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Terroir Exploration: A Case Study of Jingmai Mountain Tea Culture Tourism

Supervisor

Ch. Prof. Livio Zanini

Assistant supervisor

Ch. Prof. Tiziano Vescovi

Graduand

Yingyan He

Matriculation Number 893276

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前言

一. 研究背景

咖啡、茶、可可并称“世界三大饮品”。茶作为一种跨越文化和地域的饮料，几乎在全球范围内都有消费者，其价值早已超越了饮品的范畴，还代表了社交活动、文化仪式和生活方式。世界上很多地方都产茶，从最出名的种类来看，中国的绿茶、英国的红茶、日本的抹茶、摩洛哥的薄荷茶，不同的茶各具特色，在各个国家都扮演了重要的角色。在中国，茶不仅是一种饮品，更是一门博大精深的文化。中国茶的历史可以追溯到数千年前，它不仅是中国文化的一部分，也是全球茶文化的奠基石。在中国茶叶的众多品种中，云南普洱茶因其独特的地理特征和发酵工艺而脱颖而出。云南省特有的地势、气候和土壤为茶树的生长提供了理想的条件，而普洱茶的发酵工艺则为茶叶赋予了独特的口感和香气。这使得云南普洱茶在茶叶市场中拥有很高的地位，备受消费者喜爱。

在中国云南，自古以来就多为少数民族种植茶叶，他们发现茶、使用茶、栽培茶的故事贯穿了这些民族的历史与文化。民族的就是世界的。小而言之，少数民族文化是中华文化的重要组成部分；大而言之，它们是人类文明的宝贵财富。在中国，在少数民族走出村寨，走向城市的历史进程中，民族文化与民族茶文化的继承和发展面临着后继无人的严峻局面。人才断层，老人不断逝去，现代文明的剧烈冲击，使得民族茶文化的存在空间逐渐被一些强势文化蚕食和挤占。民族地区的群众生活条件改变了，生活环境改善了，一些传统和习惯也在一点一滴地改变，民族文化的消失令人痛心疾首，却又感到万分无奈。

Appadurai 在他的著作《Putting Hierarchy in Its Place》中也提到，在全球化和文化流动的大背景下，世界范围内的“原住民”正在逐渐消失，他们是原始、传统、落后的代名词，但也是人类文化多样性的代表。“原住民”的消失莫过于一个巨大的遗憾，但时代洪流下我们无力回天。面对云南偏远山区内的少数民族，我们只能尝试将其传统文化进行记录，用正确的方式引导原住民保留与传承他们丰富多彩的文化。

在云南景迈山，丰富的茶叶资源是当地人赖以生存的基础，各民族在与自然界长期相互依存又斗智斗勇的生活过程中，基于一种自然本能，发现并利用了茶这种神奇的植物。其利用方式又与各民族独特的生活方式与宗教信仰等民族文化相互影响，相互融合，逐渐形成了各民族茶食、茶礼、茶俗、茶艺等丰富的茶文化形态。

法语词 Terroir，源自酿酒葡萄栽培领域，而后被延伸发展应用至其它领域，用于强调农产品的特性（质量、味道、风格）与其原产地之间的关系。这个理论立足于一个地方的自然气候地理环境，而后逐步发展，融入了农产品制作过程中的人文因素，产品背后的历史、传统的制作工艺，生产者的特征都被包括在了其中。

景迈山当地的少数民族，肥沃的土地，优秀的气候条件，种植历史悠久的古茶林代表了其独特的地方 Terroir，这个 Terroir 是当地茶文化旅游业发展的重要基础。当今茶文化旅游的兴起代表了城市居民对乡村纯粹生活的向往，代表了休闲旅游与体验式旅游的发展。茶文化旅游将茶叶的生长环境、生产制作与旅游活动相互整合，以茶为主要载体，宣传丰富的茶文化内涵，展示民俗特色。

通过发展茶文化、将旅游业和文化产业结合，带动民族地区经济发展和社会进步，在对当地民族茶文化合理开发的同时，宣传、推广和保护当地的民族文化，这样才能既让民族地区的人们群众过上相对富裕的生活，又使民族文化薪火相传，在发展中焕发新的活力，不断提升和完善，提高民族地区的文化软实力和文化影响力。

二、 研究意义

从我个人的角度来看，以云南景迈山茶文化为选题算是我的一个私心，一方面我希望借此宣传一下景迈山，为景迈山申请世界文化遗产加把力。我希望能把

我自己身边的，我自己见惯不怪的东西介绍给不了解这片土地的人，让其他人感受到云南这片土地的魅力。另一方面是觉得从自己感兴趣且有更多了解途径的主题入手能够更快更深入得研究这个主题，取得更好的研究成果。

本研究从 Terroir 理论在景迈山的应用价值出发，探究景迈山茶文化旅游业的吸引力，并结合游客在认识地方，探索地方的过程中的心理变化来构建地方价值意义。以旅游目的地的 Terroir 元素为基础，分析其中的人、产品、地三者关系，充分考虑心理学视角及其对原产地效应对消费者的认知、情感、意动的影响，我模拟了一套建立地方感的态度说服机制，希望能给景迈山茶文化旅游的发展方向以及旅游营销内容提供支持。

三. 研究方法

本研究采用了文献研究法作为主要的研究方法，结合实地考察以获得更全面的数据和深度的理解。研究方法的选择旨在确保对云南景迈山茶文化的综合研究，涵盖了人类学、人文学和政治经济学等多个学科领域的理论视角。

首先，文献研究法为本研究提供了广泛的理论基础。通过查阅大量书籍、论文和报刊，我能够深入了解了景迈山茶文化的历史、演变与到如今的发展。我还参考了大量以 Terroir 为主题的国内外类似地区的案例研究。这让我了解到了很多与景迈山茶文化相关的重要概念和理论观点，成功建立了理论框架，为后续研究提供了坚实的理论基础。

其次，实地考察是研究的关键组成部分。本人于 2023 年 4 月亲自前往云南景迈山进行了实地考察。这次实地考察不仅为研究提供了珍贵的一手资料，还深化了我对景迈山茶文化的亲身体验和理解。在景迈山案例地，我对当地的傣族和布朗族村寨的居民进行了深入的采访。这些采访不仅仅是为了获取数据，更是为了倾听当地人民的声音，了解他们对茶文化的看法、体验和期望。这些一手资料丰富了研究的内容，为研究提供了鲜活的案例和个人见解。

四. 研究内容

第一章 历史与茶叶背景知识

本章讨论世界茶叶的起源与云南茶叶的发展历史，其中普洱茶的发展史从某种程度上来说就代表了云南的茶叶史。此外还介绍云南茶叶的种类以及其中最为出名的普洱茶，重点讨论普洱茶的定义以及制作流程。

第二章 景迈山及其少数民族

本章为景迈山概况，介绍其地理信息以及生活在景迈山上的少数民族外加各个少数民族发现茶，使用茶的历史。

第三章 Terroir 理论的发展及其在景迈山的运用

本章首先引入 Terroir 理论，然后围绕 Terroir 的产品、地方、人三个要素讨论景迈山在这三个方面的基础条件。

第四章 茶文化旅游以及景迈山的地方情感塑造

本章介绍茶文化旅游的定义然后围绕 Terroir 探讨景迈山茶文化旅游业的吸引力。我建立了一套旅客情感说服机制，围绕 Terroir 在景迈山的地方吸引力，逐步分析游客从认识景迈山，到探索景迈山，再到景迈山达成旅客对地方的想象的过程，最终达到发展当地茶文化旅游的目的。

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摘要

中国自古盛产茶，现有大量研究表明中国云南是世界茶树的源头。云南以其丰富的茶叶品种而闻名，其中最著名的当属普洱茶。普洱茶是在云南地理保护范围内用云南大叶种晒青茶为原料，采用特定工艺制成的具有独特品质特征的茶叶。根据其制作工艺和品质的不同，普洱茶分为生茶和熟茶两种类型。生茶尝起来苦涩但回甘快，熟茶温和醇厚，有木香。

从历史角度看，早期普洱茶的历史一定程度上代表了云南茶叶的发展史。而现代普洱茶的兴起则与全球化背景有关，它是以台湾和香港为起点，国际市场运作的结果。20 世纪末，普洱茶"随时间发酵口感会越来越好"的特点受到了大量喝茶人、投资人的追捧，随后在普洱茶老茶茶价飙升时，"古树茶"又成了人们新的追求目标。

近代普洱茶的兴起在全球茶叶市场中引起了广泛关注，使得原本鲜为人知的普洱茶产区走进国际视野。景迈山位于云南普洱，因为其大规模的茶树资源和独特的少数民族种植茶叶的历史文化，以及普洱茶在市场上的火爆需求，这个曾经生产方式落后，生活方式传统，多个少数民族大杂居，小聚居的山脉开始受到中国甚至全世界关注。2023 年 9 月 17 日，景迈山古茶林文化景观申遗成功，成为全球第一个以茶文化为主题申遗成功的地区。

在景迈山方圆二十公里的范围内，聚集了傣族、布朗族、哈尼族、佤族、拉祜族 5 个少数民族，他们自古以来围绕茶叶生产生活，其中傣族和布朗族相传有 1300 多年的茶种植历史，山上的万亩古茶园就是他们世代种茶的成果。景迈山得天独厚的地理条件给茶树带来了优越的生长条件，少数民族在种茶的同时，也开发出了各种各样使用茶的方式，茶的使用在历史的发展中不断进化，体现了建立在"不同民族"为基础上的"不同的茶文化"。

根据法国红酒产业而建立的概念"Terroir" 强调了特定地理环境和人文因素给地方性产品带来的其他地方没有的产区特征，它揭示了一个产品的人地关系，因

此可以运用于分析景迈山的茶文化旅游，从土地、产品和生产者各自独立又相互影响的角度来塑造游客对景迈山的地方依赖。

景迈山特殊的地理气候特征以及少数民族在历史发展过程中总结出的茶叶种植加工技术代表了景迈山不同于其他普洱茶产区的 Terroir，其自然条件、民族文化、高质量的茶叶给游客带来了多方位的吸引力。游客从认识景迈山到前往景迈山旅游，在参与当地的各种茶文化相关的体验活动的过程中逐渐对景迈山产生情感依恋，这是当地茶文化旅游想要得到的结果。当地的 terroir 吸引消费者成为游客，游客的情感反馈又深化地方的 Terroir，达到塑造地方依赖从而推动茶文化旅游发展的结果。

总而言之，景迈山其特殊的地理气候、多样的少数民族文化和独特的 Terroir 使得景迈山成为茶文化旅游的热门目的地。这里的茶叶不仅是一种饮品，更是一种承载着历史、文化和情感的体验。

Abstract

China has been renowned for its abundant tea production since ancient times, and recent research has conclusively identified Yunnan Province as the birthplace of tea trees worldwide. Yunnan is renowned for its diverse range of tea varieties, with the most famous being Pu'er tea. Pu'er tea is crafted from the leaves of the Yunnan large-leaf tea tree, which is sun-dried within the geographical protection area of Yunnan and processed using specific techniques, resulting in tea with distinct quality characteristics. Based on its processing methods and quality attributes, Pu'er tea can be categorized into two main types: raw (sheng) and ripe (shou) tea. Raw Pu'er tea offers a slightly bitter taste that evolves into a pleasant aftertaste, while ripe Pu'er tea is known for its mild and mellow profile, often featuring woody notes.

From a historical perspective, the early history of Pu'er tea to some extent reflects the development of Yunnan's tea industry, while the modern rise of Pu'er tea is a consequence of globalization, starting with Taiwan and related regions, driven by international market dynamics. By the end of the 20th century, Pu'er tea gained popularity due to its unique characteristic of improving in taste with time, attracting a significant following among tea enthusiasts and investors alike. Subsequently, with the soaring prices of aged Pu'er tea, "ancient tree tea" became a new pursuit for many.

The recent resurgence of Pu'er tea has garnered widespread attention in the global tea market, bringing previously little-known Pu'er tea-producing regions into the international spotlight. Jingmai Mountain, situated in Yunnan's Pu'er region, has gained prominence due to its unique natural tea tree resources, historical cultural significance among ethnic minorities, and the surging demand for Pu'er tea in the market. On September 17, 2023, Jingmai Mountain's ancient tea forest cultural landscape achieved UNESCO World Heritage status, making it the world's first region to be recognized for its tea culture heritage.

Within a radius of approximately twenty kilometers in Jingmai Mountain, five ethnic minorities, namely the Dai, Bulang, Hani, Wa, and Lahu, have settled here. They have traditionally made a livelihood from tea production, with the Dai and Bulang on Jingmai Mountain boasting over 1300 years of tea planting history, evidenced by the thousand

hectares of ancient tea gardens on the mountain. The exceptional geographical conditions of Jingmai Mountain provide optimal conditions for tea tree growth, and the ethnic minorities have developed various methods of using tea. The evolution of tea usage over history reflects the diversity of tea culture built upon the foundation of different ethnic groups.

The concept of "Terroir," originally established based on the French wine industry, underscores the distinct regional characteristics that arise from specific geographical and cultural factors, setting a place apart from others in terms of its products. It reveals the intricate relationship between a product and its place of origin. Therefore, it can be applied to the analysis of tea culture tourism in Jingmai Mountain, shaping tourists' attachment to Jingmai Mountain from the perspectives of the land, the products, and the producers, each of which operates independently yet influences one another.

The unique geographical and climatic features of Jingmai Mountain, coupled with the tea cultivation and processing techniques developed by the local ethnic minorities throughout its history, represent the Terroir that sets Jingmai Mountain apart from other Pu'er tea-producing regions. Its natural conditions, ethnic culture, and high-quality tea collectively exert a multi-faceted attraction on tourists. As tourists progress from getting acquainted with Jingmai Mountain to actually visiting the area, their gradual involvement in various tea culture-related experiential activities fosters emotional attachment to Jingmai Mountain. This outcome is precisely what local tea culture tourism aims to achieve. The local Terroir attracts consumers to become tourists, and the emotional feedback from tourists further deepens the sense of place, shaping a local dependency that drives the development of tea culture tourism.

In conclusion, Jingmai Mountain's unique geographical climate, diverse ethnic minority cultures, and distinctive Terroir make it a popular destination for tea culture tourism. The tea here is not merely a beverage; it serves as a vessel for history, culture, and emotions, offering a profound experiential journey.

CHAPTER 1

CONTEST AND ORIGIN

1.1 The origin of tea

The scientific name for the tea plant is *Camellia sinensis*, it is a species of evergreen shrub in the family Theaceae, and it is widely cultivated for its leaves, which are used to produce tea.

"Sinensis" in Latin means Chinese, hence, the name suggests that the tea plant originated in China. However, the current academic consensus states that there are two botanical varieties of the tea plant. One, variety *sinensis*, the original Chinese tea, is a shrub up to 20 feet tall, native in southern and western Yunnan, spread by cultivation throughout southern and central China, and introduced by cultivation throughout the warm temperate regions of the world. The other, variety *assamica*, the Assam tea, is a forest tree, 60 feet or more tall, native in the area between Assam and southern China.¹

William Ovington, the representative of the English East India Company, recorded in his book "A Voyage to Suratt in the Year 1689" that the people of Surat, India, primarily consumed tea imported from China for medicinal purposes, such as treating headaches, gravel, and gripe. In 1824, British explorer Robert Bruce discovered a tea plant with thicker leaves in the Assam region of India. This tea variety thrived in Assam and also grew well in the plains of India. It was found that these plants had long been cultivated by the Singphos tribe of Assam.² Bruce collected samples of the tea plant and sent them to local botanist Nathaniel Wallich for further study. Wallich subsequently named these tea plant samples as *Camellia assamica*, the scientific name for the Assam tea plant.

Previously, Assamese and Chinese tea varieties were considered as different but related species. However, modern botanists generally classify them as the same species, *Camellia sinensis*.

Bruce's discovery is considered the first documented finding of wild tea plants in the

¹ Gordon DEWOLF, "Notes on the History of Tea", *Arnoldia*, 31, 1, 1971, p. 20.

² K. T. ACHAYA, *Indian Food Tradition: A Historical Companion*. Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 229.

Assam region. Prior to Bruce's discovery, tea was believed to have originated solely in China, where it had been the primary producer and consumer of tea. However, Bruce's finding raised doubts about whether the origin of tea was limited to China. Some argued that tea's origin was exclusive to China, while others suggested that wild populations of tea plants might exist in other regions. This controversy prompted further research and exploration in the field of tea studies, aiming to discover more wild populations of tea plants and gather related evidence.

Therefore, regarding the issue of the origin of the tea plant, there is currently no definitive and unified answer. Some people believe that tea originated in India. However, multiple evidences suggest that China is the original birthplace of tea. The evidence is as follows:

According to archaeological and botanical research, fossils of a new species called "Jinggu broad-leaved magnolia" have been discovered in Lancang County, Pu'er City, Yunnan Province, China. The ancient magnolia is considered to be the origin of angiosperms and the ancestor of camellia trees, the family Theaceae, the *Camellia* genus, and tea varieties. The fossil of the newly discovered species, Jinggu broad-leaved magnolia, exhibits leaf morphology that shares similarities with those of wild tea trees. These fossils were found exclusively in the Jinggu Basin of Pu'er City, Yunnan, China, which is located near the Tropic of Cancer and was not affected by the destructive glacial activity during the multiple periods of the Fourth Glacial Period. This enabled the survival and development of wild large tea trees at that time, eventually evolving into the tea trees we have today.³

Shennong is well known as the first Emperor of Ancient China, who taught his people the use of herbal frugs.⁴ The legendary story of Emperor Shennong tasting hundreds of herbs has been documented for the first time in the *chajing* 茶经(Classic of Tea) of Lu Yu.⁵ In the book *gezhi jingyuan* 格致镜原 of *chenyuanlong* 陈元龙 was documented that during the era attributed to Emperor Shennong, people living within the territory of present-day

³ HE Changxiang 何昌祥, "Cong mulanhuashi lun chashu qiyuan he yuanchandi" 从木兰化石论茶树起源和原产地 (From Fossilized Magnolia to the Origin and Native Region of the Tea Tree), in *Nongye kaogu*, 2, 1997, p. 207.

⁴ "Shennong" 神农, *Wikipedia*, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shennong> accessed 16-09-2023.

⁵ LU Yu 陆羽, "Chajing" 茶经 (the Classic of Tea) 760~780

China discovered wild tea trees and utilized tea as a detoxifying medicine.

神农尝百草，一日遇七十毒，得茶而解之。

In ancient legend, Huangdi, known as Shennong, attempted a hundred varieties of herbs. On one occasion, he encountered seventy-two toxic plants, but fortunately, he discovered tea. Upon consuming tea, he relieved the symptoms of poisoning.⁶

This indicates that tea trees were already discovered in China during the era of Emperor Shennong.

In the Tang Dynasty's *Manshu* 蛮书 literally means the *Manuscript of the Southern Barbarians*, it is stated that the origin of tea usage can be traced back to Yunnan. *Manshu*, also known as *Yunnan Zhi* 云南志, was written by the Tang official Fan Chuo in the year 862. The seventh volume of the *Manshu* records

云南管内物产：茶出银生城界诸山，散收无彩造法。蒙舍蛮以椒姜桂和烹而饮之。

In Yunnan's Yinsheng City and its surrounding mountainous regions, tea plants grow in various mountain ranges, and the methods of picking and processing are simple and rough. The local Mengshi ethnic people enjoy boiling tea with spices such as Sichuan peppers, ginger, and cinnamon, and drinking it.⁷

And the Qing Dynasty's *Jiaqing Yitongzhi* 嘉庆一统志 (Jiaqing Unified Chronicles) records the following passage in the chapter titled *Jingdongting jianzhi gaige* 景东厅建制沿革 Evolution of Jingdong Hall's Administrative System that

唐时南诏蒙氏立银生府于此，为六节度之一。

In the Tang Dynasty period, the Mengshi ethnic group of the Nanzhao Kingdom established an administrative region called Yinsheng Prefecture in this area, which was one of the six military

⁶ CHEN Yuanlong 陈元龙, *gezhi jingyuan* 格致镜原 (study things and find the origin), 68, 1735

⁷ FAN Chuo 樊绰, *yunnanzhi* 云南志 (Records of Yunnan), 68, 863

districts of the Nanzhao Kingdom.⁸

The Qing Dynasty's *Daoguang Yunnan Zhi Chao* 道光云南至钞 records in Volume One, "Geographical Records 地理志" that:

景东厅，蛮名景董，又名拓南。汉时为昔普、和泥二蛮所居。南诏蒙氏立银生府。

The place known as Jingdong Hall is also referred to as "Jingdong" or "Tuonan. " During the Han Dynasty, this area was inhabited by two ethnic groups known as the Xipu and Heni tribes. The Nanzhao Kingdom, led by the Mengshi ethnic group, established the Yinsheng Prefecture.⁹

These historical records indicate that during the Tang Dynasty, the city of Yinsheng, which was one of the "six military districts," refers to the present-day Jingdong County in Simao, Yunnan. It further suggests that tea production was already present in Jingdong County during the Tang Dynasty. Nanzhao was the name of the historical kingdom that existed in what is now the Yunnan region of China during the Tang Dynasty and "Mengshi ethnic group" is a general term used to refer to the various ethnic minorities within the Nanzhao Kingdom.

China, as the earliest producer and user of tea, has indirectly demonstrated its influence on the global usage of the word "tea" based on its pronunciation. The tea consumed in various countries worldwide has been transmitted from China, either directly or indirectly. The transliterations of the word "tea" in different languages are derived from Cantonese or Amoy dialects, which were primarily used by early Chinese traders from Guangdong and Xiamen involved in tea export trade. This indirectly demonstrates that China was the earliest producer and user of tea.¹⁰

⁸ MU Zhang'e 穆彰阿, *Jiaqing Yitongzhi* 嘉庆一统志 Jiaqing Unified Chronicles, 1842

⁹ WANG Song 王崧, *Daoguang Yunnan Zhi Chao* 道光云南至钞, Qing dynasty

¹⁰ CHEN Chuan 陈椽, *Chaye tongshi* 茶叶通史 (A Comprehensive History of Tea Leaves), Zhongguo nongye chubanshe, 1984, p 20.

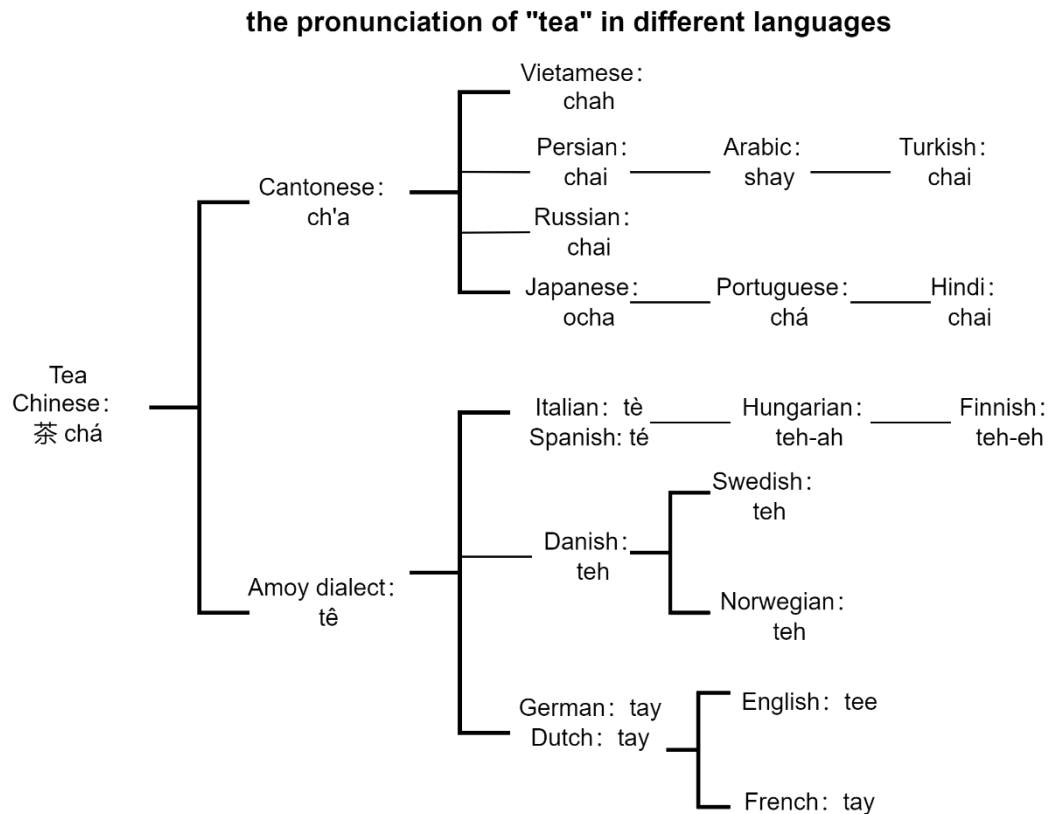


Figure 1: the pronunciation of "tea" in different languages

China is also the earliest nation to document the presence of wild large tea trees and has consistently made new findings in this area. The earliest recorded usage of tea is found in the ancient Chinese text called *Cha Jing* 茶经 (Classic of Tea).

茶者，南方之佳木也，一尺、二尺乃至数十尺，其巴山、峡川有人合抱者。

Tea, a remarkable tree native to the southern regions, can vary in height, ranging from one to two feet or even reaching several tens of feet. In places like Bashan and Xiachuan, certain tea trees grow so thick and sturdy that it takes multiple individuals to embrace them fully.¹¹

"Bashan" refers to a mountainous region in Sichuan Province, China, located in the upper reaches of the Yangtze River. "Xiachuan" refers to the narrow and elongated gorge areas

¹¹ LU Yu 陆羽, *chajing* 茶经 (the Classic of Tea), 758

along the Yangtze River, including Qutang Gorge, Wu Gorge, and Xiling Gorge.

Throughout history, China has continuously discovered wild large tea trees. In recent years, numerous discoveries have been made in various southeastern provinces, particularly in Yunnan and its neighboring province, Guizhou. Yunnan is the region with the highest concentration of discovered wild large tea trees, particularly along the banks of the Lancang River.¹²

Especially, deep within the jungles of the Yunnan region in China, there exist the world's oldest tea trees, some of which are approximately 3,200 years old in Lincang village, Yunnan.¹³ Local ethnic minority groups have been harvesting tea from these ancient trees for centuries. As a result, the average height of tea trees in the area is about 5 meters, with some reaching heights of over 10 meters.



Figure 2: Jinxiuchawang 锦绣茶王 (the Jinxiu King tea tree)

In summary, the issue of the tea plant's origin is a complex and multi-faceted topic. Based on the information presented, it is evident that the origin of the tea plant, *Camellia sinensis*, remains a subject of academic debate and research. Current evidence supports

¹² CHEN Chuan 陈椽, *Chaye tongshi* 茶叶通史 (A Comprehensive History of Tea Leaves), Zhongguo nongye chubanshe, 1984, p 22.

¹³ Lincang Tourism Development Committee 临沧市旅发委, *Jinxiu chawang* 锦绣茶王 (Exquisite Tea Monarch), in Lincang shi renmin zhengfu, (<https://www.lincang.gov.cn/info/1034/1072.htm>) 26-07-2022.

Yunnan as one of the significant birthplaces of the tea plant, but further academic discussions and research are still needed to arrive at a conclusive determination.

1.2 Yunnan tea

Yunnan, China, holds a prominent position as one of the world's significant tea-producing regions with a rich and enduring history of tea cultivation and processing. Approximately 15% of China's total tea area is found in Yunnan Province, contributing to around 1/6 of the country's green tea production. Yunnan's tea possesses remarkable diversity in its varieties, and the superior quality of raw materials distinguishes it from others. Among these varieties, the most prominent and distinctive is the Yunnan Large Leaf tea (*Camellia sinensis* var. *assamica*), which ranks as one of China's primary tea tree cultivars and holds considerable importance on a global scale. Indigenous to the Yunnan region, this tea tree boasts larger leaves and exhibits a rapid growth rate, showcasing strong adaptability to various environmental conditions, including cold and arid climates.

Tea plantations in Yunnan are primarily concentrated in the cities of Pu'er, Lincang, Xishuangbanna, and Baoshan, situated in the western and southern regions of the province. The production of finished tea from the Yunnan Large Leaf tea variety boasts a diverse array of types, with Pu'er tea being the most renowned. Currently, Yunnan province's finished tea output is predominantly comprised of Pu'er tea, Yunnan black tea (Dianhong), and green tea, accounting for approximately 90% of the total finished tea production in the province. Additionally, a small quantity of white tea, Wulong tea, and other tea types are also produced. In 2021, the production of Pu'er tea, black tea, and green tea amounted to 161,000 tons, 71,000 tons, and 133,000 tons, respectively, while other tea types totaled over 10,000 tons.¹⁴ Pu'er tea refers to a type of sun-dried green tea made from fresh leaves of the Yunnan Large Leaf tea tree, which is native to Yunnan province. The leaves undergo processes such as withering, rolling, and sun-drying to

¹⁴ YANG Hongchao 杨红朝 (edited by), *2021 Niandu Yunnansheng Chaye Chanye Fazhan Baogao* 2021 年度云南省茶叶产业发展报告 (2021 Yunnan Province Tea Industry Development Report), Yunnan sheng renmin zhengfu, 2021.

produce the finished product. Yunnan black tea is divided into two main types, Dianhong Gongfu tea (滇红工夫茶) and Dianhong Broken tea (滇红碎茶), both of which are collectively referred to as Dianhong. Yunnan green tea encompasses various types, including sun-dried green tea, pan-fired green tea, oven-dried green tea, steamed green tea, and numerous famous tea varieties. Compressed tea primarily involves sun-dried raw tea leaves that undergo screening and steaming before being pressed into various shapes. Flower tea is crafted by blending aromatic fresh flowers with high-quality Yunnan green tea leaves.¹⁵

1.3 Pu'er tea

1.3.1 *The history of Pu'er tea*

The early history of Pu'er tea, to a certain extent, represents the development history of Yunnan tea. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, due to different modern processing methods and the finer classification of finished tea, the definition of Pu'er tea has undergone changes compared to its historical definition. Yunnan's finished tea industry has been developing increasingly well, and the development of Pu'er tea has started to emerge as an independent category, separated from the broader history of Yunnan tea development.

The development history of Pu'er tea is the result of the joint efforts of local ethnic minorities in discovering and utilizing the natural resources of local tea trees and the influence and promotion from the tea processing techniques of *Bashu* 巴蜀¹⁶ and Central Plains. Its production and development are closely connected with the mainstream development history of Chinese tea, yet it possesses its distinctive characteristics. Examining its processing evolution, it can be divided into three stages:

(1) Prior to the Tang and Song dynasties, it was a stage characterized by rudimentary tea

¹⁵ MENG Xiaolu 孟晓璐, *Yunnansheng cha chanye shengtai fazhan yanjiu* 云南省茶产业生态发展研究 (Research on the Ecological Development of Yunnan Province's Tea Industry), in *Fujianchaye* 福建茶叶 (*Tea of Fujian*), 4, 2020, p. 62.

¹⁶ *Bashu* (巴蜀) encompasses parts of present-day Sichuan and Shaanxi provinces in China.

collection and processing methods.

(2) Before the end of the Qing dynasty, it marked a phase in the historical and geographical significance of Pu'er tea.

(3) The modern stage of Pu'er tea.¹⁷

During the period before the Ming Dynasty, there is limited extant documentary evidence concerning Pu'er tea. Notably, the Tang Dynasty's literary work *Manshu* 蛮书 (Manuscript of the Southern Barbarians) by *Fan Chuo* 樊绰 is one of the earliest records mentioning Pu'er tea. However, detailed historical records regarding Pu'er tea during this era are scarce.

During the Tang and Song periods, tea production in the Central Plains and Bashu regions experienced a flourishing stage, especially in the form of compressed tea cakes. In contrast, the processing of "Pu'er tea" remained relatively primitive and unsophisticated, as indicated *Manshu* 蛮书 by the phrase:

茶出银生城界诸山，散收无采造法。

In Yunnan's Yinsheng City and its surrounding mountainous regions, tea plants grow in various mountain ranges, and the methods of picking and processing are simple and rough.¹⁸

This suggests that in the Yunnan region, specifically around the area of Yinsheng city and the surrounding mountainous areas, tea leaves grew in a scattered manner throughout various mountain ranges, and the methods employed for harvesting and processing were rudimentary and unrefined. Until the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), with the implementation of the *gai tu gui liu* 改土归流¹⁹ policy by the central government in

¹⁷ ZHANG Jun 张俊, *Pu'er cha fazhan lishi san jieduan* 普洱茶发展历史三阶段 (Development History of Pu'er Tea in Three Phases), in *Zhongguo chaye*, 1, 2004, p. 35.

¹⁸ FAN Chuo 樊绰, *yunnanzhi* 云南志 (Records of Yunnan), 68, 863

¹⁹ The "改土归流" policy, promoted interactions between the central region (the heartland) and the borderlands (such as the Southwest) during the Yuan Dynasty in China. Under this policy, local leaders, known as "土司 Tusi," were appointed to manage affairs in the border regions and act as intermediaries between the central government and the

Yunnan, the processing method of compressed tea cakes gradually spread to the Pu'er tea region.

During the late Yuan Dynasty and early Ming Dynasty (late 14th to early 15th century), the production and processing of Pu'er tea experienced faster development due to its primary consumption by ethnic minorities in the border regions and the demand for long-distance transportation.

During the Wanli reign of the Ming Dynasty (1573-1620), *Xie Zhaozhe* 谢肇淛 compiled the *Dianlue* 滇略 (a book about Yunnan), in which it was recorded,

土庶所用皆普茶也，蒸而团之。

The common people all use *Pucha* 普茶, referring to Pu'er tea, which is steamed and compressed into cakes.²⁰

This indicates that literati and scholars primarily used Pu'er tea, which they steamed and compressed into cake-like forms before consumption. This passage describes the processing of Pu'er tea into compressed tea cakes for use.

Later, as the production of Pu'er tea gradually increased, Puribu (now known as the city of Pu'er) became the main trading and distribution center for tea. Tea farmers and merchants would transport their produced Pu'er tea to Puribu, where they would engage in trade with other tea farmers and merchants, facilitating the sale of tea to other regions. It was from this place that the tea officially acquired the name "Pu'er tea (the tea of Pu'er)". In the seventh year of the *Yongzheng* 雍正 reign (1729), Puribu was officially named Pu'er Prefecture, and it governed the present-day areas of Simao and Xishuangbanna.

local population. This facilitated communication and coordination between the central authority and the borderlands. Additionally, the policy involved migration, with Han Chinese immigrants settling in the border regions, bringing new culture and technology and fostering economic and social exchanges. ("Gaituguiliu" 改土归流 (Returning to the Original Land and Flowing Waters), *Wikipedia*, <https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hans/改土归流> accessed 16-12-2021).

²⁰ Xie Zhaozhe 谢肇淛, *Dianlue* 滇略 a book about Yunnan, 1620~1621

With Pu'er tea gaining favor as a tribute to the Qing court, it entered a period of prosperity, and Pu'er Prefecture became an even more significant center for the fine processing and distribution of tea. The name of Pu'er tea began to be renowned both domestically and internationally. It is at this stage that we can truly refer to it as the geographical significance of the Pu'er tea phase.

Up until this point, the history also represents the development history of Yunnan tea. Afterward, Pu'er tea began to gradually differentiate itself from the overall history of Yunnan tea. The specific history of the modern stage of Pu'er tea should begin with the tea being stockpiled in Hong Kong and the definition of the taste and value of "Pu'er tea" by people from Taiwan.

Until the end of the Qing Dynasty, Pu'er tribute tea was considered a luxury commodity popular among the nobility in Beijing and its surrounding areas. Most consumers of Pu'er tribute tea were high-ranking officials and aristocrats. Pu'er tea buds from the spring harvest were exclusively used for producing the tribute tea, while the ordinary parts of Pu'er tea underwent simpler processing methods and were sold to markets in Tibet, Hong Kong, and Guangzhou²¹. In modern times, Pu'er tea, which undergoes a meticulous process of steaming, pressing, drying, and post-fermentation, was not widely popular among the general populace until around the year 2000, when Yunnan residents predominantly preferred green tea.²²

During the mid-20th century, wars and subsequent political movements in China intermittently disrupted the export of Pu'er tea. In response, Hong Kong merchants resorted to importing substantial quantities of tea cakes and storing them in warehouses to meet the daily demand of the Hong Kong market. During this period, Hong Kong tea merchants were already cognizant of the fact that aged Pu'er tea possessed superior flavor

²¹ YU Shuenn-der, "Materiality, Stimulants and the Pu'er Tea Fad", *Journal of Chinese Dietary Culture*, 6, 1, 2010, p. 114.

²² Green tea is an unfermented type of tea, known for its fresh green color and clear tea liquor. It is made by quickly halting enzymatic activity in freshly picked leaves through a process called "kill-green (杀青)", followed by rolling and drying. Green tea offers a refreshing aroma and a mild, clean taste. (*Green tea*, in "Wikipedia", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_tea accessed 08-07-2023).

compared to newly produced teas.

During the late 1970s, a select group of Taiwanese tea merchants, who were already engaged in importing mainland Chinese teas from Hong Kong, also began importing small quantities of Pu'er tea to Taiwan. Encouraged by Hong Kong tea merchants, they sought to introduce Pu'er tea to the Taiwanese market. However, Taiwanese tea enthusiasts, who had long been accustomed to the aromatic Oolong teas²³, initially found Pu'er tea's taste lacking in fragrance, making it challenging for them to embrace.

This period, spanning from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, can be described as an experimental phase. As the influence of Hong Kong's approach to tasting aged Pu'er gradually permeated Taiwan, the Taiwanese started to appreciate the emphasis on evaluating *shuixing* 水性(the water quality) of Pu'er. They transitioned to using teapots with porous clay texture, enhancing Pu'er's *kougan* 口感(smooth mouthfeel), instead of the fine and solid clay teapots typically used for high-fragrance Taiwan Oolong teas. Concurrently, as Pu'er tea gained stature within the local tea community, Taiwanese tea connoisseurs began to develop their unique styles and standards for its appreciation.²⁴

In Taiwan, a distinctive quality known as *chennian fengwei* 陈年风味(aged tea taste) was attributed to Pu'er tea.²⁵ Within a span of 15 years, tea drinkers from Hong Kong, Guangdong, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and eventually all of China collectively drove up the price of aged Pu'er. The age of the tea became the primary criterion for determining its value, and as a result, Pu'er tea cakes emerged as a specialized form of investment. Wholesale markets witnessed significant price disparities among cakes of varying ages, and consumers and wholesalers began purchasing new Pu'er tea not solely for consumption but also for its value appreciation potential, treating tea cakes akin to stocks

²³ Oolong is a traditional semi-oxidized Chinese tea (*Camellia sinensis*) produced through a process including withering the plant under strong sun and oxidation before curling and twisting and it is renowned for its captivating and complex fragrance, which sets it apart from other types of tea. (See CHEN Zongmao 陈宗懋, *Zhongguo chajing* 中国茶经 (Classic of Chinese Tea), Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 1992, pp. 222–234).

²⁴ YU Shuenn-der, "Taiwan and the Globalization of Pu'er Tea: The Role of the Taste of Aging", *Journal of Cultural and Religious Studies*, 4, 5, 2016, p. 315.

²⁵ YU Shuenn-der, "Materiality, Stimulants and the Pu'er Tea Fad", *Journal of Chinese Dietary Culture*, 6, 1, 2010, p. 111.

and futures in the trading realm.

In essence, Pu'er tea underwent a transformation from being a local, everyday commodity mainly consumed by Yunnan's ethnic minorities to becoming a prestigious tribute tea for the Qing imperial household. Subsequently, it transitioned into a highly sought-after commodity and collectible item renowned for its aged taste, ultimately evolving into a tradable commodity on the futures market.

1.3.2 Modern Pu'er tea processing methods

To cater to the market's demand for aged Pu'er tea, Pu'er tea processors started seeking quicker and more efficient aging methods. This led to the emergence of the *wodui* 渥堆 (fermentation process). The purpose of developing the *wodui* technique was to transform the flavor of Pu'er from strong and astringent to soft and smooth, similar to that produced by the wet storage process but at an industrial scale and so involving great profits.²⁶

Developed during the 1950s in Guangzhou and transferred to Yunnan in the mid-1970s, as part of the process, workers create piles of tea leaves, sprinkle them with water, and cover them with plastic. The combination of moisture, high temperature, and microorganisms facilitates fermentation. *Wodui* is referred to as a *houfaxiao* 后发酵 (post-fermentation) technique because the water is added to tea leaves that have already been processed and are therefore marketable as finished products. As tea leaves have gone through high temperature during fermentation, *wodui* tea was also called *shoucha* 熟茶 (cooked tea) to distinguish it from the original Pu'er tea, which was now called by a new term *shengcha* 生茶 (uncooked tea).

Despite the fact that its original *shengcha* style was closer to the green tea, Pu'er tea has since been re-classified as a kind of *heicha*²⁷.

²⁶ YU Shuenn-der, "Taiwan and the Globalization of Pu'er Tea: The Role of the Taste of Aging", *Journal of Cultural and Religious Studies*, 4, 5, 2016, p. 318.

²⁷ "Heicha" (黑茶) refers to a different category of tea, known as "Dark Tea or Fermented tea" in English. "Heicha" translates to "black tea" in Chinese, but it refers to a different kind of tea compared to "hongcha." Heicha is typically produced through post-fermentation processes, such as piling, compression, and aging. It is mostly produced in

1.3.3 Definition of modern Pu'er tea

Once Pu'er tea became a hot commodity, debates about its definition flared in the early 2000s. From a historical perspective, any tea produced from the *Camellia sinensis* var. *assamica* (Yunnan large-leaf variety) grown in Pu'er and its surrounding areas can be referred to as Pu'er tea. The Yunnan large-leaf variety also has certain production in other provinces and cities in China, leading to some teas produced from this variety in other regions being occasionally classified as Pu'er tea. However, as the popularity of Pu'er tea grew, Yunnan tea merchants began to emphasize that only tea produced from the Yunnan large-leaf variety, cultivated under the specific climate conditions, altitude, and air humidity of Yunnan, and processed according to the national standards, should be considered authentic Pu'er tea. These specific conditions and standardized procedures are believed to contribute to the unique characteristics and quality of Pu'er tea. Using Yunnan's large-leaf tea as the raw material for Pu'er has been listed as a necessary criterion by some Pu'er specialists²⁸. However, Pu'er cannot be defined solely by the tea species used because the same Yunnan leaf is manufactured into different kinds of tea.

According to the prevailing national standard issued in 2008, "地理标志产品：普洱茶" (Product of geographical indication - Pu'er tea) refers to a type of tea made from the sun-dried leaves of Yunnan large-leaf variety (*Camellia sinensis* var. *assamica*) within the geographical indication protection area which is entirely located within the Yunnan province of China. It is processed using specific techniques within the geographical indication protection area to develop unique quality characteristics. Based on its processing and quality characteristics, Pu'er tea is classified into two types: *sheng cha* 生茶 (uncooked Pu'er tea) and *shu cha* 熟茶 (cooked Pu'er tea)²⁹.

According to the processing procedure, the production of Pu'er tea commences with the preparation of sun-dried green tea. The meticulous process of crafting sun-dried green tea involves spreading fresh tea leaves, followed by pan-firing, rolling, loosening the

China, particularly in regions like Yunnan and Hunan. "Pu'er" tea is a famous type of "heicha". (*Fermented tea*, in "Wikipedia", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fermented_tea accessed 20-03-2023)

²⁸ DENG Shihai 邓时海, *Pu'ercha* 普洱茶 (Pu'er tea), Taipei, Fuzhungtian Zazhishe, 1995, pp. 46-66.

²⁹ National Public Service Platform for Standards Information 全国标准信息公共服务平台, *Dili biao zhi chan pin: Pu'er cha* 地理标志产品，普洱茶 (Product of geographical indication - Pu'er tea), Number: GB/T 22111-2008.

compressed tea blocks, sun-drying, and finally packaging the finished product.

Subsequently, after the sun-dried green tea is subjected to steaming and pressing to form compact shapes, and then undergoes a drying procedure, it is transformed into uncooked Pu'er tea. Conversely, if the sun-dried green tea undergoes a post-fermentation process known as "wodui," it is then transformed into cooked Pu'er tea.

1.4 Tea produced in Jingmai Mountain

The rise of modern Pu'er tea has gathered widespread attention in the global tea market, bringing the previously little-known Pu'er tea-producing regions into the international spotlight and highlighting their significant economic, ecological, and cultural value. Jingmai Mountain, located in Yunnan's Pu'er region, has gained reputation not only for its unique natural tea tree resources and the historical culture of tea cultivation by ethnic minorities but also due to the booming market demand for Pu'er tea, which has driven the sales and recognition of tea produced in Jingmai Mountain.

For those frequent tea drinkers, they can discern the distinct aromas, flavors, and nuances brought by tea leaves produced from different mountains. The Pu'er tea fresh tea leaves cultivated and harvested in Jingmai Mountain possesses its own unique characteristics, setting it apart from tea grown in other mountainous areas. Although the tea infusion from Jingmai Mountain might initially carry a robust bitterness, this bitterness quickly transforms into a lingering and subtle "orchid fragrance", which has become its distinctive hallmark.

From a scientific research standpoint, the analysis of the chemical components in the local fresh tea leaves, combined with the examination of the area's climate conditions, has unveiled that Jingmai Mountain's tea leaves are not only ideal for Pu'er tea production but also well-suited for the creation of other tea varieties³⁰. Notably, these tea leaves

³⁰ YANG Guangrong 杨广容, *Jingmaishan chayuan turang yangfen yu chaye pinzhi fenxi yanjiu* 景迈山茶园土壤养

demonstrate promising potential in terms of both taste and economic viability.

Based on my on-site investigation, tea producers in Jingmai Mountain craft various finished tea products using different processing techniques, including oolong tea, moonlight white tea, black tea, and Yunnan green tea, among others. These teas, each with their unique flavors and characteristics, showcase the diversity and richness of tea products from Jingmai Mountain as a tea-producing region.

1) Oolong Tea:

Oolong tea is a semi-fermented tea that falls between green tea and black tea. It originated in Taiwan and Fujian, China, and is one of the traditional processed tea varieties in China. In Jingmai Mountain, farmers harvest more mature tea leaves and subject them to slight withering. Subsequently, the leaves undergo processes such as shaking, fixing, and rolling. The combination of these steps, along with the unique climate and soil conditions of Jingmai Mountain, gives the locally produced Oolong tea its distinctive flavor and aroma.

2) Moonlight White Tea:

Moonlight White Tea is a rare white tea that originates from Wuyi Mountain, Fujian, China. Its picking time and processing techniques are both highly unique. Farmers harvest the tender buds under the moonlight on the night of the full moon. This special picking method is believed to contribute to the enhancement of the tea's quality. After picking, the tender buds undergo steps like withering, fixing, rolling, and drying, resulting in the creation of Moonlight White Tea with a silver-white appearance and a delicate and elegant fragrance. Due to its intricate production process and limited tea yield, Moonlight White Tea is often regarded as a premium variety of white tea. Jingmai's Moonlight White Tea is notably sweet and has smaller leaves, making it a favorite among those who prefer tea with less bitterness or occasional tea drinkers.

分与茶叶品质分析研究 (Study on Soil Nutrients and Tea Quality of Ancient Tea Arboretum and Modern Terrace Tea Garden in Jingmai Mountain), in *Journal of Yunnan Agricultural University (Natural Science)*, 3, 2016, pp. 519-527.

3) Black Tea:

The production of black tea in Jingmai Mountain primarily involves utilizing local tea leaves to emulate the tea-making techniques from Taiwan and Fujian, with the renowned variety being the *Dong Fang Mei Ren* 东方美人茶 (Oriental beauty oolong tea) from Taiwan. Farmers harvest the tender buds and leaves of tea trees, followed by withering, rolling, fermentation, and baking processes. During this process, the tea leaves undergo fermentation at the edges, giving black tea its unique reddish-brown color and mellow taste. Jingmai Mountain's black tea is highly favored by tea enthusiasts due to its distinctive climate and soil conditions, which impart a rich orchid aroma and honey-like sweetness to the tea.

4) Yunnan Green Tea:

Yunnan Green Tea, often referred to as *Dianlvcha* 滇绿茶 (Dian Green Tea), is another important category of tea in Jingmai Mountain, specifically denoting green tea produced in Yunnan province. What sets Yunnan Green Tea apart from other green teas is its refreshing taste and long-lasting floral aroma. The unique geographical conditions and high-altitude environment of Jingmai Mountain provide favorable conditions for production of Yunnan Green Tea, making it a distinctly characteristic type of tea.

In summary, Jingmai Mountain is renowned for its famous Pu'er tea, but in addition to that, the region also processes a wide variety of tea types. These teas undergo meticulous harvesting and processing, resulting in each having its own unique flavors and characteristics, catering to varying tastes and preferences.

CHAPTER 2

TEA PLANTATION IN JINGMAI MOUNTAIN AND MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS

2.1 Geographical Overview and Tea Plantation

Jingmai Mountain is located in Lancang Lahu Autonomous County, Pu'er City, which lies on the southwestern border of Yunnan Province. The county is positioned between 22°01'–23°16' north latitude and 99°29'–100°35' east longitude. To the east, it is bordered by Jinggu County and Cuiyun District, with the Lancang River separating them. Its southern border is shared with Menghai County in Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture. In the west, it connects with Ximeng and Menglian Counties, while to the north, it borders Cangyuan County and Shuangjiang County, which are located in Lincang. In the western part, it shares boundaries with Xuelin Township, while in the southern part, it borders Nuofu Township, which is adjacent to Myanmar. The total area of this region is approximately 17,704.5 hectares (about 177 square kilometers). Jingmai Mountain is situated 237 kilometers away from the city center of Pu'er and 74 kilometers from the county seat of Lancang.³¹



³¹ RAO Mingyong 饶明勇, HE Ming 何明, *Pu'er jingmaishan guchayuan gucunluo wenhua duoyangxingyanjiu* 普洱景迈山古茶园古村落文化多样性研究 (Research on the Culture Diverse of Ancient Tea Tree Garden and Village in Jingmai Mountain of Pu'er City), Kunming, Yunnan Fine Arts Publishing House, pp.59-60.

Figure 1: the location of Jingmai Mountain on the map

Jingmai Mountain is located in the mountainous region formed by the Kongming Mountain Range, part of the Hengduan Mountains. The area is composed of multiple small mountain ranges, creating a gently undulating plateau with an average elevation of around 1400 meters. It encompasses various landforms, including the Nuogang Mountain with an elevation of 1662 meters, multiple intermountain basins, and small hills. Furthermore, the water resources in the Jingmai Mountain area are evenly distributed. In addition to the prominent rivers, namely the Nanlang River and Nanmen River, there are also numerous springs that can be found among the mountains and valleys.³²

Due to the varying altitudes of Jingmai Mountain, it exhibits a distinct vertical climate, characterized by a subtropical mountainous monsoon climate. The lower elevations below 1400 meters are considered to be in the South Subtropical Zone, while the range between 1400 and 1700 meters falls into the Central Subtropical Zone. This vertical distribution of climate zones contributes to the three-dimensional distribution of vegetation in the area. From a vegetation standpoint, below an altitude of 1400 meters, the predominant distribution comprises subtropical evergreen broadleaf forests, influenced by the subtropical monsoon climate. Above 1500 meters, there are sporadic occurrences of natural forests and secondary forests, characterized by warm-temperate coniferous species. Artificial vegetation is widespread in the valleys and mountainous areas. In the valleys, the main crops cultivated are rice, sugarcane, and subtropical crops. Above 1400 meters in altitude, the primary cultivation includes dry crops, oilseeds, tea, and other economic trees and crops.

Notably, due to the favorable geographical and climatic conditions of Jingmai Mountain, it has preserved intact ancient tea forests. These ancient tea forests are primarily concentrated in the secondary forests of the low mountains, ranging in elevation between 1250 and 1550 meters. They are interspersed among the villages within the Jingmai Mountain area. There are approximately 28,000 acres of ancient tea forests, encompassing over 3.2 million *Camellia sinensis* trees. These forests offer a contiguous picking area of more than 16,100 acres, resulting in an annual tea leaf production of over

³² *Ibid*

270 tons.³³ These ancient tea forests have been domesticated and cultivated by the indigenous Bulang and Dai ethnic groups, and according to oral traditions, these tea forests boast a history of over 1300 years, establishing them as the most impeccably preserved, chronologically oldest, and geographically largest examples of artificially cultivated ancient tea gardens. Tableland tea³⁴ plantations are found surrounding the ancient tea forests, with their elevations ranging from 1250 to 1600 meters, slightly higher than the low mountains where the ancient tea forests are located. The mountainous region encompasses more than 31,000 acres of ecological tea gardens³⁵, yielding an average annual production exceeding 600 tons. The combined area of these two types of tea gardens spans approximately 19 square kilometers, with tableland tea plantations constituting around 69% of the total area. From a holistic perspective, Jingmai Mountain has established a diverse ecological community characterized by the dominance of artificially cultivated ancient tea gardens, accompanied by subtropical secondary forests. This intricate ecosystem presents a three-dimensional spatial structure, with tea gardens occupying the mid-slopes, secondary forests adorning the mountain summits, and rice fields thriving at the mountain's base. This spatial arrangement creates a dynamic ecological landscape where different elements interact harmoniously.

³³ SHI Lincheng 侍林成, *Jingmaishan huojiang chengwei quanqiu diyige chawenhua shijie yichan* 景迈山或将成为全球第一个茶文化世界遗产 (Jingmai mountain is going to be the first tea culture worldwide heritage), in *Yunnan wang*, 2020, <https://m.yunnan.cn/system/2020/07/24/030826301.shtml> (accessed 24-07-2023).

³⁴ Tableland tea: 台地茶, it refers to the tea leaves produced by newly established modern tea gardens that utilize advanced tea cultivation techniques. These tea gardens are characterized by their dense planting, high yield, and adherence to modern agricultural management methods. ("Taidi cha" 台地茶 (Tableland tea), in *Baidubaike*, <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%8F%B0%E5%9C%B0%E8%8C%B6/9825507> accessed 23-04-2023).

³⁵ Ecological tea gardens: 生态茶园, it refers to the cultivation of tea trees under the forest system, as a result the forests present a three-dimensional, arbor-shrub- grass community structure, where the tea trees are mainly distributed in the shrub layer and dominant communities of tea trees are nurtured by means of manual intervention. (Definition taken from on-site placards made by Jingmai mountain authority 景迈山管理局).



Figure 2: Jingmai Mountain tableland tea gardens

2.2 The Six Ethnic Groups Residing in Jingmai Mountain

Within a 20-kilometer radius of Jingmai Mountain, there is a convergence of six ethnic groups: Dai, Bulang, Hani, Wa, Lahu, and Han. Despite the long history of tea cultivation in the ancient plantations, the ethnic minority groups residing in the Jingmai Mountain area have been situated on the periphery of dynastic influence due to Yunnan's borderland location. The exact entry dates of these ethnic groups into the region and the precise initiation of tea cultivation remain uncertain, as they are often conveyed through mythical narratives that recount their ancestral origins and migration histories. Further research is required to establish a more definitive timeline for their settlement and the commencement of tea cultivation in the area. Due to the varying migration timelines of the six ethnic groups into Jingmai Mountain, there have been differences in their historical status and geographical locations within the region.

In a broader sense, Jingmai Mountain exemplifies a harmonious and mutually complementary community, where a single predominant ethnic group coexists with multiple ethnic groups. It serves as a prime example of harmonious communication and interaction among different ethnicities, showing a shared destiny and fostering a sense of

unity.

Dai ethnic group

The Dai ethnic group is one of the transborder ethnic groups in mainland China. By extension, the term can apply to groups in Laos, Vietnam, Thailand and Myanmar when Dai is used to mean specifically Tai Yai, Lue, Chinese Shan, Tai Dam, Tai Khao or even Tai in general. The Dai ethnic group in China predominantly inhabits the Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture, as well as the autonomous counties of Gengma and Menglian in Yunnan Province.³⁶

The Dai ethnic group residing in Jingmai Mountain considers themselves as the earliest inhabitants of this ancient land. According to local Dai historical records, in the year 437 of the Buddhist era (106 BCE)³⁷, Prince "Zhaonuola" of the Dai tribe led a migration of over 3,000 tribal members downstream along the Lancang River, initiating a large-scale relocation. During the migration, a portion of the population chose to settle in other beautiful and fertile lands, while Prince Zhaonuola ultimately arrived at Jingmai Mountain in the year 442 of the Buddhist era (101 BCE) with over 1,000 people and established villages in the area.³⁸

The Dai ethnic community in Jingmai Mountain primarily resides in five villages: Jingmai, Mengben, Nuogang, Banggai, and Mangeng, all of which fall under the administration of Jingmai Village Committee. Among these, Banggai Village holds the distinction of being the earliest established settlement. These Dai ethnic villages are all built along the mountainside, with some villages opting for locations near rivers, while others are situated near the sources of springs in areas where rivers are absent. Theravada Buddhism, a branch of Buddhism prevalent in Southeast Asia, forms a significant

³⁶ GUO Zhen 郭桢, "Daizu" 傣族, (Dai ethnic group), in *Zhongyang zhengfu menhu wangzhan*, 2006, (https://www.gov.cn/test/2006-04/14/content_254139.htm accessed 14-07-2023).

³⁷ To convert Buddhist Era (B.E.) years to Common Era (C.E.) years, use the following simple formula: Common Era year = Buddhist Era year – 543. However, this is a commonly used conversion method, but the starting year of the Buddhist Era may vary in different regions and cultures. (Buddhist calendar, in "Wikipedia", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhist_calendar accessed 23-05-2023).

³⁸ RAO Mingyong 饶明勇, HE Ming 何明, "Pu'er jingmaishan guchayuan gucunluo wenhua duoyangxingyanjiu" 普洱景迈山古茶园古村落文化多样性研究 (Research on the Culture Diverse of Ancient Tea Tree Garden and Village in Jingmai Mountain of Pu'er City), Kunming, Yunnan Fine Arts Publishing House, p.154.

component of the belief system among the Dai ethnic group in Jingmai and every Dai village on the mountain has its own Buddhist mountain which locals like call "Miansi (缅甸寺) Burmese Temple" in dialect. Dai villages are typically accompanied by nearby forests and Buddhist temples, while the central area of the village is marked by a communal space known as the *Zhaixin* 寨心 (village center) . The Zhaixin serves as a gathering place for ceremonial activities within the village, forming a shared space for community engagement. Traditional Dai houses are predominantly built in a stilted architectural style, characterized by raised platforms supported by wooden pillars. The roofs are typically thatched with straw, while the decorative elements often feature buffalo horn-shaped symbols. The Dai people residing in Jingmai Mountain primarily speak a variant of the Dai language that is closely related to the Xishuangbanna Dai language. The Dai language in China is classified into two main dialects: Xishuangbanna Dai and Dehong Dai. Additionally, the Dai language possesses its own writing system, which is utilized by the community.



Figure 3: Jingmai Nuogang village of Dai ethnic group



Figure 4: Traditional Dai house and family

Bulang ethnic group

The Bulang ethnic group is one of the ethnic minorities in southwestern border regions of China, mainly distributed in the western and southwestern parts of Yunnan Province. According to the recognition of historians, the origin of the Bulang ethnic group can be traced back to the ancient *Bai Pu* 百濮 ethnic group. Regarding the historical origins of the Bulang ethnic group in Jingmai Mountain, scholarly investigations are limited due to the absence of direct historical documentation. However, local Bulang villagers have engaged in research based on deductive reasoning and collective ethnic memory. According to the account provided by Mr. *Su Guowen* 苏国文 from Mangjing Village in the book "Mangjing Bulang Ethnic Group and Tea," it is believed that the original settlement of the Bulang people was in the vicinity of present-day Kunming. After the failure of the first ethnic conflict, the Bulang people migrated to the Dehong region. Following the second ethnic conflict, they further relocated to the "Laisanmeng" area, which borders Menghai, Lancang, Menglian, and Myanmar.³⁹ Although the exact timing

³⁹ GUO Zhen 郭桢, "Bulangzu" 布朗族, (Bulang ethnic group), in *Zhongyang zhengfu menhu wangzhan*, 2006, (https://www.gov.cn/test/2006-04/14/content_254375.htm accessed 14-07-2023).

of these two migrations is not explicitly mentioned in Bulang folklore, the first migration is believed to be associated with the conflicts between the Han Dynasty and various ethnic groups in southwestern China. The second ethnic conflict is likely linked to the conquest of Yunnan by the Yuan Dynasty. Based on the historical timeline of the Yuan Dynasty's conquest of Yunnan, which took place from the late 13th century to the early 14th century, it can be inferred that the Bulang people entered Jingmai Mountain at the earliest in the late 13th century.⁴⁰

Currently, the Bulang ethnic group in Jingmai Mountain is mainly distributed in five villages of Mangjing Village, including Mangjing Upper Village, Mangjing Lower Village, Xinzhai Village, Manghong Village, Wengji Village, and Wengwa Village. The Bulang villages are typically built between mountain hollows, with the northern side mostly consisting of mountainous terrain and the southern side being relatively lower and gentle. Traditional Bulang houses feature stilted architectural style, with roofs commonly covered by thatch made of straw. These roofs are often adorned with decorative elements symbolizing "one bud and two leaves." The Bulang ethnic group has been influenced by the Dai people and also follows Theravada Buddhism, which is prevalent in the region.

The Bulang people have their own language, but they do not have a writing system. In addition to speaking the Bulang language, the local Bulang people are also fluent in different dialects such as Dai, Lancang, and Mandarin Chinese. Within the Bulang language spoken in Jingmai Mountain, there are numerous loanwords borrowed from the Dai language.

⁴⁰ ZOU Yiqing 邹怡情, "Zuowei wenhua xianlu yichan de chamagudao gainian bianxi - yi Yunnan Pu'er jingmaishan weili" 作为文化线路遗产的茶马古道概念辨析——以云南普洱景迈山为研究案例 (Conceptual Analysis of the Tea-Horse Road as Cultural Route— A Case Study of Jingmai Mountain in Pu'er Yunnan Province), Beijing, Beijing Tsinghua Tongheng Urban Planning and Design Institute Co.,Ltd., p. 85.



Figure 5: Jingmai Wengji village of Bulang ethnic group



Figure 6: traditional house of Bulang ethnic group

Han ethnic group

During the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republican era, the internal chaos in China led to mass migrations of people from populous provinces such as Sichuan, Hunan, and Guangdong.

These individuals sought livelihood in various regions, and some of them eventually settled in the border areas adjacent to Myanmar. Gradually, a small village called *Laojiufang* 老酒坊 (Old Alcohol Workshop) emerged in the vicinity of Jingmai Mountain, named after the Han ethnic group residing there who were skilled in brewing alcohol. Overall, in the Jingmai Mountain region, the Han ethnic group arrived relatively late and constituted the smallest population among the various ethnic groups.

The residents of Laojiufang chose to build their village in a mountainous hollow with access to springs, and this location, facing southward, aligns with the traditional architectural orientation favored by the Han ethnic group. Han ethnic houses are primarily characterized by courtyard-style architecture, with the main structure situated in the center and surrounded by courtyards.

The Han residents of Jingmai Mountain originate from various provinces and cities in China. They primarily communicate in Mandarin Chinese and, in order to better integrate into the local community, many of them also speak the local dialect of Lancang. Additionally, they have a basic understanding of some minority languages in the area.

Hani ethnic group

The Hani ethnic group is one of the minority ethnic groups in China, primarily distributed in counties such as Yuanjiang, Mojiang, Luchun, Jinping, Jiangcheng, and in regions including Simao, Xishuangbanna, and Lancang, between the Honghe River and the Lancang River in southern Yunnan province. Outside of China, they are known as the Akha people and are distributed in countries such as Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, and other

regions.⁴¹

As a migratory ethnic group, the Hani people of Jingmai Mountain gradually settled in the area during the late Qing Dynasty and the modern era. The main residential villages of the Hani people in Jingmai Mountain are Longbang and Nanai, which are built along the mountainside at the halfway point of Jingmai Mountain. In the past, there were pastures located below the villages for the Hani people, who practiced animal husbandry. The number of livestock held significant importance for the Hani people as it served as a measure of a family's wealth and prosperity.

The local Hani people traditionally built their houses in a stilted architectural style. In earlier times, their houses had more spacious designs, but over time, they began to incorporate influences from the architectural style of the Dai ethnic group.

The Hani people living in Jingmai Mountain are fluent in the Hani language, and the local community has successfully preserved and passed down their ethnic language. However, Hani language is considered to have multiple branches, which are classified as separate languages. Originally, the Hani people did not have their own writing system. However, in 1957, the Chinese government created a standardized writing system for the Hani language based on the pronunciation of the Hani dialect spoken in Lüchun.⁴² Nowadays, the Hani people in the local area are multilingual individuals. In addition to Mandarin Chinese and Lancang-Mekong language, some of them also speak Dai, Bulang, or Wa languages.

Wa ethnic group

The Wa ethnic group is a minority group that primarily inhabits the mountainous region between the Lancang River and the Salween River. Their residential areas span across both Myanmar and China. During the pre-Qin period, the Wa ethnic group inhabited the Gaoligong Mountains and the Lancang River region in conjunction with the ancestors of

⁴¹ QIAN Liyuan 千里原, "Hanizu" 哈尼族, (Hani ethnic group), in *Minzu gongzuo daquan*, 2001, (<https://web.archive.org/web/20200915074808/http://www.china.com.cn/ch-shaoshu/index18.htm> accessed 23-07-2023).

⁴² Laurent SAGART, Shixuan XU, "History through loanwords: the loan correspondences between hani and Chinese", *Cahiers de linguistique - Asie Orientale*, 30 (1), 2001, p. 4.

the Bulang and De'ang ethnic groups, constituting a branch of the larger "Bai Pu" ethnic group. Similar to the Hani ethnic group, the Wa people also migrated to the vicinity of Jingmai Mountain during the late Qing Dynasty. According to local villagers, the Wa people of Nanzuo Village relocated from Menglian County and have been residing in this area for approximately five generations. Based on this information, it can be inferred that the Wa ethnic group has a history of over 100 years in Jingmai Mountain. There is only one Wa village on Jingmai Mountain, known as Nanzuo. Nanzuo is located at a higher elevation, and the village is divided into Upper Village and Lower Village by a road. Within the village, there is a central area known as the *zhaixin* 寨心 (village center), which serves as an important sacred space for conducting ritual ceremonies. The houses of the Wa people are also built in a stilted architectural style, with the roofs adorned with decorations made from ox horns to indicate the wealth and prosperity of the family. In Nanzuo village, the primary agricultural focus is on dryland farming and tea cultivation on mountain slopes. In addition to tea, the local Wa people also grow drought-tolerant crops such as maize (corn).⁴³

The Wa people have their own language, and most of the Wa residing in Jingmai Mountain can speak two or more languages. Due to the larger population of the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups on the mountain, they have a certain degree of linguistic influence. In addition to Mandarin Chinese, Lancang language, and the Wa language, some Wa individuals also speak Dai and, to a lesser extent, Bulang languages.

Lahu ethnic group

The Lahu ethnic group is distributed across various provinces and cities in China, with a significant concentration in Yunnan Province. Lincang County, in particular, is the only autonomous county for the Lahu people nationwide, with nearly 50% of the Lahu population residing there. Additionally, the Lahu ethnic group is also distributed in countries such as Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam.⁴⁴

⁴³ GUO Zhen 郭桢, "Wazu" 佤族, (Wa ethnic group), in *Zhongyang zhengfu menhu wangzhan*, 2020, (https://www.gov.cn/test/2006-04/14/content_254375.htm accessed 14-07-2023).

⁴⁴ GUO zhen 郭桢, "Lahu zu" 拉祜族, (Lahu ethnic group), in *Zhongyang zhengfu menhu wangzhan*, 2020,

The Lahu village on Jingmai mountain is called *Laodabao* 老达保 and is situated on east-west oriented hillside, relatively distant from the central area of Jingmai mountain. Influenced by the introduction of Christianity, many Lahu people have embraced the Christian faith. The village has a church located at a higher elevation, which serves as a central gathering place for recreational activities in the community.

The traditional houses of the Lahu people are built in a stilted architectural style. However, in the village of Laodaobao on Jingmai Mountain, the houses have undergone a transformation from stilted structures to modern brick houses. Later, in order to promote tourism and preserve traditional culture, the village was reconstructed with wooden structures in the stilted architectural style.

Among the Lahu community residing on Jingmai Mountain, communication predominantly takes place in their native Lahu language. However, it is common for community members to also be proficient in the local Lahu dialect spoken in Lancang, as well as Mandarin Chinese. Notably, the Lahu people have developed their own writing system, known as Lahu script, aimed at preserving their ethnic language. This unique script serves as a means of expressing their ethnic identity and emotions, carrying a profound significance within the Lahu culture.

2.3 The origin of tea usage among the local ethnic groups

The region of Lancang, where Jingshan Mountain is situated, has a rich history of diverse ethnic groups migrating, converging, and flowing. Ethnic groups such as Dai, Bulang, Lahu, Hani, Wa, and Han migrated to this area to escape conflicts and seek refuge. In the process of adapting to the local natural ecosystem, they gradually recognized the value of tea resources and started to develop them. The history of development in Jingmai Mountain is closely intertwined with the gradual utilization of the arbor tea resources.

During the early stages, Jingmai Mountain had a relatively low population density. As

(https://www.gov.cn/guoqing/2015-07/24/content_2902212.htm accessed 10-07-2023).

various ethnic groups from the surrounding areas migrated to the region, they gradually settled near the arbor tea gardens and began to exploit and utilize the resources of arbor tea. This marked the beginning of a process that led to the development of a multi-ethnic cohabitation model in the area. Indeed, the abundant presence of tea resources served as the foundation for the development of Jingmai Mountain. The cultivation, utilization, and consumption of tea by various ethnic groups played a significant role in attracting populations to migrate to the area. In fact, among the diverse ethnic groups residing in Jingmai Mountain, many still hold the collective memory of their ancestors' initial utilization of tea resources upon their arrival in the region.

The Bulang ethnic group is considered one of the early tea-growing ethnic groups in Yunnan.⁴⁵ Around 1700 years ago, some Bulang ancestors settled in Xishuangbanna, where they started cultivating and utilizing tea trees in the Nanuo Mountains. This early cultivation of tea demonstrates the Bulang people's historical connection with tea production. Approximately 1300 years ago, in the Mengjing area of Lancang County, which is now part of Pu'er City, the Bulang people also engaged in tea cultivation and utilization. This suggests a continued tradition of tea cultivation among the Bulang people in different regions of Yunnan. Around 1000 years ago, the Bulang people migrated to the Laoman'e area in Jinhong, where they further developed tea cultivation practices. This indicates their adaptability and the expansion of their tea-growing territories.

In the areas where the Bulang ethnic group has historically settled, there are significant remnants of ancient tea gardens and numerous cultivated tea trees that have existed for several hundred to nearly a thousand years. In the Nannuo Mountain area of Menghai, there is a 1,000 mu⁴⁶ ancient tea garden and an over 800-year-old ancient tea tree (which died in 1995), both of which were cultivated by the ancestors of the Bulang ethnic group. Similarly, in the Mangjing area of Lancang, there is a 600 mu ancient tea garden and an over 500-year-old ancient tea tree (which died in 2007), also cultivated by the ancestors

⁴⁵ Lancang Lahu Autonomous County Local Chronicles Compilation Committee, *Lancang lahuzu zizhixian xianzhi 1978-2005* 澜沧拉祜族自治县县志 1978-2005 (Lancang Lahu Autonomous County Annals 1978-2005), Kunming, Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe, pp. 129-130.

⁴⁶ One Mu corresponds to 1/15 of a hectare, or about 666.67 m² (Mu, in "Wikipedia", [https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mu_\(unit_of_area\)](https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mu_(unit_of_area)) accessed 01-04-2023).

of the Bulang ethnic group. The historical affinity and cultivation of tea among the Bulang ethnic group have played a significant role in determining their choice of settlement locations. They tend to prefer areas with existing ancient tea gardens or regions that offer favorable conditions for tea cultivation. The distribution of the Bulang ethnic group in the Jingmai Mountain area also reflects this characteristic. The majority of the Bulang population in Jingmai Mountain is concentrated in Mangjing Village, where the five Bulang villages are situated along the mountainous regions adjacent to the ancient tea gardens at an elevation ranging from 1300 to 1400 meters above sea level.

The Dai ethnic group is also one of the ethnic groups that recognized the value of tea at an early stage. In the Dai language, tea is referred to as *la* 腊, which originally means "to discard" or "to throw away". According to local beliefs, once a person falls ill, consuming "la" or using it to bathe and soak the entire body can help "discard" the illness. According to local legends, in the year 452 of the Buddhist era (around 91 BCE), the wife of the village leader, Nanyinla, fell ill. Her husband, Zhaonuola, went up the mountain to search for a remedy and came across a special type of tree leaf. He chewed the leaves and noticed a pleasant fragrance. Intrigued, he collected the fresh leaf tips and boiled them to make a healing water for his wife to drink and bathe in. Surprisingly, his wife's health started improving, and all her illnesses gradually disappeared. After realizing the medicinal properties of these leaves, Zhaonuola named them "la," giving birth to the Dai people's term for tea. Hence, the Dai people began calling tea "la".

Upon discovering the medicinal value of tea, the village leader Zhaonuola ordered the protection of the "la" trees on the mountains. From then on, people started transplanting and cultivating "la" tea plants. When merchants and travelers passed through Jingmai, the local villagers would present "la" tea as a cherished gift. Upon experiencing the delightful flavor and soothing effects of "la" tea, they became captivated by its qualities. Consequently, the fame of Jingmai Mountain's tea started to spread to the outside world.

The local residents of Jingmai Mountain considered tea an essential part of their daily lives. Combined with the growing awareness and understanding of tea from the outside world, the economic value of tea gradually emerged. The villagers of Jingmai have been cultivating tea gardens on a large scale for over a thousand years. In order to facilitate the management of tea trees, the villages are generally located in the vicinity of the tea

gardens. Consequently, the traditional way of life for the Dai people, who were originally accustomed to living near water bodies, underwent transformations upon their settlement in the mountainous region of Jingmai. They gradually shifted their residential areas to locations that were more suitable for tea cultivation. Currently, the Dai people are primarily concentrated within the territory of Jingmai Village in the Jingmai Mountain region. The villages of the Dai people are generally situated at elevations ranging from 1100 to 1600 meters.

The Wa ethnic group in Jingmai Mountain also holds the ancestral memory of tea cultivation. According to legend, in 1861, a small tribe of the Ximeng Mengsuo Wa ethnic group, who relied on hunting for a living, ventured to Jingmai Mountain. While exploring the jungle, they discovered a peculiar spring. The spring water was clear, pure, and sweet, and no matter how much water was drawn from it, the water level never decreased. The surrounding area was dense with forests, offering a beautiful environment and abundant food resources, making it an ideal place to settle down. Thus, they decided to make this their new home. During their long-term settlement there, they established close connections with the nearby Dai ethnic group. They adopted a Dai village name and learned tea cultivation from the Dai people. In the vicinity of the Wa ethnic villages in Jingmai Mountain, there are still large areas of tableland tea plantations. However, due to their late arrival in Jingmai Mountain, the Wa people did not acquire many ancient tea gardens. Due to the intentional cultivation of tea plantations at higher elevations, the Wa ethnic villages in Jingmai Mountain are located at altitudes around 1450 meters, which is slightly higher compared to the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups.⁴⁷

The diverse expressions of the different ethnic groups mentioned above reflect a distinctive characteristic of Jingmai Mountain. Each ethnic group revolves around the production and livelihood related to tea resources. To facilitate the development and utilization of tea resources, the various ethnic groups have chosen to reside within the geographical space suitable for tea cultivation, specifically between 1100 and 1600 meters in Jingmai Mountain. From the vertical distribution of vegetation, Jingmai

⁴⁷ RAO Mingyong 饶明勇, HE Ming 何明, "Pu'er jingmaishan guchayuan gucunluo wenhua duoyangxingyanjiu" 普洱景迈山古茶园古村落文化多样性研究 (Research on the Culture Diverse of Ancient Tea Tree Garden and Village in Jingmai Mountain of Pu'er City), Kunming, Yunnan Fine Arts Publishing House, p.64.

Mountain exhibits a distinct pattern. The mountain top is characterized by secondary forests and pristine forests, while the mountain slopes consist of historically modified ancient tea gardens, modern tea plantations, and human settlements. The foothills are occupied by terraced fields, forming a three-dimensional spatial distribution pattern. The intertwining of human living spaces and tea gardens in Jingmai Mountain reflects its unique symbiotic relationship between humans and the land, known as the "people-tea cohabitation" model.

The diverse ethnic tea cultures have been formed based on the rich resources of tea trees and the long-standing interdependence and ingenious interactions between various ethnic groups and the natural world. Driven by a natural instinct, these groups discovered and harnessed the wondrous plant called tea. The utilization of tea has been influenced and intertwined with their distinct ways of life, religious beliefs, and ethnic cultures, gradually giving rise to a myriad of tea rituals, customs, and tea ceremonies, showcasing the abundant and varied forms of tea culture.

The remarkable understanding of tea by the local ethnic groups in Jingmai Mountain reflects the rich history and culture associated with tea, with the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups serving as exemplary examples. Being among the first to settle in Jingmai Mountain and cultivate tea, these ethnic groups independently discovered the value of tea in their respective historical developments. While their methods of utilization share similarities, they have also maintained their distinct ethnic characteristics.

The usage of tea leaves by the Dai ethnic group originated from a legend involving their ancestor, Zhaonuola, who brought tea from the mountains to his wife, Nanyingla, for drinking and bathing, successfully curing her illness. This tale represents the first legend associated with the Dai's use of tea leaves.

According to the second legend, one day, Nanyingla lost her appetite during a meal and sought to stimulate her appetite using tea leaves. However, she did not want to consume them raw. So, she picked a handful of fresh tea leaves and proceeded to roast them over a fire until they were cooked. Having cooked too much, Nanyingla began sun-drying the remaining roasted tea leaves. After a few days, she boiled the dried tea leaves in a bamboo tube and discovered a remarkably unique flavor profile, devoid of any bitterness, with an

exceptionally pleasant taste. Subsequently, she shared this novel method of roasting and boiling fresh tea leaves with others, and it gradually spread among the Dai community as an innovative way of processing tea.⁴⁸

While the authenticity of the legends described by the Jingmai Dai people cannot be verified, the stories surrounding this time period still provide insights into the ancestral understanding and utilization of tea. In the early stages, the Dai people attributed the name "la" to tea leaves, acknowledging their medicinal properties in the realm of healing and disease prevention. Secondly, tea was regarded as a form of food among the Dai people, and to this day, there are culinary practices within Dai villages that incorporate tea as an ingredient. For instance, tea leaf fried eggs and tea leaf salad are popular dishes enjoyed by the Dai community. Thirdly, the habit of drinking tea gradually developed after the practice of storing dried tea leaves and boiling them in bamboo tubes for consumption. This method of preparation and consumption led to the gradual formation of the tea-drinking tradition among the Dai people. Subsequently, throughout the course of history, the Dai people in Jingmai Mountain gradually developed a diverse range of tea processing techniques, resulting in a rich variety of traditional tea products. Some of these traditional tea-making products include:

Using special craftsmanship, the Dai people in Jingmai Mountain meticulously select the best spring tea leaves each year to create a special type of tea known as tribute tea, exclusively intended for presentation to the imperial court. Moreover, the Dai people in Jingmai Mountain have developed a distinctive tea product called *nian* 年. It is created by combining freshly plucked tea leaves with ginger slices and fermenting them inside bamboo tubes. The resulting *nian* is used as an offering in religious ceremonies and also plays a vital role in social interactions among villagers, serving as a means of communication through invitations and correspondence.

⁴⁸ LI Yong 李勇, YANG Zhenhong 杨振洪, "Jingmai chashan" 景迈茶山 (Jingmai tea mountain), Kunming, Yunnan Chubanshe, 2010, p. 96.



Figure 7: tea as food

Based on the account provided by Mr. Su Guowen from Mangjing Village, it is revealed that the early ancestors of the Bulang ethnic group embarked on a remarkable journey of tea exploration, acquiring knowledge about tea, cultivating tea plants, and ultimately incorporating tea into their daily lives. This extensive development process has given rise to a diverse and distinctive tea culture among the Bulang people. During the initial phase, the early Bulang ancestors revered tea as a sacred medicine. According to the enduring oral traditions of the Bulang people, their forefathers, *Paaileng* 帕哎冷, discovered the remarkable effects of tea leaves during the wars of migration to the south. They observed that tea could enhance mental clarity, uplift the spirit, and even possess healing properties, prompting them to distinctly differentiate tea leaves from other types of leaves. In the second phase, the early Bulang ancestors introduced tea into their daily diet as a condiment or seasoning, referred to as *deze* 得责. It gradually evolved into a regular beverage consumed in their daily lives. During the third phase, the Bulang people began to regard tea as a tribute. Initially, tea was offered as a sacred offering to the deities,

and later it became a tribute presented to the highest leader or ruler. In the fourth phase, the early Bulang ancestors embraced tea as a universal currency and engaged in trade with neighboring ethnic groups. Tea served as a medium of exchange for a wide range of goods, including salt, cloth, tools, grains, and daily essentials. Last phase tea becomes a commodity.⁴⁹

What we can observe is that the five phases of tea discovery, understanding, and utilization among the Bulang ethnic group are actually consistent with those of the Dai people. The first two phases involve distinguishing tea from other plants, representing the fundamental establishment of knowledge. The subsequent three phases highlight the historical development of tea, imbuing it with new significance and purposes.

Simultaneously, the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups not only possess a certain level of understanding regarding the fundamental characteristics and utilitarian value of tea as a plant but also classify tea based on its social functions.

Both the Bulang and Dai ethnic groups have customs related to the religious use of tea. They have rituals dedicated to worshipping the "ancestral tea" and the "tea spirit tree." By venerating the tea tree as the embodiment of the *tea deity* 茶神, people sanctify and elevate the significance of tea, leading to a deeper understanding, reverence, and protection of this sacred plant. In the context of religious tea practices, the symbolic value of tea has transcended its role as a mere beverage in everyday life.

Guest welcoming tea, known as *yingke cha* 迎客茶 in both the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups, holds great significance as an essential etiquette when receiving guests. It involves brewing tea by the side of a hearth to entertain and honor esteemed visitors.

Gift tea holds great significance among the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups as it serves as a vital economic resource and symbol of wealth. It also acts as a significant medium for social interactions and interpersonal relationships. When visiting friends and relatives, proposing marriage, or getting engaged, it is customary to present tea as a gift. This

⁴⁹ SU Guoweng 苏国文, "Mangjing bulangzu yu cha" 芒景布朗族与茶 (The Bulang ethnic group of Mangjing and tea), Kunming, Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2009, pp.13-14.

transition from the material exchange of tea to the exchange of tea as a gift represents a derivative aspect of tea culture.

Invitation tea, known as "nian" in the Dai culture and "engengmian" in the Bulang culture (specifically made tea for invitations in the Bulang tradition), serves as a significant ceremonial practice for conveying important social messages. It plays a role similar to that of invitations and letters, carrying and transmitting significant information within the community.⁵⁰

In summary, tea, whether utilized as a medicinal remedy, a culinary delight, a gift, or a commodity subject to market fluctuations, has continuously evolved in value throughout different eras. Its multifaceted nature has been consistently present, showcasing the diverse and comprehensive understanding of tea by the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups. The fusion and intersection of tea culture with the cultures of ethnic minorities have bestowed upon Jingmai Mountain its unique and unparalleled allure. The nomination of Jingmai Mountain for UNESCO World Heritage status is a remarkable opportunity to showcase and introduce the world to the exceptional charm of this region, filling a gap in global cultural heritage representation, particularly in the realm of tea culture.

⁵⁰ RAO Mingyong 饶明勇, HE Ming 何明, "Pu'er jingmaishan guchayuan gucunluo wenhua duoyangxingyanjiu" 普洱景迈山古茶园古村落文化多样性研究 (Research on the Culture Diverse of Ancient Tea Tree Garden and Village in Jingmai Mountain of Pu'er City), Kunming, Yunnan Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 161.

CHAPTER 3

TERROIR THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION IN JINGMAI MOUNTAIN

3.1 Terroir

The tea industry of Jingmai Mountain holds a profound connection with the indigenous cultures and historical heritage of the region, giving rise to a profound sense of local identity. This uniqueness is exclusive to this particular area, and it is grounded in the seamless interaction between humans and the natural environment, exemplifying a symbiotic coexistence. This symbiosis is the primary basis for Jingmai Mountain's nomination as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site for its significant contribution to tea culture.

The proverbial notion of *yi fang shui tu yang yi fang ren* 一方水土养一方人 (each place nurtures its own inhabitants) finds resonance in the distinct geographical setting that attracted and hosted these minority communities over generations. This locale provided the resources and conditions conducive for their settlement. As these minority groups adapted to their surroundings, they engaged in tea cultivation as a means of subsistence. This reciprocal relationship between the land and its inhabitants further deepened their bond with the territory.

Through their cultivation of tea, these minority communities not only secured their livelihoods but also became integral to the shaping of the landscape itself. Their efforts in cultivating the land, tending to tea plants, and passing down traditional practices resulted in the thriving tea industry that graces Jingmai Mountain today.

Based on the conceptual framework of "Terroir" derived from the French wine industry, an application can be extended to the analysis of place-making in the context of Jingmai Mountain. This analysis examines the Terroir of Jingmai Mountain from the distinct perspectives of land, product, and producers, wherein their individuality interplays with reciprocal influences. Consequently, this section delves into the exploration and analysis of the application of Terroir theory within the Pu'er tea industry, as well as its specific manifestations within the realm of Jingmai Mountain.

3.1.1 *The definition of terroir and its application in the food industry*

In France, terroir is defined as "an area or terrain, usually rather small, whose soil and microclimate impart distinctive qualities to food products"⁵¹. The emergence of the term "Terroir" is intrinsically tied to the history of French wine. As documented by Rachel Laudan, the origins of geographical indication protection policies can be traced to the French wine industry. During that period, the French wine sector faced a formidable crisis stemming from competition from the American wine industry. In response to this predicament, French wine producers conceived the notion of employing geographical indication protection policies to safeguard their domestic wine industry. Through such policies, they sought to underscore the uniqueness of French wine.⁵²

While discussing the distinctiveness of their produced wines, these French vintners contended that the singularity of their wines did not solely reside in the wines themselves, but rather in the uniqueness of Terroir. Within this context, Terroir signifies the specific combination of soil and local natural environment within a particular geographical setting. It can be interpreted like when one tastes a certain wine, one senses the place where the grapes were grown and the wine was produced. As a result, with the assistance of the French government, the French wine industry established the Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée (AOC) system for products of geographical origin labeling. Leveraging this system, their wine industry was adorned with labels denoting their origins.⁵³

Later, not only for wine, under this politically charged and bureaucratically regulated system, for highly localized foods and beverages, the places where they are produced become unique. More specific agricultural commodities are permitted to undergo production and commercialization under officially registered designations. For instance, products like Champagne or Camembert de Normandie exemplify this practice, wherein

⁵¹ Peter BAHAM, *The science of cooking*, New York, Springer-Verlag, 2001, p. 131.

⁵² Rachel LAUDAN, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2013, p. 308.

⁵³ In France, the appellation d'origine contrôlée (AOC) is a label that identifies an agricultural product whose stages of production and processing are carried out in a defined geographical area – the terroir – and using recognized and traditional know-how. (Appellation d'origine contrôlée in "Wikipedia", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Appellation_d%27origine_contr%C3%B4l%C3%A9e accessed 17-08-2023).

their production is limited exclusively to demarcated geographical regions and must adhere strictly to stipulated methodologies.

From an agronomic perspective, terroir suggests that a specific territory reunites a number of conditions that are unique, conditions that can only be found in this place, and conditions that come to influence or characterize the nature, structure, and taste of the product⁵⁴. Terroir, or "goût de terroir" in France, has been translated as "the taste of place," with "place" referring to local material conditions. Initially, anthropologists focused on elements such as soil, climate, and landscape represented in food products. However, they did not include the role of people in their analysis of place-making and terroir. In subsequent years, a growing number of scholars came to realize that terroir encompasses not only specific geographical space but also the socio-cultural factors involved in producing a particular agricultural product. For instance, Amy B. Trubek posits that terroir signifies not solely the natural environment of a place, but also the interactive relationship between individuals and the land, their underlying life philosophies, and the experiential and mnemonic connections with the locale. Terroir transcends its connection solely to location, as it is intricately intertwined with producers, the craftsmanship of artisans, and even the emotional investment of producers.⁵⁵ In this context, terroir is a product of cultural creation and consumption. It does not represent an inherent attribute of a place waiting to be unveiled; rather, it is a construct in the process of being formed. Terroir is therefore not only a descriptive device for a certain geographical relationship between produce and the land, but it is equally a device for grasping an intrinsic relationship between people and place.

In summary, terroir represents a category of activities encompassing agriculture, food production, food transformation, and craftsmanship. The value attributed to these activities is entwined with both objective and subjective criteria and attributes stemming from their execution within a specific and non-transferable geographical locale. Frequently, these activities are rooted in longstanding traditions, often spanning centuries, founded upon ancient knowledge and artisanal expertise. This characteristic is notably

⁵⁴ Carlos THIEBAUT, *The Ethics of Authenticity*, Barcelona, Paidós Editions, 1994, p. 51.

⁵⁵ Amy B. TRUBEK, *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey Into Terroir*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2008, p. 39.

evident in numerous productions that hold cultural significance and are replete with symbolic value. Terroir constitutes a term that is both geographical and cultural in nature. It elucidates not only the local geographic environment but also unveils the intricate relationship between humans and the land. While the natural surroundings exert an influence on the flavors of food and beverages, it is ultimately within the cultural sphere, among the people, that the essence of "goût du terroir" is forged.

3.1.2 The application of "terroir" in the Pu'er tea industry

Built upon the terroir theory, Yunnan's Pu'er tea industry similarly embodies the elements of Terroir-based place-making. Terroir emphasizes a specific geographical environment, evoking notions of place, tradition, and quality. The hallmark attribute of terroir is its intrinsic connection to the land. In essence, terroir encapsulates a profoundly spatial and territorialized cultural industry. Unlike artistic endeavors such as performances, circuses, theatre, or fashion design, terroir activities necessitate a profound rootedness in the territory.

In accordance with the predominant national standard introduced in 2008, 地理标志产品：普洱茶 Product of geographical indication - Pu'er tea⁵⁶, only tea that originates within the boundaries of China's Yunnan province, cultivated from the Yunnan large-leaf tea variety, and processed using specified techniques can be legitimately designated as Pu'er tea. Within this context, the delimited geographical milieu, singular climatic conditions, and the particular product—Pu'er tea—all harmonize with the foundational concept of "terroir," wherein the distinct characteristics of a specific region contribute to the distinctive attributes of the product. This alignment mirrors closely the essence of the AOC system's mission to protect and elevate the regional identity of products.

However, unlike the AOC system that underpins the "Terroir" concept in France, Yunnan Pu'er tea currently lacks a comprehensive and standardized system for quality assessment and authenticity. This disparity is conspicuous both in the development of subjective perceptions surrounding the definition of "good tea" within the spectrum of Pu'er tea's flavor profiles and in the establishment of quality benchmarks. Within the Pu'er tea

⁵⁶ National Public Service Platform for Standards Information 全国标准信息公共服务平台, "Dili biao zhi chan pin: Pu'er cha" 地理标志产品，普洱茶 (Product of geographical indication - Pu'er tea), Number: GB/T 22111-2008.

producing regions, there exist various identification marks and certifying bodies, yet there is no unified nationwide authentication emblem for Pu'er tea. Given the multitude of markets and origins for Pu'er tea, the certification marks in each production area might differ, consequently leading to a relatively dispersed landscape of authentication information in the market.

As a beverage, the primary concern when it comes to Pu'er tea is its taste, much like the process of wine tasting. Just as learning to appreciate wine involves specific knowledge, the art of tea tasting requires dedicated learning. An individual who does not regularly consume tea might find it challenging to adjust to the taste of Pu'er tea. They might struggle not only to discern its quality but also to develop an aversion to its flavor.

Evaluating the quality of a Pu'er tea cake demands expertise in tea tasting. Key steps in this process involve observing the color of the tea soup, smelling its aroma, tasting its flavor, and inspecting the appearance of the tea leaves after brewing. A clear, non-cloudy, and non-dark tea soup, coupled with a multi-layered aroma devoid of raw or burnt scents, signifies the potential for a quality tea.

While many individuals consume tea, the practice of "tasting tea" truly necessitates learning and experience accumulation. The more one drinks, the more experience they gather, thereby enabling them to differentiate between good and poor quality. Tea tasting entails perceiving the tea's *qi* 气 (energy or aroma), *yun* 蕴 (flavorful aftertaste), and *hui gan* 回甘 (lingering sweetness). *Qi* refers to the aroma of the tea soup and the scent emanating from the brewed tea, which can encompass various fragrances such as the aroma of the leaves, floral scents, fruity notes, and more. *Yun* pertains to the complex taste and layers experienced from the moment the tea enters the mouth until it reaches the throat and lingers in the aftertaste. It encompasses the fusion of tastes such as sweetness, bitterness, astringency, freshness, floral notes, and fruitiness. *Hui gan* refers to the lingering sweet sensation that remains in the mouth after consuming the tea. This is a distinctive trait of tea; good tea imparts a lasting sweet sensation in the mouth, which persists for a significant duration. These components collectively constitute the flavor profile of tea, aiding individuals in appreciating the taste and characteristics of the tea. However, discerning subtle differences in taste might prove challenging for many individuals.

There are also some unwritten standards for what qualifies as "good tea" in the realm of Pu'er tea. For instance, as previously mentioned, the phrase *yuechenyuexiang* 越陈越香 (the older, the more aromatic) suggests that Pu'er tea undergoes natural fermentation during storage. Over time, the tea leaves gradually transform, revealing increasingly intricate and rich aromas and flavors. The older the tea, the longer it's stored, the more aromatic the brewed tea becomes, rendering it more enjoyable. This is why many people pursue aged tea, appreciating its aromatic qualities. However, the pursuit of collectible "aged tea" often leads to teas with unassuming packaging and lacking uniform branding. These teas are frequently ancient tea cakes stored in warehouses for a decade or even several decades, originating from "historic" manufacturers from the late 20th century.

These "aged teas" cannot be verified for authenticity or quality without tasting, and the market has witnessed an influx of imitations with old packaging—lower-quality teas forging as premium "antique" products. Nonetheless, some consumers, focused on investing in Pu'er tea rather than consuming it, blindly make purchases without sampling these "exorbitantly priced aged teas." This has inflated market prices without affording them the opportunity to genuinely experience the deliciousness of Pu'er tea. In such instances, the value Pu'er tea embodies in the market is more associated with its investment potential rather than its utility as a consumable beverage. The pursuit of aged tea further complicates matters, as the true taste of genuinely aged tea remains relatively elusive, rendering the criteria for defining "good tea" even more intricate.

Aged tea is inherently limited, thus cultivating valuable new tea has become a fresh investment target. During the era of *gongcha* 贡茶 (tribute tea) in the Pu'er tea industry, locals often utilized the freshest buds and leaves from low-growing shrub-like tea trees to craft tea cakes for tribute. For a considerable period, the "good raw material" standard for Pu'er tea imitated the criteria of Longjing green tea, which entails using fresh leaves from low shrub-like tea trees to create tea cakes. This was one of the reasons behind the prosperity of "tableland tea."

However, as the prices of aged tea in the market soared and its availability dwindled, attention shifted towards "new teas with aging potential." This shift arises from the well-established preference for the flavor of aged tea and its investment value. As the taste for aged tea remains deeply ingrained and continues to be a significant consideration, an

increasing number of individuals are leaning towards teas that possess the potential for successful aging when selecting their tea leaves.

Tableland tea's fresh leaves, due to their monotonous growth environment and artificial cultivation, might be thinner and structurally looser. Compared to ancient tree tea, the compounds and nutrient content in the leaves of tableland tea are relatively lower.⁵⁷ This results in tableland tea facing challenges in generating the rich aroma and flavor akin to those found in ancient tree tea during the aging process.

Ancient tree tea, or old tree tea, is harvested from tea trees that have matured over many years, often spanning decades or even centuries, in natural environments. These trees are typically larger and have slower growth rates compared to tableland tea bushes. The extended growth period of ancient tree tea allows its leaves to accumulate a diverse array of natural compounds and minerals from their environment. This accumulation contributes to the tea's distinctive flavors and aromas. With its unique growth conditions and leaf characteristics, ancient tree tea holds exceptional potential for aging.

The older the tea trees, the better the taste of the tea after aging. This resurgence of interest in investing in ancient tree tea is due to the fact that tea from older trees tends to improve in taste with aging. As a result, many individuals have once again begun investing in ancient tree tea.

The craze for ancient tree tea has sparked a fervor for the pursuit of *chunliao* 纯料茶 (single-origin tea), meaning that a tea cake is crafted exclusively using leaves from the same village. Taiwan has significantly influenced this new trend of pursuing single-origin tea. The concept of "good mountain, good water, good tea" holds sway, and Taiwan's high-mountain tea standards emphasize factors like altitude and origin, referred to as *shanyouqi* 山头气 (mountain-terroir).⁵⁸ The high-altitude environment enables tea leaves to develop rich chemical compounds, resulting in high-quality tea. These teas embody the unique characteristics of their natural environment—climate, sunlight, and soil.

⁵⁷ Shuenn-der YU, "The Authentic Taste of Pu'er Tea and Transnational Interests", *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology*, 14, 1, 2016, p. 101.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 100.

Consequently, even before the rise of Pu'er tea, the names of mountains or villages in Taiwan, particularly for oolong tea, represented brand names.

Subsequently, Taiwan's tea-making methods and naming conventions found their way into the Pu'er tea system. Today, phrases like *banzhang wei wang*, *bingdao wei hou* 班章为王, 冰岛为后 (Ban Zhang is king, Bing Dao follows) , which means "Tea from Lao Ban Zhang Village in Menghai County, Yunnan, is renowned as a top-tier Pu'er tea. On the other hand, the tea from Bingdao Village in Pu'er City, Yunnan, while not enjoying the same level of fame as the Ban Zhang region, still offers a delightful and satisfying flavor profile", exemplify the representation of different village teas in the quality grading of Pu'er tea. Moreover, Pu'er tea traders are continuously exploring new and remote tea-producing villages, because that they believe that "the less connected to the market economy, the better and more authentic the product."⁵⁹

Concepts such as "*yuechenyuexiang* 越陈越香(the older, the more aromatic) ", "*gushucha* 古树茶(ancient tree tea) ", and "*chunliao cha* 纯料茶(single-origin tea)" have emerged only in the past two decades. These standards are subjective, predominantly discussed by so-called tea connoisseurs who assess tea quality based on their personal perspectives. There lacks a concrete and objective set of criteria. Furthermore, these standards are prone to change, often exhibiting a degree of subjectivity and instability. For instance, the shift from pursuing "*taidicha* 台地茶(tableland tea) " with tender, fresh leaves like green tea to seeking "*gushucha* 古树茶" enriched with "nutrients and minerals" demonstrates this evolving trend. Such shifts can introduce ambiguity into the determination of tea quality.

If attempts were made to legally "define" the standards for good tea, it could potentially lack a human touch and disrupt the principles of a free market. The intricate nature of tea appreciation and the evolving preferences underscore the complexity of establishing universal and fixed standards that encompass the multifaceted characteristics of tea quality.

From this perspective, the assessment standards for the quality of Pu'er tea are deeply

⁵⁹ YU, "The Authentic Taste of Pu'er Tea ...", cit., p.105.

ingrained in informal customs and practices. Between tea-producing regions and consumers, diverse interpretations, preferences, and cultural legacies collectively shape the cognitive framework for evaluating Pu'er tea quality. The establishment of Pu'er tea standards emerges as a result of the interaction between producers and consumers. However, these standards are not fixed, they exhibit a degree of instability. With the passage of time, the tea industry and market continue to evolve and change, driving shifts in consumer preferences and perceptions. This evolving landscape prompts the tea industry to continually explore innovations, leading to the emergence of various types of tea and quality standards.

However, despite the relative incompleteness of the quality standard system for Pu'er tea compared to that of red wine, the various elements emphasized by the Terroir theory are indeed present within Pu'er tea's production regions. For instance, the practice of representing the quality of Pu'er tea using specific mountainous regions and tea villages has become a prevalent trend. Simultaneously, human and social factors play a pivotal role in the assessment of Pu'er tea quality. With its rich history of cultivation, Pu'er tea is primarily managed by Yunnan's ethnic minorities, whose lives are intricately intertwined with tea culture. From legends surrounding the tea to its cultivation, harvesting, processing, and consumption methods, Pu'er tea is deeply embedded in the land and way of life.

In conclusion, adopting the Terroir theory to analyze the interplay between Yunnan's Jingmai Mountain Pu'er tea and its indigenous communities is highly fitting. This theory effectively captures the unique geographical, climatic, and cultural characteristics of the Pu'er tea production region, and how these factors profoundly influence the tea's quality and culture. By delving into the history, heritage, and local community involvement surrounding Pu'er tea, a deeper understanding can be gained to elucidate the rich value inherent in Pu'er tea as a consumable product, rooted in the context of Jingmai Mountain.

3.2 The application of the Terroir theory in Jingmai Mountain

The concept of Terroir encompasses multiple dimensions, including soil composition, climate characteristics, geographical conditions, and human factors. Among these, soil, local topography, and microclimate provide objective facts about a place, while social

and human factors introduce variability and distinctiveness, particularly in the case of food and agricultural product regions.

Looking at Jingmai Mountain, as both a tea-producing area and a settlement of ethnic minorities, the application of Terroir theory highlights several key characteristics. Within the framework of the application for World Cultural and Natural Heritage status, Jingmai Mountain stands out as the only tea-producing region primarily nominated based on its ancient tea forests. This region features high mountains, deep valleys, enveloping mists, a mild and humid climate, fertile soil, and abundant vegetation – creating an ideal environment for the natural growth of large-leaf tea trees.

Therefore, from a Terroir perspective, Jingmai Mountain emerges as a unique blend of natural conditions and human cultural influences, making it an exceptional representation of a tea-growing region with deep-rooted historical and cultural significance.

Soil

The soil of Jingmai Mountain is characterized by reddish sandy loam, enriched with a variety of trace elements and exhibiting excellent water permeability and aeration. The soil's pH ranges from 4.00 to 6.09.⁶⁰ In comparison to modern tableland tea plantations, the ancient tea forests of Jingmai Mountain show less pronounced soil acidification trends. Additionally, the mineral content in the soil of these ancient tea forests significantly surpasses that of modern tableland tea plantations, with phosphorus content reaching its highest levels.⁶¹

Soil organic matter is a crucial component of soil composition, with its content closely linked to soil fertility, serving as a vital source of nutrients for tea plants. Soil organic matter plays a significant regulatory role in various fertility factors such as water, nutrients, air, and heat within the soil. It also influences soil structure and quality of cultivated land, making the level of soil organic matter an essential indicator for assessing

⁶⁰ YANG Guangrong 杨广容, "Jingmaishan chayuan turang yangfen yu chaye pinzhi fenxi yanjiu" 景迈山茶园土壤养分与茶叶品质分析研究 (Study on Soil Nutrients and Tea Quality of Ancient Tea Arboretum and Modern Terrace Tea Garden in Jingmai Mountain), in *Journal of Yunnan Agricultural University (Natural Science)*, 3, 2016, pp. 519-527.

⁶¹ YANG, "Study on Soil Nutrients...", cit., pp. 519-527.

soil fertility.

Research findings indicate that in the context of Jingmai Mountain's ancient tea forests, tableland tea plantations, and natural forests, all three land use types exhibit elevated levels of soil organic matter content. The distribution of soil organic matter content follows the pattern: natural forests > ancient tea forests > tableland tea plantations.⁶²

Furthermore, in contrast to the modern tea plantations that suffer from reduced species diversity, soil fertility degradation, and declining tea yield and quality, the ancient tea forests thrive under the cover of pristine forests. These forests constantly accumulate a substantial amount of fallen leaves and branches, contributing to the abundant organic matter on the soil surface. The root exudates of the ancient tea trees and their deep-root system activities effectively enhance soil microbial activity, nutrient content, and physical and chemical structure. This facilitates a self-sustaining soil fertility.

Variations in light intensity and soil moisture content have an impact on the ecological environment of tea plantations, affecting factors such as air humidity, soil temperature, humidity, tea leaf moisture content, and their tenderness. Consequently, these factors influence the growth of tea plants and the quality of tea leaves. Research indicates that due to the shade provided by tall trees in ancient tea forests, there is lower light intensity, less variation in day-night temperatures, and moderate humidity. This environment is conducive to tea plant growth and is beneficial for the accumulation of substances within tea plants, contributing to their overall quality⁶³.

The decomposition of organic matter in soil, the cycling of soil elements, and soil mineralization are all closely tied to the role of soil microorganisms. Soil microorganisms play a vital role in maintaining the health and productivity of agricultural soil. The impact of soil microbial communities around tea tree roots on tea plant growth and quality is significant. Different tea tree varieties, cultivation environments, and human management practices can result in diverse microbial communities, subsequently influencing tea plant growth.

⁶² LI, "Soil Nutrient Analysis", cit., p. 202.

⁶³ YANG, "Study on Soil Nutrients...", cit., pp. 519-527.

The ancient tea trees in Jingmai's ancient tea forests are of considerable age, having not undergone artificial dwarfing, and most of them grow within the original forest ecosystem. Nurtured by the natural fertility of their surroundings and removed from the contamination of pesticides and chemical fertilizers, these trees exhibit high soil bacterial diversity compared to organic tableland tea plantations. However, the fungal diversity in organic tableland tea plantations is higher than in ancient tea forests, indicating that human interventions have had a certain selective effect on the composition of the tea tree's rhizosphere microbial population⁶⁴.

From these perspectives, it is evident that the distinctiveness of the soil in Jingmai Mountain's ancient tea gardens will significantly impact the quality of its tea. This uniqueness will have implications for the tea's steeping endurance, taste, and aroma.

Topography

Situated within the Kongming Mountain range of the Hengduan Mountains, Jingmai Mountain encompasses a region characterized by the Kongming Mountain range, which spans multiple climatic zones and diverse terrains. This geographic diversity has engendered a wide range of ecosystems and species diversity, making the area a crucial habitat for various flora and fauna. With a vegetation coverage exceeding 70%, the predominant vegetation type is subtropical monsoon evergreen broad-leaved plants.

In the context of Pu'er tea production, there's a distinction between the "Six Great Tea Mountains Inside the River" and the "Six Great Tea Mountains Outside the River." The term "river" refers to the Lancang River (Mekong River). The "Six Great Tea Mountains Inside the River" consist of *Gedeng* 革登, *Yibang* 倚邦, *Mangzhi* 莽枝, *Manzhuan* 蛮砖, *Mansa/ Yiwu* 曼撒/易武, and *Youle /Jinuo* 攸乐/基诺. The "Six Great Tea Mountains Outside the River" include *Nanuo* 南糯, *Hekai* 贺开, *Mengsong* 勐宋, *Jingmai* 景迈,

⁶⁴ YANG Ruijuan 杨瑞娟 "Yunnan Jingmaishan butong shengjing chayuan genji turang weishengwu qunluo duoyangxing chubu yanjiu" 云南景迈山不同生境茶园根际土壤微生物群落多样性初步研究 (Preliminary Study on the Diversity of Rhizosphere Soil Microbial Communities in Different Habitats of Jingmai Mountain Tea Plantations in Yunnan, China), in *Chinese Journal of Tropical Crops*, 42(4), 2021, p. 1188.

Bulang 布朗, and *Bada* 巴达.⁶⁵ Compared to other Pu'er tea-producing regions, Jingmai Mountain's elevation is notably higher, with a wider range of altitudes. Within the twelve major tea mountains, it harbors the largest expanse of arbor tea trees, collectively known as the "Ten Thousand Acres Arbor Tea Garden."

An interesting characteristic of these trees is the presence of a parasitic plant commonly referred to as "crab's claw," which holds significant medicinal value and commands a high market price. Another unique aspect of Jingmai Mountain is its persistent shrouding by clouds and mist, with approximately 180 days of cloud cover each year.⁶⁶ This high-altitude environment, coupled with the coverage of mist, affects the temperature, humidity, and light conditions necessary for tea growth, consequently impacting the tea's flavor and aroma.

In terms of hydrology, Jingmai Mountain is encompassed on three sides by the Nanglang River and its tributary, the Nanmen River, which are part of the Lancang River watershed. This configuration isolates Jingmai Mountain as a relatively independent geographical unit and safeguards its ecological environment. Additionally, this geographic setting historically hindered external connectivity, thereby objectively reducing the influence of external factors.⁶⁷

Microclimate

Jingmai Mountain's topography encompasses a significant range of elevations, giving rise to a three-dimensional climate structure. The predominant climate type in the region is subtropical mountain monsoon climate. The lowest point of elevation is at 780 meters, resulting in relatively high temperatures that can reach 38-40 degrees Celsius. However, the annual average temperature in the entire mountainous area remains between 18 and 22 degrees Celsius. The annual precipitation in Jingmai Mountain ranges from 1,800 to

⁶⁵ There are many interpretations of the 'Six Famous Tea Mountains.' Here, I refer to the interpretation provided by Baidu Baike (Baidu Encyclopedia). (*Liuda chashan* 六大茶山 *Six Famous Tea Mountains*, in "Baidu Baike", <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%85%AD%E5%A4%A7%E8%8C%B6%E5%B1%B1/5980449> accessed 16-08-2023)

⁶⁶ CHEN Yaohua 陈耀华, ZHANG Ou 张欧, "World Heritage Perspective on Ancient Tea Forests of the Jingmai Mountain in Pu'er", *Tropical Geography*, 35 (4), 2015, p.543.

⁶⁷ CHEN Yaohua, ZHANG Ou , "World Heritage Perspective on Ancient Tea Forests ...", cit., p. 542.

2,000 mm, and the average annual humidity stands at 75.884%.⁶⁸ The area distinctly experiences both dry and wet seasons. Locals divide the year into a dry season, spanning from October to the following June, and a rainy season occurring from July to September. A fitting description for Jingmai Mountain's climate would be "no scorching summers, no severe winters, clear differentiation between dry and wet seasons, and ample rainfall."

When compared to other Pu'er tea-producing regions, Jingmai Mountain's overall climate doesn't differ significantly. However, due to its extensive cover of the "Ten Thousand Acres Arbor Tea Garden," the area does exhibit a slightly elevated level of humidity within localized pockets, creating a relatively higher microclimate humidity. This climate condition proves advantageous for the development of tea polyphenols, amino acids, and chlorophyll, while also inhibiting the formation of cellulose. As a result, tea leaves from this region maintain a longer period of freshness and tenderness.⁶⁹

Human factors

Terroir encompasses various dimensions, including soil, geographical conditions, and climate, as the foundational facts that shape the unique characteristics of products in specific regions. However, it's the infusion of human and cultural elements that endow these products with distinct identities, cultural significance, and historical value. A remarkable product draws its excellence from its inherent physical attributes, while the infusion of human elements provides it with "soft power."

Drawing from the concepts introduced by Steve Harrison and Paul Dourish in "Re-Placing Space: The Roles of Place and Space in Collaborative Systems," they differentiate between space and place. Space refers to the physical realm, whereas place encompasses additional layers of social meaning, conventions, and cultural understandings. In terms of Terroir, this perspective underscores the pivotal role of people in shaping "placeness." People's activities within a space give rise to all cultural and societal factors, imbuing it with significance. A sense of place emerges as people actively engage and invest in a

⁶⁸ Institute of Ecology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Kunming 中国科学院昆明生态研究所, "Yunnan zhibei shengtai jingguan" 云南植被生态景观 (Vegetation Ecological Landscapes of Yunnan), Beijing, Zhongguo linye chubanshe, 1994, p. 54.

⁶⁹ CHEN, ZHANG, "World Heritage Perspective on Ancient Tea Forests ...", cit., p. 543.

space, thereby enriching it with meaning.⁷⁰

In the case of Jingmai Mountain, the physical attributes of Jingmai Mountain, such as its high elevation, climate, soil composition, and surrounding vegetation, all form the foundational "space" in the context of terroir. These elements directly influence the growth and development of tea plants. While the cultural practices, tea cultivation methods, and traditional knowledge of the local tea producers all add layers of meaning and significance to the tea produced there. These cultural aspects contribute to the "place" aspect of terroir, making Jingmai Mountain tea distinct from teas produced in other regions. So in the context of terroir, the combination of the geographical factors and the human touch creates a tea with a specific flavor profile that can't be replicated elsewhere.

When discussing tea cultivators, we are specifically referring to the ethnic minorities inhabiting the mountain. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Bulang, Dai, Hani, Lahu, and Wa ethnic groups constitute the tea cultivators of Jingmai Mountain. The Dai and Bulang ethnic groups were among the earliest settlers in Jingmai Mountain who began tea cultivation and usage. Subsequently, the Wa, Lahu, and Hani ethnic groups also migrated to Jingmai Mountain, engaging in tea cultivation alongside their cultivation of other crops and pastoral activities. Eventually, the Han ethnic group also arrived in Jingmai Mountain. Initially, they focused on brewing and selling alcohol, but later they ventured into tea cultivation, marking the initiation of trade activities related to tea production.

China is a multicultural country comprised of the Han ethnic group as the majority, along with 55 other ethnic groups. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, a total of 56 ethnic groups were officially identified and recognized by the central government. However, this concept of "minority ethnic groups" did not start with 56; initially, there were a dozen or so. It was only after a national census in 1986, based on historical culture and customs, that the number stabilized at 56. Historically, China originally consisted only of the Han people. During the Han Dynasty, countries beyond its territory referred to the Chinese as "Han people," thus giving rise to the term used by

⁷⁰ Steve. R. HARRISON, "Re-Place-Ing Space: The Roles of Place and Space in Collaborative Systems", *CSCW '96: Proceedings of the 1996 ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work*, 1996, p. 5.

foreigners to address the Chinese. China's vast territory today encompasses diverse geographical conditions and cultural backgrounds, which have nurtured various groups of people. Over thousands of years, the Han ethnic group expanded its territory, eventually incorporating regions inhabited by "native" populations into the Chinese realm, leading to the present multicultural composition of China.

Due to the relatively smaller populations of these 55 ethnic groups compared to the Han majority, they are commonly referred to as "minority ethnic groups." However, the term "minority ethnic groups" did not exist in China. It was borrowed from the Soviet Union by the Chinese Communist Party as a way to accommodate different ethnicities. The Chinese government proclaimed that any ethnic group residing within China's borders was a Chinese ethnic group.

China is defined as a "unified multi-ethnic country since ancient times."⁷¹ In November 1988, Professor Fei Xiaotong delivered an important speech at the Chinese University of Hong Kong on the "pluralistic unity pattern of the Chinese nation." "Pluralistic" refers to the diverse origins of ethnic groups, their uneven regional development, and their varied cultural, customary, linguistic, and religious characteristics. "Unity" signifies that, regardless of origins, the development of various ethnic groups is interconnected, complementary, and interdependent. They share an inseparable internal connection and a common national interest as a whole.⁷²

The Han ethnic group constitutes nearly 90% of the total population in China, while the population of individual minority ethnic groups is relatively small compared to the Han majority. Due to their geopolitical isolation, these minority ethnic groups possess significantly distinct histories and cultures from the Han ethnic group, and some even have their own languages and scripts. From the perspective of Jingmai Mountain, the local minority ethnic groups gradually became aware of and began integrating into the "mainstream culture" of the Han people only after the implementation of the Yuan

⁷¹ Definition cited from (*Zhongguo Minzu 中国民族 Chinese Nationalities*, in "Zhongguo Zhengfu Wang", https://www.gov.cn/test/2005-05/24/content_361.htm accessed 13-08-2023)

⁷² SHI Fang 施芳, "Zhongguo Minzushi Shixue Yanjiu Lunshu" 中国民族史学研究述论 (the Review of the study of on the History of Chinese Nationalities), 2012, p.44.

Dynasty's policy of *gai tu gui liu* 改土归流⁷³. Before the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the local economy in Jingmai Mountain lagged significantly behind, and even the cultivation of tea trees and other crops was carried out using rudimentary methods such as slash-and-burn (swidden) agriculture. The term "native" can be used to describe these minority ethnic groups, as it has retained its currency as a respectful substitute for terms like "primitive."⁷⁴ Modern technological development often associates primitiveness with backwardness. Among the minority ethnic groups in Jingmai Mountain, they still uphold their most primitive cultures and customs, engaging in production and daily life in the most traditional ways. While the preservation of their primitive traits lends uniqueness to their cultures, it also brings certain inconveniences to their lives.

Disregarding tea cultivation and focusing solely on their uniqueness, the local minority ethnic groups in Jingmai Mountain possess a legendary quality.

Before the concept of minority ethnic groups emerged, these people were indigenous groups rooted in specific regions. They have lived for generations in the mountains, with a production and lifestyle that is more primitive and less advanced compared to the Han ethnic group. They epitomize the notion of being "primitive" natives. As articulated in "Putting Hierarchy in its Place" by Arjun Appadurai,

Natives are not only persons who are from certain places, and belong to those places, but they are also those who are somehow incarcerated, or confined, in those places. Natives are those who are somehow confined to places by their connection to what the place permits. Thus all the language of niches, of foraging, of material skill, of slowly evolved technologies, is actually

⁷³ The "改土归流" policy, promoted interactions between the central region (the heartland) and the borderlands (such as the Southwest) during the Yuan Dynasty in China. Under this policy, local leaders, known as "土司 Tusi," were appointed to manage affairs in the border regions and act as intermediaries between the central government and the local population. This facilitated communication and coordination between the central authority and the borderlands. Additionally, the policy involved migration, with Han Chinese immigrants settling in the border regions, bringing new culture and technology and fostering economic and social exchanges. ("Gaituguiliu" 改土归流 (Returning to the Original Land and Flowing Waters), Wikipedia, <https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hans/改土归流> accessed 16-06-2023).

⁷⁴ Arjun APPADURAI, "Putting Hierarchy in Its Place", *Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory*, 3, 01, 1988, p. 38.

also a language of incarceration.⁷⁵

Their existence is defined by the geographical environment in which they are situated and the survival techniques they have acquired under the constraints of their geographic surroundings.

Their incarceration has simultaneously given rise to cultural and religious distinctiveness as well as isolation. To some extent, it has even influenced their modes of thinking. These unique thought patterns, in turn, intensify their attachment to their local surroundings, reinforcing their "nativeness".

The attribution of nativeness to groups in remote parts of the world is a sense that their incarceration has a moral and intellectual dimension. They are confined by what they know, feel, and believe. They are prisoners of their 'mode of thought.' The confinement of native ways of thinking reflects in an important way their attachment to particular places.⁷⁶

Amidst the surge of diffusionism, "indigenous" cultures are rapidly fading. They are either passively engulfed by globalization, gradually losing their inherent native traits, or actively pursuing more developed and advanced places and cultures, drawn in by dominant cultural forces.

Diffusionism, whatever its defects and in whatever guise, has at least the virtue of allowing everyone the possibility of exposure to a world larger than their current locale. It is even more evident that in today's complex, highly interconnected, media-dominated world, there are fewer and fewer native cultures left.⁷⁷

In the comparison between the ethnic minorities and the Han people, it is evident that the ethnic minorities possess a distinct and unique specificity. Their inherent indigeneity carries cultural values and significance different from that of the Han majority. This distinctiveness is manifested in the methods of tea cultivation, traditional customs, religious beliefs, and their profound connection with the natural environment. In an era

⁷⁵ APPADURAI, "Putting Hierarchy in Its Place", cit., pp. 36-49.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

of accelerated globalization, the urgency to preserve and transmit the original cultures of these ethnic minorities is paramount. This effort is not only crucial for safeguarding the uniqueness of each community but also for fostering a diverse coexistence of cultures, thereby enriching the cultural heritage of the entire nation.

From the perspective of producers within the context of terroir, the tea cultivation practices of ethnic minorities in Jingmai Mountain exhibit a heightened value-add aspect compared to other food producers, such as those in the case of French wine. The final value presentation of the tea produced by ethnic minorities can be described by an exponential function " y (final value) = a (tea value) \times (ethnic minority value)," rather than a simple additive relationship between the value of the tea itself and the value of the ethnic minority, as " $1+1=2$." The involvement of ethnic minorities infuses tea with a deeper cultural significance. The process of tea cultivation integrates their traditional knowledge, skills, and ways of life. The act of ethnic minorities cultivating tea brings about more than just a change in production methods; it primarily involves embedding cultural elements into the tea production. This transcends being mere additives in the production process; it is a means of tightly associating tea with a specific culture, thereby imparting a unique emotional quality and narrative to the tea.

Tea cultivation method:

The specific method of tea cultivation in Jingmai Mountain originates from the wisdom of ancient ethnic minorities. Throughout history, the local ethnic minorities have explored the growth habits of tea trees and developed sustainable planting and conservation methods by utilizing the surrounding forest environment.

In the case of ancient tea forests, the approach of understory cultivation is employed. The ancestors of Jingmai Mountain selectively cleared some low shrubs in the natural forest, retaining the shade-providing canopy trees. Subsequently, they used a spot planting technique, creating holes in the forest floor to place tea seeds, allowing the tea trees to grow naturally. This ancient and distinctive understory cultivation technique has resulted in a clear three-dimensional community structure of canopy trees - shrubs (mainly tea trees) - herbaceous plants in the upper, middle, and lower layers. This approach allows tea trees to coexist with the myriad of trees, the forest, wildflowers, and various animals

and plants, effectively preserving plant diversity.



Figure 1: Traditional cultivation of Tea Trees under Forests’ Canopies Method

Since ancient times, the ancestors of the Bulang ethnic group have demonstrated wisdom in protecting their tea gardens. They established protective boundaries around the ancient tea gardens—a strip of untouched original forest approximately 40 meters wide—encircling the tea gardens. The Bulang people refer to this boundary as the protective line, which serves to guard against wind, fire, frost, and to regulate human behavior. Within this protective line, only tea trees are allowed to be planted, and no other crops can be cultivated. Each tree within the tea garden is considered a sacred tree, and the entire garden is revered as a sacred mountain. The practice prohibits excessive logging and destruction, forming the foundation for the preservation of the vast ancient tea forests covering thousands of acres.

Furthermore, the local Dai ethnic group believes that ancient tea trees thrive best when left to grow naturally, requiring minimal intervention. The Bulang ethnic group also places significant emphasis on the preservation of the ecological environment. They believe that the coexistence of various tree species and organisms within the original forest is in harmony with tea trees. The presence of diverse bird species acts as natural predators to pests, contributing to pest control through biological diversity. This approach negates the need for pesticide use. Additionally, the ecosystem of the tea garden, with its upper canopy of trees and the fallen leaves and branches, provides abundant nutrients for tea tree growth. The ancient tea garden system possesses a strong capacity to resist pests

and diseases due to the intricate relationships between species. This mutual constraint between species inhibits the outbreak of pests and diseases. As a result, traditional management practices for ancient tea gardens have been extensive, and issues related to fertilization and pest control do not arise within these gardens.

The local communities have also observed and classified the interactions between ancient tea trees and other tree species, identifying which ones compete with or complement tea trees. Within the tea forest, they have intentionally planted trees such as cinnamon, laurel, and camphor. These trees possess distinctive aromas that not only help deter pests and diseases but also impart their fragrances to the tea leaves, creating a natural aromatic quality. Conversely, species like chestnut, pear, banana, and bamboo are avoided due to their robust root systems, which could potentially compete for water and nutrients with the tea trees. Thus, they are selectively removed from the environment. The ancestors of the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups, more than a thousand years ago, harnessed the biodiversity of the pristine forest to cultivate tea leaves rich in biological diversity.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the original forests and undergrowth tea trees on Jingmai Mountain underwent significant deforestation to make way for large-scale tableland tea cultivation. tableland tea, characterized by its concentrated and contiguous layout and high yields, brought about a shift in management practices. The monoculture nature of terraced tea plantations led to increased pest problems, resulting in the use of pesticides for tea production. Additionally, the lack of organic sources for terraced tea trees necessitated the introduction of chemical fertilizers. Consequently, the application of fertilizers, pesticides, and controlled pruning became fundamental practices in tableland tea management. At one point, tableland tea cultivation dominated tea production among the local ethnic groups in Jingmai Mountain.

However, since August 2003, a research project by the Chinese Academy of Sciences called "Protection and Development of Thousand-year Ancient Tea Gardens in Lancang Jingmai" has highlighted the scientific, landscape, cultural, and practical values of ancient tea gardens. This project has shed light on the traditional management systems and experiences of tea gardens practiced by the Dai and Bulang ethnic groups, drawing

attention to the importance of preserving these practices and values.⁷⁸

Indeed, ancient tea gardens and the traditional tea cultivation techniques of various ethnic groups embody the essence of our cultural heritage. These practices represent the ingenuity of different minority groups as they interacted with their natural surroundings, resulting in regionally adapted knowledge. This knowledge holds not only historical significance but also contemporary value in terms of sustainability.

Tea harvesting:

Tea harvesting in Jingmai Mountain is a labor-intensive process carried out entirely by hand, as machines cannot replace the delicate touch required. During the picking season, the mountain comes alive with individuals of various ages adorned in traditional ethnic attire, each carrying a bamboo basket on their back, meticulously gathering fresh tea leaves from the tea bushes. Within the context of Jingmai Mountain, different grades of tea trees command varying purchase prices. Locals often say, "*ditou cai de chaye zui pianyi, taitou cai de guiyidian, pashangshu cai de jiage zuigao* 茶叶低头采的最便宜, 抬头采的贵一点, 爬上树采的价格最高". It means that tea harvested by bending down is the cheapest, by looking up a bit more expensive, and by climbing the tree the most expensive." Essentially, this statement illustrates that the lowest bushes yield the most affordable tea, while the ancient tea trees that require reaching higher offer more premium leaves, and the tea from the centuries-old trees growing high up fetches the highest price.

⁷⁸ RAO Mingyong 饶明勇, HE Ming 何明, "Pu'er jingmaishan guchayuan gucunluo wenhua duoyangxingyanjiu" 普洱景迈山古茶园古村落文化多样性研究 (Research on the Culture Diverse of Ancient Tea Tree Garden and Village in Jingmai Mountain of Pu'er City), Kunming, Yunnan Fine Arts Publishing House, pp. 171-173.



Figure 2: Tea Harvesting by a Bulang ethnic tea farmer and her mother at Jingmai mountain

Currently, tea production in various villages of Jingmai Mountain predominantly revolves around the production of *shaiqingmaocha* 晒青毛茶 (sun-dried rough green tea) which serves as a fundamental material for Pu'er tea. sun-dried rough green tea is at the initial processing stage and is prepared by households, workshops, and processing facilities known as *chuzhisuo* 初制所 (Primary manufacturing factory). After this initial processing, sun-dried rough green tea is compressed and molded through steaming, resulting in compressed Pu'er tea. Common forms include tea cakes, tea bricks, and *tuocha* 沱茶 (bird's nest shapes).

Sun-dried rough green tea from Jingmai Mountain undergoes seasonal variations, primarily divided into spring, summer, and autumn tea categories. Tea production in Jingmai Mountain spans from March to November, with distinct processing periods. Spring tea, crafted from March to May, commands the highest prices, particularly ancient tree spring tea. Summer tea, produced during July and August, is often referred to as "rain tea" due to its increased moisture content. This leads to a lighter taste and higher humidity, resulting in comparatively lower prices. Autumn tea, harvested between September and November, falls in price between spring and summer varieties.

Throughout the year, these nine months offer ample opportunities for harvesting fresh tea leaves, especially for the transformed terrace tea. With the nourishment of rainwater, new shoots can quickly emerge. On the other hand, ancient tree leaves grow at a slower pace, with their budding occurring later. The picking period is concentrated between March 10th and the middle to late April. Additionally, it's possible to gather leaves only in two or three waves. The next season for harvesting fresh leaves will have to wait until the rainy season and autumn. During winter, the majority of tea farmers abstain from harvesting, and during this time, tea prices are quite low. This period mainly involves tending to the tea plants, removing weeds, and similar tasks. The actual picking is reserved for the following spring when tea prices are at their peak.

The intensity of fragrance in Jingmai tea correlates with the picking season, with spring tea possessing the strongest aroma, followed by weaker aromas in summer and autumn teas. As the tea economy has evolved and Pu'er tea prices have surged, tea producers' economic conditions have improved. In response, some households in Jingmai Mountain have adjusted their tea-picking practices. They now opt to pluck only two seasons of tea—spring and autumn—or even just one season (spring). This approach, known as spring-autumn harvesting with summer nurturing, allows tea trees to accumulate nutrients more effectively. Choosing to harvest only during spring and autumn, or solely during spring, permits tea producers to earn sufficient income to sustain their households' basic expenses for an entire year. This strategic decision acknowledges the increased value of Pu'er tea and optimizes the overall utilization of the tea trees' resources.

Tea production:

Among the forces of globalization and diffusionism, and in light of the standardized production processes within the realm of Pu'er, the tea-making techniques across various Pu'er-producing regions have become largely consistent. However, in 2022, Jingmai Mountain's Pu'er production process was selected to be part of Yunnan Province's fifth batch of provincial-level intangible cultural heritage representative projects.⁷⁹ This

⁷⁹ "Pu'ercha zhizuo jiyi (Jingmaishan chuantong shougong zhicha jiyi) "普洱茶制作技艺(景迈山传统手工制艺)"

The Craftsmanship of Pu'er Tea Production (Traditional Handcrafted Tea-making Techniques of Jingmai Mountain),

recognition underscores the distinctive and culturally significant nature of Jingmai Mountain's approach to crafting Pu'er. Despite the broader trends of standardization, the unique methods and traditions followed in Jingmai Mountain have been acknowledged for their value in preserving local heritage and maintaining a distinct regional identity within the realm of Pu'er production.

The process of producing sun-dried rough green tea involves four main steps: *caizhai* 采摘 plucking fresh tea leaves, *weidiao* 萎凋 withering, *rounian* 揉捻 rolling and kneading, *shaqing* 杀青 kill-green, and *shaigan* 晒干 sun-drying. Among these steps, kill-green is of paramount importance. Inadequate or excessive kill-green can both have a significant impact on the subsequent fermentation and maturation processes, thereby influencing the overall quality of the tea leaves. Kill-green can be accomplished using either mechanical kill-green machines or manual hand-kill-green techniques. Mechanical kill-green is relatively straightforward, involving the setting of parameters such as temperature and time, making it efficient and labor-saving. However, due to variations in the moisture content of the tea leaves, the results of mechanical kill-green might not always match the quality achieved through manual hand-kill-green.

Manual hand-kill-green, on the other hand, provides a more nuanced control over the process. Experienced workers rely on their senses of touch, aroma, and other sensory cues to determine the optimal time and temperature for kill-green. This hands-on approach allows for greater precision, ensuring that the tea leaves receive the ideal kill-green treatment, contributing to the desired flavors and aromas in the final product.

Currently, not all households in Jingmai Mountain have invested in tea processing

on December 27, 2022, was included in the fifth batch of Yunnan Province's list of representative projects for provincial-level intangible cultural heritage. ("Yunnansheng renmin zhengfu guanyu gongbu yunnansheng diwupi shengji feiwuzhi wenhua yichan daibiaoxing xiangmu minglu de tongzhi" 云南省人民政府关于公布云南省第五批省级非物质文化遗产代表性项目名录的通知 (Notice from the People's Government of Yunnan Province on the Announcement of the List of Representative Projects of the Fifth Batch of Provincial-level Intangible Cultural Heritage in Yunnan Province), People's Government of Yunnan Province, https://baike.baidu.com/reference/61536898/6157W5JRbowb_o9dbDVAQtOmRft57txy6y7z3-XQjK6KIRLui8afXxTbQK982V2LJCn58dtsITQSVPLFLwgvRDA_Ix40oa9IivBXnky9PexS2IFAR1oerLo accessed 16-08-2023).

equipment; however, the number of machines is indeed increasing year by year. Nevertheless, within a market environment where manual labor adds significant value and many consumers express a preference for tea processed through manual "kill-green" methods, many tea-producing households continue to adhere to the traditional method of hand-finishing in their tea-making process. In addition to "kill-green," the process of rolling also differs between manual and machine methods. Rolling is primarily conducted to remove excess moisture, resulting in the formation of curled tea leaves. From on-site observation, it is apparent that local tea producers in Jingmai Mountain tend to engage in a longer rolling process than is typical elsewhere. Perhaps the distinctiveness of the tea-making process for Pu'er lies in the meticulous attention to detail, a trait that requires the accumulation of generations of experience. After rolling, tea leaves may clump together, necessitating the use of a tea shaking machine to disperse them. Following this, the tea leaves are spread out and allowed to air dry.

Formerly, drying machines were employed to dry the tea leaves; however, feedback from customers indicated that machine-dried tea lacked the superior aroma and taste of naturally sun-dried tea. Consequently, the traditional method of natural drying remains prevalent. Machines are only used during prolonged periods without sunlight, such as during humid weather. Following the stages of "kill-green," rolling, and drying, the production of sun-dried raw tea is completed. Overall, most families in Jingmai Mountain continue to adhere to manual processing methods. This approach not only caters to market demands for artisanal products but also honors the legacy of traditional craftsmanship.

At present, many large tea manufacturers in Yunnan, such as *changninghong* 昌宁红 Changning Red and *dayi* 大益 Dayi⁸⁰, have achieved complete mechanization of the tea-making process, from the selection of leaves to the final stages of blending, compression, and fermentation. Although such mechanized processes enhance efficiency and food safety, they may lack the personal touch and experiential control characteristic of manual production.

⁸⁰ DaYi Tea Factory has achieved full-process mechanical automation. (Da Yi Pu'er Circle: Daring to Lead! The Ten-Year Road of Technological Innovation and Development of Da Yi), Pu'ercha wang, <https://www.Pu'ercn.com/z/1955193/> accessed 16-08-2023).

Appadurai's work "Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization" discusses how globalization is manifested through the introduction of modern technology (technoscapes). Mechanization streamlines various industries, it also standardizes processes, but often at the expense of the unique emotional and experiential aspects of manual production. Ethnoscapes, in the book explained as involving the movement of people across borders, serving to maintain local distinctiveness and cultural traditions, mirroring the current situation in Jingmai Mountain.⁸¹ In this context, for smaller tea producers, manual craftsmanship is their inherent advantage. The majority of initial tea processing is still carried out in family-run artisanal workshops. These producers lack specialized mechanical equipment and rely entirely on manual labor and the accumulated expertise passed down through generations to create tea using traditional methods. The existence of handcrafted tea serves as a significant complement to the market economy, as consumers also seek products with a personal touch. As a result, the value of employing traditional manual tea-making methods in the Jingmai Mountain region is valued, ensuring a place for locally made products in the market.

Some tea-making families even offer "customized" teas based on customer preferences. This may involve using leaves from specific age-old tea trees, adjusting the "kill-green" timing, modifying rolling intensity and techniques, or creating tea blends tailored to customers' requests. This heightened flexibility is a distinctive advantage of small-scale tea producers in Jingmai Mountain.

The human factors in the terroir theory are precisely constituted by elements like the traditional tea cultivation techniques of ethnic minorities, the experience in tea leaf harvesting, and the craftsmanship involved in producing tea. These factors embody the "human touch" of tea producers, fostering better communication with customers and even enhancing interaction with tea plants and forests. These aspects are what contribute to the increased value of Jingmai Tea from Jingmai Mountain.

⁸¹ Arjun APPADURAI, "Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization", Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996, pp. 64-86.

CHAPTER 4

TEA CULTURE TOURISM IN JINGMAI MOUNTAIN

Terroir activities include agricultural and craft-related practices deeply rooted in local culture and traditions, and are progressively becoming associated with a distinctive form of cultural tourism. The concept of terroir inherently intersects with the tourism industry, particularly when applied to regional food products, giving rise to culinary tourism within the local area.

Taking a closer look, culinary tourism is deeply rooted in the rural areas where food production takes place. The locales often discussed in the context of terroir predominantly pertain to rural areas. Consequently, the ascendancy of the terroir movement in recent years has facilitated the emergence of agro-tourism, a novel category of activities primarily taking root in rural regions.

As exemplified by the Pu'er tea-producing region of Jingmai Mountain, when the terroir concept is applied to tea production, it invariably intertwines with tea culture tourism, creating an intricate link between the distinctive characteristics of the terroir and the exploration of tea culture.

4.1 Definition of tea culture tourism

Tea, being a beverage, can also be regarded as a type of food. It can be initially approached through the lens of culinary tourism when considering tea culture tourism.

The World Food Travel Association (WFTA) defines culinary tourism as "Food tourism is the act of traveling for a taste of place in order to get a sense of place."⁸² This definition has gradually evolved into a consensus among individuals regarding the essence of culinary travel. Food enthusiasts on culinary journeys seek not only sensory pleasures but also delve into the narratives, histories, local culinary cultures, and customs associated with the food. From my perspective, tea culture tourism shares certain similarities with

⁸² World Food Travel Association, "What is food tourism?", in *World Food Travel Association*, <https://www.worldfoodtravel.org/what-is-food-tourism> (accessed 24-08-2023).

culinary tourism, as both involve consumers venturing to a specific "place" in pursuit of a particular food item, aiming to uncover the origins of that food. Tea, serving as a carrier of culture, encapsulates rich historical and regional attributes. For tea culture tourists, delving into the narratives behind tea, engaging in the tea-making process, and exploring the unique traits of various tea-growing regions can aid in a better comprehension of their preferred tea. Moreover, this process fosters an understanding of local culture, customs, and the profound connection between people and the land. Hence, tea tourism can be perceived as an integral facet of the broader tourism landscape, including both cultural and culinary tourism dimensions.

Then what's the definition of tea tourism? What then is tea tourism? Jolliffe proposed a working definition of tea tourism as "tourism that is motivated by an interest in the history, traditions and consumption of tea". As a working definition, tea tourism can be defined as any activity organized by a travel- and tourism-related entity, including individuals that utilize tea, tea drinking and related aspects, and offer them as products to tourists for consumption.⁸³ Building upon this definition, when specifically discussing tea culture tourism in China, it becomes crucial to underscore the distinctive characteristic of "China: the origin of tea." This entails crafting tailor-made tea experiences that not only revolve around tea and its products but also deeply integrate the essence of tea origins and customs.

The tea culture tourism of Jingmai Mountain, integrated with the concept of Terroir, will be examined from three key facets of Terroir: the product - Pu'er tea, the land - Jingmai Mountain, and the producers - local ethnic minorities. Each of these aspects will be individually explored to highlight the captivating allure of Jingmai Mountain as a tea culture destination.

Before people discover and initiate the study of a place's terroir value, various terroir-related activities tied to the product, space, and human cultural influence of that place is quietly evolving, even before formal recognition and definition. Prior to getting famous, Jingmai Mountain had already attracted Taiwanese tea enthusiasts and merchants. They

⁸³ Lee JOLLIFFE, *Tea and tourism: tourists, traditions and transformations*, Clevedon, Channel View Publications, 2007, p. 136.

embarked on journeys to Jingmai Mountain using rudimentary transportation and traversing underdeveloped roads in search of tea.

In 2022, Jingmai Mountain was recognized by National Geographic magazine as one of the "Best Places for Culture and History"⁸⁴ in their annual selection of global travel destinations. Among the major tea mountains in Yunnan, Jingmai tea might not necessarily hold the highest regard among tea hobbyists, but its historical and cultural value within the region is undoubtedly one of the most significant.

With its vast expanse of ancient tea forests, generations of ethnic minorities who have cultivated and consumed tea, harmonious coexistence between various ethnic groups, and the seamless integration of humans and nature, Jingmai Mountain boasts a cultural uniqueness that sets it apart from other locales.

Today, in Jingmai mountain, the new highways have replaced the route, but the region's tea plantations remain, as do the four local ethnic minority groups—the Blang, Dai, Hani, and Wa people—who retain their own languages, customs, and festivals. The remote location and limited tea-tourism offerings make a guided trip the best way to experience this enduring cultural landscape.⁸⁵

In the context of globalization, Jingmai Mountain's tea culture tourism represents the fusion of preserved natural tea mountain landscapes and the customs of ethnic minorities. The tea mountains and ethnic minorities of Jingmai Mountain, stand as both China's and the world's reservoirs of natural resources and cultural treasures.

4.2 The suppliers and demanders of Jingmai tea culture tourism

In any industry, there are producers and consumers. In the tourism industry, producers and consumers are referred to as "suppliers" and "demanders," respectively. In the context of Jingmai Mountain, the suppliers include individuals, organizations, and entities that

⁸⁴ National Geographic Staff, 25 Amazing Journeys for 2022: Best Places For Culture And History, in *National Geographic*, 2022, (<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/article/best-of-the-world-2022>, accessed 24-08-2023).

⁸⁵ Yi LU, National Geographic Traveler China, in *National Geographic*, 2022, (<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/article/best-of-the-world-2022>, accessed 24-08-2023).

play a role in providing the various elements of tea-cultural tourism experiences. Primarily, this includes the makers and implementers of tea-related policies, ranging from national to local governments, tea plantation owners, participants in the cultivation and production of tea, and individuals involved in the distribution and sales of tea products. Given that the livelihoods in Jingmai Mountain are predominantly centered around tea production, this includes all "locals," including both ethnic minorities and Han Chinese, as well as individuals engaged in the tea-related industry within Jingmai Mountain and those from outside the local area.

Demanders in this context refer to tourists who visit the area and potential tourists who have an interest in the destination, as well as those who are not yet familiar with Jingmai Mountain and are yet to be targeted for development.

The demands of tourists who are already present in the area and those of potential tourists are distinct. In order to meet the demands of these demanders, suppliers must engage in research to understand the local appeal. This understanding is crucial to attract potential tourists, encouraging them to explore the destination and transform from mere interest to actual visitors. By harnessing these unique attractions, suppliers can fulfill the expectations of potential tourists and ultimately achieving value in the local tourism industry.

Every tourist destination possesses both "active" and "passive" attractions. Active attractions stem from the inherent advantages and distinctive values that have long been present in the locality. These are typically well-known natural and cultural landscapes, as well as tangible landmarks, that hold unique allure and value. These active attractions usually form the core selling points of a tourist destination, capable of drawing visitors to explore and experience. Often, such attractions require minimal promotion, as they already exist within the destination and are widely recognized.

Passive attractions, on the other hand, often require further development, promotion, and packaging of specific sites or features. These attractions may not have been initially identified, recognized, or valued, and might even appear to be nonexistent. However, through creative means of promotion such as media coverage, marketing campaigns, strategic planning, and storytelling, these attractions can be imbued with qualities that

draw tourists. Eventually, they can transform from passive to active attractions that actively allure visitors.

Applied to Jingmai Mountain, the demanders, namely tourists, primarily comprise tea cultural tourists. According to the perspective of Jolliffe, the key demographic segments for tea tourism might include tea enthusiasts, cultural tourists, and individuals in search of novel experiences.⁸⁶

Individuals who are inclined or have already been to Jingmai Mountain for tourism purposes are most likely to predominantly consist of tea hobbyists.

Looking at the present situation in China, tea consumption is widespread, with people partaking in tea-drinking across various scenarios. Whether it's for relaxation at home, social gatherings with friends, before or post-meal moments, hosting guests at home or in a professional setting, or even during recreational outings, tea has a central place in the lives of the Chinese. Nevertheless, individuals who exhibit a selective and research-oriented approach to tea tend to be mainly from the middle-class bracket. This segment places a premium on the quality and flavor of tea, showcasing a cultivated taste for the beverage.

Hence, from my point of view, tea drinkers can be categorized into highly engaged participants and those with a more casual involvement. Highly engaged participants place significance on the terroir of tea, which encompasses the regional and sociocultural dimensions behind the tea they consume. China's current middle-class, who are enthusiastic tea drinkers, serve as a prime illustration of this phenomenon.⁸⁷

Since the Song Dynasty, drinking tea has been a means through which the social elite have showcased their societal status. Tea competitions emerged as structured social gatherings within this elite class. They would meticulously prepare and present their tea collections, with assessments based on factors like the tea's color, taste, scent, and

⁸⁶ JOLLIFFE, "Tea and tourism: tourists, traditions and transformations", cit., p. 7.

⁸⁷ Zhen MA, "Sensorial Place-Making in Ethnic Minority Areas: The Consumption of Forest Pu'er Tea in Contemporary China", *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 19 (4), 2018, p. 317.

appearance.⁸⁸ Modern scientific research has shown that Pu'er tea possesses certain medicinal value, with potential benefits in preventing cardiovascular diseases. Purchasing and consuming "ancient tree tea" signifies the middle-class's emphasis on the quality of life, reflecting their pursuit of a healthier, elevated, and refined lifestyle. In an environment where fine tea symbolizes both quality living and societal status, appreciating good tea and understanding the history and culture behind it has become essential for the elite middle-class.

Low-engagement participants might focus on the product characteristics and origin of the tea, but for most, tea-drinking is merely a habit. They don't show much interest in the societal factors behind tea. For them, drinking tea serves as a means to consume tea polyphenols for alertness and as a tool for entertaining guests.

In this light, highly engaged participants among tea hobbyists are highly likely to be cultural tourists as well. Notably, this group includes the contemporary well-educated Chinese middle class and those in Taiwan who hold a significant regard for tea culture, especially considering that it was the Taiwanese who discovered and developed the value of Pu'er tea. Beyond this, when developing tea culture tourism, attractions extend beyond the tea itself, including Jingmai Mountain's appeal in various aspects. As a result, pure cultural tourists and novelty-seekers are also part of the equation.

However, a destination's allure for tourists isn't driven by a single appeal, attractions can be categorized and discussed individually, but the value and establishment of sites, along with the types of tourists, necessitate a comprehensive examination from multiple perspectives. Next, I will delve into a specific discussion of the appeals offered by Jingmai Mountain.

4.3 Jingmai mountain appeals

The Terroir theory attributes the characteristics of a product to the geographical and human cultural factors of its place of origin, and this concept can equally help us analyze the appeal of Jingmai mountain's tea culture tourism.

⁸⁸ Lee JOLLIFFE, "Tea and tourism: tourists, traditions and transformations", cit., p. 35.

4.3.1 Tea

The creation of terroir can be seen as one of the everyday discourses that facilitates the imagined community. The term "imagined community" was coined by political scientist Benedict Anderson in his book titled "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism," published in 1983. The concept refers to the idea that a nation is not just a physical or objective reality, but rather a socially constructed entity.

Nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which - as well as against which - it came into being.⁸⁹

Anderson emphasizes the role of cultural, linguistic, and symbolic elements in shaping national identity. He also highlights the role of imagination and representation, where people conceive of their nation based on shared narratives, symbols, and cultural practices.

But it's not only the idea of state is created in this way, Anderson also stresses the idea of other communities is constructed in the same way, individuals with a shared sense of identity form an "imagined community".⁹⁰ The idea is that a nation is not just a physical or objective reality, but rather a socially constructed entity. It's a community that is "imagined" by its members, who may never personally know or interact with most of the other members, yet still perceive themselves as part of a unified and cohesive group. People convey these concepts of communities through shared narratives, symbols, and cultural practices. In the context of Jingmai Mountain tea culture, the symbol is tea, and the cultural practice is drinking tea. The daily activities centered around tea not only possess a regional nature but also provide individuals with a sense of belonging, making them feel immersed in a community defined by vague concepts, a community unrestricted by geographical boundaries. The advancement of modern technology, the mobility of individuals across regions, and the utilization of new media have all enabled individuals and groups that were once restricted by time and space to break those limitations and

⁸⁹ Benedict ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York, W. Norton & Company, 1991, p. 12.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

establish connections. This provides an opportunity to create imagined communities.

Therefore, all groups associated with activities related to tea—whether it's tea cultivation, consumption, production, or sales—have, perhaps unknowingly, transcended geographical restrictions and forged an imagined community under the culture of tea. In this context, these people are interconnected through tea, creating a sense of unity among them.

Tourists aspire to attain a sense of connection with a place and its people by purchasing and consuming local food, thus seeking a sense of authenticity in their existence.⁹¹ In their pursuit of understanding the origins of the tea they tasted, many tea hobbyists personally travel to the places where tea is produced. They observe tea leaves, tea trees, tea plantations, and engage in the picking and processing of tea themselves. Their deep passion for tea drives them to visit these locales. In this context, the concept of the "Origin Effect" can be employed to explain this psychological phenomenon.

The concept of "Origin Effect" encompasses two levels: a broader sense of origin refers to the region or country associated with a specific product or brand, while a narrower sense of origin pertains to the actual place of manufacturing or production of the product.

In this context, the term "origin effect" refers to agricultural products that originate from specific protected regions. The origin effect of agricultural products differs from that of industrial goods and exhibits certain distinctions. Additionally, due to natural endowments and cultural factors, the qualities of these agricultural products cannot be imitated or replicated.

The quality of agricultural products is significantly influenced by environmental factors. The cultivation range of agricultural products is relatively smaller compared to certain industrial goods, owing to the impact of natural and cultural conditions. The image of origin for agricultural products relies more on environmental and cultural factors. Furthermore, the advantages unique to the original region cannot be replicated by other

⁹¹ Rebecca SIMS, "Food, place and authenticity: local food and the sustainable tourism experience", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17 (3), 2009, p. 328.

areas, thus contributing to the competitive edge of local product branding.

When it comes to the activity of tea consumption, the concept of origin effect can help explain why people develop an interest in the origin of tea and want to visit those places. Individuals often associate the flavor of tea with its place of origin, as the quality and characteristics of tea are shaped by specific geographical and climatic conditions, and tea, as a product with regional distinctiveness, sparks curiosity about its underlying stories and culture, motivating people to delve deeper into understanding and experiencing the tea's place of origin. Hence, the desire to "visit the source of tea," driven by the origin effect, fuels people's aspiration to travel to tea-producing regions and explore the origins of the tea they enjoy.

Jingmai Mountain perfectly caters to the desires of tea hobbyists, taking full advantage of its unique terroir strengths. The diverse range of tea varieties grown on Jingmai Mountain goes beyond just Pu'er tea, encompassing everything from refreshing green teas to aromatic and robust black teas, all of which capture the essence of Jingmai Mountain. Looking at it from the perspective of tea origins, the extensive ancient tea plantations on Jingmai Mountain stand as living remnants of tea history. With a rich and enduring heritage, Jingmai Mountain's tea culture carries a deep historical and cultural legacy. This tradition infuses Jingmai Mountain's tea with a profound cultural significance, attracting those intrigued by history and tradition to come and explore.

Regardless of whether one prefers Jingmai Mountain's specific teas or not, its vast tea gardens stand as representatives of tea cultivation on a global scale. The central and essential appeal of Jingmai Mountain lies in the ability to trace the journey of tea, especially in retracing its roots back to the Jingmai Mountain.

4.3.2 Land

With a large population base in China, rapid urbanization over the past two to three decades has brought about numerous challenges during the process of rapid economic development. People are facing increasing mental stress, as urbanization has led to various types of pollution such as air pollution, light pollution, and noise pollution. In some major cities, symptoms of population overgrowth, traffic congestion, housing difficulties, environmental degradation, resource constraints, and high costs of living have emerged. These issues pose significant threats to the physical and mental well-being

of residents.

When people think about travel, tourism researchers observe that a primary motive for pleasure tourism is the desire to escape from the routine situations of the home and the workplace and the familiarity of related social and physical environments.⁹² So, people intrinsically is waiting for something different from everyday life. Meanwhile, as societal development progresses, people's attitudes toward daily life and travel have also undergone some changes. For instance, some travelers are inclined to seek a return to nature through eco-tourism, aiming to immerse themselves in the natural environment. Others aspire to embark on adventure tourism in remote and less-traveled destinations, seeking to engage more deeply with the natural world. Many are drawn to rural areas or resorts far from the hustle and bustle of urban life, seeking relaxation and rejuvenation for their body and mind.

The concept of "place" encompasses many symbolic elements. It not only provides the physical space for people's lives but also serves as a source of personal identity and a reflection of one's worldview. Taking rural areas as an example, they represent vitality and authenticity, offering an escape from political and societal constraints and allowing a return to a more natural rhythm of life.⁹³

Prior to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the local inhabitants of Jingmai Mountain were living a traditional agricultural life, relying on primitive methods of cultivation and livestock rearing. Many areas lacked access to modern amenities, relying on well and river water for their needs, without even considering electricity. Nowadays, Jingmai Mountain still preserves the majority of its traditional dwellings, maintaining a way of life centered around agriculture and cultivation.

Pastoral farming and cultivation, which were the ancestral survival methods for humans, hold significant meaning for many contemporary individuals as well. The preceding generations or peers of modern individuals have largely grown up in rural areas, with many being raised near fields rather than within urban environments. Those who return

⁹² Stephen WILLIAMS, *Tourism Geography*, London, Routledge, 1998, p. 154.

⁹³ Y. F. TUAN, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1990, p. 125.

to the countryside often carry a sense of attachment to the land and a yearning for rural life. This illustrates how the notion of "place" embodies human values.⁹⁴

Located deep within the mountains of Yunnan, Jingmai Mountain boasts abundant natural resources, with tea villages nestled amidst the dense forest. For numerous tourists and potential tourists, these tea villages represent timeless and secluded havens. In search of a connection to their origins, people seek solace from their ever-accelerating urban lifestyles. In Jingmai Mountain, living a primitive life within villages embraced by towering peaks evokes a profound sense of exoticism and remoteness. This sense of isolation from the city and urban lifestyle creates the impression that one has temporarily eluded the pressures of their everyday life. This sentiment draws parallels to ancient Chinese officials who would retreat from their official duties to embrace rural life, capturing this exact feeling. In contrast to typical rural experiences, Jingmai Mountain's dense fog and remote mountains also evoke a touch of mystery. For those seeking a connection with nature and a respite from urban existence, Jingmai Mountain holds a significant and captivating appeal.

In addition to the psychological comfort it provides, Jingmai Mountain also offers physiological benefits.

Residing in Jingmai Mountain and immersing oneself in the local lifestyle allows one to enjoy a plethora of locally cultivated ingredients. Freshly harvested vegetables from the fields, eggs laid by chickens, and recently butchered livestock contribute to an incredibly fresh dining experience. People busy for their studies and careers often resort to fast food or takeout. The culinary offerings of Jingmai Mountain, in contrast, symbolize a healthier lifestyle. In Jingmai Mountain, there's a special "crop" known as "crab's claw," which refers to a parasitic organism found on ancient tea trees. It holds medicinal value and thrives on older tea trees.

⁹⁴ SONG Xiukui 宋秀葵, "Difang kongjian yu shengxun duanyifu shengtai wenhua sixiang yanjiu" 地方、空间与生存 段义孚生态文化思想研究 (Place, space and existence: on the eco-cultural thoughts of Yi-Fu Tuan), Beijing, China Social Sciences Press, 2012, p. 31.



Figure 1: the crab's claw

Furthermore, the lush forest cover in Jingmai Mountain not only enhances the scenery but also plays a crucial role in providing abundant oxygen, contributing to fresh and clean air that improves respiratory health. Moreover, sunlight is a vital source of Vitamin D for the human body, and the relatively ample sunlight in the Yunnan mountainous region supports healthy bones and the immune system.

From this perspective, disregarding the tea and ethnic minorities of Jingmai Mountain, the geographical location and the lifestyle it offers due to its environment are also highly appealing.

4.3.3 People

In Appadurai's 1996 work "Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization," it is mentioned that when the production of a commodity is closely linked to a specific territory, its consumption aligns seamlessly with the global dynamics of cosmopolitan consumerism, seeking exotic and exclusive products from distant places.

From the perspective of Pu'er tea, this is indeed the case. It is produced within the defined boundaries of Yunnan, China, while its consumers are spread across the globe. This

situation underscores consumers' pursuit of novelty. In the current global economy characterized by steady development and relative peace in most countries, residents have stable disposable incomes. Traditional and common products of the past can no longer satisfy consumers' cravings for new, personalized, and experiential products. Within this environment of significant consumption, globalization and diffusionism offer consumers the opportunity to experience a diverse array of products, stimulating their desire for unique things and unfamiliar cultures.

Consequently, cultural tourism has emerged as a response to the desire to explore new things and embrace cultural diversity. A growing number of tourists are becoming increasingly intrigued and curious about the distinct ethnic flavors and civilizations originating from different parts of the world. This trend has driven many tourists to seek out areas that are perceived as exotic and culturally distinct from their daily lives.

China's ethnic minorities represent the cultural diversity of the nation. While they might lag behind the Han majority in terms of development speed and level, their distinct and rich customs have been well-preserved and passed down despite the relatively slower pace of development.

China's tea culture exhibits diversity and exotic features. Since ancient times, many ethnic minorities have had the custom of tea drinking. However, each ethnic group has its own distinct way of traditional tea consumption. They use different utensils, employ various methods to brew tea, and have unique customs associated with tea drinking on different occasions. Drinking tea is not only a personal pleasure but also a social etiquette. In China, if a traveler truly wants to immerse themselves in local culture, experiencing tea drinking is an essential aspect of the journey.

The distinctive terroir of the tea is influenced by the marginalized communities that reside in and cultivate the land. Yunnan is located in the borderlands of China and historically has maintained a degree of separation from the central rule. This isolation could have offered Yunnan an ideal chance to safeguard its distinct cultural context. The cultural diversity of Jingmai Mountain in Yunnan has been remarkably well-preserved. Within the Jingmai Mountain range and its surrounding areas, six ethnic groups reside: Dai, Han, Bulang, Hani, Lahu, and Wa. This creates a significant window for showcasing the

multiculturalism of southwestern China. Furthermore, these different ethnic groups have interacted through historical migrations and movements, fostering communication during the tea production process. The result is a vibrant fusion of diverse ethnic cultural elements, forming the richness of minority tea culture.⁹⁵

Ethnic minorities engaged in tea cultivation play a crucial role in shaping the perception of the Jingmai mountain's terroir. Residing in remote mountain villages with limited transportation and development opportunities, they have retained the authentic rural appearance and traditional production methods due to their isolation. As mentioned earlier, tea hobbyists can be categorized into highly engaged participants and less engaged participants, with a significant portion being the urban middle class in China. There exists a substantial class disparity between the urban middle class, who consume tea, and the rural ethnic minorities who produce tea. Simultaneously, the tea experience can also be affected by the dynamics of host-guest relationships,⁹⁶ especially in the context of community tea experiences. In this scenario, the ethnic minorities of Jingmai Mountain act as hosts. The class distinction between tea producers and consumers, particularly in the case of Pu'er tea, can serve as an opportunity for interaction and highlight contrasts between these two groups. As urban consumers, who engage in tasting and purchasing tea, bring fresh market insights and demands, rural tea producers from ethnic minority communities are able to fulfill these urban desires while also sharing their unique cultural heritage.

These ethnic minorities are often regarded, whether knowingly or unknowingly, as tangible evidence affirming the genuineness of Pu'er tea. The local authorities have actively sought to convey the notion that Pu'er tea's origins are intricately intertwined with the old traditions of these ethnic communities. Individuals such as the Bulang, who are thought to have inherited Pu'er tea practices from their ancestors, are consistently included in Pu'er tea events and contests to establish and authenticate the tea's bona fide heritage. In doing so, the ethnic minorities are utilized as living testaments to validate the

⁹⁵ RAO Mingyong 饶明勇, HE Ming 何明, "Pu'er jingmaishan guchayuan gucunluo wenhua duoyangxing yanjiu" 普洱景迈山古茶园古村落文化多样性研究 (Research on the Culture Diverse of Ancient Tea Tree Garden and Village in Jingmai Mountain of Pu'er City), Kunming, Yunnan Fine Arts Publishing House, p.10.

⁹⁶ V.L. SMITH, *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 44.

authenticity of Pu'er tea.⁹⁷

These interactions represent instances of cultural exchange between dominant external cultures and ethnic minority cultures. Looking at a global perspective, ethnic minority communities in modern society have been influenced to varying extents by external cultures, leading to the erosion of their inherent native traits, customs, and unique ethnic culture. The younger generations within some ethnic minority communities are exposed to modern urban life and external cultures, which has an impact on their traditional cultural practices.

However, at the same time, rural communities and country life are often regarded as "more real, more dependable, and more in touch with the important things in life" compared to urban dwellers and sophisticated urban environments. They are less influenced by external cultures and are better able to preserve traditional ways of life, customs, and languages. Their lives are closely intertwined with the local environment, traditional occupations (such as farming and animal husbandry), and religious practices, allowing them to better retain the distinctive characteristics of their ethnic minority identity.

When compared to urban populations, local ethnic minorities often lack the economic resources and connections to major cities. As a result, their perspectives tend to be simpler, more straightforward, and more genuine. Ethnic minorities who cultivate and produce the tea are isolated not only in terms of geography, but also commercially. This results in an image of ethnic minorities as exotic, remote and more in touch with nature compared to urban dwellers. So, in the eyes of many urban dwellers, these rural ethnic minorities have become synonymous with purity and sincerity. Engaging with them and spending time in rural areas provides a more relaxed and authentic opportunity to experience simple and genuine happiness.

The ethnic minorities of Jingmai Mountain in Yunnan represent exoticism, as they have distinct cultural origins separate from the mainstream history of China. This has shaped their unique lifestyle habits, culinary preferences, clothing, language, and even their way

⁹⁷ Zhen MA, "Sensorial Place-Making in Ethnic Minority Areas...", cit., p. 324.

of thinking, all of which stand out to travelers as the primary appeal of Jingmai Mountain as a travel destination. Furthermore, these ethnic minorities live in traditional rural settings, embodying simplicity and a straightforward way of life. These cultural traits contribute to the appeal of Jingmai Mountain's people to outsiders.

4.4 Terroir-Driven Persuasion: Nurturing Tourist Sense of Place in Jingmai

Compared to globalization, "Terroir" is a marketing tool related to localized production, aimed at promoting rural development based on a unique sense of place identity.⁹⁸ The concept of "place" behind it has become a multifaceted and complex symbolic entity, representing not only the core assets of the regional natural environment and cultural landscape but also a means to craft a distinctive local identity and image. It has been instrumental in studying the branding competitiveness of agricultural tourism, creative food economy, and culinary tourism. Furthermore, it also carries significant symbolic value, at times far surpassing the utilitarian value of the products it represents. Therefore, people can leverage a unique local identity and image to establish a connection between individuals and the place, thereby stimulating tourists and capital to flow into that location from various sources. After all, Terroir encompasses not only the land and space but also traditions, ancient production methods, and the emotional attachment consumers have towards the product.⁹⁹

4.4.1 Tourists' attitude persuasion mechanisms centered around terroir

I drew inspiration from the paper titled "Local Identity Construction in Gastronomic Tourism through Terroir Narratives." In this paper, the author approaches the concept from the perspective of producers, combining local geographical conditions, wine, and relevant cultural factors associated with wine production to establish a sense of place and shape the local image. In my research, I focus on the appeal of the Jingmai Mountain region to tourists and explore how to leverage the geographical and cultural advantages

⁹⁸ Szilvia GYIMÓTHY, "History through loanwords: the loan correspondences between hani and Chinese", *Cahiers de linguistique - Asie Orientale*, 30 (1), 2001, p. 1212.

⁹⁹ Jonathan PAQUETTE, "Space authenticity: cultural industries and the notion of Terroir", *International Cultural Administration*, 4, 2015, p. 123.

of Jingmai Mountain, along with its product (tea), to attract tourists. This, in turn, fosters a sense of identification among tourists with the region, ultimately achieving the goal of shaping toponophilia and establishing a sense of belonging that the place imparts to people.

Integrating the Terroir theory's triadic relationship among people, product, and place, while also taking into account a psychological perspective and its impact on consumers' cognition, emotions, and intentions regarding the Country of Origin effect, I have devised a set of simulated attitude persuasion mechanisms aimed at establishing a sense of local belonging.

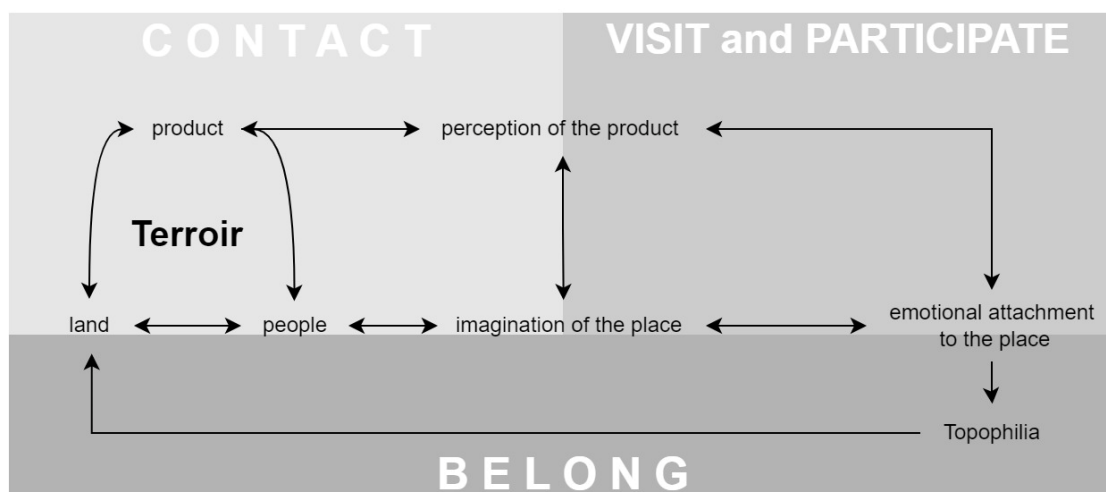


Figure 2: Tourists' attitude persuasion mechanisms centered around terroir

The carrier of Terroir (Pu'er tea), draws meaningful connections between people and the place, where the interplay of individuals, location, and product creates the essence of the local customs.

Local parties of interest incorporate humanistic elements into products by promoting the region and local products. Consumers encounter these products in local or foreign markets, and through this process, they construct their perception of the local products. Because locally produced goods offer traceability to their place of origin, elements such as the natural geography, historical and cultural context, the producers, and the stories behind the production process are incorporated into the product culture through the form of "local flavor." Effective communication and promotion inspire consumers to establish an "imagination of the place" within themselves, which is essentially a mental association

with the locale. Conversely, these mental associations with the place can also influence consumers' perception of the product.

Place associations act as a major catalyst for motivating individuals interested in a destination to engage in tourism activities, and customers' perception of local products can also stimulate people to develop a desire for travel. Consumers, drawn either by their perception of the product or their imagination of the place of origin, transform into tourists who indulge in immersive local experiences. During this process, positive travel experiences can lead tourists to develop an emotional attachment to the locale. Conversely, tourists' emotional attachment can also reshape their perception of the product and their imagination of the place.

The overlay and reinforcement of emotional dependencies in various directions enable travelers to develop a 'topophilia,' fostering a deep affection for the place. This sense of belonging allows travelers to identify with the destination.

In the marketplace, producers and consumers continually influence each other. Consumer demands provide producers with the impetus to optimize their products. Therefore, in the process of establishing local Terroir and shaping the sense of place, the positive feedback from tourists further reinforces the Terroir of the locale. This process involves possible tourists transforming into actual tourists, subsequently recognizing the value of the place, and cultivating a sense of place. It also represents the way local suppliers receive market feedback.

Here, I summarize the process of consumers encountering local products or information related to the place, leading to the development of their imagination of the place, as "Contact." The process of consumers' perception of the product and attachment with the place prompting them to engage in travel behavior and establish a sense of place is termed "Visit and Participate." The process of developing emotional attachment into topophilia referred to as "Belong."

4.4.2 Establishment of Tourist Sense of Place in Jingmai Mountain

In the case of Jingmai Mountain, just as Terroir initially emerged in the wine industry, tea can also be traced back to its place of origin through sensory tasting, considering the natural geographic and climatic characteristics, as well as the cultivation and processing

methods. Serving as the core allure of Jingmai Mountain, tea, as a tangible entity, becomes the foremost element for tourists to connect with the locale. Tea enthusiasts have two possible ways to encounter Jingmai Mountain's tea: by visiting Jingmai Mountain to sample the tea locally or by tasting tea from Jingmai Mountain elsewhere.

Tea from Jingmai Mountain is widely distributed to regions beyond Pu'er. Typically, after the initial local processing, where it is turned into sun-dried green tea, it is then acquired by larger tea factories with advanced processing capabilities. It can be further processed into ripe tea or packaged for sale. However, like many other tea-producing regions, tea from Jingmai Mountain is available both in loose leaf form and in packaged tea cakes bearing the prominent "Jingmai Mountain" logo. The inclusion of the region's name in the packaging is regarded as an assurance of tea quality and carries the cultural significance of the place of origin.

Terroir possesses a concept of "carrier attachment," which can be explained as the manifestation of Jingmai Mountain's terroir value through locally produced tea. People associate the geographical characteristics of the region with the sensory attributes of the tea. Based on the carrier attachment concept of Terroir, it relies on the product (tea) to express the place-based value derived from the interaction between people and the land. Tea, as a commodity imbued with symbolic terroir value resulting from this interaction, circulates in the market. The "carrier attachment" aspect of Terroir transforms tea into a high-value product. Tea labeled with terroir characteristics is seen as a representation of high-quality tea, possessing "quality value." It also carries the cultural symbols related to its place of origin, becoming a "local emblem."

Tasting Jingmai Mountain tea in a distant place often involves interaction with tea artisans who brew tea in teahouses or tea shops. These tea artisans share their knowledge and stories about Jingmai Mountain. They typically provide a brief introduction to Jingmai Mountain, and it's common to hear them mention that "Jingmai Mountain is seeking UNESCO World Heritage status, with its thousands of acres of ancient tea gardens and the generations of indigenous people who have been cultivating tea for centuries." This approach allows individuals to remotely experience the place by gradually developing an initial understanding of Jingmai Mountain through the taste of the tea and the narratives of tea artisans. Through their descriptions that emphasize the local elements within the

brand, consumers are drawn to the natural landscapes of the place, fostering a "landscape longing" that evokes feelings such as "I want to visit the place myself" or "I want to personally immerse in the local atmosphere."

Sipping Jingmai Mountain tea in teahouses located outside the region, and hearing about the local area, as long as enjoying the tea, undoubtedly sparks an interest in Jingmai Mountain, turning individuals into possible tourists. This can be referred to as the "Terroir-induced immediate effect." Starting from their initial encounter with the tea, which forms their perception of the product, leading to an imagination of the place, people begin associating the geographical attributes of the region with the sensory characteristics of the tea. The on-the-spot sensation created by the interplay between the land and the tea prompts individuals to form "place associations" when tasting the product. This, in turn, leads them to identify that it is Jingmai Mountain that imparts that unique flavor, with the local soil, climate, and cultural factors all reflected in the tea.

Indeed, for a tea enthusiast, excellent tea can be the most direct attraction. Regardless of delving into the stories behind the tea, tea enthusiasts are inclined to personally visit the tea's place of origin due to their deep love for tea. This represents a direct emotional attachment to the place that arises solely from their passion for tea.

Apart from directly encountering the tea, possible tourists may also be drawn to other aspects of Jingmai Mountain during the process of getting to know it. This could include the winter sea of clouds, lush green mountains, pleasant weather, and the vibrant local minority cultures. In today's world, there's an overwhelming amount of information, and big data is everywhere. New online platforms are interactive, quick, widespread, cost-effective, and precise in their marketing. While some may worry about privacy when they see how accurately these platforms target their interests (like showing them things they just talked about with friends), it also means that if you're interested in something, you're more likely to find it quickly and easily thanks to this precision. Jingmai Mountain embarked on an extensive promotional campaign across various media platforms once it began its bid for UNESCO World Heritage status. The very idea of "applying for World Cultural Heritage" itself is highly appealing. Many people, after coming across news about Jingmai Mountain on the internet or hearing it mentioned by others, have crafted an image in their minds: remote mountains away from the city, ethnic minorities

cultivating tea for generations, the vast sea of clouds visible when you wake up in the winter, fresh air while strolling through the forest, and wildflowers covering the hillsides.

From a consumer's perspective, they rely on the limited information or knowledge they possess to perceive the local Terroir, which in turn shapes their expectations.¹⁰⁰ Terroir influences consumers' perceptions of product quality and value, as well as their recognition of the product as a symbol of a specific place. When listening to someone's narration, individuals become engrossed in the storytelling process, focusing their attention and immersing themselves in the narrative elements like characters, settings, and events. This immersive experience through storytelling can lead to changes in one's perception and emotions regarding the narrative subject. Consequently, as terroir products symbolize specific locations and cultures, attributes associated with both natural and human factors shape the terroir's image. The perception of this image provides tourists with an opportunity to experience the culture of the place of origin.¹⁰¹

Once a destination has garnered enough appeal for potential visitors, and these travelers have the necessary resources, they embark on a journey to explore the place they've had in mind. This marks the transition from prospective tourists to actual tourists who engage and participate in local activities. Jingmai Mountain boasts an abundance of tea culture tourism resources. According to the national standard for the classification, investigation, and evaluation of tourism resources (GB/T 18972-2017), Jingmai Mountain's tea culture tourism resources encompass eight main categories, thirteen subcategories, and twenty-four basic types. Among the basic types of tea culture tourism resources in Jingmai Mountain, there are not only those directly related to tea, such as ancient tea gardens, tea cultivation, tea processing techniques, tea consumption, and tea ceremonies, but also natural landscapes, religious beliefs, and traditional cultures of ethnic minorities.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Stephon J. HOCH, Jhon DEIGHTON, "Managing What Consumers Learn from Experience", *Journal of Marketing*, 53 (2), 1989, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ François LENGLET, Jean-Luc GIANNELLONI, "Does a Terroir Product Tell the Same Story to Tourists?", *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 18 (5), 2016, p. 498.

¹⁰² 文旅部 Ministry of Culture and Tourism, "Lvyou ziyuan fenlei diaocha yu pingjia" 《旅游资源分类、调查与评

Categorization of Jingmai Mountain Tea Cultural Tourism Resources		
Main category	Subcategory	Basic Type
A Geological Landscape	AA Comprehensive Natural Tourist Destination	AAA Comprehensive Natural Tourist Destination: Jingmai Mountain
B Aquatic Scenery	BA River Section	BAC Ancient River Segment: Lancang River
C Biological Landscape	CA Trees	CAA Forest: Millennium Ancient Tea Trees, Mangjing Sacred Bee Trees
	CC Flower Land	CCB Woodland Flower Land: Winter Cherry Blossoms, Orchids
D Celestial and Climatic Landscape	DB Weather and Climatic Phenomena	DBA Foggy and Misty Area: Sea of Clouds
		DBB Summer Retreat Climate Area: No Extreme Heat
		DBC Winter Retreat Climate Area: No Severe Cold
	EB Socioeconomic and Cultural	EBE Transport Relics: Ancient Tea-Horse Road
E Heritage Sites and Relics	Activity Sites and Relics	
F Buildings and Facilities	FA Comprehensive Cultural Tourist Destination	FAC Religious and Ritual Sites: Paileng Temple, Buddha Temple Tea Spirit Platform, Seven Princesses' Tomb
	FC Architectural and Ancillary Structures	FAH Animal and Plant Display Areas: Jingmai Mangjing Ancient Tea Garden
		FCA Pagodas: Manghong Octagonal Pagoda, Mengben Gold Pagoda
		FCH Steles: Dai Inscription Steles in Mang Jingmian Temple Pagoda
	FD Residential Areas and Communities FDC	FDA Traditional and Vernacular Architecture: Ancient Timber-Framed Granary-Style Buildings
		FDC Characteristic Communities: Nuogang Ancient Village, Wengji Village, Jingmai Village, and 9 Other Traditional Villages

价》(GB/T18972-2017) (Classification, investigation and evaluation of tourism resources)

<https://std.samr.gov.cn/gb/search/gbDetailed?id=71F772D8282CD3A7E05397BE0A0AB82A>, accessed 24-08-2023

		FDH Characteristic Markets: Wengji Small Market
G Tourism Products	GA Local Tourism Products	GAA Cuisine: Tea Feast
		GAE Traditional Handcrafted Products and Crafts: Bamboo Weavings, Handwoven Fabrics
		GAG Other Items: Pu'er Tea, Crab Legs, Dried Tea Flowers
H Human Activities	HA Character Records	HAA Zhaonuola, Nanyingla, Paaileng, Seven Princesses
	HB Arts	HBB Literary and Artistic Works: "Paaileng Ode," "Calling the Soul Scripture," Bulang Ethnic Singing Art
	HC Folk Customs	HCA Local Folklore and Folk Ceremonies: Pu'er Tea Processing Techniques - Using Tea for Hospitality and as a Gift
		HCB Folk Festivals: Shang kang Festival, Water-Sprinkling Festival, Guanmen Festival
		HCE Religious Activities: Tea Ancestral Worship, Nature Worship, Ancestor Worship, Totem Worship, Buddhist Worship, "Sending Off Ghosts"
		HCG Dietary Customs: Cold-Dressed Tea, Sour Tea, Tea with Eggs, Tea-Leaf Chicken, Roasted Tea, Green Bamboo Tea
		HCH Traditional Attire: Traditional Clothing of Bulang, Dai, Hani, Lahu, and Wa Ethnic Groups
8 categories	13 subcategories	24 basic types

Figure 3: Categorization of Jingmai Mountain Tea Cultural Tourism Resources

Jingmai Mountain primarily covers three administrative villages: Jingmai, Mangjing, and Mangyun. Among these, the Bulang ethnic group is primarily distributed across five villages within the Mangjing administrative village, including Wengji, Wengwa, Mangjing Upper Village, Mangjing Lower Village, and Manghong. The Dai ethnic group mainly resides in five villages under the jurisdiction of the Jingmai administrative village, including Jingmai, Mengben, Nuogang, Banggai, and Manggeng. The Han ethnic group is found in the Laojiufang area within the Jingmai Mountain administrative village. The Hani ethnic group lives in two separate locations: Longbang in the Jingmai administrative village and Nanai in the Mangjing administrative village. The Wa ethnic group is situated

in the southern part of the Jingmai administrative village, while the Lahu ethnic group resides near the foothills in Laodabao.

The first step for tourists arriving at Jingmai Mountain is typically to check into guesthouses or hotels. The well-established accommodation system in Jingmai Mountain is primarily located in the Jingmai administrative village, including Jingmai big village, as well as the Mangjing administrative village, including Mangjing Upper and Lower Villages, and within the traditional Bulang village of Wengji Village.

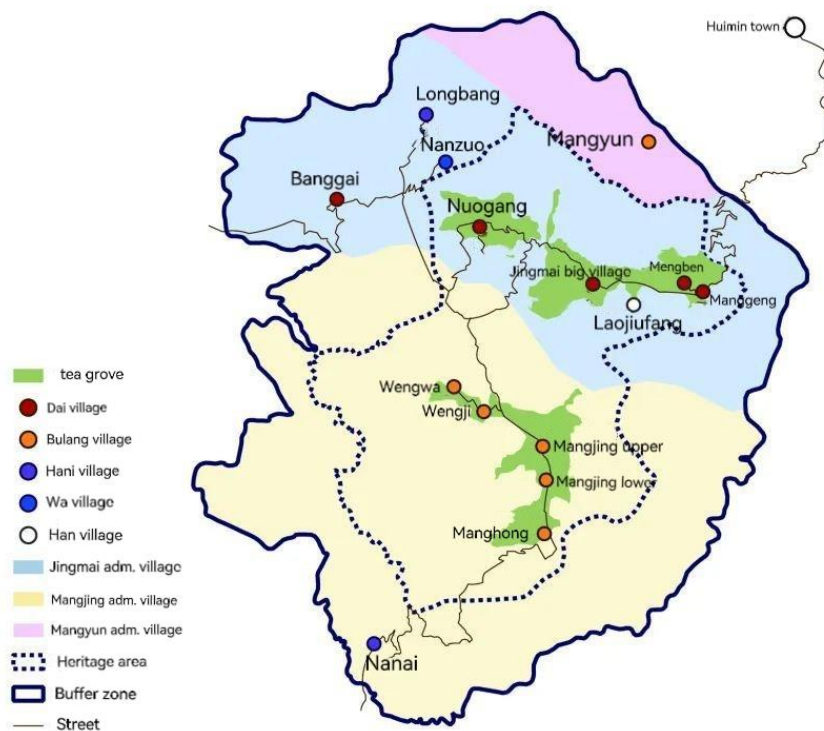


Figure 4: Map of Ethnic Minority Villages in Jingmai Mountain

Accommodation options in Jingmai Mountain can be categorized into three main types. The first is the high-end hotel called "Bolian," situated at the foot of Jingmai Mountain. In addition to providing lodging, this hotel features a tea culture restaurant, a leisure therapy center, a swimming pool, and more. Bolian Hotel defines itself as an "estate" and focuses on enhancing the cultural significance of its offerings. It aims to shape consumers' cultural identity and aesthetic experiences through experiential and participatory activities, thus elevating the overall cultural essence and value of the estate.

Bolian's experiential consumption offerings mainly include tea-making experiences, tea art performances, tea cultural dining, ethnic song and dance performances, and customized experiential tours, among others. However, Bolian Hotel has also faced criticism for being high-end and not connecting with the local culture. Some have pointed out that the prices are too high compared to the tea sold by ethnic minority vendors on the mountain, and many of the teas are made from tableland tea, which is considered to be of lower quality.

The second type of accommodation is concentrated within the traditional ethnic minority villages, such as the Bulang village of Wengji and the Dai village of Nuogang. Wengji Village has preserved traditional dwellings while also undergoing some tourism-oriented development, providing local tourists with good accommodation conditions and supporting facilities while allowing them to enjoy the ambiance of traditional ethnic minority villages. Nuogang Village serves as a conservation demonstration village, maintaining its rustic and pristine ecological state with minimal signs of development and commercialization. Staying there offers visitors the opportunity to experience the most authentic Dai ethnic tea farming lifestyle.

The third type of accommodation comprises farmhouse-style hotels developed as rural homestays. These are primarily situated in Jingmai Dazhai and Mangjing Upper and Lower Villages. In these areas, the local residents are primarily involved in tea sales and the development of tourism. They run their businesses as family enterprises, with each family constructing new buildings in the village that align with the characteristics of the ethnic minorities. These buildings are then transformed into homestays and hotels for tourists visiting from outside the region. The ground floor of these homestays functions as a reception area where guests can sample and purchase tea, while the upper floors are dedicated to hotel rooms. Some of these establishments also include restaurants to cater to the culinary needs of guests. These homestays typically engage in the initial stages of tea processing and each family owns its tea gardens and tea processing facilities. They offer a comprehensive range of services centered around tea, including accommodation, dining, and various activities, making them a popular choice for rural homestays.

The tea mountains, tea lodges, and local village homestays themselves embody a romanticized rural lifestyle, where families work together as a unit to cultivate, harvest,

and process tea. Simultaneously, they run agritourism and restaurants as a family, creating a unique local culture. These homestays, as a haven crafted by the local residents, offer both a comfortable living space for the locals and a utopian experience for visitors from other regions. They fulfill people's desire to reconnect with nature and get closer to it when they visit the area. Therefore, the historical and cultural dimensions of the local Terroir are not solely based on the regional characteristics but also encompass the small family cultures behind each accommodation. The feelings they evoke in tourists also influence their perception of the local area.

In the daily lives of the Bulang and Dai ethnic groups, tea serves as a means of interpersonal communication. Hospitable Bulang people often gift tea to cherished friends and guests from afar. In Mangjing Village, regardless of which traditional house you enter, the welcoming Bulang hosts will prepare a pot of fine tea for their guests. During meal times, they may even invite guests to dine with them at home. While the residents of Jingmai Mountain do engage in tea sales, their primary focus is rooted in traditional and sincere values: tea is a tool for welcoming guests and making friends. Whether or not tourists purchase tea, they are always welcome to visit the homes of local people, enjoy tea and talk with them. The people I met in Jingmai Mountain were genuinely kind and had a philosophy of "You don't have to buy tea; if you like it, you can buy it. Meeting each other is a kind of destiny." In Yunnan's tourism industry, there is often criticism of unethical tour guides and aggressive sales tactics. It's truly precious to encounter kind-hearted individuals during your travels and smoothly navigate every aspect of your journey. This is thanks to the sincere and kind-hearted nature of the local people in Jingmai Mountain.

Compared to tea shops operated by outsiders in Jingmai Mountain, the local residents have a deeper understanding of Jingmai's culture. When locals host tea sessions and introduce their ethnicities, they can provide more in-depth and comprehensive insights into various aspects of their culture. Therefore, coming to the local area to enjoy tea is an essential way to get to know the place. The more knowledge tea masters in these shops have about the culture of the land where the tea is grown, the more pronounced the unique aspects of the tea's terroir become. At this point, the deep charm carried by tea as a cultural product is conveyed to consumers through the process of tea tasting. Similarly, the more consumers understand and delve into the product's culture, the more they feel the unique

sense of place produced by the Terroir.

Similar to Bolian Hotel, staying in accommodations run by local ethnic minorities provides an opportunity to experience various local and tea-related cultural activities. Every spring, local residents take tourists to their tea gardens for tea picking. Visitors can also tour minority-owned tea processing facilities, where they can actively participate in tea processing steps such as roasting and rolling. Ultimately, they even have the chance to personally press their own Pu'er tea cakes to take home and enjoy. Modern urban living often leaves people with limited knowledge about the tea-making process. Therefore, promoting the production techniques and processes of Pu'er tea can be seen as a way to disseminate and store cultural knowledge among consumers.

During my field research in Jingmai Mountain, I stayed with a family in Jingmai village. They used traditional tea-making techniques passed down through generations, crafting tea entirely by hand, from the picking of the tea leaves to the final product. The tea-making process demands not only patience but also tremendous willpower. Roasting the tea leaves involves flipping them in an iron pan by hand, requiring exceptional roasting skills and precise temperature control. The intensity of the roasting is also a critical factor, and only when all these elements come together can one produce satisfying tea leaves. Because each person has their unique control over tea leaf temperature and rolling strength, the tea leaves produced by different individuals also exhibit subtle differences. However, it's precisely this artisanal handcrafting that highlights the distinctive culture of minority ethnic tea in the region.

Products serve as the medium for preserving and spreading tea culture, while tea gardens and processing facilities are the spaces where the terroir come to life through production practices. The production spaces derived from these practices enrich the local ecological experience for tourists. By actively participating in every step of tea production, customers can satisfy their curiosity, materialize their imagination of the locale, develop emotional connections similar to those of tea producers to the place, and foster a sense of "attachment to the place." The immersive experiences of visiting tea gardens, tasting various locally-produced teas, or even actively participating in tea production within the local context represent a form of experiential consumption deeply tied to the geographical location. These experiences, coupled with the geographical and cultural knowledge about

the locale gained from the narratives of tea producers, are conveyed through tea as a medium. Tea, as a cultural symbol, enables consumers to gain insights into the subtleties of the local culture.

Linking various foods to the landscapes is a powerful strategy in the tourism market for establishing a strong regional identity.¹⁰³ Terroir not only determines the characteristics of local products but also influences the flavors of local cuisine. In the marketing promotion of tea and its terroir, there is often an emphasis on showcasing the local gastronomy of the tea-producing region. Tasting locally grown crops, especially at unique tea feasts, provides consumers with a one-of-a-kind experience and becomes a significant means of identifying the distinctiveness of the local Terroir. Local dishes serve as tourism experiential products that replicate the local ecological way of life. The key feature of these dishes is the use of locally sourced seasonal ingredients, requiring customers to physically visit the geographical location to obtain an authentic Terroir experience.¹⁰⁴

Today, visitors to the ancient tea mountains can indulge in tea feasts throughout the year, except during the tea resting period at the end of the year. These feasts often include dishes like rice cooked with Pu'er tea, tender tea tips, and various wild vegetables dipped in a special sauce made by the Bulang ethnic group. Additionally, there are delights such as tea-tip scrambled eggs or meat, and stir-fried tea seeds. It's truly a feast for both the palate and health, an experience that leaves an unforgettable impression for a lifetime. During my fieldwork in the local area, I also had the opportunity to taste various tea-drinking methods practiced by the ethnic minorities. This included roasted tea made from tea leaves roasted in clay pots, sticky rice fragrant tea made with locally grown aromatic leaves, and bamboo tube honey tea, which is cooked in bamboo tubes and sweetened with honey. All of these are unique flavors that can only be experienced in Jingmai Mountain. Through these specific culinary products, the simple values associated with the land in this region are conveyed to consumers, emphasizing the contrast between one place and another, rural traditions and urban modernity, thereby enhancing the region's distinctive

¹⁰³ Insun LEE, Claries ARCODIA, "The Role of Regional Food Festivals for Destination Branding", *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13 (4), 2011, p. 366.

¹⁰⁴ Lucy M. LONG, "Culinary Tourism: A Folkloristic Perspective on Eating and Otherness", *Southern Folklore*, 55 (3), 1998, p. 181.

charm.

Jingmai Mountain, situated in Pu'er City, is an area in Yunnan Province known for its rich biodiversity. It serves as a crucial habitat for various species of flora and fauna.¹⁰⁵ The exceptional natural environment is a significant attraction for people from outside the region, especially urban professionals. Many photography enthusiasts are drawn to Jingmai Mountain after seeing online promotions of its winter cloudscapes. Before the sun rises, layers of clouds stack up from below and gradually float up to the mountainsides. Jingmai big village, located on the mountain, offers the best vantage point to witness this breathtaking phenomenon. Visitors can experience the misty clouds entering their rooms in the early morning, obscuring distant mountains while revealing their peaks. Additionally, during the winter in Jingmai Mountain, the landscape is adorned with winter cherry blossoms, which are most commonly found in Yunnan and less so in other provinces and cities in China.

In addition to these attractions, tourists visiting Jingmai Mountain surely explore its iconic natural landscapes, including ancient tea forests, pristine forests, and the "Bee God Tree." For travelers less interested in the cultural aspects of these landscapes, the various types of high-quality natural scenery serve as the most direct and visually stunning attractions. A captivating view can leave people fascinated and create a lasting impression in their memories, evolving from a fascination with the landscape to a genuine attachment to it. From a perspective of turning marketing or local landscapes into economic value, the beauty of a region's landscapes can evoke positive emotions and contribute to the commodification of products.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ RAO, HE, "Research on the Culture Diverse of Ancient Tea Tree Garden ...", cit., p. 149.

¹⁰⁶ Tiziano TEMPESTA, Livio CORAIN, "The importance of landscape in wine quality perception: An integrated approach using choice-based conjoint analysis and combination-based permutation tests", *Food Quality and Preference*, 21 (7), 2010, p. 827.



Figure 5: Bee God Tree in Jingmai Mountain

Nature possesses inherent value for Terroir products as it serves as the foundation for agricultural growth, but it also holds intrinsic aesthetic value. This aesthetic value can, in turn, be transformed into economic value through various means, with the most

fundamental being the utilization of natural beauty as a tourism resource or as a cultural symbol to enhance local products. In an era governed by the law of exchange value, currency, as a universal language, has the power to commodify anything, including natural landscapes and culture, making them universally understood and easily exchangeable. Today's consumer processes involve the transformation of economic exchange value into symbolic exchange value.¹⁰⁷

The strengths and distinctive features of one ethnic group are often the weaknesses or shortcomings of others; ethnic cultural resources are inherently scarce, with each ethnic group possessing unique cultural characteristics that differentiate them from others. These unique cultural tourism resources not only exhibit regional scarcity but also ethnic scarcity, making them highly unique and scarce tourism assets. For tourists, these resources represent significant attractions in their travel experiences.

One of the most distinctive attractions in Jingmai Mountain is undoubtedly the traditional villages of different ethnic groups. At the foot of the mountain, there is a village called Laodabao, known as the "Music Town." It is the village where the Lahu ethnic group has preserved the most traditional dances and songs, and it is also one of the protection and inheritance bases for the national intangible cultural heritage, the Lahu epic "Mupamipa."¹⁰⁸ In order to address poverty issues, the locals began actively developing and preserving their traditional dances and music in the 1980s, gradually evolving into a village famous today for its song and dance performances by the Lahu ethnic group.

The various ethnic minority villages in Jingmai Mountain are predominantly constructed in a stilted-house style, which may appear similar at first glance. However, upon closer inspection, you'll notice that each ethnic group has its own distinct building methods. This includes differences in roof designs, interior spatial layouts, and eave constructions. When visiting the area, people often explore the traditional villages of these ethnic groups

¹⁰⁷ Jean BAUDRILLARD, *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, California, Sage Publications, 1993, p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ Mupamipa which means creating heaven, creating earth, is the legend of Lahu people which tells the story of Lahu's origin. (Mupamipa, in "Cultural Contestation: Heritage, Identity and the Role of Government", edited by Jeroen Rodenberg, accessed 14-09-2023).



scattered throughout the mountains, as well as their religious structures.

The Lahu ethnic group practices Christianity, and there is a Christian temple on the hills in Laodabao. The Dai and Bulang ethnic groups follow Theravada Buddhism, and there are Buddhist temples in their villages. In addition to these, all villages have their own folk beliefs. In the village squares, there is a "*zhai xin* 寨心 village center", which is the place where villagers conduct traditional rituals. The design and materials of the *zhai xin* can vary among different ethnic groups.

Figure 6: village center of Nuogang village

The ethnic minorities in Jingmai Mountain have retained the tradition of wearing their own ethnic clothing, especially among the elderly. One Bulang ethnic elder I interviewed explained that they have been wearing such clothing from childhood to old age. They know exactly where to fasten the buttons and where the pockets are. They feel more comfortable and at ease in their traditional attire, and wearing modern clothing would actually make them feel uncomfortable. This discomfort is not just about aesthetics but also about practicality.

In general, despite living in the same mountains for generations, the clothing of these ethnic groups is quite distinct. Moreover, they wear traditional attire not to "perform" for tourists but because they genuinely prefer and are more accustomed to these garments. These clothing traditions represent their "tradition" and are very much a part of their

"present."



Figure 7: Elderly Dai people and tourists wearing Dai ethnic clothing

The villages in this local area and the ethnic minorities living in them attract various types of tourists, including scholars from various fields such as anthropology, architecture, humanities, and cultural studies. They come to the area to conduct field research, collect and organize data, and then summarize, publish, and showcase their findings. These documented cultures serve as education for the local ethnic groups, prompting reflection among the local people, and as a means of promoting and preserving traditional culture for outsiders. In the process of shaping a place, everyone is a participant. In the process of identity formation, individuals not only view themselves but also constantly compare and contrast with others.¹⁰⁹ To put it simply, if identity is constructed solely for self-expression without objects or competition and reference from others, its significance is

¹⁰⁹ ZHANG Jinghong 张静红, "Chonggou de zhengzongxing Yunnan Pu'ercha kuashikong de fengtu" 重构的"正宗性": 云南普洱茶跨时空的"风土" (The reconstructed "Authenticity": Yunnan Pu'er Tea's "Terroir" Across Time and Space), *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)*, 38 (5), 2016, p. 29.

limited. Local residents and visiting tourists influence each other unintentionally. They observe each other's differences and reflect on these differences, leading to various choices and contributing to the reproduction and further development of culture. Simultaneously, this dynamic shapes the terroir of the place.

The hottest days of the year in Jingmai Mountain are in mid-June in the Dai calendar (April in the Gregorian calendar). During this time, the Dai people celebrate the Water Splashing Festival, which is a major festival akin to the New Year. Families and communities come together to participate in this important celebration. During the festival, the Dai people cleanse Buddha statues with clean water and then splash water on each other as a symbol of blessings. This ritual is meant to wash away illnesses and disasters with pure water and usher in a life of happiness and prosperity.

Today, the Water Splashing Festival has gained fame as a traditional Dai activity and is celebrated throughout China. In Yunnan, regions with a significant Dai population promote and celebrate this traditional festival, attracting numerous tourists. It has become a prime time for the tourism industry to generate revenue.

In mid-June of the Dai calendar, the Bulang people also celebrate the Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival. In the past, the Bulang people only celebrated the Shan Kang Festival, which was their traditional festival equivalent to the Bulang New Year. The traditional Shan Kang Festival took place in the sixth month of the Dai calendar (April in the Gregorian calendar) and typically lasted for four days.

Today's Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival combines the Shan Kang Festival with the ancestral worship ceremony called "duo." "Duo" is a traditional Bulang ceremony that involves the offering of a bull sacrifice and is held in early September of the Dai calendar (July in the Gregorian calendar), lasting for 18 days. This ceremony primarily aims to express gratitude to the ancestor "Pa Ai Leng." After the integration of "duo" with the Shan Kang Festival, the ancestral worship ceremony now only lasts for one day. The festival still includes the bull sacrifice and chicken sacrifice rituals, with a grand bull

sacrifice held every four years and smaller chicken sacrifices in the other three years.¹¹⁰

The rescheduling of the bull sacrifice ceremony has not altered the way the Bulang villagers in Mangjing perceive their traditional festivals. The bull sacrifice ceremony was originally designed to commemorate their ancestor "Pa Ai Leng." Its rescheduling to coincide with the spring tea harvesting period serves two main purposes: firstly, it serves as a reminder to the community of the ancestral connection to tea, solidifying the image of the Tea Ancestor within the collective consciousness of the Bulang people. Secondly, it acts as a means of cultural promotion and outreach to tea merchants and tourists, thereby increasing the visibility of Mangjing Village's tea culture.

The shift in the timing of the festival is typically an external manifestation of the evolving cultural content. The bull sacrifice ceremony has transformed from a commemoration of ancestors to its present form of honoring the Tea Ancestor, with elements of the ceremony being altered and commercialized. This transformation has notably enhanced the economic function of the ceremony, serving as a vehicle for cultural promotion.

The Shan Kang Festival ceased to be celebrated in 1953 but was reintroduced in 2005 in the form of the Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival. The title *chazu* 茶祖 (Tea Ancestor) has been coined and utilized in recent years to align with the development of the tea industry. To the Bulang people of Mangjing, Pa Ai Leng is the factual "Tea Ancestor," but in the past, they did not refer to him as such, nor did they have a Tea Ancestor temple.

Upon my first visit to Ai Leng Temple in the Ai Leng Mountain during my local investigation in Jingmai Mountain, I was taken aback by this "brand new" temple. *Su Guowen* 苏国文 is a cultural elite of the Bulang people in Jingmai, and his house is located within the temple premises. The temple courtyard displayed sculptures with entirely mismatched styles, and there were even two roughly made "toy-like sculpture horses." The entire temple seemed like a commercially developed attraction just recently

¹¹⁰ SU Zhilong 苏志龙, "Wenhua jingji shijiaxia jingmaishan mangjingcun bulangzu shanking chazu jie de chonggou" 文化经济视角下景迈山芒景村布朗族山康茶祖节的重构 (Reconstruction of the Bulang Shan Kang Tea Ancestral Festival in Mangjing Village, Jingmai Mountain, from a Cultural and Economic Perspective), *Progress in Geography*, 39(2), p. 289.

built by real estate developers, and it completely lacked any historical authenticity. The sculptures in the Tea Ancestor Temple and the various statues within the Ai Leng Temple were constructed with investments from different sources, and there was no uniform style, which explains the lack of harmonious design. However, after conducting further research, I learned that these temples were built by Teacher Su Guowen to revive the traditional culture of the Bulang people and restore the festival activities that were disrupted during the Cultural Revolution.

Teacher Su Guowen recalled in an interview, "In 2005, based on the memories of local elders and extensive research, we revived the grand sacrificial ceremony of the Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival. We started with the buffalo sacrifice ceremony every year, following the historical traditions of the Bulang people, which had been interrupted during the Cultural Revolution. Before the spring tea harvest each year, we hold meetings to allow villagers to conduct their own rituals, such as worshipping the Tea Spirit Tree and more. Historically, the Bulang people didn't build statues for these ceremonies, but for the construction of Ai Leng Temple, I followed the stories about Pa Ai Leng and worked with a local high school art teacher to create the sculptures."



Figure 8: sculpture of Tea Ancestor Pa Ai Leng

Here, the revival of ethnic traditions can be seen more as a "reinvention of tradition" rather than a simple "revitalization." It was led by ethnic elites, with the participation of local governments and people, and ultimately evaluated by tourists.

If tradition reaches a point where it needs protection, it has become stagnant, indicating a loss of vitality. It is no longer truly a tradition. It might just be a relic of the past, rather than a living tradition. Because tradition is the past manifesting in the present, it's the creation and

construction of today built upon the foundation of the past.¹¹¹

The invention of tradition is a cultural transformation phenomenon. After long-term social and historical accumulation, this cultural fusion phenomenon can also develop into a new cultural tradition, which is the "tradition" created through invention.

Now, the Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival has transformed from two traditional festivals primarily for villagers with the purpose of worship into a cultural promotional event that everyone can participate in. It aligns with the perspective proposed by Hobsbawm that:

The invention of tradition is fundamentally a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by its connection to the past. If tradition remains intact, there would be no need to invent or restore tradition. In today's economic context, all traditions have the potential to serve economic purposes. Therefore, incorporating elements beneficial to the economy into old traditions is possible, even in genuinely traditional societies. If tradition cannot adapt to the needs of contemporary society and the market, it may need adjustments to compensate for its deficiencies.¹¹²

During the traditional Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival, households used to cease work; however, the current April coincides with the busy season for harvesting and processing new tea leaves. Many families now participate in the festival rituals while still finding time to make tea.

The festival schedule typically includes:

The first day involves cleaning, making "*poshuibaba* 泼水粑粑" (a local treat made from glutinous rice and honey, wrapped in banana leaves), and preparing festival fireworks. The second and third days include making festival fireworks, fetching fresh water from the mountain streams using bamboo tubes, offering "*poshuibaba* 泼水粑粑" and fresh water to the elderly. These symbolize cultural transmission and receiving blessings. People also wash Buddha statues, build sand sculptures (shaping sand into mud clumps in front of the Buddha), burn incense, and offer prayers to the Buddha. The fourth day is

¹¹¹ Eric HOBBSBAWM, *The Invention of Tradition, Mexico*, Cambridge University Press European Planning, 2013, p. 8.

¹¹² Eric HOBBSBAWM, "The Invention of Tradition, Mexico", cit., p. 16.

dedicated to the worship of the Tea Ancestor, with fireworks in the evening and a celebratory night gathering.

During the festival, tourists visiting Jingmai Mountain can follow the local people and actively participate in these daily activities to experience the traditions of the ethnic minorities firsthand.

The fourth day of the Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival marks the climax of the entire celebration, and tourists can observe and participate in the worship and dances. During the grand ceremony, the ritual takes place at the Tea Spirit Altar in Ai Leng Mountain Tea Ancestor Temple, while the smaller ceremony occurs at the Tea Spirit Altar in Ai Leng Temple. Participants place prepared offerings on the altar's offering baskets, offer chickens or cows to be sacrificed during the ceremony, and each family also presents fresh tea leaves harvested that year. Afterwards, they sit around the Tea Spirit Altar holding candles, with Mr. Su Guowen leading the ceremony. The head monk of the Dai Temple recites sutras, concluding with three loud calls, to which participants respond. After the calling ceremony, there is approximately 30 minutes of traditional ethnic song and dance. Participants dance and play music around the Tea Spirit Altar, performing dances adapted from the motions of tea picking. This celebration is held to commemorate the return of the Tea Spirit.



Figure 9: Su Guowen at the Shan Kang Tea Ancestral Festival



Figure 10: Shan Kang Tea Ancestral Festival

As I mentioned earlier, both the Ai Leng Temple and Tea Ancestor Temple have relatively new buildings and sculptures, and on the final day of the festival, while it allows people to experience the traditional culture of the ethnic minorities, the performative aspect of the ceremony is quite prominent. However, the continued celebration of the Shan Kang Tea Ancestor Festival serves not only the purpose of external promotion and attracting tourists but also imparts a sense of environmental protection regarding local land resources to the local people. In the initial establishment of tradition, it is necessary to instill certain values and habits to regulate people's actions and maintain continuity. Once a tradition, whether invented or constructed, is firmly established, it becomes a memory within society and, after the efforts of one or several generations, it eventually becomes history.¹¹³

The shift from ancestral worship to honoring the Tea Ancestor signifies the transformation of the festival from private to open. In the past, the Mangjing Village ancestral worship was an internal affair of the ethnic group, and outsiders were not allowed to participate. Today, not only is it open to outsiders, but it is also widely advertised online, inviting

¹¹³ Li Yongxiang 李永祥, "Chuantong de faming yu wenhua de xiaoshou" 传统的发明与文化的销售 (The Invention of Tradition and the Selling of Culture), *Academic Exploration*, 4, p. 87.

tourists to participate. This has gone beyond the scope of ancestral worship, and the Tea Ancestor has become a cultural symbol for all participants. The image of the ancestors has been diluted, while the cultural significance of tea culture history has been strengthened. In the name of tradition, real people gain a certain legitimacy within tradition, and tradition, through human activities, becomes a real culture and gains new existence.¹¹⁴ The Mangjing Village Brown people have created the Tea Ancestor symbol through the event of their ancestors planting tea. Tea Ancestor culture is legitimized through the reconstruction of traditional festivals, and traditional festivals incorporate Tea Ancestor culture, thereby enriching both form and content.

Local ethnic minorities, while strengthening their local identities, have also revitalized local culture by incorporating local cultural elements as part of tea culture. Terroir in a specific area encompasses a wealth of historical and modern socio-economic factors, explaining the cultural uniqueness of agricultural products. In the Pu'er tea of Jingmai Mountain, people not only taste the tea and the processing and fermentation methods but also the history, geography, and customs behind it. Terroir is deeply rooted in the cultural factors of history, culture, and people. Terroir activities often represent a blend of tradition and innovation, where heritage intersects with creativity and where the past coexists with entrepreneurship. These activities tap into our nostalgia and emotional connection to the past, commodifying elements of memory, time, and space. They thrive on the attachment to authenticity and the desire to preserve and celebrate cultural heritage while adapting to contemporary demands and markets.

The immersive journey from discovering Jingmai Mountain to experiencing every aspect of life there, from basic necessities to participating in the local tea culture, and finally engaging in "traditional festivals that belong only to the locals," creates a seamless and convincing narrative for consumers. It allows the place to establish a strong connection with consumers, triggering associations and fostering attachment. At each stage of this immersive tourism experience, positive feedback, such as memorable travel experiences and the friendliness of locals, strengthens this attachment to the place, evolving from mere

¹¹⁴ GAO Bingzhong 高丙中, "Minjian wenhua yu gongmin shehui: zhongguo xiandai lishi de wenhua yanjiu" 民间文化与公民社会: 中国现代历程的文化研究 (Folk Culture and Civil Society: Cultural Research on the Modern Development of China), Beijing, Press of Peking University, 2008, p. 68.

dependency to a deep topophilia.

Topophilia refers to the emotional and psychological attachment that individuals have toward a particular place or environment. It's the love or strong affinity people feel for a specific landscape, location, or physical setting.¹¹⁵ The environment is not merely a source of material resources or a force that needs adaptation; it is also the source of safety, happiness, deep emotions, and love. These emotional bonds can shape human interactions with their surroundings, influencing the development of communities, the creation of art, and the construction of personal and collective identities. As more and more travelers come to appreciate Jingmai Mountain and develop topophilia, these collective identities will create a positive feedback loop that enhances the Terroir of Jingmai Mountain. This, in turn, will contribute to a positive cycle for Jingmai Mountain's tourism industry, making it more attractive to consumers in the process of developing tea culture.

¹¹⁵ Y. F. TUAN, "Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values", cit., p. 25.

CONCLUSION

远望山峦壮，
近观茶影悠。
茶中有山水，
云间梦境秀。

As I sit down to wrap up this story, I've got some great news to share – Jingmai Mountain is now officially a UNESCO World Heritage Site! I'm really happy about it, especially because I chose to write about something I love and care deeply about.

I hope Jingmai Mountain will keep getting better in the future. I wish more and more people from all around the world could come and explore this beautiful place, learn about the people who live here, and discover the amazing tea culture of the local minority groups.

In this paper, I talked about how the concept of "Terroir" is used to make tourists feel a strong connection to Jingmai Mountain. The renowned Pu'er tea produced in Jingmai Mountain, celebrated for its unquestionable authenticity. The very locale of Jingmai Mountain itself expresses a sense of belonging. Moreover, the presence of diverse and captivating minority cultures enriches the region, infusing it with vivid hues and a nostalgic charm. Ultimately, the establishment of this sense of place fosters a deep emotional connection, fulfilling all the expectations of tourists through their experiences in tea culture tourism.

The idea of tea culture tourism is basically about getting people to feel attached to the tea-growing region by doing all sorts of tea-related activities. The local culture around Jingmai Mountain's Pu'er tea, the emotional connection of the local minority producers to the area, and the firsthand experiences of tourists all come together and influence each other, shaping the place's image.

The booming Pu'er tea market has given Jingmai Mountain a big boost. Finally, people are paying attention to this place that used to be kind of unknown. Now that it's a

UNESCO site, more and more visitors will come. Throughout the preservation and transmission of ethnic culture and traditions, all individuals, be they local minority groups, policymakers, enforcers, or visiting tourists, actively engage as participants in the process.

In the course of collective interactions, the inevitable question of whether to preserve or discard tradition arises. The development and transformation of Jingmai Mountain are ongoing, existing within a dynamic process, shaped by various groups or individuals who experience, utilize, influence, and adapt to it. In this era of globalization, especially for resource-endowed minority communities, whether they willingly embrace it or not, the path of modernization is an inevitable journey, one that comes with its own set of consequences. It's a trend, a process, and indeed an unavoidable reality.

Jingmai Mountain, as it stands today, owes its existence to the generations of minority communities who have called it home. Similarly, without this unique terrain of Jingmai Mountain, the people who have lived here to this day would not have their unique story.

This essay represents my understanding of what I've learned about Jingmai Mountain and my thoughts on its development. I'm just an observer and don't have any power over what has happened, is happening now, or will happen in the future in this place. I just really hope that the Dai, Blang, Hani, Lahu and Wa ethnic groups, and others, can live in harmony for generations to come, preserving and passing down their rich cultural heritage in the face of external cultural influences. I also wish for Jingmai Mountain's natural environment to remain forever green and pristine, serving as a symbol not only of tea cultivation but also as a representative of a natural habitat conducive to the survival of diverse forms of life.

To sum it up, I've got lots of wishes for Jingmai Mountain and my hometown of Yunnan, I hope they keep getting better and better.

结语

远望山峦壮，
近观茶影悠。
茶中有山水，
云间梦境秀。

当我开始提笔写这篇结尾时，景迈山申遗成功了！真的非常庆幸自己选择了这个自己喜欢又有意义的主题，我衷心希望景迈山的未来将变得越来越好。我很高兴，希望未来全世界能有越来越多的人认识这座山，前去探索这座山，了解山里人们的生活，把丰富多彩的少数民族茶文化带向全世界。

在本论文中，我提到了如何通过 Terroir 的概念，在景迈山建立游客的情感依赖，从而促进当地旅游业的发展。这实际上是从心理学的角度来树立景迈山的积极形象。就普洱茶产品而言，景迈山的茶受到广泛认可，具有地道性。就土地而言，这个地方赋予人们一种归属感。就少数民族而言，这里有多彩且令人怀念的土地文化。最终，这种地方感情感的建立使游客的所有期望都在茶文化旅游的体验中得到了满足。通过茶文化旅游来塑造地方感其实就是通过一切和茶相关的活动来推动旅客对茶产地产生情感依赖。景迈山普洱茶背后的地方社会文化，当地少数民族生产者对地方的情感与记忆，游客来到当地的见闻要体验，将一切联系在一起，相互影响，共同塑造了这个地方的形象。

普洱茶市场的兴旺成全了景迈山，当终于有人望向这片本会永远平平无奇的大山，这里生活的“原住民”走入了人们的视野开始和世界有了更大范围的互动。

申遗成功，意味着景迈山将迎来更多的游客。在民族文化存续，传统传承的过程中，无论是当地少数民族、政策制定者、执行者，还是外来的游客，人人都是参与者。在群体的交往互动过程中势必会面临传统留存还是摒弃的问题。景迈山的发展变化不会停止，它一直处于一种动态的过程中，并且被不同的群体或个

体体验、利用、影响和改造。没有世世代代生活在此的少数民族，就没有今日的景迈山，没有景迈山这片土地，就没有在这里生活至今的人们。在这个全球化时代，少数民族尤其是拥有资源的少数民族，自愿不自愿都必然要经历现代化的过程，同样也要承受现代化的后果。这是一个趋势，一个过程，也是必然。

我写下的这篇论文，算是我对景迈山当地理解的总结，对其发展做出的思考。我只是一个记录者，对当地的现在过去与未来，没有任何力量。我真诚得希望当地的傣族、布朗族、哈尼族、拉祜族、佤族、汉族能够世世代代和谐相处，在外来文化的冲击下保护并传承自己的优秀民族文化；希望景迈山的自然环境能够永远保持绿水青山，成为不只是茶山的代表，更是适宜各种生物生存的大自然的代表。总之，千言万语在心中，希望景迈山，希望我的家乡云南能够越来越好。

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致谢/ Ringraziamenti

Questa lettera è stata scritta totalmente da me stessa, senza l'aiuto e la correzione da nessuna parte, quindi rappresenta la mia vera conoscenza dell'italiano nel 2023. Se ci fossero gli errori, non sarebbe un problema, pazienza.

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昨日之深渊今日之浅谈。路虽远，行则将至。事虽难，做则可成。向前进吧。

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