Embodying nation in food consumption : changing boundaries of "Taiwanese cuisine" (1895-2008)

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Chapter One

Presentation of an Elite Culture:

The Emergence of "Taiwanese Cuisine" in Japanese Colonial Era

On April 24, 1923, the Crown Prince of Japan, Hirohito, had a "Taiwanese lunch banquet" during his visit to Taiwan.[1] All dishes served at the banquet were prepared by the chefs from *Jiangshan Lou* and *Donghuifang* restaurants, while the dishes for the Crown Prince were specially made by Wu Jiang-shan, the proprietor of *Jiangshan Lou*, which was at that time the most prestigious "Taiwanese restaurant" in Taipei. The banquet menu was as follows:

MENU

Snow-white bird's nest (雪白官燕)
Coin-shaped turkey and pork[2] (金錢火雞)
Crystal pigeon eggs (水晶鴿蛋)
Shark fin stewed with soy sauce (紅燒火翅)
Grilled eight-treasure crab[3] (八寶焗蟳)
Snow-white tree-fungus (雪白木耳)
Fried spring rolls (炸春餅)

Braised soft-shelled turtle (紅燒水魚)
Sea cucumber with fungus (海參竹茹)
Steamed fish fillet with ham (如意戾魚)
Soup of ham with white gourd (火腿冬瓜)
Eight-treasure rice (八寶飯)
Almond Tea (杏仁茶)

[1] Crown Prince Hirohito (April 29, 1901 – January 7, 1989) was the future Emperor *Shôwa* (*Shôwa tenn*ô) reigning Japan from December 25, 1926, until his death on January 7, 1989.
[2] It is a deep-fried dish made with turkey, spring onion, and pork that is cut in the shape of coin.
[3] "Eight treasure" (八寶) means to cook with eight ingredients which are all carefully processed and finely cut. Some frequently used ingredients are black mushrooms, bamboo shoots, ham, pork, chestnuts, and peanuts.

To prepare this important imperial event, the eight chefs responsible for cooking the dishes had secluded themselves a week before the banquet, and the outcome seemed satisfactory. It was reported that the Crown Prince appreciated much the Taiwanese cuisine (*Taiwan ryôri*),[4] and he "particularly preferred the Eight-treasure rice, devouring almost all of it."[5]

The banquet brought great reputation to "Taiwanese cuisine" as well as to the restaurant *Jiangshan Lou.* In the following years, other members of the imperial family such as Prince Chichibu Yasuhito, Prince Asaka Yasuhiko, and Prince Kuni Asaakira, also had their "Taiwanese cuisine" banquets served by *Jiangshan Lou* in 1925, 1927, and 1928 respectively.[6] The proprietor of *Jiangshan Lou* even wrote a series of articles on Taiwanese cuisine, which were published in the official newspaper *Taiwan nichinichi shinpô [Taiwan Daily News]* in 1927, as if Taiwanese cuisine had been an authentic and traditional cuisine with a long history.

Nevertheless, the term "Taiwanese cuisine" was quite novel not only for the Japanese, but also for the Taiwanese. No related terms exclusively referring to "the cuisine of Taiwan" could be found in the literature of the Qing Dynasty and before.[7] Under the Qing rule, dining out in Taiwan was limited to simple eateries offering rice, noodles, and snacks, and the food was so plain that it could not be considered a formal dish.[8] As for dining in, rich households had private cooks for preparing daily family meals, and hired chefs for banquets on special occasions such as weddings and birthdays. However, cuisines served at these banquets were not specially termed "Taiwanese cuisine" (Zeng, 2006a, pp. 194-198). In other words, "Taiwanese cuisine" as a new culinary category developed during the Japanese colonial era.

This chapter will trace the emergence of "Taiwanese cuisine," examining why and how it developed into a new culinary category. The chapter also seeks to answer the following questions: How was Taiwanese cuisine shaped as a new and distinctive category, particularly different from Chinese cuisine? Who drew the boundary of Taiwanese cuisine in this process of differentiation? By investigating how Taiwanese cuisine was defined and presented in the very beginning, this chapter aims to analyze the origin of Taiwanese cuisine during the Japanese colonial era, exploring how the cuisine characterized as "Taiwanese" emerged in the dining-out market at that time.

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[4] *Taiwan ryôri* is a Japanese term referring to "Taiwanese cuisine," its equivalent Mandarin term is *Taiwan liaoli*.

[5] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpô [Taiwan Daily News]* (abbreviation *TNSP*), 4/27/1923(8). *Taiwan nichinichi shinpô* is an official newspaper published from 1898 to 1944 in Taiwan.

[6] *TNSP*, 5/30/1925(7); *TNSP*, 10/23/1927(5); *TNSP*, 4/5/1928(5).

[7] Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.) is the last dynasty of Imperial China. Taiwan was officially ruled by the Qing Dynasty from 1683 to 1895.

[8] For discussion on eateries during the Qing Dynasty in Taiwan, see Zeng, 2006a, pp. 176-177.

1. "Taiwanese cuisine" in banquets and exhibitions

1.1 "Taiwanese cuisine" served at banquets of Japanese officials

It was in January 1898 when the term *Taiwan ryôri* first appeared in print media, shortly after the Japanese began its colonial rule in Taiwan in 1895. In the news about an official New Year Banquet of the local administration in Tainan (*Tainan Benmusho*), it was reported that there were many Taiwanese officials of junior level attending this banquet; therefore, some local Taiwanese dishes were served, and these dishes earned great praise at this banquet.[9] In the same year, in a festival hosted by the officials of Jiayi County, a shop offering "Taiwanese cuisine" was set up along with other eateries providing Japanese snacks and dishes.[10] In addition to these feasts, private parties of Japanese colonial officials serving Taiwanese food were recorded in *Taiwan kanshû kiji [Records of Taiwanese Customs]* published in the early 1900s,[11] revealing the interests of the Japanese officers and folk scholars in Taiwanese dishes. For example, an author of *Taiwan kanshû kiji* has recorded a banquet menu of Taiwanese cuisine, shown in Table 1.1, which was enclosed with an invitation letter.

[9] *TNSP*, 1/18/1898(3).
[10] *TNSP*, 5/6/1898(5).
[11] *Taiwan kanshû kiji [Records of Taiwanese Customs]* was published by the *Taiwan kanshû kenkûkai* (Association of Taiwanese Customs Research), which was set up by Japanese officials of the Government-General and researchers on folk customs. The association was established on October 30, 1900 and headed by the Governor-General Gentaro Kodama. It published *Taiwan kanshû kiji* every month from January 1901 to August 1907, and its main contents were customs and rituals of the Taiwanese society at that time.

Table 1.1 Banquet menu of Taiwanese cuisine (*Taiwan ryôri*) (1906)

(Half Banquet)[12]
1. Shark fin stewed with soy sauce (紅燒魚翅)
2. Western bean with wild chicken (洋豆山雞片)
3. Stir-fried fish fillet (生炒魚片)
4. Whole duck soup (清湯全鴨)
5. Stir-fried pigeon (炒白鴿片)
6. Shrimp rolls (生丸蝦捲)

(Mid-banquet Snack) *Shaomai*[13] (燒賣)

(Complete Banquet)
1. Turtle stewed with soy sauce (紅燒鱉魚)
2. Eight-treasure crab (八寶蟳盒)
3. Stir-fried eight-treasure (炒八寶菜)
4. Whelk soup (清湯香螺)
5. Whole duck (生拉全鴨)
6. Almond tofu (杏仁豆腐)

Cakes, coffee and tea

Four fruits, four dried fruits, four nuts and Japanese liquor will be served.

Source: Taiwan kanshû kenkûkai (Association of Taiwanese Customs Research), *Taiwan kanshû kiji,* 6 (5), May 1906, p. 81.

Consisting of 12 dishes served in sequence, the banquet was divided into two parts with a snack served at mid meal and ended with Western confectionaries, coffee, and tea. In banquet cuisine, seafood and meat played the main roles. They included precious ingredients such as bird's nest, shark fin, pigeon, crab, and duck, which were all traditional Chinese delicacies (Simoons, 1991, pp. 427-432). These highly priced ingredients were cooked with specific recipes such as "eight treasure" and labor-intensive procedures. Enclosing a menu in the invitation was meant to alert

[12] Half banquet (*banxi*) and complete banquet (*quanxi*) were specific terms used during the Japanese colonial era and post-war period denoting the "first half" and "second half" respectively of a banquet. But a banquet does not necessarily have the second half. If a banquet only served six courses and one snack, it was called "half banquet." "Half banquet" was common at informal occasions and private feasts, while the "complete banquet" was mostly adopted for official or formal occasions. On "complete banquet" and "half banquet," see "Sekai ni bimi wo hokoru Taiwan no ryôri [Taiwanese cuisine, boasting its delicacy to the world]," *TNSP*, 11/6/1922(5); Kataoka Iwao, 1981 [1921], pp. 206-207, 212; Suzuki Seichirô, 1989 [1934], p. 213.

[13] *Shaomai* is a kind of Chinese dumpling.

the guests that what was provided at the banquet was "haute cuisine" in terms of the utilization of expensive items, complicated cooking methods, and exquisite service, all denoting the high social status of the host. Furthermore, fruits, nuts, and Japanese liquor were also served, presenting a combination of Chinese, Western, and Japanese components, and offering an exotic and unusual taste.

It is important to note that this haute cuisine served at banquets was not exclusively identified as Taiwanese cuisine; rather, it was also referred to as Chinese cuisine (*Shina ryôri* in Japanese or *Zhina liaoli* in Mandarin) at the same time. Although the term *Taiwan ryôri* had been used since the end of the 19th century, what it referred to was often overlapping with the meaning of Chinese cuisine. For example, *Pingleyou* was one of the earliest restaurants in Taipei in the Japanese era, but the cuisines served there were termed differently in the newspaper, including Chinese cuisine (*Shina ryôri*),[14] Taiwanese cuisine (*Taiwan ryôri*),[15] and native island cuisine (*Hontô ryôri* in Japanese or *bendao liaoli* in Mandarin).[16]

However, this overlapping did not mean that the Japanese were familiar with Chinese cuisine or had much understanding of it. Although Chinese food had long been an essential element of Japanese cuisine, it was after the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 that the Japanese started to change their attitude towards Chinese cuisine from negative to curious and interested (Cwiertka, 2006, pp. 118-125, 144). In the late 19th century, the image of Chinese cuisine in Japan manifested itself in two extremes. It was either esteemed as exclusive and exquisite or disdained as dirty and bad taste, which was coherent with the negative impression the Japanese had of the Chinese people at that time. Until the early 1900s, the Japanese shifted their interest partly from Western food to Chinese food, and restaurants serving Chinese cuisine mushroomed in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s (Cwiertka, 2006, pp. 139-144). In other words, in the early 20th century, enjoying Chinese cuisine was also a new experience for the Japanese in general. For the Japanese officials in Taiwan, there existed no clear boundary between Chinese cuisine and Taiwanese cuisine at all.

Because Chinese cuisine and Taiwanese cuisine were both new to the Japanese in Taiwan, some authors of *Taiwan kanshû kiji* attempted to introduce and describe in detail these cuisines. For example, an author listed two menus of Chinese restaurants for readers to compare, stating: [17]

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[14] *TNSP*, 4/11/1901(5).

[15] *TNSP*, 11/10/1907(5). In this report, *Pingleyou* was identified as "an old restaurant serving Taiwanese cuisine."

[16] *TNSP*, 12/8/1907(5). In *Taiwan nichinichi shinpô*, the term *Hontô ryôri* was used 13 times, much less than the frequency of *Taiwan ryôri* (153 times) and *Shina ryôri* (113 times).

[17] For a comparison of menus of the two restaurants *Ruichengchun* and *Juyinglou*, see: *Taiwan kanshû kiji,* 5(5), 1905, pp. 63-68.

> There has been the consensus that Chinese cuisine is more delicious and cheaper than Japanese cuisine…Therefore, Chinese cuisine has increasingly been added to Japanese family meals and banquet meals recently…However, people were not familiar with the names of Chinese cuisine, and the price difference resulted in some confusion. (*Taiwan kanshû kiji*, 5(5), 1905, pp. 63-64)

Another author recorded his discussion with Taiwanese friends concerning Taiwanese banquet, focusing on the food, entertainment, and dining etiquettes at Taiwanese banquets. He highlighted the vivid differences between Taiwanese and Japanese dining style as follows:

> Dining of inland style[18] puts emphasis on drinking instead of eating, appreciating dance and song instead of talking. On the contrary, Taiwanese style emphasizes eating instead of drinking; they prefer chatting to appreciating dance and song when enjoying food. As for the way of serving, the inland style uses individual trays, while the Taiwanese style serves dishes in one plate for all to share. Many inland dishes are raw, but Taiwanese dishes rarely feature uncooked items. Inlanders are used to cold dishes but Taiwanese prefer hot ones. Most inland dishes taste mild while Taiwanese ones have stronger flavor. (Shinju, 1902, pp. 61-62)

As seen in the above comparison, Taiwanese-style banquets were different from Japanese ones not only in the ingredients used but also in the eating utensils, atmosphere, and entertainment. As claimed by the author of the above article, he compared and contrasted the two styles of banquets to help the Japanese understand better the food served and dining manners at Taiwanese banquets. It was a kind of knowledge worth learning for the Japanese who were having more and more chances of participating in banquets or parties serving Taiwanese cuisine, which was a new culinary category for the Japanese in Taiwan. On these occasions, Taiwanese cuisine was highlighted as an exotic local fare, and the experience of participating in Taiwanese banquets also allowed the Japanese to understand the local customs. Although Japanese administrators tended to have banquets in Japanese restaurants when the guests are all Japanese, they participated actively in Taiwanese banquets attended by Taiwanese gentries (*shishen*), such as farewell parties and welcome celebrations of Japanese administrators, or birthday banquets of prestigious

[18] Here, inland style (*naichi* in Japanese or *neidi* in Mandarin) refers to the Japanese style.

Taiwanese gentries. For Japanese administrators, such Taiwanese banquets were chances for them not only to expand their knowledge of Taiwanese food and culture, but also to build their social networks.

In sum, Taiwanese banquets were occasions for social intercourse and novel experience for the Japanese in Taiwan. However, when Taiwanese cuisine was presented at official exhibitions, it entered the public sphere and acquired new significance. The following section will show how Taiwanese cuisine was presented at National Exhibitions of Japan during the colonial era, and what social implications it entailed.

1.2 "Taiwanese cuisine" at Japanese Exhibitions

The first encounter of Japanese officials with international exhibitions was the London International Exhibition of 1862. Surprised at the success of exhibition as a tool for political and cultural propaganda as well as promoting economic interests, the Japanese government took it as a strategy to demonstrate their ability to become a modern and advanced power in the world.[19] In 1877, the First National Exhibition for Promotion of Trade and Industry (*Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai*) was held in Tokyo, and its success brought a series of exhibitions under the same theme in 1881, 1890, and 1895.[20] Among the subsequent ones, the Fifth National Exhibition at Osaka in 1903 was the largest in terms of scale, number of visitors, and amount of displays. Compared with the Fourth National Exhibition held in Kyoto, the number of pavilions expanded from six to fourteen, the number of visitors grew 4.7 times, and the quantity of displays increased 1.6 times (Lu, 2005, p. 114). The Fifth National Exhibition attracted 4,350,000 visitors within five months, including the groups composed of Taiwanese gentries, which accounted for more than 500 people in total (Lu, 2002, p. 105).

As the first National Exhibition held after the Japanese took over Taiwan in 1895, the Fifth National Exhibition was an important occasion for Japanese officials to demonstrate their achievement in colonial Taiwan as the "imperial pride" of Japan (Lu, 2005, pp. 113-114). Therefore, the establishment of a Taiwan Pavilion was emphasized as the hallmark of integrating Taiwan into the Japanese empire and the strengthening of Japanese national power (Hu, 2005; Li, 2006; Lu, 2005).

The Taiwan Pavilion was designed as a four-section compound with houses of greybricks and tiles (*siheyuan*) built around a courtyard, merging with the square city wall structure. In order to fill the showcases, 6,028 items were shipped from Taiwan,

[19] On the history of Japanese exhibitions, see Hu, 2005; Li, 2006; Lu, 2002, 2005.
[20] The first three National Exhibitions for Promotion of Trade and Industry were held at Tokyo in 1877, 1881, and 1890, the fourth one was held at Kyoto in 1895. See Lu, 2002, p. 108.

and 2751 Taiwanese staff participated in the preparation (Lu, 2002, p. 113). Within the exhibition area, in addition to industrial and agricultural products and expositions of "Taiwanese life," a tea house, souvenir shops, and a Taiwanese restaurant were set up at the northern side of the building.

Figure 1.1 Taiwan Pavilion at the Fifth National Exhibition, Osaka 1903
Source: Akira Tsukide, ed. *Taiwan kan [Taiwan Pavilion]* (Taipei: Dai gokai naikoku kangyô hakurankai, 1903), p. 10.

It was the first time a "Taiwanese restaurant" was set up in a Japanese exhibition, and the restaurant was one of the most frequently visited sites at this exhibition. The popularity of Taiwanese cuisine could be seen in the profits the restaurant made. From its opening on March 5th to the end of June in 1903, 39,000 consumers visited the Taiwanese restaurant and the business turnover amounted to more than 9,837 yen (Akira Tsukide, 1903, p. 14). These figures evidenced the attraction of Taiwanese food to visitors. Moreover, the Taiwanese tea house and souvenir shops generated a business turnover of 20,000 yen, far more than the forecasted figure of 5,000 yen by the Government-General (Akira Tsukide, 1903, p. 13).

The "Taiwanese restaurant" was presented as an imitation of a typical restaurant in Taiwan. All aspects, from the interior design to cooking utensils and tableware, were replications of those in Taiwan (Akira Tsukide, 1903, p. 14). Furthermore, the dishes served in the shop were cooked by chefs of famous Taiwanese restaurants, and

the waitresses were also young ladies from Taiwan.[21] It should be underlined, as will be shown in Chapter Two, that "the company of young ladies" was a significant characteristic in Taiwanese restaurants during the Japanese colonial era and the post-war period. The tasks of these ladies varied with the consumption level of the eating establishments. In the most exclusive restaurants, they entertained customers by conversing, singing, playing musical instruments, and writing poems, while in most of cheaper restaurants and dining rooms, they mainly poured liquor for customers and engaged into conversation with customers. In some restaurants, they even engaged in sex with customers.[22]

In addition to the exotic interior design and young waitresses, the Taiwanese cuisine featured at the exhibitions was a selection from specialty dishes in Taiwanese restaurants. However, since these dishes were not only for presentation but also for attracting Japanese consumers, as Akira Tsukide explained, they had been modified to suit the Japanese taste (Akira Tsukide, 1903, p. 14). In other words, the Taiwanese cuisine featured at the exhibitions was selected in view of commercial interests, reflecting the preference of Japanese taste.

Some of the dishes offered on the menu are as follows:

[21] To represent the taste and scene of Taiwanese restaurants, there were Taiwanese chefs of prestigious restaurants working for such restaurants at this and all subsequent Japanese exhibitions. For example, the restaurant *Hujimi* was featured at the Fifth National Exhibition in 1903, *Donghuifang* was responsible for the Taiwan Industrial Progress Fair (*Taiwan Kangyô Kôsinkai*) in 1916, and *Pingleyou* was involved in the Peace Memorial Exhibition (*Heiwa Kinen Hakurankai*) in 1922. See *TNSP*, 8/28/1903(3); *TNSP*, 4/6/1916(5); *TNSP*, 2/23/1922(7).

[22] Please see the next section of this chapter.

Table 1.2 Menu of Taiwanese cuisine at Taiwan Pavilion

Noodle	Chicken noodle (雞絲白麵), Fried shrimp noodle (炒蝦白麵)
Easy-made cuisine	Fish simmered in soy sauce (紅燒魚), Fried fish fillet (炒魚片), Mushroom consomme (清湯毛菰), Eight-treasure vegetables (八寶菜), Fried chicken balls (燒雞丸)
Poultry	Stir-fried chicken (生炒雞), Chicken with onion (洋蔥雞), Chicken with chestnut (栗子雞), Fried chicken (干煎雞), Chicken with mushroom (毛菰雞), Curry chicken (咖哩雞)
Shrimp	Stir-fried shrimp (炒蝦仁), Stir-fried shrimp cakes (炒蝦餅), Soup of shrimp balls (蝦丸湯)
Crab	Boiled crab (白片蟳), Crab soup (清湯蟳)
Special menu	
Shark fin	Three-color shark fin (三絲魚翅), Boiled crab and shark fin (煮蟹魚翅), Shark fin simmered in soy sauce (紅燒魚翅)

Source: Akira Tsukide, ed. *Taiwan kan [Taiwan Pavilion]*, (1903), p. 14.

As seen in the above table, the Taiwanese cuisine presented at the exhibition was mainly seafood and poultry for attracting local consumers. Among these selected items, shark fin was one of the most highly prized seafood specialties in Taiwan and it was listed as a representative cuisine during the colonial period. In south China, a dish of shark fin is almost a must among the affluent on important occasions like weddings and other celebrations, as a show of hospitality and fortune (Anderson, 1988, p. 142), and it was the same in Taiwan. Sakura Magomitsu (1961 [1903]) and Lian Heng (1962 [1918]) both pointed out that shark fin was one of the most precious and preferred dishes in Taiwan, and that shark fin produced locally enjoyed a high reputation. In early Japanese colonial era, Taiwan had been an important production center of shark fin. In *Taiwan shisatsu tebiki [Taiwan Inspection Guideline]* (1916) written for Japanese administrators in Taiwan, it was also indicated that dried bonito and shark fin were the first two important marine products in Taiwan (Sugiura Wasaku, 1916, pp. 72-73).

Not only shark fin but also other seafood was highlighted at the exhibition. It was obvious that seafood dishes always played the main role in banquet menus, reflecting the preference of consumers, who were Japanese officials and Taiwanese

of the upper circles. However, it should be kept in mind that the preference for seafood was only limited to the elite and the wealthy. Marine products were rarely found in everyday diet for the majority of the population in Taiwan. A process of generalization and dissemination of this "elite taste" was only a recent development which took place mainly after the 1960s.

This section has shown that Taiwanese cuisine made its debut at official banquets and private feasts of the Japanese in Taiwan at the end of the 19th century, and was featured at the Fifth National Exhibition in the early 20th century. The Taiwanese restaurant set up at the exhibition was claimed to be a transplant of the restaurants in Taiwan, revealing the existence of a dining-out market in Taiwanese society. The following section will further elaborate on the dining-out market in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial era, exemplifying that there has been a mature banquet culture shared by the upper class, including both Taiwanese and Japanese.

2. "Taiwanese cuisine" at dining-out places

Dining-out establishments in Taiwan under the Japanese rule were officially classified into restaurants (*ryôriya*) and dining rooms (*inshokuten*) according to their scale and consumption level.[23] Restaurants were places of larger area, offering delicate cuisine and for hosting luxurious banquets. This category included Japanese-style restaurants (*ryôtei*), Western-style restaurants and local "wine mansions" or "taverns" (*jiulou*). In contrast, dining rooms were smaller eateries without elaborate furnishing, serving relatively unsophisticated food and simple meals at low price.

In both types of dining venues, there were women serving the customers though they were called different names and the services they provided differed. Those ladies working for restaurants were called *yida*, a word adapted from the Japanese term *geisha*, referring to young girls performing classical music, literature, and dance. *Yida*, particularly the famous ones, had their own room called *yidajian*, where customers could hold their private gatherings with fine cuisines delivered for use in the room. However, in most cases, customers enjoyed meals and the performance of *yida* in the separate rooms of the restaurant.[24] Contrary to *yida*, women working in dining rooms were called *zhuofu*, which literally means "women pouring liquor." As implied by what they were called, the main task of these women was to pour liquor into the cups of customers.

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[23] See the official statistics on trades and occupations superintended by the police: *Taiwan sôtokuhu tôkeisho [Taiwan Government-General Statistics Books]*, 1899-1944.

[24] For a description of *yida* and *yidajian*, see Ide Kiwata, 1997 [1935], pp. 177-182; Tanaka Kazuji, 1998, pp. 374-379.

Both *yida* and *zhuofu* had significant impact on both the business and the fame of these Taiwanese restaurants. Some travel guides and magazines recommended nice restaurants with beautiful *yida* or *geisha*,[25] as seen in Figure 1.2. In 1923, the most distinguished restaurant of the 1920s, *Jiangshan Lou*, even held a contest of *yida* and invited all customers as adjudicators.[26] Owing to the significant impact of *yida*, some restaurants in southern Taiwan employed famous *yida* from Taipei to boost their business. The significance of young waitresses in Taiwanese restaurants strengthened the connection between young ladies and Taiwanese cuisine. "Enjoying food in the company of young female" was a typical scene in Taiwanese restaurants during the Japanese colonial era.

Figure 1.2 *Yida* in Taipei
Source: *Taiwan geijutsu shinpô [Taiwan Art Newspaper]*, 1(1), 1935, p. 70.

As seen in the above, it is obvious that a dining-out place during the Japanese colonial era was different in many aspects from a "restaurant" in its modern sense (cf. Warde & Martens, 2000). In those days, restaurants were where businessmen, officials, and intellectuals, all males, gathered for business, fun, and exchange of thoughts, and where activities like poetry appreciation meetings and mid-autumn festival banquets were held. In restaurants, customers had meals in separate rooms instead of sharing a big public hall. The enclosed space allowed consumers of upper social background to have private meetings and banquets.

[25] See, for example, Taiwan Ryokan Kumiai Rengôkai, 1935; *Taiwan geijutsu shinpô [Taiwan Art Newspaper]*, 1(1), 1935, p. 70, 1(2), 1935, p. 48.
[26] *TNSP*, 7/14/1922(6).

Another feature of restaurants at that time was their legal status. All dining establishments were categorized as a "special trade" which was to be overseen by the police. For example, the premises of restaurants had to be inspected on regular basis by the police and sanitation officials; while the employees, particularly *yida* and *zhuofu*, had to register at the local police station and receive regular health examinations (Zhu, 2003, pp. 118-125). Despite these regulations, the dining-out market expanded rapidly and competition between restaurants intensified accordingly. The following table shows the number of restaurants and dining rooms in major Taiwanese cities and the nationality of their owners during the Japanese colonial era. These numbers recorded in official annual statistics provided a glimpse of the flourishing dining-out market in Taiwan.

Table 1.3 Numbers of restaurants and dining rooms in major Taiwanese cities[27]

Year	Type	Nationality*	Taipei	Xinzhu	Tai-zhong	Tainan	Tai-dong	Peng-hu	Total
Meiji 31 (1898)	Restaurant	NA	151	--	106	167	20	23	467
	Dining Room	NA	219	--	101	123	10	19	472
Meiji 38 (1905)	Restaurant	Inlander	51	11	15	49	4	30	160
		Islander	20	4	13	13	--	3	53
		Foreigner	2	1	3	--	--	--	6
		Total	**73**	**16**	**31**	**62**	**4**	**33**	**219**
	Dining Room	Inlander	60	3	10	27	3	13	116
		Islander	71	94	21	82	8	5	281
		Foreigner	3	--	--	3	--	--	6
		Total	**134**	**97**	**31**	**112**	**11**	**18**	**403**
Taishô 4 (1915)	Restaurant	Inlander	68	16	33	88	4	9	218
		Islander	37	4	46	40	3	2	132
		Foreigner	14	1	5	--	--	--	20
		Total	**119**	**21**	**84**	**128**	**7**	**11**	**370**
	Dining Room	Inlander	113	6	13	47	4	7	190
		Islander	170	150	228	108	5	6	667
		Foreigner	14	1	3	3	--	--	21
		Total	**297**	**157**	**244**	**158**	**9**	**13**	**878**
Taishô 10 (1921)	Restaurant	Inlander	136	14	43	67	6	--	266
		Islander	26	28	98	103	1	--	256
		Foreigner	9	1	22	1	4	--	37
		Total	**171**	**43**	**163**	**171**	**11**	**--**	**559**
	Dining Room	Inlander	77	11	32	37	1	--	158
		Islander	295	247	279	189	9	--	1019
		Foreigner	17	3	2	7	5	--	34
		Total	**389**	**261**	**313**	**233**	**15**	**--**	**1211**
Shôwa 5 (1930)	Restaurant	Inlander	154	18	50	63	8	10	303
		Islander	28	18	105	112	2	5	270
		Korean	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
		Foreigner	12	--	11	--	--	--	23
		Total	**194**	**36**	**166**	**175**	**10**	**15**	**596**
	Dining Room	Inlander	115	15	26	33	6	4	199
		Islander	355	316	320	303	22	14	1330
		Foreigner	30	5	6	9	7	--	57

[27] I choose statistics of different years to present the development of the dining-out market: the statistics of 1898 shows the dining-out market when the term "Taiwanese cuisine" appeared for the first time; and it was around 1905 that the introductions to "Taiwanese cuisine" were printed in magazines. 1921 was the year when *Jiagshan Lou* opened for business; 1930 witnessed the competition between *Jiagshan Lou* and *Penglai Ge*; and 1940 marked the early phase of the Second World War.

		Total	**500**	**336**	**352**	**345**	**35**	**18**	**1586**
Shôwa 15 (1940)	Restaurant	Inlander	157	7	35	46	4	19	268
		Islander	41	25	170	135	10	3	384
		Korean	14	4	11	8	1	--	38
		Foreigner	12	--	4	--	--	--	16
		Total	**224**	**36**	**220**	**189**	**15**	**22**	**706**
	Dining Room	Inlander	190	13	44	67	8	9	331
		Islander	394	488	612	388	34	13	1929
		Korean	2	--	--	--	--	--	2
		Foreigner	47	--	1	5	3	--	56
		Total	**633**	**501**	**657**	**460**	**45**	**22**	**2318**

Source: *Taiwan sôtokuhu tôkeisho [Taiwan Government-General Statistics Books]*, No. 2, 9, 19, 25, 34, 44.

* "Inlanders" refers to Japanese, "Islanders" refers to Taiwanese, and "Foreigners" refers to Chinese.

NA = Not available

According to the statistics shown in Table 1.3, restaurants were concentrated in Taipei and Tainan, the two major cities during the colonial period, while dining rooms were more widespread in smaller cities. This difference reveals the close relationship between dining-out activities and urbanization. Furthermore, restaurants owned by the Japanese (Inlanders) obviously concentrated in Taipei, where the Government-General resided. For example, there were 266 restaurants run by the Japanese in 1921, and 136 of them were established in Taipei, which had a total of 171 restaurants. By contrast, the islander-owned restaurants in Taizhong and Tainan occupied almost two thirds of the total. In sum, the distribution of restaurants shows that sophisticated "restaurants" were established mainly in big cities, particularly Taipei, and most of these restaurants were owned by the Japanese. By contrast, "dining rooms" offering simpler food and service were more popular in regions inhabited by the Taiwanese.

Despite some differences between cities, Table 1.3 indicates a general expansion of the whole dining-out market. In 1905, the total number of restaurants in the main cities was 219; but in 1921, the year when the *Jiangshan Lou* opened for business, it doubled to 559; and after a slight growth during the 1920s, it climbed from 596 to 706 between 1930 and 1940. In sum, the number of restaurants tripled between 1905 and 1940. These numbers show that the dining-out market continued to expand

during the colonial era, implying an enlarging class of consumers who could afford dining-out as a social activity.

Not only restaurants but also dining rooms catering for consumers of a more general level witnessed a stable increase in major cities. While there were a total of 403 dining rooms in 1905, its number had tripled by 1921 and kept increasing to 1586 in 1930. In other words, the availability of commercial eating places became greater during the Japanese colonial era, and those who had access to eating out were becoming more numerous, mirroring the rising financial standing of parts of the population and the emerging social differentiation (Warde & Martens, 2000, pp. 65-68).

The burgeoning of eating-out settings was reflected not only in the number of restaurants, but also in the variety of eating venues, particularly exclusive restaurants. In the early 1900s, some Japanese restaurants were established, hosting Japanese banquets as well as providing the nostalgic "tastes of home" for those Japanese living in Taiwan. *Umeyashiki*, a Japanese restaurant established in 1905, was the most prestigious one of its kind, with Japanese Governor-Generals and even some Taiwanese celebrities often holding banquets there.[28]

Following the Japanese restaurants, Western restaurants also emerged as an important culinary category and witnessed a rapid growth during the 1910s. Consumer goods from the West had entered Taiwan since 1862, when Jilong, Danshui, Tainan, and Dagou (Kaohsiung) were opened by the Qing Court as treaty ports for foreign trade. These treaty ports were also the gates where Western cuisines were imported. According to the reports written by Western bureaucrats working at the Chinese customs, many Taiwanese rich merchants had enjoyed Western food, such as champagne, candy, condensed milk, and biscuits, during the second half of the 19th century, In some rich Taiwanese families, condensed milk was drunk with tea before going to bed, which was considered good for health (Zeng, 2006a, pp. 214-215, 220-221).

Although Western food had been consumed in Taiwan since the late Qing Dynasty, Western restaurants were not established until the early Japanese colonial era.[29] Soon after the Japanese took over Taiwan, new Western restaurants were opened in some large cities like Taipei, Tainan, and Jiayi.[30] It was reported that Western restaurants mushroomed because Western cuisine was easier to cook and cheaper than Japanese cuisine,[31] indicating that its clientele included not only

[28] For example, the banquets of the Governor-General Andô Sadami and Taiwanese tycoon Gu Xian-rong, see *TNSP*, 4/15/1916(5); *TNSP*, 2/4/1908(2).
[29] Zeng, 2006a, pp. 221-224; *TNSP*, 7/23/1912(6).
[30] It was reported that some new Western restaurants were opened by the Japanese in Jiayi, and Western cuisine "has become much more popular than before." See *TNSP*, 12/20/1905(4).
[31] *TNSP*, 7/23/1912(6).

Westerners but also Japanese and Taiwanese. However, people who really enjoyed Western cuisines were few in number, and these restaurants tended to serve also other cuisines to offer a greater variety that appealed to more customers. For example, *Taiwan Lou* opened in 1899 was originally a Western restaurant run by the Japanese. After being sold to a merchant, it was transformed into a restaurant serving Chinese, Japanese, and Western cuisines as well as tea/snack.[32] Another example was *Baomei Lou*, the most famous Chinese restaurant in Tainan. Its owner established a new Western restaurant beside the beach, apparently adopting the business strategy of attracting different consumers by increasing the variety of cuisines served. Such a strategy also exemplified the existence of a dining-out market with sub-divisions.[33]

It was in such a competitive market of haute cuisine restaurants that the most exclusive Taiwanese restaurant, *Jiangshan Lou*, was opened, proclaiming its intention to compete with Japanese and Western restaurants in heralding local taste.[34] However, the "local taste" was not termed "Taiwanese cuisine" at the very beginning. Instead, *Jiangshan Lou* claimed to be a Chinese restaurant when it was first established in November 1921.

3. Discourse of "Taiwanese cuisine": a repertoire

3.1 A hallmark Taiwanese restaurant: *Jiangshan Lou*

Before the 1920s, the most famous restaurants in Taipei were *Pingleyou*, *Donghuifang*, and *Chunfengdeyi Lou*. The upper class often had banquets and gatherings in these restaurants. For example, when the famous historian Liang Qi-chao visited Taiwan in 1911 (March 28-April 13) during his exile in Japan, some important political figures like Lin Xian-tang, Lian Heng, and other celebrities in Taiwan hosted a welcome banquet at *Donghuifang*.[35] However, *Jiangshan Lou* soon after its establishment took the lead and was viewed as the beacon of Taiwanese restaurants.

The proprietor of *Jiangshan Lou*, Wu Jiang-shan, had been a shareholder of *Donghuifang*. After breaking up with his previous business partner Bai A-Bian, Wu invested hundred thousands of yen to build *Jiangshan Lou*, which was opened for business on November 17, 1921.[36] In the advertisement for publicity, Wu claimed that his ambition was to provide a venue for banquets that could compete with the best

[32] *TNSP*, 10/25/1923(4).
[33] *TNSP*, 7/1/1909(4).
[34] *TNSP*, 11/8/1921(6); advertisement of *Jiangshan Lou*, *TNSP*, 11/15/1921(6).
[35] *Taibei shizhi [Gazetteer of Taipei City]* (8), 1979, p. 32; Ye, 1985, p. 52.
[36] *TNSP*, 3/16/1913(6).

Japanese and Western restaurants in Taipei. However, it should be noted that *Jiangshan Lou* claimed to be a "Chinese restaurant" rather than a Taiwanese one in its advertisement.

As the most exclusive restaurant, *Jiangshan Lou* was particularly distinctive in its scale, equipment, and cuisine. In terms of scale, it was housed in a four-floor building which could seat hundreds of customers at the same time. On the first floor, there were the offices and kitchens; while on the second and third floors, there were seven ballrooms for banquets. Western-style rooms for guests to have a shower and a haircut were on the fourth floor along with a special reception room and a roof garden. In terms of equipment and interior design, all furniture of *Jiangshan Lou* was luxurious and the furnishing was elaborate and artistic. For example, there were giant mirrors along the stairway, and the ballrooms were separated by classical screens, which allowed flexibility in partitioning spaces for banquets. In addition, as was the convention for traditional Chinese-style venues, these rooms were decorated with paintings and calligraphy of artists or celebrities.[37]

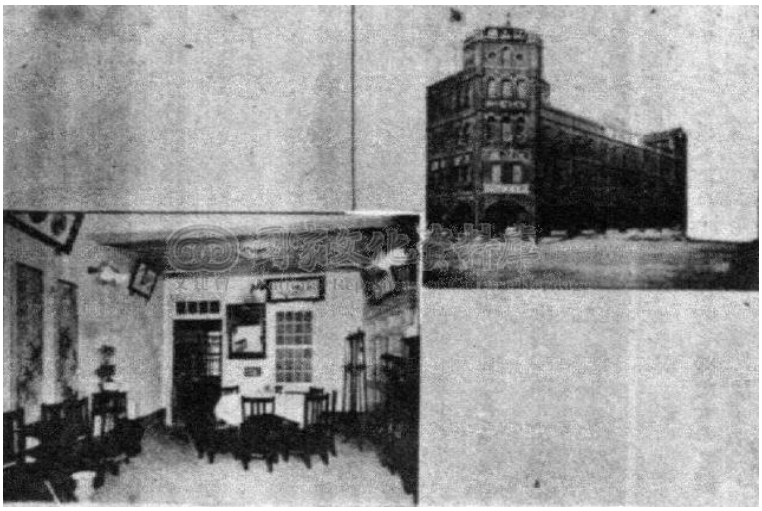

Figure 1.3 Photo of *Jiangshan Lou* on magazine *Taiwan* (1927)
Source: Database of the National Repository of Cultural Heritage:
http://nrch.cca.gov.tw/ccahome/index.jsp (downloaded 10/22/2009)

* The photo was originally printed in Takeuchi Sadayoshi, ed. *Taiwan* (Taipei: Shinkôdô, 1927), p. 1081.

[37] On the interior design and equipment of *Jiangshan Lou*, see: the advertisement of *Jiangshan Lou*, *TNSP*, 11/15/1921(6); Wu, 1958.

In addition to all the artistic decorations, cuisine that naturally constituted an integral part of any restaurants was given great emphasis in its opening advertisement. To reach his goal of founding the best Chinese restaurant, which could be on par with, if not surpass, the best Japanese and Western restaurants, Wu claimed in the advertisement that he traveled around China to visit distinguished teashops, restaurants, and wine mansions in order to learn elaborate delicacies, and then adopted these cuisines for his new restaurant. In other words, the dishes served at *Jiangshan Lou* essentially included the specialties of various regional cuisines of China. This claim of "all the best of Chinese cuisine" was also in line with its traditional Chinese interior design and the owner's claim as a Chinese restaurant.

With its luxurious and artistic aura, this venue soon became a favored location where many gentries, officials, and merchants gathered, held parties, or had fun. Dining here not only signified fame and fortune but also symbolized the upper-class status. There was a popular saying describing one of the best pleasures at that time: "Ascending *Jiangshan Lou*, eating Taiwanese cuisine, in the company of *yida*" (Wu, 1958, p. 91).

The customers of *Jiangshan Lou* were not restricted to upper-class Taiwanese gentries but included Japanese elites as well. Among the banquets held at *Jiangshan Lou*, some frequent occasions or events were the meetings of poet societies, private banquets of Japanese officials, and various commercial assemblies.[38] These customers constituted a web of wealth and power, which was a social network of the highest class in the colonial society. For example, the most important poet society *Yingshe* held regular gatherings and parties (such as Moon Festival Party at mid-Autumn) at *Jiangshan Lou.* The members of this society were rich merchants and gentries in good relations with the Japanese government on the one hand and could influence local public affairs on the other. In this context, these occasions of banquets and meetings were not only opportunities for leisure and enjoyment, but also chances to build, strengthen, and expand their social networks and influence.

Since its opening in 1921, *Jiangshan Lou* had been successfully established as an outstanding restaurant where the top class patronized, and thus, it came as no surprise that *Jiangshan Lou* was chosen to host the royal banquet for the Japanese Crown Prince Hirohito when he visited Taiwan. As the only banquet serving Taiwanese cuisine throughout the royal trip, the lunch banquet caught the attention of the media and was reported in great detail.

As listed at the beginning of this chapter, thirteen elaborate dishes were served at the banquet, which was acclaimed by the media as a great success. This, in turn, strengthened the status of *Jiangshan Lou* as the restaurant representative of

[38] See, for example, *TNSP*, 10/13/1922(6); *TNSP*, 12/9/1922(6).

Taiwanese cuisine and initiated a convention that Japanese royal members visiting Taiwan should enjoy the Taiwanese dishes of *Jiangshan Lou.* These royal banquets of Taiwanese cuisine brought fame to *Jiangshan Lou*, and its name became a synonym for Taiwanese cuisine. Against this background, the official *Taiwan nichinichi shinpô* published a series of articles titled "*Taiwan ryôri no hanashi*" (The story of Taiwanese cuisine) since December 10, 1927. This series of 23 articles was written by Wu Jiang-shan, the proprietor of *Jiangshan Lou*. By introducing and illustrating the dishes and dining etiquette of Taiwanese banquets, these articles were the earliest and most authoritative narratives on Taiwanese cuisine. On the one hand, they defined Taiwanese cuisine as a new culinary category; on the other hand, they endeavored to distinguish between Taiwanese and Chinese cuisine.

3.2 Distinction between Taiwanese and Chinese cuisine

Attempting to address the characteristics and representative dishes of Taiwanese cuisine, Wu highlighted the distinctiveness of Taiwanese cuisine vis-à-vis Chinese cuisine in the first article of this series, arguing:

> Although Taiwanese cuisine traced its roots to Chinese cuisine in the very beginning, characteristics of the island had been added to Taiwanese cuisine and it was influenced by local customs, climate, and food resources. Therefore, Taiwanese cuisine has now become fully distinctive from Chinese cuisine.[39]

Wu explained that people can understand the customs and habits of a specific place directly from the dining tables of its inhabitants, because all nations or regions develop peculiar foodways suitable for their own environment. Therefore, in different regions, the same ingredients can be cooked in various ways with diverse condiments, and consequently might lead to contradictory flavors. At this point, Wu compared cuisine to politics: "As someone has suggested, the ways of cooking for chefs are like policy-making of political leaders. I cannot agree more to this comparison."[40] In other words, the ways of cooking for chefs are as diverse and changing as policies made by political leaders. After establishing the connection between cuisine and politics, Wu further emphasized that Taiwanese cuisine had become completely embedded within the characteristics of Taiwan and was thus distinctive from Chinese cuisine. To clarify his points, Wu introduced what these "Taiwanese characteristics" referred to and illuminated how they were presented at Taiwanese banquets.

[39] *TNSP*, 12/10/1927(3).
[40] Ibid.

Wu first explained the composition of a complete Taiwanese banquet, which consisted of thirteen courses, including a snack in the middle of the banquet.[41] The sequence of dishes should follow the principle of "one dry dish served after one wet dish (i.e. soup or stew)," and the seventh course must be a snack, marking the middle of a banquet, indicating time for a break, during which guests could take a rest to smoke, explore the restaurant, or have a short nap. Sometimes, there were performances before the remaining six courses were served.[42] In the second half, guests continued to enjoy elaborate dishes and conversation until a snack was served again, which marked the end of the banquet. The snacks as the final dish were mostly sweet, including sweet soups and various cakes made of rice. In contrast, the "mid-banquet" snacks were salty in most cases, such as fried spring rolls, fried *shaomai*, and various dumplings, though sometimes sweet snacks were also served in the middle.[43]

Apart from the thirteen courses, a complete Taiwanese banquet menu included diverse side dishes, which had their own conventions.[44] Wu explained that there were usually four plates of flowers, four of nuts or dry fruits, and four of fruits, and all ingredients should be cut into proper size in order to fit the plate. Other items, such as peanuts, watermelon seeds, sweetened ginger, plum cakes, and olives were often served as side dishes at Taiwanese banquets. Some salty side dishes, such as ham, thousand-year egg, and sausage would also be served.[45] Even by today's standards, the variety, amount, and conventions of these side dishes during the 1920s were surprisingly luxurious and delicate.

After explaining the structure of Taiwanese banquets, Wu attempted to introduce the representative Taiwanese cuisine, which was the main content of his series of articles. Wu classified Taiwanese cuisine into four categories, namely special cuisine (*teshu liaoli*), ordinary cuisine (*yiban liaoli*), seasonal cuisine (*dangji liaoli*), and marker cuisine (*jixi liaoli*), and explained them in sequence. "Marker cuisine" referred to the snacks marking the middle and end of a complete Taiwanese banquet; and "seasonal cuisine" referred to items served only in specific seasons.[46] Besides these two categories, most articles in this series focused on "special cuisine" and "ordinary cuisine."

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[41] *TNSP*, 12/11/1927(3).
[42] *TNSP*, 11/6/1922(5); Shinju, 1903.
[43] *TNSP*, 12/12/1927(3).
[44] In Shinju (1902), these side dishes were called *shudie* in Mandarin, literally meaning small plates.
[45] *TNSP*, 11/6/1922(5); Shinju, 1903.
[46] What Wu listed in this category were mostly seafood items: frogs (paddy chicken), whelk, squid, and small abalone (*Haliotis diversicolor*).

"Special cuisine" referred to dishes made of precious or extraordinary high-priced items, including roast suckling pig, bird's nest, shark fin, and white tree fungus. Most of these enjoyed a high reputation in Chinese dietary traditions. For example, the edible bird's nest was a valuable commodity shipped from Southeast Asia to China as early as in the 17th century. Bird's nest was not only a costly delicacy that could boost the social status of consumers, but also viewed as a health supplement that can strengthen the human body (Simoons, 1991, pp. 429-430). Along with bird's nest, shark fin was another "status-indicating" banquet food, which was enjoyed as haute cuisine in China since the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) (Chang, 1977, pp. 154-155, 373; Simoons, 1991, pp. 431-434). Owing to its limited domestic supply, China depended largely on import (Cheng, 1954, pp. 73-74). The superior quality and ample quantity of shark fin from Taiwan made it an important specialty particularly during the Japanese era (Sugiura Wasaku, 1916, pp. 72-73).

Wu classified dishes other than "seasonal," "marker," and "special" cuisines as "ordinary cuisine." However, the term might be misleading because "ordinary cuisine" was a far cry from those homemade dishes served on dining tables of common families at that time. The author grouped these dishes by ingredients used and introduced them in the following order: chicken, duck, pigeon, vegetables, shrimp, crab, turtle, eel, abalone, and fish. Not all of these could be afforded by the general public, not even for the better-off city dwellers.[47]

For each ingredient, Wu introduced some dishes and provided their detailed recipes, yielding 74 recipes in total. As selective recipes of the best Taiwanese restaurant during the Japanese colonial era, Wu suggested that these recipes were representative Taiwanese cuisines. However, when looking at the cooking methods of these recipes, they were "fusion cuisine" in today's term. On the one hand, many of them were adapted from famous dishes of various Chinese provinces, like the roasted duck, widely known as Peking (Beijing) duck; sticky rice with red crab (紅蟹飯), which was from Fujian Province; and sticky rice with chicken (糯米絨雞), a famous Guangdong dish. On the other hand, many dishes were cooked with light soy sauce, and "simmering in soy sauce and sugar" was a popular way of cooking in Japan. A more obvious example was the cold dish of "shrimp salad" (生菜蝦仁), which was seasoned by orange juice and vinegar and served with raw vegetables. Such dish was hardly seen in the category of Chinese cuisine and might have been influenced by Western cooking approach.

In other words, these Taiwanese dishes introduced by Wu were adopted from many famous Chinese regional cuisines, with modifications in cooking methods or seasonings to suit the taste of the Japanese, in particular those of the upper class who

[47] Regarding food consumed by the majority of the Taiwanese population, see Sections 4.1 and 4.2 of this chapter.

were major consumers of Taiwanese cuisine. The processes of adoption (from Chinese cuisine) and adaptation (to Japanese taste) along with local Taiwanese conditions concerning food resources, such as the preferred use of shark fin and other seafood, created the "Taiwanese characteristics" of cuisine. The cuisine was made of precious ingredients and enjoyed by the upper circles of Taiwanese society. Such a newly forged Taiwanese cuisine was thus "haute cuisine" that implies a complex hierarchical divisions and socio-economic relationships. The development of haute cuisine requires well-off clientele who not only can have access to and afford high-value ingredients and recipes, but also distinguish the tastes and appearances of the dishes (Goody, 1982). Further, banquets are dependent on the frequent occurrence of occasions to hold them, establishing a set of conventions about the consumption of differentiated cuisine, and putting these conventions into practice.

Taiwanese cuisine as haute cuisine in colonial Taiwan could also be observed in another exclusive restaurant: *Penglai Ge* (1927-1955), which opened six years after *Jiangshan Lou,* but in contrast to the latter, survived the Second World War. While *Jiangshan Lou* was the most prestigious Taiwanese restaurant during the 1920s and 1930s, *Penglai Ge* gradually took the lead since the mid-1930s. Since *Penglai Ge* ran its business until the post-war period, its influence lasted for a long time through the group of cooks it cultivated. These cooks not only fanned out in the dining-out market and reproduced Taiwanese cuisine after the war, but also generated and addressed discourses on Taiwanese cuisine particularly after the 1990s.

Penglai Ge was born out of the intense competition among exclusive restaurants in Taipei. The building of *Penglai Ge* was initially constructed by the shareholders of *Donghuifang*, who invested in the fancy building in order to compete against *Jiangshan Lou.* However, this plan was aborted because of a conflict among the shareholders.[48] Thus, the owner of this building, Huang Dong-mao, reopened it as *Penglai Ge* and soon afterwards sold it to a merchant named Chen Tian-lai. Chen's family ran the business until its closure in 1955.[49]

Opening in 1927 with an aim to compete with *Jiangshan Lou*, *Penglai Ge* resembled much *Jiangshan Lou* in terms of its market positioning and cuisine. In *Penglai Ge Menu* published in 1930 (Figure 1.4), the proprietor of *Penglai Ge* claimed that *Penglai Ge* was a Chinese restaurant serving Sichuan, Guangdong, Beijing, and Fujian cuisines. The author explained that although *Penglai Ge* initially served mainly Fujian cuisines, after the owner's journey throughout China, the other

[48] *TNSP*, 8/13/1925(4); *TNSP*, 1/22/1927(4).

[49] *Penglai Ge* was used by the Government-General as an office during the Second World War. Although it survived the war and was reopened on October 10, 1945, business ended finally on June 20, 1955. See *Lianhebao [United Daily News]* (abbreviation *UDN*), 6/19/1955(3); *UDN* 8/31/1956(3); *UDN* 10/25/1975(12).

three cuisines were added to the menu in order to enrich the variety and flavor. Such a claim was almost the same as that of *Jiangshan Lou*'s owner; that is, the restaurant was a Chinese one providing the best dishes from all over China. In the 45-page menu, around 1000 dishes were listed according to the main ingredients used and how they were cooked. Furthermore, the style of each cuisine, Sichuan, Guangdong, or Fujian, was also marked on the menu. However, in addition to these regional flavors, the menu actually included many other Chinese regional cuisines, such as Nanjing duck (南京肥鴨) and braised pork of *Dong-po* style (東坡肉).

Figure 1.4 *Penglai Ge Menu* (1930)
Source: This menu was kept by the retired chef Huang De-xing (1936-). Huang had worked in *Penglai Ge* as an apprentice in the early 1950s.

Although both *Jiangshan Lou* and *Penglai Ge* were initially opened as Chinese restaurants providing various Chinese regional cuisines, they eventually identified themselves as "Taiwanese restaurants," with the transformation detailed in two

articles on "Taiwanese cuisine" published in 1939, which were written by the proprietors of these two top restaurants.[50]

The two articles emphasized the same theme that Taiwanese cuisine had been a distinctive category and was different from Chinese cuisine. The proprietor of *Jiangshan Lou*, Wu Xi-shui, son of Wu Jiang-shan, classified Chinese cuisine into four sub-categories: Sichuan, Beijing, Guangdong, and Fujian cuisine, which was in concert with the classification in *Penglai Ge Menu*. Wu argued that although Taiwanese cuisine used ingredients from all the four categories, these ingredients had been changed and adapted to suit the local taste of Taiwan, thus making Taiwanese cuisine distinct from Chinese cuisine. Echoing this tone, the proprietor of *Penglai Ge*, Chen Ben-tien, also claimed that although it might not be wrong to regard Taiwanese cuisine as Chinese cuisine, he would rather consider Taiwanese cuisine as superior to Chinese cuisine and closer to the taste of the locals.

From the self-assertion of Chinese restaurant to the claim that Taiwanese cuisine was superior, the two elite restaurants witnessed a transformation from Chinese restaurants to Taiwanese restaurants. Although their proprietors set out to establish Chinese restaurants, they were eventually referred to and esteemed as Taiwanese restaurants by the official newspaper *Taiwan nichinichi shinpô*, which had also published articles of *Jiangshan Lou*'s owner on introduction to Taiwanese cuisine. Through these articles, *Jiangshan Lou* became more well-known and Taiwanese cuisine was further established as a culinary category. Although the customers of such Taiwanese restaurants were only limited to a number of officials, merchants, and intellectuals, the knowledge and recognition of the new Taiwanese cuisine gradually trickled down from the top of the social ladder through the dissemination of such articles in the print media.

This section has shown how Taiwanese cuisine was introduced to and consumed by the upper class during the colonial era. It was defined and presented as haute cuisine with its specific dining conventions and banquet etiquettes. However, how different was it from the food consumed by ordinary Taiwanese at that time? To what extent can "Taiwanese cuisine" featured in the official newspapers reflect the dining tables of most Taiwanese families in real life? To understand the distance between cultural presentations of Taiwanese cuisine and dietary life of the general population, the following section focuses on food consumed by ordinary people at their dining tables.

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[50] Wu Xi-shui, "Hagaki zuihitsu Taiwan ryôri [Notes on Taiwanese cuisine]," *TNSP*, 3/29/1939(3); Chen Ben-tien, "Hagaki zuihitsu Taiwan ryôri [Notes on Taiwanese cuisine]," *TNSP*, 7/6/1939(6).

4. Non-presented dishes: "Food of Taiwanese"

4.1 Daily food consumption of Taiwanese

Dining out in restaurants was hardly affordable for the general population during the Japanese colonial era. In 1930, an ordinary dish at *Penglai Ge* cost about 1.8 yen, and the price of its cheapest banquet was 18 yen, while the most expensive one could be 100 yen. At that time, the monthly salary of town or village secretaries (*kaishô shoki*) at the most junior level was only 20 yen. Even for high-ranking officials, such as prefectural secretaries (*shû shoki*), their salary ranged between 45 and 95 yen.[51] Therefore, an ordinary banquet at *Penglai Ge* did cost almost a month's salary of a town secretary, or about one-third that of a middle bureaucrat such as prefectural secretary. Put it in another way, the salary of a town secretary was only equivalent to eleven dishes of *Penglai Ge*. This reveals that dining in restaurants was a huge expense for average families, and banquet cuisine could hardly be afforded by the general Taiwanese, though these cuisines were identified as "Taiwanese cuisine."

Aware of the difference between "Taiwanese cuisine" served at restaurants and what Taiwanese people really ate in their daily life, Japanese scholars researching on Taiwanese folk customs made a distinction in terminology between these two notions. Cuisines served at restaurants and banquets were called *Taiwan ryôri* in Japanese or *Taiwan liaoli* in Mandarin, while food eaten by the general population was named just "food" or "food of Taiwanese" (*Taiwanjin no shokubutsu* in Japanese or *Taiwanren de shiwu* in Mandarin) (Kajiwara Michiyoshi, 1989 [1941], pp. 101-122; Kataoka Iwao, 1981 [1921], pp. 101-111; Tôhô Takayoshi, 1997 [1942], pp. 18-38). Through analyzing the meal structure, food ingredients, and tastes of "food of Taiwanese," its distinction from "Taiwanese cuisine" featured at banquets and restaurants can be further understood.

Meal structure and ingredients: *fan* and *cai*

An everyday Taiwanese meal comprises mainly *fan* and *cai*, which is common in most Chinese societies (Chang, 1977, pp. 7-8). *Fan*, literally meaning boiled rice, refers to the grains or other staple food providing most of the calories an individual needs. Since *fan* constitutes the main part of a meal, the term *fan* can also mean "a meal." In contrast, *cai* literally means vegetables, but in its broader sense it refers to the dishes in a meal other than the staple food, which can be vegetables and meat. During the colonial period, a Taiwanese family generally had three meals on a day,

[51] *Taiwan sôtokuhu tôkeisho [Taiwan Government-General Statistics Books]*, 1915, no. 34, pp. 691-701.

and each meal comprised both *fan* and *cai*. Such *fan-cai* structure of an ordinary meal was different from that of a Taiwanese banquet in two aspects. First, a banquet put great emphasis on *cai* but not on *fan*, as seen in Wu's introduction to Taiwanese cuisine, which was all about *cai* with nothing said on any staple food. Second, *fan* and *cai* were presented on dining tables together in daily meals, but banquet cuisines were presented in a specific sequence according to the convention Wu mentioned in his articles. These two points highlight the fact that Taiwanese cuisine in restaurants and banquets was out of the ordinary and in sharp contrast to the daily meals of ordinary Taiwanese, which were termed "food of Taiwanese." *Fan* was the staple food people needed in daily life, but *cai* was the center of presentation on dining occasions other than the usual. In other words, *cai* played a supplementary or supporting role in an ordinary meal, but was the essence of "Taiwanese cuisine" highlighted and presented at feasts, exhibitions, and banquets.

For the Taiwanese commoners, both *fan* and *cai* consumed were mainly produced in the neighborhood of the families during the colonial era. About 60% of the population was engaged in agriculture at that time (see Table 1.4), and most inhabitants of rural villages led a self-sufficient life (Kataoka Iwao, 1981 [1921], pp. 101-111; Tôhô Takayoshi, 1997 [1942], pp. 18-23). However, although *fan* literally means boiled rice and rice was normally considered as the favorite staple food in southern China, rice was not the only staple consumed. Out of economic necessity, farmers could only keep limited amount of rice for domestic cooking, because spare quantities were to be sold for other living expenses. Accordingly, rice was often cooked with other starch such as sweet potato and grains such as beans (Zeng, 2006a; Ikeda Toshio, 1944; Kataoka Iwao, 1981 [1921]; Tôhô Takayoshi, 1997 [1942]).[52] Among staple foods besides rice, dried sweet potato was the most commonly consumed item.[53]

[52] The case of Japan is quite similar. Cwitreka pointed out that the rice produced was not sufficient to sustain the entire population. Thus, until the early 20th century, except for the elite classes, most urban inhabitants and the majority of peasant households, even in certain areas with abundant rice production, relied on other grains as alternative sources of their staple food. See Cwitreka, 2006, pp. 66-67.

[53] It had been common to take sweet potato as a substitution of rice by the Han Chinese in Taiwan since the Qing Dynasty. Zeng explained that the Han immigrants tended to export sugar, rice, and tea for economic benefits and ate food of less economic value in their daily life. See Zeng, 2006a, pp. 185-186.

Table 1.4 Agricultural population in Taiwan

Year	Agricultural population	Percentage %
1905	1,961,556	64.19
1910	2,086,955	65.49
1915	NA	NA
1920	NA	NA
1925	2,339,647	59.61
1930	2,534,404	57.59
1935	2,790,331	55.91
1940	2,984,258	52.51

Source: Taiwansheng wushiyinianlai tongji tiyao [Summary Statistics of Taiwan Province of 51 Years (1895-1945)], (Taipei: Taiwansheng xingzheng zhanghuan gongshu tongjishi, 1946), pp. 76, 513.

Although originated from South America, sweet potato was widely grown in Taiwan because it could be planted easily and produced large yield. Thus, for peasant households, it was common to grow or buy sweet potato as the supplement of rice. Sweet potato could be cooked with rice or cut into strips to be dried under the sun for later consumption. Dried sweet potato was more popular because it could be preserved for a longer time. For example, in the early 1900s, about 70% of the total annual production of sweet potato in Tainan County was dried as preserved food (Zeng, 2006a, p. 65).

Not only inhabitants in rural regions but also some of the upper-class city dwellers consumed sweet potato as their staple food; but the proportion of dried sweet potato and rice consumed varied with the financial status and occupation. According to the government survey on the staple food consumed in Tainan in 1902, for peasants and laborers, the ratio was eight (dried sweet potato) to two (rice); among the middle class, it was fifty-fifty; and for the upper class, four to six.[54] A later survey conducted throughout Taiwan (Table 1.5) showed a similar trend although the proportion of rice had risen slightly, the proportion of population "eating rice without sweet potato" was still fewer than 10%. The only exception was in Taipei, where the proportion of rice-eaters was 25% while that of sweet potato-eaters was 21%, revealing the concentration of the better-off upper class in Taipei.

[54] *Daiichiji Taiwan kinyû jikô sankôsho huroku: Taiwan kinyû jijô shisatsu hukumêsho [Appendix of the First Taiwan Financial Reference: Inspection Report of Taiwan Financial Circumstances]*, 1902, pp. 101-102, cited from Zeng, 2006a, p. 66.

Table 1.5 Staple food of farmer households (1922)

Region	Rice as staple food	Rice as staple food with sweet potato added	Sweet potato as staple food with rice added	Total (%)
Taipei	25	54	21	100
Xinzhu	5	62	33	100
Taizhong	8	64	28	100
Tainan	3	26	71	100
Kaohsiung	6	33	61	100

Source: *Taiwan nôka shokuryô shôhi chôsa [The Survey of Staple Food in Taiwanese Peasant Household]*, (Taipei: Taiwan sôtokuhu shokusankyoku, 1922)

While sweet potato and rice played the main role of *fan*, the common items of *cai* on family tables were soybean products and vegetables planted by each family, and many of the ingredients were salted, pickled, or fermented (Ikeda Toshio, 1944, pp. 31-44; Kataoka Iwao, 1981 [1921], pp. 103-108; Tôhô Takayoshi, 1997 [1942], p. 27). There were complicated methods for fermenting plants.[55] Similar to drying sweet potato for later consumption, farmers turned food into salted, pickled, or fermented forms to preserve food for future use.

In addition to vegetables, meat and fish were also eaten in most rural families, but only on important occasions such as festivals, weddings, and other celebrations. Although most peasants kept pigs and poultry in farmhouses, these animals were reared for sale, rather than their own consumption. Only in families of better financial condition, meat would be served at ordinary meals but only in small quantity along with salted eggs, dried meat, and sausages (Cao, 1958; Wang, 1990 [1943]). In general, meat was limited in its availability and was thus more expensive than vegetables.

As for fresh seafood, it was very rarely seen on dining tables except for those living along the sea. Although Taiwan is an island, it does not mean that seafood is readily available all the time. In the early years of the Japanese era, fishery production was limited due to the lack of fishing and refrigeration equipment and techniques.[56]

[55] For the varieties of pickled and fermented vegetables, see Kawahara Zuigen (Wang Rei-cheng), 1990 [1943].
[56] *TNSP*, 4/29/1906(2); *TNSP*, 5/2/1906(4).

Therefore, Taiwan relied much on imported seafood from Japan and China.[57] For example, official statistics of 1907 showed that the fishery production in Taiwan was only 130,000 *jin* (78,000 kilogram),[58] with 6,178,827 *jin* (3,707,396 kilogram) imported from Japan in the same year.[59] Even in the later period of the colonial era when Taiwan's fishery industry and production had made great advances, the consumption of fresh seafood was still restricted to the seashore regions or where the fish breeding industry was located. For most households living in northern and central Taiwan, the seafood on dining tables was salted fish, dried fish, and dried squid (Zeng, 2006a, pp. 112-113). In sum, sweet potato, rice and pickled vegetables made up the main foods of most people in Taiwan, while meat and seafood were eaten only on special occasions. The scarcity of seafood for the general population showed a far cry from the "Taiwanese cuisine" presented at Japanese banquets, exhibitions, and exclusive restaurants.

Making of "taste": condiments and cooking methods

Besides food ingredients, the characteristics of dishes were also shaped by cooking methods and condiments used, which gave dishes the "taste" that could be cherished and passed down from generation to generation. For cooking methods, boiling, stewing, and stir-frying were the ways most frequently used in Taiwanese families. However, because cooking oil was expensive, stir-frying was not such a common practice as it is today. Vegetables were often boiled and eaten with salt or soy sauce. To save energy and food resources, stewing was popular because stews could be heated repeatedly and eaten over a longer time span. In contrast, deep-frying was rarely used because too much cooking oil was required; but such scarcity also made deep-frying dishes important in Taiwanese feasts, as a show of hospitality and generosity (Kajiwara Michiyoshi, 1989 [1941], pp. 109-111; Kokubu Naoichi, 1991, pp. 75-83; Tôhô Takayoshi, 1997 [1942], pp. 24-27).

These cooking methods and simple condiments made "Taiwanese food" taste generally light and plain, with the original taste of food ingredients more obvious. A Japanese anthropologist once commented, "There were no 'condiments' in Taiwan. They used no more than oil and salt when cooking." (Kajiwara Michiyoshi, 1989 [1941], p. 111). However, it did not mean that the general population in Taiwan did not eat oily and heavily-flavored dishes; on the contrary, some salty and fatty dishes were also eaten, but only on important occasions. These occasions called *bando* (辦

[57] *TNSP*, 5/4/1906(3).
[58] *Jin* is the unit of weight commonly used in Taiwan, one *Jin* equals 600 gram.
[59] *TNSP*, 4/8/1909(3).

桌) will be discussed in the next section, which can explain why these festival dishes are regarded as symbolic Taiwanese dishes nowadays.

4.2 *Bando*: outdoor feasts

Although most Taiwanese people cooked and ate at home, with little exposure to the exquisite dining at "Taiwanese restaurants" like the *Jiangshan Lou*, they did have outdoor feasts called *bando,* which might cost all the savings of a family. Nowadays, *bando* is viewed as a folk culture, and those dishes served at *bando* are often regarded as the "authentic Taiwanese cuisine."

Bando is the Hokkien[60] pronunciation of *banzhou*, which literally means "managing the tables," and refers to "outdoor feasts" held on important occasions such as weddings, religious feasts, house warming, birthdays of the elderly (more than 60 years old), and the first-month birthday of newborns. The size of the banquet was measured by the number of tables, which might be under 10 or more than 30, depending on the occasion, financial conditions, and social networks of the host families.[61]

Bando in Taiwan started in the Qing Dynasty, and the characteristics of the immigration society played a crucial role in shaping *bando* as an important social activity in Taiwan. In the first place, when some Han Chinese migrated to Taiwan from southern coastal China, there was a strong need for them to build a new social network in their new home for survival, and feasting was an easy way to achieve such purpose. Through treating meals at feasts, a host could maintain or create connections with kin, countrymen, and newcomers, seeking collaboration and establishing assistance systems. Secondly, for the immigrants in Taiwan, it was a new society which offered more possibilities than Mainland China to climb up the social ladder, and holding feasts could be a chance for showing generosity in order to enhance social status (Zeng, 2006b). In other words, *bando* had been a means to compete for fame and build reputation since the late Qing, and such custom persisted during the Japanese era (Lin, 1998).

In rural societies, *bando* was regarded as a great local event because not only the host family but all the neighbors were a part of it. When the host decided to have a banquet, a long preparation lasting almost half a year began. Since there were no professional chefs in rural areas at that time, the host family had to invite talented

[60] Hokkien is a language commonly used in Taiwan and the southern Fujian Province of China, which was the hometown of most Han immigrants to Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty. The language is also known as *Minnan* or Southern Fukienese. See also Chapter Three.

[61] Although *bando* could also be seen in urban areas, it was much more popular in rural areas while urban families often had banquets in private houses or restaurants. On the origin and discussion of *bando*, see Zeng, 2006b.

neighbors to shoulder the task of cooking. An important characteristic of *bando* was that the cuisines served were cooked outdoors rather than in kitchens. Cooks responsible for *bando* had to build stoves under large tents as makeshift kitchens. Dining tables were also set up in open squares or along the street. These tables and chairs, cooking utensils and tableware were all borrowed from neighbors, who also helped in preparing the banquet such as cleaning and cutting foodstuffs, and even serving the dishes. Therefore, *bando* was essentially a communal event in the neighborhood and the success of *bando* relied on a well-organized neighbor-network or a strong social bond of support.[62]

For the host, the greatest challenge of *bando* was money. Such a feast would cost the family their "savings of the entire year"[63] and many peasants had to go into debts for years to afford it. Even so, the peasants would rather borrow for *bando* because it was an important way of presenting hospitality and building social prestige, and the most important principle of *bando* was to make guests feel satisfied.[64] An unsatisfying banquet would mean a loss of face and friendship, which would result in difficulties in the communal life of host families.

The principle of hospitality was also reflected in the food of *bando*. Aiming to fill and satisfy all guests' stomachs, the dishes of outdoor feasts were characterized by being oily, meaty, and of large portion. Great quantities of meat were particularly indispensable. For example, stewed fatty pork was one of the representative dishes of *bando*, and it is also a symbolic feature of "Taiwanese cuisine" nowadays particularly in nostalgic restaurants.

Another feature of *bando* was "packing food home" (*dabao*), which is still common in Taiwanese banquets today. Because many guests of the host family came from places so far away that they had to spend half a day to go home, the host were expected to prepare sufficient food to be packed for guests as supplies on their way home.[65] To fit such needs, those dishes in the second half of *bando* are usually dry food items such as deep-fried squid balls (炸花枝丸) and deep-fried taro (炸芋頭),[66] which are easy to pack and carry when traveling.

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[62] Interviews with chefs: A-zhong (1/2/2007, Taipei), A-qin (1/3/2007, Taipei), Mr. Xue (4/24/2008, Kaohsiung), Zeng, 2006b. I use shortened names when referring to most of my informants in the thesis to maintain their anonymity in accordance with these informants' wishes. Information of their background is provided in the Appendix.

[63] The original text is "*yifan zhongsui zhixu*" (一飯終歲之蓄), see: *Zhuluo xianzhi [Gazetteer of Jiayi County]*, 1962 [1717], p. 138.

[64] Interview: chef A-zhong, A-jia (11/22/2006, Yilan), Mr. Lang (1/16/2008, Taipei).

[65] Interview: chef A-qin, Mr. Xue, A-jia.

[66] Interview: chef A-zhong.

Figures 1.5 & 1.6 *Bando* nowadays
Source: Author, taken in Jiayi County (2009)

The importance of *bando* as a feature of "Taiwanese cuisine" lies in its particularity as well as generality. On the one hand, it was a special feast out of the ordinary. On such occasions, the participants could enjoy food far superior to daily meals, such as meat and seafood. The food served at *bando* was not cooked in complicated ways, but there were plenty of meat at the feast, which was usually more than sufficient. Deep-fried meat balls (炸肉丸), goose meat (鵝肉), and braised pork (爌肉) were some typical items served at *bando*, characterized by oily cooking and easy for packing as take-away.

On the other hand, *bando* was an important shared experience and memory of most Taiwanese living in rural regions, and this is where the "generality" originated. The success of *bando* depended much on the cooperation of neighbors and other

social networks of the host. Sort of a labor exchange, *bando* was a community event, through which the connections within a village were strengthened. Furthermore, because *bando* was held during religious feasts, festivals, and ritual celebrations, almost all Taiwanese had the chance to participate in such activities. It thus became an important occasion for communal remembrance. In short, the "particularity" of *bando* made it a significant experience, and the "generality" of this significant experience made it an important collective memory of all Taiwanese people.

5. "Taiwanese cuisine" during Japanese colonial era: presentation of an elite culture

"Taiwanese cuisine": three layers of meaning

This chapter has examined the origin of the notion of "Taiwanese cuisine," investigating how it was named, shaped, and presented as a distinctive culinary category. To sum up, "Taiwanese cuisine" has multiple layers of meaning, and each layer of meaning stems from different social classes and dining occasions. The first layer of meaning was haute cuisine, referring to elaborate dishes made with costly ingredients and specific cooking methods. The contents of haute cuisine were defined by upper class and elites, including cultural mediators and consumers of the highest circles. In short, "Taiwanese cuisine" in this layer of meaning was an "elite food," which was a well-defined idea, indicating not only refined dishes, but also a set of dining etiquettes, and a group of gentries who could afford and appreciate it. Such "Taiwanese cuisine" was to be enjoyed in specific venues together with intellectual activities, and thus became a symbol of social status and distinction.

The second layer of meaning of "Taiwanese cuisine" was "food of Taiwanese," referring to the ordinary food consumption of the general population. The main items included rice, sweet potato, pickled and fermented food, while meat and seafood were rarities, which was in sharp contrast to the elite food enjoyed by the upper circles. For everyday meals of commoners, the food was acquired from their own fields or neighborhoods, and there were obvious regional differences in ordinary dishes served on family dining tables.

The third layer of meaning was *bando,* the banquet food of Taiwanese commoners. Its difference from the second layer of meaning lies in the occasion of dining. Compared with the ordinary food of family meals, banquet dishes included meat, seafood, and deep-fried dishes, which were precious items particularly for most peasant households, thus making the dining experience distinct from daily meals.

Cultural presentation of "Taiwanese cuisine"

However, among these three layers of meaning, only the first layer was presented and identified as "Taiwanese cuisine" during the Japanese colonial era. The Japanese phrase *Taiwan ryôri* was the first term referring to the notion of "Taiwanese cuisine," which was used much earlier than the Mandarin word *Taiwan cai*, which also refers to "Taiwanese cuisine." At first, *Taiwan ryôri* was used by the Japanese to refer to the food of their new colony, differentiating it from Japanese and Chinese cuisine. It was featured at official banquets, exhibitions, and royal banquets as "a taste of the new territory of Japan." The appreciation of the aristocrats contributed to making "Taiwanese cuisine" haute cuisine and to promoting its popularity among the social elite, including both Japanese and Taiwanese.

In other words, "Taiwanese cuisine" referred to "food of the colony" served at banquets, and "fine dishes enjoyed by the upper class" in restaurants. In these two senses, "Taiwanese cuisine" was a cultural presentation on table, which included a sophisticated selection of menu and a set of dining etiquettes. In the first sense, "Taiwanese cuisine" was an exotic cuisine, which was meant to distinguish a new colony by its distinctive taste. In the second sense, these dishes were selected to show the fortune, artistic cultivation, and generosity of the upper-class consumers. The way to demonstrate the appreciation of haute cuisine and familiarity of dining manners thus became not only a convention but also knowledge which was worth learning. In this respect, the owners of restaurants played the role of cultural mediators, disseminating the methods of enjoying "Taiwanese cuisine," and further establishing it as a distinctive category.

In both senses, such a presented "Taiwanese cuisine" was not rooted in traditional culinary customs. Practically, this presented "Taiwanese cuisine" as a distinctive taste was the selection from various Chinese haute cuisines but modified using local food resources on the one hand, and adapted to suit the tastes and preferences of Japanese and Taiwanese elites on the other. "Taiwanese cuisine" emerged eventually through discursive articulation and repeated exposure at banquets of the upper class.

While the "Taiwanese cuisine" featured at exhibitions and exclusive restaurants was meant to be a demonstration of haute culture, the regional difference of food became blurred and oblivious. The selection of Taiwanese cuisine was made according to the value of food ingredients, and their choice ranges were much wider than that of common food items consumed by peasant households. For example, according to a travel journal of Jiang Kang-hu in 1935,[67] there was no obvious

[67] Jiang Kang-hu (1883-1954) established the Socialist Party of China in 1911. He visited Taiwan in 1934 in the capacity of a professor of Chinese studies from McGill University of

difference among the banquets the author had in different cities of Taizhong, Tainan, and Kaohsiung (Jiang, 1935, pp. 39-40). Furthermore, neither the introduction given by the Japanese nor the detailed explanation of Wu Jiang-shan had mentioned regional difference of Taiwanese cuisine. Although regional difference of food did exist in Taiwan due to the difference in geography and agricultural production (Zeng, 2006a), such a regional difference in food could only be seen in "food of Taiwanese." In contrast, the elite cuisines of different regions shared great similarity within the established category of "Taiwanese cuisine."

However, why did "Taiwanese cuisine" as elite food disappear after the colonial era? What changes had taken place on the culinary scene of Taiwan? These issues will be further explored in the next chapter.

Canada.