

attracted growing attention as a subject worthy of study. Its contributions in literature, the arts, religion, and many other fields have proved to be of importance in their own right, as well as being the foundation on which the developments in the Tang and later periods rested.

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NOTES

1. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xiv.
2. Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, xiii.
3. W. F. J. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493-534)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 217.
4. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang*, 215.
5. Yen Chih-t'ui [Yan Zhitui], *Family Instructions for the Yen Clan: Yen-shih Chia-hsun*, trans. Ssu-yu Teng (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 303.
6. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang*, 241-42.
7. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang*, 237.
8. Yen Chih-t'ui, *Family Instructions*, 127.
9. Liu I-ch'ing [Liu Yiqing], comp., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of the Tales of the World*, trans. Richard B. Mather (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 458.
10. Yen Chih-t'ui, *Family Instructions*, 110.

26. Dietary Habits

Shu Xi's "Rhapsody on Pasta"

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Among the many foods of the Chinese culinary tradition, the most memorable are the delectable dumplings, stuffed buns, and noodles. During the Six Dynasties period, these types of foods were all included in the generic category of *bing* 餅. Although there are various anecdotal accounts of *bing* from Han times on, the most detailed is a poem, "Rhapsody on Pasta" (*Bingfu* 餅賦), by the Western Jin scholar Shu Xi 束皙 (263-302).¹ Shu Xi was a native of Yuancheng 元城 (east of modern Daming 大名, Hebei), which was the administrative seat of Yangping 陽平 Commandery. Shu Xi was reputed to be a descendant of the famous Han scholar Shu Guang 疏廣, who served as grand tutor to Liu Shi 劉爽, the future Emperor Yuan (r. 48-33 B.C.E.). At the end of Wang Mang's reign (ca. 23) Shu Guang's great-grandson Shu Mengda 束孟達 changed the family name to Shu 束.

Shu Xi's grandfather and father were men of good reputation who had served as governors. In his youth (ca. 282), Shu Xi attended the national university in Luoyang where he attracted the attention of the scholar Cao Zhi 曹志 (d. 288). Shu Xi soon returned to Yuancheng, where he declined the nominations that he received from the local administration for being filial and incorrupt and an outstanding talent. Shu Xi's elder brother Shu Qiu 束璆 had married the niece of the powerful military man Shi Jian 石鑿 (d. 294). After Shu Qiu divorced her, Shi Jian held a grudge against the Shu family, thus preventing Xi

and Qiu from serving in office until Shi Jian died in 294. During this period, Shu Xi continued to reside in Yuancheng. He wrote a lament for Wei Heng 衛恒 (d. 291), the eldest son of the minister Wei Guan 衛瓘 (220–291), who was killed along with his father in 291.² Shu Xi also wrote a long “hypothetical discourse,” “Justification for Living in Reclusion” (*Xuan ju shi* 玄居釋), to defend his decision to avoid government service.³

Shu Xi must have circulated copies of his discourse, for it came to the attention of Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300), who in 294 arranged for Shu Xi to be appointed to the staff of the Minister of Works, the Prince of Xiapei 下邳, Sima Huang 司馬晃 (d. 296). When Zhang Hua became Minister of Works in 296, he appointed Shu Xi to the police section. Within six months, Shu Xi moved to the post of Assistant Editorial Director (*Zuo zhuzuo lang* 佐著作郎), in which he set to work compiling the imperial annals and monographs for a history of the Jin. While still holding this post, he was appointed *boshi* 博士 (erudite, professor, academician). In 279, a large cache of bamboo documents was discovered in a Zhou dynasty tomb located in Ji 汲 Commandery near modern Ji County, Henan. These texts, known as the “Ji Tumulus Texts” (*Ji zhong shu* 汲冢書), include the *Bamboo Annals* (*Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年), *Account of the Travels of Emperor Mu of Zhou* (*Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳), versions of the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), and a collection of fabulous tales.⁴ In 298, Shu Xi was commissioned to edit these texts, a task that had been begun by his friend Wei Heng. Shu Xi’s final post at the Jin court was that of Secretarial Court Gentleman (*Shangshu lang* 尚書郎). In the year 300, he resigned from office and returned to his home in Yuancheng, where he taught a large number of students. He died around 302, and his disciples and friends erected a stele in his honor by his grave.

Shu Xi was a skilled *fu* writer. In addition to the “Rhapsody on Pasta,” portions of five other *fu* survive: “Rhapsody on My Impoverished Family” (*Pin jia fu* 貧家賦),⁵ “Rhapsody on Reading Aloud” (*Du shu fu* 讀書賦), “Rhapsody on Nearby Roaming” (*Jin you fu* 近遊賦), “Rhapsody on the Encourager of Agriculture” (*Quan nong fu* 勸農賦), and “Justification for Living in Reclusion,” mentioned earlier. Shu Xi wrote all of these pieces in Yuancheng during the period when Shi Jian prevented him from taking office. Some of his contemporaries condemned two of these pieces, “Rhapsody on the Encourager of Agriculture” and “Rhapsody on Pasta,” for their “vulgarity.” This was probably because Shu Xi employs a subtle humor and writes on rather mundane topics, and thus he has been considered one of the early writers of the so-called vernacular *fu* (*sufu* 俗賦).

The word *bing* in the title of Shu Xi’s *fu* has a complicated history. Although in modern Chinese it designates flat or round cakes, in Shu Xi’s period it had a much broader meaning and included a large number of foods made from dough, especially wheat dough. The Chinese were later than most civilizations in applying the process of fermentation to the making of leavened dough. In

fact, they did not begin making dough out of wheat flour until the Warring States or early Han period,⁶ probably because the process of flour milling was not widely understood in China until then. Berthold Laufer, writing in 1900, even claimed that the flour mill, which is found in Han archaeological sites, was an importation from the West.⁷ Joseph Needham cautiously speculated that the rotary mill, or quern, may have originated in the Middle East and reached China around the Han period.⁸

The earliest occurrence of the word *bing* in a Chinese text is in the *Mozhi* (ca. 400–ca. 300 B.C.E.).⁹ Although in this passage the word clearly indicates some type of food, there is not enough context to ascertain how it was made. *Bing* also appears in the *Ji jiu pian* 急就篇, a Western Han dynasty word list attributed to Shi You 史游 (fl. 48–33 B.C.E.), together with three other food terms: *er* 餌 (rice cake), *mai fan* 麥飯 (cooked barley/wheat), and *gan dou geng* 甘豆羹 (sweet bean porridge). Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645), the Tang commentator to this work, which was intended mainly as a primer for children, says these all are “foods of rural people and peasants.” He explains that *bing* was made by mixing flour in water and steaming it.¹⁰ The word *bing* also occurs in another lexicon of the same period, the *Fangyan* 方言 of Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 B.C.E.–18 C.E.), which says “*bing* is called *tun* 餛.”¹¹ *Tun* is very likely an abbreviated form for *huntun* 餛飩 (wonton).¹²

Bing is given a definition in the *Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字), compiled around 100, which defines it as a *ci* 糝 made of wheat flour.¹³ A *ci* actually is a boiled pastry made of rice or millet flour. The compiler of the *Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters* perhaps simply distinguished between the two names based on the ingredients used to make them. A more helpful explanation of *bing* appears in the late Eastern Han lexicon *Terms Explained* (*Shi ming* 釋名) by Liu Xi 劉熙 (fl. late second century), which gives a paronomastic gloss on 餅 as *bing* 并 (to combine). It explains that flour is mixed in water, causing it to *hebing* 合并 (coalesce). It then mentions various kinds of *bing*, all of which are named according to their shapes: *hu bing* 胡餅 (foreign *bing*), *zheng bing* 蒸餅 (steamed *bing*), *tang bing* 湯餅 (*bing* boiled in broth), *he bing* 蝎餅 (*bing* shaped like a scorpion), *sui bing* 髓餅 (marrow *bing*), *jin bing* 金餅 (metal-shaped *bing*, golden ingots),¹⁴ and *suo bing* 索餅 (string-shaped *bing*).¹⁵ The scholarly consensus is that *hu bing* is a type of bread; *tang bing* is noodles; *zheng bing* is steamed dough; *he bing* (or perhaps *xie bing* 蝎餅) is deep-fried dough with a large head and pointed end like that of a scorpion;¹⁶ *sui bing* is a baked mixture of wheat flour, water, marrow, and honey; and *suo bing* is a type of noodle (compare Italian spaghetti from *spago* [string]). Thus, already by the end of the Later Han dynasty, the term *bing* encompasses a wide range of doughy concoctions that most food historians regard as the equivalent of the Western word “pasta.”

Shu Xi’s “Rhapsody on Pasta” has provided even more important information about the early medieval Chinese notion of *bing*. Shu Xi begins the poem

with a brief introduction in which he traces the origins of *bing*. He first tells us that even though the *Record of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) mentions that the supreme ruler ate wheat during the second month of spring and that wheat was used as a cooked grain food, it does not mention *bing*. Thus Shu Xi concludes that *bing* was a recent invention. The reason that he mentions wheat is that although some types of *bing* were made from the flour of other grains, mainly millet and rice, by Shu Xi's time, the main ingredient of *bing* was wheat flour. For example, the *Separate Biography of Zhuge Liang* (*Zhuge Ke biezhuàn* 諸葛恪別傳, third century) mentions a banquet given by the Wu ruler Sun Quan 孫權 (182–252) in honor of the Shu emissary Fei Hui 費禕 (d. 253). In the middle of the banquet, Fei Hui suddenly "ceased eating his *bing*, requested a brush, and composed a *fu* on wheat,"¹⁷ presumably because he was served a plate of *bing* made from wheat flour.

In the opening lines of the piece proper, Shu Xi enumerates the names of various types of *bing*. Some of the names, such as piglet's ear and dog's tongue, which are not otherwise known, probably were derived from the shape of the pasta. Several of the names, such as *angan* 安乾 and *butou* 餠餠, may be foreign words. Indeed, Shu Xi even says that some of the preparation methods originated in alien lands.

Shu Xi also mentions that some of the names come from "villages and lanes." This probably means that certain types of *bing* have humble origins. In Han sources, *bing* seems to have been favored by all levels of society, as there even are references to emperors eating *bing*. For example, before he became emperor, Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (r. 73–48 B.C.E.) purchased *bing* in the marketplace,¹⁸ and the young Emperor Zhi 質帝 (r. 146) died after eating poisoned *bing*.¹⁹ In the Former Han, there was a central government office called *tang guan* 湯官 (literally, "boiled-food officer") whose primary responsibility was to provide boiled pasta for the emperor and his entourage.²⁰

There were also *bing* vendors, a subject about which Françoise Sabban has written.²¹ When Wang Mang 王莽 first established the Xin dynasty, he granted the *bing* seller Wang Sheng 王盛 a noble rank.²² During his flight to escape the wrath of a powerful court eunuch, the famous scholar Zhao Qi 趙岐 (d. 201) took up selling *bing* in the marketplace.²³

Shu Xi associates a type of *bing* with each season. For the beginning of spring, the most appropriate pasta is *mantou* 饅頭, the stuffed bun commonly called *baozi*. Shu's poem has the earliest mention of it in Chinese literature. For the next season, summer, Shu Xi recommends something called *bozhuang* 薄壯, which literally means "thin and strong." I suspect that it is a type of pancake. In the autumn, one should eat what Shu Xi calls *qisou* 起澇 (rising soak), which may be a leavened bread.

In the final season, winter, the best thing to eat is *tang bing*, which must be boiled noodles, which were made with unleavened dough. The basic technique

was to mix flour and water to make dough that was kneaded into strips or pulled in the fashion of the modern "thrown noodle." The *Essential Arts of the Common People* (*Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術), which devotes an entire chapter to the techniques of making *bing*, mentions several kinds of boiled noodle. One, which has the un-Chinese sounding name of *botuo* 餠餠, used dough made of flour blended with a meat stock. The dough was kneaded into thumb-size clumps, which were then soaked in water and pressed into thin strips on the side of a plate. Another type of noodle, the *shui yin* 水引 (literally, "water pull"), was made of flour blended with a meat stock. The dough was kneaded or perhaps pulled into thin one-foot-long pieces of pasta as thin as the leaves of chives.²⁴ Although most scholars consider *botuo* a variety of *tang bing*, H. T. Huang judged it to be "gluten in the form of ribbons."²⁵

During the Six Dynasties period, boiled noodles were eaten during the summer festival known as the Day of Concealment (*furi* 伏日), which was held on the third *geng*-day after the summer solstice—that is, between July 13 and 22. The custom of eating boiled noodles can be documented as early as the Wei dynasty. There is a famous story involving He Yan 何晏 (d. 249), who served at the court of the second Wei emperor, Ming 明 (r. 227–239). Because He Yan's complexion was exceedingly white, the emperor suspected him of applying powder. On one summer day, he induced him to perspire by giving him a bowl of boiled noodles. After He Yan ate the noodles, he did indeed begin to sweat profusely, so much so that he had to wipe himself with his vermilion robe. As he wiped his face, his complexion turned a glistening white.²⁶

The *bing* that Shu Xi describes in the most detail is the *laowan* 牢丸, a dumpling stuffed with meat. The word probably means "kneaded dough balls." Unlike the other types of *bing*, which were reserved for a particular season, the *laowan* was appropriate for all seasons. The *laowan* probably was a predecessor of the *jiaozi* and wonton. Shu Xi tells us that the wrapper is made of wheat flour blended with a meat stock. Into the wrapper goes a filling consisting of minced lamb, pork, sliced ginger, and onions, which was flavored with cinnamon, fagara (*huajiao* 花椒), thoroughwort, salt, and bean relish. The dumplings are cooked in a bamboo steamer. Shu Xi describes how the cook quickly turns out one dumpling after another and drops them into the steamer. As the dumplings quickly cook in the steam, the filling swells in the wrappers to the point that they seem about to burst. The enticing aroma of these delectable delicacies wafts into the streets, causing people passing by to drool and salivate. Shu Xi then describes how the dumplings are eaten. As with modern *jiaozi*, the diners dip them, using chopsticks, in a sauce. The sauce they used is the ancient meat sauce called *hai* 醃, which was made of a mixture of meat, ferment, and salt that was steeped in ale and allowed to ferment. At the end of the *fu*, Shu Xi portrays the dumpling eaters as a pack of ravenous beasts that devour the dumplings so rapidly the cook cannot turn them out fast enough.

For studies of Shu Xi, see Matsuura Takashi 松浦崇, "Soku Seki no kokkei bungaku" 束皙の滑稽文學, in *Furuta kyōju taiken kinen Chūgoku bungaku gogaku ronshū* 古田教授退官記念中國文學語學論集, ed. Furuta Keiichi kyōju taikan kinnen jigyōkai 古田敬一教授退官紀念事業會 (Hiroshima: Furuta Keiichi kyōju taikan kinnen jigyōkai; Tokyo: Tōhō shoten hatsubai, 1985), 82-98; Satake Yasuko 佐竹保子, "Soku Seki no bungaku" 束皙の文學, *Shūkan Toyōgaku* 76 (1996): 42-60, and "Soku Seki" 束皙, in *Seishin bungakuron: Gengaku no kage to keiji no akebono* 西晉文學論: 玄學の影と形似の曙 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2002), 208-49; and Dominik Declercq, "The Perils of Orthodoxy: A Western Jin 'Hypothetical Discourse,'" *TP* 80 (1994): 27-60. On *bing*, see Aoki Masaru 青木正兒, "Aibin yowa—Nambokuchō izen no bin" 愛餅餘話—南北朝以前の餅, in *Aoki Masaru zenshū* 青木正兒全集, 10 vols. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1969-1975), 9:425-60, and *Zhonghua mingwu kao* 中華名物考, Chinese trans. Fan Jianming 范建明 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 242-52; Françoise Sabban, "De la main à la pâte: Réflexion sur l'origine des pâtes alimentaires et les transformations du blé en Chine ancienne (III^e siècle av. J.-C.—VI^e siècle ap. J.-C.)," *L'Homme* 113 (1990): 102-37; Qiu Pangtong 邱龐同, "Han Wei Liuchao miandian yanjiu" 漢魏六朝麵點研究, *Zhongguo pengren* 2 (1992): 12-13 and 3 (1992): 6-8; Françoise Sabban, "Quand la forme transcende l'objet: L'histoire des pâtes alimentaires en Chine ancienne premier acte (III^e siècle av. J.-C.—III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)," *Annales: Histoire sciences sociales* 55, no. 4 (2000): 791-824; H. T. Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, part 5, *Fermentations and Food Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 466-91; and Silvano Serventi and Françoise Sabban, *Les pâtes: Histoire d'une culture universelle* (Arles: Actes sud, 2001), 339-422; *Pasta: The Story of a Universal Food*, trans. from the Italian by Antony Shugaar (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 271-344.



SHU XI 束皙

Rhapsody on Pasta (*Bing fu* 餅賦)

According to the *Record of Rites*, during the month of midspring, the Son of Heaven ate wheat.²⁷ In the bamboo offering baskets used in the morning sacrificial services, wheat was used to make the cooked grain food,²⁸ but the "Inner Regulations" of the *Record of Rites* does not mention *bing* among the various foods. Although we find reference to the eating of wheat, nothing is said about *bing*. The making of *bing* certainly is of recent origin.

As for such things as *angan* and the ring stick,²⁹
such varieties as piglet's ear and dog's tongue,
or sword bands, tray offerings,³⁰
butou, and marrow pancake,³¹
some of these names originate in the villages and lanes,
and some of the methods for making them come from alien lands.

At the beginning of the three spring months,
When yin and yang begin to converge,
And the chilly air has dispersed,
When it is warm but not sweltering,
At this time for feasts and banquets
It is best to serve *mantou*.³²

When Wu Hui governs the land,³³
And the pure yang spreads and diffuses,
We dress in ramie and drink water,
Cool ourselves in the shade.
If in this season we make pasta,
There is nothing better than *bozhuang*.³⁴

When the autumn wind blows fierce,³⁵
And the great Fire Star moves west,³⁶
When sleek down appears on birds and beasts,
And barren branches appear on trees,
Dainties and delicacies must be eaten warm.
Thus, leavened bread may be served.³⁷

In dark winter's savage cold,
At early-morning gatherings,
Snot freezes in the nose,
Frost forms around the mouth,
For filling empty stomachs and relieving chills,
Boiled noodles are best.

Thus, each kind is used in a particular season,
Depending on what is apt and suitable for the time.
If one errs in the proper sequence,
The result will not be good.

That which
Through winter, into summer,
Can be served all year round,

And in all four seasons freely used,
In no respect unsuitable,
Can only be the boiled dumpling.³⁸

And then, twice-sifted flour,³⁹

Flying like dust, white as snow,
Sticky as glue, stringy as tendons,
Becomes moist and glistening, soft and lustrous.

For meat

There are mutton shoulders and pork ribs,
Half fat, half skin.
It is chopped fine as fly heads,
And strung together like pearls, strewn like pebbles.
Ginger stalks and onion bulbs,
Into azure threads are sliced and split.
Pungent cinnamon is ground into powder,
Fagara and thoroughwort are sprinkled on.
Blending in salt, steeping black beans,
They stir and mix all into a gluey mash.

And then, when the fire is blazing and the hot water is bubbling,

Savage fumes rise as steam.
Pushing up his sleeves, dusting off his coat,
The cook grasps and presses, pats and pounds.
Flour is webbed to his finger tips,
And his hands whirl and twirl, crossing back and forth.
In a flurrying frenzy, in a motley mixture,
The dumplings scatter like stars, pelt like hail.

Meat does not burst into the steamer,

And there is no loose flour on the dumplings.
Lovely and pleasing, mouthwatering,
The wrapper is thin, but it does not burst.
Rich flavors are blended within,
A plump aspect appears without.
They are as tender as spring floss,
As white as autumn silk.
Steam, swirling and swelling, wafts upward,
The aroma swiftly spreads far and wide.
People strolling by drool downwind,
Servant boys, chewing air, cast sidelong glances.
Vessel carriers lick their lips,

Those standing in attendance swallow drily.
And then they dip them in black meat sauce,
Snap them up with ivory chopsticks.
Bending their waists, poised like tigers,
They sit knee to knee, leaning to one side.
Plates and trays are no sooner presented than everything is gone;
The cook, working without stop, is hurried and harried.

Before his hands can turn to another course,

Additional requests suddenly arrive.
With lips and teeth working smoothly,
Their taste is keen, their palate sharp.
After three steamer-baskets,
They go on to another course.⁴⁰

[The base text used for this translation is Sun Xingyan 孫星衍
(1753–1818), ed., *Xu Guwen yuan* 續古文苑 (Taipei:
Dingwen shuju, 1973), 2.124–27]

NOTES

1. Scholars disagree on Shu Xi's dates. I have followed the dates established by Cao Dao-heng 曹道衡 and Shen Yucheng 沈玉成, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenxue shiliao congkao* 魏晉南北朝文學史料 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 153.
2. For the extant fragments, see Yan Kejun 嚴可均, "Quan Jin wen" 全晉文, in *QW* 87.8a.
3. For the text, see *JS* 51.1428–30. For a translation and study, see Dominik Declercq, "The Perils of Orthodoxy: A Western Jin 'Hypothetical Discourse,'" *TP* 80 (1994): 27–60.
4. For a detailed account of these texts, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 131–84.
5. For the Chinese texts of these four works, see Yan Kejun, "Quan Jin wen," 87.1–2. For a translation of "Pin jia fu," see David R. Knechtges, "Early Chinese Rhapsodies on Poverty and Pasta," *Chinese Literature* 2 (1999): 112–13. For a translation of "Quan nong fu," see Lien-sheng Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty" (1945), in *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 146.
6. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, *Physics and Physical Technology*, part 2, *Mechanical Engineering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 182. On the history of fermentation in China, see H. T. Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, part 5, *Fermentations and Food Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
7. Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Leiden: Brill, 1909), 15–35.
8. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 4:191. For further discussion, see Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 6:463.

9. *Mozi*, SBBY 11b.
10. *Ji jiu pian*, SBCK 30b.
11. The received text reads *tuo* 餲 for *tun* 餲. However, Qing and modern scholars have conclusively shown that the original *Fangyan* reading was *tun* 餲. See Hua Xuecheng 華學誠 et al., *Yang Xiong Fangyan jiaoshi huizheng* 揚雄方言校釋匯證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 986–87.
12. On the history of *huntun*, see Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 6:478–80.
13. Ding Bubao 丁福保, ed., *Shuowen jiezi gulin* 說文解字詁林, 12 vols. (1928; repr., Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1959), 5B.2185a.
14. This may be a term for small pieces of silver or a type of metal ingot.
15. Wang Xianqian 王先謙, ed. and comm., *Shiming shuzheng bu* 釋名疏證補 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), 4.18a–19a.
16. Miao Qiyu 繆啟愉, ed. and comm., and Miao Guilong 繆桂龍, coll., *Qimin yaoshu jiaoshi* 齊民要術校釋 (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1982), 514n.12.
17. SGZ 64.1430.
18. HS 8.237.
19. HHS 34.1179, 53.2085.
20. HS 19A.731.
21. Françoise Sabban, “De la main à la pâte: Réflexion sur l’origine des pâtes alimentaires et les transformations du blé en Chine ancienne (III^e siècle av. J.-C.–VI^e siècle ap. J.-C.),” *L’Homme* 113 (1990): 114–15.
22. HS 99B.4100.
23. HHS 64.2122.
24. *Qimin yaoshu jiaoshi*, 510.
25. Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 6:499.
26. Zhou Lengqie 周堯伽, *Pei Qi Yulin* 裴啟語林 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1988), 17–18. A version of it is recorded in *Recent Anecdotes from the Talk of the Ages* (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語), 14/2.
27. *Record of Rites* (*Liji zhushu* 禮記註疏), “Monthly Ordinances” (*Yue ling* 月令), SSJZ 15.3a.
28. The *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮) mentions boiling wheat to make a cereal that was used in the early morning offerings. See *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏, SSJZ 5.22a.
29. The *angan* 安乾 and *junü* 糗糒 seem to be types of ring pastry, *gao huan* 膏環. Little is known about *angan*; I suspect that it is a transcription of a foreign word. The *junü* may have originated in the South before the Han dynasty. The same name, written 居女, appears on a list of foods recorded on bamboo slips discovered in Mawangdui Tomb no. 1. See Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館 and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973), 2.140. Jia Sixie 賈思勰 (fifth century) says it was made by steeping glutinous rice flour in a honey–water mixture until it had the consistency of noodle dough. Balls of dough were then kneaded into eight-inch lengths, which were then joined end to end in the shape of a ring and fried in oil. See *Qimin yaoshu jiaoshi*, 509.

30. These are otherwise unknown. Silvano Serventi and Françoise Sabban note the similarity to such Italian pasta names as *lingue de passero* (sparrow tongues) and *orecchiette* (auricles) in *Pasta: The Story of a Universal Food*, trans. from the Italian by Antony Shugaar (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 279.
31. The *butou* 餠[食+主] may also be a foreign word. It is a type of fried pasta made from leavened dough that is first rolled into balls, soaked in water, and then allowed to dry. The dry balls of dough are rolled out on the hand and deep-fried. See Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 6:510. Huang suggests that this may be the precursor of the modern *youtiao* 油條. The *suizhu* 髓燭 may be another name for the *sui bing* 髓餅 (marrow pancake). Marrow grease, honey, and flour were combined to form a half-inch-thick and six-to-seven-inch-wide pancake that was baked in an oven.
32. *Mantou* 曼頭 here refers to the stuffed bun now called *baozi* 包子.
33. Wu Hui 吳回, god of fire, was the younger brother of Zhurong 祝融, god of the south and summer. See *Shanhai jing* 山海經, SBBY 16.7a.
34. This is not otherwise known, but I suspect that it is a type of thin pancake.
35. Literally, “when the wind of the *shang* note has turned fierce.” The *shang* 商 note of the Chinese pentatonic scale is correlated with autumn.
36. The great Fire Star (*Da huo* 大火) is Antares, whose westward movement indicates the beginning of autumn.
37. “Leavened bread” is my tentative translation for *qi sou* 起澆 (literally, “leavened and soaked”).
38. The *laowan* 牢丸 is another name for the dumpling commonly called a wonton.
39. I follow the *Chuxue ji* version that reads “flour” 麵 for “barley porridge” (*qu* 麩), which makes no sense here. See Xu Jian 徐堅 (659–729), *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 26.643–44.
40. A full text of the “Rhapsody on Pasta” does not survive. Long extracts from it have been preserved in the following sources: Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638), *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965), 184.14b–16a; Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641), *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 72.1241; Xu Jian, *Chuxue ji*, 26.643–44; and Li Fang 李昉 et al., comps., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 860.5b–6a. All the fragments can be found in Yan Kejun, ed., “Quan Jin wen,” in *QW* 87.2b–3a.