

A Chinese Table in Tokugawa Japan: Material Conventions and Cultural Representations in Nagasaki's *Shippoku Ryōri*¹

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Shippoku is a word used in Nagasaki and is probably a foreign word [of unknown origin]. In China, it is called *Hasenchō* and is used primarily for the meat of wild boar and pigs. This is because the flavor of rice in that country is coarse. Because the flavor of rice in Japan surpasses that of other countries and is rich in flavor, it is not necessary to use strong animal fats. Especially because those people who dwell in bustling areas [pleasure quarters] often eat rich food, even sesame oil gives them indigestion. After eating they always belch and feel unpleasant. Nonetheless, isn't it strange that they cling to the name of *shippoku* and even eat greasy food that their stomachs cannot stand for the sake of making it seem Chinese?

(*Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō*²)

So begins the *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō* [Book of Plans for *Shippoku* Banquets], an Edo-period cookbook published in 1771 that outlined the style and etiquette of *shippoku ryōri* (table cuisine or tablecloth cuisine). What seems to have been so new in this book was less the plans themselves than the attempt to capitalize in print on a trend for *shippoku* dining that had been working its way across the Japanese archipelago from its origins in Nagasaki. Throughout most of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), Nagasaki served as a hub for overseas trade and home to the Chinese, Dutch and briefly Portuguese merchant communities. Stemming from observations of the dining habits of Chinese living in Nagasaki, *shippoku* was marked by a strong sense of Chineseness, and consuming it or reading about its consumption implied participation in Chinese representation.

What made this cooking style in a Japanese trading port Chinese? *Shippoku* was not Chinese cuisine in the strict sense but rather Chinese dining interpreted through Japanese eyes and reworked for Japanese stomachs. The types of food outlined in Tokugawa-era *shippoku* cookbooks belie the image of an intolerably greasy, pork-laden meal that the epigraph suggests.³ Instead, they conform to more conventional images of what today we might identify as Japanese fare: light vinegared salads, clear soups, simmered, grilled, or fried fish dishes. What marked *shippoku* as Chinese was less the ingredients or dishes than the conventions of etiquette and accoutrements of dining, particularly the utensils, plates,

and furnishings. As the genre of “table cuisine” suggests, both authors and practitioners of *shippoku* were deeply concerned with the materiality of its consumption and the aspects of Chinese representation that these objects embodied.

The association of *shippoku* with China in the Japanese culinary imaginary had a basis in tactile interaction with the material world. Far from being value-free—quite literally empty vessels—bowls, plates, tables, and utensils took on a representational quality in *shippoku ryōri*. They functioned as material markers of cultural difference. They conveyed impressions of what it meant to dine in the Chinese style. They allowed Japanese banqueters to engage in a participatory foreignness, playfully acting out the role of Chinese diners while confirming their status as the Other. The material conventions of cuisine thus constituted a form of media through which messages and images of otherness were expressed, adopted, and negotiated. Approaching cuisine as a cultural medium reveals the ways in which such practices as eating from shared dishes at a communal table were abstracted into culturally evocative conventions that were understood as Chinese but could also be comfortably reenacted by Nagasaki banqueters. This cultural identification took place alongside contact with the numerous Chinese merchants stationed in Nagasaki.⁴

Japanese residents thus encountered both the themes of Chinese representation and the material experiences of *shippoku* cuisine from which they derived. As Ronald Toby and others have continued to chip away at the characterization of Tokugawa Japan as a closed country isolated from the outside world, it has become increasingly useful to view Nagasaki as a space of intra-Asian hybridity and exchange.⁵ But this is not exclusively a Nagasaki story. The dissemination of *shippoku* played out across the teahouse-restaurants of the Maruyama pleasure quarter, the Buddhist temples of the Ōbaku sect, the gourmand-connoisseur scene of Japan’s large cities and the pages of popular cookbooks available to diners and readers alike. The representation of otherness in *shippoku* involved the histories of actual urban interaction and text-based cultural abstraction, and analyzing it along both axes can suggest new paths of inquiry into the relationship between discourse and practice in early modern cultural production. *Shippoku’s* negotiation of a complex, participatory foreignness compels us to question the persuasiveness of this distinction and think about new ways in which observation and contact contributed to cultural imagination. The othering of the foreign is not necessarily the product of distance and discomfort. It can also stem from proximity and participation. In the case of *shippoku ryōri*, there was always a little self in the Other.

What was *shippoku* dining like? Figure 1 shows a *shippoku* banquet table with utensils and furnishings.⁶ The table and cloth were constant visual themes, as they embodied the most significant difference from other Edo banquet styles. The *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō* (1771), *Shippoku shiki* (1784), and fourth volume of the *Ryōritsū* (1835) contain detailed illustrations

of individual accoutrements, which indicates an emphasis on material objects and conventions. The *daisai* and *shōsai* (large and small serving bowls) dictated both the rhythm of the meal and the organization of the cookbooks. Each *daisai* and *shōsai* contained communal dishes that were shared by the guests, which constituted the most noticeable departure from Japanese dining conventions, in which each guest received his own tray with individual portions of food on it.

On entering the banquet hall, the guests (usually four but occasionally up to eight) took their seats around a communal table, often but not always on chairs—another departure from Japanese custom. In front of them, each would find a small tray, on which rested the *kozara* (small plate) used for taking individual portions from the larger serving bowls, accompanied by chopsticks in a folded-paper sheath decorated with auspicious Chinese characters.⁷ *Daisai* and *shōsai* were then brought to the table one after another in progressive courses, followed (and sometimes preceded) by tea and sweets. While this style may appear normal today, such a presentation would have seemed quite jarring and out of the ordinary to an Edo-era diner accustomed to sitting on the floor with no need to share food.

In terms of marking difference and accounting for popular interest, the food itself contributed comparatively little to the *shippoku* genre. Food was almost never depicted visually in books on *shippoku*, apart from an occasional nebulous blob visible inside a detailed drawing of a bowl. In the few instances where the quality or flavor of the food was discussed, the descriptions were almost universally negative. Authors described the food as greasy, rich, and hard on the stomach. Only rarely were explicit distinctions made between what Chinese and Japanese people ate:

Miso is not something that the Chinese eat. ... Chinese people do not eat sashimi at all, and their way of preparing *namasu* [a raw vinegared fish dish] is different. There is no bonito-based soup stock. You should use soup stock made from simmered chicken. The oil is pork fat. Because it is not the same oil as you would find in a medicine shop, you should use sesame oil. ... you should use mushrooms and onions over and over again.⁸

More often, the material conventions of dining entered *shippoku* into the conversation on how tropes of Chineseness were understood and encountered. Diners and authors drew distinctions not in what people ate but *how* they ate it. They discovered and reinforced difference not by distancing but by reading about *shippoku* and trying it out for themselves, by drawing toward rather than commenting from afar. This was a participatory othering, rooted in the materiality of objects and proximity to the Chinese community. Encountering the Other through the self infused a sense of immediacy into the spatial circulation of

shippoku dining, even if an average Nagasaki resident never sat down to a meal with a Chinese merchant face-to-face.

1. Encountering Chineseness: The circulation of *shippoku* conventions

The primary space in which *shippoku* circulated was in Nagasaki's Maruyama pleasure quarter, where Chinese and Japanese—and on rare occasion Dutch—patrons dined and made merry with the local courtesans. From the consolidation of the pleasure quarter on the Maruyama slopes in 1642 until the construction of a Chinese settlement on the Nagasaki waterfront in 1689, Chinese residents were able to move about the city and mingle with courtesans relatively freely.⁹ The Kagetsuro teahouse and other prominent Maruyama establishments became famous for decorating their rooms in the style of Chinese interiors to accommodate the wishes of their Chinese patrons and filling rooms with the material objects of Chinese dining.¹⁰ Over time, these rooms were used not only by Chinese guests but by Japanese as well, and it was in this atmosphere that *shippoku* began to spread throughout the Nagasaki community. Even when Chinese residents were not visiting, these rooms became the setting for Japanese guests, guided by courtesans, to momentarily step into the Chinese role and reenact the same dining conventions by which they identified Chinese difference.¹¹

We should not expect that the late-seventeenth century restrictions on Chinese movement meant that Chinese residents stopped moving through the city. Although they were officially confined to their settlement, the gradual relaxing of regulation and enforcement meant that Chinese were again moving about the city—and back and forth from Maruyama—by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As Marius Jansen explains,

Only prostitutes summoned from the Nagasaki Maruyama quarter were permitted to cross the moat into the residential quarters. . . . The Chinese were allowed to leave the quarter only for authorized purposes. . . . In time, however, the severity of these regulations was moderated, and by late Tokugawa days it was not unusual to find Chinese traders hawking goods on the streets of Nagasaki.¹²

Robert Hellyer notes that Nagasaki Chinese had grown so accustomed to free movement that an eventual government crackdown in the late 1820s precipitated a riot that took three days to quell.¹³ What the official regulations did create, however, was a pretense for courtesans to visit the Chinese merchant compound, as they were among the few from the Japanese community allowed access to the inner areas of the Chinese settlement. The courtesans acted as a two-way conduit for the circulation of Chinese dining patterns, both catering to the needs of their Chinese guests in Maruyama and returning from the Chinese

settlement with new impressions and objects.

Though there was officially a distinction between courtesans serving Nagasaki's Japanese, Chinese, and Dutch communities, the divisions between these categories may not have been as rigid as their legal status suggested. It was not uncommon for the same courtesans to entertain patrons from various foreign communities. The *Ryōritsū* contains an illustration of a Chinese and Japanese customer sharing a boisterous *shippoku* meal with Maruyama courtesans (Figure 2).¹⁴ In *The Lens within the Heart*, Timon Screech emphasizes the role of the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter and its resident courtesans as channels for the circulation of recontextualized foreign knowledge in the city of Edo.¹⁵ The Maruyama pleasure quarter similarly became a hub for the circulation of *shippoku ryōri* and its images of luxurious Chineseness in Nagasaki.

The hereditary Japanese interpreters—charged by the Tokugawa government with translating Chinese documents and communicating with the Nagasaki Chinese residents—were another group involved in the circulation of *shippoku* dining. Several cookbooks identify *shippoku* as being based on the dishes served at the houses of Nagasaki interpreters.¹⁶ Such a connection with an official institution lent an air of legitimacy to the Chinese practices that *shippoku* created while drawing attention to the proximity of Chinese merchants. By playing with this issue of proximity through official channels, these books linked othering images of the Chinese with the immediacy and potential verifiability of their claims.

Moving out of Nagasaki, another site of culinary circulation was the Ōbaku sect of Buddhism, particularly its large temple Manpukuji on the outskirts of Kyoto. As a later continental import into Japan's Buddhist milieu, Ōbaku maintained an explicit connection with China in organization and popular imagination.¹⁷ Because meat eating was proscribed for the Buddhist clergy, Ōbaku temples served a vegetarian version of *shippoku* called *fucha ryōri* (food that goes well with tea). In its structure, accoutrements and conventions, *fucha* was virtually identical to *shippoku*, but with the meat removed. These two categories were understood to be so closely intertwined that they often appeared as sub-sections of the same cookbooks, and *fucha ryōri* also went by the name *shōjin no shippoku* (vegetarian *shippoku*). According to the *Ryōritsū*, "*fucha* is seasoned in the Chinese style. It is vegetarian *shippoku*. When receiving guests at the Zen temples of Nagasaki and Ōbaku in Uji, it is common practice to entertain them with *fucha* cuisine. Recently it is in vogue in and around Kyoto."¹⁸ Its popularity was so great—the author claimed in somewhat exaggerated terms—that although he had planned a trip to Nagasaki to seek out the secrets of *shippoku*, when he stopped to visit the temples in Kyoto, "there were none to which *fucha ryōri* had not spread."¹⁹ The circulation of *shippoku* and *fucha ryōri* through temples and pleasure quarters alike suggests their appeal to diverse communities.

The vogue for *shippoku* dining in the restaurants of Kyoto and Edo demonstrates the extent to which it traveled through the commercial networks of Tokugawa Japan. For a few decades in the eighteenth century, it became a geographically widespread phenomenon. There were a number of *shippoku* restaurants operating in Kyoto and Osaka in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In Edo, a restaurant called Momokawa, one of the first truly upscale restaurants in the city, had become famous for serving *shippoku* by the 1780s.²⁰ The triptych woodblock print *Momokawa hanei no zu* (Figure 3) depicts the ladies of Momokawa preparing for their guests.²¹ The woman on the far left carries a tray containing a *daisai* and *shōsai*, meant to evoke the connection between the restaurant and *shippoku* dining. Published in 1825, this print seems to have outlived the *shippoku* trend, which had subsided by the turn of the nineteenth century. Although *shippoku* remained fashionable for a long period in central Japan, in Edo it began to fade from popularity after a few decades. By the time of the great Edo restaurant boom of the early nineteenth century, Momokawa had already moved away from *shippoku* in response to newer fashions and consumer demand.²² Yet the link between Momokawa and *shippoku* visible in the print decades after Chinese dining fell out of fashion illustrates how the style had once permeated the market.

2. Performing Chineseness: The novelty and proximity of bowls

Shippoku dining circulated through entertainment, official, religious and commercial circuits. Equally influential were the modes of print circulation through which its material conventions were disseminated, negotiated and extrapolated into representative impressions of Chineseness. What themes emerged from *shippoku* that defined Chineseness? How did they function as models of difference that could be performed by Japanese banqueters? The first of these themes was the novelty created by the use of foreign utensils and etiquette. Keywords such as *mezurashi* (new), *meatarashi* (novel) and *ryūkō* (fashionable) appear again and again in the pages of *shippoku* cookbooks. What was understood as novel, however, was always the utensils and furnishings. According to the *Ryōritsū*,

[*Shippoku*] is something novel that arouses guests' interest all the more due to the way one brings the plates and bowls out to the table and elaborately arranges and heaps food onto them.²³

The *Shippoku shiki* instructed readers to “use unusual sake cups” when making toasts.²⁴ The author of the *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō* insisted that “the Chineseness of the utensils makes it more novel and fashionable.”²⁵

The novelty of *shippoku* was reinforced by a second theme: the distinction between Chinese (*kara*) and Chinese-y or Chinese-like (*karamekasu*). The latter suggests making

something seem Chinese even if it is not necessarily of Chinese origin. This approach was the most prominent in Edo-era *shippoku* publications. Cookbook authors rarely referred to *shippoku* as Chinese in the authentic sense. Instead, they encouraged hosts to make the atmosphere *seem* Chinese. Another method for reinforcing this Chineseness was the use of Chinese-sounding names and pronunciations. Although cookbooks included some dishes that would have likely been familiar to a Chinese diner, they more often simply redubbed Japanese-style foods with ornate Chinese-sounding titles. “Flying dragon stew,” for example, consisted of a slowly-fried whole carp stewed in soy sauce with chunks of daikon radish. *Shippoku* thus offers a counterpoint to what has become a common premise among food historians to evaluate culinary identities and national cuisines through the lens of cultural authenticity. Since *shippoku*’s logic operated by making the banquet seem Chinese rather than replicating aspects of Chineseness itself, authenticity was not at stake in the conventional sense. The aura of Chineseness persisted regardless of accuracy or dedication to reproducing dishes as they might have been consumed in China.

The conviviality of communal dining, sitting together around a table, was another measure of difference that emerged from *shippoku* conventions. Authors stressed themes of sharing dishes, heavy drinking (which was often an outcome of the lively atmosphere), and temporary escape from social hierarchies. As the author of the *Ryōritsū* claimed,

Just like a Chinese tea banquet, *shippoku* dining binds people together in deep friendship regardless of rank. Though you all dip your chopsticks into the same vessel, you should commence with the guest of honor and proceed from there.²⁶

This Chinese-style conviviality did not collapse the rigid hierarchical relationships of Edo Japan entirely. But through the action of everyone dipping their chopsticks into the same bowl, the banquet room became a shared space of social leveling. It functioned as a liminal space where these images of Chineseness could be embodied by Japanese diners—and by readers of the cookbooks.

In the banquet room, the act of creating difference included making those differences clear through participation and performance. For Japanese patrons, this meant taking on the role of Chinese diners, playfully subverting a static and distanced notion of othering. One summary of *shippoku* etiquette begins with the assertion that “you should always use elegant language in the banquet room.”²⁷ What follows, however, is an elaborate inventory of accoutrements for the *shippoku* table that outlines the ornate Chinese names by which diners were expected to refer to them. Each entry corresponds to a Japanese equivalent with which the diner would have been familiar. The expectation of elegance maintained the Chinese atmosphere of the dining performance. A looser but more apt translation might be “you

should always refer to utensils by their Chinese names in the banquet room." Diners were implicitly credited with a substantial knowledge base about Japanese-style table settings and furnishings, and Japanese counterparts functioned as the lens through which they were expected to understand Chinese utensils.

What the diner was expected to learn, therefore, was not to interact with a whole new set of objects but to re-conceive familiar objects in terms of Chinese dining practices. Readers and diners had to be conditioned to reproduce the Chinese identity of objects. Though the design and materials by which these items were produced may have appeared foreign, the captions to the illustrations and lists of Sino-Japanese equivalents implied decipherability. The enjoyment derived from the novelty and popularity of these Chinese material objects was made possible not by their absolute alterity but by an implicit degree of familiarity in which to ground the experience of difference.

Yet not every object on the *shippoku* table was as familiar as the others. For particularly confounding utensils like the *daisai* (large communal bowls), authors were careful to introduce the proper etiquette for navigating situations to which Japanese diners were unaccustomed. The *Shippoku shiki* and *Ryōritsū* both recommend that

You should not spill soup on the table. When you do make a mistake and spill it, you should wipe it up. You should put food that you pick up with your chopsticks on your *kozara* (small plate) and eat it. You should hold your *chirirenge* (porcelain spoon) in your left hand. Leave things with bones on your small plate and put them into the bone dish soon after.²⁸

But the performance did not end at calling a Chinese bowl by a Chinese name. When one could not acquire Chinese porcelain, the *Ryōritsū* advises that serving *daisai* and *shōsai* "does not necessarily mean that you need to use different utensils. You should also use normal plates, bowls, pots and pans. It is merely that the names are meant to seem Chinese."²⁹ Although images of Chineseness were extrapolated from the material objects and conventions of *shippoku ryōri*, in absence of these objects, diners could perform the Chinese dining experience by referring to everyday Japanese utensils as if they were those that adorned Chinese tables. Though scholars have correctly identified the unintelligibility of language as a means to mark Chinese difference in many Edo-period texts, the image of language in *shippoku* is not only intelligible, but its performative reproduction is necessary for proper etiquette.³⁰ The point was not to distance but to playfully perform the othering process by bringing guests and readers into closer proximity through the materiality of dining and creative linguistic practices.

3. Identifying Chineseness: The Dutch as *shippoku's other Other*

The Chinese were not the only overseas community eating in Nagasaki. Several *shippoku* cookbooks also contain ambiguous references to Nagasaki's *other* foreign others: the Dutch and (previously) Portuguese. Following the recent trend for fusion cuisine, contemporary Nagasaki restaurants have marketed *shippoku* as a blend of equal parts Chinese, Western, and Japanese styles.³¹ Although this image of *shippoku* may be overemphasized, there was a hint of undifferentiated difference in early modern *shippoku* as well. In the Tokugawa period, the identification of difference was complicated by the fact that *tōjin* (Chinese person) gradually became a catch-all term for a variety of foreign others.³² The *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō* refers to a Dutch hangover cure offered to counter the effects of *shippoku's* characteristic heavy drinking.³³ The *Shippoku shiki* warns practitioners not to use Western objects and advises that "you should know the difference between civilized and barbarian utensils," written using characters that could alternatively be read as "the difference between Chinese and European utensils."³⁴

It is tempting to conclude that these references indicate an indistinguishable mash-up of influences characteristic of Edo texts composed without direct international contact. Yet the circulation networks outlined above suggest that the blending of Chinese and Dutch dining images in *shippoku* may have stemmed from observations of Dutch and Chinese merchants. We can also understand it as a playful recognition of the convergent evolution of Chinese and European dining practices. *Shippoku* was understood first and foremost as Chinese. Yet sharing from communal bowls while seated at a table was hardly a practice exclusive to the Chinese. Figure 4 shows a copperplate etching of a Dutchman taking in the view of Nagasaki harbor from the balcony of Kagetsuro, the Maruyama teahouse so widely known for its Chinese-inspired interiors.³⁵ Behind his courtesan companion is a short-legged *shippoku* table, upon which rest several iconic Chinese-style dining implements, depicted almost identically to the illustrations from the pages of *shippoku* cookbooks. In some cases, the blending of Chinese and European terms, categories, and visual representations in *shippoku* were not solely the result of unfamiliarity and imaginative extrapolation but also of concrete observations of similarity.

Approaching cuisine as media reveals the representational quality of dining practices and the material objects that inform them. The othering process in *shippoku ryōri* was about playing with the relationship between distance and proximity, both in cultural representation (simultaneously participating in and reinforcing difference) and geographical configuration (situating the Chinese community figuratively a world away but physically just across the harbor or up the hill in Maruyama). The appropriation of Chinese-style conventions was not merely a mental exercise of connoisseurship communicated vicariously

through print culture. It also relied on proximity to the dining habits of the Nagasaki Chinese community. The construction of Chinese otherness in *shippoku* dining thus balanced two categories of familiarity: physical proximity to the objects and institutions involved in marking alterity and the implicit reassurance that otherness need not be as foreign as the diner or reader might expect.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Carol Gluck and Gregory Pflugfelder for their endless support throughout this project. I would also like to thank Jordan Sand for his advice on thinking about the material history of food culture. Thank you to the CAAS organizers for giving me the opportunity to present my work.
- 2 Tokusōshi, *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō* (Kyoto: Nishimura Ichirouemon, 1771), 3–4.
- 3 There were several Edo period popular cookbooks that took *shippoku* dining as their primary theme and several more general culinary manuals that included detailed sections about it. This paper focuses on three of them: the *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō* (1771), *Shippoku shiki* (1784) and fourth volume of the *Ryōritsū* (1835).
- 4 Representations of Chineseness in *shippoku* dining took shape in concert with a variety of other ways of thinking about China during the Tokugawa period. Intellectuals, government officials, popular authors and a host of other actors and institutions participated in forming diverse characterizations of Chinese history and culture. Yet *shippoku's* image of China did not always correspond to broader trends. For example, a common theme in Chinese representation was the distinction between the characters *kara/tō*, referring to Tang China's classical past and *shin*, referring to Qing China's mundane present (see Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, 83–86). In *shippoku* publications, however, these categories were porous, their readings and meanings often interchangeable.
- 5 Ronald P. Toby, "Reopening the Question of *Sakoku*: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu," *Journal of Japanese Studies* vol. 3, no. 2 (1977): 323–363.
- 6 *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō*, 10–11.
- 7 "Shippoku shiki," *Honkoku Edo jidai ryōribon shūsei*, vol. 7 (Kyoto: Rinsei Shoten, 1980 [1771]), 55.
- 8 *Shippoku shiki*, 53.
- 9 *Chūgoku bunka to Nagasaki-ken* (Nagasaki: Nagasaki-ken kyōiku iinkai, 1989), 168.
- 10 Patricia Jane Graham, *Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 36.
- 11 Graham, *Tea of the Sages*, 37.
- 12 Marius B. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 30.
- 13 Robert I Hellyer, *Defining Engagement: Japan and Global Contexts, 1640–1868* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 134.
- 14 Kuriyama Zenshirō, *Ryōritsū: kaiseki fūcha shippoku no bu* (Edo (Tokyo): Izumiya Ichibeī, 1835), 11–

- 12.
- 15 Timon Screech, *The Lens within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).
- 16 *Shippoku shiki*, 52.
- 17 Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, 56.
- 18 Kuriyama, *Ryōritsū*, 18.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 20 “*Momokawa no shippoku ryōri*,” *Edo shokubunka kikō: Edo no bimi tanbō*. <<http://www.kabuki-za.com/syoku/2/no180.html>>.
- 21 Kunisada Gototei, *Momokawa hanei no zu*(1825). Reproduced in *Momokawa no shippoku ryōri*,” *Edo shokubunka kikō: Edo no bimi tanbō*. <<http://www.kabuki-za.com/syoku/2/no180.html>>.
- 22 “*Momokawa no shippoku ryōri*.”
- 23 *Ryōritsū*, 20.
- 24 *Shippoku shiki*, 53.
- 25 *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō*, 4-5.
- 26 *Ryōritsū*, 76.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 28 *Shippoku shiki*, 52.
- 29 *Ryōritsū*, 77-78.
- 30 Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 104.
- 31 Contemporary *shippoku* sometimes received the satirical nickname *wakaran ryōri* (I don’t understand cuisine), written with the characters for Japanese, Chinese and Dutch, suggesting an unintelligible mix-up of international influences.
- 32 Jansen, 85-86.
- 33 *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō*, 23.
- 34 *Shippoku shiki*, 53.
- 35 Okada Shunsai, *Nagasaki Maruyama Kagetsuro*. Reproduced in *Edo jidai zushi*, vol.25, Akai Tatsurō, et al. ed. (Tokyo: *Chikuma Shobō*, 1975-1978).

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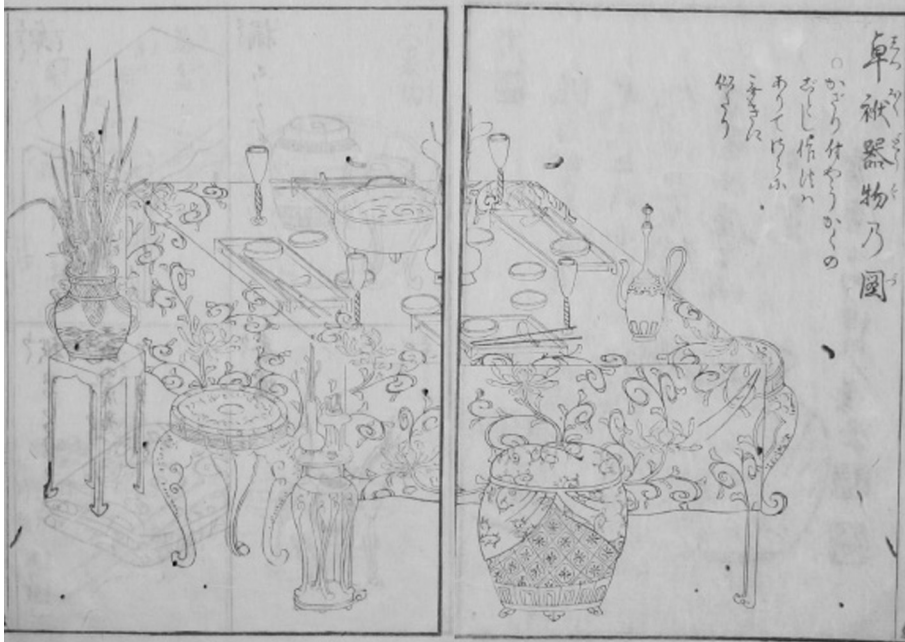


Figure 1. A *shippoku* table adorned with accoutrements of Chinese-style dining. (Tokusōshi. *Shippoku kaiseki shukōchō*. Kyoto: Nishimura Ichirouemon, 1771)



Figure 2. A Chinese and Japanese customer sharing a boisterous *shippoku* meal with Maruyama courtesans. (Kuriyama Zenshirō. *Ryōritsū, kaiseki fūcha shippoku no bu*. Edo (Tokyo): Izumiya Ichibei, 1835)



Figure 3. Kunisada Gototei, *Momokawa hanei no zu* (1825).
 (Reproduced in *Momokawa no shippoku ryōri.* "Edo shokubunka kikō: Edo no bimi tanbō")



Figure 4. Okada Shunsai, *Nagasaki Maruyama Kagetsuro*.
 Copperplate of a Dutchman taking in the view of Nagasaki harbor from
 the balcony of Kagetsuro teahouse in Maruyama.
 (Reproduced in *Edo jidai zushi.* vol. 25. Akai Tatsurō, et al. ed. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1975–1978)