

みんなのポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

The Chinese Way of Drinking Alcoholic Beverages

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 西澤, 治彦 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00002733

The Chinese Way of Drinking Alcoholic Beverages

Haruhiko NISHIZAWA

Musashi University

1. Introduction
2. Historical Overview
 - 2.1. Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages
 - 2.2. Liquor and Drinking as Portrayed in *The Golden Lotus*
 - 2.3. Liquor Shops and Public Houses
3. Production and Consumption of Liquor in Contemporary China
4. Chinese Methods of Drinking in the Modern Period
 - 4.1. Drinking in Shaoxing
 - 4.2. Report from Investigation of Rural Areas in Northern Jiangsu
 - 4.3. On Inebriation
5. In Lieu of Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

Although a variety of alcoholic beverages such as wine, beer, and whisky are being produced in contemporary China, those indigenous to China are *huangjiu* (or *laojiu*), a brewed beverage, and *baijiu*, a distilled beverage. In addition, a number of alcoholic beverages made from fruit and medicinal herbs may also be called indigenous to China.

When considering the drinking habits of the Chinese, various factors must be taken into consideration. In addition to regional differences, there are differences between urban areas and rural areas, gender differences, and differences in whether the occasion is ceremonial or everyday. Moreover, there are changes in these factors that have occurred through the ages. Having said this, however, it would be impossible to discuss all of these factors in their entirety, given limitations of space. Thus, in this paper these issues will be discussed through a detailed analysis of *The Golden Lotus* as an example, with reference to historical materials on alcoholic beverages, oral interviews conducted in Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, and rural research conducted in the northern part of Jiangsu Province.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages

Given the long history of brewing in China, there are numerous accounts in folklore and in documents that pertain to the consumption of alcohol.

One book that is often quoted was written by Bin Ping of northern Song. It records a variety of subjects about alcoholic beverages from the time of their origin, including the names of such beverages and traditions related to alcohol. It discusses the merits of drinking, characteristics of various alcoholic beverages, cups and other containers used in its consumption, and administrative ordinances and literary references pertaining to drinking. This material is organized under fourteen subject headings and is collected from various historical documents. With regards to the way the Chinese went about drinking, the following excerpt is found in the section titled "Teachings on Liquor."

In *Hanshi (Waizhuan)* it says "The etiquette required when drinking at the entrance of the house without taking off one's shoes is called ceremonial; whereas the etiquette required when sitting after taking off one's shoes is called banqueting. It is only reasonable that those who can drink shall drink and those who cannot shall stop drinking. On the other hand, when those who can drink and those who cannot drink are forced to drink together, this is degradation. Drinking alone while secluded in a room is depravity. People of high standing may not be involved in degradation or depravity. [NAKAMURA ed. and trans. 1991]

This excerpt dates from the Tang Period, and it shows that forcing one's subjects to drink or drinking in seclusion in a room were prohibited for people of high standing from the days of *Han Ying Poetry*.

There is another passage on the etiquette of drinking in a book written by Huang Pu Song of the Tang Period.

There are nine factors that dampen the pleasure (of drinking). First is that the master is a miser. Second, that the guest disdains the master. Third is that the accompanying food is disorderly. Fourth, that hostesses intrude as people are enjoying themselves. Fifth, that a game in which the loser is required to drink as punishment is repeatedly performed. Sixth, that the drinking is excessive. Seventh, that merriment is excessive. Eighth that the participants become hot. And ninth that dice games are repeatedly performed. [NAKAMURA 1991]

2.2. Liquor and Drinking as Portrayed in The Golden Lotus

In order to obtain a historical perspective, we will next take up *The Golden Lotus*, a work of vernacular fiction of the Ming Period that portrays everyday life, including drinking. We will examine what type of liquor is consumed in what fashion in the novel. The novel is set in Shandong in the Song Period, but in reality it is to resemble Shandong of the Ming Period. There is also a theory based on an analysis of food materials and methods of cooking that the food that is described is from the region extending from Xuzhou in Jiangsu to Huaian and Yangzhou [TAO 1992].

Types of Liquor

Banquets are recorded in almost every episode of *The Golden Lotus*, but rarely is the type

of liquor mentioned. However, by examining the names of liquor that do appear and the frequency of such appearances, it is possible to determine to a certain extent the types that were being consumed in the period.

Among varieties of *huangjiu* the following are mentioned: *laojiu* (twice), *shaoxingjiu* (twice), *zhejiangjiu* (once), *jinhuaaji* (twelve times), *jinjiu* (once), *nanjiu* (eight times) and *magujiu* (six times). Among varieties of *baijiu* are mentioned: *baijiu* (four times) and *shaojiu* (four times). Among varieties of admixed liquor, we find: *zhuyeqing* (once), *juhuaaji* (once), *hehuaaji* (twice), *ganlanjiu* (once), *moliji* (once) and *muxihuaaji* (once). Other mention is made of *putaojiu* (wine, five times), *heqingjiu* (once), *xionghuangjiu* (sweet liquor, once), *ganjiu* (cloudy liquor, once), *zhuojiu* (pale liquor, once), *danjiu* (egg liquor once), liquor for the court (once) and home made liquor (once).

In this way various types of liquor make their appearance in *The Golden Lotus*, but from the perspective of frequency *huangjiu* is the overwhelming leader, and within this group *jinhuaaji* leads. The fact that *jinhuaaji* is replaced by *nanjiu* in the 72nd episode suggests that both terms may refer to the same type of liquor. If *jinjiu* is also assumed to be the same as *jinhuaaji*, then the total frequency of appearance becomes 20, and thus mention of *jinhuaaji* in the novel is the most numerous among all types of liquor. *Jinhuaaji* is a type of *huangjiu* produced in Jinhua in Zhejiang Province. What is of interest is the fact that it appears more frequently than the currently well known *shaoxingjiu*. Due to the reference "Although people of high standing refer to *cangzhoujiu*, the people of the locale do not and much time has passed since the product has become famous, there are differences among those who debate this issue" in *The Golden Lotus* with respect to *cangzhoujiu*, this liquor is assumed to belong to the *huanjiu* group.

Next in frequency to *huangjiu* is *baijiu*. Especially noteworthy is the fact that in contrast to the former, specific brands are not listed for *baijiu*. Surprisingly, the incidence of mention of wine is high, and numerous admixed liquors also appear in the novel.

Method of Obtaining Liquor, Place of Drinking, and Receptacles

As methods of obtaining liquor, the novel portrays home production and procurement through purchase and as gifts. There is an episode in which a secretary goes out to procure malt for producing liquor, thus giving evidence of the fact that large households produced their own liquor. Admixed liquor was most often produced at home, and there is another episode involving production of chrysanthemum liquor to entertain a guest. As an example of procuring liquor, there is an episode in which one household procures 40 bottles of liquor on credit and stores this in a room to the west in the main house. This family is depicted in the novel procuring liquor in large volumes on a periodic basis. There is another episode in which a servant is sent out to procure liquor carrying a serving bottle, thus giving evidence that purchasing only the required volume of liquor from stores was also a custom.

The novel depicts several places where liquor was consumed in addition to the home, including brothels, drinking houses, and a variety of other such venues. It is believed that these drinking establishments served both *huangjiu* and *baijiu*. In the 30th episode, there is mention of a drinking shop that is specifically called a *baijiu* shop.

Receptacles used for drinking include various sorts of liquor cups and servers mentioned

in the novel, such as tin bottles, copper servers for warming the liquor, large and small jars, and silver cups. Types of liquor cups include small cups, “noble” cups, cups shaped like a chrysanthemum flower, large silver cups, large golden cups shaped like a pear, and tea cups.

The material used for making the utensils was tin in the case of bottles and copper in the case of servers. Servers were normally earthenware but bronze types were also used. It is believed that jars were made of tin. Cups were made from gold or silver and were intricately designed. Crocks were made from porcelain. Heavy drinkers would use large cups or teacups.

Ways of Drinking Liquor

Men and women would often attend the same banquet, but sometimes banquets separated by gender would be held. There are several cases in which the host and maids at a banquet would move around pouring liquor for the guests. This is where drinking is forced, and in conjunction with drinking games forced drinking was especially prevalent.

Those who participate in drinking games were, for the most part, strong drinkers but there are examples of subjects being forced to drink. In contrast to this, there are examples such as leaving the liquor cup untouched, taking only one sip, reducing the number of cups, asking for smaller cups, or asking that the liquor be heated to a high temperature if drinking is to be forced. There is also an episode in which one character rebukes a person for trying to force another to drink. In the course of the novel, being forced to drink led to five cases of people falling asleep drunk, eight cases of complete inebriation, and even two cases of people vomiting. There are also three episodes involving causing a person to become completely drunk by serving *shaojiu* and planning evil deeds.

On the other hand, there are frequent examples of people refusing to drink, such as proposing that the group has had enough so that the drinking be stopped, refusing to drink further saying that becoming drunk with the guests would not be enjoyable, and having someone else drink or pretending drunkenness in order to refrain from drinking.

Depicting customary ways of drinking, there are numerous examples such as soup and rice or food being first served before the liquor, or serving tea before or together with the liquor. Various, there are episodes involving heating wine before consumption or the portrayal of the custom of drinking medicine with *shaojiu*.

Seen in this way, the ways of drinking in *The Golden Lotus* do not strike one as being particularly different from today. However, examples of complete inebriation or the custom of serving rice and soup or tea before serving liquor are of special interest.

2.3. Liquor Shops and Public Houses

Liquor shops and public houses appear in such vernacular literature of the Ming Period as *The Golden Lotus* and *All Men Are Brothers*, but in fact, their history goes back to the Han Dynasty and even further, to the final warring years of the Qin Dynasty. An ancient example is the phrase “Do not drink liquor that has gone stale,” in the *Analects of Confucius*, thus providing indirect evidence of the existence of shops that sold liquor. Moreover, there is mention of a liquor shop operated by a person from Song in a work entitled *Hanfeitzu*, which implies that the custom of putting up a flag at the storefront had already started in this period.

The author of *A Cultural History of Liquor and Tea in China* maintains that in China there

were three types of drinking establishments, each with different characteristics. (1) The first type was the store that would produce liquor in-house for sale. These were small in scale and were found widely in urban areas. (2) The second type was the store that was primarily in the brewing business, with sales mostly to outlying regions and only a small part being sold retail through the store. (3) The third type was purely commercial liquor stores, either operated by the public or private sector with many concentrated within walled cities. With the development of commodity economics, quality liquor was born in a variety of regions and famous commercial establishments were built. The type of liquor store that progressed greatly in later years was this commercial type.

In the years of the Han Dynasty, liquor stores sold homemade liquor, but the variety was not large. When the liquor was consumed in-house, there was no one to pour for the guest. These establishments would belong to type 1. With the advent of the Tang Dynasty, quality liquor and wine from throughout the land and from foreign countries started to be sold and young girls started to act as hostesses. In liquor stores in Chang'an in particular, musical instruments were played and popular songs sung as hostesses entertained the guests.

With the coming of the Song Dynasty and the development of cities as well as a civil society, liquor stores became even more pervasive. In a well-known work, the flourishing liquor stores and pubs in Bianjing, the capital during Northern Song Dynasty, is portrayed in detail. Liquor stores continued to be pervasive into the Southern Song Dynasty and diversified in format, together with a variety of restaurants. As can be seen, the types of liquor shops that developed in the Tang and Song Dynasties shifted from type 2 to type 3, and it may be surmised that liquor shops developed not only in the large cities but also at the walled city level. After the Tang and Song Dynasties and particularly in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, billboards began to be used at liquor stores in large cities in place of the flag used in the past.

The liquor store during the Qing Dynasty is closer to the present type and will be looked at in more detail. The following excerpt describes conditions in Beijing during the Qing Dynasty.

There are three types of liquor shops in Beijing, and the types of liquor served are many. The first type is the southern liquor store that sells such liquor as "Huadiao" and "Shaoxing." The food provided consists of pickled fish, crab, and so forth. The second type is the capital liquor store operated by people from Shandong. The two types are different from the perspective of whether the liquor served is clear or cloudy. Clear is the so-called "one night" liquor. It can be produced inexpensively and is sold in the winter, since by spring the taste sours. Snacks served consist of chestnut boiled in salt, dried peanuts, hardened endocarp of peach, the soft part of the endocarp of hazel, sweet dates, hawthorn, duck meat, and dried rabbit meat. The third type is the herbal medicine liquor store. Liquor sold there is made by steaming flowers and consists of a great variety of types including nectar of small apples, nectar of hawthorn, nectar of grapes, herbal medicine made by drying shrubs of the *Araliaceae* family, and lotus flower. The character for "nectar" is attached to almost all alcoholic products made by admixing flowers. This type of shop does not serve food, and customers must go out to procure their own snacks. Those who have a preference for herbal liquor always go to food shops to purchase food.

When drinking in liquor shops in the capital, the unit is in half bowls. If a full bowl is ordered, the actual serving weighs about half a *jin*.

This excerpt gives evidence that liquor from all regions was to be found in Beijing, being the capital. Moreover, it is of interest that as a result of this, we can observe that by this time, the *baijiu* type shops of the north and the *huangjiu* type shops of the south were already separated, based on the fact that the original regions of the proprietors were different. Although there are some differences from today in the food served, the fact that herbal medicine liquor stores existed as a separate category is noteworthy.

With the advent of the Republic of China, circumstances with respect to public houses become much better documented. There is an excerpt concerning public houses in a work by H. Y. Lowe.

In Beijing, public houses are called "Large Liquor Vats." The reason why public houses are called this has to do with the fact that a countertop of ordinary size for conducting commerce and numerous large vats are placed within the shop. These vats are half buried in the ground with just the right height left above ground to serve as a table. Numerous vats are lined up facing the wall and the vats are covered with a heavy wooden plank used as a table top. Small chairs are placed around and customers, in groups of two or three, come almost on a daily basis. Glazed in shiny black, each vat has a square red label with four character phrases lauding famous liquor brands. Shiny liquor vats of earthenware are decorated with pieces of cloth in red or green and placed with a bamboo ladle on the countertop. Here, liquor is sold per cup whether drunk cold or warmed in a cylindrical copper utensil. This type of liquor shop sells snacks in conjunction with outdoor stalls. The food that is served is mostly pre-prepared food such as meatballs, but they are well enough received. [LOWE, FUJII et al. 1988]

Public houses in Shanghai are described in records made by Kobai Inoue.

Public houses in Shanghai may be roughly divided into two types. The first type is of Tianjin origin and specializes in *baijiu* with *laojiu* served only as a minor item. *Huangjiu* is also served. Various, soy sauce shops also sell *laojiu*, but the local liquor of the outskirts of Shanghai is used primarily in cooking. [INOUE 1993]

If one wishes to experience the true enjoyment of drinking *laojiu*, one should go to a shop of the second type. These liquor stores conduct business as public houses while doubling as wholesalers. Restaurants in China are not very clean and somehow have a black oiliness. Moreover, liquor stores are purely public houses so that they are even less sanitary and an atmosphere of decadence pervades such establishments. However, once one gets accustomed to this, there is something interesting about such an ambiance. Liquor is poured unceremoniously from a copper utensil measuring about a foot in height into large cups that resemble bowls. Poetic images lead to the misconception that public houses have a special flag outside, but such liquor flags are no more to be seen in the

Shanghai of today. [INOUE 1925]

Although the history of the liquor house is long, the actual content had changed from the original essentially drinking houses, to refer to restaurants more often than not. The change of drinking establishments into restaurants is believed to date well back in history, at least as far back as the Tang Dynasty. The liquor store served as a public house until the advent of the Republic of China but, as explained later, after the revolution these establishments disappeared.

3. PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

Before discussing the way liquor is consumed by the present Chinese, an overview of the production and consumption of liquor in China will be presented. Although *baijiu* and *huangjiu* are representative types of liquor in China, this is not to say that the Chinese drink these liquor products daily. Particularly in the summer, as in the case in Japan, consumption of beer increases. Table 1 compares production of various alcoholic beverages in Japan and China. The figures indicate that production volume of beer in China is almost on a par with the volume of *baijiu*. The ratio of the production volume of *baijiu* to *huangjiu* is 40 to 8 with *baijiu* production being 5 times that of *huangjiu*. This elucidates the strong position commanded by *baijiu* in China. Moreover, for fruit liquor including wine, both the production volume and share in total liquor is far higher in China than in Japan.

As a trend in recent years, there is a shift in China, as in Japan, from beverages with high alcoholic content to those with low content. Table 2 shows the changes in production by type of liquor from 1949 to 1983. Whereas the growths of *baijiu* and *huangjiu* are about the same, production of beer and wine with lower alcohol content has shown overwhelming growth. Lowering the alcohol content has also been attempted with *baijiu*. For example, to meet domestic and international demand, first the alcohol content of products for export was lowered from 60 proof to 52 proof and with this proving to be a popular step, products with 48 proof or less are also being produced. [KOIZUMI 1996]

The regions where *baijiu* is produced are Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, Shanxi, Nei Mongol, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Shandong, Jiangsu, Anhui, Jiangxi, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan while *huangjiu* is produced mainly in Beijing, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi and Fujian.

From this, China may be roughly divided into regions producing and consuming *baijiu* and those producing and consuming *huangjiu*. Just as *wulong* tea is consumed only in the region around Fujian and Guangdong, the region in which *huangjiu* is consumed on an everyday basis is limited to the producing regions such as Zhejiang. The difference in liquor preference between the north and south was, as has been mentioned in the section on the history of public houses, already reflected in the specialization of businesses in Beijing in the Qing Dynasty years. To explain the fact that regions producing *baijiu* are primarily found in the north and in the mountains and those producing *huangjiu* are found in the south, Takeo Koizumi points out three factors: raw materials, water, and climate.

Along with these differences between the north and south is another important factor,

Table 1. Production Volume by Type in Japan and China

	Japan (kiloliters)		China (tons)	
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
<i>Sake/Huangjiu</i>	1,409,871	18.57%	657,200	7.70%
<i>Shochu/Baijiu</i>	593,906	7.82%	3,379,600	39.70%
Beer	5,048,734	66.51%	3,104,400	36.46%
Fruit Liquor	62,910	0.83%	1,372,500	16.12%
Whisky	24,662	2.96%	—	—
Total	7,140,083	96.97%	8,513,700	99.98%

Source: *Encyclopedia of Chinese Food*.

Japanese data is for fiscal 1986; Chinese data is for fiscal 1985.

2tons \approx 1kiloliter

Table 2. Changes in the Production of Various Types of Liquar

Unit: 10,000 tons

Type of Liquor	Fiscal 1949	Fiscal 1983	Growth Factor %
<i>Baijiu</i>	10.80	290.17	26.9%
<i>Huangjiu</i>	2.50	62.46	25.0%
Beer	0.70	163.36	233.4%
Wine	0.02	12.86	643.0%
Admixed Liquor	1.60	44.83	27.8%
Total	15.72	573.68	36.7%

Source: *Encyclopedia of Chinese Food*

namely, that liquor was more often consumed in the locality of production. This had to do with the vastness of the country, the problem of distribution costs (in China liquor is transported not in barrels but in heavy vats), and the fact that each region had its own liquor that was considered by the people of the region to be the most tasty. In fact, in the two years that I spent in Nanjing, the types of liquor served were produced exclusively in the Jiangsu region and never was liquor from other regions served. Needless to say, Jiangsu produces some of the best *baijiu* in the country but even in other regions, local liquor is most preferred. The same goes for beer. The brand most consumed in Nanjing was the local one. Before the reforms, there were 160 beer breweries in the whole of China but after the reforms, there are said to be 800 companies including foreign concerns producing beer. In this way, producers of liquor are found throughout China, and hand in hand with the food of each region, liquor has kept its distinctive local flavor to this day.

Having said this, whether it be *baijiu* or *huangjiu*, quality brands were distributed throughout the country from the old days. Stories about the distribution of liquor from various regions, such as the arrival of liquor from the south in Shandong, can also be found in *The Golden Lotus*. Moreover, taking the example of *shaoxingjiu*, this product was shipped to Hangzhou, Shanghai and Ningbo and hence to Fuzhou and Guangdong in the south and to regions in the northern provinces. In particular, the *shaoxingjiu* shipped to Beijing was highly prized in that city. The people of the northern provinces

thought this was of the highest quality, but in fact only third rate liquor was shipped.

[INOUE 1993]

4. CHINESE METHODS OF DRINKING IN THE MODERN PERIOD

What is characteristic of the Chinese drinking customs of today when compared to that of Japan is that, as explained earlier, there are almost no drinking houses that would correspond to the Japanese public house. The drinking establishments of Beijing and Shanghai that were public houses disappeared after the revolution. Since even teahouses were forced to close, it is natural that public houses had to do the same. Thus, rare are the occasions on which Chinese friends will go out drinking. This is because there are no establishments that would cater to such activity. Although western style bars are found in China, this is only in large urban centers and as they are few in number and highly priced, they are not normally visited.

4.1. Drinking in Shaoxing

Given these circumstances and having heard that old-style drinking establishments had been revived in Shaoxing, I visited the area in July 1996 to investigate how *shaoxingjiu* is being consumed. First, let us review circumstances in Shaoxing during the Republic of China days from records made by Kobai Inoue.

Among the highly regarded water sources of Shaoxing, the water of Lake Jian is considered the highest quality. Many cities in the vicinity are producers of liquor, and the liquor vats lining the route to Shaoxing for tens of miles present an extremely impressive scene. Heated liquor is sold in bowls, and the people of this area are all fond of liquor. Even the poorest will drink not only every morning and night but also after a piece of work is completed. This is equivalent to the way tea is consumed in other areas, but since the price is cheap, this does not present a burden and the liquor is said to be of such a fine quality that there is no health detriment. The area is indeed a haven for those fond of drinking. [INOUE 1993]

After the revolution, the brewery business was abolished and integrated, eventually to be nationalized so that breweries no longer abound in the cities. On the other hand, although the process of abolishment and integration of public houses is uncertain, it is believed that these establishments were forced to close by the period of the Cultural Revolution. The revival of the liquor shop had to wait for many years until the reforms of the 1980s. Though perhaps not to the extent seen in the past, shops that serve *shaoxingjiu* can now be found everywhere in the city. One famous liquor shop is known to all the citizens of Shaoxing because it appears in a novel by Lu Xun. It is a tourist attraction as well for visitors from outside the region. This is Lu Xun's description:

The structure of public houses here is different from those of other regions. A metal L-shaped stand faces the street with hot water prepared within the stand so that liquor may be warmed at any time. Workers would come at lunchtime or dinnertime after finishing

work and pay four *wen* in copper coins and buy a drink — this was more than twenty years ago and today the price is probably about ten *wen* — and drink hot liquor standing to rest for a moment. Another *wen* will purchase a plate of salted bamboo shoots or fennel beans to accompany the liquor. Payment of somewhat more than ten *wen* will purchase a plate of some meat dish. However, the clientele who come here are of the lowly indentured class so in general they do not splurge to that extent. Only those wearing long robes will enter the interior and, having ordered liquor and food, would sit and sip. [Lu 1956]

When I visited the rebuilt shop, I discovered that it differs considerably from the original one, which opened around 1894 and was run by a relative of Lu Xun. It was a small shop, measuring about six feet at the storefront, and it sold soy sauce in addition to liquor, but it went bankrupt within two or three years. By the time Lu Xun wrote about it in 1919, it had already closed. So, Lu Xun's description of the shop and its interior were fiction. It was in the year 1981 that the shop was rebuilt to commemorate the centennial of Lu Xun's birth. The shop was recreated based on the novel. Later, a two-floor restaurant was added at the back of the shop.

Since this is a public house, I imagined a scene of the clientele sipping *shaoxingjiu*. But perhaps because I went there in the summer, many of the customers were drinking beer while eating snacks and my first impression was that of a restaurant for the common folk.

The liquor store hours in China are from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., and this contrasts radically with the hours of Japanese public houses that start in the afternoon and continue to very late hours. Among retired old folk, there are those who come from the opening in the morning. Some come with friends while others come alone, but there are no women customers. In the evening, laborers who have finished work visit these shops.

In addition to *shaoxingjiu*, *baijiu*, beer, and wine are served, but in terms of sales turnover, with the exception of beer in the summer, the overwhelming proportion comes from *shaoxingjiu*. Daily sales of *shaoxingjiu* average 40 vats. In the summer sales average only 20 vats per day, but in the spring and autumn, tourists are numerous and sales volume reaches 50 vats per day. Sales by weight for take out are included in these figures.

I spoke to a group of three men drinking in the shop. They were drinking beer, but upon my asking them about *shaoxingjiu*, they made it a point to go to the counter and purchase *shaoxingjiu*. According to them, they come to the shop once or twice a week. When coming as a threesome, they spend between 50 and 60 yuan for liquor and snacks. When drinking *shaoxingjiu*, since the pace of drinking is slower than in the case of beer, they stay for about 2 hours before returning home. In the case of *shaoxingjiu*, the amount consumed per person per visit is about two *jin* (4 bowls, 1,000 gram). Before returning home, various snacks and three bowls of rice are consumed.

Way of Drinking Shaoxingjiu

In the winter, since the climate is cold, *shaoxingjiu* is warmed. In the summer, a lump of ice may be put in the bowl but *shaoxingjiu* itself is not served cold.

With respect to the method of warming *shaoxingjiu*, there was a utensil for this purpose behind the counter. Fortunately, I was able to find an old version of this utensil at the Shaoxing



Figure 1. Xinheng Jiudian on Lu Xun Road



Figure 2. Interior of Xinheng Jiudian. White Drinking cup that holds 500grams.

Museum of Ethnology on Lu Xun Road. The utensil consists of a pan filled with water that is heated from below. A cylindrical container that holds the liquor is then immersed from above for the purpose of warming.

With respect to the cups used, in the old days smaller containers were used but during the days of the Republic of China, the size gradually increased and after the revolution, the current large cup came into use. However, in the restaurant at the back, smaller cups are still used for *shaoxingjiu*.

In Japan, certain shops provide crystal sugar with *shaoxingjiu*. As far back as 1938, Kobai Inoue criticizes this as a sign of ignorance. In other words, among the people of northern China, there are few that understand the real taste of *laojiu* and it is customary to put crystal sugar only in lesser quality liquor. This custom was passed to Japan and even high-class establishments will provide crystal sugar as if it is a golden standard even when serving quality liquor. But this is tantamount to admission that the liquor is of poor quality [INOUE 1993]. In the interview in Shaoxing, it was reported that since *shaoxingjiu* is sweet to begin with, there is no custom of placing crystal sugar in the drink.

In Shaoxing, I asked people about drinking in the home. Although beer is most often consumed during the summer, in the winter *shaoxingjiu* is drunk warm. In general, older men prefer *shaoxingjiu* while women seldom drink it. Those who like to drink will drink one *jin* (500 gram) at home (half *jin* in the afternoon and half *jin* at dinner). The half *jin* (250 gram) bowl is also used in homes. *Shaoxingjiu* is considered to have protective properties. Both men and women will soak chopsticks in *shaoxingjiu* and touch their mouth with the tip when children are born. Children may be allowed to drink *shaoxingjiu* when they reach the age of ten. *Shaoxingjiu* is consumed on a variety of occasions including birthdays, weddings, funerals, and holidays.

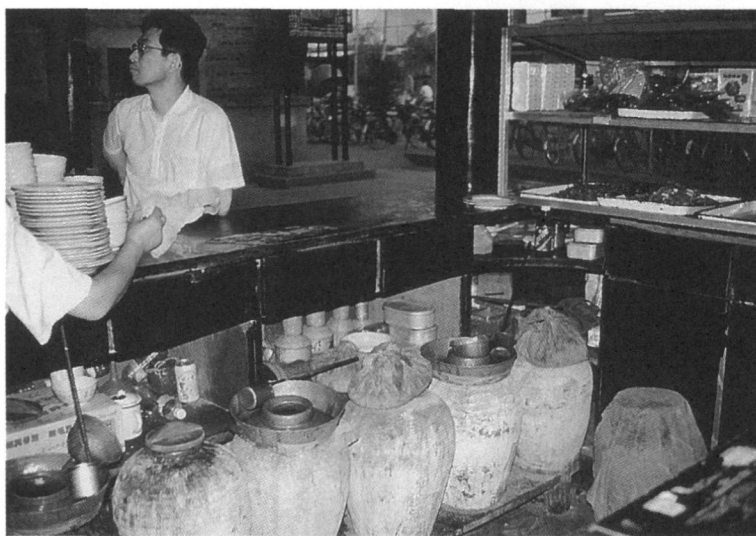


Figure 3. Behind the counter. Shaoxing Jiu is dished out from the large jars.



Figure 4. Banquet toast. The four men stand up, raising their cups.

Although more beer is consumed in the summer, the fact that *shaoxingjiu* is a product of necessity for the people of Shaoxing remains unchanged to this day.

4.2. Report from Investigation of Rural Areas in Northern Jiangsu

When conducting research in rural areas in China, banquets with city and prefectural officials are common. Here I would like to summarize the manner in which liquor is consumed at banquets in the China of today from my own experience.

In general, during parties in China, there is a clear distinction with respect to the main guests and seating is a matter of deep interest. When entertaining, the solicitousness of the host to his guest is extreme. After being seated and the first course produced, the group will toast with the host leading. As the party progresses, individuals will often select a counterpart for one to one toasts. In doing this, the host will first toast the main guest followed by someone immediately below the host toasting the main guest and there is a clear order in the way this is conducted. The guest will find a timely moment and offer a return toast. If the guest waits too long, some other participant will offer a toast to the guest and the guest will be left unable to return the previous toast.

When selecting a counterpart for a toast, filling the cup of the counterpart is not a custom. This is because when the cup is empty, someone sitting nearby will always fill the cup. This system results in the guest drinking a large amount. If the guest is a light drinker, there is no need to empty the cup at each toast and simply taking a sip is allowed. The host will normally empty his cup with each toast but this is not an absolute requirement.

After a round of this ceremonial selection of counterparts for toasts, in some cases, parting from the rules of entertaining, the group may participate in a group toast as people hailing back

to the same region or as former classmates. If there is a plurality of tables, a person may leave his table to toast at another table. As each course is produced, the host will lead the group in a toast and at the end of the party, the whole table will toast with the host leading.

With respect to the types of liquor served, in banquets at the prefectural level, things were formal and a complete set of beer, wine and *baijiu* was served for the most part. I have never seen *shochu* served at this level. At the village level, in most cases only *baijiu* was served. What is interesting here is that in this case, the person who is the strongest drinker sits in a corner spot at the foot of the table and acts as the master of ceremonies of the toasting. It is not known if such a custom exists in other areas.

The custom of the host offering a toast each time a new course appears and the custom on selecting a specific person to toast can be seen in records from the Sino-Japanese War period.

The host must be attentive in order not to forget to offer a toast each time a new course appears. Toasting with each guest using one's own cup as is seen in the custom in Japanese banquets is not done. When one wishes to toast someone, say Mr. Chin or Mr. Wang who is sitting at one's own table, one calls the person's name and without particularly saying "cheers" in a loud voice, raises one's cup. [GOTO 1938].

In fact, the custom of toasting each time a new course appears seems to have a practical reason. Takeo Koizumi maintains that *baijiu* is suitable for the oily Chinese food because *baijiu* has the characteristic of washing away the oiliness in one's mouth, allowing one to enjoy the next course to be eaten. Seen in this way, toasting at the serving of each new course is a reasonable custom.

4.3. On Inebriation

It is often pointed out that the Chinese do not drink to inebriation as do the Japanese and in my own experience, I have never seen a Chinese person become inebriated. With regards to this phenomenon, Kanzo Uchiyama who lived in Shanghai for many years reports as follows.

Among the Chinese, there are none that become drunk and engage in disgraceful behavior. During the war, a certain Japanese who came to Shanghai for maneuvers is said to have been distrusted by the Chinese because he became completely inebriated during a drinking session. Since the way the Chinese drink is at all times to enjoy pleasure, they will never drink until they suffer, as do the Japanese. Some explain this by saying that the Chinese engage in shameful drunken behavior at home as they place great weight on decorum outside the home, or that the Chinese return home immediately when they become inebriated, or that the Chinese drink only a small amount, or that the alcoholic content of Chinese liquor is low and is not as inebriating as Japanese *saké*. But there apparently were many Chinese who became drunk a thousand years ago, so why is it that this cannot be seen today? The China of today is extremely strict with respect to drinking and these veterans drink the dangerous substance, liquor, safely. It is said that this is because the Chinese have overcome liquor through the passage of one thousand years. [UCHIYAMA 1979]

It is true that there are some scenes in *The Golden Lotus* that depict drunkenness, but most of these are related to developments in the plot and inebriation was always a dangerous situation.

5. IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

When viewed from the perspective of centuries, the way of drinking liquor in China has undergone various changes. The most important issue is when and how the “overcoming” of liquor mentioned by Kanzo Uchiyama was achieved. In documents from various periods, concurrent to the portrayal of inebriated Chinese, there are words warning against excessive drinking; moreover, discord was associated with over-consumption of liquor from ancient times.

What may be referenced here is the example of the case of Europe. Nurrison’s *The Social History of Drinking* describes the process through which prohibition movements began in France, a country that was relatively lenient of drunks, after the 19th century as a result of the pervasive availability of inexpensive distilled liquor. It also discusses issues of labor productivity in an industrialized society, the “invention” of alcoholism, and a reversal of values with respect to drinking. Various parts of the world went through a similar process in the 19th century with the pervasive availability of low priced liquor and the relentless trajectory towards the industrialization of society.

What, then, was the situation in China? Unfortunately, this issue has not been sufficiently researched. However, inferring from documents obtained, the situation in China seems to have been different from that in France. If the overcoming of liquor that Uchiyama talks about was achieved in the 19th century, this would correspond to the period of a global trend towards increased consumption of alcohol and even inebriation.

As seen in the disappearance of the public house after the socialist revolution, the fact that production and consumption of liquor was limited in China as a whole plays an important role. If the warring years prior to the revolution are included, ordinary Chinese had been unable to drink to their content for almost half a century. Needless to say, even in this period there were differences between high government officials and the ordinary people and between urban and rural dwellers. Although those in a position that allowed consumption did so, overall life was nevertheless ascetic. Thus, there was little difference by social class in the type of liquor consumed or the manner in which such liquor was consumed.

However, with progress in the 1980s in the policies of reform and liberalization, Chinese society is entering a period of mass consumption of liquor. Documents that take the form of reportage denounce such social problems related to the increased consumption of liquor as (1) the distribution of poor quality ersatz liquor in large volumes, (2) alcoholism (almost 10,000 deaths each year), (3) the dramatic increase of alcohol related diseases, and (4) crimes attributed to drunkenness. In contrast to the austere life before the reforms, the Chinese have clearly begun to drink more liquor than in the past. The Chinese are supposed to have “overcome” liquor, but it would seem that in reality this is not completely true. The possibility that issues related to liquor may become a social problem as reform progresses cannot be denied.

When compared to the situation in Japanese society, it may be pointed out that the tradition of public houses in China was interrupted for almost half a century due to the socialist revolution. Indeed, with the future progress of reforms, just as teahouses have been revived,

the public house may also be revived. In such a context, we must question why the culture of drinking as exemplified by the public house has remained strong and even progressed in Japan. This may be explained by the independence of food accompanying liquor, as evidenced by the fact that such food developed independently of ordinary cuisine in Japan. Needless to say, the word "side dishes" that corresponds to food accompanying liquor has existed from ancient times in China, and numerous types of side dishes appear in *The Golden Lotus*, but the actual content of such side dishes was not significantly different from ordinary food.

The same can be said of tea. Tea culture separated itself from food in Japan, as seen in the Japanese tea ceremony, but in China tea was always closely interrelated with food, as seen in "yamcha" of Guangdong. Although there are examples of appreciating tea alone in Fujian and Taiwan, these exceptions are still not as structured as the Japanese tea ceremony.

In conclusion, we may say that liquor, as with tea, is intricately linked to food in China. Moreover, food is primary and liquor is positioned as an adjunct to food. When entertaining in China, the solicitousness of the host is expressed not so much in the quality and volume of liquor but rather by the quality and amount of the food that is continuously served.

The shift from liquors of high alcoholic content to those of lower alcoholic content is a phenomenon that is occurring in both Japan and China. In the Japan of recent years, through sales of such personalized liquor as *saké* in single portion cups or canned beer, personalization of drinking is taking place [SMITH 1992]. Whether such a phenomenon will occur in China is a point of some interest. How the Chinese, who are said to have "overcome" liquor, will deal with liquor in the future is worthy of our continued attention.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A, XIANG (阿祥編著)
 1994 『中国酒禍』 合肥：安徽文芸出版社. (*Alcoholism in China*. Hefei: Anhuiwenyi-chubansha.)
- AOKI, Masaru (青木正児)
 1970 「酒趣酒」「華国風味」『青木正児全集 第9巻』 東京：春秋社. (Drinking for Pleasure. Taste of China. *Collected Works of Masaru Aoki* Vol. 9. Tokyo: Shunjusha.)
- BIN, Ping (竇苹)
 Northern Song (北宋) 『酒譜』 (中村喬編訳『中国の酒書』所収, 東京：平凡社, 1991.) (*The Dictionary of Liquor*. In Takashi Nakamura [transl. and ed.] *Books on Liquor in China*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991.)
- NOURRISON, Didier
 1990 *Le buveur du XIX e siècle*. Paris: Editions Albin Michel.
- GOTO, Asataro (後藤朝太郎)
 1923 『おもしろい支那の風俗』 東京：大阪屋号書店. (*Interesting Customs of China*. Tokyo: Osakayago-shoten.)
 1938 『大支那の理解』 東京：高陽書店. (*Understanding Great China*. Tokyo: Koyo-shoten.)
- GUO, Xiao Lin (郭小林)
 1995 『《金瓶梅》與金華酒』『中国烹飪』1995年1月. 北京：中国商業出版社. (*The Golden Lotus and Jinhuajiu. Chinese Cooking 1995-1*. Beijing: Zhongguoshangyi-chubansha.)

HANAI, Shiro (花井四郎)

- 1992 『黄土に生まれた酒』東京：東方書店. (*Liquor Born of the Yellow Soil*. Tokyo: Toho-shoten.)

HOU, Yu Zhang and HONG Bin Wang (eds.) (侯雲章・王鴻賓主編)

- 1990 『中華酒典—酒與酒文化』哈爾濱：黑龍江人民出版社. (*The Bible of Chinese Liquor*. Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang-renminchubansha.)
- 1939 『古今酒事』上海：世界書局. (再版, 上海書店：影印出版, 1987.) (*Encyclopedia of Chinese Liquor*. Shanghai: Shijie-shujyu. Reprinted by Shanghai:Shanghai-shudian in 1987.)

HUANG, Pu Song (皇甫松)

- Tang(唐) 『醉鄉日月』(中村喬編訳『中国の酒書』所収, 東京：平凡社, 1991.) (*Drinking Everyday*. In Takashi Nakamura [transl. and ed.] *Books on Liquor in China*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991.)

INOUE, Kobai (井上紅梅)

- 1925 『支那風俗』上海：日本堂書店. (*Customs of China*. Shanghai: Nihondoshoten.)
- 1993 『中華万華鏡』東京：うみうし社. (*Things Chinese*. Tokyo: Umiushisha.)

JIN, Zi Man (金子曼)

- 1991 『中国酒令』天津：天津科学技術出版社. (*Chinese Drinking Gam*. Tianjin: Tianjin-kexuejishu-chubanshe.)

KATO, Sigeru (加藤繁)

- 1931 「宋代における都市の発達について」『支那經濟史考證』東京：東洋文庫. (On the Development of Cities during Song Dynasty. *Economic History of China*. Tokyo: Toyobunko.)

KOIZUMI, Takeo (小泉武夫)

- 1996 『銘酒誕生—白酒と焼酎』東京：講談社現代新書. (*Birth of Quality Liquor*. Tokyo: Kodansha.)

LIU, Ji Xian and JING Ming Wen (劉集賢・文景明)

- 1978 『杏花村里酒如泉—山西汾酒史話』太原：山西人民出版社. (*History of Shanxi Fengjiu*. Taiyuan: Shanxirenminchubansha.)

LU, Xun (魯迅著)

- 1956 「孔乙己」竹内好訳『魯迅選集 第1巻』岩波書店. (Kongyiji. *Selected Works of Lu Xun* Vol.1. translated by Yosimi Takeuchi. Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten.)

LOWE, H. Y. (羅信耀)

- 1988 『北京風俗大全』藤井省三・宮尾正樹・坂井洋史・佐藤豊共訳, 東京：平凡社. (*The Adventures of Wu: The Life Cycle of a Peking Man, Vol.I, II*. Beijing: The Peking Chronicle Press. 1940/41.)

MIYAO, Sigeo (宮尾しげお)

- 1939 『支那街頭風俗集』東京：実業之日本社. (*Collections of Street Scenes of China*. Tokyo: Jitugyono-nihonsha.)

NAKAMURA, Takashi (trans. and ed.) (中村喬訳編)

- 1991 『中国の酒書』東京：平凡社. (*Books on Liquor in China*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)

NANAMI, Toshisada (那波利貞)

- 1926 「唐宋時代の旗亭酒楼」上・中・下『歴史と地理』18巻4・5・6号. (Public Houses in

- Tang and Song Dynasty, Part 1, 2, 3. *History and Geography* 18-4, 5, 6, n.p.)
- NISHIZAWA, Haruhiko (西澤治彦)
- 1985 「飲茶の話」『GS—楽しい知識』3. 東京：冬樹社. (On Yamcha. *GS-Enjoyable Knowledge* 3, Tokyo: Tojusha.)
- 1988 「現代中国の茶館—四川省成都の事例から」『風俗』26(4). 東京：日本風俗史学会. (Teahouses in Contemporary China: A Case Study of Chengdu in Sichuan Province. *Historical Review on Manners and Customs* 26(4). Tokyo: The Japanese Society for Historical Research of Manners and Customs.)
- 1997 「中国の居酒屋事情—紹興の咸亨酒店」『VESTA』29. 東京：味の素の文化センター. (Public Houses in Contemporary China: A Case Study in Shaoxin, Zhejiang. *VESTA* 29. Tokyo: Ajinomoto Shokunobunka Center.)
- OGAWA, Yoichi (小川陽一)
- 1989 「金瓶梅詞話の酒令」『中国—社会と文化』4. 東京：中国社会文化学会. (Drinking Games in The Golden Lotus. *China: Society and Culture*. 4. Tokyo: Association for Studies of Chinese Society and Culture.)
- OTANI, Akira (大谷彰)
- 1974 『中国の酒』東京：柴田書店. (*Liquor in China*. Tokyo: Shibatahoten.)
- SAWAMURA, Yukio (沢村幸夫)
- 1939 『浙江風物誌』東京：東亜研究会. (*Portrayal of Customs in Zhejiang*. Tokyo: Toakenkyukai.)
- SHANG, Bing He and NARIAKI Akita (ed. and transl.) (尚秉和・秋田成明編訳)
- 1969 『中国社会風俗史』東京：平凡社. (*Chinese Socio-Cultural History*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)
- SMITH, R. Stephen
- 1992 A Japanese Drinking Etiquette in a Changing Beverage Market. In Joseph J. Tobin (ed.) *Re-Made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society*. Yale University Press.
- TANAKA, Seiichi Haruhiko NISHIZAWA and Hisae OGAWA (eds.) (田中静一・西澤治彦・小川久恵共編)
- 1991 『中国食物事典』東京：柴田書店. (*Encyclopedia of Chinese Food*. Tokyo: Shibatahoten.)
- TAN, Shuo (譚朔)
- 1991 「閑話酒館」『釀酒』1992年2期. (On Public Houses. *Nianjiu* 1991-2. n.p.)
- TAO, Wen Tai (陶文台)
- 1992 「『金瓶梅』美食識小」『中国烹飪』1992年2期. 北京：中国商業出版社. (Food in *The Golden Lotus*. *Chinese Cooking* 1992-2. Beijing: Zhongguoshangyi-chubansha.)
- UCHIYAMA, Kanzo (内山完造)
- 1979 『中国人の生活風景』東京：東方書店. (*Lifestyle of the Chinese*. Tokyo: Tohoshoten.)
- WANG, Sai shi (王賽時)
- 1990 「唐代的酒肆」『中国烹飪』1990年5期. 北京：中国商業出版社. (Public Houses in Tang Dynasty. *Chinese Cooking* 1990-5. Beijing: Zhongguoshangyi-chubansha.)
- 1992 「中国古代的市店酒」『中国烹飪』1992年12期. 北京：中国商業出版社. (Public Houses in Ancient China. *Chinese Cooking* 1992-12. Beijing: Zhongguoshangyi-chubansha.)

WANG, Sai Shi and HAI Shan Li (王賽時·李海山)

- 1992 「歷代酒肆概覽」上·下『中国食品』1992年9·10期. 北京：中国食品雜誌社.
(Historical Overview of Chinese Public House. *Chinese Food* 1992-9/10. Beijing:
Zhongguoshipin-zazhisha.)

WANG, Wei Guo (王衛國)

- 1990 『酒文化中的中国人』鄭州：河南人民出版社. (*The Chinese and her Drinking Culture*.
Zhengzhou: Henanrenmin-chubansha.)

XIAO XIAO Sheng (笑笑生著)

- 1969 『金瓶梅』小野忍·千田九一訳, 東京：平凡社 (1969). (『金瓶梅詞話』香港：夢
梅館, 1993.) (*The Golden Lotus*. Hong Kong: Mongmeiguan/translated by Shinobu Oono
and Qyuichi Chida, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1969.)

XU, Ke (ed.) (徐珂編撰)

- Qing(清) 「飲食類」『清稗類鈔』北京：中華書局 (1986). Food and Drink. Anthology of
Qing Customs. Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1986.)

YE, Run tong (葉閏桐)

- 1992 「金華酒、燒酒及其他」『貴州文史叢刊』1992年4期. 貴州. (Jinhua jiu, Shaojiu and
Others. *Historical Material of Guizhou* 1992-4. Guiyang.)

Zhongguoshipin-chubanshe (ed.) (中国食品出版社編)

- 1989 『中国酒文化和中国名酒』北京：中国食品出版社. (*Chinese Drinking Culture and*
Quality Liquor. Beijing: Zhongguoshipin-chubanshe.)

ZHI, Zi (知子)

- 1990 「金代的食肆酒楼」『中国烹飪』1990年1期. 北京：中国商業出版社. (Restaurants
and Public Houses in Jin Dynasty. *Chinese Cooking* 1990-1. Beijing: Zhongguoshangyi-
chubansha.)

ZHU, Shi Ying and Jia Hong Ji (eds.) (朱世英·季家宏主編)

- 1990 『中国酒文化辞典』合肥：黄山書社. (*Dictionary of Chinese Drinking Culture*. Hefei:
Huangshan-shushe.)

ZHU, Gong (朱肱)

- Northern Song(北宋) 『北山酒經』中村喬編訳『中国の酒書』東京：平凡社所収, 1991.
(The Liquor Bible of Beishan. In Takashi Nakamura [trans. and ed.] *Books on Liquor in*
China. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991.)

