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How Taiwanese, Korean, and Manchurian Cuisines Were Designed : A Comparative Study on Colonial Cuisines in the Japanese Empire

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Abstract

This article considers the characteristics of the Japanese Empire's food culture among the colonial empires of world history. It points out that Japanese people have a strong interest in colonial cuisines, such as "Taiwanese cuisine," "Korean cuisine," and "Manchurian cuisine." While Korean cuisine sometimes became an expression of nationalism in the colony, Taiwanese cuisine and Manchurian cuisine were mainly promoted by Japanese colonists. This article considers the whole picture of Manchurian cuisine, in particular, for the first time. In addition, Crown Prince Hirohito (later Emperor Shōwa) tasted Taiwanese cuisine in Taipei in 1923 and food from the Chinese continent in Tokyo on New Year's Day in 1940. These meals are interpreted as political ceremonies symbolizing the integration of the Japanese Empire.

Keywords

Manchurian cuisine, Japanese Colonialism, Hirohito (Emperor Shōwa), bean sprouts, sorghum vulgare (*kaoliang*), Mongolian barbeque (*Jingisucan*), *gyoza*

Introduction

The most widely consumed cuisines have, since the origin of states, been those of the largest and most powerful political units. And those, in the past four thousand years, have been empires (Laudan 2013, 20). The "empires" used here is a broad concept that can be replaced with "major powers." Based on this idea, Laudan (2013) looked at the history of the world from ancient times to the present day with a focus on cuisines and argued that the food culture of a successful empire was imitated by outsiders, and has been used and adapted across borders. Besides Laudan's great work,

many researchers have conducted historical studies on how the rise and fall of the empires have changed the world's food culture actively in recent years.

The most advanced research on this subject has focused on the British Empire. For example, according to Collingham (2018), the expansion of the British Empire's food trading system has changed the diet of both the home country and the colonies, fostering new food cultures around the world, but it eroded British local cuisines and even worsened the nutritional status of the colonies. Collingham (2011) also looked at World War II, focusing on food procurement by the colonial empires and, in her large book, she clarified that while the British Empire could rely on colonies to improve food shortages, the food price had soared in the colonies as a result (Chap. 7). The conservative image of the British colonial food culture has been challenged in recent years. According to Leong-Salobir (2011), British people living in colonial India, Malaya, and Singapore had dishes prepared by local cooks and housekeepers, that were "colonial cuisines" blending European and Asian foods. In fact, eating was an area where British people could not clearly distinguish between colonists and the colonized people.

As for the French Empire, Pilcher (2006, 72-75) pointed out that the French people in Indochina were more particular about their own food than the British living in India¹. Vietnamese cuisine did not attract people from France and only rice, tropical fruits, curry powder, and Vietnamese spring roll (*chả giò* or *nem rán*) were incorporated into the fringe of French cuisine as exotic colonial foods (Janes 2016, 69-101; Lien 2016, 123). On the other hand, pro-French emperors and their aides and senior officials, who collaborated with France in the late 19th century, held large-scale banquets with French cuisine and some of the wealthy class tried to refine Vietnamese dishes by incorporating French cuisine in the colonial period (Peters 2012, 137-138). However, it has been generally concluded that for prominent Asians as much as European colonists, cross-cultural adaptation took place only at the margin, most often at breakfast or dessert (Pilcher 2006, 75).

Compared with the research on the history of food culture in the British Empire and the French Empire, the research on colonial cuisines and foods in the Japanese Empire is insufficient to elucidate the whole picture. However, Cwiertka (2016, 148) argued that the imperialist expansion into China was equally significant for the popularization of Chinese food in Japan as the policies of civilization and enlightenment were for the popularization of Western food. In addition, it seems clear that the Japanese colonists' interest in indigenous Chinese food spurred the development of the "Taiwanese cuisine," whereas the British colonists dismissed

¹ By the 1920s, however, French men in Indochina had been eager to attend Chinese banquets hosted by Chinese counterparts (Peters 2012, 113).

indigenous Malaysian food culture, such that the development of Malaysian cuisine was hindered (Hsiao and Lim 2015, 40-41).

I am of the view that one of the remarkable features of Japanese imperial food culture is that the colonial cuisines were highly valued, widely spread, and actively developed in the Empire. This article mainly analyzes the discourse in magazines and newspapers, and considers how colonial cuisines were established in the Japanese Empire including Taiwan (colonized by Japan in 1895), Korea (annexed in 1910), and Manchuria, or northeast China (where the puppet government was established by the Japanese Army in 1932). Above all, this article clarifies the whole picture of “Manchurian cuisine,” specifically, for the first time in this article. Furthermore, the article clarifies the characteristics of the food culture of the Japanese Empire among the colonial empires in world history.

Taiwanese Cuisine

In recent years, research on Taiwanese cuisine during the colonial period has been pursued in connection with the formation of the Taiwanese identity (Chen 2011, 2016, 2020; Tseng 2013, 2018; Yang 2017). This article briefly reviews the formation of Taiwanese cuisine, highlighting significant events that have never received enough attention.

Within three years after Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895, Japanese colonists have used the name “*Taiwan ryōri* (Taiwanese cuisine),” which was distinguished from “*Shina ryōri* (Chinese cuisine),” in Taiwan (*Taiwan Daily* [*Taiwan nichinichi xinpō*], January 18, 1898). Then, at the 5th National Industrial Exhibition held in Osaka in 1903, the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office (*Taiwan sōtoku-fu*) established the Taiwan Pavilion to introduce the “new territory.” There was a tearoom introducing Taiwanese oolong tea and a Taiwanese restaurant that imitated a Chinese restaurant in Taiwan. The cooks invited from Taiwan served noodles, chicken, duck, fish, shrimp, crab, shark fin, and other foods, and nearly 40,000 guests ate them (Tukide 1903, 1-14). In this way, the 1903 National Industrial Exhibition promoted Taiwanese cuisine to Japanese people and made them aware of Chinese (*Qing*) cuisine as Japanese colonial cuisine for the first time.

After that, the promotion of Taiwanese cuisine continued at each exposition held in Tokyo. For example, a tearoom that served Taiwanese oolong tea was opened at the Industrial Exhibition (Ueno, 1907) (Tukide 1907, 73-77), a Taiwanese restaurant was opened at the Peace Expo (1922, Ueno) (*Taiwan Daily*, February 23, 1922), and an “Oolong Tea Advertising Department” served “Taiwanese set meal (teishoku no Taiwan ryōri)” in the Taiwan Exhibition held at the national sports stadium (*Ryōgoku*

kokugikan) in 1929 (*Taiwan Daily*, April 20, 1929).

In addition, some Taiwanese restaurants were opened in mainland Japan. For example, in early April of 1911, an interpreter named Chen Qianman (Chin Senman) opened a Taiwanese restaurant in Hanaya-cho, Omiya-dori, Kyoto, invited journalists to celebrate the opening, and appointed a few 12-13-years-old maids to serve various Taiwanese dishes in a very simple manner. This restaurant aimed not only to provide meals to Taiwanese people who came to the main temples (*Honzan*) in Kyoto for the Buddhist memorial services of the founders but also to introduce the Taiwanese life-style to the people in mainland Japan. An article reporting this restaurant in the *Taiwan Daily* (April 29, 1911) is most likely the earliest record of a Taiwanese restaurant in Japan and a Chinese restaurant in Kyoto².

In April 1923, the Crown Prince Hirohito (later Emperor Shōwa) visited Taiwan, which was the only case in which the Emperor or Crown Prince travelled to the colony in Japan. At that time, national movements such as the Petition for the Establishment of the Taiwan Parliament were on the rise in Taiwan. The Imperial Crown Prince's visit to Taiwan was, therefore, part of a strategic ritual to integrate the whole empire by treating Taiwan as a local area within the space controlled by the emperor (Wakabayashi 1984).

In this Taiwan tour, Hirohito had Taiwanese cuisine once. It was widely reported in the *Taiwan Daily* (April 26, 27, 1923) that famous high-end Chinese local restaurants such as *Jiangshan-lou* (江山樓) and *Donghui-fang* (東薈芳) served typical Chinese luxury foods such as swallow's nest and shark fin as Taiwanese cuisine. This is the first time that a Japanese emperor or prince has eaten local dishes in the colony, or had foreign dishes other than Western dishes abroad, therefore, very elaborate rites were required. For example, the vegetarian department of both restaurants carefully selected the ingredients to be cooked, and eight of Chinese masters and cooks who prepared royal dishes were purified in a secluded place for a week (*Taiwan Daily*, April 26, 1923). This tasting of "Taiwanese cuisine" by the Crown Prince can be also understood as part of the integration ceremony for incorporating the colony into the empire.

After that, however, Hirohito began to prefer Chinese food. Tokuō Akiyama, who was later referred to as the Emperor's culinary keeper, returned from France in 1913, became the first chief chef of the Bureau of Imperial Cuisine, Department of the Imperial Household in 1917, and prepared daily meals for the royal family of Emperor Taisho and Emperor Shōwa in addition to supervision over the imperial cuisine. After Akiyama was dispatched to mainland China by the Imperial Household Ministry and learned how to cook Chinese dishes for six months, mainly in Shanghai

² See Iwama (2019b) for the history of Chinese cuisine in Kyoto.

in 1922, Chinese food was served often in the palace by 1925 (Akiyama 2005, 93, 113-116; Tanaka 1987, 207).

In addition, members of Japanese royalty such as Chichibunomiya, Asakanomiya, Kuninomiya, Fushiminomiya, and Nashimotonomiya followed Crown Prince Hirohito to visit Taiwan and had Taiwanese cuisine (*Taiwan Daily*, May 30, 1925; October 23, 1927; April 5, 1928; May 15, 1929; October 14, 1934). The repeated reports that these Japanese royals ate “Taiwanese cuisine” distinguished it from “Chinese cuisine” in Taiwan, such that Taiwanese cuisine was widely recognized as local cuisine in the empire. Prime Minister and war leader Hideki Tojo, who visited Taiwan in May 1943, was also served Taiwanese cuisine at an invitation dinner hosted by Governor Kiyoshi Hasegawa and seemed to like it very much (*Taiwan Daily*, May 9, 1943).

Korean Cuisine

The restaurants in modern Korea have many similarities to the restaurants in Taiwan. The first foreigners who came to Korea in large numbers were Japanese, and high-class Japanese restaurants (*ryōtei*) appeared in 1887. After Japanese geisha girls were permitted to travel to Korea in 1896, the number of Japanese restaurants increased in Korea in the 1900s. The increase in Japanese restaurants led to the development of Korean restaurants and cafeterias. From the 1890s, high-class Korean restaurants where male Korean customers could eat, drink and play with female Korean entertainers (*gisaeng*) increased in Korea. From around the Annexation of Korea (1910), the royal chefs (*sugsu*) also set up restaurants on their own account, and one of them was *Myeongwol-gwan* (明月館), which was founded in 1909 and grew into the most famous Korean restaurant during the colonial period. However, high-class Korean restaurants in the colonial period served not only pre-colonial imperial court cuisine, but also international cuisine that included Japanese, Western and Chinese dishes (Tomura 2003; Cwiertka 2006; Cwiertka 2012). In the high-class Korean restaurants, chefs who could only make a part of the court cuisine used Western dishes and also offered Chinese and Japanese dishes to secure the number of dishes in a meal (Sasaki 2009, 204).

In mainland Japan in 1895, the first Korean noodle restaurant, *Nitkan-rō* (日韓楼), was opened in Minatoyama onsen in Kobe. In 1905, I, Insik (李人植), a Korean man from Gyongsong (or Keijō, now Seoul) opened the earliest Korean restaurant in Japan, *Hansan-rō* (韓山楼) in Ueno, Tokyo (Sasaki 2009, 182-184). The menu of *Hansan-rō* was also a mixture of Chinese and Western food in addition to Korean dishes, such as Korean haute stew or *sinseonlo* (神仙炉), and its customers were

Korean diplomats and intellectuals, and Japanese men who had been assigned to or were curious about Korea. In addition, around 1927, No, Gyeongwol (盧瓊月), a female Korean entertainer from Gyeonseong, established *Meigetsu-kan* (明月館) in Kanda, Tokyo, which had nothing to do with *Myeongwol-gwan* in Gyongsong. Although the *Meigetsu-kan* was initially like a canteen for Korean students, it gradually became a high-end restaurant and was used for entertaining politicians when it moved to Nagata-cho, where the central government offices were located, around 1932. In addition to these high-end restaurants, the Korean community in Japan has many inexpensive canteens for Koreans, which sell popular food such as Pyongyang cold noodles, “*senmai*” (Japanized Korean barbeque of beef third stomach) and Japanese *oden* (*kantō-daki*), but Pyongyang cold noodles and Korean barbeque, unlike Chinese dishes, were not well known to Japanese ordinary people at the time (Sasaki 2009, 204).

Incidentally, the first restaurant for Japanized Korean barbeque (*Yakiniku*), where customers grill their own meat to eat, was born after the renovation of a Korean restaurant in Ikaino, Osaka. That Korean restaurant introduced short ribs (*galbi* or *karubi*) and Korean grilled marinated-beef (*bulgogi* or *purukogi*) from Korea. The Japanized Korean barbeque was introduced by Korean residents in Osaka in the 1930s and the Koreans spread it from Osaka to Gyongsong, Korea and Manchuria within the Japanese Empire. In Manchuria, due to the colonization of Korea and the founding of Manchukuo, Korean immigrants from northern Korea increased, and Korean restaurants also increased accordingly (Sasaki 2009, 180-182; 2011).

In this way, the myth that the Japanese who ruled Korea as a colony showed “surprising indifference” (Ishige 2013, 30) to Korean cuisine has been overturned³. High-quality Korean restaurants were often criticized by Japanese customers, but popular dishes such as soup with beef and ox bone (*Seolleongtang*) and short ribs were often reputed.

Furthermore, *kimchi* was completed as a flavorful pickle that time, and highly evaluated compared to Chinese pickles in Japan, and about half of Japanese books on pickles included *kimchi* in the pre-war Shōwa period (1926-1937). When Japanese colonists began to immigrate into the Korean Peninsula, they called the pickles using Korean names, such as *kimchi* or “*chinsai* (沈菜),” but soon began to use Japanese names, such as “Korean pickle (*chosen-zuke*).” Japanese people widely recognized *kimchi* after the annexation of Korea, but it was not very popular. Nevertheless, *kimchi*

³ Ishige (2013, 30) argues that Japanese people were indifferent to Korean cuisine because less than ten books on Korean cuisine were written in Japanese during the 35 years of Korea’s rule by Japan. However, it was difficult for Koreans at the time to publish books, whether in Korean or Japanese, and Japanese travel and food books often introduced Korean cuisine. (Sasaki 2009, 194-195, 213-216).

was often featured in cookbooks because the Japanese government and private media collaborated to adapt Japanese people to Korean culture based on the policy of harmony and unity of mainland Japan and Korea (*Naisen-yūwa* or *Naisen-ittai*) (Sasaki 2009, 199-206, 218-219, 261-270).

In addition to *kimchi*, *mentaiko*, or spicy pollack roe, is another indigenous Korean food that has changed from “Korean taste” to “Imperial taste” (Joo 2013, 272-289; Lim 2019, 165-188). Around 1907, Izuha Higuchi established a *mentaiko* manufacturing wholesaler in Korea, increased its demand in Japan, Taiwan, and China, and exported a large amount of *mentaiko* from Busan in Korea to Shimonoseki in Japan (Imanishi and Nakatani 2008, 31, 84-91). In Hakata, now famous for *mentaiko*, Toshio Kawahara, a former employee of South Manchuria Electric Co., Ltd., opened a food wholesale store called *Fukuya* to sell Chinese cooking ingredients for business use in 1948. In the next year, Kawahara launched to sell the *mentaiko* that he had eaten in his hometown of Busan. His *mentaiko* began to spread after he developed a new product called “*Mentaiko* of taste (*Aji-no-mentaiko*)” in 1957 and became popular as Hakata’s specialty all over Japan after the bullet train (*Shinkansen*) opened to Hakata in 1975 (Kawahara 2013, 19-87)⁴.

In colonial Korea, it was allowed, to some extent, to publish books on Korean cuisine in the Korean language. For example, Bang, Sinyong (方信榮, 1899-1977, later as a professor at Ewha Women’s University) began teaching at her alma mater Jongsin (貞信) Women’s School in Gyeongseong in 1901. She studied abroad at a nutrition school in Tokyo from 1925 to 1926 (Han 2001, 203-205) and has appeared frequently in *The Chosun Ilbo* and other media as a prominent Korean food researcher and nutritionist. In particular, she published a textbook, *Korean cuisine recipe* (*Joseon nyori jebop*) as the first modern cookbook in Korea that clearly described how to make more than 500 Korean dishes, attaching tables that accurately measured the ingredients. She wrote this cookbook inspired by the national enlightenment movement of a Korean independent activist in the background that Korean cookbooks were much fewer than those in other countries (Moriya 2012). *Korean cuisine recipe*, which won in a trial on the copyright infringement in 1933 (*The Chosun Ilbo*, July 23, 1933) and reprinted up to the 24th edition by 1942, had a broad and deep influence in colonial Korea (Han 2001, 203-205).

⁴ For the life of Toshio Kawahara, a TV drama “Mentai spicy (*Mentai piriri*)” was produced by Television Nishinippon Corporation in Fukuoka and broadcast all over Japan in 2001.

Manchurian Cuisine

Compared to Taiwanese and Korean cuisine, Manchurian cuisine, which was one of three sophisticated cuisines in the colonies or the ruled areas of the Japanese Empire, has never received enough attention with a few exceptional dishes such as Mongolian barbeque and *gyoza* (Jinba n.d.; Watanabe 2011; Kusano 2013; Uotsuka 2019; Uotsuka 2020). However, “triumphal dishes (*gaisen ryōri*),” such as “Muken soup (*Hōten jiru*)” made with pigeon meat, and “Port Arthur fried dish (*Ryojun Age*)” cooked with tofu and oysters, became popular in mainland Japan after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) (Kosuge 1997, 88). Even after the Japanese army established the puppet government of Manchukuo in March 1932 (which was renamed “Manchurian Empire” in March 1934), national ceremonial dishes such as “New Manchurian scattered sushi (*Shin manshū Chirashi*),” “New national rice bowl dish (*Shin kokka don*),” “Rice bowl dish as five races under one union (*Gozoku kyōwa don*),” “National flag lunch box (*kokki bentō*),” and others were created with the image of a five-colored national flag symbolizing five ethnicities in Manchukuo (*Ryōyū* 7(6): June 1932, 92-93; 14(1): January 1939, 49; 14(6): June 1939, 107).

More significantly, bean sprouts were made from soybean and green beans mainly produced in Manchuria, and they were spread to Japan partly by Marumoto, Shōzō (丸本彰造) (1886-1961) of an executive researcher of the Army Food Arsenal (*Rikugun Ryōmatsu shō*), a military agency responsible for research, storage and product of rations. He was also known not only as a critic of “Dried plum supremacism (*Umeboshi shugi*)” the idea that neglected the cooking method because Japanese soldiers who ate rice balls with dried plums had won the war (Yoshida 2002, 108) but also as the person who introduced Chinese cuisine to the Japanese Army (Tanaka 1987, 203). He also played a crucial role in popularizing bean sprouts that had not been often used, except in Chinese cuisine, in Japan.

In the spring of 1919, Marumoto made a brochure entitled “How to make bean sprouts” and sent it with soy and green beans to the battlefield because of the shortage of vegetables and vitamin C in the food of soldiers at the dispatch of Japanese troops to Siberia. After the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, the shortage of vegetables was serious in Tokyo and bean sprouts were sent from Sendai and other places. At that time, Marumoto and the Army Food Arsenal were advocating bean sprouts in parallel with the promotion of Chinese cuisine⁵. For example, the Food Association (*Ryōyūkai*) affiliated with the Army Food Arsenal hosted a food exhibition at the Ueno

⁵ As noted in “Yasukute oishī shinaryōri fukyū undō: Rikugun ryōmatsushō no kōshūkai [Promotion of cheap and delicious Chinese cuisine: the Army Food Arsenal’s workshop].” *Kokumin shinbun* [National Newspaper], March 10, 1923.

Park in Tokyo in March 1929, demonstrated how to cook bean sprouts in the special “Korean and Manchurian Days” and enlightened people about mutton and lamb dishes such as the Mongolian barbeque (*Ryōyūkai*, ed. 1929, 445-461). By the end of the 1930s, bean sprouts were so widespread that people believed there were neither department stores nor grocery stores that did not sell bean sprouts, nor military units that did not use bean sprouts in the Imperial Capital, Tokyo (*Ryōyū* 13(5): May 1938, 40-47).

In addition, the Army Food Arsenal developed “Manchurian bread (*Manshū pan*),” a nutritious black bread that was made from Manchurian food resources such as flour, rye, sorghum vulgare, soybean, corn, and peanuts. In September 1934, during the commemoration of the third anniversary of the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the Army Food Arsenal sold the Manchurian bread extensively in the city and suburbs of Hiroshima that was the Garrison of the Fifth Army Division and was called the Military Capital (*Ryōyūkai Hiroshima Shibu*, 1934). On April 15-16 of the following year, the “Manchurian Bread Day” was held in Tokyo to commemorate the visit of the Manchurian emperor and Manchuria breads were piled up at major bakery stores such as *Meiji Seika*, *Morinaga*, *Kimuraya*, and *Nakamura* and department stores such as *Mitsukoshi*, *Matsuzakaya*, *Matsuya*, *Takashimaya*, and *Isetan* all over Tokyo (*Ryōyūkai*, 1935).

Later, as the rice-saving campaign was strengthened during the war, a similar millet bread was renamed “the Bread for Rising Asia and Founding the Nation (*kōa kenkoku pan*)” and this time people were actively encouraged to make this bread at home in 1940 (Kanematsu, 1940a; 1940b). However, as stated by Kawashima, Shirō (川島四郎) (1895-1986), who studied military food at the Army Food Arsenal and taught nutrition at Kyoritsu Women’s University after World War II (Nishikawa, 1989), millet bread containing soy flour and sorghum vulgare flour was excellent for saving resources and supplementing nutrition during the war, however, it was not popular because it was heavy and did not fit the taste of Japanese people (Kawashima 1938, 376-377).

As stated above, soybean and other millets, which were produced in Manchuria, promoted the development of Chinese cuisine and new bread in Japan, but other specialties of Manchuria were also used in the *haute* cuisine of high-class Japanese restaurants. For example, immediately after the death of a famous chef, Shibuya, Rikitarō (澁谷利喜太郎) (1884-1940), who was renowned as the founder of modern Japanese cuisine, his “Menu Collection [Ryōri Kondateshū]” was published by *Sagami Shobo* in Tokyo in 1941. The collection had a large appendix containing menus that included Manchurian specialties such as Chinese cabbage and pheasant in Shinkyō (Xinjing, now Changchun), shrimp in Dalian, and quail, sea cucumber, and

tofu in Manchuria.

Furthermore, Manchurian cuisine was intended to be systematized and spread as a national cuisine of the nation-state of Manchukuo. In fact, Manchukuo was a multi-ethnic nation, and even the majority of its Chinese people were also a mixed race so that “to be exact, there can be no special dishes such as Manchurian cuisine” (Ueda 1935). Nevertheless, a renowned Chinese cuisine researcher at the time, Yamada, Masahē (山田政平) (1887-1954), who had studied Chinese language and cooking while working as a telecommunications officer in Manchuria from 1905 to 1923, was trying to establish Manchurian cuisine distinguished from Chinese cuisine. He advocated Manchurian cuisine in a culinary magazine article stating, “Beijing cuisine is rather based on Manchurian cuisine,” and “we long for developing Manchurian cuisine in Manchuria in the future as well as Beijing cuisine in Qing dynasty” (Yamada 1936; Iwama 2019a). Even in mainland Japan, officials of Manchukuo tended to use the name “Manchurian cuisine” (Ikuta 1940), and there were many stores that promoted Manchurian cuisine instead of Chinese cuisine until the beginning of World War II and after (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 6, 1934; December 1, 1954). In this way, to distinguish Manchurian culture from Chinese culture and to emphasize the former’s specialty and uniqueness reflected Manchukuo’s ideology and cultural policy and were consistent in many fields such as ethnology, history, exhibitions at national museums, and movies⁶.

My earlier article considered the creation of Manchurian cuisine and Manchurian food using a travel magazine as historical material. The magazine named “*Travel Manchuria (Ryōkō Manshū)*,” was launched in July 1934 and renamed to “*Tourism East Asia (Kankō Tōa)*” in April 1938 by the Dalian Branch of Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), a national travel agency. The South Manchuria Railway Co., Ltd. operating the Yamato Hotel⁷ and the railway dining cars and the JTB aimed to create a unique food culture in Manchukuo and developed Manchurian special cuisine such as Yamato beef steak, Mongolian barbeque, and sorghum vulgare (kaoliang) confectionery. However, these Manchurian foods had little support from local Chinese people and disappeared in northeast China after the fall of Manchukuo (Iwama 2019a).

⁶ For example, on the discourse of modern Japanese ethnology, which emphasized the authenticity and autonomy of Manchuria but aimed to incorporate and subordinate the major Han Chinese to the multi-ethnic state of Manchukuo, see Duara (2003). Nakao (2016, 239-314) argues that Manchukuo promoted the ideology of “five races under one union (*gozoku kyōwa*)” to counter Chinese nationalism but did not place emphasis on ethnology and just used young ethnologists of each ethnic group for pacification works. Ōide (2014) considered on the museum policy of Manchukuo and the Japanese oriental history that supported it. Regarding the film dramas of the Manchuria Film Association that differentiated them from Shanghai movies and Japanese films, see Gang (2011).

⁷ “*Yamato*” is the old and elegant name of Japan.

On the other hand, only *gyoza* (fried dumpling) and Mongolian barbeque were introduced to Japan as Manchurian dishes. Some contemporaneous historical sources support the theory that the Japanese pronunciation of “*gyōza*” came from the pronunciation in the Manchurian dialect for Chinese dumpling (*jiaozi*) (e.g., Hirayama 1933). On the name of the Mongolian barbeque, a Japanese journalist in Beijing in the 1910s is believed to have first named roasted mutton or lamb meat “*Jingisucan*,” a similar pronunciation to the Mongolian hero of Genghis Khan (1162-1227), and the Mongolian barbeque has spread from Beijing to cities in Manchuria and even to Japan⁸. Since an article entitled “the purpose of the advertisement for mutton and lamb meat” was published at the beginning of “Food Companion (*Ryōyū*),” the magazine of the Food Association that was an affiliated organization of the Army Food Arsenal in November 1927 (vol. 2 no.11) (see Yasuhara [2003] on this magazine), the Mongolian barbeque was supposed to start spreading in mainland Japan. For example, when a Chinese restaurant called the Spring and Autumn Garden (Shunjyūen, 春秋園) in Ōi, Tokyo held a dinner party commemorating the first anniversary of the foundation of Manchukuo in March 1933, the Mongolian barbeque was served as the main dish (*Ryōri no tomo* 21(5), May 1933: 20-24).

Colonial Cuisines Spreading into Japanese Homes

Taiwanese, Korean and Manchurian cuisine seems to have penetrated somewhat into Japanese homes living in these areas and even in mainland Japan⁹.

First, for Japanese residents in Taiwan, announcements of Taiwanese cooking classes for female students and housewives have been frequently published in *Taiwan Daily* from August 14, 1921. Even in Tokyo, Japan’s leading women’s magazine called “*Housewives’ Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*),” published an article entitled “Taiwanese and Korean Foods for Side Dishes: How to Prepare Warm and Delicious Dishes Easily (*Osōzai muki no Taiwan ryōri to Chōsen ryōri: Tegaruni dekiru atatakakute oishii oryōri no koshiraekata*)” in December 1924 (vol. 8 no 12, 299-302). In this article, the wife of Mr. Sata, the former executive director of the Bank of Taiwan who opened the *Kanrobō* (甘露坊), probably the first Taiwanese restaurant in Tokyo, introduced ways to cook “Taiwanese dishes” such as “*happōsai*, (八宝菜),” or a Chinese dish similar to *chop suey* containing eight kinds of ingredients, and roast

⁸ Masuo Jinba “*Pekin no Washizawa Inoue meimōsetsu wo kentō suru* [Considering nomenclatures, Washizawa and Inoue in Beijing],” in Jinba (n.d.), <http://www2s.biglobe.ne.jp/~kotoni/washi01.html>

⁹ On the other hand, no article about a Korean cooking class is found in *The Chosun Ilbo* in the same period, even though it can be seen that Chinese cooking classes have been held in Gyongsong since May 22, 1935.

pork (*yakibuta*, 焼豚). Moreover, Riku, Gyokujun (Lu, Yuchun, 陸玉純), a Korean culinary researcher who had lived in Japan for more than 30 years (Riku, 1924), demonstrated how to make Korean dishes such as soft-boiled Chinese cabbage, chicken mixed soup (*toriniku no gomoku jiru*), and *kimchi*. Both Taiwanese and Korean dishes, which became Japanese colonial cuisines, were thus recognized as equivalent in Japanese homes. In addition, after the Korean female entertainers' house (*chaoxian jiguan*, 朝鮮妓館) was opened to serve Korean food in Taipei, Korean cuisine spread to other restaurants in Taiwan (Tseng 2018)¹⁰. The juxtaposition of Taiwanese and Korean cuisines had become common not only in mainland Japan but also in the Japanese colony.

Second, Korean cooking classes for Japanese residents in Korea were slightly lower than Taiwanese cooking classes in Taiwan. For example, the Home Women's Association (*Gajong buin hyopwe*) held the Korean Cooking Workshop (*Josolryori gangseupwe*) with the support of the Department of Arts and Sciences of *The Chosun Ilbo Co.* finally on May 9, 1934, and the printed lectures entitled "How to make delicious food with the same ingredients: Korean cooking lecture (*Gateun jaeryo gajigo iwangimyon masitkke: Josolryori gangjwa*)" written by Hong, Seungmin (洪承嫻), were serialized in *The Chosun Ilbo* from May 19 to 26 in 1934. Nonetheless, compared to the Chinese cooking lectures and workshops in *The Chosun Ilbo* from November 7, 1933, to August 10, 1940, the Korean cooking lectures and workshops had not continued since 1934 and were short-lived.

Third, Manchukuo has become an experimental place and an advanced area in the national movements of "food education (*shokuiku* or *shokuyō*)" that were educational and enlightenment campaigns to nurture health through food. As a result, Japanese residents were encouraged to eat locally produced sorghum vulgare and other millets as staple food at home as much as local Chinese (*manjin*) workers did (Sakurasawa, 1939). Nevertheless, many Japanese residents were annoyed with the poor taste of sorghum vulgare (Sakurasawa 1939, 30), and unconsciously discriminated local Chinese people, so that the Japanese were often given rice, and the Chinese were always given sorghum vulgare at various occasions, such as parties, banquets, food distribution, and school meals (Yamamuro (1993) 2004, 279-281).

In the 1940's, "*Manshū ryōri* (Manchurian cuisine)" began to appear frequently in Japanese food magazines and women's magazines. By the end of the war, the Japanese population in Manchuria had reached about 1,550,000 (excluding about

¹⁰ In *Taiwan Daily*, for example, there was an advertisement of "Yilan street restaurant, Korean pavilion (Girangai ryōriya chōsentei)" in January 1, 1928, and a presentation by Narita, Gyokujun (probably the same person as Riku, Gyokujun) on "*Chajyokiben (Chōsen ryōri)*," a Korean dish like miso steamed bread using blue perilla and Chinese chive in July 7, 1933.

500,000 military and the civilian workers in the military), of which more than 80% were living in urban areas (Araragi 2013, 21). Therefore, with the aim of “coexistence and co-prosperity (*kyōzon kyōei*)” between Japan, Manchuria, and China, Japanese people sought for “common food (*kyōtsū shoku*)” that used many kinds of millets (Hanaoka, 1939; Kawashima, 1940). For example, on the New Year’s Day in the Emperor’s Era of 2600 (1940 in the Christian era), the Emperor and Empress had symbolic menus of military dishes—such as sorghum vulgare and red bean porridge with rice cake (*zoni*), Chinese bun (*mantō*), and pork and bean stew—at the front in Mongolia at breakfast, in Manchuria at lunch, and in north China at dinner. These military New Year dishes (*jinchū shōgatsu ryōri*) were prepared by the Army Food Arsenal under the order of the Department of the Imperial Household (Ichikawa, 1940) and, therefore, could be understood as a ritual using food aimed at strengthening the integration of the territory of the Japanese Empire.

In addition, for example, the “*Women’s Club (Fujin kurabu)*” magazine introduced the “continent dumpling (*tairiku dango*)” in which cold rice and flour were mixed and boiled as a Manchurian dish in February 1940 (vol. 21 no. 2). In July of the same year, Obara, Kaede (小原楓), who studied housework at Tokyo Women’s Normal School and engaged in women’s education in the Kwantung and Manchukuo, introduced various recipes of Chinese dishes as Manchurian cuisine and mentioned foxtail millet and sorghum vulgare besides white rice as the main staple of the Manchurian people (*manshūjin*) in the “*Nutrition and Cooking (Eiyō to Ryōri)*” magazine (Obara, 1940). Obara and her colleague published a recipe book for Northern Chinese cuisine, which was entitled “*Manchurian cuisine recipe*” instead of “*Chinese cuisine recipe*” in 1942 (Sato and Obara, 1942). In 1943 (from January to July and September), the *Housewives’ Companion* magazine set up pages of “*Manchurian Edition*” and demonstrated nutritious home cooking in Manchuria. Although the Manchurian cuisine, which was introduced into Japanese homes in this way, has never taken a firm hold in the Japanese diet, some symbolic dishes such as *gyoza* and Mongolian barbecue evoked nostalgic feelings for mainland China and were inherited by some food stalls and restaurants in Japan after World War II.

Conclusion

When the Japanese Empire possessed Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria, Japanese people had a relatively strong interest in the colonial food culture and established the new culinary categories of “Taiwanese cuisine,” “Korean cuisine,” and “Manchurian cuisine.” It was a characteristic of the Japanese Empire because colonial dishes were hardly published in home cooking magazines and women’s magazines in Western

empires colonizing Asian countries. As its background, Japan, its colonies of Taiwan and Korea, and its puppet nation in Manchuria all belonged to the same Asia region and had similarities in their food culture. Furthermore, Chinese cuisine was more widespread and popular than Japanese cuisine in the world when Japan had colonies and dependent states, and built a small empire in the Far East.

For example, at the National Industrial Exhibition held in Osaka in 1903, the Taiwan Governor-General Office established the Taiwan Pavilion and the Taiwanese restaurant to introduce the new territory. The myth that the Japanese colonists were indifferent to colonial Korean cuisine has been overturned, and *kimchi*, the soup with beef and ox bone and short ribs were often highly rated even among Japanese people. The first modern cookbook written in Korean, titled *Korean cuisine recipe*, was published in 1927 and workshops on Korean cooking were advertised in *The Chosun Ilbo* in 1934. In Manchuria, the South Manchuria Railway Co., Ltd. and the Japan Tourist Bureau tried to create a unique food culture in Manchukuo and developed Manchurian specialty such as Yamato beef steak, Mongolian barbeque, and sorghum vulgare confectionery. In addition, the Manchurian bread made from Manchurian millets was advertised, and bean sprouts made from soybean and green beans mainly produced in Manchuria were spread in pre-war and wartime mainland Japan, and *gyoza* and Mongolian barbeque became popular in post-war Japan.

As shown above, the Japanese food culture has incorporated elements of Taiwanese, Korean, and Manchurian cuisines, which were always mixing Japanese, Western, Chinese, and Korean food as colonial cuisines of the Japanese empire. Among them, as Taiwanese and Manchurian cuisines were created separately from Chinese cuisine, they rarely symbolized the nationalism of colonized people like Korean cuisine. A Korean scholar inspired by a leader of the movement for Korean independence and national enlightenment wrote the first modern collection of recipes for Korean cuisine, which was reprinted several times during the colonial era.

In contrast, Taiwanese cuisine from the early 20th century and Manchurian cuisine from the 1930s had been remarkable as culinary categories emphasized by Japanese colonists rather than by the colonized local people¹¹. The reports that the Crown Prince, members of the royalty, and Prime Minister visited Taiwan and experienced the hospitality of Taiwanese cuisine, have been repeated in *Taiwan Daily*, whereas no similar report on Korean cuisine has been found in *The Chosun Ilbo*. On the other hand, in contrast to Korean cuisine, Manchurian cuisine did not have any support from the Manchurian people (*manjin* or *manshūjin*) who tried to produce and

¹¹ It should be noted, however, that the spread of Chinese cuisine in Japan during the interwar period was largely due to the influence of Chinese cuisine as popular culture from Shanghai rather than the spread of Taiwanese and Manchurian foods as colonial cuisines (Iwama, 2016).

spread Manchurian cuisine, and Manchurian people only sometimes appeared as following consumers of Manchurian food in the media (Iwama, 2019a).

Crown Prince Hirohito had Taiwanese cuisine as part of the integration ceremony when he visited Taiwan in 1923, and since then, for a life time, he liked to eat Chinese dishes prepared by Tokuzō Akiyama, who studied Chinese cuisine in Shanghai and other cities of mainland China in 1922. Emperor Hirohito and his Empress had symbolic dishes for the Japanese military deployed in Mongolia, Manchuria, and north China on the New Year's Day of 1940. At the time, the Japanese people were seeking for a common meal of the empire to promote coexistence and co-prosperity between Japan, Manchuria, and China. It was since around 1940 that the imperialist expansion into China had a direct effect on the Japanese food culture. This was the background of the Chinese food popularity in Japan after the war, which received many repatriates from mainland China.

Taiwanese, Korean, and Manchurian cuisines, which were colonial cuisines of the Japanese Empire, took different paths after World War II. Taiwanese intellectuals have referred to local cuisine as “*Taiwan liaoli* (Taiwanese cuisine)” since the late 1930's, and more stalls and restaurants have offered local common dishes as “*Taicai* (Taiwanese cuisine)” since the 1960's (Tseng 2013)¹². Korean cuisine was promoted and developed as national culture but a new distinction and rivalry between “South Korean cuisine (*hanguk yori*)” and “North Korean cuisine (*joson yori*)” was created after the Korean War (1950-1953). Manchurian cuisine disappeared in mainland China with the repatriation of the Japanese invaders but only slightly left some nostalgic foods reminiscent of mainland China in Japan after the defeat.

In the case of the Japanese empire, or might be in more general, colonizers' imperialism encouraged the formation of new colonial cuisine in the marginal areas of the pre-colonial empire or nation, but nationalism of the colonized people played a more significant role in forming the colonial food culture in the area located at the heart of the pre-colonial country. After the fall of the colonial empire, its influence on the food culture of each region depends on post-imperial or post-colonial process. The impact has easily remained in the nation-state built in the similar area to the empire's home country, colony or sub-nation, and hardly remained in the nation-state constructed on a different scale.

¹² In addition, for more information about how Taiwanese cuisine has been differentiated from Chinese cuisine in contemporary Tokyo, see Chen (2016).

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