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潘建維，英國愛丁堡大學亞洲研究學系博士生。分別於臺灣大學外國語文學系暨研究所和政治大學英國語文學系取得碩士與學士學位。赴英攻讀博士班前，曾在中央研究院中國文哲研究所擔任專任研究助理，並曾在《中外文學》季刊社負責宣傳與行銷等業務。研究興趣包括飲食文學、性別研究、物質文化研究、跨文化研究與生態批評。博士論文題目為：「飲食親密性：臺灣飲食文學與文化研究，1990s-2000s」，主要探討當代飲食文類所隱含的「文化親密性」，以及臺灣飲食文化對於國族論述與世界主義的省思，研究計劃獲得教育部與中華飲食文化基金會的獎學金補助。部分研究成果已在中華民國比較文學學會、英國漢學學會與歐洲臺灣研究協會等年

「已非舊時味：論遼耀東飲食書寫中的記憶、懷舊與家/國親密性」

“Not the Old-time Flavours: Memory, Nostalgia, and Home/land Intimacy in Lu Yaodong’s Food Writing”

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對於所謂正宗中華料理，著名的史學家與飲食文學作家遼耀東（1933-2006）有其獨到（甚至近乎主觀）的見解。生於中國，在香港與臺灣完成學業，遼耀東的飲食經驗與他在中、港、臺三地長期生活的經歷密不可分。然而他在中國改革開放後屢次返鄉探親，在品嚐家鄉美食時卻有「已非舊時味」的感嘆。換言之，遼耀東以無法尋得記憶中的美食，藉此影射中國與臺灣在飲食文化上的分歧，進而鞏固他認為臺灣為傳統中華（飲食）文化基地的信念。

本文將集中分析遼耀東《糊塗齋文稿》中的飲食隨筆，試圖梳理其中涉及的文化記憶與飲食懷舊感，並藉此提出「家/國親密性」（home/land intimacy）的概念。套用人類學家赫茲菲德（Michael Herzfeld）所提出「文化親密性」（cultural intimacy）的概念，我認為遼耀東在回憶所謂「大中華」地區的飲食經驗時，表面上認同中、港、臺彼此在政治、經濟、文化上彼此互依互存的親密性，卻在書寫日常飲食的細節中，透露正宗的中華料理已不存在於中國的想法。「家/國親密性」體現了遼耀東與同時期第一代外省作家共有的「感覺結構」：故國、故人仍在，美好飲食卻只能成往事。本文第一部分先從故鄉美食所呈現的飲食懷舊感（culinary nostalgia）切入，解釋遼耀東為什麼（相對於他在香港、臺灣）總是抱怨在中國的吃食，並分析這種負面情緒如何紓解他的思鄉情懷。接着，本文將闡明他如何以飲食趣聞重新詮釋文化大革命與香港回歸，以「家/國親密性」思考中、港、臺緊密的地緣政治。第二部分將細讀選集中關於「牛肉麵」與「茄鯗」的篇章，分別審視「飲食記憶」與「家/國親密性」如何在「日常生活」與「古典文學」等場域中持續角力。最後，本文將說明遼耀東如何以飲食轉變解釋現當代華人歷史的起伏，找尋記憶中的美食也因此成為拼湊歷史原貌的另類方式。

## 1. Introduction

This paper examines various dining accounts in which Lu Yaodong nostalgically ruminates on those moments when he sampled dishes across mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan in *The Literary Collection in Hutuzhai* (*Hutuzhai wengao* 糊塗齋文稿, 1998-2001). Containing five books in total, the collection gathers Lu's eclectic literary accounts: (1) *An Acacia Confusa Tree is Outside* (*Chuangwai you ke xiangsi* 窗外有棵相思, 1998), (2) *Going Out to Visit the Quaint* (*Chumen fang guzao* 出門訪古早, 1998), (3) *The Beginning of That Year* (*Nanian chuyi* 那年初一, 2000), (4) *Like an Idle Cloud* (*Shisi xianyun* 似是閒雲, 2000), (5) *The Inclusive Belly: Essays on Chinese Food Culture* (*Dudanengrong: Zhongguo yingshi wenhua sanji* 肚大能容：中國飲食文化散記, 2001). Encompassing Lu's earlier prose essays on newspapers such as *Zhongguo shibao* 中國時報 and *Lianhe bao* 聯合報 from the 1970s to the 2000s, this collection should be a pertinent starting point to probe his memory of food.

I contend that Lu Yaodong aims to evoke a sense of “home/land intimacy” while reminiscing about sharing food with his family members, friends, teachers and students in regions known as Greater China. As my following discussions will demonstrate, Lu Yaodong attempts to redefine the constitution of authentic Chinese dishes by consulting numerous historical accounts of food. Lu seems to suggest that authentic Chinese dishes are not essentially (or necessarily) replicated in mainland China since many chefs there fail to cook Chinese dishes as he used to taste them in person. Lu's audacious implications may have something to do with his role as the editor of *The Chinese Cultural Renaissance Monthly* (*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yuekan* 中華文化復興月刊), published and supported by the KMT government.<sup>1</sup> Behind the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement is the antagonism between the Republic of China (ROC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC), between anti-communism and communism. Recently, a more celebrated phrase to describe this phenomenon is “Cultural Cold War” (*wenhua lengzhan* 文化冷戰) but for the scope of this thesis, I mainly focus on how Lu constructs his notion of authentic Chinese dishes.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, Lu Yaodong focuses on Chinese intellectuals' dining preferences while referring to different historical sources of food, with the

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1 Lu, “Deng xia shu jian,” 85.

2 See Wang Xiaojue, *Modernity with a Cold War Face: Reimagining the Nation in Chinese Literature across the 1949 Divide* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013)

endeavour to dispel any false impressions about the so-called intellectuals (*zhishi fenzi* 知識份子). These learned people are supposedly able to discern social injustice, but by doing so, they became unwelcomed in the Chinese political system.<sup>3</sup> In Lu's opinion, intellectuals have been mistakenly alienated from the masses owing to their knowledge and status, and this misconception was amplified again during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Lu's personal accounts of dining with some of these intellectuals, written across the Taiwan Strait, shorten the distance between the learned few and the multitude. Furthermore, by intermingling his personal accounts with historical records of food consumption, Lu indeed forms his peculiar literary style, a unique writing style that can be treated as a precursor of Taiwanese food writing.<sup>4</sup>

Current studies on Lu's writings usually focus on the relationship between his migrant identity and his literary accounts without explaining the significance of different intimate relationships in the texts.<sup>5</sup> For instance, Xu Yaokun 徐耀焜 points out Lu's academic training in history that allows him to present his dining accounts in a more learned way.<sup>6</sup> Liu Zhiqing 劉芝慶 emphasises the sense of being adrift (*piaoling* 飄零) in Lu's writing.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to Liu's observation, Peng Zhiwen 彭智文 notices the delights and interests (*qingqu* 情趣) in Lu's peculiar accounts. Chen Honglin 陳虹霖 focuses on Lu's penchant for hometown dishes that make him a unique gourmet

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<sup>3</sup> Lu, "Chuangwai you ke xiangsi," 33.

<sup>4</sup> This saying comes from Zhang Xiaofeng 張曉風, see *Jiushi nian sanwen xuan* 九十年散文選 [Selected essays of the 1990s] (Taipei: Jiuge, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> There are several doctoral theses and master dissertations about Lu's food writing: for instance, Xiong Peiling 熊培伶, "Zhanhou Taiwan yinshi de wenhua yizhi yu xiandai shenghuo xiangxiang" 戰後台灣飲食的文化移植與現代生活想像 [Cultural transplantation and the imagination of modern life about post-war cuisine in Taiwan, 1950-1970] (PhD diss., National Chengchi University, 2016), 101-36. And Zhang Bichun 張碧純, "Lu Yaodong yinshi sanwen yanjiu" 遼耀東飲食散文研究 [Studies on Lu Yaodong's Food Prose Essays] (master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 2011). Zhang Bichun's dissertation is by far the most comprehensive research in Chinese: she thoroughly collected Lu's published texts and even conducted an interview with Lu's wife.

<sup>6</sup> Xu Yaokun 徐耀焜, *Bijian yu shejian deduihua: Taiwan dangdai yinshixue yanjiu, 1949-2004* 筆尖與舌尖的對話：台灣當代飲食書寫研究，1949-2004 [The Dialogue between pens and tongues: contemporary Taiwanese culinary writing, 1949-2004] (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Liu Zhiqing 劉芝慶, "Shizhiyouqing weizhipiaoling: Lu Yaodong de yinzhuan shuxie" 食之有情，味之飄零：遼耀東的飲饌書寫 [Dishes with Feelings and the Evanescence of Flavors: the Dietary Writing of Lu Yaodong], *Journal of Chinese Dietary Culture* 10, no. 2 (2014):120-23, 130.

(*laotao* 老饕).<sup>8</sup> However, the significance of intimate relationships is neglected in Lu's current scholarship since critics do not discuss why Lu shared mouth-watering dishes with specific people in the so-called Greater China.

By revealing the cultural representations of the Chinese dishes and intellectuals, Lu Yaodong rekindles the concept of “cultural intimacy,” that anthropologist Michael Herzfeld proposes due to his observation in Greece. According to Herzfeld, cultural intimacy involves “the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provided insiders with their assurance of common sociality.”<sup>9</sup> However, what the ambivalent notion of intimacy can entail lies in the fact that it can be “an antidote to the formalism of cultural nationalism.”<sup>10</sup> By appropriating the idea of “cultural intimacy,” I coin a term “home/land intimacy” to encompass another distinct (but interrelated) idea, namely, “the homeland dishes” when Lu Yaodong sheds new light on the interconnectedness between national cuisines and national identities. Besides, the slash between “home” and “land” indicates how the idea of the nationhood should be reconfigured from the basic unit – specifically, the home, be it the permanent residence in Taiwan or the dwellings in the mainland.

To explicate the efficacy of homeland intimacy, I divide this paper into two main parts. First, I aim to illustrate the constitution of the homeland dishes – that is, the longing for the food that people used to consume in their hometowns. What follows is the home/land intimacy in Greater China – a juncture that is pivotal to illustrate Lu Yaodong's ambivalent attitude to unveil the homeland sentiments and to criticize the cultural/political authenticity (of the mainland) at the same time. In the second part, I separately examine articles that are related to the “beef noodles” and the “dry aubergine dish,” both of which are pertinent examples to demonstrate the intersection of memory accounts and the home/land intimacy.

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<sup>8</sup> Chen Honglin 陳虹霖, “Laotao de sifangzahui: Lu Yaodong yinsisanwen de gouchengyuansu” 老饕的私房雜燴：遠耀東飲食散文的構成元素 [Gourmets' Private Stew: The Composing Elements in Lu Yaodong's Essay], *Guowentian* 19, no. 9 (2004): 63.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

## 2. The Homeland Dishes: Memory, Nostalgia and the Senses of Discontent

Lu Yaodong's penchant for narrating dining experiences and offering historical anecdotes about food consumption should be attributed to his unique upbringing in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. He was born in Feng County (Fengxian 豐縣) in the northern part of Jiangsu province. After 1949, he relocated to Taiwan with the KMT government and spent his youth in Chiayi City (Jiayi Shi 嘉義市) before studying history at National Taiwan University (NTU).<sup>11</sup> Also in 1949, he was imprisoned due to his rebellious thinking at school when the KMT government attempted to curtail any subversive thought. He later moved to Hong Kong to pursue his postgraduate studies in New Asia College, now a constituent college of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). After submitting a thesis on the historical transitions in the Six dynasties (220-589), he earned his PhD in history at NTU in 1971 and he went back to Hong Kong for a teaching job at CUHK for 14 years. He retired from NTU and lived in Taiwan for the rest of his life, but he constantly revisited Hong Kong and the mainland since he had friends and relatives there. Lu's food nostalgia, broadly speaking, is attached to the spatial triangle of China-Taiwan-Hong Kong.

In his seminal work, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai*, historian Mark Swislocki coins a term "culinary nostalgia," which is so emblematic that several critics refer to the idea while illustrating the longing for particular regional dishes.<sup>12</sup> By offering a historical and cultural delineation of Shanghai with various palatable dishes and restaurants which provided these cuisines, Swislocki examines how such nostalgic feelings "fit or did not fit in with dominant discourses of place and politics during the late imperial period and the twentieth century."<sup>13</sup> Swislock's examination of the dynamics between people and local culture in a specific region thus triggers the topographical imagination in literary and cultural critiques. Critics increasingly adopt such focus and they search for the similar affection in other places. Song Weijie 宋偉杰, for instance, examines Beijing and its impact on the prominent writer Liang Shiqiu, who was attached to

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<sup>11</sup> See Lu, "Gan kao," 7.

<sup>12</sup> Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 20.

Beijing dishes even after relocating to Taiwan with the KMT government.<sup>14</sup> In addition, by scrutinizing the prominent restaurant Ma Xiangxing 馬祥興, Jin Feng demonstrates “how Nanjing has revived and reinvented culinary traditions in the twentieth and twenty-first century.”<sup>15</sup>

In the context of Taiwan, culinary nostalgia becomes the “structure of feeling” of first-generation mainland Chinese writers, who need palatable dishes to soothe their homesickness since they relocated to Taiwan after 1949. In his book delineation of Taiwanese food literature and culture, Xu Yaokun 徐耀焜 accentuates writers’ nostalgia towards their hometown dishes in mainland China by following the convention of “anti-communist nostalgic literature.”<sup>16</sup> In Xu’s observation, most writers who revealed their food nostalgia used to live in Beijing.<sup>17</sup> By elaborating Xu’s Beijing-oriented concept, cultural historian Chen Yujen 陳玉箴 discovers that these writers actually use Beijing as a symbol for cultural identification.<sup>18</sup> Chen maintains her idea of cultural memory in her examination of the well-known female writer Lin Haiyin 林海音 (1918-2001) that Lin was bounded by her childhood memory in Beijing.<sup>19</sup> In viewing these writers’ nostalgia towards their hometown dishes, Pan Zongyi 潘宗億 describes it as “the Madeleine moment” when these writers recalled their childhood delicacies.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Song Weijie, “Emotional Topography, Food Memory and Bittersweet Aftertaste: Liang Shiqiu and the Lingering Flavour of Home,” *Journal of Oriental Studies* 45, no.1 (2012): 89-105.

<sup>15</sup> Feng Jing, “Food Nostalgia and the Contested Time,” *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 10, no. 1 (2016): 58-85.

<sup>16</sup> Xu Yaokun, *Bijian yu shejian deduihua*, 13-18. About the definition of “anti-communist literature,” see Chi Panyuan, “Taiwan Literature, 1945-1999,” 18.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>18</sup> Chen Yujen 陳玉箴, “Cong goutong jiyi dao wenhua jiyi: 1960-1980 niandai taiwan yinshi wenxue zhong de beeping huai xiang shuxie” 從溝通記憶到文化記憶：1960-1980 年代臺灣飲食文學中的北平懷鄉書寫 [From Communicative Memory to Cultural Memory: Writings about Beijing Homesickness in Taiwan Food Literature, 1960s-1980s], *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 台灣文學學報 25 (2014): 33-68.

<sup>19</sup> Chen Yujen 陳玉箴, “Jia de shenti shijian: Lin haiyin yinshi shuxie zhong de peng yu shi” 家的身體實踐：林海音飲食書寫中的烹與食 [The Bodily Practice of “Home”: Cooking and Dining in Food Writing of Lin Haiyin], *Chengda zhongwen xuebao* 成大中文學報 53 (2016): 155-88.

<sup>20</sup> Pan Zongyi 潘宗億, “Madelaina shike: yi zhanhou taiwan yinshi shuxie zhong de shiwu jiyi weil” 瑪德萊娜時刻：以戰後臺灣飲食書寫中的食物記憶為例, [The Madeleine Moments: Food Memories in the Dietary Writing of Mainlanders in Postwar Taiwan], *Journal of Chinese Dietary Culture* 中國飲

To pacify his food nostalgia, Lu Yaodong constantly visited mainland China and he usually took the opportunity to sample local cuisines with his friends and relatives. In his over twenty times of travels in China, he had been to regions that have those prominent cuisines: for instance, he enjoyed street delicacies in gastronomical centres such as Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai. And he ate river food in Zhejiang, Anhui, and Hunan. In Shaanxi, he tasted authentic *yangrou paomo* 羊肉泡饃. Also, in his trip to the Northwest China (viewing sites include Xinjiang, Gansu and Tibet), he disclosed that local dishes were “monotonous and with no appeal” (*Yinshi dandiao, liaowu qingqu* 飲食單調，了無情趣) and he wanted to eat Sichuan dishes when he returned to Chengdu 成都.<sup>21</sup> To summarise his visits in China, Lu confessed that “he has eaten dishes from all four corners of the world” (*Chi bian le sifang* 吃遍了四方).<sup>22</sup> Of course, this is but an exaggeration but such hyperbole discloses his endeavour to reimagine a new Chinese territory, one that is re-defined by places which can serve these delicious dishes.

Yet in Shanghai, Lu disclosed the senses of discontent when he had the chance to enjoy local cuisines. Like other tourists Lu and his wife ate the Nanxiang steamed buns (*Nanxiang xiaolongbao* 南翔小籠包).<sup>23</sup> Lu preferred to dine at Dexingguan Restaurant (*Dexingguan* 德興館), which owned comparatively humble façade and interior designs. However, he enjoyed the sense of warmth/familiarity (*renqingwei* 人情味) in this place and he could consume the dishes that local people usually ate.<sup>24</sup> The Shanghai food culture indeed enlightened Lu that he had other two articles discussing the customs of local food practices. In “I Live at the Start of the Yangtze River” (*Wo zhu changjiang tou* 我住長江頭), Lu introduces the mixture of Sichuan and Huaiyang flavours (*Chuanyang fengwei* 川揚風味) in Taiwan and argues that such novel fusion is derived from the custom of Shanghai cuisines (*Haipai cai* 海派菜).<sup>25</sup> And Lu elaborates this idea in “Shanghai Cuisines and Shanghai Cultures” (*Haipai cai yu hai pai wenhua* 海派菜與海派文化), in which he thoroughly presents the historical formation of Shanghai cuisines. The umbrella term *Haipai* in literature, arts, and dramas, as Lu notes it, differs from the

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食文化 12, no.1 (2016): 91-176.

<sup>21</sup> Lu, “Yi fei jiushi wei,” 99.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>24</sup> Lu “Laiqu Dexingguan,” 16.

<sup>25</sup> Lu, “Wo zhu changjiang tou,” 186.

Beijing School (*Jingpai* 京派).<sup>26</sup> Lu applies this concept to Shanghai cuisines and praises the inclusiveness (*jian rong bing xu* 兼容並蓄) of such hybrid food culture.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of the hybrid food culture in Shanghai, Lu noticed that local dishes were anything but authentic. Take wonton noodles as example, the wontons were “just the wrappers without the fillings” (*youpi wuxian* 有皮無餡) and the soup was just like “boiling water with some salts” (*kaishui jiayan* 開水加鹽). The wonton noodles are certainly not delectable. Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case. After Lu ate the famous Nanxiang steamed dumplings (*Nanxiang xiaolongbao* 南翔小籠包),<sup>28</sup> Lu found these steamed “bad-looking” (*ganguan bujia* 感觀不佳) and “with thick outer layers that are sticky” (*pihou lianya* 皮厚黏牙).<sup>29</sup> Because of these awful food experiences, Lu thinks that it is futile to search for authentic dishes in Shanghai.

Hence, the feelings of despondency roughly sum up Lu’s food experiences in China but he still endeavoured to sample local food whenever he visited there. However, the more dishes he ate, the more dissatisfied he became. Noticeable is that such negative feelings rarely appeared when Lu Yaodong dined at restaurants in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and in what follows, I am going to analyse the socio-political implications of carping at inauthentic dishes majorly in China.

### 3.A Bite of China: Home/land Intimacy in the Greater China Region

The idea of Greater China – especially the ties between China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, or the so-called *zhong-gang-tai* – originates because of the socio-economic interdependence of these regions.<sup>30</sup> Without applauding the idea of Greater China, Shu-mei Shih points out the problem of interregional dependence that it is “heavily China-centric” when Taiwan, as one of the

<sup>26</sup> Lu, “Haipai cai yu hai pai wenhua,” 52.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>28</sup> Lu, “Cong chenghuangmiao chi dao fuzi miao,” 40.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, David Shambaugh, ed. *Greater China: The Next Superpower?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Sinophone communities, opposes the idea of being integrated.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, cultural productions in Greater China can be more than being China-centric, and in Margaret Hillenbrand's observation, it can refer to the Japanese wave, say, the impact of the Japanese writer Murakami Haruki.<sup>32</sup> A multilayered and impure notion of Greater China thus emerges whenever we want to denounce, celebrate or simply turn a blind eye to such controversial term.

Here, I use the idea of "a bite of China" to illustrate the socio-political implications of eating in Greater China.<sup>33</sup> That is, biting, as a way of eating, allows Lu Yaodong to redefine the notion of cultural authenticity – that is, authentic Chinese dishes are not necessarily replicated in China, which was verified when Lu fails to find the hometown dishes. Furthermore, the act of "biting" also reveals the intention to attack others, and in Lu's case, he wants to criticise the Chinese communist regime, which is responsible for the culinary changes in China nowadays. Concerning the scope of this paper, in the following I focus on two particular cases in the entire collection that are associated with (1) the Cultural Revolution and (2) the handover of Hong Kong in 1997. More specifically, I examine how food, as a seemingly irrelevant factor, should be attributed to both political incidents.

First, in one of his visits to Beijing, Lu Yaodong dined at Shao Yuan Restaurant (Shao Yuan 韶園), which was furnished by photographs of Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893–1976). Lu consumed dishes that were allegedly Mao's favourites and he commented on Mao's food preference: Mao did not know the essence of refined eating, since he adored nothing but his hometown flavours (*jiexiang liwei* 家鄉俚味), which, however, might not be welcomed by other people.<sup>34</sup> Obviously, Lu attempts to mock Mao's taste as a way to criticise his autocracy since he suggested that Mao's insistence on consuming hometown dishes explains his stubbornness in implementing national policies, for which catastrophes thus occurred.<sup>35</sup> Lu's incidental comment on Mao, albeit

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<sup>31</sup> Shu-mei Shih, *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 89.

<sup>32</sup> Margaret Hillenbrand, "Murakami Haruki in Greater China: Creative Responses and the Quest for Cosmopolitanism," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68, no. 3 (2009): 715–47.

<sup>33</sup> Undoubtedly, I also consult the title of the documentary series, *A Bite of China* (*Shejian shang de Zhongguo* 舌尖上的中國).

<sup>34</sup> Lu, "Douzhi baodu yangtou rou," 10.

<sup>35</sup> Here, Lu refers to the Cultural Revolution and I will offer Lu's criticisms on this movement later on.

somewhat partial and groundless, alludes to the fact that one's penchant for food plays a pivotal role in determining China's fate.

The (in)direct critique of the Cultural Revolution comes to the fore when Lu Yaodong recalled his meeting with Ji Xianlin 季羨林 (1911-2009), an intellectual who fortunately lived through the Cultural Revolution. Entitled "The Gain of Being a Stranger" (*Yixiang ren de shouhuo* 異鄉人的收穫), this account presents Ji Xianlin's unusual appetite. One day, Ji was boiling dumplings for lunch when Lu paid an unexpected visit. Due to Ji's negligence, these dumplings were stuck to the bottom of the pot. Lu came to help Ji and served him the dumpling dish.<sup>36</sup> Lu was worried that it might take him too long to prepare these dumplings but Ji just replied nonchalantly: "It's fine. I used to be trained to resist hunger."<sup>37</sup> According to Ji, he had nothing to eat due to the famine when he studied abroad and he just read to deter the sense of hunger. This habit allowed him to survive during the Great Famine (1959-1961) and his resilience also helped him to survive the Cultural Revolution.<sup>38</sup> The idea of "gaining," broadens the idea of home/land intimacy with the irony that one should die for the country – if not, he/she can at least acquire the ability of endure the hunger.

Second, regarding the return of Hong Kong in 1997, it is the lack of intimacy, as Lu Yaodong suggests, that contributes to Hong Kong's current political status. Lu innovatively reinterprets the meeting between Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013) and Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) in 1982. In Lu's interpretation, Deng Xiaoping asks the British Prime Minister about her favourite Chinese dish and she replies Suzhou dishes (*Suzhou cai* 蘇州菜). Deng suggests that Sichuan dishes (*Chuancai* 川菜) are much better and his disagreement with Thatcher (in food preference) results in the Hong Kong problem.<sup>39</sup> Lu Yaodong's speculation may be based on the banquet menus which were published after the Chinese and British representatives' meetings. The references to these menus appear twice in Lu's collection and they allow us to decipher the politics of eating in these unique banquets. Take the menu of

<sup>36</sup> Lu, "Yixiang ren de shouhuo," 29.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>38</sup> Concerning Ji's autobiographical accounts of Revolutionary memories, see Ji Xianlin 季羨林, *Niu peng za yi* 牛棚雜憶 [Recollections in the Cowshed] (Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 2005).

<sup>39</sup> Lu, "Xianggang wenti yu chuan wei," 209-10. Also see "Gang ren shi mie ye," 251-54.

Thatcher's return banquet for example:

Cold plates, smoked salmons, shark's fins soup with three shredded ingredients, fish lips, abalones, lamb kabab, creamed vegetables, sliced pigeon breasts and sea cucumbers, silky gourds with mushrooms, chicken soup with bird's nest, cooked fruits, deserts, and ice cream.

冷盤、燻馬哈魚、三絲魚翅湯、富貴魚唇、彩貝藏珠殼鮑魚、烤羊肉串、奶油龍鬚菜、鴿脯海參、草菇絲瓜、燕窩京鳳凰、煨水果、點心、冰淇淋。<sup>40</sup>

According to Lu, these dishes are Beijing dishes (*Jingcai* 京菜) and Thatcher does not regale the Chinese officials with Sichuan cuisines as Deng Xiaoping recommends. Lu thus playfully argues that Thatcher's food choice contributes to Deng's determination to reclaim the sovereignty of Hong Kong. Witty as it is, the conjecture about Hong Kong's political fate also tallies with the concept of home/land intimacy that the politicians' subtle disagreement on food contributes to the Hong Kong problem.

Nevertheless, the distinct food preferences between Margaret Thatcher and Deng Xiaoping may not be totally groundless. Thanks to the generosity of the Margaret Thatcher Foundation, we can gain access to some historical documents (if they are declassified) unveiling Thatcher's dining preference online. In a recently declassified document, Thatcher once planned to treat Chinese officials with a cheaper banquet and finally changed her decision due to a reminder from Sir Percy Cradock (1923-2010). Unfortunately, the inflated cost (from £2400 to £3600) did not win the hearts of the Chinese officials and the ceremony of Hong Kong's turnover to the People's Republic of China still occurred in 1997.

From Mao's food preferences to Thatcher's banquet selection, the two political leaders' anecdotes of food alternately bring to light the idea of home/land intimacy that I want to address in this paper. That is, the drastic political changes, in Lu's whimsical imaginations, can be avoided if people do not obdurately adhere to the food they like. In this regard, the Cultural Revolution and the Hong Kong Problem become nothing but interpersonal and domestic affairs – that the notion home/land intimacy can pertinently exemplify. Undeniably, such culinary imagination is viable due to the socio-political interdependence, or the geopolitics, between China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

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<sup>40</sup> Lu, "Xianggang wenti yu chuan wei," 211.

#### 4. Everyday Dishes: The Case of the Beef Noodles

In contrast to the aforementioned politics of eating, I turn to examine the simple dishes that people consume daily without necessarily regarding them as delectable cuisines. The unadorned way of food consumption has something to do with the scarcity of food resources when the first-generation mainlanders relocated to Taiwan. Moreover, with governmental regulations set to curtail excessive expenditure, people seldom dined out at different restaurants.<sup>41</sup> In the following discussions, I focus on Lu's dining accounts of beef noodles (*niurou mian* 牛肉麵), a dish that has an unresolved origin of whether being invented in China or Taiwan.

There are four articles about beef noodles in the entire collection, in which Lu thoroughly presents his personal accounts of consuming these noodle dishes. The first one, "Beef Noodles and Other Matters" (*Niurou mian yu qita* 牛肉麵與其他), introduces some restaurants that sold ideal beef noodles and Lu also lamented some disappearing restaurants.<sup>42</sup> The second, "Also on Beef Noodles" (*ye lun niurou mian* 也論牛肉麵), continues the discussion about ideal places to enjoy beef noodles, since Lu received lots of feedbacks on his recommendations of disparate restaurants.<sup>43</sup> However, in the third one, "On Beef Noodles again" (*zailun niurou mian* 再論牛肉麵), Lu traced the origin of beef noodles and concluded that the most popular beef noodles – the Sichuan flavour (*chuan wei* 川味) – were created in Gangshan 岡山, a district in Kaohsiung City that is still famous for its Chinese chili bean sauce (*doubanjiang* 豆瓣醬).<sup>44</sup> Finally, the fourth, "Still Beef Noodles" (*hai lun niurou mian* 還論牛肉麵), offers an anecdote about beef noodles and Shi Mingde 施明德 (1941-), a prominent political figure in Taiwan who was jailed under the White Terror. The story is about how Shi Mingde wanted to buy his fellow prisoner a bowl of beef noodles, but Shi fails to do so because this fellow prisoner was executed the following day. Shi uses such eating experience to

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<sup>41</sup> See Chen Yuzhen 陳玉箴, "Zhengquan zhuan yi xia de xiaofei kongjian: zhan hou chuqi de gonggong shitang yu jiujiu" 政權轉移下的消費空間轉型：戰後初期的公共食堂與酒家，1945-1962 [Transformation of Consumption Space under Political Transition: Public Canteen and Liquor House during the Post-war Taiwan, 1945-1962], *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 39 (2013): 183-230.

<sup>42</sup> Lu, "Niurou mian yu qita," 153.

<sup>43</sup> Lu, "Ye lun niurou mian," 190.

<sup>44</sup> Lu, "Zailun niurou mian," 194.

criticise the unfair political system at that time.<sup>45</sup>

The consecutive discussions about beef noodles tally with the idea of home/land intimacy and explain why Lu Yaodong tactically chooses this dish. According to Lu, people attempted to replicate what they used to eat in the mainland, and they thus added Chinese chili bean sauce – an indispensable ingredient in Sichuan dishes – into the beef soup. However, Lu also revealed that people in Sichuan did eat hot beef soup but they did not consume noodles at the same time. The beef noodles – an accidental cuisine – was then a Taiwanese invention and people began to sell this dish not only in *juancun* 眷村 (military compounds that used to accommodate these mainlanders) in Gangshan, but also in other regions in Taiwan. Furthermore, such noodle dishes had a different name overseas: “California Beef Noodles” (*Jiazhou niurou mian* 加州牛肉麵). Lu stated that the Californian version of noodles also derived from Taiwan when immigrants aimed to replicate such dishes in the United States. Undoubtedly, these spicy noodles, be they Sichuan or Californian – have association with Taiwan, where migrants reproduced their hometown dishes but turned out to invent a more well-received dish that has been consumed by Taiwanese all around the world.

However, another food critic/writer Jiao Tong 焦桐 holds a different view regarding the origin of beef noodles. As Jiao Tong puts it, beef noodles should be made in the kitchens of the army barracks rather than in *juancun*.<sup>46</sup> And he maintains this viewpoint in *The Flavours of Formosa* (*Weidao Fu'ermosha* 味道福爾摩莎, 2015), in which beef noodles, along with other dishes, are selected to epitomise the so-called Taiwanese flavours.<sup>47</sup> The case of beef noodles – via written words – demonstrates how food can create a communal experience that writers like Lu Yaodong and Jiao Tong used to consume such dishes and would like to vehemently search for the origin of the unique dish.

## 5.Literary Dishes: The Dry Aubergine Dish of the Red Chamber

To enliven a chosen regional dish, Lu Yaodong would incorporate numerous literary and historical allusions, and by doing so, he tactically

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<sup>45</sup> Lu, “Hai lun niurou mian,” 201.

<sup>46</sup> Jiao Tong, *Taiwan weidao* 臺灣味道 [The taste of Taiwan], (Taipei: Eryu wenhua, 2009),73-78.

<sup>47</sup> Jiao Tong, *Weidao Fu'ermosha* 味道福爾摩莎 [The flavours of Formosa] (Taipei: Eryu wenhua, 2015).

amplifies its cultural significance. In “Diet and Literature” (*Yinshi yu wenxue* 飲食與文學), Lu points out that there are few dining accounts in official historical records (*zhengshi* 正史), but people can find other records in literary works which complement the existing historical imagination of food.<sup>48</sup> Tang poetry, for instance, can tell us various poets’ fervour of drinking tea (instead of liquor) in the Tang dynasty (618-907), which, as Lu notes it, differed from the prevalent liquor consumption in the Wei-Jin Period 魏晉時期 (220-420).<sup>49</sup> He also proffers other examples from Ming and Qing novels such as *The Water Margin* (*Shui hu zhuan* 水滸傳), *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jing Ping Mei* 金瓶梅), *The Journey to the West* (*Xi you ji* 西遊記), *The Scholars* (*Rulinwaishi* 儒林外史), *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hong lou meng* 紅樓夢), in which different eating habits of all walks of life become vivid.<sup>50</sup>

Lu’s reference to different literary/historical Chinese dishes reaffirms his endeavour to present an authentic history of food. The delineation of Chinese dishes can begin as early as when people learned how to prepare their meals. Two distinct cooking methods: “shredding” (*kuai* 膾) and “roasting” (*zhi* 炙) certify the early imagination of food preparation. In “Shredded Meat like Delicate Jade” (*Luan qie yu linglong* 膾切玉玲瓏), Lu introduces the consumption of raw meat, which recalls the uncivilised imagination of having raw meat with fur and drinking blood (*ru miao yin xue* 茹毛飲血).<sup>51</sup> By contrast, roasting meat with fire can prevent people from diseases and demonstrate the process of civilisation.<sup>52</sup> Besides examining how food preparation has been refined, Lu also notices the cultural interchange of food consumption and thus broaden his seemingly Chinese-centred history of food. For instance, in “Manual of Cooking Western Dishes” (*Zao yang fan shu* 造洋飯書), Lu offers the example of potage campadore (or *Jin bi duo tang* 金必多湯 in written Cantonese), containing shark fins (*yu chi* 魚翅) that is rarely an ingredient used by any westerner. The hybridized dish – combining both western and local ingredients – exemplifies the transcultural food

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<sup>48</sup> Lu, “Yinshi yu wenxue,” 226.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 226-27. A more comprehensive study on the interplay between tea and wine, see *Scribes of Gastronomy: Representations of Food and Drink in Imperial Chinese Literature* ed. Isaac Yue and Siufu Tang (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>51</sup> Lu, “Luan qie yu linglong,” 380.

<sup>52</sup> Lu, “Shaozhu yu gualu yazi,” 350.

consumption.<sup>53</sup>

In the entire collection, Lu Yaodong foregrounds several dining scenes in *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, an indispensable source for him to probe the food customs of the Qing dynasty.<sup>54</sup> For instance, in chapter 38, Shi Xiangyun 史湘雲, owing to the generosity of Xue Baochai 薛寶釵, regales the Jia family with a jovial crab feast.<sup>55</sup> Captivated by the scene of consuming crabs, Lu searches for other literary accounts of crab consumption in different time periods and argues that Chinese literati were obsessed with eating crab dishes.<sup>56</sup> Besides, Lu witnesses the so-called Red Chamber Banquets (*Honglou yan* 紅樓宴), where cooks attempt to replicate dishes from the literary descriptions. However, to repudiate the validity of these banquets, Lu persistently searches for textual evidence along with historical records to materialise his idea of authentic Red Chamber feasts.<sup>57</sup>

In conjuring up an authentic picture of the Red Chamber Banquet, Lu consults the biographical information of the author Cao Xueqing's 曹雪芹 (1715?-1763). For instance, according to Lu, Cao Xueqing was both a gourmet and skilled cook and he dexterously produced mandarin fish containing fox nuts (*Laobang huaizhu* 老蚌懷珠).<sup>58</sup> His grandfather Cao Yin 曹寅 (1618-1712), a Textile Commissioner, liked to consume cherry Chinese shads (*Yingtao shiyu* 櫻桃鮭魚).<sup>59</sup> Noticeable is that both dishes are now served in the standard Red Chamber Banquet but *Laobang huaizhu* is alternatively presented by beams stuffing quail eggs.<sup>60</sup> Besides, Cao Xueqing adored regional dishes in the

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<sup>53</sup> Lu, "Zao yang fan shu," 392.

<sup>54</sup> In the collection, there are a total of 11 articles concerning the dishes of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. What should be noted is that only article, "Tea Fragrance all over the Paper" (*Cha xiang man zhi* 茶香滿紙) involves the custom of drinking tea.

<sup>55</sup> Lu, "Kan lai duandi shi wu chang," 337.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>57</sup> See Lu, "Shui jie qizhong wei: cong Lai jing yu xuan li de honglou yan shuo qi," 310. And "Honglou yinshi bushi meng," 155.

<sup>58</sup> Lu, "Laobang huaizhu," 167.

<sup>59</sup> Lu, "Yingtao shiyu," 170. Concerning Cao Yin's significance as a Textile Commissioner, see Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-his Emperor, Bondservant and Master* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

<sup>60</sup> Lu, "Laobang huaizhu," 169.

Jiangnan area (*Jiangnan yinshi* 江南飲食),<sup>61</sup> and he thus owned a penchant for alcoholic drinks in the Southern area (*Nan jiu* 南酒) and roasted ducks (*Shao ya* 燒鴨).<sup>62</sup>

In what follows, I focus on the dish of dried aubergine (*Qie xiang* 茄蕪), an unforgettable course that piques Lu's interest in exploring its recipe. The reference of the aubergine dish appears in chapter 41 when Granny Liu 劉姥姥 visits the Jia family and is feasted with various kinds of delicacies. When Granny Liu first tastes the dried aubergine, she cannot believe her palate and asks Wang Xi-feng 王熙鳳 for the recipe to reproduce this dish. Granny Liu's reaction of hearing the extravagant aubergine recipe deserves a further look since it becomes a counterexample of home/land intimacy. Below I provide David Hawkes's translation along with the original Chinese text in order to show the subtle contrast:

Xi-feng's "simple recipe" caused Grannie Liu to stick her tongue out and shake her head in wonderment. "Lord Buddha!" she exclaimed. "That's ten chicken gone into the making of it. No wonder it tastes so good!"

劉姥姥聽了，搖頭吐舌說：「我的佛祖！倒得十來隻雞來配他，怪道這個味兒。」

Hawkes's translation – with two exclamation marks – aptly conveys Granny Liu's astonishment while tasting the aubergine dishes which is lavishly made for the Jia family. Granny Liu's wonderment does not stop her appetite since she not only eats the aubergine dish but also goose-fat rolls and pastries, which are so exquisite that she cannot help but swallow them. However, she finds that the food along with the drinks are not suitable for her stomach, and she ends up spending a lot of time in the toilet. Louise Edwards astutely points out that "[the Prospect Garden (*Daguan Yuan* 大觀園)] resists polluting influences from outside through the power of food."<sup>63</sup> By contrast, I suggest that the aubergine scene implies how unaffordable dishes may widen the gap between the privileged few and the masses (with fragile stomachs).

<sup>61</sup> Lu, "Wei fen nan bei," 176.

<sup>62</sup> Lu, "Nan jiu yu shao ya," 173. Lu explains that people in northern area use barley to make liquor but in southern area they use rice to ferment rice wine (*nan jiu*).

<sup>63</sup> Louise Edwards, "Eating and Drinking in a Red Chambered Dream," in *Scribes of Gastronomy: Representations of Food and Drink in Imperial Chinese Literature*, ed. Isaac Yue and Siufu Tang (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 122.

The dried aubergine dish has been an indispensable course in the Red Chamber Banquet but Lu Yaodong questions its authenticity. Lu has three interrelated articles to historicise this dish: in “Dried Aubergine” (*Qie xiang* 茄蕪), Lu first points out that dried aubergines were commonly consumed by ordinary people but became more esteemed by the elite thanks to Cao Xueqin’s gripping narration.<sup>64</sup> He maintains his viewpoint in “Explanation of Dried Fish” (*Shi xiang* 釋蕪) and argues that people in Zhejiang province also call dehydrated vegetables (*cai pu* 菜脯) as *xiang* 蕪.<sup>65</sup> Finally, Lu asserts that the aubergine recipes were prevalent in the Ming and Qing periods in “Dishes Containing Aubergines” (*Qie zi ru zhuan* 茄子入饌).<sup>66</sup> The three articles, taken together, indicate that dried aubergines are nothing but an everyday dish, which has been romanticised by Cao Xueqin and falsely replicated by the mainlanders.

After Lu’s erudite historical explorations, the Red Chamber Banquets prevalently held in mainland China become questionable. According to Lu, these banquets should be attributed to the fact that “[c]ooks do not want to study further and scholars of *Dream of the Red Chamber* only focus on their studies and do not know the essence of eating” (烹飪者不好學深思，紅學家又只會讀書不識吃之故).<sup>67</sup> Seen in this light, literary accounts of food in Classical Chinese literature allows Lu Yaodong to paint a complete picture of what people used to consume in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

## 6. Conclusion

Lu Yaodong argues that dishes that he ate in mainland China were not authentic even though he does not directly adopt the term authenticity. He was disappointed to find that prominent restaurants sometimes sold unsanitary and overpriced dishes to customers, who just compromised on unauthentic food products.<sup>68</sup> Besides, a lot of mainland culinary “Performance Groups” (*Biaoyan tuan* 表演團) visited Hong Kong, in which different cooks demonstrate their impeccable cutting techniques (*Daogong* 刀工).<sup>69</sup> Lu points

<sup>64</sup> Lu, “*Qie xiang*,” 158.

<sup>65</sup> Lu, “*Shi xiang*,” 163.

<sup>66</sup> Lu, “*Qie zi ru zhuan*,” 164.

<sup>67</sup> Lu, “*Shi xiang*,” 163.

<sup>68</sup> See, for instance, Lu, “*Cong chenghuangmiao chi dao fuzi miao*,” 39, 41, 44, 51.

<sup>69</sup> Lu, “*Cong shuang yan yinchun chi qi*,” 192.

out that these dishes may symbolise the Chinese Communist Party which “emphasises form and does not have any content” (*Zhi zhong xingshi, er wu neirong* 祇重形式，而無內容). Furthermore, these ways of food production were in fact “appealing to the eyes, not to the mouth” (*Zhong kan bu zhong chi* 中看不中吃) and the prices were so high that only the privileged can afford such feasts.<sup>70</sup> Although Lu does not use words related to authenticity, by indicating the concept of content, he attempts to involve in the debates the notion of what constitutes authentic Chinese dishes.

Lu Yaodong’s indirect critique of “authenticity” is actually a rhetorical appeal since he aims to stir readers’ discontent with what they can eat nowadays. Some possible clues can be seen in two interrelated articles: “Not Old-time Flavours” (*Yi fei jiushi wei* 已非舊時味) and “Going Out to Visit the Quaint” (*Chumen fanggu zao* 出門訪古早).<sup>71</sup> In both articles, Lu reveals his food nostalgia and laments the vanishing traditional dishes which he used to consume, but that chefs nowadays just fail to make. Lu’s food nostalgia thus allows him to define the concept of authentic Chinese dishes.

Lu Yaodong asserts that people in mainland China do not know how to eat well because of their dire experiences during the Great Chinese Famine (1959-1961). Lu explains his assertion in this way: there was a cultural gap when people jumped from the phase of nothing to eat to the one of everything to eat (從沒有吃跳越到有得吃，中間出現了一個文化的斷層).<sup>72</sup> To illustrate this gap, he offers an illuminating analogy with the concept of intimate relationships:

In fact, this is exactly the embodiment of all the problems. Just like wives were used to be called “lovers,” but it is not trendy to call them “lovers” now. Yet, men do not know how to address their wives. They simply call their wives “my lady” whenever they speak. Therefore, when people caress their bellies after they are filled with food, they think of a long-forgotten matter. And then, they are busy stretching out red banners and hang them on the streets. Only on the red banners there are no longer revolutionary slogans but are the reminders of “being civilised.”

實際上，所有的問題也存在在這裡。就像過去妻子稱「愛人」，現在不興稱「愛人」了。但卻不知怎麼稱呼，祇有開口一個「我夫人」，

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Lu, “Yi fei jiushi wei,” 99; Lu, “Chumen fang guzao,” 116.

<sup>72</sup> Lu, “Cong chenghuangmiao chi dao fuzi miao,” 64.

閉口一個「我夫人」。所以，當大家吃飽後摸著肚皮，突然想起一件被遺忘了很久的事。於是又忙著在大街小巷，扯起紅色的布條幅來。祇是紅色的條幅上，寫的不再是革命的口號，而是喊著要大家注意「文明」了。<sup>73</sup>

Here, the term *wenming* 文明 (civilisation) on the red banners allows Lu to explain the notion of cultural gap that he hints at earlier. When *wenming* is inscribed on the banners as a shallow slogan, it is hardly achievable in daily life. Lu's observation thus serves as an admonishment. However, his example of how men should call their wives becomes an alternative explanation of how home/land intimacy functions: Lu seems to suggest that when men cannot tell refined dishes from common ones, they even lose the capability of naming their most beloved women.

Lu Yaodong successfully builds up his notion of authentic Chinese dishes by evoking the sense of food nostalgia, a particular sentiment that he shares with many first-generation mainlanders. Besides, as I point out at the very beginning, the nostalgic sentiment also tallies with the sense of “interconnectedness,” constructed by various dining occasions – from both Lu's personal experiences and famous literary passages of food – in which food helps people to maintain their interpersonal relationships. The notion of home/land intimacy thus encapsulates Lu's endeavours to recollect the cultural/historical remnants of China, via the records of food experiences, at the time when he finally resides in Taiwan, a new home/land that his culinary nostalgia can gradually be mollified.

**關鍵字：**遼耀東、飲食書寫、文化記憶、飲食懷舊感、家/國親密性

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.