

Teahouses and the Tea Art: A Study on the Current Trend of Tea Culture in China and the Changes in Tea Drinking Tradition

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Summary

The subject of this thesis is tradition and the current trend of tea culture in China. In order to answer the following three questions “ whether the current tea culture phenomena can be called “tradition” or not; what are the changes in tea cultural tradition and what are the new features of the current trend of tea culture; what are the endogenous and exogenous factors which influenced the change in the tea drinking tradition”, I did literature research from ancient tea classics and historical documents to summarize the development history of Chinese tea culture, and used two month to do fieldwork on teahouses in Xi’an so that I could have a clear understanding on the current trend of tea culture. It is found that the current tea culture is inherited from tradition and changed with social development. Tea drinking traditions have become more and more popular with diverse forms. It closely combined with the social economy. Moreover, the changes in tradition are influenced by human beings and the social environment. The requirements for convenience and equality have influenced the changes in tradition endogenously while the economic and political influences as well as western cultures and development of mass media are the exogenous factors which have made the changes in tea drinking tradition.

Foreword

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK

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1 Introduction

琴棋书画诗酒花

当年件件不离它

而今事事都变更

柴米油盐酱醋茶

qín qí shū huà shī jiǔ huā,

dāng nián jiàn jiàn bù lí tā,

ér jīn shì shì dōu biàn gēng,

chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá

This is a very popular doggerel. There is no certain answer when asked what is the title and who is author of this doggerel. *Lianpo Shihua* 莲坡诗话 [Lianpo's Collection of Poems] written by Zha Weiren 查为仁 (1695-1749) in Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) is the only book which has recorded this doggerel. It roughly translated into English is like this: “lyre-playing, chess, calligraphy, painting, poetry, liquor and flower, it was difficult to separate [these unique romances] from life. Now everything changes, [the necessities became] firewood, rice, cooking oil, salt, soy-bean sauce, vinegar and tea”. The third line in this doggerel “柴米油盐酱醋茶” (*chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá*), which means the firewood, rice, cooking oil, salt, soybean sauce, vinegar and tea, was noted and had become a Chinese saying since Song Dynasty (960-1279). It has been called “开门七件事” (*kāi mén qī jiàn shì*), which means the [firewood, rice, cooking oil, salt, soybean sauce, vinegar and tea had become] seven necessities of daily life. As a Chinese proverb, “*chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá*” was widely used in every kind of literary output. Such as in the poetry “梦梁录·鬻铺” (*mèng liáng lù, xiǎng pù*) “盖人家每日不可阙者，柴米油盐酱

醋茶¹” (*gài rén jiā mei rì bù ke que zhe, chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá*) ; in “玉壶春” (*yù hu chun*) “早晨起来七件事，柴米油盐酱醋茶²” (*zao chén qǐ lái qī jiàn shì, chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá*); and also in lyrics sang by Chinese popular singers, for example Leehom Wang has a song named “*chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá*” and released in 2010. In the lyrics, he uses this sentence to express his desire about ordinary life.

Though these poems I mentioned above are literature works, in an aside they also reflect the tea as a part of the necessities, has been integrated deeply into people’s daily lives more than 1000 years. Tea originated from agricultural civilization, and has been vested by long history with its cultural and spiritual characteristic, and also become an indispensable part of Chinese culture. Different with other six necessities, tea has been used as medicine and drink, but is the only thing which is not necessary to appear in kitchen of ancient China to cook. Because of the attractiveness of tea, I wish to study on it, especially on the traditional elements in the current trend of tea culture.

1.1 Research subject, questions and background

Culture is both the material and spiritual achievement which created by human beings. As a branch of Chinese traditional culture, tea culture has been developed more than two thousand years and is deeply influenced by social environment. As *Lu Yu*陆羽 (773-804) wrote in *Cha Jing*茶经 (The tea classic): “Tea becomes a kind of drink, originated starts from Shen Nong³, popularized by Zhou Gong⁴”. Though this kind of view is not much reliable, but the long history of tea is visible. The first record of tea appeared in *Shennong ben cao jing*神农本草经(The Classic of Herbal Medicine), which is the first Chinese medicine book in the history. It is said that the book was written by the emperor Shen Nong, a legendary ruler of China and cultural hero, and collected by his descendants and finished in East Han dynasty (25-220). Long before

¹ Written by WU Zimu in Song dynasty, this sentence means “The necessities in everyone’s home are firewood, rice, cooking oil, salt, soy-bean sauce, vinegar and tea”.

² Written by WU Hanchen in Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), this sentence means “the seven things people need to do when wake up are firewood, rice, cooking oil, salt, soy-bean sauce, vinegar and tea”

³ Emperor Shennong is a legendary ruler of China and cultural hero in the history.

⁴ The Duke of Zhou (周公 Zhōu Gōng) was a member of the Zhou Dynasty(1123-256 B.C.) who played a major role in consolidating the kingdom established by his elder brother King Wu.

tea became a part of people's daily lives, which is during Shen Nong's living period, tea was only considered to be a medical treatment for illnesses used by doctors of traditional Chinese medicine (Liu 2014, 12). And the first record of tea used as a kind of drink instead of medicine appeared in the *San Guo* 三国 Three Kingdoms Period (220-280) in Zhang Yi张揖's book *Guang ya*广雅⁵(Xu 2014, 1). Though the medical function of tea remain been used until today, comparing with the use of tea drinking, it only holds a small part among the all the functions of tea.

Tea drinking gradually becomes a symbol of artistic conception and etiquette, and is more and more involved into culture area. Before and during Tang dynasty, only people from high standing in the dominance hierarchy were able to drink tea on a regular basis. After the prosperity of tea in Song dynasty, tea became more widely available to all people, and soon spread all over China. (Jiang 2006, 32)

It is already more than 1000 years passed since Lu Yu wrote China's first tea classic⁶. In the later generations, no matter imperial group, literati or the common people, all of them had created a way, or some ways to drink tea. However, there is no doubt that the practice of making tea has changed after thousands of years development (Xu 2014, Wang 2013, Liu 2014). Long before, in Lu Yu's period, there was only green tea, and the way of making tea was boiling, which was not like today's brewing method. Modern tea culture has some new interesting phenomena. In this thesis, I have chosen teahouses as an angle to study on the current phenomena of tea culture. Many records about teahouse can be found in literature since Tang dynasty, but it has not to start springing up all over the country until Song dynasty (960-1279), (Xu 2014, 126). Currently, people of all ages and classes can come at any time of the day to drink tea and enjoy each other's company. Tteahouses usually served nothing but tea, and became a part of most people's daily ritual. Today, in China, while teahouses remain popular as leisure places, the tration of tea drinking tea is no longer the main service for them to offer. Tea is served to welcome guests and show their respects and has been a long time tradition since ancient period. In modern society, people drink tea, enjoy the tea drinking traditions and antique atmospheres, but seldom think of its

⁵ The original text in *Guangya* is: “荆巴间采茶做饼，成以米膏出之。若饮先炙令色赤，捣末置瓷器中，以汤浇覆之，用葱姜芼之。其饮醒酒，令人不眠”。

⁶ *茶经. Cha Jing(Tea Classic)*, wirtten by Lu Yu in Tang dynasty(618-907).

origin.

We heard of the word *zhongguo chuantong chawenhua* 中国传统茶文化 which means “Chinese traditional tea culture” almost everywhere at anytime, but when asked about their understanding of this word and the relationship between the current tea phenomenon and the tradition, 70 % of these people cannot explain what is traditional tea culture, 86% of them cannot tell the exact difference between ancient and modern way of drinking tea⁷. However, all of them believed that today’s tea customs or practices are part of tradition or originated from tradition. This is an interesting paradox. I then started to consider the research direction from this angle. After reading relevant articles about tea culture and doing literature research, I decided to focus my study on the current trend of tea culture in China, especially concentrate on the traditional elements which have inherited within modern tea phenomena (the way of tea drinking, the categories of teahouses and modern tea art performances) and the changes of tradition in current situation (which means there will be a comparison between ancient and current tea drinking traditions).

Study on the teahouses and tea art which performed in modern Chinese teahouses is helpful for working deeply into the changing image of tea culture in Chinese society.

At the beginning, I planned to write the categories of tea together with a discussion on tea industry as parts of my thesis. However, after taking investigations in Beijing and Xi’an, I realized these topics were too large to write with. Then I narrowed down my topic and focused on the teahouses and modern tea art. After doing detailed researches and preliminary preparations, I chose Xi’an as the place to start my social investigation. I have two reasons to choose this place: first, as Qin Shao puts it, “while some of its characteristics transcended temporal and spatial boundaries, the culture itself clearly change over time and varied in different local settings” (Qin, 1998). As an ancient city of China, Xi’an had been the capital city of the entire Tang dynasty (618-907). According to the researches, the drinking tea history starts very early in China, but the popularity of drinking tea appeared in the middle and late Tang (Xu 2014, 124), the same time with Lu Yu’s birth and death (733-804). To investigate in a place

⁷ Based on the result of the questionnaire which I made in teahouses, see the lists of teahouses in Appendix 1 and the questionnaire in Appendix 2, and the detailed result in Part 4.

where the tea culture starts, develops, flourishes is a very good way to make straight comparison and to experience the change of cultural tradition; second, through reading and classifying secondary sources, I found numbers of research articles written their research of tea culture in big cities like Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu and Hangzhou, seldom of the researches were focused on Xi'an. Based on the historical records, Xi'an is one of the Four Great Ancient Capitals of China, which was known as Chang'an before. It was the ancient capital of China during Zhou, Qin, Han, Sui and Tang dynasties, and is the starting point of the Silk Road (UNESCO, 2014). It is worth to do research in Xi'an, and will make up the inadequacy of research on tea culture in regional distribution.

In order to write this thesis in a systematic way and demonstrate the relationship between current trend of tea culture and tradition, I have chosen to structure my discussion by seeking answers to the following questions:

1. Based on Edward Shils' theory of tradition, whether the current tea culture phenomena can be called "tradition" or not?
2. What are the changes in tea cultural tradition and what are the new features of the current trend of tea culture?
3. What are the endogenous and exogenous factors which influenced the change in the cultural tradition of tea?

1.2 Sources

The materials used in this thesis as primary sources including three parts: Chinses classics of tea, theory books and my fieldwork investigation results.

1.2.1 Primary Sources

Literatures and historical documents such as *Chajing* 茶经(The Tea Classic) written by *Lu Yu* 陆羽(733-804) who was famous for the good understanding of tea practices in Tang dynasty and *Daguan Chalun* 大观茶论 written by *Zhao Ji* 赵佶(1082-1135), who is the Chinese emperor of

Song dynasty (960-1279) , and *Dongjing Menghua Lu* 东京梦华录 written by *Meng Yuanlao* 孟元老(ca. 1090-1150), are the are the main primary sources used in my thesis in order to describe the tea drinking situation in ancient periods. These books have a similar characteristic: both of them are written by tea specialists and were highly praised by the upper class when they lived. Contents in these books well reflected the situation of tea culture in the history, or at least in the ancient flourishing period of tea culture's development. For example in *Chajing*, Lu Yu provides detailed texts on every aspect of tea growing and manufacture, as well as wisdom on the art of drinking tea. There are ten chapters with the description of origin, tools, making, utensils, boiling, drinking, history, growing regions, simplify and pictorial of tea, the sentences are simple but meaningful. These are the most significance books which should be referenced when comparing and analyzing the differences between traditional tea culture and modern practices.

The concept of tradition and the argument about “the change of tradition” will be the main theory to support my thesis. The book I use is called *Tradition*, which is written by Edward Shilis, and published in 1981 by the University of Chicago Press. I will consult this theory to discuss and answer the first research question, and make the judgement on whether the current tea culture phenomenon can be called “tradition” or not, then compare modern and traditional tea culture in China to discuss their similarities and differences. Besides, the theory of “invented tradition” put forward by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in 1983 is also important to explain modern tea art phenomenon which appeared after 1980s.

Fieldwork results have also been an important part of my primary sources to describe the current phenomenon of tea culture and used to support my analysis in order to answering the research questions.

1.2.2 Secondary Sources

The secondary sources include Chinese and Western journals, research articles and books of tea culture.

The real researches about tea culture appeared in modern period. Most of the ancient classics were focused on the tea processing and the authors' own feelings about tea, and there was no special discussion about tea culture. The study of tea culture becomes a subject in some of the

universities and colleges⁸ on the research area basically started in 1950s. Large amount of tea books have been published since 1980s such as *Wu Juenong* 吴觉农's *Chajing shuping* 茶经述评 (1988), *Wang Ling* 王玲's *Zhongguo chawenhua* 中国茶文化 (1992), *Liu Qinjin* 刘勤晋's *Chawenhua xue* 茶文化学 [Study of Tea Culture](2000), and *Xu Xiaocun* 徐晓村's *Chawenhua xue* 茶文化学 [Study of Tea Culture](2009).

With the appearance of academic journals and study groups of tea culture in 1990s, more and more articles have been written by Chinese scholars. Most of the articles were published on journals of tea science, which is closely related to agriculture and science. Such as *Zhongguo chaye* 中国茶叶 [Chinese Tea], *Chaye kexue* 茶叶科学 [Journal of Tea Science], *Nongye kaogu* 农业考古 [Agricultural Archaeology], *Cha bolan* 茶博览 [Tea Times] etc. The Agricultural Archaeology is the most influential journal for tea culture researches. The research area mainly include: a. the history of tea culture. b. the communication of tea between China and foreign countries. c. study of ancient classics such as Tea Classic, Da Guan Cha Lun etc. d. study of literature and arts which relevant to tea culture. e. the influence of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism to Chinese tea culture. f. techniques about making tea etc.

Comparing with Lu Yu's *Chajing*, there is also a very important book called Tea Classic but firstly written in 1992. It is a collection of research achievements of tea study and was edited by *Chen Zongmao* 陈宗懋 and *Yang Yajun* 杨亚军. The full name of the book is *Zhongguo Chajing* 中国茶经 [China's Tea Classic]. It is an overall summary of production, development, external exchange, literature, custom of Chinese tea culture. This book has 1110 pages and is an encyclopedia of the tea culture and industry. In this thesis, I used the fourth edition of this book which published in 2014.

There are some books about tea, such as *Guan Jianping* 关建平's *Cha yu zhongguo wenhua* 茶与中国文化 [Tea and Chinese Culture], *Zhongguo cha wenhua jingdian* 中国茶文化经典 [Chinese tea culture classics] written by Jiangsu Chinese tea culture research center, and Wang

⁸ Among all the tea production countries, only China has set up a study subject of tea in colleges and universities. The first batch of the tea study department has been set up since 1950s among the universities such as 浙江大学 Zhejiang University, 西南大学 Southwest University, 华中农业大学 Huazhong Agricultural University. Since 1960s, the universities and colleges have started to offer master's and doctor's degree programs. (Chen 2014, 1050-1052)

Ling's *Zhongguo cha wenhua* 中国茶文化 [*China's Tea Culture*] and so on.

Besides, teahouses have been a frequent topic of Chinese popular literature (Lao She 2006; Yu 1976), recently some of the western scholars also worked on Chinese tea industry, tea art, and teahouses (Harler 1956; Pettigrew 2001; Lee 2007), all of which gave me inspirations and were helpful when choosing the research directions of my thesis.

After reading all these material of tea study, I found many researches are written about tea culture historically, which including the thoughts, tea making methods, the introduction on different types of tea, literati's cultural activities and literatures of tea. Majority of them are the studies of traditional tea culture. However, in my opinion, study on tea culture should not only focus on the past. Tea culture is a continuous movement and influenced by social, political, technological and cultural aspects. I believe to study on the current trend of tea culture while comparing the past and present cultural tradition of tea drinking would be more meaningful and innovative.

1.3 Content Structure

This thesis will be divided into seven chapters:

Chapter One is the introduction. It includes research subject, background, used sources, method and the content structure. This is a brief description of the whole paper. After reading this part, readers would have a clear understanding about what is the research question of this paper, how am I going to explain these questions in a systematic way.

Chapter Two includes theory, method and the relevant concepts. The explanation of tradition and the change of tradition in Edward Shils's book *Tradition*⁹ is the main theory I will use to answer my research question. Besides, the book *Invention of Tradition*¹⁰ edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger is also important to define whether the modern "Tea Art" is tradition or not (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). Since this is a paper about Chinese culture, the introduction of some relevant concepts such as "Chinese tradition", "Chinese tea culture", "Tea art" which have been put forward by Chinese scholars will also be useful.

⁹ Shils, E. (1981). *Tradition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

¹⁰ Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, ed. (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge:

Chapter Three is the history and development of teahouses. As the most important part of the current trend of tea culture in China, I firstly demonstrated why study on teahouse as a representative of tea culture is interesting and helpful for answering my research questions. Then explained the history of teahouses, the inheritance and development of teahouses. Writing these is important for readers to understand the changes in tea drinking tea tradition, and easier to make a comparison between “tradition” and “modernity”.

Chapter Four is modern tea arts and teahouses. This part includes the characteristics of modern tea culture such as social function, category, utensil, tea ceremony and teahouses from modern tea culture phenomenon; the result I concluded from the interviews and questionnaires which I have done in different teahouses; the comparison of 茶道 *Cha dao* (the Tao of tea), and 茶艺 *Cha yi* (the art of tea), the research written by scholars, and so on. Since there will be a discussion on whether the current tea culture phenomenon can be called “tradition” or not, the detailed description of modern teahouses from the result of my field work will be helpful for the readers to understand what are the current tea culture phenomenon. Besides, the answers from questionnaires and interviews would be part of the primary sources to use in my analysis, in order to answer the second and third research questions in the latter chapters.

Chapter Five is the main part to discuss and analyses the developing track of tea culture in modern society and the significance of the tea art house’s appearance to the development of tea culture. The research questions would be answered through the comparison between the features of modern tea culture and traditional tea culture, and the discussion of modern tea art and teahouses. Besides, I’m going to make a comparative analysis on the changes and inheritance of the tea drinking tradition.

The sixth chapter of the main text has discussed how the tradition of tea had changed and and summarized the features of Chinese tea culture in modern society. Based on Shils’ theory of tradition, traditions change because the circumstances to which they refer change. Traditions, to survive, must be fitting to the circumstances in which they operate and to which they are directed. These changes in circumstances are the changes in the referents of traditions. The traditions as received do not deal with these new situations, and dealing with them “effectively” is a condition of the continued acceptance of traditions. (Shils, 1981) I intended to follow his conclusion and

explain the change in endogenous and exogenous factors.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion where I discussed and organized the answers of all these research questions and concluded into a final conclusion.

2 Theory and Methodology

2.1 Theory

The main theory which I will use in my thesis is Edward Shils's theory of tradition. The book was firstly published in 1981. It presents a detailed discussion about a scientific and political consideration of tradition. In the book, he writes "Tradition means many things. In its barest, most elementary sense, it means simply a *traditum*; it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present. It makes no statement about what is handed down or in what particular combination or whether it is a physical object or a cultural construction; it says nothing about how long it has been handed down or in what manner, whether orally or in written form(Shils 1981, 12). He provides an analytic framework, illustrated with examples, for the study of tradition. He makes a significant contribution to demonstrate what is tradition and what is not. According to his explanations, I realized that traditions as the guiding patterns of judgement and evaluations are present in various degrees in all society. From the definition of tradition he has given, there will be several elements to judge what can be called tradition, such as "transmit", "from past to the present", etc. With the combination of some Chinese scholars' explanation of traditional culture, I decided to use Shils' theory of tradition as a theoretical framework to support analyzing my thesis. Shils' has explained his understanding of what is tradition and what is not, and why tradition changes. In my thesis, the questions "whether the current tea culture phenomenon can be called "tradition" or not? what are the differences between ancient and modern tea culture" would be answered based on Shils' theory. Also he uses four chapters to explain the changes in tradition from endogenous and exogenous factors by analyzing and giving examples. This will be a supportive theory used to discuss and answer research question 3 in Chapter Six.

Besides, I will also consult theories about invented tradition and popular culture. The term "invention of tradition" was introduced by Eric Hobsbawm. (Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger 1983) It refers to situations when a new practice or object is introduced in a manner that implies a connection with the past that is not necessarily present. As he says the "Invented tradition" is "taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overly or tacitly accepted rules and of a

ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawn 1983, 1). A tradition may be deliberately created and promulgated for personal, commercial, political, or national self-interest; or it may be adopted rapidly based on a single highly publicized event, rather than developing and spreading organically in a population. I will consult his point of view as the guiding theory to analyze the phenomenon of modern tea art. Do the concept “tea art” and the word “茶艺” Cha yi have the same meaning? When did the word “茶艺” Cha yi (tea art) start? Is it originated from traditional tea culture? If it was invented by some people for some purposes, why and how? All of these are the questions I need to solve, which makes Hobsbawn’s theory important and useful.

2.2 Method

The research methods consist of two main parts: literature research and social investigation.

On the one hand, those journals and books facilitated good understanding of tea industry, tea history; on the other hand, the result of my investigation at teahouses is also important. Based on the research questions, I set up several questions to interview people and sent questionnaires to the customers in teahouses, and received very good opinions about people’s understanding of tea culture and tradition. The combination between research articles and fieldwork is a good way to make up the inadequacy of the theory and also make the investigation results more scientific.

2.2.1 Literature research

In order to start my thesis, firstly I have read through those theories and primary sources in order to have a better understanding of the key elements in my thesis, such as “tradition”, “change of tradition”, “tea culture”, “Chinese tea art”, etc. Then I used induction, analogy and analysis method to look up relevant tea culture literature, research articles, news and media, then selectively adopt data, viewpoints, thoughts which related to my research interest. Secondly make a comparative analysis on the objects with same or similar features, and find out their differences. The comparison can be made from different period or different angles by consulting the ancient and current literature, academic researches. Thirdly summarize separate factors into a

general conclusion. After consulted and looked for the published books and research articles, I should have a clear understanding of what I should write and how to use these sources to answer my research questions. As a result, there will be an overview of the most prevalent school of thought on Chinese tea culture, together with detailed description about the history and development of teahouses from *Weijin nanbeichao* 魏晋南北朝 period (220-589) to the 2010s, and also a discussion on the differences between the teahouses in ancient period and in modern society, the characteristic of modern tea art in China.

2.2.2 Social investigation

Social investigation or fieldwork includes observation, interview, and data collection. Teahouses are the most representative places to collect data so I did my observation and questionnaires mainly at these places.

The twenty teahouses I have chosen to do fieldwork are selected from the largest consumer reviews website of China, *Dazhong dianping* 大众点评(Dianping.com). This website is very detailed in data records, majority of teahouses in Xi'an should be recorded on it. So I used the preliminary screening data from this website as the starting point of my investigation, hoping to find out some regularity in modern teahouse culture.

First, I searched “cha guan” (teahouse) in Chinese characters as the keyword at the website, many teahouses, shops and restaurants shown on the screen. Because some of them are repetitive advertisements or one teahouse owner has multiple teahouses, I filtered the repetitive information and found out about 303 teahouses in Xi'an. Second, based on the description given from teahouses and the comments from guests, the different social functions and the teahouse scale, I classified these teahouses into five groups, which includes:

1. Ordinary teahouse;
2. Tea art house;
3. Tea-cafe;
4. The teahouse which serves performances;
5. Other teahouses for leisure and recreation.

Method of social investigation: I chose three representatives in each category to visit, experience, observe and send questionnaires to consumers (see appendix 1). Besides the age and gender, the questionnaire includes seven questions concerning consumers' profession, the purpose to visit

teahouse, why do they prefer teahouse rather than other places, and people's understanding of tradition on teahouses (see appendix 2). I also interviewed some teahouse holders and tea art performers about their understanding of tea culture phenomenon in China See Chapter 4 and Appendix 2). Then I collected the data and wrote the analysis with summary in my thesis.

Above are the methods which I used to write this thesis, the research outputs received from the books and the social investigations are the sources which I mentioned in part 1.2. I will use all these outputs to support my thesis, to make comparison between traditional and modern tea culture, to analyze modern tea culture phenomenon, and to discuss all the research questions to write a systematic thesis.

3 Chinese Tea Culture and the Development of Chinese Teahouse

This chapter is mainly discussed the definition of Chinese tea culture and the history of Chinese teahouse. Since there are descriptions about ancient history of cultural tradition, the main sources I used in this part are collected from the classic tea books, literature and tea culture researches. On the one hand, it is important to interpret what is tea culture especially in a Chinese perspective, since this thesis mainly focused on modern teahouse and tea arts which present the current trend of tea culture in China. On the other hand, in order to answer the research questions, a clear structure of teahouse development is absolutely necessary. It is an explanatory effort to understand what is the development history of teahouses and how has the traditions of tea drinking changed.

3.1 Introduction of Chinese Tea Culture

3.1.1 Definition of Tea Culture

In order to define the term “Chinese tea culture”, we first need to define “culture”. Culture created by human beings and has deep connotations. The word “culture” in Chinese character is *wenhua* 文化, which has two means in *Cihai* 辞海¹¹: 1. The general term of the tangible wealth and intangible wealth created by humans in the process of social and historical practices. 2. Refers to general knowledge, including the language knowledge. In this definition, the tangible wealth and intangible wealth¹² includes science, art, religion, law, custom, tradition. Liu Qinjin,

¹¹ The 辞海 Cihai is a large-scale Chinese dictionary and encyclopedia which includes many fields of knowledge, such as history, science, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, and law. It was first published by the Zhonghua Book Company in 1938, and the Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House revised editions in 1979, 1989, 1999, and 2009. The definition of Culture I used in the text is cited from the second edition. The original text is “1. 人类社会历史实践过程中所创造的物质财富和精神财富的总称。2. 泛指一般知识, 包括语文知识在内。”

¹² When translating Chinese words into English, there may be a difference due to cultural diversity. “Culture” in Chinese dictionary *Cihai* has two main aspects: *wuzhi caifu* 物质财富, and *jingshen caifu* 精神财富. In my thesis, I

a Chinese tea culture researcher, puts forward his idea on culture as a kind of behavior in human society, which has a certain continuity and group characteristic; or refers to some humanistic phenomenon of one nation, such as history, human relationship, custom, the way of life, art, law and value. (Liu 2014, 2) Cambridge English Dictionary states that culture is, "the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time."¹³ Culture is, in the words of E.B. Tylor, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".(Tylor 1974, 1) Raymond Williams calls culture "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (Williams 1983, 87). First, culture can be used to refer to 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development' (90). A second use of the word 'culture' might be to suggest 'a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group' (ibid.). Finally, Williams suggests that culture can be used to refer to 'the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity' (ibid.). Culture has so many different meanings in different contexts and with different academic disciplines. According to my research direction, I believe anthropological interpretations should be the most supportive interpretations to my thesis. Though there different points of view on culture, relating to my thesis, I regard the formation of culture as a general process of intellectual, aesthetic development. Cultures have tangible and intangible achievements, and are the summary of practical experiences which created by humans and developed through their social activities, for understanding the nature and society.

All cultures are summary of practical experience and cohesion of material form in people's understanding and changing nature and society

The concept of tea culture is referred in Chinese as *cha wenhua* 茶文化 (tea culture). It is defined by the way tea is made and consumed. Literally, it is a branch of culture. Compare with other kinds culture in different countries, the Chinese tea culture has its own characteristics which influenced by Chinese culture and history. However, there are interpretations of the words

translate *wuzhi caifu* into "tangible wealth" which has substance rather than more abstract things such as ideas or values. And I translate *jingshen caifu* into "intangible wealth", which related to immaterial, unseen valueable qualities, thoughts, ideas, values and beliefs which created by human beings, rather than and physical surroundings.

¹³ "Meaning of "culture"". *Cambridge English Dictionary*. Oct 11, 2015, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/culture?a=british>

cha 茶(tea) and *wenhua* 文化(culture) in dictionaries, but *cha wenhua* 茶文化 is regarded as a compound word which is *cha [de]wenhua* 茶[的]文化 (the tea's culture) and has never been recorded in *Cihai* or any other Chinese language dictionaries¹⁴. Many Chinese tea culture researchers and scholars tried to make clear definitions and made their own statements about tea culture as an academic word since 1990s. And the study of tea culture had become a subject and set courses in many Chinese universities, which is called *chawenhua xue* 茶文化学 (Tea Culture Study).

The key word of “tea culture” in anthropologists’ view of points is “culture”. As Wang Ling writes in her book: “Study of tea culture is not the study of the growth of tea cultivation, production, chemical component, pharmaceutical principles, function of health care, etc. These are the work of natural scientists. Our duty is to study the cultural and social phenomenon in the process of using tea” (2013, 9). The so-called tea culture has been created by the group of people who live in China (of course, it can also be called all the human beings today) using tea as the carrier to express all kinds of cultural forms such as ideas, beliefs, emotions, loves and hates, during the process of making use of tea as food, gifts, drinks and sacrificial offerings (Liu, 2014).

Many other scholars (Chen Zongmao 2008, Chen Wenhua 2004) regard tea culture as a part of culture, and they make the definition by using the quotation in *Cihai*: “Chinese tea culture is the material wealth and the mental wealth of tea created by humans in the process of social and historical practices”(Ruan 2014, 795 and 796) And many of them focused on the narrow definition of tea culture, which is the mental wealth of tea. Most of the books on tea culture study contain tea culture in these aspects: tea tree’s origin, evolution, development and spread; the way of drinking in the development and spread of tea; the emergence and development about the tradition of drinking tea in different group of people in different areas; the origin and development of *Cha Dao* 茶道 (tea ceremony/ the philosophy of tea drinking) and its relationship with Chinese religion and philosophy; the relationship between tea and arts (literature, drama, paintings, etc); the history of tea houses; and the education of tea culture.

¹⁴ In order to find the official definition of Tea Culture, I checked the 新华字典 Xinhua Dictionary (new Chinese dictionary), which is the best selling Chinese dictionary in the world with English translation. And the 汉语大词典 Hanyu Da Cidian (Comprehensive Chinese Dictionary), which is the most inclusive and authoritative Chinese dictionary. The Hanyu Da Cidian includes over 23,000 head Chinese character entries, defines some 370,000 words, and gives 1,500,000 citations. It has thirteen volumes published from 1986 to 1993.

So far, although there is not a unified conclusion on the definition of Chinese tea culture, majority of them agreed with the following explanations, “ it is originated by ‘the process of using tea’, or ‘drinking tea’, and developed into a unique form of culture”. Further, Chinese tea culture also includes how tea is prepared, what equipment is used to make, what kind of tea has been used and how to drink it.

3.1.2 Formation of Tea Culture

From 3.1.1, Culture has material and spiritual characteristics. It includes the aspects of tea production, tea brewing, the way of drinking, tea arts and ceremony, the history of tea, etc. People often classify different form of culture from either their material characteristic or spiritual characteristic, and discuss them separately. However, tea culture is something which has unique feature between tangible and intangible wealth. In China, drinking tea is not like drinking coffee or any other kinds of drinks. It is a combination between tea and some humanistic ideas. Tea first appeared in the society with its material characteristic. It is used in traditional Chinese medicine, as well as in Chinese cuisine. When the custom of drinking tea had developed for more than 1000 years with long history, the connotation of culture sprouted gradually. Then how the drinking tradition of tea had developed into such a kind of culture which has both material and spiritual connotation? In my opinion, it should be explain from the historical development and the concrete forms of tea culture. This part is mainly focused on the historical development of tea culture. I will analyze the development of tea culture through time line and use literature and historical books as main sources to support my explanation.

Specifically, Chinese tea culture is the product under certain social condition and changes its form with the development of history. It is the way that people interact with tea, and by the aesthetics surrounding tea drinking. So in my thesis, I regard Chinese tea culture originates from the period when drinking tea had started, but is formed after the combination with humanistic spirits.

About the origin of drinking tea, Zheng Peikai writes in his article *Tea books and Chinese drinking tea culture*¹⁵, “This is not a simple question to answer, because the lack of sources, it is impossible to get the exact answer. It is very late when the ancient documents had recorded the description of tea, and cannot reflect the original situation in the history. Again, though Lu Yu said in *Cha Jing* ‘Tea becomes a kind of drink, originated from Shen Nong’, this Shen Nong is the character in the myths and legends, it is difficult to determine the specific historical period.’ The information on archaeological excavations is not enough as proofs compare with ancient documents and literature. From *日知录 Ri Zhi Lu* written by the Chinese philologist and geographer Gu Yanwu¹⁶, pointed by ancient documents, we can understand that the tradition of drinking tea starts from the Qin people¹⁷ occupied Shu area.” (Ruan 2014, 795) Zheng Peikai suggests the opinion that at least in the middle of Zhanguo Period (475 B.C.—221 B.C.), Sichuan area had appeared the tradition of drinking tea. However, in many tea culture study scholars’ analysis, the formation of Chinese tea culture started between the Weijin nanbeichao periods (220-589)¹⁸ and the early Tang dynasty. (Zheng 2007, Zhu 1995, Guan 2001) Zhu Zizhen believes that the system of Chinese tea culture preliminarily formed in Weijin nanbeichao periods, includes three aspects: “tea drinking customs”, “the structure of Chinese tea culture”, “Chinese philosophy starts to influence the tea culture” (Ruan 2014, 796). During this period, the function of tea in social life started to increase. Tea appeared in some occasions such as interpersonal communication, the ancestral sacrifice and guests visit, and it also started to be used as an important element in literature such as in *搜神记 Soushenji* (Records of searching for spirits),¹⁹ and *杜育 Du Yu’s* (?-311) poetry *荈赋 Chuanfu*²⁰. Liu Qinjin divides the development of tea culture into five periods: 1. brewing and sprout (starts form the origin of drinking tea to Weijin nanbeichao period); 2. formation and rise (the Tang dynasty); 3. development and

¹⁵ This article is the introduction of *中国历代茶书汇编 Zhongguo lidai chashu huibian (The collection of Chinese tea books in the past dynasties)*, 2007. Hongkong: The Commercial Press

¹⁶ Gu Yanwu 顾炎武, 1613-1682, was a Chinese philologist and geographer lived in Ming and Qing period.

¹⁷ People lived in the kingdom of Qin, earlier than the Qin Dynasty (221B.C.-206 B.C.)

¹⁸ 魏晋南北朝 Weijin nanbeichao, also called 三国两晋南北朝 Sanguo liangjin nanbeichao. It is a combination of dynasties which includes 三国 Sanguo (the Three Kingdoms 220-265 or 280), 西晋 Xijin (the Western Jin dynasty 265-317), 东晋 Dongjin (the Eastern Jin dynasty 317-420), and 南北朝 Nanbeichao (the Southern and Northern dynasties 386 or 420-589).

¹⁹ *Soushenji* is a 4th-century collection of Chinese legends and short stories which includes spirits, ghosts and other supernatural phenomena.

²⁰ Chuan 荈 means the tea that is collected late, and Fu 赋 is a type of Chinese classic writing. This is the first poem which had written about tea in Chinese history. Several sentences had been quoted in Lu Yu’s *Chajing*.

prosperity (from Song dynasty to Ming dynasty); 4. twists and turns and decline (the Qing dynasty); 5. entire revival (from the Republic of China [1912-1919] to modern times). (Liu 2014, 20-26) In 2009, Wang Ling published the first edition of her book *中国茶文化 Zhongguo Cha Wenhua [Chinese Tea Culture]*. At the first part “An overview of the formation and development of Chinese tea culture”, she divided the development Chinese tea culture into four chapters: 1. The tea drinking tradition among scholar-bureaucrats in Weijin nanbeichao period and the appearance of Chinese tea culture; 2. Lu Yu’s *Chajing* in Tang Dynasty and the formation of Chinese tea culture; 3. The development of Chinese tea culture in Song, Liao (907 or 916-1125) and Jin (1115-1234) dynasties; 4. The tortuous development of Chinese tea culture in Yuan (1271-1368), Ming and Qing dynasties. (Wang, 2014) Though there are some differences between scholars when dividing the development of Chinese tea culture into different categories, they have something in common: first, they agreed that Chinese tea culture preliminarily formed in Weijin nanbeichao periods; second, the standard to classify the stages of tea culture development is to distinguish between dynasties; third, they used appropriate words to conclude the characteristic of each period of tea culture development such as germination, development, prosperity, twists and turns, revive and so on. I will use these three common points as my principles to analyze the development of tea culture and its phenomenon.

3.2 The process of development and evolution of Chinese teahouses

The formation of culture is a general process of intellectual and aesthetic development through people’s social activities, and culture is the summary of practical experiences created by human beings and developed into an important part of people’s social lives. On the one hand, when analyzing about tea culture in China, a very important thing needs to be understood first is that how has tea drinking become a cultural tradition through the process of peoples’ social activities. Bronislaw Malinowski once wrote, “A cultural standard of living, however, means that new needs appear and new imperatives, or determinants are imposed on human behavior. Clearly, cultural tradition has to be transmitted from each generation to the next.” (Malinowski 1960, 45) Clearly in here, he referred to “a cultural standard of living” as the word “cultural tradition”

(which I will explain in details in chapter 5 and 6). This “cultural standard of living” refers to the changes of tradition in current society. When we analyze the development of Chinese tea culture, so study on the different development periods of tea culture is very important. It is good for us to understand how the tradition of culture has transmitted through the development of history. On the other hand, Chinese tea culture, together with the general term of culture, both have tangible and intangible achievements. After reading all the sources I had collected about Chinese tea culture, I realized that the way of drinking tea, the tea processing technology, different types of tea, tea sets, the places to drink tea are the tangible assets of tea culture; tea art, tea ceremony, tea customs, literature and researches on tea, social phenomenon of tea culture and people’s understanding about tea culture are the intangible assets of tea culture. Study on the development of tea culture is dependent on its material carrier. The intangible assets of tea culture need to be reflected through the support from material carriers. In my understanding, teahouse is the best material carrier for the study of Chinese tea culture.

In the history, teahouse has been called *Chaguan* 茶馆, *Chasi* 茶肆, *Chaliao* 茶寮, *Chashi* 茶室, *Chafang* 茶坊, *Chawu* 茶屋, *Chatan* 茶摊 and so on. Different names represent different forms of teahouses. Some are big, some are small, but the functions are usually the same. Teahouse acts as an important intersection point of tea culture. The formation of teahouse is closely associated with the development of drinking tea tradition. In the long history, teahouse has always been the place where people from different classes get together to enjoy their social lives. The rises and falls of teahouse followed with the development of Chinese tea culture. It is not only a place of tea consumption, but also a platform for tea culture demonstration, communication and broadcasting. The development of teahouse is not only shown the evolution of tea culture, but also indirectly reflects the changes of the social and economic situation in an era comprehensively.

Thus, there are several reasons for me to study on the teahouse in China since it is the representative part of Chinese tea culture: first, study on the teahouses is a good angle to look into the history of Chinese tea culture, which includes the development, evolution, characteristics, and expression of tea culture; second, study on the teahouses is easy to learn the change of cultural tradition through social development and progress, the different tradition of drinking tea in all the social stratum, and to learn the influence of tea culture to various aspects of society;

third, it is a good way to learn the aesthetics of tea, such as the new phenomenon of modern tea art, the change of tea sets, the poems about tea; fourth, most of the literature which described the situation of teahouse are often used to reflect the popular culture of that specific period. These are the most representative examples to reflect the interaction between tea culture and social development; fifth, teahouse is an appropriate place to observe the current tradition of tea and make social investigation. Based on the three common points I mentioned in the end of 3.1.2, I will focused on the development history of Chinese teahouse in six parts, which includes: the burgeon in Western and Eastern Jin dynasties (265-420), the rise in Tang dynasty, the boom in Song dynasty, the popularity of Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, the vigorous growth in the late Qing dynasty and the Republic China period, the revival and innovation in modern period. Among them the description of the first five periods has been written in this part, and ancient documents and literature have been used as sources to support my discussion; the revival and innovation in modern period has been written in part 4 to summarize the current phenomenon of tea culture by making social investigation and literature research.

3.2.1 The burgeon in Western and Eastern Jin dynasties

When the initial rise of tea culture starts, it mainly concentrated in the culture of upper class among literati, monks, the monarch and his official. In Jin dynasty, drinking tea instead of wine is a way for the people of elite class to meet with guests and show their simplicity. For example, *Shishuo Xinyu* 世说新语 (*A New Account of the Tales of the World*)²¹ records “*Qingdanjia Wangmeng hao yincha, meiyou kezhi bi yicha daike* 清淡家王濛好饮茶，每有客至必以茶待客”(Wang Meng, [who lives a simple way of life,] likes to drink tea. Every time when the guests come, he always prepare tea to treat them).(Wang 2013, 21)

With the popularity of drinking tea to the common people, teahouses have emerged rapidly. The citizens’ drinking tradition of tea had become a new feature of tea culture. As Xu Xiaocun points out, citizen’s tea culture is “independent of the elite culture, it has its own characteristics. With the combination of teahouse’ social function, the citizen’s tea culture gradually forms into a new

²¹ 世说新语 *Shishuo Xinyu* (*A New Account of the Tales of the World*), was edited by 刘义庆 Liu Yiqing(403-444) during the Southern and Northern Dynasties. The book has eight volumes, contains more than 1000 historical anecdotes and character sketches of literati, musicians, nobilities who lived in Han and Jin dynasties.

branch of culture, which is the teahouse culture”. (Xu 2014, 123) However, during Jin dynasties, the place of drinking tea is simple and unfixed. People usually called it 茶摊 chatan (tea stall), which is the rudiment of teahouse. According to *Chajing*, the Chapter seven “History” gives various anecdotes about the history of tea in Chinese literature and historical records from Shennong period to the Tang dynasty. In this chapter, there is a story cited from *广陵耆老传 Guangling qilao zhuan [Tales of old people from Guangling area]*, “during Jin Yuandi’s²² period, there is an old woman who brings one vessel of tea selling [to people] at the market every day in the morning. People are rushing to buy the tea, from morning to night, [the volume of tea in] the vessel was never reduced”²³(Chajing, 23). This means that in Jin Dynasty, selling drinks of tea has already been someone’s trade in the market. It is a kind of tea stall only appears in fixed time, cannot be called a teahouse. The role of the tea stalls is to quench people’s thirst. The social and cultural function of teahouse has not been formed yet.

3.2.2 The rise in Tang dynasty and Lu Yu’s *Chajing*

Tang Dynasty is the epoch-making period in the history of tea culture. As Zhu Zizhen writes in his book, “in Tang dynasty, the character *cha* ‘茶’ (tea) starts to use after one stroke subtracted from the character *tu* ‘荼’ (a kind of plant which tastes bitter); the formation of tea comes after Lu Yu published *Chajing*; the government starts to formulate the policy of tea only after it began to tax on the trade of tea”. (Zhu, 1995) All in all, only by increasing the production of tea in Tang dynasty can the way of drinking tea be formed into tea culture. The Tang dynasty is an important period of tea culture’s continuity. The teahouse culture was officially formed in this period.

The first record in ancient documents about the teahouse in Tang dynasty is in 封演 Feng Yan’s (birth and death is unknown) book *Fengshi wenjianji 封氏闻见记*. His description on the situation of drinking tea in Tang Kaiyuan era (713-741) is as follows:

²²晋元帝 Jin Yuandi (276-323), also called the emperor Yuan of Jin, personal name 司马睿 Sima Rui, was an emperor of the Jin Dynasty from 318 to 323. He was the first emperor of the Eastern Jin Dynasty.

²³ The original Chinese text is “晋元帝时，有老姥每旦独提一器茗，往市鬻之，市人竞买，自旦至夕，其器不减”.

In the Middle Kaiyuan era (723-732), there is an anti-devil Buddhist master who is addicted to Zen (Zen is one important sect of 8 sects in Chinese Buddhism) in Lingyan Temple of Mount Taishan. He studies Zen [very hard] without sleeping at night and eating in the morning (Chinese Buddhist usually eat only one meal per day, before 12 o'clock in the morning). [People] all agreed him to drink tea [instead of meal]. He then brings tea with him everywhere boiling and drinking. Since then, [people] all follow the example of him [to boil and drink tea], [drinking tea] has become a tradition. From Zou, Qi, Cang, Di area to the capital city, lots of tea shops have been set up to boil and sell. No matter Buddhist or the common people, [everyone] gives the money and drinks the tea infusion.²⁴ (Feng 1958, 67-68)

From this passage, it is easy to find out that the earliest scene of teahouse is “lots of tea shops have been set up to boil and sell” and the description of the earliest tea guests is “No matter Buddhist or the common people, [everyone] gives the money and drinks the tea infusion”. The distribution of these tea shops usually concentrate in markets, villages and towns, on the side of roads, it is the rudiment of teahouse.

In *旧唐书 Jiu Tangshu (Old book of Tang)*, which is the first classic historical work about the Tang dynasty, “in May²⁵, the 9th year of Taihe era (834), Wang Ya [and his followers] fled in a flurry. They have been captured by the imperial guards at the teahouse in Yongchangli²⁶” (Xu 2014, 125). This means during the period of the Emperor Wenzong of Tang (唐文宗 Tang Wenzong [827-840]), teahouse has already been formed. There are several different names of teahouse. In *Jiu Tangshu* it is called 茶肆 Chasi in Chinese. In some other literature, it has also been called 茶坊 Chafang (tea workshop), 茶馆 Chaguan (tea house), 茶园 Chayuan (tea garden), 茶室 Chashi (tea room) and so on. Though teahouses in Tang Dynasty are not widespread everywhere. The formation of teahouse usually combined with hotels and restaurants, not stand-alone.

²⁴ The original Chinese text is “开元中，泰山灵岩寺有降魔师大兴禅教，学禅务于不寐，又不夕食，皆许其饮茶，人自怀挟，到处煮饮。从此转相仿效，遂成风俗，字邹、齐、沧、棣、渐至京邑，城市多开店铺煎茶卖之，不问道俗，投钱取饮”。

²⁵ The May in this quotation corresponded to the time of Chinese lunar calendar, when the western calendar had not been introduced to China yet. Usually the date in Chinese lunar calendar is later than western calendar.

²⁶ The original Chinese text is “太和九年五月涯等仓皇步出，至永昌里茶肆，为禁兵所擒”。

There are two main reasons of teahouses appeared in Tang dynasty. One is the popularity of drinking tea; the other is the prosperity of urban economy and the rise of citizen's tea culture in Tang dynasty. (Xu 2014, 125) *Chajing* published by Lu Yu and the popularity of tea drinking tradition among literati well proved this point of view.

Chajing was created at about 760-780 in Tang dynasty. It is made of "Three Scrolls Ten Chapters". Either at the time or in later periods, this book has a great influence on the development of tea culture. From the beginning of this book, Lu Yu wrote the mythological origins of tea in China. Chapter two describes 16 tools for picking, steaming, pressing, drying and storage of tea leaves. Chapter three describes the details to make tea productions. Chapter four describes twenty five utensils to brew and drink tea. Chapter five is the guidance of preparation and brewing tea. Chapter six describes the history of tea drinking and various types of tea in the society at that time. Chapter seven lists several Chinese records relates to tea culture from Shennong period to the Tang dynasty. Chapter eight introduces eight producing regions of tea in China. Chapter nine is a description of tea drinking procedures may be different under specific circumstances and Chapter ten is an overall conclusion of the whole book.(Chajing, 2006) On the one hand, Lu Yu was born and living under the rule of the Emperor Xuanzong of Tang (685-762). He wrote *Changjing* after the influence of economic prosperity during Kaiyuan (713-741) and Tianbao(742-756) eras. This book is very good to reflect the tradition of tea culture under the condition of the social and economic prosperity. On the other hand, the book systematically elaborates the knowledge of tea. It is a preliminary description of tea ceremony. He wrote in Chapter one that people drink tea should always follow the code of ethics, abide by the spirit of traditional morality²⁷. (Chajing, 2006) This is the first time in the history of tea culture to make the combination between moral qualities and tea drinking, which reflects the tea spirit in people's mind, especially among literati. As a result, culture connotation started to integrate into teahouses, and became a part of their social functions.

3.2.3 The boom in Song dynasty

²⁷ The original Chinese text is “茶之为饮最宜精行俭德之人”, which means tea, as a drink, is most suitable for the people who [have a good moral cultivation such as] always follow the code of ethics, abide by the spirit of traditional morality.

Song dynasty is the heyday of tea culture, at the same time is the formation and rapid development period of teahouse culture. (Xu 2014, 126) In contrast to the situation in Tang dynasty, people who enjoyed drinking tea were no longer concentrated on literati in Song dynasty. The traditional way of tea drinking among literati had become a welcome subject to imitate, which made great contribution to the popularity of tea drinking from elite class to common people. Meeting the basic needs of life is still the main function of tea drinks selling at teahouses. However, the need is not only physical need such as quenching people's thirst, but also contains social demands such as meeting with friends, watching performances and entertainment. During this period, the social and cultural functions of teahouse had made a great development.

The development of teahouse culture experienced a booming period in Song dynasty, which can be found in many ancient arts and literature. *Zhang Zeduan*张择端's²⁸ (1085-1145) painting *Qingming shanghe tu*清明上河图(*Along the River During the Qingming Festival*) portrays the prosperity of street scene including many teahouses in Song dynasty. The scene of teahouse culture can be found in 孟元老Meng Yuanlao's (ca. 1090-1150) book *Dongjing Menghua Lu* (*Record of the dream about the ancient land of perfection in the Eastern Capital [Kaifeng]*). Meng's book is a detailed and nostalgic description of the old capital's urban life, seasonal products, and festivals, as well as foods, customs, and traditions. In later dynasties, the book was much imitated and taken as an authoritative picture of affluent Chinese culture (West 1985, 63). As Meng Yuanlao wrote in the book, "the east street of the cross is called Cong xing guo jiao, the teahouse is open every day between 3 and 5 o'clock in the morning. [People are] trading things such as clothes, paintings, garlands, accessories of collar and so on. [The teahouse opened] until sunrise, and it is called Guishizi [the ghost market].....Return to Caomen street, in the Beishanzi Teahouse, there are caves and bridges of gods, lady's maids usually go out at night and drink tea at this place²⁹."

²⁸ He was a famous Chinese painter in Song dynasty, and was instrumental in the early history of the Chinese landscape art. Zhang Zeduan's most famous painting is *Along the River During the Qingming Festival* (清明上河图).

²⁹ The original Chinese text is "东十字大街曰从行褰角，茶坊每五更点灯，博易买卖衣服图画，花环领抹之类，致晓即散，谓之鬼市子。。。。归曹门街，北山子茶坊内，有仙洞，仙桥，仕女往往夜游吃茶于彼”。

From the records in literature and historical documents, I found there are three types of specialized teahouse in the Southern Song dynasty. The first one is the teahouse for entertainment. Such as in *Mengliang Lu* 梦梁录³⁰, “generally, every teahouse has young men of rich families and officials get together, learning and practicing instruments while singing, it is called *Guapaier* 挂牌儿 (sign their names and hang on a plate)³¹”(Wu 1984, 140) The second one is the place selling tea while doing pornographic business like brothel. It was called *hua chafang* 花茶坊 (floral teahouse) by Wu Zimu. Wu said these places are “not the place for gentlemen to stay” (*fei junzi zhuzu zhidi* 非君子驻足之地). The last one is the place for people to do gymnastic activities. Such as “Huangjianzui Cuju³² Teahouse” (*huangjianzui juqiu chafang* 黄尖嘴鞠球茶坊) (Wu 1984, 140).

According to the explanation in 3.2.1, in Tang dynasty the main social function of teahouse is selling tea and the tea drinks. There is no rich cultural atmosphere among teahouses in Tang dynasty but it established the foundation for the boom of teahouse in Song dynasty. Teahouses in Song dynasties have many special functions, such as for people to chat with friends while drinking tea, to buy and sell goods, to enjoy tea snacks, to communicate about business, to watch performances, to take part in teahouse-related activities and so on.

3.2.4 The continuous development in Ming and Qing

The teahouse industry was flourishing in Song dynasty. Various teahouses with specialized functions had been set up among cities at that period. However, there are different opinions on the status of teahouse culture in Yuan dynasty by Chinese tea specialists. Some scholars such as Wang Ling and Zhu Zizhen agree that the Chinese traditional culture system was suffered huge impact by the chaos of war during the end of Song and the beginning of Yuan. Tea industry was influenced by this impact and not as prosperous as the situation in Song dynasty, which made the number of teahouses reducing a lot, and “almost vanished in the end of Yuan dynasty”. (Chen

³⁰ It was written by 吴自牧 Wu Zimu after the downfall of Song dynasty. The book has 20 volumes, describes the cityscape of Linan, the capital city of Southern Song dynasty.

³¹ The original Chinese text is “大凡茶楼皆有富士子弟，诸司下直等人会聚，习学乐器，上教曲赚之类，谓之挂牌儿”。

³² 鞠球 Ju Qiu , also called Cuju (蹴鞠), is a ball game similar as playing ancient football. It is a popular activity in Song dynasty.

2011, 812) Xu Xiaocun thinks there were large amount of teahouses in Yuan dynasty, because the government of Yuan paid more attention on business development and many poets wrote tea poems (Xu 2014,133-136). However, he only has the travel notes of Macro Polo to prove the flourishing business scene of Hangzhou, and it is not quite supportive. Because of the social upheaval in Yuan dynasty, there are not many documents and literature describe about teahouse culture. I cannot claim the situation of teahouse is prosperous or not.

In Ming dynasty, teahouses were more fashionable than before. Teahouse holders paid more attention on the construction of teahouses' environment, which made the teahouses into suitable places for literati to meet with friends, treat their guests, cultivate their mind for the sake of self-improvement. In Qing dynasty, teahouses no matter big or small have been set up around urban and rural area. And the consumers who usually went to teahouses were not only the upper classes such as nobilities and literati but also the lower classes such as street performers and peddlers. Different teahouses with new social functions appeared in that period, such as 清茶馆 Qing chaguan (the teahouse for business negotiation), 贰浑铺 Erhun pu (the teahouse serves tea and snacks), 书茶馆 Shu chaguan (the teahouse for folk arts performances), and 棋茶馆 Qi chaguan (the teahouse for people to play Chinese chess and Go) (Xu 2014, 137). Performing drama in teahouse became a unique phenomenon appeared in the middle of Qing. Listening to opera became a popular activity among dominance hierarchy from the emperor Kangxi (康熙 1654-1722) to the empress dowager Cixi (慈禧 1835-1908). According to Joshua Goldstein's article, "several Qing rulers were renowned for their dotting patronage of popular opera". And though there is a "love-hate relationship" with popular drama to the Qing court due to the bad environment of theaters, "the commercial theaters, commonly known as teahouses (chaguan), are increasing thrived, and in this new social space, the genre of Peking opera came into full flower during the last century of the Qing dynasty". (Goldstein 2003, 753) The popular of opera performed in teahouses made a great contribution to the formation and development on teahouse of folk art performances.

3.2.5 The new trend and vigorous growth in the late Qing dynasty and the Republic China period

The number of teahouses had been increased during the late Qing and the republic China period. The categories of teahouses are various. Going to the teahouse is not only the need of people's daily life, but more important to the need of people's mental lives. For common people, teahouse is a useful place for leisure, social, trade and gathering and became more and more important as a way of living. The Republic China(1912-1949) period is a unique period between the last Chinese traditional kingdom and the socialist society—People's Republic of China. During this time, teahouse in China was facing the second developing period and experienced the ups and downs. At that time, there were various compatible forms of teahouses, which reflects in the following aspects: the combination of teahouses and restaurants, the combination of teahouses and grocery stores, the combination of teahouses and table games, the combination of teahouses and folk arts (Chinese drama, storytelling, etc.), the combination of teahouses and casinos, the combination of tea and tourism, the combination of teahouses and brothels, the combination of tea drinking and opium smoking. About the situation of teahouses in this period, 老舍Lao She³³ (1899-1966) described in his famous play 茶馆*Chaguan (Teahouse)*. This play describes social problems, culture and changes through people in the teahouse 裕泰 Yutai, during the early twentieth century. According to the play, there are “ various people in the teahouse”. In the beginning of Act One, Yutai was selling basic snacks and meals, and people who plays birds would come and have a rest. There were people discussing in the teahouse, and also people quarrel there. As Lao She pointed out, “Decades before, every city has one teahouse like Yutai and this is a very important place”. However, in Act Two, “teahouses are gradually closed in Beijing and Yutai is the only one which still open. In order to avoid to be eliminated, it has changed the style. The front is still used for selling tea, the back becomes an apartment” (Lao She, 2006). This play shows the evolution of teahouse social function. Everyone can go to teahouse if they are have free time. And teahouse has made some change in order to adapt to the social environment, which helps the emergence of teahouses with specialized functions in the later generations.

³³ Lao She was one of the most significant novelist and dramatist of Chinese literature. He was Manchu minority. The play *Teahouse* is his most famous work and known for the vivid use of Beijing dialect. (Shenzhen Daily. Jan. 24, 2013. Classic Chinese play ‘Teahouse’ on stage, accessed on Oct. 11, 2015 http://szdaily.sznews.com/html/2013-01/24/content_2360794.htm)

In this period, teahouses which provide opera and other folk arts performances developed rapidly, but watching performances is not the main purpose for consumers. As Zheng Lishui writes, “although teahouses were establishments for the performances of opera, most customers really drinking tea as the main activity, listening to opera as a supplement. After entering, the audience purchased tea tickets, not theater tickets, and businessmen and political brokers often used the tea house as a place to discuss affairs and hash out deals”. (1990, 189)

The various functions had become important characteristics of teahouses and attracted many guests from different classes to come. After further development in late Qing and the republic China period, the teahouse culture gained more features, which laid a foundation for the rise of tea art house in modern society.

4 Analysis on the current situation of modern teahouses

This chapter is used to describe the modern tea culture phenomenon comprehensively and systematically, by analyzing the situation of teahouses in Xi'an through fieldwork. The concluded results of questionnaires and interviews have listed below, which will be used for further discussion in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

4.1 Brief introduction of modern teahouses

The People's Republic of China was founded in October 1st, 1949. In the beginning of the first 30 years (1949-1978) the tea industry was at the recovery stage. As the derivative product of the old economy and traditional business, teahouse owners did not have enough opportunities to develop their businesses. The outmoded conventions and customs left from the Late Qing dynasty had deeply influenced the development of tea culture and tea industry. As a result, the teahouse management became more and more difficult. For example Hangzhou used to be the historical city with rich teahouse culture since Song Dynasty, however, during the socialist transformation period of China (1953-1956), the teahouses [in Hangzhou] had been thoroughly reformed. Until 1959, there was only tens of the teahouses existed and continued to decrease(Chen Y., 2004). After the government of P.R.China promulgated the *Gaige Kaifang Zhengce* 改革开放政策 “*Reform and Opening-up Policy*” in 1978, the boom of tea culture rises again. Since 1980s, many associations and institutions about tea culture have been set up. Such as 华侨茶叶发展研究基金会China Hua Tea Foundation (CTF) (1981)³⁴, 中国茶叶博物馆 China National Tea Museum³⁵(1987), 中国茶叶流通协会 China Tea Marketing Association³⁶ (1992), 世界茶联合会World Tea Union³⁷ (2006) and so on. And the study of tea culture has

³⁴ <http://www.chinateafund.cn/about.asp>

³⁵ <http://www.teamuseum.cn/>

³⁶ <http://www.ctma.com.cn/>

³⁷ <http://cwh.zjsru.edu.cn/>

become a subject, many scholars start to do research on tea. Under this circumstances, many teahouses back into the score of people's lives. At present, the modern teahouses have rich social, economical, and cultural functions such as communication, information exchange, performing tea arts, recreation and catering.

Taking Laoshe Teahouse (老舍茶馆) as an example, it is named after the drama Teahouse by Chinese author, Lao She. Lao She (1899-1966), real name Shu Qingchun, was of Manchurian descent and the famous author of the book called "Camel Xiangzi" also known in the US as "Rickshaw". This teahouse was founded in 1988, and it is the first modern teahouse after the Chinese government promulgated the *Reform and Opening-up Policy*. According to the introduction and advertising of Laoshe Teahouse, the teahouse provides an antique-flavor, Beijing-styled environment, where the consumers can watch wonderful performances by celebrities from folk arts and drama (usually are Chinese crosstalk [相声 xiangsheng, a type of Chinese comedy]) on any given day while enjoying famous tea with palace snacks. Numerous celebrities and more than 2 million Chinese and foreign tourists have visited Lao She Teahouse since it was founded. It has been a window for exhibiting the national culture and a bridge that connects China with the world. The success of Lao She Teahouse provides experience

In my opinion, study on the modern teahouses is a good way to take access to modern tea culture. As one of the material carries of tea culture, modern teahouse reflects the way of tea drinking in current situation. The development status of modern teahouse, well represents the current trend of tea culture in China. On the one hand, modern teahouse inherited the cultural tradition of tea very well; on the other hand, it also innovated in some aspects, such as adding *Chayi biao'yan* 茶艺表演 "Tea Art Performance" in teahouses(Fieldwork), setting up teahouses in parks and restaurants, etc. Among the new characteristics of teahouse in modern society, which are the elements inherited from tradition, can the current tea culture phenomenon presented in modern teahouses be called "tradition" become the first research question in my thesis. Therefore, I did the fieldwork at many different teahouses in Xi'an, interviewed guests and teahouse owners, asked them to fill the questionnaires concerning to my research questions. By collecting sources from the observation of teahouses and answers of customers understanding on tea culture, I can make a comparison between traditional and modern tea culture.

4.2 Research and analysis of the current teahouse phenomenon

4.2.1 Time, place and method of the investigation

Time: 1. from February to April, 2015; 2. from the middle of July to the end of August, 2015.

Place: 15 selected teahouses distributed in Xi'an area, Lao She Teahouse and Wufu Tea Art House in Beijing. (see appendix 1)

In the beginning, I visited and observed some teashops, supermarkets and interviewed some guests in teahouses in Beijing from February to April 2015. At that time, I haven't decided to focus on one subject instead of all the current phenomenon of tea culture. After the in-depth investigation and research works, I realized I should focus on more specific subject such as the teahouses, and Beijing is not the most ideal place to do fieldwork. Because of there are already plenty of research outputs on the study of Chinese teahouses in big cities such as Beijing, Chengdu, Hangzhou and Guangzhou, there will be no more fruitful results if I keep doing fieldwork in Beijing. After careful consideration, I decided to do my investigation of modern teahouses in Xi'an. There are two main reasons: first, as I will make a comparison between ancient and modern cultural tradition on tea drinking, it's better to find a city with long and continuous history. Xi'an is the ancient capital of Tang dynasty, still retained cultural heritage of the ancient history. The unearthed tea set at the Famen Temple in 1987 well proved that. Second, as the starting point of the Silk Road, more and more forums related to tea culture are held in Xi'an. Many experts started to do research on the tea culture and tea industry in Xi'an, but the results are not as many as in other cities like Beijing. It still has enough research spaces to study on the tea culture in Xi'an especially on teahouses.

4.2.2 The basis for choosing teahouses and the methods of investigation

As I mentioned in Chapter Two, I chose 大众点评 *Dazhong dianping* (Dianping.com) as the main sources to collect the information of teahouses in Xi'an. *Dazhong dianping* is the first and the largest consumer reviews website of China, and offers online to office trading service. When searching about "cha guan" (tea house), there are 303 relevant places distributed in the ten districts of Xi'an. Based on the specialty functions of different teahouses, I classified them into five groups:

(1) Ordinary teahouse.

These teahouses are the closest ones to traditional teahouses in ancient period, such as 茶肆 Chasi. Most of them are small scale and do not have complicated decorations. They usually have simple names such as XX 茶馆 (Chaguan) and XX 茶轩 (Chaxuan), and the main business of this kind of teahouse is selling tea drinks. Most of them are located on the street with restaurants and shops around the neighborhood. The number of ordinary teahouses listed on Dianping.com is 65.

(2) Tea art house

Tea art house, often called 茶艺馆 Chayiguan in Chinese. It first appeared in Taiwan during 1980s then set up in mainland China after 1995. The majority teahouses in Xi'an are tea art houses. They have various names such as 素心茶房 Suxin chafang(Suxin Teahouse) 闲轩茶秀 Xianxuan chaxiu (Xianxuan tea [art] performances)and 宽坐茶艺 Kuanzuo chayi (Kuanzuo tea art). Some of them are close to street while some of them are in apartment buildings. When the consumers come to tea art houses, they usually order one type of tea. The tea art specialists will make specific tea art performance according to the type of tea chosen by consumers. Tea art houses are well decorated by careful design so that the consumers can enjoy drinking tea and watching tea art performances in a quiet and elegant environment. The number of tea art houses listed on Dianping.com is 103.

(3) Tea restaurant

In Chinese living tradition eating and drinking are closely connected with each other. Teahouse has the function of providing food long before Song dynasty. In modern China,

there are several tea restaurants offer tea and meals together. They usually called “XX 茶餐厅” (XX tea restaurant). The tea offered in tea restaurants are not only traditional types of tea such as green tea and Pu’er tea (produced in southwestern Yunnan) oolong tea, but also new-style tea drinks such as flower tea and milk tea. According to the different region, the tea restaurant serves different style Chinese snacks and meals. In Xi’an, most of the tea restaurant offer Cantonese-style meals such as Dim Sum, others offer private home cuisine or western dessert. The consumption level of tea restaurants is often higher than regular teahouses. Consumers and business operators usually pay more attention to the dining environment and the taste of food. They are not proficiency in tea making, especially traditional tea. The number of tea restaurant on Dianping.com is 78.

(4) The teahouse which serves performances

The style of performance teahouse is similar to Lao She Teahouse and there are only four in Xi’an. The first one is called *Qingqushe chalou* 青曲社茶楼 (Teahouse of Shaanxi Youth Folk Arts Club) and set up by Shaanxi Youth Folk Arts Club. The second one is called *Zhenyoushe xiangsheng julebu* 珍友社相声俱乐部 (Zhenyou Crosstalk Club). The third one is called *Tianxi yuan* 天禧苑 (Tianxi Center [of arts]). And the last one is *Fubaoge chalou* 福宝阁茶楼 (Fubaoge Teahouse). They are decorated with antique elements and has a drama stage in the central place where people usually sit in the audience area and drink tea while enjoy the performances.

(5) Other teahouses for leisure and recreation

There is another group of teahouse for leisure and recreation. Some of the names have no difference with ordinary teahouses, such as chaguan, chafang, and chashe, others are called 茶会所 *cha huisuo* (tea chamber). The former are leisure and entertainment places for citizens. The latter are more advanced, the guests are mostly businessmen and officers with higher income. People go to these places to meet friends, drink tea while playing Mahjong, cards, board games or other activities. Teahouse owners charge them both the tea fee and room fee according to the time when they spent in the teahouse. The number of teahouses for leisure is 54.

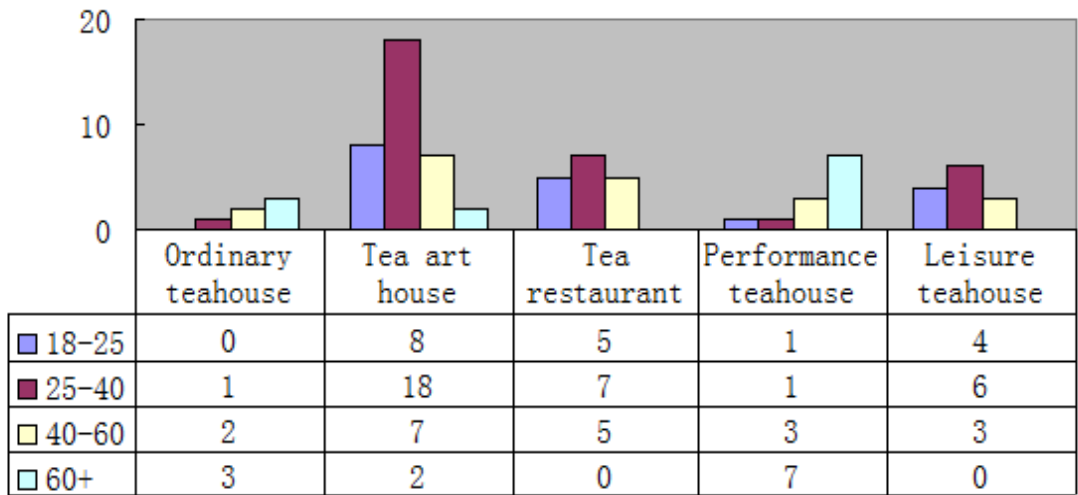
Category	Main business	number	percentage
1	Tea drinking	63	21%
2	Tea art performances and tea drinking	103	34%
3	Distinctive meals and tea drinking	78	26%
4	Folk arts performances	4	1%
5	Leisure and recreation in teahouse	54	18%

The table above shows the percentage of each category among 303 teahouses. According to my statistical data, the tea art house has the largest proportion than others.

4.2.3 Data analysis of the fieldwork

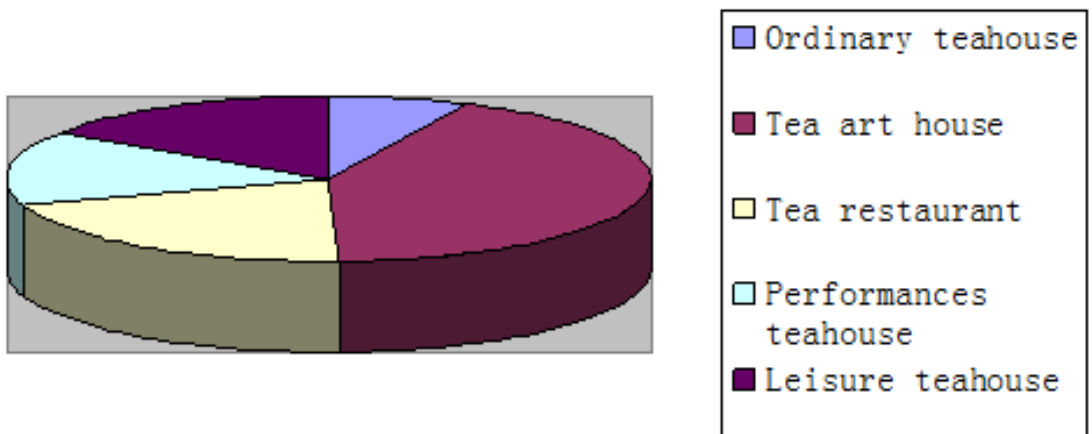
(1) Analysis on basic information of the informants

I have visited 15 teahouses in Xi'an and each category I chose 3 to visit. I brought 100 questionnaires to teahouses and received 83 usable ones. I also communicated with some of the teahouse holders and guests. The communication gave me more information than my original understanding before doing this fieldwork. The consumers willing to answer the questionnaire include 66% females and 34% males, and they are mainly students, enterprise employees, government officials and self-employed people. There are 18 people (22%) between 18-25 years old, 33 people (40%) between 25-40 years old, 20 people (24%) between 40-60 years old and 12 people (14%) over 60 years old. The distribution characteristic of different ages is that younger people prefer to visit teahouse than older people.



(2) Consumer preferences for different type of teahouses

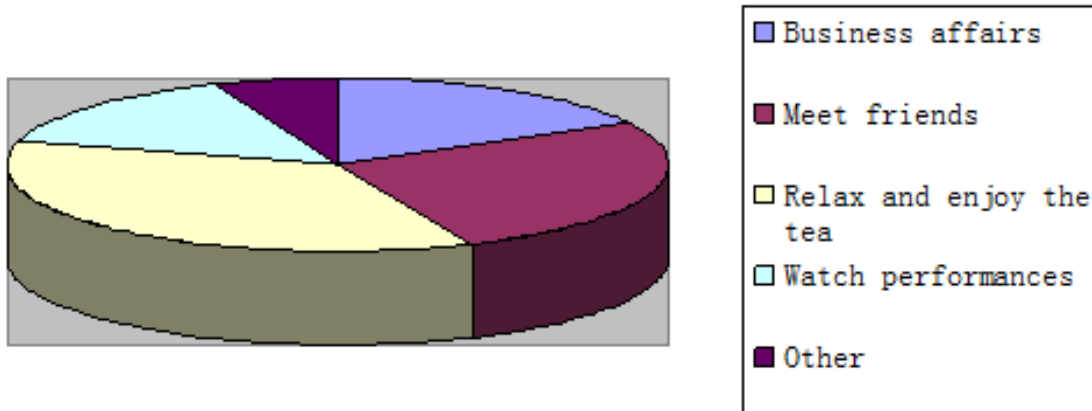
The result of questionnaires shows that 7 people prefer ordinary teahouse, 35 people prefer tea art house, 17 people prefer tea restaurant, 12 people prefer performance teahouse, 13 people prefer teahouse for leisure. The percentage distribution has listed below:



From the result we can figure out tea art house is the most popular teahouse for consumers. Tea restaurant, performances teahouse and leisure teahouse are also popular but not as much as the tea art house. The ordinary teahouse is not very attractive to consumers.

(3) Purpose and reason of choosing teahouses

Question 3 is about people's main purpose to visit this teahouse. 14 people chose "business affairs", 22 people chose "meet friends", 30 people chose "relax and enjoy the tea", 12 people chose "watch performances" (all the people who went to the performances teahouse chose this option), and 5 people chose "other". See the pie chart below:



And about the reason to choose teahouse rather than other places (question 4), most of the people (48%) chose "Teahouse has good environment", 26% people chose "I like to drink tea, and teahouses have the higher quality of tea and good service", 12% people chose "I like the performances in the place", 9% people chose "The tea art is enjoyable", and 5% people chose "other". The interesting thing is that many people like to go to tea art house but majority of them do not regard tea art as their main reason of choosing the teahouse, they more prefer the aesthetic atmosphere and the quality of tea. However, ten of the twelve people who went to the performances teahouse chose the crosstalk performance as their main reason to visit the teahouses. I will discuss this phenomenon in next chapter.

(4) People's opinions about tea culture and tradition

According to the answers of question 5, there are 67 people agreed the teahouse management should pay attention to the tea culture and tradition, which is 81% of the whole people. There are 58 people agreed the opinion that “the tea art and performances in the teahouse are parts of the traditional tea culture”, others have not answer this question, which means 100% of people who have answered this question consider modern tea art and performances in the teahouse are parts of the traditional tea culture. There are not many people answered question 6 and 7 in detail. Based on the answers they have written, I summarized in the following points: 1. Tradition is something old; 2. Tradition is the historical heritage left by ancient people; 3. Tradition is classical; 4. Tradition is something originated from the past but is still used in the present.

The fieldwork result suggests that modern teahouses are more specific on social functions. Ordinary teahouse only serves tea drinks and offers a place for rest. Tea art house offers professional services for tea art performances. It also has teahouses which have folk art performances especially crosstalk shows, and offer places for card playing and leisure. People from different layers of the society are able to and enjoy visiting teahouses according to their personal interests. Among the five categories, tea art house is the most favorite type and tea restaurant ranks the second. Though the teahouse which serves performance is not popular than other types of teahouses, the composition of customers is more representative: majority of the customers are older people and they went to watch the performances frequently. The main purpose for people to visit teahouses is “relax and enjoy the tea” and most of the customers choose to visit teahouse instead of other places is because of the traditional atmosphere in teahouses.

4.3 Three types of teahouses which represent the current trend of teahouses

4.3.1 Tea art house

From September 19 to September 26, 1988, the Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China held a "Chinese Tea Culture Week" (中国茶文化展示周) at the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (民族文化宫) in Beijing. During this week, representatives from different places such as Taiwan, HongKong and Shanghai had performed their distinctive tea art performances and tea culture to the public at the first time. This can be regarded as a turning point in the development of Chinese teahouse culture. After that, the Wufu Tea Art House(五福茶艺馆) had been set up as the first tea art house in Beijing. The retro style of decoration and elegant tea art performances deeply influenced Beijing's teahouse industry at that period. Gradually, the tea art houses had been set up all over the country. (Liu 1989, 320)

The tea art house in Xi'an has unique characteristics. Xi'an, which used to be the ancient capital city of China from Zhou to Tang dynasties, has many historical sites all around the city. The tea art houses usually set up in some antique streets near the historical sites which are still exist in modern city. Taking *Shang Ming Xuan* (尚茗轩) as an example, it is a small and exquisite teahouse in the Tang West Market (大唐西市) business area. When you walk into the teahouse, the first thing jump into your sight is a wall decorated with calligraphy and Chinese ink and wash painting. Around the teahouse, there are many beautiful tea cups of Jingdezhen porcelain and Pu'er tea cakes. All the decorations bring an antique atmosphere to the guests so that they can more focus on the tea ceremony and enjoy the tea. There is a tea table made of tree root carving in the right side of the teahouse. The teahouse owner is also the tea art specialist usually sit in the middle with a group of consumers around the tea table. You have to make a reservation so that the teahouse owner can prepare the tea sets and water according to your request. Different types of tea require different tea sets and technique to brew the tea and usually the water temperature is also different depending on the degree of fermented tea. The whole process of tea drinking includes *beiju* 备具(the preparation of tea sets), *pengcha* 烹茶(tea brewing) and *pinyin* 品饮(tea drinking). When the tea art specialist prepares the tea sets, he has to introduce all the names and functions of the tea sets and introduce the characteristic of tea which the guest has ordered. When brewing tea, he has to control the temperature of water and decide which performances he will make. Usually the temperature of water for green tea is the around 80 degrees, other fermented tea are higher than this temperature. When drinking tea, people should smell it first,

and drink three times to finish it. It's a simplified process compare with the description of tea drinking in Chajing.

4.3.2 Tea restaurant

Regardless of cultural function, the main business of many teahouses is offering tea with basic food since Song dynasty. Teahouse culture has developed in the present days and has close connection with catering. With the diversified development of teahouse, the meals in teahouses also have been developed into a diversified, characteristic, high-end standard (Chen 2003, 54). There are various styles of tea meals according to the place of tea restaurant. For example the teahouse meals in Guangdong are often exquisite Dim Sum, the teahouse meals in Hangzhou are often private home cuisine style, the teahouse meals in Beijing are more focused on Qing court dishes.

Tea restaurants in Xi'an appeared later than other cities. Most of the tea restaurants are in HongKong style. Let's take the recently opened tea restaurant "HongKong Cousin Tea Restaurant" (*Xianggang biaoge chacanting* 香港表哥茶餐厅) as an example. It located in the commercial area downtown, on the fourth floor of a shopping center. Many young people wait outside of the tea restaurant at dinner time every day. From the menu, I find majority of the food are small steamed dishes, such as steamed bun stuffed with barbecued roast pork (*cha shao bao* 叉烧包) and steamed pork ribs with garlic (*chizhi zheng paigu* 豉汁蒸排骨). Instead of traditional types of tea such as green tea and black tea, the drinks of tea served in HongKong Cousin Tea Restaurant are more creative. Such as lemon tea, milk tea, ginger tea, mint tea with honey and so on. Not like other teahouses with traditional elements of decoration, the environment of this tea restaurant is more like a modern restaurant. The main reason for people to come here is to meet friends and eat delicious Dim Sum instead of drinking tea.

4.3.3 Teahouse with performances

The prosperity of teahouse with performances can be traced back to Qing dynasty or earlier period. The forms of folk art performances are various such as crosstalk, drama, and storytelling.

Teahouse, as a national art exhibition platform, is the most important material carrier for the development and inheritance of tea culture. As a result of the Opening up policy, foreign culture has been imported in China, which brought an impact on the development of national folk arts. Some performances such as opera and crosstalk lost their original stages to perform. Under this circumstance, represented by Lao She Teahouse, some teahouses offered a stage to the folk arts performers so that the traditional arts can develop continuously. As a result, many teahouses are also famous for the performances instead of tea drinking.

According the fieldwork, there are only three teahouses offer crosstalk performances to consumers. The form and operating strategy are almost the same. In my thesis, I took 青曲社茶楼 Qingqushe chalou (Teahouse of Shaanxi Youth Folk Arts Club) as the example to describe the situation of the performance teahouse in Xi'an.

Qingqushe Chalou was set up by Shaanxi Youth Folk Arts Club. This club is founded in 2007 and offers Xiangsheng (Chinese crosstalk) in Shaanxi genre. The priority business of Qingqushe chalou is crosstalk with tea drinking as the complementary service. The teahouse is on the second floor facing the street near Shuyuan men, a street with antique flavor environment. The teahouse is decorated with antique elements and has a drama stage in the central place where people usually sit in the audience area and drink tea while enjoy the performances. The performers are professional actors and university students who like crosstalk very much. There are only traditional types of tea served in Qingqushe such as Green tea with glasses, Black tea with covered-bowl. One of the interviewers Wang Yang, who is male and 28 years old, told me detailed description and his feeling of this teahouse:

This is the second time I come to *Qing qu she*. Last time I was brought here by a friend because she told there is wonderful crosstalk only performed in this place. Look at this place, it is only about 70-80 square meters but has about 200 seats. Because every table has six seats, last time I was arranged to sit not beside but in the back of my friend. It was very uncomfortable and not easy for communication. The teahouse offers complimentary tea with basic snacks, but we still ordered dessert and fruit with sunflower seeds and the price is 40 RMB. The crosstalk performed 20:00-22:30 last time. It was really a wonderful night and has been well worthwhile. Time went so fast that I didn't notice it had already over

22:30 after six sections had been performed. Although Wang and Qu, two of the masters, did not show up last time, but the other crosstalk actors were also very good. The oldest backstage staff is over 70, I have to give him praise. The performance is a traditional form of folk arts, and is very interesting. And the ticket price is cheap compare with films. It is a good place to relax people's mind. I highly recommend this place to my friends! (Interview in *Qing qu she*)

Wang's opinion represents majority of people's perspective on this type of teahouse. Except the performances, the cheap price and the relax environment are also the reasons for people to visit teahouses. Initially teahouse owners seemed to have used drama primarily to attract more customers, but the side show gradually became the key factor determining where customers would go for an afternoon of leisure.

4.4 Summary

Traditional teahouses started since Weijin nanbeichao period when there were only small-scale tea stalls and uncertain places. After more than one thousand years' transmission, teahouses had gradually developed into specialty places which offered tea as their main business and sometimes with a place for cultural and social activities. But modern teahouses are diversified in form, and more and more developed towards specialization. They are more focused on social functions other than meet people's basic living requirements. Such as intercommunication, information interchange, business negotiations, performances watching, leisure, catering services and others. Besides, Tea art and teahouse influence each other and develop together which provides a new possibility for the development of tea culture.

Teahouse is a very important representative of Chinese tea culture which carries the tangible and intangible wealth of tea culture in various aspects. Dating back to the origin of the teahouse, it at least carries 1500 years of Chinese cultural tradition and in some aspects reflects people's cultural psychology. Under the influences of cultural consciousness, the teahouse holders will unconsciously gravitate towards to Chinese cultural tradition. That is the reason why 34% of teahouses in Xi'an are the tea art houses, and 100% people who have answered question 6 "Can you talk something about your understanding of Chinese traditional tea culture" (Appendix 2)

considered modern tea art and performances in the teahouse are parts of the cultural tradition. The investigation result shows that elder people paid more attention on the folk arts performances and traditional environment than younger people, and the percentage of preference on traditional culture is increased by ages. Except for the hobby of tea drinking, a very important reason for people to visit teahouse is the elegant, quiet and classical environment. According to the interview, 77% people like to visit the teahouses which have traditional elements and antique atmosphere.

Teahouses and the modern tea arts represent important aspects of current tea culture phenomena, which is why I chose teahouses in Xi'an as the main places for doing fieldwork. This chapter has mainly focused on the observation and description of modern tea culture, aiming to collect useful and persuasive sources which would be helpful to answer my research questions: whether the current tea culture phenomena can be called "tradition" or not; what are the changes in tea cultural tradition and what are their new features; what are the endogenous and exogenous factors which influenced the change in the tea drinking tradition. Because tradition is something that "transmitted from past to the present", a combination of literature analysis and the summary of teahouse culture from Chapter 3 is also important. As I wrote in the beginning of this chapter, this part only consisted of the collected data from fieldwork results. The detailed analysis would be discussed in Chapter 5(how has the tradition of tea drinking changed into the current trend of tea culture step by step) and Chapter 6(new features of current tea cultural phenomena and the endogenous and exogenous factors of the changes in tradition).

This result may not 100% match with the actual situation of modern teahouses in Xi'an. There are some teahouses which have not registered on Dianping.com. Because the website does not update in time, there are also some teahouses have registered on the website but no longer open anymore. I visited three teahouses selected from the website but they already closed down due to various reasons. But the result should be a reflection about the general trend of tea culture in modern society. No matter the decoration of traditional elements such as traditional paintings and furniture, tea art performances and folk art performances, they all served as the cultural service for people who enjoy this way of life.

5 Cultural tradition and innovation of modern teahouses

5.1 The concept of tradition

As I mentioned in Part 1, the first research question is to discuss whether the current tea culture phenomena can be called “tradition” or not. In order to figure out the answer, first I need a convinced theory of tradition to support my argument. What is tradition? The explanation of tradition in Chinese is simple and general. Tradition is 传统 (chuán tǒng) in Chinese characters. In the Chinese definition, it means anything of thoughts, culture, ethics, customs, arts, behaviors which handed down from history, from generation to generation. (Cihai 2009, 321) In China, ordinary people are seldom taking “tradition” as a topic to chat with friends. The concept of tradition seems an established fact and often uses to modify other things. Research scholars in China especially researchers in cultural studies, folklore studies, anthropologists usually use western theories of tradition to support their studies. However, there are various theories about “tradition”, choosing a supportive theory became the primary task for writing my thesis.

I have read several researches on tradition in order to find a supportive theory. What is tradition? Many scholars regard tradition as the opposite side of modernity. In the eyes of some anthropologist, tradition is a passive, analytic term. Such as Redfield's discussion: 1) tradition is a force in preventing change, growth, and creativity, i.e., acts as a storage device; 2) tradition is an irrational, emotional response; 3) tradition promotes internal solidarity; 4) tradition will disappear or be eradicated by modernity and rational choice, characteristics of urban environments. (1968, 497-517) While some social science theorists agree with the point that tradition is an active concept, because some traditions are quite rational and is a device for promoting internal solidarity (Collier, 1975). However, Eugenia Shanklin's article *Two Meanings and Uses of Tradition* (1981) has lead me to find the right theory for my thesis. Shanklin has his own understanding of tradition, “in its passive sense as a storage device, tradition was seen to inhibit innovation. In its active sense as recorded by ethnographers,

tradition serves instead to evaluate current circumstances, to explain why things are as they are, and in some instances to conceal or obscure innovations”(Shanklin 1981, 75), but related to cultural tradition, he agreed with Edward Shils’ opinion³⁸. Then I searched Shils’ researches, and agreed his theory of tradition would be the most suitable one. According to Edward Shils’ explanation, tradition means many things. “it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present. It makes no statement about what is handed down or in what particular combination or whether it is a physical object or a cultural construction; it says nothing about how long it has been handed down or in what manner, whether orally or in written form.” (shils 1981,12) Shils definition of tradition is neither a comparison with modernity, nor a factor that may influence social, political and economic development. He only talks about the features of tradition and change of tradition, but never argues the use of tradition. As thesis is focused on the concept “tradition” itself, from this point, I believe Shils’ theory is the most suitable one to support my arguments.

The definition of points out the “transmission” and “from the past to the present” are the two main characteristics of tradition. He discussed the transmissible parts of them are the patterns or images of actions which they imply or present and the beliefs requiring, recommending, regulating, permitting, or prohibiting the reenactment of those patterns. It includes all that a society of a given time possesses and which already existed when its present possessors came upon it and which is not solely the product of physical processes in the external world or exclusively the result of ecological and physiological necessity. (Shils 1981, 13) He also discussed the reason of transmission and the importance of “convenience” and explained the change of tradition. Change may occur during the transmission of tradition. In Edward Shils’ theory, tradition does not change itself. It instigates human beings to change it.(1981, 213) There are endogenous and exogenous factors which may cause the changes. The creative power of the human mind in confrontation with the potentialities resident in traditions produces changes.

5.2 The transmission of tradition on teahouses culture

³⁸ “Like culture, the term tradition has been used so often and in so many contexts that, as Shils (1971) suggests, it may not have any meaning at all” , written by Shanklin. (Shanklin 1981, 86)

5.2.1 Material carriers

Based on Edward Shils' theory, tradition includes many things as long as the thing is handed down from the past to the present by generations. It includes material objects, beliefs about all sorts of things, images of persons and events, practices and institutions. According to the definition of culture, the presentation of tea culture should base on its material and immaterial carriers. Therefore, the material objects, images, practices and institutions belong to the material carriers of tea culture, thoughts and ideologies belong to the spiritual carries. I have discussed in part 3, the history of tea culture and teahouse is a continuous development. Tea sets are the essential objects in every teahouse. As an example, let's see whether the transmission of tea sets in the history is enough to proof that the current trend of tea culture remains traditional.

In *Chajing*, the twenty eight items describes in Chapter four "Utensils" are the representatives of tea sets in Tang dynasty. (Lu Yu, 10-12) In 1987, Shaanxi Famen Temple unearthed a set of tea utensils from underground which was made from 864-874 in Tang dynasty.(An, 2010) It includes:

砧椎 crushing block

风炉 brazier

炭筥 charcoal basket

炭槌 charcoal mallet

火筴 fire chopsticks

鍍 cauldron

交床 cauldron stand

夹 tea tongs

纸囊 paper wallet

碾 crushing roller

罗合 sieve box

则 tea holder

水方 water vessel

漉水囊 water filter bag

瓢 gourd scooper

竹夹 bamboo tongs

鹺簋 salt container

熟盂 boiled water vessel

碗 bowl

畚 bowl basket

札 brush

涤方 water basin

滓方 spent tea basin

巾 tea cloth

具列 utensil table

都篮 utensil basket

The number of tea set was simplified into twelve in Song dynasty according to Emperor Song Huizong's (宋徽宗 1082-1135) book *大观茶论* *Da Guan Cha Lun (Da Guan Tea Treaties)*.

Except the stone mill, the majority of tea wares were inherited from Tang dynasty, which includes:

风炉 brazier

砧椎 crushing block

碾 crushing roller

石磨 stone mill

瓢 gourd scooper

罗合 sieve box

札 brush

畚 bowl basket

碗 bowl

水方 water vessel

茶筴 tea whisk

巾 tea cloth (Zhongguo Chajing 2011, 763-765)

In the imperial prince Zhu Quan's (朱权 1378-1448) book 茶谱 Chapu (Tea Manual), the form of tea set had been developed and innovated into ten items:

茶炉 Tea Brazier

茶灶 Tea Stove

茶磨 Tea Mill

茶碾 Crushing Roller

茶罗 Tea Sieve

茶架 Tea Stand

茶匙 Tea Spoon

茶筴 Tea Whisk

茶瓯 Tea Cup

茶瓶 Tea Pitcher (Zhongguo Chajing 2011, 765-766)

In current society, tea set has been developed into a more simplified form. Ordinary teahouse usually serves tea in the teapot with several empty tea cups. Only tea art house will use traditional items to make tea for the guests. But it is more like an art performance other than a process of tea making. There are inheritance and innovation from traditional tea culture to modern tea culture and I believe as long as tea culture is developed by human beings, the changes will always exist and indispensable. Traditions are not independently self-reproductive or self-elaborating. Only living, knowing, desiring human beings can enact them and reenact them and modify them. Traditions develop because the desire to create something truer and better or more convenient is alive in those who acquire and possess them. (Shils 1981, 14 and 213)

5.2.2 Practices

There are different methods for tea drinking in the history. In Tang dynasty, the most popular method is called 煎茶 (jiancha) or 煮茶 (zhucha), which means boiling tea.

Tang dynasty is the peak period of tea culture development. In this period, Lu Yu concluded a theoretical system about tea culture in Tang dynasty through his book *Chajing*, and promoted the popularity of tea culture and created an artistic way of tea drinking. In the chapters *wuzhizhu* 五

之煮 (Boiling) and *liuzhiyin* 六之饮(Drinking), he described the various properties of tea and the method of making tea. In Tang dynasty, *jiancha fa* 煎茶法 (boiling tea method) was the main method. Lu Yu concluded the method into nine steps, and the whole process is complete and has a clear and specific technical requirements. It includes:

- a. “备器” (beiqi) preparing for the tea ware according to the category of tea
- b. “择水” (zeshui) preparing the best water to boil, usually mountain spring water is the best according to *Chajing*
- c. “取火”(quhuo) lighting a fire
- d. “侯汤” (houtang) boiling water
- e. “炙茶”(zhicha) roasting tea
- f. “碾罗” (nianluo) pulverizing
- g. “煎茶” (jiancha) boiling tea
- h. “斟茶” (zhencha) pouring tea
- i. “品茶” (pincha) drinking tea and appreciation

In Song dynasty, the most popular method is called *diancha fa* 点茶法 , which means the method of whisking tea. Steps a to f are similar to the tradition in Tang dynasty, but there is *xicha fa* 洗茶 (washing tea) before roast tea. The rest of steps are *hongzhan* 烘盏 (warming the tea cups), *diancha* 点茶 (whisking tea).

In Ming and Qing, the main method is more simple than before, which is called *paochafa* 泡茶法 (brewing tea method), and still popular until now. Steps a to d with h and i are similar to the traditional method, but the step *paocha* 泡茶 (brewing tea)³⁹ has taken place of *jiancha*.

There is a big difference of teahouse culture when comparing the situation in Tang dynasty and the modern period. In Tang dynasty, teahouses are not very popular among commoners. Literati and nobilities like Lu Yu would enjoy a cup of tea at teahouses where they can compose poetry and paint and satisfy their personal interests. Currently, according to the fieldwork result, customers are from all levels of class, and teahouses are more specific on functions. However, the difference is small when comparing with close generations. Why? Because the continuous transmission is not indiscriminately imitate. Just like Edward Shils says in his book, “Human beings have a little more freedom than animals. They can change their physical environment somewhat.....They can varyingly choose other beliefs from these which are available” (Shils 1981, 197). “Brewing tea” is still available in modern society but “Boiling tea” and “Whisking tea” no longer been used mainly. It is because the method of tea brewing is more convenient for people to make tea in this high-paced modern society. Artistic practices of tea art services can be ordered in specific tea art houses. However, for daily tea drinking, the lengthy process is no longer meets for people’s requirements of convenience. Just like Shils said, “those traditions or parts of tradition which are accepted are, in very many cases, accepted because, in a situation in which action is thought to be required, they appear to be self-evidently the actions which are called for” (Shils 1981, 199).

5.2.3 Intangible wealth – cultural inheritance

When discussing the stability and changes in tradition, Shils offers the following explanation: “modern culture is in some respects a titanic and deliberate effort to undo by technology, rationality, and governmental policy the givenness of what came down from the past”.(Shils 2013, 197) He also suggests an interesting point, “what begins as a fashion might become a tradition (16)”. It may not be a very suitable point to describe the trend of tea culture, but at least this point of view can be a reference to think of the teahouse phenomenon. Throughout history,

³⁹ Here in this paragraph the word “*paocha*” refers to the name of a tea making method, not a practice of tea brewing. It is used to make the differentiation between other tea making methods such as *jiancha* and *diancha*.

every time when the teahouse culture developed into a prosperous period, it had always been connected with elite class' enthusiasm towards tea culture activities. Such as the formation of teahouse started with popularity of tea drinking among literati in Tang dynasty; teahouse culture developed with specialized functions after the nobilities started to visit it in Song dynasty; teahouse with folk arts performances became a new formation after the opera performed at teahouse was enjoyed by royal household in Qing dynasty. As a way of life, the continuous development of teahouse culture is no doubt traditional.

Cha Yi 茶艺 and *Cha Dao* 茶道

Before discussing the inheritance of tea art tradition, I have to explain the difference between Chinese words 茶艺 *Cha Yi* and 茶道 *Cha Dao* first. The concept of *Cha Yi* and *Cha Dao* are often mixed up in modern society. The modern tea art performances are usually called *Cha Yi* in Chinese, and the Japanese tea ceremony are called *Sado* in Japanese or *Cha Dao* in Chinese. The difference between the two concepts is more like the same art of tea expressed in two different regions. However, the origin and meaning of *Cha Dao* and *Cha Yi* in Chinese history are quite different with each other.

The Chinese word 道, pronounce as *Dao* or *Tao*, is a symbolic concept in Taoist philosophy. It is an optimistic attitude for living and understanding the nature. The concept of *Cha Dao* have two levels of meaning. On the one hand, it connected with method and art of tea brewing, on the other hand, it reflected the cultural ideology of tea drinking. For ancient literati, *Cha Dao* is the philosophy within the process of tea drinking. It is helpful for people to cultivate their personal interests while living in an open, healthy and generous way.

Zhongguo chaye da cidian(2008) gives an explanation of *Cha Dao*, “*Cha Dao* is a comprehensive cultural activity on the basis of tea drinking. It originated from China, transmitted overseas, and formed into Japanese tea ceremony and Korean tea ceremony. The word ‘dao’ of *Cha Dao* means many things: the first meaning is the origin of the cosmic inventory, the second meaning is the laws and standards of things, the third meaning is technology and skill. *Cha Dao* is based on the political opportunity of Confucianism, developed through the unsophisticated beauty of Buddhism, full of Taoist romantic ideals, and relies on the way of tea drinking to fulfill

its simple, genuine, aesthetic request of spirit.”(Liu 2013, 47) This explanation points out Cha Dao is originated in ancient China, with the development of Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist ideologies. Dao refers to the origin and the rule of things. As a drinking method, Cha Dao represents the spirit of tea drinking.

Though the word *Cha Yi* 茶艺 has been used to describe both the tea art performances in modern society and the artistic way of tea making in ancient period, it actually refers to two different concepts. The word *Cha Yi* 茶艺 (tea art performance) was created by Taiwanese people in the late 1970s as a substitute of Cha Dao. It has been widely performed in tea art houses. However, the sprouted ideology of *Cha Yi* (the artistic way of tea making) was initially originated since Lu Yu finished *Chajing* in Tang dynasty. The chapters four: Utensils (四之器), Five: Boiling (五之煮) and Six: Drinking (六之饮) had recorded and discussed the methods of tea making and the way to appreciate tea during Tang dynasty, which made a profound influence to the development of tea culture as well as the formation of tea art performances in modern society. Xu Xiaocun points out there are two definitions of Cha Yi. The generalized definition of Cha Yi includes all the technologies of tea such as the drinking method, planting method, and processing technology. It enlarges the content of Cha Yi as the same as Tea Culture. The narrow definition of Cha Yi only means the whole process of tea drinking. It includes the preparation before tea drinking such as the preparation of tea sets, choosing the best water, the degree of fire, the way of boiling water; and the method of tea making such as prepare tea, put tea in the pot, infusion, pour tea into cups, smell and taste. I also focused on the study of Cha Yi on its narrow meaning in my thesis.

In my understanding, the relationship between Cha Yi and Cha Dao is like the material aspects and the immaterial aspects of tea culture. Cha Yi is a form of art which reflected through the material carrier of tea culture, and it is the presentation of Cha Dao. Cha Dao is more likely related to the philosophy of tea culture, which refers to a aesthetics-oriented life attitude.

Modern tea art in tea art houses

No matter from academic researches or the result of my fieldwork, the popularity of tea art house in modern society is no doubt an new trend of tea culture in China. Is it something transmitted

from the past to the present? According to the answers of my questionnaire, majority of people think of tea art house as a part of tradition, but considering the development history of teahouse culture, the answer should be no. Although modern tea art houses are similar in their decorations, management styles and have same social functions, historically, they had never appeared in any of the ancient periods, not even in late Qing and Republic China period. According to relevant researches, the word “tea art” originated from Taiwan. (Xu 2014, 90) In the middle of 1970s, Taiwanese people were influenced by *Zhongguo re* 中国热, a phenomenon on the popularity of Chinese culture, willing to retrieve the Chinese cultural tradition. During that period, many traditional customs such as paper cutting, Chinese martial arts and drama became a symbol of fashion. Based on Chinese traditional tea culture, the concept of modern “tea art” has emerged at the right moment. The first tea art house appeared in 1977, and in 1980 the *Lu Yu chayi zhongxin* 陆羽茶艺中心” (Lu-Yu Tea Culture Institute) was set up in Taiwan. Until 1991, the number of tea art house has been increased to 2000. Under the influence of tea art house’s development in Taiwan, in 1982, the first modern tea art house was introduced to mainland China, which is called *charen zhijia* 茶人之家 (Home of people who like tea). Since then, tea art house has started its development and soon set up all over the country. (Tong 1997, 55-57) Based on the theory of Shils’ tradition, if a belief or practice “catches on” but survives only for a short time, it fails to become a tradition. Even though it contains, in nucleus, the patterns of transmission from exponent to recipient which is at the heart of traditionality. It has to last over at least three generations—however long or short these are—to be a tradition. (Shils 1981, 15) He explains the concept of generation is vague so that three generation is not very precise. But at least two transmissions over three generations are required to be considered a tradition. Obviously the popularity of tea art house has not last over three generations, not even in one generation. It only appears within 50 years, it is a new born trend of tea culture.

When thinking of the question “modern tea art house is traditional or not”, many people did not realize there was a difference between modern tea art performance and the concept “tea art”. As I explained in 5.3.1, the concept “tea art” or Cha Yi in Chinese is originated from Tang dynasty, but “modern tea art” is a different concept. It is tea art performance and has been invented by Taiwanese people since 1970s. Tea art specialist has become a profession and listed in Dictionary of Occupation in China since 1998 (Liu 2014, 25).

Generally, the standard process of tea art performance is different according to different species of tea. I have asked the owner of *Shangmingxuan*, who is holding the Certificate of Tea Art Specialist, to perform a standard tea ceremony for me. A whole process normally has four procedures: Preparation, Brewing, Aroma appreciation, End of ceremony and Cleaning up. In some of the modern tea art houses like Shangmingxuan, the process usually simplified into nine steps:

1. Prepare tea set.

Tea art specialist should present each tea ware to guests and explain the function in detail.

2. Prepare and boiling water.

3. Prepare tea.

Tea art specialist should present tea leaves to guests while introducing the characteristic of tea.

4. Use the boiled water to warm teapot.

The temperature are various according to the differentiation of each tea type.

5. Put tea into teapot and smell its fragrance.

6. First infusion.

Usually the first infusion is used for washing tea leaves and warming tea cups, and it should be poured without drinking.

7. Second infusion, pour tea to the *gongdaobei* 公道杯(fair mug for tea), and divide tea to each tea cups equally.

8. Serve tea to guests with snacks.

After all the guests finish drinking, tea art specialist usually asks guests to observe and appreciate tea leaves, and this part is not a necessary step.

9. Collect tea cups and express appreciations to the guests.

During the process of tea ceremony, tea art specialist should always use elegant body language to present the aesthetics of tea and introduce tea culture and techniques of each step.

The ceremony ends with the used tea leaves being put into a clean bowl for the guests to experience the tea in its used form. And the tea art specialists should stand up to express the appreciation to the guests. In return, guests should make appropriate compliments regarding the choice of tea.

Cha Yi (Tea ceremony) is not a new practice. It is an important part of worship and literati's etiquette. However, religious worship and literati's etiquette are no longer popular in current society. They only appear in TV dramas about ancient stories. The same word *Cha Yi* (tea art performances created after 1970s) in modern teahouses is a kind of business strategy and performance. It is invented by people through commercial development and borrowed some ideas of tea drinking tradition from the past. On this point, I agree with Eric Hobsbawn's opinion and decided to regard the modern tea art as a kind of "invented tradition". Hobsbawn explains the "invented tradition" means a set of practices which "normally governed by overly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (2004, 1) Using a fixed model to perform tea art in a fixed place for business profit has never appeared in the past, not to mention continuity and transmission. But there is one thing must be pointed out: even though modern tea art performance is invented by people in modern periods, it does make great contributions to the revival of traditional culture.

Summary

This chapter mainly discussed the concept of tradition in order to judge whether the current trend of tea culture is traditional or not. Then I followed with Shils' theory to analyze the transmission and changes of tea drinking traditions through the aspects of material carries, practices and cultural inheritance. As a result, the current phenomenon of teahouse culture is a continuous process for inheriting the past traditions and changes itself in order to adjust the social environment at specific periods.

6 New Features of Modern Tea Culture, and the Endogenous and Exogenous Factors of the Changes in the Tea Drinking Tradition

6.1 New features in the current trend of tea culture

“Traditions are indispensable; they are also very seldom entirely adequate”, said by Edward Shils. (Shils 1981, 213) Compared with traditional tea culture, modern tea culture has changed in some aspects. The attraction of antique elements, the convenience of brewing method, and the aesthetic tea arts can make the change in tradition easily accepted and inherited by human beings. Besides the inheritance of tradition, there are new features existed within the current trend of tea culture. Traditions change because the circumstances to which they refer change. Chinese society is constantly developing and progressing, especially after the founding of People’s Republic of China in 1949, circumstances are no longer the same with ancient periods. Traditions, to survive, must be fitting to the circumstances in which they operate and to which they are directed. (Shils 1983, 258) New features of current tea trend can be concluded into four aspects: first, the close combination of tea culture and economy; second, popularization of tea culture; third, the cross-regional communication; fourth, the diversification of tea art culture.

6.1.1 The close combination of tea culture and economy

Teahouse culture is a very important part of tea culture, which represents tangible and intangible wealth of culture and has social and cultural functions. In Chinese modern society, Lao She Teahouse is the earliest and most representative teahouse which serves tea while offers tea art performances and crosstalk shows. It is not only a combination of Chinese traditional arts and the popularized tea culture, but also achieved great business success. Lao She Teahouse has its unique attraction and become a successful example followed by many other teahouses which were set up around Shanghai, Hangzhou, Chengdu and other cities. Tea culture has been a key factor when businessmen started to think about setting up a teahouse. Teahouse, in the current

society, has unique features which influenced by the circumstances of modern society. First, the priority business for the current teahouse is selling tea, sometimes with food as complement. Cultural atmosphere, however, is also very important. Some teahouses display famous calligraphy and paintings as the decoration, use high-level tea leaves with exquisite tea sets to brew tea for the guests while introducing knowledges of tea art culture. Second, teahouse provides space for business negotiation, and also formed into a place for cultural exchanges. Activities such as cultural lectures, literature salons and exhibitions related to cultural tradition are often organized by teahouse owners and other institutions. Third, teahouse is a good place to carry forward Chinese traditional tea culture, which in return promoted the revival of tea industry. “Traditional culture” became a favorable factor which attracted people to visit tea houses. More than ten thousands of teahouses with various types and tea culture research institutions have been set up all over the country. (Liu 2014, 25-26) The popularization of tea drinking promoted the development of tea industry. Compared with 1950, when the output quantity of tea was only seventy thousand tons, in 2014 the number increased to 2.09 million tons.⁴⁰

Traditions of tea drinking are selectively accepted by people and never stop self-innovation. I agree with Shils’ opinion that “the adoption of a new tradition in replacement of the old is a change in tradition; the replacement is never complete and the outcome is more or less of a fusion or amalgamation.” (Shils 1983, 258) The origin of tea culture starts with people’s physiological needs, and develops with social and economic change. Similarly, the emergence of teahouse is due to business needs and social communication, but in modern society the reason of teahouse development is more concentrated in cultural appeal.

On the one hand, the economy of tea industry embodies culture orientation; on the other hand, traditional tea culture as a key factor stimulates the economy. Both culture and economy are mutually development. As a result, tea culture and economy are linked with each other and fusing into the integrity throughout the whole process of society’s development.

6.1.2 Popularization

⁴⁰ Data collected from

<http://data.stats.gov.cn/search.htm?s=%E8%8C%B6%E5%8F%B6%E4%BA%A7%E9%87%8F>

The transmission from elite culture to popular culture is an important feature of modern tea culture. Teahouse plays an important role as an intersection point between tea culture and economy. And it has experienced a top-down transition through the development of social environment in the history. Teahouse culture started in the Three Kingdoms and Jin dynasties, when the so called Chatan (茶摊) is not the real concept of teahouse. In Tang and Song dynasties, teahouse had become the independent place for the business of tea and other activities. During this period, tea drinking was the subject of poetry, symbolizing the high culture of the well established (Schafer 1962, 137, 149). Literati and officials liked to visit teahouses for leisure, sometimes for business negotiations. They also created large amount of paintings, calligraphy works, poems and essays about tea culture.⁴¹ The cultural activities held by literati were quite different with the folk art shows performed in teahouses during later generations. With the rising popularity of commercial teahouses in major cities of the later generations, teahouse-going started to become part of the commoner's life. Tea culture was further polarized in the Ming and Qing dynasties. On the one hand, there was 文人茶 “wenren cha” (literati tea), a highly refined art for character molding, and, on the other hand, there was 庶民茶 “shumin cha” (commoner tea), supposedly merely for thirst relief (Wu 1996, 188) In the later generations, teahouse was not only for rest and tea drinking, but also became a place for information exchange. Customers would come to gossip, to exchange news, and to offer their opinions. Their conversational topics could range from national issues to local tax policy to more personal concerns (Xinbao 3 November 1918, 6). According to my interviews in Xi'an, modern teahouses have already become part of people's everyday life and developed into the place for all levels of classes gathering, job searching, relaxing, performances watching and other activities.

The difference between ancient and current teahouse mainly shows the change in tradition on the social function of teahouse. Edward Shils once said, when there is a change in tradition, it is the tradition “loses its adherents”. The “adherents” here, in the situation of tea culture development, are the people who enjoy drinking tea and like to visit teahouses. The tradition changes in tea culture is not because the tradition “loses its adherents”, it has enlarged the numbers of its adherents. In the history, tea is enjoyed by literati and nobilities, the popularity of tea culture had

⁴¹ Detailed list of arts and literature can be found in Chen Zongmao, 2011.

brought the prosperity of teahouse development since Song dynasty. The group gradually expanded its constitution, from elite class to all levels of people. According to the result of my field work, majority of people especially businessmen like tea art house rather than any other forms of teahouses.

6.1.3 The cross-regional communication of tea culture

Different from the circumstances in modern period, tea culture in traditional society was more limited by regional difference. In traditional society, transportation and communication were lack of development, people's cultural activities would necessarily have particular geographic restrictions. For example, In Tang and Song dynasty, tea parties with literary activities were frequently appeared in Hangzhou area due to the celebration of tea harvest and officials gathering. In Qing dynasty and the Republic of China period, teahouse with folk arts performances were concentrated distributed in Beijing area because of royal interest and the rise of Beijing opera. Minorities people at very remote areas may use tea as a part of sacrificial rites for their ancestor enshrining. And different groups have their unique types of tea, such as Uyghur people's milk tea and Tibetan people's buttered tea. (Yao, 720-726) Even in the same era, tea culture were also various in different regions, and the tea drinking habits were relatively stable. People in Jiangsu and Zhejiang area like to drink green tea, they like light taste of tea and usually put tea in glasses; people in Fujian and Guangdong area like to drink Oolong tea, so they invented the Gongfu tea ceremony (工夫茶), which means making tea with effort; people in Chinese southwest area started the tradition of drinking Gaiwan tea (盖碗茶) in Ming dynasty. It was not popular until favored by the royal family of Qing. (Wang 2013, 114 and 136) Gaiwan consists of a lid, a bowl, and a saucer, which symbolizes heaven, human being and earth, and regarded as a symol of elegance by people who enjoyed drinking Gaiwan tea.

The emergence of modern teahouse has sped up the communication of tea culture between different regions, especially the appearance of teahouse has rapidly melted the geographical boundaries of tea culture. In previous dynasties, it might take one or more centuries to spread the customs of tea drinking throughout China such as the example of Gaiwan tea. However, in modern society, especially after the emergence of tea art house, the continuous integration of tea drinking traditions only spent decades of years. For example, Oolong tea is mainly planted and

produced in Fujiang, Guangdong and Taiwan. Based on the characteristic of Oolong tea, people had created Gongfu tea ceremony to brew Oolong tea since Qing dynasty when the tea ceremony was only performed in these areas mentioned above(Xu 2014, 113). Nowadays, almost every tea art house serves all types of tea produced in different region and each type of tea corresponded one specific procedure of tea ceremony. (Interview in Shang ming xuan). The cross-regional communication in teahouses has promoted the development of tea culture. Compared with the traditional teahouse seeking profits as the priority purpose, modern tea art house paid more attention on the traditional elements of indoor layout, the tea art performances and the service level of tea art specialists. The combination of culture, arts, and tea industry has been promoted closely due to the process of cross-regional communication of tea culture.

6.1.4 The diversified forms of tea art culture

Modern tea culture is dimming the boundary of elite culture and folk culture, which has become a kind of cultural tradition and shared by people beyond social stratification and classes of groups. Tea industry has been enlarged due to the influence of market discipline and the revival of traditional tea culture. As a result, many tea culture phenomena appeared especially after 1990s, such as the appearance of tea culture tourism, forums of tea, tea culture associations and various tea drinks (Liu 2014, Xu 2014). Teahouse culture had both historical and local attributes. While some of its characteristics transcended temporal and spatial boundaries, the culture itself clearly changed over time and varied in different local settings (Shao 1998, 1013). Most of the teahouses not only have the six basic types of tea⁴² (绿茶Green Tea, 红茶Black Tea, 黄茶Yellow Tea, 白茶White Tea, 黑茶Dark Tea, 乌龙茶Oolong tea) but also offers reprocessed tea such as flower tea, milk tea, compressed tea, and tea beverages (Fieldwork in Xi'an and Beijing). Tea art, as the most representative new phenomenon of tea culture, has well presented the change in tea brewing traditions. (Fieldwork) Chen Wenhua classified the tea art performances into three types: 传统茶艺Traditional Tea Art, 加工整理 Processing and 仿古创新 Archaizing and Innovating. He offers the explanation that the traditional tea art refers to the most popular tea

⁴² According to majority of the tea study scholars' opinions, Chinese tea can be divided into two categories: basic types and reprocessed types. The basic types of tea are produced by using fresh tea leaves, which has six types in total. The reprocessed types of tea are produced from the six basic types of tea, usually have special functions. (Cheng Qikun, *Zhongguo Chajing* 2014, 139)

brewing methods such as Gongfu tea ceremony and Gaiwan tea ceremony which have long history and still used by majority of people.⁴³ The processing type refers to the tea brewing method created by commoners spontaneously, such as the Taiwan Gongfu Tea Art created in 1980s, which is the improved version of the Guangdong and Fujian Gongfu Tea Art. The archaizing and innovating type includes two aspects: one is the reversion of ancient tea brewing method, basing on instructions of the historical documentation and archaeological materials. For example 煎茶Jiancha, which is no longer in use, is sometimes performed in special occasions, such as in TV dramas, museums or for personal interests. The other refers to tea activities created according to certain thematically ideas and reflects the real life, such as 太极茶道Taiji Cha Dao in Shanghai⁴⁴, and 龙井问茶Longjing Wen Cha in Hangzhou⁴⁵. In my opinion, the diversified forms of tea art can reflect a combination between cultural tradition and the way people live. Forms and contents of this combination will develop along with the change of social environment.

There is an important point I need to explain, the “modern” in the concept “modern tea culture” is not simply refers to the time difference, but more likely to indicate “modernization”. It is an opposite meaning to “tradition” in some aspects. Because of China covers a vast geographic area with multi-national communities, the regional level of modernization is not balanced. Some areas are lack of economic development and the information in these areas are relatively isolated. The development levels of tea culture among those areas are lower than big cities. Cultural traditions may stably exist in these areas without the influence of social and economic change. However, though using the time difference to divide the form of tea culture is not very accurate or objective, I believe the developing trend of tea culture is right under the influence of urbanization and commercialization. I study on the current phenomenon of tea drinking activities in big cities

⁴³ See 6.1.3, The tradition of Gaiwan tea started in Ming dynasty, the tradition of Gongfu tea started in Qing dynasty, all of them are popularized and continuously been used by people all over the country until the current period. Besides, the Green Tea brewing in glasses which created in Jiangsu and Zhejiang areas also belongs to the traditional tea art type.

⁴⁴ 太极茶道Taiji Cha Dao is a type of tea art performance. Tea specialists usually brew tea while playing 太极拳Taijiquan (a kind of traditional Chinese shadow boxing). It is a presentation of tea culture and Taoism. It firstly introduced by 乔木森Qiao Mosen in Shanghai since 1990

⁴⁵ 龙井问茶Longjing Wen Cha is a tea activity which refers to enjoying tea at dragon well (a place in Hangzhou West Lake). It is one part of tea tourism, customers get together enjoy the beautiful scenery of West Lake while drink 龙井茶Longjing Tea brewed by tea specialists during tea ceremony.

as the example of modern tea culture to compare with traditional tea culture is aiming to prove the trend of tea culture is scientific, predictable and acceptable.

6.2 The endogenous and exogenous factors

In order to meet the demand of social development and people's living requirements, traditions of tea drinking have inevitably changed. Some of the traditions have changed from the complex forms to the simple forms, such as the simplification of tea sets and the brewing methods. Some of the traditions are gradually extinct because of the inconvenience, such as the uppermost method 煎茶 (jiancha) in Tang dynasty is no longer popular and seldom used in the later generations. Some of the traditions have been continuously inheriting and innovating in order to adapt the circumstances of the society, such as the new forms and social functions appeared in every dynasties. Some are the invented traditions which created by some people for specific purposes such as the rise of tea art performances in current society. Everything has two sides, and every change in tea drinking traditions has its own reason. According to Edward Shils' theory, the changes in tradition have endogenous and exogenous factors.

6.2.1 Endogenous factors

About the endogenous factors, Edward Shils offers the following explanations: "There are endogenous changes, changes which originate within the tradition and are carried out by persons who have accepted it. Such a change is not "forced on them" by external circumstances; it is an outgrowth of their own relationship to the tradition. Endogenous changes are usually held to be improvements by those who make them."(Shils 1981, 213) Tea cultural traditions may change endogenously through development of human needs.

Firstly, people selectively accept traditions for their convenience. Within the perspective of tea culture development, there are innovations and simplifications in traditions. The tea sets have simplified from 28 items in Tang dynasty to 10 items in Ming dynasty and gradually reducing until now. The process of tea making also have simplified. The complicated processes "炙茶" (zhicha) roasting tea, "碾罗" (nianluo) pulverizing, and "煎茶" (jiancha) boiling tea are selectively used in tea production but no longer used during the preparation of tea drinking.

Teahouses have developed into more specific divisions to accommodate consumers' habits and meet people's requirements. For example, bird lovers could bring their cages to hang under the eaves; water pipe smokers could have teahouse waiters affix shredded tobacco to their pipes; folk music lovers could enjoy the house entertainment and sometimes even participate and perform for their peers (Shao 1998, 1018). As a result, customers may choose tea art house with quiet atmosphere for business negotiation, young people may choose to visit tea restaurants for leisure and enjoying delicious food, older people can go to performance teahouse to watch crosstalk shows (Fieldwork results).

Secondly, traditions of tea culture may change for the need of equality. Though tea culture was more and more popular since Song dynasty, the strong class distinction still existed for periods. Teahouse reflected this distinction during the process of tea culture's popularization. Literati and nobilities have made great contribution to the prosperity of teahouse, but without commoners' interests, teahouse would not become popular in the later generations. If we regard teahouse culture as an abstract entity, just like Shao Qin writes, "teahouses, like a stew with many ingredients, accommodated people from all walks of life, from nobility to street wanderer, thus conveying the prevalent notion of teahouse equality" (Shao 1998, 1014). The composition of tea drinking people has experienced an enlargement from the upper class to all levels of people. In the late Qing dynasty, some teahouses, tastefully furnished, were elite literary establishments; others, lavishly decorated, were merchants' social institutions; and still others, crudely equipped, were lower-class gathering places (Suzuki 1982, 530). Influenced by the social transformation and the end of feudal society during late Qing and the Republic China period, people's demands for equality have raised. The boundary of class distinction gradually dimmed. According to my observation, when you walk into a teahouse, there will be businessmen, students, government officials, civil servants and self-Employed persons sitting in the same teahouse. It seems the customers never care about their social status in teahouses. Consumption ability and personal interests are the only reasons that determine the intentions of choosing specific teahouses to visit. (Fieldwork in Xi'an teahouses)

6.2.2 Exogenous factors

Except for the endogenous factors, traditions also change exogenously. The apparent convenience and effectiveness of the alien traditions, together with the process of migration all make for change in established traditions (Shils 1981, 240 and 244). On the one hand, western culture, in some aspects, has affected the change of tea drinking traditions. Some teahouses in Xi'an, especially tea restaurants and tea café, offer western snacks, coffee and bears together with tea drinks. Some young customers walked into teahouse not for tea drinks, but to taste the exquisite pastries with friends and to enjoy the atmosphere where it feels like they were taking an English-style afternoon tea. On the other hand, tradition undergo changes by the process of migration (Shils 1981, 244). With the appearance of modern cities and industrialization, the cross-regional cultural communication has been increased. Modern cities especially provincial cities often have large external population. People from different regions came and lived in one city, which brought various cultural traditions together. It is quite different with traditional cities where literati, nobilities and commoners were living separately and seldom migrated from one place to another.

Besides, the economic circumstance and relevant policy in contemporary China also influence the change in traditions. First, as a result of the China's reform and opening-up policy since 1978, Chinese economy has started and sustained a rapid 30 years long growth. In 1978, per capita income of Chinese urban households was only 343.3 CNY per year. Until 1998, the number increased into 5425 CNY per year. (Song and Sun 2002, 13-16) The recent data shows the urban residents disposable income is 16367.2 CNY⁴⁶ per person in the third quarter of this year (2015). People in modern age paid more attention to improve the quality of their personal life than any other periods. With the improvement of economic level and the increase of leisure time, people started to call for the high level of cultural satisfaction. Tea culture, as a culture that can suit both refined and popular tastes, can not only satisfy social elites' artistic interests, but also be the joy of life among commoners. Hence it has developed rapidly in contemporary age. Second, Chinese government has also made contributions to promote the cultural development, especially when the national leadership realized that culture can serve as a kind of soft power to promote economy and social development. In 2003, the national leadership has published a series government strategies which called "Peaceful Rise" (和平崛起 heping jueqi) and promoted

⁴⁶ Data collected from the National Bureau of Statistics of China website, <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=B01&zb=A0501&sj=2015C>

cultural transmission. It is believed by the state leaders that the growth of Chinese cultural and creative industries can strengthen China soft power and as a result make China into a “harmonious society” (和谐社会 hexieshehui). Like Chinese former chairman Hu Jintao (胡锦涛) said in the 17th Communist Party Congress: “We must keep to the orientation of advanced socialist culture, bring about a new upsurge in socialist cultural development, stimulate the cultural creativity of the whole nation, and enhance culture as part of the soft power of our country to better guarantee the human’s basic cultural rights and interests, enrich the cultural life in Chinese society and inspire the enthusiasm of the people for progress.” (Hu Jintao, 2007)

The government made several strategies to support the revival of Confucianism and other traditional Chinese culture. Third, following with the collision of traditional and western cultures, a trend of cultural conservatism⁴⁷ had been appeared since the Republic of China period, when people started to call for the revival of traditional culture (Chen 2009, 3). After entering the 1990s, traditional culture is more and more getting into people’s attention, and formed into a trend of *guoxue re* 国学热 (the prosperity of Chinese learning)⁴⁸. Tea culture, as an important part of Chinese traditional culture, has no doubt experienced a renaissance. As a result, when asked the reason to choose teahouses especially tea art houses to visit, businessmen offered the following three reasons: teahouses have elegant and quiet environment, some of them offer private rooms where they can enjoy the antique atmosphere; drinking tea in teahouses can make people refreshed, which is better than drinking beers at bars with noisy atmosphere; tea art houses are usually decorated with traditional elements where tea art specialists can perform tea art ceremony to customers. Teahouse offers a good place for businessmen to show their artistic

⁴⁷ According to Chen Lai’s book *Tradition and Modernity* which published in 2009, “Cultural conservatism refers to a trend in thought or school of thought that, while rooted in traditional culture, aims to harmonise old and new and selectively draws on foreign culture so as to meet the demands of the times. Their political stance may be very reactionary, very revolutionary, even extremely radical, but in dealing with the national cultural tradition they are very prudent, very conservative, tender-hearted, keeping strictly to precedent only fearing to reject ancient norms.” Although this trend in thought mainly used to describe the revival of Confucianism (Neo-Confucianism), the thought for the revival of traditional culture has deeply rooted in people’s minds.

⁴⁸ More and more scholars come to talk about “Chinese studies” (guo xue 国学); university teachers giving lectures on Chinese classics at national television channels become “star scholars” overnight; classics recital classes for children are sprouting up in many parts of the country; thousands of books on Confucianism and traditional culture are piled high and sold well in book stores; attending “Guo xue training class” hosted by prestigious universities has become a fashion for businessmen, civil servants and the fortunate and affluent population. (Wang 2011,33)

tastes, and they are willing to spend more money on this kind of cultural activities. (Fieldwork in Xi'an tea art houses)

The development of mass media especially the process of internet technology also provides the convenience for the popularization and the cross-regional communication of tea culture. As I mentioned in the above chapters, teahouse industry has developed rapidly since late 1980s. Tea art performances and tea cultural activities have been continuously held as parts of local and national events. Tea culture festivals and academic activities such as “Tea and Chinese Culture” exhibition week held in Beijing, 1989, “The International Tea Culture Seminar” held in Hangzhou every year since 1990, all promoted the popularity of tea culture in China. (Liu 2014, 26) The activities, as well as the academic researches of tea culture, have been recorded and published on several journals and books such as *Nongye kaogu* 农业考古 [Agricultural Archaeology] and *Cha bolan* 茶博览 [Tea Times]. There are also books, audio and video products related to tea culture which are selling to the public. The tea culture activities and publications as the supportive media have made contributions to the promotion of academic research and to the popularization of tea culture development. Besides, internet also helps to expand the influence of tea culture. Most of the associations and institutions about tea have their websites⁴⁹ where people from different regions, domestic and overseas, can easily get access to the knowledge of tea culture if they are interested in. The development of network technology has made a great contribution to the cross-regional exchange of tea culture. Without the help of mass media, tea culture will never developed into such a flourishing situation in contemporary China.

Summary

There are changes in tea drinking tradition, as well as the current trend of tea culture, which have several new features in Chinese modern society. From the origin, current trend of tea culture has inherited and carried forward from ancient traditions. In terms of change, it has new features of four aspects which reflected in tea cultural phenomena: the close combination of tea culture and

⁴⁹ Such as the associations I mentioned in Part 4 华侨茶叶发展研究基金会 China Hua Tea Foundation (CTF) <http://www.chinateafund.cn/about.asp>, 中国茶叶博物馆 China National Tea Museum <http://www.teamuseum.cn/>, 中国茶叶流通协会 China Tea Marketing Association <http://www.ctma.com.cn/>, 世界茶联合会 World Tea Union <http://cwh.zjsru.edu.cn/>, etc.

economy, popularization, the cross-regional communication, and the diversification of tea art culture. Tea drinking tradition in China has been endogenously developed through a top-down transmission in order to adjust to human requirements. It has been promoted by policy orientation as well as commercial and cultural activities. Besides, the influence of western cultures and development of mass media also made contributions to the exogenous changes in tea drinking tradition.

7 Conclusion

The main subject of my thesis is the change of tea drinking tradition in current Chinese society. I began my thesis by stating a popular doggerel in order to introduce a concept to readers that in China, the tradition of tea drinking has integrated into people's social lives. After reading quantity research sources of tea culture, combined with my personal interest, I decided to focus on the three research questions: 1. Based on Edward Shils' theory of tradition, whether the current tea culture phenomena can be called "tradition" or not? 2. What are the changes in tea cultural tradition and what are the new features of the current trend of tea culture? 3. What are the endogenous and exogenous factors which influenced the change in the cultural tradition of tea?

In order to answer the research questions, I divided my thesis into four parts and made a detailed description on the process of the development and evolution of Chinese teahouse as an important part of the tea culture. The four parts consisted of seven chapters: Chapter One, Introduction; Chapter Two, Theory and methodology; Chapter Three, Chinese tea culture and the development of Chinese teahouse; Chapter Four, Analysis on the current situation of modern teahouses; Chapter Five, The transmission of tradition; Chapter Six, New features of modern tea culture, and the endogenous and exogenous factors of changes in the tea drinking tradition; Chapter Seven, Conclusion.

Chapters are divided into four parts based on three purposes. The first part includes Chapter One and Chapter Two, aiming to make sure the research direction of my thesis and find a supportive research theory. In this part, I have introduced the background of tea culture, determined the sources of ancient literature and historical documents, as well as modern academic researches on tea culture, and my fieldwork results would be used in my thesis. I have chosen Edward Shils' definition of tradition and his explanation on the changes in tradition as the theory to support my analysis. Literature research and fieldwork are the main methodology I used for writing this thesis.

The second part includes Chapter Three and Chapter Four, which provides a detailed description

of ancient tea culture especially the development history of teahouse, and the current situation of modern teahouses. Chapter Three suggests that Chinese tea culture has formed in *Weijin nanbeichao* periods. Following with the development of tea culture, Chinese teahouse has gone through a process from germination to prosperity, then declined and finally experienced the renewal in modern period. In order to answer the three research questions, I used two months to do fieldwork in Xi'an and Beijing, asking customers to answer the questionnaires. The fieldwork result has been concluded and displayed in Chapter Four. I concluded all the teahouses into five categories: the first group is ordinary teahouses and selling tea is their main business. The second group is tea art houses which not only have tea drinks but also offer tea art performances to customers. They are usually surrounded by antique atmosphere with traditional decorative elements. The third group is tea restaurants which offer a place for tea drinking while enjoy delicious foods. The fourth group is the teahouses which serve folk arts performances to customers. Usually performing Chinese crosstalk is main business of the fourth teahouse group while selling tea drinks and snacks as the additional services. The fifth group is the teahouses for leisure and recreation where people can relax and play table games with friends while enjoying tea drinks. The result from fieldwork data analysis (observations, 5 interviews and 83 questionnaires) proves the composition of tea drinking crowd are from all levels of class and the traditional atmosphere in teahouses makes contribution to attract people for visiting teahouses. The description of modern tea culture phenomenon has been used as research sources to support my analysis in the latter chapters.

The third part includes Chapter Five and Chapter Six which is the main discussion part for answering the research questions of my thesis. Chapter Five demonstrates the transmission of tea drinking tradition from the aspects of material carries, practices and cultural inheritance. Then discussed modern tea art as a specialty phenomenon in order to prove it is an “invented tradition” and did not experienced a transmission from past generations to the present. In Chapter Six, I have made an explanatory effort to conclude the features of modern tea culture phenomenon into four aspects, and discussed the endogenous and exogenous factors of the changes in tea drinking tradition.

Finally, based on my researches, arguments and the examples from fieldwork, I concluded my thesis into the following three points:

First, the rise of teahouse culture is later than tea drinking culture, but they develop together and neither can exist effectively without the other. With the development of social change and people's living tradition, teahouse culture has been gradually transformed from upper-class to all classes of people and became popular. This is a transmission from past generations to the present, which includes tea drinking practices, material carriers, ceremony, and so on. All of them are traditional even though they are not entirely traditional.

Second, the current phenomenon of teahouse culture is a result of cultural development through the process of continuously inheriting from the past traditions while innovating from the material carriers and practices of the culture itself in order to adjust the current circumstances. Changes included the simplification of tea sets and tea making procedures, as well as the appearance of modern tea art performances. The transmission of tea drinking tradition started from the past and lasted until the present, and new features gradually appeared: first, there is a close combination between tea culture and economy; second, tea culture is getting more and more popular for all classes of people; third, the cross-regional communication has promoted the development of tea culture; fourth, tea art culture has been presented through diversified forms in modern teahouses.

Third, changes in tea drinking tradition are inevitable. Some of them are the inheritance and innovation from ancient traditions and changes slowly from generation to generation, such as the decreased items of tea set. Others appeared recently without the transmission from past generations, such as the tea arts performed in modern teahouses. The modern tea art performance does not belong to traditional culture. It is an invented tradition which created by Taiwanese people who want to increase business profits and to revive Chinese traditional culture. Based on the classification standard of Shils' theory, the Chinese tea drinking tradition has changed endogenously and exogenously. It changes endogenously through the development of human needs, such as the requirements for convenience and equality. Besides, the influence of western culture, migration, the economic circumstance and relevant policy, and the increased technology of mass media all made great contributions to the changes in tea drinking tradition exogenously.

Highlights and Inadequacy

In this thesis, I have attempted to classify modern teahouses into five categories based on the specialty functions of teahouses in Xi'an. It is innovative to study the inheritance and innovation

of tea drinking tradition by analyzing current tea cultural phenomena from the angle of teahouses with specific social functions. Using literature research to conclude the development history of traditional tea culture while doing fieldwork to collect sources of current tea cultural phenomena is a good way to do comparative analysis and helpful to answer my research questions. I have also discussed the two different meanings of *Cha Yi* in ancient and modern society, and argued the modern tea art performances was not traditional, it is the invented tradition which created by modern people. However, as I mentioned in chapter 6, the word “modern” is not simply means time, it is more refers to “modernization”. The development process of modernization among Chinese cities are unbalanced. My fieldwork research was only focused on teahouses in Xi’an, which might be a useful conclusion to indicate situations in most of the first and second-tier cities. It may not be a comprehensive academic achievement to matches the situations in all the regions, considering there are still some less developed areas in China with poor economy and lacking of information exchanges.

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Appendix 1

List of the Visited Teahouses

15 teahouses in Xi'an and 2 teahouses in Beijing

1. 秦和茶楼 Su He Teahouse
2. 我的茶馆 Wode chaguan (My Teahouse)
3. 梓竹阁茶馆 Zizhuge Chaguan
4. 素心茶房 Suxin Teahouse
5. 闲轩茶秀 Xianxuan chaxiu (Xianxuan tea [art] performances)
6. 尚茗轩 Shang Ming Xuan (Teahouse for Advocating Tea)
7. 古今长安老茶房 Gujin Changan lao chafang (Old Teahouse of Ancient and Modern Chang'an)
8. 香港表哥茶餐厅 Xianggang biao ge chacanting (HongKong Cousin Tea Restaurant)
9. 九禅间 Jiu Chan Jian
10. 青曲社茶楼 Qingqushe Chalou (Teahouse of Shaanxi Youth Folk Arts Club)
11. 珍友社相声俱乐部 Zhenyoushe Xiangsheng Julebu (Zhenyou Crosstalk Club).
12. 福宝阁茶楼 Fubaoge Teahouse
13. 富平会馆 Fuping huiguan
14. 鹿鸣茶楼 Luming Teahouse
15. 天集茶苑

16. 老舍茶馆 Lao She Chaguan (Lao She Teahouse)
17. 五福茶艺馆 Wufu Chayiguan(Wufu Tea Art House)

Appendx 2

The Teahouse Consumer Questionnaire

茶馆消费者调查问卷

Name:

姓名:

Place :

调查地点:

Gender: A: Male B: Female

性别: A: 男性 B: 女性

Age: A: 18-25 B: 25-40 C: 40-60 D: over 60

年龄: A: 18-25 B: 25-40 C: 40-60 D: 大于 60

1. What's your profession?

1: 您的职业/身份是?

A: Student B: Government Employee C: Enterprise Employee D: Self-employed E: Other

A: 学生 B: 政府工作人员 C: 企业职员 D: 个体工作者 E: 其他

2. Which kind of teahouse do you prefer?

2. 您喜欢哪种类型的茶馆?

A: Ordinary Teahouse B: Tea art house C: Tea-cafe D: The teahouse which serves performances E: Other

A: 传统茶馆 B: 茶艺馆 C: 咖啡茶馆/茶餐厅 D: 演艺茶馆 E: 其他

3. What is your purpose to visit this teahouse?

3. 您是出于何种目的到访此茶馆?

A: Business affairs B: Meet friends C: Relax and enjoy the tea D: Watch performances E: Other

A: 商务洽谈 B: 与友人会面 C: 品茶, 放松心情 D: 看表演 E: 其他

4. Why do you choose teahouse rather than other places?

4. 您为何选择到茶馆而不是其他地方消费?

A: Teahouse has good environment.

A: 茶馆的环境好。

B: I like to drink tea, and teahouses have the higher quality of tea and good service.

B: 我喜欢饮茶, 茶馆能提供更加优质的茶和服务。

C: I like the performances in the place.

C: 我喜欢到茶馆看表演。

D: The tea art is enjoyable.

D: 我很享受茶艺的过程。

E: Other

E: 其他

5. Do you think teahouse management should pay attention to the tea culture and tradition?

5. 您认为茶馆经营是否应该注重茶文化和传统?

A: Yes B: No

A: 是 B: 否

6. What do you think is the traditional tea culture?

6. 您对传统茶文化的理解是什么?

7. Do you think the tea art and performances in the teahouse are part of the traditional tea culture, and why?

7. 您认为现代茶馆中的茶艺和表演是否传统茶文化的一部分, 为什么?