

Wuyi Rock Tea Drinking Associated Knowledge and Practice: A Case Study from the Anthropological Perspectives

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There are two domains in the anthropological knowledge of food and the practice of foodways: the materialist school, represented by Marvin Harris, and the teleological school, represented by Claude Levi-Strauss. Scholars have considered these two schools irreconcilable for many years. This paper made a practical study of the two domains by investigating the consumption of Wuyi Rock Tea in Fujian Province from the perspective of anthropology. It suggests that Wuyi Rock Tea drinking has become a symbolic social behavior in Chinese society along with Chinese pragmatic principles. Consumers enjoy Wuyi Rock Tea and desire to consume it for various reasons.

Keywords: Wuyi Rock Tea, idealism-materialism, consumption pattern

INTRODUCTION

The primary basis of human survival is food, a prerequisite for developing social civilization (Ding 2021). The knowledge of food anthropology has attracted much attention since World War II. The study on anthropological knowledge of food is intended to understand people's food customs, taboos, and health and nutrition worldwide and explore how food is adapted to modern life (Wu 2001). Nowadays, food knowledge management and practice is a particular mode of communication and expression under globalization. At the same time, anthropologists think about, understand, and further analyze the complex relations and social situations of some cultural systems in terms of how food is produced (Barfield 1997).

Food knowledge management and practice reveal various social processes, such as political and economic value creation, symbolic value creation, and the social construction of memory (Mintz, Du Bois 2002). By examining how human ancestors processed and preserved food, we can learn how early humans interacted with their environment to ensure food sufficiency and understand their culture through its processing (Knorr, Augustin 2022). As food circulates in a global production and trade system, globalization is fostered through food nourishment, people's mobility, and ideas about cooking and nutrition (Phillips 2006). The choice of food is essential for human beings. In Indian culture, a person is equated with what he eats because his body is created by the food he eats and the biological genes that determine his moral disposition are also made by food (Jonathan 1985). By interacting with the body, food can interpret the concepts of the human body and the importance of cultural symbols (Douglas 1970). In

addition, there is a correspondence between food and social class. In the United States, steak opposes offal and tongue as social values. Steak was considered a food for people of high social class, while beef offal and tongue were cheap food for people experiencing poverty (Sahins 1976). In China, spices were first available only to the high social classes, such as nobles and officials. Later, with the development of seafaring, more spices were imported, changing from a luxury item with high symbolic value to a common food item affordable to ordinary people (Yu 2017). With modern food technology and economic development, food has been gradually separated from social class (Appadurai 1988).

From the representative research findings in the West, scholars have focused mainly on topics such as meals, food and eating, global integration, and memory (Guo 2015). Moreover, based on this, they interpreted the socio-cultural importance and the interaction between food cultures in different regions worldwide (Wu 2001). Food anthropology has been studied in China lately and is generally considered to have started in 1995 (Gao 1995). In recent years, studies have mainly focused on interpreting the cultural meanings behind food using Western theories. Some have examined foods such as salt, tea, grapes, and spices in the local historical and social context. In addition, some investigated the cultural identity and connotation interpretation of food and cuisine in regional culture and the mobility of local specialties in the region (Ba, Zhang 2018).

Some Chinese food anthropological studies on tea-drinking knowledge generally focus on the tea-drinking practices of ethnic minorities. Li et al. (2019) investigated tea drinking by the Hani people and found that it is culturally adaptive, integrative, ritualistic, and transformative. After analyzing the tea-drinking practices in Tibet, Zhao (2021) emphasized that tea is an essential element of daily life in Tibet. Moreover, teahouses are a social space that effectively promotes the integration of Tibetan farming and herding communities, reflecting the structural changes in the consumption of the pastoral areas. Chinese people were the first to grow and drink tea globally, with the widest variety of tea leaves (Wang 2017). Generally speaking, tea leaves can be made into different types of tea depending on other production processes. However, because of their properties, some tea leaves can be made into several varieties, and some can be made into only one. Depending on the site, raw material and technological process, China classifies tea into six categories: green tea, black tea, green tea (oolong tea), white tea, dark green tea, and yellow tea (Luo 2019). Tea holds an essential position in the lives of Chinese people, and China ranked first in the world in tea consumption in 2018 (China Tea Marketing Association 2019). In addition, a Chinese proverb suggests that “It is better to go without food for three days than tea for one,” which shows the significance of tea to Chinese people’s lives (Li 2017). However, few studies on tea’s food anthropology still exist, and no system has been established.

Wuyi Rock Tea is one of the Chinese teas with a distinctive regional flavor. It is a semi-fermented tea made from tea leaves grown on the rocks of Wuyi Mountain in Fujian Province. It is one of the green teas. It has a high reputation in China because of its distinctive regional characteristics, complex production process, and unique flavor. Moreover, its brand value in China reached 69.31 billion yuan, ranking second among China’s tea brands (Xu et al. 2019). So far, research on Wuyi Rock Tea has been mainly conducted on its production, marketing, and tea culture. Chen (2022) investigated tea from its cultivation, processing, and storage. Huang et al. (2016) proposed stabilizing tea prices from the perspectives of labor cost and industry scale by analyzing the current industrial production status of Wuyi Rock Tea, as well as the supply, demand, monetary, and information factors that affect price changes. Chen (2019) concluded that consumers were satisfied with the product quality and packaging but were less culturally conscious of Wuyi Rock Tea after a consumer survey. Wang, Tian (2022) conducted an ethnographic study to participate and observe the consumers of premium Wuyi Rock Tea and concluded that these consumers were engaged in conspicuous consumption to demonstrate their economic, cultural and social capital. There are many studies on Wuyi Rock Tea, but few studies have been conducted from the perspective of food anthropology. In this study, we proposed to analyze Wuyi Rock Tea using ethnographic descriptions and records and study Wuyi Rock Tea by applying the theory of food anthropology.

Theoretical Framework of Anthropological Studies on Food

Food anthropology has emerged since the Second World War II; primary schools of thought have emerged: the materialist school, represented by Marvin Harris, and the idealist school, represented by Claude Levi-Strauss. These two schools of thought significantly influence other social sciences and the humanities. Harris, who advocates cultural materialism, argues that people's choice of food depends on whether the food is good to eat. That is, the balance between the actual benefits and costs of people's preferred foods is better than those people give up. Harris's cultural materialism argues that the interaction between human culture and the evolution of nature causes food changes in different political and economic environments. The fundamental reason for the taboo of pork in Judaism is that the climate and ecological environment in the Middle East are not suited for domestic pigs but rather for cattle, sheep and other animals. Similarly, the Hindus worship and protect cows and are forbidden to kill cows and eat beef under their doctrines. Because of limited environmental resources, a cow is more expensive for food than labor (Harris 1985).

In contrast to Harris, Levi-Strauss proposed that people's choice of different foods depends first and foremost on whether the food is good to think about. The preference for food is based on the idea that people feel it is good to think and comfortable to eat. Specifically, idealists believe that food must first nourish the mind of a group before it enters an empty stomach. In other words, food must be good to think about before it is good to eat. Strauss identified the mythological opposites of raw-cooked, nature-culture, and cooked-raw food, illustrating that the origin of human civilization is a cipher of opposites deep in the human mind. Also, he proposed the theory that underlying psychological structures govern people's behavior. People's deep psychological systems govern human behavior and influence food choices and how they cook it (Strauss, Qu 2002).

In the 1960s, Wolff and Minz founded the school of political economics in food anthropology, and their research has gained prominence. Characterized by biographies and global food processes, this school of thought was initially inspired by anthropological studies of a single commodity (including ingredients, crops, and processed products). In traditional anthropological research, researchers usually investigate a closed community with certain limitations. With a more macro perspective, the school of political economics emphasizes incorporating the study of a local society into the national and global socio-historical context and processes. By tracing the production, transportation, distribution, and consumption processes of goods, they hope to reveal the complex flows of people, trade networks, and social power structures behind them (Peng, Xiao 2011). By studying the production and consumption of sugar, Minz revealed that sugar was transformed from a food of the privileged class to a fare available to ordinary consumers, reflecting the meaning of sugar as a source of power (Minz 2010).

Since the 1990s, a new boom in the study of food anthropology has emerged. Scholars have analyzed the national consciousness of an ethnic group or even a country from insignificant foods or dishes. Wu (2001) studied the underlying cultural meanings of commercial globalization from fast-food restaurants worldwide. Appadurai (1986) examined curry and concluded that curry rice is not a traditional Indian dish but was propagated as the national dish of India when the British colonized India. Watson (1997) investigated McDonald's fast-food restaurants in five major East Asian cities and argued that commercial globalization does not submerge local culture but enhances local identity. According to Emiko (1993), rice is not only a staple food for the Japanese but also represents the spirit of the Japanese nation, which has a long history.

In China, food anthropology studies are also increasing (Chen & Tian, 2021). Meng (2018) found that the communities in the upper Pearl River have adapted to the ecological environment and developed a food culture based on glutinous food. Such a culture complements the stability of freshwater resources in the Pearl River basin. By studying Job's tears, Meng (2022) revealed a changing relationship between human society and food, influenced by political systems, ecological environment, and social culture. Focusing on vegetarian food, Chen (2018) argued that Buddhist nursing culture could be defined and interpreted in three dimensions: resting the body, nourishing the mind, and soothing the soul. Using a holistic perspective, Wu (2015) investigated the consumption of oysters in Chengnei Village in southern Fujian Province. He suggested that the villagers choose food that is good to eat and think about.

Moreover, oysters enrich villagers' material, social, and spiritual lives. They are good to eat and think about, and they simultaneously play a decisive role. However, compared with the wealthy Chinese food culture, the study of Chinese food culture is significantly lagging, and a complete disciplinary system has not been formed for its research (Wu 2017). Based on this, this study will examine the cultural spirit of the Chinese people represented by Wuyi Rock Tea.

Anthropologists generally divide culture into three levels: material culture, social culture and spiritual culture. However, such a division is not definitive because no culture contains only one story, and each level of culture involves the other two classes (Chen, Sun 2005). Wuyi Rock Tea is part of material culture, as is rock tea's cultivation and production techniques. It is also part of social culture, such as the effects of Wuyi Rock Tea on social activities. Besides, it is part of spiritual culture, such as rock tea's effects on refreshing people's minds. Therefore, Wuyi Rock Tea involves material, social and spiritual culture.

Characteristics of Wuyi Rock Tea: Good to Drink

According to the records, Shennong tasted hundreds of herbs to investigate useful plants for people. He was poisoned several times but was saved by tea (Wang 2009). Thus, tea was known to humans as food and drink. Later, people found that tea could help produce saliva and slake thirst, refresh the mind, and aid digestion, so they advocated more for tea consumption. As a traditional Chinese tea (Wang, Li 2020), Wuyi Rock Tea is semi-fermented and features an intense aroma and mellow taste.

Cultivation and Production of Wuyi Rock Tea

Regarding natural attributes, food can be interpreted as a product of the interaction between humans and nature. Food as a natural product is mainly subject to the geographical environment (e.g., climate, hydrology, or soil); therefore, food culture differs significantly by region (He et al., 2022).

Wuyi Rock Tea is grown on the rocks of Wuyi Mountain in Fujian Province, with distinctive regional characteristics. First, Wuyi Mountain has been listed as a World Cultural and Natural Heritage Site in northern Fujian Province, China. Wuyi Mountain, located between 27°-28°N and 117°-118°E, is the birthplace of oolong and black tea. Furthermore, its geology, light, temperature, latitude and other conditions are ideal for tea planting. About 80 million years ago, a volcanic eruption occurred on Wuyi Mountain, and the iron-bearing rock fragments from the weathering of volcanic rocks were deposited and washed. Gravelly soils were formed, rich in organic matter and trace elements (Liu et al. 2020). Secondly, Wuyi Mountain is not adjacent to other mountains with dense forest vegetation and short sunshine duration. Thirdly, Wuyi Mountain has a mild climate with warm winters and cool summers, with an average annual temperature of about 18°. It also has abundant precipitation, with a yearly rainfall of about 2,000 mm. Because of its unique geographical location and natural environment, Wuyi Rock Tea has special and long-lasting conditions (Liu 2017). Tea has been produced for over 1500 years (Xiao 2013).

Wuyi Rock Tea production techniques involve complicated and superior processes from the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. The traditional Wuyi Rock Tea making techniques are based on tradition and innovation and have been handed down through generations of Wuyi Rock Tea makers (Huang 2012). Before 1939, the traditional techniques of Wuyi Rock Tea had been passed down orally from master to apprentice, and no written records were available. In 2005, the Wuyishan Municipal Government recorded the Wuyi Rock Tea production techniques based on Lin Fuquan's field survey at Wuyi Mountain from 1938 to 1943. The technique had ten steps: picking - withering - shaking to fermentate - drying - rolling and kneading - initial roasting - winnowing - sorting - complete roasting - packaging - firing. Wuyi Rock Tea's unique production technique was listed as China's first national intangible cultural heritage batch in 2006. Hence, Wuyi Rock Tea production techniques are defined as traditional techniques (Cheng et al. 2016). Among the six categories of tea in China, Wuyi Rock Tea has the most elaborate production processes and the highest demands on production skills (Sun 2022).

With its unique geographical and natural environment and time-honored production process, Wuyi Rock Tea presents the most different sensory taste from other teas, known as rock rhyme. It is characterized by thick tea, clear and mellow aroma, quick and distinct sweetness after taste, and lingering flavor (Huang 2007). Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty and the literary scholar Yuan Mei spoke highly of rock

rhyme, considering it to taste thicker and mellower than other teas, with a more prosperous and refined aroma. Rock rhyme has also been analyzed from various aspects in modern times. Although scholars evaluate it using different criteria, it is mainly assessed on taste, fragrance, and whether it is rich or lingering (Qi 2018).

Drinking Wuyi Rock Tea

As early as the Shang and Zhou dynasties (1600 BC), a local ruler offered Wuyi tea to King Wu of the Zhou dynasty. Wuyi tea was initially well-known in the Western Han Dynasty (202 BC). During the Yuanhe regime of the Tang Dynasty (806 AD), Sun Qiao wrote to a senior minister, mentioning that he had sent some Wuyi tea to him. Sun used a personification metaphor to call the Wuyi tea Wan Gan Hou (晚甘候, Sir Sweet Aftertaste). It was the earliest record of Wuyi tea. During the Song Dynasty (960 AD), China's tea production technology flourished, becoming an essential beverage in people's daily lives. Wuyi Rock Tea was tributed to the imperial palace as the tribute tea material from North Fujian State (Zeng 2022). In the Ming and Qing dynasties, Wuyi Rock Tea became famous in China and was served to the imperial family and the nobility. The people originated the legend that the emperor presented Dahongpao. Wuyi Rock Tea is also known as Dahongpao.

The Chinese used tea first as food, medicine, and drink. Tea is added to porridge, soup, cold dishes in source or snacks. For medicinal purposes, tea leaves are compounded with other herbs to produce different remedies to cure diseases or relieve physical discomfort. The prepared medicine can help to increase the secretion of urine, dispel the effects of alcohol, refresh the mind, and enhance physical strength. The tea leaves are processed into dry tea and then brewed with boiling or hot water before drinking (Li 2022). In China, tea drinking became popular among royalty and gradually became accessible to ordinary people with the establishment and prosperity of the Han Dynasty. In the Tang Dynasty, people also invented various tea production techniques, which refined tea flavor (Ai, 2015). In the Ming Dynasty, people started to brew tea (Yu, Ding 2014), and it has been used ever since.

Characteristics of Wuyi Rock Tea: Good to Think

In China, this practice of tea drinking was promoted by Chinese Taoism. In Taoism, tea is a herb and a low-grade food at first, but the Taoist philosophy of nourishing the body with food has contributed to the spread of tea drinking (Guan 2009). Taoism holds that consuming different substances can produce other effects. Tea can help dispel food, brighten the eyes, refresh the mind, benefit the brain, and remove worries, with medicinal and health benefits (Liu 2020). Most of the medical effects of tea have been validated during Taoists' long-term research and consumption. During the centuries of the Three Kingdoms, Western Jin, Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties, many books were written about the efficacy of tea, and these documents dealt with the effectiveness of tea from a medical perspective. They considered the effects of tea drinking to make people vigorous and sleepless, boost thinking, and dispel the effects of alcohol. In this context, the Taoist perception of tea changed and was considered superior medicine (Hu 2006). Therefore, the practice of tea drinking was promoted.

Tea can help to dispel the effects of alcohol and refresh our minds. Because of this, tea was also introduced into Buddhism and widely used by monks. Initially, in Zen practice, monks were requested not to take any food after lunch and sit in meditation for a long time, but they were quickly tired and could not persist for a long time. Furthermore, drinking tea prevents monks from drowsing, and they can concentrate on meditation. The refreshing and quiet tea helps monks practice meditation (Su 2020). Keeping in deep meditation helps to stabilize the mind and focus, but sitting in meditation or keeping in deep meditation is not a unique practice in Chinese Buddhism. However, the addition of tea has formed a combination of tea and Zen, forming the practice of Zen Buddhism with Chinese attributes. The biological substance and effects of tea and its metaphysical, spiritual implications facilitate monks to advance from deep meditation to awakening to truth (Yang 2020).

In modern times, people drink Wuyi Rock Tea after brewing the tea leaves in boiling water. In this way, it highlights the essence of tea, which is more refreshing to the brain. The entrepreneurs we

interviewed in Fujian Province reported that they tended to talk about business with others on social occasions while drinking tea. Chinese people conventionally socialize by drinking liquor, but it is preferred for interactions between friends. Also, it can convey their deep friendship. In social interaction, people drink liquor to maintain relationships, express sincerity, reveal true feelings and make exchanges (Li 2009). The entrepreneurs interviewed said that alcohol consumption is socially inefficient and not conducive to business because it makes people less sober. However, drinking tea has the opposite effect, as it may make people more temperate and calmer, facilitating thinking about promoting business. Tea can calm people's moods, dispel their worries, and experience and perceive harmony (Shi 2009).

Characteristics of Wuyi Rock Tea: Good to Use

Wuyi Rock Tea is also widely consumed because it is delicious due to its unique geographical location and production process.

Legend of Wuyi Rock Tea is Good to Use

Wuyi Rock Tea is also known as Dahongpao, and there are two ways to describe the origin of this name. The first is myths and legends. It was said to be used by Zhuangyuan (状元, Number One Scholar, title conferred on the one who came first in the highest imperial examination) to repay his gratitude or by officials to relieve their robes. Also, legend has it that monkeys picked the tea leaves, the gods cultivated the tea plants, or monks cured diseases with tea. It was given by the emperor or used by the prince to save his mother. However, none of these stories has any definite time or origin. Among them, it was the most circulated, and it was believed that Zhuangyuan used the tea to repay his gratitude. In 1395, the candidate Ding Xian suffered heatstroke on the way to the imperial examination at the capital and was treated by the monk of Tianxin Temple with tea as medicine, and then won the title of Zhuangyuan. To repay the Buddha's kindness, Ding Xian draped his red robe of Zhuangyuan on the tea plant, so the tea was named Dahongpao. Wuyishan City recognized this legend, and it became a more authoritative fact (Yang 2015).

The legend's authenticity means that, even if it is not a historical fact, it mirrors the reality of the society and represents the political, economic and cultural life in a specific socio-historical context. In ancient China, studying and being an official were students' ideals and the values of traditional Confucian culture (Mou 2016). Therefore, this legend is consistent with the origin of Mengzi's rice noodles and represents the internalization of conventional Confucian culture into local people's daily lives. In addition, the legend also illustrates how Chinese people repay favors, which embodies the code of conduct of Confucianism. The core ethics of Confucianism set out essential guidelines for maintaining and functioning as a humane society in China. Rituals are one of these guidelines, and the Chinese regard repaying kindness and favors as a sign of courtesy (Tu 2011).

Tea's quality is determined by its physical properties and its attributes as a cultural commodity. Tea as a cultural commodity means how much it is "sanctified" in the cultural hierarchy. The most valuable Wuyi Rock Tea varieties have more than one version of myths (Xiao 2013). These myths align with traditional Chinese culture, promoting Wuyi Rock Tea.

Wuyi Rock Tea is Good to Use in Different Social Rituals

From a simple daily habit, tea drinking has gradually become an essential element of various social and ceremonial services. First of all, in life, tea drinking has become an etiquette. Whenever a guest visits, making and offering tea is a must. When offering tea to a guest, we should pour tea into a cup at 70% complete and serve the tea at the same temperature and concentration to show our respect to the guest (Hubei Provincial Research Association of Lu Yu Tea Culture, 2013). China has been a state of ceremonies since ancient times. Moreover, Chinese people prefer to receive guests with tea and have formed a set of sophisticated hospitality rituals to serve the tea, hold cups, and arrange seats (Xiong 2021).

During the meal, we can see the surface of people's spiritual and material activities and understand the deeper meanings attached to food. It implies rules on who eats first, how to eat, and what to eat, mirroring the social order, gender roles, and power relations of a family or community (Yuan 2007). Wuyi Rock Tea features practicality in social interactions, showing how Fujian people treat their guests. In Fujian, the hosts

always make tea for their guests, whether in an ordinary home or company and serve them a cup of fragrant tea before socializing.

Tea drinking is particularly prevalent in southern Fujian. When someone visited another person's house with disputes, they sat down for tea before arguing. They drank the tea first, so the tension was much lessened, and they would not act aggressively in the later arguments. In addition, tea is also highly valued as a gift. Because of its regional characteristics, Wuyi Rock Tea is given to foreign guests as a representative of Chinese tea. Wuyi Rock Tea is offered to guests from other parts of China as a representative of the specialties of Fujian Province.

In addition, tea is also an essential article in the critical life rituals of the Chinese. Tea plants cannot be transplanted throughout their growth, so tea is seen as a symbol of immortality. Therefore, tea is used as a gift for the engagement of new couples. At the same time, the entire marriage ceremony is combined with tea. The meeting where a new team and their parents gather before the marriage is called a tea meeting. The man sends a tea-based gift to the woman to conclude the engagement. After that, tea is also one of the critical items in betrothal presents. Tea is included in the vital wedding rituals and witnesses the reconfirmation of kinship and social ties (Gao 2022). Nowadays, young people in Wuyi Mountain choose Wuyi Rock Tea as a wedding gift for their guests when they get married.

Tea is also considered a sacred item, so tea has expanded from a consumer product of daily use to a representative of some moral, ethical, and sentimental attributes. Tea is used in rituals to express respect, pray for blessings and convey condolences (Liu 2020). The ritual activities of the Hakka people involve rock tea and tea picking dance to present the ritual scene. People use rituals to express their nostalgia for their ancestors and their pursuit of a better life (Lin, 2022). Religious food has a dual nature. It is generally considered food when no ritual is involved but becomes religious after certain rituals. The food is not physically changed, but the cultural process of people endows it with some conceptual and spiritual meaning, containing the dual nutrition of food and deity (Wu 2017). Peng points out that the custom of offering animals is passed down in the rituals. It is hoped that the ancestors and spirits will agree to the requests of the worshipers and fulfill their desires by enjoying the best food and having their appetites fully satisfied. It is more of a secular need than a sacred purpose in China (Peng 2013).

Wuyi Rock Tea is Good to Use for Different Classes

Due to the different varieties and production methods of tea, prices vary, and it can meet the needs of other classes. Historically, tea is also called Ming (茗) and Tuan (荼), reflecting its different social attributes. While Ming refers to the high-grade tea leaves carefully selected and made for the noble class, Tu refers to the yellow flakes, stalks, and old leaves picked out during the production process as the low-grade tea leaves for the working class (Xiao 2013). In modern times, Wuyi Rock Tea is also priced differently depending on the place of cultivation, variety and production method. The most expensive tea can be priced at RMB 1,280,000/kg, while the cheapest can be priced at RMB 300 to 500/kg. Although different tea prices target different groups of consumers, we are surprised by the wide range of prices for one type of tea. According to the research team's findings, the sky-high cost of Wuyi Rock Tea is due to the unique geographical and scarcity of Wuyi Rock Tea cultivation sites and varieties, and there is no uniform criterion. As a result, the companies that produce and sell Wuyi Rock Tea inflate the price of some teas to serve consumers who want to give gifts or even bribes. In 2021, the Chinese government regulated the sky-high tea cost, stipulating that Wuyi Rock Tea should be priced at a maximum of RMB 120,000/kg.

In China, two lines describe the tea. One is music, chess, calligraphy, painting, poetry, wine and tea, and the other is firewood, rice, oil, salt, soy sauce, vinegar and tea. The former refers to tea in daily life. Drinking tea is as simple as having meals daily, indicating tea's high popularity in Chinese people's everyday lives. The latter refers to tea in the humanistic context, where tea drinking is as elegant as playing the qin and writing poetry. The environment, the utensils and the fellow drinkers are pleasant. These two lines indicate that tea forms multiple layers of the world in the Chinese lifestyle (Li, Jia 2018). It illustrates that tea culture can be the exclusive favorite of elite culture and become popular among the masses. These two lines sum up very vividly both material and spiritual attributes of tea culture in traditional culture, fully reflecting the integration between the cultural creations of different social classes (Chen 2013). Tea drinking

is also a social activity in other life scenes. Nowadays, the teahouse is a prominent place for people to conduct social activities, where tea drinkers refresh their minds, relax, exchange information and negotiate business (Chen 2013). Compared to other social activities, socializing over tea is more efficient. A single feast usually can only accomplish one social activity, but a single tea-drinking action can perform multiple social activities. Tea-drinking activities are similar to dramas in that social scenes can be changed, and social purposes can be achieved in each stage (Wang, Tian 2022).

The cultivation of Wuyi Rock Tea is affected by the weather, the amount of rainfall, and temporary weather changes in the year. Therefore, the quality of picked tea leaves varies from year to year. Coupled with the different production processes, the tea produced differs among workshops and manufacturers, and the quality of tea leaves depends entirely on the producer (Ma et al. 2017). Therefore, producers and consumers subjectively assess tea production, quality and taste, allowing tea drinkers to display their cultural capital via Wuyi Rock Tea knowledge in social interactions. In tea-drinking behavior, tea drinkers go through various practical activities such as drinking tea, learning and traveling for a long time and acquiring a deeper understanding of tea. In addition, some tea drinkers can enhance their cultural capital through tea-drinking activities. After that, they can fully demonstrate their knowledge and thus be recognized and praised by others (Wang, Tian 2022). Tacit knowledge is based on personal practical experience and is more effective than common knowledge based on others' experience (Sternberg, Hedlund 2002). Therefore, consumers are more willing to display their tacit understanding of Wuyi Rock Tea as they drink it.

Traditional Chinese arts include poetry, calligraphy, painting, opera, celadon, and landscaping. Many tea-based masterpieces have been produced from traditional Chinese arts, such as tea-oriented songs, pictures, poems, and calligraphy (Chen 2013). Impression Dahongpao, a large-scale live performance on Wuyi Mountain, is based on the mountains and water of the Wuyi Mountain area as a large-scale stage. It presents the tale of Wuyi Rock Tea and the production process of Wuyi Rock Tea in the form of stories, songs, and dances that cured an ill scholar. Moreover, this performance embodies a close fusion of tea with music, dance, theater and other cultural arts (Li 2020).

Wuyi Rock Tea Good to Different Life Practices

As tea drinking has become more critical, tea ceremony as a performance culture has gained prominence in the Wuyi Rock Tea culture. There are 27 steps to make a cup of authentic Wuyi Rock Tea, each of which is strictly regulated. However, the tea ceremony is often simplified to eighteen steps to facilitate the performance and promotion of Wuyi Rock Tea to a broader audience (Shi et al. 2014). Wuyi Rock Tea's tea ceremony allows people to enjoy the tea physically and psychologically, attaining a remarkable state of pleasure (Ma 2005). The tea specialist interviewed explained that although the movements of the tea ceremony are strictly defined, one of the most critical features of the tea ceremony is to show respect for the tea and the tea drinker during a tea-drinking session. Each brew at Wuyi Rock Tea is unique, and the tea specialist needs to bring out these unique flavors and allow the tea drinker to taste them. During a field survey, the research team observed that the tea specialist poured tea for the left guest with the right hand and the right guest with the right hand.

Moreover, she finished making and pouring tea quickly while chatting with her guests. In the interview with the tea specialist, she said that she would never let her guests feel her hands waving around. It was a complex expression of her respect for her guests. Fellow tea drinkers also said they could perceive a relation from the tea specialist's subtle actions. Some guests took a long time to drink a cup of tea, and if the tea got cold, the tea specialist would quickly replace it with hot tea. The tea specialist would promptly clean up the packaging bags and garbage of the refreshments to keep the tea table neat and clean after some guests had taken some refreshments. In a tea-drinking session, the tea brewer makes subtle movements to enhance tea drinkers' experience with tea. Lu Yu of the Tang Dynasty believed that people should appropriately handle picking, brewing, drinking, and tasting and keep focused and calm to coordinate their movements. In this way, tea drinkers can appreciate the mood and flavor of tea, thereby elevating their spiritual realm and cultivating their character (Cao 2021).

In addition, Chinese people drink tea to satisfy their appetites, cultivate their moral character, and develop a pure and peaceful state of mind (Xiong 2021). Since tea enables the heart and eyes to be clear and the mind to be calm, it naturally helps the practitioner to hold on to simplicity and become connected to the divine (Chen 2021). In Chapter One, Origin of The Classic of Tea, Lu Yu of the Tang Dynasty pointed out that tea is one of the finest trees in southern China, meaning that the tea trees have the character of simplicity and tranquility (Lu, Song 2016). Lu also linked tea drinking with people's moral character, stating that tea is ideal for sincere, noble and frugal (Chen, Yu 1990). Sincerity and nobility mean that the social practice of tea drinkers should conform to social and moral standards, and the virtue of frugality means that tea drinkers should advocate frugality, overcome greed, and learn self-restraint (Cao 2021). In times of frustration and adversity, Chinese scholar-officials always indulge in tea, accompanied by tea.

Furthermore, they are resilient, restrained, and at peace with themselves. To a large extent, Chinese tea culture arose when the literati in ancient China attempted to seek comfort and satisfaction in tea as they struggled with the hopelessness of life (Shi 2009). China is situated in a semi-enclosed temperate continental environment. It is primarily conducive to agricultural cultivation, and the natural economy dominated by a small-scale peasant economy has survived for thousands of years. Under such a self-sufficient agricultural state, the people must be resilient and hardworking to thrive as a nation. Confucianism was developed during the pre-Qin period to cultivate such qualities in the people. Confucius' idea of restraining ourselves and practicing propriety has shaped the restrained character of the Chinese people. Taoists advocate non-action and no engagement in contention, while Buddhists advocate disillusion with the mortal world. All these have enabled the Chinese people to adapt themselves to different circumstances and face reality calmly. The Chinese people are also more steadfast, persevering, and restrained when facing difficulties. Because of this, Chinese people have found that tea tasting fits right into their personalities (Shi 2009).

Su Shi (1035-1101), the famous writer, thinker, politician and calligrapher in Chinese history, had a difficult life. However, he wrote many poems praising tea, and he loved tea from his heart. In the difficult years, he was deeply attached to and comforted by tea in his spirit and soul (Shi 2020). In the interviewees' survey, many entrepreneurs reported taking time for daily tea to calm them down and refine their minds. Some entrepreneurs have dedicated tea rooms, often drinking tea while taking a break. They said that drinking tea is the best way for them to rest, enabling them to reduce their anxiety. Thus, entrepreneurs cultivate their minds by drinking tea. Chinese tea culture has widely absorbed the essence of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, forming a subtle and introverted style that emphasizes self-cultivation. It embodies the practice of self-examination in traditional Chinese culture. Also, tea is used to promote the practice of quietness and self-cultivation in tea culture (Xiong 2021).

CONCLUSION

A review of tea drinking knowledge and practice by the Chinese people, especially their consumption of Wuyi Rock Tea, indicates a diverse and holistic consumption pattern. Chinese people consume tea because it is suitable for eating, thinking, and functioning on various occasions. Their character, aspirations and habits can be represented by a natural plant, tea (He 2021). Tea is the most representative drink of the Chinese people, enriching their material, social and spiritual lives and embodying the significance of culture as a whole.

Wuyi Rock Tea trees are grown on Wuyi Mountain's rocks and depend on the specific ecological environment. Then, they are made into green tea through complicated processes. Therefore, Wuyi Rock Tea is good to drink. It fits the natural characteristics of tea leaves and meets the Chinese people's demand for tea leaves with a strong fragrance. In addition, Wuyi Rock Tea was popularized as the best drink for monks to practice meditation because it refreshed the mind.

Moreover, it is suitable for monks and modern entrepreneurs to think. Therefore, Wuyi Rock Tea is a good idea. However, Wuyi Rock Tea also has other practical features. It can be used as a gift, enhance tea drinkers' cultural capital, and enable them to cultivate themselves through tea drinking. So, the research team proposed a new idea: Wuyi Rock Tea is promoted because it is good to drink, think about, and use.

The extensive use of tea by Chinese consumers reveals that the Chinese people are pragmatic, as influenced by Confucianism. The varying prices and production methods of Wuyi Rock Tea facilitate its use for different occasions.

Food thinking refers to the philosophical, abstract, and metaphysical thinking activities included in concrete food activities (Peng 2012). Chinese food has become an expression of cognitive thinking about life. The Book of Changes contains numerous examples of food-based divinatory symbols to discuss worldly matters, suggesting that traditional Chinese culture has long incorporated food into thinking (Gong 2006). In ancient China, the concept of harmony between man and nature was a cosmic concept that viewed nature, society, and life as isomorphic and analogous. Moreover, heaven is not simply equated with nature. The idea of harmony between man and nature in the living world, as manifested in food culture, often implies that man is united with nature through possession. This unity is still primarily a possession, ingestion and conquest of nature (Guo 2006). However, from the above analysis, tea does not embody nature's control, ingestion, and domination; instead, it is the Chinese thinking of food with reverence for nature. Hence, it is crucial to understand the Chinese thinking about nature through tea.

The study of Wuyi Rock Tea knowledge and practice reveals that we can integrate the contrasting idealistic and materialistic models of food anthropology from a holistic perspective. Given this, we can offer a broader perspective on investigating food anthropology.

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