

**HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF TEA CULTURE IN CHINA, BRITAIN, AND JAPAN  
BETWEEN THE SIXTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES: A PERFORMATIVE  
APPROACH TO RITUAL THEORY**

**by**

Xia Li

B.S. (Honours), Ningbo University, 2002

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ENVIRONMENTAL  
STUDIES-THESIS  
in the department  
of  
Geography and Environment

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Lakehead University

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Supervisor: Dr. Scott Hamilton

Committee: Dr. Frederico Oliveira

Dr. Michel S. Beaulieu

External examiner: Dr. Antony Puddephatt

July 2023

## ABSTRACT

Tea culture was transmitted from China, the country of origin, first to Japan and then to Britain. The former is a tradition steeped in Japanese history, while the latter is more recent and a function of colonialism and global commerce. While tea (*Camellia sinensis*) consumption was a part of everyday life in all three countries, the tea ceremony was also prominent and played indispensable roles in Chinese, Japanese, and British imperial and colonial national cultures. This historical comparison of tea cultures in China, Japan, and Britain dating from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries first describes the diffusion of tea and the utensils used to consume it. It then systematically describes and compares the tea ceremonies that developed in these three nations using ritual theory with a performative approach. The previous research literature generally only focused on two-country comparisons or on the interpretation of contemporary distinctions in diverse tea cultures found around the world. The research approach used here derives from the author's unique background living in China and Canada, as well as learning in Japan. This enables a more comprehensive comparison grounded in a historical and cultural context. Simultaneously, the researcher employs a performative analytic approach using Tambiah's ritual definition and characteristics to explore the symbolic transformation of the tea ceremony as it spread from the host country of China to the recipient countries of Japan and Britain between the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I sincerely appreciate my supervisor, Dr. Scott Hamilton, for his constructive comments and perceptive remarks. Without Dr. Scott Hamilton's support and nurturing, I would not have been able to complete my thesis. His wisdom, knowledgeability, and diligence encourage me to explore the interesting thesis topic, in-depth analyses, and concise expression. The vitality is that he taught me to be an authentic human being to benefit others and a professional scholar as well. His patience, humility, and compassion will illuminate my career in the future. It is impossible to express my heartfelt appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Scott Hamilton within the limited space.

I am incredibly grateful to my committee. Dr. Frederico Oliveira guides me to open the door to ritual theory. His empathy ignited my self-reflection to be a more sensitive thesis author. His practical suggestions encouraged me to reorganize the context rationally. I am also grateful to Dr. Michel S. Beaulieu for serving on my thesis committee and providing invaluable feedback.

I thank Dr. Zongmao Chen, Dr. Qinjing Liu, and Dr. Chuanzheng Zhang for communicating Chinese tea cultures with me, and Lakehead University librarians Sara and Monique and Japanese National Diet Librarian Kae contributed to my archive collections.

Finally, I would like to thank my family members, especially my lovely daughter Rose and my husband Kai, for supporting me. Rose assisted me in many households, allowing me to focus on my thesis. She and my husband are my spiritual pillar in completing the thesis.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the eighth century, tea culture spread first through tea (*Camellia sinensis*) consumption beyond China to other Asian countries such as Japan before being spread to the United Kingdom (UK) by the sixteenth century. The oldest-reported Chinese tea ceremony, named *Chadao*, was the basis of the Japanese tea ceremonies *Chanoyu* and *Sencha-do*, while in Britain, the English afternoon tea ritual developed more autonomously. These three distinct tea rituals have become national cultural symbols in China, Japan, and Britain. It is unsurprising that the transmission and transformation of the three tea rituals were impacted by politics, economy, and the existing culture between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The performance of the three tea rituals was reflected in societal development.

The abundant research on tea ritual comparison between China and Britain or China and Japan provide an apparent contribution to this research (see 1.4). Bell (1997, pp. 20-21) asserts that ritual theory provides unique insight into analyzing cultures. Scholars employ ritual theory to examine tea cultures in a particular time period to emphasize ritual application using an anthropological lens. However, the comparison is done without the performative approach. The research compares the Chinese, Japanese, and British tea ceremonies underlying Tambiah's (1981, pp. 113–169) ritual theory with a performative approach (see Chapter 2). Exploring the distinctions, similarities, and reasons for the three tea rituals during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries is a unique and influential supplement to contemporary tea culture research.

## 1.1 Research Question and Objectives

This study describes the differences and similarities in tea rituals in China, Britain, and Japan as it developed between the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, and suggests reasons underlying these distinctions and dissimilarities. This requires contextualization based on historical, technological, and cultural conditions in the three countries to explain the development and differences in the tea ceremonies over the period of interest. The investigation springs from two general questions.

- How did tea rituals historically evolve in three societies, and to what extent do these historical trajectories reflect the unique cultures and social structures of each?
- What role(s) did the tea rituals serve within each culture, and how did ritualized tea consumption 'fit' within the socio-political structures?

To greater or lesser degrees, ritualized preparation and consumption of tea played ceremonial roles in each country, but in all three it was an important arena for demonstrating role within the social hierarchy and by which power dynamics were apparent.

## 1.2 Purpose of the Research

This research is grounded in the assertion that tea rituals became an integral part of the culture and the social communications within the three societies under study, and may have had widespread social and psychological impacts. The ceremonies associated with ritual consumption of tea (*Camellia sinensis*) were laden with symbolic meaning and contributed to the

three national cultures during the period of interest. In this sense, Chinese tea art, Japanese tea ceremony, and English afternoon tea have come to embody the sociocultural symbols in these countries. It reflected the social development in China, Japan, and Britain during those periods. The crucial roles of tea ritual within these societies will be explored by documenting how tea ceremonials developed after tea consumption spread from China to Japan and Britain, leading to proposals why it became a defining part of the national cultures of these countries.

### 1.3 Research Framework

This research uses an anthropological perspective to analyze the differences and similarities between Chinese tea rites, Japanese tea ceremonies, and English afternoon tea during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The exploration of the tea rituals that developed in these three countries is based on the four characteristics of rituals as developed by Tambiah (1981, pp. 113–169), and the symbolic meanings that appear to be associated with them. The example tea rituals involve the royal tea ceremonies and upper-class tea rites associated with each society. The thesis depicts the Chinese royal tea banquet in the Palace, the literati tea rites, Japanese matcha and brewing tea ceremonies, Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee Garden tea party, and the upper-class English afternoon tea ritual. It is important to note that this research excludes high tea<sup>1</sup> in English tea ritual.

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<sup>1</sup> High tea is a meal, such as supper or the prelude for offering thanks at a dinner or supper. It involves cold and hot recipes, such as fried meat and a cup of tea to supply the body energy, which is different from a lavish afternoon tea. Afternoon tea only provides a light sustenance and is focused on social interaction. It is always served at low tables, often located in parlors or sitting rooms that were specifically designed and used to receive and entertain guests. It involved the serving of tea and light refreshments during afternoon visits, with participants clustered around low serving tables. Because of this, afternoon tea is also called ‘low tea’. *A Book about the Table*, Jeaffreson, J.C., (1875, p. 8) & *Errors in Diet*, Wilson, A. H. (1877)

#### 1.4 Literature Review

Comparative analyses of tea cultures in both Western and Eastern countries are common in the literature (Wang, 2011). Fruitful research emphasizes the political, social, and economic impacts of tea culture upon China, Britain, and Japan (Keller et al., 2011; Ma, 2011; Weber, 2019; Yao, 2021). While tea culture originated in China and is an integral part of its history and culture, it also diffused to other countries and resulted in unique expressions of tea culture that reflect their own historical conditions (LV & Shen, 2012). Review of this scholarship features a range of observations: 1) tea culture is an iconic part of Chinese culture and history, and includes materials used such as tea, ceramic table wares, and Zen spirituality; 2) during the Ming (1368-1644 C.E.) and Qing (1644-1912 C.E.) dynasties tea was a staple commodity transported first along the Chinese Silk Road to Europe, especially for Britain (Li, 2020); and 3) the tea trade eventually had significant destabilizing impacts, including two Opium Wars (Yao, 2021). Tea culture even stimulated porcelain craftsmen to refine and perfect ceramic tea vessels to new heights (Hoh, 2003).

Scholars also describe the importance of tea culture in Japan. They emphasize that Japanese tea culture was heavily impacted its politics, religion, and national culture (Handa, 2013; Pitelka, 2008; Plutschow, 2003, pp. 38–56). After Japanese monks introduced the Chinese whisked tea ritual to Japan during the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279 C.E.), the tea ceremony became widespread in the elite samurais' class because of the symbiotic interaction between Chinese Buddhist religion and politics within Japan (Anderson, 1991, pp. 1–28; Pitelka, 2008). The rise to prominence of the whisked tea ritual among the samurais' class occurred while

Japan was torn by the conflicts between warlords. The samurais' elite engaged in tea gatherings to build political coalitions and gain governmental power (Pitelka, 2008). For instance, Kaufman (2018) demonstrates that the Japanese samurai, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), a peasant's son, used these tea gatherings to build his political alliances and ultimately came to dominate Japan. Such use of tea gatherings spurred wealthy merchants and elite to learn tea rituals in monasteries in order to become proficient tea masters and gain employment from the elite samurais.

The established literature also asserts that tea and tea culture profoundly impacted British history (Ashby, 2014; Cunliffe, 2015; Ellis et al., 2015, pp. 1–10; Smith, 1992). While tea consumption became popular in early Imperial Britain because of its medical properties, the British aristocracy quickly adapted it to formulate the afternoon tea ritual (Smith, 1992). The consumption of afternoon tea became a means of social networking and prestige signalling among British imperial elites. As tea and tea service became more readily available and affordable, aspects of the ritual were transmitted to the increasingly wealthy middle class, and also the upper classes within British Colonies (Hoh & Mui, 1963; Rappaport, 2013). In turn, this expanding consumption provided a lucrative source of revenue for the British Crown through high tea taxation (Cunliffe, 2015).

Ashby (2014) claims that the dominant afternoon tea culture helped Imperial Britain to alleviate the financial crisis of the time. However, British tea rituals exacerbated complex relationships between the aristocracy and the middle class. The high prices spurred the lower and middle classes to purchase tea from smugglers, negatively impacting revenue from tea taxes (Himmelfarb, 1984, pp. 89–136). As affordable tea became available throughout Britain and its

colonies, it became common for the middle classes to mimic tea rituals that formerly had been the exclusive domain of the aristocracy (Hoh & Mui, 1963). Tea parties became a symbol for breaking down class and gender inequality in the nineteenth century (Rappaport, 2013).

However, the middle and lower classes disagree with the government's envisagement that tea consumption hierarchy could destroy the social hierarchical system (Rappaport, 2013; Weatherill, 1986). The English afternoon tea ritual became a fashionable means of symbolizing politeness and morality throughout Imperial Britain in the nineteenth century (Ellis et al., 2015, pp. 1–10; Fromer, 2008, pp. 1–289).

While tea culture was integral in the cultures of China, Britain, and Japan during the time of interest, most scholars offer only two-country comparisons of historical changes in tea brewing, tea vessels and tea ceremonies. For example, Wang (2011), Pan & Chen (2010) and Gao (2021) address the differences in tea cultures between China and Britain as well as China and Japan. They emphasize the historical impacts of tea cultures in the two countries compared but did not conduct cross-cultural comparison between the three countries. Other scholars have offered comparisons of tea cultures among multiple countries. LV & Shen (2012) illustrate diverse contemporary tea customs rituals in China, Japan, Britain, Korea, and America. Ma (2011) compares tea in China, Britain, and Japan from historical and anthropological perspectives by interviewing British anthropologist Alan Macfarlane. Macfarlane was born in a tea estate in India and grew up in England. In the interview, he explained the double meanings of the tea, which includes the physical and social function in British history: from a corporeal perspective, tea is a most remarkable commodity; in the social dimension, Britain used tea as part of the expansion of its empire.

It is vital to compare tea culture in the three nations throughout the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. The Tea ceremony is a representative and performance expression of tea culture. A performative analytic approach (discusses in more details in Chapter 2) will reveal the distinctions and similarities of tea ceremony apparently in three countries. The exploration of ritual aspects of tea cultural function in China, Japan, and Britain will be offered in a historical perspective. Scholars of tea culture generalize that Chinese and Japanese tea ceremonies emphasize a spiritual meaning, whereas Britain used tea culture for networking, whereby the elite classes used it to signal their social status (Cusack, 2014; Li, 1993; Sadler, 1962, pp. 208-228). While most scholars emphasize historical comparisons between two countries, a few focus on the contemporary significance tea cultures within Eastern and Western countries (Gao, 2021; Ma, 2011; Pan & Chen, 2010; Wang, 2011). For example, Ma (2011) conducts qualitative research and offers a brief discussion of the differences in tea cultures among China, Britain, and Japan. However, the claim is based on the perspective of only one participant, and therefore does not present a compelling argument to illustrate the significance.

The tea ceremony is an essential ritual of the tea culture. Kondo (1985) precisely delineates the contemporary Japanese tea ceremony using ritual theory. Rösenthaller (2022, pp. 52-118) introduces the historical development of Chinese and English tea rites, although the analysis offers insufficient primary resources to support the performance depiction of the Chinese tea ritual in the Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.). Ellis (2019a) compares tea ceremonies between Britain and China from 1690 to 1730. Although Ellis (2019a) claims that the British tea ritual was a highly coded performance as Chinese tea ceremony, the research applies to habitus theory<sup>2</sup> which cannot reveal the rooting reason for the differentiation between the Chinese tea

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<sup>2</sup> In Ellis (2019a), Pierre Bourdieu asserts that individual behaviours relate to the social structure. Bourdieu illustrates that a deep structure generates an individual's thoughts and behaviours and set of behaviours are acquired

ceremony and English afternoon tea. Fromer (2008, pp. 1–289) reveals that the lingering anxiety of identifying the tea ritual as Britain’s national identity was that tea was imported from China. Britain desired to affirm that tea was domestic, thereby rationalising its use to symbolize English afternoon tea as a national sign. The ritual of tea drinking became part of the English national identity instead of the symbol of high social status when wild tea was found in Britain’s colony, India. Afternoon tea symbolized morality and politeness in the Victorian period. However, Fromer (2008, pp. 1-289) examines the English afternoon tea ritual through the lens of nineteenth-century Victorian literature. The absence of the comparison of tea rituals between China and Japan cannot elucidate the disciplines of tea ritual transmission and transformation between China, Japan, and Britain. Gao & Li (2023) explore the differentiation of Chinese and English tea material cultures. The comparison emphasizes on the distinctive tea utensils such as tea types and sets. Gao & Li (2023) conclude the reason of the tea material distinction are the distinctive cultural background, oriental values and the philosophical philosophy.

Based on the literature reviewed above, the research employs a performative approach underlying ritual theory to explore and compare the historical trajectories of tea rituals in three countries during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. It involves a review of the existing literature and archival sources to disclose the historical reasons for the significance of the tea culture's original country (China) to transmitted countries (Britain and Japan). The research is distinctive from previous research because it explores the differentiations and similarities between the three tea ceremonies through Tambiah’s (1981, pp. 113–169) ritual theory with a performative approach.

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to appropriately act in public interactions. *The British Way of Tea: Tea as an Object of Knowledge Between Britain and China, 1690–1730*, Ellis, M. (2019a).



## **1.5 Research Limitation**

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, going to three countries to collect primary resources was impossible. Although access to Chinese and Japanese digital primary resources is complex, the libraries in China and Japan assisted me to access most of them. Some Japanese archives are restricted to open online access. Lakehead University library supported me in getting the paper copies mailed from the Japanese library.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **METHOD AND THEORY**

The research analyzes the three tea rituals' differences, similarities, and interpretation of meanings informed by ritual theory. In order to explore the impacts of social factors on tea ritual transmission and transformation in China, Japan, and Britain, the research applies a performative approach to depict distinctive tea rituals during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. My unique personal experience on Chinese and Japanese tea rituals contributes to the research to understand, depict and explore the tea ceremonies.

#### **2.1 Positionality**

I am an amalgam with my experiences deriving from the long-term study of tea cultures in China and Japan and linguistics in archaic Mandarin and English. My expertise regarding conventional Chinese literature, basic Japanese words, and academic writing in English can benefit the collection and analysis of information about tea rituals found in archives in China, Japan, and Britain. My linguistic skill regarding traditional Chinese can enable the exploration of most Japanese primary resources dating from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries because they were recorded in ancient Mandarin during the Ashikaga (1336-1568 C.E.) era.

The tea ceremony originated in the Tang (618-907 C.E.) China with a worldview reflecting ancient China's interpretative traditions. My experience deriving from over thirteen years as a Chinese tea cultural teacher also contributes to the analyses of Chinese tea ceremonies.

Simultaneously, my background of learning the Japanese tea ceremony in Kyoto can aid in understanding Japanese tea culture from an anthropological perspective. The investigation of British tea culture can benefit from my current residence in Canada. Consequently, as a tea culture teacher with the above background, I provide a way of seeing ritual behaviours from the practitioner's perspective and describe the rites underlying the original meanings in Chinese and Japanese tea ceremonies. The Chinese tea ceremony has its roots in Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Without acknowledging these roots, it is insufficient for exploring the substantive reasons for the tea ceremonial distinctions and similarities in the three nations. My home culture benefits the analyses to reveal the intrinsic grounds for the differences and commonalities.

It may be a potential bias to explore afternoon tea ceremonies without practical experience consistent with my understanding of Chinese and Japanese tea ceremonies. Although it has been challenging for me to fully explore the British tea ceremony grounded in its imperial conventions, the study findings further my comprehensive perception of the English afternoon tea ritual. In addition, the exploration enriches my insight into comparing historical tea ceremonies in three nations underlying ritual theory.

## **2.2 Rationale**

Human social behaviour, particularly that which is ritualized, is laden with symbolic meanings that are 'negotiated' and understood within the unique frames of reference of the culture where it is practised (Bell, 1997, p. 77). These symbolic meanings might not be overt, may be multi-layered and change with situational context and cultural actors, and often transform through time. Because of these transitory and relative attributes, it is often difficult to describe

anthropologically, particularly when attempting cross-cultural comparative analyses. To this end, this thesis seeks to examine elements of tea ritual within a cultural and historical context, with special attention to ritual theory with a performative approach, which I introduce in section 2.3 and 2.4.

The performative approach can reveal how ‘cultural ideals’ become reinforced as public values, and in turn, become aspirational ideals for personal behaviour (Bell, 1997, p. 148). This is because performance models usually stimulate the participants to reinterpret ‘value-laden symbols’ during their engagements. As humans, we are conscious of our distinctiveness from other species in large measure because of our heavy reliance upon symbolic communication (Langer, 1954, pp. i-95). Such cultural symbolic systems are not static, but are regularly modified and reinterpreted through time and across space, and usually with reference back to underlying and pre-existing culturally mediated frameworks.

Ritual is one of the bases for presenting, reinforcing, or reinterpreting symbolic meanings among all human beings (Cooke & Macy, 2005, pp. 1–50). The Chinese tea ceremony is one such ancient human ritual (Wang, 2005, pp. 10-11). In other words, the Chinese tea ceremony comprises stylized and sequenced behaviours to exert its relevance and efficacy on society and individuals’ daily life (Wang, 2005, pp. 46-47). The purpose of the Chinese tea ritual is to symbolize the social relationships between the Emperor and heaven, the Emperor and officialdom, and the Emperor and the common populace in China (Legge, 1875, pp. 1–385; Meng, 3 B.C./2016, pp. 13-14; Xun, 3 B.C./2003, pp. 1–24). Fuller (2015) and Ohnuki-Tierney (2015) illustrate Tambiah’s assertion that ethnographic work should focus on global, not globalized context. Tea ceremonies have been performed variously in different historical cultures, and anthropological analysis requires consideration of the tea ritual framed in terms of

historical context and trajectories, and was affected by local political, economic and the existing cultural conditions. Bell (1997, p. 10) demonstrates that ‘when made the subject of systematic historical and comparative cultural analysis, the ritual has offered new insight into the dynamics of religion, culture, and personhood.’ It is vital to employ the ritual theory to explore the tea ceremonies in China, Britain, and Japan between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Primarily, the global perspective on the analyses of the ethnic tea rituals underlying certain history will disclose the reasons for the transmission, transition, and transformation of tea ceremonies in three nations.

The Chinese expression of tea ceremonies reflected and reinforced spiritual principles grounded in Daoism, Zen Buddhism, and Confucianism. Japan further fused Chinese tea culture with Zen arts and Daoism. In the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, tea practitioners further innovated it by adding Japanese aesthetics into a new ritual, *Chanoyu*, and *Sencha-do*. The meaning of *Chanoyu* was ‘making tea as an offering’ (Teruhito, 2016, p. 20). In contrast, Britain synthesized Chinese tea rites with British etiquette to formulate the English afternoon tea. It is a unique challenge for anthropologists to analyze tea ceremonies logically and thoroughly upon cultural theories because Zen arts, and Daoism emphasize the transcendental symbol through non-verbal systematical indications (Kondo, 1985). Bell (1992, p. 27) recognizes that ritual is ‘compelling and useful to studies of cultural activity.’ The tea ceremonies were performative processes that served to disclose the symbolic meanings of the national communicative identity in three nations during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. It is crucial to apply ritual theory with a performative approach to analyze three rituals’ differences and similarities in public values and personal behavioural perfection, and probe the reasons for the phenomena.

## 2.3 Ritual Theory

### 2.3.1 *Ritual Definition*

The development of academic approaches to the study of ritual initially emerged from analyzing religions in the nineteenth century (Bell, 1992, p. 13). For example, Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) asserts that myths were originally poetic expressions about nature, particularly the sun, created by the ancient Indo-Europeans (Bell, 1997, p. 3). Before the late twentieth century, there was no explicit field of ritual studies, but plenty of theories about ritual existed (Foley, 2011). Bell (1997, pp. 3-89) provides a comprehensive overview of these theories, which emerged from classical and mythology studies, comparative religions, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Subsequent to addressing ritual as a means to explain religion, in the twentieth century social functionalists delved into the realm of ritual actions and values to gain a better understanding of ‘society’ and various social phenomena. Since then, scholars have analyzed rituals as content — human experiences. For example, Émile Durkheim (1915/2008, p. 51) believes that religion is characterized by symbolic elements and rituals that aim to establish solidarity among participants and provide them with the opportunity to share experiences as a group. While the collective consciousness is considered more important than individual desires, his theories recognize the significance of rituals in affirming a particular social reality.

In recent years, symbolic anthropologists have come to view rituals as a fundamental aspect of culture and its dynamics. The symbolic meaning of ritual suggests that understanding

how individuals and groups interact within society evolves through time. For example, Langer (1954, p. 39) claims that ritual is a 'symbolic transformation of experience that no other medium can adequately express.' Goffman (1967/2005, pp. 5–15) explains that individual ritual behaviours are coordinated with other participants' judgment and evidence in community. According to Goffman (2005, pp. 5-15), the social rules in society can be described as 'face' values that hold symbolic significance. He emphasizes the importance of theatrical analogy and the value of stage and backstage interactions in enabling effective performance of rituals.

Many experts in the field have acknowledged that ritual should not only be studied for its role in religion, society, or culture but also in light of its own inherent significance. For instance, besides ritual as an important symbol for group members, Collins (2004, pp. 3-25) analyzes ritual processes involving macro-historical change in politics and economy, and micro-individual face-to-face interaction. This emerging consensus highlights the importance of understanding the complexities of ritual and its impact on our world. For Elias (1939/2000, pp. 1–15), he puts forth the idea of comprehending the evolution of the civilizing process in Europe. The ritualized ways were developed for speaking, eating, dressing, and behaving at the table, as well as addressing social situations appropriately, to explain the formal establishment of Nation States. As we delve deeper into the study of rituals, we may uncover new insights that can help us better comprehend the intricate social structures surrounding us.

The definitions of ritual are diverse and vary depending on scholars' distinctive emphases. For example, Tambiah (1981) defines ritual as:

a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication. It is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterized in varying degree by formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition) (p. 119).

The definition is particularly important for this research since it helps frame the comparative analysis of tea rituals that is offered below. As such, these concepts are elaborated more fully in this Chapter.

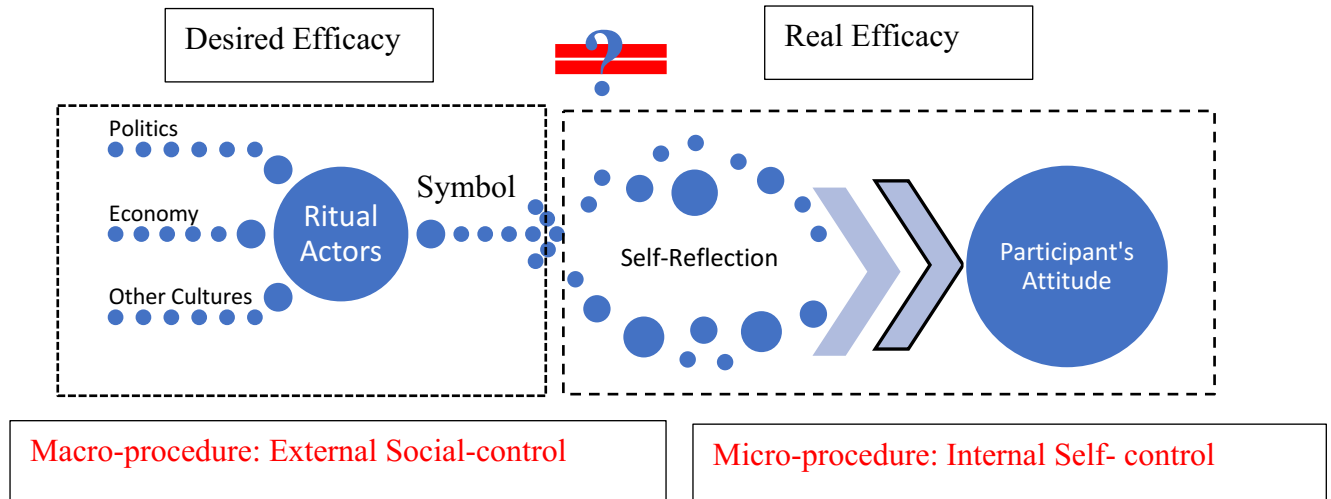
### 2.3.2 *Ritual Mechanism*

As for the characteristics, Tambiah (1981, p. 119) demonstrates that formality is fundamental for the degree of ritual content and arrangement for the other three characteristics. I adapted the mechanism of ritual from *Ritual: perspectives and dimensions* (Bell, 1997, p. 263) and created Figure 2.1. It is apparent that ritual consists with external social-control and internal self-control. The external social-control is composed of politics, economy, and the existing culture. The internal self-control is dependent on participants' inner reflection. The inner reflection should be congenial to the social disciplines.



**Figure 2. 1**

## Ritual Mechanism



## Ritual Symbolic Communicative Procedures

Note. Adapted from *Ritual: perspectives and dimensions* (p. 263), by Catherine M. Bell, 1997, Oxford University Press. Copyright 1997 by Oxford University Press. Adapted with permission.

2.3.3 *Ritual Four Characteristics*

Formality (Conventionality): The ritual mechanism (see Figure 2.1) apparently reveals that ritual actors' transmitted information is limited, and the ritual efficacy inseparably consists of participants' self-control reflection (Bell, 1997, p. 263). Ritual symbolic attribute enables participants' inner self-control reflection. The procedure of self-control reflection is a stylized performance of the 'right attitude' expected of a disciplined society (Tambiah, 1981, p. 126). In that case, the right attitude must be 'congenial to an ongoing institutionalized intercourse' that led to the examiner of the ritual participants' attitudes is the public rules. The attitude that is coincided with the public disciplines is appropriate. Otherwise, it is an inappropriate one.

Accumulating the right attitude is a permanent emotional pattern that systematically and repetitively affects personal life. Tea rituals are stylized, and formal social performances designed to celebrate and reinforce important societal values within the three nations during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Stereotypy (Rigidity):** Turner (1982, p. 79) asserts that in ritual performance, ‘Stereotyped behaviour is potent in terms of the cultural conventions of actions’ ... ‘which serves the communicative information about a culture’s most cherished value.’ As Tambiah (1981, p. 119) defines it, ritual is a culturally constructed system for social communication. This social communicative system reveals the relationship between humans and nature, humans and humans, humans and animals, or humans and non-animals. The system is patterned into sequences underlying different cultural systems. In other words, three tea rituals were patterned into distinctive sequences of the different cultures in the three countries.

**Condensation (Fusion):** Tambiah (1981, p. 164) and Houseman & Severi (1998, pp. 44–46) explain that ritual condensations include two views: unconsciously condensing all sensory channels of participants in a ceremonial experience; structurally fusing various expressional models, such as music, words, and dance, through blurring their boundaries into a ceremony. For example, the former included the decorations, pouring water sound, tea sets, refreshments, and tea liquid to stimulate the sense of sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell; the latter involved fireworks, polite speech, and entertainment. All components served the central themes of tea rituals to reinforce the symbolism in the three countries.

**Redundancy (Repetition):** In general view, ritual redundancy manifests in a series of repetitive behaviours in the rites. The more formal the ritual, the more repetitive and monotonous (Houseman, 2004; Ovington, 1699/2011, pp. 44-97). Ritual Redundancy uses ‘superfluous’

symbols to ensure participants receive accurate messages (Tambiah, 1981, p. 131). The redundancy of superfluous symbols lies in transmitting information in multiple channels simultaneously or continually in a single channel several times. It meant that three tea rituals were applied with multiple or single channels to deliver the ritual performative actions with repetition. The purpose was to reinforce the appropriate social manners in public interaction.

## **2.4 Performative Approach**

A performative approach emerges from the ritual developmental process when ritual theory benefits from a cross-disciplinary perspective (Bell, 1997, pp. 75-160; Tambiah, 1981, pp. 113–169). Brown (2003, p. 3) explains that a performative approach to analyzing human behaviours benefits from an interdisciplinary approach ‘including anthropology, sociology, theatre and drama studies, religious studies, literary theory, and history.’ Turner (1982, p. 79) understands ‘ritual essentially as performance.’ Richard Bauman defines performance as a communicative mode of artistic responsibility that involves dramatic gestures, formulaic and rhythmical languages, and instruments (‘International Encyclopedia of Communications,’ 1989, p. 185). The approach enables ‘a recasting [of] ritual’ because performance as ‘a mode of human action’ (Brown, 2003, p. 3). The performative approach derives from the 1970s with Kenneth Burke’s discussions of dramatism, Victor Turner’s descriptions of ritual as a ‘social drama,’ J.L. Austin’s theory of performative utterances, Erving Goffman’s work on the ritual units that structure the performances of social interaction, and even Bloch’s analysis of the effects of formulaic speech and song’ (Bell, 1997, p. 73; Tambiah, 1985, p. 78; Turner, 1970, p. 43).

Rappaport (1999, p. 24) denotes that ritual is ‘the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers.’ Rappaport’s declaration has revealed a performative approach is beneficial for ritual analysis in anthropology because rituals are essential for individuals to interact with social disciplinaries (West, 2018). The social disciplinaries are the product of external social-control, which impacted actors’ external behaviours. However, ritual actors cannot fully interpret these social disciplines to participants. Participants need to engage in self-control reflexivity by comparing their behaviors with social norms to ensure appropriate actions within society. In this case, it was vital to use a performative approach to depict actors’ external behaviours to analyze the three tea ritual distinctions and the reasons in the three nations.

## **2.5 Summary**

The application of ritual theory with four characteristics—Formality (conventionality), Stereotypy (rigidity), Condensation (fusion), and Redundancy (repetition)—can explore the three tea rituals’ distinctions and similarities in depth. The ritual mechanism illustration (see Figure 2.1) can help one understand how the sociocultural factors impact tea ritual transmission and transformation from China (the country of origin) to the two recipient countries, Britain and Japan, during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. My previous experiences regarding Chinese and Japanese tea ceremonies help me to understand the three tea rituals from a unique perspective. Compared with the previous papers, the thesis can provide a distinctive and fruitful research connection between social development and tea ritual transmission and transformation

in China, Japan, and Britain between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. It can reflect widespread social and psychological impacts in a contemporary burgeoning social life.

## CHAPTER 3

### THREE NATIONAL TEA CULTURES AS FORMS OF EXTERNAL SOCIAL CONTROL

Culture is not determined by genetic inheritance, but rather by the learning within the social environment we are immersed in (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). Many different factors contribute to cultural learning, expression and transformation. This includes socio-political and economic contexts, and also religions and cultures. One example of this can be seen in the evolution of tea rituals in China, Japan, and Britain during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Each country's tea culture was shaped by external social controls at the time, resulting in three distinct and unique tea ceremonies. Three tea cultures show how much the external environment can impact tea ritual variations in distinctive societies.

#### 3.1 Chinese Tea Cultures as Forms of External Social Control

China is the birthplace of tea (*Camellia sinensis*) and tea culture worldwide (Wang, 2005, pp. 1-30). The earliest record of the Chinese using tea as a beverage was in 'the Slave's Contract,' by *Tong Yue*, and dating to B.C. 59 (Benn, 2015, p. 25; Wang, fl. 59 B.C./1892, pp. 69–74). Tea also was a necessary daily food for ethnic minorities in South-Western China. For instance, they boiled fresh tea leaves with millet and other condiments to make a porridge to serve their guests. Currently, the habits were still practised when I visited these groups in Guizhou province and Chongqing in 2009 and 2017, respectively. Tea was a popular beverage during Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern dynasties. It was widely consumed after the Tang

dynasty, as seen in the book, *The Classic of Tea*, written by Lu, Yu, in 772 C.E. (Song et al., 1060/1975, p. 42; Zanini, 2017).

Chinese tea ceremonies included boiling tea rites, whipped tea ceremonies, and brewing tea rituals during the Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties (Wang, 2005, pp. 20-37). Numerous scholars and artists illustrated tea rituals through poems, paintings, and literature, which demonstrated tea utensils used throughout Chinese history. Tea rituals prevailed among the aristocracy, the middle class, and even the lower class since the Tang dynasty (Wang, 2005, pp. 1-32). The Chinese tea ceremony is a widely accepted national symbol representing China's philosophical, religious, and cultural traditions grounded in Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.

The canon of the Chinese tea ceremony involved the pursuit of harmonious and serene destiny by cultivating the mind and promoting moral integrity (Li, 1993). The paintings, *Entertainment in Palace* (see Figure 3. 1), and *The Banquet* (see Figure 3. 2), in the Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.), emphasized that connotative lifestyles would not exist without the boiling tea processes (Qiu, 2021). Tea culture flourished during the Tang dynasty, and the tea ceremony's presentation transformed into the Sung dynasty's (960-1279 C.E.) competitive vogue. Tea practitioners competed by the performance of their connoisseurship and artistic accomplishments. The competition was fashionable among the elite that ranged from Emperors to literati in Sung China. The trend stimulated tea competitors to fuse aesthetics and whisked tea techniques together to seek an ideal lifestyle with refinement and elegance.

The attribute of the whisked tea competitive ritual was serene aesthetics in the Sung dynasty, which was sharply different from boisterous tea gambling that was common during Japan's thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Varley & Isao, 1995, p. 11). Tea gambling was the

**Figure 3. 1**

## Ladies' Tea Party in Tang China



*Entertainment in Palace*

*Note.* Ladies enjoy the tea party in court in Tang China (618-907 C.E.). Derived from *Chinese Painting on tea*, by Jiping Qiu, 2021.



**Figure 3. 2**

The Banquet Mural

*The Banquet (Partial)*

*Note.* The banquet with tea party mural in the tomb in Tang China (618-907 C.E.). Derived from *Chinese Painting on tea*, by Jiping Qiu, 2021.

process of the tea ceremony in Sung China. It showed a tea practitioner's high connoisseurship of tea cultural aesthetics. The competitor whipped water and tea powder blended until the heavy foam was on a liquid surface. The Japanese tea gambling lacked the process of stirring foam. In Sung tea gambling, the winner was the participant whose foam was the brightest, and lasting for the longest time. Due to the decree prohibiting tea cake manufacture by Emperor *Hongwu* in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.), loose-leaf tea started to replace compressed tea cake. The

brewing tea ceremony became predominant in China in the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries during Ming and Qing (1644-1912 C.E.) dynasties, and even into contemporary times in China.

Chinese tea manufacturing innovation produced six tea types: green, black, yellow, Oolong, white, and dark tea in the Ming and Qing dynasties (Zhou, 2020). Before Ming China, only one tea type, green tea, was available. The analyses during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries were in the late Ming Dynasty and Qing China. After Manchu dominated China, the decorations and features of tea wares were reformed. However, the Chinese tea ceremonies were maintained from the royal family's sacrificial tea rituals to common people's brewing tea rites. The policies of restricting tea trade over the sea were maintained from the Ming dynasty to Qing China. The Chinese Feudal Empire closed the seacoast and restricted tea trade with European countries to only one port, Canto, during the Qing dynasty.

### **3.2 Japanese Tea Cultures as Forms of External Social Control**

Chinese tea ceremonies disseminated to Japan during the eighth century. The book, *Chakyō Shōsetsu*, indicated that Emperor Shōmu ceremoniously served tea to one hundred monks in C.E. 724 during the Nara period (Ken & Chakyō, 1774, p. 5), though without a reliable reference to identify the record. Dawn (1995, pp. 22–23) describes the spread of tea from China to Japan as follows: 'Tea as a gift, was presented to Japanese Emperor Shomu in 727 C.E. ...tea plants and cultures were cultivated and created in Japan by Japanese Buddhist priests and tea masters.' Kūkai (774-835) reports in his *Henjō hokki shōryōshū* that the earliest reference to Japan's contact with tea was through Buddhist monks at least before 806 C.E. during the Heian period (Green & Mun, 2015; Kukai, fl. 774-835 C.E., p. 9; Ryuichi, 1995). Similar to

China during the Sung dynasty (960-1279 C.E.), tea gambling became popular in Japan during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The dissimilarity was that Japanese tea gambling was referred to as tasting contests (*tocha*) where the objective was to identify the place of tea cultivation (Ludwig, 1981). In contrast, Chinese tea gambling focused on judging the quality of tea soup with artistic display (Varley & Isao, 1995, p. 11). The rowdy circumstance of tea gambling impeded the development of tea cultural aesthetics in Japan. Thereby, the emperor banned tea gambling. However, tea gambling persisted continuously until the fourteenth century. Consequently, tea culture declined among the aristocrats from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries in Japan because of tea gambling.

The Japanese tea ceremony would not be currently famous without the founder, Senno Rikyu, a monastic merchant. Initially, monks disseminated Chinese tea ceremonies in Japan. As a monastic, Rikyu was a master of tea rituals. Though he was not a member of the samurai, he always won a place among the warrior elites with his outstanding abilities to present the rustic beauty of the tea ritual (Yamashita, 2017). He demonstrated that the Chinese tea ceremony delivered Daoism spirits with unique materials; with the Daoist meaning, human beings should treat each other as equals as well as all objects around us in the world. This concept was attractive to the Japanese who sought reconciliation after the hundred-year civil war, *Sengoku* period (1467-1568 C.E.), especially for warriors (XV, 1997, pp. viii–xxii). Rikyu named the tea ceremony *Chanoyu*, and the aesthetics was *Wa-bi: yō no bi* (the beauty of use), *fukanzen no bi* (the incomplete beauty), and *kiyome* (purification) (Teruhito, 2016). He attracted participants focusing on the spiritual reflectivity of rustic vessels and natural decorations in the tearoom to arouse the esteem of tea and adjuncts, which symbolized the harmonious relationship between humans to surroundings, humans to humans, and humans to nature (Kakuzo, 1906/2019, pp. 3–

160). The tranquil atmosphere of the Japanese tea ceremony appealed to samurai leaders since the sixteenth century (Teruhito, 2016). His close relationship with the samurai chief, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, greatly facilitated the rapid spread of the *Chanoyu* ceremony throughout Japan (Teruhito, 2016). The adoration of the beauty Rikyu created for the tea ceremony, *Wa-bi*, was the symbol of the perfect occasion lay in accepting the imperfection that existed in a perennially imperfect reality (Kakuzo, 1906/2019, pp. 3–160). Meanwhile, the spirit of *Chanoyu* ceremony was inherited in the brewing tea rites, *Sencha-do*, that spread from China in the eighteenth century (Kakuzo, 1906/2019, pp. 3–160).

### **3.3 English Afternoon Tea Cultures as Forms of External Social Control**

The relationship between China and Japan became stagnant during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368 C.E.), which created an opportunity for Europeans to import tea from China in the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.) (Kakuzo, 1906/2019, pp. 57). This derived from rampant smuggling of tea from southern China (especially Fujian province), encouraged by warring Japanese lords who supported pirates. It led to the Chinese emperor issuing a decree against export trade, especially with Japan in the seventeenth century. The Japanese emperor also closed opportunities for trade due to the failed invasion plan in Taiwan. The hostile relationship between China and Japan contributed to emerging trade opportunities between Europeans and China. While the tea trade with Europe occurred earlier with Japan, China became the predominate exporter of tea products in the sixteenth century because European merchant ships sailed to China to explore and in the quest for a range of exotic goods that included tea, silk, and porcelain (Vermeer, 1990, pp. 178–330).

The first reference to tea in Europe dated to 1559 in *Voyages and Travels* (Wang, 2011). After 1610, the Portuguese and Dutch began importing tea from China, with Britain starting trade with Chinese merchants in 1644. (Yen, 1981). The British merchant, Thomas Garwayin, transported the first tea by sea to London in 1657 (Cusack, 2014). Tea was called *Tcha*, *Tay*, or *Tee*, and was initially described in 1658 as a medicine in the earliest tea advertisement in a British coffee house. But by the 1700s, it had become a popular beverage in early Imperial Britain (Ashby, 2014).

Since Queen Elizabeth I granted a monopoly to the East Indian Company to trade between Britain and Eastern countries, Chinese tea, with a high tax rate, provided significant revenue to the British Crown after 1664 (Brunton, 2013). This monopoly and associated taxes encouraged tea smuggling, resulting in the gradual loss of the East India Company monopoly and declining prices by 1784. (Hoh & Mui, 1963). In the earlier 1780s, tea was smuggled into the towns of the south coast of England and Scotland, which led to a decline in the legal importation from 7.5 million to 3.5 million pounds (Barr, 1995, p. 207). By the Tea Act of 1773, the United Kingdom lost the tea taxes in America. Simultaneously, the monopoly and high import taxes would eventually have unintended consequences that included contributing to unrest among some of Britain's North American colonies that culminated in the American Revolutionary War (1775-1781), leading ultimately to the 1776 formation of the United States of America (Hoh & Mui, 1963). Tea smuggling ceased by reducing the tea tax in 1784 (Barr, 1995, p. 208). In order to meet the financial balance, the British government increased duty-paid consumption. Britain was financially strained by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars between 1789 and 1815 (Barr, 1995, p. 204; Moran, 2006, pp. 1–15). Britain increased the tea taxes during the war with France and up to the 1860s, and sought to import more tea to support

the public finance deficit (Barr, 1995, pp. 207–220). However, the price of silver rose markedly. Britain started to smuggle opium to replace silver in the tea trade with China. In response, the Qing Chinese government burned the opium fields in Humen in Guangdong province to counteract the opium smuggling, which caused Britain's invasion through Opium Wars from 1839 to 1842. The wars ended with China ceding Hong Kong as Britain's colony (Barr, 1995, pp. 207–220).

As tea gradually became more widely available and affordable, consumption increased steadily among people of all classes in Britain and its colonies (Hoh & Mui, 1963). Boiling water was necessary for residents' health when cholera spread widely in London in the 1830s (Headland & Robarts, 1833). Given that boiling water decreased cholera disease, tea and coffee were prevailing in Britain. Due to the Dutch East Indies and French West Indies controlling the coffee trade in the world, the British government preferred tea as its national beverage (Barr, 1995, p. 215).

The culture of drinking tea ultimately became a symbol of national identity in Britain and the most popular beverage in the eighteenth Century (Bard, 2000). Britain enthusiastically experimented with rearing tea shrubs in its colonies in south Asia to avoid dependence on China for tea. Britain desired to find domestic products to improve the public financial strain from wars. As tea consumption accelerated, tea cultivation in its colonies significantly reduced dependence upon Chinese sources (Sigley, 2015). In 1703, James Cunningham entered Zhoushan in China to learn the cultivation and manufacturing of tea (Cunningham, 1703). In response, the Manchu government sought to prevent loss of the tea trade advantage by preventing the English from learning tea cultivation. Britain had experimented with rearing tea brushes in Penang, Java, St Helena, Brazil, California, Rio de Janeiro, and Paris after 1813 (Sigmond, 1839, p. 63; Barr,

1995, p. 220). The success of tea cultivation in India by Mr. C. A. Bruce in 1839 encouraged the botanist Fortune Robert to steal tea plants from China and re-establish them in northern India in 1843 (Fortune, 1847/2017, pp. 1–406; Graham, 1839). This made the tea plant widely available in Britain's colonies, and effectively broke the Chinese monopoly.

By the eighteenth century the tea party was in vogue throughout Britain, particularly among the upper class. Various books illustrate tea parties attended by the elites, and even poems describe the social engagement as common at such gatherings. One example is the poetry collection entitled *Panacea: A Poem upon tea* (Tate, 1700, p. 35). Gay (1717, pp. 10–20) utilized the tea table scene in the comedy, *Three Hours after Marriage*, when it was performed in theater Royal in London in 1717. Hearne (1718, pp. 6–9) depicted the 'Tea-Table Chat' scenery in *The Lover's Week*. The 'Tea-Table' was a social gathering around tea drinking (Ellis, 2019b, pp. 73–78). Afternoon tea party was also the quintessential activity among the aristocracy in the later 1720s and earlier 1730s in Britain (Chen, 2009). The numerous paintings, such as *An English Family at Tea* (see Figure 3. 3), *Tea Party at Lord Harrington's House, St. James's* (see Figure 3. 4), depicted the aristocratic tea parties during that period (Aken, 1720; Chen, 2009; Philips, 1730). In 1756, Haywood (1756, pp. 31–111) used 'afternoon's tea', 'afternoons tea', and 'tea-table' in the book, *The Husband: In Answer to the Wife*. English afternoon tea was becoming widely accepted in a broad sector of British society from the court to the upper class and even in the middle classes since Victorian period (Bennett, 1900, p. 17; Gray, 2009).

**Figure 3. 3**

## Small Group of an Afternoon Tea Party



*An English Family at Tea*

*Note.* The portrait was painted by Joseph Van Aken (1699-1749) in 1720. Derived from *State Britain*, August 2004.



**Figure 3. 4**

Larger Afternoon Tea Party



*Tea Party at Lord Harrington's House, St. James's*

*Note.* The portrait was painted by Charles Philips (1708-1747) in 1730. Derived from *Yale Center for British Art*.

The growing popularity of tea parties is also linked to the Temperance Movement in Britain. During the war with France in the seventeenth century, wine was popular on social gathering, which led to drunkenness becoming common in UK society. Some British political

factions asserted that drunkenness destroyed personal morality, which was thought to be the foundation of society throughout the nineteenth century. In order to restore the moral fabric of English society, the consumption of non-alcoholic substances was viewed as a solution, leading to the first large-scale tea party (550 participants) in Britain held in the Preston<sup>3</sup> Temperance Hotel on July eleventh, 1840 (Dearden, 1840, p. 21). The party prohibited alcohol and instead provided delicious refreshments, and tea (Dearden, 1840, p. 21). After the first successful Temperance tea party, the hotel organized the second one the following Christmas day in the same year. The guest list was expanded from 550 to 950 and by all accounts was highly enjoyable (Dearden, 1840, p. 21). Meanwhile, as the British Industrial Revolution gained momentum, employers sought reliable laborers who could work on time and efficiently. Drunkenness contributed to a shortage of reliable workers in the market. Tea consumption offered an alternative in providing a pleasurable respite from labour while also stimulating the body and the mind. Collectively, these social and economic considerations contributed to the widespread acceptance of tea consumption in all classes of British society.

The increasingly large and reliable supply of tea available in the UK contributed to it becoming less costly, and tea drinking spread from the upper class to the middle class, and even to the lower class. As tea consumption grew, a new style of ritualistic consumption developed, and this promoted the English afternoon tea ceremony which spread widely throughout Britain and its colonies (Young, 2001). Afternoon tea ritual became an important part of English cultural identity in the nineteenth century (Fromer, 2008, p. 27).

English afternoon tea was impacted by social revolutions, such as the Restoration and Renaissance, and was even associated with facilitating female sociality and community in the

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<sup>3</sup> Preston was the one of the first cities of Temperance Movement in 1833. The Joseph Livesey was the founder for Preston Temperance Society. *The History of Teetotalism in Devonshire*, Hunt, W., (1841)

early eighteenth century (Cowan, 2019; Ellis, 2019b). The afternoon tea ritual as initially symbolized high social status when tea was exclusively imported from China to the UK before the early eighteenth century (Ellis, 2019a). After the 1750s, the increased expression of freedom and criticism led the governing elite to consider the more socially symbolic meanings of English afternoon tea for the middle and lower classes (Capdeville, 2019; Ellis, 2019b). Compared with the symbol of high social status, English afternoon tea was more acceptable to symbolize morality and politeness by the second half of eighteenth-century Britain. The acceptance of English afternoon tea by the middle and even lower classes increased the tea consumption taxes to release the financial strain from the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (Barr, 1995, pp. 207–220; Capdeville, 2019; Ellis, 2019b). The British governmental advocacy of promoting social morality and good manners was a symbol of new social intercourse.

### **3.4 Summary**

Although tea rites all originated in China, English afternoon tea rituals, Japanese tea ceremonies, and Chinese tea rites differ sharply in form and social meaning. Japanese tea ceremonies inaugurated a temporary ambiance of the pure world tucked away from the secular sphere. In contrast, English afternoon tea initially symbolized a high social status. Then, it transformed into a polite symbol of constructed manners that participants complied with. The polite actions at the afternoon tea party were similar to other social activities among the elite in Britain. The consensus of the upper English class was that manners symbolized a better world. Simultaneously, the Chinese tea ceremony symbolized the esteem of nature, which metonymized the imperial authority and metaphorized the equality among literati in distinctive tea ceremonials in the upper and middle classes, respectively, in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.

## CHAPTER 4

### DEPICTION OF THE THREE TEA CEREMONIES WITH PERFORMATIVE APPROACH

#### 4.1 Chinese Tea Ceremony

Tea figured prominently in ceremonial life among the elite throughout much of Chinese history, and was an integral part of Chinese culture and national identity. Benn (2015) explains that a host serves tea indicating ‘a complex social and cultural association and assumption’ in China (p. 2). The Chinese tea ceremony facilitated and fostered relationships between emperors, senior officials, and eminent literati in the Palace during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Methods of tea brewing and its socio-cultural function shifted through time; from the boiling tea rites of the Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.), the ‘whipped tea’ method in the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279 C.E.), and to the brewing tea method that flourished during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.) (see Appendix A). During the Qing dynasty (1644-1912 C.E.), tea ceremonies were usually held in the Palace during literature competitions attended by the Emperor and the senior government ministers. Additionally, the imperial prayer blessings involved tea rites. Even after Mongolian domination of the major Chinese ethnic groups, Han imperial tea rituals that date back to the Tang, Sung, and Ming dynasties, were maintained. These rites were part of the participants’ quest for the inner spirit in the pursuit of harmony between men and deities, which the Chinese called *Tian*, the same meaning as God in the Western world.

#### 4.1.1 *Literati Tea Ritual in the Late Ming Dynasty*

Xu (1597/1998, pp. 1–32) illustrates the tea ceremonial process practiced in the Han national culture during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 C.E). It was predominant among literati to address repressive policies that arose due to the tyranny of later Ming China. The major sequences were:

- (1) The preparation
  - a) Preparing utensils, premium tea, and the fresh spring water
  - b) Decorating tea rooms
- (2) The processes of brewing tea
  - a) Boiling water
  - b) Washing tea
  - c) Holding the tea in the hand
  - d) Putting the loose-leaf tea in boiling water
  - e) Dividing tea soup into cups
  - f) Appreciating and drinking tea soup (Smell, look, taste)

The preparation and brewing tea ritual reflected the host's respect for the participants, tea, and tea utensils. Many hours of meticulous preparation were required to conduct a tea ceremony, with four essential elements being necessary: water, charcoal, tea, and a pot. Both the preparation and ceremonial performance reflect the influence of Daoism. Daoism reveals that a principle of Yin-Yang underlies the discipline of all things' occurrence on the earth. Yang is a metaphor for heaven, brightness, masculinity, and positivity. In contrast, Yin symbolizes the

earth, darkness, femininity, and passivity. Xu (1597/1998, pp. 1–32) emphasized that cleaning and preparing the vessels before preparing water for tea making was vital. The host prepared clean tea wares as a metaphor to represent efforts to achieve a fair society. Water freshness was also crucial for brewing high-quality tea beverages. The host conspicuously demonstrated his desire to brew the perfect tea for participants by using freshly collected spring water rather than water that had been stored for a long time.

In the late Ming dynasty, the tea ceremony grew to reflect the desire of a number of officials and literati to seek equality between the Emperor and the populace (Wang, 2005, p. 35). The tea ceremony symbolized an idealized world of fairness whereby the host represented the general populace against the reality of coercive power held by the Emperor and senior members of the court. Wen (1621/2017, pp. 99–108) described tea rooms' simplified surroundings and ornaments in the book titled *Treatise on Superfluous Things*. Numerous paintings (such as Figure 4. 1), poetry, and literature depicted the brewing tea ritual, including preparing spring water, cleaning utensils, and the brewing tea processes. Most late Ming dynasty commentaries of tea ceremonies emphasized that fresh water, clean vessels, and natural ornaments symbolized participants' pure minds.

**Figure 4. 1**

Tea party in Ming China



Zhengming Wen (1470–1559 C.E.) *Huishan* Tea Party Scroll

*Note.* Derived from *Paintings*, by The Palace Museum, 1518 C.E.

In *The Tea Notes*, the tea ceremony was characterized as a figurative oasis for officials and literati under grave political oppression since the mid-Ming period. Chinese tea culture expressed morality in Confucianism, harmony in Daoism, and compassion in Buddhism (Dellios, 2017). During the Ming dynasty, tea rituals symbolized the integration of three teachings: Confucian–Daoist–Buddhist which came to reflect a Chinese way of viewing the world and symbolize a communicative road (Bell, 1997, preface). The view and symbolization grounded the relationship between human beings and nature into relationships between the host, tea, vessels, and participants.

#### 4.1.2 *Royal Tea Banquet Ritual in the Qing Dynasty*

After the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 C.E), tea rituals became more imposing and elaborate, especially during the reign of Emperor Qianlong in the Qing period (1644-1912 C.E.). He was a tea lover and poet. On the third day of the first lunar month, he invited the court officials who were gifted poets to participate in the annual tea party at the Chonghua Palace (the Hall of Double Glory) (Aixinjueluo, 1921/1980, pp. 11–12). Participants were required to obey the rules of the tea party and write poems while Qianlong bestowed tea (Aixinjueluo, 1921/1980, pp. 11–12). Tea rituals were a significant component of imperial sacred ceremonies in the Qing dynasty, such as the ceremony of Manchurian gods and heaven (Yun, 1747/1777, p. 151). Emperor Kangxi, the grandfather of Qianlong, held the first *Tea Banquet of Thousand Elders* on his sixtieth birthday (Aixinjueluo, 1921/1980, p. 30; Wang, 2005, p. 163). Over 1,900 elders were invited to the tea banquet (Aixinjueluo, 1921/1980, p. 30).

The major sequences of the Tea Banquet Ritual include the following:

- (1) The celebration started with instrument preparation
- (2) Emperor blessing and drinking a cup of tea
- (3) Elders drinking tea
- (4) Enjoying food as well as dances with instruments
- (5) End of the tea banquet

During the Qing dynasty, tea ceremonies at the Palace were sumptuous. The Emperor expressed esteem to the deity with abundant luxurious substances and great music and dances. The official court stipulated all actions in the tea ceremony and rehearsed before the performance



(Shen, 1804, pp. 27-83; Wang, 2005, pp. 160-165). Tea ceremonials symbolized sacred relationships between men and deities. The Emperor used the ritual to express that the deity authorized the imperial power to rule the country (Shen, 1804, pp. 27-83; Wang, 2005, pp. 160-165). Thereby, emperors were representative of the deity (Wang, 2005, pp.34-35). The tea ritual metonymized the legitimacy of an Emperor's authority in the Ming and Qing dynasties. However, by the late Ming dynasty, the tea ceremony came to symbolize a search for justice for the officials and literati (Wang, 2005, p. 35).

## 4.2 Japanese Tea Ceremony

The tea ceremony is the quintessential manifestation of Japanese national culture. One of the Japanese tea ceremonies, whisked tea (*Chanoyu*) in Japan, was disseminated from China during the Sung dynasty (960-1279 C.E.). The symbols became distinct from the Chinese tea ceremony by the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. However, it still maintained the Chinese tea rituals in Tang and Sung dynasties. For example, a Japanese tea gathering in the sixteenth century included the necessary decorations featuring Chinese ink calligraphy, table flowers, and an incense burner (Cross, 2019). Additionally, although the brewing tea ceremony *Sencha-do* was transmitted in Japan during the Ming dynasty, the boiling tea ritual during Tang China still influenced the rites. It was essential to institute a concise history of tea culture transmission from China to Japan (see Appendix B).

Since the Heian period (794-1185 C.E.) Japanese monks spread the Chinese temple tea ritual to Japan and this diffusion continued during the Ashikaga (1336-1568 C.E.), Azuchi Momoyama (1568-1600 C.E.), and Edo eras (1603-1867 C.E.) (see Appendix B). The Shogun,

Ashikaga Yoshihisa, who reigned from 1473 to 1489, frequently patronized the tea ceremony, stimulating the independent development of the Japanese tea ritual by the sixteenth century (Cross, 2019). In the same century, Taiko-Hideyoshi accorded special honor to Senno- Rikyu, the tea master who refined and formalized the tea ceremony for conventional tea ritual practitioners (Cross, 2019). This promoted the Japanese tea ritual to national status. During the Edo period, the Japanese tea ceremony integrated the steeping green tea ritual of Ming China (1368-1644) called *Sencha-do* in Japan (Graham, 1993).

#### 4.2.1 *Chanoyu Ritual*

*Matcha-do*, tea powder with hot water mixed with a bamboo brush, was transmitted from Sung China in the sixteenth century and fused with Japanese culture into the *Chanoyu* ritual. The ceremony was gradually accepted and practiced by Japanese tea masters such as Shuko, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, and Sen-no Rikyu (Cross, 2019; Sadler, 1962, preface pp. 10). *Chanoyu* originated from Zen Buddhism and expressed Daoism in Japan. Sen-no Rikyu renovated ‘making the tea as offering’ into ‘the way of tea’ with an emphasis on simplicity and calmness to present the philosophical context of Daoism (Teruhito, 2016). His revolution affected making tea, simplifying a tearoom, cherishing tea vessels, and purifying tea gardens in tea rites (Teruhito, 2016). For instance, Rikyu designed rustic and artisanal tea bowls (see Figure 4. 2) for the tea ceremonies to symbolize the unique Japanese aesthetics: *yō no bi* (the beauty of use), *fukanzen no bi* (the incomplete beauty), and *kiyome* (purification) (Teruhito, 2016). He was the tea master of the Feudal Lord Hideyoshi Hashiba in the Sengoku period (ibid.). For example, before the critical battle of 1582, Rikyu presented the *Chanoyu* ceremony to Hideyoshi in *Taian*,

**Figure 4. 2***Chanoyu* Tea Bowl

Tea bowl with crane (Approx. 1603)

*Note.* Tea bowl was designed by Senno Rikyu in approx. 1603 C.E. Derived from *Experience Chanoyu: The Japanese Art of Tea*, by Asian Art Museum, The Avery Brundage Collection, 2007

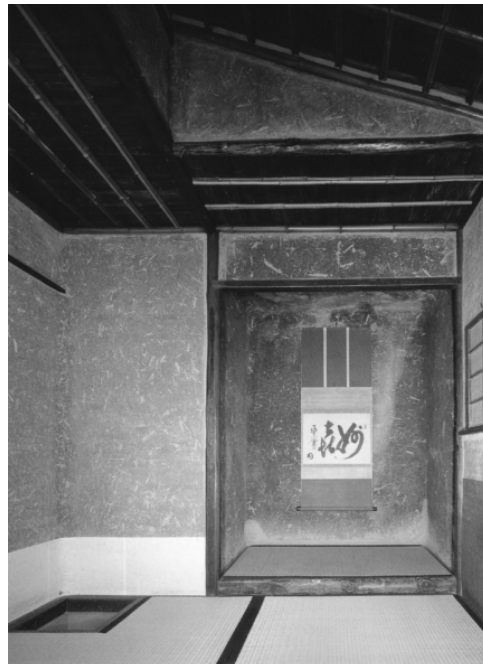
located at Myōki-an temple in Kyoto (see Figure 4.3). In the end, Hideyoshi won the battle and became the ruler of the Shogun in Japan in 1586 (Kaufman, 2018).

The Japanese tea ritual was developed by Rikyu in the sixteenth century and displayed a secular tea ceremony with a Zen spirit. The ritual was noted in *Southern Records*, which was written by Rikyu's student Nambō Sōkei (Cross, 2019; Kozyra, 2016; Nambō, 1686, pp. 1–213)). *Chanoyu* ritual emphasized the perfect way to live in mundanity was the acceptance of imperfection. Japanese *Matcha-do* ceremony (*Chanoyu*) impacted Japanese lifestyles from the upper class to ordinary people after the sixteenth century. This list of six points needs to be introduced rather than simply appearing here (Cross, 2019; Nambō, 1686, pp. 1–213).

- (1) Preparation
- (2) Cleansing minds
- (3) Appreciating the surroundings
- (4) Enjoying a simple meal
- (5) Making tea
- (6) Enjoying one tea set or decoration with participants

**Figure 4.3**

*Chanoyu* Tea Room



*Taian* (1582)

*Note.* Senno Rikyu served tea for Hideyoshi in Myōki-an temple in Kyoto, adopted from *Sen no Rikyū and the Japanese Way of Tea: Ethics and Aesthetics of the Everyday*, by Rumiko Handa, 2013.

The symbols of Buddhism were apparent in the ceremony. For example, *roji* was a garden and a space integrated into the tearoom in the *Chanoyu* ceremony. When I learnt the

Chanoyu ceremony in Kyoto from 2017 to 2018, *roji* was one of my favorite places to stay because my mind was gradually calmed. There were single *roji*, double *roji*, and triple ones. Double *roji* was the basic one, which was always called inner and outer gardens. *Roji* symbolized the boundary between the pure and mundane worlds in the Japanese *Chanoyu* ceremony. Walking on the steppingstones (see Figure 4. 4) in the inner *Roji*, there was a wash basin outside the tearoom. Guests must use the ladle to scoop water in a wash basin to clean their mouths and hands in the inner *roji* garden. The washing behaviours indicated that participants should purify their hearts before entering the tearoom. All decorations implicitly expressed the ceremonial tea theme with gestures instead of the verbal expressions.

**Figure 4. 4**

Steppingstones



*Note.* Senno Rikyu served tea for Hideyoshi in Myōki-an temple in Kyoto in 1582, adopted from *Sen no Rikyū and the Japanese Way of Tea: Ethics and Aesthetics of the Everyday*, by Rumiko Handa , 2013.

#### 4.2.2 *Sencha-do*

In the brewing tea ceremony, *Sencha-do*, the rites were disseminated from China in the Ming dynasty. Meanwhile, the Chinese boiling tea ceremony in the Tang dynasty still influenced the Japanese *Sencha-do* ritual. The tea ceremony in *Qingwan* in 1863 was an outside ritual, in contrast to another Japanese tea ceremony, *Chanoyu*, which has been introduced previously, and was held at a specific tearoom with limited participants (Tanohmura & Tanohmura, 1863, pp. 1–122). At the tea ceremony in *Qingwan*, over 1, 200 participants joined the ritual by purchasing tickets, with uncountable audiences watching.

The processes comprised two sessions: the decoration of the tearoom and the seven infusions of brewing tea. The taste of tea soup, separating the sunken tea leaves in water, depended on the quality of tea, water, and brewing skills. Before delineating the beginning of the tea ritual, the host explained to participants the importance of the ceremonial tea location enabling ready access to high-quality water. After the explanation, the host illustrated the purpose of writing the book to record the tea ceremony and the invaluable benefits of enjoying the tea ceremony to nourish his body and mind every day at the tearoom in *Qingwan*. Meanwhile, he briefly introduced the earliest ancestor of Japanese boiling tea, a poem, and an explanation of the positional name *Qingwan*. The ceremony set ten tea presentations underlying seven themes and attracted 1, 200 participants to purchase the tickets. Tea participants must participate sequentially from the first to the seventh themes. Meanwhile, audiences ranging from hundreds to thousands watched the ceremony. The ritual includes decorating the ceremonial tea surroundings and brewing tea.

The major sequences were:

(1) Decorating the environment and preparing the tea party

(2) Brewing tea:

First theme: Moistening and smoothing throat

Second theme: Breaking the loneliness and dreariness

Third theme: Feeling a little hungry

Fourth theme: Perspiring

Fifth theme: Purifying skin

Sixth theme: Connecting with the celestial beings

Seventh theme: Becoming a superhuman

The first theme of the tea ceremony was conducted at the tearoom in the oasis in *Qingwan*. The host displayed the primary fifteen tea vessels, four axillary utensils, and twenty categorical ornaments in the theme. The disposition of substances reinforced the aestheticism in the tea ceremony, which Kakuzo (1906/2019, pp. 3–4) names Teatism. He explains, ‘Teatism is a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful among the sordid facts of everyday existence’ (1906/2019, p. 3). It expressed Japanese worship of accepting the imperfect world, which originated in the tea ceremony, *Chanoyu*, in the sixteenth century. It is proverbial that the Japanese tea ceremony developed from the Zen ritual in the Tang dynasty. However, it fused with Daoism after its continuous development in Sung dynasty (960-1279 C.E.) in China. The emergence of Daoism was connected to the Chinese history of the Emperor who longed for elixirs. Daoism prevailed in the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279 C.E.) when the whipped tea ritual was disseminated from China to Japan.

The second infusion represented the Daoist spirit to inculcate the social order with purity to achieve harmony between the hosts and guests, which related to the Chinese philosophical view of man and nature: all harmonious relationships keeping the balance of the Yin and Yang (Shynkaruk et al., 2019). Daoism reveals that a principle of Yin-Yang underlies the discipline of all things' occurrence in the world. Yin and Yang reflect an essential duality- like day and night. As humans, the wisdom is to live harmoniously between Yin and Yang because it is impossible for us to live in a day without night or only night. Yin always symbolizes the earth, darkness, femininity, and passivity, while Yang is a metaphor for heaven, brightness, masculinity, and positivity. Japan transmitted the Chinese tea rites with the ritual spirit of Daoism and Buddhism during the Sung dynasty (960-1279 C.E.). The location of the tea ceremony in *Qingwa* was moved outside instead of indoors, consistent with the Japanese worship of naturism. The surroundings of the tea ceremony resemble those of Chinese tea parties in the Sung dynasty, more than five hundred years before the ceremony was held in *Qingwan* in Japan in 1863. One host dressed up in gray with a bamboo hat (*Kasa*), and two children, assisted in serving tea together under the pine trees to produce a sacred occasion with utmost refinement in the mundanity. This theme symbolized the idealization of the Japanese tea ceremony in the nineteenth century.

The third theme of the poem indicates the influence of Daoism in the tea ceremony: living far away from the mundane world and enjoying the occasion at a tearoom surrounded by green trees. Two hosts with five assistants served in the third theme. The settings of the tea table were distinctive from the first theme though both were inside, and the different adjunct was an old mirror. The piece emphasized the beauty of the joyful mood of drinking tea. The value of



the *Sencha-do* ceremony was not the way of tea but also the way of life. The core value of the ritual was social spirit.

The fourth theme features the explicit decorations of Buddhism: prayer beads, a wish-fulfilling sceptre, and an incense burner. The only Buddhist decoration was a censer in the fifth theme. The sixth theme involved two tea rooms. The primary space served tea, whereas the assistant area brewed tea and displayed arranged flowers and natural scents. The participants could see the distinctive sceneries from the four directions in the tearoom in the sixth theme. The depiction of the landscape in the former half poem was the same as the traditional Chinese painting that metaphorized the tranquil atmosphere of the tea ritual. The latter half of the verse revealed the tea spirits connected with Zen and Dao. The theme was communicating with celestial beings to express the feeling tea participants evoked to live in a perfect world in place of reality. The subordinate tea table was set in a big ship and separated into three spaces with chiffon—a silky, curtain—like material—on the lake to present the place where superhuman beings lived. Two small boats as vehicles for participants went to the tearoom in the ship, and three tea masters and three assistants served.

The last theme was the climax of the tea ceremony. Two directors with two assistants served tea. Unlike the six themes whose directors were called tea hosts, the former occupational name was a deacon. The senior adjunct was called the cassock which was analogous to the pure world. From the whole *Sencha-do* in *Qingwan*, it was apparent that Japanese tea ceremonies were performed through Zen art, and the kernel was Daoism (Kakuzo, 1906/2019, pp. 47–69).

### 4.3 English Afternoon Tea

Perhaps the oldest reference to the word 'tea' in Europe dates to Ramusio's 1550 book, which described something exotic and unknown to English audiences since the first tea did not reach Amsterdam until 1600 (Walsh, 1892, pp. 16-19). Walsh (1892, pp. 14-15) translates a Chinese tea poem into English and illustrates the tea spirits from Yu Lu, the tea saint in China. Chamberlayne (1682, p. 9) claims that drinking tea was daily entertainment for Chinese noblemen and princes. He called it *thee* in his book, describing how tea was thought to benefit health in China and Japan, and concisely introduced the tea vessels used in tearooms in the two countries. He also describes brewing methods in Britain, China, Japan, and Tartar, and emphasizes that tea brewing methods used in Britain in the 1680s were the same as those in China. This suggests the direct incorporation of Chinese practices by the Europeans. Ovington (1699/2011, pp. 1–39) echoes this by claiming that the English tea ritual originated in southern China. The processes of Chinese brewing tea were complex; *Bohe*, *Singlo*, and *Bing* were the export commodities to Britain.

#### 4.3.1 *Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee Garden Tea Party*

English afternoon tea was initially practised by the Royal family and senior aristocracy, thereby rendering it very exclusive and fashionable among the elite. Like the Chinese tea ceremony, the British held tea ceremonies at important events such as weddings, birthdays, private parties, the Temperance Movement, official conversations, and even the Queen's Jubilee

(Chen, 2009; Clark, 2000, p. 28; Dearden, 1840, p. 21). The book *Sixty Years a Queen* records the Golden Jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria (see Figure 4. 5), which involved the Buckingham palace garden parties (Maxwell, 1897, pp. 232–235). The described sequences were:

- (1) Decorating the lawn with tents
- (2) Opening the door at four o'clock in the afternoon
- (3) The colonial representatives, royal members, and foreign politicians, all in formal dress, entered the lawn
- (4) Participants mingled and acted on social connections or sought recreation in boats in the Palace Lake
- (5) Queen Victoria walked towards her tent, with Lord Lathom clearing a path through the guests for her
- (6) Queen Victoria wore a white apron to drink tea and ate fruit
- (7) Started the Naval review
- (8) Queen left at a quarter past four o'clock

### Figure 4. 5

#### Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee Garden Party



*Luckie Davis, R.I.] [Partly from a Photograph specially taken for this Work by H. S. King.*

HER MAJESTY'S GARDEN PARTY: INDIAN VISITORS.

*Note.* The front of the photo was two Indian visitors and the British participants in the garden party. *Her Majesty's Garden Party: Indian Visitors, Sixty Years A Queen, 1897.*

Royal social gatherings, such as the Queen's Golden Jubilee, celebrated Britain's imperial economic and political power and the expanse and number of its colonies. The elaboration of brewing tea and making refreshments was important to express its formality, indicating the British Empire's prestige and authority. *The Afternoon Tea Book* recorded the processes of brewing black tea and refreshment recipes, which demonstrates that the steeping of English afternoon tea was the same as that of the Chinese during the Ming and Qing dynasties (Maitland, 1900, pp. ii–148). The detailed sequences were:

- (1) Boiling fresh water

- (2) Warming the teapot
- (3) Putting tea in the warmed teapot
- (4) Pouring the boiling water into the teapot
- (5) Standing for five to seven minutes to draw (Haste method to brew tea)
- (6) Pouring out the tea liquid

The processes of brewing English afternoon tea emphasized the importance of water freshness and boiling methods, which was the same as that which formed part of the Chinese tea ceremony in the Ming dynasty. Brewing tea with water that simmered too long or boiled twice was deemed unhealthy. The use of rapidly heated soft water was the best option for the primary tea. The proportion of tea was one ounce for six to seven people or one teaspoonful per person. The haste brewing method was to put tea with boiled water in an oven until steeped thoroughly. The book alludes to the hostess's skills to determine the number of teapots in the right proportion to the party size.

#### 4.3.2 *Upper-class Afternoon Tea Party*

English afternoon tea was rapidly transmitted from the royal family to the aristocracy, and even to the middle class. The tea ritual was dominated by the upper class, which impacted the middle and lower classes to mimic the ritual after tea was sufficiently available in Britain. The formal rites were transmitted through generations in the upper class, even appearing in children's tea etiquette books such as *Afternoon Tea* in the 1880s (Sowerby & Emmerson, fl. 1880, p. 1). The prominent reason was that the upper class used tea and tea utensils earlier than the middle and lower classes. Chamberlayne (1682, pp. 8-12) reported that Dutchmen were

familiar with all tea utensils after their ambassadors visited China. He (1682, pp. 8-12) used the word *Thee* to represent tea in 1682; while in contrast, Paulli (1746, p. 51) employs the word *tea* and generalizes that the English drank tea in the morning, afternoon, and evening in India in the 1740s.

Based on information found in *The Habits of Good Society: A Handbook for Ladies and Gentlemen* and *A Manual of Etiquette with Hints on Politeness and Good Breeding*, the nineteenth Century English afternoon tea ritual involved inviting guests, preparing the tea party, and holding the party (Anonymous, 1869, pp. 168–403 & Johnson, 1868, pp. 23–103)).

The tea party sequences were:

- (1) The invitation of guests by delivery of cards
- (2) Waiting for the responses
- (3) The preparation of materials
- (4) Holding a party
- (5) Ending the party

The hostess needed to send invitation cards, thin cardboard with the name, number of participants, and the party's address, to the invitees' house by a servant ten days to a week before the party (Johnson, 1868, p. 28). The hospitality expressed in the invitation to a tea party was imperative, as well as the request for invitees' reply immediately after receiving invitation cards. Politeness required that the invitee give specific reasons for declining the invitation. All guests dressed elegantly and appropriately per the scheduled time of the party. For example, participants must wear full evening wear for an evening party. Before the arrival of guests, the hostess should prepare all materials and rooms, such as a dressing room, tea tables, and a game place. Gloves were necessary for ladies at town tea parties. In small tea parties in a village, it was

unusual to wear gloves. As Anonymous (1869, pp. 168–403) & Johnson (1868, pp. 23–103) reiterate that hospitality was highly valued at the party, the etiquette in English afternoon tea was similar to other social gatherings in the nineteenth century.

**CHAPTER 5**

**DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES OF THREE TEA CEREMONIALS AND REASONS**

This chapter analyzes the differentiation and similarities of the three tea rituals. As mentioned previously, Tambiah (1981, p. 119) defines ritual as a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication. The ritual involves four characteristics: Formality (conventionality), Stereotypy (rigidity), Condensation (fusion), and Redundancy (repetition). Public disciplines decide the content of the formality. In other words, formality reflects social rules and is fundamental to the other three features. The three tea ceremonies in all three cultures under consideration were highly stylized and laden with different social symbolic meanings during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries in the three nations. An important consideration here is the nature and function of these ceremonies. Bell (1997, p. 144) illustrates that symbolic communication involves two procedures: the form of the actor's external social-control and the form of the participants' internal self-control (see Figure 2.1). The analysis of the three tea rituals draws upon the four characteristics, while the similarities and the reasons are based on the ritual mechanism.



## 5.1 Distinctive Characteristics and Reasons for Three Tea Ceremonies

### 5.1.1 Differentiation in Formality (Conventionality) and Reasons

English Afternoon Tea: The English afternoon tea described in *The Habits of Good Society: A Handbook for Ladies and Gentlemen* and *A Manual of Etiquette with Hints on Politeness and Good Breeding*, depicted the conventional etiquette underlying British social activities. For example, according to genteel expectations, pouring tea into the saucer to cool it was impolite, and drinking tea with sugar and milk was a mistake (Anonymous, 1869, pp. 166-389). Tea ritual formality characterized the preparation and invitation session in English afternoon tea in the nineteenth century. For instance, it was necessary to prepare two rooms for a town tea party, and the hostess should issue invitations ten days or a week before the party was held. It was also important that the invited guests should be already acquainted; otherwise, a hostess would be expected to facilitate the exchange of formal introductions before the party started. All ladies would be seated while gentlemen remained standing (Anonymous, 1869, p. 403). Simultaneously, the conventional gestures and conversational topics ensured polite social exchange in the afternoon tea rites. Such understandings of good behaviour led ladies to implicitly know to wear gloves at town tea parties and take off gloves before eating food, but that they should not wear their gloves at county tea parties.

Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee celebrated Britain's political power and its colonies. The elaboration of brewing tea and making refreshments was important to express its formality, which indicated the British Empire's authority. The decoration, the Naval review, and the

entertainment of boating in the Palace Lake symbolized the British official communication of power in the Victoria period.

All variations of afternoon tea were culturally constructed to express the expected behaviours among the social elite (Tambiah, 1981, pp. 113–169). The manners expressed during tea parties and Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee were also recognized as appropriate public behaviours at other social activities. The good manners might not reflect the participants' actual emotional perspective, but symbolized the outward manifestations expected of a polite member of Britain's upper class in the nineteenth century. English afternoon tea initially symbolized high social status when tea rituals were transmitted from China. Numerous tea party pictures reflect this symbolization before the 1750s. After tea was sufficiently available, in large measure because of tea production in British colonies after the later eighteenth century, English afternoon tea came to symbolize morality and politeness. The definition of formality (conventionality) underwent regular change in light of political, economic and cultural trends. For example, the materials involving tea sets, desserts, and dressing of English afternoon tea transformed through time with shifts in fashion. It displayed that non-handled cups were formal in the portraits in the early eighteenth-century Britain. In contrast, handled cups of bone china prevailed to present the formality of social communication in tea party portraits in the late eighteenth century.

The formality (conventionality) of English afternoon tea rituals focused more on economic development than the spirituality. Haywood (1725, p. 49) emphasizes that the soul of the English afternoon tea can connect the ritual actors and participants by heart rather than material presentation. Tate (1700, pp. 1–36) also stresses tea spirituality; imagining tea was a symbol of the God patron. However, the voice of economic growth overshadowed Haywood (1725, pp. 1–49) and Tate's (1700, pp. 1–36) generalizations. Indeed, the public emphasis on

national sobriety also had an economic character. Rappaport (2013) claims that participants were enthusiastic about Temperance Tea Parties. However, they may not have recognized the motivations of the tea party organizers and lead participants. The advocated symbol of the nineteenth century Temperance Tea Parties desired was to promote sobriety in Britain. But the reasons for participants were multiple.

Additionally, Victorian literature impacted public values in the nineteenth century, with a new focus on the equality of genders and classes (Moran, 2006, pp. 1–15). Tea party started to symbolize gender and class integration, primarily by involving diverse classes in afternoon tea rituals (Rappaport, 2013). However, it was impossible to eradicate the role of the social hierarchy that characterized the origins of British afternoon tea (Rappaport, 2013; Weatherill, 1986). Compared with the previous period, writers and readers in the Victorian era commonly expressed distinctive societal values about gender and sexuality, race and nationality, and class and social structure (Moran, 2006, pp. 1–15). This idea continuously challenged the orthodox tradition, and individual values prevailed among the middle class. No complex society is a cohesive entity. The industrial revolution, scientific development, and Renaissance impacted the domain of the aristocracy in the British Empire. The middle class and their advocacy of individualism shaped Britain's national self-image during the Victorian era. The public communicative rules started to display middle-class ideas.

**Japanese Tea Ceremonies:** Initially, the spirit of whisked tea was the making of tea for the offering. It symbolized Buddhist perspectives about the relationship between humans and the natural world. In the sixteenth century, Rikyu purified the initial whipped tea rites and emphasized the ritual symbolism between humans and humans, humans and other species, and

humans and nature. He explained that the meaning of *Chanoyu* was making tea with heart. The aesthetics *yō no bi* (the beauty of use), *fukanzen no bi* (the incomplete beauty), and *kiyome* (purification) calmed warriors' minds after the one-hundred-year civil war. In Matcha-do — *Chanoyu* ceremony, rustic tea sets and simplified decorations were adopted from the Japanese aesthetics of understated expression. *Chanoyu* ceremony was popular among warrior chiefs. It symbolized the social communication between the warrior leaders and tea masters in the sixteenth century.

Compared to the English afternoon tea, the Japanese brewing tea ritual *Sencha-do* ceremony retained strictly observed traditional processes as well as whisked tea ceremony, *Chanoyu*. The operations of the tea ceremony underlay the Chinese poem created by Tong Lu dating back to the Tang dynasty. It conveyed Daoism and presented it through Zen Buddhism. The guests must participate in the ceremony sequentially from the first theme to the seventh one, and self-reflect upon the similar rites and distinctive decorations in tea rooms. Japanese *Sencha-do* ceremonies in *Qingwan* explicitly expressed Buddhist influences with tea decorations, such as a cassock, incense burner, prayer beads, and wish-fulfilling sceptre. The kernel of the Japanese tea ceremony in *Qingwan* was grounded in Daoism, but with the inclusion of Buddhist symbolic decoration. The seven themes during an important 1863 tea ceremony in *Qingwan* echoed that characterized in the Chinese tea poem. The formality was constituted by the Chinese tradition of Buddhism and Daoism and was represented in dress and decorations.

Chinese Tea Ceremonies: The various Chinese tea ceremonies practiced in the Palace through to the literati offered diverse public intentionality that were also observed in other

countries which overtly incorporated tea rituals. That said, the social function and symbolic meaning of tea ceremonialism transformed through time and situational context. During the late Ming dynasty, the central symbolic theme of literati tea ritual was a celebration of freedom and equality. The Chinese tea ceremony practised by the literati in the late Ming dynasty expressed principles of Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The ritual focused on the spirit of making tea, not on the physical materials of ritual performance. For example, they treasured premium tea, fresh water, and rustic tea sets to ensure tea brewing that focused on tea quality.

In contrast, the imperial tea ceremony in Qing China was oriented towards honouring the deity and the Emperor who metonymized that supernatural power to the general populace. The royal tea ritual inherited the rites which implicitly reinforced social hierarchy and authority among the politically powerful and wealthy elites, thereby validating the role of the dynasty house. Rulers tended to create and practise ritual to support themselves and the socio-political status quo (Bell, 1997, pp. 10–160). The royal tea ceremony represented the Emperor's authority in the Qing dynasty. The tea ceremony was central to the culture of the Han ethnic population, which Manchu adopted during Mongolia's government from 1644 to 1912. The Chinese tea ritual symbolized the social communication between the Emperor and courts, the aristocracy and literati, and the bureaucracy and the common populace.

Summary: English afternoon tea emerged from garden party conventions and dinner manners that underwent formalization into tea rituals. In contrast, Japan integrated Japanese aesthetics, *yō no bi* (the beauty of use), *fukanzen no bi* (the incomplete beauty), and *kiyome* (purification), to innovate the Japanese tea ceremony (Teruhito, 2016). Similar ritual meanings existed in both China and Japan because of the commonalities in natural culture. In contrast, few

such commonalities existed between Britain and the Asian countries, resulting in sharp differences in meaning and social function associated with English afternoon tea. The comparatively narrow geographical distance between China and Japan enabled continual cultural exchange, resulting in similar cultural and religious backgrounds. In contrast, the long physical distance led to rare cultural communication between Britain and China, contributing to the sharp cultural and religious distinctions between China and Britain regarding tea ritual. This contributed to distinctive tea rituals after ceremonial tea transmission between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### *5.1.2 Differentiation in Stereotypy (Rigidity) and Reasons*

English Afternoon Tea: As previously explained, tea ritual stereotypy (rigidity) is grounded in different cultural systems in three nations during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The stylized behaviour of tea rituals conditioned participants to perceive that a polite manner and stylized actions indicated nineteenth century middle-class ideas. In the nineteenth century, polite behaviour was a social communicative norm that was valued in English afternoon tea parties. This social norm was mimicked (likely with lesser success) by the middle class, and even the lower one. Participants' ability to conform to the expected behaviours was driven by prior opportunity to observe and learn the appropriate behaviours, and the financial means to possess the material symbols associated with the ritual performances. Guests must wear elegant attire and arrive and leave on time accordingly. The aristocrats regulated the ritual etiquettes, especially for the royal family and their associates who focused on good manners. The discipline of English afternoon tea likely involved rehearsing the right attitude for the peerages in the

nineteenth century. Ladies were allowed to sit at the tea party, but gentlemen should stand up to avoid untoward liberty towards unrelated women within this formal setting. It was impolite for a man to sit at a tea party without the ladies' permission (Anonymous, 1869, pp. 168–403).

Participation in an English afternoon tea symbolically communicated membership in an exclusive high social status group.

English tea parties existed as a component of other social activities in nineteenth-century Britain and were highly structured social performances. For example, a guest was expected to only participate for half an hour, whereupon good manners dictated that they should take their leave (Anonymous, 1869, pp. 168–403). During Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, the formal tea ceremony involving the Queen only lasted fifteen minutes. These highly structured social performances were grounded in Britain's cultural system. The afternoon tea ritual initially symbolized high social status after English afternoon tea became popular among Britain's aristocracy and the upper class in the eighteenth century. After tea was sufficiently available and affordable in the nineteenth century, tea ritual signaled gender and class integration because Victorian literature influenced the transforming social values in Britain (Fromer, 2008, pp. 1-289; Moran, 2006, pp. 1–15). Middle class, even lower class, started to mimic afternoon tea rituals, and afternoon tea parties started to advocate the involvement of the diverse classes in the same party (Moran, 2006, pp. 1–15). However, the consumption hierarchy could not replace the social hierarchy. The high social status symbol still shadowed the symbolization of politeness and morality in the nineteenth century. English afternoon tea also symbolized gender equality (Fromer, 2008, pp. 1-289; Moran, 2006, pp. 1–15). However, men sat around Tea-Tables that symbolized gentleman's' status in early eighteenth-century Britain. In contrast, ladies' tea gatherings were thought that women only drank tea together to gossip about scandals (Chen,

2009). Brown (1707) argues that the exact purpose of women gathering for tea was for the equality of genders. Ellis (2019b) claims that tea drinking was associated with the middle-class ladies entertaining among households against the man public connection at coffee houses. Although the elite afternoon tea, the Victorian's Golden Jubilee tea party, and middle-class ladies' tea gatherings (mimicked the elite's actions), symbolized the different social communicative ways in Britain between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the tea ritual behaviours were the same as the aristocrats' series behaviours. The series pattern of English afternoon tea was viewed as less stereotypical than the Japanese tea ceremony because the former behaviours were not distinctive to other social parties.

Japanese Tea Ceremonies: The behaviors associated with the Japanese tea ceremony are viewed as symbolizing a pure world by rigorously coding tea ritual processes. The Japanese tea ceremony in *Qingwan* expressed Japanese aesthetics, such as *yō no bi* (the beauty of use), *fukanzen no bi* (the incomplete beauty), and *kiyome* (purification). This aesthetics was approved by the populace in Japan between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *Chanoyu* ceremony presented a series of gestural behaviours without verbal communication because Sen-no Rikyu believed calm could promote self-reflection and purify minds to the ideal realm while operating within the secular world.

The Japanese tea ceremony also served as a ritual to establish and strengthen the social ties between the warrior elite and wealthy merchants (Willmann, 2020). While serving social networking functions not unlike the English afternoon tea, the Japanese ceremony always continued for several hours. For instance, participants must be sequentially involved in the seven themes of the Japanese tea ceremony in *Qingwan*. All members should follow the sequence of



behaviours led by the tea ritual actors in each theme. All stereotypical behaviours that *Chanoyu* and *Sencha-do* performed were to incorporate Chinese Zen Buddhism to express the philosophical theory of Daoism. The Buddhist impacts improved Japanese tea behavioural coding, especially in the *Chanoyu* ceremony. The student of founder Rikyu depicted the coding actions in the book *Southern Records* in the sixteenth century (Nambō, 1686, pp. 1-213).

Both *Matcha-do* and *Sencha-do* originated from the Chinese temple tea rituals. They were more stereotypical than the Chinese royal family tea rituals, focusing more on the secular world. The Japanese priests and merchants who practiced Buddhism transformed the tea ceremonies after tea rituals were diffused from China. The Daoist kernel of the Japanese tea rituals was inherited from these roots. The ceremony also integrated the Buddhist rites. However, it was not a religious ritual because the Japanese tea ceremony did not reference supernatural agents (Kavanagh et al., 2020). Japanese tea ceremony created a mental atmosphere connecting the inner field of consciousness to advocate a harmonious world (Shynkaruk et al., 2019). The ceremonial spirit emphasized the acceptance of imperfection as a way to live perfectly in the mundane world. Tea masters must comply with normative rigidity. Even in the current period, it was necessary to obey the stereotypical steps without asking questions when I learned it in Kyoto in 2017. The tea ceremony was grounded in Japanese culture before the nineteenth century, deeply influenced by Chinese culture. Adapting the Chinese temple tea rituals made the Japanese tea ceremony more stereotypical than English afternoon tea and Chinese royal family tea rituals.

Chinese Tea Ceremonies: The tea ceremony practised by the Chinese Ming dynasty literati and the Chinese royal tea ceremony of the Qing dynasty represented Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The tea ritual processes emphasized the implicit spiritual meaning rather than

explicit gestures. Many hours of meticulous preparation were required in a literati tea ceremony. The tea ritual symbolized psychical purification by reiterating the cleanness of tea wares in the rites in the literati tea ceremony in late Ming China. The royal tea ceremony depicted the authority by the Emperor's worship of the deity. The same symbolization was introduced in the tea ceremony in Chonghua Palace. The official courts must create the poet when the Emperor bestowed a cup of tea. The stereotypical sequences symbolized the Chinese social communicative norms between the Emperor and the official courts.

Chinese cultural conventions decided the degree of the tea ritual stereotypy. Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism deeply impacted the Chinese tea ceremony. The literati tea ceremony emphasized equality between the government and the literati, but this was impossible to implement in late Ming China. The royal family tea ritual emphasized the importance of social hierarchy in Qing China. The tea ritual symbol was the same as in the past. It symbolized the Emperor's authority and hierarchical system. The inheritance of the tea ritual represented the recognition of the Han ethnic group in the social status of the Qing dynasty.

Summary: The tea ritual stereotypy (rigidity) was grounded in dissimilar cultural systems in three nations during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The distinctive stereotypical sequences symbolized the different communicative forms in the Chinese royal family tea ceremony, the literati tea rites in Ming China, the seven sequent themes in the Japanese *Senchado* tea ceremony in *Qingwan*, the *Chanoyu* tea ceremony, Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, and the etiquette rules of English afternoon tea party. These symbolizations laid on cultural values. The Chinese Tea ceremony was affected by Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism to symbolize the relationship between the deity and Emperor, Emperor and aristocracy, Emperor and literati,

Emperor and the common people, and Emperor and nature. The Japanese tea ceremony was the symbol of the purified world to connect the human psychological realm. English afternoon tea was symbolic of high social status, although it advocated politeness and morality later. The Chinese temple tea ritual appreciably influenced the Japanese tea ceremony. The samurai chief's supportiveness promoted the Japanese tea ritual stereotypy for emphasizing the participants' soul connections with the ceremony rather than the material displays. English afternoon tea became fashionable among the aristocrat and elite group when tea was initially imported into Britain in the seventeenth century. Drinking the expensive exotic tea symbolized the high social status in Britain. The luxurious tea sets, formal attire, and extravagant lifestyle were the mainstays of English afternoon tea. The British Isles were under financial deficit after experiencing the loss of the tea taxes in the United States and the French revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, respectively (Barr, 1995, pp. 207–220). Britain improved the consumption pay duty to meet financial strains while tea was sufficiently available (Barr, 1995, pp. 207–220). In order to stimulate tea consumption, Britain wanted to change the tea ritual symbol from high social status to cross-class and cross-gender, since Britain successfully reared tea in its colonies in the 1830s. This was because the middle class's idea of class and gender equality prevailed in the whole nation during the Victorian era (Moran, 2006, pp. 1–15). However, the symbolic meaning of English afternoon tea was still shadowed by the initial sign of the high social status. Overall, Japanese tea ceremony was the most stereotypical, the Chinese tea ritual was modest, and the English afternoon tea was the least.

### 5.1.3 *Differentiation in Condensation (Fusion) and Reasons*

English Afternoon Tea: In the nineteenth century, English afternoon tea parties delivered in the socially accepted manner indicated English social status, symbolizing ‘gentility’ and ‘polite society’, while the tea garden party on Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee also served nationalistic objectives in celebrating British Imperial power that had achieved global impact. The garden party for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee and the English afternoon tea party, were both media that were strongly correlated and compressed to represent the social communicative function. The ritual fused multiple media into the ceremony. The English afternoon tea party offered the opportunity to dance during the tea rites (Ovington, 1699/2011, pp. 1–39). As a previous explanation, one ritual condensation (fusion) method is structurally employing diverse expressional media after blurring their boundaries. The Victoria’s Golden Jubilee Party blurred the dance boundary and fused it into the afternoon tea ritual (Tambiah, 1981, p. 164; Houseman & Severi, 1998, pp. 44–46). The other way is condensing all sensory channels of participants. The seventh Duchess of Bedford used traditional English refreshments in the afternoon tea ritual in the 1840s, stimulating participants’ tastes to emphasize that high-social status tea gatherings involved English desserts (Wang, 2011). Simultaneously, afternoon tea symbolized high social status through formal attire, high-quality tea, and exquisite tea sets to stimulate visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, and gustatory senses (Howes & Classen, 2013, pp. 1–4).

English afternoon tea focused more on visual and gustatory stimulation than auditory, olfactory, and tactile ones. The exquisite tea wares were displayed in Chinese appearances when the tea ceremony was initially transmitted from China in the seventeenth century. For instance,

teapot decoration was traditional Chinese paintings, and non-handle cups prevailed in aristocratic tea parties. Some of the features were transformed into the English style after Britain started to order tea sets with British decorations china. Britain emulated to fire the white surface ceramics in the earlier eighteenth century. After William Cookworthy fired the same porcelain as China in 1758, Britain's porcelain factories manufactured the tea wares by themselves, with the decorations and shapes ultimately representing Britain's culture (Godden, 1988, pp. 15–60). For example, handle cups replaced non-handle cups and became popular in English afternoon tea.

Japanese Tea Ceremony: The Japanese tea ceremony in *Qingwan* and *Chanoyu* expressed the Japanese societal ideal of *yō no bi* (the beauty of use), *fukanzen no bi* (the incomplete beauty), and *kiyome* (purification) through aesthetic decoration and behaviours. Japanese tea ceremony pursued the perfectionism of simplicity and natural beauty in seven themes in the tea ceremony in *Qingwan*. Originating from China in Tang (618-907 C.E.) and Sung (960-1279 C.E.) dynasties and innovated by Sen-no Rikyu and his adherents, the Japanese tea ritual, and exquisite rustic tea wares made in Japan contrast sharply with the extravagant tea sets from China. The salient fusion of the Japanese tea ceremony was upon the existing culture that reinforced participants' full senses in ritual processes. The stimulation of participants' senses in a silent tearoom in Japanese tea ceremonies had no parallel to Chinese tea ceremonies in Ming and Qing dynasties, English afternoon tea during Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, and the tea party. The sound of scooping and pouring water was impressive in quiet surroundings. The mode stimulated the hearing of actors and participants in a ceremonial experience. The experiential strength symbolized the social communication of pursuing a pure realm. The pure world existed in the human heart for the acceptance of imperfections. The Japanese were long isolated from the

world due to the hundred-year war in the *Sengoku* era (1467-1568 C.E.). After one hundred years of civil war, the Japanese were seeking a simple, pure method for communication without the possibility of violence.

The display of the materials in the tea ceremony including tea sets and Buddhist equipages reiterated the appreciation for the host. This appreciation symbolized the participants' respect for tea material creators and cultivators through observing and tasting tea soup, touching and watching tea wares, listening to the sound of pouring water, and smelling a burning censer. This symbolization metaphorized the respectful relationship between humans and humans, humans and other species, and humans and nature. The condensation of the stimulation of the five senses (visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, and gustatory) reiterated the Japanese tea ceremonial actors' expectations for participants.

Chinese Tea Ceremony: The literati tea rites in the later Ming dynasty fused the four essential elements: water, charcoal, tea, and a pot to stimulate the actor's hearing, sight, taste, smell, and touch. The operation of condensation was the same as in the two Japanese tea ceremonies, *Chanoyu* and *Sencha-do*, which was the utilization of all sensory channels of participants. Chinese royal tea ceremony fused traditional music with conventional instruments, and poems that the Emperor and the official courts created, to reinforce the symbolization of authority in social communication. The royal tea ceremony fused multiple mediums to intensify communicative norms in Qing China. The fusing practice was the same as Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee which was constructed with various expressional models by blurring their boundaries.

Chinese tea rituals fused gestures with table flowers, music, incense, and attire to express aesthetics and morality (Liu, 2014). Tea culture was the civilization's epitome in the Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.). The further development of the tea ritual fused Chinese art in the Sung dynasty (960-1279 C.E.). In late Ming dynasty, the tea ritual condensed art mutually and displayed the connotation of simplicity and silence. The tea ritual emphasized natural environmental beauty. It symbolized the ideal world where human beings had beautiful hearts. Beautiful nature represented virtue in tea rituals in the Ming dynasty. Culturally, drinking tea expressed the high quality of the tea taste and morality. Although Qing China maintained the royal tea rituals from the Ming dynasty, Manchu culture affected Chinese tea wares' decoration, materials, and features. The dramatic tea sets exporting into Britain and other European countries encouraged ceramic technologic development. In order to transmit Manchu nomadic culture, the trend of brewing tea became simpler in Qing China than in the Ming dynasty.

Summary: In order to effectively deliver the symbolic meaning of the tea rituals, the principal actors fused participants' sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch, or blurred expressional models to fuse into tea ceremonies. The tea ritual media were alike in Japan and China because of the similar cultural and religious backgrounds facilitated by the short geographical distance between them. During the Qin dynasty, the Chinese Daoist Fu Xu went to Japan to seek the elixir for Emperor Qin. The comparatively close proximity of China and Japan favoured frequent cultural communication. Multiple Japanese tea gatherings were recorded in Mandarin. Meanwhile, various Chinese tea books, poems, and calligraphies were spread in Japan without translation. In contrast, Britain and China lacked a long tradition of cultural interaction compounded by the long distances between them. At least half a year was required for an ocean

voyage from the UK to China. While Chinese commodities might have become available in Europe, the cultural context and spiritual meaning of tea ritual was not readily understood. Indeed, Kakuzo claims that Western countries including Britain only incompletely grasped Eastern culture until the twentieth century (1906/2019, p. 160).

#### *5.1.4 Differentiation in Redundancy (Repetition) and Reasons*

English Afternoon Tea: Britain recognized that ‘The Chinese are the most minute of all nations in their forms of etiquette, etc.’ because China had numerous etiquette books (Johnson, 1868, p. 7). Thereby, English afternoon tea focused on politeness as in nineteenth century China. The tea ritual emphasized that hospitality was more important than the materials. As a previous explanation in section 2.3.3, the ritual redundancy employs multiple channels, or a single channel continually delivers the actors’ messages to the participants. Due to the lack of superfluous symbols of the English afternoon tea ritual, only the necessary, non-symbol materials, such as the luxury tea wares, decorations, and formal attire, were grounded in multiple channels to transmit the symbol of polite behaviours in social communication. The practice of redundancy in Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee and English afternoon tea party were distinctive from Chinese and Japanese tea ceremonies. Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee operated on multiple channels, such as displaying high-quality tea, formal dressing, refreshment, and decoration at the same time, to transmit the symbol of power. However, superfluous behaviours or signs were rare in the afternoon tea ritual. In contrast, the Japanese tea ceremony discoursed various superfluous symbols in each stage and practiced the single channel to repeatedly deliver the symbolic meaning of social communication.



Japanese tea Ceremony: Japanese tea ceremony in *Qingwan* operated the single channel to continually repeat the tea steeping processes in seven themes to symbolize the social communicative norms, to express the deference of actors and participants towards human beings, materials, and nature. Simultaneously, the ceremony operated the superfluous Buddhist symbols such as prayer beads, wish-fulfilling sceptre, incense burner, and the bamboo hat (*Kasa*) in themes four and five. The operational method of redundancy was the single channel. The superfluous Buddhist symbolization was accepting the imperfect reality as perfection in social communication in Japan in the nineteenth century. Japanese tea ceremony in *Chanoyu* repeated the cleaning behaviours to symbolize the pure world that existed in the heart. For example, participants should wash their mouths and hands in a water basin before entering a tearoom, and actors cleaned all tea sets before and after used. *Roji* was the symbol for participants to live out of the world with their minds. The tea ritual expressed the esteem between the actors and guests, human beings, and materials, which existed in the stage of preparation, cleaning the minds, appreciating the surroundings, enjoying a simple meal, making tea, and cherishing a bowl.

Chinese Tea Ceremony: The superfluous symbols in literati tea in late Ming China involved finding, filtering, and scooping fresh water, cleaning vessels before and after steeping tea, and respecting tea, tea sets, and guests. They applied the continual transmission of superfluous symbols in a single channel. The deference symbolized the relationship between the literati and participants, the literati and inanimate things, and the literati and nature were repeatedly transmitted to the guests. The superfluous symbols of the royal tea ceremony incorporated the Emperor worshipping tea to the deity and bestowing tea to participants. The ritual utilized the single channel in the Emperor's worship and bestowal of a cup of tea. The tea

ritual symbolized the social communication between the Emperor and deity, the Emperor and courts. The Emperor's authority to govern Qing China was considered holy, as it was believed to be bestowed upon him by the deity.

Summary: Japanese and Chinese tea ceremonies operated a single channel to repeat the superfluous symbols. English afternoon tea used multiple channels simultaneously to symbolize the relationship between humans in social interaction. Japanese tea rites repeated superfluous symbols more frequently than the Chinese ones. The Japanese tea ceremony was more redundant (repetitive) than the Chinese rituals. In turn, the English afternoon tea rites were even less redundant (repetitive) than the Chinese ones.

The superfluous behaviours or symbolic materials increase the spiritual connection between the actors and participants in tea rituals. The Japanese tea ceremony was transmitted from the Chinese temple tea rituals, and the redundancy was vital for the temple tea rites. The repetitive behaviours of the Japanese tea ceremony delivered the actors' messages more accurately to the participants than the English afternoon tea ritual. The former employed superfluous gestures or symbolic materials to repetitively transmit the message in a single channel. While the latter, it was vague to transmit the messages simultaneously in multiple channels through the non-symbolic materials. The irrational symbol of cross-class in the late nineteenth century deviated from the actors' expectation of breaking down class and gender. The display of materials in English afternoon tea symbolized high social status, which shadowed the symbolization of politeness and morality in the nineteenth century. The common people were disinclined to accept this symbol.

### 5.1.5 *Summary*

The formalities of the three tea rituals were designed to reinforce essential values within these societies. The tea rituals were symbols for distinctive social communication in China, Japan, and Britain. The different existing cultures, such as religion and conventions, affected the structure and expression of three tea rituals' performance. Three tea rituals practiced in the specific stereotypical behaviours, redundant sequences, and fusing operations underlying the different politics and economies in three countries between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The symbolic differentiation of the three tea rituals indicated the unique social communicative systems in China, Japan, and Britain.

## 5.2 **Similarities of Three Tea Ceremonies and Reasons**

Despite these differences, the tea rituals practised in each country were culturally constructed to symbolize and reinforce values, relationships, and understandings in a public 'performative' venue. These 'messages' were socially negotiated and transitory but were deeply embedded within the culture practising the ritual.

### 5.2.1 *Same Essential Functions for Societies and Reasons*

The tea ceremonies practiced in China, Japan, and Britain share important social roles as reflecting and reinforcing societal status differentiation. Although the Chinese tea ritual, the

Japanese tea ceremony, and English afternoon tea performed distinctive processes, they expressed the relationship between humans and humans, humans and other species, humans and nature through different etiquettes, aesthetics, and materials between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Chinese tea ceremony implicitly expressed Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism. The Japanese tea ceremony inherited sacred relics from the Chinese tea ritual and refined the behaviours repetitively to reiterate the homage to nature. English afternoon tea framed the ritual in polite manners. The desired efficacies of the three tea ceremonies were the same in that they were to stimulate the participants' self-control.

It is apparent that the tea ritual as a symbolic function of social communication was the same in all three nations although their communicative methods were different. The Chinese tea ceremony—the Royal Banquet in Qing dynasty and literati tea ceremony in the later Ming dynasty—symbolized the relationship between humans and humans, humans and other species, and humans and nature that was illustrated in Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Japanese *Chanoyu* and *Senchado* symbolized the pursuer of the pure land—a mythology surrounding humanity's desire for purity by accepting the mundane world—by emphasizing Buddhism which symbolized the Chinese Daoism. English afternoon tea demonstrated good manners to symbolize social morality. All of these communicative methods symbolized the ideal interactional styles in the three nations. The symbolism exemplified the essential feature of tea ritual, which was social communication.

### 5.2.2 *Same Ritual Mechanism and Reasons*

In addition, the mechanisms of three tea rituals were the same, involving the macro-procedure that was external social-control, and the micro-procedure, that was internal self-control (see Figure 2.1). The three tea rituals were impacted by external social-control—politics, economy, and the existing culture. Upon these external impactors, the tea ritual actors performed tea ceremonies to stimulate the participants' reflexivity in three nations. Thereby, all tea ceremonies evolved into two procedures. The mechanisms of tea ceremonies were the same because all of them were rituals, although the politics, economies, and the existing cultures were distinctive. In order to improve the accuracy of message acceptance, actors utilized the four characteristics, formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition), of the tea ritual to deliver ample information to participants (Tambiah, 1981, pp. 113–169). Apparently, the varying degrees of the four characteristics were associated only with differing tea ritual presentation. The mechanism evolving from two procedures was not changed.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Both Britain and Japan are cultural recipients of tea ritual, and not surprisingly, each society reworked elements of Chinese tea ritual to reflect their own cultural sensibilities. In Britain, tea parties became popular as a means of promoting social morality as part of the Temperance Movement, and also became a formalized means of expressing and defending social status distinctiveness and exclusivity among the aristocracy. While Japan, with its closer cultural roots with China, embraced similar spiritual meanings while also utilizing the ceremonial gatherings as a tool of social networking and alliance building, the society sought to rebuild its political system after a century of civil war.

This comparative study sought to address the expression of tea rituals in China, Japan and Britain, and to analyze apparent commonalities and contrasts in ritual behaviour and socio-cultural function. The distinctive cultures of the recipient societies led to a situation of some superficial similarities in the form and meaning of tea rituals, but with divergences that reflect the sharp differences between them. The innovated tea rituals symbolized the sharp distinctions of the social communicative notions in three countries between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. This symbolization represented the distinctions of social communication between Eastern Asia and Western countries. In spite of the differentiations between three tea rituals, the symbolic communication revealed the relationship between humans and humans, humans and other species, and humans and nature.

The analyses employ Tambiah's ritual definition and four characteristics, which are formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), redundancy (repetition), and condensation (fusion), to explore the distinctions and similarities of three tea rituals in China, Japan, and Britain during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (Tambiah, 1981, pp. 113–169). The comparison upon four characteristics is insightful and fruitful. The differentiation of the existing societal communicative notions in the three countries decided the tea ritual formality's varying degrees. These distinctions led to the dissimilar stereotypy represented in the different behavioural patterns in the three tea ceremonies. In order to express the different stereotypical patterns, three tea rituals employed repetitive behaviors and the condensation of the relevant elements. These two methods reiterated the information the actors wanted to express to participants in tea ceremonies. More repetitive actions and fusing factors improved the accuracy of message receiving for participants. The study of the three tea ritual comparisons systematically discoursed the ritual mechanism. It will be beneficial to the exploration of other rituals, improvement of ritual efficacies, and creation of new rites in present societies.

The three different tea rituals reflected the external social-control distinction in China, Japan, and Britain during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The distinctive external social-control involved politics, economics, and existing cultures impacted three tea rituals in unique rites. The tea ritual connotation was enriched and changeable in different periods underlying social disciplinaries in every country. The tea ritual pattern symbolized the appropriate actions in social interaction in three countries. Simultaneously, tea ritual behaviours constituted the existing culture to be a new cultural system and entered the new influential cycle to affect human social interaction after the nineteenth century.

I benefited from using ritual theory to help frame the comparative analysis used in this thesis. It is essential to culturally construct my thesis to provide more space for my audience's self-reflection. How could we use ritual efficacies to benefit the communicative system in our society? Bell (1997) claims, 'Ritual is a transcultural language of the human spirit and can promote a sense of common humanity and cross-cultural respect' (p. 266). Additionally, the Chinese book, *The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*, can demonstrate the Chinese ritual importance for human beings to understand the nature of society ('I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial,' fl. 770 B.C./1918, pp. 1-208). It is vital to explore cultures from an Eastern and Western ritual theory in the future.



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## APPENDICES

## Appendix A: Chinese Tea Cultural History

Time	Period	Tea Culture
206 B.C.-220 C.E.	Han	The first record of tea as a beverage: A Contract with A Servant: purchase and boiling tea
220-280 C.E.	Three Kingdoms	Tea prevailed in the gentry since the minister Wei, Zhao drank tea instead of alcohol.
420-589 C.E.	Northern and Southern	Monks were refreshed by tea during the meditation
618-907 C.E.	Tang	Boiling tea ceremony Lu, Yu Wrote <i>The Classic of Tea</i> (760-780)
960-1279 C.E.	Sung	Whisked tea ceremony Tea appraisal was popular Tea and horse trade market
1279-1368 C.E.	Yuan	Appeared loose-leaf tea The fried green technology, The processing of scented tea
1368-1644 C.E.	Ming	Banned the manufacture of tea cakes; Loose leaf tea brewing ritual Created yellow, dark, and black tea
1644-1912 C.E.	Qing	Created white and Oolong tea Six types of tea appeared

Source from *Tea and Chinese Culture* by Wang, L. (2005, pp. 1-165)

## Appendix B: Japanese Tea Cultural History

Time	Period	Tea Culture
710-794 C.E.	Nara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tea was introduced in Japan</li> <li>• Emperor Shomu held a ceremony and served tea in 729</li> </ul>
794-1085 C.E.	Heian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 815, Saicho took tea seeds to Japan. monk Eichu carried tea leaves to Kyoto</li> <li>• In 816, Emperor Saga ordered a tea plant, which was the first tea that appeared in the record</li> </ul>
1085-1333 C.E.	Kamakura	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1191, Myoan Eisai, the first monk, introduced zen Buddhism and powdered green tea to Kyoto</li> <li>• In 1207, Monk Myoe cultivated tea plants in Togano, near Uji</li> <li>• In 1121, Eisai describes tea as an elixir</li> <li>• The book 'kissa yojiki' Tea ceremony was popular among zen monks and the samurai</li> </ul>
1333-1336 C.E.	Restoration of Kenmu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Move the capital to Kyoto</li> </ul>
1336-1477 C.E.	Muromachi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gambling tea was prevailing</li> <li>• Ashikaga Shogun forbade the gambling tea</li> </ul>
1477-1573 C.E.	Sengoku	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Silver Palace as tearoom</li> <li>• Wabi-Sabi philosophy in tea ceremony: simple and natural</li> <li>• Tea ceremony practice by Zen Buddhism</li> <li>• Emphasized withered and chilled to present the human was calm and desireless</li> </ul>
1573-1603 C.E.	Azuchi-Momoyama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oda Nobunaga: tea gathering must under the permission</li> <li>• In 1582 Sen-no Rikyu the new leader of the tea ceremony, refined tea ritual and built 40 tea houses</li> <li>• Toyotomi Hideyoshi: performed tea ceremony in Palace</li> <li>• Furuta Oribe: Rikyu's student, developed the tea ritual using the stoneware with green and copper glaze</li> </ul>

<b>Time</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>• Tea Culture</b>
1603-1853 C.E.	Edo period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1645, Katsura Imperial Palace with teahouses was built</li> <li>• In 1670, a teahouse near the pond became a model, came from China</li> <li>• Uji tea was popular</li> <li>• In 1737, <i>Sencha-do</i> appeared in Japan</li> </ul>
1853-1868 C.E.	Bakumatsu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘ICHI GO ICHI E’: Cherish every tea ceremony</li> </ul>
1868-1912 C.E.	Meiji	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women tea practitioners were permitted</li> </ul>

Source from *Kyoto Tea Ceremony History*, by Adam Acar (2021)