

Meat and Potatoes: Two Selections from Edo Hanjōki

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In the initial segments of Edo hanjōki [An Account of the Prosperity of Edo, 1832-36], his satirical kanbun survey of the shogun's metropolis, Terakado Seiken (1796-1868) concentrates his attention on the sakariba--the bustling, congested, colorful centers of activity that prove most dramatically the distance of Edo from any rural settlement or, for that matter, from any rival metropolis. The noisy sakariba to Seiken is a concentration of the urban spirit, an electric node of vitality that reproduces, in microcosm, the central wonder of Edo--the integration of the most disparate elements into a single definable organism. After a survey of the three sakariba hallowed by the longest tradition--the sumō arena, the Yoshiwara licensed quarter, and the trinity of major kabuki theaters the author's attention moves to less formal, fluid sakariba (the Asakusa Kannon temple and its attendant side shows; the environs of Ryōgoku Bridge at fireworks season; an ennichi shrine festival in midsummer) and to adventitious sudden concentrations of population (crowds awaiting a lottery drawing; refugees from or sightseers to the site of a disastrous fire). In the final segments of Book One, the author extends his survey from the communal site to sites that answer to common needs by presenting the clothing and cast-off garments of Edo (the Tomizawa and Yanagisawa used clothing and rag bazaars) and the gargantuan appetite of the city (meat, sweet potatoes, the Nihonbashi fish market).

In their construction, the two segments presented here, "MOUNTAIN WHALE" and "Roasted Sweet Potatoes," are typical of the sixty segments that constitute the full text of Edo hanjōki. The author inaugurates his discussion in a dispassionate, objective manner, and presents the factual outline of his topic with scholarly (or mock-scholarly) precision. The text develops a more discursive or reflective tone before a final radical shift of perspective, in which the author announces stridently his own opinions on the matter, or extracts a larger moral for society as a whole. Missing from these two segments are the elements of dialogue with which Seiken frequently enlivens his depictions (though perhaps the argument with the vegetarian at the end of "MOUNTAIN WHALE" qualifies as a sort of conversation); vignettes or anecdotes of activity; and bold caricatures of crowds and curious "types." Apart from the description of butchering, the scenes are relatively static, and suggest more re-

flection on the past than a record of current observations. By comparison with "Blossoms Along the Sumida," translated for a previous issue of Sino-Japanese Studies, the texts are minimally ornamental, and contain relatively few literary or historical allusions to the Chinese canon. Playful twistings of phrases from the Analects, however, or irreverent juxtapositions of Confucius and cheap snack food remain to delight (or offend) the reader, and deflate at every turn the lofty aura of nobility Seiken elaborates through his grandly resonant style.

On the surface, Seiken's discussions of the exotic and humble extremes of the contemporary gastronomic spectrum brim with praise for the abundance of the age and the wisdom of its rulers. If plenty be the indication of a state in alignment with the dictates of Heaven, the bounty of rulers solicitous of popular welfare, then this age, Seiken concludes, must be accounted most fortunate. Only in an era of stability and affluence, he contends, is it possible to indulge in great quantities of meat--a frightfully expensive commodity, even a small portion of which is more costly than several simple meals. Animal flesh is truly "a product that typifies this age of peace and prosperity," remarks the author with intentional ambiguity. The sweet potato, too, is the harvest of a golden age: formerly a rarity, it has become in the space of a generation or two the most ordinary of foodstuffs, available in every neighborhood for a few pennies.

Behind these anthems to a halcyon age, however, lurk Seiken's inevitable criticisms. The consumption of meat, in such lavish quantities, evokes the "lakes of wine" and "forests of meat" of the tyrants Jie and Zhou, or suggests the taste for strange, unnatural delights that betokens dynastic decay. While the consumption of meat accords with current whims and passing fancies, it represents a departure from the compassionate dispensations of an earlier, venerable emperor. The procurement of this flesh entails wanton cruelty--a paradox in an age of "great tranquillity" and peaceful subsistence. The consumption of meat fosters bestial conduct in society: in the restaurants, insatiable carnivores brawl and carouse, while passers-by gaze, with passive indifference, on gory scenes from the abattoir. As finer sensibilities are blunted, the sense of shame retreats: a casual bamboo-husk wrapper now is thought sufficient to envelope one's meat purchases, where previously careful concealment in paper was mandatory. Both meat-vendor and meat-eater are in collusion, partners in a sly reliance on euphemisms to describe the shameful merchandise.

The universal availability of the sweet potato, equally, superficially suggests a benevolent age, but may imply the opposite.

Would the vendors flourish, Seiken urges his reader to think, if there were not a large population for whom the potato is, in fact, the only possible or affordable meal, and not merely a casual refreshment? For these segments of the population, the food is a symbol of hardship, rather than of general affluence. The ubiquitous sweet potato is, to be sure, preferable to starvation, but a large dependence on this humblest food is hardly an ideal development. The livelihood of the vendors-- proverbial for its hardships, and certainly nowhere near the affluence Seiken claims in his fantastic economic analysis--equally represents a proliferation of the underclass of Edo, for whom the pleasures of the costliest sakariba are a distant dream. Seiken hints that even this dependable staple of the poor may become less accessible in the years ahead, as the result of a general inflation in food prices. The similarly plebeian daifuku-mochi, or "happy cake"--a sort of Tokugawa Twinkie?--once a humble treat, now is priced well beyond the pocketbooks of its former consumers for whom, in turn, the name of the sweet confection contains a bitter irony.

Toward the conclusion of both segments, Seiken allows his criticisms to wander well beyond the original themes. The attack on physicians in "MOUNTAIN WHALE" follows much the same lines as Seiken's more numerous attacks throughout Edo hanjōki against the Buddhist clergy, samurai administrators, and above all, ineffectual and hypocritical Confucian pedants--worldly scoundrels usurping the most idealistic professions. Physicians should embody both perfected wisdom and an altruistic zeal, to apply their skills for the betterment of all mankind. Instead, Seiken notes, current reality is a complete inversion of the ideal: the modish modern practitioner is ignorant of the first foundations of his discipline. Far from personifying charitable wisdom at work among the needy, the doctor of today is interested only in worldly advantages and personal advance. The conclusion of the segment, another rapid change of tack, downgrades the sin of meat eating by pointing out other varieties of "eating" far more reprehensible, yet immune to public censure (an exposition, unfortunately, dependent on untranslatable idioms and word play to achieve its purpose).

The two segments embody in their brief compass several central contentions of Edo hanjōki. The concept of hanjō, the "prosperity" of the title, claims our first attention. Seiken's portrayal of the unprecedented affluence of the metropolis is far removed from a strictly mercantile perspective: assets and capital, financial successes and bonanzas are at best of tangential interest to the author, who views prosperity primarily as a state of enhanced cultural fertility in which the strange and wonderful grow unimpeded. Along with

an abundance of the essentials for survival, the state of hanjō permits, even encourages, the flowering of what is muyō "useless" or "gratuitous": delicacies, rare delights, extravagant sensations, and excessive consumption of necessities. Far from condemning this proliferation of the muyō, Seiken accords it his heartiest admiration, for the quantity and degree of the gratuitous are in direct proportion to the prosperity of the metropolis, and ultimately, serve as an index of good government. What in harsher or more violent circumstances would wither now finds sustenance and takes root. An abundance of weeds and wildflowers, to borrow Seiken's logic, becomes a truer indication of the richness of the land than a dry tabulation of its yield in useful produce.

While Edo hanjōki praises this lush exuberance of the muyō, it deplores the inverted perception society entertains of the muyō and its complement, the yūyō "useful, essential." Contemporaries are quick to exalt ignorant and pompous physicians to the lofty status of yūyō, essential to society, notes Seiken--when in fact the majority of modern physicians are worse than useless in their careless practice. Consumption of meat, despite the elaborate claims of its advocates, is muyō, of no real value--yet consumers willingly seek it out, at great cost, as an indispensable supplement to their diet.

Conversely, what is of true value to society, the yūyō, is held cheap, neglected, or despised. In utilitarian terms, the humble sweet potato is of infinitely greater value than the fabulous peaches in the orchards of the Western Queen Mother, yet its merits go unrecognized. Authentic scholars (Seiken of course at their vanguard), potentially yūyō, go begging in the streets. The earnest efforts of poor scholars to achieve yūyō status, Seiken observes, do not even succeed to the point of honorable defeat: in death no less than in life, they remain irretrievably muyō to all observers, and are not even of value as carrion. Far more useful in the eyes of society than these living, virtuous scholars, the author notes with indignant insistence, are dead animals--yet even these enjoy the cachet of yūyō only through death and assimilation into the persons of their devourers. Always ironic, Seiken insists that the butchered animals should be glad to achieve a social utility--even at the price of their extinction and the annihilation of the last atoms of their identity. May such a destiny be mine! cries the author. In my next life, he muses with ponderous whimsy, I shall be of greater service to humanity as a steaming plate of sukiyaki than as a skeletal scholar of integrity.

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Popular wisdom maintains that meat eating vanished entirely in Japan after the advent of Buddhism, and only reemerged after the Meiji Restoration as a prime symbol of Westernization and "enlightenment." In fact, it is possible to trace some consumption of animal flesh in Japan throughout these intervening centuries of general abstinence--though usually as an item in ritual meals or what today would qualify as sutamina ryōri "stamina cuisine," for health or strength, rather than as a standard component of the diet.¹

In early times, the Kogo shūi [Gleanings of Ancient Legends, 807], a compendium of mythological materials omitted by accident or design from the first chronicles, mentions that the divinity Ōnanushi-no-kami fed beef to laborers who had assisted him in cultivating his land--but also records that the God of Harvests, passing by, was offended and spat on the meal.² Although the consumption of meat was an anomaly at the Heian court, until 905 a kari no tsukai "hunter's envoy" made the rounds of the provinces. In later years, the role of this emissary was more closely akin to intelligence officer or inspector-general; his original mission, though, had been to procure fowl and game for court consumption. During the Sekiten ceremonies held twice a year in honor of Confucius at the Daigaku-ryō academy in the Heian capital, salted venison, rabbit, pickled spleen, and pork figured among other exotica on a menu intended to reproduce a Tang ceremonial feast.³

Popular consumption of meat is attested in the seventeenth century, when hunters regularly brought venison, boar, badger, and monkey to an established meat market at Yotsuya, an easy journey from Edo.⁴ The consumption of meat as an adjunct to good health evoked a lively debate, pro and con. Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714), in his manual on the art of cultivating longevity, opposes the practice, on the grounds that the Japanese have "weak stomachs and intestines," and cannot digest such fare.⁵ The craze continued unabated, however, even gained momentum in the nineteenth century. To judge by Seiken's description, customers must have relished the gruesome slaughterhouse environment as another ingredient in their "fortifying" experience. For those unable to stomach the raw reality of the meat shops, the chic Yaozen restaurant of Torigoe-chō offered customers dishes of "mock beef" constructed from inoffensive dried sea cucumber, or "mock lamb" compounded from humdrum shark.⁶

The boom for the ushiya or gyūya beef shop, which offered boiled, fried, or raw beef to order, dates from 1870; Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894) discovered in its colorful clientele ideal materials for his album of contemporary types, Agura-nabe [Sitting Cross-Legged around the Stew Pot, 1871-72]. Even the highly fastidious Meiji emperor (b. 1852) indulged in, or at least tolerated the consumption

of meat on court occasions after a pronouncement of 1872.⁷ Long-standing opposition to the custom, which had resulted in persistent euphemisms like waka "youth" or fuyu-botan "winter peony" for red meat, was, however, slower to subside: as late as 1890, Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) was to remark signs for yamakujiira "mountain whale" throughout Tokyo.⁸

The sweet potato cannot claim quite as colorful a history as the consumption of meat, but is of incomparably greater importance in the Japanese diet.⁹ The tuber, of course, does not derive from "Luzon" or the Philippines as Seiken maintains, but is a New World plant. Introduced to China in the sixteenth century, the sweet potato was widely cultivated in coastal provinces by 1600; thanks to the agricultural treatises of the Christian polymath Xu Guangqi (1562-1633), knowledge of the crop spread widely throughout South China in the late Ming. By 1600, sweet potato crops had appeared in Kyushu as well, although Seiken dates the introduction to an official gift from the king of the Ryūkyūs to the administrators of the island of Tanegashima in 1698.

In the Kantō area, the sweet potato was at first a novelty: vendors carried a steelyard to measure off precise portions for consumers, while many in Edo abstained altogether from the unfamiliar food after hearing rumors of its poisonous properties.¹⁰ The efforts of Aoki Kon'yō (1698-1769), who experimented with cultivation under shogunal patronage in the 1730s, led to its widespread use as a staple in the East as well as West. Vendors of roasted sweet potatoes appeared on the streets of Edo in the 1790s, and their wares rapidly became the quintessential winter snack food, despite strong associations with rusticity. Even today the yakiimoya vendor remains a part of the urban scene; his plaintive call (now recorded, or delivered through a bullhorn) evokes the simpler charm of a bygone era.

"MOUNTAIN WHALE" (1832)

Scallions and meat--a perfect combination.¹¹ Cooking pots all in a row--one pot per customer. Tipplers enjoy their meat with sake, while teetotalers take it with rice alone. As the flames grow lively, the meat bubbles and simmers in the pot. Gradually we enter the realm of savory delights! Here a customer becomes a second Fan Kuai in his craving for flesh, nor would he flinch before death at the price to obtain it; here a latter-day "Tattooed Monk" reels in his cups.¹² Disputes and altercations erupt on every hand.

The price of a pot of meat generally falls into three categories: small, at fifty cash; medium, for one hundred; and large, for

two hundred. Over the last few years, the price of meat has soared, to the point where it is on a par with eel. Yet its flavor is so tender and succulent, its curative powers so swift that who would quibble over mere price?

The animals used are boar, deer, fox, rabbit, otter, wolf, bear, and antelope; their carcasses lie heaped in the restaurant.¹³ Bucks and does lie bound and trussed, crouching as if still terrified. We may inspect them at our leisure as they hang suspended, ourselves relieved of the trouble of tracking or hunting them down. A cleaver is required to carve up a wolf, perhaps because he is such a cruel beast. One cook wields the blade and deftly butchers the carcasses. Every place his hand touches, everywhere he steps there is a whack! and a crack! as flesh slips away from the bones. The cook works with practiced hand and a full measure of expertise; at no point does the carving encounter difficulties.¹⁴ Passers-by pause to observe the operation.

I have heard that it was in the fourth year of the reign of Emperor Tenmu [675] that the first national decree was issued against the consumption of animal flesh. It allowed no consumption of meat whatsoever, apart from what was required for nursing the sick.¹⁵ As a result, meat became known as "medicinal food." Until recently in Edo there was only one establishment serving up this "medicinal food," a certain shop in Kōjimachi.¹⁶ Now, some twenty years later, this same "medication" has become so popular that the number of such shops defies all reckoning. As a rule, the signs for these dispensaries display a pattern of scattered autumn maple leaves, and carry a two-word inscription: MOUNTAIN WHALE.¹⁷ The business of these establishments is, of course, "medicinal food," but by this description they circumvent the national ban. The device is a mere code, a transparent artifice.

Edoites also dub the meat o-bake "ghost flesh"--again, to avoid stating bluntly what it actually is. They certainly do not mean to imply that it is actually ectoplasmic. Formerly, the meat sold in Kōjimachi was invariably wrapped in paper salvaged from battered and torn umbrellas; now, however, everyone simply wraps the cuts in bamboo husks. In a single year, how many tens of thousands of tattered umbrellas litter metropolitan Edo--and now all of them utterly useless.

The people of Edo have a saying: "No spooks live east of Hakone Barrier"--another reference, I would imagine, to the dazzling splendor of Edo at its zenith.¹⁸ Who would have imagined that now, at the very culmination of several centuries of prosperity, the denizens of the metropolis would make "ghost flesh" their common fare? They haul it in by cart, ship it in, every year in greater quantities than the

year before--and always at a higher price than the previous year. It truly is a product that typifies this age of peace and prosperity--a marvel, to be sure.

Some may object that the availability of meat just seems marvelous, from the consumers' biased point of view. And yes, when I reflect on the matter, I wonder about those slaughtered animals--from their point of view, how does this traffic accord with an era of "great tranquillity?" Yet I reply, "No, the creatures are simply 'sacrificing themselves, to generate humanity.'"¹⁹ If there is a general public benefit from the practice, what cause have they to resent it--even if they are, in fact, dead?

A single slice of meat will cure ten illnesses; eating ten trotters will expel a hundred maladies. Its sovereign benefits are limitless. I meditate how now, after three cyclical rebirths, these creatures will enjoy renewed existence, will become the very flesh of men of distinction in this age of great tranquillity. Their mouths now will know only a dainty surfeit of exquisite grains and meat; their persons will don the sheerest of fabrics, the fairest bleached silks; they will know only the gladsome festivity of the banquet, and have no conception even of the existence of the miserable scholar's arduous travails. Newly incarnate, they will enjoy the blandishments of feminine delights; their progeny will be abundant. In no way will their new existence resemble that of us impoverished Confucian scholars, who must read books by scrimping on the needs of our bellies--who serve no real function in the world, either dead or alive. When one of us starvelings expires, you could toss his remains to the tigers or hyenas, only to hear them grumble: "This sad lump of flesh has been grazing on greens and legumes its entire life. What sort of flavor could it possibly have?" After sniffing the unfortunate three times, they would lumber away.²⁰

Once I addressed a fervent prayer: "Oh, in my next life, let me be animal flesh, that I may benefit all mankind. Or if I am to retain human form, then let me be a physician, that I may enrich this people with longevity." But on rethinking the matter, I thought, "No, being meat is better. That's it--meat. Pure and simple." Modern physicians are degenerate in their ways: they make their chief concern the splendid cut of their clothing, the loftiness of their gates. They parade around in grand palanquins hoisted by a four-man crew, and are preoccupied with their rounds of obsequious service, from the home of one invalid to that of the next.²¹ They suit their manner to their patient's disposition, draw conclusions from his appearance; they lap at his urine and lick his piles.²² They marshal a hundred ploys, a thousand fawning tactics--though their sole concern is to avoid losing the favor of the lady of the house. These

modern practitioners do not even reflect what is meant by yin and yang, what the Five Agents might be; they haven't the faintest notion what is contained in the Golden Casket Outline and the Discourse on Baleful Chills.²³ Their consummate wish is that their curative infusions be sweet, their pills and lozenges aromatic. Oh, far, far better to ingest one pot of venison stew than a hundred doses of these quacks' flatulent concoctions!²⁴ And so better to be meat. That's it--meat. Pure and simple. And this is the reason why this culinary "medication" enjoys such popularity.

A certain individual disagreed with me: "Meat is impure; to eat it is to become defiled." He would not consume it, he insisted, even if he were ailing: "Meat defiles the body and pollutes the spirit." Yet can this same individual really be sure that, in his day-to-day existence, he is innocent of any action that might defile his body, or sully his family name? There is nothing more baleful for a man than to renege on his word [lit., eat words]; this is a supreme defilement. And among high officials, some "feed" one another with bribes. If an official should, through some inadvertence, ingest such nutriment, it will pollute his person and defile his lord. There is nothing more baleful than this. (Why, your good name may be in jeopardy even if, through no fault of your own, you expire after consuming a bad plate of blowfish.) And recently, I have heard, the number of people who swindle away [lit., drink] the lottery winnings of others is on the rise. Public opinion does not think lightly of these other defilements--surely meat is not the only source of pollution!

"Roasted Sweet Potatoes"

(The sweet potato originated in the Philippines. During the Wanli era (1573-1620), it first reached China, and in 1698, the king of the Ryūkyū Islands transmitted it to Japan.)

Sweet potatoes have been commonplace for many years now in Edo, but the popularity of roasted sweet potatoes only dates from the same period as "medicinal food" [animal meat]. In the Kansai region, they call them "Ryūkyū yams," while in the Kantō region, they are "Satsuma yams" (or, in the speech of the gentlewomen of Edo, o-Satsu). The signboard for every shop that sells them these days carries the inscription 八里半 [EIGHT AND A HALF LEAGUES]. Upon researching the matter, the word for "chestnut" in the vernacular is kuri [here written with the punning orthography 九里 "nine leagues"]. The taste of sweet potatoes is very close to that of chestnuts, but is ever so slightly inferior--hence the written designation. And now at every

gate to each of the 808 districts of the city you will find a vendor of roasted sweet potatoes, who invariably displays a sign with the three-character inscription 八里半. I have the presumption to muse, further, that if a party of Chinese were to visit Edo, they would be certain to remark that the league as measured in the metropolitan region is quite amazingly abbreviated.²⁵

When I was seven or eight years old [1802, 1803], I heard an old man state that in days gone by, there were few varieties of sweet potatoes to choose from, and they were all expensive. Another individual cautioned me at the time that sweet potatoes contained a deadly poison. For these several reasons, many refrained altogether from eating them. Times and tastes change, however, and now the sweet potato is found throughout the land; all consume them, rich and poor alike, and the price is eminently reasonable.

A vendor does at the very least 20 to 30 ryō worth of business during the winter season, and sometimes clears as much as 100 ryō. If (for the sake of discussion) we extract an average figure, then a single vendor can make 50 ryō [in prime season]. If we extend our computations to take into consideration all the shops of the 800-odd districts of Edo, we may assume an average yearly revenue of 50 ryō [per vendor]. The total figure for [annual metropolitan] sales, then, is at least 10,000 ryō. This, truly, attests to the degree of prosperity in this region!²⁶

The sweet potato vendor sets to work every day at 6 a.m., and continues until 10 p.m. Smoke rises in curling wisps from his cooker; a fragrant charred aroma teases the nostrils; pillars and beams are blackened with soot; panels and doors glow hot. The old midwife goes to buy; the muddle-brained old gentlemen goes to buy; the scullery maid goes to buy; the manservants and maidservants go to buy. The young lady of genteel station sends her lady's maid, dispatching her with an injunction, never louder than a whisper, to purchase o-satsu. The master of the house enjoins his maidservants: "Better to bring back a few nice big ones than a lot of puny little ones." Mendicant monks take them in their begging howls for a lunchtime snack; hapless blind beggars ransack their meager wallets to stave off morning hunger.²⁷ A few silver pieces procures a whole basketful: a raucous gang of youths whoops and hollers as they cart off their collation on their shoulders--no doubt members of a troupe of chaban performers. (On auspicious occasions, groups of celebrants and dandies get together and perform amateur theatricals. These performances are known as chaban.)

A four-cash sweet potato can stop a baby from whining; a ten-cash purchase will ward off a student's hunger pangs all morning long. A pity--alas!--that the sweet potato appeared only at such a

late juncture, and that it was not available to rescue Confucius from starvation between Chen and Cai!²⁸ Whenever I am short on rice money, I always resort to sweet potatoes to eke out my existence.

Recently I was reading an article about sweet potatoes in the Minzhou Gazetteer, and came across a song:

If pearls were quite as common as sand,
They'd make fine bullets for hunting raven;
If gold were common as muddy land,
We'd gild ships' hulls with gold in haven.²⁹

If the ruddy sweet potato were as rare as the ears of grain on Jade Peak or the peaches of Jasper Pool, then men would treasure them as a supreme elixir of immortality.³⁰

Unwittingly, I sighed, and reflected that the cheap "happy cakes" that satisfied the hunger of the stony poor and destitute [formerly] cost about the same as roasted sweet potatoes in midwinter.³¹ A single such cake cost four cash; the quantity was generous and the price low. The warmth of the cakes was perhaps the chief consideration for consumers, since the vendors constantly howled out Attakai! "Hot now, hot!" As the customers gulped down, in the same mouthful, the cakes and the smoke [from the cooker], every pale figure mopped the sweat from his brow--and Master Liang would not have been able to impute this to an internal fever.³² Now, however, these same cakes are manufactured with the utmost care and painstaking attention to detail; their dimensions have grown smaller while the prices have risen steadily. Very appropriate, I might add, that these "happy" cakes no longer should favor the palates of the poor or the frugal. Manjū bean-jam cakes, yōkan sweet gelatin, and the entire host of sweetmeats and confectionery have followed a similar route [i.e., are now redirected to a more affluent clientele]. But sweet potatoes--ah, you sweet potatoes! Though you be neither so rare nor so wondrous as the grain of Jade Peak or the peaches by Jasper Pool, still, to the poor man, you are the supreme elixir of immortality. You poor students of every land--bow reverently, twice kowtow before you indulge!

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Notes

(The base text for this translation is Terakado Seiken, Edo hanjōki, ed. Asakura Haruhiko and Andō Kikuji, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1974-76), 1:151-166. In subsequent references, this edition is abbreviated as EH).

1. On meat eating and the Japanese diet, see Hamada Giichirō, Edo tabemono saiiki [Almanac of Edo Comestibles], 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1979), pp. 130-34.

2. Kogo shūi [Gleanings of Ancient Legends], annot. Nishimiya Kazutami (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1985), p. 53. After the God of Harvests spits on the meal, his angry father releases a plague of insects to blast the crop into utter desolation. Curiously, placation of the gods for the offense of serving meat requires the sacrifice of a white boar, white horse, and white cock.

3. See Book 20 of the Engi shiki [Legal Compendium of the Engi Period] (completed 927), as translated in Felicia G. Bock, Classical Learning and Taoist Practices in Early Japan, Arizona State University Center for Asian Studies Occasional Paper no. 17 (Tempe, Ariz.: Center for Asian Studies, 1985), pp. 49-52.

4. On the Yotsuya meat bazaar, see Kitamura Nobuyo, Kiyū shōran [Compendium for Dalliance], ed. Kondō Keizō, 2 vols. (1903; Tokyo rpt.: Meicho kankōkai, 1974), 2:447-48.

5. Kaibara Ekiken, Yōjō kun; Wazoku dōji kun [Instructions for Cultivating Longevity; Instructions for Young People in the Vernacular], ed. Ishikawa Ken (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1961), p. 74; English translation in Kaibara Ekiken, Yōjō kun, trans. Kunihiro Masao (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1974), pp. 66-67. This comprehensive manual of alimentary, sexual, and medical exhortations first appeared in 1713.

6. Hamada Giichirō, Edo tabemono saiiki, p. 133.

7. Hamada Giichirō, Edo tabemono saiiki, p. 256.

8. Basil Hall Chamberlain, Japanese Things, 5th ed. (1905, original title Things Japanese; Rutland rpt.: Tuttle, 1971), p. 177.

9. On the history of the sweet potato, I follow the annotations to EH, 1:161 (notes 4-5).

10. Kitamura Kōjō, "Samidare-zōshi," in Shin Enseki jissu [New Collection of Spurious Treasures], ed. Hayakawa Junzaburō, 5 vols. (Kokusho kankōkai, 1912-13), 2:81. The work is a zuihitsu memoir, composed in 1868 by Kitamura Kōsō (also, Kōjō; 1805-76), physician to the last shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu (Keiki) (1837-1913; r. 1867-68). According to Kōjō, sweet potato vendors occasionally retained the steelyard even in his grandmother's day (1752-1836) as a symbol of this earlier period.

11. Scallions (negi) and meat are not merely an ideal culinary combination, but also form a duo of foods prohibited to pious Buddhists. Seiken alludes to the proscription, frequently carved on temple gates, against liquor, meat, and pungent condiments or alliaceous plants in his description of the Kinryūsan (Asakusa Kannon) Temple; see EH, 1:76. The inclusion of liquor in the sentences immediately following completes the inventory of sinful foodstuffs.

12. Three allusions to classical and vernacular Chinese literature follow here in rapid succession. The eccentric painter Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345-ca. 406) of the Eastern Jin dynasty was in the habit of eating sugar cane from the ends and working his way slowly to the sweeter midsection. When asked his reasons for violating convention, he replied: "One enters gradually the realm of savory delights." See Fang Xuanling, Jin shu [History of the Jin], 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 8:2405 (juan 92, "Gu Kaizhi zhuan"). Full English translation of this passage in Chen Shih-hsiang, trans., Biography of Ku K'ai-chih, Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations series, 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), p. 14.

Fan Kuai (ob. 189 BC), the loyal carriage attendant and later general in the service of Liu Bang (256?-195 BC; r. 202-195), appears in Sima Qian's dramatic account of the "meeting at Hongmen" around 206 BC, at which Xiang Yu (232-202 BC) uneasily confronts his valiant subordinate, but imminent nemesis Liu Bang after the destruction of Qin. After the failure of an assassination attempt by Xiang Yu's henchmen against the charismatic general, Fan Kuai bursts upon the scene. Xiang Yu treats him to wine and to a portion of boiled pork, which Fan Kuai proceeds to carve conspicuously on his shield. When Xiang Yu asks if his guest might wish more wine, Fan Kuai boasts: "I would not flinch before death itself! What cause have I to refuse your flagon of wine?" See Sima Qian, Shi ji [Records of the Histori-

an], 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973-75), 1:313 (juan 7, "Xiang Yu benji"); English translation in Burton Watson, trans., Records of the Historian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 83-84.

The "Tattooed Monk" is Lu Da or Lu Zhishen, the central figure of one of the first heroic cycles in the Shui hu zhuan [The Water Margin]. By nature boisterous and easily provoked to violence, Lu Da takes refuge in the temple complex on Mt. Wutai after killing a butcher. His rowdiness and drunken carnality make him an unlikely candidate for the priesthood, however, and he is soon dismissed from the precincts, only to sign up with Song Jiang and his band of ruffian-heroes; see Richard Gregg Irwin, The Evolution of a Chinese Novel: Shui-hu-chuan, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, 10 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 118-20. Lu Zhishen's colorful past is also evident in the extensive tattoos adorning his body--the source of his nickname. Seiken echoes periodically throughout Edo hanjōki the flourishing Shui hu zhuan "mania" of the 1830s, propelled by Kyokutei Bakin's (1767-1848) all-female serial Gōkan Keisei Suikoden (Courtesan's Shui hu zhuan, 1825-35); the free gōkan adaptation Haishi (Novel...) or Kana-gaki Suikoden (Kana script Shui hu zhuan, 1829-57); and not least, Utagawa Kuniyoshi's (1797-1862) magisterial Shui hu zhuan warrior print series, published 1827-30.

13. The listing of animals suggests the manner of an ōrai-mono, the traditional primer in epistolary form. The listing may also suggest, as a kind of "foreshadowing," the long inventory of fish species available at Nihonbashi fish market in a subsequent section of Book One; see EH, 1:169-70.

14. The wording follows closely the parable of Cook or Butcher Ding at the beginning of chapter 3 ("Yang sheng zhu") of the Zhuangzi; see James Legge, trans., The Texts of Taoism, 2 vols. (1891; New York rpt.: Dover Publications, 1962), 1:198-200. There may be an ironic value to the usage here, however, since the parable in the Zhuangzi illustrates the effortlessness of the man who acts in accordance with the Way, while the whole fad of "medicinal food" here seems contrary to natural dispensations, however much its pretext may be "nurturing life" or longevity.

15. See Nihon shoki [Annals of Japan] (ge), ed. Sakamoto Tarō et al., Nihon koten bungaku taikei series, 68 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965), pp. 418-19 (sections 29:9-10); English translation in Nihongi, trans. W. G. Aston (1896; Rutland rpt.: Tuttle, 1972), fascicle 2,

pp. 328-29. The edicts proscribed the use of traps for animals and fish in the summer and autumn months, and consumption in any season of the flesh of cattle, horses, dogs, monkeys, and barnyard fowl.

16. The shops in Kōjimachi 1-chōme (the modern Hirakawa 1-chōme) offered meat of many kinds each winter through spring; see Nobuhiro Shinji, "Kōjimachi Hirakawa-chō," in Edo bungaku chimei jiten [A Dictionary of Place Names Occurring in Edo Literature], ed. Hamada Giichirō (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1973). See also a reference to the Kōjimachi meat stalls in Kitagawa Kisō, [Ruijū] Kinsei fūzoku shi [Notes on Modern Customs and Manners (Topically Arranged)], ed. Muromatsu Iwao et al., 2 vols. (1908, original title Morisada mankō [Morisada's Miscellany]; Tokyo rpt.: Nihon tosho sentā, 1977), 2:449.

17. The autumn leaves may be a simple rebus for the animal closely associated with them in waka poetry--deer--and hence an elegantly discreet indication of venison for sale. Kitagawa Kisō (1810-after 1852), however, suggests that momiji "autumn leaves" is in fact a current slang term or euphemism for venison itself, and notes equally flowery designations for other types of meat: botan "peony" for boar, and take "bamboo" for fresh tiger cutlets. See Kitagawa Kisō, Kinsei fūzoku shi, 2:449. (Compare the more recent term sakura "cherry blossom" for horse meat). On the spread of signs openly advertising "mountain whale" after the Tenpō period (1830-44), see 1:117 of this same source.

18. Seiken provides the very colloquial furigana gloss Hakone kara kotchi ni bakemono wa inē, although the more common version of this saying is Hakone yori konata ni bakemono nashi "No ghosts exist from Hakone on out [to Edo]." (In some versions of the proverb, the observation includes yabu "hicks, dolts" along with bakemono "ghosts" among the species extinguished in the harsh glare of Edo skepticism and sophistication). I am not sure why this passage figures in the text, but perhaps it fills the bill for the obligatory rendition of a familiar colloquial saying, catch phrase, song, play excerpt, etc. into formal Kanbun in each segment.

19. A twisting of Analects 15:8: "The Master said: "The determined scholar (J. shishi) and the man of humane virtue will not seek life if it means impairing their virtue. There are even those [among them] who will sacrifice themselves in order to generate humane virtue.'" The high idealism of the canonical text--the locus classicus for the designation shishi applied to radical monarchists of the

1860s--is in ironic contrast to the pointless and miserable end of the animals as mutilated table scraps.

20. An allusion to the notoriously cryptic Analects 10:18, in which Confucius points out a hen-pheasant on a hill; his disciple, Zi Lu, confronts the bird and serves it up as a meal (or accompanies it?). "After sniffing three times," the passage concludes, "he/it rose"--though whether it is the master, disciple, or bird doing the sniffing and/or rising remains a matter of unresolved debate.

21. Seiken elsewhere gives his approval to the use of speedy palanquins by physicians when on urgent business; see EH, 2:126 ("Palanquins and Punts"). He also mentions the existence of isha-roku "doctors' palanquin-bearers," a class of porter that made a professional specialty of whisking physicians on their rounds at top speeds. Here, though, the speed and bustle are merely an idle show.

22. Instead of initiating a legitimate medical diagnosis, these fraudulent physicians make inferences about their patient's life and livelihood from his furnishings, bedding, stray remarks, etc. Compare EH, 1:91 ("Fortunetellers"), where, similarly, Seiken remarks on the propensity of modern soothsayers to draw their conclusions from the client's clothing, overall appearance, and mannerisms rather than from any purely numerological or physiognomic indications, "like a quack doctor drawing forth a diagnosis from the patient's own mouth."

The licking of hemorrhoids to effect a cure--a paradigm of obsequious and servile attentions--appears among other places in chapter 32 of the Zhuangzi, in a mention of the reward of five carriages habitually granted by the king of Qin to those who so oblige him; see James Legge, The Texts of Taoism, 2:207. The phrase--more a cliché than an allusion proper--here retains some of its literal original flavor. For other examples of usage, see EH, 1:102 ("Celebrity Banquets"), and 2:83 ("The Barbershop").

23. A knowledge of the complementary principles of yin and yang, and of the Five Agents (or Elements) is, of course, absolutely fundamental to any understanding of traditional anatomy, physiology, pathology, and therapy. The Jin kui yaolüe [Golden Casket Outline] and Shanghan lun [Discourse on Baleful Chills; also, Shanghan zabing lun, or Discourse on Baleful Chills and Miscellaneous Ailments] are both medical classics attributed to the Later Han physician Zhang Zhongjing in the third century. (What passes now for the Shanghan lun, however, is only a patchwork of later texts). A composite of pharmaceutical extracts from both works, published by Yoshimasu Tōdō (1702-73) in 1764, was a runaway bestseller throughout the late-

eighteenth century and would have contributed much to disseminating a knowledge of these two titles among nonspecialists; see Masayoshi Sugimoto and David L. Swain, Science and Culture in Traditional Japan (Rutland and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1989), pp. 373-74. Seiken's exaltation of these particular texts--the cornerstones of the "Ancient Practice" school of medicine, which rejected the authority of Song and Yuan theoreticians in favor of antiquity--is in consonance with the opinions prevalent in the Japanese medical establishment since the mid-eighteenth century; see Sugimoto and Swain, p. 373, also pp. 280-84.

The Jin kui yaolüe does not advise against the consumption of meat, but devotes several pages to precautions against the consumption of meat from diseased animals, and the dangers of inducing or aggravating illnesses by imprudent combinations of meats. See Jin kui yaolüe, Sibū beiyao series, 1665 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936?), 3.12b-15a.

24. Literally, "decoctions as useless as farts." There may be a passing reference to the memorable association of flatulence and badger stew in the folk tale "Crackle-crackle Mountain"; see Seki Keigo, ed., "Folktales of Japan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 8.

25. I am not sure how to interpret this witticism. Perhaps Seiken assumes that the Chinese visitors would interpret the ubiquitous signs as an indication of the distance to the center of the city? For an independent attestation of the "Eight-and-a-Half Leagues" sign, but with an identical explanation, see Kitagawa Kisō, Kinsei fūzoku shi, 1:173.

26. The mathematics of this passage defies easy analysis, but Seiken's statistics are usually more for show than in earnest. An average income of 50 ryō, multiplied among 800 vendors, should yield, of course, 40,000 ryō--not 10,000.

Arithmetic was apparently not the author's strongest suit. In another work, Seiken describes the eight realms of hell, each of which comprises sixteen sub-hells--for a total, he notes, of 138 hells. See Terakado Seiken, Hanjō kōki zenpen [Latter Account of Prosperity, First Installment] (satsu 6 in set entitled Edo hanjōki) (n.p., 1877?), p. 1b.

27. Seiken glosses tenjin (i.e. dimsum) as hirumeshi "lunch," although a better translation would be "snack" or "appetizer"--a light treat taken at other than stipulated mealtimes. A more conventional use of the compound appears in EH, 2:77 ("The Barbershop"), in

which the author, through the mouthpiece of a garrulous, querulous old patron of a neighborhood barbershop, critiques the faults of individual Buddhist sects. The Ritsu or Vinaya sect, the old man maintains, adheres to the letter of monastic rule, and has not degenerated into idle "tea-ism," but its tenjin "snacks" are sumptuous enough to last for three days at a time.

28. While attempting to decamp from the small state of Chen to Cai around 489 BC, Confucius was detained for several days by officers of Chen, who feared he might defect to the southern state of Chu. The harrowing incident is alluded to in Analects 11:2, and is the immediate background behind Analects 15:1: "When he [Confucius] was in Chen, his provisions ran out; his disciples fell ill, and were unable to rise to their feet. Zi Lu, indignant, sought an interview [with Confucius], and asked, 'Must the superior man, too, know poverty?' The Master replied, 'Yes, of course. But [he is unlike] the small man, who at such times lashes out with reckless abandon.'" The distress suffered "between Chen and Cai" also forms the background for several discussions in chapters 20 and 28 of the Zhuangzi; see James Legge, The Texts of Taoism, 2:32-33, 37-39, and 160-61.

29. Minzhou fuzhi sounds like a provincial or prefectural gazetteer of Fujian or Fuzhou, but I have not been able to identify it. Japanese collections preserve at least three separate works entitled Fuzhou fuzhi, published in 1596, 1613, and 1754; see Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan sankō shoshibu (Ajia Afurika-ka), ed. [Nihon shuyō toshokan kenkyūjo shozō] Chūgoku chihōshi sōgō mokuroku [Union Catalogue of Chinese Regional Gazetteers (preserved in the primary libraries and research collections of Japan)] (Tokyo: Seiwadō shoten, 1969), p. 247.

30. Jade Peak (Yu shan) is a feature of Penglai, one of the three isles of the immortals in the Eastern Sea. Jasper Pool (Yao chi), at the opposite extremity of legendary geography, is the site where Emperor Mu (traditionally r. 1001-945 BC) of the Zhou is alleged to have encountered and entertained the Western Queen Mother (Xi Wang Mu) in the course of a fantastic tour of inspection throughout his realm; see Cheng Te-k'un, "The Travels of Emperor Mu," Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 64 (1933), p. 139. The peaches of the realm of the Western Queen Mother were as delicious as they were rare, since they opened only once every three thousand years. On the peaches and their use as a diplomatic gift to Emperor Wu of the Han (r. 140-87 BC), see Zhang Hua, Bo wu zhi [The Encyclopedic Treatise], Sibū beiyao series, 1695 (1936?; Taipei rpt.:

Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1978), 3.1a-b.

31. Fukumochi or dai-fukumochi "(big) happy cakes" consisted of a thin shell of rice-cake dough stuffed with salted bean-jam and lightly toasted--a common snack for children or laborers. Later, salt was replaced by more costly sugar, and the size of the confection was reduced in compensation; see Kitamura Nobuyo, Kiyū shōran, 2:508. Kitamura Kōkō (b. 1805) remarks that during his youth, the price of the cakes was a mere four mon; see his "Samidare-zōshi," p. 83.

The vendors of "happy cakes" were only one short step removed from utter destitution. "The widow sells roasted sweet potatoes in a chilly rain," writes Seiken in a sequel to Edo hanjōki, "the old man without a single relative sells 'happy cakes' on a snowy night. The one who cries out 'Fresh roasted, hot!' is herself about to freeze to death; the one who calls out 'Happy! Happy!' is on the verge of starvation. This, truly, is the Hell of Greater and Lesser Cries [re-created on earth]. Who, to hear these unfortunates, is not moved to pity?" See Terakado Seiken, Hanjō kōki zenpen, p. 5a.

In the lengthy barbershop tirade of Book Two (see note 27 above), the old man who liberally castigates virtually every contemporary institution does not spare Seiken a tongue-lashing: "I hear that he's a rōnin [masterless samurai], of some fief or other, and is such a weakling he can't even make a living selling 'happy cakes.' Since he really doesn't have any other source of income, he bumbles around peddling something that sounds a little bit like Confucianism.'" See EH, 2:91.

32. I am uncertain of my translation here and cannot identify the reference. Literally, the text asserts that "no Master He fails to wipe off sweat; Master Liang could not impute this to men's fevers." Taketani in his modern-language translation of Edo hanjōki identifies "Master He" as the third-century scholiast He Yan of Three Kingdoms state of Wei, who put white powder on an already pale complexion; see Taketani Chōjirō, trans., Edo hanjōki, by Terakado Seiken, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1980), 1:117. See also Liu Yiqing, A New Account of Tales of the World [Shishuo xinyu], trans. Richard B. Mather (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), pp. 308-09 (anecdote 14:2).

Character Glossary

<u>Aqura-nabe</u>	安愚樂鍋
Aoki Kon'yō	青木昆陽
<u>Discourse on Baleful Chills</u>	傷寒論
<u>Edo hanjōki</u>	江戸繁昌記
Fan Kuai	焚噲
fukumochi	福餅
<u>Golden Basket Outline</u>	金匱要略
hanjō	繁昌
Kaibara Ekiken	貝原益軒
Kanagaki Robun	仮名垣魯文
kari no tsukai	狩の使
<u>Kogo shūi</u>	古語拾遺
<u>Minzhou Gazetteer</u>	明州府志
muyō	無用
Ōnanushi-no-kami	大地主神
sakariba	盛場
Sekiten	秋奠
"Tattooed Monk"	花和尚
tenjin	点心
Terakado Seiken	寺門静軒
ushiya	牛屋
Xu Guangqi	徐光啓
yamakujira	山鯨
Yotsuya	四谷
yūyō	有用