised among gourmets in Beijing.'[319] From the late Taisho era, Chinggis Khan cuisine spread in Japan as a part of Chinese cuisine. The Chinese restaurants in Tokyo started to serve the dish, and it soon became popular. The master Japanese/Chinese cuisine chef Yamada

317 Kimu kādashian no `kimono' ni okotta nihonjin yo, jingisukan no ryōri-mei o kaete

キム・カーダシアンの「キモノ」に怒った日本人よ、ジンギスカンの料理名を変えて

https://www.newsweekjapan.jp/youkaiei/2019/07/post-43.php

318 Matsunaga Yasuzaemon, *Shina Wakan*, (1919, Osaka), pp. 69–70.

319 Ibid.

Masahei's 1926 cookery book included Chinggis Khan cuisine and introduced it to the Japanese public.

Chinggis Khan pot in Xinjing

The history of Chinggis Khan cuisine in Xinjing reveals a story of rapid spread and commercial success. In Xinjing, the exact date of the appearance of Chinggis Khan cuisine is uncertain. What we can be absolutely sure about was that it dominated the culinary market of Xinjing almost immediately, and soon became one of the most representative local specialties in Xinjing. Although the earliest record of the dish's name dates to the early 1930s, it refers to a private dinner among the employees of Mantetsu. Currently available historical sources suggest that the first restaurant to serve Chinggis Khan cuisine opened in 1936, called Seiyōken (精養軒). Interestingly, Seiyōken was a Western cuisine café opened in 1928, but had no relationship at all with the famous Ueno Seiyōken in Tokyo. Looking at the quantity and size of Seiyōken's advertisements in the *Xinjing Daily News*, it is not difficult to infer that the introduction of Chinggis Khan cuisine was a great success for this little café. After May 1936, Seiyoken actually abandoned its previous focus on Western cuisine and never mentioned it again in its advertisements. Instead, being the first Chinggis Khan cuisine restaurant became the main content of its promotion.[320]

320 Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 23 May 1936.

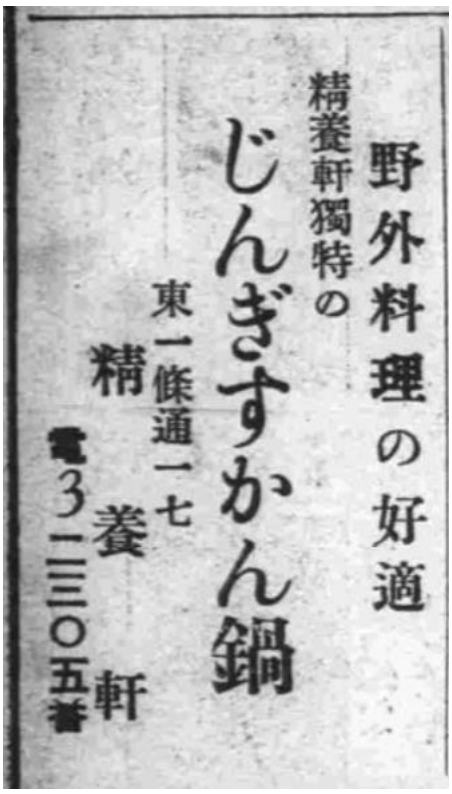

Figure 1: Advertisement for Xinjing Seiyoken: 'Seiyoken's unique Chinggis Khan pot, suitable for outdoor cooking.'[321]

321 Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 23 May 1936.

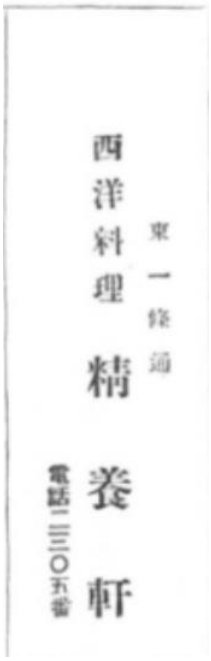

Figure 2: Seiyoken's advertisement in 1933: 'Western cuisine: Seiyoken.'[322]

322 Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 1 January 1933.

Figure 3: Seiyoken's advertisement in 1938: 'Manchurian unique outdoor cuisine, original Chinggis Khan pot.'[323]

Just one day after Seiyoken's advertisement, Yoshino Canteen, one of the most famous food shops in Xinjing, announced that Chinggis Khan pot would be its newest dish.[324] Three months later, the first specialised Chinggis Khan cuisine restaurant was opened by a collaboration of three restaurants in the Sky Garden of Qing Yang building, which was one of the biggest and most modern shopping complexes in the city. With service provided by over 20 waitresses, the new Qing Yang building's Chinggis Khan cuisine restaurant could accommodate more than 300 customers, which was considered extremely large in terms of scale in 1930s East Asia. In the following years, advertisements and reviews for Chinggis Khan cuisine kept appearing on Xinjing's Japanese newspapers.

323 Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 3 July 1938.

324 Ibid.

Figure 4: Advertisement for the Chinggis Khan cuisine restaurant in Qing Yang building's sky garden: 'Pure Mongolian Chinggis Khan Pot.'[325]

Along with the booming market and growing popularity, one fact that could be observed from Xinjing's culinary world was that the Chinese origin of Chinggis Khan cuisine was fading rapidly in Xinjing. One significant feature that we can observe from Xinjing's Chinggis Khan cuisine advertisements is that none of them associated the dish with its Chinese roots. Secondly, not even one of the Chinggis Khan cuisine providers was a professional Chinese restaurant. On the other hand, Chinggis Khan pot had never been a part of Xinjing's Chinese culinary world. The 1938 menu of the Central restaurant, one of the biggest Chinese restaurants in the city, included no dish of that

325 Shinkyō nichi-nichi shinbun, 9 September 1936 – 14 November 1936.

name at all.[326] Similarly, no record of Chinese eating places serving this kind of grilled lamb dish could be found in local archives.

On the other hand, some Japanese citizens in Xinjing also seemed to forget the bond between Chinggis Khan pot and Chinese cuisine. Instead, it became a symbol of a broader geographical concept: 'The Continent'. In a tiny part of his memoir, which introduced Xinjing's food and drinks, Sakuma Akira mentioned Chinggis Khan cuisine:

私たち日本人は、雁が渡るような月のきれいな秋の夜など、五、六人の仲間と連れだって、新京の児玉公園あたりの野天で炭火をおこし、韮、蒜、刻み葱、エビ油などで作ったタレの中にひたした焼肉をほおばりながら、白乾児の杯を汲み交わしたものだ。

成吉思汗鍋は野天に限る。特に寒い夜など、オーバーやシューバのえりを立てて、長い竹バシで鍋にはりついている肉をつっつくのは、野趣満点で大陸的風情があった

In the autumn night with flying wild gooses and a beautiful moon, five or six of us Japanese people just went to the camp near Kotama park, burned the coal fire, grilled the meat with the sauce made of leek, garlic, spring onion and prawn oil, sipped Bai Gan (a kind of Chinese baijiu) and cheered each other.

Chinggis Khan pot was only for the outdoor eating. In [an] extremely cold night, standing with leather coats, using long chopsticks to poke the meat sticking on the pot. It had a charming continental atmosphere full of wide delight.[327]

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326 *Xinjing Central restaurant menu* (1938), by Xinjing Central restaurant, personal collection.

327 Sakuma, Tera & Tomiyama Ei, *Manchuria in the Memory*, (Tokyo, 1971), p. 159.

Nothing about Chinese cuisine is found in Sakuma's narrative. This shows two important elements. Firstly, according to Sakuma's memories, despite the fact that the Japanese people were still using Chinese baijiu, instead of any Mongolian or Manchurian alcohol, to pair with the Chinggis Khan cuisine, no direct evidence can show that they were still recognising its Chinese origin. Secondly, what had replaced the Chinese nature of Chinggis Khan cuisine was the so called 'Continental atmosphere' (大陸的風情') and 'wild delight' (野趣).

The de-sinofication process

This leads to another important question: why was Chinggis Khan cuisine no longer tied to Chinese cuisine in Xinjing? Essentially, why did a 'de-sinofication' process happen to this particular dish? The 'de-sinofication' of Chinggis Khan cuisine is not an untouched area in academia. In 2011, the Japanese cultural anthropologist Watanabe Takehiro published research on this phenomenon and suggested that the crucial need of Japan's occupation government to increase Manchukuo's independence from the Chinese cultural sphere significantly changed the way in which Japanese people viewed Chinggis Khan cuisine. According to Watanabe, the changing process by which the perception of Chinggis Khan cuisine moved from a Chinese cuisine to a Manchurian cuisine represented the de-sinofication campaign of Manchukuo itself. At the same time, he also suggested that such a process took place far earlier than its appearance in Xinjing and was accelerated by the attitude of Japanese authority.[328] Nevertheless, the truth might be much more complex. Advertisements, diaries and related records show that the Manchurian identity played only a relatively small role in the spread of Chinggis Khan cuisine. Instead, from the mid-1930s, Mongolian elements and the character of Chinggis Khan himself as a hero from East Asia who conquered the world

328 Watanabe, *Chingisuhan ryōri saikō*, p. 123.

had obviously become the mainstream of the propaganda. Of the 105 full advertisements concerning Chinggis Khan cuisine from this period, less than 30% of them included the word 'Manchurian', while the Mongolian origin was mentioned much more frequently. From 1940, a new Japanese restaurant, Tsubaki Ryo (山茶寮), directly referred to Chinggis Khan cuisine as Mongolian Pot (蒙古锅), showing that this dish was always linked to a Mongolian identity by the Japanese.[329]

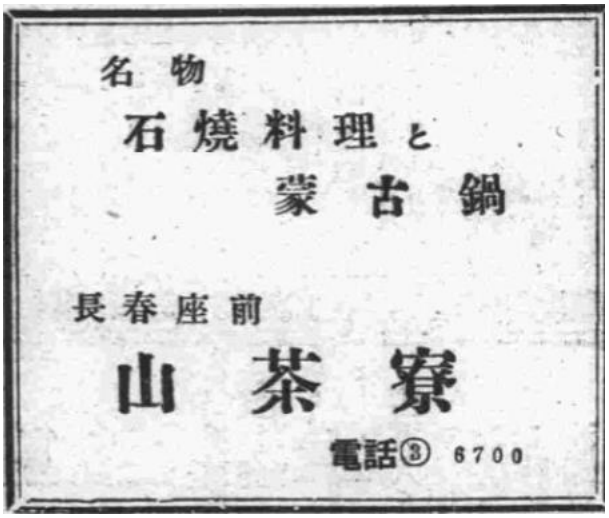

Figure 5: Advertisement for Tsubaki Ryo: Local specialty, stone grill cuisine and Mongolian Pot.

By this point, the way in which people consumed Chinggis Khan cuisine had changed. In other words, the process of 'de-sinofication', particularly on Chinggis Khan cuisine, was complete. While no evidence could be found among the available sources that the original Chinggis Khan pot in Beijing's Zhen Yang Lou restaurant had specific outdoor service, this dish in Xinjing became associated exclusively with outdoor eating at wild, open-air winter banquets. The taste of the food itself became a relatively unimportant part of

329 *Xinjing Daily News* Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 4 September 1940.

consuming this cuisine. Instead, it provided a source for the Japanese people in Xinjing, as well as those who visited Xinjing, of Chinggis Khan's spirit. During the last month of 1936, the Qing Yang building's Chinggis Khan cuisine restaurant announced that it has installed complete anti-coldness equipment for the coming new year celebration.[330] We are not able to know that what kind of equipment was being used, but without any doubt, the restaurant was preparing for large-scale outdoor service. In the same advertisement, it said:

1. Absolutely super-modern with primitive, delightful tastes.

2. Recalling the appearance of the hero Chinggis Khan, feeling the indescribable charm of group eating. Important for directly facing this time of crisis.

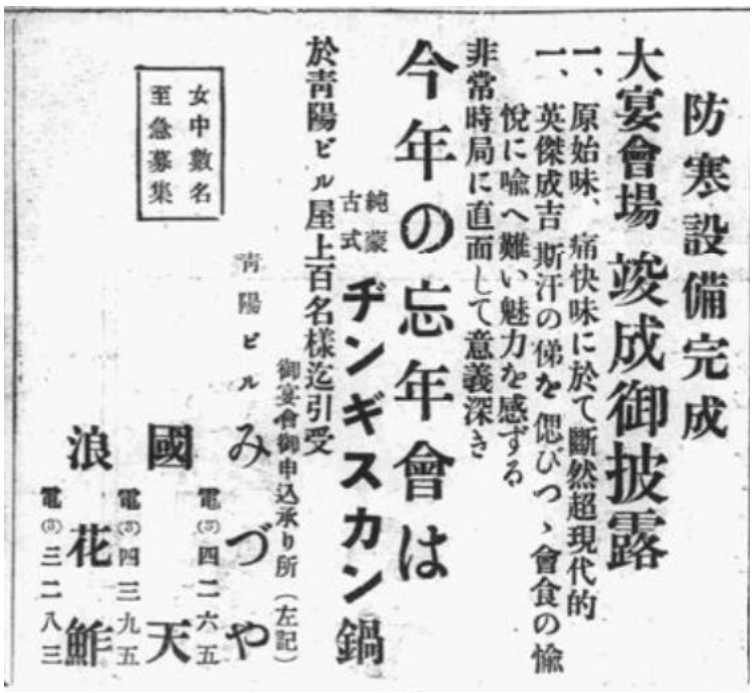

Figure 6: Advertisement for a New Year celebration in the Qin Yang building.

330 Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 24 December 1940.

A direct reason for the 'de-sinofication' process was related to the birth of 'Manchurian cuisine', a concept that appeared almost exclusively in 20th century Manchukuo and Japan. During the 1930s, especially in 1936, following Japan's invasion of Manchuria and its gradual encroachment on Chinese territories leading up to full scale war in 1937, which to a great extent challenged the fundamental basis of Pan-Asianism ideology on the Japanese side. On Japanese culinary materials, the contents of Sino-Japanese co-prosperity, which we observed in the last chapter of the Taisho era, disappeared. Hotta Eri described Manchukuo as a microcosm of Pan-Asianism, but in mid-1930s Xinjing, the Chinese elements, one of the most important components of this ideology, just started to disappear. In 1936 and 1937 editions of *Xinjing Daily News*, hardly any articles or advertisements included the word 'Shina'. Geopolitical reality forced Japanese society to find an alternative to the original great East Asian dream – in other words, a replacement for China.

While Chinese elements became unmentionable within Japan's Pan-Asian narrative in Manchukuo, what could fill that gap? One of the obvious answers was Manchurian-ness. Yamada Masahe's 1936 article in *Ryōri no Tomo* magazine perfectly reflected this change by mentioning the term 'Manchurian cuisine' for the first time within a Japanese culinary context. Also, it showed how politics were intentionally placed on culinary culture. As a master chef of Chinese cuisine, Yamada still stood for the fact that 'Manchurian cuisine' was just a part of Chinese cuisine without any fundamental differences (満洲料理と謂つでも別に支那料理と分離した特別な料理がある譯ではない'). However, the political environment in post-1932 Japan showed its influence. After saying that, Yamada wrote:

(Emperor Puyi) has become the majestic ruler of 30 million people … It has to be said that the recovery of peace in East Asia is a great happiness … Like how Beijing cuisine became perfect in the former Qing dynasty, we really look forward to the perfection of Manchurian cuisine in Manchukuo

(溥仪は)三千高民衆の上に君臨することなった … 東洋の平和の矯にも大なる幸福と云はねばならぬ … 曾ての清朝が北京料理を大成したやうに吾等は今後の満洲に満洲料理の大成を切望する者である.331

The concept of Manchurian cuisine kept developing over time. In 1942, a cookery book published by Xinjing's semi-official organisation *Manchurian Issue Information Bureau* totally adopted 'Manchurian cuisine' to replace 'Chinese cuisine' in all sections.[332] Nevertheless, no evidence could be found to prove that 'Manchurian cuisine' was a reasonable classification on the measurement of culinary style. Just as Yamada has pointed out, it had never been truly separated from the vast and traditional Chinese cuisine. Looking at the 1942 book with the name *Manchurian Cuisine*, there are almost no differences when compared with a Chinese cookery book published in Japan in the Taisho era, with a few extra insertions of Korean dishes such as 'Korean style oyster Tempura' (朝鮮風のカキのてんぷら).[333] The political meaning of such a category was obviously more significant than its culinary meaning. After all, 'Manchurian cuisine' could just be a synonym for 'Chinese cuisine' used for political correctness in Manchukuo and Japan at the time.

Another answer, possibly a better answer for the Japanese, was a broader and more general cultural supremacy of continental East Asian spirit. Chinggis Khan cuisine, as well as Chinggis Khan himself, represented the

331 *Ryouri no Tomo*, December 1936, pp. 104–110.

332 Kohara, Haede & Sato, Michiki (1942), *Manshū ryōri-hō: Ippin ryōri no bu* 満洲料理法:一品料理の部, (Dalian, 1942), pp. 1–5.

333 Ibid.

heroic nature of the East Asian race, and also the 'continental atmosphere' (大陸的風情) with primitivity that the island nation of Japan does not have. Back in the late 1920s in Japanese Naichi, the military and authority of the Empire had already noticed the value of Chinggis Khan pot. In 1929, Marumoto Shozo's speech in Ueno Park for the Tokyo Food and Agriculture Expo included this narrative:

With the heroic characteristic of Toyo (The East), Chinggis Khan conquered Mongolia. He butchered the sheep on this land, grilled them and called his army to eat. This is why it was called Chinggis Khan cuisine.

東洋的英雄気質をそっるいかにも成吉思汗が蒙古を席巻して、其の地の羊を屠り、焼いて陣営告で食したものと察せられる、それで誰言ふとなく成吉思汗料理と云ふに至つたのだ.[334]

The 1936 *Guide to culinary living*(食生活指导), a series of books published by the semi-military organisation *Ryōyūkai* (糧友会), had already included Chinggis Khan cuisine as one of its recommended lamb dishes.[335] In Xinjing, the bond between Chinggis Khan cuisine and pan-Asianism grew further. From 1937, the attempt to connect a Chinggis Khan identity with the Japanese imperial hero Minamoto no Yoshitsune started to appear on the

334 Marumoto Shōzō, 'Chingisuhan Ryōri', in *Ryōyu*, vol. 7, no. 9, (September, 1929), p. 61

335 Ryōyōkai 糧友会, 'Men hitsuji no kaikata oyobi yōniku chōrihō' 緬羊の飼方及び羊肉調理法, *Nōson shokuseikatsu shidō panfuretto*, 農村食生活指導パンフレツト , vol. 14, (July, 1935), pp. 27–28.

advertisements of Chinggis Khan cuisine.336

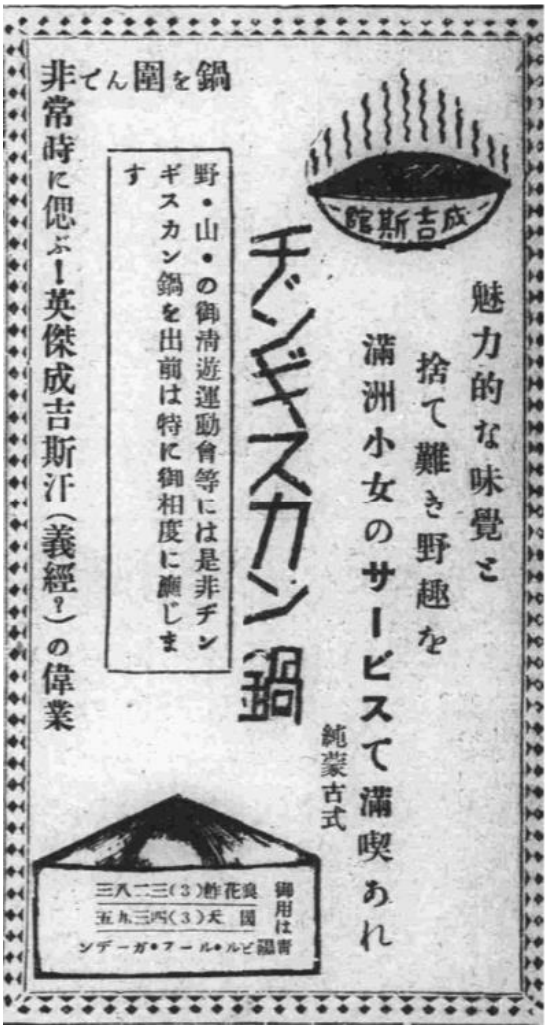

Figure 7: Recalling for the uncommon current situation! Hero Chinggis Khan's (Yoshitsune's?) great story.

The element of Chinggis Khan provided stronger support for the idea of East Asian greatness, letting the Japanese people regain their connection with other East Asian races, as well as the wider East Asia as a whole. In the same

336 Shinkyō nichi-nichi shinbun, 18 May 1937.

year's *Man Zhou Xing Wen* (满洲新闻), a relatively minor Japanese newspaper in Xinjing, there was even an article that discussed the change in name of Chinggis Khan pot to Yoshitsune pot, as many Japanese people believed they were the same person.[337] Also, as a cuisine, Chinggis Khan pot offered a relatively proper and easily accessible bond between the Japanese and the 'Manchurian' group in the country. This function was precious given the situation at the time, and the authorities of Manchukuo and Japan would use it as much as possible. Reflecting this point, the Chinggis Khan cuisine was playing an increasingly important role in the political and militarism aspect of student field trips in the city. A 1936 report in *Xinjing Daily News* suggested that Chinggis Khan cuisine had become a banquet food of the Kwantung army that was used to welcome Japanese aristocrats and boy scout groups from Tokyo on political visits. In such cases, Manchurian and Japanese boy scouts arranged to have Chinggis Khan pot together in order to highlight the bond between them.[338]

The unerasable origin

However, it is critical to note that the fundamental nature of Chinggis Khan cuisine was still Chinese for many Japanese residents in Xinjing. Although political-led de-sinofication had been attempted, the Japanese and Chinese populations in the area still viewed each other's culinary cultural element based on their original understanding. There was far too little time for such a situation to be changed. Even Japanese reisdents themselves questioned the nature of Chinggis Khan cuisine. In 1937, one article in the *Man Zhou Xing Wen*, named 'Chinggis Khan pot with wild delight' (野趣のあ

337 Man Zhou Xing Wen, 27 December 1937.

338 Shinkyō nichi-nichi shinbun, 29 August 1936.

るヂンギスカン鍋), discussed the origin of the Chinggis Khan cuisine among Xinjing's Japanese society. It said:

Recently, when Japanese people speak of the origin of Mongolian grilled meat, they always thought Genghis Khan cuisine is as vulgar and grotesque as everything might be in Mongolia. This kind of humiliating approach existed in eating places. I think it violates the essence of grilled lamb, and it is not possible to guide a lady in that way. In Beijing, roasted mutton is really noble, and you can taste the real flavour of lamb from it.

最近日本人が蒙古の烤肉に起源を発したものとして、蒙古ならば成るべく野卑なグロテスクな方が如何にもヂンギスカン料理であるかの如く考へ、人を侮辱したやうなものを食はせる所があります、あの方法は烤羊肉の本旨に違反してゐる訳であると思ひます、あれでは一寸御婦人を案内する訳には行かないからであります、北京では烤羊肉といふものゝ実に上品で而も真の羊の肉を味ふことが出来ます.[339]

Such a discussion showed that not all the Japanese people in the capital city of Manchukuo were satisfied with the over-politicisation of their favourite cuisine. For those Japanese who did not live in Xinjing and visited the city as tourists, Chinggis Khan cuisine was still a part of Chinese cuisine. In 1937, Japanese translator and litterateur Mochizuki Yuriko 望月百合子 visited Xinjing and tried Chinggis Khan cuisine in Kotama Park (the main park in Xinjing city). She viewed Chinggis Khan cuisine as an authentic Chinese dish and wrote:

339 *Man Zhou Xing Wen*, 25 December 1937.

While being used to those Chinese dishes offered to Japanese people, I noticed that in many parks in Xinjing, people are burning charcoal and firewood to enjoy Chinggis Khan cuisine.

そんなわけで日本人向の中華料理にいやでも馴れて来た頃新京のあちこちの公園で、炭火をおこしたり薪を燃やしたりしてジンギスカン鍋を楽しむ人々があることに気がついた.[340]

Even in the advertisements from Qing Yang building's Chinggis Khan cuisine restaurant, which claimed to be pure Mongolian, Chinggis Khan cuisine was occasionally compared with other Chinese dishes:

After tasting all those Chinese cuisines which mostly are cooked skilfully, (you will find that) there isn't anything which could be compared with this Chinggis Khan cuisine with so many primitive flavours and so much nutrition.

由來支那には洗練されたる技巧的料理の数多き中に全く原始味豊かに而かも美味にして滋養に富む料理は此のヂンギスカン鍋に比すべきものはないのであります.[341]

Conclusion: The Xinjing mode

Compared to Dalian and other major urban areas in the region, Xinjing represented a completely different way of practicing Pan-Asianism. As Hotta Eri has pointed out in her 2007 work *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931–1945*, the existence of Manchukuo was the foremost embodiment of a cultural and political experiment for Japan's Pan-Asianist ideology.[342] The result of

340 *Man Zhou Xing Wen*, 27 December 1937.

341 Shinkyo nichi-nichi shinbun, 1 September 1936.

342 Hotta, Eri, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931–1945*. (Berlin, 2017), pp. 109–139.

this experiment in Xinjing was by no means successful in terms of creating a united East Asian identity. Looking through the memoirs and meeting documents of Xinjing's Japanese former residents groups in the post-war period, we could find a common nostalgia among them. They were struggling in accepting their transformation of identity from Manchurian to Japanese after being sent back to Japan. Japanese historian Satō Ryō used a more specific term to describe such nostalgia: Furusato no sōshitsu (故郷の喪失), or the loss of homeland.[343] Nevertheless, was their homeland 'Xinjing' perceived by them as the Manchurian capital? Otherwise, was it just another Japanese city located on the continent? As we have seen in this chapter, Japanese residents in this city ate Japanese food, drank Japanese beer, and went to Japanese culinary spaces with the most authentic ingredients from the Japanese metropole.

It is important to mention that unlike the situation in Dalian, there was nothing even close to a 'Xinjing cuisine' in the capital city of Manchukuo. In terms of culinary culture, it never lacked a distinct Japanese identity. Meanwhile, for the broader Chinese society in the city, the culinary world had been isolated and frozen. Nothing that happened on the Japanese side had had any effect on the way they ate. Sewell's conclusion on the colonial society in Xinjing is accurate, even though not many of the former Japanese Manchurians in Xinjing would agree with it. Furthermore, it was not only the physical space that had been separated, but also the everyday culture and ways of living.

As Yamada suggested, there was an attempt to create a unique culinary identity in the form of the 'Manchurian cuisine' in Xinjing. However, just as the Chinggis Khan case has showed, this attempt was not effective nor stable. A new culinary element was not produced through the interaction between

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[343] Sato, Ryō. Manshū keiken no kioku to hensen 满洲经验的记忆和变迁, *The Journal of Historical Studies*, no. 937, (October, 2015), pp. 112–122.

culinary cultures. Instead, the form, meaning and symbolism of this dish had been carefully designed, adjusted and spread by the Japanese authorities and later to the broader Japanese society. Did the invented culture of Chinggis Khan cuisine increase the bond between different races as the Japanese elites and common customers hoped? The answer might be 'No'. There was rarely any evidence that showed that the other races in Manchukuo were even relevant to this re-created Asian culture. Besides, it might not be proposed to achieve this aim. Chinggis Khan cuisine highlighting a form of culinary diversity within a Pan-Asian whole.

At this point, what can we conclude about the Pan-Asianist cultural experiment in Xinjing and its influence on the culinary area? The most significant feature was its concentration on reformulation instead of exchanges. While the Taishō era liberal Pan-Asianist thinkers, such as Yoshino Sakuzō, Sawayanagi Masatarō and Ukita Kazutami called for a re-construction of Japanese people's Asian experience and Asian knowledge by relearning Asian culture, this Xinjing mode showed a significant divergence from the liberal and cosmopolitics versions of Asianism.[344] In Xinjing, the lack of 'Asian experience' as mentioned by Yoshino Sakuzō did not lead to intense cultural exchange, but a self-production of its own version of 'East Asia', which was reflecting Japan's increasingly radical policy in the region.

[344] Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, pp. 130–139.

Part 3:

Chapter 5: Post-war culinary exchanges: the legacy of the Sino-Japanese relationship under Pan-Asianism

After Japan's surrender and end of its wartime pan-Asianist ideology that had developed from the late 19th century to 1945, culinary exchanges were interrupted as a result of many factors. This process, however, took place in China and Japan in very different ways. In just one decade after the end of the Second World War, new ideologies, specifically Communism and modern capitalism, began to reshape people's way of living. Many of the traditional 'rules' had been fundamentally changed, while new ones had been created. When pan-Asianism as a political ideology was interrupted following the defeat of Japanese Empire, the existing route of Sino-Japanese culinary interactions, comprised of direct communication between the two countries, disappeared. As we shall see, with their early postwar repatriation from 1945 to 1947, one could hardly find any Japanese dining on the streets of major Chinese cities. At around 1947, the seizure of enemy assets reached its peak with the Chinese government making the decision to remove all members of the Japanese settlers from the country apart from a certain number of technical experts. Current research focused mainly on north China area, where by 1946, most of the Japanese assets had been seized by Chinese government.[345] From 1958, many Chinese people started to enter public canteens at no cost, but lacked any choice on what they could eat. Meanwhile, the free supply of food caused inefficiency as well as shortages.[346]

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345 Lin, Tung-Fa, *Cong jieshou dao luncian: zhanhou pingjindiqu jieshougongzuo zhi jiantao* 從接收到淪陷──戰後平津地區接收工作之檢討, (Taipei,1997), pp. 97-132; Hu, Ronghua, Zhanhou Tianjing ji Huabei diqu rifuriqiao qianfan yanjiu 战后天津暨华北地区日俘日侨遣返研究, in *Kangrizhanzhen Yanjiu* 抗日战争研究, issue 3, (May, 2018), pp 177-202.

346 Hsiung-Shen Jung, 'On the "Great Leap Forward" under Strategy to the "Progress and Surpass" by Mao Zedong', in *2017 4th International Conference on Education Reform and Modern Management* (Phuket, 2017).

On the Japanese side, new culinary ideas, ingredients and cookery skills from the continent were now constrained by more limited routes in terms of being introduced to the island nation. Japanese who had been living in Manchukuo and other Chinese cities were driven back to their homeland. In Japan, Chinese cuisine was de-Sinofied, but at the same time integrated into domestic cooking and eating. Post-war reconstruction, economic boom, as well as the emerge of a greater culinary market contributed to the birth of many famous national dishes. When food historians like Barak Kushner and George Solt surveyed the history of Ramen in the post-war era, they both noted the fading away of its Chinese origin because of post-war culinary development. Japanese culinary scholar Yasushi Masuko specifically looked at how ramen got its 'Wa (Japanese)' image from the era of 'Chūka Soba (noodle)'. She argued that the two key turning points of this process were the emerge of instant ramen in 1958, as well as the success of Iekei Ramen (家系ラーメン), a type of 'family or faction oriented' ramen, in 1990s.[347] These studies undoubtably proved the significance of post-war developments related to Ramen. However, if we shift our view from a single dish, continuities in Japan's food history played a more important role. The Chineseness had not been erased; rather, it had been absorbed, not only in a few particular dishes, but also the whole culinary system. Despite having totally different culinary philosophies, chefs and housewives inherited the legacy of pre-1945 culinary

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347 Barak Kushner, *Slurp*, p. 168; Solt, George, *The Untold History of Ramen: How political crisis in Japan spawned a global food craze*, (Berkeley, 2014), p. 150; Masuko Yasushi, 'Henka suru rāmen: rāmen ni okeru chūka to wa no imēji no hensen' 変化するラーメン像: ラーメンにおける「中華」と「和」のイメージの変遷, *Kokusai jōhō kenkyū* 国際情報研究, 15: 1 (December, 2018), pp. 12–23.

exchanges and started a revival of Chinese cuisine and the Chinese way of cooking in Japan.

Although more overt political elements of the exchange related to Pan-Asianism seemed to have vanished, people in China and Japan were actually reconnecting through each other's cuisine. This process was not just a lingering feature of a collapsed empire; in fact, it was, from a pan-Asianists perspective, achieving more concrete results than any previous attempts during its years of ascent. By the 1980s, Chinese and Japanese understanding of each other's cuisine had reached new heights. Although both cuisines had experienced significant reshaping from post-war politics, ongoing Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges became an important agent for them to connect with their previous development.

In this chapter, I will examine the legacy of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange in post-war China and Japan, as well as how it influenced the culinary development of these two countries. I argued that in both the cases of China and Japan, the legacies of pre-1945 culinary interactions played an important role on shaping the two countries' post-war cuisine, boosted the mutual understanding of each other's culinary culture between the Chinese and Japanese people. The post-war political tensions between the two countries was an obstacle to the culinary connection, but it did not interrupt the exchange fully.

This Chapter has two sections. In the first section, I revisited the now Chinese city of Dalian, where 'socialist cuisine' started to reconstruct the city's culinary culture, but the culinary traditions of the old Dalian as a 'Pan-Asian' city survived, particularly through the hidden support of local authorities. Dalian's case becomes a rare exception to China's trend towards culinary socialisation, representing the enduring nature of its well-developed urban culinary culture. The rest of this chapter explores domestic cuisine and the newly important post-war gender dynamicity brings to the development of

cuisine in Japan. In Japan, famous food like Ramen highlighted the change brought by Japan's post-war economic boom, but domestic cuisine associated with women's cooking is where we can see the clearest continuation from pre-1945 culinary development, specifically in the case of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange. Chinese culinary influences were gradually integrated into Japanese culinary culture through domestic cooking. The legacy of culinary exchanges was presented in different ways in the two countries. While Dalian had two parallel culinary styles that co-existed, a more integrating status was found in post-war Japan. In both countries, geopolitics remained a decisive background factor, yet the legacy of wartime Sino-Japanese relations and cultural regionalisation continued developing in a more subtle way, which created another layer of culinary development parallel to the mainstream story.

A pan-Asian city's post-war culinary world

In the urban regions of China that had been most influenced by foreign cuisines, included those modern cities on the eastern coast, the post-war change in the country's political regime contributed to an enormous shift on what people were eating. Communist regimes brought significant changes to the way of eating, cooking and being fed. The relationship between political ideology and people's food ways had always been a key area of culinary history. Food scholars such as Glenn Randall Mack, Asele Surina and Melisa Caldwell have already identified the influence of the state-owned food industry, state-led distribution, collective farms and public canteens on traditional Russian cuisine, culture and even identity. Mack and Surina explored how communist regime participated on connecting Russian and Central Asian cuisine. Caldwell suggested that in post-socialist Russia, consumer culture adapted practices more typically associated with market

capitalism to preserve 'socialist' value.[348] Similar changes can been seen in other authoritarian regimes. Diana Garvin's *Feeding Fascism* showed how women's domestic lives connected to Mussolini's regime in Italy.[349] Meanwhile, post-war capitalism contributed to a rapid development and global growth of middling cuisine, represented specifically by American fast food, penetrating the culinary traditions of other societies.[350] No matter which country we are looking at, the culinary world of the 20th century was obviously reshaped by their shifting political and cultural contexts. This was true in China was too, but developed particularly unique characteristics, even when compared to other countries within the Communist bloc.

In this part of the chapter, we will see how this process, particularly the birth of 'socialist cuisine', changed the previous progress of culinary development in Dalian, a unique city, which transformed from a pan-Asian city to a socialist metropolis. While Japanese culinary influences in other cities in the territory of the former Manchukuo could hardly be found in post-war historical materials, Dalian was an exception. Here, the legacy of pan-Asianism and regional integration did not simply disappear. As we will see, an integrated cuisine survived in post-war Dalian, not by fitting into a 'socialist cuisine', but by finding a position parallel to it. Apart from the politicised aspect, there was another layer to the daily culture of the people in Dalian, which was more flexible and pliable. This layer may be identified as the Japanese elements in the culinary culture, and it soon resumed an important role in people's lives. The post-war legacy of Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges was still there, and demonstrated the endurance of the Asian culinary cultural integration of the last era.

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348 G. R. Mack and A. Surina, *Food Culture in Russia and Central Asia* (Westport, 2005), pp xxii-xxiii; Caldwell, 'The taste of nationalism', pp. 295–319.

349 Diana Garvin, *Feeding Fascism: The Politics of Women's Food Work* (Toronto, 2022).

350 George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society,* (Newbury Park, 2011), pp 40-41

Following the defeat of the Japanese Empire, Dalian ended its half decade history of colonisation. The most bitter period of wartime life for both Chinese and Japanese residents in the city had lasted four years by this point, with very limited development of people's daily culture. From 1941, following the beginning of Tojo Hideki's government, a strict rationing policy was established by the Japanese government within almost all parts of the empire, included Dalian.[351] Consumption of rice had been limited, as well as other important ingredients for both Chinese and Japanese cuisine. Dalian's chefs, gourmets and common people felt this change directly. Grand restaurants in the city minimised their serving of fine cuisine. The servings of a formal dinner shrank gradually during the war. From 1944, most of the major restaurants in the city could no longer maintain daily operations. On the Japanese side, a number of types of 'Rice conservation cuisine 節米料理 had been introduced to the public. From 1943–1945, this kind of cuisine had been frequently featured in the Manchurian edition of *Shufu no Tomo* (Friend of the Housewife) magazine, and the usage of rice and Japanese ingredients were gradually reduced. In the August 1943 edition, dishes such bean fried rice were being promoted, and more local Chinese culinary elements of using multiple carbohydrate sources were absorbed by Japanese housewives. One recipe even asked Japanese housewives to put Chinese noodles into bun to create a 'super main food', with multiple layers of carbohydrate.[352] Culinary hybridity like this continued to be found, but most of these developments were simply in response to the wartime food shortages.

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[351] Chen, Xiang, 'Nitchūsensō ni yoru `Manshūkoku' nōgyō seisaku no tankan' 日中戦争による「満洲国」農業政策の転換, *The East Asian Rim Research Center annual report*, issue 3, (March, 2011), pp. 67-87.

[352] *Shufu no Tomo*, Manchuria version, 1943, August, p. 39.

Replacing the pan-Asianism that had characterised Dalian's political dimension in the period under Japanese rule, post-war Dalian was soon stuck in the mud of serious political struggles between three contending sides. Like almost all the areas in the territory of the former Manchukuo, Dalian was not directly handed to China after Japan's surrender. The Soviet Union took control of the city's administration immediately after its military occupation of north-east China. From 1946, a Soviet force of 120,000 was maintained in this area for another 10 years, before its eventual retreat under a Sino-Soviet political agreement in 1955. Within this period of ten years, the influence of the Soviets remained in a key factor of Dalian's urban politics. Besides, the Chinese Communist Party and the National Party/government were locked in serious competition for the future of Dalian.

The first result of the political struggle on the Dalianese people's stomachs was a food shortage that was more serious even than that of the Japanese occupation era. For Chinese people in the post-war city, caloric intake was becoming an increasingly serious problem after the Nationalist government's decision to blockade Dalian's port. In 1945, the Lu Da area (Lüshun and Dalian) produced only 120,000 tons of grains, while the demand to feed the whole population was 230,000–250,000 tons.[353] This led to a significant food shortages in the city. In 1947, the district government of the Communist Party started encouraging people to feed themselves by hunting and fishing ('Eat what from the mountain if you live beside the mountain, eat what from the sea if you live beside the sea' 靠山吃山，靠海吃海), which could be challenging to those in the urban residences of Dalian.[354] From 1945–1948, very few restaurants were still operating in the city, with the exception of some

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[353] Wang, Delu., *Taking Over of the City and Social Reform: Dalian* 大连市史志办公室．*城市的接管与社会改造·大连卷*(Dalian, 1998), pp. 311–312

[354] Dalian, Dalian Archive, Zhonggong dalianshi Ganjingzi quweidangshiziliao zhengji bangongshi (1994) 中共大连市甘井子区委党史资料征集办公室 (1994), *Zhonggong dalianshi ganjingziqu dangshidashiji* (1925–1991) 中共大连市甘井子区党史大事记（1925–1991). p. 11.

large state-owned canteens. Former luxury restaurants were mostly closed, and there are very few published materials related to culinary innovation in this period.

In 1948, the Communist victory and the end of the food blockade led not to a resumption of the original culinary order, but to a further development of new eating ways, or a Chinese version of 'socialist cuisine'. In 1948, the Dalianese government started a campaign of 'protecting the normal development of private commerce and industry' (保护私营工商业正常发展). The method it used was to simply shut down the businesses that it viewed as unnecessary. From June to December, 455 private companies, including grain shops, mills, distilleries and restaurants, were closed in a single district of Dalian.[355] In 1958, the government introduced its 'nine movements' 九化 policy, which included the so called 'canteenisation of eating' (吃饭食堂化). Although these policies were never been totally successful, they reshaped the concept of eating among Dalianese people to a certain degree. According to Yu Zhenli's statistics, Dalian's eating places, including restaurants, bistros, and delis, reduced in number from 564 to 208 between 1958 and 1960, with most having been merged into bigger, state-owned culinary cooperations.[356]

Chefs like those who used to lead culinary development and innovation likewise faced a rapidly changing political environment. For many of the famous chefs in Dalian, the first dramatic turning point came from an emerging state-led gender policy under the communist regime. In 1958, Dalian's state-owned culinary company published a policy called 'Pick out men and replace with women' (抽男换女). According to this policy, all healthy male employees in the culinary industry who were under 30 years old were reassigned to support industrial construction. Nevertheless, the government soon found that there were hardly any volunteers. The project then turned to

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355 Ibid.

356 Yu, Zhenli, *Dalian canyin shilue (shilue)大连餐饮事略*, (Dalian, 2017), p. 9

mandatory to achieve political orders. After several waves of political struggles, 80 male chefs, including some of the most prestigious in old Dalian, were selected to become construction workers. Meanwhile, 630 married women (家庭妇女, directly translated as 'family women') were selected to take their jobs.[357] This policy, according to Yu Zhen Li, 'severely damaged the food and service quality at the time'.[358] Although some of these female culinary workers were trained and became famous cooks decades later, we don't know if they were continuing the innovative work of earlier generations of Dalianese chefs. One of them, Cao Xiuqing, became a student of Dalian's famous master chef Lin Yushen, and was later hired as a major chef. Nevertheless, sources have not recorded any of her original dishes and she received no further titles. Other than Cao, most of these women changed their jobs and moved into the administrative sector, while others worked as chef's assistants and dessert cooks.[359]

In terms of culinary philosophy, the influence of 'socialist cuisine' went further in Dalian's case. A fundamental change took place in terms of responses to the question of 'Why we eat?' At the very beginning of Communist rule, knowledge and innovations related to cuisine were viewed as a kind of sin against socialism. Foreign and even local culinary uniqueness became a sign of capitalist crime. He Hong's 2008 work about cookery books from 1949–1966 showed how recipes of local cuisines were banned and criticised due to political movement and supply shortages in China. He mentioned that in 1960 and 1961, two cookbooks relating to China's fine-dining cuisine were published by Shanghainese chefs from five traditional luxury hotels and restaurants organised by local government projects. Nevertheless, these two books were criticised as 'poisoned grass' (毒草) by the

357 Dalian Wanbao 大连晚报, 2022, 3.19, A 12.

358 Ibid.

359 Ibid.

central government. A group led by the revolutionary committee in Beijing described the books as 'an attempt from Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping's representers in Shanghai to corrupt the revolutionary people and leaders in order to fit capitalist demand'. They suggested that these books were introducing local cuisines and making them fancy, which was dangerous for the revolutionary people. Later, these two cookbooks were banned, and it became illegal to republish or read them.[360]

Of course, Dalian was no exception. The old Dalianese cuisine as a 'pan-Asian' cuisine was no longer in demand and lost its place in the post-war city. Previously, culinary experts invented and improved dishes to satisfy the demands of various groups in a pan-Asianist metropolis. After the 1950s, this was no longer true. In fact, table service and ordering in most Dalianese restaurants was suspended until the late 1960s.[361] Sino-Japanese fusion such as fried Sukiyaki was unimaginable in a group canteen, nor were any other famous dishes to be found in old Dalian's decent restaurants. Moreover, the supply of the Japanese ingredients on which many Dalianese chefs relied had obviously disappeared. The supply of seasonings was particularly impacted. MSG might be the only Japan related ingredients which seemed to have a quite stable supply even after the defeat of Japan, thanks to Wu Yunchu's Shanghai factory, which explains the fact that it was frequently mentioned in post-war recipes. It was, nevertheless, still called Weisu (味素) directly borrowed from the Japanese word Ajinomoto (味の素), while the rest of China changed its name to Weijing (味精).[362] Wasabi was completely missed and

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[360] He Hong, 'Jianguo shiqinianjian (1929-1966) caipu lunshu' 建国十七年间(1 949—1 9 66)菜谱述论, *Culinary Science Journal of Yangzhou University,* 3 (March, 2008), pp. 14–19; Beijing, Beijing library, *Ducao ji you yanzhong cuowu tushu pipan tiyao (350 zhong)* 毒草及有严重错误图书批判提要(三百五十种), 1968, p. 134 .

[361] Yu, *Shilue*, pp. 138, 149.

[362] Lvda Shangye Xuexiao, *Lvda Caipu* 旅大菜谱, 1978, pp 1-30

replaced by ginger in raw fish dishes. The Seaweed supply had been interrupted due to the absence of Japanese technology (We will discuss it later).[363] With convenient production and a low requirement of cooking skills, simple dishes such as street food started to dominate the Dalianese people's daily eating. In the 1956 recipes of the Dalian Culinary Company, these changes were particularly apparent. Although some of the restaurants did keep their specialties, most started to provide dumplings, fried rice and simple wok dishes after being merged by the government.[364] In 1955, the Department of Health in Beijing published a general guide for state-owned canteens, pointing out 65 standard dishes that should be provided on a national basis. It showed the government's attempt to minimise the unique characteristics of local culinary cultures around the country.[365]

From 1958, Dalian's adoption of people's communes reached its peak as a part of the national movement of the 'Great leap Forward'. Frank Dikötter's work *Mao's Great Famine* explored this period in depth and pointed out the inefficiencies of the policies at the time. Public canteens could be very far away from people's homes and were unsurprisingly unable to cater to individuals' tastes. Also, people's communes contributed to a national mission to improve steel and iron manufacture called 'iron fever'.[366] Domestic cooking workstations had been almost removed and cookware had been donated as the people believed that these moves would help boost the country's steel production.[367] What, then, did the socialist regime bring to Dalianese people's way of eating? First, a significant shift in the purpose of eating had been created between the city's past and its present. Cuisine as a part of culturally

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[363] Ibid

[364] *Shi Pu* (1956), China Culinary Company Lüda branch, pp 1-3.

[365] Jin, Yunze, *Gonggong Shitang Caipu* 公共食堂菜谱, (Beijing, 1955), pp. 1-4.

[366] Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine*, pp. 81–82, 84–91.

[367] Dalian, Dalian archive, The Bulletin of Chinese Communist Party History in Zhongshan District, Dalian City Committee 中共大连市中山区党史大事记, (1993), p. 56.

rich daily life has been impoverished, and become a condition for keeping one alive and productive. For the urban residences, domestic cooking and eating had been minimised, while consuming food outside became the norm in daily working life (see Figure 3). Specific changes were occurring in culinary structure. Post-war cookbooks were increasingly comprised of dishes originating from street food, such as fried noodles, deep fried fish, and dumplings, while the fancy and foreign-influenced fine dining certainly lost its position in Dalianese cuisine. Wok-frying, boiling and stewing became the most mentioned cooking skills.[368] In contrast, The artificial cooking way of using cream, sauces, flat iron… had disappeared. [369]

While the cost of the these supplied meals had been minimised, canteens were not able to provide many varieties. Yu Zhenli's memoir showed that when he was 11 years old in 1958, the Dalianese major canteen could only provide a limited number of dishes: 'There was only one kind of main food, which were usually Mantou (steamed buns without fillings), plain rice and flat bread, while those mains with meat like Baozi (steamed buns with fillings), jiaozi (boiled dumpling similar to gyoza) and wonton dumpling could rarely be seen. Only one or two sides were served, which were mainly normal dishes. Sometimes they would have fish stew or deep-fried fish, but almost never meat dishes. The meal was mainly made with vegetables'主食只有一种，馒头、米饭、饼子轮流登场，馅食的包子、饺子、馄饨基本不见面。菜肴也不多只有一两种，家常菜为主，有时候有焖鱼、炸鱼等，肉类菜肴很少，都是以蔬菜为.[370] That being said, even in the most modernised cities in the country, China's new 'socialist cuisine' had never been able to consider health and nutrition as much as their Soviet counterparts. Even with severe limitations

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[368] Zhenli Yu, *Let's go eating at the grand canteens*, blog post, Nov 2022, peer reviewed by Ji Ruguang (local historian from Dalian Shipping College, registered author at *Dalian Daily*): https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/iyDK-3FD5U3QmLg_CO1MyA [accessed 12-03-2023].

[369] Lvda Shangye xuexiao, *Lvda Caipu* (Dalian, 1978), p 1-7

[370] Yu, *Shilue*, p. 124.

on supply, commune canteens that provided free food to the people were unable to survive long. The mass starvation caused by the disastrous policies in the 1960s, still referred to with the euphemism 'Three years of natural disasters' period, forced most of them to shut down.[371] Nevertheless, when the Dalianese people were forced to cook and eat in their homes once again, they were left without the kitchens they had been forced to remove during the previous collectivisation efforts ofthe new regime.

Figure 3: A picture of Dalian's people's commune canteen in 1958: 'Eating without spending money, working hard for production.'

On the other hand, socialist cuisine did not entirely erase Dalian's culinary heritage of its previous era as a metropolis. The culinary legacy of the old Dalian as an international metropolis still remained active in some particular places. Some of the canteens in the central area of Dalian city, particularly those in Zhongshan district and Xigang district, were still under the charge of the traditional culinary order. Master chefs like Zhang Chuanben and Lin Yusheng were redeployed to these 'canteens' under the support of Lvshun and Dalian city's state-owned trust company.[372] Being called the 'people's canteen', these eating places were not that different from restaurants,

[371] Ibid.

[372] Yu, *Shilue*, p. 133.

which they originally were. They were not excessively over-priced, but also not free for their customers. The operation of these urban 'canteens' was well-maintained, thanks to some unusual consumers. For example, the main customers of 'Canteen #1' located in the former Kikuya department store building were Soviet military men. At dinner time, the canteen was 'always pre-booked by the remaining Soviet troops for banquets'.[373] The situation was the same in ' Canteen #6' in the Shahekou area, with the addition of some famous visiting groups from other provinces as customers.[374] A frequently ignored but understandable fact was that the chefs who were trained in the post-war Dalian were unable to fit into their new role as cooks of public canteens. Under their administration, some luxury ingredients and cooking methods were still included. Some of the dishes served in these two canteens when they were open are listed below:

Menu of 'Canteen #1', *Famous dishes from Lin Yushen*

Red braised sea cucumber: contains 0.4 kg sea cucumber, 2.3 Yuan 红烧海参：投料海参 0.8 斤，用七寸盘盛装，售价 2.30 元；

Soya sauce fired chicken cubes: contains 0.2 kg chicken, 1.54 Yuan 酱爆鸡丁：投料鸡肉 0.4 斤，用七寸盘盛装，售价 1.54 元；

Fried yellow vegetables: contains 5 eggs, 1.1 Yuan 熘黄菜：投料鸡蛋 5 只，用中海碗盛装，售价 1.10 元；

Cherry meat: contains 0.14 kg pork, 0.75 Yuan 樱桃肉：投料猪肉 0.28 斤，用七寸盘盛装，售价 0.75 元；

Barracuda with sauce: market prices 酱汁梭鱼：时价；

Sugar and vinegar yellow croaker: market price 糖醋黄花鱼：时价。

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373 Ibid., p. 134.

374 Ibid., p. 196.

Menu of 'Canteen #6:

Red braised snapper: market price 红焖加吉鱼：时价

Grilled king prawn: market price 燻虾段：时价

Soft deep fried pork loin: 0.9 Yuan for large, 0.62 Yuan for small 软炸里脊：大盘的售价为 0.9 元，小盘的售价为 0.62 元。

Fried meat: contains 0.135 kg pork, 0.55 Yuan 炒肉片：大盘（用七寸盘盛装），猪肉投料为 0.27 斤，售价 0.55 元

Fried liver: contains 0.2 kg of pork liver, 0.73 Yuan 熘肝尖：大盘（用七寸盘盛装），猪肝投料为 0.4 斤，售价 0.73 元

Red braised sea cucumber: contains 0.4kg sea cucumber, 2.3 Yuan 红烧海参：大盘（用七寸盘盛装），海参投料为 0.8 斤，售价 2.30 元

Yellow braised chicken: contains 0.3 kg of chicken, 1.07 Yuan 黄焖鸡：用大碗盛装，净鸡投料为 0.6 斤，售价 1.07 元。

Sauced noodle: contains 0.42 kg noodle: 0.2 Yuan 打卤面：大碗面秤（切面），投料为 0.84 斤，售价 0.20 元；小碗面秘（切面），投料为 0.56 斤，售价 0.15 元。

Rice: 0.1 Yuan for large; 0.05 Yuan for small 米饭：大碗售价 0.10 元；小碗售价 0.05 元。

Eating in the canteens, or 'de facto restaurants' like these provided a route for the post-1945 traditions to re-enter Dalianese people's lives. From Red braised sea cucumber to Snappers and Grilled king prawn, the dishes served in these public canteens merely showed any differences compared to those of old Dalian's fine dining Chinese restaurants, as well as the remanent of the culinary culture of a pan-Asian international city within Japanese empire. It was not difficult to find that the dining experience was extremely distinct from what Yu described in other public canteens as a part of people's communes. In 1950s and 1960s, ordering food was not a frequent activity even in cities like

Shanghai.[375] At the same time, if these prices were targeted at average citizens in Dalian, they were obviously too high for daily consumption, considering the average annual income in China was around 400 Yuan and the average annual consumption was less than 100 Yuan.[376] Nevertheless, a monthly visit to dine in these canteens was not beyond reason.

Of course, it is not unusual to see that the socialist reshaping of culinary culture had not been done completely. In one of his more frequently cited works, Caldwell pointed out that while the Soviet socialisation of cuisine attempted to erase the religious elements in the culinary section, many people in the Soviet Union adopted a strategy of passive resistance. Religious food would be suddenly revived whenever the restriction was eased.[377]

In Dalian, the result was similar but with a twist. Instead of 'passive resistance' by the people, local public sector played a rather important role on preserving Dalian's culinary tradition. In 1956, an investigation of the state-owned Dalian Culinary Company found that there were a number of prestigious chefs who had previously worked in Japanese restaurants. For unknown reasons, the company decided to open a Japanese-style restaurant and asked for the approval of Dalian's Commercial Bureau. Their attempt succeeded in the autumn of 1959. The Bureau of Sea Product directly took on the responsibility of supplying this restaurant in order to make sure the finest fish and other ingredients were served.[378] An official in the culinary company named it 'He Feng' restaurant, which in Chinese means 'Japanese wind'. For

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375 Zhen, Chenmin & Zhao zheng, 'Production and Life: Shanghai Lanes and Alleys Public Canteens During Tough Economic Period and "the Great Leap Forward"' in *Contemporary China History Studies,* issue 1, (January, 2014), pp 45-50

376 Jijing Shi (2020), *Xingzhongguo renmingqunzhong shouru de chushi bianqian: Jiyu 1949 nian zhi 1956 nian tongjishuju de fengxi,*新中国人民群众收入的初始变迁 ——基于 1949 年至 1956 年统计数据的分析, *Guancha yu sikao* 观察与思考, issue 4, (April, 2022), pp. 72-79.

377 Caldwell, *Not by Bread Alone*, pp. 60-99.

378 Yu, *Shilue*, pp. 231–232.

the first time since 1948, various Japanese dishes, ranging from Teriyaki Eel to Hirame Sashimi, were served again in the city of Dalian.

The political pressure, however, was always there. Direct selling of Japanese food was still intolerable in China. He Feng restaurant's operation stopped in the Cultural Revolution and the premises was renamed Qian Wei (Vanguard) restaurant in the 1960s – a typical revolutionary name at the time. According to Yu Zhen Li's records, the restaurant stopped serving Japanese dishes in this time period. However, it was reopened in 1970 and was able to recruit even more chefs of Japanese cuisine.[379]

The local government and state-owned companies, however, did not halt a discreet provisioning of Japanese culinary elements. Instead, they went further on achieving this target by utilising their ability to access state-controlled food and ingredient supply, showing a generally positive attitude to the individuals or organizations which could be helpful to maintain the Japanese culinary influence in Dalian. He Feng was the first but not the only place for the citizens of Dalian to reconnect with the old time through their tongues. The famous Hai Wei Guan and the Xin Ya Bistro, which was the original Stalin Road canteen, kept providing Japanese elements to Dalianese people's culinary life. A common point of these three eating places was that they were fully supported by the official supplying departments. Government made a 'special order' (特批) to supply the freshest fish for Sashimi, as well as other rare Japanese ingredients. For those ingredients that were not available, such as Wasabi or other seasoning and dips, the chefs attempted to use other Chinese products to replace them as we have seen in the Sashimi's case. From 1954, the Chinese government even established a special permission for Japanese scientist Ōtsuki Yōshirō to remain in the country in order to maintain Dalian's seaweed breeding and kombu production. Ōtsuki's daughter and assistant Katsue, who did not leave China until 1972, was one of the few

379 Ibid.

Japanese people who could remain in China after 1960.[380] In this case, it could be told that at least in Dalian, the government was not hesitating on making exceptional policies due to culinary reason, following the people's tastes in the city.

Without any doubt, Dalian's communist reform on culinary area had totally changed the city's post-war eating and cooking culture. However, the legacy of old Dalian's culinary tradition showed its deep root in the city. From the luxury people's canteens to Japanese restaurant with a revolutionary name and the 'special order' to maintain supply for the ingredients required by Japanese cuisine, many culinary spaces in Dalian have actually become hidden 'moonshine workshop' providing Japanese culinary elements which were intolerable in the city's mainstream cuisine. Yet different from the case in early 20th century's America, local authorities and public sector in Dalian played a rather supportive role in this process. As a result, the Japanese influence in Dalian has never been truly interrupted, which could explain why the revival of Japanese cuisine was so quickly accepted by Dalianese people after the change of China's political environment from late 1970s. Nowadays, Dalian had over 168 Japanese restaurants, which was one of the highest in terms of average number among China's cities.[381]

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[380] Takeo Ono, 'Sekai de hajimete wakame to konbu no yōshoku ni seikō shita Miyagi ken Toyoma-shi Toyoma-chō no Ōtsuki yōshirō 世界で初めてワカメとコンブの養殖に成功した宮城県登米市登米町の大槻洋四郎', in *Nihon shokuiku gakkaishi* 日本食育学会誌, 14: 1 (September, 2020), pp. 3–7.

[381] Cui, Xiuxia & Liu, Chang, Dalian shichang zhong de ribenyinshiwenhua diaoyan 大连市场中的日本饮食文化调研, in *Research on transmission competence*, issue 2, (February, 2019), p. 18.

Figure: Photos taken by Mr Gao Shu Qiang in the late 1980s, in the Xin Yia restaurant, as examples of heavily Japanese-influenced cuisine cooked by a Chinese chef after the Cultural Revolution. Gao is the president of Dalian Culinary Association, a famous chef and a student of Yu Guozhen.

Repatriates and de-sinofication: change of cuisine within an evolving process

After decades of inter-East Asia collaborative development based on Japan's economic and military expansion, Japan's Chinese cuisine now faced de facto isolation. Information from the other side of the sea became extremely limited, and and even direct personal communication became a challenge. Did these changes in politics mean the end of culinary exchanges in Japan? Or at least, how did the evolution of Japanese Chinese cuisine differ from its previous form? Food historians have given different answers to these questions. Two significant works have been written on the history of Ramen by food historian Barak Kushner and George Solt, both of whom conducted a systematic analysis of the post-war developments of Ramen. For Kushner, the end of the war and the subsequent food shortages weakened an original barrier that had previously kept Ramen from Japanese people's dining tables. The original bond between food and identity weakened, and dishes from Chinese cuisine such as Ramen then became a naturally integrated part of Japanese people's culinary world. Kushner observed that Japanese housewives were constantly creating Chinese dishes while believing them to be authentic Japanese dishes.[382] In contrast, Solt's work focused more on the transformation of Ramen's function as a food. When the 1940s 'Shina soba' transformed from a working-class food into a source of tourist charm, fashion and symbol of Japanese values, nearly all the connection to the food's Chinese origin had been erased.[383] Besides these two English work, Yasushi Masuko's research notably argued that the Ramen with 'Chūka (Chinese)' image and that with 'Wa (Japanese)' image developed into two separated dishes. While the 'Chūka' Ramen in Japan became a high cuisine, the ramen with the 'Wa' image was shaped by the success of instant Ramen in 1960s, and turned to a

[382] Kushner, *Slurp*, p 169-189.

[383] Solt, *The Untold History of Ramen*, p. 150.

popular common cuisine for the general public in 1980s.[384] Nevertheless, when we look beyond a single primary dish and survey a longer period of time, our narrative takes on a new shape. The pre-1945 Sino-Japanese culinary interactions kept influencing the post-war Japanese cuisine, as it had been doing from late 19th century. As we will see in the following analysis of post-war Japanese domestic cooking recipes, Chinese ingredients, tastes, and cooking skills were gradually changed from foreign culinary elements to a unique part of local culinary culture and were integrated into Japanese people's gastronomic world. It was true that Chinese cuisine in Japan had experienced a de-sinofication process in the post-war era, but the connection of these foods with their Chinese origin did not just disappear. What had changed was Japanese people's conception of the 'Chineseness' of the dishes. The word 'chūka ('China' in Japanese)' actually became a 'culinary super-sign', which carried a meaning somewhere between a foreign cuisine and local adoption of what had been received from Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges from late 19th century to the post-war era.

The name and terminology used in Japanese recipes published in the post-war era determined the recognition of Chineseness in cooking and eating were still significant. In 2015, *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper published a book called *100 Years of Recipes*, which listed the 100 most important recipes for Japanese people in the family section of *Yomiuri Shimbun* from the Taisho era to the present day. These recipes were selected by four of Japan's most prestigious chefs, including Nozaki Hiromitsu.[385] In this book, 15 of the 100 recipes had direct Chinese origins labelled, not to mention the indirect influence on cooking skills and ingredients from Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges. Many of these Chinese dishes were published in the post-war era, with only a few exceptions. Dishes such as 'steamed Chinese sticky rice' and

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[384] Yasushi, *Change of ramen image*, p 21-22

[385] *Yomiburi Shinbun*, *Yomiburi Shinbun Family Section's 100 Years' Recipes* 読売新聞家庭面の 100 年レシピ (Tokyo, 2015)

'Sichuan cold noodle' made their origin clear in the names. Looking at *Ryōri no Tomo* (Cook's Companion), one of the most important culinary magazines in Japan before the 1970s, content clearly related to Chinese cooking were frequently found in the publication's pages between 1952–1962. In its last issue in 1962, an article entitled 'Chinese pot cuisine with unique flavour' was included, together with a comparison with Japanese pot cuisine in terms of cooking method and tastes.[386]

As we may find in current historical research, the return of Chinese-born Japanese and the Japanese military men in China contributed to a wave of eating and cooking Chinese food in post-war Japan.[387] Ramen as well as other dishes were the results of this trend. In the later process of industrialisation and economic boom, these dishes provided 'important fuel' for the rapidly growing working class, and they lost their foreignness through the fast process of evolution. Nevertheless, domestic Chinese cuisine in Japan followed a different path of development. Chefs and housewives practised Chinese cooking as they did in the pre-war era, with proficiency and full knowledge of its background.[388] Not many examples of Chinese food that appeared in domestic cookbooks in the post-war era experienced the degree of changes and varieties as Ramen – developing, as it did, several unique sets of toppings and soup bases to fit different local tastes in multiple areas of Japan.[389] Using pot cuisine as an example, the same method of cooking had appeared in both inter-war and post-war issues of the same magazines, with minor changes,

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386 *Ryōri no Tomo*, Feb. 1962, part 2.

387 K. Cwiertka, 'War, Empire and the Making of Japanese National Cuisine', *Japan Focus*, 5: 7, (July, 2007), p. 5.

388 The term 'shufu' has been translated as housewife in this dissertation. Although it has been proved that this term and the image of women represented by it were fluid rather than steady concepts (see the following analysis), 'housewife' is the closest English translation for this East Asian word.

389 Kim Kwang-ok, 'The domestication of Chinese foodways in contemporary Japan: Ramen and Peking duck', in David Y.H. Wu & Tan Chee-beng, edited, *Changing Chinese Foodways in Asia* (Hongkong, 2001), pp. 219–233.

and at almost the same time of publication – in winter.[390] The function of Chinese cuisine in Japan's domestic kitchens was almost the same even after the influence brought by the war and post-war politics.

Did the Japanese housewives believe they were making Chinese cuisine? The evidence seems to diverge from Kushner's analysis to a certain degree (p. 19). In a 2018 national survey conducted by the Japanese government, almost 40% of the Japanese people cared (普段から興味・関心をもっている) about Chinese cuisine, which was 10% more than the corresponding figure for authentic western cuisine (西洋料理，フランス料理、イタリア料理など, in contrasted to Japanese localized western cuisine 日本で発展した洋食，カレーライス、コロッケなど). In the same survey, western cuisine developed in Japan and authentic western cuisines from countries like France and Italy were separated and put into two categories, while Chinese cuisine only had one: 'Chūka'.[391] This showed the unique status of Chinese culinary culture in Japan. Chinese cuisine, or 'chūka ryōri', had actually became a mixture of localized cooking style and foreign influences from China.

At the same time, Chinese culinary elements were well integrated into Japanese cuisine during the process of domestic culinary development. In a 2015 investigation on NHK's most popular cooking TV programme *Kyō no Ryōri* (Cooking Today), scholars found that the proportion of recipes (particularly boiled and seasoned dishes) that they believed to be Chinese reduced from 29.7 per cent in 1960 to only 7.3 per cent in 2005. At the same time, 71.4 per cent of the pork dishes shown in 1960 were categorised by the investigators as Chinese, which reduced to 10 per cent in 2005. The same

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[390] *Ryōri no Tomo* (Feb. 1962); *Ryōri no Tomo*, 18: 12 (1930).

[391] *2018 Life culture investigation issue report*, Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs Local cultural creation division office, 2019, March, p 15

平成 30 年度 生活文化調査研究事業 平成 31 年 3 月 文化庁地域文化創生本部事務局報告書

trend also took place with chicken dishes, with 42.8 per cent of them being identified as Chinese in 1960 and only 5.6 per cent remaining in 2005. Ironically, 45 per cent of pork recipes were labelled as Japanese in 2005, increasing from 14.3 per cent in 1960. For chicken dishes, a rise from 28.6 per cent to 61.1 per cent has occurred. Being presumably similar sets of dishes, the number of these being identified as Chinese significantly droped. One of the most important reasons behind this change was the absorption of Chinese culinary skills, such as Kakuni, Suni, and the usage of new spices. The usage of these terms in Japanese recipes and the Chinese ones on NHK were usually shared. The same term can be used to describe techniques and reciepies used in both Chinese and Japanese recipe. From the comparison between NHK's 1960 and 2005 recipes, it is not difficult to find that Japanese cuisine gradually incorporated more and more skills and culinary concepts that were previously found in Chinese cuisine.[392] As an example, *Kyō no Ryōri* frequently taught its audience to use vinegar as a main ingredient used in boiled meat dish in order to remove unpleasant flavours, which was a method appeared almost exclusively in Chinese recipes in Japan. In Edo era, almost no Japanese chef knew such way of cooking meat. Only 5 percent of recipes mentioned using vinegar in boiling, and almost all of them were fish and vegetable dishes.[393] These new elements were the key to culinary innovation, allowing Japanese chefs to process more ingredients with styles compared to those in the past.

The de-sinofication of domestic cuisine was more likely a process of integration and absorption. However, the position of 'Chinese cuisine' and 'Chūka ryōri' among Japanese domestic cooks was unique. One thing that

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[392] Sutani, Wako. et al., 'Changes in recipes for boiled and seasoned food in the NHK Kyo no Ryori', NHK 「きょうの料理」 における煮物調理の変遷調査 *The Japanese Society of Cookery Science Magazine 日本調理科学会誌*, 48: 6 (January, 2015), pp. 416–426

[393] Yanagihara, Naouki, et al., 'Edo-ki ni okeru nihonryōri e no su no tsukawarekata 江戸期における日本料理への酢の使われ方', in *Journal of Cookery Science of Japan*, 54:3 (June, 2021), pp. 132-140

could be ensured was that just like a linguistic 'super-sign', the word 'Chūka ryōri' had more meanings then just 'Chinese cuisine'.[394] Rather than a united and singular concept, 'Chūka ryōri' among post-war Japanese cooks and culinary experts had included somany categories, included those from the former puppet state of Manchuria, post-war local development, as well as the legacy of pre-1945 Chinese recipes in Japan.

Gender politics and cuisines in post-pan-Asianist China and Japan

No other factors, however, could have influenced China and Japan's culinary development in the post-pan-Asianist era more than the evolution of women's roles and domestic cooking. During the mid-20th century, domestic cuisine was one of the most important contributors to culinary development in East Asia, as well as the rest of the world. For Japan, what role did domestic cooking play in the culinary innovation of this era? The answer to this question may hint at the reason for Japan's unique culinary development, even within East Asia. How should we define modern Japanese cuisine? While mass-produced Ramen and Gyoza, as well as luxury Sushi, spread rapidly not only in Japan but throughout the world, what differences were there between these headline stories and the everyday home cooking and eating among Japanese people? These questions around the history of domestic cooking among the Japanese demand fuller consideration.

In traditional East Asian society, the women's role in domestic kitchens remained subtle. Whether in China or Japan, noble families did not require the woman of the house to conduct any actual cooking, while the percentage of female chefs was unclear. Although aristocratic wives were usually educated

394 'The super-sign is a monstrosity because it crouches behind the "wordness" of a concept and articulates the latter without itself being articulated in any reified form.' In Liu, Lydia, *The Clash of Empires*, (Harvard, 2004), pp. 31-69.

with some basic knowledge related to food and health, it was believed that pre-modern East Asian aristocratic women did not usually utilise the domestic culinary spaces.[395] This situation has changed in both Japan and China, but as we will see, in different ways. The gap between women's contribution to culinary practices in China and Japan led directly to differences in the acceptance of each other's cuisine in these two countries. These influences continued in the early post-war era.

The evolution of women's roles in the culinary arts in Japan began in the early Meiji era, as a circumstance of westernisation at that time. When Western missionaries and hired teachers started their communication with wives in the families of Japan's elite, the Western concept of 'housewife' was also spreading in this stratum of Japanese society.[396] Ehara Ayako's 2012 work showed how Clara Whitney, daughter of a British businessman, became one of the Westerners who started this process. According to her diary, she and her mother Anna learned Japanese cuisine from hired chefs in the house of Mrs Tomida (wife of the first CEO of Japan's central bank), teaching them Western cuisine in return. In 1890, Clara published her mother's notes in Japanese with the help of Saraki Kin in Sakuraki Women's School, showing the recipes and cooking skills that Anna was teaching among Japan's top-class housewives.[397]

It was not too long before traditional Japanese culinary experts became convinced that the culinary education of women was essential and inevitable. Traditional chef families started to transform their knowledge to create practical culinary education for women. In 1882, Akabori Mineyoshi founded the legendary Akabori Culinary School in Tokyo, targeted to provide culinary education to young, middle-class Japanese females who were going to be the

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[395] LaCouture, *Dwelling in the World,* pp. 47–75 ,

[396] Sand, Jordan. *House and Home in Modern Japan,* pp 21-54.

[397] Ehara Ayako, *The Modernisation Of Domestic Cuisine*, 家庭料理の近代 (Tokyo, 2012), pp. 58–65.

housewives of their generation. Imai Miki's 2011 study on Akabori Culinary School pointed out that in response to Japan's overall policy of 'Rich country, strong army', the Akabori family created a model for Japanese women, giving then a higher 'cooking ability' to ensure the health of their whole families.[398] From 1880, members of the Akabori family brought their culinary ideas and cooking skills into universities and girls' colleges all over Japan. In 1882, Mineyoshi's eldest daughter Masako was hired by Tokyo Women's Normal School (which later became Ochanomizu University); she was viewed as the first female culinary master in the Akabori family.[399]

Governmental intervention on women's education started in 1899, when the Japanese Department of Education formally announced that 'the order of women's high school' (高等女子学校令), which the key requirement from women's education in Japan, was to create 'good wife and wise mother' or, in the Chinese case 'wise wife, good mother' (良妻賢母 贤妻良母).[400] As Jin Jungwon's research on this widely embraced concept has suggested, the image of women projected by 'good wife, wise mother' was not constant but evolved continuously. Jin pointed out that before the emergence of the 'new women' image in China during the 1920s, both Chinese and Japanese conceptions of this term pointed to a perspective on women who were modern, Westernised and anti-traditional. Afterwards, despite the fluid nature of the term 'good wife, wise mother', the ideal image of women was always related to the

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[398] Miki Imai, 'The cooking education of Akabori Culinary School founded in 1882 and the active role of women in it 1882 明治 15 年創立の赤堀割烹教場における調理教育と女性の活躍', *Gakuen* 学苑, 845 (March, 2011), pp. 42–57.

[399] Shindo, Mahirō, *Shokutsu Shosetsu no Kigougaku* 食通小説の記号学 (Tokyo, 2007), p. 202.

[400] Ehara, *The Modernisation of Domestic Cuisine*, p. 108; Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. *Japan, the order of women's high school, Meiji 32 Years,* https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318037.htm;

mastering of domestic science and management.[401] Cooking then became a key part of it and thus a complimentary course for middle-class educated Japanese women. From 1915, the Japanese Ministry of Education published a series of domestic affairs textbooks for girls at different ages, with cooking being the first and most significant part. These textbooks included discussion on nutrition, flavours and the storing of food.[402] Within 15 years, over 300,000 women studying in women's high schools were being trained with professional cooking skills, making culinary practice an integral part of Japan's domestic life.[403] The government's view on the purpose of women's culinary education was, of course, changing frequently. In a 1924 domestic affairs textbook, the preface explained that the book was to help the girls adopt their 'natural role' as a housewife, and thus maintain a family with 'realness, goodness, and beauty'. Twenty years later, the aim of such a textbook suddenly changed to 'ensuring the (victorious) completion of the great East Asian holy war'. Women's cooking role had been thus associated with 'national destiny' as well as the 'power of nation'.[404] Nevertheless, as we can see from these textbooks, the imperial Japanese government never gave up its effort to integrate culinary education into the broader scene of national development.

Published cookery books and magazines also provided a good support for the spread of culinary knowledge among Japanese women. Beginning with 1884's *Jogaku Zasshi* (Women's Learning magazine), Japan's women's magazines developed rapidly in the pre-war era under an increasingly open

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401 Jin Jungwo (2006), *Higashi Ajia no ryōsai kenboron – tsukurareta dentō* 東アジアの良妻賢母論 – 創られた伝統 (Tokyo, 2006) pp. 1–144.

402 Japanese Ministry of Education, *Kōtōshōgaku rika kaji kyōkasho*, 高等小学理科家事教科書 第二学年児童用, (Tokyo: 1915)p 1-18

403 Ehara, *The Modernisation of Domestic Cuisine*, p. 108.

404 Research Association of Domestic Economy, *Kaji kyōkasho jōkan* 家事教科書 上巻 (Tokyo, 1924), pp. 1–2; Japanese Ministry of Education, *Shihan ikuji hoken honka-yō Ken'ichi,* 師範育児保健 本科用 巻一, (Tokyo, 1944), pp. 1–7.

social environment. Sarah Fredrick's 2006 work *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* emphasised the critical importance of women's magazines to understanding the overall shape of Japanese modernity. She also revealed that the editor's purpose played an important role in deciding the content of magazines. For example, her analysis showed how Ishikawa Takeyoshi, the founder of *Shufu no Tomo*, guided his editors to create a direct instructions for housewives to control the modern managed household.[405] Likewise, teaching Japanese women cooking skills was an important part of shaping the image of the 'housewife'; thus, it became a major purpose of women's magazines. They provided an excellent platform to integrate the knowledge of traditional male chefs with the rising demand for cooking among housewives. Through this platform, culinary knowledge had been transformed from its traditional holder to an emerging new group, which was women cooks. The *Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界) magazine published in 1908 included articles by Japanese culinary experts and lecturers in famous cooking schools, as well as pictures of their teaching environments. To further attract Japanese housewives' passion for cooking, it also used the image of aristocratic ladies making dishes in their domestic kitchen.[406] Similar magazines included *Ie no Hikari*, *Ryōri no tomo* and many others.

An unsurprising consequence to such change was that it actually boosted the spread of Chinese cuisine in Japan. From the late Meiji era, Chinese cooking became a compulsory course for every future housewife of Japan's women's schools. Whether in Akabori or the domestic work courses taught in women's schools, systematic Chinese cooking education could easily be found. In the post-war era, the growth popular domestic cooking publications faced to women audiences further accelerated this process.

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[405] Sarah, Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and writing women's magazines in interwar Japan* (Honolulu, 2006), pp. 86–89.

[406] *Fujin sekai* 婦人世界, 1906–1933, Kyoto, NDL collection.

Chinese cuisine in Japan was then associated with domestic cuisine, or in other words, women's cuisine. In 20th century, a dominating source of Chinese culinary knowledge in Japan was mainstream cooking magazines for housewives. A typical example was *Ryōri no Tomo*, one of the most famous culinary magazines published by a semi-official organization.[407] Within the 1915–1943 editions of *Ryōri no Tomo* 154 out of 262 issues and over 300 separate articles mentioned Chinese cuisine. Most of them were related to domestic cooking, which was significantly different from the Western cuisine presented in the same magazine. The recipes included contents from formal banquets to side dishes, covering almost every angle of domestic life. In the post-war era, the frequency of contents related to Chinese cuisine even further increased, as we will see in the paragraphs below.[408]

It is critical to point out that unlike the Western cuisine, the increase of Chinese culinary techniques and styles in Japan's domestic kitchens between the Taisho and Showa eras did not create a new style of cooking. Instead, it penetrated Japanese people's kitchens in a more gradual way. While there was an independent category of Chinese cuisine (Shina Ryōri), the subtle influence of Chinese culinary concept towards Japanese cuisine was also significant. In the early textbook written by the famous female chef Tukiyama Junko, the techniques used in the so-called Honpō Ryōri (my country's cuisine) were not identical to Edo-era Chinese recipes published in Japan.[409] Also, while food historians viewed beef as a sign of Japan's westernisation, but many of the early beef dishes were put into the category of Shina Ryōri.[410] As we have seen

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[407] Kawaguchi, Yukihiro, *'Nihon no chūkaryōri no keisei to tenkai ni tsuite no jisshō-teki kenkyū'* 日本の中華料理の形成と展開についての実証的研究, Ajinomoto syokumunka centre research brief report, (2019), pp. 1-5

[408] *Ryōri no Tomo*, 1915–1943, Ajinomoto collection, Tokyo.

[409] Junko Takiyama, *Latest Japanese and Western Cuisine: For family practical cooking* 最新和洋料理 ： 家庭実用 (Nagasaki, 1904), p. 6.

[410] Krämer, Hans. 'Not Befitting Our Divine Country: Eating meat in Japanese discourses of self and other from the seventeenth century to the present', *Food and Foodways*, 16: 1 (March, 2008), pp. 33–62.

in the Meiji era cook books, the recipes of Japan's early modern beef eating were to a large extent inspired by Chinese cuisine. For example, In Tukiyama Junko's cookbook, beef was often cooked with grilled Tofu or boiled with sesame oil. Both ways were closer to the techniques recorded in Edo-era Chinese cookbooks published in Japan.[411]

These trends continued in the post-war era, and actually provided another major way for Japanese people to get access to Chinese cuisine besides the north-east Chinese food with significant Manchurian features brought by former residents and military men. The *Ryōri no Tomo* in Ajinomoto's culinary library again shows this trend. From 1952, when the third post-war issue had been published, to the end of this magazine in 1962, 58 articles relating to Chinese cuisine had been published. Compared to chefs in the restaurants and the kitchens of noble mansions, housewives cared less about how fancy the meal could be, focusing much more on their husbands' and children's health and tastes. The Chinese cuisine recorded in *Ryōri no Tomo* perfectly fitted their demand. The table below shows a collection of all the contents related to Chinese cooking from *Ryōri no Tomo* between 1957–1958. In this period, almost every volume contained at least one section discussing Chinese cuisine or a clearly stated Chinese way of cooking, with only two exceptions. Compared to earlier time periods, post-war recipes rarely mentioned wartime cuisine, and focused relatively less on the price of cooking. However, the application of Chinese cooking into daily life was still the most important theme. Women chefs like Akabori Senko kept influencing Japanese housewives, not only by introducing Chinese cooking, but also by inserting China's culinary elements and culinary philosophy into Japanese domestic cuisine. In Akabori's instructions on seasonal side dishes, the Chinese cooking style did not need to be specified; it simply integrated smoothly into other local dishes. In 1957's *Warm Japanese and Chinese Pot Cuisine* (温まる日華

[411] Ibid.

鍋料理), Japanese cuisine and Chinese cuisine were bonded by similar cooking techniques and ways of eating, which rarely happened between Japanese cuisine and Western cuisine at this time.

Year of publication	**Month of publication**	**Volume**	**Title of contents related to Chinese cooking and cuisine**
1957	Jan	Vol. 39 No.1	*Chinese style bread cuisine* by Morishima Aya「中華風餅料理」森島あや
1957	Feb	Vol. 39 No.2	*Seasonal side cuisine* by Akahori Masako「季節の惣菜料理」赤堀全子
1957	Mar	Vol. 39 No.3	*Chinese cuisine as side* by Morishima Aya「惣菜向中華料理」森島あや
1957	Apr	Vol. 39 No.4	*Healthy Chinese A la carte Menu*「補精中華一品菜単」
1957	May	Vol. 39 No.5	*Seasonal nourish side* by Akahori Masako「季節の栄養惣菜」赤堀全子
1957	Jun	Vol. 39 No.6	*Shanghai cuisine* by Morishima Aya「上海料理」森島あや

1957	Jul	Vol. 39 No.7	*Early summer Chinese cuisine* by Morishima Aya「初夏の中華料理」森島あや
1957	Sep	Vol. 39 No.9	*Chinese cuisine* by Morishima Aya「中華料理」森島あや
1957	Nov	Vol. 39 No.11	*'Special edition', Fish and vegetable Chinese cuisine* by the Association for the Advancement of the Great Japanese Culinary Art *Seasonal nourish sides* by Akahori Masako 【特集】「魚介と野菜の中華料理」大日本料理研究会 「季節の栄養惣菜」赤堀全子
1957	Dec	Vol. 39 No.12	*'Special edition', Warm Chinese and Japanese pot cuisine* by The Association for the Advancement of the Great Japanese Culinary Art *Easy to make Chinese cuisine* by Aoshima Aya 【特集】「温まる日華鍋料理」大日本料理研究会 「お手軽な中華料理」森島あや

1958	Jan	Vol. 40 No.1	*Chinese cuisine for Family banquet* by Aoshima Aya「家庭宴会向中華料理」森島あや
1958	Feb	Vol. 40 No.2	*'Special Edition', Chinese meat cuisine* by the Association for the Advancement of the Great Japanese Culinary Art 【特集】「中華肉類料理」大日本料理研究会

At the same time, the situation in China was the clear opposite to that of Japan. Just as Elisabeth LaCouture has pointed out there had never been a united middle-class identity in 20th century China, which was an opposition of that in Japan. As she argued: 'Chinese people simultaneously invented the modern home as they invented new status identities.' At the same time, an emerging Japanese middle class 'invented the modern home and ideas about middle- class domesticity through interpreting and translating global ideas of domesticity and bourgeois culture'.[412] Cooking as a major part of middle-class domestic culture could reflected this contrast. Although republican China had made considerable progress on domestic education, systematic domestic cooking education was, on a certain level, missing in China's culinary system from the late 19th century to the end of the Second World War. Unlike the Japanese, Chinese chefs rarely got themselves involved in culinary education for the public, particularly for women.

In the whole republican era, the route for Chinese women to acquire culinary knowledge was still based on traditions, though foreign influences

[412] LaCouture, *Dwelling in the World,* pp. 5-6.

(particularly Japan) provided a few sources of alternative culinary education for women in China. This phenomenon is clearly reflected in Chinese domestic education textbooks published for women in early and mid-20th century. Looking at the Chinese diaspora in the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Penang, and Malacca), we could tell that the inheritance of women's cooking or domestic cooking among Chinese people was highly reliant on in-person teaching between mothers and daughters. For example, in the case of Peranakan cooking in Singapore, a highly family-centric passing on of cooking experience allowed dishes and cooking skills to continue to exist in a certain area. Instead of specific culinary education, a Nyonya (local Chinese female in Singapore and the rest of British channel colony) would be given cooking instruction by their mother from very young age.[413] Despite related research on mainland China being extremely limited, no major differences should be expected between the cases of Chinese people all around the world considering the similar family and culinary culture. In China, the first and only official textbook admitted by the republican government before the 1940s had been published in 1915, written by famous Hokkien Confucian literati and bureaucrat Chen Yan. In 1934, the name of the book changed from *Cooking Textbook* 烹饪教科书 to *Cooking Textbook for Women* 女子烹饪教科书, reflecting the evolution of republican China's culinary education. Nevertheless, the content of this book was still based on Chen's family banquet, without any content drawn from modern culinary theory and practice. Specifically, nutrition and cost were not mentioned at all in the whole book, while the seasonality of the ingredients were opposed by Chen Yan.[414]

Haute cuisine from the elite's family banquet kept developing in the post-imperial Chinese culinary area. The cuisine in the *Cooking Textbook* was more frequently called Chen's family cuisine (陈家菜) by gourmets in the early

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413 Sharon Wee, *Growing Up in a Nyonya Kitchen* (Singapore, 2012), pp. 15–19.

414 Chen Yan, *Culinary Textbook* 烹饪教科书, (Shanghai, 1915).

republican era. Together with the so-called Tan's family cuisine (谭家菜), which was the home banquet cuisine of another bureaucrat, Tan Zongjun, it was regarded as one of the most prestigious cooking styles in north China.[415] Tan's cuisine became the fine-dining seafood cuisine in the famous Beijing restaurant, which produced many of the cookbooks in the post-war era. Nevertheless, the accessibility of many of the main ingredients of the dishes recorded in these cookbooks was questionable. Extremely expensive ingredients such as shark's fin, matured abalone and swallowtail frequently appeared in the recipes, which were almost impossible to acquire for even a middle-class family in republican China.

Of course, the traditional method of culinary education in republican China faced challenges from the external world, especially Japan. In 1904, a Japanese textbook on women's domestic skills, including cooking, was translated into Chinese, and used in a few women's schools in China's major cities.[416] By the 1930s, although a few original Chinese women's textbooks had been published, most of the materials used in China's middle and high schools for girls were translated Japanese books. Meanwhile, Chinese scholars who had been educated in Japanese universities played an important role in the spread of women's education in China. Celebrities such as Yang Qianli 杨千里, Hou Hongjian 侯鸿鉴 and Xu Yibing 徐一冰 founded the earliest girls' schools in cities like Shanghai and Wuxi. Li Buqing 李步青 and Shen Yi 沈颐 entered China's major publishing house after their graduation from Japan's normal schools and ensured the publication of Japan's latest books on domestic skills. A common point among most of them (except Yang, as a local government representative) was having a Japanese education background. Hou studied in the famous Kōbun College from 1902–1905, Xu was a sports

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[415] Chen Yi, 'Chenyan yu pengren jiaokeshu 陈衍与烹饪教科书', *Fujian History,* 1 (January, 2017), pp. 54–56.

[416] Kogan, Kikuno & Sakata, Chizuko, Han, Cheng & Zhang, Xiangwen. trans *Zaiban Gailiang Jiashi Jiaokeshu* 再版改良家事教科书, (Shanghai, 1904),.

studies student in ōmori, and Li had been a student at Tokyo Higher Normal School.[417] On the culinary side, Japanese domestic cuisines had been introduced, together with modern-style specified units and description of cooking steps. In 1912's domestic education book, the preparation process of Japanese-style pickles and specific usage of Miso could be found, which would have been unusual in any previous Chinese cookbooks.[418] It was very likely that many other Japanese dishes had also been introduced to China through translated domestic skills texts. In the meantime, Western cuisine and related cookbooks would not be included in domestic cooking education until 1934, which was far later than the Japanese cuisine.[419]

The Communist reign, however, brought total change to the situation. The changes in gender politics after China's Communist revolution actually destroyed the old way of eating and cooking in the country. As mentioned in the previous section, the birth of 'socialist cuisine' in China eliminated the need for almost all fine-dining dishes in the country. A large number of traditional culinary styles became birds in the cage, exclusively provided to those who could get access to state-owned grand restaurants and hotels. Collective cooking and eating actually led to a major decline in domestic cuisine. The vast majority of people under the new regime ate in public canteens in their working units, instead of at home or in chosen eateries. Although the case in Dalian showed that some policies had been made to balance the number of male and female cooks, the role of 'housewife' disappeared in Communist China. Just like in the Soviet Union, China's nationalisation of food supply removed the fundamental necessity of selecting ingredients and dishes. Cooking and other family roles were viewed as a

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[417] Ibid.

[418] Minxun Zhou (ed.), *Women's Domestic Textbook* 女子家政教科书, (Shanghai, 1913), p. 1

[419] Yan-Chiou Wu, 'Mingguoshiqi funv de jiating zhushilaodong yu yingshibao baojian 民國時期婦女的家庭煮食勞動與飲食保健', *Modern Chinese women's history research* 近代中國婦女史研究, vol. 31, (June, 2018), pp. 55–106

'shackle' to women, which needed to be broken.[420] In 1964's *Red Flag* magazine (the official propaganda magazine of the Chinese Communist Party), the authority strictly criticised the idea that women should be doing the housework. Such an idea was 'extremely corrupted, anti-progressive, capitalist and feudalist'.[421] Despite the appearance of different opinions during the 50s, such attitudes towards the role of women in Chinese official propaganda did not change before the 1980s, when the concept of 'let women be back to family' began to be accepted by officials.[422]

Conclusion:

In December 1989, the Chinese National Bureau of Tourism declared Sato Hatsue, a female Japanese chef and her husband as two of the 'Grand chefs of China 中国特级厨师' after seven years of consideration and investigation for her contribution on re-building some of the authentic Chinese dishes and spreading Shandongnese cuisine in Japan. This title was only given to the most prestigious Chinese chefs, who were directly under the administration of the Chinese central government to cook for state leaders and were not allowed to leave the country in any circumstances. The Sato couple were the only foreigners who had been given this honour.[423] Sato was born in Jinan, the capital of Chinese Shandong province, and was repatriated as one of the Japanese residences in Mainland China in 1948. In 1987, Chinese chef Chen Jianming was entitled by the Ministry of Labour in Japan as 'The prestigious craftsman of the modern time' for introducing and localising Sichuan food in Japan. Chen was the only ethnic non-Japanese person to receive this

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[420] Laudan, *Cuisine and empire*, p. 491.

[421] Wan Muchun, 'Zenme kandai funvwenti 怎樣看待婦女問題', *Hongqi* 紅旗, (October, 1964),

[422] Zhang Juan and Ma Wenrong, 'Daqiuzhuang funvhuijia de sisuo 大邱庄〈婦女回家〉的思索', *Zhongguo Funv* 中国婦女, (January , 1998), p. 1

[423] Ibid., pp. 127–128.

honour.[424] By late 1980s, Chinese and Japanese cuisine have already become an undividable part of each other's culinary culture.

In Japanese scholar Sonoda Shigeto's 2004 article about East Asian's food globalization, he described the relationship between the post-war China and Japan's culinary culture as 'a tacit cooperation 暗黙の共同作業', which he explained as 'good progress achieved under an unfortunate relationship.' When politics no-longer dominated the culinary exchange, the organic developments led by experts had not interrupted the process of integration.

This chapter has examined multiple agents within the Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges in the post-war era, which showed that the legacy of pre-1945 development was a key factor of this process. The contrast on the role of women, particularly their participation in cooking and domestic affair led to a differences between China and Japan's connection with their previous culinary development. However, the contribution made by chefs like Sato Hatsue was fixing this gap with their knowledge gained during the war-time Sino-Japanese interaction.[425] Looking at cookbooks, individuals and the reaction of official organizations, Sino-Japanese culinary exchange was a continuing and uninterrupted trend, regardless to broader political change in 20th century. It was not absent nor stopped in the period between 1945 and 1980 in both countries, even after the ideology of Pan-Asianism which previously led the culinary exchanges had been vanished.

This led to a consideration on current study of Sino-Japanese relationship. While most of the works focused on politics, economy, military and diplomacy, the development of cultural connection between the two countries might follow a separate and parallel route, which showed a strong

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[424] Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, *List of past recipients*, 2023, p 123, 過去受賞者一覧（mhlw.go.jp)

[425] The story of Sato Hatsue and Chen Jianming was discussed in the rest of this chapter in my ongoing dissertation: Through Pots and Pans: Culinary and Cultural Bonds Between China and Japan, 1868-1949.

continuation from late 19th century to the present. Research related to Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges during their era of conflicts is, as a result, a critical part of understanding these two countries' status quo.

Conclusion:

In the first chapter of this dissertation, we saw how the evolution of the floating conception of Shina Ryōri represented a gradually increasing understanding of Chinese cuisine in Japan. This increase of understanding set the stage for further culinary exchange in the Taishō era, when a group of literati, politicians and culinary experts started to rethink Sino-Japanese cultural bonds under the framework of 'cultural Pan-Asianism', specifically when it came to culinary culture. Scholars like Zhou Zuoren and Viscount Ishigurō might be interested in finding East Asian racial or cultural supremacy from the two countries shared culinary history. In war-time Manchukuo, Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges had been practised and experimented in two different modes, which showcased different understandings of the Pan-Asianist ideology. By this point, the Pan-Asian mood in both China and Japan remained a critical accelerator of the Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges. Did the Chinese chefs we met in Dalian who reshaped the city's culinary map under Japanese influence still viewed Chinese cuisine as the only centre of East Asia's culinary world? The answer might be, 'No.' For those Japanese culinary experts, chefs and elites in Meiji and Taishō era, why were they so keen on finding bonds between Chinese and Japanese culinary cultures? The new form of interaction between China and Japan's cuisines highlighted the need to reconsider the foundations of the Sino-Japanese relationship, for both people at the time and historians since.

The culinary history of China and Japan from the late 19th century to 1945 was a history of exchange and sharing. As many other food historians had pointed out, Japanese cuisine absorbed vast number of elements from Chinese culinary culture in this time period, which played a key role in what we have known as Japanese cuisine nowadays. On the other hand, although Japanese influences were rather limited geographically in China at the time, many of them contributed to the birth of some most important parts of

modern Chinese cuisine. From tomato fried egg, MSG to raw fish eating and the development of Chinese domestic cooking, Japanese culinary culture was not absent in the growth of Chinese cuisine. While further research on the culinary history in more Chinese urban areas such as Shanghai, Qingdao, Taiwan and even Hongkong or Singapore is certainly necessary, it is important to point out that Sino-Japanese culinary exchange was not a unidirectional process.

From Chapter 1 to Chapter 4, we have observed that the Sino-Japanese relationship under the framework of Pan-Asianism worked as a key motivation in culinary exchange. Sino-Japanese culinary exchange was closely related to the fast-developing new form of East Asian geopolitics, as well as the ideology behind it. In between the two countries, we have observed a process which was driven by political changes but went far beyond. At the beginning of this process, both experts and consumers from both countries experienced significant struggles and confusion. In Japan, the original Chinese cuisine as a part of the elite culture since Heian era was gradually replaced. From the post-edo Shina Ryōri to the post-war integration of Chinese cuisine, the context of Chinese culinary influence in Japan experienced a process of being re-recognized, reconnected and reshaped. Would the anti-western Gotō Asataro feel satisfied if he knew that according to the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs, Chinese cuisine has already been the most important foreign cuisine in Japan by 2018 with almost 40% of Japanese people said that they care about Chinese food within their daily life?[426] In chapter 1, I showed that the birth of Shina Ryōri following the collapse of traditional East Asian diplomatic order was a consequence of an unstable identity for the cuisine. Was it civilized enough to eat Chinese cuisine? Should Japanese people still view it as a part of the high culture? How could Japanese people rethink the connection between themselves and China

[426] *2018 Life culture investigation issue report*, p. 15.

after defeating them in war? There were a lot of questions being asked by Japanese elites that connected to larger questions through the medium of cuisine, and the result was a 'Shina Ryōri' that embraced a clearer knowledge of China and Chinese ways of eating. In chapter 2, the increased mutual understanding and the shared culinary history clearly became, for Chinese and Japanese elites and literati, a romantic way or tool to create their version of Pan-Asianism. The occupation in Manchuria provided a chance to practise these approaches, and I argued in the Chapter 3 and 4 that differing understandings of Pan-Asianism by Japanese rulers in two key cities in Manchukuo resulted in two different models of culinary exchanges. In China, while most of the influences from Japan spread much slower, the adoption of Japanese culinary culture inevitably took place. In chapter 3 and 4, we saw how different models of Japanese rule in Dalian and Xinjing created absolutely different culinary cultures. When shared culinary experience and space in Dalian created an early-stage mixed culture (The Dalian taste), Xinjing's political led culinary innovation failed to form a Sino-Japanese bond but led to the birth of some most popular dishes for Japanese people. When the political symbolism faded away, dishes like Chinggis Khan pot were little more than a delight to people's tastes.

How much influence did Sino-Japanese culinary exchange have on the two culturally rich nations' modern cuisine? Different answers to these questions might be obtained from different people later in the 20th century. For Zhou Zuoren, he might be satisfied with the fact that many of the Chinese ancient gastronomic traditions had been introduced to Chinese people through interactions with Japanese culture. Chinese consumers in general would not likely notice the exchanges, while Chinese cuisine had become one of the most important parts of Japanese people's world of eating. As for Akahori, one of the most important chefs in Japan or even more broadly in East Asia's culinary history, he would be likely to claim that they were unidentifiable and undividable, which could be true for most of common

consumers in both countries. After all is said and done, Chinese and Japanese people might be able to come to terms with the fact that, after a decade of wartime tragedy, they were indeed, as major general Marumoto had once put it, 'connected through pots and pans'.

In chapter 5, we have explored the legacy of Sino-Japanese relationship under Pan-Asianism, and how it continued in different forms. While Chinese culinary elements had been integrated into the post-war development of Japanese cuisine, Sino-Japanese exchange in China survived in a more subtle way. Generally, the socialist transformation made such a substantial change on China's culinary culture, that the pre-1949 culinary culture had to give way. New eating and cooking customs had a significant influence on people's daily life. In Dalian's case, we can see the effect of such influence even in a city with the longest history of Japanese rule. However, despite obstacles, the remains of Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges still existed among people's minds and tastes. We have seen that official organisations in Dalian respected people's choice and provided necessary assistance to protect Dalian's pre-1945 culinary culture, even those parts with strong Japanese images. When the political environment changed after 1970s, the reconstruction of Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges had been done in an remarkable speed. Of course, work on this process was still limited and required more attentions from historians.

Why did this difference on post-war culinary exchanges appeared between China and Japan? What is the turning point of Chinese and Japanese modern culinary development after a century of connected culinary history? In this research, the answer which I identified was the two countries' distinct attitudes towards women's cooking role, as well as the domestic cuisine dominated by women. In Dalian's case, we can observe how such influence had been formed. China's socialist effort on gender equality ironically limited the growth of women's role in culinary developments and domestic cuisine, and thus created obstacles for the fruits of Japanese influence to flourish in China's modern culinary culture. Meanwhile, Japanese cuisine experienced

significant change due to post-war political environmental shift, but domestic cuisine and recipes in women's magazine allowed for further elements of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange, provided a good chance for further integration.

Now let us return to the beginning of our story, when the social and economic changes brought about by Japan's rapid modernisation started to reshape East Asia after 1868. What was the general trend of Sino-Japanese culinary interaction after this significant geo-political shift? Kushner has argued, 'Japanese foodways grew out of both a dialogue within Japan's colonial empire and a discourse bent on separating the concept of national food away from and in distinction to China'.[427] This dissertation, however, provided another perspective on the relationship between the development of Chinese and Japanese cuisine. As he has pointed out, the 'Japanese initially hesitated to experiment with and appreciate Chinese cooking during the Meiji era because they associated such cuisine with a dirty and dystopian East Asia,' but it was also true that some of the most influential Japanese figures in the culinary field were, at least attempting to counter these negative associations, as we have seen in Chapter 1 and 2.[428] Despite the fact that Japanese imperialism and military conquests in China undoubtedly obstructed the Sino-Japanese exchange of culinary culture, a parallel route of interaction and connection remained in the Sino-Japanese relationship, which we can see at work in cases such as that of Chinggis Khan cuisine. While the 1950s rise of hybrid food such as Ramen did bring Japan a food revolution, a less glamorous absorption of Chinese culinary elements was gradually reshaping Japanese culinary culture, especially by women who were often, but not exclusively, making this impact felt in the realm of domestic cooking. On the other hand, Sino-Japanese culinary cultural exchanges on the Chinese side began somewhat later, but we can find its earlier signs already during the

[427] Kushner, 'Imperial cuisines in Taishō Foodways', p. 145

[428] Ibid., p. 146

Japanese occupation in Manchukuo and other areas of direct Sino-Japanese interaction. Although China's revolutionary process interrupted this development, we can clearly see through post-war Dalian's case that the culinary exchange endured on its own terms. Japanese influence actually contributed in a significant manner to the ways that Chinese people eat today.

In the rest of this conclusion, I am going to connect the Sino-Japanese culinary exchange with two perspectives in the historiography: culinary history and political history. As a phenomenon in food history, I suggested that it showed an exceptional form of culinary development within the global wave of expanding middling cuisine. When food historians are looking at culinary innovation and creation in this era, the emergence of industrial and commercial society, as well as the imperial expansion under them might not be the only source. From the prospective of political history, Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges represented deeper and longer consequences of cultural Pan-Asianism, which was traditionally viewed as a part of a failed regional political ideology. After the end of Sino-Japanese relationship based on Pan-Asianism, I will discuss how different attitudes and policies on women's cooking role and domestic cuisine in China and Japan made such a significant effect on these two countries' post-war modern cuisine and contributed to two distinct path for Chinese and Japanese food respectively. These two perspectives were overlapped and intertwined, leading to a more precise understanding of the bilateral relationship in modern and early modern East Asia.

Lone island in the wave of middling cuisine

From the beginning of 19th century, the world culinary structure has experienced a major shift. The older pattern of 'imperial high cuisine for the elites and regional cuisine for the poor has, in a rather slow process,

disappeared in most of the places on the world'.[429] Rachel Laudan's work has described this process from its early stage to the era that globalized middling cuisine dominated modern culinary culture. In the 19th century, Anglo-Americano cuisine made up with white bread, fresh meat, sugar, and fat were eaten by 1/10 of the world population thanks to the expansion of the British Empire. This cuisine which benefits the rising middle class and working class took an important position in world trade and were associated to an efficient way of living in a powerful world empire. Industrialized food improved the nutrition of lower classes, and the gap between their food and the so called 'haunt cuisine" has been reduced.[430] In the rest of Europe, scientists, beginning withJustus von Liebig, realized the importance of protein as nutrition, and improved their recipes based on scientific studies.[431] Industrialization and a more specialized global food market led to the birth of 'local food.' Produced from factories, Pasta, Wurst, Ramen and Tacos immediately became representative foods of their own nation, and soon spread to the whole world. By 1980, food and culinary cultures in most parts of the world have been closely connected with national identies. Food and recipes played a role not unlike a national flag. They were sometimes confused and full of foreign influences, but undoubtably represented their home countries on the global stage.

On the other hand, French cuisine dominated the world impression of high cuisine. French gastronomy and cuisine were spread and evolved in countries like Japan, Germany, Austrian-Hungary, India, and the Ottoman Empire. Sultans, Emperors, Rajas, and Presidents were proud to eat the French cuisine, which they thought as a symbol of their social prestige. Once again, French cuisine replaced the old imperial cuisine which has formed a

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[429] Laudan, *Cuisine and empire*, p 265

[430] Ibid, p 266-295

[431] Carpenter, Kenneth. *Protein and energy: a study of changing ideas in nutrition*. (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 40-77

cultural connection among world elites, which thought they have more commonness with each other instead of their own nation's lower classes. Local ingredients were recombined using French cooking techniques and philosophy. In Greece and Russia, local tradition of using spices and multiple oils were replaced. Cream and French style sauces were replacing local products, and through such approaches enabled the chefs to make local dishes more French.[432] French restaurants could be found all over the world, and eating French cuisine gradually became a must for civilized people. Chefs, gourmets, and gourmands created advanced culinary philosophies for the 'Cuisine bourgeois', 'Nouvelle cuisine' and 'Haute cuisine'. Local cuisines became more and more decent and were integrated into the French culinary culture and philosophies. Even the heavy loss of chefs in the Great War did not destroy the solid prestige of it.[433]

Indeed, China and Japan were not isolated from the dynamic described above. French cuisine was found in both China and Japan's restaurants and domestic kitchens. At the same time, European style middling cuisine was more frequently found. As we have mentioned in chapter 1 and 2, modern idea of nutrition made a significant influence on the development of China and Japan's cuisine, while the gap between the food of elites and that of lower classes was not as huge as it was before. A more integrated cuisine associated with the nation instead of the Empires emerged in both countries. Also, new dishes and other culinary elements were invented within the line of the expansion of middling cuisine. Kushner and Solt's work on Ramen elaborated on how Ramen transformed from a foreign food to a typical working-class dish which provided enough protein intake, and then to a component of popular culture, representing the Japanese nation either within the country or on the global stage, enjoyed by people in different cultures all around the

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[432] Kremezi, '*Nikolas Tselementes*', p 167; Chamberliain, *Food and Cooking of Russia*, p 175, mentioned by Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and empire*, p 305.

[433] Drouard, *Chefs, gourmets and gourmands*, p 289-297

world. Although neither of them used the term 'middling cuisine' to describe Ramen or other Japanese food they have mentioned, they acknowledged the connection between Ramen and the rising middle-class and middle-class consumption.[434] In China, many new dishes invented after the end of Qing dynasty were also within the frame of a global growth of a middling class. Asingioro Hao's published cookbook showcased a breakdown of imperial cuisine, and its transition to domestic cooking in urban bourgeoisie's kitchen.[435]

While many of these elements in China and Japan's culinary history can be explained using an argument about the expansion and globalization of middling cuisine, one question remains. Why were they so different from other global cuisines? As we have seen there are a number of highly distinctive features of East Asian cuisine Starting from the eating wares, seasoning, ingredients, the format of meals to culinary philosophies, Chinese and Japanese cuisines shared more common elements and were so clearly different from regions outside East Asia. While various localized forms of French cuisine dominated global fine-dining, Chinese and Japanese elites still kept developing their old form of high-cuisine. While according to Laudan, Anglo Saxon middle cuisine reshaped eating ways in the world commons, Chinese and Japanese people retained a relative independence. Although western cuisine did significantly influence the culinary ways of these two countries, we shall remember that it was Chinggis Khan cuisine that spread most quickly in Xinjing's Japanese society; it was the legacy of Chinese cuisine that influenced the Chokudai ryōri from the emperor to the Japanese people; and it was the Japanese tastes and culinary technologies such as MSG made some of the most famous modern Chinese dishes possible. Meanwhile, it is also important to realize that Chinese cuisine in the post-war era was still the

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434 Solt, *The Untold History of Ramen,* p 144, 199; Kushner (2012), p 191-288

435 Asingioro, *Shi Zai Gong Ting*

most popular foreign cuisine in Japan, and the modern revival of Chinese cuisine could not be done without the contribution of Japanese chefs.

Perhaps these questions could be answered by Zhou Zuoren, Naitō Konan, and Aoki Masaru's shared idea, which suggested there was a nature affinity and connection between China and Japan's cultural fields. Ironically, they all utilized cuisine well to prove their points of view. More importantly, the exchanges between Chinese and Japanese culinary culture eliminated a type of culinary development which went beyond class, nationalism, and modern politics. As Laudan and some other Indian food historians mentioned, when people think about the upmarket colonial elite style Indian cuisine in London, they were still related to the Indian ethnical groups. Food researchers such as Nandy and Palat revealed how Indian cuisine showed the evolution of Indian diaspora worldwide. At the same time, the memory of the British colonization brought influences on Indian popular culture, which was also included in modern Indian cuisine. Indian elites used delicate silver cutlets to eat curries in shiny metal dishes, while the surrounding decoration was pure European. Meanwhile, in the local eateries on the street of Kathmandu, British breakfast was served with local elements.[436] Similar cases took places in Africa and middle east where their national cuisines had been formed in modern time.[437] Nevertheless, when China and Japan were developing their culinary culture in the modern era, we can see a significant influence from a bond based much more on shared culinary philosophy from the beginning in late 19th century to 1980s.[438] Such philosophy could be identified by seeing

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[436] Ray, Utsa, *Culinary Culture in Colonial India*. (Cambridge, 2015), p 192-228; Palat, Ravi, 'Empire, food and the diaspora: Indian restaurants in Britain.' *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, vol *38*, issue 2, (May, 2015), pp. 171-186; Nandy, Ashis. 'The changing popular culture of Indian food: Preliminary notes'. *South Asia research*, vol. *24*, issue 1, (May, 2004), pp. 9-19.

[437] Robins, Jonathan., 'Colonial cuisine: food in British Nigeria, 1900-1914.' *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies*, 10: 6 (December, 2010), pp. 457–466.

[438] Rachel Laudan defined culinary philosophy as 'what food is and how cuisine is related to society, to the natural world (including human bodies), and to the supernatural.'

how Chinese and Japanese common consumers, chefs, politicians, and thinkers were much more natural and organic on absorbing each other's culinary element, instead of the western ones. This allowed Chinese and Japanese cuisine to preserve and revive more fundamental traditions of their origins, even experience rapid global trends of culinary evolution.

Post cultural Pan-Asianism: diversion from gendered and domestic cuisine.

Finally, let us get back to the Introduction when I mentioned cultural Pan-Asianism and its definition. Did Yoshino's call for a cultural Pan-Asianism come true when it came to culinary culture in 20th century? The answer can generate controversy. It was true that by the end of war, Japanese people and Chinese people had more understanding on each other's culinary culture than in any era in the past. Culinary experts researched, developed, and even preserved cuisine from another countries. Western culinary culture and knowledge did not dominate either of the two countries' culinary world after Meiji restoration. On the other hand, cuisine had been used to take up the dichotomous view of civilisation to contrast the 'East' with the 'West', or even worse. Xinjing's case showed that understanding was not the only result of culinary exchange. Japanese Imperialism needed weapons, which could be under any names. At the same time, post-war ideological dichotomy did not only destroy culinary exchange between China and Japan, but also the base of Pan-Asianism. Both capitalism and socialism made huge damage to culinary traditions. Hunger, political disputes, state-owned canteens, fast food cultures… Fairly speaking, neither Chinese nor Japanese pan-Asianists could expect the huge changes which took place in the post war era. The process of cultural exchange had been totally interrupted for around 30 years and started again. When the Sino-Japanese relationship started to be reformed in 1980, Pan-Asianism, both culturally and politically, has never been treated as a

serious ideology ever again. Nevertheless, did that signal the failure of a Pan-Asian idea?

It was undeniable that, from 1868 to 1940s, Sino-Japanese culinary exchange had formed a bond between the two countries' development of daily life, a more shared experience which Yoshino called for among Japanese people to make Pan-Asianism realistic. By the end of war, the food consumed by Chinese and Japanese urban residents were more similar than any period before. Umami or Xianwei (鮮味) based on the massive production of MSG spread to almost every corner of the two countries. In China, Sukiyaki was served not only in the former Japanese colonies, but also cities like Tianjin and Shanghai. New ingredients were introduced through interaction with the Japanese, and women's schools were teaching almost the same content as those in Tokyo. Meanwhile in Japan, as Kushner, Solt, Tanaka and Cwiertka have all pointed out, Chinese cuisine was growing in a considerable speed.

However, as we have seen from chapter 5, the post-war enhancement of Sino-Japanese culinary exchange showed a significant diversion of paths, which can be explained by the critical importance of women's cooking role and domestic cuisine in the organic development of regional culinary cultures. China's socialization on daily life significantly changed the environment for domestic cuisine to grow. By the 1970 China's culinary system had been damaged so much so that the local government had to seek out Japanese chefs like Sato Hatsue's assistance to rebuild its pre-1945 culinary culture. Nevertheless, the preservation of pre-war and war-time Chinese elements in Japan had been preserved well through Japan's highly advanced domestic cuisine targeted to housewife. What had been showed in magazines like *Ie no hikari* was not only the dishes themselves, but the fruit of 100 years of Sino-Japanese interaction on cultural dimension.

We have then a clear irony. The socialisation which loudly proclaimed gender equality actually severely limited the role of women in the

development of China's postwar cuisine, while in Japan, where lack of progress on this front was apparent in its repressive household patterns, nonetheless, a domestic cuisine led by women chefs and housewives become an important frontier for Sino-Japanese culinary exchange. The case of Dalian provided a typical example for this process on the Chinese side. After the campaign of public canteen and the 'Pick out men and replace them with women' policy, Dalian's male chefs could still find their place in the state-run restaurants, but the women had lost their chance to further develop their culinary knowledge. The Chinese official attitude on domestic cuisine prevented professional male chefs from providing culinary education to individuals, include women. In other words, the concept of a 'housewife' was possibly entirely absent in some urban areas of China, at least in terms of their role as a domestic cook. In Dalian, we can see that it was the preservation of old culinary culture, included the legacy of Sino-Japanese exchange, relied on the work of traditional chefs and local authorities. The survival of the city's pre-1949 culinary culture was more likely a result of resistance towards the national trend. In contrast, Japan's domestic cuisine was an important site for the development of independent line of culinary development distinct from the headline story of Ramen, Gyoza and luxury Chūka Ryōri, China's incorporation of women into its industrial workforce, in fact, blocked this particularly route. In contrast, in a postwar Japan that was not covering itself in glory when it came to women's rights, the leading role of women in domestic cuisine played a distinctive role in preserving Sino-Japanese culinary exchanges, as well as ensuring further integration of Sino-Japanese culinary elements as well.

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[439] As Changchun government decided to deleted all of its pre-1949 official history section, it is possible that this resource might not be visited through the address provided here.