Introduction

ERIC C. RATH AND
STEPHANIE ASMANN

With sushi now available in many European and American supermarkets, more people outside of Japan have become aware of Japanese foods—or at least some interpretations of them, like the "California (sushi) roll." At the same time in Japan, more Japanese have greater access than ever before to foreign cuisines such as Chinese, Korean, French, and Italian, and to domesticated versions like the "curry doughnut" to the point that "multiculturalism is the defining feature of the culinary scene in contemporary Japan," as one of our contributors to this volume, Katarzyna Cwiertka, noted in her recent book, Modern Japanese Cuisine (2006, 7). Japanese food demonstrates an incredible diversity, from the blue-collar worker’s steaming bowl of ramen noodles to the multicourse kaiseki meals served at elite restaurants, from lovingly crafted bento box lunches that use heirloom vegetables to dishes like crane soup found in centuries-old cookbooks to delicate modern confectionery. Both the commonplace and the unfamiliar parts of Japanese food have compelling stories to tell that shed light on life in Japan, past and present.

Globalization has brought increasing familiarity with foreign foods in both Japan and abroad, but the term foodways in the title of our book deserves some explanation. Foodways can be defined in terms of the eating habits of a people, of a historical time period, or of a region. But the term also serves as an indication that there is something more to food than just food. Food is essential to so many facets of human life that it is hard to list all the "ways." We can consider production, consumption, and circulation of foods in the concept of foodways as well as political, economic, cultural, social, and religious dimensions to these. If we consider the subject chronologically, we can add disjunctions and continuities in practices, beliefs, and habits surrounding foods. Our contributors demonstrate that food in these systems and contexts casts light on a range of larger issues—from foreign policy to traditional medicine to perceptions of other countries to understandings of the past. Accordingly, rather than delimit foodways by disclaimers and jargon, in this book we have chosen to examine food from the broadest possible
the integrity of national identity through maintaining eating habits is the second theme in our volume. Globalization has led to the increasing popularity of Japanese culinary specialties abroad and to the embrace of foreign cuisines in Japan; but globalization has also evoked consciousness of the erosion of national identity, of which foodways are an essential part. For example, our contributors identify foreign foodways that have been domesticated and native foodways that are currently being "rediscovered" as a means to counteract Japan's low food self-sufficiency rate and to assuage fears of food safety. By using food as a tool to analyze status differences on the one hand and the relationship between globalization and national identity on the other, we hope to provide insights to these crucial issues for an audience beyond Japan specialists.

Chronologically, this book is divided into three sections. The first section covers the mid-fifteenth through the late nineteenth centuries, corresponding to the late medieval (1450–1600) and early modern periods (1600–1868). This historical span overlaps with the traditional periodization of the Muromachi (1336–1573), Momoyama (1573–1600), and Edo or Tokugawa period (1600–1868). The second part focuses on modern Japan from the Meiji period (1868–1912) through the mid-1950s. The third and last section investigates food issues in contemporary Japan in the period since the 1950s.

The writers hope that this volume will contribute to illuminating the long history of Japanese foodways and spur additional English-language research on food in Japan, particularly for the premodern era. While a growing number of scholars—especially in anthropology (see Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000; Bestor 2004; and Cwiertka 2005, 2006) but also in Japanese literature (for instance, Aoyama 2008)—have taken up the topic of food in modern and contemporary Japan, studies of Japanese foodways in English focusing on the period before the twentieth century lag, notwithstanding a few seminal works such as the historical survey of Naomichi Ishige (2001) and anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's (1993) meditation on rice and identity over the course of Japanese civilization. Agriculture has been an enduring interest for historians of all periods, but our impression from these studies is that primary attention is given to the political welfare of the peasants and secondarily to farming methods. In other words, food as the object of production often takes a back seat to the monetary value of the harvest itself, which is an important dimension given that rice and other grains were used as currency and to pay tribute in premodern Japan, but it is only one aspect of food production to the point that we only rarely glimpse what and how people ate and how they thought about food. Most of the previous research on dining in premodern
Japan has focused on the elite kaiseki cuisine of the tea ceremony (for example, Kumakura 1989, 55–59). Susan Hanley’s (1997) survey of the physical well-being of people in the early modern period includes important data about diet. And a translation of the research of the historian of Japanese culture Nishiyama Matsunosuke’s work (1997) describes some of the pleasures of dining as well as the pains of famine in the same era. However, all of these topics await further exploration for the premodern period, and we hope to point out some directions for future studies with this book.

**LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN JAPAN**

Japan enjoys a long culinary history, and the chapters in this section survey prominent styles of cooking in late medieval and early modern Japan, including honzen ryōri used for formal banquets, meals served for tea events (chakai) called kaiseki, and Iberian foods and methods of cooking them called “Southern Barbarian cuisine” (nanban ryōri). One chapter describes the earliest history of Japan’s love of European wine, and another sheds light on one of the most contentious issues in the history of the Japanese diet: the extent to which Japanese ate beef and other meats before the opening to the West in the late nineteenth century when meat-eating became more widely accepted and popularized.

In chapter 1, Eric Rath describes the formula used for laying out dishes on trays that comprise the structure of a honzen meal—a style of dining that began with elite samurai in the 1400s and spread to wealthier commoners in the early modern period. He compares the creation of a honzen meal to the art of writing poetry since both relied on structure and literary imagery for effect. Rath shows how food could be used for artistic and intellectual stimulation, two parameters apart from modern nationalism that can be used to distinguish a cuisine from ordinary modes of eating. Yet, in contrast to modern Japanese cuisine, honzen ryōri was a banquet cuisine that found its highest expression in meals reserved for the military and aristocratic elites. Therefore, it remained an elite practice in its more elaborate form but one whose rules could be applied, adapted, and aspired to by different status groups.

The diffusion of elite customs to a wider audience extended to table manners for honzen meals as well other rules of etiquette as described by Michael Kinski in chapter 2. Kinski indicates that in contrast to medieval collections of rules of behavior and custom written for high-ranking samurai, early modern books of etiquette and table manners transcended status boundaries, at least for the people who were educated enough to read about them, in that they spoke to a general readership. Manners are one of the elements in “culinary culture;” but in Kinski’s analysis we see also that food and dining were viewed in the early modern period as important to perceptions of self in terms of gender, body consciousness, and maintenance of relationships with other people. The history of food-etiquette books indicates the evolution of written, “nonjuridical norms for social intercourse.” This development is all the more remarkable for the fact that its stimulus was from wealthier and more educated sections of the commoner population rather than being imposed from above.

Kaiseki ryōri, foods served to accompany tea gatherings, is the subject of chapter 3 by Gary S. Cadwallader and Joseph R. Justice. Their translations of a range of kaiseki menus from the period remind us that this refined style of food preparation and eating once had many variant approaches. On the one hand, practitioners of the “rustic tea” (wabicha) of Sen no Rikyū (1522–91) favored simple and small servings of food befitting the way of writing kaiseki (懐石) with the Chinese characters that refer to the monk’s warm rock tucked inside the robe on a cold night to stave off hunger. On the other hand, regional lord (daimyō) devotees of tea masters Furuta Oribe (1544–1615) and Kobori Enshū (1579–1647) preferred more lavish meals, reflecting an older way of writing kaiseki—literally “meeting and sitting” together, which can be loosely translated as “banquet.” Connections with other styles of eating are evident in both forms of kaiseki. Like honzen ryōri, both forms of kaiseki meals are served on trays and require the observance of elaborate rules to eat. Tea masters were earlier exponents of Iberian (nanban) sweets, which appear occasionally in the translated menus in this chapter. Though not completely vegetarian since they make use of fowl and fish, tea menus—especially the simplified ones of one soup and three side dishes (ichijū sansai) of the wabicha masters—excluded beef, revealing the influence of vegetarian (shojin) cooking (Harada 1989, 17). The simplified “stones for the belly” version of kaiseki has come to dominate tea practice since the Meiji period (1868–1912), but Cadwallader and Justice’s chapter indicates that was not an automatic or uncontested decision in the early modern period (Kumakura 2002, 17).

Both the honzen and kaiseki serving styles eschewed the use of beef and other meat. Yet samurai hunted boar and deer as part of their military training, occasionally chasing and killing these animals on shrine and temple grounds (Ishikawa 1988, 43). However, when it came time to plan formal banquets for samurai, their chefs and tea masters preferred the use of game fowl and fish, judging by the contents of medieval culinary texts (ryōisho) written
beginning in the mid-fifteenth century. More widely in society, it seems that beef and other meats were eaten up to the dawn of the early modern period, although the extent to which this occurred is still a subject of scholarly debate (Kumakura 2002, 173).3

The reasons for meat consumption and avoidance were complicated and are the subject of chapter 4 by Akira Shimizu. Some gourmets in the early modern period believed that eating meat was poisonous: it literally "turned one's mouth around" (kuchi ga magaru) (Harada 2003, x); but meat, Shimizu explains, was also one of the earliest health foods "eaten for medicinal reasons" (kusari gu). Shimizu challenges notions of Japanese scholars, including Harada Nobuo, who find the avoidance of meat to be central to the definition of foodways in the early modern period (Harada 2004, 13), arguing that the debate over meat consumption was more ambivalent. Food scholars such as Matsushita Sachiko have recognized that despite new prohibitions, consumption of domesticated and wild animals continued in that period, and the meat of these animals was sold openly in city "beast markets" (momōniyayya) (Matsushita 1998, 139–40). Shimizu presents a portrait of one such market to examine the place of meat-eating in the foodways of early modern cities. He explores the writings of supporters and detractors of the beef market, revealing how views regarding meat consumption changed over the course of the early modern period.

Western and Chinese visitors to Japan consumed beef, pork, and other meats, and meat's association with foreign culture was one of the reasons many Japanese avoided it, but it was also one of its attractions; and this was also true for Western alcoholic beverages like wine. Iberian missionaries, who by some estimates converted approximately 300,000 Japanese to Christianity before being banned from Japan in the first decades of the seventeenth century, consumed beef and chicken, as did many of their converts. Warlord Hosokawa Tadaoki (1563–1645), whose wife Gracia (1563–1600) was a famous convert, ate beef and showed a fascination for Iberian foods until later in his career when he began to persecute Christians enforcing government edicts against them (Ego 2004, 17–19). Despite the banishment of the Portuguese in 1639 and the earlier withdrawal of the Spanish from Japan in 1624, Iberian sweets like Castilian cake (kasuteru) and sugar candies (konpeitō, aruehitō) became favorites in Japanese confectionery. By their foreign associations, meat, wine, and Iberian confectionery can be lumped into the category of the Southern Barbarian style of foods (nanban ryōri), which became a catchall in the early modern era—though a loosely defined one—for foreign-sounding foods or methods of preparation.

Less well documented than Japan's demand for foreign-inspired sweets and the imported sugar to create them is the influence of Western alcohol on foodways in early modern Japan, but in chapter 5 Jōji Nozawa demonstrates the keen desire among elite Japanese for wines from Dutch merchants forced to live and trade at the Kyūshū ports of Hirado (1609—41) and later Nagasaki (from 1641). In a period when Christianity was ruthlessly suppressed in Japan, the religious associations of wine and the communion could be conveniently forgotten in the enjoyment of this beverage. Having adapted the formalities that accompanied the drinking of sake, which often used elaborate ceremonies to confirm differences in social status, wine became a luxurious beverage to enjoy in forging lateral relations between Japanese officials, merchants, and scholars of Dutch learning (rangan) and their Dutch counterparts. Drawing upon the daily records and the bookkeeping of Dutch merchants, Nozawa documents how Japanese in the seventeenth century transformed from passive recipients of wine culture to active participants, indicating that the contemporary wine boom in Japan has long historical roots.

MODERN JAPAN

The Meiji and Taishō (1912—26) periods brought significant changes to Japanese foodways, including the introductions of new foods to the diet and new attitudes toward food preparation and consumption. In the Edo period, the warrior government used sumptuary legislation to differentiate the foodways of status groups: Peasants could not eat tofu, commoners could not eat certain game fowl like cranes, and many shoguns considered tempura too common a dish.4 In the Meiji period with the abolition of these status categories, Japanese began to think of their food identities in national terms, marked by the appearance of new words like Japanese cuisine (washoku, Nihon ryōri) and Japanese sweets (wagashi), created to identify natives foods against their foreign counterparts. The Japanese cuisine that emerged was not xenophobic; rather, it was indicative of the spirit of the times in that it sought to preserve and develop key elements of the past while incorporating foreign foods and modern cooking methods. Several of the essays reflect on Japanese imperialism and the effects of war on the Japanese diet. The period Barak Kushner covers witnessed Japan's emergence as an imperialist power in the wake of victories over Russia in the Russo—Japanese War (1904—5) and the annexation of Korea in 1910, to name a few steps in a process that led ultimately to World War II. Katarzyna Gwierkta and Mihoko Yasuhara examine
foodways during the war years and the 1940s, while George Solt's essay covers the immediate postwar era.

One familiar example of this culinary appropriation is rāmen, a food some now called a national dish (kokumin shoku), with movies and museums dedicated to it, bespeaking its cultlike status today. Yet rāmen's history reveals the Chinese influence on Japanese foodways and of the impact of U.S. foreign policy after World War II, as revealed in chapters by Barak Kushner and George Solt in this section.5

While Kushner and Solt focus on foreign food, which was mostly consumed outside the home in modest eateries, the first and last essays by Shoko Higashiyotsuyanagi and Tomoko Onabe respectively examine the changing role of women in food production inside the home in modern Japan.

Shoko Higashiyotsuyanagi provides us with a sense of the changes in Japanese cooking in her chapter on domestic cookbooks of the Meiji period. Culinary books have a long history in Japan, with the first for a popular audience, Tales of Cookery, appearing in print in 1643. Yet few of the hundreds of cookbooks published in the early modern period were directed toward the preparation of ordinary meals and focused instead on the dishes and rules for formal honzen banquets or the tea ceremony. Hence the Meiji-era cookbooks Higashiyotsuyanagi surveys, which provide recipes for everyday meals, represent an important development in the history of Japanese cookery. They also reveal an important moment in the history of women. Heeding the charge of the Meiji government for women to be "good wives and wise mothers" (ryōsai kenbo), authors and publishers of Meiji-era cookbooks valorized the role of women's domestic labor in the formation of a strong nation (fukoku kyōhei), and they targeted an ever-increasing audience of female readers. This audience began with the "supervisory housewives," who did not cook themselves but instructed servants in their culinary duties, and gradually expanded to the middle-class "practical housewife," who performed these tasks herself. Higashiyotsuyanagi's research indicates the cooperation of cookbook authors and publishers in disseminating government policy and new gender roles.

Higashiyotsuyanagi also shows in her research that foods such as pork and potatoes became part of the Japanese diet and were represented in cookbooks for the "practical housewife." While Western consumption practices like eating beef were on the one hand admired as "progressive" and emulated during the Meiji period, Taishō-era foodways adapted from Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese culinary practices were despised as "backwards" in the eyes of the colonial Japanese power on the other hand, as Barak Kushner describes in his survey. Yet, at the same time, East Asian dishes like rāmen were be-

ing incorporated into Japanese foodways, and foodstuffs grown in colonial areas, such as Taiwanese sugar, were becoming increasingly important in the Japanese diet. Based on Chinese and Japanese cookbooks, travel literature from the time, essays by prominent Japanese in the 1920s, and secondary sources, Kushner shows how the late Meiji and early Taishō eras formed the roots of what can be considered the "Japanese taste"—his rendering for the word washoku—that set the stage for a modern diet that finally embraced Chinese cuisine on equal terms after World War II.

Katarzyna Cwiertka and Miho Yasuhara challenge the assumption that life in wartime Japan in the 1940s was dominated by bleakness and hunger, revealing that mundane activities such as cooking, eating family meals, and even occasional dining out did in fact continue with necessary modifications during wartime. Based on diaries, menus from the famous department store Mitsukoshi, and excerpts from the women's magazine The Housewife's Companion (Shufu no tomo), which missed no edition even during these difficult times, the authors show how Japanese people found creative and innovative ways to maintain a reasonably balanced diet despite the rationing of food and the lack of availability of certain foods such as rice and sugar. In this context, the authors underscore the importance of the black market that operated from 1938 onwards and functioned both as an essential means for survival and for maintaining an underground restaurant business. Similar to the importance of food and color that Tomoko Onabe describes in her chapter about box lunches, color combinations of foods were used to evoke a sense of patriotism during wartime, as exemplified by the National Flag Bentō (hinomaru bentō) that places a red pickled apricot (umeboshi) in the center of white boiled rice to represent the Japanese flag.

Militaristic food disappeared quickly in the postwar era, but foodstuffs retained their political use and associations with place. George Solt looks at the importance of rāmen in the historical context of the U.S. food aid program set up to combat communism during the occupation period following World War II. His contribution examines the import of wheat that led to a considerable shift in people's diet from rice to wheat and other substitute staples such as sweet potatoes and soybeans. The dependence on these substitute foods led to long-term changes in the eating habits of Japanese people. For example, the U.S. food aid program introduced school lunches (kyōishoku) that were based on bread and milk, with the effect that younger Japanese grew accustomed to these school lunches and adapted to a more wheat-based nutrition in their adult lives (Cwiertka 2006, 157–58). While Kushner's chapter stressed the unwilling inclusion of Chinese food during the Taishō era, Solt shows that...
Chinese foods such as rāmen and dumplings (gyōza) became increasingly popular in the immediate postwar period due to the nutritional value of these foods and their taste. This change of perception of Chinese food is symbolized by the rising popularity of rāmen and led to the invention of an instant version of this originally Chinese noodle-soup in 1958 and the inclusion of rāmen into wider Japanese food culture. Despite the greater acceptance of these foods, Solt points out that negative perceptions of Chinese and Koreans endured.

Rāmen is a likely option for a working man’s lunch, but children, especially those in kindergartens that do not have lunch programs, turn to the elaborate box lunch made by their mothers when it is time for the same meal (Allison 1991). In the final chapter in this section, Tomoko Onabe traces the historical development of the bentō, the Japanese lunch box, from the Meiji period until contemporary times. She describes how color combinations and elaborate crafting of food components have placed greater emphasis on appearance in the bentō than on nutritional content. She further reveals how “boxed love” expressed in a bentō has gradually come to be seen as a marker of maternal and spousal affection. Whether modern cookbooks that describe how to make bentō still depict women as servants of the state as they did for their Meiji-period counterparts is a subject for debate, but women unquestionably remain servants in having to spend enormous time and energy in creating ephemeral culinary beauty for their children and husbands.

CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

The past few decades have seen reactions in Japan to perceived problems associated with modernity, including the effects of globalization, increased levels of obesity due to the consumption of processed and fast foods, scandals involving tainted food products and expired foods, and the overuse of pesticides and fertilizers in agriculture. One response to these problems has been to reevaluate developments in Japan’s recent culinary history to return to perceptions of how things were or should become. Thus, in the chapters in this section, we find attempts to identify and revive heirloom foods and the communities that produced them, as Bridget Love and Stephanie Assmann describe; to make consumption of certain foods more inclusive, as Satomi Fukutomi documents; and to valorize attention to detail, seasonality, and quality, as is evident from David Wells’s essay of his experiences studying the art of restaurant kaiseki cuisine.

In the past decades, rural Japan, the subject of Bridget Love’s essay, is facing several dire problems, most notably a migration in its population as young people leave for better economic opportunities in the city. Love documents an effort of one rural area in Northern Japan to revive its local economy and community through food, specifically sansai—mountain herbs and vegetables that are gathered in the wild and used in prepared dishes like pickles. Based on two years of ethnographic research in Nishiwaga, a small town in Iwate prefecture in the Tohoku area in Northern Japan, Love delineates the role of local government, agricultural groups, and women in Nishiwaga to market sansai to people outside the community. She reveals that defining a local or traditional food is relatively easy in comparison to solving the lasting problems of depopulation, cutbacks in government subsidies, and an aging farm population.

Apart from the critical issue of the revitalization of rural areas through the revival of regional cuisine, the topic of food safety has attracted attention as Japan has been shaken by a number of food scandals that partially involved imported food. One scandal in 2008 involved Chinese dumplings (gyōza) tainted with pesticides. As a response to these food scandals, a return to nationally produced food (kokusan) is currently perceived as a way to increase food safety. Taking Miyagi prefecture in Northern Japan as an example, Stephanie Assmann investigates “slow food,” “traditional vegetables,” and the potential of other initiatives. She argues that initiatives such as Slow Food Japan promote a return to local and supposedly safer foodways, but the accessibility and availability of these local foods is quite restricted and confined to the small audience that can afford luxurious food items. She concludes that despite the fact that local foodways are currently not fully integrated into Japanese daily food practices, the future significance of local food products lies in their potential linkage with tourism and in their use in conventional and even fast-food restaurants.

Rāmen, the Chinese noodle dish, is a reoccurring topic in this volume. While Kushner and Solt analyze rāmen as a foreign food, Satomi Fukutomi looks at the noodle soup in contemporary Japan from the angles of race, gender, and the Internet. Fukutomi shows that rāmen is considered a national food (kokomin shoka), especially popular among male blue-collar workers, which has been gentrified and made more appealing to women in contemporary Japan. Based on interviews, ethnography at a rāmen shop (rāmenya), and the observance of online communities, Satomi Fukutomi examines how the popular noodle dish rāmen has evolved into a connoisseurial object. Fukutomi argues that practices of rāmen consumption demonstrate that connoisseurship is not confined to rare gourmet foods or to elite groups of people. Rāmen consumers, who come from all walks of life, have developed a highly
refined connoisseurship for rāmen as demonstrated in online communities dedicated to rāmen eateries and the appearance of stylish “new wave” rāmen shops. While Tomoko Onabe focuses on the gendered dimension of food preparation in her essay about bentō, Satomi Fukutomi’s study illustrates that gendered issues exist in food consumption by looking at the phenomenon of women claiming a place at the table in eateries that were perceived as being reserved for men.

This volume concludes with a personal account of a chef who gained experience studying in cooking schools and restaurants in Japan. In their contribution, Cadwallader and Justice focused on the kaiseki cuisine that accompanies the tea ceremony; David Wells, a professional chef living and working in Tokyo, describes his years of study in Japanese culinary schools and work in Japanese restaurants trying to master the more elaborate form of banquet kaiseki served in Japan’s finest restaurants. This autobiographical account offers an insider’s view of a chef who is “irretrievably in love with Japanese cuisine” despite the many obstacles to success for a foreigner in Japan’s conservative culinary scene.

**Japanese Foodways: Adapting, Expanding, and Varied**

Across the span of six centuries, despite myriad changes, food in Japan is closely associated with place and status, as the chapters in this volume reveal. In contemporary Japan, wine continues its association with European culture and remains a refined beverage just as the kaiseki cuisine of both the tea ceremony and of elite restaurants has a select (i.e., wealthy) audience. Conversely, the more popular rāmen, once closely tied with Chinese food, has now become largely divested of its foreign roots to become not only a national dish, but also one with local variations such as Hokkaidō and Kyūshū rāmen—the former includes corn while the latter uses a stock made from pork bones. Adding to these local differences are modern rāmen chefs and connoisseurs who seek to remake the humble bowl of noodles into a gourmet food. We can see a similar status transformation and articulation of place in discussions of local vegetables and gathered mountain herbs. Reidentified as “local”—both from a national perspective and a more discrete regional one—these heirloom foods, which once fell out of cultivation or fashion in the modern period, have in the process of their strategic rediscovery become expensive gourmet delicacies. The history of meat-eating likewise reveals changing affiliations of place and status. Once disguised with euphemisms like “mountain whale” when eaten supposedly for medicinal purposes (kusuri gui), meat consumption had a complex relationship with domestic and foreign foodways in the early modern period. This relationship may have reached a crescendo in the Meiji period with the wider adoption of “Western habits” of meat-eating, but the interplay between meat and nationality continues to find resonance in more recent discussions of the safety of imported beef and reactions to the global spread of American fast-food hamburger chains like McDonald’s. Modernity has made certain foods more available, and we detect a democratizing of Japanese cuisine over the centuries as measured by the fact that cookbooks and other writings about food are now published for an almost universal audience compared to their predecessors of the early modern period. Nevertheless, important differences—expressed by individual purchasing power and preference for things like expensive sweets or handmade box lunches—remain within Japanese foodways. As much as any similarities, the variety found within Japan’s food culture, past and present, deserves the attention of future research.

**Notes**

1. An interesting parallel to the word foodways is the Japanese term shoku seikatsu—literally, “food lifestyle.” Like foodways, shoku seikatsu joins together two different words. Culinary historian Harada Nobu, a leading scholar in the field, has defined shoku seikatsu broadly to include eating for subsistence at one end and haute cuisine at the other. Harada offers narrower terms like food culture (shoku bunka) and culinary culture (ryōri bunka), though he admits that the meanings of these words are hard to pin down (Harada 1992, 1–2).

2. One example of the problems in applying standard definitions to culinary terms is offered by the Japanese word ryōri, which shifts in meaning depending on the context. Ryōri can also be translated into English as cookery, a style of cooking, a dish, or a kind of food (Hosking 1996, 120). Sometimes it is also appropriate to translate ryōri as cuisine, as in the expression Japanese cuisine (Nihon ryōri), which has been defined by one of our contributors as representing national identity and cultural homogeneity, the product of industrialization and modernity (Cwiertka 2006). Rendering the same term ryōri as cuisine in the premodern era—that is, before the rise of a modern state in the late nineteenth century—is problematic. In premodern Japan, sometimes ryōri best refers to a style of food preparation and other times to a style of dining. It could also refer to a particular dish.

3. In that regard, it is interesting to note the absence of discussion about meat-eating for the Buddhist clergy until the beginning of the early modern period when priests from the True Pure Land school (Jōdō shinshū) argued for it and for the legitimacy of clerical marriage (Jaffe 2005, 256–57).
4. For a discussion of how the foodways of samurai contrasted with other status groups in the Edo period, see Rath (2008).

5. The Shin Yokohama Rāmen Museum that opened in 1996 offers an educational and entertaining tour of both the history of rāmen and the regional variations of the noodle dish. Rāmen has also been featured prominently in popular movies such as *Tampopo* (1985), the story of a young female rāmen shop owner who challenges the association of rāmen as a "male food."

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